

**Thirty Years of Independence: what accomplishments and problems of growth do Ukrainians see and what are their hopes for the future**

*This study was conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation jointly with the Razumkov Center sociological service from July 29 through August 4, 2021 in all regions of Ukraine excluding Crimea and the occupied territories of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Exactly 2019 respondents were polled aged 18 years and older. The theoretical sampling error does not exceed 2.3%.*

*Composition of macro-regions: West – Volyn, Zakarpattya, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil and Chernivtsi regions; Center – Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Poltava, Sumy, Khmelnytskyi, Cherkasy and Chernihiv regions, as well as the city of Kyiv; South – Mykolayiv, Odesa, and Kherson; East – Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhya, Luhansk and Kharkiv regions.*

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**SYMBOLS OF UKRAINE**

* ***To determine what Ukrainians consider as symbols of Ukraine, respondents were asked open-ended questions about politicians, public figures and artists without response options. Instead, respondents were offered to provide their own answers.***
* Regarding an open-ended question about a work of art that best represents Ukraine to the outside world, 9.5% of respondents named Taras Shevchenko's "Kobzar" as such. Another 5.7% consider the National Anthem of Ukraine in this category, and 4.4% named Ukrainian folk songs in general. Volodymyr Ivasyuk's song "Chervona Ruta" was identified as a symbol by 3.4% of Ukrainians. Another 2.4% of respondents named Mykola Gogol's "Taras Bulba", Mykola Leontovych's music masterpiece "Shchedryk" (known globally as “Carol of Bells”) and literary works of Ukrainian classics in general as artistic symbols. Concurrently, more than 40% of respondents found difficulty in answering this question.
* In regards to the artists who have contributed the most to the development of Ukrainian culture since the declaration of independence, respondents most often mention Sviatoslav Vakarchuk and Andriy Kuzmenko (Kuzma Scriabin) – almost 10% of respondents. Placing in third in the number of mentions is Lina Kostenko – 8%. Respondents often named Eurovision winners Ruslana Lyzhychko (5.6%) and Jamala (4.2%). Actor Bohdan Stupka was mentioned by 4.6% of respondents. In addition, more than 3% of respondents also named Soviet time pop star who sang Ukrainian Sofia Rotaru.
* Among the civil society activists who have done the most to develop, protect and represent the interests of the people, respondents named the leader of the People’s Movement of Ukraine (Rukh) Viacheslav Chornovil as first – 8.5%. All other figures were mentioned by less than 3% of the respondents. Among them Heorhiy Gongadze (1%), murdered journalist, founder of popular Internet media “Ukrainska Pravda”
* Among the listed politicians who have done the most to develop the statehood and sovereignty of Ukraine, presidents placed in the majority: the fifth President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko and the second President Leonid Kuchma received 10% each. Vyacheslav Chornovil, the leader of the People's Movement of Ukraine (Rukh) (8.5%), Leonid Kravchuk, the first president (6.1%), Volodymyr Zelenskyy, the current president (5.6%), and Viktor Yushchenko, the third president (5.4%) and politician Yulia Tymoshenko (4.6%). Fugitive ex-president Viktor Yanukovych was mentioned by 2% of respondents.

**LEADERS AND IMAGE OF “STRONG HAND”**

* Social demand for a "strong hand", an authoritarian leader, is paradoxical. The majority of Ukrainians want to see a strong politician who brings order as the head of state. At the same time respondents categorically oppose any potential violations of the law by such strong leader. Thus, we interpet such public opinion rather as popular desire for a greater level of stability and predictability of social and political life than support of authoritarian rule.
* **54% of respondents agree that a few strong leaders can do more for the country than all laws and political debates**. A quarter of respondents are of the opposite opinion.
* Almost all the contenders for the position of president are considered “strong” by their supporters: Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko and Yuriy Boyko. They are also referred to as the most worthy to hold the office of president. The ratings essentially duplicate the positions of the leaders in a presidential race.
* The most important attributes that respondents named of why such candidates are qualified is they think that these politicians are determined and strong-willed, as well as being able to bring order to the country (42%). Other factors such as sufficient experience of ruling the government (34%), honesty and integrity (33%) and the ability to improve the living standards of the people (31.5%) were often mentioned.
* Significant differences exist in the motivation to support a particular political leader. Among voters of Volodymyr Zelenskyy, the key aspects are that he is honest and man of integrity (35%), capable to bring order to the country (22%), resolute and strong-willed (19.5%), able to fight corruption (18.5%), and is calm and balanced as well as just nice, according to the respondents (17.5%).
* Petro Poroshenko's voter support base slightly differs. Among them, 41% see sufficient experience to run the country; 36% of his voters consider him determined and strong-willed person; 32% believe that he is able to bring order to the country; 26% that he will not allow reversing course of the country to the pre-2014 state. Another 22.5% said that he knew how to develop the national economy. Also, 21.5% believe that he would accelerate meaningful reforms.
* Yulia Tymoshenko's voters value her most because she has experience to rule the country (38%), she is resolute and strong-willed (34%), knows how to develop the national economy (34%), she is able to bring order to the country (32.5 %), she will be able to improve the country’s living standards (30%).
* Yuriy Boyko's voters differ in their motivation from others. They believe that their candidate would be able to end the war eastern Ukraine (44%) and normalize relations with Russia and Belarus (42%), knows how to develop the national economy (34%), has government experience (31%) and is able to install order in the country (30%).
* Overall, a little more than a quarter of respondents believe that the Ukrainians constantly need a "strong hand." About the same share of respondents are less categorical and point to a certain list of situations when it is appropriate for one person to concentrate all power his/her hands. 37% categorically opposed to concentrating all power in the hands of one person, and another 10% could not answer this question. Support for "strong" leaders is slightly higher in older age groups and lower among young people.
* Ukrainians would like to see a strong leader as an attribute of stability rather than a dictatorship. This is substantiated by the fact that 72% of respondents believe that any strong leader should abide by the law and cannot break it.
* *Overall, what can be said is that public opinion on the issue of democracy and autocracy in Ukraine is extremely vague. People tend to support ideas that are inherently divergent. As such, expressing the need for the strong leaders and even the concentration of all power in the hands of one person coexists in public opinion with the belief that even a strong leader must strictly abide by the law. From this we can deduce that Ukrainians believe that strong power can and should be based on the principle of the rule of law and an essential feature of a strong leader is the ability to act effectively within the the framework of the law. So if the law is violated, any strong leader risks losing legitimacy and trust in the eyes of most citizens.*

**LEVEL OF DEMOCRACY**

* Despite the desire for a “strong hand”, as mentioned earlier, **54% of respondents believe that democracy is the most desirable type of government for Ukraine**. Another 20% believe that under certain circumstances an authoritarian regime can be better than a democratic one, and almost 17% of respondents said that it does not matter to them whether there is a democratic regime in the country. It is worthy to note that t**he indicators of support for a democracy remain the highest in comparison with the polls before the Revolution of Dignity of 2014**.
* Respondents believe Ukraine is predominantly a democratic country, though with certain setbacks. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is a complete dictatorship and 10 a complete democracy, respondents rated Ukraine at 5.6. For comparison: in March 2013, the average score was 4.7. Today, young people assess the degree of democracy in Ukraine to be greater than older generations. Certain regional differences also exist. In the west and in the center, the degree of democracy is estimated at 6 points, in the South at 5.1 points, and in the East at only 4.8 points.
* **The majority of respondents (53%) are convinced that people in Ukraine can freely express their political views**. A fifth of respondents say the opposite. 22% of respondents found it difficult to answer this question. However, there are certain regional features. In the west, respondents are most optimistic about freedom of political expression, while in the east, 30% of respondents believe that freely expressing their political views in Ukraine is problematic.
* **Concerning the future of democracy in Ukraine, public opinion is cautiously optimistic**. Over the next 10 years, according to respondents, the degree of democracy and the rule of law in Ukraine will improve – 37% of respondents adhere to this op2inion. Another 21% have the opposite view and believe that the situation will get worse. According to 24% of respondents, nothing will fundamentally change.

**PATERNALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM**

* Public opinion regarding the dichotomy of “freedom versus prosperity” remains controversial. On the one hand, **39% of respondents say they are prepared to endure certain financial difficulties for the sake of personal freedom and guarantees of observance of all civil rights**. On the other hand, 23% have the opposite view. In addition 38% are undecided on the matter. Sociological observations over the past 15 years have shown that the choice between freedom and prosperity remains derived from the public’s assessment of the current economic and political situation. Interestingly, in periods of relative economic stability and development, there is an inclination to become inured toward the value of well-being, while amid a crises and after one, Ukrainians begin to appreciate their own freedom from the state.
* Public opinion somewhat differs in ascertaining the role of the state in providing citizens with everything they need. Nevertheless, some ambiguity persists. **54% of respondents believe that the state should provide people an equal playing field in life, and then the individual is responsible for how they use these opportunities**. On the contrary, 38% believe that the state should fully be responsible for providing everyone with everything they need. Another 8% were undecided.
* Respondents were more categorical toward the question of whether the majority of the public will be able to live without governmental welfare. **Only 23.5% believe that the majority of the population is able to live without governmental welfare, while 65% are convinced that the majority of the public will not be able to do so.**
* Ukrainians do not hold a single position regarding the dichotomy of stability and the defense of their rights. Thus, when asked what is better: to endure financial difficulties in order to maintain order, peace and tranquility in the country, or if living conditions significantly deteriorate and then take to the streets in protest, **39% said that order and peace are worth of tolerating hardships. Another 42.5% said that active protests are needed against the significant deterioration of living conditions**. An additional 18.5% were undecided.

**IDENTIFICATION AND CITIZENSHIP**

* **An absolute majority of respondents (72%) are rather or very proud of the Ukrainian citizenship**. Only 18.5% said they were not rather not or at all proud of this fact. In general, over the last 19 years, a steady upward trend has been observed in the number of those who are proud or very proud of being Ukrainian citizens.
* Regarding identification, 59% of respondent identify themselves primarily as citizens of Ukraine. Identification with a place of dwelling is also relatively common – 19%. Another 11% primarily identify with residents of the region in which they live.
* In the opinion of respondents, belief in a better future most often unites people in Ukrainian society (36%). The strength of this factor can be underscored by the fact that in the second place among the unifying factors are common life hardships (29.5%). Also significant are family and social feelings (27%), patriotic feelings (25.5%), as well as dissatisfaction with the authorities (22%) and the desire to overcome life’s hardships together (22%). Only 8% said that Ukrainians have nothing in common.

**SUCCESSES, FAILURES AND THE PATH TOWARD PROSPERITY**

* Despite supporting independence, respondents are still quite pessimistic about the events that have transpired in Ukraine since independence. Eighteen percent of respondents believe that there were more positive events, 29% believe that there was more negative events, and 46% say that the negative and positive events were approximately equal. Still, over time, there has been an unstable trend towards an increase in the share of respondents who say that, in general, there has been more positive events since independence. Also, among the youth there is a much larger share of respondents who see more positive events during the period of independence than among the older generation.
* Relatively successful areas where transformations have taken place since the declaration of independence have been to ensure equality between men and women, the promotion of freedom of speech, the formation of the Ukrainian nation, the equality of national minorities, democracy building, civil society and defense capabilities.
* Ukraine has been the least successful in combating corruption, the formation of a fair judiciary, the fight against crime and establishment of social justice.
* Responding to an open question without pre-defined options, Ukrainians named corruption as the biggest obstacle to Ukraine's development – 38.5% of respondents. The second significant obstacle is the war – more than 18%. Respondents named governmental incompetence – 5.9%, the oligarchs – 5.7% and Ukrainians themselves – 4.8%.
* The majority of respondents (69%) think that Ukraine is able to overcome its existing problems and difficulties, but the majority of them believe that they can only be overcome in the longer term – nearly half of all respondents. An additional fifth of respondents believe that Ukraine is generally unable to overcome its existing difficulties and problems.

**SURVEY FINDINGS**

**SYMBOLS OF UKRAINE**

**1. Please name a work of art (book, song, performance or painting) (one or more), that in your opinion best represents Ukraine to the outside world (more than option can be chosen), only those options that were provided by 1% or more of respondents is shown**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| «Kobzar» | 9,5 |
| National anthem of Ukraine | 5,7 |
| Folk songs | 4,4 |
| «Chervona Ruta» | 3,4 |
| «Taras Bulba» | 2,4 |
| Literary works of Ukrainian classics  | 2,4 |
| «Carol of the Bells» by Leontovych | 2,4 |
| «Shadow of Forgotten Ancestors  | 1,7 |
| «Cyborgs» | 1,6 |
| «Evenings on the Farm near Dykanka» | 1,1 |
| «The Kaidashe Family  | 1,1 |
| There are none | 10,2 |
| Difficult to say | 40,5 |
| Did not answer | 1,8 |

**2. Please name an artist or artists (artists, musicians, writers, poets, etc.) who have done the most for the development of Ukrainian culture since the declaration of independence in 1991? (There are several options), only those options that were provided by 1% or more of respondents is shown**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Svyatoslav Vakarchuk  | 9,8 |
| Andriy Kuzmenko (Kuzma «Skryabin») | 9,7 |
| Lina Kostenko | 8,0 |
| Ruslana Lyzhychko  | 5,4 |
| Bohdan Stupka | 4,6 |
| Dzhamala  | 4,2 |
| Sofia Rotaru  | 3,1 |
| Nina Matvienko  | 2,5 |
| «Okean Elzy» | 1,9 |
| Serhiy Zhadan  | 1,8 |
| Mykhailo Poplavskyi  | 1,8 |
| Oleh Skrypa  | 1,7 |
| Andriy Shevchenko | 1,7 |
| Klitschko brothers  | 1,5 |
| Oksana Zabuzhko  | 1,4 |
| Oleh Vinnyk  | 1,2 |
| Vasyl Shklyar  | 1,2 |
| Ada Rohovtseva  | 1,1 |
| Tina Korol  | 1,1 |
| Tayisiya Povaliy  | 1,0 |
| There are none | 10,8 |
| Difficult to say | 34,7 |
| Did not answer  | 1,2 |

**3.** **Please name a public figure (one or more) who has done the most to protect and represent the interests of citizens since the declaration of independence in 1991? (you can name several options)**, **only those options that were provided by 1% or more of respondents is shown**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Vyacheslav Chornovil  | 8,5 |
| Leonid Kuchma  | 2,1 |
| Yulia Tymoshenko  | 1,6 |
| Levko Lukyanenko  | 1,3 |
| Petro Poroshenko  | 1,3 |
| Leonid Kravchuk  | 1,2 |
| Heorhiy Gongadze  | 1,0 |
| There are none  | 19,9 |
| Difficult to say  | 47,4 |
| Did not answer  | 1,4 |

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**4. Please name the politicians or politicians (one or more) who have done the most to strengthen the statehood and sovereignty of Ukraine since the declaration of independence in 1991?**

