

# The Attitude of Ukrainians Toward Social Democracy

Public opinion poll results

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- In Ukraine social democratic ideas don't belong to the programming principles of the political forces, represented in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. Moreover, there is no leading political party that would consequently uphold social democratic ideas in the political life of the country.
- Despite a generally high level of interest in politics amongst Ukrainians, their level of knowledge about the operation of the political system is critically low. Therefore, the political and ideological preferences of the population of Ukraine are fragmented and unstructured. Most of the respondents experience difficulties in identifying themselves within the left-centre-right spectrum. It is also difficult for them to define which ideology corresponds with their beliefs.
- In general, Ukrainians tend to prefer the centrist political views. Social democracy as the golden mean enjoys the biggest support amongst Ukrainians.
- Ukrainians mostly welcome the active involvement of the state in the issues pertaining to social protection and demonstrate tendency to paternalism, but disregard, for one, the responsibility of the society members.



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## Preface

In most European Union countries Social Democratic parties are either governing parties or parts of a governing coalition. The second largest group in the European Parliament is the Socialist Group with eight members in the European Commission. Social Democratic parties are mostly the oldest parties in Europe. For the last 150 years they have shaped the image of the European Union and the welfare state model in their countries. It is not by chance that countries with a highly developed welfare state, democracy, the rule of law and a functioning social dialogue are those in which social democratic parties have been responsible for government over decades.

In Ukraine, however, since 2007, there is no - not even by name - existing social democratic party in the Verkhovna Rada in fractional strength. Nevertheless, one must ask oneself whether there has ever been a "real" social democracy in Ukraine since 1991. Twenty-seven years after independence, the political system of Ukraine continues to be characterized by the political parties' lack of ideology, short-livedness and orientation towards one more or less charismatic leader. According to a representative study by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), the New Europe Center and GfK Ukraine, parties enjoy the lowest level of trust among young people in Ukraine, alongside parliament and the government.<sup>1</sup> The far-flung absence of progressive or at least ideologically and socially rooted parties is accompanied by the overall low level of interest in politics, the lack of a democratic culture and democratic awareness of individual people. As in all post-Soviet countries, Social democracy is also reflexively linked to communism, which on the one hand is connected to the experience of unfreedom, dictatorship and oppression or, on the other hand, associated with the feeling of Soviet nostalgia for the "good old days". The issues of social justice, quality and affordability of public health care, fair working conditions and wages, the quality of education and survivability of the pension system are the biggest concerns of people in Ukraine. In many

ways, the country has long gone beyond the state of social collapse: labor migration to EU countries, low wages and the poor quality of social welfare services are leading to the extinction of villages, cities and whole regions. Instead of tackling these issues through progressive and socially oriented policies, however, questions of social injustice, especially during election campaigns, are turning into a plaything for populist forces and those who imitate the role of a social-democratic or socialist party. However, this form of political play will, in the long run, further erode confidence in politics and the state, rather than push for a new democratic consensus and reform-oriented approaches, which Ukraine desperately needs.

Almost five years after the "Revolution of Dignity", in times of heavy pre-election fights, it became clear that the "path to Europe" is by no means irreversible. Ukraine was on the verge of national bankruptcy following the crisis and could only be kept alive by loans from the international community, notably the International Monetary Fund (IMF). However, this necessity also opened the way for a policy of austerity and a neo-liberal instrument set dedicated to the "Washington Consensus". The level of poverty and wages is far from reaching pre-crisis levels. The social consequences of this policy turned out to be water on the mills of the populist forces, who call the European way the wrong path.

This study asks about the perception of the social democratic idea in Ukraine and how people relate to the content of social democratic politics. It serves as a snapshot of a far-reaching misguided development and not yet completed transformation of the political system. One can only hope that the current crisis can provoke the emergence of a new Ukrainian Social Democratic movement – which may follow a policy of social justice, freedom and solidarity towards a real European Ukrainian democratic welfare state.

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1. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/ukraine/13873.pdf>

## Methodology

The study 'The Attitude of Ukrainians toward Social Democracy' has been conducted by the Gorshenin Institute in cooperation with the Representation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Ukraine and Belarus.

**The object** of the study – Ukrainians above the age of 18, with due account for the core social and democratic characteristics (gender, age, residence area), **the subject** of the study – the attitude of Ukrainians to social democracy and its values.

**The goal** of the study is to explore Ukrainians' perception of social-democratic principles and values.

To achieve the goal set the following **tasks** were defined:

- to learn what the political and ideological tastes of contemporary Ukrainians are;
- to determine how Ukrainian citizens treat social democracy in general, to assess their level of awareness of social-democratic ideology and to clarify how they understand the essence of social democracy;
- to research how Ukrainians interpret the core social-democratic values (freedom, justice, and solidarity);
- to determine how Ukrainian citizens understand the concept of the 'welfare state', how they perceive ideal relations between the state and society in health care, education, pension security, labor domains; as well as to find out who requires enhancement of social security by the state, in the vision of Ukrainians;
- to analyze whether there exists demands for social-democratic values in the Ukrainian society.

**Information collection methods.** In June 2018 five **focus-group discussions** were held in the following regions of Ukraine: Central (the city of Kyiv), Western (the city of Lviv), Eastern (the city of Dnipro), Southern (the city of Odesa), and Northern (the city of Chernihiv). 8 respondents participated

in each group (six residents of the regional centre and two residents of small towns in the same region). The citizens of Ukraine aged 18-65 were invited to join the discussion. Each of the groups consisted of equal number of men and women.

The results of focus-group studies were used for developing the questionnaire for the All-Ukrainian survey. Also, opinions expressed by the discussion participants were used for deepening the understanding of the obtained data in face-to-face interviews, explaining certain trends.

In July-August 2018, after the focus-group discussions, **face-to-face interviews** were conducted, according to the places of respondent residence. All in all, 2,000 respondents above the age of 18 were interviewed in all the regions of Ukraine (excluding the occupied territories of the AR of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol, Donetsk, and Luhansk regions) by quotas: residence area, gender and age of respondents.

The quota selection was developed following the criteria of gender, age and place of residence. According to the public statistical data, first the quota by macro-regions was developed (Central, Eastern, Western, Southern, Northern), then – by administrative units, and at the last stage – by villages. The respondent's gender and age were also considered in quota development. The non-sampling error of the study does not exceed  $\pm 2.2\%$ .

## Section 1. Political and Ideological Preferences of Ukrainians

The range of issues pertaining to the ideology phenomenon belong to the sphere of politics. At that, the results of the all-Ukrainian social opinion poll, conducted by the Gorshenin Institute in cooperation with the Representation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Ukraine and Belarus, show that nearly half of Ukrainians (47.7%) are interested in politics. Almost as many respondents (49%) have said that they take no interest in politics, and 3.3% could not answer the question asked.

The level of interest in politics increases with the age of respondents: Ukrainians under 29 years old are the least interested in politics (27.8%), the biggest interest in politics is observed in the age group over 60 years old - 61.5%.

When focus-groups studies were conducted, all the respondents pointed out that the recent situation in Ukraine makes all the citizens be interested in political events.

**Lviv, male, 50 y.o.** *Yes, it is like this in our society, everyone is interested. Even if one is not interested, one nevertheless knows something.*

**Chernihiv, male, 40 y.o.** *Of course, I am interested, very much interested because such events take place that it is difficult to stay indifferent, though I am already fed up with it.*

**Kyiv, male, 30 y.o.** *Earlier I hadn't been interested in politics at all. But nolens volens I have to because different historical events, upheavals, wars take place.*

Despite a generally high level of interest in politics amongst Ukrainians, the conducted poll proved that the respondents experience difficulties in defining their political preferences in the left-right spectrum.

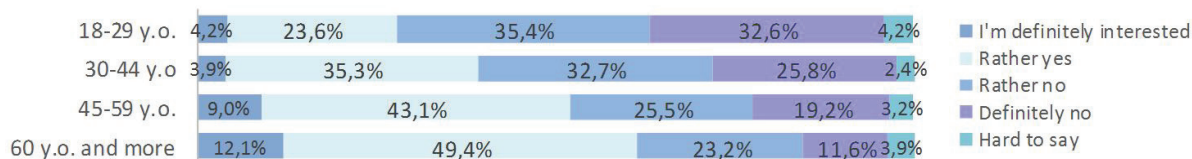


Chart 1.2. Age distribution of the respondents' answers to the question "Are you interested in politics?"

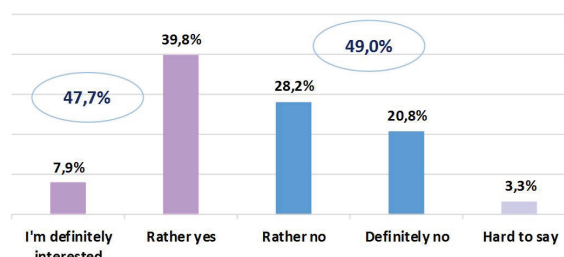


Chart 1.1. Distribution of answers to the question "Are you interested in politics?"

More than half of the polled (61%) stated that it was difficult for them to answer a question whether they considered themselves left, left-centrist, centrist, right-centrist or right with regard to political preferences. At that, 13.7% of the polled attributed themselves to the right-wing political spectrum (right – 8.1%, right-centrist – 5.6%). Almost one in ten citizens of Ukraine (9.8%) leans toward left-wing political spectrum (left – 5.6%, left-centrist – 4.2%) or consider themselves centrist (9%).

The smallest percentage of those who could not define their political preferences (45.9%) resides in the West of Ukraine, and the biggest (72.2%) in the East of Ukraine. Upon that, the biggest percentage (30.5%) of those who sympathize with the right-wing political forces resides in the West of Ukraine (right – 18.2%, right-centrist – 12.3%).

At the same time, Ukrainians mostly sympathize with the social democratic (41.5%) and socialist (35.7%) political ideologies. Every third Ukrainian is also well disposed to the national-democratic ideology (32.5%). Ukrainians' attitude to the communist and nationalist ideologies is the most negative – 64% and 54.9% respectively. Also, more than half of Ukrainians noted that they were ill-disposed to conservative ideology (52.3%), which is attributed to the national-democratic ideology by some experts.

The citizens of Ukraine aged 60 and older demonstrate the most positive attitude to the social

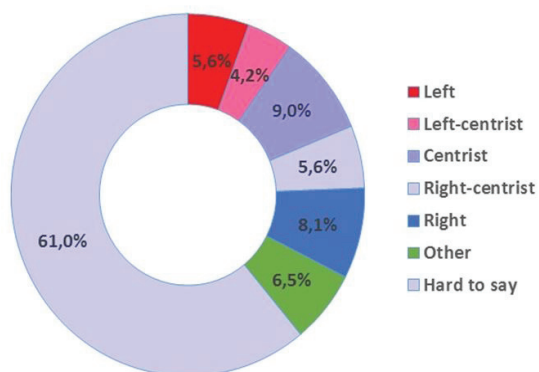


Chart 1.3. Distribution of answers to the question "Taking into account your political preferences, do you consider yourself left, left-centrist, centrist, right-centrist or right?"

democratic ideology – 46%, whereas the youth aged 18-29 y.o. shows the most negative attitude toward such ideology – 36.5%. At that, the citizens of Ukraine aged 60 and older also show the biggest support of communist ideology – 35.8%, whereas the youth aged 18-29 y.o. has the most negative attitude toward this ideology – 71.6%.

Most of the proponents of the social-democratic ideology reside in the East of Ukraine (61%) and

the fewest – in the central regions of Ukraine (32.2%).

As the results of the social opinion poll show, Ukrainians mostly support social-democratic political ideological trend (12.3%). 9.6% of respondents support national-democratic and 9.1% - socialist ideologies. At that, almost every fifth respondent (17.6%) found it difficult to answer the question, and more than a quarter of the polled respondents (26.5%) stated that they did not resonate with any of the proposed ideologies.

In addition, the residents of the East of Ukraine mostly support social-democratic ideology (23.5%), and those residing in the West of Ukraine rather resonate with national-democratic ideology (20.3%).

