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Bachelor Thesis

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**Participating in public protests:
the example of ACTA protests in Estonia**

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Liina Land

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Introduction

Since the singing revolution on the end of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's Estonians have shown relatively little interest in participating in political protests or demonstrations of other nature. The baby boomers that marked the time during the years of Estonia's independence movement have grown up and are having children of their own. Curiously in just the recent year the relatively cool attitude towards public protesting has changed. It began with the protests against ACTA in 11th of February 2012. About 3000 people came out in the bitter cold in two cities – Tallinn and Tartu and participated in the demonstration.

A short introduction to the issues of ACTA is needed here. ACTA stands for anti-counterfeiting trade agreement. The international agreement initiated by USA and Japan seeks to enforce copyright, but is widely criticized to have disproportionately severe options for punishment even for individuals. Critics say that ACTA is a tool for restraining the right of free speech and actively blocks innovation. The 11th of February was an international day for protests against ratifying ACTA in the European Union. Europeans demonstrated to get the attention of their national parliaments for them not to say yes to the agreement. Indeed the Estonian government voted it down and the European parliament as well some months later.

Shortly after the ACTA protests the teachers decided to organize a strike in the 7th – 9th of March 2012. Although their piquet meetings did not have such a high attendance or concentration (their meetings were spread all over Estonia), they still had a wide coverage in the media.

The year 2012 continued with a very public strike of the healthcare workers, which lasted for 25 days and was widely covered by the local media.

This may not sound impressive in the light of established democracies experience where it is normal to encounter several well-attended protests, strikes or demonstrations a week. In Estonia though it is quite remarkable and the new wave began with protests against ACTA. Therefore I find it most important to investigate what determines the decision to participate in such events.

The thesis is: what kind of perceived outcomes and value expectancy determine the participation in a public protest?

It is an important question to answer because of the developing of civil society in Estonia. Participating in a protest is a form of showing ones opinion of public issues. Determining the value expectancy of participants and non-participants allows to draw conclusions on how to better address the problem of low turn-out to public protests so far, develop strategies on how to get a higher participation on future protests and therefore give a better chance of success to Estonian civil society.

I find that there is much to learn from these events in the light of value expectancy theory (or expectancy-value model). This thesis will test the value expectancy theory against the ACTA protests case. The thesis also discusses in the first chapter the causes to protest, different kinds of protest and organizing a protest as well as value expectancy theory and other theories that could be used to investigate protest participation. With the background sorted out, the next chapter – discussion of empirical findings will help find out what exactly makes Estonians protest.

In the second chapter I shall demonstrate empirical framework for this thesis. It consists of behavioral alternatives, perceived outcomes and individual and cause related value expectancy. This data is collected in two methods – interviews with the organizers and a survey for the participants/non-participants. The interviews and the survey will help find a relation on how people decided to participate.

In the conclusion I hope to give some insight to the reasons on why estonians participate in demonstrations or do not.

1 Theoretical framework

1.1 Defining and expanding the terms demonstration and protest

To start to define political demonstration, that is the subject of this study, one must start with the historical framework. A suitable framework from which political demonstrating stems from, might be considered to be the framework of civil resistance.

Roberts and Carter, who published an extensive research of civil resistance starting with Gandhi and ending with the most recent public protests until the year 2009 have also gone into the definitions and history of civil resistance:

Civil resistance, which has occurred in various forms throughout history, has become particularly prominent in the past hundred years. Three great overlapping causes – decolonization, democratization, and racial equality – have been advanced by campaigns of civil resistance characterized by extensive use of non-violent action. So have many other causes: worker's rights, protection of the environment, gender equality, religious and indigenous rights, defense of national cultures and political systems against foreign encroachments, and opposition to wars and weaponry. (Roberts and Carter 2009:25)

Civil resistance is a type of political action that relies on the use of non-violent methods. (Roberts et Carter; 2009:25) The possibilities and practices of civil resistance are wide. Demonstrating is but one possible method. In fact 198 different methods of non-violent action have been listed by Gene Sharp –Professor Emeritus of political Science at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth and author of an extensive collection of literature on the topic of Non-violent struggle. According to his list, this paper discusses method 48 – Protest meetings. (Sharp 1973)

As protest meetings is just one possible method of civil resistance, civil resistance is discussed in order to bring some light into the origin, reasons and evolution of civil resistance.

Carter helps us define the term civil resistance through these criteria: the actions challenge a particular power, force, policy or regime – hence the word resistance; the movements goals are civil in the sense of being widely shared in a society and it denotes that the action concerned is non-military or non-violent in character – hence the word civil. (Roberts et Carter 2009:25)

As the term “demonstration” is used quite often in this paper, here is an attempt at a definition. The Oxford dictionary defines “demonstration” as a public meeting or a march at which people show that they are protesting against or supporting somebody/someone. One other possible definition is to give proof or evidence of something. (Ed. Wehmeier: 2000) Public demonstrating or protesting is therefore also proving to the relevant focus groups such as the society in general, the government or a corporation that there is an issue to be addressed. The issue is mostly, but not always the reason for people to participate in public protests.

The word “protest” comes from the latin word *protestari* (*pro* is a pronoun for publicly and *testari* means assert – publicly assert). A protest according to the dictionary is a statement or an action expressing disapproval or objection to something. It also means an organized public demonstration expressing strong objection to an official policy or course of action (Ed. Wehmeier; 2000)

Another term that is mentioned in this paper is “social movement” although this paper does not concentrate on that line of distinction. Social movement is mentioned in this paper in contrast with spontaneously formed groups. Social movement is something that has an established social group to advocate for and does so quite often as a movement or an organization (Womens rights, LGBT ect.). A spontaneously formed group differs in the sense that it is not organized long before a protest meeting. A political problem arises, people gather in a common interest, but do not identify themselves as a group but through the single cause.

According to Carter the usage of non-violent resistance is booming as a strategy: There is also now a growing awareness that civil resistance can be a successful strategy. This awareness stems from the power of example; but it has also been promoted by the growing literature on civil resistance. (Roberts et Carter; 2009:48) It has become common practice in democratic societies to voice ones opinion through these methods. This opinion is supported by daily news that relay demonstrations and protest happening on different agendas every day. And these are just the actions that have become international news. There are probably even more actions that make the national news or even just the local news. There are also the other kind of actions – the violent ones – but these are not the subject of this study.

