

Psychological determinants of mass political behaviour in Ukraine (on the basic Revolution of Dignity in 2013-2014 years)

The psychological determinants of the mass participation of citizens of Ukraine in the revolutionary events of 2013-2014 years are identified in the article. We consider the phenomenon of revolution not only as a successful attempt of mass movements to change the current political system, fundamentally transform the political institutions and legitimize political power, carried out by illegal or violent actions, but also as a model or type of mass political behaviour, characteristic to the post-communist societies. Followed and analysed their peculiarities in Ukraine.

Keywords: Revolution of Dignity, Maidan, mass political behaviour; riot; crowd; empowerment.

Психологічні детермінанти масової політичної поведінки в Україні (на прикладі Революції Гідності 2014 року)

У статті визначені психологічні детермінанти масової участі громадян України у революційних подіях 2013-2014 років. Розглянуто феномен революції не лише як успішної спроби масових рухів змінити чинний політичний режим, фундаментально трансформувати політичні інститути і легітимізувати політичну владу, яка здійснюється протизаконними або насильницькими діями, а й як певну модель чи тип масової політичної поведінки, характерної для посткомуністичних суспільств. Прослідковано та проаналізовано їхню специфіку в Україні.

Ключові слова: Революція Гідності, Майдан, масова політична поведінка; бунт; натовп; емпауермент.

Psychologiczne determinanty masowych zachowań politycznych na Ukrainie (przykładem Rewolucja Godności 2013-2014)

W artykule zidentyfikowane psychologiczne determinanty masowego udziału obywateli Ukrainy podczas rewolucji 2013-2014. Przeanalizowano zjawisko rewolucji nie tylko jako udanej

próby ruchów masowych dla zmiany obecnego systemu politycznego, fundamentalnego przekształcenia instytucji politycznych i legitymizowania władzy politycznej, prowadzonej w sposób nielegalny lub z przemocą, ale również jako modelu lub typu masowych zachowań politycznych, charakterystycznego dla społeczeństw postkomunistycznych. Obserwowano i przeanalizowano ich specyfikę na Ukrainie

Słowa kluczowe: Rewolucja Godności, plac publiczny (Majdan), masowe zachowania polityczne; bunt; tłum; empowerment

Political behaviour as a set of responses to certain social forms, means and areas of political system functioning in modern society is often unpredictable. It depends on a complex system of determinants, from physiological needs, ending with fundamental cultural norms. The poly-factorial of determinants makes the studies of mass political behaviour more complicated. To identify and assess the significance of factors is possible only in a stable state of a political system.

As the mass political behaviour is determined by effective or ineffective institutional norms of a society, it is worth noting that in unstable, such as transitional societies where institutional conditions change regularly or are just informal, to predict their impact on political behaviour is very difficult. Because of the inability to forecast mass political behaviour, it often reveals itself in unconventional forms of social unrest like the crowd, panic, riot, and so on. Typically, they exhibit low institutional, and the lowest level is seen in the context of mass panic.

At the junction of psychology and political science, there are various theoretical and methodological approaches to explain political behaviour characteristics: they take into account factors such as the environment, which sends incentives to the subject of behaviour; needs of the individual or group of individuals involved in political activities; the motives by which the individuals of politics are governed; guideline values of the individual sphere, orientation, beliefs, goals, personal characteristics of social roles, style of interpersonal relationships, actions and deeds, feedback between the behaviour and the condition of its formation.

For updating study of the psychological determinants of mass political behaviour, more attention should be paid to three aspects of their research. 1) Thus, according to theoretical approaches of psychology, one can identify certain psychological characteristics that may affect the ability of the individual to participate in the protest behaviour. These include: types of temperament, personality and peculiarities of emotional and volitional aspect, types of character, motives, instructions, individual sphere of values, orientations, beliefs, goals, and more. 2) In addition, the psychological characteristics that determine such forms of political behaviour are: a high level of aggressiveness, propensity to destructive styles of interaction in conflict situations, the presence of destructive ideological attitudes and stereotypes in consciousness. 3) Political analysts focus more on external factors caused by the characteristics of the political environment, individual lessons in the process of socialization.