**(you can name several options) only those options that were provided by 1% or more of respondents is shown**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Petro Poroshenko  | 10,2 |
| Leonid Kuchma  | 10,0 |
| Vyacheslav Chornovil  | 8,5 |
| Leonid Kravchuk  | 6,1 |
| Volodymyr Zelenskyy  | 5,6 |
| Viktor Yushchenko  | 5,4 |
| Yulia Tymoshenko  | 4,6 |
| Viktor Yanukovych  | 2,2 |
| Yuriy Boyko  | 2,0 |
| Levko Lukyanenko  | 1,2 |
| Mykola Azarov  | 1,1 |
| There are none  | 23,0 |
| Difficult to say  | 24,8 |
| Did not answer  | 1,1 |

**LEADERS AND “STRONG HAND”**

**5. Do you agree that a few strong leaders can do more for the country than all the combined laws and debates?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Yes
 | 54,1 |
| 1. No
 | 24,9 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 21,0 |

**6. And who do you see as such leaders in Ukraine? CAN YOU NAME MANY SURNAMES? only those options that were provided by 1% or more of respondents is shown**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Volodymyr Zelenskyy | 10,0 |
| Petro Poroshenko | 7,6 |
| Yulia Tymoshenko | 6,8 |
| Yuriy Boyko | 5,8 |
| Volodymyr Hroysman | 2,8 |
| Dmytro Razumkov | 2,8 |
| Viktor Medvedchuk | 2,4 |
| Ihor Smeshko | 2,3 |
| Yevheniy Murayev | 1,4 |
| Oleh Lyashko | 1,3 |
| Vitaliy Klitschko | 1,2 |
| Vadim Rabinovych  | 1,0 |
| There are none  | 36,7 |
| Difficult to say  | 23,7 |
| Did not answer  | 1,1 |

**7. Who do you think deserves to become the next President of Ukraine? ONE ANSWER only those options that were provided by 1% or more of respondents is shown**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Volodymyr Zelenskyy  | 12,2 |
| Petro Poroshenko | 7,6 |
| Yuriy Boyko | 6,2 |
| Yulia Tymoshenko | 6,1 |
| Ihor Smeshko | 2,8 |
| Volodymyr Hroysman  | 1,6 |
| Dmytro Razumkov | 1,6 |
| Vitaliy Klitschko | 1,0 |
| Oleh Lyashko | 1,0 |
| Viktor Medvedchuk | 1,0 |
| There are none | 24,8 |
| Difficult to say | 27,3 |
| Did not answer | 0,6 |

**8. And why did you decide to choose this particular candidate? (you can choose several options),**

**% of respondents who named a candidate worthy of becoming President**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. He (she) is honest and not a corrupt person
 | 32,8 |
| 1. He (she) will ensure an end to war in the east
 | 28,6 |
| 1. He (she) won’t allow disorder to return that existed before 2014
 | 19,8 |
| 1. He (she) will ensure a normalization of relations between Ukraine and Russia and Belarus
 | 19,4 |
| 1. He (she) most actively criticizes the current governmental administration
 | 13,1 |
| 1. He (she) is decisive and a strong-willed person
 | 42,4 |
| 1. He (she) is a calm and well-balanced person
 | 25,3 |
| 1. He (she) has sufficient experience in state governance
 | 34,4 |
| 1. He (she) will ensure a real acceleration of reforms
 | 27,5 |
| 1. He (she) is capable of bringing order in the country
 | 42,4 |
| 1. He (she) will ensure Russian will become a second state language
 | 7,9 |
| 1. He (she) is capable of raising the living standards of the country
 | 31,5 |
| 1. He (she) knows how to develop the national economy
 | 29,8 |
| 1. He (she) is capable of fighting corruption in the country
 | 26,0 |
| 1. He (she) is simply likable to me
 | 19,6 |
| 1. He (she) belongs to the political party (bloc) that I support
 | 15,8 |
| 1. He (she) will ensure a peaceful transition of power without radical changes
 | 4,6 |
| 1. Other
 | 3,5 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 0,8 |

**9. In your opinion, are there such situations in the life of the country when the people need a strong and powerful leader?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Our people always needs a “strong hand”
 | 26,0 |
| 1. There are such situations when all the power needs to be concentrated in one set of hands
 | 26,6 |
| 1. It is impossible to allow all power to be handed over to one person
 | 37,3 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 10,0 |

**10. In your opinion, should such "strong leaders" abide by existing laws?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Yes. They should act only within the framework of laws
 | 72,4 |
| 1. In some cases, in the interests of a certain issue, they may deviate from the laws
 | 14,6 |
| 1. No, they could break the laws.
 | 4,5 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 8,6 |

**LEVEL OF DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE**

**11. Which of the following statements do you agree with more?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Democracy is the most desired type of government for Ukraine
 | 54,0 |
| 1. Under certain circumstances, an authoritarian regime may be better than a democratic one
 | 19,6 |
| 1. For a person like me, it does not make a difference whether it is a democratic regime or not
 | 16,7 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 9,7 |

**12.** **On the card you see a scale from "1" to "10", where "1" means a completely dictatorial regime, and "10" – a completely democratic regime. Where on this scale would you place modern Ukraine?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 – complete dictatorship | 5,3 |
| 2 | 5,5 |
| 3 | 8,3 |
| 4 | 8,6 |
| 5 | 19,5 |
| 6 | 16,6 |
| 7 | 15,4 |
| 8 | 12,7 |
| 9 | 5,3 |
| 10 – a complete democracy | 2,9 |
| Average score – **5,6 points** |  |

**13. Can people today in Ukraine freely express their political views?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. No
 | 20,4 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 22,1 |
| 1. Yes
 | 53,1 |
| 1. Refused to answer
 | 4,5 |

**14.To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following assertion: “Elections in Ukraine are an effective tool for the public to influence government?”**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Absolutely disagree
 | 22,7 |
| 1. Mostly disagree
 | 28,2 |
| 1. Mostly agree
 | 30,7 |
| 1. Absolutely agree
 | 7,5 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 10,9 |

**15. In your opinion, how will the degree of democracy and lawfulness change in Ukraine in the next 10 years?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. It will mostly likely improve
 | 36,9 |
| 1. It will most likely worsen
 | 21,1 |
| 1. Won’t change
 | 23,9 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 18,1 |

**PATERNALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM**

**16. Which of the following statements do you agree with more?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Of course, both freedom and prosperity are important, but in exchange for my own well-being, I am ready to cede to the state a share of my rights and civil liberties.
 | 22,8 |
| 1. Of course, both freedom and prosperity are important, but for the sake of personal freedom and guarantees of observance of all civil rights, I am ready to endure certain material difficulties.
 | 38,9 |
| 1. It is difficult to answer
 | 38,3 |

**17. Which of the following assertions are dearest to you?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. The state must take full responsibility for providing everyone with everything they need
 | 37,7 |
| 1. The state must provide people with a level playing field in life, and then the person is responsible for how he uses these opportunities
 | 54,0 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 8,2 |

**18. In your opinion: will the majority of people in Ukraine be able to live without constant care (guardianship) from the state?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. The majority will be able to live without governmental welfare
 | 23,6 |
| 1. The majority will not be able to live without governmental welfare
 | 64,8 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 11,6 |

**19. What do you think is better – to endure financial difficulties in order to maintain order, peace and tranquility in the country, or should living conditions significantly deteriorate, to take to the streets in protest?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. We need to maintain order, peace and harmony
 | 38,9 |
| 1. It is necessary to actively protest against the significant deterioration of living conditions
 | 42,5 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 18,6 |

**IDENTITY AND CITIZENSHIP**

**20. To what extent are you proud or not proud of being a Ukrainian citizen?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Absolutely not proud
 | 5,6 |
| 1. Rather not proud
 | 13,0 |
| 1. Rather proud
 | 45,1 |
| 1. Very proud
 | 27,3 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 8,9 |

