



CIVIC LITERACY

IN UKRAINE

MOLDOVA

AND BELARUS

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY CARRIED OUT IN THREE COUNTRIES

The report “Civic Literacy in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus” was prepared by Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) for the UN Development Programme in Ukraine (UNDP) with support from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It provides an account of the representative public opinion survey carried out in 2016 by the KIIS in Ukraine, CBS-AXA in Moldova (commissioned by UNDP) and SBTC SATIO in Belarus (commissioned by Pact Inc.).

The cross-culture research focuses on the rate of civic literacy and civic activism, the prevalence of various social and political attitudes and values, and the demand for civic education among the people in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus. Its findings should inform programmes aimed at sustainable democratic development of societies.



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Belarus



Moldova



Ukraine

CIVIC LITERACY

IN UKRAINE, MOLDOVA AND BELARUS

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INTRODUCTION

Since 2013, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark has supported the regional Democratization, Human Rights and Civil Society Development Programme in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus. The common goals of the Programme are to strengthen civil society and human rights defenders in these three countries, and promote inclusive, democratic, and human rights-based governance. One of the objectives is to conduct a baseline assessment of the civic literacy rate and identify the existing gaps and starting points for encouraging sustainable democratization of these societies.

To perform this assessment, a comparative survey was conducted in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus throughout the period from June to September 2016. It consisted of two stages: a public opinion survey which was representative of the adult populations of the three countries, and focus group discussions involving the public and experts to better understand the findings from the first stage. The methodology was developed by Pact Inc. and UNDP and adapted by the research companies in each country.

The survey methodology was based on the Vision for 21st Century Citizenship developed for the U.S. education system by the U.S.-based organisation The Partnership for 21st Century Skills (P21). The main idea behind this Vision is that 21st century citizenship requires new knowledge, skills and competencies. This is due primarily to globalization and digital technologies enabling a new level of communication and community development. Therefore, to be effective citizens of their country, people must obtain the necessary knowledge and skills to participate in local and national life and navigate in a global context, and be able to use information technologies for these purposes.

The main focus in the survey was on how people in the three countries understand the principles of interaction between the state and its citizens, how they participate in public life at the local and national level, and what knowledge they need in this regard. In addition, the survey questions measured the prevalence of various values and attitudes concerning human rights, democratic governance, inter-cultural communication and media literacy.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey methodology aimed i) to be representative of the populations of Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus, and ii) to enable comparison between the three countries. The survey was first conducted in Belarus. The questionnaire used there then informed development of the survey tools for Ukraine and Moldova.

The survey in Belarus was performed by the department of marketing and social surveys of the Systemic Business Technologies Centre SATIO and commissioned by Pact Inc. The field study was conducted from 13-30 June 2016. First, the quantitative survey was conducted throughout the country, including Minsk, regional and district centres, and villages. It was based on personal interviews with respondents at the place of their residence. The sample was 1,005 persons. Multi-stage sampling was used – first, it was stratified according to the population size of an oblast/settlement; then, a quota sample was made taking into account age and gender considerations; finally, route sampling was applied. The sampling error does not exceed 3.1% at a 0.95 confidence level.

The sample reflects the age, gender and geographic distribution of the population of Belarus. A total of 465 men (46%) and 540 women (54%) were surveyed. The age breakdown of respondents was as follows: 252 (25%) were 18-29 y.o., 276 (27%) 30-44 y.o., 286 (28%) 45-60 y.o., and 191 (19%) were older than 60. 205 interviews (20%) were conducted in Minsk, 151 (15%) in Minsk oblast, 144 (14%) in Brest oblast, 132 (13%) in Vitebsk oblast, 147 (15%) in Gomel oblast, 108 (11%) in Grodno oblast, and 118 (11%) in Mogilev oblast.

At the second stage, 12 focus group discussions were held with the public, two in Minsk and each other oblast centre of Belarus (Brest, Vitebsk, Gomel, Grodno, and Mogilev).

In Ukraine, the survey was conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology from 13 July to 6 September 2016. The field survey questionnaire was discussed in advance with experts representing NGOs, human rights organisations and public authorities. In addition, a total of 20 pilot interviews were arranged with representatives of the target audience of different ages, genders and education levels in Kyiv and the city of Berezan in Kyiv oblast. The survey itself was carried out in all oblasts of Ukraine except the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol and non-Government-controlled parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. It was based on personal interviews with respondents at the place of their residence. The survey used a four-stage probability stratified sample randomized at every stage. It included 110 cities and villages throughout Ukraine. At the first stage, the settlements in each oblast

were randomly selected. The second stage entailed random selection of electoral districts in each of the selected settlements based on probability proportional to size (PPS) sampling. At the third stage, a starting street address (street, building and apartment number) was randomly selected in each electoral district. From that address, the interviewer began consistently visiting a set number of households (usually 10) over the fixed step. In a selected household, one respondent meeting the selection criteria whose date of birth was the most recent (among all household members) before the date of survey was invited to an interview. The sample volume was 2,000 persons and therefore the margin of error does not exceed 1.6% for the near 50% indices with a confidence level of 0.95 and design effect of 2.

A total of 724 men (36%) and 1,276 women (64%) were surveyed. Of these, 291 respondents (16%) were aged 18-29, 539 (27%) were 30-44 y.o., 567 (28%) 45-59 y.o., and 603 (60%) were 60 or older. 399 respondents were interviewed in Kyiv, 400 each in the Southern, Western and Eastern macro-regions, and 401 in the Central-Northern macro-region. To make the sample more compatible with the age, gender and geographic structure of the Ukrainian population, it was weighted against the official statistics of the State Statistics Service and the Central Election Committee of Ukraine.

After that, five focus group discussions were held: in Lviv with the residents having a low level of civil literacy and activism; in Kharkiv with the residents having an average level of civil literacy and activism, and in Dnipro with active and knowledgeable citizens. Two focus groups were conducted with civic education experts in Kherson and Kyiv.

The survey in Moldova was administered by CBS-AXA from 29 July - 9 September 2016. The field survey questionnaire was discussed in advance with sociologists and human rights experts. In addition, a total of 15 pilot interviews were held with representatives of the target audience in Chisinau, the city of Yaloven and the village of Roshkan.

The survey itself covered all regions of Moldova, including urban and rural areas. It was based on personal interviews with respondents at their place of residence. The survey used a multi-stage probability stratified sample randomized at every stage. During the first stage, settlements in each of 13 regions were randomly selected.

The second stage entailed random selection of electoral districts in each of the selected settlements based on PPS sampling. At the third stage, a starting street address (street, building and apartment number) was randomly selected in each electoral district. From that address, the interviewer started consistently visiting the set number of households over the fixed step. In a selected household, one randomly selected respondent was interviewed. The sample size was 400 persons, therefore the margin of error does not exceed 1.6% for the near 50% indices with a confidence level of 0.95 and design effect of 2.

A total of 162 men (40%) and 248 women (60%) were interviewed. The age breakdown of respondents is as follows: 66 (16%) were 18-29 y.o., 78 (19%) 30-44 y.o., 123 (30%) 45-59 y.o., and 143 (35%) were 60 or older. A total of 77 (19%) interviews were carried out in Chisinau, 129 (32%) in the Central region, 114 (28%) in the Northern region, and 90 (22%)

in the Southern region. To have the sample better match the age, gender and geographic structure of the Moldovan population, it was weighted against the data of the National Statistics Bureau of Moldova.

After that, two focus group discussions were conducted in Chisinau, one with knowledgeable and active residents and the other with civic education experts.

CIVIC LITERACY RATE

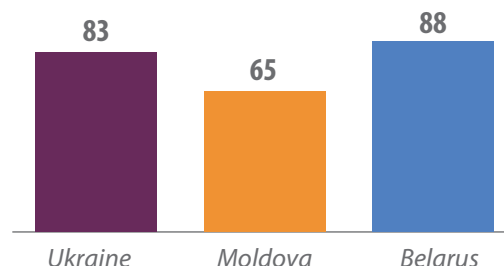
In each of the three countries, respondents were asked a number of questions regarding the state budget and taxation, constitutional law, the rights and duties of citizens, knowledge of their representatives in the elected authorities, and other topics. Most questions had a single correct answer – if a respondent picked it, it proved his/her awareness of the basic principles on which the government functions. The questions for Ukraine and Moldova were almost the same but for minor exceptions stemming from the differences in the legal and institutional framework. For Belarus, many questions were different, and in particular the survey was focused more on knowing the administrative structure, the state symbols of Belarus, and international organisations.

Below is the breakdown of answers to each question in each of the countries, and the comparison of countries to the extent possible.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS. Most people in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus know that fundamental human rights and freedoms are established in the Constitution. The highest awareness rate is in Belarus with 88% correct answers. Ukraine follows with 83%, while in Moldova only 65% of respondents knew this.

When choosing the wrong answers, the respondents usually picked the Civil Code (7% in Ukraine, 12% in Moldova and 9% in Belarus), while the Criminal Code was picked by few respondents (1% in Ukraine, 5% in Moldova). Some people believe that there is no document to establish their citizens' rights (3% in Ukraine, 8% in Moldova). Other respondents were not able to pick any answer.

Diagram 1.1. Awareness that the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens are established in the Constitution (% of respondents in each country)



Respondents' awareness of their rights and duties was measured with an open-ended question (with no set answers), in which they were asked to mention up to three rights and three duties of the citizens. The most frequent answers are cited below.

Ukrainians most frequently mentioned the right to work (25%), freedom of speech (20%), right to education (18%), to healthcare, medical aid and health (13%) and electoral rights (9%). For the purposes of this analysis, the right to healthcare does not include the right to free-of-charge medical aid, which was mentioned by an additional 6% of respondents. The right to education does not include the fact that it should be provided for free, which was mentioned by yet another 2% of respondents. From 1% to 8% of respondents also mentioned other rights and freedoms such as (highest to lowest) the freedom of religion, right to rest and leisure, right to life, freedom of movement, right to housing, to social security and protection, freedom of thought, right to a pension, personal freedom, freedom of assembly, right to an adequate standard of living, right to inviolability of the home, to equal protection by the law, right to defence in court, and the right to live in Ukraine.

The rights most often referred to by Moldovans largely match those cited in Ukraine. Moldovans usually indicate the right to work (26%), freedom of speech (21%), right to life (17%), to healthcare, medical aid and health (16%) and to education (16%), as well as electoral rights (12%). Up to 7% of respondents also mentioned other rights (highest to lowest): right to rest and leisure, right to be free, freedom of religion, of movement, right to choice, to an adequate standard of living, to housing, to social security, to family, to pension, to democracy, to information, to peace, to social justice, and to freedom of assembly and association.

Table 1.1. Five most mentioned rights of citizens, according to respondents in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus (% of all respondents in each country)

TOP 5 CITIZENS' RIGHTS					
Ukraine		Moldova		Belarus	
Right	%	Right	%	Right	%
Right to work	25	Right to work	26	Right to life	50
Freedom of speech	20	Freedom of speech	21	Right to work	49
Right to education	18	Right to life	17	Right to education	30
Right to health care, medical aid, health	13	Right to health care, medical aid, health	16	Right to health care	20
Electoral rights	9	Right to education	16	Right to be free	17
Hard to say / refuse to answer	35	Hard to say / refuse to answer	32	Hard to say / refuse to answer	36

The list of rights mentioned by Belarusian respondents was much more detailed and long than in the other two countries. The most often cited rights are the right to life (50%), to work (49%), to education (30%), to healthcare (20%) and to be free (17%). Healthcare was mentioned more than once – 4% of respondents also mentioned the right to protection of health, and 4% that they are entitled to free-of-charge healthcare. In addition to the 30% of respondents who picked the right to education, an additional 3% of respondents stated that it should be free-of-charge. Other popular rights also include the right to rest and leisure (16%), freedom of speech (12%), of religion (7%), electoral rights (6%), freedom of choice (4%), right to housing (4%), to the protection of rights (4%), to social security (3%), to property (3%), freedom of movement (3%), right to privacy (3%), to inviolability of the home (3%) and to family (3%). Other options scored less than 3% each. 35% of respondents in Ukraine, 32% in Moldova and 36% in Belarus were not able to name any right.

It is worth noting that such findings provoked concern during the expert discussions. The experts underlined that development of a vision of civic education was an urgent task in Ukraine and the other countries.

“We have to do something with it. How can a country survive if 1/3 of its population don’t know their rights? This is a tough situation. It means they are not a part of society, they are excluded. It’s high time to react. What should be done? Education in schools, a network of social workers, a network of lawyers”.

(Citizens, Chisinau, Moldova)

During the focus group discussions in Ukraine, the participants spontaneously recalled rights such as the freedom of speech, right to work and right to enter into formal relations with an employer, the right to adequate and free-of-charge education and healthcare, right to free-of-charge legal aid, right to rest and leisure, right of access to information, right to free access to natural resources, right to life, right to protection, including social protection (entitlements), and freedom of movement. They also noted that a number of rights were not observed, including the right to safety, right to adequate and free-of-charge healthcare, and right to a decent wage.

“Why did I say that we are like donkeys in this regard? Because they are good at using us, walking over us. The problem is that we keep being silent – we don’t unite to advocate for our rights. It’s not a matter of law or whatever. It’s a matter of association. We can’t even unite to sort everything out at the local level, at the level of neighbours, let alone the national level”.

(Citizens, Chisinau, Moldova)

The participants of focus group discussions in Moldova identified the right to education, to health, and access to healthcare. When discussing this issue, they went deeper and said that the healthcare was paid and its quality was low. In the end, they stated, “even money can’t guarantee these rights”. However, even considering such a critical sit-

uation, Moldovans acknowledge that they are not ready to unite in order to assert their rights to adequate and free-of-charge health care and education for their children.

The NGO professionals who took part in the expert focus group discussions underlined that all the rights mentioned by respondents could be considered social and economic rights which should be provided by the government. According to the survey, the most popular right is the right to work. Citizens believe that the government must provide them with jobs. The people adopted this attitude in Soviet times when a paternalistic ideology was dominant. But now the situation has changed, and most jobs are created by private business, while an individual is responsible for finding a job for himself or herself.

“I believe that it’s some kind of a slogan that people still have. What right do you need? The right to work. To my mind, that’s from old Soviet times”.

(Experts, Kherson, Ukraine)

“A person has a right to work, and the government should provide a job to this person. A person has a right to rest and the government should organise this rest. And a person by no means has a right to criticize this job or this rest”.

(Experts, Kyiv, Ukraine)

Furthermore, the experts offered the following explanation of why the right to work was mentioned most frequently. Many citizens in all three countries consider their financial status poor, thus having a job is a central need and a source of income for them. If a person loses a job for any structural reasons, s/he blames the government for this, as it failed to provide him/her with work. It should also be kept in mind that many people from the three countries travel to EU countries for work because they cannot find decent jobs at home. As concerns Ukrainians selecting freedom of speech as one of the top rights, the experts explain it by recent social changes that have focused on countering censorship, among other things. Experts also note that at the same time, one-third of respondents do not know their rights and duties at all.

“I am sure that this ‘hard to say’ is emblematic. Basically, it turns out that 35% and 39% weren’t able to recall a word from the Constitution. They don’t know it. This is a sign of legal nihilism, civic illiteracy”.

(Experts, Kyiv, Ukraine)

During the focus group discussions in Belarus, the participants mentioned the right to life along with the fundamental rights associated with social guarantees by the Government (right to work, to education, and to healthcare). The right to life was identified by some participants as the only right which is adequately observed. The participants did not focus extensively on political rights; electoral rights, freedom of association and speech were mentioned rarely and

mostly in the context of their violation. At the same time, the participants were not always able to discuss their rights in detail. Instead, they made generalized comments such as “every right is violated”. It is important to stress that the right to life is basically observed, as most participants noted. It is not associated with the death penalty in Belarus. The latter is considered as an exceptional situation rather than a factor affecting the observance of the right to life for the majority of citizens.

The respondents most often recall their rights when they are abused. In many cases, these abuses happen when interacting with public authorities, when entering employment and in the discharge of official duties.

According to the focus group participants in Chisinau, a citizen should know not only his/her rights, but also duties. They underline that Moldovans are only vaguely aware of their rights and duties, and thus do not adhere to these and recall them only when they are violated..

“Every time you break some rule or make a mistake, you think: I have rights. But you should also remember your duties. The generation starting from the 1990s was only taught that they had rights. The duties, responsibilities and everything else was forgotten. We all know about our rights but forget our duties”.

(Citizens, Chisinau, Moldova)

The survey showed that neither Ukrainians nor Moldovans could easily distinguish citizens’ rights from human rights, but they did understand the principal difference. According to them, the major difference is that citizens’ rights are guaranteed by the state and only belong to the nationals of a certain country, while human rights are guaranteed by the society and belong to all people irrespective of their nationality. This means that everyone has equal rights. Citizens’ rights do not overlap with human rights, and vice versa. An example of citizens’ rights mentioned by the respondents is the right to vote in elections, and examples of human rights include universal rights such as the right to live, breathe, drink, work and choose. A state can restrict citizens’ rights, and it is hard to protect them, respondents say.

“When we discuss human rights, we mean, say, the right to life. When we discuss citizens’ rights, we mean the Fatherland: Are you ready to protect your Fatherland?”

(Citizens, Chisinau, Moldova)

“A citizen abides by the Constitution of Ukraine. But a person is a person. S/he should abide by the same Constitution. Does it matter if s/he is a citizen of this country or just a person? Well, I am a citizen, but I’m also a person”.

(Citizens, Kharkiv, Ukraine)

Citizens’ rights are guaranteed by the Constitution and other laws, as Moldovans and Ukrainians indicated during the focus group discussions. Moreover, these rights are also guaranteed by the President, the state, Parliaments, and

MPs as representatives of the state. The right to security should be guaranteed by law enforcement authorities. And human rights should be guaranteed by the people themselves, respondents claim.

When discussing who in Moldova guarantees human and citizens' rights, the participants agreed that if rights are violated, it is extremely difficult to assert them, although the country has a Law on Petitioners. This Law enables the citizens to claim violations of their rights to public authorities, while the latter are required to react in a timely manner. But the law is not generally observed. Moreover, the education system promotes conformity rather than the readiness to defend one's own rights.

"I filed a claim with our Ministry, fiddled about it a bit. I came there as a victim, but left as a wrongdoer".
(Citizens, Chisinau, Moldova)

"Nobody will give you your rights; you have to claim them. The school does not teach children to claim their rights. Instead, it teaches them to obey and not be different from others".
(Citizens, Chisinau, Moldova)

As concerns the duties of citizens, Ukrainians most often mentioned the duty to abide by law and order (32%), pay taxes (21%), serve in the army and/or protect the country (15%), vote in elections (6%) and work (5%). Other duties such as abiding by the Constitution, performing family duties and raising children, feeling a sense of patriotism and love for your country, protecting the environment, paying utility bills, respecting the cultural and historical heritage, honouring the rights of others, and maintaining honesty and integrity, were mentioned by at least 1% each.

In Moldova, the duty to abide by law and order and to pay taxes also scored the highest (34% and 19% respectively). The duty to work (8%), be honest and behave in the society (7%), and to refrain from violating the rights of others (5%) garnered significantly fewer mentions. In addition, 4-5% of respondents selected the duty to vote in elections, be a patriot and love one's country, raise children and take care of one's family, protect the country, protect the environment and pay utility bills.

Table 1.2. **Five most mentioned duties of citizens, according to respondents in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus**
(% of all respondents in each country)

TOP 5 DUTIES OF CITIZENS					
Ukraine		Moldova		Belarus	
Duty	%	Duty	%	Duty	%
Abide by law and order	32	Abide by law and order	34	Abide by the law	59

Pay taxes	21	Pay taxes	19	Pay taxes	40
Serve in the army, protect the country	15	Work	8	Work	29
Vote in elections	6	Be honest and behave in the society	7	Protect the environment	16
Work	5	Not to violate others' rights	5	Protect the Fatherland	16
Hard to say / refuse to answer	39	Hard to say / refuse to answer	37	Hard to say / refuse to answer	42

In Belarus, the two most common duties match those named in Ukraine and Moldova. The duty to abide by the law was mentioned by 59% of respondents, and to pay taxes by 40%. In addition, the respondents often mentioned the duty to work (29%), protect the environment (16%), protect the Fatherland (16%), abide by the Constitution (12%), respect the rights of others (10%), take part in elections (9%), serve in the army (8%), protect the cultural and historical heritage (7%) and raise children (7%). At least 5% of respondents also cited the duty to love the Fatherland, display responsibility and honesty, abide by the public order, help those in need, obtain education and cooperate with the government.

39% of Ukrainians, 37% of Moldovans and 42% of Belarusians were not able to mention any duty.

During the focus group discussions, Ukrainian and Moldovans spontaneously recalled that the main duty of a citizen is to pay tax, because it affects the normal functioning of the state and its institutions, the budget and the welfare of residents who are not engaged in productive work but receive government support.

“Any state lives on taxes. It can’t survive without it. It can’t maintain an army, health care, or pensioners. There is no way to do without it”.

(Citizens, Kharkiv, Ukraine)

“When paying taxes, we actually invest in both economies. That’s how it should look. We invest in education, in everything that induces expenses rather than earns profit. We pay the salaries of those who don’t produce anything but still are a part of society. This is the reality; it should be like this”.

(Citizens, Chisinau, Moldova)

The NGO representatives commend that the respondents in all three countries mention paying taxes. This means that the people are ready to combat the shadow economy (or at least report that they are).

In addition to the duty to pay tax, Ukrainians also mentioned the following: to have official relations with an employer, pay utility bills, vote in elections, raise children, keep the cities clean, not violate the law and the rights of others, pre-

vent conflicts, help those in need, work for the sake of country and contribute to its development, respect the work of others, provide education to children, speak Ukrainian, support and practice Ukrainian traditions, and engage in volunteer activities.

“We should understand how it works. In fact, if I received ‘envelope wages’ and didn’t pay tax, it won’t return to me in any way. I know that it’s some kind of civic responsibility. Financial matters are clear to me, and they should be taught to everyone”.

(Experts, Kherson, Ukraine)

In Moldova, the respondents also noted duties such as protecting the environment, performing one’s job duties, not violating the law, and engaging in volunteer activities. Military duty was also mentioned, but its compulsory nature was treated with a degree of scepticism.

Moreover, the participants in the focus group discussions in Moldova had some differences of opinion as to whether the citizens must know the history of their country and speak the national language. For some respondents, both seemed important, for some they were not so important because Moldova is a multi-ethnic country where different people can speak different languages and have a different vision of the history.

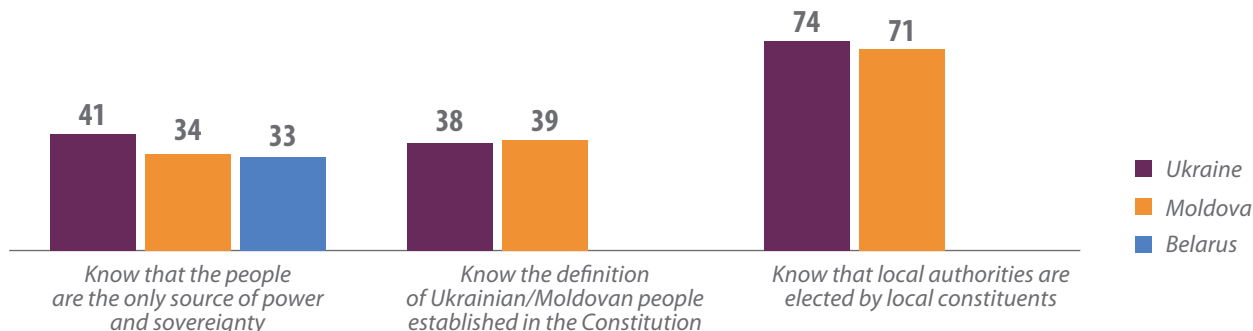
Other duties suggested by the respondents were treated as the rights rather than duties, i.e. Moldovans can implement them at their discretion. Moldovans find it important to follow the news, also noting that not all the residents are able to, because they work hard and some do not have access to the Internet.

Commenting on these findings, the expert formulated an idea that it is harder for the citizens to identify duties than rights, because they have higher expectations of the state than they do of themselves.

MAIN PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION. Many respondents in each country find it hard to answer or provide the wrong answer to the question on the sole source of power and sovereignty. 41% of Ukrainians, 34% of Moldovans and 33% of Belarusians know that it is the people. Belarusians more often pick the President (55%), while 40% of Ukrainians and 30% of Moldovans do so. A comparatively high share of Moldovans believe this is the Parliament (18%, with only 6% in Ukraine and 5% in Belarus).

Almost 40% of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova can pick the correct description of Ukrainian/Moldovan people set forth in the Constitution: these are the citizens of the country representing all. This answer was picked by 38% of Ukrainians and 39% of Moldovans. The second most common option – “everyone who legally resides in the country” – scored 28% in Ukraine and 27% in Moldova. A number of respondents also believed that Ukrainian/Moldovan people consisted of ethnic Ukrainians/Moldovans (21% and 18% respectively).

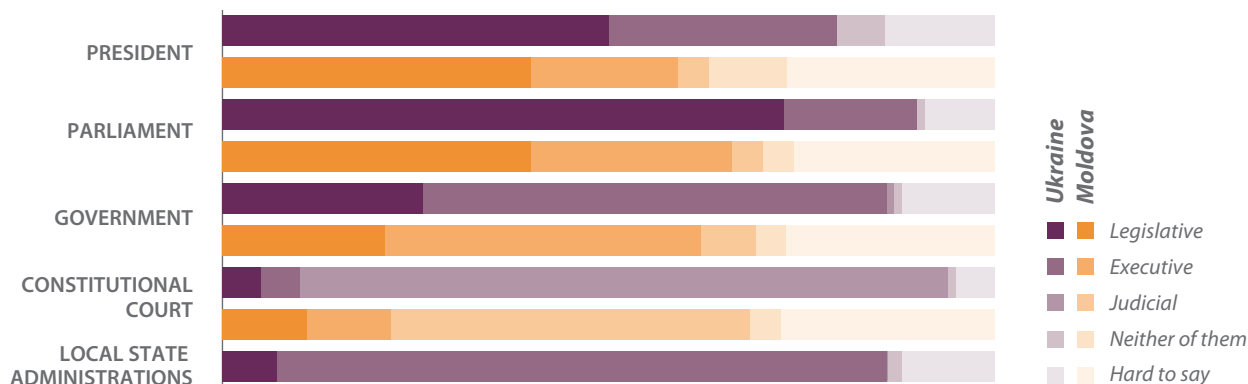
Diagram 1.2. **Level of awareness of certain provisions of the Constitution**
(% of respondents in each country)



Many Ukrainians and Moldovans are aware that local authorities are created through local elections (74% and 71% respectively). Other options (these bodies are appointed by the President or Parliament or by referendum) scored no more than 6% each.

