



# How Ukrainians Perceive European Values

## Main Results of an Empirical Survey

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- Ukraine's »Revolution of Dignity« led to a pro-European government. In this context, Europe is viewed not only as a geographic area, but above all as a value space.
- Both supporters of Ukraine's European integration and many of its opponents believe that European values serve as a foundation for a successful society. However, »Euro-sceptics« consider it impossible to build a Ukrainian society on the same foundation.
- Ukrainians in the east are more inclined to believe that European values shared by Ukrainians should be »implemented from the outside« and »installed by the state«. Respondents in the west believe that they should be practised by each citizen and the state alike.
- »Euro-optimists« often have a more coherent and consistent view of European values, whilst Euro-sceptics tend to have a more fragmented perception of these values.
- The majority of Ukrainians believe that Ukraine should integrate into Euro-Atlantic institutions. Nonetheless, there is a rising attitude that Ukraine should be neither a member of the European Union nor of the Eurasian Economic Union led by Russia.
- Gaining knowledge about European values is not a systemic process. Ukrainian TV and social media dominate, and talks with relatives and friends are also important. The respondents probably underestimate the issue of manipulation through Russian media.



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## Why an Inquiry into European Values 2017?

During winter 2013–2014 a second Maidan uprising took place, which Ukrainians call the »Revolution of Dignity«. The »European Choice« was seen as an irreversible political decision supported by the majority of the Ukrainian citizens. In this context, Europe is viewed not only as a geographic area, but above all as a value space.

In June 2017, the pro-European government finally achieved visa-free travel to Europe's Schengen Area. At the same time, Ukrainian society's value choice has always been accompanied by heated debates inside the country. Ukrainians' ideas about European values often comprise stereotypes and erroneous beliefs rooted in propaganda, manipulation by political forces, or other external factors.

So, what do Ukrainians believe about European values? Do they share the basic principles of the European institutions? What is the relationship between region or age to views on European values? Is a person's idea of European values linked to the type of international relations this person supports? What are the sources that shape Ukrainians' ideas about European values? Has there been an increase or decrease in supporting the European Choice in the last three years?

To answer these and other questions, the Gorshenin Institute – in partnership with the Kyiv Office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – conducted a nationwide opinion poll during spring 2017. The main results are presented in this paper. A more complete Ukrainian version is also available.

## Methodology

In April 2017, Ukrainians aged 18–65 were invited to participate in six focus groups. Each group consisted equally of men and women. Two groups – those in favour of European integration and those opposing it – were invited in each of the three cities: Kyiv, Lviv, and Dnipro. The results were used in the development of a questionnaire for the nationwide Ukrainian poll.

From May 26 to June 6, 2,000 respondents aged 18–65 were interviewed by quotas in all regions of Ukraine ex-

cept the occupied territories – the Crimean, Donetsk, and Luhansk oblasts. A macro-region quota was first developed based on state statistics (Central, Eastern, Western, Southern, Northern), then on administrative units, and in the last stage on villages. The quota also took into account the gender and age of the respondents. The error of representativeness of the study does not exceed +/- 2.2 per cent.

During the analysis of the survey results, the surveyors conducted a cluster analysis. Two clusters were obtained with »Euro-optimists« and »Euro-sceptics«. Some of the data from this analysis can be found in the annex.

## Main Findings

The survey, which was prepared with focus group discussions and carried out with 2,000 face-to-face interviews, shows that Ukrainian citizens who have positive attitudes towards European integration are more likely to have more coherent and consistent ideas about European values than those who are sceptical about European integration.

The latter are more inclined to fragment values and focus on those aspects that cause controversy in Ukrainian society. A typical example is equating support for human rights with the view that values such as tolerance for other cultures and social minorities, and the protection of convicts' rights are not inherent in Ukrainian society. At the same time, there is a significant share of respondents in both groups who focus mainly on personal well-being. Consequently, they selectively choose values from opposite national development models – e. g. a paternalistic (state-led) model or one aimed at developing an independent personality (liberal model) – depending on which ones seems to offer more beneficial outcomes.

Both supporters of Ukraine's European integration (Euro-optimists) and many of its opponents (Euro-sceptics) believe that European values serve as a foundation for a successful society, and thus perceive them as worthy guiding principles. However, Euro-sceptics consider it impossible to build a Ukrainian society on the same foundation and do not believe that these principles could be applied in their country. Typically, they claim that it is impossible to overcome corruption and nepotism, or to have a tolerant attitude towards homosexual

marriages in Ukraine. They believe that in the face of high poverty, corruption in the central and local authorities, and the disappointing results of the Revolution of Dignity, Ukraine has acquired an imitation democracy that is ill-suited for Ukrainian society.

In general, integration with the European Union (EU) is supported by an absolute majority (51.6 per cent). In view of former studies, however, it is noteworthy that the share of people who do not want their country to integrate – either with the EU or the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) – has increased from 7.2 per cent in 2014 to 25.4 per cent in 2017. The respective surveys show that the largest number of such respondents live in Southern Ukraine (33.9 per cent). In addition, roughly 30 per cent of those surveyed in the Central, Northern, and Eastern Ukraine gave the same answer. Possible explanations include the following:

- (i) the inability of political leaders – both those who share Western-oriented views as well as those who support Ukraine's eastern integration – to overcome social and economic misery;
- (ii) the belief that the question of close integration with Europe (EU) or Russia (EAEU) splits the country and increases hostility;
- (iii) disappointment with the EU's reaction to Ukraine's European Choice, including delays in the ratification of the association agreement and granting of visa-free travel – which was actually granted after this survey was completed on 11 June 2017 – and the refusal to voice EU membership prospects for Ukraine (the spread of sentiments such as »we are not wanted in Europe« is successfully used by Russian media);
- (iv) rejection of European values that presume the abandonment of extreme nationalist views (no entry into EU with Ukraine's national hero Bandera);
- (v) conflict with nationalist groups of neighbouring EU member states – such as Hungary or Poland – as well as increased distance to Russia's ongoing aggression and propaganda (русский мир).

Four hypotheses were put forward during the course of forming the focus groups and shaping the questionnaire. In particular, **Hypothesis No. 1** states that Ukrai-

nians' ideas about European values are fragmentary and contradictory, although Ukrainians largely share the basic values of European institutions. This hypothesis has been fully confirmed.

Focus group participants and face-to-face respondents said that Europeans share values that serve as the basis for the well-being of European residents. Both supporters and opponents of European integration as a whole share European values – such as freedom of religion, the rule of law, democracy, personal freedom, peace, human rights, equality, self-realization, solidarity, tolerance, and the value of human life. There were no cases in which researchers encountered respondents who rejected these values.

At the same time, there is a somewhat paternalistic attitude towards these values in Central and especially Southern and Eastern Ukraine. The respondents often claimed that it is the government that must ensure human rights, everyone's equality before the law, possibilities for self-realization, etc. Thus, respondents in Eastern Ukraine are more inclined to believe that values shared by EU-Europeans and most Ukrainians should be »implemented from the outside« and »installed by the state«. Respondents in Western Ukraine have a more complete picture of the values shared by the EU-Europeans and believe that they should be taken seriously and practised by citizens and the state alike.

Hence, the majority of respondents from Southern and Eastern Ukraine have a distorted perception of values, which makes them believe that democracy and tolerance are more applicable to EU-Europeans than to Ukrainians. Although these people do not personally reject tolerance or the rule of law, they believe that EU-Europeans consider these values more important than Ukrainians.

Opponents of European integration believe that the EU is wiping out national peculiarities of its member states, thus fulfilling the total unification of socio-political, economic, and national aspects of life. According to these respondents, the dominance of a single set of European values will not be adopted in Ukraine, where there are strong nationalist currents and traditions.

Thus, it follows that if a person has a controversial perception of European values, there are opportunities for

manipulation. According to previous studies by Gorshenin Institute, residents of Eastern and Southern Ukraine are more vulnerable to political populism, which in fact has a manipulative base.

