

Explaining Variation in Protester Commitment

Survey Evidence from Ukraine's EuroMaidan, 2013-2014

Olga Chyzh and Mark David Nieman

University of Alabama



Prepared for the Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Peace Science Society in Philadelphia, PA.



Research Questions

- What explains the disparate goals of protesters in Maidan?
- Why do some protesters place themselves into high-risk situations for these goals?



Overview and Contributions

- We survey and interview over 110 protesters on Dec. 13–14, 2013;
- Compare four accounts—cultural, political, economic, education—of protest goals and costly political participation;
- Use distribution-free Clarke test to discriminate between non-nested models;
- Examine costly forms of political participation at time of participation, rather than retrospectively.



Background

- Nov 21, 2013: Pres. Yanukovich abandons EU Association deal;
- Nov 30, 2013: Berkut police attempt to disperse student protesters in Maidan Nezalezhnosti (Independence Square) overnight;
- Visual images of brutally beaten students spark public outrage, even among government supporters;
- Dec 11, 2013: Police again attempt to violently disperse crowd overnight;
- Galyna Gerega asks residents to stay away from city center;
- Dec 13–15, 2013 Reports of planned government offensive to take Maidan.



Competing Explanations

- Cultural (Region and Language)
 - ▶ East vs. West;
 - ▶ Russian vs. Ukrainian speakers.
- Political
 - ▶ Pro–Europe: Fatherland, Udar;
 - ▶ Nationalist: Svoboda;
 - ▶ General Discontent.
- Economic
 - ▶ Unemployed and Poor;
 - ▶ Students;
 - ▶ Professionals.
- Education
 - ▶ Under educated;
 - ▶ Over educated.



Research Design

- We survey and interview over 110 protesters on Dec. 13–14, 2013;
 - ▶ Approach respondents as they enter occupied City Hall;
 - ▶ > 70% response rate.
- Logistic regression;
 - ▶ Dependent Variables:
 - ★ Goals: Government resign, Join EU, Anti-corruption;
 - ★ Costly participation: Stay overnight.
 - ▶ Independent Variables:
 - ★ Culture: language, region;
 - ★ Political: party, voted, 2004 Orange Revolution;
 - ★ Economic: employment, income;
 - ★ Education: Education level.
- Compare models using distribution-free Clarke test;
 - ▶ Tests whether the median log-likelihood ratio is significantly different between models.





Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Age	33.607	14.545	16	82	107
Female	0.170	0.377	0	1	112
Night	0.545	0.500	0	1	112
Goal: EU	0.589	0.494	0	1	112
Goal: Gov. Resign	0.741	0.440	0	1	112
Goal: Anti-corruption	0.527	0.502	0	1	112



Descriptive Statistics: Culture

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Russian Only	0.125	0.332	0	1	112
Ukrainian Only	0.705	0.458	0	1	112
Russian and Ukrainian	0.170	0.377	0	1	112
East ("Novorossiia")	0.183	0.389	0	1	109
No Religion	0.134	0.342	0	1	112
Russian Orthodox	0.438	0.498	0	1	112
Greek Orthodox	0.321	0.469	0	1	112
Other Religion	0.107	0.311	0	1	112



Descriptive Statistics: Political

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Party of Regions	0.009	0.094	0	1	112
Udar	0.205	0.406	0	1	112
Fatherland	0.080	0.273	0	1	112
Svoboda	0.277	0.449	0	1	112
General Opposition	0.429	0.497	0	1	112
Voted	0.830	0.377	0	1	112
Orange Revolution	0.598	0.492	0	1	112



Descriptive Statistics: Economic

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Full-time Job	0.634	0.484	0	1	112
Part-time Job	0.107	0.311	0	1	112
Student	0.170	0.377	0	1	112
Unemployed/Other	0.089	0.286	0	1	112
Income: < 5k	0.757	0.431	0	1	111
Income: 5k–10k	0.225	0.420	0	1	111
Income: > 10k	0.018	0.134	0	1	111