The understanding that state power is divided into three branches is somewhat blurred in Ukraine and more so in Moldova. For example, a President – depending on the powers it has – in many countries is either the head of executive branch or does not belong to any branch. However, 49% of Ukrainians and 40% of Moldovans mark the President down as part of the legislative branch. 29% of Ukrainians and 40% of Moldovans attributed the President to the executive branch, while only 6% of Ukrainian and 10% of Moldovan respondents said that the President belonged to no

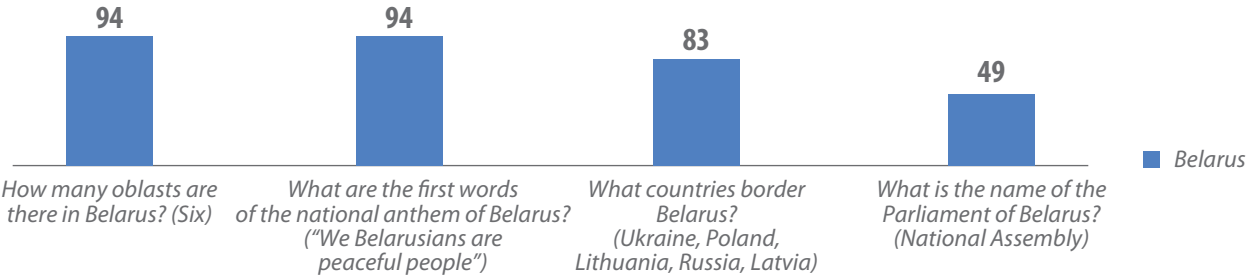
Diagram 1.3. **Knowledge about branches of government** (% of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



branch. The attribution of Parliament was an easier task – 72% of Ukrainians and 40% of Moldovans consider it a part of legislative branch, which is the most common answer. The Government (in Ukraine the Cabinet of Ministers) was also correctly attributed to the executive branch by the majority of respondents (60% in Ukraine, 41% in Moldova). Although it is easy to identify the Constitutional Court as part of the judicial branch just by considering its title, only 84% of Ukrainians and 47% of Moldovans managed to do so. Local state authorities exist only in Ukraine, and 79% of respondents correctly marked them as a part of the executive branch.

SYMBOLS AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY. This set of questions was only asked to Belarusians. Almost all respondents managed the relatively easy questions: how many oblasts are there in Belarus (94% correctly answered ‘six’); what are the first words of the national anthem (94% knew the first line); and what countries neighbour Belarus (83% correctly listed Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Lithuania and Latvia). The unexpected difficulties were associated with the official title of the Parliament; slightly less than half of respondents – 49% – know that its title is the ‘National Assembly’. Given the simplicity of these questions, it was decided not to ask them in Ukraine and Moldova.

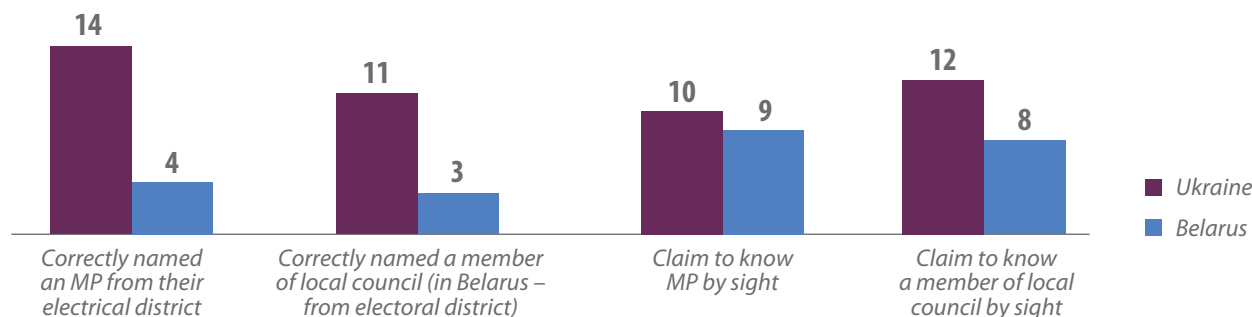
Diagram 1.4. *Knowledge of the administrative structure and symbols of Belarus*
(% of respondents in Belarus)



REPRESENTATIVES IN THE ELECTED AUTHORITIES. Another important indicator of civic literacy is knowing one’s representatives in the elected authorities. Respondents in Ukraine and Belarus were asked to give the name of the members of Parliament and local council elected in their electoral district. The same question was not asked in Moldova, because Moldovans vote for parties rather than for individual candidates, so the electoral districts have no MPs attached to them. Local elections in Ukraine in 2015 were carried out based on a mixed (majoritarian and proportional) system depending on the level of authority and population size of the settlement. Thus it is not always possible to match a certain member of a council with a certain electoral district. Therefore, the respondents’ answers were verified as follows: if a local council of the respondent’s settlement has a member mentioned by him/her, the answer is considered correct.

The level of knowledge regarding the respondents' representatives in the Parliament and local councils proved to be low in both countries, especially in Belarus. Only 4% of Belarusians and 14% of Ukrainians were able to correctly name their representative in the Parliament. 9% more Belarusians and 10% more Ukrainians claim to know their representative by sight (though this was not confirmed). 11% of Ukrainians and 3% of Belarusians correctly named their representative in a local council, and 12% and 8% respectively believe they know him/her by sight.

Diagram 1.5. Knowledge of MPs and members of local councils
(% of all respondents in Belarus and Ukraine)



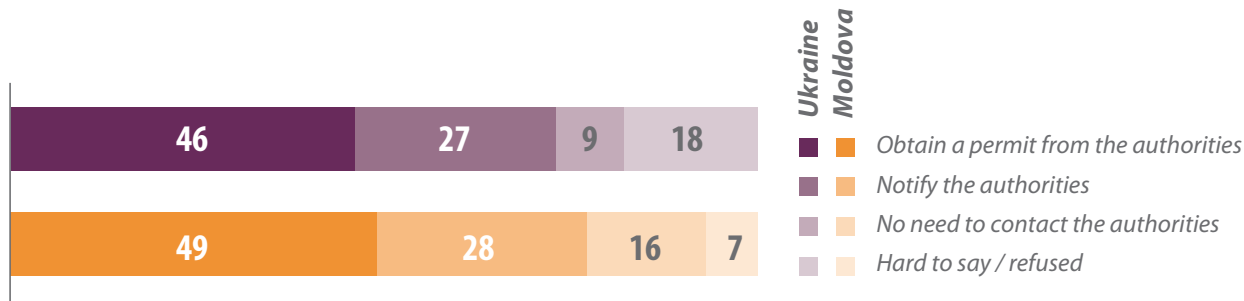
More than a half of 'active' focus group participants in Ukraine know the MPs who represent them. The lower their level of civic activism, the fewer of them remember their representatives in the Verkhovna Rada or a local council. Participants in the 'passive' focus group almost never know their representatives. In Moldova, the respondents very rarely remember the names of representatives. Citizens of both countries are certain that the council members should work not only during the elections, but also before and after. They also want the population to supervise how the members of council spend public funds. The idea of participatory budgeting was also raised during the discussions – the citizens want to be able to influence the budgeting process. In addition, it was suggested that the members of councils be answerable for their obligations with all property, and that a mechanism to recall a council member for poor performance be established. Their activities should be properly covered by the media, and they should be public figures, respondents say.

In Belarus, the citizens also know the members of the National Assembly and local councils. Some participants in the discussions noted that the MPs have little influence on what is going on in the country and have no motivation to solve their constituents' problems. There is almost no sense in giving them guidance on any measures, because they are not accountable to their constituents. Some participants had bad experiences when contacting MPs/members of local councils on various issues.

The NGO representatives assume that people lack knowledge about the MPs and their activities because the media do not adequately cover their work and because they have limited powers. In addition, the citizens know the names of political parties better than those of the MPs. To change this and encourage citizens to take part more responsibly in electoral communications, it is necessary to emphasize that a council member represents the interests of his or her constituents rather than the district or a party, i.e. to personalize the responsibility of a citizen who delegates his/her voice to a certain person. When it comes to the responsibility of a council member, many focus group participants stated that they could be recalled if they perform inadequately. However, the competent NGO representatives in Ukraine replied that the recall procedure was quite cumbersome and inconsistent, therefore the organisations concerned advocate for stripping the mandate rather than recalling.

PEACEFUL ASSEMBLIES. The following questions were asked only to Ukrainian and Moldovan respondents. They concerned the knowledge of the regulatory framework on peaceful assemblies. The first question evaluated whether people know the steps necessary to organise a peaceful assembly or a rally: seek approval from the authorities, notify the authorities or do nothing. The correct answer – to notify the authorities about an upcoming rally or protest – was only selected by 27% of Ukrainians and 28% of Moldovans. Almost half of respondents in both countries believe that approval should be sought (46% in Ukraine, 49% in Moldova). At the same time, 16% of Moldovans and 9% of Ukrainians believe that it is not necessary to contact the authorities at all.

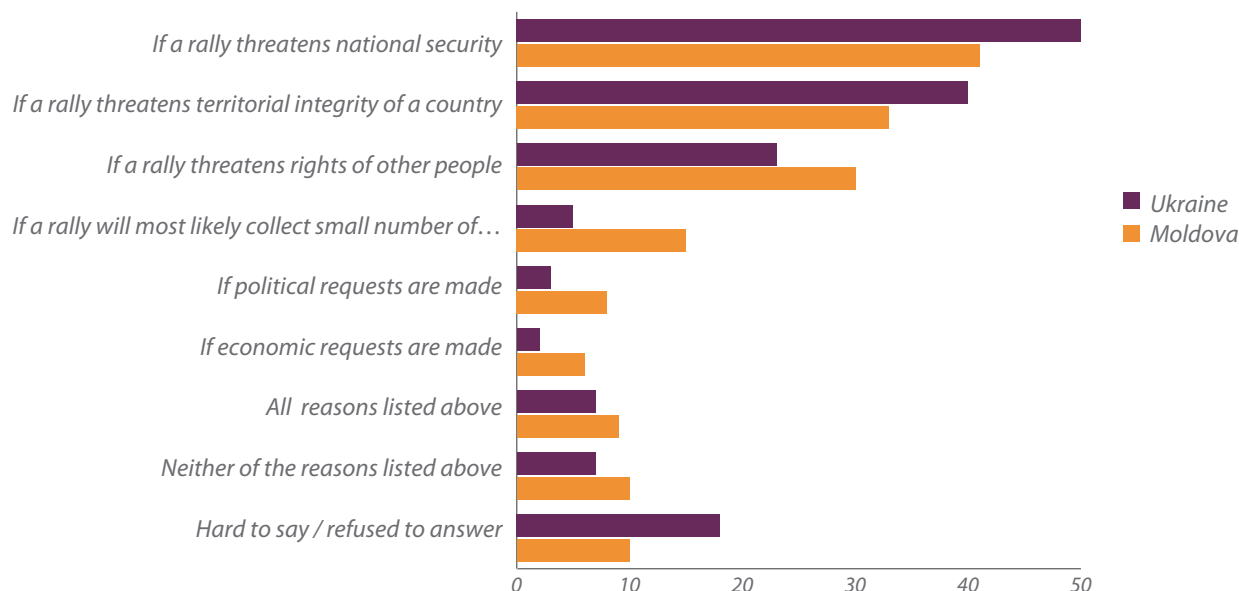
Diagram 1.6. Knowledge of measures necessary to arrange a peaceful assembly or rally (% of all respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



When offered the correct and incorrect reasons to legally ban a rally, the respondents in both countries usually pick the correct ones: if a rally constitutes a threat to public safety (50% in Ukraine, 41% in Moldova); to territorial integrity (40% in Ukraine, 33% in Moldova); or to the rights of other people (23% in Ukraine, 30% in Moldova). Moldovans somewhat more often than Ukrainians pick the wrong reasons to ban a rally: small number of participants (15% and 5% respectively); initiating political demands (8% and 3%); economic demands (6% and 2%); all reasons listed above

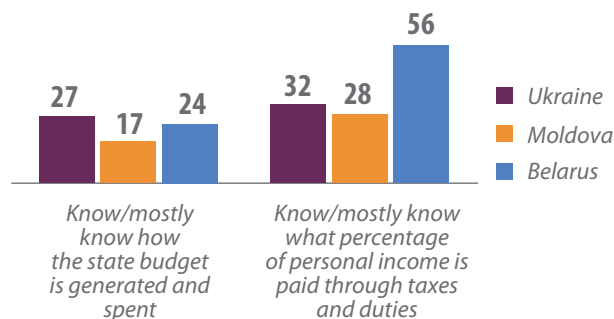
(9% and 7%) or none of them (10% and 7%). At the same time, only 11% of Ukrainians and 9% of Moldovans picked every correct answer and managed to pick no wrong answer.

Diagram 1.7. Opinions on possible reasons to ban a peaceful rally
(% of all respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



STATE BUDGET. The self-reported knowledge of how the budget is generated and spent is quite low in all three countries. 27% of Ukrainians, 17% of Moldovans and 24% of Belarusians claimed to know or mostly know this. Self-reported knowledge of the taxes paid by citizens is somewhat higher in Ukraine and Moldova and twice as high in Belarus. 32% of Ukrainians, 28% of Moldovans and as 56% of Belarusians know or mostly know the percentage of income and expenses that citizens must pay as a tax or duty. Others claimed not to know or almost not to know this, or said it was hard for them to evaluate the level of their knowledge.

Diagram 1.8. Self-reported knowledge of the state budget and taxes
(% of all respondents in each country)



When discussing these findings, the experts suggested that the reason for the low level of public awareness of budgetary processes and tax amounts is that only few people pay taxes themselves. It is mostly the accounting department of the company where the employees work that pays the taxes for them – a Soviet-style mechanism that remains in effect. Therefore, the citizens do not feel as if they pay tax from their personal budgets. At the same time, entrepreneurs may be better aware of the taxation system, experts believe. Since the citizens do not feel personal responsibility for paying taxes, they are poorly aware of how the state budget is generated and spent.

“When the responsibility is transferred to another person, people don’t think about it. Why should I even bother if I don’t do it?”

(Experts, Kyiv, Ukraine)

With this in mind, the NGO representatives consider it important to raise public awareness regarding the mechanisms of budgeting and public finance so that the people have a clear picture of how the money is spent. In addition, it is also critical to shape public attitudes to the state officials as the administrators rather than owners of public funds, while the budget funds must be considered money that belongs to the community that pays taxes.

“The state is like a family, a big family. Considering the budget, citizens should know how to pay taxes, and how they are spent. For example, a part of my taxes covered the construction of a road; another, the health insurance of my child. A third part was allocated to the school where my child is studying. I have to know everything. If I pay taxes, I have certain requests. But the problem is that we don’t know how to proceed with our requests”.

(Experts, Chisinau, Moldova)

“People should know it. That’s important. But people don’t know it. A state is like a family – both have their budgets”.

(Citizens, Gomel, Belarus)

Due to low awareness of budgetary processes, the citizens tend to believe populist election promises to cut taxes and increase social benefits. To prevent this and improve the financial literacy of the public, experts recommend including financial and budgetary issues in the civic education curricula.

To confirm their self-reported knowledge of public finance, respondents in Ukraine and Moldova were asked who approves the state and local budgets (correct answer: the Verkhovna Rada/Parliament and local councils respectively). Ukrainians proved more knowledgeable, with 46% of respondents in Ukraine giving the correct answer. At the same time, 21% believe it is the Cabinet of Ministers, 9% the President of Ukraine, 1% the National Bank, and 4% all of the above. Other respondents were not able to pick any answer. In Moldova, 35% of respondents answered correctly,

while 19% opted for the Government, 8% for the National Bank, 7% for the President, and 8% for all of the above; others were not able to pick any answer. According to the Moldovan experts, this might be explained by the power of the Government to adopt various regulations governing the budgetary processes, e.g., on transferring stolen money to the public funds and regulating the banking sector.

The respondents' awareness of how the local budget is adopted is much higher. Moldovans knew this better than Ukrainians: 73% of them said that the budget was adopted by a local council, while only 66% of Ukrainians did so. None of the other (wrong) answers (President, Parliament, Government, National Bank) scored more than 5% in both countries.

Diagram 1.9. Knowledge of what body approves the state and local budgets
(% of all respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)

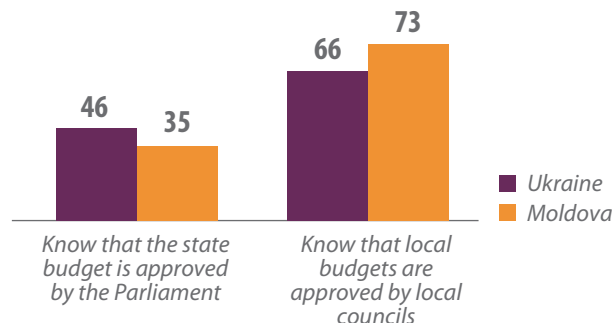
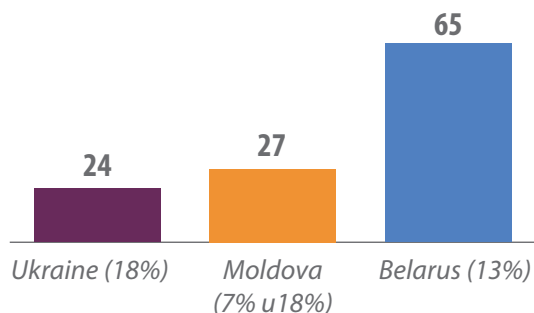


Diagram 1.10. Knowledge about personal income tax rate (% of all respondents in each country)



The second question, to check the respondents' knowledge of personal income tax rates, was asked in all three countries (correct answer: 18% in Ukraine, 13% in Belarus, and 7% or 18% – depending on the income – in Moldova). Belarusians made good on their higher self-reported awareness of the tax rate: 65% of them answered correctly. In Ukraine and Moldova, as few as 24% and 27% respectively know the personal income tax rate in their countries. More than half of Ukrainian and Moldovan respondents (57% and 55% respectively) were not able to answer this question at all, while others picked the wrong answers.

MEDIA LITERACY AND CENSORSHIP. The last indicator of civic literacy and competency is the media literacy of the public. Given the growing amount of diverse and controversial information from various sources, information searching, analysis and critical reflection are becoming critical skills.

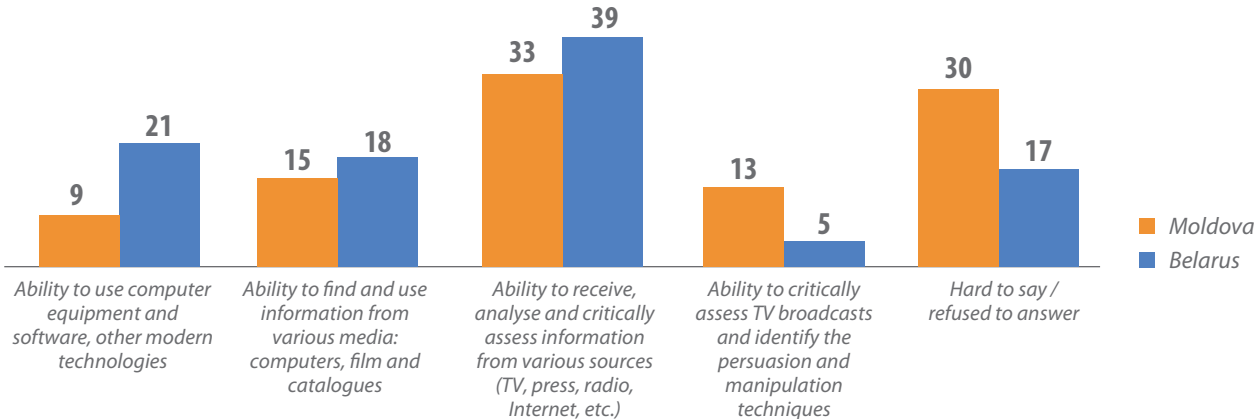
The findings of survey prove that the very notion 'media literacy' is not commonly held. Only 33% of Moldovans picked the correct answer: "it is the skill of obtaining, analysing and critically evaluating the information from various

sources (TV, press, radio, Internet, etc.)". Another 15% believe that media literacy refers to the skill of searching and using information on various media, and 13% limit it only to TV: "it is the skill of critically analysing TV broadcasts and identifying the persuasion and manipulation techniques". 9% of Moldovans tend to attribute media literacy to using IT, and 30% were not able to provide any answer.

In Belarus, somewhat more respondents, 39%, picked the correct answer. At the same time, one in five respondents (21%) believes that media literacy is only about using IT, nearly the same share of Belarusians who stated that it refers to the skill of searching and using information on various media. 5% of respondents limit it to TV, and 17% selected no answer.

In Ukraine, this question was not asked. At the same time, the findings of another survey representative of the adult population [1] demonstrate that 34% need extra knowledge to counter the influence of media, and 45% want to know more about the media's influence on children. Thus, Ukrainian society has a demand for improved media literacy.

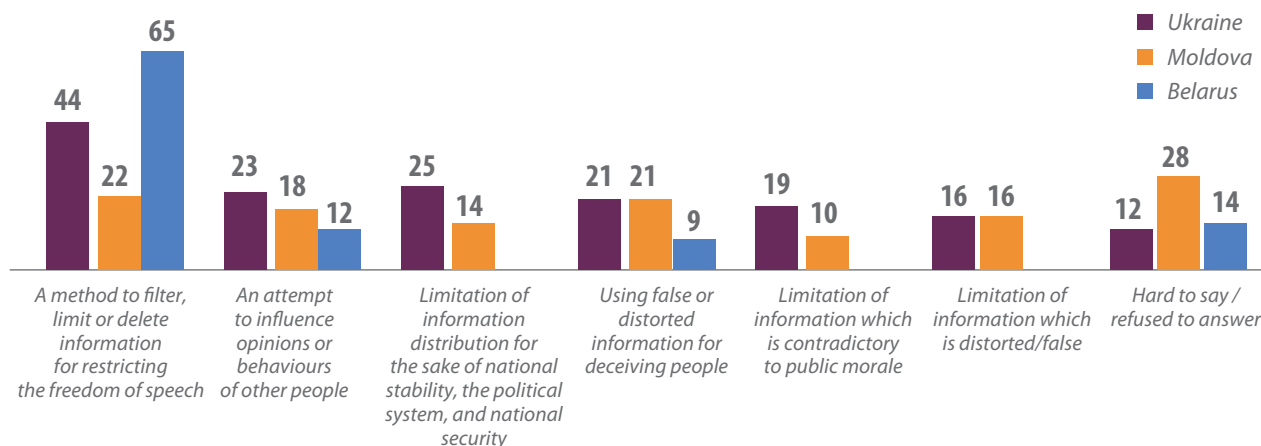
Diagram 1.11. **Knowing what media literacy is** (% of all respondents in Moldova and Belarus)



Many people also have problems understanding another concept associated with information: 'censorship.'

In Belarus, the respondents were asked to pick only one of three definitions, and 65% claimed that censorship is a method to filter, limit or delete information for restricting freedom of speech. 12% other respondents said that it is about influencing the opinions of the others, and 9% – that it has to do with deceiving people through false or distorted information. 14% were not able to select any option.

For respondents in Ukraine and Moldova, the question was a bit more complicated – they could choose several options out of six. 12% of Ukrainians and 28% of Moldovans were not able to select any.

Diagram 1.12. *Knowing what censorship is* (% of all respondents in each country)

Most respondents in both countries considered that the censorship is a method to filter, limit or delete information for restricting the freedom of speech (44% in Ukraine, 22% in Moldova); an attempt to influence opinions or behaviours of people (23% in Ukraine, 18% in Moldova); or using false or distorted information for deceiving people (21% in both countries). Nevertheless, many respondents also believe that the censorship is about limiting information distribution for the sake of national stability, the political system, and national security; or limitation of information which is contradictory to public morale or distorted/false.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS. OIn Belarus, knowledge of international organisations was tested by asking respondents about the core functions of certain international organisations or unions; in Ukraine and Moldova, the prevalence of correct and incorrect beliefs about the association with the European Union was checked.

The majority of Ukrainians and Moldovans tend to support popular but incorrect stereotypes about the implications of the EU Association Agreement for their countries. In particular, only 19% of respondents in Ukraine know that implementing the IMF requirements for natural gas prices, currency exchange rates and fiscal balance was not requested to sign the Agreement, while 56% believe it was a pre-condition to sign it, and others were not able to provide an answer. In addition, every third Ukrainian understands that the Association Agreement is not about visa-free travel, while half of respondents believe the visa-free regime to be a part of the Agreement. Another prevalent opinion is that unlimited flows of European goods will begin flowing into the Ukrainian/Moldovan market. Only 26% of Ukrainians and 29% of Moldovans consider this statement wrong, probably because they know that the markets will open gradually; while 48% and 57% respectively share the opposite opinion. 30% of Moldovans are not afraid that the Agreement will harm local producers which might not withstand competition from European goods, while the majority (56%)

are certain that the Agreement will have a negative impact in this regard. Moreover, 39% of Ukrainians and 34% of Moldovans understand that the Agreement does not require breaking trade relations with Russia, while 28% and 50% respectively believe that their countries have to choose only one partner. Finally, the only correct answer that was supported by the majority of respondents – 61% of Ukrainians and 65% of Moldovans – is that the Agreement requires local producers to replace their current standards with EU standards.