**Hypothesis No. 2**, which states that Ukrainians' ideas about European values depend on the region of residence and age, has also been confirmed. European values are most significant to respondents in Western Ukraine. Those in Eastern and Southern Ukraine mention these values less often, with a smaller set of such values. Instead, there is an increased inclination towards paternalism and nostalgia for the certainty and benefits that existed in the Soviet Union. Apart from twentieth-century history – Western Ukraine became part of the Soviet Union two decades later than its eastern territories – this difference may also be due to the type of employment: there are much larger enterprises in industry, mining, and agriculture in Eastern Ukraine and they used to ensure the existence of entire population centres. This creates the feeling that a person's well-being depends on external factors. The share of self-employed citizens and small entrepreneurs who rely more on themselves than on the government or owners of enterprises is still relatively small.

According to **Hypothesis No. 3**, the perception of European values is linked to whether or not a person supports Ukraine's European integration. This hypothesis has been partially confirmed. On the one hand, as noted previously, Euro-optimists often have a more coherent and consistent view of European values, while Euro-sceptics tend to have a more fragmented perception of these values. On the other hand, a significant number of Euro-sceptics recognize the civilizing role of European values and their positive contribution to building a successful state. In addition, both Euro-optimists and Euro-sceptics largely share these values, as long as they ensure prosperity and comfortable existence as quickly as possible. With regard to many phenomena, this »opportunistic« attitude does not require a significant change in world or traditional views.

Finally, **Hypothesis No. 4** states that the process used by Ukrainians to gain knowledge about European values is not systemic. Although the hypothesis has been confirmed, additional studies may be required for further qualitative verification.

According to survey respondents, perceptions of European values are formed through social networks, personal experience, the experiences of relatives and friends when travelling to EU countries, as well as from traditional media, such as newspapers, radio, and television. The researchers did not find any sources of information that systematically and in a first-hand manner shape beliefs about how people in the EU live and what values they hold. Many Ukrainian citizens form their own notions about the EU indirectly – e.g. through the prism of Russian media or Russian social networking websites. This reality opens up wide opportunities for manipulation of individuals with unstable and controversial ideas about European values. In any case, it remains to be seen which information channels are opened to Ukrainians with visa-free travel and what benefits Ukrainians receive from the association agreement with the EU.

## Some Values of Ukrainian Society with Relevance to European Values

How do Ukrainians see their national identity, their level of tolerance, or their ecological culture? Which geopolitical choices do Ukrainians favour? What role do European values play in Ukraine's value system?

Nine out of ten respondents (92.6 per cent) consider themselves Ukrainians, one in 20 (5.5 per cent) consider themselves Russian (see Chart 1). This marks a considerable increase in Ukrainian national identity: during the 2001 census, 77.8 per cent of Ukrainian citizens identified themselves as Ukrainians and 17.3 per cent as Russians.

In the Western region, Ukrainian national identity is declared by 98.3 per cent, in the Northern region 94.8 per cent, in the Central region 94.2 per cent, in the Southern region 87.5 per cent, and in the Eastern region 84.6 per cent. The younger the respondents, the more like they are to identify themselves as Ukrainians.

More than half of respondents declaring Russian nationality speak of themselves as citizens of Ukraine (55 per cent). Almost a quarter of them identified themselves as citizens of the former USSR (24.8 per cent); they live primarily in Eastern Ukraine (12 per cent of the inhabitants of the region) and are 60 years of age and older (10.5 per cent of the representatives of this age group).

Chart 1: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question:  
»Which nationality do you consider yourself to be?«

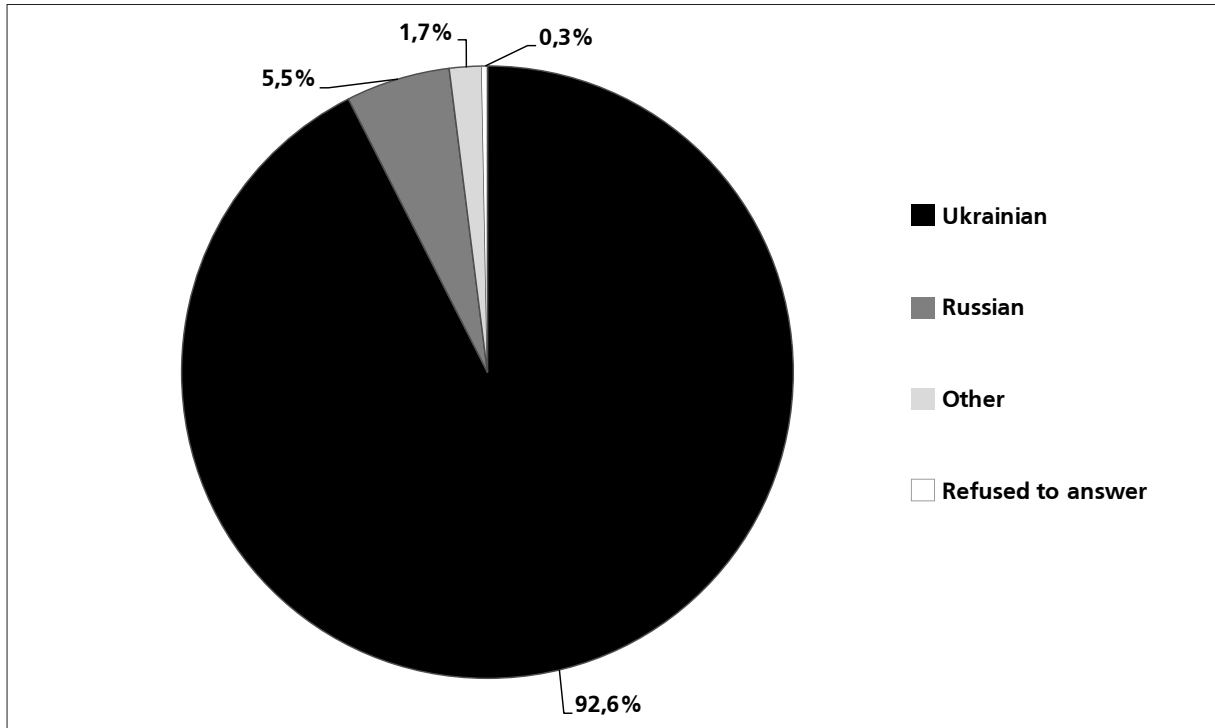
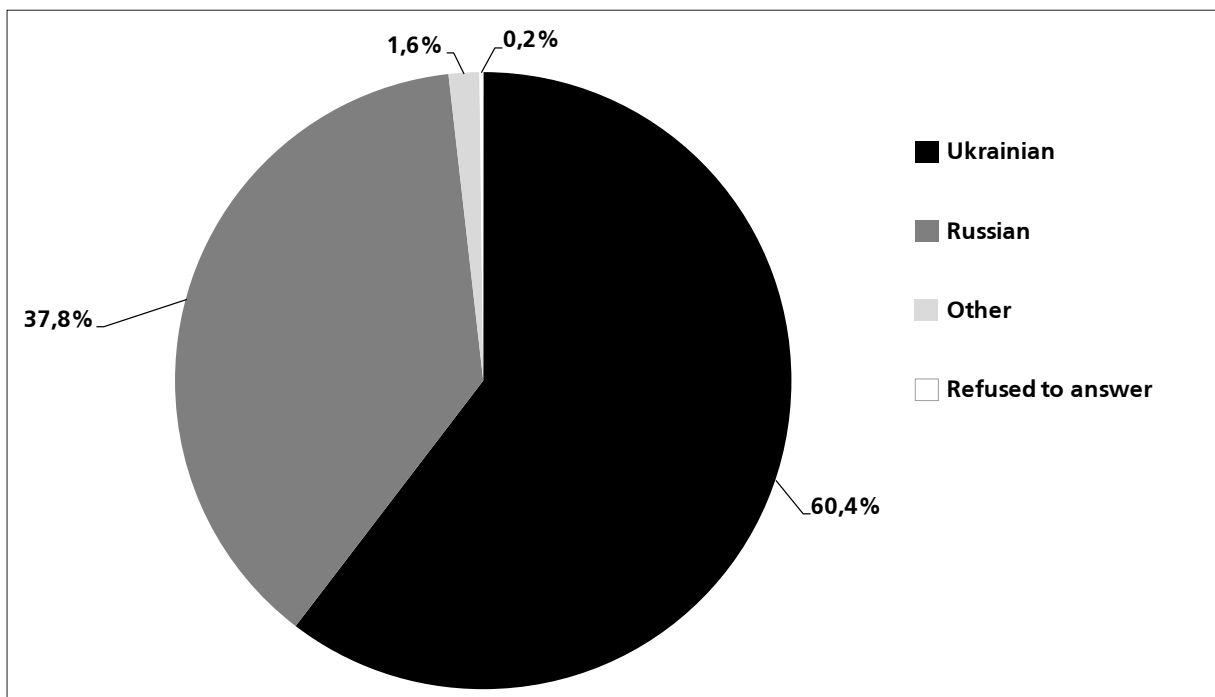


Chart 2: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question:  
»What language do you primarily speak at home?«



60.4 per cent of Ukrainians said that they primarily communicate in Ukrainian at home, while 37.8 per cent speak Russian, and 1.6 per cent other languages (see Chart 2). However, the fact that the inhabitants of the occupied territories in the east did not participate in the study, might have a significant impact on this indicator. In Eastern Ukraine, three out of four speak Russian at home (see Table 1).