Let's take a closer look at the main social-demographic features (gender and age) of the respondents who support social-democratic, socialist and national-democratic ideologies (i.e. those ideologies, which were most frequently mentioned by Ukrainians). If the social-democratic ideology

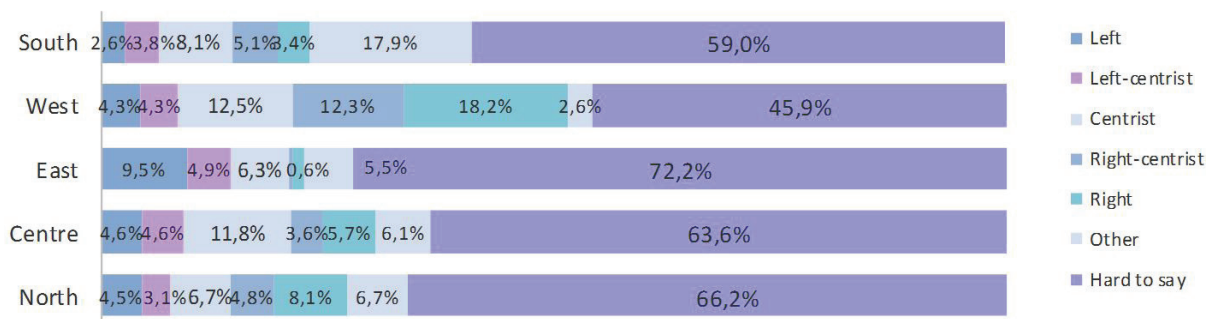


Chart 1.4. Distribution of answers to the question "Taking into account your political preferences, do you consider yourself left, left-centrist, centrist, right-centrist or right?" depending on the place of residence

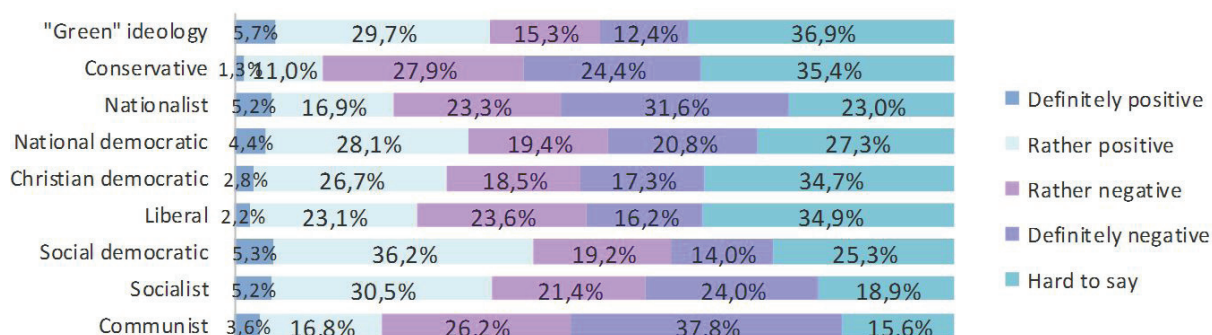


Chart 1.5. Distribution of answers to the question "There are different political and ideological trends in modern world. What is your opinion of the main trends?"

resonates with both women (51.5%) and men (48.4%) in almost equal proportions, then in the other two cases such balance is lacking: amongst supporters of socialist ideology there are more women (64.8%), while there are more men favouring national-democratic ideology (57.6%). At the same time, amongst social-democrats and national democrats the age distribution is relatively equal, whereas the socialist ideology is mostly

supported by the older persons (49.5%).

It should be noted, that in this study the residents of the Crimea and the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions were not polled. According to the other studies, a big part of those people, who support and share the left ideas, and communist ideology in particular, resides on these territories of Ukraine.

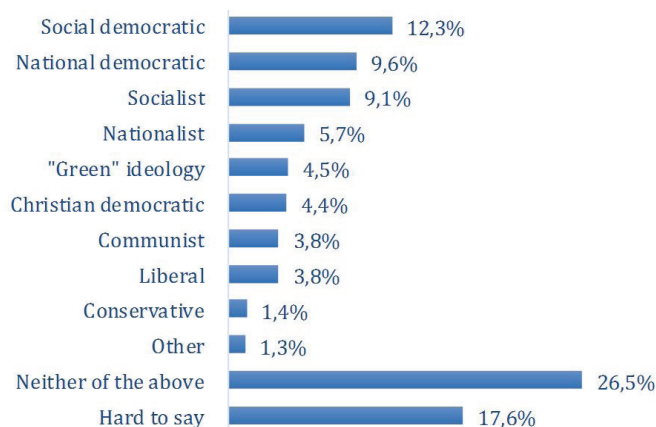


Chart 1.6. Distribution of answers to the question "Please choose the political ideology which resonates with you"

100% in the column	Region				
	North	Centre	East	West	South
<b>Communist</b>	1,0%	7,9%	5,1%	1,1%	7,3%
<b>Socialist</b>	6,9%	7,1%	17,6%	5,4%	4,7%
<b>Social-democratic</b>	10,0%	5,7%	<b>23,5%</b>	7,2%	10,7%
<b>Liberal</b>	6,0%	3,2%	1,9%	3,7%	4,7%
<b>Christian-democratic</b>	1,2%	1,8%	0,9%	12,3%	3,0%
<b>National-democratic</b>	5,2%	6,1%	5,7%	<b>20,3%</b>	5,6%
<b>Nationalist</b>	7,1%	7,9%	1,7%	8,6%	3,0%
<b>Conservative</b>	2,1%	1,4%	0,9%	1,5%	0,4%

Table 1.1. Distribution of answers to the question "Please choose the political ideology which resonates with you" depending on the place of residence

100% in the column	Social-democratic	Socialist	National-democratic
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	48.4%	35.2%	<b>57.6%</b>
Female	51.6%	<b>64.8%</b>	42.4%
<b>Age</b>			
18-29 y.o.	13.4%	6.6%	19.4%
30-44 y.o.	24.0%	17.0%	25.1%
45-59 y.o.	30.9%	26.9%	28.8%
60 y.o. and more	31.7%	<b>49.5%</b>	26.7%

Table 1.2. Comparison of the social-demographic features of the respondents who support social-democratic, socialist or national-democratic ideology



## Section 2. How Ukrainians Understand Social Democracy

During focus-groups discussions, the respondents were also proposed to answer the questions about their associations with social democracy. The most widely spread associations were "equality", "freedom of speech", "fairness", "tolerance", "support of a decent level of life" and such notions as "pensions", "protection", "free health care system", "stability". Besides, the participants of the focus-groups mentioned the countries, where social-democrats have strong positions in politics, namely Sweden, Denmark and Norway.

Prevailing majority of Ukrainians (82.3%) doesn't know that social-democrats belong to left-centre ideologies. Only 17.7% of the polled participants have heard about this fact.

The participants of the focus-groups were also not sure about the place of social democracy in the classification system of political opinions and ideologies (right/centre/left). However, most of the respondents indicated that social-democrats belong to left, left-central or central political forces.

**Chernihiv, male, 55 y.o.** In my opinion, social democracy is a left-wing ideology, let's put it this way. But in no way does it belong to the centre.

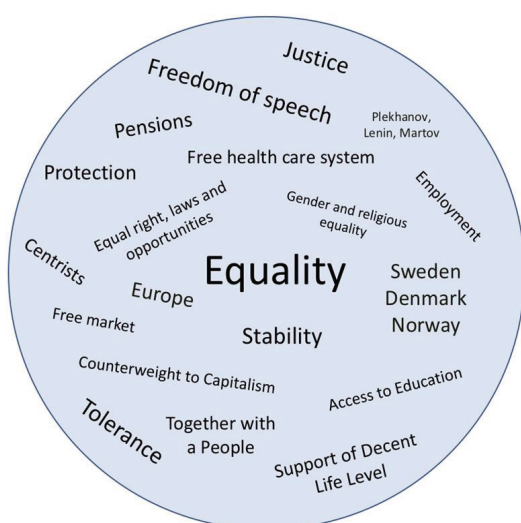


Figure 2.1. Association flow with "social democracy" notion (based on the focus-groups results)

**Odesa, male, 30 y.o.** Centre, but closer to the left.

**Kyiv, male, 43 y.o.** Social democracy has still grown from left forces, one may say. But nowadays social democracy is in my opinion more centrist.

The ideological foundations of the Ukrainian political parties were among the questions that were raised during the poll. Despite the fact that more than 350 political parties are registered in Ukraine, almost half of the polled (47%) answered that there were no ideology-based parties in Ukraine, almost one third of the respondents (30.1%) believes that such parties exist.

In the course of the polling, respondents answered that social-democratic principles are not inherent to the main political forces of Ukraine. In the respondents' opinion, these are foremost shared by the "Socialist Party of Ukraine" (23.5%).<sup>1</sup> Ukrainians

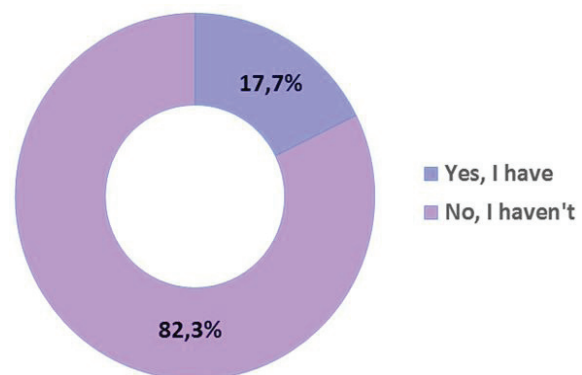


Chart 2.1. Distribution of answers to the question "Have you ever heard that social-democrats belong to the left-centre ideological spectrum?"

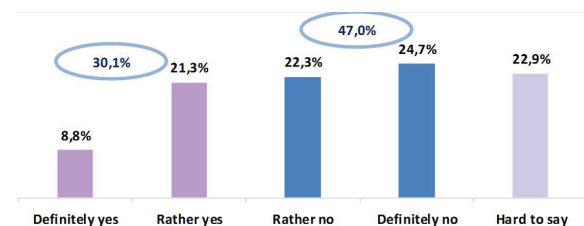


Chart 2.2. Distribution of answers to the question "In your opinion, are there ideology-based parties in Ukraine nowadays?"

1. According to the results of the focus groups, it can be concluded that the Ukrainians, responding to this question, were more oriented towards the name of the socialist party, as well as those principles that the party declared when it existed as a fraction in the Verkhovna Rada till 2007. Therefore this indicator does not correlate with the current stage of the party development, be it the nowadays so called "Socialist Party of Ukraine", "Social-democratic Party of Ukraine", "Socialisty" ("Socialists") or others.

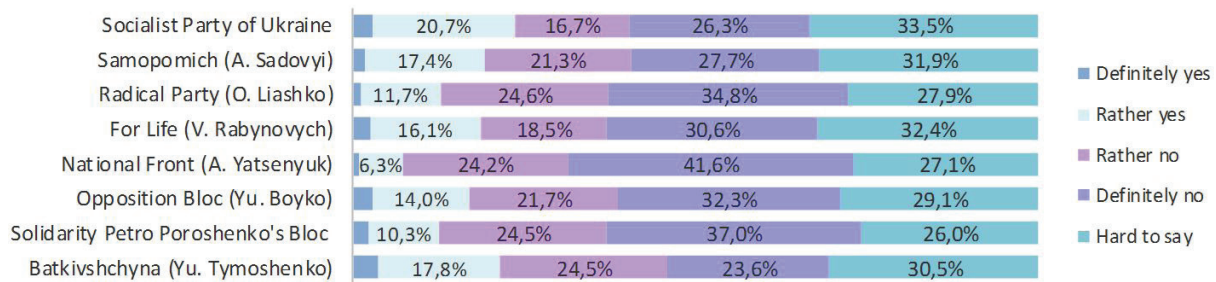


Chart 2.3. Distribution of answers to the question "In your opinion, do these political forces share the social-democratic principles?"

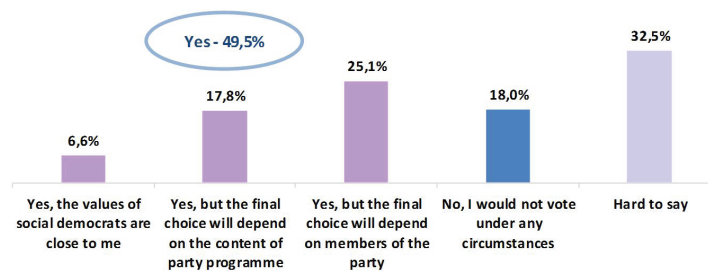


Chart 2.4. Distribution of answers to the question "Would you vote for a newly created social-democratic party?"

also pointed that social democracy principles are also inherent to All-Ukrainian Union "Batkivshchyna" (21.4%), All-Ukrainian Union "Samopomich" (19.1%). A little bit fewer respondents consider that social-democratic principles are shared by the parties like "Za zhyttya" (For Life) (18.5%), "Opposition Block" (16.9%), Radical Party (12.7%), Petro Poroshenko block "Solidarity" (12.5%) and "People's Front" (7.1%).

In general, every second Ukrainian (49.5%) is ready to vote for a newly created social-democratic party. The half of those who are ready to vote stated that their final decision would depend on members of such a political force (25.1% of the polled). One third of those who are ready to vote answered that their choice would mainly depend on the political program of such

a party (17.8% of the polled). At the same time, 6.6% of Ukrainians answered that they would be ready to vote for a social-democratic party, as they share social-democratic values. However, 18% of respondents would never vote for a new social-democratic party no matter what the circumstances could be, and 32.5% of the polled couldn't answer the question.