Table 1.3. Prevalence of correct opinions about the contents of the EU Association Agreement with Ukraine/Moldova (% of correct answers)

	Ukraine	Moldova
The Agreement requires local producers to replace their current standards with EU standards – YES	61	65
The Agreement entails a trade ban with Russia – NO	39	34
The Agreement sets forth visa-free travel for citizens – NO	31	-
The Agreement harms local producers that will not withstand competition with European goods – NO	-	30
All European producers will have immediate and unhindered access to the national market after the Agreement is signed – NO	26	29
Implementing the IMF requirements on price of natural gas, currency exchange rate and fiscal balance in Ukraine was a pre-condition to sign the Agreement – NO	19	-

Nearly half of Belarusian respondents were able to correctly pick the statements that best describe the core functions of the European Union, NATO, the Customs Union, and Commonwealth of Independent States. 52% of them answered correctly about the EU, 61% on NATO, 54% on the CU, and 47% on the CIS. Identifying the function of the Collective Security Treaty Organisation was somewhat more problematic: only 30% of Belarusians knew it.

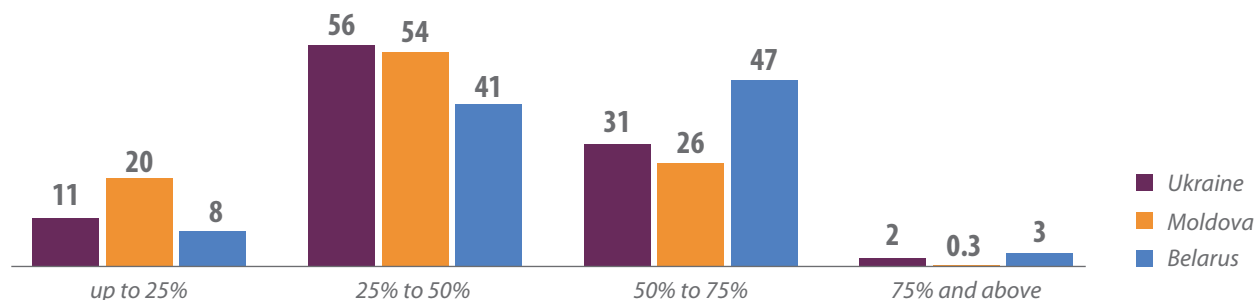
Table 1.4. Knowledge of international organisations and unions in Belarus (% of correct answers)

	Belarus
European Union (EU) – economic and political association of European countries	52
NATO — military union of Europe and North America	61
Customs Union of Belarus, Russia, and Kazakhstan – customs/economic union of Eurasian countries	54
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) – political union of ex-Soviet countries	47
Collective Security Treaty Organisation – military union of ex-Soviet countries	30

Moldovans and Ukrainians tend to believe EU membership to be a driver of positive changes in their countries (31% in Ukraine, 40% in Moldova). Other drivers popular among Ukrainians are NATO (18%), the European Court of Human Rights (15%), United Nations (14%), Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (11%), Council of Europe (9%), International Criminal Court (9%), and the Commonwealth of Independent States (7%). In Moldova, the priorities are somewhat different: EU membership is followed by the CIS (19%), Council of Europe (18%), European Court of Human Rights (17%), United Nations (12%), NATO (9%), OSCE (8%), and International Criminal Court (5%). Apparently, this discrepancy is due to the hostilities in Ukraine and different political agendas in the two countries. At the same time, 27% of Ukrainians and 26% of Moldovans do not believe that any international organisation will improve the situation in their country.

To summarize the general level of civic literacy in each country, Cumulative indicators were introduced. These are based on the questions that had an explicit correct answer, i.e. those on the budget, taxation, international organisations, representatives in the authorities, state structure, procedure for organising peaceful assemblies, symbols and administrative structure of the country. If a respondent was able to mention at least one right/duty of a citizen, this was also considered a correct answer. The cumulative score also included two questions on self-reported awareness of the state budget, but excluded questions on media literacy and censorship, as they do not have a single correct answer. For Ukraine, the cumulative maximum obtainable score is 24, for Moldova 20, and for Belarus 19. All questions were assigned equal weight.

Diagram 1.13. **Breakdown of respondents by civic literacy index** (% of all respondents in each country)



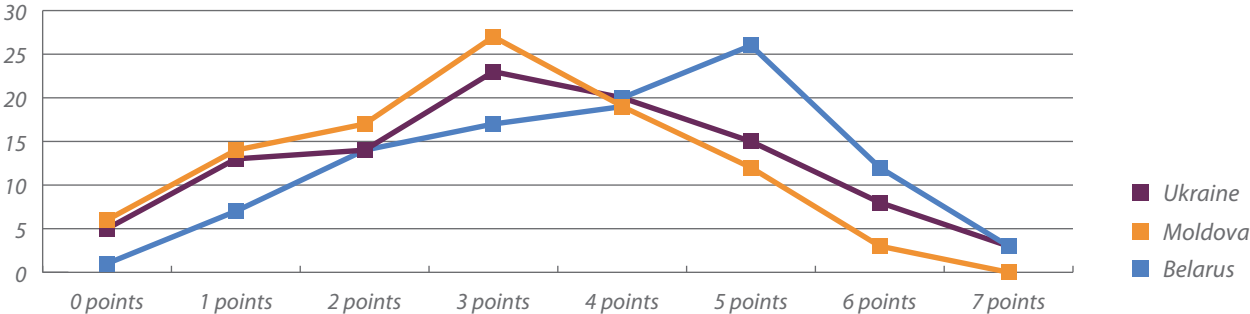
The top score in Ukraine was 21 of 24. A total of 11% of Ukrainians scored 6 or better (one quarter of correct answers), 56% scored from 7 to 12 (up to half of correct answers), 31% from 13 to 18 (from half to three-fourths), and only 2% scored more than 18.

In Moldova, the top score was 16 of 20. A total of 20% of respondents scored up to 5 (one-quarter of correct answers), 54% scored from 6 to 10 (up to one-half), 26% got from 11 to 15 (half to three-fourths), and less than 1% scored 16 or more.

In Belarus, the top score was 18 of 19. As low as 8% of respondents scored up to 5 (one quarter of correct answers), 41% scored from 6 to 10 (up to one-half), 47% scored from 11 to 15 (from half to three-fourths), and 3% scored 16 or more.

One may get the impression that the Belarusians are more civic savvy than Ukrainians or Moldovans. However, it should be noted that the index for Belarus was based on relatively simple questions, which enabled the respondents to perform better. At the same time, it may be concluded that Ukrainians have somewhat better civic knowledge than Moldovans, while the questionnaire complexity in both countries was near identical.

Diagram 1.14. Breakdown of respondents by civic literacy index to compare the three countries
(% of all respondents in each country)



To enable comparisons between the three countries, we created another cumulative index based on the questions that were the same in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus. This includes only seven questions: on civil rights, duties, self-reported knowledge of state budget and taxation, knowledge of personal income tax rate, source of power and sovereignty and instrument that establishes the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens.

The average index value in Ukraine is 3.3 of 7, in Moldova 2.9 of 7, and in Belarus 3.9 of 7.

This comparison proves that the **civic literacy rate in Belarus is the highest, Ukraine ranks second, and Moldova ranks third.**

DYNAMICS

Research data for evaluating the dynamics of civic literacy in Ukraine is scarce, and the trends are inconsistent. For example, according to certain research, in 2015-2016 the majority of Ukrainians claimed to have read some or all of the Constitution of Ukraine, compared to 2011 [2, 3, 4]. According to the survey carried out by R&B in 2011, 80% of Ukrainians never read or looked through the Constitution, while in December 2015 this share dropped to 50% (according to the KIIS and Democratic Initiatives Foundation). This trend was confirmed in a survey conducted by GfK Ukraine in April 2016 in which 53% of respondents claimed never to have read the Constitution or were unable to answer. The share of those who had read it grew from 18% to 45-47% in several years. This is a significant jump, even taking into account that the residents of Crimea and parts of Donbas were not covered in the latest surveys.

However, comparison of answers in this and earlier surveys does not show the increased civic literacy rate which might be expected due to higher interest to the Constitution. For example, according to the KIIS and Democratic Initiatives Foundation survey [4] in 2014, 57% of respondents considered that the source of power and sovereignty was the people, while 26% identified this as the President. In 2015, these were 50% and 29% respectively. As stated above, in 2016 these shares were almost equal: 41% and 40% respectively. Compared to 2016, in 2014 more respondents reported knowing their representatives in the elected authorities. In 2014, the Democratic Initiatives Foundation and the Razumkov Centre [5] asked the respondents after the parliamentary elections whether they knew who was elected in their electoral district. 52% answered affirmatively. In 2016, only 24% knew the name of the MP or were able to identify him/her by sight. This may indicate that after the elections, the constituents no longer cared about the activities of the MPs, while the latter devote insufficient effort to establishing contacts with their constituents. In 2014, less than 1% contacted their MP, and 20% claimed to know how to do this. The others were not aware of how to contact their MP.

In sum, there are **significant gaps in the knowledge of the state structure, regulatory framework, and citizens' rights and duties among Ukrainians, Moldovans and Belarusians**. The hardest questions for Ukrainians concern knowing their representatives in the elected authorities and personal income taxation. Awareness of the main provisions of the Constitution, the procedure for organising a peaceful assembly, and the contents of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement is far from perfect. The same questions (except knowing the elected representatives, which was not asked) are difficult for Moldovans as well. In addition, Moldovan residents demonstrate poor understanding of the separation of powers among the three branches, and their media literacy rate is quite low. In Belarus, the citizens rarely know their elected representatives. Many respondents do not know the official name of the legislative body and what is the source of power and sovereignty. In all three countries, numerous respondents find it hard to answer other questions as well.

These gaps are emphasized by the NGO representatives when discussing the knowledge that current citizens lack. The experts believe that contemporary citizens should have critical skills and competencies such as social activism, understanding what the government and citizens should do, respecting the language, culture and history, horizontal relations, a basic knowledge of the government's functioning, responsibility, political memory (responsibility for electing a certain MP), tolerance, digital literacy, critical thinking, constructive criticism of the government, media literacy (an ability to filter information), and the motivation and skill to assume responsibility for current processes.

“A person should know human rights, but also the laws of his/her country, at least at the basic level. This will help to feel like they are protected, and safe. On the one hand, knowing your rights can give you this security. Because when you know your rights and don't violate the rights of others, you feel safe. This is a kind of a baseline”.

(Experts, Kherson, Ukraine)

SEGMENTATION OF POPULATION BY CIVIC LITERACY RATE

Based on the cumulative index of civic literacy, the respondents in each country were divided into three clusters. The first cluster features the lowest civic literacy rate, the second an average rate, and the third the highest rate.

In Ukraine, the first cluster comprised the respondents whose score was 9 or lower (25% of respondents), the second cluster from 10 to 17 (69%), and the third cluster 17 or more (6%). In Moldova, the first cluster consisted of those who scored up to 6 (32% of respondents), the second up to 12 (57%), and the third 13 or more (11%). In Belarus, the same segmentation was used as in Moldova, with 14% of respondents in the first cluster, 57% in the second, and 29% in the third.

For the sake of convenience, the three clusters will be marked as A, B, and C respectively.

UKRAINE

The higher the civic literacy rate of the cluster, the greater the share of men there. However, this difference is due to the age factor: women are predominant in older segments and the elderly tend to be less knowledgeable. The level of education strongly correlates with the civic literacy rate: in cluster A, only 20% have completed higher education; while in cluster C, more than half have. The share of pensioners decreases from cluster A to cluster C; while the share of managers, specialists and officials grows. The income rate also changes accordingly.

A higher civic literacy rate among Ukrainians correlates with a higher commitment to participate in public life and experience in such participation, and also with one's confidence in their ability to influence life in their city or village, their own life, and the government. More savvy respondents more often take part in elections, peaceful rallies, protests and other methods of influencing the government. They also tend to interpret international developments as more important to them. Meanwhile, less savvy respondents know less about international events or consider them not important to their lives. Respondents from cluster B are basically more active and optimistic than cluster A; while cluster C scores higher than both of them.

Respondents from cluster C most frequently identify themselves as citizens of Ukraine (rather than regional identity) and are proud of their national identity. They have more tolerant attitudes to minorities, especially ethnic minorities, HIV-positive and LGBT people (although the share of respondents in cluster C who do not tolerate the latter two minorities is also high). Remarkably, all the clusters almost equally consider equal rights for everyone as a priority. When it comes to personal values, the importance of values such as adherence to the law, human rights, personal freedom and tolerance is the highest in cluster C and the lowest in cluster A, while the value of social justice is more important to the latter than the former. However, all clusters equally value initiative and entrepreneurship, religious commitment, order and security.

In terms of political values, people with a higher civic literacy rate tend to support active participation by citizens, free competition, protection of the environment and respect for the right of citizens to protect themselves with weapons.

MOLDOVA

Cluster C has a larger share of men, while cluster A has more people aged 60 or greater. A higher level of education and income correlates with higher civic literacy. From the least to the most knowledgeable clusters, the share of pensioners, housekeepers, and the unemployed decreases, while the share of managers, specialists and officials, workers and sales clerks, entrepreneurs, and other economically active people rises.

With regard to the civic participation of the respondents from different clusters, the trends are somewhat different from Ukraine. Cluster C demonstrates more commitment to take part in various events in their place of residence, including a protest against toxic industrial construction or land improvement, and also takes a more active part in the life of their community and votes in elections. On the other hand, cluster B demonstrates more commitment to organise events, take a more active part in the life of their community, rallies and protests through the Internet, and is more optimistic about their ability to influence the government. Cluster A, although less active in terms of participation, is more optimistic about their ability to influence life in their community or the country.

Respondents from Cluster C tend to identify themselves as Moldovan nationals rather than residents of their regions, but feel less proud of their national identity than other clusters. As in Ukraine, they tend to interpret international developments as more important to them. They are also somewhat more tolerant to minorities, except for sexual minorities. When it comes to personal values, they prioritise adherence to the law, social justice, and especially order and security, more than other clusters.

The size of the clusters is not large enough to discern any statistically significant differences with regard to political values.

BELARUS

In Belarus, the clusters differ very little in terms of gender, and people aged 60+ are equally represented in clusters A and B, while there are fewer of them in cluster C. From the least to the most knowledgeable clusters, the share of people with higher education and high income, as well as employees with high levels of professional qualification, increases, while the share of manual workers drops.

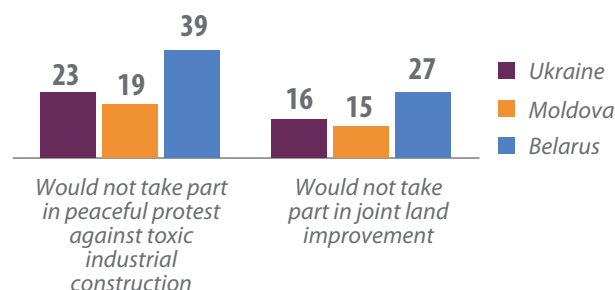
Almost no difference is seen in the commitment to organise civic activities in communities – it is extremely low in all the clusters. When it comes to civic participation, cluster A is more passive than the others. Surprisingly, this cluster has the largest share of respondents (among all clusters) who consider themselves able to influence life in their community or country, although this number is small in all clusters. At the same time, cluster A also has the smallest share of respondents who consider themselves unable to influence their own life and well-being. In cluster C this share is much higher.

No significant difference is observed in the attitudes to national identity. However, attitudes to international events differ. Cluster C tends to consider them important, cluster B feels they are not important, and cluster A is not aware of them. More educated people are usually more tolerant to minorities. In terms of political values, cluster C tends to prioritise the protection of environment, while cluster A prefers economic growth. Clusters B and C support free competition rather than state regulation of economy.

CIVIC ACTIVISM AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Community participation and taking part in joint events with neighbours to solve common problems is an important component of civic behaviour in a democratic society. To evaluate the self-reported commitment to join collective action aimed at improving the physical environment in the community, the respondents were offered two scenarios. In the first scenario, a toxic industrial construction project was about to start in the respondent's community. In the second, it was necessary to perform land improvement around his/her house.

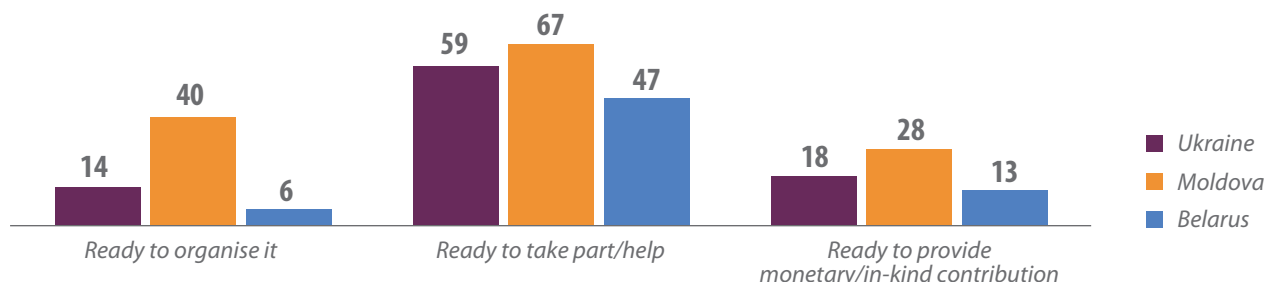
Diagram 2.1. Share of respondents who would not take part in peaceful protest against toxic industrial development or joint land improvement
(% of all respondents in each country)



The rate of readiness to join a protest against a toxic industrial development was the lowest in Belarus, where 39% would not take part. This share in Ukraine is 23%, and in Moldova 19%. The highest rate of commitment to organise such a protest is in Moldova at 38%, while in Ukraine and Belarus it is as low as 11% and 45% respectively. Half of the respondents in Ukraine and Moldova, and only 35% of Belarusians, report their commitment to join a protest.

The commitment to take part in land improvement is similar – 27% of Belarusians, 16% of Ukrainians and 15% of Moldovans would not do so. 40% of Moldovans, 14% of Ukrainians and 6% of Belarusians would be prepared to organise such an activity. 28% of Moldovans, 18% of Ukrainians and 13% of Belarusians would provide monetary or in-kind support, while 67% of Moldovans, 59% of Ukrainians and 47% of Belarusians would take part.

Diagram 2.2. Readiness to take part in joint land improvement in various ways
(% of respondents in each country)



It is worth mentioning that Moldovans and Ukrainians were allowed to select several answers, while Belarusians only one. It explains the lower commitment of Belarusians to any form of participation. At the same time, the shares of those who would not join are eligible for comparison.

Although 38% of Moldovans claimed not to take any part in their community life, the community participation rate (at the level of district, street or building) in Moldova is much higher than in Ukraine. In particular, 39% of Moldovans would take part in land improvement, 33% would engage in joint activities with their neighbours, 28% in meetings of house owners/residents, and 7% would themselves organise such activities.

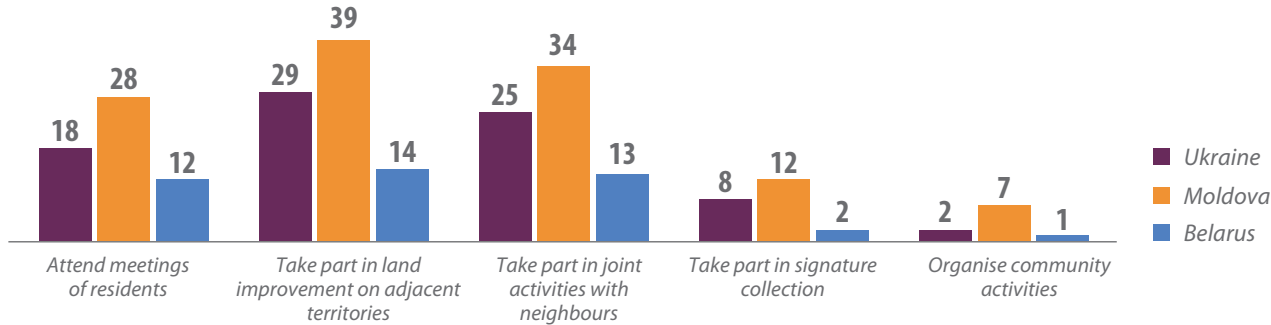
In Ukraine, 37% of respondents do not participate in community life. 29% would take part in land improvement, 25% in joint activities with their neighbours, 18% in meetings of house owners/residents, and 8% in signature collection. As few as 2% would themselves organise such activities.

Activities such as initiating e-petitions on important local development matters, organising public hearings or meetings of residents, initiating collective claims to the authorities are rarely reported in both countries.

In Belarus, the respondents were only allowed to select one answer which best describes their community participation. 46% of them do not participate at all. 14% would take part in land improvement, 13% in joint activities with their neighbours, and 12% in meetings of house owners/residents. Almost no respondents would collect signatures or organise such activities.

The main reason for non-participation in all three countries is the lack of time, followed by lack of interest.

Diagram 2.3. **Experience of community participation in various ways** (% of respondents in each country)



In Moldova, the share of respondents who have volunteered at least once in their lives is much higher than in Belarus (44% to 19%). 25% of Moldovans and only 4% of Belarusians regularly engage in volunteering.

In Ukraine, this data was collected in other surveys. For example, a survey carried out by the GfK in the late 2014 demonstrated that 23% of Ukrainians had volunteer experience, while 15% were engaged in volunteering at the time of survey [10]. The other survey conducted by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation in 2015 showed that 13% of Ukrainians devoted time to volunteering [7].

In the focus groups, the citizens reported having participated in civic actions and initiatives aimed at protecting the rights of entrepreneurs and small businesses (to counter destruction of street kiosks). Almost all participants in the focus group of active citizens in Dnipro (Ukraine) protested against renaming their city. This activity was considered very important and in the public interest, but was unsuccessful. The most popular are spring activities to clean up streets gardens (organised by the residents themselves or by members of local councils), initiatives to solve community problems (clearing rain drains, repairing lighting, reconstruction of public transportation stops, repair of water supply, installation of entry phones, repair of hallways, painting benches in the yard, etc.). The majority of 'active' respondents in Moldova and Ukraine contributed to such activities.

'Moderately active' and 'passive' citizens mostly mentioned the festivities organised by the members of local councils, Museum Day, events in Gorkiy Park (Kharkiv), picnics, concerts, football matches, Holodomor Remembrance Day, raising money for the ATO and cleaning up parks.

In Chisinau, the residents are ready to solve minor community problems on their own, but not major problems. If a problem is complex, Moldovans are ready to petition the appropriate authorities and wait for their answer, even if it takes a lot of time. Almost all respondents in Moldova would take part in a rally concerning embezzlement of public funds, but only as long as it was apolitical. They consider politics a corrupt area and do not want take part in political rallies.

"As far as a certain rally is concerned, the political aspect matters. Some rallies are politically motivated. Others are devoted to problems directly relevant to the citizens".

(Citizens, Chisinau, Moldova)

When offered a scenario of a toxic industrial construction project next to their homes, both 'active' and 'passive' citizens are ready to do something: to petition the appropriate environmental organisations, the prosecutor's office, local council, or invite TV journalists. All these activities would be effective if done simultaneously. But the respondents doubt that they can make a difference without the political will to stop the construction.

"First, there are legitimate ways like approaching the authorities. But if nothing happens, in a day or two you start inviting TV, media. Even in my case... I just film everything and publish it on the Internet. It does make a difference".

(Citizens, Dnipro, Ukraine)

‘Passive’ Ukrainians have almost no confidence that such activities would make a difference and consider them useless.

When it comes to land improvement around their house, the respondents are basically ready to participate, but they believe this to be the responsibility of housing maintenance offices and associations of co-owners of multi-apartment buildings (‘OSBBs’). Thus the citizens should monitor their activities rather than do the work. If necessary, both Ukrainians and Moldovans are ready to assist the community service providers in cleaning up the area near their houses, but the materials should be provided by the authorities.

In general, ‘active’ and ‘moderately active’ citizens are ready to submit a claim, talk to the yard keeper, or raise money for a new bench, while the ‘passive’ ones believe it is the job of the community service providers.

The problem of poor public transportation concerns the majority of respondents, but they are not ready to seek solutions. They understand that it could take a lot of effort (compared to cleaning up the area around their house), which they are reluctant to invest. All they can do is to report a problem to a council member or transport company. Many respondents confessed that they just ‘curse and suffer’.

“I’m not ready to do anything, because I know it’s useless. You will spend your time and effort, and get nothing. It’s not interesting like this. If I knew that it would make a difference, I would probably try”.

(Citizens, Lviv, Ukraine)

The focus group participants in Belarus demonstrate higher commitment to take part in the initiatives that concern their immediate environment (cleaning up, land improvement around their house). The more immediate the issue, the higher the commitment. The proximity of a problem and personal engagement are additional drivers of community participation.

During the expert discussions, the NGO representatives commended the relatively high level of civic activism in all the countries, but also recommended interpreting these data as somewhat overestimated, indicating what is ‘socially desirable.’ According to experts, the citizens tend to exert as little effort as possible in performing simple civic duties for civic activism. In Ukraine, experts attribute the rise of civic activism to the Maidan developments in 2013-2014 and the hostilities in the east.

“This is a kind of wishful thinking, to a large degree. I see it even in my house – they just throw the garbage in the garbage bin and consider this to be participation in land improvement”.

(Experts, Kyiv, Ukraine)

“I would say that it proves the potential readiness. When asked a hypothetical question, people claim to be ready for lots of things. But when they are asked to come, say, tomorrow at 8 p.m., it turns out that a lot of them are at the office, at the gym, having dinner, resting, etc. That’s more important”.

(Experts, Kyiv, Ukraine)

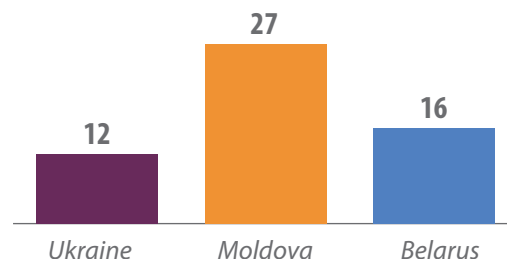
Some barriers to community participation noted by experts are laziness and lack of interest, distrust in collective action, lack of confidence, disappointment in the results of protests (protests in Moldova in April 2016) and loss of confidence that citizens can make a difference. In addition, experts say, there are two more fundamental reasons for the low level of civic activism. Firstly, there are no leaders who assume responsibility, and many citizens must satisfy their basic survival needs before proceeding to the higher-level needs. Secondly, paternalistic attitudes are strong.

“This is the fear that was inoculated for 70 years. And the next 25 years. Ukraine had no real independence; it started only two years ago. This is about ‘don’t stick your head out!’ Everyone who was something more than average got into trouble, so now everybody is similar. Don’t stick your head out! Based on this stereotype, people developed an attitude of “I’m not the one who needs it most”. This is the first barrier. The second barrier – also from the Soviet times when everyone was literally destroyed – is lack of confidence. Lack of confidence that anything can be changed, that justice can be sought in this society, in this country. Both these barriers are based on attitudes that were hammered into our heads”.