The majority of Ukrainians (51.6 per cent) believe that Ukraine should integrate into the EU, whilst 10.2 per cent favour close cooperation with the Customs Union of the EAEU. At the same time, 25.4 per cent of respondents opposed integration with the EU and the EAEU and 12.8 per cent failed to answer the question (see Chart 3).

Table 1: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question: »What language do you primarily speak at home?« (based on region of residence)

	Region				
	Northern	Central	Eastern	Western	Southern
<b>Ukrainian</b>	51.1 %	87.4 %	23.4 %	<b>96.5 %</b>	25.8 %
<b>Russian</b>	43.7 %	12.2 %	<b>74.7 %</b>	3.1 %	73.4 %
<b>Other</b>	4.5 %	0.3 %	1.8 %	0.3 %	0.8 %
<b>Refused to answer</b>	0.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %

Note: 100% in column

Chart 3: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question: »Which direction of integration should Ukraine choose?«

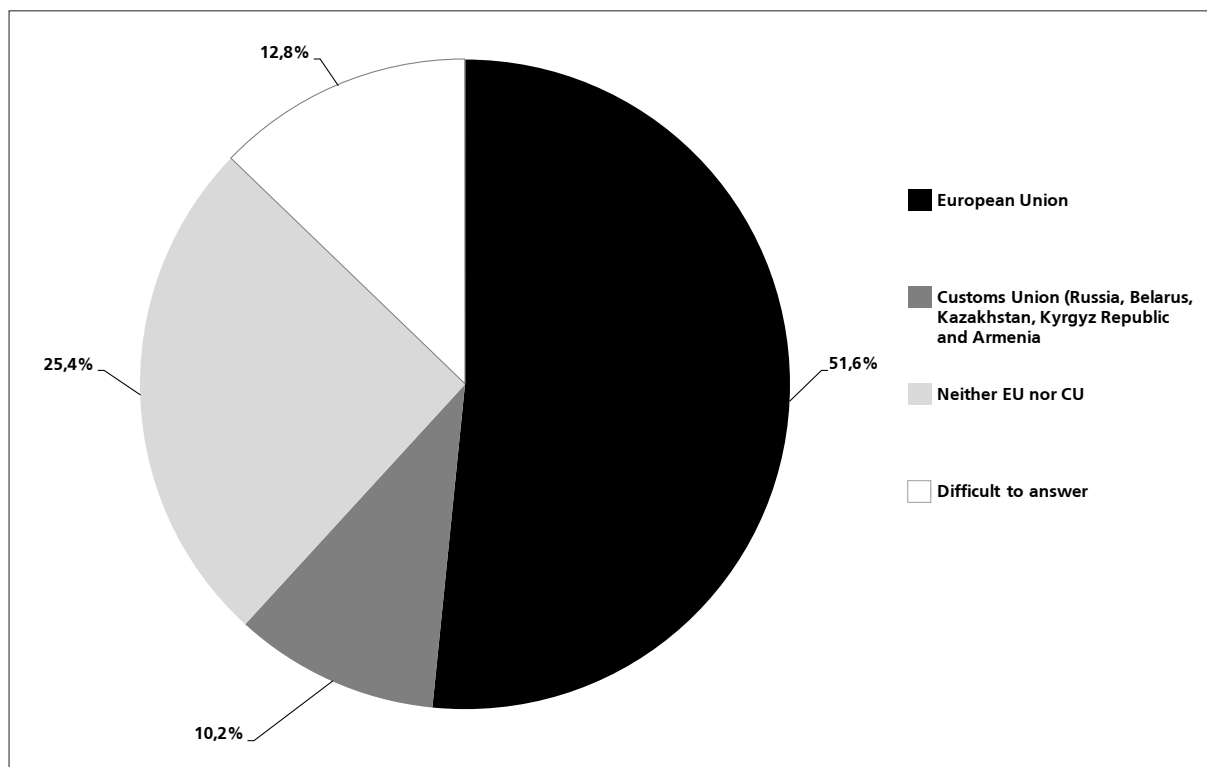
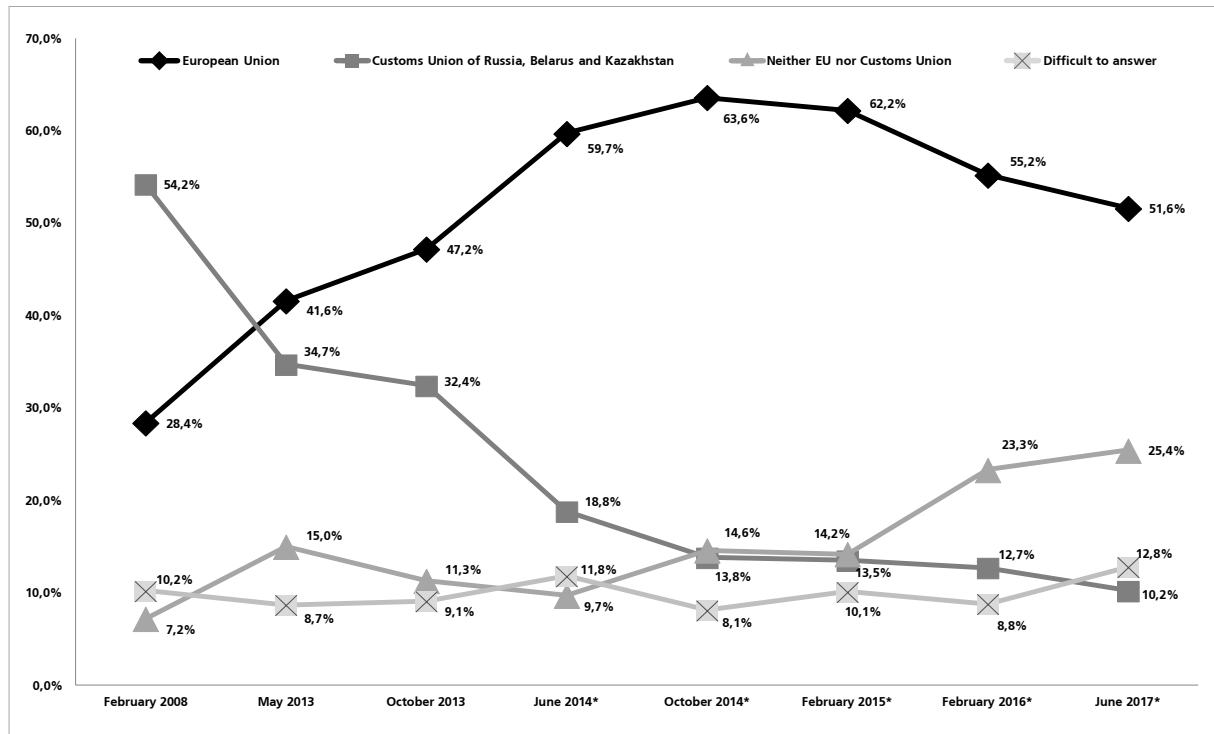




Chart 4: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question: »Which direction of integration should Ukraine choose?« (dynamics for 2008–2017)



\* Except for the occupied territories of the Crimean, Sevastopol, Donetsk, and Luhansk oblasts.