Numerous studies of mass political behaviour indicate that it incorporates the components of both the crowd and the public. Often it is used by radical political forces that are trying to change the existing conditions in society, or to consolidate their position in the struggle for power. Despite institutional research of this problem a special attention should be paid to psychological determinants that were a kind of latent mechanisms of the Ukrainian people mass protests in late 2013 - early 2014.

Many manifestations of mass political behaviour are displayed in the protests in the current transitional societies, which include Ukraine. Mostly young people, students, and members of youth political and civic associations are involved in them. From the perspective of psychology, such forms of behaviour are particularly apparent in adolescence and young age because they are caused by psychological characteristics and age crises prevailing in this age.

Transformation of Ukrainian society today is determined by a number of complex processes in all areas of public life. An important factor of social changes is the events 2013-2014 years, called the Revolution of Dignity and is a phenomenon of the Maidan - a phenomenon characteristic of the Ukrainian political culture and mentality that is reflected in the respective types of mass behaviour. L. Naidjonova¹ proposes to use the term "Maidan" to describe a complex phenomenon that occurs during political events related to the subject of mass forms of expression, including the self-organizing and organizational aspects.

The analysis of scientific literature indicates that various aspects of the study of "colour revolutions" are studied primarily by historians, philosophers, political scientists, geopolitics, sociologists and psychologists. Today, political scientists around the world are actively studying the phenomenon of "colour revolutions", because they can space redistribution of power in unstable regions of the world.

Thus, the purpose of the article is the definition of psychological determinants of the citizens of Ukraine mass participation in the revolutionary events of 2013-2014 years.

First of all, it should be noted nowadays there is no clear answer to the question: if "colour revolutions" could be considered revolutions in general. Some scholars interpret them as a type of revolution that has a close relationship with the establishment of institutions and norms transitional societies, and means of elite population displeased with politics intensifying democratic reforms. In this sense, the revolution is the object of transitology study. Another group of scientist's points to the "colour revolutions" as the elite technological projects, using various means to mobilize the masses, among which the most impact are psychological. In the context of this approach "colour revolutions" are definitely an attempt to change the ruling elite, using the energy of dissatisfaction, frustration, anger and other negative emotional states of society.

¹ Naidjonova L.A.; Naidjonov M.I. Fenomen Majdanu: dunamika emocijnyh staniv uchasnykiv, s.3 Rezum dostypp: http://iris-psy.org.ua/publ/st_0060.pdfvilnuj z 05.06.2016

S. Kirshenblat² notes that “colour revolutions” were another way of democratization of post-communist region after the first democratic transformations of the 1990s. One of the most important features of these revolutions - large-scale mass protests against the election fraud by the ruling regime, the focus of protest reactions to protect the democratic rights of citizens helped legitimize these revolutions among the population and the international community.

S. Naumkina³ believes that a modern revolution mechanism involves the gradual change in the following phases: a revolutionary situation is direct implementation of the masses speech of the conversion after the seizure of power. The most significant phase of the revolution flow stage is the implementation of reforms in the society after the power seizure.

D. Yusupova-Farzaliyeva⁴ says that “colour revolutions” is a political phenomenon, which is a combination of political events that indicate a deep crisis of the democracy concept, the obvious collapse of classical interpretations; a complex political technology and metaphor coup in which the decisive factor is the financing, planning and “flower coup” organization, spiritual and ideological aggression and humanitarian intervention from outside, unfolding through information and communication technologies in the form of national liberation movement or democracy for destruction of the state and the establishment of a supranational latent external management.

Thus, according to the Russian researcher S. Verdihanovoyi⁵ “colour revolution” as a political phenomenon of the twenty-first century is a multidimensional process of complex interaction of political forces, which manifests itself as a form of political conflict and is characterized by the features of the revolution as a set of policy changes involving the masses coup as a process of the power change struggle as a result of the struggle of political elite that runs non-violent way (rallies, protests). S. Hrynyayev⁶ and his colleagues consider the “colour revolution” as a special form of struggle, which aims to create a conflict potential to change the government and its legitimacy, but also results in geo-economic and geopolitical reorientation of a state.