To add a historical perspective there are some non-violent actions promoters who are often mentioned in the studies relating to demonstrations. These are: Mahatma Gandhi (apartheid), Martin Luther King (segregation), Kenneth Kaunda (independence struggle of Zambia), Vaclav Havel (Prague Spring), Aung San Suu Kyi (pro-democracy movement in Burma) and Adolfo Perez Esquivel (human rights in Argentina).

The historical turning point for both the practice and the theory of civil resistance is Mahatma Gandhi, whose campaigns in South Africa in 1906-14, and in India in 1919-48, put non-violent methods on the political map. There are earlier examples of social movements using non-violent tactics and some examples of national liberation campaigns based on passive resistance, for example in Hungary 1849-67 and Ireland before the 1916 Easter Uprising. However, after Gandhi civil resistance became a conscious option, although guerrilla warfare often appeared the more effective or more heroic choice. (Roberts et Carter 2009:49) The evolution of non-violent political action has evolved from the “Big Agendas” like apartheid and human rights listed in the above to other (smaller perhaps) subjects, one of which is the case study of this paper.

There is an idea behind each civil resistance act. The Big Ones and the small ones both inspire people to voice their opinions. When looking at the big issues like fighting apartheid or national independence and comparing them to the issues more often protested about at this time there might be a qualitative difference. Yet again there are big issues resisted in our times aswell. Maybe, when the most important issues have been settled the smaller ones take the stage and become important. In a democratic state this is a beautiful development.

1.2 Literature review

This chapter will explain the different theoretical frameworks that have been developed to explain why people choose to participate in protests. Firstly other theories are briefly introduced and then Value Expectancy Theory is explained more in depth and the reasoning behind choosing this theory out of the ones available is explained. Value expectancy theory (VET) or expectancy-value model is a version of the theory of rational action (Eagly and Chaiken 1993:231-241). The theory of rational action is based upon the well-known theory of rational choice in economics. Theories often evolve using bits

and parts from previous theories and customize them to fit the needs of the theorist and the case of study.

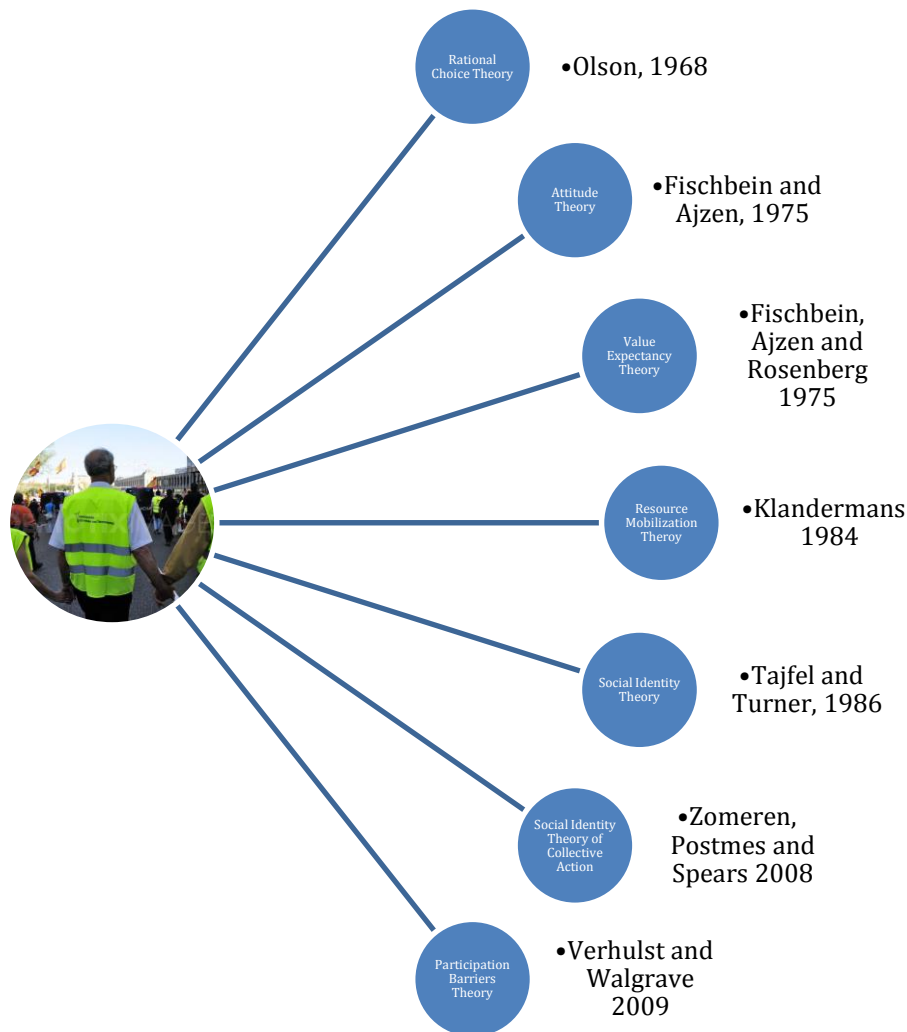


Figure 1 - Diagram of the Theories Discussing Protest Participation

The diagram above gives a short overview of the different theories and the timeframe all of which will be introduced more thoroughly below.

All theories have interesting aspects that give nuances to the reasons why people participate in protests. This list is by far not conclusive, but highlights some of the earlier theories as well as newer ones. It also shows us the evolution of theories and the merging of psychology, social sciences and political sciences. It is important to understand that these theories might not have been developed with public protest investigation in mind, but as ideas develop, they have all successfully been used to explain said issue from different angles.

1.2.1 Rational Choice Theory

Rational Choice Theories (RCT) general model proposes three propositions. Firstly that preferences of individual actors are conditions for their behavior. Secondly that behavior depends on the constraints or behavioral opportunities the individual is faced with. Thirdly that individuals choose between the behavioral alternatives open to them by maximizing their utility. (Opp, 2009:3) A theory that has the word “rational” in it assumes that all people make their decisions based upon careful consideration of costs and benefits. However, rational theories have the problem of being too rational to fit in the real world. This is why this thesis does not rely on it. Indeed Olson (1968) suggested that rational actors do not contribute to collective good unless there are persuasive selective incentives. Instead the rational actors first concern is the individual benefit. So in order to find out if people join a protest because of ideological views the RCT is not the best model because it handles people's choices in the light of what is the best outcome for them individually, but does not concern the possibility that people might protest for the idea only with no real benefits on their individuals as an outcome. As this research does not want to dismiss the possibility of just supporters of the cause rather than direct beneficiaries, one must look for other suitable theories. The perfect world is a good place to start though, and the VET is a newer model that can be applied to the emotional factors of protests and demonstrations with more ease.

