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The change of the attitude of Ukrainians to Russia in the conditions of the anti-terrorism operation and humanitarian aid needs of population of Donbass region: the results of sociological researches

Abstract: The article describes the specific features of the new terrorism in the Donbass which has the support of Russia in the struggle for influence on the policy of Ukraine. The terrorist organizations on Donbass are specific territorial units. Using the concept 'state', focusing on the Orthodox faith and idea of 'Russian world' this terrorism has purpose to capture a new territory, intimidation and demoralization of Ukraine and the world community. In the context of anti-terrorist operation in the Donbass region we studied also the dynamic of changing the attitude of Ukrainians to Russia. From December 6 to December 15, 2014 the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) conducted All-Ukrainian poll of public opinion. Deterioration of attitudes towards Russia is observed in all regions. At the same time for studying attitude of Russians to Ukraine the Levada-center in Russia from 23 to 26 January, 2015 conducted a survey on a representative selection for Russian.

The purpose of the second research is monitoring humanitarian aid needs of the residents of Donbass (Donetsk and Lugansk region). The research was conducted by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) in December 2014 (the author of article is one of the organizers of this research). The humanitarian situation in Donbas has deteriorated

during period from December 2014 to September 2015: increased number of respondents who estimate the situation of living conditions as unbearable in their localities. A significant share surveyed population (15%) would like to leave the localities of Lugansk and Donetsk region but they are not able. Despite a distress half of the residents of Donbas are optimistic and unite to help each other.

Keywords: humanitarian aid needs, stressful situations, community security, Ukraine, Donbas, Lugansk, conflict.

Introduction

For studying the dynamic of changing of the attitude of Ukrainians to Russia in the conditional of anti-terrorist operation from December 6 to December 15, 2014, the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) conducted the poll of Ukrainian public opinion. At the same time, the Levada-center in Russia conducted a survey on a representative selection for Russian regarding the attitude of Russians to Ukraine from 23–26 January 2015. Ukrainians had to answer the question: “What is your general attitude to Russia?”. Russians were asked the question: “What is your general attitude to Ukraine?”¹.

Another research was conducted by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) during September 2015, on the demand of the Rinat Akhmetov Humanitarian Center and “Dopomozhemo TV”. The aim of the project was to estimate the humanitarian aid needs of community residents in both regions: Donetsk and Lugansk².

¹ М. Єнін, Як змінилося ставлення України до Росії та населення Росії до України, [in:] Л.Г. Лисенко та ін., Держаний устрій: особливості трансформації, Умань 2015, р. 93.

² V. Paniotto, N. Kharchenko, D. Pyrogoва, M. Ienin, *The research of humanitarian needs in regions of Donetsk and Lugansk*, <http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=en-g&cat=news&id=500&page=10>, 29.01.2015.

The methodical part of research

In the first research (studying the dynamic of changing in the attitude of Ukrainians to Russia), 2011 respondents aged 18 and older were interviewed, from all regions of Ukraine (including Kiev), except the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. The survey was conducted only in the areas controlled by Ukraine in Lugansk region. The survey was conducted in both areas of Donetsk region: territories controlled by Ukraine and territories that are not controlled by Ukraine.

The statistical error of the selection (with probability 0.95 and at design-effect 1.5) doesn't exceed the following: 3.5% for indicators which are close to 50%, 2.8% – for indicators which are close to 25%, 2.0% – for indicators which are close to 10%, 1.4% – close to 5%.

The Levada-center interviewed 1600 respondents, aged 18 years and older, in 130 settlements of 45 regions of the country. The statistical error of the data doesn't exceed 3.4%.

In another research, the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) estimated the humanitarian aid needs of community residents in both regions: Donetsk and Lugansk. The inquiries were held applying the Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing method (CATI). Respondents at the age over 18 were inquired. The sample size: 2101 respondents from 26 most needing communities were inquired in December (It was not possible to hold the inquiry in Pervomaysk due to the telephone communications failure).

The analytical notes on each of the communities were prepared basing on the combination of several data collection methods, applied in sociology:

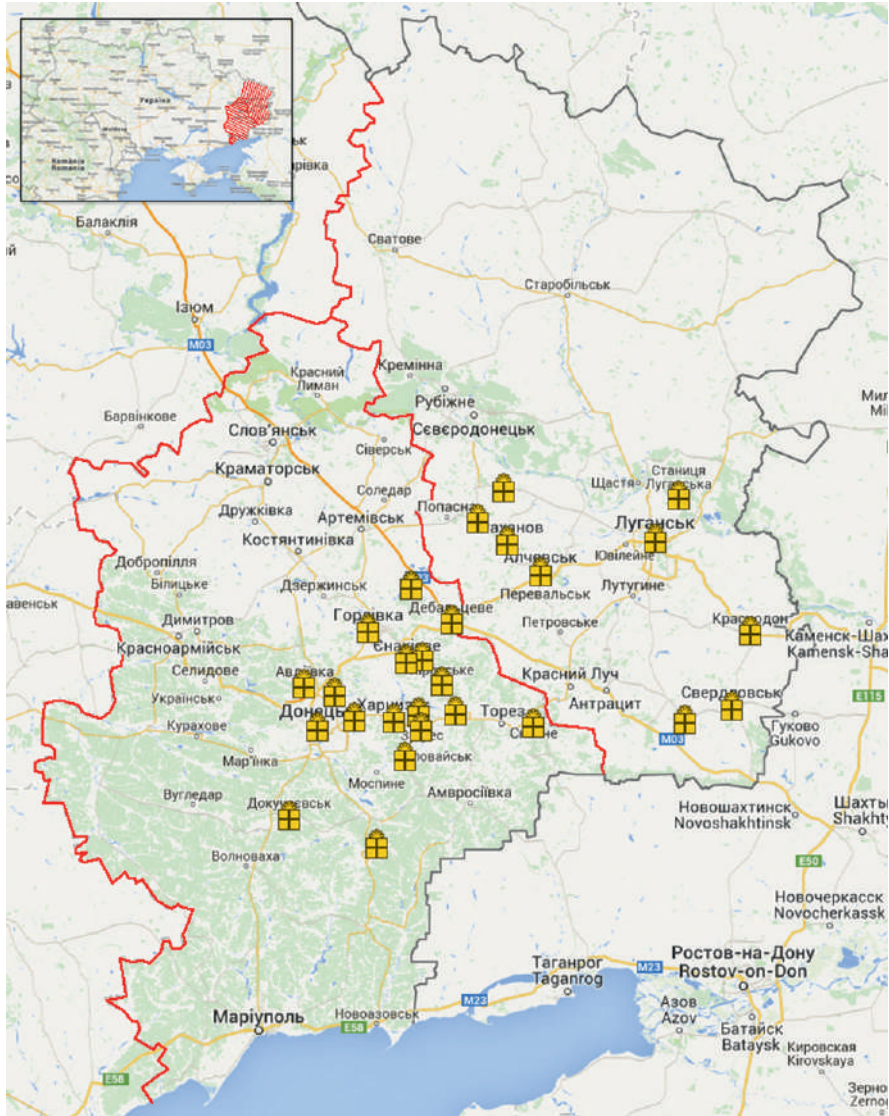
- ethnomethodology method – a behavior research through an empirical observation of daily routines. Local residents are considered to be experts, competent in their everyday experiences.
- participant observation method – an informal collection of research-relevant data, conducted by the researcher himself (mostly notes authors were located in their research communities or quickly conveyed the information to Kyiv).