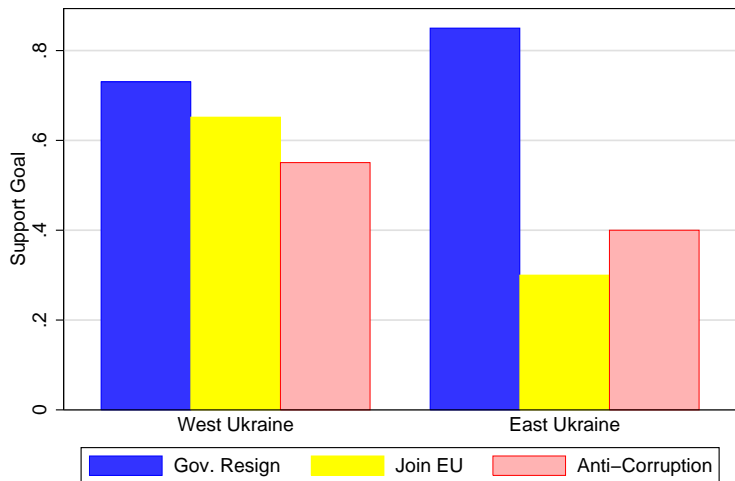


Descriptive Statistics: Education

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
High School or less	0.098	0.299	0	1	112
Some College	0.286	0.454	0	1	112
B.A.	0.357	0.481	0	1	112
Graduate School	0.259	0.440	0	1	112



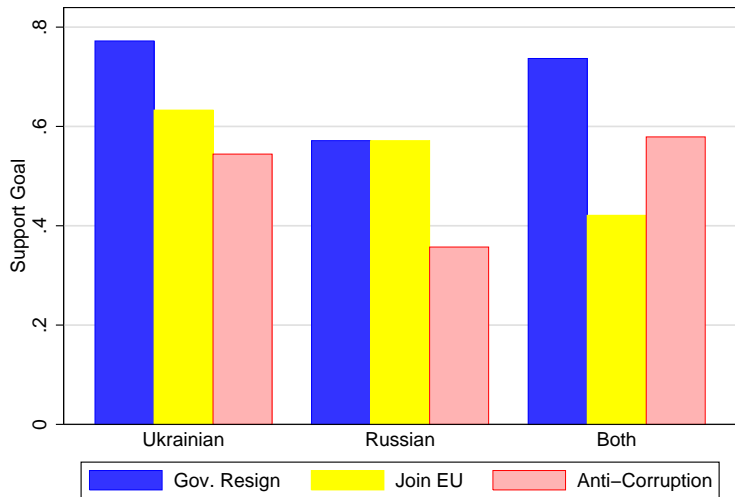
EuroMaidan Goals: East vs. West



Note: East Ukraine defined as the greatest extent of southern and eastern oblasts claimed by Russia as Novorossiia.



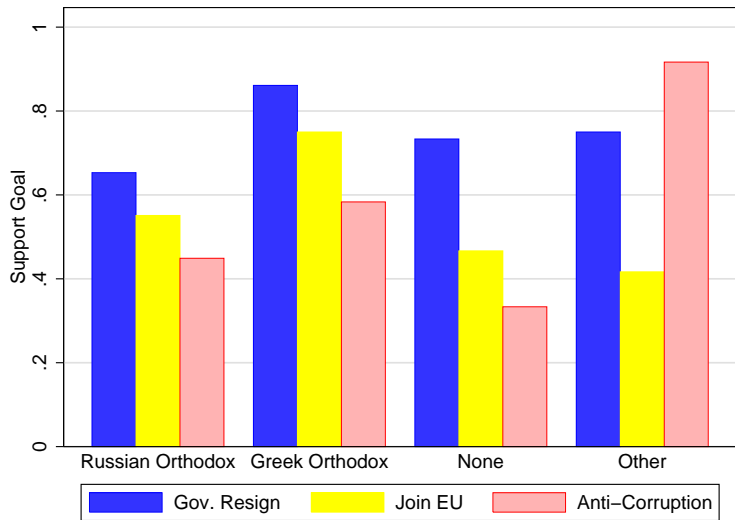
EuroMaidan Goals: Russian vs. Ukrainian Speakers



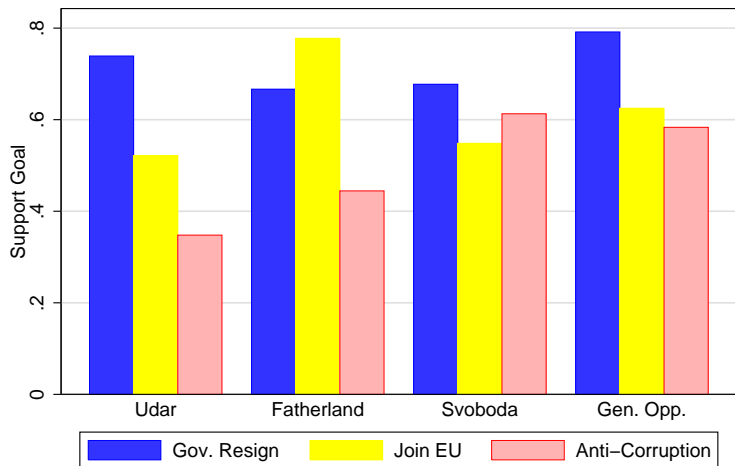
Note: Language spoken at respondent's home.