(Experts, Kherson, Ukraine)

Furthermore, people in the three countries tend to be suspicious and distrustful towards the activities of civic initiatives and NGOs, as they are often accused of being paid or linked to politicians. NGOs are mostly thought of as entities that raise and abuse grant funds. The citizens do not adequately understand the actual functions of NGOs and believe only idlers can work there. Volunteers, however, are held in higher esteem, but people do not understand that the NGOs are also engaged in volunteering and perform some functions of the government.

Diagram 2.4. Experience of participation in international /regional/global activities and events
(% of respondents in each country)



“The people have an imperfect understanding of the role and functions of civil society. A civic activist is sometimes considered a ‘loser’ who could find a decent occupation”.

(Experts, Kyiv, Ukraine)

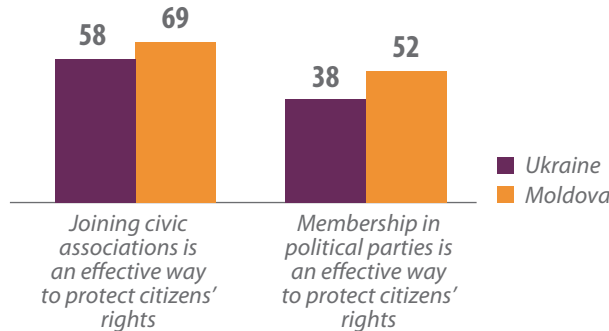
Such an incomplete understanding of NGO activities may be due to their lack of communication with people. Moreover, citizens of Moldova demonstrate a higher level of involvement in international, regional, and global actions (27%) than Ukrainians (12%) and Belarusians (16%).

It is worth noting that, although the rate of real civic activism in the three countries differs, the self-reported rate of civic activism is not that different. A total of 65% of respondents in each country said they do not consider themselves active citizens, while 27% of Ukrainians, 33% of Moldovans and 21% of Belarusians answered that they are.

Table 2.1. *The most often mentioned problems that would incite Ukrainians and Moldovans to take part in civic activities and search for solutions* (% of all respondents)

TOP 5 PROBLEMS			
Ukraine		Moldova	
Problem	%	Problem	%
Price hikes, increased utility rates, income decrease	51	Human rights violations	42
Human rights violations	28	Healthcare problems	42
Environmental problems	27	Environmental problems	38
Healthcare problems	24	Education problems	33
Housing problems	15	Price hikes, increased utility rates, income decrease	29
Hard to say / refuse to answer	26	Hard to say / refuse to answer	20

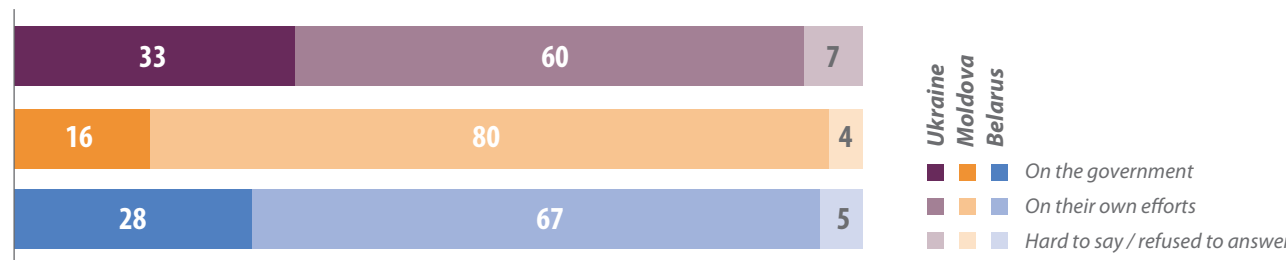
Diagram 2.5.1. *Share of respondents who consider joining a civic association or membership in political parties an effective way to protect citizens' rights* (% of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



The top 5 problems that would incite Ukrainians to take part in civic activities and search for solutions are price hikes, increased utility rates, decrease in income (51%), violation of human rights (28%), environmental problems (27%), healthcare problems (24%) and housing problems (15%). Some 25% of respondents selected no answer.

For Moldovans, the top 5 problems are violation of human rights (42%), healthcare problems (42%), environmental problems (38%), education problems (33%), and price hikes, increased utility rates and decreased income (29%). In Belarus, this question was not asked.

Diagram 2.5.2. **Opinion of the citizens on whom their employment depends the most**
(% of respondents in each country)



Moldovans are more confident that civic associations, NGOs and membership in political parties are effective ways to protect human rights and interests, as compared to Ukrainians. A total of 69% of Moldovans consider civic associations and NGOs more effective, while 52% would choose membership in political parties. In Ukraine, these are 58% and 38% respectively.

Most respondents in the three countries believe that their well-being, health, employment, their own education and that of their children depends on them rather than the government. However, a significant difference is observed in this regard – 28% of Belarusians and 33% of Ukrainians said that their employment fully or partially depended on the government, while this answer was picked by only 16% of Moldovans.

Diagram 2.6. **Share of citizens who consider that they can fully or considerably influence life in their community or country**
(% respondents in each country)

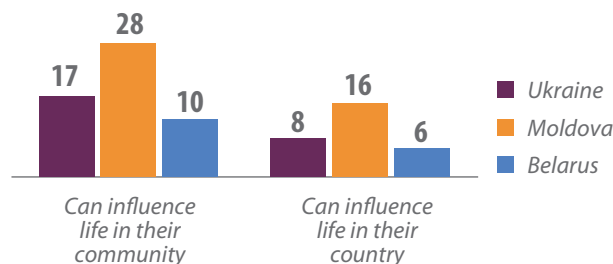
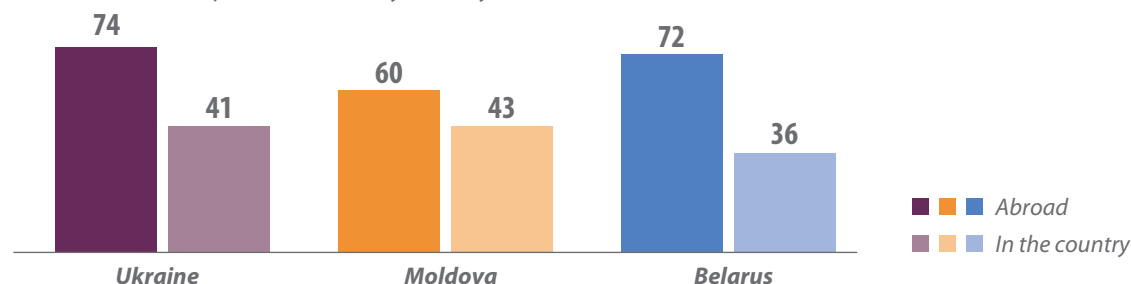


Diagram 2.7. **Share of residents who consider that their everyday behaviour can't influence life in the country and abroad** (% respondents in every country)



Most respondents in Belarus and Ukraine consider themselves unable to influence life in their community or country. 49% of Ukrainians do not feel able to exert any influence on life in their city or village, and another 31% believe their influence could only be minor. 69% are pessimistic about influencing the life of the country, and 17% consider this possibility insignificant. In Belarus, 48% of respondents do not believe they are able to exert any influence on life in their city or village, and 39% think this possibility is only minor. When it comes to the life of the country, the rates are 65% and 22% respectively. Moldovans are less pessimistic about this – only 27% feel unable to influence life in their city or village, and 43% consider this ability minor. At a country level, the figures in Moldova are 44% and 37% respectively.

At the same time, 28% of Moldovans are confident about their ability to fully or significantly influence life in their community (17% in Ukraine, 10% in Belarus), and 16% feel this way about their country (8% in Ukraine, 6% in Belarus). Some 40% of respondents in each country believe that their personal actions and decisions do not affect anything in the country because only the government matters. Approximately 33% in each country said that their actions and decisions affected their and their family's living standards. 60% of Moldovans, 74% of Ukrainians and 72% of Belarusians are sure that their everyday activities cannot influence what happens abroad. Thus Moldovans are more confident that their activities matter regionally and globally (compared to Ukrainians and Belarusians).

Diagram 2.8. Ability to influence the authorities in various ways and relevant experience over the last two years in Ukraine
(% of respondents in Ukraine)

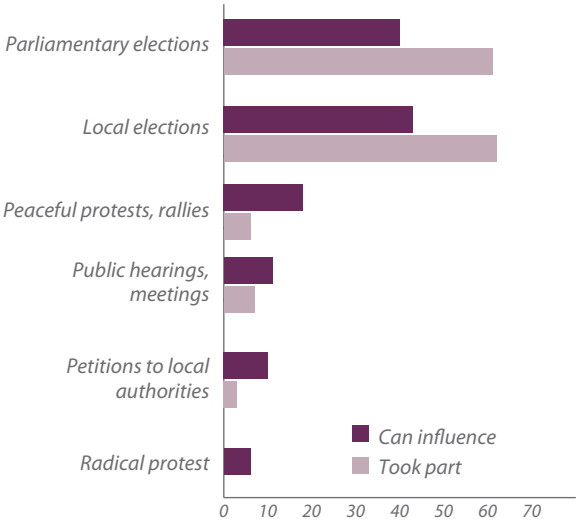
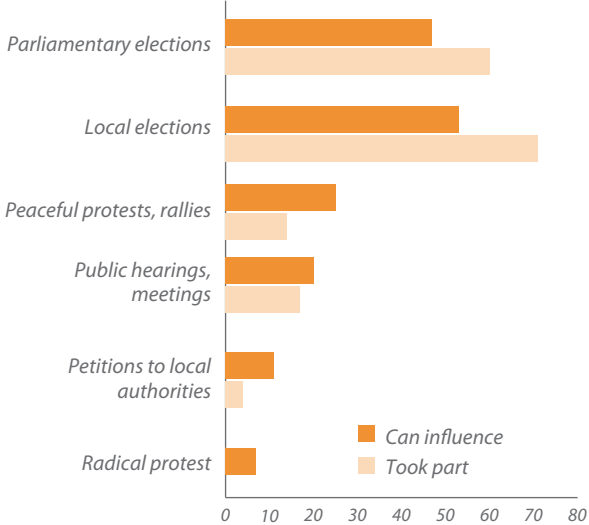


Diagram 2.9. Ability to influence the authorities in various ways and relevant experience over the last two years in Moldova
(% of respondents in Moldova)



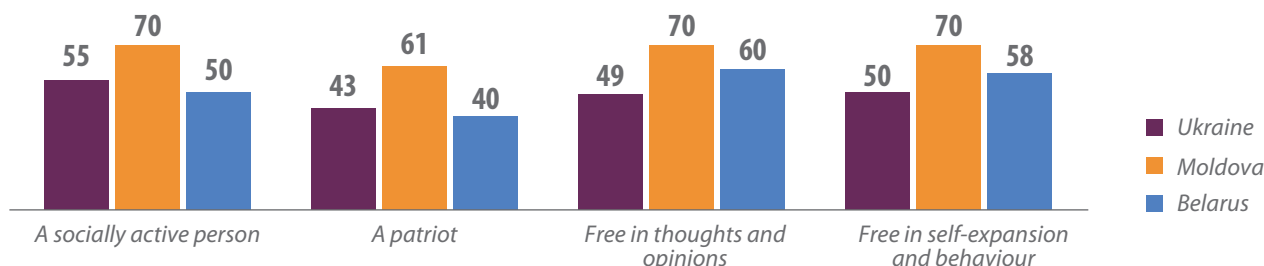
Moldovans are somewhat more confident than Ukrainians that voting in elections, taking part in rallies and public hearings, making requests to the authorities and signing petitions can influence the activities and decisions of the authorities (67% of Moldovans vs. 56% of Ukrainians). Only 17% of Moldovans reported not having participated in any of these activities, while the corresponding share of Ukrainians is 26%.

The share of both Moldovans and Ukrainians who consider peaceful and radical rallies and protests, public meetings and hearing, requests to local authorities and petitions efficient, is higher than the share of those who took part in such events during the past two years. Conversely, more people vote at the elections than consider them efficient. Anyway, Moldovans and Ukrainians consider elections the most efficient tool to influence the authorities.

Although Moldovans demonstrate higher civic activism, this is contrary rather than thanks to the environment.

More respondents in Moldova (70%) than in Ukraine and Belarus believe it is hard to be a civic activist, a patriot, and have free thoughts, opinions and self-expression in their country. Most Ukrainians and Belarusians also noted such difficulties in their countries. When it comes to 'being a patriot', the share of Ukrainians who consider it hard and easy is the same – 43% each. In Belarus, 50% find this easy and 40% consider it hard.

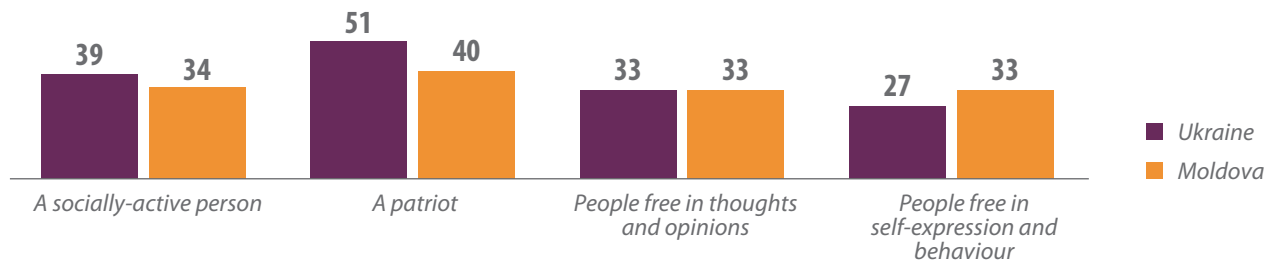
*Diagram 2.10. Share of respondents who believe that in their country, it's hard to be...
(% respondents in each country)*



39% of Ukrainians and 34% of Moldovans believe their societies to have positive attitudes towards civic activists. 51% of Ukrainians and 40% of Moldovans also believe that their societies appreciate patriots. 33% of respondents in both countries note positive attitudes towards people who have free thoughts and opinions. 27% of Ukrainians and 33% of Moldovans believe their societies treat people well who behave and act freely. At the same time, more Moldovans consider that their society has a negative attitude towards to any of these types of people.

In Ukraine and Moldova, the share of respondents who do not use the Internet to learn the news about the relevant economic, social, and political developments is higher than in Belarus – 48% in Ukraine, 42% in Moldova and only 23%

Diagram 2.11. **Share of respondents who believe that their fellow citizens have positive attitudes to...**
(% of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



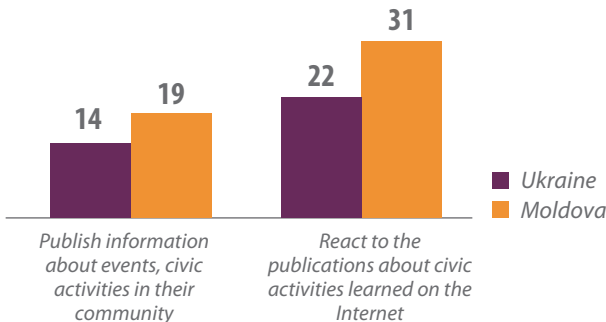
in Belarus. However, 41% of Belarusians, 32% of Moldovans and 32% of Ukrainians use the Internet every day or every other day to learn such news.

A total of 60% of Ukrainians and 60% of Moldovans do not follow developments in their city or village on the Internet, while some 33% read local news reports on websites.

Less than 20% of respondents in both countries publish announcements about public events and developments in their communities on their own. Meanwhile 31% of Moldovans and 22% of Ukrainians are receptive to local activities or public events that they learned about on the Internet.

When offered this scenario: "Imagine that your friend called you to tell about the release of toxic substances at an enterprise in your area. What would you do?", the majority of Ukrainians (37%) said they would try to promptly inform their friends and family, while only 8% said they would do nothing. At the same time, 26% of Moldovans claimed they would try to find confirmation through other sources, 24% would talk to their family, and 17% (twice as many as in Ukraine) would do nothing. When offered a similar scenario about a swine flu outbreak, most Belarusians reported they would try to find confirmation from other sources (44%) or talk to their family (28%).

Diagram 2.12. **Share of citizens who take part in the life of their community on the Internet**
(% respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



DYNAMICS

Numerous surveys directly or indirectly cover civic activism in Ukraine. However, not all of them are useful for understanding the dynamics, since they use different questions. Summing up the available data, after the Maidan protests in Ukraine in 2013-2014, an increase was seen in self-declared readiness for and interest in civic participation. However, this process later seemed to begin reversing. The real civic activism rate showed a very modest improvement, except for monetary and in-kind donations.

According to the KIIS and Democratic Initiatives Foundation survey [7] in 2015, the past two years saw an increased readiness among the people to unite into civic associations (50% of Ukrainians), take part in politics (43%), support mass protests or rallies (56%), allocate time for doing public good without remuneration (57%), and support civic activities financially (60%). However, fewer respondents showed an increased personal readiness for various forms of civic activism. During the past two years, only 33% became more likely to protect their rights, freedoms and dignity, 41% became more ready to donate money for public good, 20% to take part in rallies, 16% to monitor the activities of public authorities, and 13% to focus on civic activities in general. At the same time, 19% of respondents showed decreased readiness to take part in politics, while only 12% showed an increase. The survey also emphasizes that the share of the population engaged in volunteering rose modestly (from 10% to 13%), but people started allocating more time to volunteering (in the earlier study, only 6% were allocating several hours per week, and in 2015 this share reached 28%). In addition, the number of Ukrainians who donate money to charity increased from 23% in 2012, to 41% in 2014, and to 47% in 2015.

A similar dynamic is observed in a survey commissioned by Pact Inc., the first and third phases of which were carried out by the GfK, and the second by the KIIS [8, 9]. Compared to 2014, in early 2015 the share of respondents who donated money to the army grew (from 24% to 52%), as did the share of those who financially supported civic initiatives associated with Maidan (from 15% to 21%), victims of the hostilities (from 9% to 23%) and internally displaced people (from 3% to 10%). However, volunteering in NGOs remains rare (1% of Ukrainians in 2014 and 4% in 2015). Survey respondents show more interest in various forms of civic activism such as communications with the authorities, taking part in peaceful assemblies and reporting corruption to the competent authorities. However, the share of those who took such actions throughout the year preceding the survey remains at a very low level. In late 2015 this share had changed little and the commitment had reverted to the 2014 level.

According to the GfK survey on volunteering [10], the majority of volunteers (67%) run their activities independently, and focus primarily on solving problems caused by the military conflict in eastern Ukraine. During the year preceding the survey, 70% volunteers were helping the army, 25% were supporting Maidan protesters, 23% were engaged with IDPs, 3% with the 'DPR'/'LPR', and 2% with Antimaidan. As the conflict becomes chronic and the problems are less

acute, it is reasonable to expect reduced volunteer activities, especially given that they usually take place outside formal institutions and civic associations.

Fluctuations in the civic activism rate have been observed previously: the Razumkov Centre studies show that the share of people engaged in active participation in 2008 numbered 12%, while in 2013 it dropped to 8% [11].

Data is available for comparison of individual aspects of civic activism in 2016 and earlier. For example, in 2011 the Razumkov Centre carried out a national survey asking people under what circumstances they are ready to take part in protests [12]. The suggested list of answers and the wording of the question preclude directly juxtaposing the findings, but generally the top concerns remain the same. Both in 2011 and 2016 the citizens were ready to oppose the price and utility rate hikes, reduced or lost income, violations of human rights and unlawful acts, including by the authorities.

Another survey by the Razumkov Centre in 2009 measured the respondents' self-reported influence on the national, local authorities and their own lives [13] on a scale from 1 to 5. A total of 52% of respondents highly rated their ability to influence their own lives (4-5 of 5). However, only 2% said they were able to influence the national authorities, and 2% also said this of the local authorities. As noted above, in 2016 a total of 41% of Ukrainians stressed that it is only the government that matters. Other 49% believe that they can influence their own lives, 7% say this of the local authorities, and 3% about the national authorities.

Since the questions were worded differently, direct comparison is not precise. However, we can conclude that no significant change took place in seven years – the Ukrainian population still does not believe it possible to influence the authorities. Moreover, half of citizens do not even think they can control their own lives.

Surveys by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation in 2004-2009 [4] also give an account of the perceived effectiveness of various methods to impact the authorities and decision-making in the country. It allows for comparison with 2016 data. Compared to 2004-2009, more people tend to consider voting in elections an effective method of influence. In earlier studies, this share did not exceed 33%, but in 2016 it reached 40%. The effectiveness of peaceful protests was perceived the highest in 2005 (29%), but this later dropped to 17% in 2009 and remained almost unchanged until 2016 (18%). The perceived effectiveness of participating in public discussions, petition signing, and appeals to council members fluctuates rather than showing an upward or downward trend.

To sum up: in Moldova, the general rate of civic activism, readiness to take part in civic initiatives and confidence in one's own ability to influence life in the community/country is relatively higher than in Ukraine or Belarus. At the same time, a greater share of Moldovans than in the other countries consider it hard to be a civic activist in their country. The lowest readiness to participate in local and national life is observed in Belarus.

Ukraine is seeing a rise of reported interest in public participation, donating money and extending support to conflict-affected people, but this trend may end soon.

In the focus group discussions, we asked the NGO representatives to comment on the civic activism rate and recommend steps to improve it. They advised using the positive connotation of the word 'volunteer' which has recently emerged, promoting the advantages of civic activism by visualizing successful examples and experiences ('act like me'), and focusing on how many social problems directly concern average citizens and how they can help find solutions.

"People often have no confidence in their ability to succeed. Maybe positive examples are necessary to show that every success is possible. On the other hand, we all want to do something together rather than one person doing and the others watching. If something is organised, everyone should participate, not only a small number. Another important issue – when you do something, others may start laughing at you, because you spent your personal time and money. It might seem that you personally lose when you do something for others".

(Experts, Chisinau, Moldova)

Another important motivator is civic education in any form (lectures, training and workshops). This not only raises public awareness but also encourages participation and enables people to meet other people, thus increasing the level of tolerance. Broadly speaking, NGOs should engage with the people – the more the better, experts say.

"There is only the time-honoured way. Civic activists traditionally engaged with the people, starting from the second half of the 19th century. Only awareness raising, education, and meeting people. Relentlessly, not expecting quick results or appreciation, not giving up. Engaging with people every day. On the Internet, blogs, newspapers, workshops, training events, etc.."

(Experts, Kherson, Ukraine)

SEGMENTATION OF POPULATION BY CIVIC ACTIVISM RATE

Based on the responses about actual and potential civic participation, the respondents in each country were segmented through latent class analysis, and several population groups showing different rates and features of civic activism were identified.

The following indicators were used in Ukraine:

- readiness to show initiative and organise opposition in any form to toxic industrial construction (rally, petition, public hearings, collective claim to the authorities);
- readiness to take part in such activities personally or contribute financially;
- •readiness to organise land improvement near one's house along with neighbours;
- readiness to take part in land improvement personally or contribute financially;
- experience in organising or initiating civic activities;
- experience participating in civic initiatives and community activities;
- experience participating in any international/regional/global activities or events;
- voting in national or local elections over the last two years;
- participation in peaceful rallies, protests, hearings or petitions to the authorities over the last two years;
- participation in radical protests over the last two years;
- participation in discussion of local community news on the Internet with random people;
- experience reacting to local activities or public events learned about on the Internet;
- •experience posting about events, activities and civic initiatives in local communities.

In addition to the above, in Moldova and Belarus indicators to measure one-off and regular volunteering were used. In Belarus, the indicator of participation in civic activities in 2015 was also utilized. In this country, questions about activism on the Internet, voting in elections and participation in rallies, hearings and petitions were not asked.

UKRAINE

Based on the features of civic activism, a total of four clusters were outlined in Ukraine. The first is the most numerous: 40% of respondents. One may call these the 'potential activists.' The second, 'passive,' group comprises 33% of respondents. The third encompasses 18% of respondents and can be called 'active citizens'. Finally, the fourth and smallest cluster – only 8% – consists of the 'activists of a new generation'.

The 'passive' respondents have low motivation to take part in civic activities, let alone organise them. Their experience of public participation in any form is also sparse, as only 12% took part in activities such as meetings of house owners or residents, joint events with the neighbours, or signature collection. The only civic activity that the majority (52%) of them engaged in is voting in elections. However, compared to the other clusters this rate is low.

‘Potentially active’ citizens demonstrate a high commitment to taking part in civic initiatives: 84% would oppose toxic industrial construction through participation in collective action, monetary or in-kind donations, while 100% would readily join land improvement activities. However, this cluster shows no interest in organising events. Many of them take part in their community life (65%), vote in elections (72%), while 12% discuss local news on the Internet. These respondents are motivated to improve community life but would prefer to join the activities rather than initiate them on their own.

‘Active’ citizens show the highest readiness to organise opposition to toxic industrial construction or engage in land improvement (73% and 58% respectively). Many of them would also join such activities as participants (58% and 76% respectively). More people in this cluster than in the ‘potentially active’ group have experience organising some type of community activity, but this rate is still low – only 8%. At the same time, this cluster has the largest share of citizens who take part in local civic initiatives – 85%. Nearly the same amount, 81%, voted in elections in the last two years, and 22% took part in rallies, protests and hearings, and signed petitions to the authorities. The Internet activity of this cluster is relatively low; although 21% discuss their community news on the web, almost nobody makes posts about local activities and events or reacts to such posts.

A major feature of the ‘activists of a new generation’ is a high rate of activism on the Internet. 94% discuss local news on the web, 87% react to activities and events learned on the Internet, and 56% posted about local news and events on their own. The second feature is a high rate of participation in rallies, protests, and petitions (47%), as well as in international/global actions (43%). Compared to the ‘active’ citizens, this cluster shows lower reported readiness to organise a protest or land improvement activity, but this is still higher than in the ‘passive’ and ‘potentially active’ clusters. Most ‘activists of a new generation’ would take part in such activities. Their experience of community participation is almost the same as that of the ‘potentially active’ citizens. Almost all of them vote in elections (88%).