- expert interview – obtaining unique expert information from professionals in research-relevant areas – medicine (doctors, pharmacists), transportation (operators), humanitarian aid (government and Territorial Social Services Centres employees).
- key informant method – obtaining unique information from people possessing the knowledge of a current situation (taxi drivers, shop assistants and market salesmen) + information from local media.
- social networks monitoring – obtaining unique information from the on-line content, generated by residents in communities of social network VKontakte.

Main results of the research. Donetsk national republic (DNR) and Lugansk national republic (LNR) as new forms of terrorism

Before describing the results of sociological studies conducted in the occupied territories of Ukraine (DNR and LNR), it should be given their short description. The spread of modern terrorism's definition is as follows: "Terrorism is the strategically indiscriminate harming or threat of harming others within a target group in order to advance some political, ideological, social, economic, or religious agenda by influencing members of an audience group in ways believed to be conducive to the advancement of that agenda"³. DNR and LNR are not classical terrorists' movements who are fighting for freedom of a particular nation or for the releasing of a specific territory. For example, the Irish Republican army fought for the independence of Northern Ireland or Palestinian organizations on the Middle East fight for the independence of Palestine. Ukraine has had to deal with terrorism like Islamic terrorism. It is directed against the

³ T. Shanahan, *Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, Edinburg 2009, p. 5.



Inquiry Geography

West for all Muslims not for a specific nation. According to Ahmad S. Moussaili “Islamic state may be seen as an early manifestation of the mass social movements articulating religious and civilizational aspirations and questioning fundamental issues surrounding the morality of technology, the capitalist mode of distribution and upholding popular empowerment, non-state legitimacy, and the non-nation-state paradigms”⁴. It has some idealistic purpose – to defeat and destroy the West and the USA. This terrorism has a purpose to capture a new territory. This new terrorism has a main difference from the so-called classical terrorism. The latest trend of modern terrorism is using of the concept “state”. The terrorist organizations now are not just only some ephemeral structures, they are specific territorial units. The most striking example – it is an “Islamic state” (Islamist international organization operating primarily in Iraq and Syria).

One of the last organizational achievements in the field of terrorism – is the emergence of the Islamic state of Iraq and the Levant (now simply called the Islamic state). This is a new step in the development of terrorism – the word “state” in the name of this organization. And we can draw an analogy with the creation of Donetsk national Republic and Lugansk national Republic in the East of Ukraine. The presence of the words “republic” and “state” (in the case of the Middle East) in the name of the terrorist organizations is not just rhetoric or a figure of speech. Abbreviations DNR/LNR was not accidental; therefore, they show that they are a part of state, not just organization from the outside. Using concept “state” the militants of DNR and LNR (like the terrorists of the Islamic state) justify capturing new territories.

The purpose of the terrorists of DNR/LNR (like Islamic terrorists) is maximal intimidating of the Ukrainian population, occupation more territory than they control, to get political concessions or to demoralize the central government and world community. It is happening now in the East of Ukraine: the militants do not simply

⁴ A.S. Moussalli, *Moderate and radical Islamic Fundamentalism. The Quest for Modernity, Legitimacy, and the Islamic State*, Gainesville 1999, p. 2.

capture new territories; they threaten to get to Kyiv and Lvov, to reshape and change a modern Ukraine. Islamic terrorists act the same way.

Militants of the “Islamic state” captured large areas of the north and west of Iraq in the summer of 2014, as well as a part of the territory in Syria⁵. The terrorists announced the creation of their regions “Islamic caliphate”. It is appearing constantly messages about their intentions to capture new territories “From Mosul (Iraq) to Jerusalem (Israel)”. It is believed that the purpose of the organization is the elimination of the boundaries established through the division of the Ottoman Caliphate and the creation of an Orthodox Islamic state at least in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt (at least the Sinai Peninsula; the maximum is the entire Islamic world)⁶.