**21.** **Who do you foremost consider yourself?** *ONE ANSWER***.**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. A resident of a village, district, or city where I live
 | 18,8 |
| 1. A resident of a village (a regions or several regions), where I live
 | 11,0 |
| 1. A citizen of Ukraine
 | 59,0 |
| 1. A representative of my ethnicity, nation
 | 2,1 |
| 1. A citizen of the former Soviet Union
 | 3,5 |
| 1. A citizen of Europe
 | 1,9 |
| 1. A citizen of the world
 | 1,8 |
| 1. Other
 | 0,4 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 1,6 |

**22. In your opinion, what today unites people in Ukrainian society? (more than response is possible)**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. The desire to overcome the difficulties of life together
 | 22,0 |
| 1. Feeling of losing a normal life
 | 19,1 |
| 1. Belief in a better future
 | 35,7 |
| 1. Common hardships in life
 | 29,5 |
| 1. Family and social feelings
 | 26,9 |
| 1. Dissatisfaction with the authorities
 | 22,3 |
| 1. Fear of the future
 | 14,9 |
| 1. Language of communication
 | 14,8 |
| 1. Patriotic feelings of a citizen of Ukraine
 | 25,5 |
| 1. Political views
 | 6,7 |
| 1. Religion (religion)
 | 12,0 |
| 1. Nationality
 | 14,0 |
| 1. Other
 | 1,4 |
| 1. Nothing unites
 | 8,3 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 4,9 |

**SUCCESSES AND FAILURES**

**23.** **August 24 marks the 30th anniversary of the declaration of Ukraine as an independent state. In your opinion, has there been more positive or negative events in Ukraine during this time?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. More positive
 | 17,8 |
| 1. As much as positive as there was negative
 | 46,3 |
| 1. More negative
 | 29,1 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 6,8 |

**24. How successful do you think the transformations of 30 years of independence have been in each of the following areas?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Very successful | Mostly successful | Mostly unsuccessful | Absolutely unsuccessful | Difficult to say |
| 1. Building the institutions of an independent state
 | 2,6 | 30,1 | 32,9 | 19,0 | 15,3 |
| 1. Economic development
 | 1,4 | 12,9 | 37,4 | 42,3 | 6,0 |
| 1. Formation of the Ukrainian nation
 | 5,5 | 39,7 | 26,4 | 17,4 | 10,9 |
| 1. Building democracy
 | 3,7 | 38,4 | 28,6 | 18,5 | 10,8 |
| 1. Ensuring the rights and freedoms of people
 | 3,9 | 33,3 | 32,9 | 20,6 | 9,4 |
| 1. Development of civil society
 | 4,9 | 36,6 | 28,9 | 18,5 | 11,1 |
| 1. Development of culture
 | 4,0 | 33,4 | 33,6 | 20,9 | 8,1 |
| 1. Development of education and science
 | 3,1 | 23,3 | 37,8 | 28,3 | 7,4 |
| 1. Healthcare
 | 2,5 | 12,8 | 36,2 | 42,5 | 6,0 |
| 1. Foreign policy in line with the interests of the state
 | 2,2 | 22,7 | 33,5 | 28,1 | 13,5 |
| 1. European integration
 | 4,1 | 27,8 | 31,9 | 23,7 | 12,5 |
| 1. Ensuring the defense capabilities of the state
 | 5,0 | 36,6 | 28,1 | 19,4 | 10,9 |
| 1. Growing opportunities for the self-realization of people
 | 3,4 | 27,2 | 31,5 | 26,1 | 11,8 |
| 1. Ensuring social justice
 | 1,6 | 12,0 | 39,1 | 37,5 | 9,8 |
| 1. Protection of socially-vulnerable groups (people living with disabilities, large families, etc.)
 | 1,8 | 13,7 | 36,2 | 38,8 | 9,5 |
| 1. Formation of a fair judicial system
 | 1,3 | 10,0 | 29,2 | 48,3 | 11,2 |
| 1. Fighting corruption
 | 1,0 | 7,1 | 27,2 | 59,4 | 5,3 |
| 1. Fighting crime
 | 1,2 | 11,9 | 34,8 | 41,8 | 10,2 |
| 1. Ensuring equality of men and women
 | 8,7 | 43,3 | 20,3 | 14,2 | 13,5 |
| 1. Ensuring the equality of national minorities
 | 7,0 | 38,9 | 20,1 | 14,8 | 19,3 |
| 1. Holding free and fair elections
 | 4,5 | 31,5 | 29,1 | 22,6 | 12,3 |
| 1. The assertion of freedom of speech
 | 5,9 | 40,8 | 25,7 | 16,9 | 10,7 |

**25. Please name the biggest obstacle (obstacles) (one or more) for the development of Ukraine? (you can name several options)**, **only those options that were provided by 1% or more of respondents is shown**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Corruption | 38,5 |
| War | 18,1 |
| Incompetence of the authorities | 5,9 |
| The oligarchs | 5,7 |
| Ukrainians | 4,8 |
| Economic decline | 3,4 |
| Russia | 3,3 |
| Influence of other countries | 3,1 |
| Treason | 2,7 |
| Low standard of living | 2,2 |
| Government | 1,9 |
| Thieves | 1,7 |
| Ignorance | 1,7 |
| Disunity in society | 1,5 |
| There are no patriots in power | 1,3 |
| Resistance of the authorities and officials to real reforms | 1,3 |
| Impunity | 1,2 |
| Unemployment | 1,2 |
| High prices and tariffs | 1,2 |
| Disrespect toward the people | 1,2 |
| Vladimir Putin, the Russian government | 1,2 |
| Lawlessness | 1,1 |
| Volodymyr Zelenskyy | 1,1 |
| Embezzlement | 1,1 |
| Dishonesty of those in power | 1,1 |
| Self-enrichment of those in power | 1,0 |
| Bribery | 1,0 |
| There are none | 2,7 |
| Difficult to say | 9,2 |
| Did not answer | 0,9 |

**26. What do you think, is Ukraine capable of overcoming its existing problems and hardships?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. It is capable within the next few years
 | 19,8 |
| 1. It is capable of overcoming them in the long-term future
 | 48,6 |
| 1. It is not capable
 | 20,6 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 11,0 |

**REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION**

*Composition of macro-regions: West – Volyn, Zakarpattya, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil and Chernivtsi regions; Center – Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Poltava, Sumy, Khmelnytskyi, Cherkasy and Chernihiv regions, as well as the city of Kyiv; South – Mykolayiv, Odesa, and Kherson; East – Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhya, Luhansk and Kharkiv regions.*

**Do you agree that a few strong leaders can do more for the country than all the combined laws and debates?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| Yes | 52,9% | 56,8% | 67,1% | 45,4% |
| No | 28,0% | 22,9% | 11,7% | 31,0% |
| Difficult to say | 19,0% | 20,3% | 21,3% | 23,6% |

**What do you think is better – to endure financial difficulties in order to maintain order, peace and tranquility in the country, or should living conditions significantly deteriorate, to take to the streets in protest?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| We need to keep order, peace and harmony | 37,7% | 35,8% | 46,9% | 41,0% |
| We need to actively protest against the significant deterioration of living conditions | 45,6% | 46,2% | 36,9% | 36,8% |
| Difficult to say | 16,7% | 18,1% | 16,2% | 22,2% |

**August 24 marks the 30th anniversary of the declaration of Ukraine as an independent state. In your opinion, has there been more positive or negative events in Ukraine during this time?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| More positive  | 28,6% | 17,1% | 6,2% | 14,6% |
| As much positive as negative  | 48,6% | 49,5% | 51,0% | 37,3% |
| More negative | 16,1% | 26,8% | 38,6% | 39,8% |
| Difficult to say | 6,7% | 6,6% | 4,1% | 8,3% |

