Two Years after *Maidan*: Ukrainians Committed to Democracy, Disappointed with Unmet Aspirations

Key Findings from a September 2015 IFES Survey in Ukraine
**Methodological Details**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample size:</th>
<th>1,558 respondents representing the voting-age population in Ukraine excluding/outside Donbas and Crimea (18 years+).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Margin of error:</td>
<td>±2.49% within a 95% confidence interval for data outside/excluding Donbas and Crimea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample area coverage:</td>
<td>All the administrative divisions of Ukraine. Observations were allocated proportionally based on population statistics from 2014.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldwork dates:</td>
<td>September 12 – 26, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey firm:</td>
<td>IFES contracted with the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) to conduct fieldwork and data processing for the survey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding:</td>
<td>The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) provided funding for this survey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weights:</td>
<td>Data was weighted by age, region and gender to bring the realized sample in line with target population parameters in order to be representative of the adult (18+) population of Ukraine outside Crimea and Donbas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. Views on the Current Situation
“Considering the overall situation in the country, do you think Ukraine is currently headed in the right direction or wrong direction?”
“What are the most serious issues that Ukraine as a country faces today?”
Experience with Corruption

Have you experienced any of the following over the last twelve months?

- Pay a bribe in order to be seen in a hospital or clinic
- Pay money above what is required by law to process a document
- Pay a bribe at school
- Been asked to pay a bribe at work
- Pay a bribe to avoid a traffic citation
- Been asked by a police officer to pay a bribe
- Pay a bribe to the courts

April 2014: 28%  | September 2015: 32%
Pay any money above what is required by law to process a document: 7%  | 9%
Pay a bribe at school: 7%  | 8%
Been asked to pay a bribe at work: 5%  | 8%
Pay a bribe to avoid a traffic citation: 7%  | 6%
Been asked by a police officer to pay a bribe: 5%  | 5%
Pay a bribe to the courts: 2%  | 4%

Total percent having experienced at least one action over past 12 months

April 2014: 37%  | September 2015: 40%

“Have you experienced any of the following over the last twelve months?”
II. Support for Democracy
To me, it does not matter what form of government we have

In certain situations, a non-democratic government can be preferable

Democracy is preferable to any other form of government

"Please tell me which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?"
Attitudes on Importance of Democracy

“Please tell me with which you most agree: ‘It should be a priority for Ukraine to pursue economic development, even if it means foregoing some democratic rights’ or ‘Ukraine’s priority should be to maintain democratic rights for its citizens, even if this means the economy develops slowly’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Democratic rights</th>
<th>DK/NR</th>
<th>Economic development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 2015</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 2013</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North and Kyiv</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East (excluding / outside Donbas)</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Color legend: Democratic rights, DK/NR, Economic development]
Democracy and Order

It is more important that political leaders maintain order than protect democratic rights of citizens

- Strongly agree: 13%
- Somewhat agree: 25%
- DK/NR: 24%
- Somewhat disagree: 27%
- Strongly disagree: 12%

Democracy as a system is not good at maintaining order in the country

- Strongly agree: 16%
- Somewhat agree: 29%
- DK/NR: 19%
- Somewhat disagree: 28%
- Strongly disagree: 8%

“Please tell me do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:”
Democracy Profile

October 2013
- Strong Attachment to Democracy: 33%
- Mixed/Disengaged: 29%
- Weak Attachment to Democracy: 38%

September 2015
- Strong Attachment to Democracy: 41%
- Mixed/Disengaged: 24%
- Weak Attachment to Democracy: 35%
Extent of Democracy in Ukraine

**Ukraine excluding/outside Donbas (n=1,558)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Democracy Status</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full democracy</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy, but with minor problems</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy, but with major problems</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not a democracy at all</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NR</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**North and Kyiv**

- Full democracy: 3%
- Democracy, but with minor problems: 18%
- Democracy, but with major problems: 43%
- Not a democracy at all: 27%
- DK/NR: 6%

**East (excluding/outside Donbas)**

- Full democracy: 4%
- Democracy, but with minor problems: 15%
- Democracy, but with major problems: 30%
- Not a democracy at all: 34%
- DK/NR: 1%

**South**

- Full democracy: 2%
- Democracy, but with minor problems: 8%
- Democracy, but with major problems: 23%
- Not a democracy at all: 23%
- DK/NR: 29%

**Center**

- Full democracy: 3%
- Democracy, but with minor problems: 17%
- Democracy, but with major problems: 42%
- Not a democracy at all: 14%
- DK/NR: 3%

**West**

- Full democracy: 1%
- Democracy, but with minor problems: 13%
- Democracy, but with major problems: 18%
- Not a democracy at all: 20%
- DK/NR: 49%

**“How much of a democracy is Ukraine today?”**
III. Foreign Policy Orientation
Ukraine’s Foreign Policy Orientation

“Do you think Ukraine would be better off if it had closer political and economic relations with Europe or Russia?”
“Do you think Ukraine would be better off if it had closer political and economic relations with Europe or Russia?”
Attitudes towards Foreign Governments and Institutions