One of the most important issues that reveal the essence of the political ideologies is understanding the nature of a relationship between a citizen and a state. Every second citizen of Ukraine (50.9%) thinks that a state should ensure a decent level of life for all its citizens, as well as take appropriate measures to minimize an income gap amongst citizens. This thought is predominantly

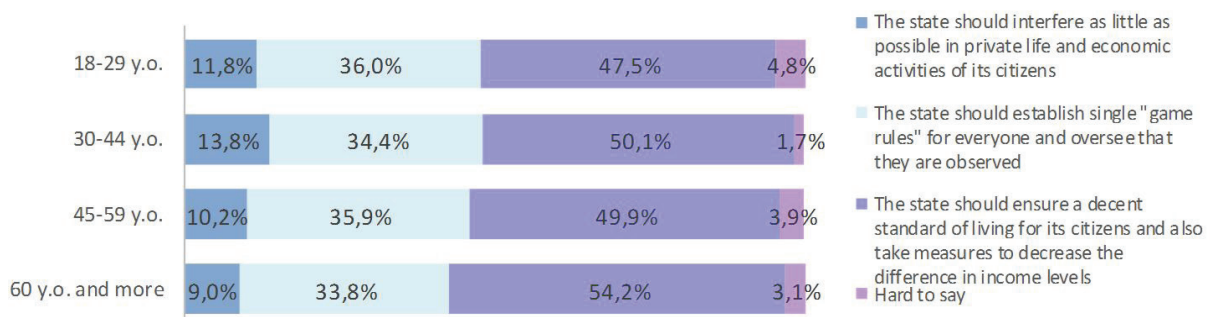


Chart 2.5. Age distribution of answers to the question "In your opinion, how should a relationship between a state and its citizens be formed?"

supported by the respondents older than 60 years old (54.2%).

More than a third of the polled (34.9%) are sure that a state should establish single “game rules” and make sure that they are not violated. This statement is predominantly supported by the youth aged 18-29 y.o. (36%). One in ten citizens of Ukraine (11%) supports an idea that a state should limit its intrusion into private life and economic activities of its citizens. This statement is foremost supported by the people aged 30-44 y.o. (13.8%).

### Section 3. Ukrainians Citizens' Perception of Social Democratic Values

In the poll significant attention was paid to the core values of social democracy such as freedom, solidarity, and justice.

Talking about **freedom**, as a value, the participants of the focus-groups often mentioned such concepts as “freedom of speech” and pointed out that freedom meant for them an opportunity to speak one’s mind freely. Besides, they also mentioned “freedom of movement” and “freedom of choice”. “Financial freedom” and “religious freedom” were named as well.

**Kyiv, male, 43 y.o.** *Freedom of speech. Freedom of movement, so that a person could choose on one’s own where to live, without being obliged to stay where you were born. How was it before? If you were born as a member of a collective farm (kolkhoz), you would die as a member of a collective farm, roughly speaking. Freedom of choice. You can choose your occupation, for instance.*

**Chernihiv, female, 47 y.o.** *Freedom of speech, movement, choice. If I wish, I go abroad, if I don’t – I don’t go. If I wish, I speak Russian or Ukrainian.*

In the all-Ukrainian qualitative social opinion poll, around one third of Ukrainians (33.9%) stated that freedom for them meant an opportunity to do anything that does not harm others. This statement is

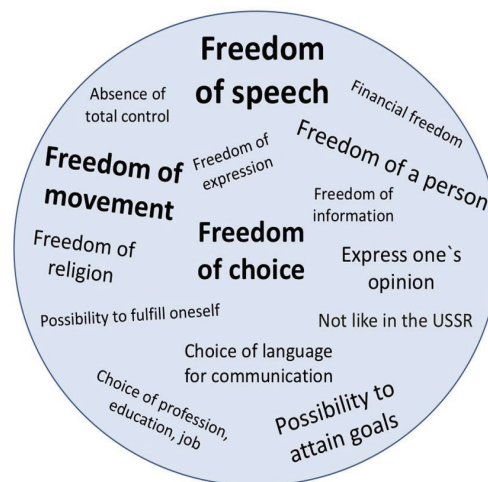


Figure 3.1. Associative range of a concept of freedom (focus-groups discussion)

foremost shared by the respondents over 60 y.o. (36.3%) and the residents of the Southern region of Ukraine (42.7%).

The same number of the respondents (33.9%) agrees with the definition of freedom as an opportunity to make an independent choice and be responsible for it. This statement is foremost supported by the respondents aged 30-44 y.o. (34.6%) and the residents of the Central region of Ukraine (42.5%). At that, 29% of the citizens of Ukraine think that freedom is an opportunity to make a decision no matter what others think. The same 29% also agree that freedom is a conscious freedom of choice in life. The latter two statements are foremost supported by the youth aged 18-29 y.o. (37.9%) and the residents of the Western region of Ukraine.

Every second respondent (50.9%) answered that one is not ready to endure financial difficulties for personal freedom. This statement is foremost supported by the people aged 60 and older (54.9%). Nevertheless, 40.1% of the polled are ready to endure some financial difficulties for personal freedom. Amongst them are mostly young people aged 18-29 y.o. (45.8%).

Likewise, every second Ukrainian (50.7%) thinks that under certain circumstances the state can limit freedom of its citizens. 40.5% of the polled do not share this opinion. The residents of the South-

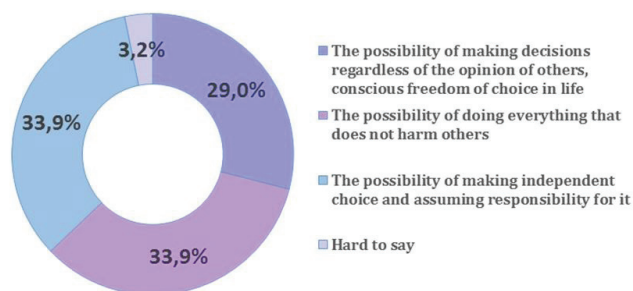


Chart 3.1. Distribution of answers to the question "What definition of freedom does resonate with you most?"

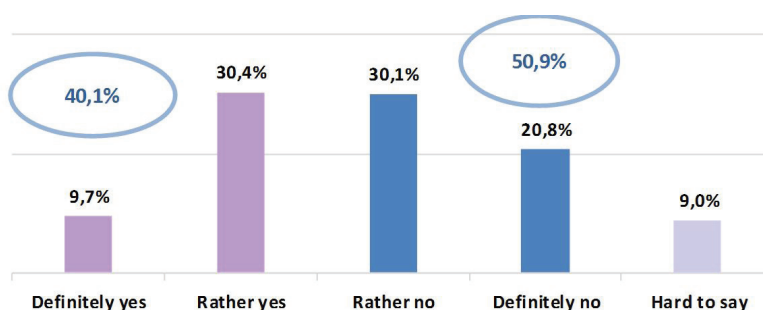


Chart 3.2. Distribution of answers to the question "Are you ready to endure financial difficulties for personal freedom?"

ern and Western regions of Ukraine are mostly inclined to such limitations (59.9% and 59.2% respectively). The least ready are the people from the East of Ukraine (43%).

At the same time, almost all of the participants of the focus-groups in all the regions of Ukraine agreed that certain limitations to freedom should be established. All the statements can be itemized as follows:

- there should be limits in everything;
- a person should be free, but one's freedom shouldn't limit the freedom of others, a person should respect rights of other people;

- there should be no anarchy;
- the state should provide control over law enforcement and protect the freedom of every person;
- the state can limit the freedoms of its citizens in the emergency situations.

Another value of social democracy is justice. The participants of the focus-groups associate the concept of "justice" with such words and expressions, as "the law applies to everyone", "brotherhood", "everyone is rewarded based on his work", "social care". Such ideas as "right attitude to people" and "treatment of a person according to the moral norms" were also discussed.

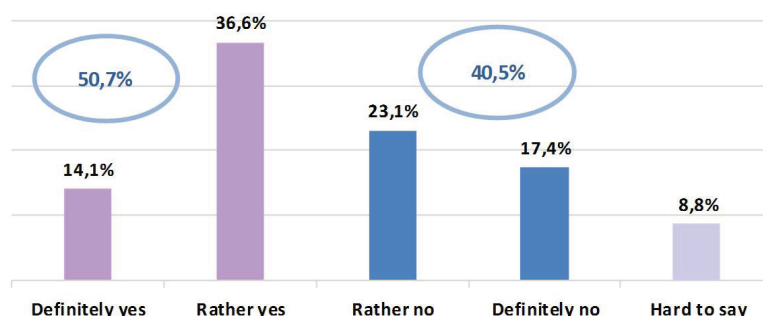


Chart 3.3. Distribution of answers to the question "Do you agree that under certain circumstances the state can limit freedom of its citizens (for instance, when there is a threat to national security)?"



Figure 3.2. Associative range of the concept of "justice" (focus-groups discussion)

**Dnipro, female, 61 y.o.** Justice means fairness, when the law is observed according to human concepts.

**Lviv, female, 57 y.o.** Equality before the law and in the court: if I litigate with a millionaire, he or she should be treated the same as me.

**Kyiv, male, 43 y.o.** I think that is not fair for a person that works hard to have the same lifestyle as a person that does nothing.

According to the survey results, justice for Ukrainians stands primarily for equality of everyone

before the law (65.8%), equal opportunities, regardless of the birthplace, level of income, or gender (43.3%), support of pensioners and vulnerable strata of the population by the state (42.0%).

From the point of view of a Ukrainian citizen, for the society to become more just, it is primarily necessary to have fair laws adopted (49.0%), to fight corruption and 'nepotism' (46.6%), as well as to improve people's standard of living (39.4%).

The notion of **solidarity** was also in the focus of the study. Focus-group members associate it with the following words: 'support', 'friendliness', and 'the public'. They also mentioned the following phrases: 'respect of a different opinion' and 'acceptance of other ideas', 'all for one, one for all', as well as 'respect for a different race'. Besides that, some people answered that 'solidarity' is associated with Poland and trade union movements, in particular, in this country.

Answering the close question related to definition of the notion of solidarity, more than a third of the participants indicated that it primarily stands for mutual assistance (39.7%) and shared views, interests, and goals (37.1%). Only 17.8% of the respondents define solidarity for themselves as shared responsibility.

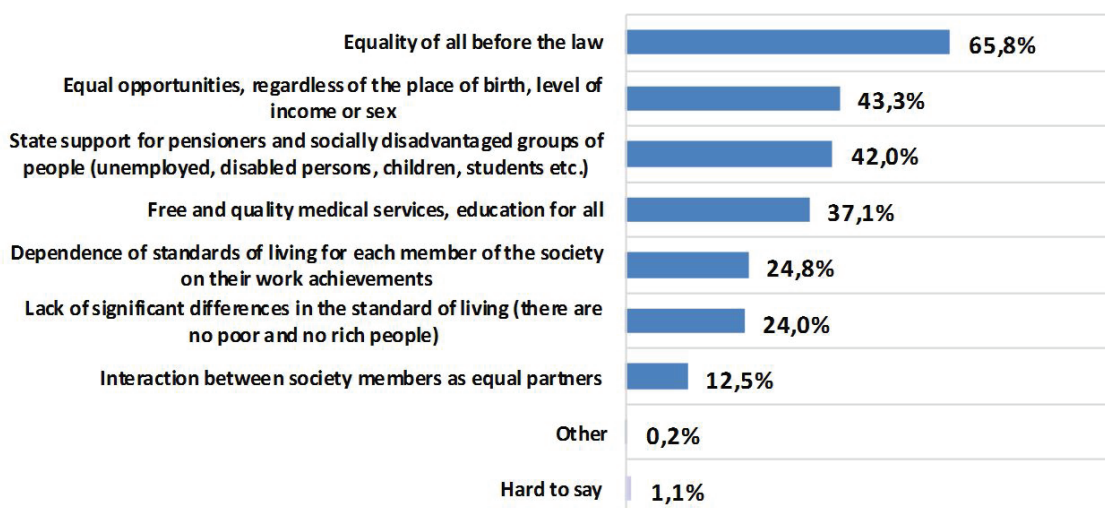


Diagram 3.4. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Everyone has his/her understanding of justice. What does, in your opinion, justice lie in?' (no more than three answer options can be chosen) instance, when there is a threat to national security)?'