Whilst in Western Ukraine, the course of rapprochement with the EU is supported by the vast majority of respondents (77.9 per cent), in Northern Ukraine the figure is 50.5 per cent and in other regions between 33 and 38 per cent. However, as illustrated in Chart 4, according to data collected by the Gorshenin Institute for almost ten years, in recent years more Ukrainians have been opposed to any integration. This is obvious with regard to Russia, even before 2014. At the same time, during the reporting period, the number of EU supporters significantly increased from 28.4 per cent to 51.6 per cent, but also dropped from its peak in 2014 (63.6 per cent). Since then, the overall number of those who oppose any foreign policy integration processes has increased from 7.2 to 25.4 per cent.

A somewhat geopolitical question is NATO membership. Chart 5 illustrates how Ukrainians would vote in a membership referendum: 46.1 per cent of Ukrainians would vote for Ukraine's accession to NATO and 33.4 per cent would vote against; 14.1 per cent of the respondents found it difficult to answer, others would not vote in

such a referendum (6.4 per cent). Looking at the data by regions, the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Western region (76.5 per cent) favour Ukraine's accession to NATO, while 60.5 per cent of the residents in the Southern region oppose it. To a lesser extent, Eastern Ukraine also opposes NATO membership, whilst Northern Ukraine tends to favour it.

Comparing the results of the research conducted by the Gorshenin Institute for almost ten years on Ukraine's accession to NATO, Chart 6 shows that this indicator has not changed significantly over the past three years. The enormous rise in support for NATO membership took place until 2014 and has dropped slightly since then.

All of the focus groups conducted began with a discussion of the value benchmarks of the discussion participants. Taking first place in the value system of Ukrainians are the **values of personal well-being**, such as health, success, prosperity, happy family, lack of stress, while intellectual and personal development are less important. **Paternalistic values** took second place and include



Chart 5: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question: »If a referendum on Ukraine's accession to NATO were held today, how would you vote?«

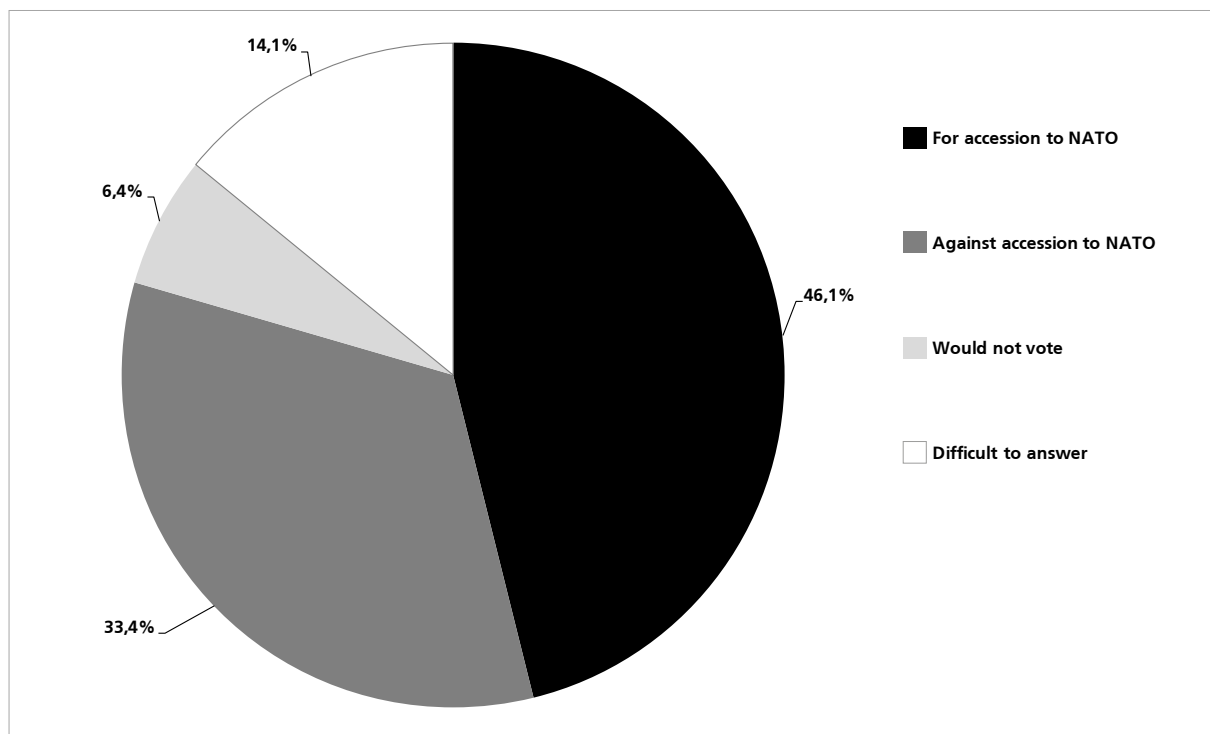
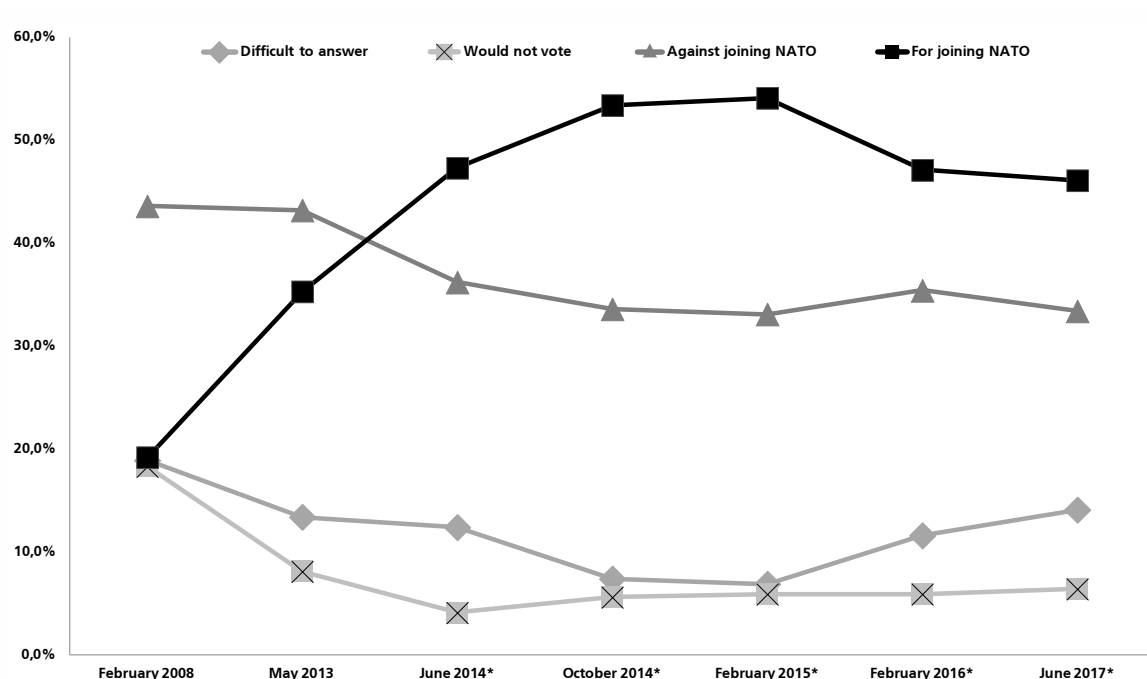


Chart 6: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question: »If a referendum took place in the near future on Ukraine joining NATO, how would you vote?« (dynamics for 2008–2017)



\* Except for the occupied territories of the Crimean, Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts.