EuroMaidan Goals: Religion



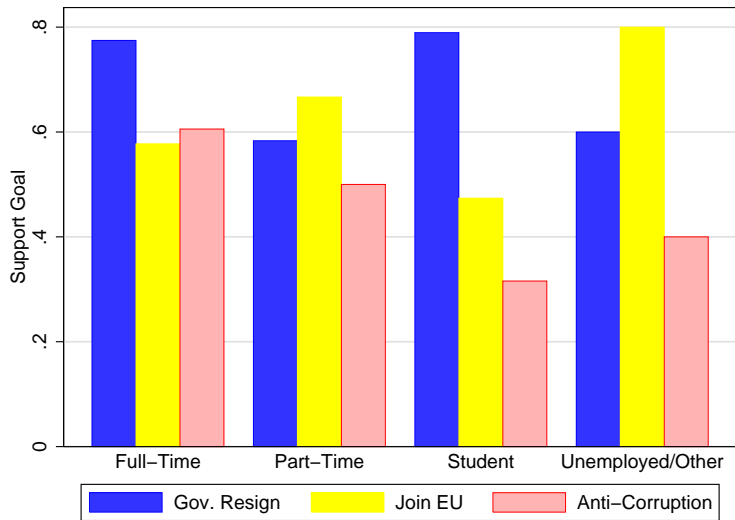
EuroMaidan Goals: Political Party



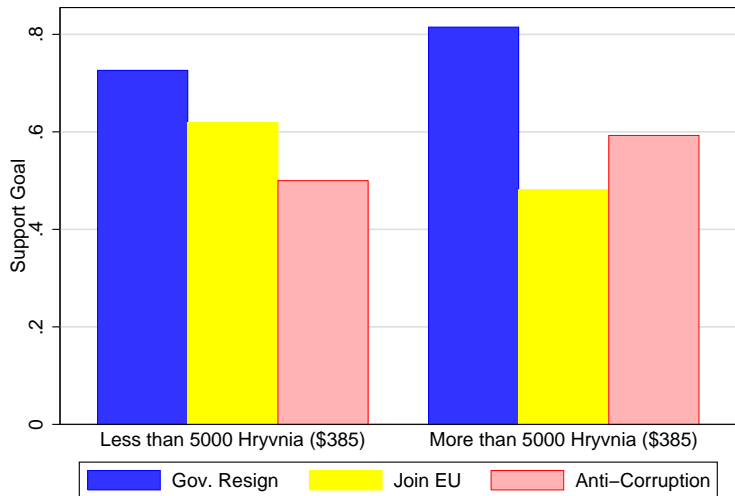
Note: Udar is a pro-Europe party associated with Vitaliy Klitschko and endorsed Petro Poroshenko for president. Fatherland is a pro-Europe party associated with Yulia Tymoshenko. Svoboda is a right wing party.



EuroMaidan Goals: Employment



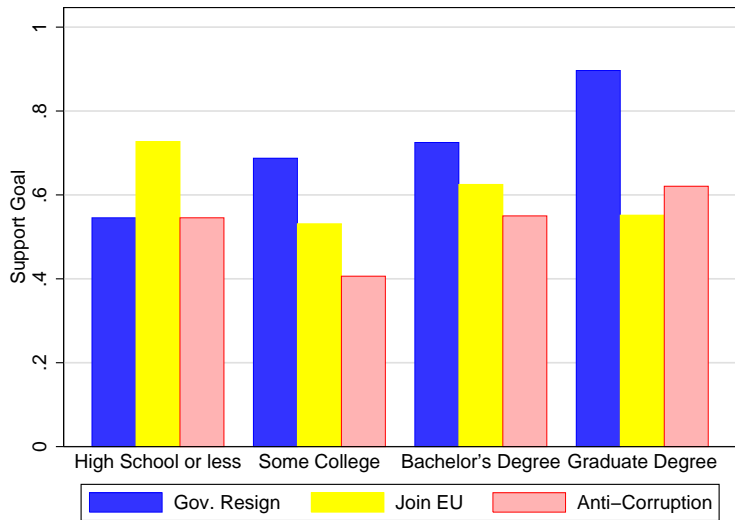
EuroMaidan Goals: Income



Note: Monthly income. National average is 3600. Figure in parentheses is approximate value in USD.



