

Results of national poll conducted in terms of “Initiating the Participatory National Dialogue in Ukraine” project

(Part 1)

Ordered by International Centre for Policy Studies, the poll was held by Democratic Initiatives Foundation together with Ukrainian Sociological Service from December 25, 2014 till January 15, 2015. It covered 11 regions of Ukraine and 4413 respondents (400 respondents in all regions of Ukraine, 401 – in Transcarpathia and Bukovina, 402 – in Center, 410 – in Polesia).

The project designers defined 11 historical regions for the poll:

1. **Volhynia** (Volyn and Rivne regions);
2. **Galicja** (Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and Ternopil regions);
3. **Southern West** (Zakarpattya and Chernivtsi regions);
4. **Podolia** (Vinnitsia and Khmelnytskyi regions);
5. **Polesia** (Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Sumy and Chernihiv regions);
6. **Center** (Cherkassy, Kirovohrad and Poltava regions);
7. **Sloboda Ukraine** (Kharkiv region);
8. **Lower Dnipro Region** (Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhia regions);
9. **Northern Black Sea Coast** (Mykolaiv, Odesa and Kherson regions);
10. **Donbas** (Donetsk region);
11. **Kyiv**

Polls were not held in Luhansk region and annexed Crimea. The quota sample, which was used in the survey, represents the 18+ population of the above mentioned regions in Ukraine by regions, types of settlement, age and sex. The maximum sampling error for each region does not exceed 5.0%.

In general, in order to analyze the situation in Ukraine, "weighted" array is used pro rata to the share of each region in total population of Ukraine (18+). The maximum sampling error of the national array (including weighing) does not exceed 1.8%.

Assessment of major historical events and historical figures of Ukraine

The study has showed that the statement about fundamentally different models of historical memory in different regions of Ukraine is false, although historical memory is quite controversial.

- Such historical events as ***the Soviet victory in the war of 1941-1945 against the Third Reich (84.0% of positive responses), Christianization of Kievan Rus' in 988 (74%), the proclamation of Independence of Ukraine (71%) and National liberation war led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (69%)*** were the most positively rated by the Ukrainian citizens.

- It should be noted that in relation to these events of Ukraine's history positive assessments significantly outweigh negative ones in all regions of Ukraine.

With regard to the Soviet victory in the war against the Third Reich the largest is in Donetsk region - 96.5%, the lowest – in Polesia - 69%).

With regard to the Christianization of Kievan Rus' the largest is in the Volhynia - 88%, the lowest – in the city of Kyiv – 62%).

With regard to the National liberation war led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky the largest is in Galicia - 85.5% and the Lower Dniro Region - 85%, the lowest – in Transcarpathia and Bukovina - 52.5%).

With regard to the proclamation of Ukraine's Independence the largest is in Galicia - 97%, the lowest - in Donbas - 40%, although even in this region positive ratings prevail over negative ones (32%).

Thus, these events in Ukraine's history, which belong to different historical periods of its development, unite the majority of citizens in all regions of Ukraine.

- Most citizens of Ukraine also positively estimate such historical events as *the Association Agreement with the EU in 2014 (56%), Maidan of 2013-2014 (44%), Foundation of the First Zaporozhian Sich by Dmitry Vishnevetskyi on Khortytsya island (55%), victory over Napoleon's army in the Franco-Russian War of 1812 (53%), the February Revolution of 1917 in the Russian Empire and the establishment of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) (50%), the preparation of the Constitution by P. Orlik (54%), the breakup of the Soviet Union (52%)*.

However, regarding these events in the history of Ukraine differences between regions are quite significant, and in some cases the views are opposite. This especially concerns the collapse of the USSR, Maidan of 2013-2014 and the Association Agreement with the EU in 2014, i. e. modern historical events.

- For example, in relation to the collapse of the USSR in 1991, a positive attitude prevails in most regions (the largest is in Galicia - 88%), but in three regions negative evaluations dominate positive ones (Donbas - 70% versus 12%, Sloboda Ukraine - 52% vs. 31%, Lower Dniro Region - 49% vs. 39%).

With regard to Maidan of 2013-2014 positive assessments prevail in most regions (from 94% in Galicia region to 51% in the Northern Black Sea Coast), but in the same three south-eastern regions (Donbas - 69% vs. 12%, Sloboda Ukraine - 55% versus 36%, and Lower Dniro Region - 47% vs. 44%) prevalence of negative assessments is obvious.

With regard to the Association Agreement with the EU positive assessments prevail in most regions (from 94.5% in Galicia to 51% in Northern Black Sea Coast), but in two regions (Donbas - 69% versus 18% and Sloboda Ukraine - 41% vs. 34%) prevalence of negative assessments of this event is observed.