Another Russian researcher A. Karpovich⁷ defines the “colour revolutions” as technologies for making a coup and external control of the political situation in the country in terms of political instability in which pressure on the government takes the form of a political blackmail of a youth protest movement.

² Kirshenblat S.V. Dosvid vykorstannja modeli «koljorovyh revoljucij» u postkomunistychnyh regionah Politologichni ta sociologichni studii: zb. nauk. pracj. – 2010. – T. IX. – S. 463–474.

³ Naumkina S. M. Suchasni «zahidni» ta «shidni» revoljucij: klasyczna skladova i osoblyvosti zdijstnennja Akryjalni problem polityky. – 2015. – Vyp. 56. – S. 173–181.

⁴ D. Yusupova-Farzaliyeva «Cvetnuje revoljucii» kak sledstviye krizisa sovremennyh demokratij, Vestnik Instituta strategicheskikh issledovanij PGLU: sb.nauch. trudov 2012, № 3, s. 30

⁵ Z. Verdihanova strukturnije i procesualnijuje charakteristiki fenomena «cvetnyh revoljucij» Izvestija vysshuh uchebnyh zavedenij. Povolzhskiy region. Obshhestvennyje nauki 2014, № 2 (30), S. 64–73.

⁶ Irreguljarnuje konflikty: «cvetnuje revoljucii». Analiz i otsenka form, priemov i sposobov vedeniya operatsij po smene rezhimov v suverennyh gosudarstvah / pod obsch. red. S. N. Grinyaeva. – M. : ANO TsSOiP, 2015. – 236 s.

⁷ Karpovich O. G. Tsvetnyje revoljutsii: teoriya i praktika demontazha sovremennyh politicheskikh rezhimov : monogr. / Oleg Gennadevich Karpovich, Andrey Viktorovich Manoylo. – M. : Yuniti-Dana, 2015. – 111 s.

One type of “colour revolutions” was the Revolution of Dignity, which took place in 2013-2014 on the territory of the Ukrainian state. The phenomenon of Ukrainian Maidan is reflected in many studies of Ukrainian and foreign scientists, some of which has an ideological or subjective nature. This is especially true about numerous Russian political publications scientists, who call these events as “Ukrainian crisis”. Research Advantages Revolution has a very wide range of scientific publications. Yu. Shveda; A. Kolodij; B. Glotov and N. Sidorenko; A. Hrytsiuk; A. Garin, G. Zelenko, were involved in the study of the phenomenon of Ukrainian Maidan years 2013-2014.

Yu. Shveda⁸ said that the serious deterioration of the situation, total corruption, systematic curtailment of democratic rights and freedoms, the inability to solve the existing problems by legal means and democratic procedures are factors that pushed people to revolutionary action. The reason for this rapid transformation of public resistance is an extreme critical attitude to the previous government and the policy that it implemented.

According to V. Tkachenko⁹, “Maidan should be seen not as a revolution in its classical sense the change of the political system, apparently, is not expected. Rather, it is «moral and civic revolution» which obliges to overcome imperial past and filling the slogan “Ukraine is Europe” with a concrete practical content”.

T. Metelova¹⁰ blowing a semantic core reference and a symbol of the events that have certain revolutionary features is an interdisciplinary and extraordinary phenomenon of the globalized world. Deserving or rather, requiring complex studies as a specific socio-cultural and historical phenomenon, he first appears, on the one hand, as a specific synthetic form of the protest movement that synthesizes and accumulates others, and on the other as a form of a direct democracy, based on historical-cultural traditions and revives the lost opportunities of archaic forms in the modern world through the widespread use of technologies providing communication resource of the informative society.

Maidan is the natural result of protest movements in Ukraine and matching features inherent to the general features of the transformation of these movements in the world demonstrates its compliance with the current global protest trends. This makes unable consideration of Maidan as a political phenomenon chance, ignores it as a powerful factor in political life and needs some Ukrainian governmental institutional, administrative and legislative decisions and their implementation.