1.2.2 Attitude Theory

Attitude Theory, which is developed partly by the same scientist (Fischbein) that came up with Value Expectancy theory. In this light the Attitude Theory is partly a foreganger for VET so it must be considered. The theory links the attitude towards an object or situation to different aspects of the object/situation. The aspects already have either positive or negative evaluations for an individual. The attitude towards the object/situation is determined by what the individuals attitudes are towards the aspects and therefore how he perceives the object/situation in general. (Fischbein, Ajzen 1975) To illustrate: if one or several of the public supporters of the protest is not held in high regard (disliked) by a potential protester; if the agitators of the protest have held previous unsuccessful protests; if some of the supporting organizations stand for ideas the potential protester does not like. All these aspects contribute to the forming an attitude

about the social movement/protest itself. All these examples were of the negative range of aspects. This theory focuses mainly on the attitudes towards the aspects which are already known about the event to come or can be assumed. This theory also tells us why people choose to participate or not to participate in protest, but it does not tell us their beliefs if they think the protest will be successful or not and it does not link the beliefs to attitudes.

1.2.3 Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory is also suggested by Opp (2009) as one of the frameworks to study protest participation. However, it seems a very specific theory and probably fares better for very specific group protests (Gay Pride parades come to mind). Henri Tajfel and John Turner suggest that if a person finds that the social group that he is a member of is perceived to have lower social status then that individual's social status is diminished. Therefore as "individuals strive to achieve or to maintain positive social identity /.../ When social identity is unsatisfactory individuals will strive either to leave their existing groups /.../ or make their group more positively distinct." (Tajfel and Turner 1986:16) As an example, if gays find that they as a social group are not perceived as positively than for example straight people they either "go back to the closet" or rally to raise awareness of gay couples. In this example the leaving of the social group is probably not that much of an option. This theory is not ideal for this study because of the nature of the ACTA protests. This study probably helps to explain protests of established social movement groups such as GLBT movement (Gay Lesbian, Bisexual Transgender), womens' rights movements, equal rights movements and so on. Because there the distinction of social status is one of the main topics. Such protests as the protest against ACTA brings together many social groups with the same habits or interests due to their work or hobbies.

1.2.4 Social Identity Model of Collective Action

Social Identity Model of Collective Action is similarly to Social Identity Theory a model for protest participation for established groups. Martijn van Zomeren, Tom Postmes, and Russell Spears refined a model from 1965 by Mancur Olson about collective action to include perceived injustice, perceived efficacy and social identity. Meta analysis with the three separately showed that all of them affect the group decision to participate in public protests but interrelated results show that these three aspects work together in making

people protest. (Zomeran, Postmes, Spears 2008) This result suggests that taken separately the perceived injustice for instance would not result in the decision to participate in a protest, but people actually make a decision to participate when perceived injustice, perceived efficacy and social identity all have an urgency in the decision-making process. Although this theory is quite extensive and also the latest it still is meant for social groups and social movements that have established circles. To find out however why Estonians decided to participate in a protest first time over a long time and quite spontaneously and without an established social movement group to lead the action, this theory will not do. We need something that includes the choices of individuals. This theory would be a very good fit for investigating the other protests in the recent history of Estonia like the medical workers protest and the teachers protests, because these can be viewed as established groups.

1.2.5 Theory of Participation Barriers

Another relevant theory is the Theory of Participation Barriers. Joris Verhulst and Stefaan Walgrave used this to study first-timers to public protests in 2009. The idea is that there are different kinds of barriers to overcome in order to actually participate in a protest. As they concentrate on first-timers they conclude that there are more barriers for them and therefore it is harder to mobilize them. They also stress that first-timers are a very valuable resource for social movements and public protest in general as they are always a considerable part of the protesters. (Verhulst, Walgrave 2009). In the light of Rational Choice Theory these would be called costs. This theory does not take into account the ideological issues that people might be thinking of while deciding to participate but discusses the overcoming of obstacles. It is as if everybody is a potential protester, but some have more barriers to go and do not therefore get to participate. In some sense this is definitely true. The pool of potential participants is in all probability much larger than the amount that finally shows up. This theory might be suitable to investigate the Estonian case in the sense that a vast majority of participants to ACTA protests were first-timers. Therefore it is definitely a viable option for further study in the future with a wider focus than is appropriate for a bachelors thesis.

1.2.6 Value Expectancy Theory

VET was originally used to try to explain people's attitudes towards objects or situations. The model was put together in the sixties and developed in the seventies by Martin Fischbein, whose original field is psychology. Icek Ajzen and Milton Rosenberg from the same field of study were also the advocates of Value Expectancy Theory testing it, developing it and adding their contributes to develop new theories such as Theory of Reasoned Action and Theory of Planned Behavior. As with other theories and models VET also has many uses in the social sciences. Some of the fields of study include marketing and economics. Expectancy-Value Model (a somewhat simplified version of VET) is developed in different studies for example by Covington and Roberts or Eccles and Wigfield to study students motivations to learn. These theories are also popular in educational studies because it they give a good visualization of motivation and achievement¹.

Value Expectancy Theory assumes that individuals perceive certain alternatives of action. The decision to choose one of these alternatives depends on the perceived behavioral consequences of said courses of action. For each behavioral consequence its utility (profit) and the expected probability that it occurs are multiplied. As there may be several profits or disadvantages for each course of action they are added up to give the behavioral alternatives a value. It is assumed that the individual chooses the behavioral alternative that has the highest score (Opp 2009:6). Therefore the individual not only calculates the costs and benefits but also the likelihood of something happening and other values that might come from choosing a course of action. This is what creates the motivation to choose a specific course of action – how much one values the perceived outcome and what is the likelihood of that happening. If the likelihood is high and the benefit is substantial then the individual – in theory – makes the decision to opt for that behavioral alternative.