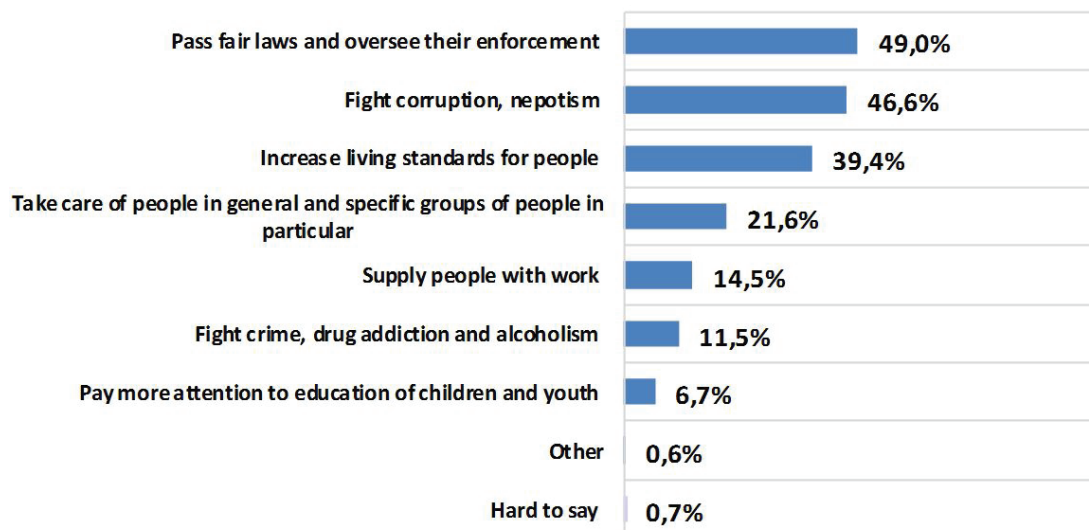


Diagram 3.5. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'What shall the authorities do for the society to become more just?' (no more than two answer options can be chosen)

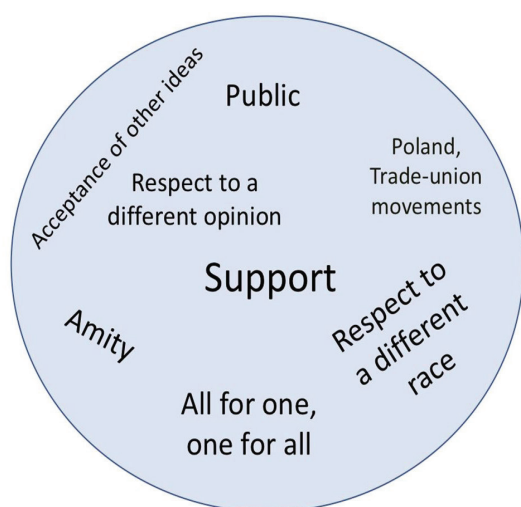


Figure 3.3. Associative range of the notion 'solidarity' (focus-groups discussion)

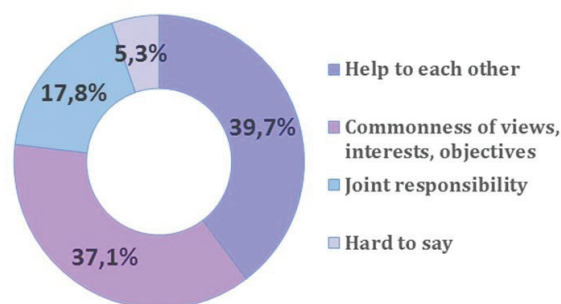


Diagram 3.6. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Which of the above definitions of solidarity you consider to be the best for you?'

Contrasting the realization of freedom, justice, and solidarity in different epochs, most Ukrainians indicated that in the USSR times the level of freedom (55.3%) was low, while the level of justice (45.0%) and solidarity (59.3%) was high. And the highest per cent to those categories was traditionally assigned by respondents above the age of 60 (the level of freedom – 41.8%, justice – 60.8%, solidarity – 72.8%), while the lowest assessment of the level of freedom in the USSR times was given by people of the 30-44 age category (60.9%).

Along with that, the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians are dissatisfied with the current level of justice (90.4%) and solidarity (73.0%) in Ukraine. More than a half of the respondents (51.6%) also assess the level of freedom in the country as low. The lowest assessment of the level of freedom (66.3%) and justice (95.6%) in Ukraine was given by the residents of the East. The most negative assessment of the current level of solidarity was given by the residents of the East (88.8%) and the South (88.4%) of Ukraine.

		Clearly high	Rather high	Rather low	Clearly low	Hard to say
IN THE USSR EPOCH	...freedom	9,0%	20,3%	<b>28,5%</b>	<b>26,8%</b>	15,4%
	...justice	13,4%	31,6%	25,9%	13,5%	15,6%
	...solidarity	21,6%	37,7%	14,6%	9,7%	16,4%
CURRENTLY	...freedom	10,0%	35,1%	27,2%	24,4%	3,3%
	...justice	<b>0,9%</b>	<b>6,5%</b>	33,0%	57,4%	2,2%
	...solidarity	<b>3,1%</b>	<b>17,6%</b>	34,0%	39,0%	6,3%

Table 3.1. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'How would you assess the level of freedom, justice, and solidarity in the territory of Ukraine in different epochs in general?'

Similar picture could be traced in focus-groups, the participants of which rather often referred to the Soviet period and, in particular, stressed that back then Ukrainians had almost no freedom. Along with that, some participants claimed that in modern Ukraine there is also no real freedom.

**Chernihiv, female, 51.** Now there is only simulation of freedom. And, in fact, that is a chaos.

**Odesa, male, 38.** There is much freedom to just talk about, but nobody hastens to obey the laws. There is no chance to live freely by the law. Since there will definitely be someone to violate your freedom and to get away with it.

Discussing justice, focus-group participants in all regions indicated that the level of justice in the USSR was much higher. The respondents substantiated their ideas by the fact that in those times social security and free-of-charge education and medicine were guaranteed. Besides that, they said that the Soviet authorities ensured enforcement of legislation and control over compliance with it and discipline in the country. While now, in their words, laws are not obeyed, corruption is at all levels, income is not declared, and the gap between the poor and the rich is critically large. And they often mentioned that medicine in Ukraine, in fact, is fee-for-service, while pensions are very small.

**Kyiv, male, 41.** Certainly, there is no justice in the Ukrainian society at all. There was much more of it in the Soviet Union.

**Lviv, female, 57.** In the Soviet Union, if you feel ill,

*you would definitely get free-of-charge medical care of any type, surgery, etc.*

**Dnipro, male, 59.** Medicine has collapsed, as well as education. There is nothing accessible for ordinary people.

**Chernihiv, woman, 47.** Yes, there is more freedom nowadays, but less justice.

The focus group participants also consider that solidarity in the Soviet Union was at a very high level since it was cultivated by the authorities at the highest level, while now there is almost none.

**Dnipro, female, 32.** In the Soviet times, solidarity was present at the state level. Everybody was dumbed down, there could not be any dissenting opinion.

**Lviv, male, 50.** They said in the Union: 'Look, we are fraternal peoples, how well we live'. There certainly were some conflicts, as I know, in the Soviet Union times, there were awful ethnic conflicts. But these are actions, when they tell you that we should unite, we should live in peace, and don't claim that Lviv and Donetsk are two different things.

**Odesa, male, 40.** Now everything is separated. There used to be shared ideas, which united people.

**Chernihiv, female, 23.** What does solidarity now lie in? Everybody is against Russia, against the authorities, for the Crimea. That is the only solidarity, I cannot see it in anything else.

## Section 4. Welfare State Doctrine Viewed by Ukrainians

One of the key elements of the social-democratic model is a developed welfare state. However, most Ukrainians (78.0%) have never heard about the 'general welfare doctrine', only 16.4% of Ukraine's citizens have ever heard about it.

At the same time, the absolute majority of respondents (74.0%), convinced mainly by the name of the doctrine, are sure that the policy of the current Ukrainian government is not contributing to the development of the welfare state in the country. Only each tenth respondent (11.4%) holds the opposite point of view.

Social state is one more doctrine related to the role of social institutions in the social protection of citizens. And, for comparison purposes, the survey raised the question of whether Ukrainians are familiar with the doctrine. Along with that, in spite of the fact that the Constitution of Ukraine

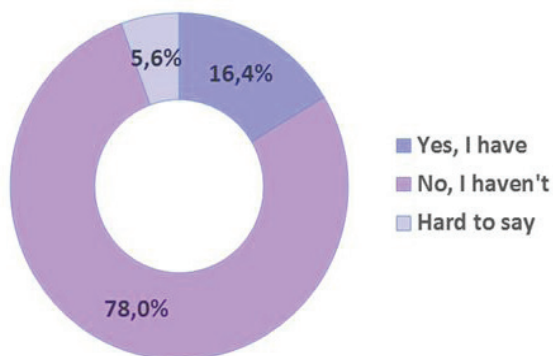


Diagram 4.1. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Have you ever heard about the doctrine of the welfare state?'

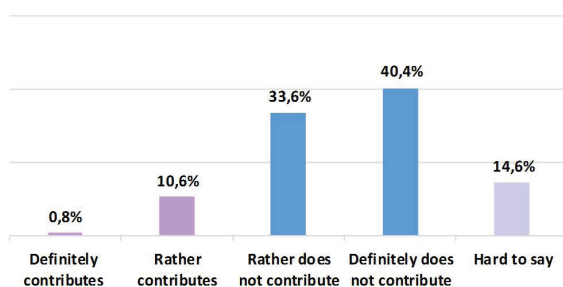


Diagram 4.2. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'To what extent does the policy of the current government of Ukraine contribute to the development of the welfare state?'

enshrines the norm of the social nature of the state, only each third respondent (32%) claimed that (s)he had heard about the 'social state'. And 61.7% indicated that they had never heard this notion, still 6.3% failed to answer the question.

In their turn, focus-group participants were not well-acquainted with the concepts of 'welfare state' and 'social state'. Still, some of them managed to indicate their associations related to these concepts. Thus, the notion of the 'welfare state' primarily associated with high living standard and material wellbeing, stability, social security, mutual understanding and non-indifference of people to one another, as well as confidence of the future.

At the same time, 'social state' is primarily associated by focus-group participants with such coun-

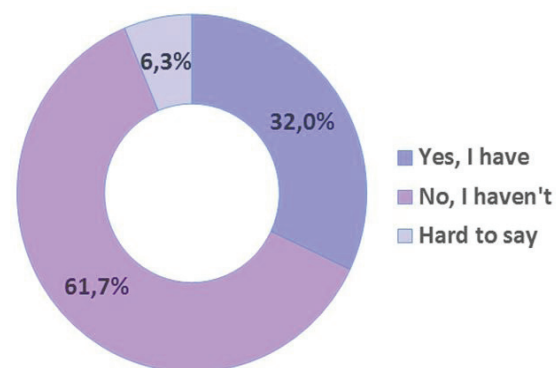


Diagram 4.3. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Have you ever heard the notion of social state?'

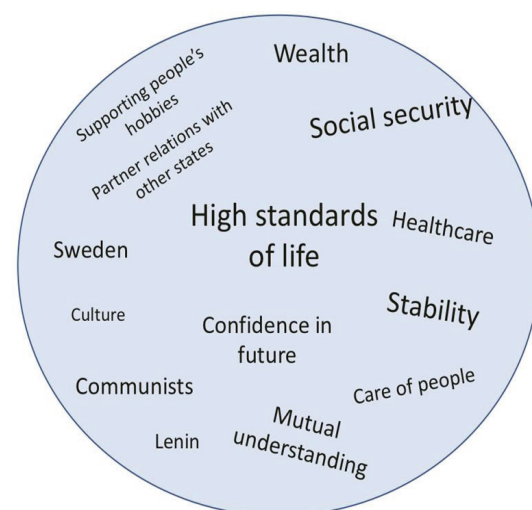


Figure 4.1. Associative range of the notion of the 'welfare state' (based on focus-group results)



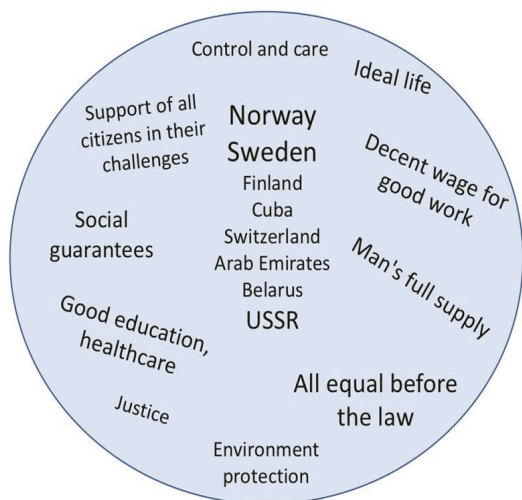


Figure 4.2. Associative range of the notion 'social state' (based on focus group results)

tries of the Scandinavian peninsula as Norway, Sweden, and Finland. They also mentioned Cuba, Switzerland, the United Arab Emirates, Belarus, and the USSR. As far as the meaning of the notion 'social state' is concerned, the following associations were voiced: social guarantees and full social security, good education and medical care, decent salary and decent job. Besides that, respondents in this context were talking about the equality of everyone before the law, justice, support of citizens in handling their problems, control and care, ideal life of citizens, as well as environmental protection.

Further questions for respondents in this block embraced the directions related to the problem of

the state's social security, viz.: education, health care, pensions, taxes as, well as the issues of labour and trade union activity.

**Education.** More than half of Ukrainians (58.6%) think that all children, regardless of their nationality and financial status of their parents, must have access to free-of-charge high-quality education (pre-school, secondary, and high). Such opinion is most frequently shared by the residents of the centre of Ukraine (70.7%), as well as respondents of the older age category – 60 and above (60.5%).

And a quarter of the respondents (25.9%) keep to the opinion that only Ukrainians are entitled to have the possibility to study on a free-of-charge basis, while foreigners have to pay for tuition. Each tenth Ukrainian (11.6%) is of the opinion that all children must have access to free-of-charge pre-school and secondary education, while higher education must be for-fee.