A. Shehovtsov¹¹ giving his idea of Maidan, told about the relevance of the phenomenon of national and European revolution. Thanks to it civil society sought to build up a truly

⁸ Shveda Yu. «Revolutsiya Gidnosti» v konteksti zagalnoi teorii sotsialnih revolucij / Yuriy Shveda // Agora. Revolutsiya vidbulasya: scho dali? – 2014. – №. 13. – S. 5–14

⁹ Tkachenko V. Spilnist istorichnoyi doli: viprobuvannya Maydanom / V.Tkachenko// Tribuna. – 2013. – №9/12. – S.27

¹⁰ T. Metelova. Protestni ruhi yak segment gromadyanskogo suspilstva y formi pryamoj demokratii: svitovi trendy ta Ukrainskiy dosvid Viche, № 4, lyutyi 2015 Rezim dostyp: <http://www.viche.info/journal/4588/vilnuz> z 05.06.2016;

¹¹ Shehovtsov A. Ukrainsjka revolucija je Jevropejskojy. Rubryka «tochka zory» Rezim dostyp: <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/25203341.html> viljnij z 05.06.2016

independent Ukrainian and European nation. One of the factors in the formation of the Maidan, the author stresses the Ukrainian understanding of the need to reformat the political system to achieve full independence.

Russian researcher V. Radzievskiy¹² analyzing the phenomenon Euromaidan describes the basic concepts of axiological, cultural codes and a specific mental paradigm of the Euromaidan driving force in the context of basic socio-cultural reflections in modern Ukrainian cultural and historical discourse. The author concludes that Euromaidan 2013-2014's is an important event in the cultural space of Ukraine. For scale, mass resonance, cultural and political consequences and importance, aggressiveness in the internal opposition and the number of participants Euromaidan far exceeded Maidan of 2004-2005.

Quite often among works of Russian political scientists and sometimes our own, to emphasize the illegitimacy of the regime change and enhancing of the information war that is constantly waged by a neighbouring country the term "coup" is used. Undoubtedly, the problem is the ratio role of elite and mass activities objectively reflects the reality of the occurrence of such revolutions.

At its core, the revolution is a successful attempt to overthrow the existing political system, fundamentally transform the political institutions and legitimize the political power performed by illegal or violent actions of people movements and at least partly satisfy their demands. In the events that took place in Ukraine there are two great features: identity formation, self-organization and organization of the masses. First, through participation in protest actions not only an enormous national identity took place, but the identity with Europe. Almost every Ukrainian, who went to the Maidan, trying to identify himself as a member of the European community seeking for European values and beliefs in himself looking for better European life than he had at the time. Recalling M. Weber¹³, who said that "awareness of man's identity is a powerful motivate factor a large scale of mobilize people to action", it can be stated that one of the mass protests driving forces in the Maidan from November 2013 to February 2014 was the formation of identity of their members.

Secondly, watching the mobilization of citizens on the main square of the capital, the regional help the moment and self-organization could be seen clearly. One of the appeals from the stage was calling "Independence without politics", indicating that people were not ready to make any political forces support them, it was a great factor of distrust Representatives, even the opposition. An extremely powerful force in shaping crowd to word Intrenet played. People themselves agreed on the meeting through social network, organized transport of people to the capital, supplying food, organized medicine, warm clothing. The whole country protested. At some point the country resembled "ant". All were moving somewhere doing something. Some

¹² Radzievskiy V. Fenomen Evromaydana v subkulturnom pole Ukrainy / Vitaliy Radzievskiy // Vestnik SPbGUKI. – 2014. – Iyun. – № 2 (19). – S. 6–10.