Value Expectancy theory gives us variables such as “belief strength in a possible outcome” and “perceived values associated with the possible outcome” that are ranked

¹ There are several examples of adaptations and illustrations on educational studies pages, one of which is an explanatory video that can be found here: <http://education-portal.com/academy/lesson/expectancy-value-theory-age-gender-ethnicity-differences.html#lesson>

on the bases of the likelihood of them happening. The variable's numeric values are correlated because the theory suggests that they amplify each other. This is why the research accompanying this thesis is based on that. Emotional choices are difficult to map and a decision whether to participate in a protest is a rather emotional choice. It is assumable that people who come to public protests are often in an agitated state of mind because of the feeling of injustice. As Fischbein suggests a model where beliefs and hopes amplify each other, this model seems to be very appropriate for analyzing individual choices.

Fischbein expressed the system algebraically as follows:

$$A_o = \sum_{i=1}^N B_i a_i$$

Where: B_i is the strength of belief i in the perceived outcome; a_i is the perceived value of the outcome; A stands for attitude; N marks the number of number of beliefs. (Cohen, Fischbein, Ahtola 1972: 456-457)

In the light of this work: the mental calculation that takes place inside an individuals head in order to formulate an attitude (A) towards a behavioral alternative / course of action (o) is calculated by summing all the correlations between perceived outcomes (B) and expected value predictions (a) associated with said behavioral alternative.

Following this formula some assumptions can be made. Firstly, that there can be any number of beliefs. Secondly, that the more positive correlations of perceived outcomes and expected value the more likely the decision to participate will be positive. Thirdly there might be an equal amount of positively and negatively valued beliefs and that evens out the result. The likelihood of participating decreases.

1.2.7 Resource Mobilization Theory

A literature review on the subject of protest participation has to include Bert Klanderman's Resource Mobilization Theory. This is an expansion of Value-Expectancy Theory with the added variable of *expectations about the behavior of others* to - as the author puts it - "make this framework applicable to movement participation" (Klandermans 1984:583) As this theory also focuses on social movements it is perhaps

not the best one to use to explain Estonian ACTA protest phenomenon because there was no distinct social movement behind the protest but rather a spontaneous event (although a social movement may have grown out of the protest).

1.3 Protest and protest participation in Estonia

Until lately protest participation in Estonia has been low. However it should not be assumed that it is because in Estonia public issues can be sorted out through the proper channels in bureaucracy (and therefore there's no need to protest). In the next paragraphs data will be introduced to support that reasoning.

Protest Participation is a well-studied aspect of protest according to our literature review in section 1.2. This paper is written in the belief that it is important for a successful protest to have a critical mass of protesters. A larger number of protesters depending on the environment (size of the area ect) is usually more impressive to see on the news, a crowd of people is more easily noticed than a handful and the more voices to chant the further the noise spreads, are a part of that reasoning. As seen in Figure 1 (European Social Survey) there are countries such as France and Spain where it is more usual to participate in public demonstrations and there are countries in which it is highly uncommon. The countries where people participate in the least lawful public demonstrations a year are Poland, Finland, Hungary and Estonia. Even if not compared to the highest participation rates, but the European average of 6.3, Estonia's score of 2.48 is considerably low. This data is compiled from 5 different rounds of European Social Survey data, so it should give us a reliable average result.

Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months

Country	Yes 2012	Yes 2010	Yes 2008	Yes 2006	Yes 2004	2004- 2012
Poland	2.4	2.1	1.6	1.4	1.6	1.82
Finland	1.5	1.4	2.5	2.2	2	1.92
Hungary		2.7	2.2	3.3	1.4	2.4
Estonia	4	2	2.1	2.3	2	2.48
Lithuania		2.5				2.5
Slovenia	3.4	2.2	1.6	3.9	1.6	2.54
Slovakia	3.5	1.9	1.8	2.9	3.7	2.76
Netherlands	3	2.5	3.3	3.2	4.3	3.26
Cyprus	4.8	4.1	2.3	2.4		3.4
Bulgaria	5.5	2.6	3.6	2.2		3.475
United Kingdom	3.5	2.4	3.9	4.4	3.9	3.62
Romania			3.7			3.7
Turkey			4.4		3.8	4.1
Portugal	7.4	3	3.7	3.5	3.5	4.22
Russian Federation	4.1	3.7	5.3	5		4.525
Czech Republic	6.7	4.6	4.2		3.3	4.7
Austria				4.1	7.1	5.6
Sweden	7.3	4.9	6.4	4.8	7.5	6.18
Switzerland	4.4	3.9	7.5	7	8.4	6.24
Avarage	6.9	5.6	5.8	5.8	7.4	6.3
Belgium	5.2	6.4	7.4	7.6	6.5	6.62
Denmark	4.3	7.7	9.3	7.5	5.4	6.84
Latvia			6.9			6.9
Greece		10.3	5.9		4.8	7
Ireland	10.5	6.5	9.2	4.8	5.6	7.32
Croatia		7.7	7.5			7.6
Israel	11	7.1	6.8			8.3
Germany	9.1	8.3	8	7.3	9.3	8.4
Kosovo	8.4					8.4
Ukraine		3.6	4.5	7.7	20.3	9.025
Norway	9.6	9.6	7.2	8.3	10.6	9.06
France		17.1	14.6	14.8	12.3	14.7
Iceland	17.8				15.4	16.6
Spain	25.9	18.2	15.9	18.2	33.6	22.36

Figure 2 - European Social Survey, 2004-2012

One explanation for this is argued by Taehyun Nam, that democracies with weaker legislatures experience higher levels of protest, than do democratic regimes with stronger legislatures. (Nam 2007:107) Nam has determined which countries have stronger and weaker legislatures by analyzing the power of legislature (structure in which the laws are made). The logic is that the weaker the legislature is, the more difficult it is for community leaders to communicate needed changes in the running of the state to the state via normal

channels. The more the system is structured the easier it is to change the system in a manner that does not need public demonstrations. Nam's theory and data differ from the European Social Survey however. As we can see there are the average on 8.4 public demonstrations a year that the average German takes part in. Yet Nam positions (see Figure 2) Germany as the most powerful legislature with accordingly high checking power. The same applies to Norway (9.06) and Iceland with a remarkably high average (16.6). These are usually understood to be established democracies with strong legislative power. Perhaps it is considered democratic behavior to demonstrate?