Table 3.1. Prevalence of various forms of civic activism in different population clusters in Ukraine
(% of respondents of the cluster)

	Potentially active	Passive	Active citizens	Activists of a new generation
Readiness to organise opposition to toxic industrial construction	3	8	73	35
Readiness to participate in opposition to toxic industrial construction	84	16	58	71
Readiness to organise land improvement	0	4	58	28
Readiness to take part in land improvement	100	19	76	83
Experience organising local community events	2	3	8	12

Experience taking part in local community events	65	12	85	69
Participation in international events	9	4	16	43
Voting in elections over the last two years	72	52	81	88
Participation in peaceful assemblies, rallies, hearings, and petitions over the last two years	8	2	22	47
Participation in radical protests over the last two years	0	0	2	5
Posting about local events and activities on the Internet	0	1	0	56
Reaction to local actions and events learned about on the Internet	0	1	2	87
Discussion of local news on the Internet	12	7	21	94

No significant gender differences were observed in any cluster. Rural residents are most prevalent among the 'potentially active' and 'active' citizens, while among other clusters the urban population is higher. Representatives of active clusters are better educated and are employed in white-collar jobs. This especially concerns the 'activists of a new generation', who also show higher income rate. In general they are younger, but despite the name of the cluster, some 33% of these respondents are 45+. People aged 45-59 are more likely to fall under the 'potentially active' and 'active' clusters.

A higher rate of potential or real civic activism correlates with being more optimistic about the possibility to influence one's own life, the authorities or the situation in one's city/village, in the country or abroad. The most optimistic are the 'activists of a new generation', while 'passive citizens' are the least optimistic. At the same time, all clusters provided almost identical responses about who is responsible for the financial well-being, education, employment and health of people. When selecting between the government and themselves, most of them pick the latter.

The lowest cumulative civic literacy rate is observed in the 'passive citizens' – an average of 9.7 out of 24 for questions asked only in Ukraine and 3.7 out of 7 for the questions asked in all three countries. Other clusters scored better, but not by much. 'Potentially active' scored an average of 11.2 and 3.3, 'active citizens' – 11.8 and 3.7, and 'activists of a new generation' – 12.5 and 4.3 respectively. The latter cluster is more confident about the rights and duties of citizens, more often claims to know their elected representatives by sight (but not their names) and is more optimistic about its awareness of the state budget and taxation. However, the answers to the detailed questions do not corroborate this claim.

When it comes to the social and political attitudes and beliefs of the four clusters, differences are almost non-existent, although some statistically significant distinctions are observed. 'Passive citizens' and 'activists of a new generation' proved to have more in common than other clusters in terms of various attitudes and beliefs, for example those concerning the right to armed self-defence.

'Passive' citizens, more than other clusters, tend to believe that active civic and political participation in Ukraine is not necessary; to prioritize economic growth over environmental protection; and to consider it not important for a good citizen to help those in need and serve in the army. The share of those having a neutral attitude to their national identity is the highest in this cluster. The 'potentially active' group more often than the others do not consider tolerance important; list army service, knowing the national history, fluent command of the national language, awareness of news, and patriotism among the features of a good citizen; and claim that any opinion can be presented in mass media. 'Active' citizens have the largest share of respondents who prioritize environmental protection over economic growth; are proud of their nationality; support state regulation of the economy; have a negative attitude towards the right to armed self-defence; and consider it hard to have positive attitudes to certain ethnicities. Finally, the 'activists of a new generation' tend to support the idea that criminals need more understanding and support and consider state regulation ineffective for economic well-being. They are more prone to espouse such personal values as democracy, tolerance, religious commitment and respect for Ukrainian culture, but not social justice. They also support restrictions of certain civic rights for the sake of the defence capacity of the state, protection of traditional values and the nation's interests. Furthermore, they tend to be positive about rallies aimed at protecting the rights of national minorities. Nevertheless, most of these distinctions are not significant, and the clusters are more similar than different in terms of political attitudes and beliefs.

MOLDOVA

In Moldova, the respondents were divided into five clusters. In general, this segmentation resembles the Ukrainian example, but includes one more cluster quite specific to Moldova. The first and the most numerous cluster – 29% of respondents – is the 'potential participants'; the second most numerous (23%) is the 'active citizens', followed by the third – 'activists of a new generation' (21%). The next cluster (14%) comprises 'potential organisers', and the last (13%) is the 'passive citizens.'

'Passive citizens' show no interest in organising or taking part in any civic activity. The only activity that 20% are ready to do is land improvement. At the same time, 56% of 'passive' respondents voted in elections over the last two years, and 18% took part in rallies, protests, hearings and petitions in that time. This differs from the Ukrainian 'passive' cluster.

'Potential participants' are ready to join protests against toxic industrial development or land improvement, but show no interest in organising such activities. More than 50% of them have experience in community participation (meetings of residents or house owners, joint activities with neighbours, signature collection), some 33% regularly engage in volunteering and close to 20% have experience of one-off volunteering. A total of 42% took part in international actions, 72% voted in elections over the last two years, and 13% took part in peaceful assemblies. This cluster demonstrates no activism on the Internet.

Moderate civic activism is a common feature of 'potential participants' and 'potential organisers' – 58% of the latter participate in community life, 16% regularly engage in volunteering, 18% did this at least once, 10% have ever taken part in international actions, and 91% voted in elections over the last two years. 'Potential organisers' show no Internet activism. Compared to 'potential participants', this cluster shows more commitment to organising a protest against toxic industrial development (68%) or engaging in land improvement (44%). At the same time, 'potential organisers' also have no real experience in organising such activities in their neighbourhoods.

'Active citizens' show the highest commitment to both organise and participate in civic initiatives. In general, they are more active than the other three clusters. In particular, 21% have experience organising or initiating a civic activity, 81% take part in community life, 58% have ever engaged in volunteering, and 51% took part in rallies, protests, hearings and petitions. The rate of Internet activism is quite low and generally limited to discussion of local news.

'Activists of a new generation' are mostly ready to contribute to civic activities both as organisers and participants. Their actual civic participation profile has much in common with the 'active citizens', but they have more experience with volunteering (73%) and participation in international actions (60%). Another particular feature is their high rate of Internet activity – 99% discuss local news, 81% react to local events learned about on the Internet, and 53% make posts about such actions themselves.

Table 3.2. Prevalence of various forms of civic activism in different population clusters in Moldova
(% of respondents of the cluster)

	Passive	Potential participants	Potential organisers	Active citizens	Activists of new generation
Readiness to organise opposition to toxic industrial construction	0	8	68	83	69
Readiness to participate in opposition to toxic industrial construction	0	96	18	100	53
Readiness to organise land improvement	0	0	44	90	55
Readiness to take part in land improvement	19	98	56	98	59
Experience organising local community events	0	7	8	21	16
Experience taking part in local community events	3	55	58	81	84
Regular volunteering activities	5	32	16	31	39
One-off volunteering activities	1	17	18	27	34
Participation in international events	1	42	10	30	60

Voting in elections over the last two years	56	72	91	77	85
Participation in peaceful assemblies, rallies, hearings and petitions over the last two years	18	13	13	51	51
Posting about local events and activities on the Internet	0	0	0	2	53
Reaction to local actions and events learned about on the Internet	0	4	0	1	81
Discussion of local news on the Internet	5	0	1	22	99

Given the small number of representatives of each cluster in the sample, few statistically significant differences are observed between the clusters. The 'potential organisers' are the oldest cluster with a higher share of rural residents, pensioners and less-educated people. Conversely, 'passive citizens' are mostly young and have a lower level of education but fewer of them belong to the low-income group. 'Activists of a new generation' have the highest share of university graduates and managers and the smallest share of those 60+. The other two clusters have no specific demographic particularities.

The minority of 'passive citizens' believes that civic associations and membership in political parties are effective tools to protect people's rights and interests, while in the other clusters this idea is shared by the majority. The 'passive' group also tend to be pessimistic about their ability to influence anything in their life or community. 'Active citizens' and 'activists of a new generation' are more prone to place responsibility for their employment, education, health and financial well-being on the government. The latter also are more confident about their influence on their own life and on processes abroad.

The lowest cumulative civic literacy rate is observed in 'passive citizens' – an average of 6.7 out of 20. The other clusters are as follows: 'potential organisers' scored 7.9; 'potential participants' 8.6; 'active citizens' 8.9; and 'activists of a new generation' performed the best at 9.4. Based on the index of questions asked in all three countries, the 'passive citizens' scored 2.2 of 7, 'potential organisers' 2.5; 'potential participants' 3; 'active citizens' 3.2; and 'activists of a new generation' 3.7. This last cluster is more confident about their knowledge of the budget and taxation. However, answers to the detailed questions do not confirm this. This cluster, along with 'active citizens', has better awareness of citizens' rights and duties.

With regard to social and political attitudes and beliefs, 'passive citizens' more often than 'potential organisers' and 'potential participants' feel uncomfortable when asked about their nationality abroad. Compared to the two latter clusters, values and actions such as paying taxes, voting in elections, speaking the national language, following the news, and patriotism are not considered that important by 'activists of a new generation'. 'Active citizens' tend to show less support for unemployment benefits and granting social housing as the primary tools to resolve unemployment and housing problems. Given the small size of the clusters, other differences are not statistically significant.

BELARUS

The list of indicators used for segmentation in Belarus differed from the two other countries. Specifically, Belarusians were not asked about Internet activity, voting in elections, taking part in rallies, protests, and petitions over the last two years. A four-cluster segmentation was identified in Belarus. The most numerous cluster is ‘passive’ citizens, 43% (this share is larger than in Ukraine and Moldova). The second – ‘occasional participants’ – comprises 37% of respondents. The least numerous clusters are ‘active participants’ (14%) and ‘potential organisers’ (6%).

‘Passive citizens’ show the lowest rate of public participation – only 25% of them are ready to take part in land improvement near their house, 13% have volunteering experience (12% one-off), only 4% take part in civic initiatives, and 10% have ever joined international actions.

‘Occasional participants’ show high commitment to take part in or financially contribute to a protest against toxic industrial development or to land improvement around their house, but are not ready to organise such activities at all. Their commitment is confirmed by real experience – some 70% took part in community life, 12% have ever volunteered. At the same time, they almost never joined local civic activities in 2015, just as the ‘passive citizens.’

‘Active participants’ demonstrate a higher rate of volunteer activity (49% have such experience, 20% do so regularly) and a relatively high rate of participation in local civic initiatives in 2015 (29%) and international actions (71%). Many of them have experience in community participation (64%) and are ready to join land improvement (99%) and environmental protection activities (64%). However, this cluster is not ready to undertake leadership.

‘Potential organisers’ are the least numerous cluster. Their distinctive feature is that they are ready to organise environmental protection activities (45%) and land improvement (100%). At the same time, the majority of them has no real experience doing so. This cluster comprises relatively active citizens. A total of 79% took part in meetings of residents or house owners, signature collection, other joint activities with their neighbours, including 11% in 2015; 39% have volunteer experience (18% – regular); 24% joined international actions.

Table 3.3. Prevalence of various forms of civic activism in different population clusters in Belarus
(% of respondents of the cluster)

	Passive	Occasional participants	Active participants	Potential organisers
Readiness to organise opposition to toxic industrial construction	0	0	6	45
Readiness to participate in opposition to toxic industrial construction	6	86	64	37

Readiness to organise land improvement	0	0	0	100
Readiness to take part in land improvement	25	98	99	0
Experience organising local community events	0	0	4	5
Experience taking part in local community events	4	70	64	79
Regular volunteer activities	1	0	20	18
One-off volunteer activities	12	12	29	21
Participation in local civic initiatives in 2015	0	0	29	11
Participation in international events	10	0	71	24

The more active clusters are generally younger and better educated. In particular, the share of people under 30 is the highest among 'active citizens'. 'Passive citizens' have somewhat lower income.

In terms of assigning responsibility for health, financial well-being, education and employment to the government or to citizens, no significant distinctions were observed among the different clusters. The majority in each cluster is confident that these are the responsibilities of citizens. On the other hand, it was found that 'potential organisers' were more optimistic about their influence on their own lives and the situation in their city/village, country and abroad. At the same time, all other clusters consider their influence to be minor. 'Active participants' have a larger share of those who consider it possible to influence what is happening in other countries compared to the 'passive' and 'occasional participants'. One feature of the 'passive' group is that the majority is pessimistic about influencing their own lives.

The lowest cumulative civic literacy rate is observed in the 'passive citizens' – an average of 9.4 out of 19 for questions asked only in Belarus, and 3.5 out of 7 for the questions asked in all three countries. 'Active organisers' perform slightly better – 10.5 and 4.1 respectively. 'Occasional participants' follow at 10.4 and 4.2. The most knowledgeable are the 'active citizens', with 11.6 and 4.1 respectively.

As concerns social and political attitudes and beliefs, the 'potential organisers' are the most distinct from other clusters, especially from the 'passive' group. They tend to be more proud of their national identity and show more respect for Belarusian cultural heritage. They consider international events more relevant and important to them. They are more likely to state that migrants should enjoy the same rights as locals, any religious group has a right to exist, and criminals deserve more severe punishment. 'Potential organisers' and 'active participants' are more in favour of state regulation of the economy and – simultaneously – of free competition. They also tend to have more positive attitudes towards all foreigners coming to Belaru.

INVOLVEMENT IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

The first factor of involvement in the global context/global citizenship stipulated by the Vision for 21st Century Citizenship is proficiency in at least one foreign language. The survey showed that this is not always the case. Only 30% of respondents in Ukraine and 37% in Belarus have a good command of a foreign language (one or more). In Moldova this is somewhat better: 52%.

Diagram 4.1. Share of respondents who speak one or more foreign languages
(% of all respondents in each country)

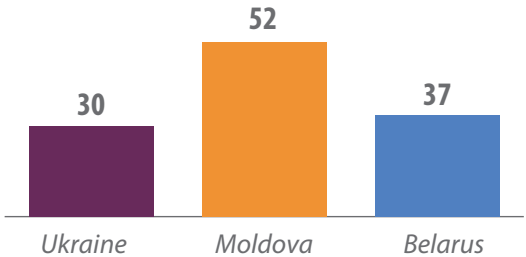
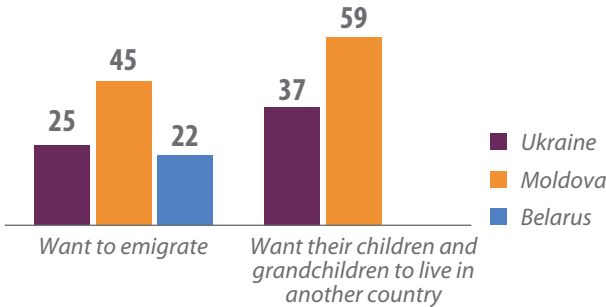


Diagram 4.2. Share of citizens who want to emigrate themselves or want their children and grandchildren to live in another country
(% of respondents in each country)



On the other hand, Moldova has higher share of people who want to emigrate (45% vs. 25% in Ukraine and 22% in Belarus). In addition, 59% of Moldovans want their children and grandchildren to live in another country (in Ukraine this is 37%). The most prevalent driver of the intention to leave the country is the desire to improve one's financial status (Moldova 81%, Ukraine 66%, Belarus 48%). At the same time, Ukraine has a high share of those who consider that emigration can provide more social guarantees and better welfare (43%), while 36% of Moldovans believe that emigration will enable them to receive high-quality education, and 34% – high-quality healthcare.

Table 4.1. The prevalent reasons why the citizens want to leave their country, in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus
(% of those who want to emigrate)

TOP 3 REASONS					
Ukraine		Moldova		Belarus	
Reason	%	Reason	%	Reason	%
To improve my financial status	66	To improve my financial status	81	To improve my financial status	48

To get better social guarantees and welfare	43	To be able to obtain high-quality education	36	To get better social guarantees and welfare	15
To be able to receive high-quality healthcare	21	To be able to receive high-quality healthcare	34	To be able to build my capacity, promote my career	15
Hard to say / refuse to answer	3	Hard to say / refuse to answer	2	Hard to say / refuse to answer	34

According to earlier surveys, in 2011 34% of Ukrainians wanted to move to another country [14], but in 2015 this share had dropped to 21% [15]. As noted above, in 2016 it showed a slight increase to 25%. Thus, no clear trend is seen, as the share is fluctuating.

Almost 75% of Ukrainians and 43% of Moldovans reported never going abroad, while only 18% of Belarusians said they have never been abroad. Such a drastic difference may be due to different wording of the questions ('do not go abroad' and 'have never been abroad').

Diagram 4.3. Share of citizens who have been abroad at least once in their life
(% respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)

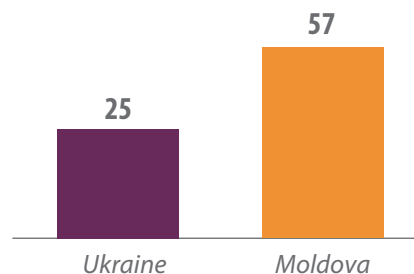
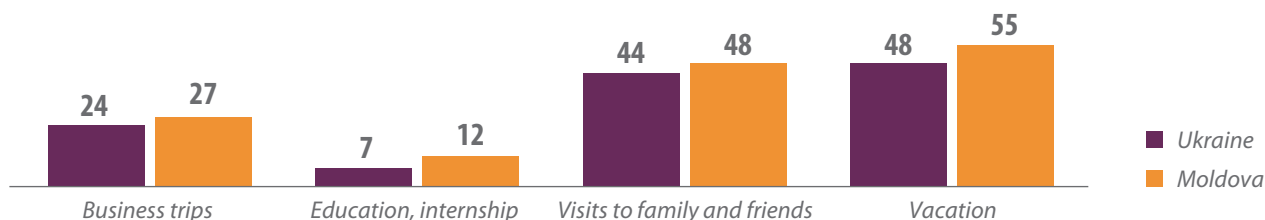


Diagram 4.4. Share of citizens who travelled abroad for various reasons
(% of those who travel abroad in Ukraine and Moldova)



Those who do go abroad usually do so to visit their family or friends. It is also worth noting that half of Moldovans reported going abroad to earn money.

Throughout the last five years Ukrainians who go abroad mostly travelled to Europe and North America (48%) and ex-Soviet countries (40%). Moldovans usually travelled to ex-Soviet countries (69%) and less often to Europe and North America (40%). Belarusians were similar: most of them travelled to ex-Soviet countries (53%) and fewer to

Europe and North America (18%). At the same time, 31% of Belarusians reported not having left the country during the last five years (Ukrainians, 13%; Moldovans, 3%).

In Ukraine and Belarus, only slightly more than half of respondents reported having friends, family members or colleagues living abroad with whom they maintain regular contact. In Moldova, this share is as high as 87%.

Diagram 4.5. Share of citizens whose close family members or colleagues live abroad and whom they maintain regular contacts with (% of respondents in each country)

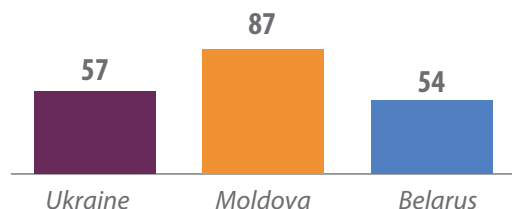
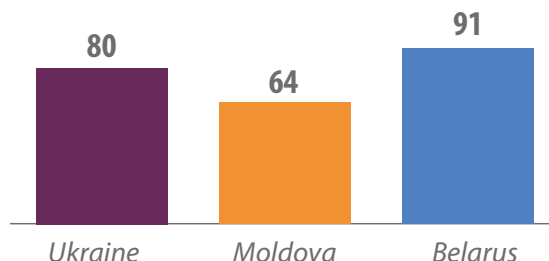


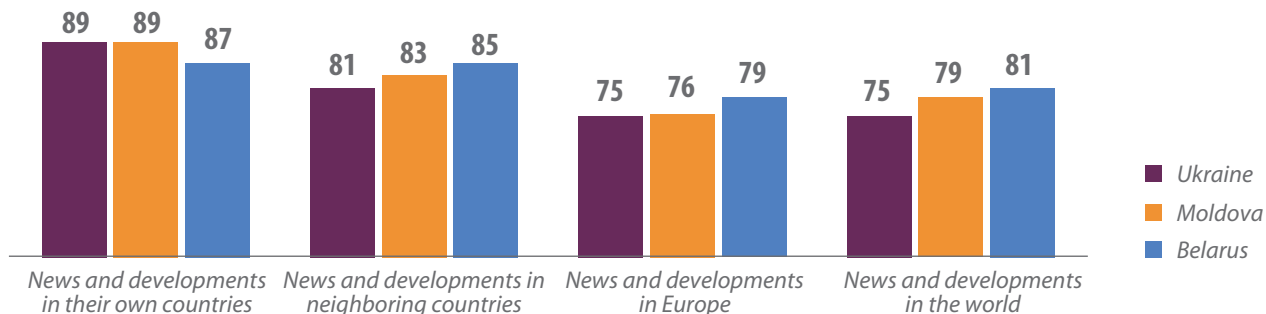
Diagram 4.6. Share of citizens who have NEVER studied/worked abroad for six months or more (% of respondents in each country)



64% of Moldovans reported never having studied or worked abroad for a long time (more than six months). In Ukraine and Belarus, this share is larger – 80% and 91% respectively.

Over 80% of respondents in each country claimed to follow the news and developments in their own and in neighbouring countries. Furthermore, at least 75% in each country follow developments in Europe and the world in general.

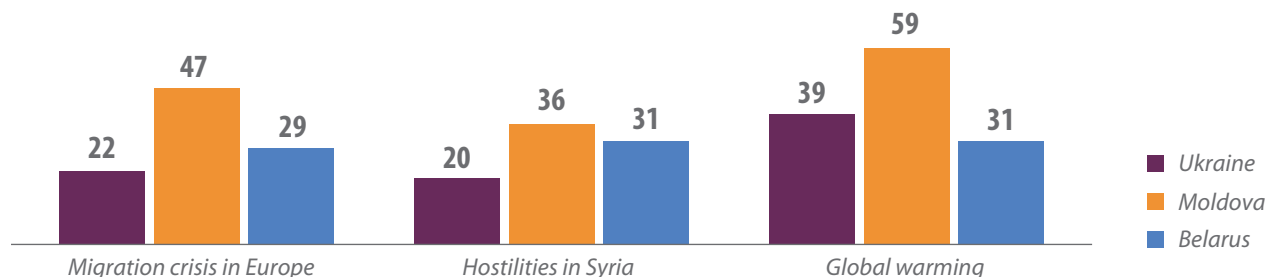
Diagram 4.7. Interest in various news and developments (% of respondents in each country)



91% of Ukrainians consider the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine relevant and important to them. In Moldova, 62% noted the importance of the armed conflict in Ukraine and annexation of Crimea (while 20% were not able to assess its importance, and 17% said it was not important). Meanwhile, the annexation of Crimea was recognized as important by 72% of Ukrainians.

The migration crisis in Europe is considered personally important/relevant by only 22% of Ukrainians and 29% of Belarusians, but in Moldova its importance is noted by almost half of respondents (47%).

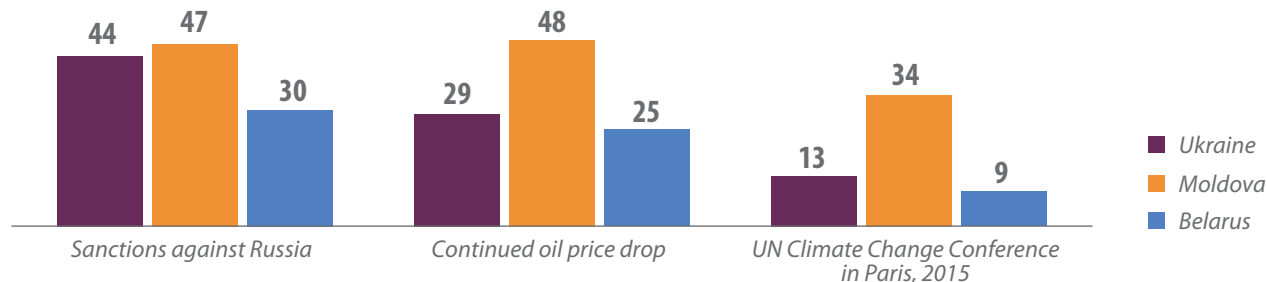
Diagram 4.8. Personal importance of recent events to the respondents
(% respondents in each country)



The hostilities in Syria were more important to Moldovans (36%) and Belarusians (31%) than to Ukrainians (20%). At the time, almost 40% of Ukrainians and Belarusians were not able to assess its importance (in Moldova this was 24%).

Global warming is more relevant to Moldovans, at 59%. To Ukrainians and Belarusians, it is less so (39% and 31% respectively). Many respondents in Ukraine and Belarus were not able to assess its importance to them.

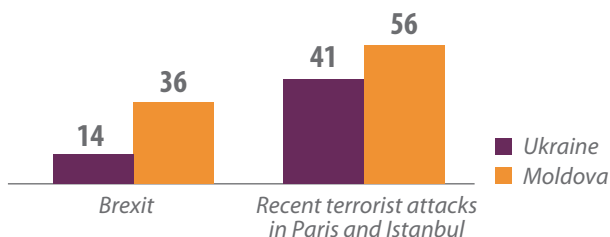
Diagram 4.9. Personal importance of recent events to the respondents
(% respondents in each country)



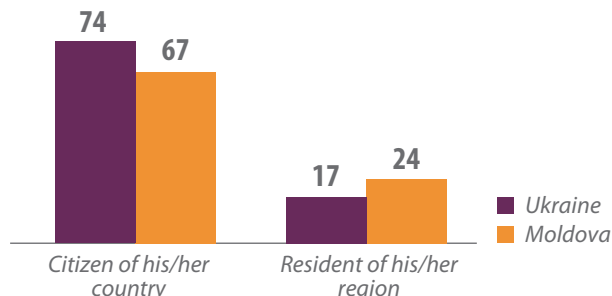
Sanctions against Russia are more important to Ukrainians and Moldovans (over 40%) than to Belarusians (30%). Many respondents in Belarus (41%) were not able to assess their importance to them.

The continued oil price decrease and the 2015 UN Climate Change Conference in Paris were also more important to Moldovans than Ukrainians and Belarusians. In particular, 48% of Moldovans said the oil price was important to them; while most Ukrainians and Belarusians (near 35%) were unable to answer this question. Concerning the UN Climate Change Conference, it was noted as important by 34% of Moldovans and only 13% of Ukrainians and 9% of Belarusians; while some 25% of Moldovans and Ukrainians, and more than 33% of Belarusians, had not heard about it.