**13. On the card you see a scale from "1" to "10", where "1" means a completely dictatorial regime, and "10" – a completely democratic regime. Where on this scale would you place modern Ukraine?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| Complete dictatorship | 1,5% | 3,0% | 11,2% | 9,5% |
| 2 | 2,4% | 3,2% | 4,7% | 12,4% |
| 3 | 8,0% | 5,8% | 10,7% | 11,2% |
| 4 | 11,3% | 6,1% | 8,2% | 10,1% |
| 5 | 19,5% | 19,0% | 20,6% | 19,8% |
| 6 | 14,5% | 21,0% | 16,7% | 12,0% |
| 7 | 16,2% | 18,7% | 10,3% | 12,2% |
| 8 | 16,7% | 14,2% | 11,2% | 7,2% |
| 9 | 5,8% | 7,3% | 3,4% | 2,5% |
| A complete democracy | 4,1% | 1,8% | 3,0% | 3,2% |
|  |
| Average score | **6 points** | **6 points** | **5,1 points** | **4,8 points** |

**Can people in today’s Ukraine freely express their political views?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| No | 8,6% | 20,7% | 21,7% | 29,9% |
| Difficult to say | 19,7% | 18,9% | 27,9% | 26,1% |
| Yes | 67,4% | 56,4% | 45,8% | 38,9% |
| Refused to answer | 4,4% | 4,0% | 4,6% | 5,1% |

**Which of the following statements do you agree with most?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| Of course, both freedom and prosperity are important, but in exchange for my own well-being, I am ready to cede to the state a share of my rights and civil liberties. | 25,5% | 23,0% | 17,8% | 22,4% |
| Of course, both freedom and prosperity are important, but for the sake of personal freedom and guarantees of observance of all civil rights, I am ready to endure certain material difficulties. | 41,1% | 38,7% | 43,2% | 35,3% |
| Difficult to say | 33,4% | 38,3% | 39,0% | 42,3% |

**Which of the following statements do you agree with most?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| Democracy is the most desirable type of government for Ukraine | 60,9% | 55,8% | 44,8% | 49,3% |
| Under certain circumstances, an authoritarian regime may be better than a democratic one | 17,2% | 17,6% | 21,2% | 24,2% |
| For someone like me, it doesn't matter if the country has a democratic regime or not | 12,8% | 17,7% | 24,9% | 15,0% |
| Difficult to say | 9,2% | 9,0% | 9,1% | 11,4% |

**In your opinion, are there such situations in the life of the country when the people need a strong and powerful leader?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| Our people constantly need a "strong hand" | 19,2% | 27,6% | 34,7% | 25,8% |
| There are situations when you need to concentrate all the power into one hand | 29,7% | 26,3% | 24,8% | 25,2% |
| It is impossible to allow all power to be handed over to one person | 40,6% | 38,2% | 31,8% | 35,7% |
| Difficult to say | 10,5% | 7,9% | 8,7% | 13,3% |

**In your opinion, should such "strong leaders" obey existing laws?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| Yes. They should act only within the confines of the law | 74,1% | 78,9% | 73,0% | 60,9% |
| In certain cases and in the interests of the case, they may deviate from the laws | 12,5% | 13,4% | 13,7% | 18,4% |
| No. They can violate the law | 2,9% | 4,2% | 4,1% | 6,6% |
| Difficult to say | 10,4% | 3,5% | 9,1% | 14,1% |

**To what extent do you agree with the following statement: «Elections in Ukraine can really be a an effective tool for the public to influence government?»**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| I totally disagree  | 11,3% | 24,2% | 17,9% | 32,9% |
| Mostly disagree | 31,4% | 31,5% | 24,6% | 22,2% |
| Basically agree | 40,4% | 29,6% | 34,6% | 22,0% |
| I completely agree | 7,1% | 6,0% | 5,8% | 10,5% |
| Difficult to say | 9,8% | 8,7% | 17,1% | 12,4% |

**Which of the following statements are dearest to you?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| The state must take full responsibility for providing everyone with everything they need | 34,0% | 32,2% | 35,3% | 50,3% |
| The state must provide people with a level playing field in life, and then the person is responsible for how they use these opportunities | 56,0% | 59,2% | 59,3% | 42,4% |
| Difficult to say | 10,1% | 8,6% | 5,4% | 7,3% |

**In your opinion: will the majority of people in Ukraine be able to live without constant care (guardianship) from the state?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| Most will be able to live without the care of the state | 32,2% | 23,0% | 5,4% | 24,8% |
| Most will not be able to live without the care of the state | 53,4% | 66,6% | 86,7% | 62,6% |
| Difficult to say | 14,4% | 10,4% | 7,9% | 12,6% |

**To what extent are you proud of being a Ukrainian citizen?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| Absolutely not proud | ,4% | 5,7% | 4,2% | 10,5% |
| Mostly not proud | 5,8% | 12,4% | 14,6% | 19,9% |
| Mostly proud | 49,3% | 45,9% | 53,8% | 36,4% |
| Very proud | 38,6% | 29,5% | 17,5% | 18,4% |
| Difficult to say | 5,8% | 6,5% | 10,0% | 14,8% |

**Who do you foremost consider yourself? ONE ANSWER.**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| A resident of a village, district or city in which you live | 14,6% | 19,3% | 19,0% | 21,6% |
| A resident of the region (region or regions) where you live | 7,7% | 7,6% | 15,3% | 16,9% |
| A citizen of Ukraine | 70,9% | 62,2% | 55,0% | 45,0% |
| A representative of an ethnic group, nation | 2,7% | 1,8% | 1,7% | 2,3% |
| A citizen of the former Soviet Union | 0,0% | 3,0% | 2,5% | 7,7% |
| A citizen of Europe | ,8% | 2,1% | 2,1% | 2,4% |
| A citizen of the world | 1,3% | 2,5% | 2,9% | 1,1% |
| Other | ,4% | ,3% | ,4% | ,4% |
| Difficult to say | 1,5% | 1,3% | 1,2% | 2,6% |

**In your opinion, is Ukraine capable of overcoming its existing problems and difficulties?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **West** | **Center** | **South** | **East** |
| Capble of overcoming them over the next few years | 25,3% | 19,3% | 17,5% | 16,5% |
| Capable of overcoming in the long-term future | 54,0% | 52,5% | 46,7% | 39,3% |
| Not capable | 9,0% | 18,4% | 23,3% | 33,1% |
| Difficult to say | 11,7% | 9,9% | 12,5% | 11,1% |

**AGE DISTRIBUTION**

**Do you agree that a few strong leaders can do more for the country than all the combined laws and debates?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| Yes | 48,0% | 50,6% | 49,8% | 55,1% | 55,8% | 58,4% |
| No | 25,1% | 30,0% | 25,9% | 27,3% | 24,1% | 21,7% |
| Difficult to say | 26,9% | 19,4% | 24,4% | 17,6% | 20,1% | 19,8% |

**What do you think is better – to endure financial difficulties in order to maintain order, peace and tranquility in the country, or should living conditions significantly deteriorate, to take to the streets in protest?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| We need to keep order, peace and harmony | 46,5% | 41,8% | 37,6% | 35,5% | 37,4% | 39,8% |
| We need to actively protest against the significant deterioration of living conditions | 36,6% | 35,9% | 43,0% | 47,2% | 44,6% | 41,5% |
| Difficult to say | 16,9% | 22,4% | 19,4% | 17,3% | 18,0% | 18,8% |

**August 24 marks the 30th anniversary of the declaration of Ukraine as an independent state. In your opinion, has there been more positive or negative events in Ukraine during this time?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| More positive  | 24,0% | 22,5% | 22,6% | 17,1% | 14,2% | 13,7% |
| As much positive as negative  | 49,1% | 49,7% | 45,9% | 45,9% | 46,2% | 45,1% |
| More negative | 15,2% | 19,5% | 23,6% | 31,3% | 34,0% | 35,8% |
| Difficult to say | 11,7% | 8,3% | 7,9% | 5,7% | 5,5% | 5,4% |