- Relative majority of Ukrainian citizens also appreciates *the formation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (47% vs. 20%), formation of UPA in 1942 (40% vs. 31%), the final release of the Ukrainian part of Rus by Lithuanian-Rus' troops after the battle in 1362 on Blue waters (42% vs. 3%), the establishment of Ukrainian nationalists organization (OUN) in 1929 (37% vs. 31%), the Orange Revolution of 2004 (44% vs. 35%), the consequences of Pereyaslav Rada (33% vs. 24%), Brest church union (the establishment of the Greek Catholic Church) (30% vs. 7%), victory of Ukrainian-Crimean Tatar armies over the forces of Muscovy at Konotop in 1659 (41% vs. 7%)*.

But these events (except the release of the Ukrainian part of Rus by Prince Olgerd in 1362 from the Mongol-Tatars) were perceived in a very different manner in the Ukrainian regions.

The so-called unification of Ukraine with Russia after Pereyaslav Council is mostly positively estimated by the population of the Lower Dniro Region (53% vs. 11%), Donbas (41% vs. 2%), Sloboda Ukraine (36% vs. 10%), Northern Black Sea Coast (37% vs. 10.0%),

Transcarpathia and Bukovina (42% vs. 15.5%) and obviously negative assessments prevail only in Galicia (65% vs. 12%) and Volhynia (61% vs. 11%).

The formation of the USSR in 1917 in Kharkiv is positively assessed in all regions of Ukraine, except Galicia (55% - negative, 18% - positive) and Volhynia (45.5% - negative, 21.5% - positive).

But in relation to the establishment of OUN in 1929 and UPA in 1942 the situation in regional assessments looks different. Positive assessments of the OUN and UPA have already dominated in the "orange" regions of Ukraine (Volhynia, Galicia, Transcarpathia, Bukovina, the city of Kyiv, Center, Podolia, Polesia) and negative ones - in the south-eastern regions (Donbas, Lower Dnipro Region, Northern Black Sea Coast, Sloboda Ukraine).

The same regional difference is observed concerning the Orange Revolution of 2004.

Therefore, such historical events as the establishment of the OUN and UPA and the Orange Revolution in 2004 still divide Ukraine into two parts.

- Respondents rated the Proclamation of the Russian Empire in 1721 (26% of positive evaluations and 24% of negative ones) least positively from the list of the events included in the survey. However, regional differences in this area were very significant (in Donbas 55% rated the event positively and 1% - negatively, compared with Galicia - 53% of negative and 6% of positive ones).

- The survey has shown quite diverse and controversial assessment of the most positive and negative politicians in Ukraine. Thus, among 18 historical figures from different historical periods, included in the survey, Ukrainians ***most positively*** estimate ***Prince Yaroslav (the Wise) - 33%, Bogdan Khmelnytsky - 32%, Prince Volodymyr (the Great) - 31% and Mykhailo Hrushevsky - 19%***, who are figures of faraway past. The highest rating among modern historical figures was given to current President Poroshenko - 10%, which ranks the seventh position, whereas Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich received the least positive ratings - 2% each.

Regional differences in the assessment of politicians are rather minor. However, Stepan Bandera joined the list of the most positive statesmen (Prince Vladimir (the Great), Yaroslav (the Wise), Bogdan Khmelnytsky and Mykhailo Hrushevsky) in Galicia (the first place) and Volhynia (the second place).

In Transcarpathia and Bukovina the assessment of Bohdan Khmelnytsky is quite low (lower than P.Poroshenko), in Sloboda Ukraine Mykhailo Hrushevsky is not in the top, but Tsar Peter I is, and in Donbas Tsar Peter I (30%) has a leadership among all historical figures included in the survey.

- Assessment of negative characters in Ukrainian history show that the undisputed "leader" among them is the former President Viktor Yanukovich (54%) followed by Joseph Stalin (39%), Viktor Yushchenko (25%), Vladimir Lenin (23%) and Stepan Bandera (20%). Poroshenko (15%) and Leonid Kuchma (12%) obtained many negative assessments, i.e. the negative characters are modern figures or people from the recent past.

Regional differences in assessment of negative figures are rather small. So unlike Tsar Peter I, Viktor Yushchenko is not among the top five negative personas in Volhynia and Galicia. In Transcarpathia and Bukovina Vladimir Lenin is evaluated more negatively than Joseph Stalin, in Sloboda Ukraine, Lower Dnipro Region and Northern Black Sea Coast Stepan Bandera is seen more negatively than Vladimir Lenin.

Quite a different hierarchy of negative historical characters is found out in Donbas. Here Stepan Bandera (45%) is a leader, followed by Viktor Yushchenko (40%), Petro Poroshenko (38%) and Viktor Yanukovich (25%). Stalin and Lenin are not considered as

negative characters. Therefore, Donbass region is influenced by the myth of "Banderivtsi" (followers of Stepan Bandera).