Table 2: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question:  
 »In what way are you ready to accept a person ... as a ...?«

	Family member	Close friend	Neighbour	Colleague at work	Citizen of my country	Tourist in my country	Not in any capacity
Speaking a different language	12.9 %	23.0 %	17.9 %	9.4 %	15.4 %	20.6 %	0.9 %
Of a different nationality	14.3 %	23.6 %	19.6 %	8.3 %	16.2 %	16.7 %	1.3 %
With disabilities	12.0 %	25.1 %	25.1 %	8.3 %	23.5 %	3.2 %	2.8 %
Of a different faith	9.1 %	18.7 %	22.3 %	12.0 %	25.6 %	10.0 %	2.3 %
Of a different race	5.3 %	12.4 %	18.2 %	11.2 %	21.6 %	28.1 %	3.3 %
With HIV-infection	4.8 %	8.5 %	14.5 %	7.8 %	37.0 %	8.1 %	19.2 %
Being a former criminal convict	5.2 %	4.6 %	9.0 %	5.4 %	36.9 %	8.1 %	30.8 %
Of a sexual minority	2.8 %	3.8 %	7.7 %	6.8 %	27.4 %	12.2 %	39.3 %

Note: 100% in row.

qualitative and free education and medicine, decent pensions, social benefits, job security, prices commensurate with incomes, and stability. And last but not least, the focus group members mention the values that regulate coexistence in society, the conditional **European values**: the rule of law, democracy, freedom of speech, honesty/transparency, the desire to provide equal opportunities for all citizens, etc.

European values were mentioned in the list of the most important values mainly in Kyiv and Lviv, whereas in Dnipro the two focus groups articulated them less clearly. In Eastern Ukraine, there is a narrowing of the palette of the European values mentioned and a less frequent articulation. Instead, the slope towards paternalism increases, nostalgia for the certainty, and benefits of the Soviet Union.

The Euro-optimists – the participants of the focus groups who are adherents of the European integration – mention European values amongst the most important in their lives, more often than their opponents. Most of them associate these values with potential changes in overcoming corruption and the growth of the economy. They position European values as the foundation upon which the welfare of the West grows. At the same time,

the Euro-sceptics – opponents of the European integration as the main driver of public welfare – emphasize the socially-oriented state, the high moral and personal qualities of its citizens.

»Tolerance« was identified as one of the important values to study. When elaborating questions about the level of Ukrainian tolerance, the Bogardus social distance scale was used as a basis for judging how much people are prepared for different forms of contacts with representatives of other social groups.

The data reveal that the highest level of tolerance is observed in relation to people of another nationality and those who speak different language – Ukrainians are mostly willing to perceive representatives of these groups of people as close friends (see Table 2).

At the same time, the level of tolerance to the LGBT community is the lowest in Ukrainian society. Two out of five Ukrainians (39.3 per cent) would not accept sexual minorities in any way. For comparison, the respondents' attitudes towards people who have committed criminal offences are somewhat higher – in particular, 36.9 per cent said they were ready to accept them as citizens of their country.

Another important value is connected to »environmental concerns«. All members of the focus groups agreed on the importance of this issue. At the same time, they admitted that Ukrainians in general still do not show sufficient levels of concern about the environment. Moreover, almost all participants in the discussion on the willingness to contribute to the care of the environment shifted the conversation from their own activity to the obligations of the state or the younger generation.

In addition, respondents admitted that environmental issues fade into the background when there is a financial benefit. In Ukraine, there is still uncontrolled deforestation, poaching, contamination of rivers through industrial production, as well as deterioration of forests through illegal mining of amber; moreover, the problem of recycling has not yet been solved.

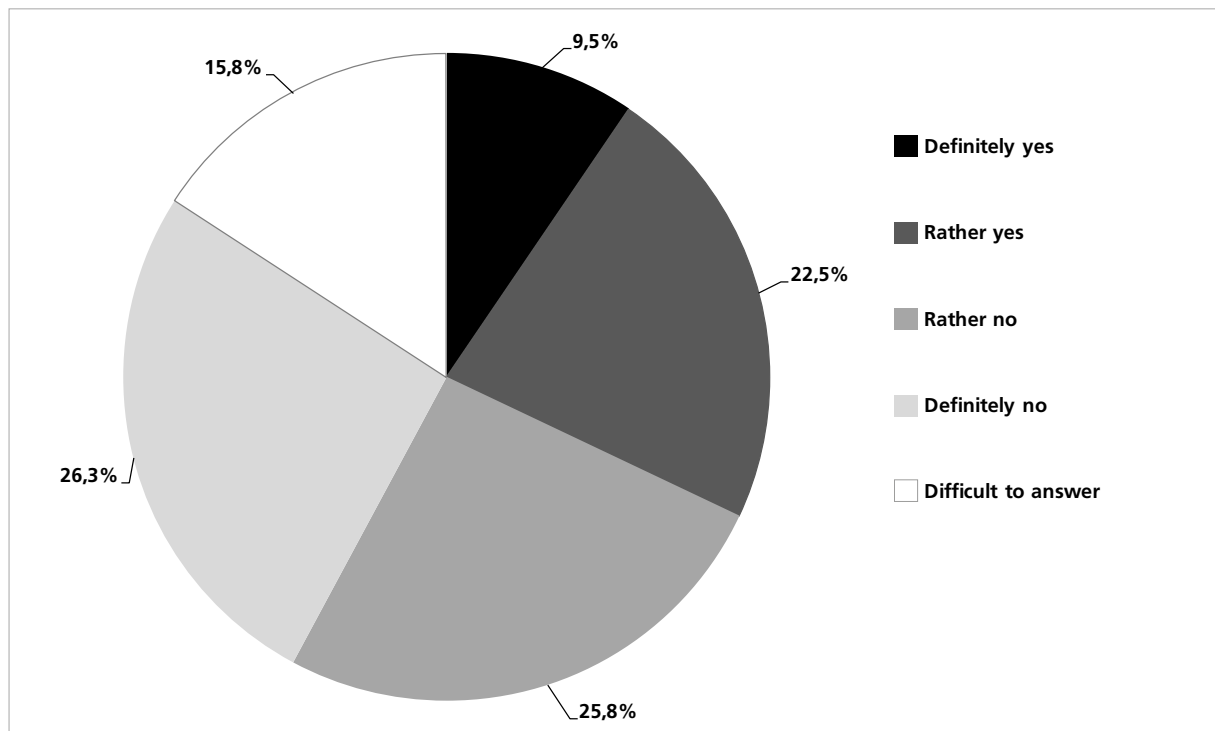
At the same time, as illustrated in Chart 7, more than half of respondents (52.1 per cent) said that as a factor of economic growth, industrial development cannot prevail over concern for the environment (rather or definitely not).

Nevertheless, almost a third of respondents expressed the opposite opinion: 9.5 per cent believe that as a factor of economic growth, industrial development definitely can prevail over concern for the environment, while another 22.5 per cent admitted that it »probably can«. The regional spread is remarkable. While 68 per cent of respondents in the Central Ukraine think that industrial development cannot prevail, the majority of respondents (50.8 per cent) in the Southern Ukraine admit that as a factor of economic growth, industrial development can prevail over environmental care.

### How Ukrainians Perceive European Values (Qualitative Measurement)

Turning to the focus group discussions, survey respondents consider European values to be the quintessence of the European way of life. Often, the centre of this category is respect for the law and human rights. However, at almost every group discussion, it was also mentioned that the main values of Europe are the wealth

Chart 7: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question: »Do you think industrial development can prevail over environmental concerns as a factor in economic growth?«



and well-being of the local population, stability, and lack of economic upheaval.

European values are quite attractive to Ukrainians and the need for their implementation finds unanimous support – both among supporters as well as opponents of joining the EU. The most cherished value is the »rule of law«; it was spontaneously mentioned in all of the groups. Interpretation of this term is very broad. In this context, focus group participants often talked about Europeans' respect for the law. Another important aspect of this value is equality before the law, which primarily refers to the inevitability of punishment for offences, regardless of position, social class, or wealth.

At the same time, all focus group members said that the path to implementation of these values will be long, because they believe that there are no fair courts in Ukraine; corruption is widespread and has covered virtually all spheres of life; the legislative system is extremely imperfect; and citizens neither respect nor fear of the law. A good illustration of the last point is the widespread bribery of law enforcement officers in the case of traffic violations; these incidents are so routine that they are not even considered to be a crime in the public consciousness. Moreover, from the results of the groups it can be assumed that the lack of rule of law in Ukraine is due not only to the will of the elites – for whom it is advantageous to maintain manual control of the system – but also to the unwillingness of citizens to restrict their freedom for the sake of law.