**13. On the card you see a scale from "1" to "10", where "1" means a completely dictatorial regime, and "10" – a completely democratic regime. Where on this scale would you place modern Ukraine?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| Complete dictatorship | 2,5% | 5,6% | 3,6% | 4,8% | 4,5% | 7,9% |
| 2 | 1,9% | 4,3% | 6,5% | 4,5% | 7,9% | 5,5% |
| 3 | 5,1% | 4,9% | 8,8% | 9,0% | 6,9% | 10,4% |
| 4 | 7,0% | 9,9% | 8,0% | 9,3% | 10,0% | 8,1% |
| 5 | 17,8% | 17,3% | 17,3% | 19,1% | 20,2% | 22,1% |
| 6 | 16,6% | 17,9% | 14,2% | 16,1% | 19,3% | 16,4% |
| 7 | 18,5% | 14,8% | 18,1% | 17,6% | 13,0% | 12,9% |
| 8 | 13,4% | 13,6% | 15,2% | 12,5% | 11,2% | 11,2% |
| 9 | 9,6% | 7,4% | 4,7% | 4,8% | 4,2% | 4,5% |
| A complete democracy | 7,6% | 4,3% | 3,6% | 2,4% | 2,7% | ,9% |

**Can people in today’s Ukraine freely express their political views?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| No  | 14,0% | 17,8% | 19,0% | 21,7% | 20,9% | 22,9% |
| Difficult to say | 15,7% | 21,3% | 18,5% | 20,5% | 25,2% | 25,9% |
| Yes | 65,1% | 56,8% | 57,9% | 53,8% | 51,3% | 45,7% |
| Refused to answer | 5,2% | 4,1% | 4,7% | 4,0% | 2,6% | 5,6% |

**Which of the following statements do you agree with most?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| Of course, both freedom and prosperity are important, but in exchange for my own well-being, I am ready to cede to the state a share of my rights and civil liberties. | 18,6% | 15,9% | 20,6% | 22,2% | 25,6% | 26,6% |
| Of course, both freedom and prosperity are important, but for the sake of personal freedom and guarantees of observance of all civil rights, I am ready to endure certain material difficulties. | 40,1% | 45,3% | 43,0% | 42,0% | 36,6% | 33,3% |
| Difficult to say | 41,3% | 38,8% | 36,4% | 35,8% | 37,8% | 40,1% |

**Which of the following statements do you agree with most?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| Democracy is the most desirable type of government for Ukraine | 57,3% | 60,0% | 56,0% | 55,7% | 53,8% | 49,0% |
| Under certain circumstances, an authoritarian regime may be better than a democratic one | 17,5% | 14,1% | 22,6% | 21,6% | 18,3% | 19,3% |
| For someone like me, it doesn't matter if the country has a democratic regime or not | 16,4% | 14,1% | 12,3% | 15,1% | 17,4% | 21,0% |
| Difficult to say | 8,8% | 11,8% | 9,1% | 7,7% | 10,5% | 10,6% |

**In your opinion, are there such situations in the life of the country when the people need a strong and powerful leader?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| Our people constantly need a "strong hand" | 17,4% | 17,1% | 21,9% | 25,9% | 29,4% | 32,1% |
| There are situations when you need to concentrate all the power into one hand | 27,3% | 24,1% | 30,5% | 28,7% | 26,2% | 23,4% |
| It is impossible to allow all power to be handed over to one person | 43,6% | 43,5% | 38,2% | 38,6% | 35,2% | 33,3% |
| Difficult to say | 11,6% | 15,3% | 9,4% | 6,8% | 9,3% | 11,1% |

**In your opinion, should such “strong leaders” obey the existing laws?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| Yes. They should act only within the confines of the law | 70,2% | 72,9% | 73,5% | 74,6% | 70,9% | 71,5% |
| In certain cases and in the interests of the case, they may deviate from the laws | 14,0% | 12,9% | 13,3% | 12,8% | 18,3% | 15,0% |
| No. They can violate the law | 5,8% | 3,5% | 4,2% | 5,7% | 3,5% | 4,5% |
| Difficult to say | 9,9% | 10,6% | 9,1% | 6,8% | 7,3% | 9,0% |

**To what extent do you agree with the following statement: «Elections in Ukraine can really be a an effective tool for the public to influence government?»**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| I totally disagree  | 19,9% | 20,0% | 20,4% | 22,4% | 24,5% | 25,0% |
| Mostly disagree | 26,3% | 24,7% | 29,2% | 27,6% | 28,3% | 29,5% |
| Basically agree | 30,4% | 32,9% | 32,4% | 32,1% | 30,9% | 27,8% |
| I completely agree | 11,1% | 12,9% | 6,1% | 8,8% | 5,8% | 5,9% |
| Difficult to say | 12,3% | 9,4% | 11,8% | 9,1% | 10,5% | 11,8% |

**Which of the following statements are dearest to you?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
|  | 28,5% | 24,7% | 31,0% | 34,1% | 40,7% | 49,7% |
| The state must take full responsibility for providing everyone with everything they need | 60,5% | 65,3% | 60,4% | 57,4% | 51,2% | 43,7% |
| The state must provide people with a level playing field in life, and then the person is responsible for how they use these opportunities | 11,0% | 10,0% | 8,6% | 8,5% | 8,1% | 6,6% |

**In your opinion: will the majority of people in Ukraine be able to live without constant care (guardianship) from the state?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| Most will be able to live without the care of the state | 29,2% | 27,6% | 29,7% | 25,9% | 21,8% | 15,8% |
| Most will not be able to live without the care of the state | 53,8% | 57,1% | 57,0% | 64,1% | 70,1% | 73,3% |
| Difficult to say | 17,0% | 15,3% | 13,3% | 10,0% | 8,1% | 10,9% |

**To what extent are you proud of being a Ukrainian citizen?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| Absolutely not proud | 4,1% | 3,6% | 4,7% | 6,0% | 5,5% | 7,1% |
| Mostly not proud | 9,4% | 8,9% | 12,6% | 14,8% | 13,7% | 14,2% |
| Mostly proud | 47,4% | 49,7% | 48,3% | 43,2% | 47,4% | 40,8% |
| Very proud | 29,2% | 27,8% | 25,1% | 28,1% | 26,5% | 28,0% |
| Difficult to say | 9,9% | 10,1% | 9,4% | 8,0% | 7,0% | 9,9% |

**Who do you foremost consider yourself? ONE ANSWER.**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| A resident of a village, district or city in which you live | 18,0% | 18,8% | 15,5% | 19,4% | 17,7% | 21,5% |
| A resident of the region (region or regions) where you live | 8,7% | 8,8% | 12,0% | 10,5% | 14,0% | 10,1% |
| A citizen of Ukraine | 61,6% | 64,1% | 60,7% | 61,3% | 61,0% | 52,8% |
| A representative of an ethnic group, nation | 3,5% | 1,2% | 2,2% | 2,8% | 1,5% | 1,7% |
| A citizen of the former Soviet Union | 0,0% | 0,0% | 1,2% | 1,7% | 2,0% | 9,2% |
| A citizen of Europe | 5,2% | 2,9% | 2,5% | 1,1% | 1,2% | 1,0% |
| A citizen of the world | 1,2% | 1,2% | 2,9% | 2,0% | 1,2% | 1,7% |
| Other | 1,2% | ,6% | ,2% | ,3% | ,6% | 0,0% |
| Difficult to say | ,6% | 2,4% | 2,7% | ,9% | ,9% | 1,9% |