The national, cultural and linguistic identity of citizens

The survey has revealed that the notion of two almost equal identifications in Ukraine, Ukrainian and Russian, does not correspond with reality.

- 95% of respondents closely identify themselves with the Ukrainian state (73% of Ukrainian citizens - very closely) and 95% - with the Ukrainian language and culture (71% very closely), while 57% identify themselves with the Russian state (only 23% very closely) and 67% with the Russian language and culture (29% very closely).

- Yet the Russian language and culture are quite close to the citizens of Ukraine, even in comparison with the Belarusian language and culture (they are close to only 38% and distant to 55%), the Polish language and culture (they are close to 19% and distant to 71.5%), let alone the Hungarian language and culture (distant to 82%) and the Romanian language and culture (81%).

- As regards the state and cultural identity of citizens in different regions of Ukraine, it is worth noting that 100% in Galicia (92% very closely), 99% in Volhynia (77.5% very closely), 99% in Bukovina and Transcarpathia (85% very closely), 96% in Podolia (88% very closely), 93% in Center (75% very closely), 93% in Polesia (78% very closely), 96% in Lower Dnipro Region (80% very closely), 96% in Kyiv (74% very closely), 99% in Northern Black Sea Coast (63% very closely), 91% in Sloboda Ukraine (but only 48% very closely) and 88% in Donbas (49% very closely) identify themselves with the Ukrainian state as their own country.

- A similar situation is observed in the identification of citizens from different regions with the Ukrainian language and culture (from 100% in Galicia to 90% in Donbas find them close). The difference in the Ukrainian state and culture (language) identification in Sloboda Ukraine and Donbas, compared to other regions, lies in the fact that in these regions there are much fewer people who consider them "very" close and much more of those who consider them "largely" close.

- The situation is more complicated regarding the identification with the Russian state in the regions of Ukraine. As a matter of fact, 95% of the population identify themselves with it in Donbas (for 53% - very closely), 73.5% in Lower Dnipro Region (32% - very closely), 73.5% in Northern Black Sea Coast (27% - very closely), 56% in Sloboda Ukraine (13% - very closely). Even in the South West, Podolia, Polesia and Kyiv almost half of the population identify themselves with the Russian state (though only 13-25% - very closely). This is despite a year of military confrontation. The Russian state is distant to most citizens of Galicia (74%) and Volhynia (56%).

- The situation regarding the identification of citizens from different regions of Ukraine with the Russian language and culture is even more complex. The Russian language and culture are close to an absolute majority of the citizens in Donbas – 97% (60% - very close), 89% in Sloboda Ukraine (28.5% - very close), 84% in Lower Dnipro Region (39% - very close) and 81% in Northern Black Sea Coast (37% - very close). The Russian language and culture are close to most citizens of Transcarpathia and Bukovina – 67% (17% - very close), Podolia 65% (39.5% - very close), Kyiv - 65.5% (19% - very close), Center - 54% (13% - very close),

Polesia - 55% (20% - very close), Volhynia - 5.5% (6.5% - very close). Only for the residents of Galicia the Russian language and culture are distant (71%).

Thus, in most regions of Ukraine there is a dual cultural (Ukrainian and Russian) identity, and in some regions there is a dual state identity.

Although the Ukrainian identity prevails over the Russian one in all the regions (except for Donbas), the presence of two identities in all regions of Ukraine (except for Galicia), especially in the south-eastern regions, creates significant difficulties in carrying out cultural and informational policy under military confrontation with Russia.

Ukraine – united or divided?

- ***The vast majority of the population of Ukraine identify themselves primarily as citizens of Ukraine – 67.5%.*** The regional identification is much less pronounced – 12% identify themselves primarily as residents of their region and 10% as residents of their village or town. Less than 3% consider themselves the citizens of the former Soviet Union and only 0.3% identify themselves as citizens of Russia.

- Some regions have a higher level of regional identification: Donbas and South West (Zakarpattia and Chernivtsi regions). In Donbas 38% consider themselves to be citizens of Ukraine, 35% to be residents of Donbas, 10% to be residents of their towns, 9% to be citizens of the world and 5% to be citizens of the USSR (remarkably, only 0.3% to be citizens of Russia). In the South West, 38% consider themselves to be citizens of Ukraine, 27% residents of their towns, 22% inhabitants of their region and 6% citizens of the world.