EuroMaidan Goals: Education



Cultural Effects on EuroMaidan Goals

Variable	Gov. Resign		Join EU		Anti-corruption	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Age	-0.03*	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)	0.01	(0.01)
Female	2.01*	(1.11)	0.51	(0.06)	0.58	(0.56)
East	1.11 ⁺	(0.83)	-1.60**	(0.64)	-0.77 ⁺	(0.59)
Ukr-lang. Only	2.13**	(0.83)	-0.22	(0.71)	0.38	(0.67)
Both Ukr. & Rus.	1.04	(0.86)	-0.71	(0.81)	0.80	(0.78)
Constant	0.34	(0.88)	0.64	(0.82)	-0.55	(0.78)
N	104		104		104	
ll	-48.11		-65.03		-69.59	

** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, two-tailed; ⁺ $p < 0.1$, one-tailed.



Political Effects on EuroMaidan Goals

Variable	Gov. Resign		Join EU		Anti-corruption	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Age	-0.04**	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)
Female	1.13 ⁺	(0.82)	0.80 ⁺	(0.60)	0.29	(0.57)
Udar	-0.89	(1.27)	-0.85	(0.98)	-1.15	(0.93)
Svoboda	-1.43	(1.25)	-0.93	(0.95)	0.24	(0.89)
Gen. Opp.	-0.49	(1.20)	-0.35	(0.91)	0.010	(0.84)
Voted	1.60**	(0.75)	0.98 ⁺	(0.64)	0.31	(0.64)
Orange Rev.	0.20	(0.58)	-0.27	(0.48)	0.17	(0.47)
Night	-0.20	(0.50)	-0.02	(0.42)	-0.36	(0.43)
Constant	1.87 ⁺	(1.29)	0.01	(1.03)	-0.13	(0.98)
N	106		106		106	
ll	-52.89		-68.70		-68.64	

** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, two-tailed; ⁺ $p < 0.1$, one-tailed.



Economic Effects on EuroMaidan Goals

Variable	Gov. Resign		Join EU		Anti-corruption	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Age	-0.02	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)
Female	1.15 ⁺	(0.82)	0.60	(0.56)	0.27	(0.53)
Full-time	0.19	(0.76)	0.47	(0.63)	1.04 ⁺	(0.65)
Part-time	-0.95	(0.97)	0.50	(0.88)	0.60	(0.87)
Unemployed	0.19	(1.14)	0.91	(1.02)	0.08	(0.96)
Inc. 5k–10k	0.58	(0.65)	-0.82*	(0.50)	0.07	(0.50)
Constant	1.62**	(0.66)	-0.92 ⁺	(0.59)		
N	105		105		105	
ll	-52.98		-68.66		-69.56	

** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, two-tailed; ⁺ $p < 0.1$, one-tailed.



Education Effects on EuroMaidan Goals

Variable	Gov. Resign		Join EU		Anti-corruption	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Age	-0.02	(0.02)	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)
Female	0.69	(0.82)	0.79 ⁺	(0.57)	0.21	(0.55)
Some College	1.05 ⁺	(0.78)	-0.94	(0.80)	-0.39	(0.75)
B.A.	1.07 ⁺	(0.74)	-0.46	(0.77)	0.21	(0.71)
Graduate	1.94 ^{**}	(0.90)	-0.88	(0.81)	0.45	(0.76)
Constant	0.54	(0.81)	0.40	(0.83)	-0.50	(0.78)
N	107		107		107	
ll	-53.83		-70.70		-71.91	

^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{*} $p < 0.1$, two-tailed; ⁺ $p < 0.1$, one-tailed.