However, between Islamic terrorism and terrorism of LNR and DNR is the difference. LNR and DNR have a specific external sponsor who oversees them. Obviously Russia created DNR/LNR and continues to support them by weapons, manpower and finances. In practice, Ukraine opposes Russia. DNR and LNR are mediators in this war. Example of a war through mediator in the Middle East is a terrorist organization “Hezbollah” which is a puppet of Iran (Iran is funding and supplying weapons for them), in 2006 started a war against Israel. Iran has “Hezbollah”, Russia – DNR and LNR – puppets who terrorize certain regions but their main purpose is destabilizing situation on a global scale: Iran through “Hezbollah” destroy Israel, and Russia through the DNR / LNR – Ukraine.

The main sources of financing terrorists of “Islamic state” are the proceeds of their criminal activity: a systematic and organizing looting, ransom for kidnapped people. Cash receipts also come from the sale of oil because the terrorists seized several large fields. They

⁵ А. Кузнецов, «Исламское государство» в контексте политических изменений на ближнем Востоке, «Вестник МГИМО» 2015, No 2(41), pp. 185–187.

⁶ Е. Тесленко, Н. Пеструилова, Феномен ИГИЛ, «Виктимология» 2015, No 1 (3), pp. 34–39.

sell oil at deep discounts, sometimes underestimating the price in 2 times from the market price.

The militants of DNR and LNR are engaged in robbery, looting in large enterprises. There are constantly reports about terroristic groups of Donbass stealing cars, robbing houses and apartments locals.

Regarding to financing DNR and LNR are more similar to a terrorist organization “Hezbollah” where Iran is the main external source of funding. As a result we have a hybrid: the main funding scheme DNR and LNR built on the principle of “Hezbollah” but the militants are actively using methods of terrorists of “Islamic state”.

Islamic terrorism is one of the variants of a religious terrorism but the religious component is on the second place in recent years. The main idea of modern Islamic terrorists becomes hatred of Western values and Western societies. A large number of mercenaries who came to fight in the sincerely believe that they are going to fight against the United States and Europe.

The behavior of militants of DNR and LNR is exactly the same as Islamic militants, only the first focus on the Orthodox faith and values. They understand Islam and Orthodoxy as something fundamentally deeply anti-Western⁷. It is some great value which is inaccessible to unmoral West. In this sense, Islamic and Orthodox terrorism are almost identical.

It should also be noted that in the Middle East terrorist groups are more blindly faithful than terrorist groups in Donbass where local population is still much more cynical. Because of it militants of DNR and LNR try to enforce the local population to loyalty. The ideological similarity of projects of Islamic terrorism and DNR/LNR is anti-Western and anti-globalization trend. This is their key motivation with the idea of Russian and Orthodox world. The Islamic world is fighting for the Union territories, the creation of Islamic

⁷ М. Єнін, Соціальні технології та ідеологічна складова розпалювання війни на Донбасі, [in:] А. Мельниченко, П. Кутуєв та ін., Великі війни, великі трансформації: історична соціологія 20-го ст., 1914–2014, Київ 2014, pp. 177–178.

state with the right faith, rules and orders. It is based on religion (Islam) and the Arabic language. The Russian world is fighting for the Union territories, the resumption of the Great Russian Empire. This is based on the idea of offense and humiliation of Russian language and religion (Orthodoxy). The models are absolutely identical: reunion territories with a common faith and one language.

A lot of similarities can be found in the methods of war of Islamic terrorists and militants of DNR/LNR. First of all, the cult of violence: the constant shells, abductions, torture, threats, violence. The common practice of Islamic militants is the using of suicide bombers who are ready for the right thing to give their lives. Militants of DNR/LNR also decided to learn this wild and barbarous method. Holding parades prisoners of war is also part of the cult of Islamic terrorists.

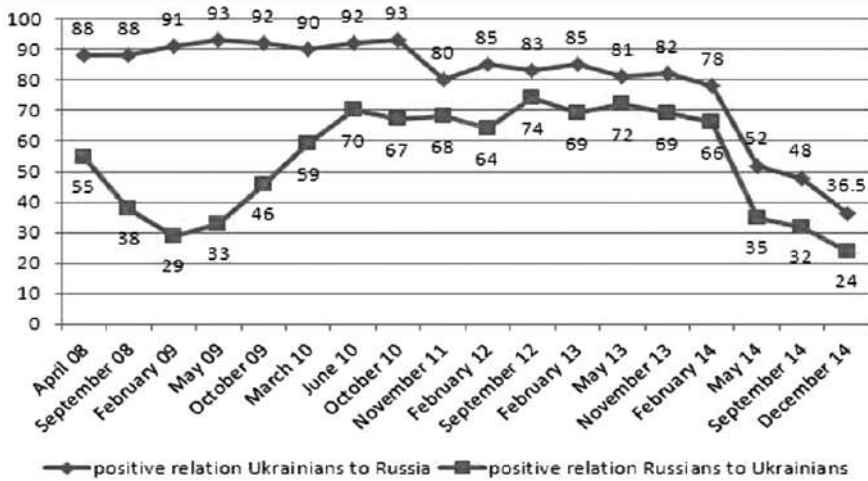
Now, consider the issues related to the attitude of Ukrainians to Russia and Russians to Ukraine in sociological research. We will refer to the data of our sociological researches⁸. The attitude of Ukrainians to Russia and Russians to Ukraine has become more negative for the last three months. However, the attitude of Ukrainians to Russia is still more positive than the attitude of Russians to Ukraine (diagram 1). Compared to the September survey, the number of positively Pro-Russian Ukrainians decreased very significantly on 9% (from 48% in September to almost 37% in December). The share of negatively-minded of Ukrainians to Russia significantly increased (from 41% in September to almost 48% in December).