Next, in the associative series of European values, »human rights« appear. Here, most often the focus group participants mention the rights of children – specifically, banning physical and mental violence against them. Interestingly, the high degree of protection of children's rights in Europe has a mixed perception. On the one hand, everyone maintains the importance of observing these rights; on the other hand, there is no agreement on the extent to which it should take place. European juvenile justice system and its rules are perceived very critically by Ukrainians, because its powers are considered excessive. In Dnipro, for example, a debate rose regarding the lawfulness of using corporal punishment for children.

Closely associated with European values and the issue of human rights are women's rights. Women in Europe are believed to be more protected from domestic violence,

property discrimination, and sexual harassment. It is also believed that the rights of people with disabilities are not protected in Ukraine up to European standards. When the focus groups were asked to pay attention to the rights of imprisoned persons – decent retention in places of detention and access to the justice system – they were mostly not inclined to demand observance of these rights. By illustrating the value of human rights, respondents also mentioned the right to demonstrate, the right to decent pay, as well as the right to health and pensions.

The focus group participants consider the third pillar of European society to be democracy. Quite often, they associate democracy with freedom of speech and the right to protest. In Lviv, they mentioned the activity of public associations/organizations in defending the rights and interests of certain groups of citizens.

The perception of democracy in Ukraine is very ambiguous. On the one hand, respondents – even those who are not adherents of European integration – understand the importance of a democratic social system. According to the participants of various groups, democratic elections with the accountability of the authorities and instruments of influence on the officials contribute to the reduction of corruption, increase of the efficiency of the authorities, and, consequently, the growth of the welfare of the population. On the other hand, people do not believe in the validity of these principles in the territory of their own state and point out the collapse of the democratic system in Ukraine, which has reached such a level that it is only possible to achieve something from the authorities through the revolution. Thus, the participants of all groups theoretically support the introduction of democracy, and are not against building a European democracy in Ukraine. However, in conditions of total poverty of the population, corruption in the bodies of local and state power, disappointment after the last revolution, there is a certain simulacrum of democracy, which is ill-suited for Ukrainian society.

In general, the European mindset and values are recognized by the respondents as a worthy ideal for imitation. In almost all of the groups, participants said that they are a prerequisite for the normal functioning of society.

»Peace« was also mentioned in all of the groups, which once again underlines dissatisfaction among Ukrainians of different regions with basic values and needs, such as

the need for physical security. Given the country's military situation, the value of peace is particularly relevant and important and requires special attention from the state and supranational entities.

»Fairness« as a European value was mentioned in more than half of the groups. Its perception is also extremely versatile and often includes various forms of "equality" such as the absence of discrimination based on gender or race, equality of all before the law, and equal opportunities for people with disabilities. Fairness does not stir any criticism. Moreover, the current stratification of Ukrainian society – in terms of property status, access to power, and positions – is rather painful for those deriving their identity from the former USSR, where relative equality prevailed.

Furthermore, half of the discussion participants noted that there are no European values that they completely reject; all of the above are important and acceptable. At the same time, the other half of the respondents mentioned »tolerance« as a value that is unacceptable to them and should not to be respected in Ukrainian society, because it is alien and contrary to Ukrainians' traditional values. Respondents noted that in this context Ukrainian citizens are too conservative and unprepared to accept people with less traditional religions, or to communicate more closely with representatives of other nationalities or sexual minorities. At the same time, respondents do not primarily evaluate such a rejection as »bad« or »good«, they only state what they perceive as fact.

Extremely close to tolerance is the value of »respect« for other cultures, which was spontaneously mentioned in Lviv and the Dnipro. The EU's »multiculturalism« – the peaceful coexistence of representatives of different nationalities, cultures, religions, interpenetration of cultures and mutual support based on universal values, rather than opposition on a certain basis – was mentioned in this context. Despite the general enthusiasm for the policy of multiculturalism, the group in Kyiv noted its shortcomings in the form of a coming to the brink of EU terrorism. Similar tendencies are also typical for the value of »freedom of religion«, which was spontaneously mentioned in Lviv and Kyiv. In the opinion of group members, this refers to tolerance for different religions, the right to choose a faith and no discrimination based on religious grounds.

However, Europe is associated not only with the values that regulate society, but also with completely individualistic ones. Among them is »personal freedom«. It was spontaneously named in all groups that supported European integration, as well as its opponents in Lviv. Interpretation of this value is very diverse. In essence, every person perceives it in his or her own way – ranging from freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom to choose a partner (including same-sex), respect for the personal space of the person, freedom of choice of the profession, and freedom of movement in the EU. All of these possibilities include the absence of interference in your personal environment or the condemnation of your choice.

Another important European value is »individual self-realization«. Participants in all groups noted that such a need is not only acceptable but necessary. Respondents believe that conditions should be created in the state for its realization. Group members believe that such conditions are absent in Ukraine today and that this is an extremely important problem, especially for young and middle-aged people.

Thus, a number of basic European values are perceived by Ukrainians as a benefit to which one must strive and which in the long run can have a positive impact on social trends. Nevertheless, it is characteristic for Ukrainians that while they are inclined to support these values hypothetically, in their everyday practice they are implemented selectively.

## How Ukrainians Perceive European Values (Quantitative Measurement)

Respondents were asked to indicate which three European values are most important to them personally. At the same time, they had to answer which of the list of values, in their personal opinion, are the most important for Ukrainians and Europeans. The survey used a list of values, developed within the framework of the »Eurobarometer« of the European Commission.

For the respondents themselves, »peace« (56.6 per cent) and »value of human life« (42.7 per cent) are at the top of the list. The least valuable for them is »respect for other cultures« (5.4 per cent), and »tolerance« (9 per cent) (see Table 3).

An even higher majority of respondents (61.2 per cent) believe that for Ukrainians as a whole, today the most important is »peace«, while »respect for human life« takes second place. This position is quite understandable against the background of Russian aggression and the conduct of an anti-terrorist operation in Donbas.

The respondents' perception of the European value system is quite different. They believe that »democracy« (34.7 per cent), »the rule of law« (28.9 per cent), and »human rights« (28.1 per cent) are the top priorities for Europeans; least important for Europeans, in their opinion, is »solidarity, support for others« (8.1 per cent).

At the same time, the annual survey within the framework of the »Eurobarometer« project suggests that the Europeans themselves attribute »peace« to their core values (2014, 44 per cent; 2015, 45 per cent), followed by »human rights« (2014–2015, 40 per cent), and »respect for human life« (2014, 34 per cent; 2015, 35 per cent). Europeans do not place »solidarity/support for

neighbours« at the lower end of the list, but »religion« (2014, 6 per cent; 2015, 5 per cent) and »self-realization« (2014–2015, 9 per cent).

The war in Eastern Ukraine seems to distort the perception of values. Apart from »peace« and »value of human life«, »democracy« (27.4 per cent) and »human rights« (23.2 per cent) are most important for Ukrainians. Together with the »rule of law«, these are the top values that Ukrainians associate with Europeans.

The next block of questions was constructed using a comparative approach to European and Ukrainian qualities. The vast majority of respondents agreed that compared with Ukrainians, Europeans are more caring about the environment: 82.6 per cent answered this question affirmatively (see Table 4). Europeans are seen to be more inclined to maintain order in public places (81.3 per cent); more concerned about vulnerable categories of citizens (79.6 per cent); law-abiding (75.4 per cent); care more about animals (74.8 per cent); more inclined to plan their

Table 3: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question: »Please indicate which of the following values are the most important values for ...?« (respondents could specify no more than three answers)

Most important values are ... (%)	Personal View	Ukrainians	Europeans
Peace	56.6	61.2	22.4
Respect for human life	42.7	29.2	19.4
Human rights	33.3	23.2	28.1
Individual freedom	28.2	19.2	19.4
Self-realization	20.8	12.3	12.3
Solidarity (support for others)	16.1	16.4	8.1
Democracy	14.5	27.4	34.7
Equality	13.1	12.4	11.0
Rule of law	11.7	18.2	28.9
Freedom of religion	10.6	10.7	11.6
Tolerance	9.0	10.2	13.3
Respect for other cultures	5.4	6.2	11.8
None of the above	1.1	0.9	1.0
Difficult to say	3.2	6.5	15.3

lives (71.7 per cent); more careful about their culture and history (69.9 per cent); more cultured, well-bred, and diplomatic (68.3 per cent); lead a healthy lifestyle (61.9 per cent); more focused on material goods (61.6 per cent).