Comparing Competing Models

Clarke's Distribution-free Test of Non-nested Models:

$$H_0 : Pr_0 \left[\ln \frac{f(Y_i | X_i; \beta_*)}{g(Y_i | Z_i; \gamma_*)} > 0 \right] = 0.5 \quad (1)$$

$$B = \sum_{i=1}^n I_{(0, +\infty)}(d_i) \quad (2)$$



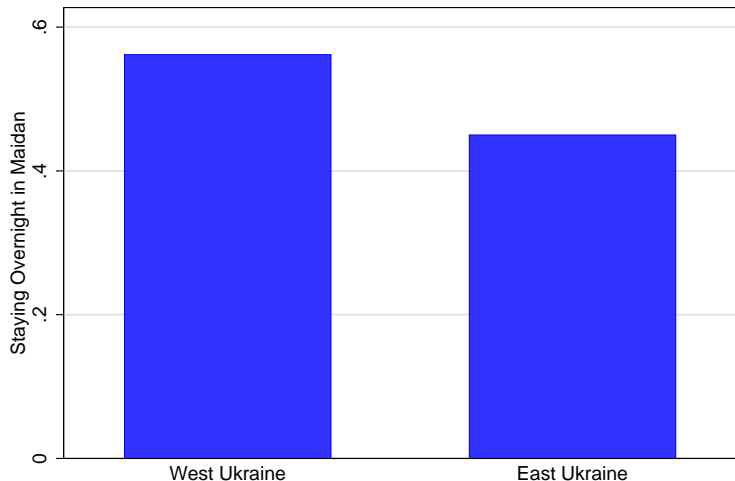
Non-nested Model Comparisons

Model ₁ — Model ₂	Positive	Negative	Model ₁ — Model ₂	Positive	Negative
Gov. Resign					
Cultural—Political	57 ⁺	47	Political—Economic	64 ^{**}	42
Cultural—Economic	67 ^{**}	36	Political—Education	55	52
Cultural—Education	63 ^{**}	41	Economic—Education	47	59 ⁺
Join EU					
Cultural—Political	57 ⁺	47	Political—Economic	49	57
Cultural—Economic	59 [*]	44	Political—Education	59 ⁺	48
Cultural—Education	62 ^{**}	42	Economic—Education	57	49
Anti-Corruption					
Cultural—Political	48	56	Political—Economic	65 ^{**}	41
Cultural—Economic	48	55	Political—Education	59 ⁺	48
Cultural—Education	54	50	Economic—Education	58 ⁺	48

^{**}B < 0.05, ^{*}B < 0.1, ⁺B < 0.2 one-tailed.



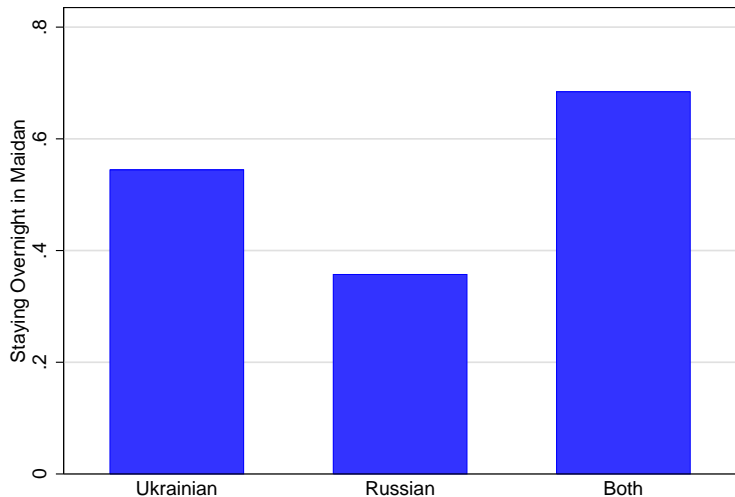
Maidan Overnight: East vs. West



Note: East Ukraine defined as the greatest extent of southern and eastern oblasts claimed by Russia as Novorossiia.



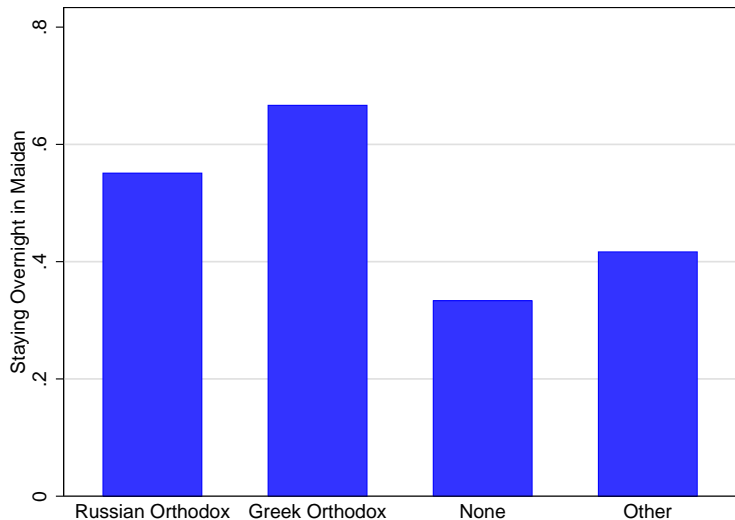
Maidan Overnight: Russian vs. Ukrainian Speakers