At the same time, opinions of focus-group participants on the issues somewhat divided, but the overwhelming majority indicated that education should be free-of-charge.

**Dnipro, female, 61.** Education must be free-of-charge since children come from different families. There are orphans, there are families with many children. Some gifted children can also be found there.

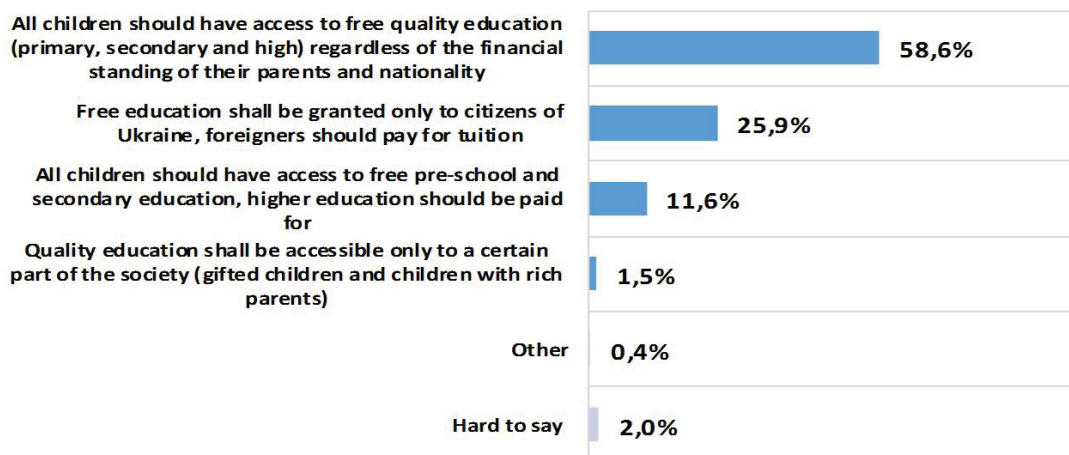


Diagram 4.4. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Which of the statements about education corresponds to your views the most?'

**Kyiv, female, 38.** Secondary education must definitely be free-of-charge. Higher education can be for-fee, but it is clear that the state must pay for geniuses and child prodigies if they come from low-income families.

**Kyiv, female, 43.** Free-of-charge education and free-of-charge healthcare give rise to corruption.

**Healthcare.** More than one third of Ukrainian citizens (36.1%) hold the opinion that healthcare must be free-of-charge only and public. Citizens above 60 (51.3%) and residents of the south of Ukraine (46.6%) expressed such an opinion the most.

Each fifth respondent (20.7%) stated that Ukraine must have both free-of-charge public and paid private healthcare. Almost the same number of respondents (18.6%) are of the opinion that healthcare, as well as insurance must be free-of-charge and public. 12.7% of Ukrainians support obligatory health insurance secured from the state budget.

In focus-groups participants often stated that both healthcare and education should be free-of-charge. And from the point of view of all the respondents, healthcare should primarily be of high quality, and that is what Ukraine, in their words, lacks. Along with that, an opinion was voiced many times that healthcare must be free-of-charge only for vulnerable people, and it should be available for others. Some people stated that they would

support healthcare insurance.

**Odesa, male, 40.** Healthcare must be only free-of-charge and of high quality.

**Lviv, female, 35.** I think in some cases healthcare must be free-of-charge, while in some it should just be available. All medicine cannot be free-of-charge.

**Dnipro, female, 34.** It seems to me that it should just be of high quality. Now even if I pay money, I will not necessarily get adequate treatment.

**Kyiv, female, 56.** As far as healthcare is concerned, I support insurance. You work – and you pay a percentage. This money will be spent on you only. Suppose you have not fallen ill – you can then use the money the way you want. Suppose you fall ill – you will be treated for this money.

**Pension provision.** More than a third of citizens (36.4%) consider that Ukraine's pension system should be solidary or distributary, with the money for pension payment to be taken from the taxes paid by working citizens. Meanwhile 18.5% of the respondents support the defined contribution system when deductions from salary accumulate in special accounts.

At the same time, a bit more than one third of the respondents (36.2%) are prone to consider that the pension system must be mixed – solidary and defined contribution one. And solidary system is

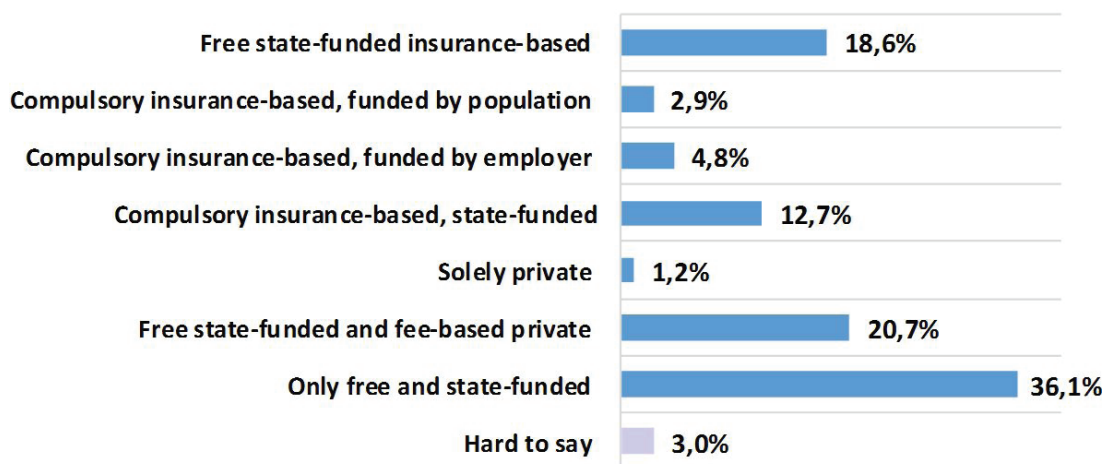


Diagram 4.5. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'What does healthcare in Ukraine should be like, in your opinion?'

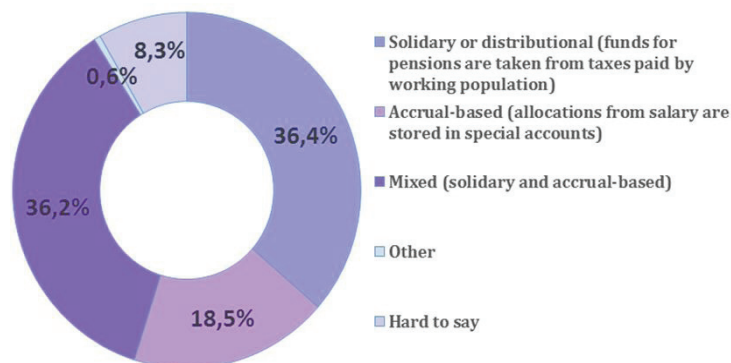


Diagram 4.6. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'What should the pension system, in your opinion, be like?'

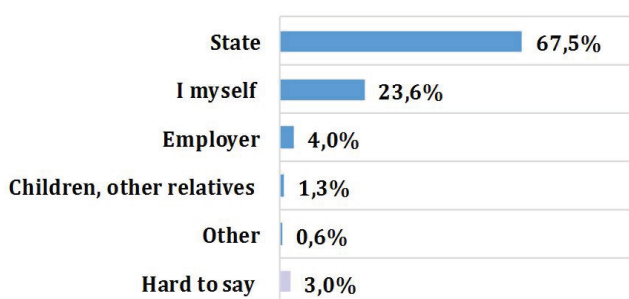


Diagram 4.7. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Who, in your opinion, should primarily take care of decent caring for your old age?'

supported mainly by the respondents above 60 (46.9%), while mixed one – by young people aged 18-29 (40.4%). Supporters of the solidary pension system mainly represent the south (44.4%) and the east of Ukraine (43%), while defined contribution one – mainly the west (41.6%) and the north (39.3%).

In the course of the mass survey the question was asked on who should take care of securing people's old age. From the point of the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians (67.5%), the state is to take care of decent caring for their old age. This idea is mostly supported by senior people – 60 and above (79.3%) and those living in the east of Ukraine (78.8%).

Each fourth respondent expressed their readiness to care for decent old age independently (23.6%), and the highest percentage could be traced among young people aged 18-29 (36.5%). Just a small number of the respondents rely in this issue on the employer (4.0%) and children or other relatives (1.3%).

The results of focus-group discussions have shown that Ukrainians mostly consider that state should take care of the issue of pensions, but people also have to think about their future now. Along with that, in their opinion, pensions should be more just, not like they are now, 'when people work all their lives long, and then hardly make their ends meet'.

**Kyiv, female, 52.** *Maybe, the authorities are now trying to make pension just. But our parents do not get the pension they have earned working in the Soviet times, though they have work record of 35-40 years. They were not lazy, they worked at plants, mines, factories, and now they get very small pensions.*

**Kyiv, male, 58.** *Our Pension Fund is absolutely, absolutely unjust. I am speaking about my parents, I know what it is like. Therefore, something needs to be changed.*

**Chernihiv, female, 51.** *People also have to think that the day will come when they cannot work any longer. But when you work, sorry, there must be some adequate deductions.*

**Taxes.** More than a half of Ukrainians (54.7%) have stated that they are not ready to pay higher taxes to improve the quality of the state healthcare, education and social services. The highest percentage is among the age category of the respondents above the age of 60 (62.7%) and among the residents of the East of Ukraine (61.0%).

And more than one third of the Ukrainian citizens (38.0%) have stated that they are ready to pay higher taxes provided the quality of healthcare, education and social services improves. The highest percentage of such people can be traced among youth aged 18-29 (46.9%) and among the residents of the Western (41.7%) and Central (41.1%) regions of Ukraine.

The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians (79.6%) agree to the fact that those who earn more have to pay more taxes. The highest percentage of those who think so reside in the Central region of Ukraine (91.8%). These are age categories above 60 (85.4%) and 45-59 (80.4%).

Only 16.8% of the respondents disagree that those who earn more have to pay higher taxes.

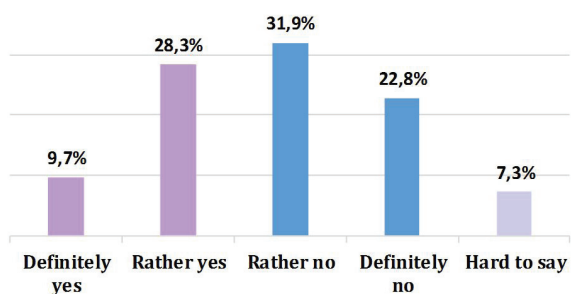


Diagram 4.8. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Are you ready to pay higher taxes provided the quality of public healthcare, education and social services improves?'

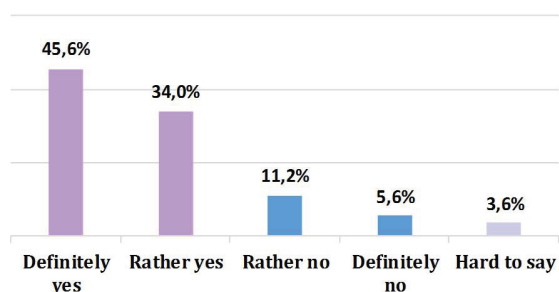


Diagram 4.9. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Do you agree that those who earn more have to pay higher taxes?'

And most of those who disagree are citizens aged 30-44 (23.5%), young people aged 18-29 (20.0%), and those who reside in the south of Ukraine (21.4%).

**Labour-related issues.** Almost each second Ukrainian (45.4%) is of the opinion that the state should provide young people with their first job after graduation. More than one third of the respondents (36.6%) expressed their opinion that the state should provide jobs to those who cannot find a job on their own, but are willing to work, and 13.9% are of the opinion that the state should provide employment to people with disabilities who are faced with problems in this respect.

Now one of the most topical problems for working Ukrainians is the issue of official employment. In the course of the survey, more than half of Ukrainians (56.3%) have indicated that if they could choose, they would prefer official employment even on condition of lower salary. It should be indicated that the older the respondent was, the more frequently (s)he selected this answer option, and, respectively, the most ardent supporters of such standpoint are the representatives of the age category 60 and above (68.6%). Along with that, more than one third of the respondents (31.8%) stated that they would prefer unreported employment, but with a higher salary, mainly these are young people aged 18-29 (50.3%). Such result can be accounted for by the fact that for young people advantages related to official employment, in particular, employment record and pension, as well as other social security issues, are not as crucial as they are for the oldest age category.

One more question related to work process was dedicated to the norm of working hours. Most Ukrainians (66.6%) answer that the working week must last as it does now – up to 40 hours a week. Only 17.8% of the respondents advocated limitation of the working week to 36 hours, and only 1.7% – to 24 hours. 9.6% of the Ukrainian citizens agree to work more, but not to exceed the limit of 48 hours a week.