At the same time, respondents do not believe that Europeans are more hospitable and more affable; 56.2 per cent oppose this assessment (see Table 4). They almost equally evaluated the educational and intellectual level of Europeans and Ukrainians: 42 per cent supported the view that Europeans are more intellectually developed, 41.2 per cent opposed it. There is also a relatively large group of respondents who do not believe that Europeans are more tolerant (35.4 per cent) and more religiously devout (36.7 per cent).

During the analysis of the survey results, the surveyors conducted a cluster analysis. Two clusters were obtained: Euro-optimists (44.9 per cent) and Euro-scep-

tics (55.1 per cent). The clusters were built on the basis of answers to questions from the questionnaire on education, gender, marital status, work, region of residence, the direction of Ukraine’s foreign policy integration, the referendum on joining NATO, visits to Europe and plans for a trip to European countries in the near future, participation in the socio-political life of the settlement, the dependence of the quality of life on election voting.

Almost every Euro-optimist sees the right direction for Ukraine’s integration into the European Union (93 per cent) and NATO (90.6 per cent), while Euro-sceptics, in the relative majority, believe that Ukraine should go its own way and not join either the EU or EAEU and oppose the country’s entry into NATO.

The characteristics of these two groups differ in many ways, not only in the context of the support or non-sup-

Table 4: Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: «Do you agree or disagree with such statements ... compared to Ukrainians, Europeans ...?»

	Europeans are definitely or rather more (in parentheses: no answer) ...	Respective Ukrainian figures
... caring about the environment	82.6 % (9.3 %)	10.9 %
... inclined to keep order in public places	81.3 % (8.9 %)	9.8 %
... caring about vulnerable groups	79.6 % (10.8 %)	9.6 %
... law abiding	75.4 % (11.3 %)	13.3 %
... caring about animals	74.8 % (14.9 %)	10.3 %
... inclined to plan their lives	71.7 % (12.9 %)	15.4 %
... caring about their culture and history	69.9 % (10.7 %)	19.3 %
... cultured, educated and diplomatic	68.3 % (10.4 %)	21.3 %
... keeping a healthier lifestyle	61.9 % (16.2 %)	21.9 %
... focused on material goods	61.6 % (13.6 %)	24.7 %
... tolerant	48.3 % (16.3 %)	35.4 %
... religiously devout	43.3 % (20.1 %)	36.7 %
... educated and intellectual	41.3 % (16.8 %)	42.0 %
... hospitable and friendly	27.5 % (16.3 %)	56.2 %

port for Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration. Thus, the vast majority of Euro-optimists (88.5 per cent) have visited European countries and 63.6 per cent plan to visit them in the next twelve months. This is not the case with Euro-sceptics.

At the same time, Euro-optimists are on average younger: 64.6 per cent are between 30 and 59 years of age. Among Euro-sceptics, 38.4 per cent are pensioners. Euro-optimists mostly have higher education (56.3 per cent) as compared to 31.8 per cent of Euro-sceptics. More than half of Euro-sceptics (58.4 per cent) do not participate in the socio-political life of their community. Among Euro-optimists 70.3 per cent actively take part in the socio-political life of their community. Almost half of Euro-optimists (47.7 per cent) believe that their quality of life depends on how they vote in elections, while Euro-sceptics have a fundamentally opposing view (66.4 per cent). Some of these figures are contained in the annex.

## Formation of Perceptions about European Values

Ukrainians obtain information about European values from a wide variety of sources. First and foremost is personal experience. About half of the members of each group have visited EU countries: for work, on business, as guests, on holiday. Interestingly, the frequency of visits to Europe does not depend on the region. In the groups in the Dnipro, the number of those who have travelled to the EU was the same as in Lviv.

A great deal of information on lifestyle and values in Europe comes to respondents through social networks: friends and relatives. Respondents have brothers, sisters, children, and friends who have been to the EU.

The most popular source of information remains television. Most respondents receive information from the news. In addition, people younger than 45 actively read news sites on the Internet, those younger than 40 use various social networks. Generation 45+ occasionally appeals to sources of information such as films, press, historical literature, and fiction.

In any case, more than half of Ukrainians (57.1 per cent) have never been abroad, while 42.9 per cent have visited at least one foreign country. An absolute majority (70.3

per cent) of those who have ever been abroad have travelled to European countries.

Amongst those who do not plan to travel to Europe, the vast majority (76.9 per cent) responded that they cannot afford it. In addition, 15.4 per cent of them said that they did not want to visit Europe. Most of these respondents live in Southern and Central Ukraine, fewer in the Eastern and Northern regions. Almost none of Western Ukrainians responded that they did not want to visit Europe. Every second inhabitant there (54.4 per cent) has relatives or friends living in European countries, while in Central Ukraine just over a quarter (26.2 per cent) have foreign relatives or friends.

As can be seen from the numbers in the annex, for the vast majority of respondents (74.8 per cent) Ukrainian television is the main source of information on events in European countries. Every fourth respondent receives information on events in European countries from conversations with relatives and friends living in Ukraine (26.9 per cent), social networks (26.4 per cent), and Ukrainian news websites (24.7 per cent).


There seems to be an underrepresentation of Russian media as a source of information. Despite the fact that Russian TV and websites are quite popular for entertainment and business, the figures in the annex show a level as low as the Western media concerning news items. Further research might be needed to find out more about the often-cited high influence of Russian propaganda in the sphere of information.

## Recommendations to Foster European Integration

Given Ukrainians' positive attitude to European values, the benefits of an association with the EU are obvious. In this regard, the following points should be taken into account:

- According to Chart 3, the answers »against integration with both the EU and the EAEU« (25.4 per cent) and »difficult to answer« (12.8 per cent) represent two out of five Ukrainians. They will be receptive about the positive aspects of cooperation with the EU. These two groups represent the largest untapped potential of EU supporters in Ukraine.





- 51.6 per cent of the respondents are supporters of integration with the EU. Most likely they will be the driving force behind the reforms and the implementation of the principles and values of the European institutions. The majority of this group primarily have secondary and higher education and are the most economically and politically active Ukrainian citizens. Representatives of this group should be made »messengers« of the EU in all spheres of social, economic, and political life.

- The supporters of the Eurasian Economic Union (10.2 per cent) consist mainly of elderly people (60+). In comparison with other groups, most of these respondents consider themselves citizens of the former USSR, and most of this group believe that the quality of their lives does not depend on how they vote in the elections. Thus, this group is most difficult to convince of the advantages of association with the EU. Any efforts will be disproportionately high compared to the expected results.



Annex

		Cluster	
		Euro-optimists	Euro-sceptics
<b>Have you ever visited European countries?</b>	Yes	88.5 %	55.4 %
	No	11.5 %	44.6 %
<b>Why are you not planning a trip to Europe during next 12 months?</b>	Poor health	9.3 %	15.1 %
	There is no possibility to travel due to care of children or close relatives	17.1 %	8.7 %
	There is no time for travelling due to a busy schedule	10.7 %	6.1 %
	Cannot afford it	56.4 %	72.1 %
	Do not want to visit Europe	5.7 %	14.3 %
	I do not plan trips for year	15.0 %	6.6 %
	Other	3.6 %	4.6 %
	Hard to answer	5.7 %	3.3 %
<b>Which of the stated values are important to you?</b>	Religion (freedom of religion)	13.5 %	10.6 %
	Rule of Law	17.2 %	11.5 %
	Democracy	17.7 %	15.3 %
	Personal freedom	33.1 %	25.5 %
	Peace	51.3 %	52.0 %
	Human Rights	29.9 %	35.5 %
	Equality	10.9 %	15.3 %
	Self-realization	30.5 %	18.9 %
	Solidarity, support of others	10.7 %	17.8 %
	Tolerance	13.5 %	8.1 %
	Respect for other cultures	4.4 %	6.4 %
	The value of human life	40.1 %	38.4 %
	Neither of them	0.5 %	1.5 %
	Hard to answer	1.0 %	4.5 %
<b>Which of the stated values are important for Ukrainians?</b>	Religion (freedom of religion)	16.9 %	9.6 %
	Rule of Law	22.7 %	18.3 %
	Democracy	32.3 %	25.5 %
	Personal freedom	21.9 %	20.8 %
	Peace	64.6 %	57.5 %
	Human Rights	22.1 %	22.9 %
	Equality	12.5 %	12.1 %
	Self-realization	10.2 %	15.1 %
	Solidarity, support of others	11.5 %	12.7 %
	Tolerance	9.9 %	9.3 %
	Respect for other cultures	5.7 %	4.0 %
	The value of human life	29.9 %	24.4 %
	Neither of them	1.0 %	1.3 %
	Hard to answer	3.1 %	9.8 %