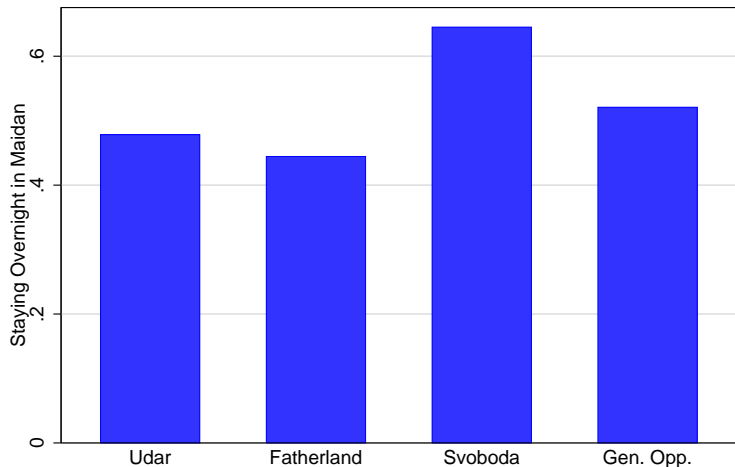
Note: Language spoken at respondent's home.



Maidan Overnight: Religion



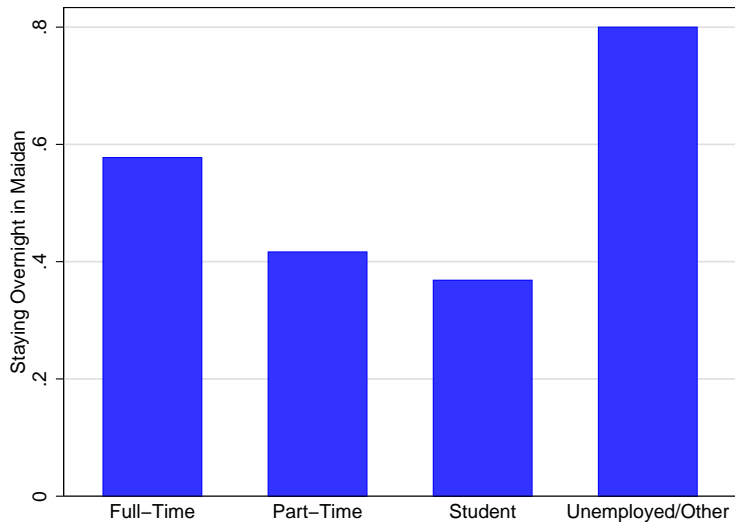
Maidan Overnight: Political Party



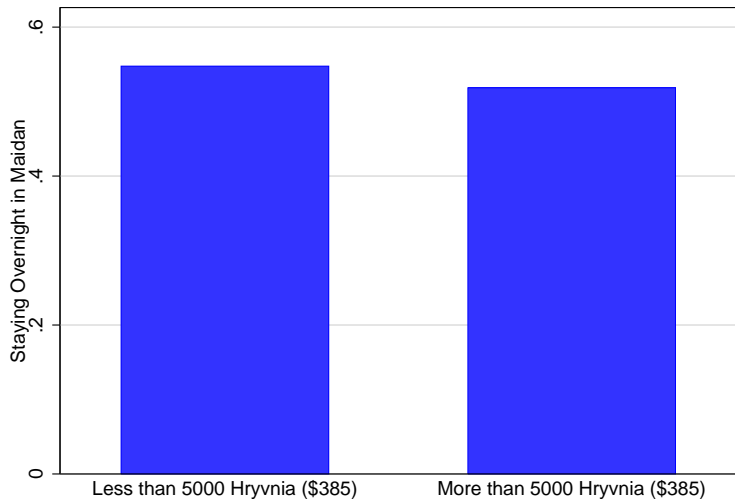
Note: Udar is a pro-Europe party associated with Vitaliy Klitschko and endorsed Petro Poroshenko for president. Fatherland is a pro-Europe party associated with Yulia Tymoshenko. Svoboda is a right wing party.