**In your opinion, is Ukraine capable of overcoming its existing problems and difficulties?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **18-24** | **25-29** | **30-39** | **40-49** | **50-59** | **60+** |
| Capble of overcoming them over the next few years | 29,2% | 30,0% | 21,9% | 15,6% | 17,5% | 16,3% |
| Capable of overcoming in the long-term future | 48,5% | 44,7% | 50,5% | 50,9% | 53,1% | 44,6% |
| Not capable | 12,3% | 18,2% | 16,0% | 21,3% | 18,7% | 27,6% |
| Difficult to say | 9,9% | 7,1% | 11,6% | 12,2% | 10,8% | 11,5% |

**LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME**

**Do you agree that a few strong leaders can do more for the country than all the combined laws and debates?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| Yes | 55,1% | 53,9% |
| No | 20,9% | 26,8% |
| Difficult to say | 24,0% | 19,3% |

**What do you think is better – to endure financial difficulties in order to maintain order, peace and tranquility in the country, or should living conditions significantly deteriorate, to take to the streets in protest?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| We need to keep order, peace and harmony | 37,9% | 39,7% |
| We need to actively protest against the significant deterioration of living conditions | 40,3% | 43,8% |
| Difficult to say | 21,8% | 16,5% |

**August 24 marks the 30th anniversary of the declaration of Ukraine as an independent state. In your opinion, has there been more positive or negative events in Ukraine during this time?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| More positive  | 10,2% | 22,8% |
| As much positive as negative  | 45,1% | 47,0% |
| More negative | 38,8% | 23,1% |
| Difficult to say | 5,9% | 7,1% |

**13. On the card you see a scale from "1" to "10", where "1" means a completely dictatorial regime, and "10" – a completely democratic regime. Where on this scale would you place modern Ukraine?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| Complete dictatorship | 7,4% | 4,1% |
| 2 | 6,6% | 4,0% |
| 3 | 11,9% | 6,4% |
| 4 | 9,7% | 8,1% |
| 5 | 20,4% | 18,7% |
| 6 | 15,5% | 17,4% |
| 7 | 12,4% | 17,4% |
| 8 | 9,9% | 14,6% |
| 9 | 4,2% | 6,0% |
| A complete democracy | 2,0% | 3,3% |

**Can people in today’s Ukraine freely express their political views?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| No | 28,4% | 16,4% |
| Difficult to say | 22,5% | 20,7% |
| Yes | 45,3% | 58,1% |
| Refused to answer  | 3,7% | 4,8% |

**Which of the following statements do you agree with most?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| Of course, both freedom and prosperity are important, but in exchange for my own well-being, I am ready to cede to the state a share of my rights and civil liberties. | 19,9% | 24,1% |
| Of course, both freedom and prosperity are important, but for the sake of personal freedom and guarantees of observance of all civil rights, I am ready to endure certain material difficulties. | 37,6% | 40,0% |
| Difficult to say | 42,5% | 35,8% |

**Which of the following statements do you agree with most?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| Democracy is the most desirable type of government for Ukraine | 49,9% | 57,0% |
| Under certain circumstances, an authoritarian regime may be better than a democratic one | 21,2% | 18,6% |
| For someone like me, it doesn't matter if the country has a democratic regime or not | 18,1% | 15,5% |
| Difficult to say | 10,8% | 9,0% |

**In your opinion, are there such situations in the life of the country when the people need a strong and powerful leader?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| Our people constantly need a "strong hand" | 29,6% | 24,4% |
| There are situations when you need to concentrate all the power into one hand | 25,0% | 28,0% |
| It is impossible to allow all power to be handed over to one person | 33,7% | 38,7% |
| Difficult to say | 11,8% | 8,9% |

**In your opinion, should such “strong leaders” obey existing laws?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| Yes. They should act only within the confines of the law | 70,1% | 74,5% |
| In certain cases and in the interests of the case, they may deviate from the laws | 14,9% | 14,4% |
| No. They can violate the law | 5,7% | 3,8% |
| Difficult to say | 9,3% | 7,3% |

**To what extent do you agree with the following statement: «Elections in Ukraine can really be a an effective tool for the public to influence government?»**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| I totally disagree  | 23,7% | 22,2% |
| Mostly disagree | 26,4% | 29,9% |
| Basically agree | 29,1% | 31,4% |
| I completely agree | 6,5% | 8,1% |
| I totally disagree  | 14,3% | 8,4% |

**Which of the following statements are dearest to you?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| The state should take full responsibility for the care of every person with everything they need.  | 44,0% | 33,5% |
| The state should provide a level playing for every person in life and then the individual takes responsibility for they use those opportunities  | 49,2% | 57,5% |
| Difficult to say | 6,7% | 9,0% |

**In your opinion: will the majority of people in Ukraine be able to live without constant care (guardianship) from the state?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| Most will be able to live without the care of the state | 19,7% | 26,7% |
| Most will not be able to live without the care of the state | 70,2% | 61,4% |
| Difficult to say | 10,2% | 11,9% |

**To what extent are you proud of being a Ukrainian citizen?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| Absolutely not proud | 7,6% | 4,3% |
| Mostly not proud | 20,9% | 8,9% |
| Mostly proud | 41,3% | 47,5% |
| Very proud | 16,6% | 33,0% |
| Difficult to say | 13,6% | 6,3% |

**Who do you foremost consider yourself? ONE ANSWER.**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| A resident of a village, district or city in which you live | 21,2% | 17,1% |
| A resident of the region (region or regions) where you live | 12,9% | 10,0% |
| A citizen of Ukraine | 50,7% | 63,9% |
| A representative of an ethnic group, nation | 1,9% | 2,3% |
| A citizen of the former Soviet Union | 6,7% | 1,5% |
| A citizen of Europe | 1,4% | 2,3% |
| A citizen of the world | 3,0% | 1,1% |
| Other | ,4% | ,3% |
| Difficult to say | 1,7% | 1,6% |

**In your opinion, is Ukraine capable of overcoming its existing problems and difficulties?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Russian** | **Ukrainian** |
| Capble of overcoming them over the next few years | 16,1% | 22,1% |
| Capable of overcoming in the long-term future | 45,6% | 50,4% |
| Not capable | 28,3% | 16,3% |
| Difficult to say | 10,0% | 11,2% |

**ELECTORAL PREFERENCES**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Electorate of Y. Boyko | Electorate of V. Zelenskyy | Electorate of P. Poroshenko | Electorate of Y. Tymoshenko |
| He (she) is an honest and not corrupt person | 15,8% | 35,0% | 5,0% | 7,3% |
| He (she) is capable of bringing order in the country | 43,9% | 10,2% | 17,1% | 14,7% |
| He (she) is decisive and strong-willed person | 14,9% | 9,6% | 26,1% | 14,0% |
| He (she) is capable of combating corruption in the state | 42,3% | 7,9% | 2,5% | 9,8% |
| He (she) is a calm and well-balanced person | 11,8% | 3,8% | 8,5% | 16,0% |
| He (she) is simply likable to me | 24,6% | 19,5% | 36,0% | 34,1% |
| He (she) will accelerate real reforms in the country | 23,1% | 17,5% | 9,5% | 14,1% |
| He (she) is capable of raising living standards in the country | 31,3% | 5,3% | 41,2% | 38,0% |
| He (she) will ensure the achievement of peace in the war of eastern Ukraine | 12,3% | 17,3% | 21,5% | 18,4% |
| He (she) will not allow the disorder that preceded before 2014 to return | 29,7% | 21,8% | 32,0% | 32,5% |
| He (she) knows how to develop the national economy | 20,9% | 2,3% | ,5% | 1,8% |
| He (she) knows how to normalize relations between Ukraine and Russia and Belarus | 25,0% | 17,0% | 13,6% | 30,1% |
| He (she) is a member of political party (bloc) that I support  | 33,8% | 8,4% | 22,5% | 33,7% |
| He (she) has significant experience in government activity | 10,7% | 18,5% | 6,0% | 20,2% |
| He (she) criticizes the current government administration the most  | 6,1% | 17,5% | 6,5% | 16,0% |
| He (she) will ensure a transitional transfer of power and not radical changes | 21,9% | 6,6% | 11,6% | 14,7% |
| He (she) will ensure giving Russian the status of a second state language | 5,1% | 3,3% | 3,0% | 2,5% |
| Other  | 1,0% | 2,0% | 4,5% | ,6% |
| Difficult to say | 0,0% | ,3% | ,5% | 0,0% |