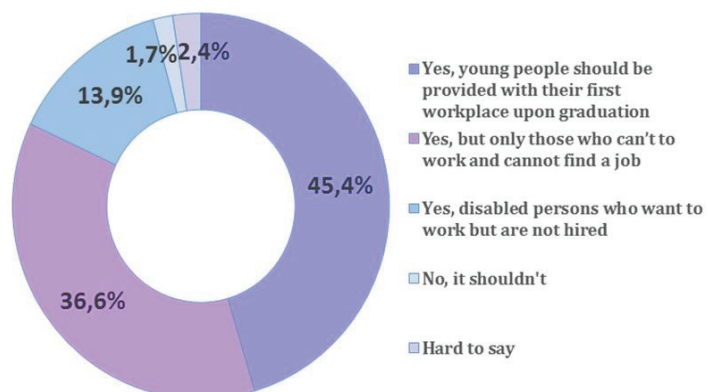


Diagram 4.10. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Do you think the state should provide jobs to its citizens?'

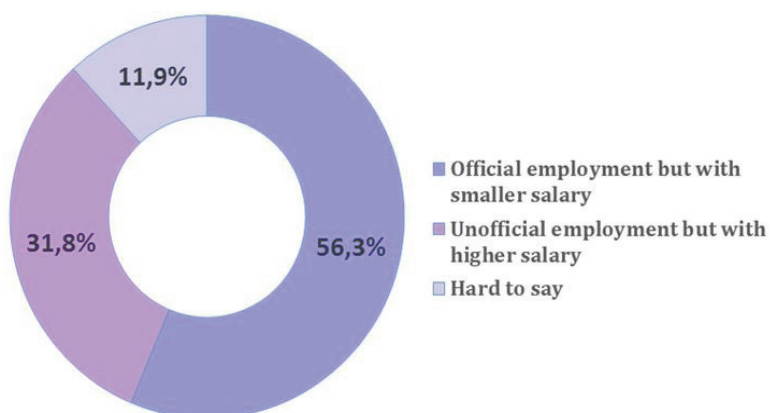


Diagram 4.11. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'If you had two employment offers, which one would you choose?'

	AGE			
	18-29	30-44	45-59	60 and above
<b>Official employment, but with a lower salary</b>	39,6%	51,6%	57,1%	<b>68,6%</b>
<b>Unreported employment, but with a higher salary</b>	<b>50,3%</b>	36,6%	31,1%	18,3%
<b>Hard to say</b>	10,1%	11,8%	11,8%	13,0%

Table 4.1. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'if you had two employment offers, which one would you choose?' depending on age

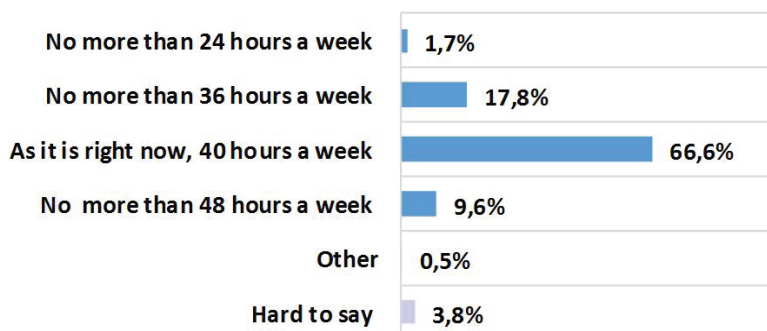


Diagram 4.12. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'How long, in your opinion, should the working week last?'



**Trade unions.** Almost a half of Ukrainians (44.6%) used to be members of trade unions, and almost the same number of Ukrainians (43.4%) have not got such life experience. Currently, only 12.8% of the respondents are member of trade unions, and among them the number of citizens aged 45-59 is the largest (20.3%).

Almost every second Ukrainian (46.8%) considers that trade unions primarily have to protect the rights of employees, act against unfair dismissal and salary payment delays. Most supporters of such standpoint are among the respondents above the age of 60 – 54.2%. Almost one third of the respondents (32.5%) are of the opinion that trade unions should improve work conditions and aim to increase social security. And every tenth citizen of Ukraine (10.4%) is of the opinion that trade unions are not necessary at all. This standpoint is mostly supported by the respondents aged 18-29 (12.6%) and 30-44 (12.5%).

At the same time, most respondents (69.0%) consider the efficiency of trade union performance low, and only 5.6% have expressed the opinion that trade union performance in Ukraine is high.

Assessment of the quality of development in such fields as education, healthcare, pension security,

employment, and social security in the Ukrainian territory in different times by Ukrainians has also been studied.

Answering the question about the USSR, Ukrainians ranked quality of education (75.9%), healthcare (69.1%), pension security (64.1%), employment (82.4%), and social security (64.5%) in those times high. And the highest assessment by all the indicators was given by the older respondents (45-59 and above 60). Meanwhile today quality indicators in those fields, in the opinion of the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians, are critically low. 61.7% consider the quality of education, 89.8% – of healthcare, 94.9% – of pension security, 90.0% – of employment, 91.4% – of social security low.

In the opinion of most Ukrainians (63.1%), pensioners primarily require better social security to be provided by the state. Also people with limited opportunities and seriously ill people (53.3%), children deprived of parental care (42.4%), families with many children (34.5%) and poor people (28.3%). also require better social security. Almost each fifth Ukrainian considers it necessary to strengthen protection of war veterans and ATO participants, as well as single parents (17.4%). Each tenth respondent (10.3%) is of the opinion

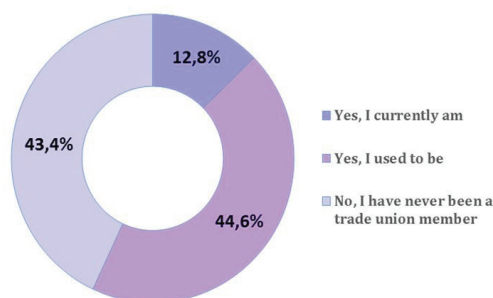


Diagram 4.13. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Have you ever been a member of a trade union?' (several answer options can be chosen)

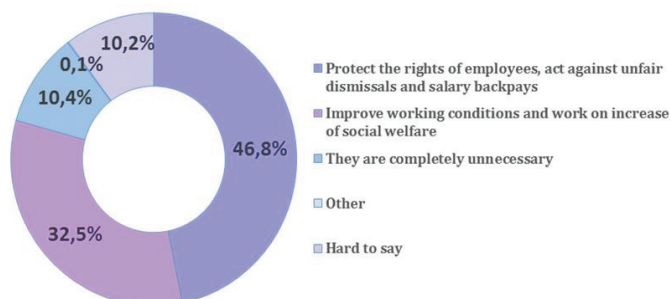


Diagram 4.14. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'What do you think, what should trade unions primarily deal with?'

that young people require better protection, and only 6.3% expressed the opinion that it is necessary to strengthen social protection on behalf of the state for internally displaced persons.

Ukrainians think that husband and wife should equally deal with child upbringing (93.0%), household (78.3%) and provide for the family financially (62.6%). And the results among the surveyed women and men, as well as across different age groups, do not differ considerably.

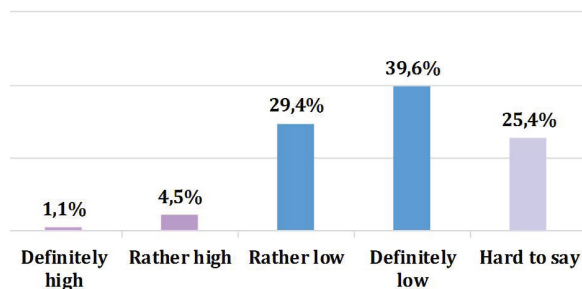


Diagram 4.15. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'How do you assess the efficiency of the current trade union performance in Ukraine in general?'

		Clearly high	Rather high	Rather low	Clearly low	Hard to say
IN THE USSR EPOCH	... education	27,3%	48,6%	10,8%	1,7%	11,6%
	...health care	21,2%	47,9%	16,1%	2,6%	12,2%
	... pension security	21,2%	42,9%	19,3%	2,9%	13,7%
	... employment	45,7%	36,7%	7,0%	1,1%	9,5%
	...social security	22,1%	42,4%	18,1%	3,5%	13,9%
CURRENTLY	... education	3,5%	27,8%	35,4%	26,3%	7,0%
	...health care	0,9%	7,6%	39,1%	50,7%	1,7%
	... pension security	0,2%	3,5%	30,0%	64,9%	1,4%
	... employment	0,6%	7,6%	33,3%	56,7%	1,8%
	...social security	0,5%	5,2%	35,2%	56,2%	2,9%

Table 4.2. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'How would you assess the quality ... in the Ukrainian territory in different periods?'

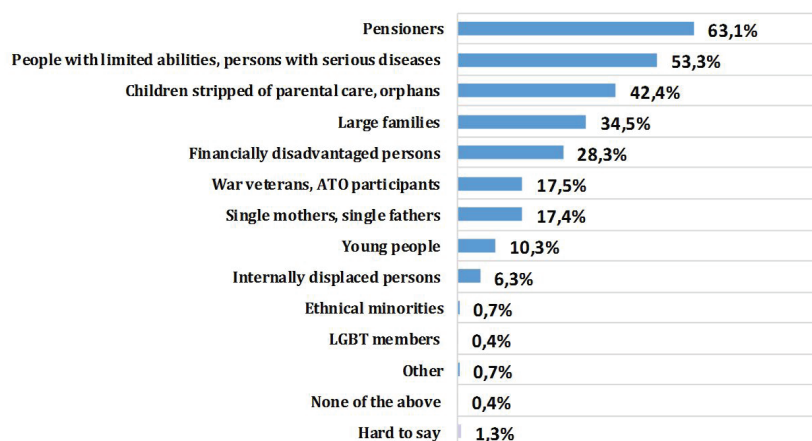


Diagram 4.16. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'What categories of residents, in your opinion, primarily require better social security to be provided by the state?' (no more than three answer option can be chosen)

	Clearly high	Rather high	Rather low	Clearly low	Hard to say
... deal with child upbringing	59,3%	33,7%	4,3%	0,9%	1,8%
... provide for the family financially	33,0%	29,6%	28,7%	4,6%	4,1%
... deal with household	41,4%	36,9%	16,5%	2,4%	2,8%

Table 4.3. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question 'Do you agree with the following statements: man and woman should equally...?'

## Conclusions

The results of sociological study conducted by the Gorshenin Institute in cooperation with the Representative Office of Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Ukraine and Belarus show that the interest of Ukrainians in politics is rather high. Not least, this interest is stipulated by the events unfolding in the country over the past several years, namely the Revolution of Dignity, the occupation of Crimea by Russia and, of course, military action in Donbas.

Yet, despite a high level of political "engagement" of Ukrainians, both focus group discussions and All-Ukrainian survey showed that the understanding of ways in which political systems function and the awareness of various political and ideological trends are critically low even 27 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union. As a result, the political and ideological preferences of Ukrainians are fragmentary, ill-structured and most people find it hard to identify themselves either with the "left-wingers" or with the "right-wingers" and determine which ideology fits into their world view best.

The situation gets more complicated because Ukraine practically does not yet have ideological political parties that people could look up to. The unification of members and supporters within the existing political parties is happening around leaders and not ideas.

At the same time, the study shows that today Ukrainians are fully gravitating toward centrist views and the social-democratic trend as the "golden mean" is enjoying the strongest support of Ukrainians. People aged 45 and more who live in the East of the country mostly support it. In general, the attitude toward social democratic ideology is positive in all the regions of the country among all age groups. Only those people who mistakenly associate it with the communist ideology and the Soviet Union demonstrate negative attitudes.

Despite the fact that Ukrainians are rather positive about social democracy, their ideas of the principles and values of this ideology are predictably

quite superficial. Besides, the study shows that they are absolutely not aware of the concept "welfare state" (much like "social state").

Simultaneously, most respondents welcome the state's active involvement in issues like social guarantees and demonstrate inclinations toward paternalism while ignoring such problems as responsibility of society members, for instance. In this respect, it is interesting that Ukrainians delegate the function of wealth distribution to the state and at the same time have no trust in state institutions at all.

Almost half of the respondents showed eagerness to vote for a newly created party of social democratic orientation, but a third of them claimed that the final choice would depend on the people who would be the members of that party. At the same time, according to estimates of Ukrainians, social democratic principles are currently not close to any of the Ukrainian parties.

Simultaneously, almost half of the respondents were people whose income is mostly based on state-funded payments (pensions, scholarships and others) or salaries at state-owned enterprises and institutions. These categories are most vulnerable to social policies of a country and can potentially become the supporters of social democratic parties.

It is worth mentioning that the second and third place in "ideology rating" is occupied by national democratic and socialist trends. Focus group participants who chose national democratic ideology mentioned the necessity of spreading it across the society in context of conflict with Russia. Socialist ideology traditionally found support among people of elderly age.

When speaking of social democratic values, most Ukrainians mentioned that back in Soviet times there was more solidarity and justice in the society than these days. Instead, in modern Ukraine, according to their opinion there is much more freedom than before. Amid this, almost half of the respondents said they were not ready to bear with



financial difficulties for personal freedom, while every third respondent gave a positive response.