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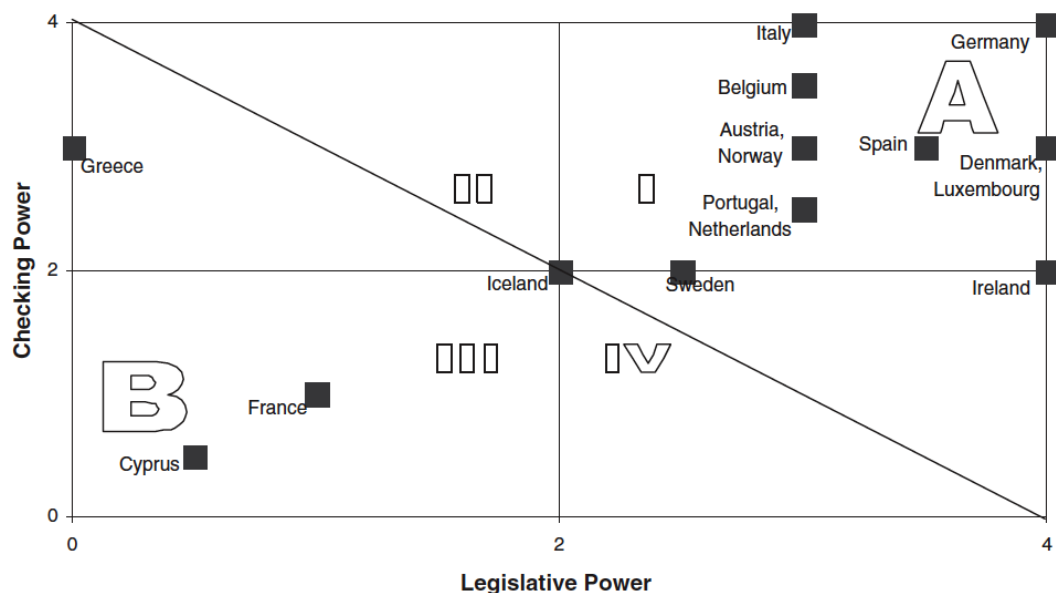


Figure 3 - Patterns of powers of legislatures (Nam 2007:109)

The next survey will probably show higher participation numbers. However it does support the self-image of Estonians, that Estonians do not often take part in protests and did not participate in demonstrations much before the year 2010. It might be argued that quite a lot of residents of Estonia did participate in the Bronze Solider protest². However this was definitely not a lawful way to express a public opinion and needs a whole different approach and research. The reason for introducing Nam's findings and compare

² The Bronze Solider protest – on the night between the 26th of April and the 27th of April approximately 1500 young people mostly from the Russian minority created unrest in the city-center of Tallinn. The authorities and policemen were attacked with stones. Streets, kiosks and some butiques were vandalized. The reason for the unrest was the aerchological diggings at a 2nd World War grave cite and planned removal of the "Bronze Solider" monument from the cite to a war greaveyard in Tallinn.

it to European Social Surveys data is to show that until now the low participation in public protests in Estonia is not perhaps because all problems can be sorted out via proper channels in the state bureaucracy and this would be the main reason of protesting/not protesting.

From 2009-2012 there have been the total of 16 rallies and 25 pickets registered with the Police- and Boarder Guard Board. (See Figure 3). The majority of other public meeting registrations regarded small events such as the Tibetan monks moving from National Museum to the river Emajõgi to dispose of the blessed sands and proceedings of other sorts. The pickets and rallies in general hardly had media coverage and the participation is generally perceived low. This is also backed up by the European Social Survey data. However people do register and organize rallies and pickets.

Public gatherings registered with the police 2009-...			
Area	Rallies	Pickets	
North Prefecture	3	19	
South Prefecture	7	1	
West Prefecture	6	3	
East Prefecture	0	2	

Figure 4 - Registered Rallies and Pickets in Prefectures (compiled information from the Police and Boarder Guard Board database)

2 Empirical study

2.1 Methodology

After choosing the Value Expectancy Model to test in this study, 3 interviews were held over skype with 3 organizers of the protests. These interviewees were chosen according to some recommendations from participants and people close to the circle of organizers on who might be willing to share their insights yet would still be key-figures in the organizing of the ACTA protests in Estonia. The aim was to interview first the people closely related to the subject and organizing of the public gathering and then with their input survey participants and non-participants. The interviews took 15-30 minutes each and focused on the background of the protests. During the interviews the survey questions were discussed and in some cases modified per the suggestions of the interviewees. As

the survey questions were not based on any previous survey but designed for this study, they needed to be vetted by people who might be considered experts on this specific protest. For example the expected values were described more efficiently as the result of the interviews.

A survey with 84 participants was held via an online survey tool called the SurveyMonkey (www.surveymonkey.net). The survey was held online and distributed via social media and the e-mail list of the social movement called Eesti Interneti Kogukond (Estonian Internet Society). As the target group of the ACTA protests was the Internet community these channels seemed accurate to notify and invite to fill out the survey. The survey is added to this paper in PDF format as Appendix 1. During 3 days over a 100 people took the time to think about their perceived outcomes to the protest and what kind of gains and losses they were calculating for themselves. The survey was designed to help find out what values the respondents expected to grow or diminish because of the protest and if they participated. Comparing these two aspects allows us to draw some conclusions.

2.1.1 The ACTA demonstrations in Estonia – case study

As part of the empirical work interviews were held with some of the organizing group of the ACTA demonstrations in Tallinn and Tartu. The three interviewees were Jaagup Irve (advisory functions to the preparation of the demonstration, one of the speakers at the event); Elmar Loho (organizing team member, preparing the press conference prior to the main event) and Siim Tuisk (coordinating the demonstration in Tartu)

According to the interviews with the Estonian Internet Society members, the organizers (except Jaagup Irve) had no previous experience with participating in a protest let alone organizing one. This is one other reason the case of ACTA protests is so curious.

Their process started with finding out that a lot of people had already registered in Facebook to participate in a demonstration that had no organizers. They quickly contacted the creators of these events and Estonian Internet Society (MTÜ Eesti Interneti Kogukond (EIK)) decided to help host the demonstrations in Tartu and Tallinn. As Elmar Loho points out: “By a close call we managed to register the demonstrations */with the Police- and Boarder Guard Board – ed. note/*. Since we had so many participants coming, at least in Tallinn. The police had us move to the Vabaduse square a day before the protest.”