Please tell me whether you have positive or negative views of the leadership of these countries or entities:

Percent with either ‘very positive’ or ‘somewhat positive’ impressions

European Union: 67% (April 2014), 70% (September 2014), 64% (September 2015)
Germany: 59% (April 2014), 49% (September 2014), 59% (September 2015)
United States: 53% (April 2014), 52% (September 2014), 50% (September 2015)
NATO: 38% (April 2014), 50% (September 2014), 45% (September 2015)
Russia: 20% (April 2014), 13% (September 2014), 12% (September 2015)

"Please tell me whether you have positive or negative views of the leadership of these countries or entities:"

[Bar chart showing the percentages for each country/organization and time period]
IV. Views on *Maidan*
Of these issues, which do you think was the most important reason for the 2nd Maidan taking place? Second most important? Third most important?

Reduction of corruption in Ukraine: 20% (Most important), 34% (Second most important), 16% (Third most important)
Demand for greater integration of Ukraine with Europe: 24% (Most important), 12% (Second most important), 8% (Third most important)
Limit the influence of oligarchs on Ukraine's political process: 21% (Most important), 14% (Second most important), 9% (Third most important)
Having a country with liberal values where all people are equally protected: 17% (Most important), 12% (Second most important), 10% (Third most important)
Reforms of the judiciary and law enforcement agencies: 12% (Most important), 12% (Second most important), 10% (Third most important)
More democracy in Ukraine: 6% (Most important), 6% (Second most important), 4% (Third most important)
Protecting Ukraine's national heritage and institutions: 6% (Most important), 6% (Second most important), 3% (Third most important)
Ensuring proper balance in the powers of the president and parliament: 3% (Most important), 3% (Second most important), 3% (Third most important)
### Extent of Progress on Important Issues since *Maidan*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Significant Improvement</th>
<th>Some Improvement</th>
<th>Not much Improvement</th>
<th>None at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protection of Ukraine's national culture</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine's economic and political integration with Europe</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy in Ukraine</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper balance of powers between the president and parliament</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The fight against corruption</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform of the judiciary and law enforcement agencies</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality of all Ukrainians</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limiting the influence of oligarchs on Ukraine's political process</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For each of the issues I mention, please tell me how much improvement there has been since the 2nd *Maidan.*
V. Views on Leaders and Institutions
Confidence in Political Leaders (excluding/outside Crimea and Donbas)

“For each, please tell me how much confidence you have in them:” (n=1,558)
Confidence in Political Leaders (trend) (excluding/outside Crimea and Donbas)

“For each, please tell me how much confidence you have in them:”

Percent Expressing ‘Great Deal’ or ‘Fair Amount’ of Confidence

- PETRO POROSHENKO: 69% (October 2013), 59% (September 2014), n/a (December 2014), n/a (June 2015), n/a (September 2015)
- VITALI KLITSCHKO: 39% (October 2013), 32% (September 2014), 45% (December 2014), 43% (June 2015), 4% (September 2015)
- YULIA TYMOSHENKO: n/a (October 2013), 26% (September 2014), 26% (December 2014), n/a (June 2015), n/a (September 2015)
- OLEH LYASHKO: 27% (October 2013), 27% (September 2014), 25% (December 2014), 25% (June 2015), 25% (September 2015)
- ARSENIY YATSENYUK: n/a (October 2013), 30% (September 2014), 25% (December 2014), 24% (June 2015), 20% (September 2015)
Confidence in Political Institutions

For each, please tell me how much confidence you have in them:” (n=1,558)
Leadership and Maidan Aspirations

The only way the objectives of the Maidan can be achieved is through a new generation of leaders not tied to the status quo.

Our current political leaders understand the reforms that are needed to address the aspirations of the 2nd Maidan.

It is inevitable that 3rd Maidan will take place to bring in fresh political leadership to bring needed change to Ukraine.

Although the going has been slow, our current political leaders will ensure that needed reforms are introduced.

“Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:”
VI. Local Elections
# Likelihood to Vote in Local Elections

**How likely are you to vote in the October 25 local elections?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Very likely</th>
<th>Somewhat likely</th>
<th>DK/NR</th>
<th>Somewhat unlikely</th>
<th>Very unlikely</th>
<th>Will not vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>30-44</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>29%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Very likely, Somewhat likely, DK/NR, Somewhat unlikely, Very unlikely, Will not vote*
If the parliamentary elections were held today, which party would you vote for? (n=643)

- Petro Poroshenko's Block - Solidarnist - UDAR, 13%
- Batkyvshyna, 11%
- Samopomych, 8%
- Radical Party, 6%
- Opposition Bloc, 4%
- Other parties, 14%
- Have not decided, 36%
- Will not vote, 1%
- Refused, 4%
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