*Diagram 4.10. **Personal importance of recent events to the respondents***
(% of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



*Diagram 4.11. **Share of citizens who consider themselves citizens of their country or residents of their region first***
(% of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



The recent terrorist attacks in Istanbul and Paris and the British referendum on leaving the EU (Brexit) were relatively more important to Moldovans (56% and 36% respectively) than to Ukrainians (41% and 14%).

Thus, although Moldovans show the same general level of interest in world developments as Ukrainians and Belarusians, they tend to consider these specific developments more important and relevant to them.

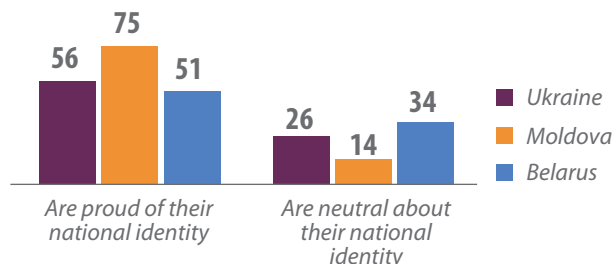
In Belarus, a total of 90% of respondents consider themselves of Belarusian ethnicity. In Moldova, 79% claim to be ethnic Moldovans; in Ukraine, 88% report being ethnically Ukrainian (while 3% identified themselves as 'both Ukrainian and Russian').

A total of 74% of respondents in Ukraine and 67% in Moldova consider themselves nationals of the country first, while 17% of Ukrainians and 24% of Moldovans prioritize being residents of their region. Other answers – 'citizen of another country', 'European', 'citizen of the world', and 'it does not matter' – were picked by few respondents. Thus,

the majority attribute themselves to the titular nation and identify as citizens of their country rather than residents of their region or, conversely, members of a broader community beyond the national borders.

In 2005, local identity was more prevalent among Ukrainians. According to the Razumkov Centre survey [16], 38% considered themselves residents of their community first, 20% – of their region, and only 31% – of the country as a whole.

Diagram 4.12. Share of citizens who are proud/neutral about their national identity
(% of respondents in each country)



Moldovans are somewhat more proud of their national identity (75% vs. 56% in Ukraine and 51% in Belarus). It is worth noting that a third of Belarusians (much more than in Moldova and Ukraine) have neutral attitudes to their national identity.

In sum, **Moldovans are relatively more involved in the global context and Belarusians are least involved. This is shown by indicators such as proficiency in foreign languages, experience travelling abroad, personal relations with people living abroad, desire to emigrate, and attitudes to international develop-**

ments. As far as such attitudes are concerned, Moldovans more often than Ukrainians and Belarusians noted the importance of events such as the migration crisis in Europe, global warming, the decreasing price of oil, and the 2015 UN Climate Change Conference. Sanctions against Russia are more important to Ukrainians and Moldovans than to Belarusians, and the hostilities in Syria are more important to Moldovans and Belarusians than to Ukrainians. At the same time, more Moldovans are proud of their national identity compared to the other countries.

CIVIC ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

The first set of questions concerned **the values of the residents of the three countries and the features they consider important for a good citizen.**

The top 5 values personally important to Ukrainians are: respect for human life (48%), human rights (42%), social justice (36%), adherence to the law (34%), and personal freedom (31%).

For Moldovans, the list is almost the same: human rights (56%), adherence to the law (40%), personal freedom (38%), and respect for human life (34%). Belarusians also prioritize respect for human life (50%), human rights (43%), adherence to the law (40%), personal freedom (40%), and security and order (32%).

When it comes to the values that Ukrainians and Moldovans consider most important for citizens of their respective countries, they are the same as the personally important values. Ukraine has a larger share of those who were not able to answer, however (22%). At the same time, in Belarus the respondents think that socially important values are somewhat different: adherence to the law (45%), tolerance (32%), order and security (24%), human rights (20%) and democracy (20%).

Table 5.1. Values most important to citizens personally that received the most mentions by respondents in Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova (% of all respondents)

TOP 5 VALUES					
Ukraine		Moldova		Belarus	
Values	%	Values	%	Values	%
Respect for human life	48	Human rights	56	Respect for human life	50
Human rights	42	Adherence to the law	40	Human rights	43
Social justice	36	Personal freedom	38	Adherence to the law	40
Adherence to the law	34	Respect for human life	34	Personal freedom	40
Personal freedom	31	Order and security	16	Order and security	32
Hard to say / refuse to answer	6	Hard to say / refuse to answer	6	Hard to say / refuse to answer	6

Table 5.2. Values/features most important to the society that received the most mentions by respondents in Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova (% of all respondents)

TOP 4 VALUES					
Ukraine		Moldova		Belarus	
Values	%	Values	%	Values	%
Personal freedom	24	Human rights	35	Adherence to the law	45
Adherence to the law	21	Personal freedom	31	Tolerance	32
Respect for human life	19	Respect for human life	24	Order and security	24
Human rights	19	Adherence to the law	23	Human rights	20
Hard to say / refuse to answer	22	Hard to say / refuse to answer	13	Hard to say / refuse to answer	15

In Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus, the most important features of a good citizen are: paying taxes (79% of respondents consider it very important or quite important), voting in elections (no less than 71%), obeying rules and laws (no less than 81%), serving in the army (no less than 67%), knowing the history of his/her country (no less than 70%), and knowing his/her duties and rights and being able to protect them (no less than 80%). Moldovans chose these features somewhat more often than Ukrainians and Belarusians.

Diagram 5.1. Importance of the features of a good citizen
(% of respondents in each country)

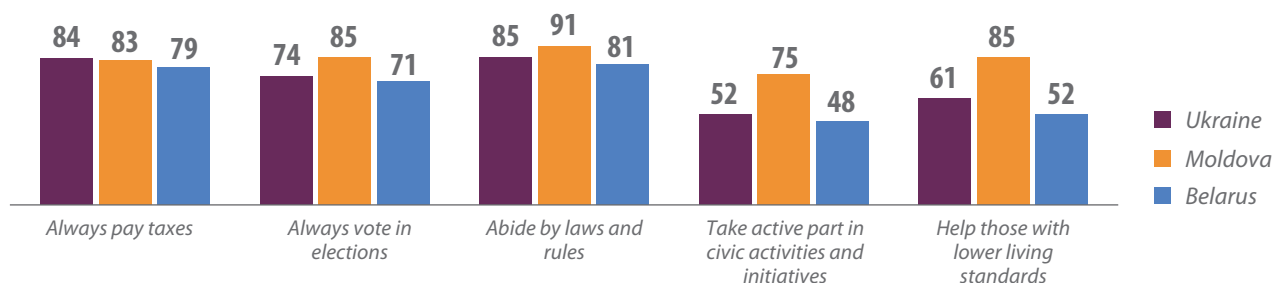
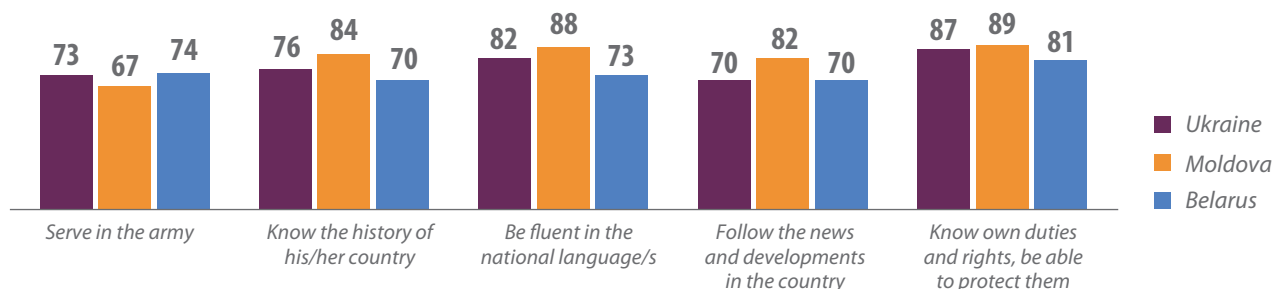


Diagram 5.2. Importance of the features of a good citizen
(% of respondents in each country)



Respondents in Moldova chose several features much more often than Ukrainians and Belarusians. Specifically, these were active participation in NGO activities and civic initiatives (75% vs. 52% in Ukraine and 48% in Belarus), helping people whose living standards are lower (85% vs. 61% and 52% respectively), following news and developments in their country (82% vs. 70% and 70% respectively).

Proficiency in the national language(s) was somewhat less important for Belarusians (73%) than Ukrainians (82%) and Moldovans (88%).

A total of 85% of Ukrainians and Moldovans also noted the importance of 'being a patriot'.

Ukrainian respondents selected the following values as personally important to them (highest to lowest): respect for human life, order and security, human rights, and personal freedom. The least important were initiative, entrepreneurship and tolerance. Some respondents noted that democracy was a value that encompassed several others as well.

Concerning the values important to the Ukrainian people as a whole, the respondents believe the priorities are different: respect for Ukrainian cultural heritage, respect for human life, personal freedom, religious commitment, human rights, initiative and entrepreneurship. Very few respondents picked tolerance as an important value, but they justified their choice by saying that tolerance is similar to humanism.

In addition to the suggested, participants in the 'passive' focus group in Lviv, Ukraine, supplemented the list with family. They agreed that adherence to the law is not a typical feature of Ukrainians, but they wanted this to be the case.

For Moldovans, the most important personal values are: human rights, order and security, and personal freedom. According to respondents, the values most important for the society as a whole are adherence to the law, democracy and respect for Moldovan cultural heritage. Participants in the focus group in Chisinau believe Moldovans should develop entrepreneurship.

In Belarus, respondents usually picked personally important values such as respect for human life, human rights, order and security. Belarusians are mostly considered obedient of the law, and some respondents claimed this feature as the most critical one. When discussing the reasons for adherence to the law, the focus group participants often raised arguments such as fear of punishment and the effectiveness of law enforcement authorities. Explaining the importance of adherence to the law at a personal level, the participants referred to a principle "I obey the law and expect others to do so for a common good". However, they also claimed that if there is no punishment or it can be circumvented, there is no motivation to obey the law.

"I like following the law. I don't violate the law. If I obey traffic law, I want others to do it too, even if the police do not stop them on the spot".

(Citizens, Minsk, Belarus)

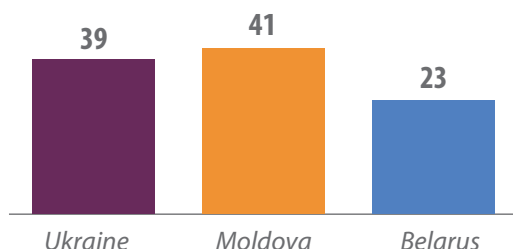
The NGO representatives stressed that the respondents tended to select different values important to them personally and to citizens generally. In particular, values such as adherence to the law, human rights, order and security, and respect for human life turned out to be more important to respondents personally than to citizens generally. At the same time, values such as democracy, tolerance, and respect for cultural heritage were said to be more important to

the society as a whole. What are the reasons for this? On the one hand, the citizens are quite independent now and feel alienated rather than like a part of society. Moreover, they even place themselves in opposition to society. This could result in a different set of values which are considered important to citizens personally and to society. On the other hand, this difference can be also explained by better awareness of our priorities and self-criticism ("I prioritize practical mundane things, while others are more global and high-minded").

"People apply a double standard to their personal and public lives. I don't think this is OK. I was frustrated to learn that 'democracy' and 'tolerance' were considered socially important values, but not personally important. It's quite a problem, because it means that people don't recognize these values as something that should be a part of their everyday life, their relations with family and neighbours".

(Citizens, Chisinau, Moldova)

Diagram 5.3. **Share of citizens who have positive attitudes towards all foreigners who move to their country** (% of respondents in each country)



An ability to tolerate other people with any differences is a critical feature of a citizen in a democratic society which respects equality irrespective of origin, religion, sexual orientation and other grounds. Unfortunately, the survey shows that **prejudices against certain populations/minorities** in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus remain high.

More Moldovans and Ukrainians have a positive attitude to foreigners moving to their country. 39% of Ukrainians and 41% of Moldovans have a positive attitude towards all foreigners coming to their country, compared to 23% of Belarusians. At the same time, Ukraine and Belarus

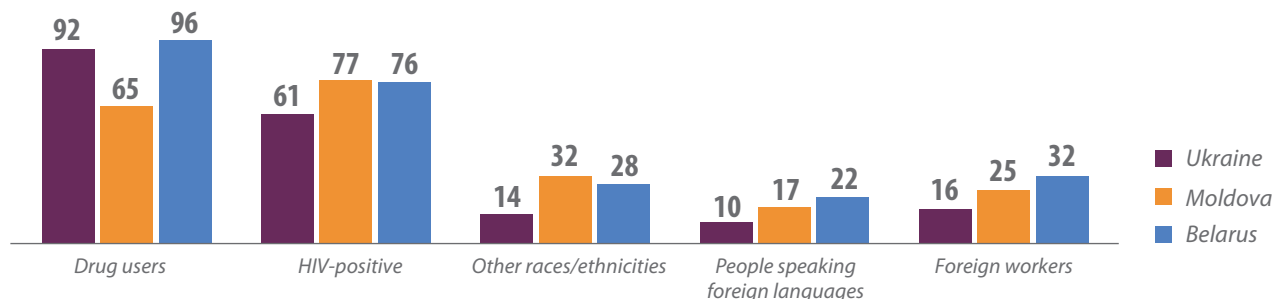
have larger shares of respondents with a positive attitude to certain expats and negative attitudes to others, depending on their nationality.

Populations that the majority in the three countries would not tolerate living next to are: drug users, alcohol abusers, HIV-positive people and sexual minorities. In Moldova and Ukraine, a negative attitude to ex-prisoners is also prevalent. Compared to other populations, minorities by origin and religion enjoy significantly better attitudes.

The overwhelming majority, over 90% of Ukrainians and Belarusians, would not tolerate (completely or somewhat) living next to drug users. In Moldova this figure is 65%.

Ukrainians more than Moldovans and Belarusians would tolerate to living next to HIV-infected people. Specifically, 77% of respondents in Moldova and 76% in Belarus consider it unacceptable for them to live next to this population, while in Ukraine this share is only 61%.

Diagram 5.4. **Share of citizens who *WOULD NOT* tolerate living next to the following minorities**
(% of respondents in each country)



Living next to people of a different race/ethnicity is reported unacceptable by 32% of Moldovans, 28% of Belarusians and only 14% of Ukrainians. Likewise, the share of Belarusians who would tolerate living next to such populations is considerably smaller than in Ukraine and Moldova. A total of 41% of Ukrainians and Moldovans reported that it did not matter to them.

Approximately half of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova would tolerate living close to people speaking another language. In Belarus this was 31%. A total of 10% of Ukrainians, 17% of Moldovans and 22% of Belarusians would not want to live next to such neighbours.

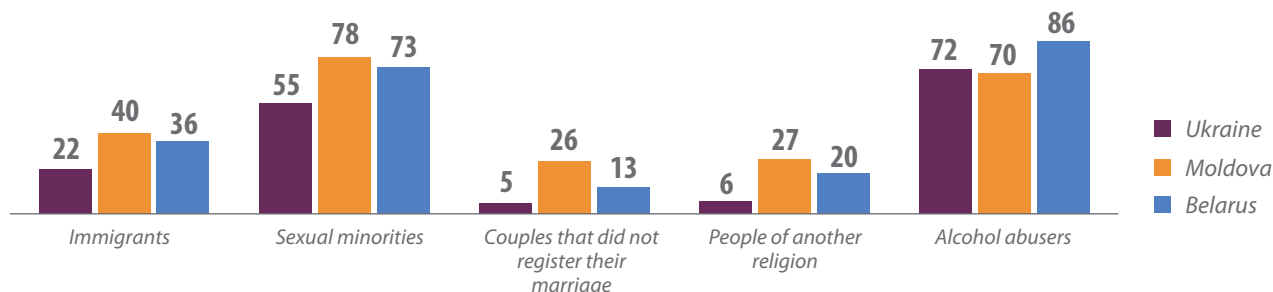
In Belarus, the share of those who do not want live next to migrant workers is relatively higher (32% vs. 16% in Ukraine and 25% in Moldova).

A total of 40% of Moldovans, 36% of Belarusians and 22% of Ukrainians do not want to see immigrants as their neighbours. Living next to sexual minorities was reported as inadmissible by 55% of Ukrainians, 78% of Moldovans and 73% of Belarusians.

In Ukraine and Belarus, a neutral or positive attitude to couples who do not register their marriage prevails. In Moldova, the share of respondents who are negative about this is higher (26%) than in the other two countries. The same trend is observed with regard to living next to people of a different religion. The majority of respondents in the three countries would not tolerate living next to alcohol abusers, especially in Belarus (86% vs. 72% in Ukraine and 70% in Moldova).

Living next to the disabled was reported unacceptable by 2% of Ukrainians and 14% of Moldovans; with regard to ex-prisoners, these were 52% and 59% respectively.

Diagram 5.5. **Share of citizens who *WOULD NOT* tolerate living next to the following minorities**
(% of respondents in each country)



A total of 57% of Ukrainians are positive about living close to IDPs from Crimea and Donbas, while 6% do not want such neighbours. 33% say that it does not matter.

Many respondents agree with both the statements that show a positive attitude and recognition of the equal rights of people of different ethnicities, and those that reveal some degree of xenophobia. Comparing the three countries, we can identify a trend regarding the three statements: more Moldovans tend to support them, while Belarusians tend to be negative about them. These statements are: "I could accept a person of any ethnicity

Diagram 5.6. **Share of citizens who *WOULD NOT* tolerate living next to the following minorities**
(% of respondents in each country)

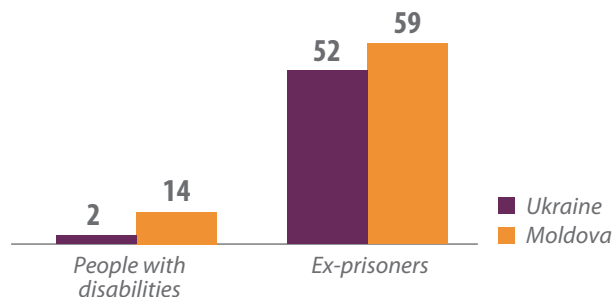
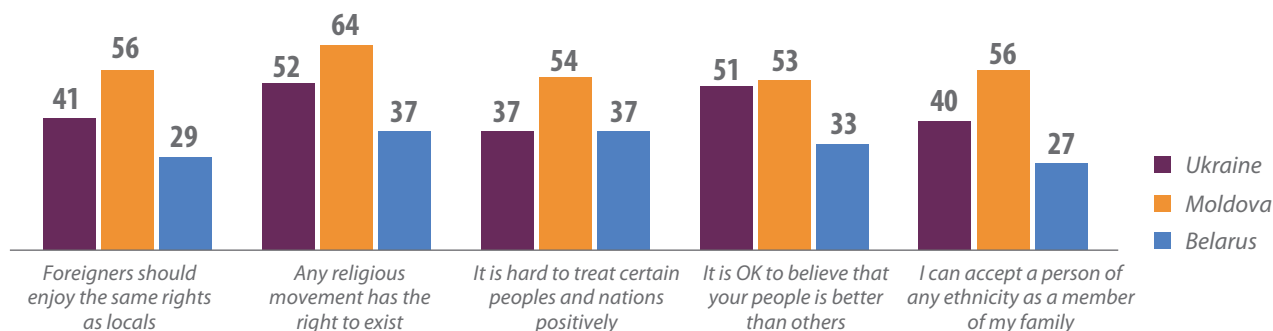


Diagram 5.7. **Share of citizens who support the following statements**
(% of respondents in each country)

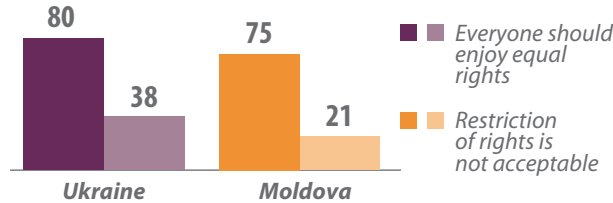


as my family member” (supported by 56% in Moldova, 40% in Ukraine and 27% in Belarus); “Migrants should enjoy the same rights as locals” (56% in Moldova, 41% in Ukraine and 29% in Belarus); and “Any religious movements have the right to exist” (64% in Moldova, 62% in Ukraine and 37% in Belarus).

A total of 54% of respondents in Moldova believe it is hard to have a positive attitude towards some ethnicities and peoples. In both Ukraine and Belarus this is 37%. Ukrainians and Moldovans more often agree with the statement “It is OK to consider your people better than others” (over 50% in Ukraine and Moldova, 33% in Belarus). Thus, we cannot say with certainty that Ukrainians and Moldovans treat immigrants and people of different ethnicities and religions better.

Data on attitudes to other ethnicities in Ukraine has been collected for a long time. For example, the KIIS uses data from national monitoring surveys to measure the xenophobia index. The higher its value, the greater the social distance between the citizens of Ukraine as a whole and national minorities. The xenophobia rate showed an upward trend from 1994 to 2009, then it dropped slightly and settled into place [17]. Unfortunately, data for 2015-2016 are not publicly available. We only can note an increased social distance towards Russians due to the recent developments.

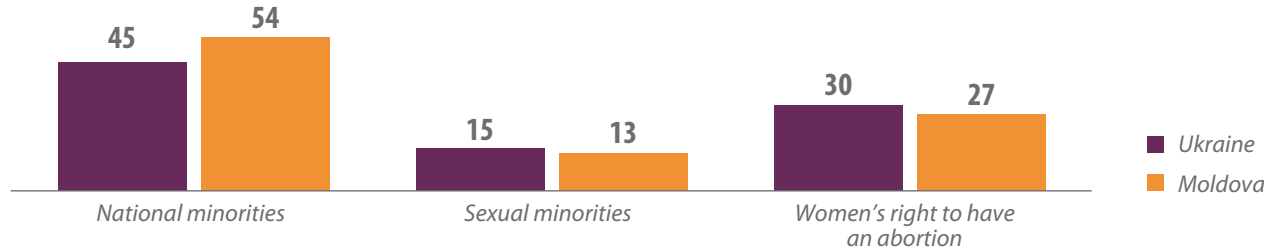
Diagram 5.8. Share of citizens who consider that everyone should enjoy equal rights and that restriction of human rights and freedoms is never acceptable (% of respondents in each country)



As noted above, **human rights** are among top 3 values in the countries surveyed. Nevertheless, many Ukrainians and Moldovans proved ready to compromise the observance of human rights.

For example, 80% of respondents in Ukraine and 75% in Moldova believe that everyone should enjoy equal rights, while only 38% in Ukraine and 21% of Moldovans claim no violation of citizens’ rights is ever unacceptable. At the same time, 25% of Ukrainians agree that restrictions on

Diagram 5.9. Share of citizens who consider public actions acceptable to protect the rights of... (% of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)

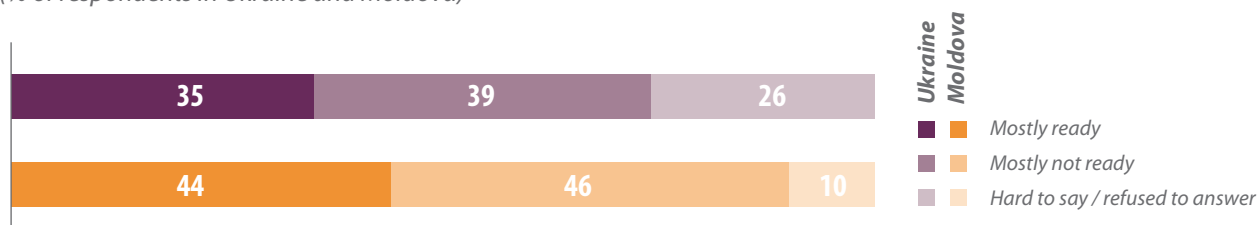


certain rights and freedoms of citizens may be acceptable to maintain public order, and 23% believe this is acceptable to protect territorial integrity. A total of 35% of Moldovans would compromise certain rights and freedoms of citizens to maintain public order, and 25% to build the defence capacity of the nation.

The following responses confirm that many people do not want to see equal rights observed in reality. The majority of Belarusians and Moldovans would not accept public actions to protect the rights of sexual minorities, and no less than 33% to protect the rights of national minorities and the right of women to have an abortion.

A total of 45% of Ukrainians and 54% of Moldovans would somewhat tolerate public actions to protect the rights of national minorities. Moldovans are more negative about public actions to protect the rights of sexual minorities (79% of Moldovans and 66% of Ukrainians would not) and the right of women to have an abortion (56% of Moldovans and 39% of Ukrainians).

Diagram 5.10. **Readiness to support other populations in defending their rights**
(% of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



A total of 35% of respondents in Ukraine reported being ready to support other populations when they protect their rights, while 39% would not and some 25% were unable to answer. Moldova has evenly divided shares of respondents: 45% are ready support the protection of rights of other populations and 45% are not.

The last set of questions in this section concerned **citizens' perception of the government's role in solving various problems, economic priorities and domestic policy principles.**

The majority of Ukrainians (56%) and Belarusians (59%) agree that economic growth should be a priority even if it harms the environment. A total of 67% of respondents in Ukraine and 60% in Belarus prioritize protection of the environment. In Moldova, two contradictory opinions are prevalent: 58% prioritize economic development, while 84% choose to support environmental protection even if it curbs economic growth.

A total of 70% of Ukrainians, 76% of Moldovans, and 54% of Belarusians believe that free competition is the best safeguard of economic well-being, while 56% of Ukrainians, 76% of Moldovans, and 44% of Belarusians prioritize state

regulation of certain economic sectors. However, free competition is still more popular because fewer respondents do not consider it effective for economic well-being as compared to state regulation.