The organizing of these events in Tartu and Tallinn were chaotic. “A week of running around, organizing, the press conference and on the moment when the prime minister preformed his “mushroom speech” I was at home printing brochures /.../ That same evening with the help of Juku-Kalle Raid /*Estonian Parliament member*/ we smuggled the brochures to the parliament assembly hall and laid them out on the tables. We went into the dark hall and put them on every table.”

Everything happened at once, the organizers however are on the opinion that the protest was a success and the survey held for this thesis supports that opinion as seen on the Figure 4.

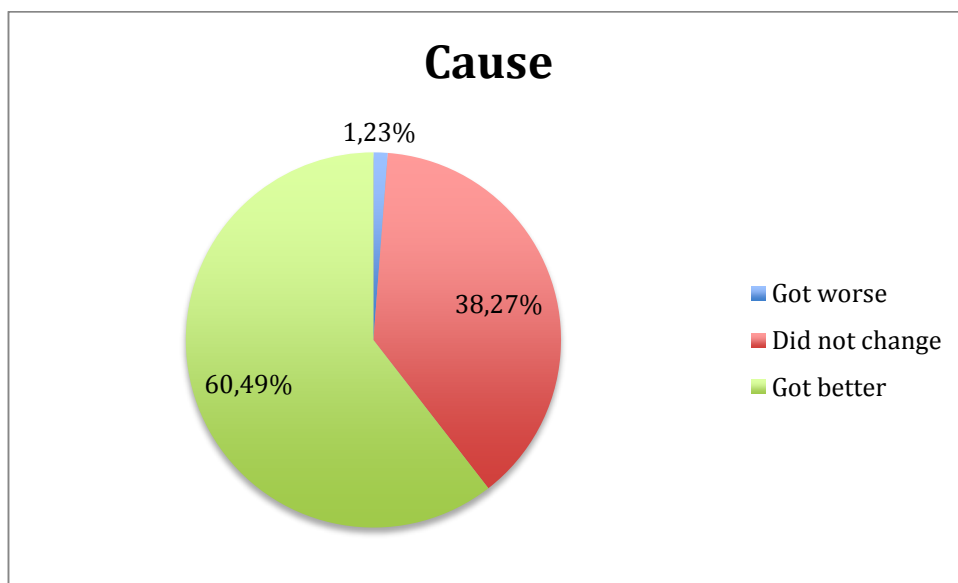


Figure 5 - What did the public protest accomplish in the aspect of the cause; all respondents?

Siim Tuisk comments on the accomplishment: “Because the amount of people /*participating ed. note*/ even took the government by surprise so the attitude changed noticeably after the protest.”

This is quite a remarkable change of attitude because just a week before the protest the Prime Minister tried to diminish the protesters by ridiculing them: “/.../you know – the ones making such comments have probably eaten seeds and not the kinds that we plow on our fields. Usually when people have such doubts, it may help to put a peace of foil in ones hat. Some think that a bubble bath might help.” This speech is probably one of the best known by the Prime Minister Andrus Ansip. It has over 15 000 views in YouTube.

It is probably safe to assume that this speech was at least a part of a reason why so many people showed up at the protest (eating seeds and wearing tin-foil hats).

2.1.2 Value expectancy

2.1.2.1 Methodology

To analyze the data gathered in the empirical work, this paper uses a modified version of the Value Expectancy Theory. Only the actual value expectancy is analyzed together with who chose to participate in the public protest and who did not. By looking what kind of expectancies the participant and non-participants had, we can draw some (simplified) conclusions on the “why”.

In the survey value expectancy could be rated in two groups. The first group was titled “Self related value expectancy” and included the following categories: risk to oneself (if the respondent expected to be physically or mentally harmed from taking part of the protest), financial gain (if the respondent expected to spend money he otherwise would not be spending – maybe because of a fine or expenses on transportation ect), social capital (if the respondent expected to make new beneficial social connections or loose some because of the participating) and reputation amongst peers (if the respondent expected to gain or loose popularity amongst friends because of participating).

The second group was titled “Cause related expectancy” and included the following categories: civil society (if the respondent believed the protest would be beneficial to the state of civil society in Estonia or not), political culture (if the respondent believed the political culture in Estonia would benefit or not from the protest) and cause (if the respondent the protest would be affecting the cause in a positive or a negative way).

The groups have been merged in the two tables in the interest of better overview but this distinction is believed by the author to bring better clarity to the difference of valuesets people could have. It could be generalized that the first group of values are selfish and the second “the bigger picture”.

The data obtained with the survey was divided into two groups – the participants (Figure 9) and the non-participants (Figure 10). To draw some conclusions these two groups were tested against different variables described above. In the two charts above it can be seen,

what kind of value gain or loss the two groups anticipated from the ACTA protest in the different value categories.

The answering mechanism gave 3 possibilities to each value – “-1” things would get worse; “0” things would remain the same; “1” things would become better. In the tables above the scores represent the average of all the answers presented in two groups – the Participants and Non-Participants.