Maidan Overnight: Employment



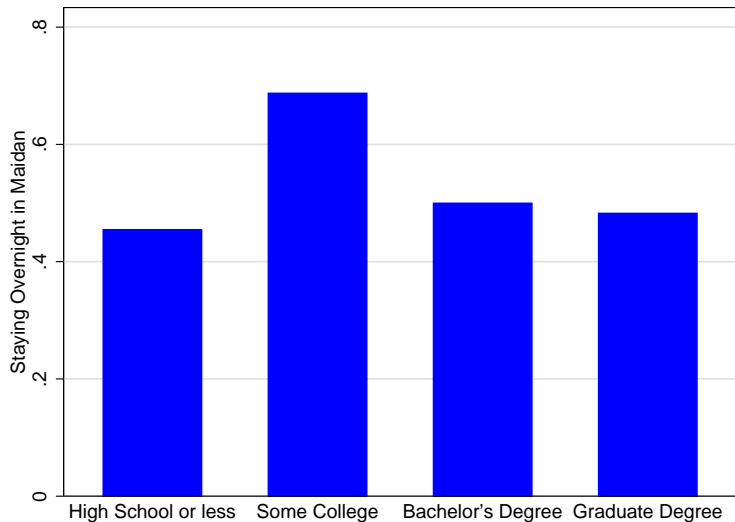
Maidan Overnight: Income



Note: Monthly income. National average is 3600. Figure in parentheses is approximate value in USD.



Maidan Overnight: Education



Cultural Effects on Staying in Maidan Overnight

Variable	β	SE
Age	0.01	(0.01)
Female	-0.88 ⁺	(0.56)
East	-0.16	(0.59)
Ukr-lang. Only	0.78	(0.70)
Both Ukr. & Rus.	1.30 ⁺	(0.80)
Constant	-0.77	(0.81)
N	104	
ll	-68.12	

** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, two-tailed; ⁺ $p < 0.1$, one-tailed.



Political Effects on Staying in Maidan Overnight

Variable	β	SE
Age	0.01	(0.02)
Female	-1.07*	(0.56)
Udar	-0.04	(0.93)
Svoboda	0.71	(0.90)
Gen. Opp.	0.24	(0.85)
Voted	0.66	(0.64)
Orange Rev.	-0.42	(0.48)
Constant	-0.46	(0.98)
N	106	
ll	-69.36	

** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, two-tailed; + $p < 0.1$, one-tailed.



Economic Effects on Staying in Maidan Overnight

Variable	β	SE
Age	-0.01	(0.02)
Female	-0.98*	(0.55)
Full-time	1.10*	(0.65)
Part-time	0.96	(0.88)
Unemployed	1.95*	(1.04)
Inc. 5k–10k	-0.44	(0.50)
Constant	-0.35	(0.57)
N	105	
ll	-68.54	

** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, two-tailed; + $p < 0.1$, one-tailed.



Education Effects on Staying in Maidan Overnight

Variable	β	SE
Age	0.01	(0.01)
Female	-0.97*	(0.56)
Some College	0.87	(0.76)
B.A.	0.10	(0.71)
Graduate	0.27	(0.76)
Constant	-0.35	(0.79)
N	107	
ll	-70.85	

** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$, two-tailed; + $p < 0.1$, one-tailed.



Non-nested Model Comparisons

Model ₁ – Model ₂	Positive	Negative
Cultural–Political	48	56
Cultural–Economic	53	50
Cultural–Education	54	50
Political–Economic	52	54
Political–Education	48	59 ⁺
Economic–Education	56	50

**B <0.05, *B <0.1, +B <0.2 one-tailed.



Conclusion

- General protest findings:
 - ▶ Cultural accounts outperform alternatives in explaining protester goals;
 - ▶ No individual model explains high-cost political actions;
- EuroMaidan goals:
 - ▶ Protesters from East Ukraine, women, and those with at least some college education were more likely to demand the government resign;
 - ▶ Women had more support for joining the EU;
- Costly participation in EuroMaidan:
 - ▶ Ukrainian-speakers, the full-time and unemployed more likely than students to participate;
 - ▶ Neither political factors, nor region, affected participation.