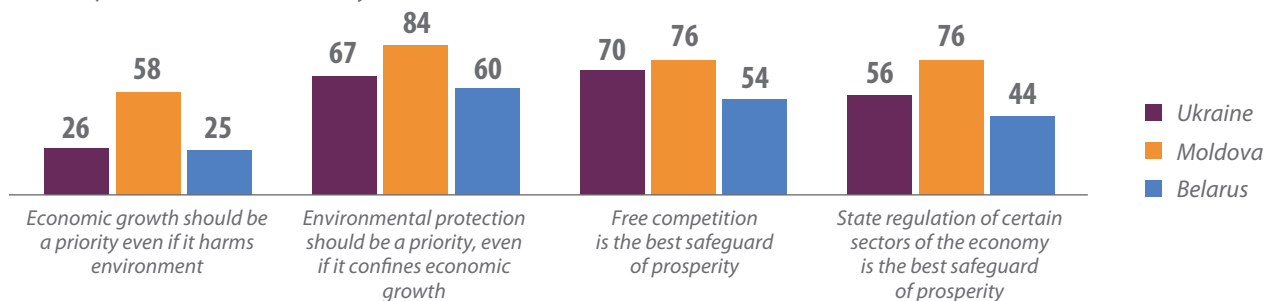
More than half of Ukrainians (60%) believe that the powers of law enforcement authorities should be expanded, and punishment for illegal possession of weapons should be more severe in order to uphold public order and security. At the same time, 58% do not agree that a more effective way to secure this objective is to grant citizens the right to protect their life, health and property with weapons.

A significant majority of Ukrainians and Moldovans, 70%, agree that “criminals currently enjoy too much tolerance and kindness. The punishment should be more severe”. In Belarus, 55% of respondents supported this idea, while 31% did not (in Ukraine and Moldova, the share of opponents was half as much).

Approximately half of Ukrainians and Moldovans, and 70% of Belarusians, do not believe that more understanding and support should be extended to criminals. However, Moldova has a considerably larger share of respondents (39%) who are positive about this idea.

A total of 90% of Moldovans and 77% of Ukrainians and Belarusians agree that the citizens of their countries should take a more active part in community life. Furthermore, 91% of Moldovans, 67% of Ukrainians and 69% of Belarusians want their citizens to be more politically active.

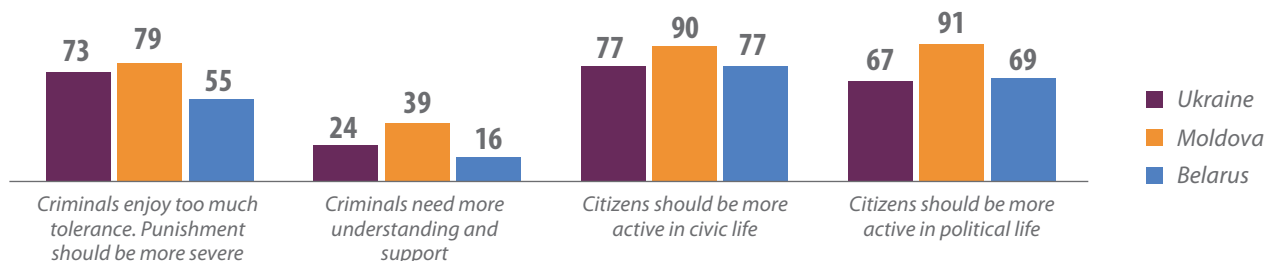
*Diagram 5.11. Share of citizens who support the following statements
(% of respondents in each country)*



Respondents in Moldova and Ukraine tended to be more positive than Belarusians that any opinion could be presented in the media (over 60% in Ukraine and Moldova and only 47% in Belarus).

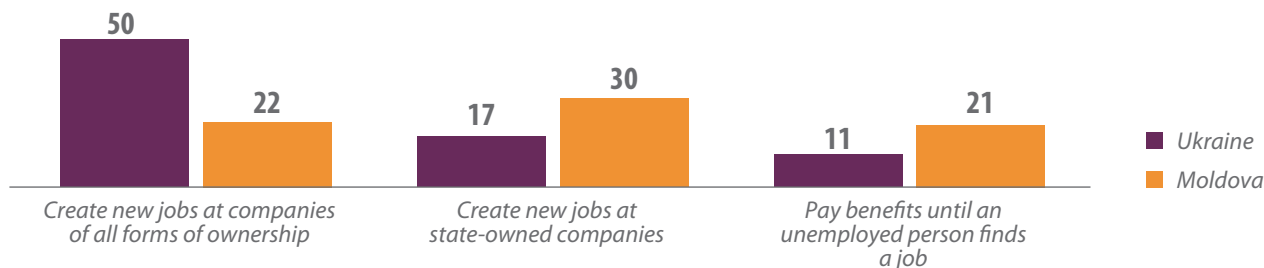
In Ukraine, 16% of respondents want the church to become involved in state policy development and implementation, and 67% believe it should be separated from the government. In Moldova these figures are 30% and 62% respectively. 17% of Ukrainians (twice as many as in Moldova) were unable to select an answer.

Diagram 5.12. Share of citizens who support the following statements
(% of respondents in each country)



The opinions of Ukrainians and Moldovans on solutions to the problem of employment have much in common. They both prioritize creating new jobs at state-owned companies and at companies of various forms of ownership, and paying benefits to persons who are not able to find a job. Half of Ukrainians prioritized creating new jobs at companies of various forms of ownership, while the largest number of Moldovans (30%) identified new jobs at state-owned companies.

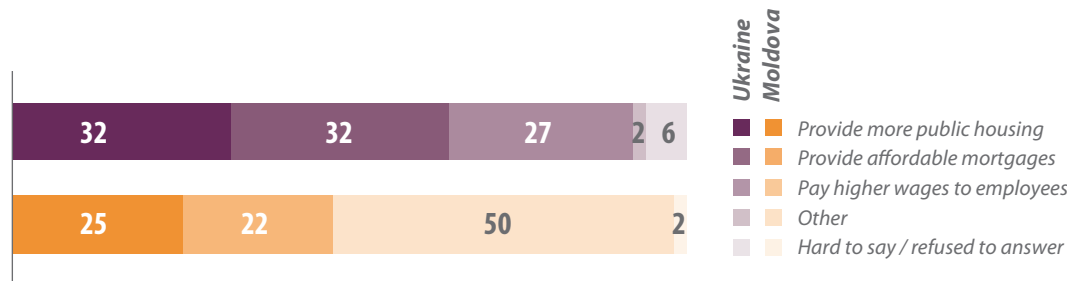
Diagram 5.13. Share of citizens who prioritize the following solutions to unemployment
(% of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



Thus, the prevailing responses entail active effort on the part of citizens (work at their jobs), but the government's role is also critical (create jobs, pay benefits).

According to 50% of Moldovans, a priority measure to solve housing problems is to increase the wages of employees. In Ukraine, the respondents' opinions were divided almost equally between the three options: provide more public housing – 32%, affordable mortgages – 32%, and increase wages of employees – 27%.

Diagram 5.14. *Share of respondents who prioritize the following solutions to the housing problem...*
(% of respondents in Ukraine and Moldova)



A quarter of Moldovans and a third of Ukrainians see a passive role for citizens in solving the housing problem, as they expect the government to provide housing. Others also expect effort from the person who needs housing.

A survey of urban residents in Ukraine in 2006 [18] provides comparable data. At that point, the idea of unemployment benefits was supported by 21% of respondents (in cities), while in 2016 this was 11% (in cities and villages). At the same time, the share of those who were in favour of public housing support in 2006 and 2016 was the same: 32%.

In sum, the values considered personally most important to the respondents and inherent to citizens in general in all three countries are similar. These are the respect for **human life, human rights, social justice, and adherence to the law**. Residents in the three countries almost equally believe that the features of a good citizen are: **always abide by the law, pay taxes, know his/her duties and rights, and protect them**. Compared to Ukrainians and Belarusians, Moldovans more often noted that active participation in NGOs, helping people whose living standards are lower, and following news and developments in the country are also important for a good citizen.

At the same time, a **certain degree of prejudice towards minorities is observed**. The respondents in all three countries would not tolerate living next to drug users, HIV-positive people, sexual minorities, and alcohol abusers; people with disabilities and people speaking other languages enjoy more positive attitudes. Comparing the two countries, Belarusians are more negative about living next to the majority of marginalized groups listed in the questionnaire, while Ukrainians are somewhat more ready to have neighbours such as HIV-infected people, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and people with disabilities. Moldovans mostly support the following statements, while Belarusians do not: "I can accept a person of any ethnicity as my family member", "Migrants should enjoy the same rights as locals", and "Any religious movements have the right to exist". Public actions to support the rights of national minorities are somewhat acceptable to 45% of Ukrainians and 54% of Moldovans. Compared to Ukrainians, Moldovans are especially negative about public actions to protect the rights of sexual minorities and the right of women to have an abortion.

The majority of Ukrainians and Moldovans believe that everyone should enjoy equal rights, while only 38% of Ukrainians and 21% of Moldovans believe that citizens' rights and freedoms cannot be restricted under any circumstances.

In all three countries, the majority **expects more severe punishment by the government for criminals, wants their citizens to show more agency in economic and political life, and prioritizes the protection of environment** over economic growth. When it comes to selecting between free competition and state regulation of certain economic sectors, respondents show no unequivocal preference. Moldovans more often than Ukrainians and Belarusians agreed that their citizens should be more politically and economically active, and that state regulation of certain economic sectors is the best guarantee of economic well-being. In general, the idea of delegating more functions, authority and responsibility to the government is quite widespread.

CONSISTENCIES BETWEEN VARIOUS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

Evaluation of the prevalence of certain attitudes and beliefs does not make it possible to identify correlations. It is also difficult to figure out whether they can be united into various mind-sets shared by the majority or minority of residents in the three countries. Therefore, we attempted to outline the interrelated sets of beliefs about the functions and authorities of the government, human rights and other topics described in the previous sub-section. This is to say, we anticipated certain sets of statements in which a respondent who supports one statement is more likely to agree with the other, and less likely to support the opposite alternatives.

Searching for these correlations between beliefs, we began with the hypothesis that certain 'ideological sets' can be identified in the three countries – for example, one ideology entailing state regulation of the economy, broader powers of law enforcement authorities, the importance of order and security, adherence to the law and social justice; and the competing ideology stressing the importance of freedom, entrepreneurship, free competition, and the right to protect yourself. We also expected to identify sets of beliefs about the priority of human rights, importance of equality under the law, and tolerance to minorities. However, these mind-sets could comprise other beliefs as well.

For this exercise, the variables were transformed into binary code, and methods such as multiple correspondence analysis, factor analysis and other analytical tools were used to seek correlations between them.

It was concluded that **a low level of consistency (poor crystallization) of opinions is observed among the population of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus**. The majority of variables under review have weak correlation. Somewhat stronger, but unidirectional, associations are observed only among variables within the same issue/topic, e.g. in the question about the features of a good citizen. This means that citizens tend to identify all the features as important, or unimportant, indiscriminately rather than array preferences in line with their deep-seated attitudes and perceptions. As a consequence, the outcomes of the analytical methods used are difficult to interpret.

Below are some prominent examples of inconsistent beliefs and the shares of respondents in each group who showed such attitudes. For example, many respondents were unable to make a textbook choice between free competition and state regulation of the economy. Both options were picked simultaneously by 44% of Ukrainians, 67% of Moldovans and 25% of Belarusians (the smaller share in the latter country is due to the fact that most respondents supported no option). A total of 21% of Ukrainians, 53% of Moldovans and 14% of Belarusians simultaneously prioritized environmental protection and economic growth, although the respondents were asked to pick only one option. Furthermore, declaring certain values does not necessarily mean sharing other opinions that could be legitimately expected (however, some propensity towards these opinions was observed among the respondents who picked certain values compared to those who did not). For example, in all three counties, 50% or more of respondents who chose tolerance as a personally important value reported that living next to sexual minorities was unacceptable to them. Respondents who picked human rights, democracy, and personal freedom, usually do not support freedom of speech or public actions to protect the rights of national minorities. In fact, such examples of inconsistent beliefs are considerably more numerous. This may indicate both **poor understanding of questions by the respondents and contradictory beliefs and immature sets of attitudes in the majority of people**.

Table 6.1. Level of support of certain conflicting statements (% of all respondents)

	Ukraine	Moldova	Belarus
Share of respondents who simultaneously consider free competition and state regulation the best safeguard of economic well-being	44	67	25
Share of respondents who simultaneously prioritize environmental protection and economic growth (although these were presented as mutually exclusive)	21	53	14
Share of respondents who simultaneously choose more severe punishment and a more tolerant attitude to criminals	14	29	5
Share of respondents who chose human rights as their personal value and do not believe that the media can publish any opinion	29	31	51
Share of respondents who chose democracy as their personal value and do not believe that the media can publish any opinion	32	46	54

Share of respondents who chose personal freedom as their personal value and do not believe that the media can publish any opinion	33	37	53
Share of respondents who chose human rights as their personal value and do not support public actions to protect national minorities	53	49	-
Share of respondents who chose democracy as their personal value and do not support public actions to protect national minorities	47	25	-
Share of respondents who chose personal freedom as their personal value and do not support public actions to protect national minorities	45	52	-
Share of respondents who picked tolerance as their personal value and consider it unacceptable to live next to sexual minorities	50	80	58

This conclusion is confirmed by other analytical methods as well. In particular, consistency between the responses to different questions on the same topic was checked against Cronbach's alpha on a scale from 0 to 1. Any value below 0.5 is deemed unacceptable, 0.7 is acceptable, and 0.8 or more is good. Three groups of questions were tested. The first concerned the respondent's propensity to paternalism and consisted of questions as to whether a respondent supports public housing as a solution to the housing problem, unemployment benefits as a solution to the unemployment problem, state regulation in the economy and broader powers of law enforcement authorities, and whether s/he shares the values of social justice, order and security. The second group of questions measured the respondent's attitude to human rights: does s/he allow for restricting human rights of certain populations or for the public good; does s/he support public actions to protect the rights of minorities; does s/he share the values of human rights, personal freedom, democracy, freedom of speech and religion. The third group measured the attitudes to other nationalities, in particular, readiness to live next to foreigners and national minorities; support for public actions to protect their rights; granting them equal rights; and sharing the belief that some peoples are better and some are worse.

In all three countries, no group of questions scored at least 0.7 on a consistency coefficient. Even removing the most marginal questions, we were not able to obtain an acceptable outcome.

Considering the above, it does not seem possible to identify any consistencies between various beliefs and attitudes.

CIVIC EDUCATION

Before asking respondents about their civic education needs, we discussed with them a factor that may partially affect such needs: the level of observance of various rights and prevalence of violations in their country.

According to the majority of Moldovans and Ukrainians, the areas where human rights are systematically violated in their countries are: healthcare (51% of Ukrainians, 61% of Moldovans), the judicial system (49% and 45%), law enforcement (50% and 32% respectively), education (30% and 40%), retail sales (44% and 27%), social security (39% and 27%), and employment (32% in both countries).

Table 7.1. The most often mentioned areas where human rights are systematically violated, according to Ukrainians and Moldovans (% of all respondents)

TOP 5 AREAS			
Ukraine		Moldova	
Area	%	Area	%
Healthcare	51	Healthcare	61
Law enforcement	50	Judicial system	45
Judicial system	49	Education	40
Retail sales (consumer rights)	44	Law enforcement	32
Social security	39	Employment (rights of employees)	32
Hard to say / refuse to answer	13	Hard to say / refuse to answer	8

Ukrainians most often reported personally suffering violations of their rights in healthcare (26%), retail sales (24%), and social security (16%); and Moldovans – healthcare (32%), the judicial system (21%) and employment (12%). A total of 27% of Ukrainians and 33% of Moldovans reported not having suffered violations of their rights in any area.

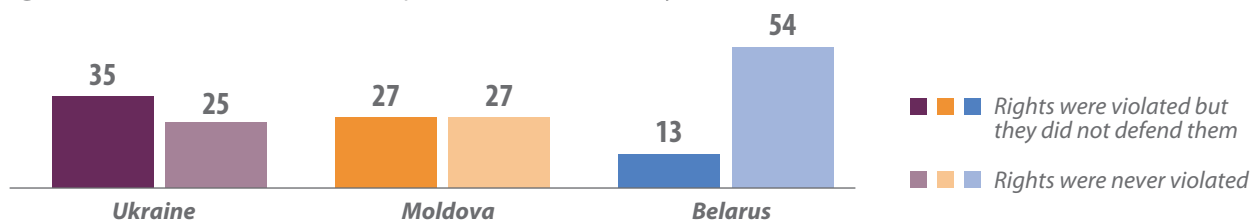
Table 7.2. The most often mentioned areas where citizens suffered violations of their rights, according to Ukrainians and Moldovans (% of all respondents)

TOP 5 AREAS			
Ukraine		Moldova	
Area	%	Area	%
Healthcare	26	Healthcare	32

Retail sales (consumer rights)	24	Judicial system	21
Social security	16	Employment (rights of employees)	12
Never suffered	27	Never suffered	33

In Belarus, the majority of respondents said that their rights were never violated (54% vs. 25% in Ukraine and 27% in Moldova). A total of 35% of Ukrainians, 27% of Moldovans and only 13% of Belarusians reported that their rights were violated but they did not defend them. The most popular way of defending the respondent's rights in three countries is independent action (25% in Moldova, 16% in Belarus and Ukraine).

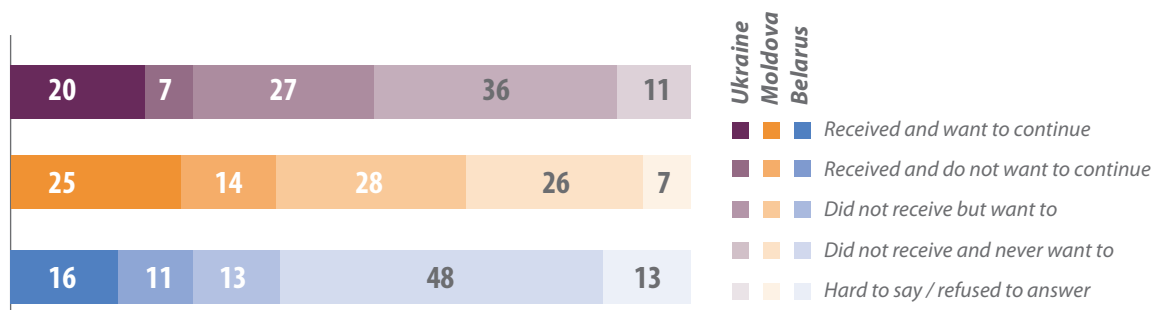
Diagram 7.1. Share of citizens whose rights were violated but they did not defend them, and those whose rights were never violated (% of respondents in each country)



A total of 20% of respondents in Ukraine and 32% in Moldova reported that they had to learn the legislation or look for legal information to defend their rights on their own.

The majority of respondents in all three countries consider it important to raise the civic literacy of the public (Belarus, 92%; Ukraine, 90%; Moldova, 84%).

Diagram 7.2. Experience of learning/receiving civic knowledge and skills (% of respondents in each country)



Approximately 20% of Ukrainians, 25% of Moldovans and 16% of Belarusians reported that they had ever received training on citizens’ rights and skills and wanted to continue receiving such information. A total of 27% of Ukrainians, 28% of Moldovans and only 13% of Belarusians never received such training but would like to. At the same time, the share of respondents who never received any such training and do not want it is relatively high in Ukraine (36%) and Belarus (48%).

Most respondents noted they wanted to improve their knowledge of human rights (Ukraine, 29%; Moldova, 40%; and Belarus, 58%), foreign language proficiency (14%, 20%, and 34% respectively), and business and entrepreneurship skills (11%, 16%, and 34%). At the same time, 34% of Ukrainians and 23% of Moldovans do not want to improve their knowledge in any area. In Belarus, this option was not offered to respondents because this question was only asked to those who confirmed their desire to continue civic education.

Table 7.3. The most often mentioned areas where Ukrainians, Moldovans and Belarusians wanted to improve their knowledge (% of all respondents in Ukraine and Moldova; % of those respondents who reported wishing to continue civic education in Belarus)

TOP 3 AREAS					
Ukraine		Moldova		Belarus	
Area	%	Area	%	Area	%
Human rights	29	Human rights	40	Human rights	58
Foreign languages	14	Foreign languages	20	Foreign languages	34
Business and entrepreneurship	11	Business and entrepreneurship	16	Business and entrepreneurship	34
Hard to say / refuse to answer	11	Hard to say / refuse to answer	6	Hard to say / refuse to answer	4

A relative majority of Ukrainians (30%) want to improve their skills to protect their rights and interests. Other popular skills were: critical thinking, starting and running a business, and conflict resolution (9% each). In Moldova, the most desired skills are protecting one’s own rights and interests (29%) and critical thinking (19%), as well as starting and running a business (13%) and cross-cultural communication (11%). Belarusians also prioritize the protection of their rights and interests (44%), along with using digital technologies, the Internet and social networks (24%), leadership skills and starting and running a business (both 23%), and conflict resolution (20%). At the same time, 32% of Ukrainians and 22% of Moldovans do not want to improve any of these practical skills. In Belarus, this option was not offered to respondents because this question was only asked to those who confirmed their desire to continue civic education.

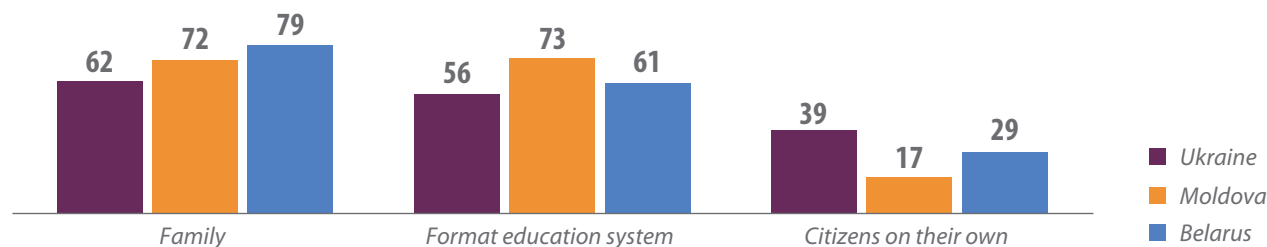
Table 7.4. The most often mentioned practical skills which Ukrainians, Moldovans and Belarusians wanted to build (% of all respondents in Ukraine and Moldova; % of those respondents who reported wishing to continue civic education in Belarus)

TOP 4 SKILLS					
Ukraine		Moldova		Belarus	
Skill	%	Skill	%	Skill	%
Protecting one's own rights and interests	30	Protecting one's own rights and interests	27	Protecting one's own rights and interests	44
Critical thinking	9	Critical thinking	19	Using digital technologies, Internet	24
Starting and running a business	9	Starting and running a business	13	Leadership	23
Conflict resolution	9	Cross-cultural communication	11	Starting and running a business	23
Hard to say / refuse to answer	15	Hard to say / refuse to answer	11	Hard to say / refuse to answer	7

The most preferred ways to obtain knowledge and develop skills are: remotely (Ukraine, 32%; Moldova, 37%; and Belarus, 38%) and attending training programmes and workshops (29%, 34%, and 51% respectively).

Ukrainians and Belarusians prefer obtaining such information through governmental training programmes, independent study or training programmes supported by NGOs. Moldovans prioritize independent study, governmental and private training programmes.

Diagram 7.3. Who is responsible for civic education: top 3 picks (% of respondents in each country)



Most respondents in the three countries believe that teaching a citizen to be free and responsible is possible (73% in Ukraine and Moldova, 65% in Belarus). The majority also believes that such training is the responsibility of a family

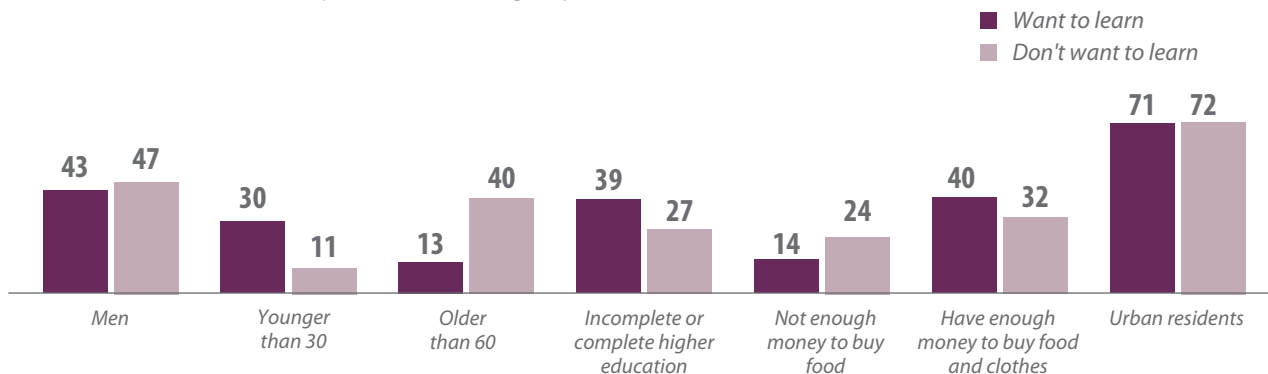
(62% in Ukraine, 72% in Moldova, and 79% in Belarus) and the formal education system (56% in Ukraine, 73% in Moldova, and 61% in Belarus). Furthermore, 39% of Ukrainians, 17% of Moldovans and 29% of Belarusians believe that it should be the responsibility of a citizen himself/herself.

In sum, **the share of respondents potentially interested in civic education (those who want obtain civic knowledge irrespective of whether they have such experience) is greater in Ukraine (47%) and Moldova (53%) than in Belarus (29%)**. However, many Ukrainians (36%) and Belarusians (48%) have never received such training and do not want to.

In Ukraine, the shares of those who want to receive civic education and those who do not are almost identical in terms of gender and rural/urban residence. However, the former group is generally younger, better educated and has better financial status. Among those interested in education, 43% are men and 57% women, and 71% urban and 29% rural residents. A total of 30% of them are younger than 30, 33% are 30-44, 25% are 45-59, and 13% are 60 or older. 39% of them have university degrees or incomplete higher education; 29% have vocational technical education. In terms of financial status, 14% have not enough money to buy food, 46% to buy clothes, 36% to buy durable goods such household appliances, and only 4% can afford all of these items.

For comparison: the group of respondents who do not want to obtain any civic education consists of 47% men and 53% women and 72% urban and 28% rural residents. Only 11% of these are younger than 30, 24% are 30-44, 26% are 45-59, and 40% are 60 or older. A total of 27% of are university graduates or have incomplete higher education, and 30% have vocational technical education. In terms of financial status, 24% have not enough money to buy food, 44% to buy clothes, 30% to buy durable goods, and only 3% can afford all of these.