2.1.2.2 Findings

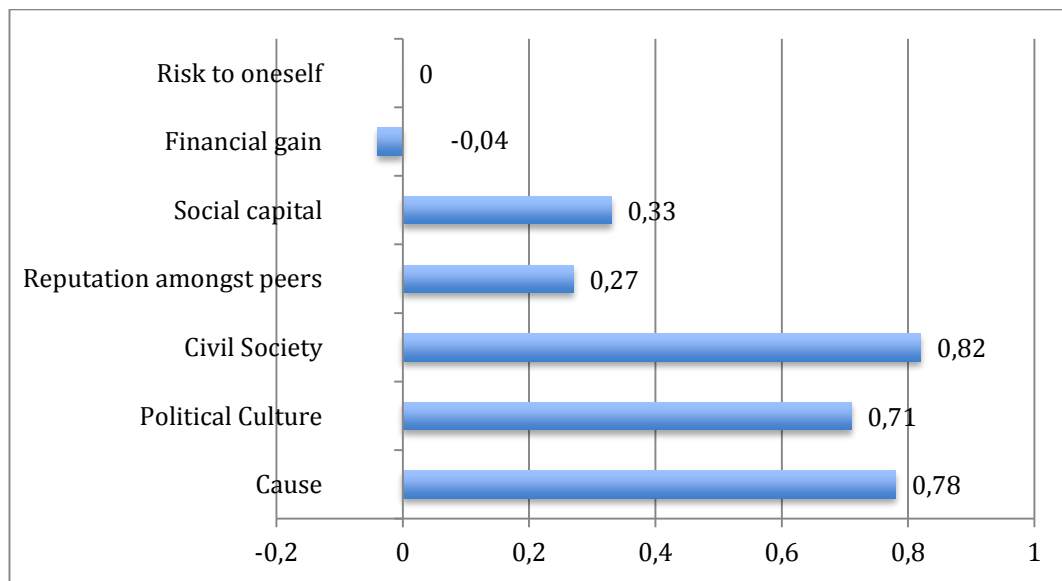


Figure 6 - Participants

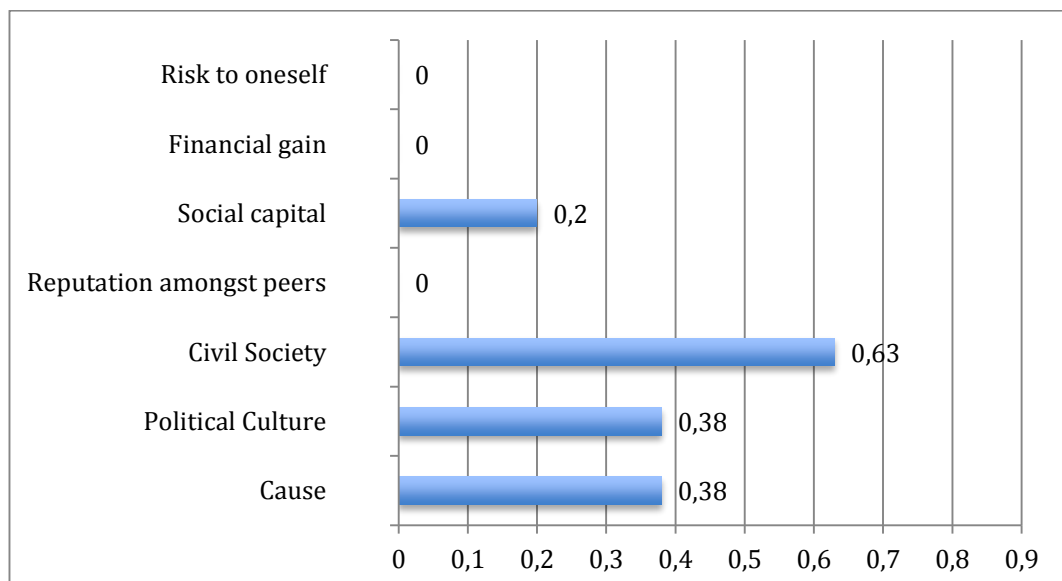


Figure 7 - Non-Participants

On the whole the participants had higher value expectancy with the total score of (sum of averages in all categories with the highest possible score would be 7) 2.87 on the other hand the non-participants have the score of 1.59 in value expectancy. This gives reason to presume that people who participated did so because they expected general improvement from the protest. However the general expectation is not high when regarding that the maximal possible result would be “7”. This could be reasoned in two ways. Primarily that the respondents really expected little or no improvement to the different values. Secondly it could be theorized that since a larger public demonstration had not happened in a while then people genuinely did not know what to expect.

What the two groups – the participants and the non-participants – have in common is that they both expected moderate positive results in general. This leads to believe that the non-participants did not choose not to participate because of negative value expectancy but because of less value expectancy than the participants. Another common aspect is that the highest value expectancy was regarded by both groups to be in the Civil Society improvement department. Cause related expectancies were rated higher in both groups than self related value expectancies. Either group expected any risk to their persons.

It is interesting to note that the only negative average value was given by the participants group to the financial aspect. The non-participant group had no negative results. However the non-participant group did evaluate many of the aspects as “nothing would change” in the self related value expectancy part. In three out of four elements in that lost they scored a result of “0” – risk to oneself, financial gain and reputation amongst peers.

From these findings some teachings were synthesized by the author of the study to the demonstration organizer of the future. The do’s and don’ts are a guess toward the potential participants frame of mind – its hopes and fears. The next suggestions are designed in the method of maximizing the positive, minimizing the negative and disregarding the neutral. These guidelines are drawn from the specific case of the ACTA protest study so they should be approached critically when adapting to different protests.

How to maximize participation:

1. Emphasize the benefits to the development of the civil society. How can a successful protest develop the civil society?

2. Emphasize the benefits to the cause. Why is it important to the cause that people participate?
3. Emphasize the benefits to the political culture. How does a protest affect the political culture in the country?
4. Play on the selfish side of peoples mentalities. How can participation make one more popular or help find new beneficial contacts?
5. Either minimize the (indirect) costs of the event to the participant or make clear calculations on what and how much the participant is expected to spend in relation to your event. (Transport, food, donations, piquet materials such as posters ect)
6. Do not waste energy or attention to clarifying the risks, because risk is perceived very low anyway.

Conclusions

The goal of this research was to test if the Value Expectancy Theory applies to the Estonian case of ACTA protests. It cannot be said that there just aren't that many protest organized in Estonia for people to participate in and it also cannot be said that Estonians have no history of participating in demonstrations. The singing revolution was in itself a big, peaceful, proactive demonstration that hundreds of thousands of people participated in. Estonia is also a democratic country with democratic rights and the right to protest against something that is perceived harmful to the society is not illegal.

The aim was to find out what kind of perceived outcomes and value expectancy determine the participation in a public protest. The year 2012 brought three good examples of well-attended public protests - ACTA being the biggest and first of those. The empirical data gathered shows that expected value played a role in the decision making process.

People who thought the outcome would be positive or very positive and also expected a gain in personal related and goal and democracy related values chose to actively participate in the protest.. On the other hand the people who predicted less gain in personal related and goal and democracy related values decided not to participate.

It can be concluded that attendance relies on how much the organizers can make their audience believe that the goal is reachable. Media coverage and Facebook help of course on that path.