The deterioration of positive attitudes towards Russia is observed in all regions of Ukraine. The percentage of the positively-minded population to Russia in the southern region decreased from 59% to 50.4%, in the Central region – from 32% to 28.9%, in the Western region – from 25% to 19.3%. The share of positively-minded population towards Russia especially decreased (on 32%) in the eastern region – from 83% to 50.9% (tables 1, 2). In Russia the share of positively-minded Russians to Ukraine decreased significantly –

⁸ М. Єнін, Як змінилося ставлення України до Росії та населення Росії до України, [in:] Л.Г. Лисенко та ін., *Державний устрій: особливості трансформації, Умань 2015*, pp. 93–102.

from 12% to 24%. Number of the negative-minded during the same period increased significantly – from 55% to 63% (Diagram 1).

Diagram 1. Dynamic of positive attitude of Ukrainians to Russia and Russians to Ukraine



Source: The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology’s calculations.

Table 1. “What is your general attitude to Russia?” Distribution by Ukraine macro-regions (data for September 2014)

Variants of answers	West	Central	South	East (with Donbas)	Ukraine in general
Very good	2.9	1.9	19.0	38.6	14.4
Mainly good	22.3	30.0	39.8	44.4	33.7
Mainly bad	35.6	28.3	17.7	6.2	22.6
Very bad	32.1	25.6	9.1	4.7	18.7
It is difficult to say	7.1	14.2	14.4	6.0	10.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology’s calculations.

Table 2. “What is your general attitude to Russia?” Distribution by Ukraine macro-regions (data for December 2014)

Variants of answers	West	Central	South	East (with Donbas)	Ukraine in general
Very good	2.6	2.9	9.0	17.1	7.4
Mainly good	16.7	26.0	41.4	33.8	29.1
Mainly bad	38.2	27.4	22.1	13.3	25.5
Very bad	31.4	22.9	13.6	19.8	21.7
It is difficult to say	10.9	14.8	14.0	26.0	16.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology's calculations.

Dynamics of Russian and Ukrainian answers on the question “What would you like to see relations between Ukraine and Russia?” are presented in diagrams 2, 3.

Compared to September in Ukraine significantly increased the number of those who want closed borders with Russia (45% – in September, 50% – in December 2014). the similar trend is observed in Russia where the number of those who want closed border with Ukraine increased by 6% (from 26% in September 2014 to 32% in January 2015).

The number of people who want a friendly and independent relations of the two states with open borders without visas and customs in Russia decreased by almost 10% from 62% to 52%, in Ukraine – by 2% from 44% to 42%⁹.

Supporters of independence (percentage of those who want independence with borders and customs, and those who want independence, but without borders and customs) increased in Ukraine by 3% in December 2014, compared to September 2014. This indicator reached a maximum level – 92% (diagram 2).

⁹ М. Єнін, Як змінилося ставлення України до Росії та населення Росії до України, [in:] Л.Г. Лисенко та ін., Держаний устрій: особливості трансформації, Умань 2015, р. 95.

Supporters of independence (percentage of those who want independence with borders and customs and those who want independence but without borders and customs) increased in Russia by 6% in January 2015 compared to September 2014. In Russia this indicator, as in Ukraine, reached a maximum level – 84% (diagram 3). 7% of the Russian population and 3% of Ukrainian population want union Ukraine and Russia into one state (diagrams 2, 3).

Most supporters of the Ukraine and Russia's union is in the East but here this number has decreased by almost half compared with September (from 13.3% to 7.1%). The least of the union supporters are in the West (0.2%) and in the Centre (1.6%)¹⁰.

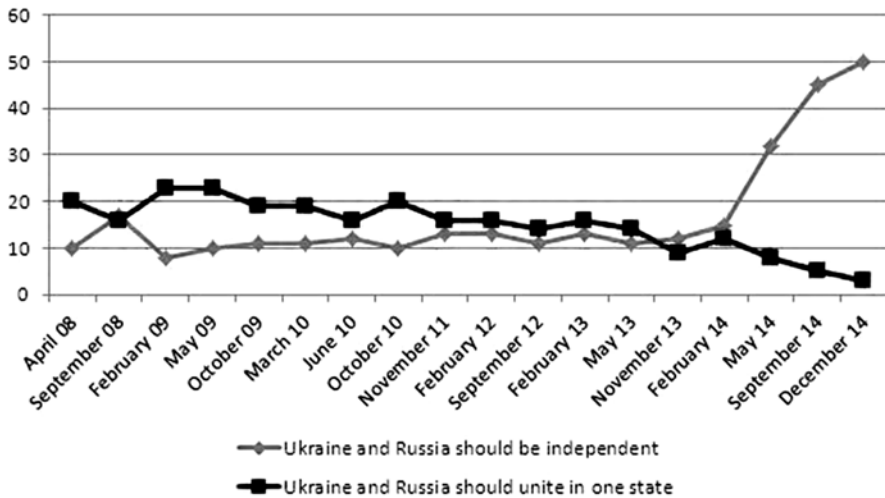


Diagram 2. What relationships with Russia are wanted in Ukraine? What kind of relations with Russia the population of Ukraine want?

Source: The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology's calculations.

The researchers took interest not only in the attitude to the countries in general, but also separately in the attitude to the members of the country and to its government.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 95.



Diagram 3. What relationships with Ukraine are wanted in Russia? What kind of relations with Ukraine the population of Ukraine want

Source: The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology's calculations.

74% of Ukrainians have generally positive attitude to Russians, but this indicator fell slightly over the last 3 months (from September to December 2014), the amount of negatively minded Ukrainian in this period increased from 14% to 18% (from September to December 2014).

60% of Russians have generally positive attitude to the Ukrainians while 26% – generally negative. The attitude of Russians has changed significantly: the amount of positively minded people decreased from 81% in September to 60% in December, the amount of negatively minded in the same period increased from 12% in September to 26% in December.

Rather the opposite situation is observed in the attitudes of Ukrainians to the Russian government and of Russians to the Ukrainian one. 70% of the population of Ukraine have generally negative attitude to the Russian government (60% – very negative,

10% – rather negative), 21% have generally good attitude (10% has not decided).