<b>Which of the stated values are important to Europeans?</b>	Religion (freedom of religion)	8.6 %	12.5 %
	Rule of Law	35.7 %	28.2 %
	Democracy	41.4 %	34.0 %
	Personal freedom	22.9 %	16.6 %
	Peace	26.6 %	18.7 %
	Human Rights	38.3 %	26.5 %
	Equality	10.9 %	10.4 %
	Self-realization	14.8 %	12.3 %
	Solidarity, support of others	8.9 %	6.4 %
	Tolerance	11.5 %	14.2 %
	Respect for other cultures	11.2 %	13.6 %
	The value of human life	22.1 %	18.5 %
	Neither of them	0.0 %	1.3 %
	Hard to answer	8.1 %	16.1 %
<b>In comparison to Ukrainians, Europeans are: <i>more focused on material goods</i></b>	Definitely yes	29.2 %	32.5 %
	Rather yes	29.7 %	31.4 %
	Rather no	24.0 %	15.5 %
	Definitely not	6.8 %	7.9 %
	Hard to answer	10.4 %	12.7 %
<b>In comparison to Ukrainians, Europeans are: <i>hospitable, friendly</i></b>	Definitely yes	10.9 %	14.6 %
	Rather yes	19.3 %	15.5 %
	Rather no	34.4 %	33.8 %
	Definitely not	27.1 %	23.4 %
	Hard to answer	8.3 %	12.7 %
<b>In comparison to Ukrainians, Europeans are: <i>more tolerant</i></b>	Definitely yes	19.0 %	20.4 %
	Rather yes	27.6 %	28.5 %
	Rather no	30.7 %	24.8 %
	Definitely not	13.8 %	11.0 %
	Hard to answer	8.9 %	15.3 %
<b>In comparison to Ukrainians, Europeans are: <i>more religious</i></b>	Definitely yes	15.1 %	21.0 %
	Rather yes	20.6 %	25.3 %
	Rather no	31.5 %	24.0 %
	Definitely not	20.1 %	12.5 %
	Hard to answer	12.8 %	17.2 %
<b>Do you participate in the soci-political life of your settlement?</b>	Yes, active	15.6 %	10.8 %
	As much as I can	54.7 %	30.8 %
	No, I am not interested	29.7 %	58.4 %
<b>When elections in Ukraine are held, do you vote?</b>	Always	54.9 %	45.4 %
	Almost always	25.8 %	21.4 %
	In most cases	8.9 %	8.5 %
	Sometimes	4.9 %	9.1 %
	Almost never	2.6 %	4.7 %
	Never	2.9 %	10.8 %

<b>Do you think the quality of your life depends on how you vote in the elections?</b>	Definitely depends	17.2 %	10.4 %
	Rather depends	30.5 %	14.6 %
	Rather does not depend	24.2 %	19.3 %
	Does not depend at all	22.7 %	47.1 %
	Hard to answer	5.5 %	8.5 %
<b>Would you be willing to go to the maidan in case of inactivity of authorities, failure to fulfill their promises, absence of reforms?</b>	Definitely yes	19.8 %	17.2 %
	Rather yes	28.6 %	12.7 %
	Rather no	23.2 %	15.7 %
	Definitely not	19.8 %	42.5 %
	Hard to answer	8.6 %	11.9 %
<b>How are you ready to perceive: <i>representative of sexual minorities</i></b>	As a member of my family	2.3 %	3.4 %
	As a close friend	4.7 %	4.0 %
	As a neighbour	9.4 %	8.5 %
	As a colleague at work	4.9 %	8.3 %
	As a citizen of my country	26.0 %	22.9 %
	As a tourist in my country	14.6 %	11.3 %
	Do not agree to accept	38.0 %	41.6 %
<b>How are you ready to perceive: <i>a person who has served a criminal sentence</i></b>	As a member of my family	5.2 %	7.9 %
	As a close friend	2.3 %	6.8 %
	As a neighbour	7.0 %	11.5 %
	As a colleague at work	4.4 %	4.7 %
	As a citizen of my country	37.0 %	33.8 %
	As a tourist in my country	8.6 %	7.2 %
	Do not agree to accept	35.4 %	28.2 %
<b>Do you have relatives or friends living in European countries?</b>	Yes	70.3 %	42.9 %
	No	29.7 %	57.1 %
<b>From what sources do you most often receive information on events in European countries?</b>	Ukrainian TV channels	77.1 %	71.8 %
	Russian TV channels	2.3 %	5.5 %
	Western TV channels	6.0 %	2.3 %
	Ukrainian news websites	37.5 %	25.9 %
	Russian news websites	1.6 %	3.6 %
	Western news websites	8.6 %	5.1 %
	Social networks	39.6 %	24.6 %
	Ukrainian print media	12.0 %	9.1 %
	Radio	10.2 %	11.5 %
	Talks with relatives, friends who live in Ukraine	24.5 %	23.8 %
	Talks with relatives, friends who live in European countries	26.3 %	14.2 %
	Other sources	2.3 %	2.1 %
	I am not interested in the news on events in the European countries	1.8 %	5.9 %



<b>What integration directions should Ukraine choose?</b>	European Union	93.0 %	31.4 %
	Customs Union (Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Armenia) Вірменія	1.0 %	13.2 %
	Neither EU, nor CU	5.7 %	35.9 %
	Hard to answer	0.3 %	19.5 %
<b>If there were a referendum today on Ukraine joining NATO, how would you vote?</b>	For joining NATO	90.6 %	28.7 %
	Against joining NATO	5.7 %	40.8 %
	Would not vote	0.8 %	10.0 %
	Hard to answer	2.9 %	20.6 %
<b>Your gender</b>	Male	46.4 %	52.7 %
	Female	53.6 %	47.3 %
<b>How old are you?</b>	18–29	18.0 %	17.2 %
	30–44	32.3 %	21.4 %
	45–59	31.3 %	22.9 %
	60 and more	18.5 %	38.4 %
<b>What language do you prefer to speak at home?</b>	Ukrainian	78.4 %	43.5 %
	Russian	20.8 %	53.5 %
	Tatar	0.5 %	0.6 %
	Hungarian	0.0 %	0.0 %
	Polish	0.0 %	0.0 %
	Romanian	0.0 %	0.0 %
	Other	0.3 %	1.9 %
	Refused to answer	0.0 %	0.4 %
<b>Do you believe in god?</b>	Yes	90.6 %	78.6 %
	No	8.1 %	19.5 %
	Refused to answer	1.3 %	1.9 %
<b>Which of the following is the best that characterizes your occupation?</b>	Head of the organization/company (deputy)	1.6 %	0.4 %
	Owner/co-owner of a large or medium-sized private company	0.8 %	0.4 %
	Private entrepreneur	8.9 %	4.2 %
	Head of unit, department, sector, etc./manager	4.2 %	2.1 %
	Specialist, but not manager (doctor, lawyer, accountant, engineer)	15.1 %	8.3 %
	Specialist in the field of science, culture, health, education	14.6 %	4.2 %
	Official (secretary, cashier, typist, lower part of the apparatus)	8.1 %	5.1 %
	Creative field (artist, writer, etc.)	2.3 %	0.0 %
	A skilled worker	13.3 %	15.7 %
	Unskilled worker	2.9 %	1.5 %
	Pupil, student	1.8 %	4.9 %
	Unemployed, housewife	8.9 %	11.5 %
	Pensioner	14.8 %	39.1 %
	Other	2.1 %	1.3 %
	Refused to answer	0.8 %	1.3 %



### About the author

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