¹³ M. Weber Izbranyje proizvedenija. M., 1990

travelled to the capital; the rest went to the regional centers. In 2013 /2014 years the most powerful line of volunteer service was formed in Ukraine. In which politicians, businessmen, teachers, doctors, lawyers and ordinary citizens without education, people from school age to retirement age were involved. Accordingly, the Maidan gained the characteristic of organization later when the power of opposition tried to head mentioned above and become their leader. So with the other branches of protest leaders of Automaidann appeared volunteerism, health care, and so on. Although the mood of the Maidan several times varied from positive peaceful to negative, unconventional (when it numerous office buildings throughout Ukraine) were destroyed psychology of human participation in mass actions remains unchanged.

Based on the study of G. Lebon¹⁴, attention should be paid to the functioning of the mechanisms of mass behaviour of participants in protest movements during the Revolution of Dignity, such as a suggestion, and following infection. All these mentioned above mechanisms of collective action regard the involvement of individual to collective action as a result of external influence when the initiator of collective action is not an individual, but a crowd, a group or a society.

Also the attention should be paid work of the Polish political scientist J. Schepanski¹⁵ that describing the general socio-psychological conditions of the protests, says: "... If in any society, some people cannot meet their economic, cultural, political or other needs – never mind what reasons and what caused this situation (these changes may be caused due to technical or economic development or cultural diffusion) - then the unmet needs cause discontent, frustration, switching psychic energy, mobilized to achieve the means of people satisfaction, the fight against real or imaginable obstacles, in other words, there is a state of emotional stress, mental anxiety that through contacts, understanding, people community their situation, that leads to a state of social unrest”.

Noteworthy also is the study of the emotional sphere of citizens, as one of the psychological factors citizen participation in mass political action. Thus, L. Naidenova¹⁶, exploring the emotional states of mass political actions participants, drew attention to the formation of such a thing as empowerment. It occurs when a person in the struggle rather than to suffer and feel like a victim when he defends not only his individual interests, but also begins to learn his own troubles as a result of the social system and to opposing oppression he protects the community. This phenomenon is that feeling of community authorized a person overcomes his feeling of sacrifice, feels more full of power, sense or resource able to rule.

Also an important contribution to understanding the psychology of mass political behaviour is the study of S. Drury¹⁷ and J. Reycher, who showed a strong link between emotional

¹⁴ G. Lebon *Psuhologija narodov i mass. Socuym*, 2010.- 379s.

¹⁵ J. Schepanski *Elementarnije ponjatija socuologii*. - M., 1969.

¹⁶ L. Naidenova *Emocijni stany uchastnikov masovyh politychnyh akcij u konteksti riznyh terytorijnyh spiljnot Rezim dostypy: http://iris-psy.org.ua/publ/st_0067_La.pdf vilnuz z 05.06.2016*

¹⁷ Drury J., Reicher S. *Explaining Enduring Empowerment: A Comparative Study of Collective Action and Psychological Outcomes // European journal of social psychology*. – 2005. – 35 (1). January February. – P. 35–58.

states of participants of protests and developmental features of identity that occurs in the process of collective participation. They define empowerment as socio-psychological state of trust and faith in their own ability to challenge existing power relations that dominate in society.

The fact that mass political behaviour is the basis for the emergence of very strong emotional experiences, and constructed images of communities that oppose one another and which can be fixed on cognitive asymmetry similar to the phenomenon of cognitive dissonance and ingroup favoritism - outgroup discrimination. Collective actions can inspire both individual and mass, typically accompanied by positive emotion. The peculiarity of collective participation is high emotional richness, experience the importance of the situation, a sense of unity, responsibility, hope and confrontation. The content of emotional states is focused on the sense of justice, rights on the community. Thus, it may be noted that the beginning of the Revolution of Dignity was accompanied positive sentiments. However, after the brutal Protestants beating by the fighters of unit "Berkut" on the Maidan the action gained a qualitatively different form from student protests against the failure to signing the agreement with the EU, it became a mass campaign of resistance power. The Maidan greatly expanded its borders, and got a positive tone again. People everywhere mobilized assistance, dancing and singing. Catastrophic changes in emotional mood of citizens caused the events of 18-20 February 2014. In spaces of Ukrainian Internet space recalling the events of the end of February 2014, meet the following: "Hatred"¹⁸. That is the precise definition of the mood on the Maidan after 20 February. It blazed in the smoky eyes of the fighter, compressed hearts of those who carried the wounded, built barricades and poured Molotov cocktails into bottles. It pressed the throat of those who having learned worried news, rushed to Maidan turned into a mass grave. It overfilled souls of those who watched the carnage on TV.