The attitude of Russians to the Ukrainian government is even worse: 86% have generally negative attitude (47% – very negative, 39% – rather negative), 8% have generally good attitude (6% have not decided).

The deterioration in relation of Russians to Ukraine coincides with the general trend of deteriorating in relation to most other states. According to the opinion of Natalia Sharp (she is the head of the Department of socio-political research “Levada-center”) it is the first time when some of the European countries were in the list of “enemies” 2014. Germany and France were enemies in connection with the Ukrainian events and sanctions for the first time. Germany earlier occupied the first place among the European countries-friends: “When we measured the attitude of Russians towards the EU, it was always relatively positive. This year it has fallen sharply in the negative direction which has never happened before throughout our research. We usually ask the question: ‘What countries are the friends of Russia and what countries are the enemies of Russia?’. Germany and France were enemies in connection with the Ukrainian events and sanctions for the first time. Germany earlier occupied the first place among the European countries-friends. That is the picture dramatically overturned”¹¹.

In our opinion, it is connected with Vladimir Putin and his policy. Since the appearance of Vladimir Putin, rhetoric “searching of the enemy surrounded by a fortress” and anti-Western sentiments appeared. It has been reflecting in Russian public opinion. Russians are increasingly cultivating the same complex of hostility to the outside world which was very inherent in the Soviet society. For Russia this is a complex which allows to get away from the understanding of the problems of the country. It is a transference of guilt and responsibility for what is happening outside the country. The external forces are blamed – USA, the West, now Ukraine. As for Ukrainians, they

¹¹ Е. Кузьмин. Добились своего, «Радио свобода», <http://www.svoboda.org/content/article/26842500.html>, 11.02.2015.

have never had such an imperial superpower complex. A long time after the start of the current conflict, Ukrainians had a calmer and friendlier attitude to Russia.

What is more, Ukrainians have always had a friendlier attitude to the Eastern neighbor than Russians. Throughout 2008, 2010, 2012, the level of supporting Russia had never been smaller than eighty percent, sometimes even 90%. In Russia, such an attitude to Ukraine had never been higher than 65–70% respondents who expressed their positive attitude.

The current rapid deterioration of the attitude of Russians to Ukraine was in the winter of 2008–2009 but it was observed only from one side. It was a time of a “gas war”, when Ukraine became disconnected from Russian fuel supplies. At the same time 60% of Russians had negative attitudes to Ukraine while in Ukraine, an anti-Russian sentiment even in cold apartments remained close to zero (from four to six percent).

It took the annexation of Crimea and the conflict in Donbass to finally get response dislike of Ukrainians. Now only 19.3% of respondents are expressing their positive relations to the Russian Federation, 29% of respondents – in the center of Ukraine, about 50–51% in the South and East, although previously it was the vast majority. It seems this deterioration will continue.

Real-life Situation Estimation

From December 2014 to September 2015, the number of people, estimating the situation as unbearable (“not possible to bear our misery”), increased by 3%¹².

Due to the decrease in the intensity of warfare reduced the number of people pointed to the shelling of their territories as the main problem. 23% of respondents claimed, that there were military actions held on their community territory. Only 1/4 of residents considered shooting and bombing as the main security problem. In comparison with December 2014 there were 53% (table 3).

¹² V. Paniotto, N. Kharchenko, D. Pyrogova, M. Ienin, *The research of humanitarian...*

Table 3. The Main Problems of Community Security

The Problems	% of references
Shooting, bombing in the community	23
High crime level	9
People disappearances	4
Governmental abuse of power	3
Drug addiction	3
Persecutions on ethnic or language grounds	1
Threats against women	0.3
Threats against children	0.1
Other	1
There is no problems in Security	11
It is difficult to say	12

Source: The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology working on this research project.

In general, crime statistics does not exceed the pre-war level. The main problems in the security sector are the following (according to the obtained qualitative methods): violence against residents; fraud practices – money extortion from relatives of someone «in trouble»; cases of looting and burglaries on the part of the kasaks in Pervomaysk, crime occurrence very frequent; cases of burglary, looting, abuse, violence on the part of residents in Sverdlovsk – they are doing that out of despair as the locals say; afraid of armed men in uniform under the influence of alcohol in the communities and on the roads¹³.

The estimating of the needs of people in food is shown in Diagram 4. It should be noted that people need most of all in such foods as cereals, tinned meat and fish, vegetable, oil, fresh, meat, sugar, butter, milk concentrates, flour.

Diagram 5 shows the needs of medicine including cardiac, for blood pressure, sedatives, anti-inflammatory, antiviral, antipyretic. From hygiene items and household goods especially there is not enough

¹³ Ibidem.

washing and cleaning products, soap, shampoo, toothpaste (diagram 6). The general picture of the humanitarian needs of residents of Donbas is presented in the table 4.