In the course of the survey and focus group discussions, the respondents also compared the quality of education, healthcare, pension welfare, employment and social welfare at different times, and the results obtained clearly show that Ukrainians of all age groups share the opinion that back in Soviet times all those leading areas of state policy were realized much better than today. In general, we may state that among elderly population there still exists a strong nostalgia for the Soviet past and the youngsters believe in many stereotypes and myths about the positive aspects of communist rule.

In this respect, most Ukrainians believe that today education and healthcare should be free and pension system should be solidary or mixed. At the same time, more than half of the respondents said they were not ready to pay higher taxes in return for better quality healthcare, education and social services. Simultaneously, focus group studies show that such a position is first of all caused by lack of trust in government and the fact that people do not believe that the state is doing the distribution of such funds efficiently. In connection with this, it is interesting to see that more than half of Ukrainians prefer official employment even if the salary is smaller.

Another important issue raised in the course of study was the efficiency of trade unions in Ukraine. Most Ukrainians believe that today the trade unions have little impact; they do not protect and do not

support working population. In addition, there is a demand for the improvement of work of trade unions and working conditions in Ukraine.

In such a way, the data obtained in the course of studies demonstrates a critical necessity for raising the level of political culture in Ukraine as it will be decisive for the democratization of political system in the country and the creation of an efficient civil society. In this respect, an important role should be paid to the educational programmes for large groups of the society, which can be implemented by both the state and Ukrainian NGOs as well as international structures. At the same time, a positive result could be achieved by policy aimed at improvement of balanced solidary relations in the Ukrainian society.

Yet, apparently, it will all not be very efficient without progress in fighting corruption amongst officials and politicians as well as introduction of a more transparent and understandable system that would allow for the citizens to see what the tax money is spent on.

The research also showed that there is a huge space for left-centrist powers in Ukraine and the social democratic trend has a huge potential to become the founding ideology for the new influential Ukrainian parties. And since Ukrainians, when deciding on their political preferences look at individuals rather than at programme principles of political parties, in order to get into Verkhovna Rada and local radas in the short run, the newly created social democratic parties should have talented and charismatic leaders in their midst.

## ANNEX 1. Quantitative Study Findings

## ARE YOU INTERESTED IN POLITICS?

- I'm definitely interested – 7.9%
- Rather yes – 39.8%
- Rather no – 28.2%
- Definitely no – 20.8%
- Hard to say – 3.3%

## ACCORDING TO YOUR POLITICAL VIEWS, DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF LEFT, LEFT-CENTRIST, CENTRIST, RIGHT-CENTRIST OR RIGHT-WING?

- Left – 5.6%
- Left-centrist – 4.2%
- Centrist – 9.0%
- Right-centrist – 5.6%
- Right – 8.1%
- Other – 6.5%
- Hard to say – 61.0%

## PLEASE CHOOSE A POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TREND WHICH IS CLOSEST TO YOU?

- Social democratic – 12.3%
- National democratic – 9.6%
- Socialist – 9.1%
- Nationalist – 5.7%
- "Green" ideology – 4.5%
- Christian democratic – 4.4%

- Communist – 3.8%
- Liberal – 3.8%
- Conservative – 1.4%
- Other – 1.3%
- Neither of the above – 26.5%
- Hard to say – 17.6%

## IN YOUR OPINION, ARE THERE IDEOLOGICAL PARTIES IN UKRAINE TODAY?

- Definitely yes – 8.8%
- Rather yes – 21.3%
- Rather no – 22.3%
- Definitely no – 24.7%
- Hard to say – 22.9%

## IN YOUR OPINION, HOW SHOULD THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATE AND ITS CITIZENS BE BUILT?

- The state should interfere as little as possible in private life and economic activities of its citizens – 11.0%
- The state should establish single "game rules" for everyone and oversee that they are observed – 34.9%
- The state should ensure a decent standard of living for its citizens and also take measures to decrease the difference in income levels – 50.9%
- Hard to say – 3.2%

## THERE ARE DIFFERENT POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS IN MODERN WORLD. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE MAIN TRENDS?

	Definitely positive	Rather positive	Rather negative	Definitely negative	Hard to say
<b>Communist</b>	3,6%	16,8%	26,2%	37,8%	15,6%
<b>Socialist</b>	5,2%	30,5%	21,4%	24,0%	18,9%
<b>Social-democratic</b>	5,3%	36,2%	19,2%	14,0%	25,3%
<b>Liberal</b>	2,2%	23,1%	23,6%	16,2%	34,9%
<b>Christian democratic</b>	2,8%	26,7%	18,5%	17,3%	34,7%
<b>National democratic</b>	4,4%	28,1%	19,4%	20,8%	27,3%
<b>Nationalist</b>	5,2%	16,9%	23,3%	31,6%	23,0%
<b>Conservative</b>	1,3%	11,0%	27,9%	24,4%	35,4%
<b>"Green" ideology</b>	5,7%	29,7%	15,3%	12,4%	36,9%

IN YOUR OPINION, ARE THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES CLOSE TO THE FOLLOWING POLITICAL POWERS?

	Definitely yes	Rather yes	Rather no	Definitely no	Hard to say
<b>Batkivshchyna (Yu. Tymoshenko)</b>	3,6%	17,8%	24,5%	23,6%	30,5%
<b>Solidarity Petro Poroshenko's Bloc</b>	2,2%	10,3%	24,5%	37,0%	26,0%
<b>Opposition Bloc (Yu. Boyko)</b>	2,9%	14,0%	21,7%	32,3%	29,1%
<b>National Front (A. Yatsenyuk)</b>	0,8%	6,3%	24,2%	41,6%	27,1%
<b>For Life (V. Rabynovych)</b>	2,4%	16,1%	18,5%	30,6%	32,4%
<b>Radical Party (O. Liashko)</b>	1,0%	11,7%	24,6%	34,8%	27,9%
<b>Samopomich (A. Sadovyi)</b>	1,7%	17,4%	21,3%	27,7%	31,9%
<b>Socialist Party of Ukraine</b>	2,8%	20,7%	16,7%	26,3%	33,5%

HAVE YOU HEARD THAT SOCIAL DEMOCRATS BELONG TO LEFT-CENTRIST TREND?

- Yes, I have – 17.7%
- No, I haven't – 82.3%

WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A NEWLY CREATED SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WING PARTY?

- Yes, the values of social democrats are close to me – 6.6%
- Yes, but the final choice will depend on the content of party programme – 17.8%
- Yes, but the final choice will depend on members of the party – 25.1%
- No, I would not vote under any circumstances – 18.0%
- Hard to say – 32.5%

WHICH OF THE DEFINITIONS OF "FREEDOM" IS THE CLOSEST TO YOU?

- The possibility of making decisions regardless of the opinion of others, conscious freedom of choice in life – 29.0%
- The possibility of doing everything that does not harm others – 33.9%
- The possibility of making independent choice and assuming responsibility for it – 33.9%
- Hard to say – 3.2%

ARE YOU READY TO ENDURE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES FOR PERSONAL FREEDOM?

- Definitely yes – 9.7%
- Rather yes – 30.4%
- Rather no – 30.1%
- Definitely no – 20.8%
- Hard to say – 9.0%

DO YOU AGREE THAT UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES THE STATE CAN LIMIT FREEDOM OF ITS CITIZENS (FOR INSTANCE, WHEN THERE IS A THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY)?

- Definitely yes – 14.1%
- Rather yes – 36.6%
- Rather no – 23.1%
- Definitely no – 17.4%
- Hard to say – 8.8%

EVERYONE HAS THEIR OWN UNDERSTANDING OF JUSTICE. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS JUSTICE? (respondents could choose not more than three answer options)

- Equality of all before the law – 65.8%
- Equal opportunities, regardless of the place of birth, level of income or sex – 43.3%
- State support for pensioners and socially disadvantaged groups of people (unemployed, disabled persons, children, students etc.) – 42.0%

- Free and quality medical services, education for all – 37.1%
- Dependence of standards of living for each member of the society on their work achievements – 24.8%
- Lack of significant differences in the standard of living (there are no poor and no rich people) – 24.0%
- Interaction between society members as equal partners – 12.5%
- Other – 0.2%
- Hard to say – 1.1%

WHAT SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT DO TO MAKE THE SOCIETY MORE JUST? (respondents could choose not more than two answer options)

- Pass fair laws and oversee their enforcement – 49.0%
- Fight corruption, nepotism – 46.6%
- Increase living standards for people – 39.4%
- Take care of people in general and specific groups of people in particular – 21.6%
- Supply people with work – 14.5%
- Fight crime, drug addiction and alcoholism – 11.5%

- Pay more attention to education of children and youth – 6.7%
- Other – 0.6%
- Hard to say – 0.7%

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DEFINITIONS OF "SOLIDARITY" IS THE CLOSEST TO YOU?

- Help to each other – 39.7%
- Commonness of views, interests, objectives – 37.1%
- Joint responsibility – 17.8%
- Other – 0.1%
- Hard to say – 5.3%

HAVE YOU EVER HEARD OF THE "WELFARE STATE" DOCTRINE?

- Yes, I have – 16.4%
- No, I haven't – 78.0%
- Hard to say – 5.6%

HAVE YOU EVER HEARD OF "SOCIAL STATE"?

- Yes, I have – 32.0%
- No, I haven't – 61.7%
- Hard to say – 6.3%

HOW WOULD YOU ASSESS THE LEVEL OF FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND SOLIDARITY ON THE TERRITORY OF UKRAINE AT DIFFERENT TIMES?

DURING THE USSR

	Definitely high	Rather high	Rather low	Definitely low	Hard to say
...freedom	9,0%	20,3%	28,5%	26,8%	15,4%
....justice	13,4%	31,6%	25,9%	13,5%	15,6%
...solidarity	21,6%	37,7%	14,6%	9,7%	16,4%

TODAY

	Definitely high	Rather high	Rather low	Definitely low	Hard to say
...freedom	10,0%	35,1%	27,2%	24,4%	3,3%
....justice	0,9%	6,5%	33,0%	57,4%	2,2%
...solidarity	3,1%	17,6%	34,0%	39,0%	6,3%

#### WHICH OF THE STATEMENTS ABOUT EDUCATION CORRESPONDS TO YOUR OPINION THE MOST?

- All children should have access to free quality education (primary, secondary and high) regardless of the financial standing of their parents and nationality – 58.6%
- Free education shall be granted only to citizens of Ukraine, foreigners should pay for tuition – 25.9%
- All children should have access to free pre-school and secondary education, higher education should be paid for – 11.6%
- Quality education shall be accessible only to a certain part of the society (gifted children and children with rich parents) – 1.5%
- Other – 0.4%
- Hard to say – 2.0%

#### IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD MEDICINE BE LIKE IN UKRAINE?

- Only free and state-funded – 36.1%
- Free state-funded and fee-based private – 20.7%
- Solely private – 1.2%
- Compulsory insurance-based, state-funded – 12.7%
- Compulsory insurance-based, funded by employer – 4.8%
- Compulsory insurance-based, funded by population – 2.9%
- Free state-funded insurance-based – 18.6%
- Hard to say – 3.0%

#### IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD PENSION SYSTEM BE LIKE?

- Solidary or distributional (funds for pensions are taken from taxes paid by working population) – 36.4%
- Accrual-based (allocations from salary are stored in special accounts) – 18.5%
- Mixed (solidary and accrual-based) – 36.2%
- Other – 0.6%
- Hard to say – 8.3%

#### IN YOUR OPINION, WHO SHOULD TAKE CARE OF YOUR DECENT OLD AGE FIRST?

- State – 67.5%

- Employer – 4.0%
- I myself – 23.6%
- Children, other relatives – 1.3%
- Other – 0.6%
- Hard to say – 3.0%

#### ARE YOU READY TO PAY HIGHER TAXES FOR BETTER QUALITY MEDICINE, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES?

- Definitely yes – 9.7%
- Rather yes – 28.3%
- Rather no – 31.9%
- Definitely no – 22.8%
- Hard to say – 7.3%

#### DO YOU AGREE THAT THOSE WHO EARN MORE SHOULD PAY HIGHER TAXES?

- Definitely yes – 45.6%
- Rather yes – 34.0%
- Rather no – 11.2%
- Definitely no – 5.6%
- Hard to say – 3.6%

#### DO YOU THINK THAT THE STATE SHOULD PROVIDE ITS CITIZENS WITH EMPLOYMENT?

- Yes, young people should be provided with their first workplace upon graduation – 45.4%
- Yes, but only those who can't to work and cannot find a job – 36.6%
- Yes, disabled persons who want to work but are not hired – 13.9%
- No, it shouldn't – 1.7%
- Hard to say – 2.4%

#### IF YOU HAD TWO JOB OFFERS, WHICH OF THEM WOULD YOU CHOOSE?

- Official employment but with smaller salary – 56.3%
- Unofficial employment but with higher salary – 31.8%
- Hard to say – 11.9%

IN YOUR OPINION, HOW MANY HOURS SHOULD A WORKING WEEK HAVE?