Diagram 7.4. Social and demographic profile of those who want to receive civic education and those who don't (% respondents of each group in Ukraine)

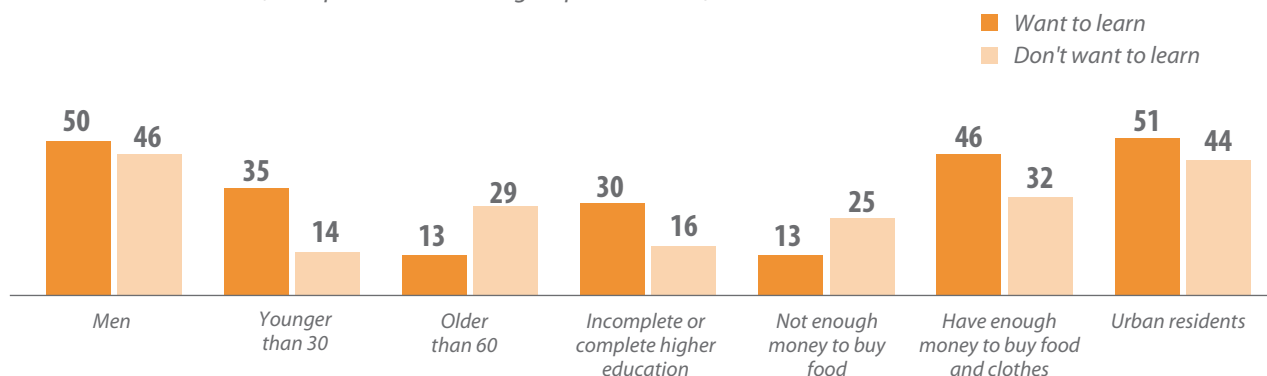


An inter-regional comparison shows that the highest share of those who want to pursue civic education is in Western Ukraine at 66%. The lowest is in Kyiv: 45%.

In Moldova, the same trends are observed – those interested in civic education are younger, better educated and have higher income. The shares of men and women, rural and urban residents are almost the same. A third (35%) are younger than 30; 29% are 30-44, 23% are 45-59, and 13% are 60 or older. A total of 30% graduated from university or have incomplete higher education; 31% have vocational technical education or graduated from college. 13% of respondents have not enough money to buy food, 32% to buy clothes, 36% to buy durable goods, and 19% can afford all of these.

Among those not interested in civic education in Moldova, the share of men is 46% and of women 54%; 44% are urban and 56% rural residents. Only 14% of them are younger than 30, 29% are from 30 to 44, 28% are 45-59, and 29% are 60 or older. University graduates or respondents with incomplete higher education number 16%, while college and vocational technical school graduates constitute 19%. One-quarter (25%) has not enough money to buy food, 43% to buy clothes, 23% to buy durable goods, and only 9% can afford all these items.

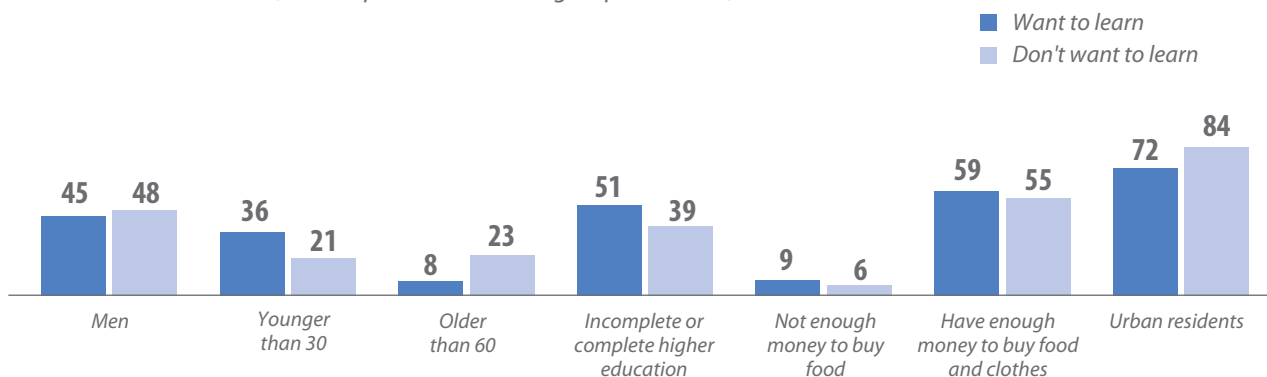
Diagram 7.5. Social and demographic profile of those who want to receive civic education and those who don't (% respondents of each group in Moldova)



In Belarus, the majority of those who want to obtain civic knowledge are younger and more educated, and the share of urban residents among them is higher. There is no significant difference in terms of gender or income – 55% are women, 45% are men; 72% live in cities, and 28% in villages. 36% are younger than 30, 30% are from 30 to 44, 26% are from 45 to 59, and only 8% are 60 or older. A total of 51% graduated from university or have incomplete higher education; 23% have vocational technical education. 9% of respondents have not enough money to buy food, 32% to buy clothes, 48% to buy durable goods, and 11% have enough money to buy all of these.

Among Belarusians who do not want to study civic knowledge, 48% are men and 52% are women; 84% are urban and 16% rural residents. A total of 21% are 29 or younger, 26% are 20-44, 30% are 45-60, and the remaining 23% are older than 60. 39% of them have complete or incomplete higher education, while 31% have vocational technical education. Only 6% of respondents have not enough money to buy food, 39% to buy clothes, 45% to buy durable goods, and 11% can afford all these.

Diagram 7.6. Social and demographic profile of those who want to receive civic education and those who do not (% of respondents of each group in Belarus)



The top 3 areas in which the respondents in these three countries wanted to improve their knowledge/proficiency are: **human rights, foreign languages, and business and entrepreneurship. The most desired practical skills are: protection of one's own rights and interests, critical thinking, and starting and running one's own business.**

The preferred ways to receive the necessary knowledge and skills are online courses and attending the appropriate training programmes and workshops in person. Respondents in all three countries prioritize governmental training programmes and independent study. Most respondents in the three countries believe that teaching a citizen to be free and responsible is possible, and that this is the job of the family and the education system.

According to the focus group participants, the main difference between formal and non-formal education is that the former is provided by accredited (licensed) training institutions (pre-schools, schools, colleges, universities, etc.) and a graduate receives a government-approved diploma/certificate. Moreover, the respondents consider that all specialised training programmes which provide such a certificate are also formal education.

Non-formal education is associated with training centres, training sessions, workshops, private programmes, and platforms for online studies. Non-formal education is not compulsory and a person decides on his/her own. If s/he starts this type of education, it means that s/he is motivated and committed.

“You go there on purpose. You learned about it on the Internet, you were invited, or some other way. In the formal system, if you pass the entry exam, you start studying at a university. And it’s not clear, what you can learn. Well, that’s how it was in Soviet times. Now it’s more intentional. When it comes to these workshops – people go there on purpose, to learn something important”.

(Citizens, Dnipro, Ukraine)

Some examples of non-formal education mentioned by the respondents are: private training, extra IT training, Saturday/Sunday schools, training provided by NGOs, capacity building programmes (on bookkeeping, psychology, pedagogy), workshops for associations of co-owners of multi-apartment buildings (‘OSBBs’), workshops provided by the Pension Fund, Tax Inspectorate (to explain regulations), training of the members of electoral commissions during the elections, nurse training provided by the Red Cross, etc.

The participants showed interest in non-formal education in areas such as foreign languages, OSBB operation, protection of consumer rights, IT, hairdressing, massage, nurse training, and manicuring. They believe that non-formal education should provide new knowledge and skills which help to earn additional income. If it does, the respondents are even ready to pay for it. Moreover, citizens regularly need legal consultations and recommendations (how to prepare a claim or a petition to the authorities, etc.), and they are ready to study this as well. Such non-formal education can be provided by special centres and NGOs.

“Probably, some NGOs. Some smart people that unite into NGOs. They want to promote their values. These could be adequate values. Or inadequate”.

(Citizens, Dnipro, Ukraine)

When it comes to civic knowledge, the respondents from the ‘active’ focus groups are generally interested in it because they feel they have a lack of knowledge about the government’s functioning, the progress of reforms, how the laws work, and what rights and duties they have as the citizens. Such civic education should be provided for free or subsidized by the government. The government should be motivated to educate citizens so that they are proficient and active. The ideal method of non-formal education is workshops in small groups (up to 10 persons) after work hours on weekdays.

According to participants of the ‘passive’ group, civic education should be mainstreamed into formal education at school and university. Moldovans noted that their universities had compulsory courses on human rights. The ‘passive’ citizens have no motivation to improve their knowledge on this topic, nor do they want to obtain any knowledge about NGO activities. They believe that any unknown information can always be found on the Internet.

SUGGESTIONS ON CIVIC EDUCATION FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS CLUSTERS SEGREGATED BY CIVIC LITERACY AND ACTIVISM RATE

The majority in all clusters (both in terms of literacy and activism rate) recognize the importance of civic education for the population of Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus. In all three countries, the more 'savvy' clusters tend to be more positive that their fellow citizens should receive education on the protection of their rights, etc. This is confirmed both by the share of those who support the idea of civic education and by the degree of such support. In particular, 83% of the least knowledgeable cluster A, 93% of respondents of cluster B and 95% of the most savvy cluster C consider civic education important, while 45%, 62%, and 72% of these clusters respectively were the most positive about it. A similar trend is seen in Moldova and Belarus.

The correlation between the civic activism rate and certainty about the importance of civic education is not so straightforward. In Ukraine, the share of 'passive citizens' who consider it important is indeed small; while the share of 'potentially active citizens' who were absolutely positive about its importance is smaller than in the more active clusters. In Moldova, the 'passive citizens' and 'potential organisers' are slightly less positive about the importance of civic education than the other clusters. Likewise, no correlation was noted in Belarus.

As expected, in all three countries the more knowledgeable and educated clusters had more experience in civic education. In Moldova and Ukraine this correlation is stronger than in Belarus. In addition, more active clusters in Ukraine and Belarus tend to have greater community participation experience than the passive groups. However, in Moldova this correlation holds true only for the 'activists of a new generation'.

In Ukraine, respondents from the more savvy and active clusters have a higher commitment to continuing civic education. In cluster A (segregated by civic literacy rate), only 28% of respondents want to continue it, while in clusters B and C the rates are 51% and 72% respectively. At the same time, 35% of 'passive citizens', 47% of 'potentially active citizens', 55% of 'active citizens', and 73% of 'activists of a new generation' reported this as a priority.

In Belarus, the more knowledgeable and active cluster shows more interest in civic education as well. In cluster A, only 22% want to receive information about citizens' rights and skills. In cluster B this is 25%, and in cluster C 40%. The interest in civic education is also lower among 'passive citizens' and 'occasional participants' (20% and 27% respectively) than among 'active citizens' and 'potential organisers' (49% and 55%).

The situation is the same in Moldova. Clusters with a higher civic literacy rate are more motivated to continue civic education – from 35% in cluster A to 59% in cluster B and 73% in cluster C. However, no linear correlation is observed between the civic activism rate and the interest in continuing education. The least motivated are the 'potential organ-

isers' (39%), followed by 'potential participants' and 'active citizens' (57% and 58% respectively). The most motivated are the 'activists of a new generation' and 'passive citizens' (65% and 66%).

Respondents of different clusters in Ukraine (in terms of civic literacy and activism rate) show insignificant distinctions in terms of what knowledge and skills they are most interested in (if we only take into account those who picked at least one area of knowledge or skill). Human rights, foreign languages and business/entrepreneurship are among the top 5 priorities in all clusters. Other popular areas of knowledge among almost all clusters are IT (except for 'potential participants', who ranked it 6th) and social policy (except for 'activists of a new generation' who ranked this 6th also). In terms of skills, the top 5 most desired skills in each cluster are also almost the same: the ability to protect one's own rights and interests, critical thinking, starting and running a business, personal or family budget planning, using digital technologies, Internet and social networks, leadership, and conflict resolution. Some significant distinctions are that 'active citizens' tend to show more interest in social policy, while 'potentially active citizens' are more interested in human rights. Both these group prioritize the skill of protecting their own rights and interests. Foreign languages and journalism skills are a priority of the 'activists of a new generation', the most savvy cluster C chooses environmental protection.

In Moldova, the distinctions between the priorities of different clusters are greater than in Ukraine, but some areas of knowledge and skills are still common for the top 5 of all clusters: foreign languages, human rights, business and entrepreneurship, the ability to protect one's own rights and interests, and critical thinking. Some significant differences are that 'potential participants' prioritize continuing education; 'active citizens' are more interested in human rights and critical thinking; and 'activists of a new generation' want to learn more about the activities and functions of NGOs, trade unions and political parties. Cluster C is less interested than the others in human rights and cross-cultural communication, while cluster A shows less interest in IT and running a business.

In Belarus, the same three areas of knowledge are rated highest by every cluster: foreign languages, human rights, and business and entrepreneurship. Other popular areas are IT (except for 'potential organisers', who did not include it in their top 5) and social policy (except for 'passive citizens', as well as clusters A and C, where it is not in the top 5). The ability to protect one's own rights and interests and starting and running a business are among the top 5 skills of every cluster. Respondents also show high demand for the ability to use digital technologies, the Internet and social networks (except for 'potential organisers') and leadership (except for 'active citizens').

It is also worth noting that 'potential organisers' are more interested in public finance and budgeting, national security and cross-cultural communication, while cluster A prefers electoral law, foreign policy, fundraising and responsible consumption, and cluster B is more interested in media literacy.

With regard to the method of learning, more active and educated citizens in the three countries prioritize non-governmental training programmes more than the other clusters; in Ukraine and Belarus these are provided by NGOs, and in Moldova by private providers.

CONCLUSIONS

CIVIC LITERACY

There are significant gaps in the knowledge of the state structure, regulatory framework, and citizens' rights and duties among Ukrainians, Moldovans and Belarusians. The civic literacy rate is somewhat higher in Belarus, Ukraine ranks 2nd, and Moldova is 3rd.

The hardest questions for Ukrainians concern knowing their representatives in the elected authorities and personal income tax. Only a quarter of Ukrainians know a member of a local council or the political party which nominated him and are aware that the personal income tax rate is 18%. Awareness of the main provisions of the Constitution, the procedure for organising a peaceful assembly, and the contents of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement is also far from perfect. When discussing these findings, the experts found that the reason for the low level of public awareness of budgetary processes and tax amounts is that few people pay their taxes themselves. The accounting department of the company where the employees work generally pays their taxes for them, a Soviet vestige that remains in effect. Thus the citizens do not feel as if they pay tax from their personal budgets. , Entrepreneurs, however, may be more aware of taxation system, experts believe. Since the citizens do not feel personal responsibility for paying taxes, they are poorly aware of how the state budget is generated and spent. Due to low awareness of budgetary processes, the citizens tend to believe populist election promises to cut taxes while increasing social benefits. To prevent this from happening and improve public financial literacy, experts recommend including financial and budgetary issues in the civic education curricula.

The issues of taxation, Constitutional law, the regulatory framework on the freedom of assembly, and the EU-Moldova Association Agreement are also difficult for Moldovans. 52% of Moldovans were not able to correctly identify the personal income tax rate. In addition, Moldovan residents demonstrate poor understating of the separation of powers among the three branches, and their media literacy rate is quite low. Only 33% were able to explain that media literacy is the skill of obtaining, analysing and critically evaluating information from various sources.

In Belarus, citizens barely know their elected representatives. Many respondents do not know the official title of the legislative body or that the people are the sole source of power and sovereignty – as few as 33% believe that this is the people, while 55% attribute this to the President.

These gaps are emphasized by the NGO representatives when discussing the knowledge that current citizens lack. The experts believe that contemporary citizens should have critical skills and competencies such as social activism, understanding what the government and citizens should do, respecting the language, culture and history, horizon-

tal relations, a basic knowledge of the government's functioning, responsibility, political memory (responsibility for electing a certain MP), tolerance, digital literacy, critical thinking, constructive criticism of the government, media literacy, and the motivation and skill to assume responsibility for current processes.

The human rights most important to the respondents are the right to work, access to education, healthcare, and the right to life. All of these could be considered social and economic rights which should be provided by the government. The most frequently mentioned right in all countries is the right to work, which was noted by 26% of Ukrainians and Moldovans. Belarus is the exception, where half of respondents mentioned the right to life, and 49% the right to work. The citizens believe that the government must provide them with jobs. The people adopted this attitude in Soviet times when a paternalistic ideology was prevalent. However, the situation has now changed, and most jobs are created by private business, and a person is responsible for finding a job for himself or herself.

Respondents found it harder to name the duties of citizens than the rights, because they have higher expectations of the state than of themselves. The most important duties were to adhere to law and order (32% of respondents in Ukraine, 34% in Moldova, and 60% in Belarus) and pay taxes (21% in Ukraine, 19% in Moldova, 40% in Belarus).

CIVIC PARTICIPATION

More than half of respondents in the three countries participate in the life of their local community in some form: taking part in land improvement, joint activities with neighbours, meetings of residents and house owners, etc. The share of citizens who report community participation in Ukraine is 63%, in Moldova 62%, and in Belarus 54%. The majority of these would join protests against toxic industrial development and, especially, would engage in land improvement. The respondents prefer participating rather than organising such activities – as few as 2% of Ukrainians and Belarusians and 7% of Moldovans confirmed their willingness to organise them. The main reason for non-participation in all three countries is the lack of time, followed by a lack of interest.

Respondents in all three countries tend to place responsibility for their employment, education, health and financial well-being on themselves rather than on the government. At the same time, they are quite pessimistic about their ability to exert any influence on life in their city/village, their country or abroad. Most people do not feel that they have any leverage to impact anything beyond their family.

In Moldova, the general rate of civic activism, readiness to take part in civic initiatives, and confidence in one's own ability to influence life in the community/country is relatively higher than in Ukraine or Belarus. In particular, 28% of Moldovans believe they are able to influence the situation in their city (compared to 8% of Ukrainians and 6% of Belarusians). At the same time, a larger share of Moldovans than in the other countries consider it hard to be a civic activist in their country (70% vs. 55% of Ukrainians and 50% of Belarusians). The lowest readiness to participate in public life

is observed in Belarus.

During the focus group discussions, we asked the NGO representatives to comment on the civic activism rate and recommend steps to improve it. They advised using the positive connotation of the word 'volunteer' which has recently emerged, promoting the advantages of civic activism by visualizing successful examples and experiences ('act like me'), and focusing on how many social problems directly concern average citizens and how they can help find solutions.

During the expert discussions, the NGO representatives commended the relatively high level of civic activism in all the countries, but also recommended interpreting these data as somewhat overestimated, indicating what is 'socially desirable.' According to experts, the citizens tend to exert as little effort as possible in performing simple civic duties for civic activism. In Ukraine, experts attribute the rise of civic activism to the Maidan developments in 2013-2014 and the hostilities in the east.

Some barriers to community participation noted by experts are laziness and lack of interest, distrust in collective action, lack of confidence, disappointment in the results of protests (protests in Moldova in April 2016) and loss of confidence that citizens can make a difference. In addition, experts say, there are two more fundamental reasons for the low level of civic activism. Firstly, there are no leaders who assume responsibility, and many citizens must satisfy their basic survival needs before proceeding to the higher-level needs. Secondly, paternalistic attitudes are strong. Furthermore, people in the three countries tend to be suspicious and distrustful towards the activities of civic initiatives and NGOs, as they are often accused of being paid or linked to politicians. NGOs are mostly thought of as entities that raise and abuse grant funds. The citizens do not adequately understand the actual functions of NGOs and believe only idlers can work there. Volunteers, however, are held in higher esteem, but people do not understand that the NGOs are also engaged in volunteering and perform some functions of the government. This incomplete understanding of NGO activities may be due to their lack of communication with people.

Moldovans are relatively more involved in the global context and Belarusians are least involved. This is shown by indicators such as proficiency in foreign languages, experience travelling abroad, personal relations with people living abroad, desire to emigrate, and attitudes to international developments. For example, Moldovans more often than Ukrainians and Belarusians noted the importance of the migration crisis in Europe (47%, 22%, and 29% respectively).

CIVIC ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

The values considered most important in Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus are: respect for human life, human rights, social justice, and adherence to the law. Residents in the three countries almost equally believe that the features of a good citizen are: always abide by the law, pay taxes, know his/her duties and rights, and protect them.

It is worth noting that the respondents tended to select different values important to them personally and to citizens generally. In particular, values such as adherence to the law, human rights, order and security, and respect for human life turned out to be more important to respondents personally than to citizens generally. At the same time, values such as democracy, tolerance, and respect for cultural heritage were said to be more important to the society as a whole. What are the reasons for this? On the one hand, the citizens are quite independent now and feel alienated rather than like a part of society. Moreover, they even place themselves in opposition to society. This could result in a different set of values which are considered important to citizens personally and to society. On the other hand, this difference can be also explained by better awareness of our priorities and self-criticism (“I prioritize practical mundane things, while others are more global and high-minded”).

Although the majority of Ukrainians and Moldovans believe that everyone should enjoy equal rights, less than a half of Moldovans believe that citizens’ rights and freedoms cannot be restricted in any circumstances.

Notwithstanding the declared respect for human rights, a certain degree of prejudice towards minorities is observed. The respondents in all three countries would not tolerate living next to drug users, HIV-positive people, sexual minorities, and alcohol abusers; people with disabilities and people speaking other languages enjoy more positive attitudes. Comparing the two countries, Belarusians are more negative about living next to the majority of marginalized groups listed in the questionnaire. The majority of Ukrainians and Moldovans believe that everyone should enjoy equal rights, while only 38% of Ukrainians and 21% of Moldovans believe that citizen’s rights and freedoms cannot be restricted in any circumstances.

In all three countries, the majority **expects more severe punishment by the government for criminals, wants their citizens to show more agency in economic and political life, and prioritizes the protection of environment** over economic growth. When it comes to selecting between free competition and state regulation of certain economic sectors, respondents show no unequivocal preference. Moldovans more often than Ukrainians and Belarusians agreed that their citizens should be more politically and economically active, and that state regulation of certain economic sectors is the best guarantee of economic well-being (the latter statement was supported by 75% of Moldovans compared to 59% of Ukrainians and 53% of Belarusians). In general, the idea of delegating more functions, authority and responsibility to the government is quite widespread.

It was also found that there is a low level of consistency in opinions among the population of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus. Many people support contradictory statements. This might indicate both a poor understanding of the questions by the respondents and contradictory beliefs and immature sets of attitudes in the majority of people. For example, in all three counties, 50% or more of respondents who chose tolerance as a personally important value reported that living next to sexual minorities was unacceptable to them. Respondents who chose human rights, democracy, and personal freedom usually do not support freedom of speech or public actions to protect the rights of national minorities.

CIVIC EDUCATION

The share of respondents potentially interested in civic education (those who want obtain civic knowledge irrespective of whether they have such experience) in Ukraine is 47%, in Moldova 53% and in Belarus 29%.

The top 3 areas in which the respondents in these three countries wanted to improve their knowledge/proficiency are: human rights, foreign languages, and business and entrepreneurship. An interest in non-formal learning of foreign languages and entrepreneurship is evident, and NGOs can mainstream language learning into programmes that promote tolerance and inter-ethnic relations, thus combining the citizens' needs and civic education priorities.

The most desired practical skills are: protection of one's own rights and interests, critical thinking, and starting and running one's own business. The preferred ways to receive the necessary knowledge and skills are online courses and attending the appropriate training programmes and workshops in person. Respondents in all three countries prioritize governmental training programmes and independent study. Respondents who are more civic-savvy than their fellow citizens show more interest in continued civic education.

When it comes to civic knowledge, the respondents from the 'active' focus groups are generally interested in it because they feel they have a lack of knowledge about the government's functioning, the progress of reforms, how the laws work, and what rights and duties they have as the citizens. Such civic education should be provided for free or subsidized by the government. The government should be motivated to educate citizens so that they are proficient and active. The ideal method of non-formal education is workshops in small groups (up to 10 persons) after work hours on weekdays.

According to participants of the 'passive' group, civic education should be mainstreamed into formal education at school and university. Moldovans noted that their universities had compulsory courses on human rights. The 'passive' citizens have no motivation to improve their knowledge on this topic, nor do they want to obtain any knowledge about NGO activities. They believe that any unknown information can always be found on the Internet.

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING NON-FORMAL CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

- The NGO representatives consider it important to raise public awareness regarding the mechanisms of budgeting and public finance so that the people have a clear picture of how the money is spent. In addition, it is also critical to shape public attitudes to the state officials as the administrators rather than owners of public funds, while the budget funds must be considered money that belongs to the community that pays taxes.

- It is recommended that civic education programmes use the positive connotation of the word 'volunteer' which has recently emerged, promoting the advantages of civic activism by visualizing successful examples and experiences ('act like me'), and focusing on how many social problems directly concern average citizens and how they can help find solutions.
- The NGOs should promote civic education in any form (lectures, training and workshops). This not only raises public awareness but also encourages participation and enables people to meet other people, thus increasing the level of tolerance. Broadly speaking, NGOs should engage with the people – the more the better, experts say.
- Experts note that one of the challenges of non-formal education (including civic education) is that no certificates are given to the graduates. They want to receive such certificates to prove to their employers or other institutions that they have certain knowledge or skills. Moreover, the absence of a certificate may be a barrier for those who are uncertain about attending non-formal civic education programmes. Since the certification issue is associated with the quality of non-formal civic education, this should be a task of NGOs and the Ministry of Education, however complicated the process may be.
- Many people who are ready to receive non-formal civic education have unrealistic expectations. Sometimes they do not understand what is behind the names of the training programmes or lectures. Instead, they want to get hands-on information, specific advice and recipes for winning a grant rather than general principles of project proposal development. Therefore, when inviting citizens to workshops or training events, it is critical to learn their expectations and explain to them the format and content of the training sessions.
- When it comes to the issue of payment, several experts believe that civic education should be paid (though perhaps with small fees) to prevent 'training tourism' and make sure that only motivated people attend training.
- Basic civic education should be taught in school. According to the experts, training should be provided by professionals who work in the area of civic education and civil society development rather than teachers of secondary or post-secondary schools. Non-formal civic education programs should be age-specific – for school children, for young people, and for adults as appropriate to their professional experience. They should depend on the needs and time availability of the students. All groups may be motivated to receive additional knowledge.

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FOR NOTES

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