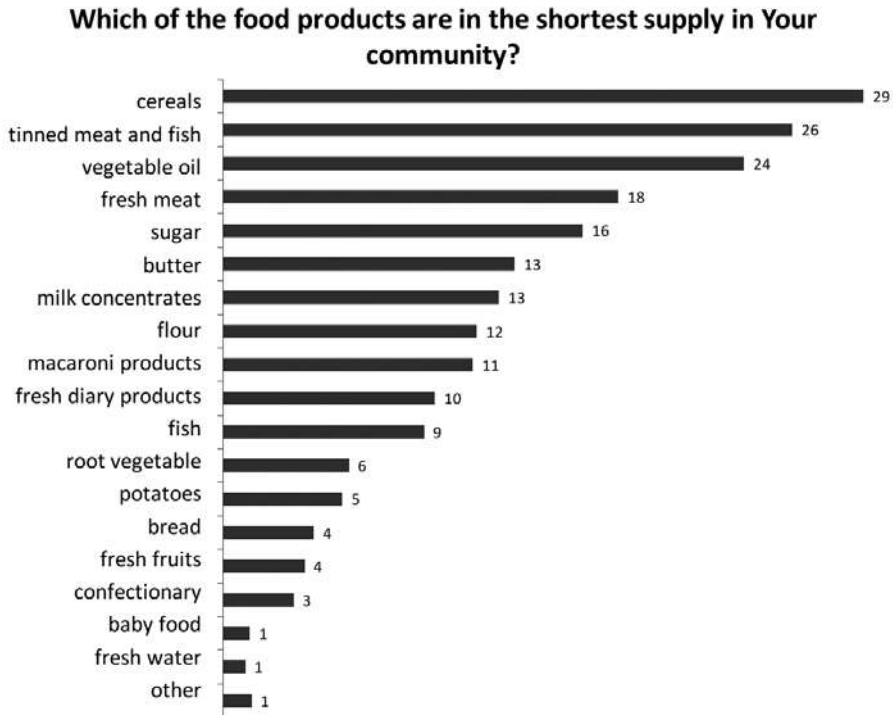


Diagram 4. Foodstuff needs

Source: Calculations of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology working on this research project.

Which of the medicaments are in the shortest supply in your community?

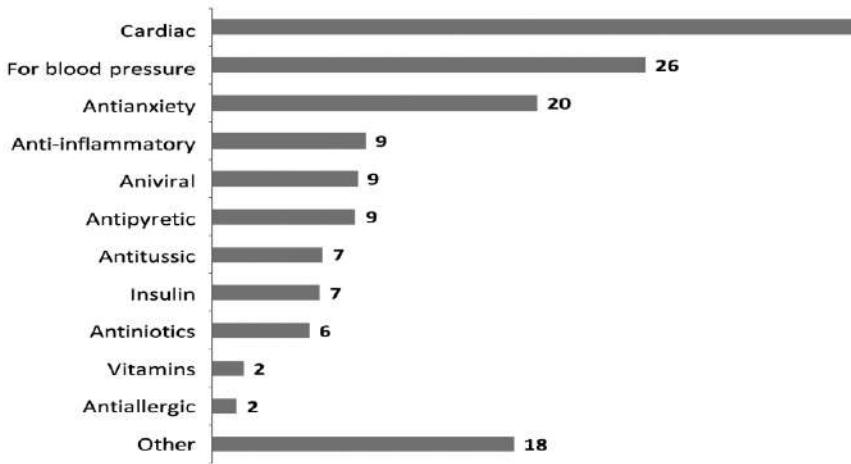


Diagram 5. Medical supplies needs

Source: Calculations of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, working on this research project.

Which of the hygiene products and household goods are in the shortest supply in Your community?

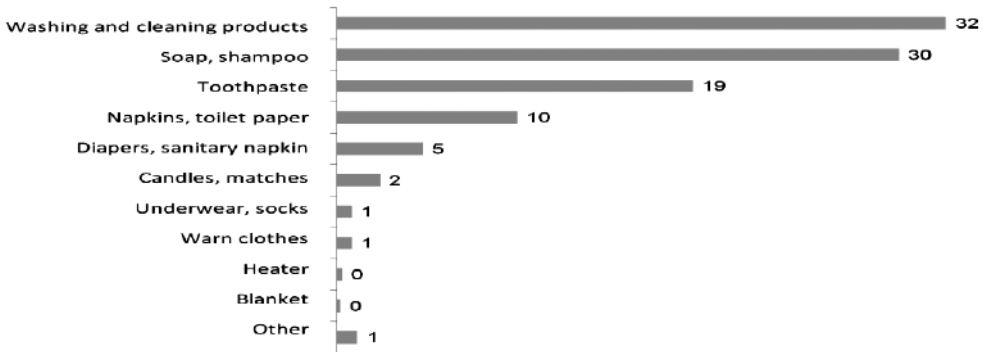


Diagram 6. Household goods needs

Source: Calculations of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology working on this research project.

Table 4. Humanitarian needs of residents of Donbas

	Sample size	Food-stuff Needs	Medical Supplies Needs	Hygiene Products Needs	All (at least one need)
Zuevka	47	61,7%	70,2%	57,4%	83,0%
Novotoshkovskoe	47	76,6%	61,7%	55,3%	83,0%
Yasinovataya	47	66,0%	72,3%	44,7%	80,9%
Yunokomunarovsk	46	63,0%	69,6%	54,3%	80,4%
Komsomolskoe	32	59,4%	65,6%	56,3%	78,1%
Krasnodon	45	51,1%	71,1%	26,7%	77,8%
Kirovskoe	47	63,8%	63,8%	59,6%	76,6%
Khartsyzk	47	48,9%	55,3%	42,6%	76,6%
Stakhanov	92	59,8%	63,0%	53,3%	76,1%
Gorlovka	153	60,1%	62,7%	47,7%	75,8%
Debaltseve	47	66,0%	66,0%	29,8%	74,5%
Zugres	31	51,6%	67,7%	38,7%	74,2%
Yenakievo	92	59,8%	63,0%	43,5%	73,9%
Snizhne	47	53,2%	57,4%	31,9%	72,3%
Makeevka	203	52,7%	58,6%	41,9%	70,9%
Ilovaisk	47	51,1%	57,4%	46,8%	70,2%
Stanytsa Luganskaya	30	46,7%	63,3%	40,0%	70,0%
Dzerzhynsk	47	42,6%	66,0%	34,0%	68,1%
Avdiivka	46	47,8%	60,9%	28,3%	67,4%
Shakhtarsk	45	48,9%	60,0%	40,0%	66,7%
Donetsk	300	33,0%	53,3%	36,3%	66,3%
Dokuchaevsk	47	51,1%	61,7%	40,4%	66,0%
Lugansk	300	38,7%	58,7%	29,0%	65,7%
Alchevsk	93	48,4%	54,8%	30,1%	64,5%
Sverdlovsk	91	42,9%	52,7%	25,3%	58,2%
Svetlodarsk	32	21,9%	46,9%	18,8%	56,3

Source: Calculations performed by the collective of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, that worked on this research project.