In some people anger ignited a feverish thirst for immediate attack. In other it turned into a cold readiness to defend to the end. Irritation, anger, bitterness left Maidan after ... distorted bodies. Hatred is not the best of human emotions. Its consequences are difficult to predict, and the elimination of these effects will drag on for years, what it would end with"...

Messages of Russian television and Internet that interpreted the events completely differently in Ukraine in 2013 and 2014 erase particularly negative emotions. A power full myth in the Russian media was the myth of the "puppet of USA" and "Western Ukrainian fascists". The most popular were stories about "Ukrainian terrorists, extremists and armed bandits are terrorizing defenceless civilian and destroying the country".

Among Russian bloggers one can find: "The Rubicon"¹⁹ has been passed. Information about the killed has been received. Opposition stands ready to take up arms. It is reported about the keeping several million "barrels" among the population. Only in Kiev - 400 000. It is clear, such

¹⁸ [Internet resyrs] Rezim dostyipy: http://buhgalter24.at.ua/news/sgibajas_pod_noshej_ty_uvelichivaesh_ce_tjazhest/2014-02-22-1226 vilnuj z 05.06.2016

¹⁹ «Evromaidan»: krizis demokracji I prizrak fashyzma. Rezim dostyipy: <http://www.km.ru/world/2014/01/24/protivostoyanie-na-ukraine-2013-14/730706-evromaidan-krizis-demokracji-i-prizraki-fvilnuj> z 05.06.2016

number of armament is possible only if. It was some kind of preparation for the civil war and somebody armed people on purpose. Lviv Mayor announced that he will not keep the laws, which came into force. The crowd captures buildings, blocking military garrisons, forcing Lviv governor physically to write a resignation”.

As you know, the hypothesis about the relationship between frustration and aggression took place in many psychological studies. At one time J. Dollard²⁰ developed the idea of a link between causation disappointment and purposeful behaviour and motivation the people to revolt in a manner associated with violence in order to eliminate the causes of disappointment.

At the same time, a Polish political scientist T. Zhiro²¹ stresses that a political protests of citizens an act designed to combat political power can be implemented in a coordinated collective actions against political leaders or political system. This may take two forms of protest if the speeches of the opposition intend to change the structure of government in favour of a radical restructuring of the political system or requiring recognize their subjectivity in the political process; or pressure if the opposition group that initiated the protest actions, understand the political leadership of the country, as a legitimized member of the political system. The constitutional meaning of the interpretation of the protest is the ability to create an institutional framework for converting elemental energy protesting masses in active work on the modernization of society and democratic reform.

Summarizing all the told above us can conclude that mass movements do not occur just because some people feel insulted. It may only last until the time until their demands will not be in tune with the challenges of time. Mass movements are the result of the mobilization of dissatisfied citizens. Agreeing with K. Deutsch²² and his concept of „mobilization“, we claim that mobilization is not only to attract a large number of people to move but also to form national identity. The manifestation of modern mass political behaviour in the form of mass movement, protests, „colour revolutions“ ethnic conflicts occur at a time when the nation tries to assimilate part of its population. Then people, for whom there is clear difference between them and others, are making their national identity, based on the feeling of belonging to the group, in order to protect themselves from political, economical and psychological threats. Also important is the relationship between mass political behaviour and institutional effectiveness. If institutions are responding positively to demands that are put before them by a crowd, then there are no grounds for the formation of protest mass actions either.

²⁰ Dollard, John et al.(1939) *Frustration and Aggression*. New Haven, CT. Yale University Press

²¹ Zhyro T. *Politologija Harjkov*, 2006 s.122

²² Deutsch K.W. *Social mobilization and political development // American political science rev.*- Wash., 1961.-Vol.55, № 3.-P. 493-514