- ***Only 5% of Ukrainians would rather prefer their region being separated from Ukraine,*** of which 3% would like it to be independent and 2% want it to join the other state. 8% would choose to be a part of the federal district. Generally, public opinion is divided between two possible options: their region is a part of a unitary Ukraine with existing powers (33%) or it is a part of a unitary Ukraine with extended powers (46%). Actually, the current status of the region is supported only in Galicia (70%), while firm intentions to strengthen the powers of the regions (decentralization) are announced in the South West (61.5%), Sloboda Ukraine (43%), Lower Dnipro Region (60%) and Northern Black Sea Coast (60%). In other regions, public opinion is divided almost equally between the two perspectives – to keep the existing powers of the region or to increase them. The opinions were divided in Volhynia (44% for the current powers and 48% for increasing them), Polesia (40% and 36%), Kyiv (38% and 44%). The situation is complicated in Donbas: 35% of the residents are for the separation of the region from Ukraine, of which 20% would like to secede from Ukraine and become an independent region, while 15% want to join the other state. On the other hand, the rest (58%) would like Donbas to remain in Ukraine: 30% - as an autonomous constituency within federal Ukraine and the other 30% in the unitary Ukraine but with more powers, and 2% are satisfied with the current powers of the regions.

- ***Only 11.5% of Ukrainians agree to Donbas seceding from Ukraine,*** mainly in Donbas (37%). Only 7% of Ukrainians agree to Galicia seceding from Ukraine, mostly in Donbas (16%) and least in Volhynia (0.5%) and Galicia (1%).

What can divide and what can unite Ukraine?

- ***Among the key factors that can separate Ukrainians there are corruption in the government (29%), oligarchs' activities (29%), Russia's attempts to split Ukraine (25%), the***

information manipulation through the media (24%) and division of Ukrainians by political campaigns (20%). According to the respondents, the least influence on Ukraine's division is exerted by protests at Euromaidans (6%), actions of the Western countries (9%), radicalism and nationalism growth in Ukraine (9%), language harassment (10%). 9% are certain that "there is no separation in Ukraine and this fact is imposed" and only 2% believe that "Ukraine has never been united and it is impossible to unify it".

- There are regional differences in understanding the factors that can divide Ukraine. Thus, the recognition of main splitting determinants such as the government corruption, oligarchs' actions, the information manipulation through the media, division of Ukrainians by political campaigns is common for all the regions. In Donbas, unlike all other regions, only 7% recognize the role of Russia in separation of Ukrainians, while "radicalism and nationalism growth" in Ukraine is considered the key factor in the division (30%). Russia is blamed less than in other regions also in Sloboda Ukraine (15%). Donbas is the only region where a significant number of respondents (23%) blame the Western countries for the separation of regions. In some regions they consider the pursuit of the EU integration to be the reason for division (Northern Black Sea Coast - 25%, Podolia - 21% and Donbas - 20%).

- **According to the survey, the most effective for Ukrainian reconciliation would be the following: winning the war (36%), a real fight to combat corruption (35%), the improvement of the socio-economic situation in the country (34%).** The efficacy of other actions and measures are assessed by the public much lower: the federalization of Ukraine (6%), the adoption of the Russian language as a second state language (8%), and the fight against nationalist manifestations (8%) are considered the least effective.

- **Winning the war, a real fight to combat corruption and the improvement of the socio-economic situation in the country are considered to be crucial in almost all the regions.** In Donbas only 11% believe that victory in the war is a determinant of Ukrainian reconciliation; whereas "the fight against nationalist manifestations" is regarded as a vital factor (33%).

- **Among the subjects that could reconcile Ukrainians, there are the Ukrainian authorities (33%) and the media (25%), while 24% of the population believe that Ukrainians will reconcile themselves.** These three factors are common for all the regions of Ukraine, including Donbas. Nevertheless, there are interregional differences. In Kyiv they rely on NGOs more than in any other region (30%), in Volhynia they count on the army (28%) and international organizations (30%). Donbas includes the largest number of pessimists who think that nobody can reconcile Ukrainians (20%). Overall, 6% of Ukrainians support this opinion.

- **Most of the population (57%) believe that state policy of reconciliation of Ukrainians is needed and only 15.5% disagree with it.** The confidence in the need for state policy of reconciliation brings together all the regions of Ukraine, especially the residents of Donbas (63%).

- **Most of the population know nothing about the programs aimed at the unification of Ukraine (56%),** and people in Donbas (74%), Northern Black Sea Coast (72%), Lower Dnipro Region (65%) and Sloboda Ukraine (72%) are the least aware of such programs. People are well-informed about such programs in the South West, where only 33% know nothing about such programs, and in Podolia (28.5%). 24% have seen TV programs on the subject (in the South West and Podolia almost half of the residents have seen such programs), 17.5% know about the possibility to visit each other in different regions (most of all, 39%, in Podolia), 9% have heard of round-table discussions in their communities (most of all, 22%, in Podolia), people also know about classes and lectures on the subject in schools (most of all, 27%, in Podolia).