The financial situation is tense. Most people don't get their salaries, especially in public sectors. It contributes the growth of illegal armed groups. On the basis of qualitative researches we found that in some cities (in particular in Kirov and Ilovaysk) men go into these groups to feed their families. Probably this trend is under way in other localities which are not under the control of the Ukrainian Government.

The employees of the following areas get the salaries: trade, goods and passengers transportation, cash payment services; miners and large industrial enterprises workers – partially. Pensioners go to the territory controlled by Ukraine and restructure pensions there. Also people attend territories controlled by Ukraine to withdraw their money from ATMs. Different payments are carried out on the territories under control of the Ukrainian government¹⁴.

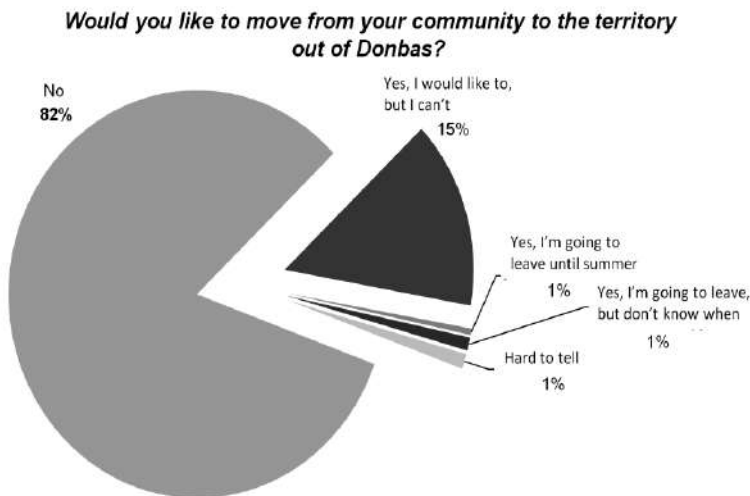


Diagram 7. Migration plans

Source: Calculations performed by the collective of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology that worked on this research project.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

Despite the difficult socio-economic situation in the region, the majority of the population (82%), that currently continues to live on the uncontrolled territory by Ukraine, is not going to leave their region (diagram 7). 15% of residents would like to go but they don't have enough opportunities, usually financial. 1% of residents is going to leave until next summer, 1% is going to leave but don't know when and for 1% it is difficult to say.

The work of most Community Services, Medical and Educational Facilities are in normal mode but sometimes their activities are disrupted due to the war or damaged infrastructures. Considering future winter, we should also pay attention to the availability of heating services. 79% of respondents are in the possession of central heating and it is functional. Only among 1% of respondents, central heating doesn't work. Every fifth family do not have any central heating. $\frac{3}{4}$ of individual heating consumers use gas, 13% – electricity, 12% – coal. Other kinds of heating are not spread. 3% of respondent families expressed their need in fuel (coal, wood, diesel fuel, pellets etc.)¹⁵.

The heating is working in most flats and government institutions. The need in fuel is among residential blocks and private sector, especially in small communities: an urban-type settlement of Dzerzhynsk, Novotoshkivske, Stanitsa Luganskaya, Pervomaysk, Stakhanov, Avdiivka, Gorlovka, Debaltseve, Dokuchaevsk, Yenaki-evo, Ilovaysk, Snizhne, and Yasinovataya.

There is no central heating at all in Stanitsa Luganskaya. The insufficient heating is in schools and kindergardens in Debaltseve, Dokuchaevsk, Kirovskoe, and Yasinovataya.

In 2015, Ukrainians of Donbass region had twelve kinds of stressful situations. The most common among them were shooting and bombing (80% of respondents experienced), feeling helpless (57% of respondents indicated it). 47% found themselves without a livelihood (table 5).

¹⁵ Ibidem.

Table 5. Stressful situations during the year

Stressful situations	% of references
Experience bombing, shooting	23
Feeling helpless	52
Turn out to be without means of living	40
Experiencing severe illness of relatives	22
Experiencing severe illness, surgery	20
Loss of one's work, becoming forcibly unemployed	18
Loss of one's self-belief	17
Loss of belief in mankind, encounter with meanness	16
Experiencing death of relatives	9
Serious conflicts with others	5
Exposure to threats, intimidation	3
Being a victim of abuse or robbery	2
Being a victim of theft or fraud practices	2
Living in close to suicide state	1
Experiencing other stressful situations	42
There were no stressful situations	44

Source: Calculations performed by collective of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology that worked on this research project.

It is interesting to evaluate the practices of mutual aid by residents of Donbass in war conditions. Almost 60% of respondent families cooperated with other community residents to help each other coping with problems. In most cases, it was foodstuff and clothing aid (54%), psychological support (27%), help in everyday matters (buying groceries, transportation, tidying up etc.) – 14%. 3% of respondents used to help with money. Also common practices were: clothing and foodstuff exchange (collecting centers, communities in social networks, newspaper announcements); collecting aids for other communities; neighbourhood and relatives help, first of all psychological and then material; free meals (church, private cafeterias, enterprises canteens); company initiatives (Metinvest Group Avdiivka Coke Plant, Yenakievo Bread-Baking Plant); in-home selling. Although the current situation is distressful, a half

of Donbass residents considered that the year 2016 would be better than 2015. It would bring them peace and improvement of economic situation¹⁶. Table 6 shows the distribution of answers to the question «When will the conflict in Donbass be over?». The most optimistic are 18% of respondents who consider that conflict in Donbass will be over for couple of months. 22% of residents also quite optimistic because to their opinion conflict in Donbass will be over during 2016 (table 6). A lot of people (44% of respondents) don't know when the conflict in Donbass is over. And only 2% believe that the war never stop in Donbass.