- No more than 48 hours a week – 9.6%
- As it is right now, 40 hours a week – 66.6%
- No more than 36 hours a week – 17.8%
- No more than 24 hours a week – 1.7%
- Other – 0.5%
- Hard to say – 3.8%

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A TRADE UNION MEMBER? (respondents could choose several options)

- Yes, I currently am – 12.8%
- Yes, I used to be – 44.6%
- No, I have never been a trade union member – 43.4%

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD THE TRADE UNIONS BE PRIMARILY DEALING WITH?

- Protect the rights of employees, act against unfair dismissals and salary backpays – 46.8%

- Improve working conditions and work on increase of social welfare – 32.5%
- They are completely unnecessary – 10.4%
- Other – 0.1%
- Hard to say – 10.2%

GIVE A GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFICIENCY OF TRADE UNION WORK IN UKRAINE?

- Definitely high – 1.1%
- Rather high – 4.5%
- Rather low – 29.4%
- Definitely low – 39.6%
- Hard to say – 25.4%

HOW DOES THE POLICY OF CURRENT UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF "WELFARE STATE"?

- Definitely contributes – 0.8%
- Rather contributes – 10.6%
- Rather does not contribute – 33.6%
- Definitely does not contribute – 40.4%
- Hard to say – 14.6%

HOW WOULD YOU ASSESS THE QUALITY... ON THE TERRITORY OF UKRAINE DURING DIFFERENT PERIODS?

DURING THE USSR

	<b>Definitely high</b>	<b>Rather high</b>	<b>Rather low</b>	<b>Definitely low</b>	<b>Hard to say</b>
...education	27,3%	48,6%	10,8%	1,7%	11,6%
...healthcare	21,2%	47,9%	16,1%	2,6%	12,2%
...pension welfare	21,2%	42,9%	19,3%	2,9%	13,7%
...employment	45,7%	36,7%	7,0%	1,1%	9,5%
...social welfare	22,1%	42,4%	18,1%	3,5%	13,9%

TODAY

	<b>Definitely high</b>	<b>Rather high</b>	<b>Rather low</b>	<b>Definitely low</b>	<b>Hard to say</b>
...education	3,5%	27,8%	35,4%	26,3%	7,0%
...healthcare	0,9%	7,6%	39,1%	50,7%	1,7%
...pension welfare	0,2%	3,5%	30,0%	64,9%	1,4%
...employment	0,6%	7,6%	33,3%	56,7%	1,8%
...social welfare	0,5%	5,2%	35,2%	56,2%	2,9%

## DO YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING: A MAN AND A WOMAN SHOULD BE EQUALLY...?

	<b>Definitely yes</b>	<b>Rather yes</b>	<b>Rather no</b>	<b>Definitely no</b>	<b>Hard to say</b>
...bringing up children	59,3%	33,7%	4,3%	0,9%	1,8%
...provide for the family	33,0%	29,6%	28,7%	4,6%	4,1%
...work around the house	41,4%	36,9%	16,5%	2,4%	2,8%

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT CATEGORIES OF PERSONS REQUIRE ENHANCEMENT OF STATE SOCIAL WELFARE? (respondents could choose not more than three answer options)

- Pensioners – 63.1%
- People with limited abilities, persons with serious diseases – 53.3%
- Children stripped of parental care, orphans – 42.4%
- Large families – 34.5%
- Financially disadvantaged persons – 28.3%
- War veterans, ATO participants – 17.5%
- Single mothers, single fathers – 17.4%
- Young people – 10.3%
- Internally displaced persons – 6.3%
- Ethnic minorities – 0.7%
- LGBT members – 0.4%
- Other – 0.7%
- None of the above – 0.4%
- Hard to say – 1.3%

WHAT IS THE MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME FOR YOU TODAY?

- Salary at state-owned enterprise, state-owned institution – 17.5%
- Salary at private enterprise, commercial company – 27.2%
- Income from one's own company individual business – 4.3%
- Pension, scholarship, other state-funded payments – 33.8%
- Homesteading – 3.2%
- Income of family members – 11.1%
- Other – 0.4%
- I refuse to answer – 2.5%

HOW WOULD YOU ASSESS FINANCIAL STANDING OF YOUR FAMILY?

- We hardly make ends meet, sometimes we don't have enough for food – 11.7%
- We make enough to buy food but not enough to buy clothes or shoes – 35.8%
- In general we earn a living but not enough to buy expensive things (furniture, fridge etc.) – 41.4%
- We don't experience financial difficulties but for very expensive purchases (dwelling, car etc.) – 7.5%
- We don't experience any financial needs – 0.6%
- I refuse to answer – 3.0%

GENDER:

- Male – 45.7%
- Female – 54.4%

AGE:

- 18-29 – 17.8%
- 30-44 – 23.3%
- 45-59 – 27.9%
- 60 and more – 31.1%

REGION:

- North – 21.0%
- Center – 14.0%
- East – 26.4%
- West – 26.9%
- South – 11.7%

## ANNEX 2. Ukrainian Social Democrat's Portrait

Answers of respondents who said that social democracy is the closest ideology to them  
N=246

### ARE YOU INTERESTED IN POLITICS?

- I'm definitely interested – 8.9%
- Rather yes – 53.7%
- Rather no – 20.3%
- Definitely no – 15.0%
- Hard to say – 2.0%

ACCORDING TO YOUR POLITICAL VIEWS, DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF LEFT, LEFT-CENTRIST, CENTRIST, RIGHT-CENTRIST OR RIGHT-WING?

- Left – 3.7%
- Left-centrist – 15.0%
- Centrist – 14.6%
- Right-centrist – 6.5%
- Right – 6.1%
- Other – 2.0%
- Hard to say – 52.0%

HAVE YOU HEARD THAT SOCIAL DEMOCRATS BELONG TO LEFT-CENTRIST TREND?

- Yes, I have – 28.0%
- No, I haven't – 72.0%

WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A NEWLY CREATED SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WING PARTY?

- Yes, the values of social democrats are close to me – 18.7%
- Yes, but the final choice will depend on the content of party programme – 28.9%
- Yes, but the final choice will depend on members of the party – 32.5%
- No, I would not vote under any circumstances – 4.5%
- Hard to say – 15.4%

IN YOUR OPINION, HOW SHOULD THE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATE AND ITS CITIZENS BE BUILT?

- The state should interfere as little as possible in private life and economic activities of its citizens – 9.3%
- The state should establish single "game rules" for everyone and oversee that they are observed – 37.8%
- The state should ensure a decent standard of living for its citizens and also take measures to decrease the difference in income levels – 46.7%
- Hard to say – 6.1%

WHICH OF THE DEFINITIONS OF "FREEDOM" IS THE CLOSEST TO YOU?

- The possibility of making decisions regardless of the opinion of others, conscious freedom of choice in life – 31.3%
- The possibility of doing everything that does not harm others – 36.2%
- The possibility of making independent choice and assuming responsibility for it – 30.9%
- Hard to say – 1.6%

ARE YOU READY TO ENDURE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES FOR PERSONAL FREEDOM?

- Definitely yes – 12.6%
- Rather yes – 33.7%
- Rather no – 29.7%
- Definitely no – 11.8%
- Hard to say – 12.2%

DO YOU AGREE THAT UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES THE STATE CAN LIMIT FREEDOM OF ITS CITIZENS (FOR INSTANCE, WHEN THERE IS A THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY)?

- Definitely yes – 18.3%
- Rather yes – 45.1%
- Rather no – 19.9%
- Definitely no – 9.8%
- Hard to say – 6.9%



EVERYONE HAS THEIR OWN UNDERSTANDING OF JUSTICE. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS JUSTICE? (respondents could choose not more than three answer options)

- Equality of all before the law – 65.0%
- Equal opportunities, regardless of the place of birth, level of income or sex – 52.8%
- State support for pensioners and socially disadvantaged groups of people (unemployed, disabled persons, children, students etc.) – 45.9%
- Free and quality medical services, education for all – 39.4%
- Dependence of standards of living for each member of the society on their work achievements – 23.6%
- Lack of significant differences in the standard of living (there are no poor and no rich people) – 17.5%
- Interaction between society members as equal partners – 16.3%
- Hard to say – 0.4%

WHAT SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT DO TO MAKE THE SOCIETY MORE JUST?

- (respondents could choose not more than two answer options)
- Pass fair laws and oversee their enforcement – 47.6%
- Fight corruption, nepotism – 45.9%
- Increase living standards for people – 45.9%
- Take care of people in general and specific groups of people in particular – 25.6%
- Supply people with work – 13.0%
- Fight crime, drug addiction and alcoholism – 11.8%
- Pay more attention to education of children and youth – 5.3%
- Hard to say – 0.0%

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DEFINITIONS OF "SOLIDARITY" IS THE CLOSEST TO YOU?

- Help to each other – 35.4%
- Commonness of views, interests, objectives – 40.2%
- Joint responsibility – 22.0%
- Hard to say – 2.4%

HAVE YOU EVER HEARD OF THE "WELFARE STATE" DOCTRINE?

- Yes, I have – 14.6%
- No, I haven't – 80.1%
- Hard to say – 5.3%

HAVE YOU EVER HEARD OF "SOCIAL STATE"?

- Yes, I have – 38.6%
- No, I haven't – 56.5%
- Hard to say – 4.9%

WHICH OF THE STATEMENTS ABOUT EDUCATION CORRESPONDS TO YOUR OPINION THE MOST?

- All children should have access to free quality education (primary, secondary and high) regardless of the financial standing of their parents and nationality – 61.0%
- Free education shall be granted only to citizens of Ukraine, foreigners should pay for tuition – 28.5%
- All children should have access to free pre-school and secondary education, higher education should be paid for – 8.1%
- Quality education shall be accessible only to a certain part of the society (gifted children and children with rich parents) – 1.6%
- Other – 0.4%
- Hard to say – 0.4%

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD MEDICINE BE LIKE IN UKRAINE?

- Only free and state-funded – 22.8%
- Free state-funded and fee-based private – 31.3%
- Solely private – 1.6%
- Compulsory insurance-based, state-funded – 16.7%
- Compulsory insurance-based, funded by employer – 4.1%
- Compulsory insurance-based, funded by population – 3.3%
- Free state-funded insurance-based – 19.1%
- Hard to say – 1.2%

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD PENSION SYSTEM BE LIKE?

- Solidary or distributional (funds for pensions are taken from taxes paid by working population) – 30.1%
- Accrual-based (allocations from salary are stored in special accounts) – 18.3%
- Mixed (solidary and accrual-based) – 42.7%
- Hard to say – 8.9%

ARE YOU READY TO PAY HIGHER TAXES FOR BETTER QUALITY MEDICINE, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES?

- Definitely yes – 10.6%
- Rather yes – 43.1%
- Rather no – 25.6%
- Definitely no – 15.9%
- Hard to say – 4.9%

DO YOU AGREE THAT THOSE WHO EARN MORE SHOULD PAY HIGHER TAXES?

- Definitely yes – 46.3%
- Rather yes – 37.8%
- Rather no – 8.1%
- Definitely no – 4.9%
- Hard to say – 2.8%

IF YOU HAD TWO JOB OFFERS, WHICH OF THEM WOULD YOU CHOOSE?

- Official employment but with smaller salary – 54.9%
- Unofficial employment but with higher salary – 31.3%
- Hard to say – 13.8%

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD THE TRADE UNIONS BE PRIMARILY DEALING WITH?

- Protect the rights of employees, act against unfair dismissals and salary backpays – 41.5%
- Improve working conditions and work on increase of social welfare – 42.3%
- They are completely unnecessary – 8.5%
- Hard to say – 7.7%

WHAT IS THE MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME FOR YOU TODAY?

- Salary at state-owned enterprise, state-owned institution – 16.3%
- Salary at private enterprise, commercial company – 34.6%
- Income from one's own company individual business – 4.1%
- Pension, scholarship, other state-funded payments – 30.9%
- Homesteading – 4.5%
- Income of family members – 8.1%
- I refuse to answer – 1.6%

HOW WOULD YOU ASSESS FINANCIAL STANDING OF YOUR FAMILY?

- We hardly make ends meet, sometimes we don't have enough for food – 4.1%
- We make enough to buy food but not enough to buy clothes or shoes – 34.6%
- In general we earn a living but not enough to buy expensive things (furniture, fridge etc.) – 52.0%
- We don't experience financial difficulties but for very expensive purchases (dwelling, car etc.) – 7.3%
- We don't experience any financial needs – 0.4%
- I refuse to answer – 1.6%

GENDER:

- Male – 48.4%
- Female – 51.6%

AGE:

- 18-29 – 13,4%
- 30-44 – 24,0%
- 45-59 – 30,9%
- 60 and more – 31,7%

REGION:

- North – 17,1%
- Center – 6,5%
- East – 50,4%
- West – 15,9%
- South – 10,2%



The public opinion poll 'The Attitude of Ukrainians toward Social Democracy' was conducted by the Gorshenin Institute and the Representation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Ukraine and Belarus

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