Resümee

Osalemine avalikes protestiakttsioonides ACTA vastaste protestide näitel on uurimus eestlaste leigest suhtumisest protestimisse ning miks 2012. aastal ACTA vastased protestid üle 3000 inimese piketeerima tõid. Eestlaste viimased suured protestid jäävad laulva revolutsiooni aegadesse ning selle aja lapsed on praeguseks saanud noorteks täiskasvanuteks. 2012. aasta tõi endaga kaasa ka õpetajate streigi märtsis ning tervishoiutöötajate streigi oktoobris.

See ei pruugi tunduda muljetavaldav võrreldes riikidega, kus toimub 3 streiki ja piketti nädalas, kuid Eesti jaoks on see oluline poliitilise kliima muutus. Kuna see kõik sai alguse ACTA vastastest protestidest, mis oli ka suurima avaliku protesti osalusega, siis keskendub see uurimus just ACTA protestide uurimisele. Uurimus toetub ootuspäraste väärtuste teooriale (*Value expectancy theory*) ja küsimus, millele otsitakse vastust on missugused ootuslikud tulemused ja ootuspärased väärtused mõjutasid inimesi osalema avalikus protestiakttsioonis.

Töö on jaotatud teooria ja empiirilise analüüsi peatükkidesse. Teoorias arutatakse ootuspäraste väärtuste teooria tagamaid ja põhjendatakse just selle teooria valikut uurimaks protestiakttsiooni ebatavaliselt kõrget osalust. Räägitakse ka avaliku demonstratsiooni olemusest, protesti osalusest ja demonstratsiooni organiseerimisest. Nende teemade lõikes arutatakse ka teisi võimalikke põhjuseid, miks inimesed protestides osalevad või ei osale.

Selle uurimistöö käigus viidi läbi intervjuud Tallinna ja Tartu ACTA vastaste protestiakttsioonide läbiviijatega ning internetipõhine küsitlus protestides osalenud ja mitte osalenud inimestega. Nende materjalide põhisel analüüsitakse inimeste ees olnud käitumuslikke alternatiive, protestist oodatud tulemusi ning isiklikke ja protesti eesmärgiga seotud väärtusi, mida inimesed võisid oodata.

Empiirilisel saadud kindlaks tehtud, et inimesed, kes arvasid, et protesti eesmärk õnnestub, ning kes ootasid ka oma isikule ja protesti eesmärgile häid lisaväärtusi nagu näiteks reputatsiooni paranemine, sotsiaalsõprade suurenemine ja poliitilise kultuuri paranemine Eestis osalesid aktiivselt ka protestiakttsioonis. Vastavalt ka inimesed, kellel mingeid häid ootusi ei olnud või arvasid, et midagi ei muutu paremaks otsustasid pigem koju jääda ja oma ressursse protestimisele mitte kulutada.

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Appendix 1 - Online survey

Osalemine protestiaktsioonides ACTA vastase protesti näitel

Suur tänu, et oled võtnud aega vastata küsimustikule! Hakkam...

Tegemist on Tartu Ülikooli Riigiteaduste Instituudi bakalaureusetööga seotud küsitlusega. Bakalaureuse töö käsitleb inimeste osalemist protestiaktsioonides ja demonstratsioonides Eestis.

Uuringut teostab Liina Land.

Uuringu tulemusi kasutatakse teaduslikel eesmärklidel.

***1. Sugu**

☐ Mees

☐ Naine

***2. Sünniaasta**

3. Kas Te osalesite mingil moel ACTA vastases protestis?

☐ Jah

☐ Ei

4. Kas te olete osalenud mõnes muus demonstratsioonis enne/pärast ACTA vastaseid proteste? Millises?

***5. Millise neist käitumuslikest alternatiividest Te valisite?**

☐ Neutral

☐ Vastu - ei osalenud, sõitsin protesti eesmärgi vastu

☐ Erapooletu - ei osalenud, eesmärk ei huvitanud mind või olin äärmiselt seltsukohal.

☐ Kartlik - ei osalenud, kartsin tagajärgi.

☐ Võimetu - ei saanud osaleda, sest aeg/koht ei sobinud

☐ Kaastundlik - ei saanud osaleda, kuid aitasin muud moodi eesmärgile kaasa (annetus, laenuvõtt jmt.)

☐ Aktiivne - osalesin

☐ Aktiivne - osalesin, aitasin teegi organiseerimisele kaasa

☐ Korraldaja - olin oluline osa korraldustööst

Osalemine protestiaktsioonides ACTA vastase protesti näitel

6. Millist tulemust Te ootasite ACTA vastastest protestidest?

- ☐ Olukord halveneb - seadused karistatavad, protestijaid repressioonitakse, protestijaid saadetakse vangilaagrisse.
- ☐ Mitte midagi ei muutu.
- ☐ Olukord paraneb, kuid mitte protestiaktsiooni tõttu.
- ☐ Olukord paraneb. Poliitika, seadused ja või suhtumine muutub osaliselt tänu avalikule protestiaktsioonile.
- ☐ Olukord paraneb ainult selle pärast, et toimus avalik protestiaktsioon. Aktsioon tõmbas teiste huvigruppide tähelepanu ja kiitis valitsust, et teema on rahvale oluline. Poliitika, seadused ja/või suhtumine paraneb.

Midagi muud?

7. Juhul, kui osalesid ACTA vastases protestis - millist kasu või kahju oskasid oodata enda isikule järgmistes kategooriates?

	Halveneb	Ei muutu	Paraneb
Reputatsioon võrdväärsetes asjades	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sotsiaalne kapital	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Finantsid, raha	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Risk enda heaolu, tervisele, vabadusele	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Midagi muud?

8. Juhul kui osalesid ACTA vastases protestis, siis millist kasu või kahju said järgmistes kategooriates?

	Halvenes	Ei muutunud	Paranes
Reputatsioon võrdväärsetes asjades	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sotsiaalne kapital	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Finantsid, raha	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Risk enda heaolu, tervisele, vabadusele	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Midagi muud?

Osalemine protestiaktsioonides ACTA vastase protesti näitel

*9. Millistes neist aspektidest ootasite kasu/kahju?

	Halveneb	Ei muutu	Paraneb
Protesti eesmärk	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Politiiline kultuur	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kodanikuühiskond	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other (please specify)

*10. Mida protestiaktsioon saavutas järgmistes aspektides?

	Halvenes	Ei muutunud	Paranes
Protesti eesmärk	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Politiiline kultuur	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kodanikuühiskond	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other (please specify)

Kõik!

Suur tänu vastamast! Ilusat suve algust.