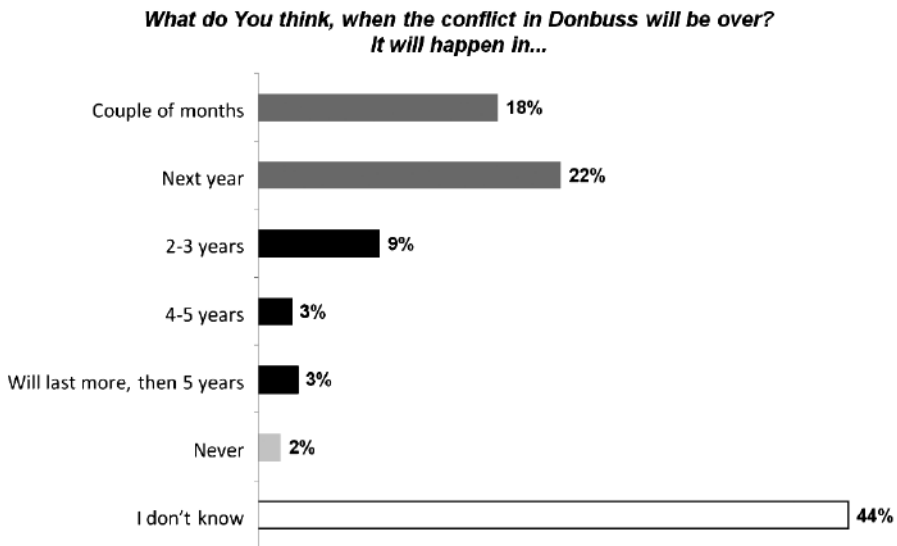


Table 6. The prospect of ending the war

Source: Calculations performed by the collective of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology that worked on this research project.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

Main Conclusions

DNR and LNR are not classical terrorists' movements fighting for freedom of a particular nation or for the releasing of a specific territory. The terrorist organizations in Donbass are specific territorial units. Using the concept «state», focusing on the Orthodox faith and idea of «Russian world», this terrorism has purpose to capture a new territory, intimidation and demoralization of the central government of Ukraine and the world community, getting a political concessions. LNR and DNR have a specific external sponsor (a part of a political class of Russia) who oversees them. The main result of an anti-terrorist operation in Donbass is the deterioration of positive attitudes towards Russia. The share of negative attitudes of Ukrainians to Russia significantly increased. It is observed in all regions of Ukraine. The number of Ukrainian people who want friendly and independent relations of the two states with open borders without visas and customs are significantly decreased.

Most of all Donbass residents are afraid of artillery attacks, 23% of respondents claim that there are military actions held on their community territory.

The level of needs in household goods, medical supplies and foodstuff increased by 8%. The most difficult general situation is still present in Stanytsia Luhanska, Pervomaysk, Stakhanov and uts Novotoshkivske. Most of the residents (82%) don't want to leave their community, 15% more want, but are not able. Besides receiving the humanitarian aid, people cooperate to help each other – with food, clothing and psychological support. Although the current situation is distressful, a half of Donbass residents consider that the year of 2016 will be better than 2015 and bring them peace and improvement of their economic situation, and 40% of residents think that the conflict will be over within a year.

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Zmiana postaw Ukraińców do Rosji w warunkach antyterrorystycznej operacji i potrzeb w pomocy humanitarnej mieszkańców Donbasu: wyniki badań socjologicznych

Streszczenie: W artykule zostały przedstawione nowe cechy terroryzmu w Donbasie, który ma poparcie Rosji w walce o wpływy na politykę Ukrainy. Organizacje terrorystyczne w Donbasie reprezentują specyficzne związki terytorialne. Wykorzystując pojęcie „państwo”, koncentrując się na wierze prawosławnej i idei „rosyjskiego świata”, mają na celu rozszerzenie własnego terytorium, zastraszanie i demoralizację Ukrainy oraz społeczności światowej. W ramach operacji antyterrorystycznej w Donbasie były przeprowadzone badania dynamiki zmian postaw Ukraińców do Rosji. W okresie 6–15 grudnia 2014 r. Kijowski Międzynarodowy Instytut Socjologii (KMIS) przeprowadził ogólne ukraińskie badanie opinii społecznej. Pogorszenie stosunku do Rosji jest obserwowane we wszystkich regionach Ukrainy. Jednocześnie w celach zbadania stosunku Rosjan do Ukrainy, Centrum Lewady w Rosji przeprowadziło badanie w Rosji w okresie 23–26 stycznia 2015 r. Celem drugiego badania

było monitorowanie potrzeb mieszkańców Donbasu (obwodów Donieck i Ługańsk) w pomocy humanitarnej. Zostało ono przeprowadzone przez KMIS w sierpniu 2015 r. (autor artykułu był jednym z organizatorów badania). Sytuacja humanitarna w Donbasie w ciągu pół roku od grudnia 2014 r. do września 2015 r. pogorszyła się: wzrosła liczba respondentów oceniających warunki życia w swoich miejscach zamieszkania jako nie do zniesienia. Znacząca część badanych (15%) chciałaby opuścić miejsce zamieszkania w obwodach Donieck i Ługańsk, jednak nie mają takiej możliwości. Mimo dramatycznej sytuacji połowa mieszkańców Donbasu nastawiona jest optymistycznie, jednoczą się też, aby pomagać sobie nawzajem.

Słowa kluczowe: zapotrzebowanie na pomoc humanitarną, sytuacje stresowe, bezpieczeństwo publiczne, Ukraina, Donbas, Ługańsk, konflikt.