**DYNAMICS**

**What do you think, is Ukraine capable of overcoming its existing problems and hardships?**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | August 2016 | August 2019 | August 2021 |
| It is capable within the next few years  | 17,1 | 47,7 | 19,8 |
| It is capable of overcoming them in the long-term future  | 49,0 | 33,7 | 48,6 |
| It is not capable | 23,8 | 7,6 | 20,6 |
| Difficult to say | 10,2 | 11,0 | 11,0 |

**.Do you agree that a few strong leaders can do more for the country than all the combined laws and debates?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | August 2002 | December 2009 | March 2013 | August 2021 |
| 1. Yes | 63 | 74,9 | 54,3 | 54,1 |
| 2. No | 17 | 9,5 | 23,6 | 24,9 |
| 3. Difficult to say | 21 | 15,6 | 22,0 | 21,0 |

**What do you think is better – to endure financial difficulties in order to maintain order, peace and tranquility in the country, or should living conditions significantly deteriorate, to take to the streets in protest?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | August 2002 | September 2007 | Грудень 2012 | August 2021 |
| We need to maintain order, peace and harmony | 42 | 35,4 | 40,1 | 38,9 |
| It is necessary to actively protest against the significant deterioration of living conditions | 42 | 46,8 | 42,4 | 42,5 |
| Difficult to say | 17 | 17,8 | 17,5 | 18,6 |

**August 24 marks the 30th anniversary of the declaration of Ukraine as an independent state. In your opinion, has there been more positive or negative events in Ukraine during this time?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | August 2001 | August 2011 | August 2016 | August 2019  | August 2021 |
| More positive  | 8,0 | 13,5 | 11,6 | 25.9 | 17,8 |
| As much as positive as there was negative  | 37,0 | 45,8 | 40,8 | 45.7 | 46,3 |
| More negative | 48,0 | 31,4 | 41,5 | 23.3 | 29,1 |
| Difficult to say | 8,0 | 9,2 | 6,0 | 5.1 | 6,8 |

**Can people today in Ukraine freely express their political views?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1994 | 1996 | 1998 | 2000 | 2002 | 2004 | 2021 |
| No | 14,7 | 14,3 | 18,0 | 13,2 | 21,2 | 23,1 | 20,4 |
| Difficult to say | 29,8 | 25,7 | 27,6 | 35,9 | 23,2 | 23,9 | 22,1 |
| Yes | 55,2 | 60,0 | 54,4 | 50,7 | 55,3 | 54,9 | 53,1 |
| Refused to answer | 0,3 | 0,0 | 0,1 | 0,2 | 0,3 | 0,1 | 4,5 |

**Which of the following statements do you agree with?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | December 2006 | December 2008 | October 2010 | December 2013 | December 2019 | August 2021 |
| Of course, both freedom and prosperity are important, but in exchange for my own well-being, I am ready to cede to the state a share of my rights and civil liberties. | 26,3 | 32,7 | 30,9 | 24,9 | 33,1 | 22,8 |
| Of course, both freedom and prosperity are important, but for the sake of personal freedom and guarantees of observance of all civil rights, I am ready to endure certain material difficulties. | 38,5 | 33,0 | 30,3 | 44,6 | 42,3 | 38,9 |
| Difficult to say | 35,2 | 34,3 | 38,7 | 30,5 | 24,6 | 38,3 |

**Which of the following statements do you agree with?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | May 2004 | June 2007 | October 2010 | May 2013 | August 2016 | August 2021 |
| Democracy is the most desired type of government for Ukraine  | 41,3 | 42,8 | 46,9 | 47,9 | 54,0 | 54,0 |
| Under certain circumstances, an authoritarian regime may be better than a democratic one | 23,2 | 21,5 | 19,1 | 22,5 | 19,8 | 19,6 |
| For a person like me, it does not make a difference whether it is a democratic regime or not  | 18,0 | 17,7 | 15,7 | 16,7 | 15,0 | 16,7 |
| Difficult to say | 17,5 | 18,0 | 18,3 | 12,9 | 11,1 | 9,7 |

**In your opinion: will the majority of people in Ukraine be able to live without constant care (guardianship) from the state?**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | May 2013 | December 2019 | August 2021 |
| The majority will be able to live without the care of the state | 19,3 | 19,3 | 23,6 |
| The majority will not be able to live without the care of the state | 68,7 | 70,4 | 64,8 |
| Difficult to say | 12,0 | 10,2 | 11,6 |

**To what extent are you proud of being a Ukrainian citizen?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | ***2002*** | ***2004*** | ***2006*** | ***2008*** | ***2010*** | ***2012*** | ***2014*** | ***2015*** | ***2016*** | ***2017*** | ***2021*** |
| Absolutely not proud  | 6.6 | 8.9 | 7.1 | 7.5 | 7.2 | 7.9 | 5.1 | 5.0 | 4.9 | 6.0 | 5,6 |
| Rather not proud | 11.5 | 15.8 | 12.5 | 11.4 | 11.9 | 14.1 | 6.0 | 8.5 | 10.7 | 10.8 | 13,0 |
| Rather proud | 30.9 | 30.0 | 33.2 | 36.6 | 38.4 | 35.0 | 36.8 | 50.2 | 42.1 | 43.7 | 45,1 |
| Very proud | 10.1 | 7.7 | 11.9 | 13.9 | 11.1 | 7.7 | 23.9 | 17.1 | 18.0 | 18.8 | 27,3 |
| Difficult to say | 40.9 | 37.7 | 35.2 | 30.5 | 31.4 | 35.3 | 28.2 | 19.2 | 24.3 | 20.8 | 8,9 |

**Who do you foremost consider yourself?** *ONE ANSWER***.**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 2002 | 2005 | 2008 | 2010 | 2013 | 2015 | 2021 |
| A resident of a village, district, or city where I live  | 24,0 | 30,6 | 27,7 | 24,5 | 29,8 | 16,1 | 18,8 |
| A resident of a village (a regions or several regions), where I live | 6,8 | 6,7 | 6,6 | 9,3 | 7,6 | 8,0 | 11,0 |
| A citizen of Ukraine | 45,6 | 44,4 | 51,6 | 51,8 | 48,4 | 64,6 | 59,0 |
| A representative of my ethnicity, nation | - | 3,1 | 1,8 | 2,6 | 1,8 | 2,1 | 2,1 |
| A citizen of the former Soviet Union  | 12,7 | 10,7 | 7,3 | 9,0 | 8,4 | 5,5 | 3,5 |
| A citizen of Europe | 3,8 | 0,7 | 1,3 | 0,4 | 1,2 | 1,1 | 1,9 |
| A citizen of the world | 6,4 | 2,7 | 2,9 | 1,7 | 2,4 | 2,1 | 1,8 |
| Other | - | 1,6 | 0,7 | 0,6 | 0,3 | 0,5 | 0,4 |
| Difficult to say | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1,6 |