

Institute of Human Rights and Prevention of Extremism and Xenophobia (IHRPEX)

Kiev International Institute of Sociology

During the period from the 26th of November to the 6th of December Institute of Human Rights and Prevention of Extremism and Xenophobia (IHRPEX) together with Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) conducted research regarding the attitude of population towards human rights abuse in Ukraine, towards migrants and extremism display. A field phase of the research was held by KIIS. 2042 respondents living in all regions of Ukraine and in the Crimea (including the city of Kiev) were questioned via interview method by stochastic selection that is representative for the population of Ukraine aged above 18.

Statistical error of the sample with probability 0.95 does not exceed

2.3% in figures close to 50%, 2,0% in figures close to 25% and 75%, 1,5% in figures close to 12% and 88%, 1% in figures close to 5% and 95%, 0,5% in figures close to 1% and 99%, 0,2% in figures close to 0,2% and 99,8%.

(Theoretical figures of statistical error are given without considering a design effect; for the great majority of figures the influence of design of the stochastic selection used in a poll enlarges the error not more than in 1.5 times).

CHAPTER 1. RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE

1. The most important rights for inhabitants of Ukraine

The research results prove that in the same way as in 2006 for the majority inhabitants of Ukraine (56%) the most significant right is *the right to free medical care*. Besides that, the importance of this right even increased comparing with 2006 – at that time 45% of respondents considered it to be one of the most important for themselves. *Right to work* (41%) and *right to social protection* (37%) should be pointed out among other important rights. The importance of these rights in 2010 remains about the same as in 2006. *Consumer rights* (26%) and *right to a fair trial* (20%) are also among five most important rights. Besides that, the importance of the consumer rights increased comparing with the situation 4 years ago – at that time it was 16%, and the importance of the right to fair trial remains the same.

2. Experiencing humiliation and sensation of fear because of violation of one's rights in society

The research results prove that 46% of inhabitants of Ukraine have experienced the sensation of fear and humiliation because of violation of their rights in society during the last year. Besides that, 14% of respondents were experiencing this sensation *in many cases*, and 11% – *often or very often*.

3. Personal experience of the situations when human rights were violated

The research results proved that the right that was violated most of all was *the right to free medical care* – 47% of respondents said that this right was violated either against them personally or against members of their family. However, comparing with 2006 the amount of such people decreased – at that time 54% of respondents had experience of violation of the right to free medical care. 33 % of respondents experienced violation of *the consumer rights*, 30% – violation of *the right to work*, 25% – violation of *the right to social security*. Violation of the rest of the rights was less widespread.

It should be also mentioned that 25% of respondents, according to research results, came across discrimination cases during last year. Most of all discrimination took place because of *material position* – this reason was mentioned by 65% of respondents that came across with discrimination cases during last year. 23% pointed out *age* of a person as a reason. The rest of the reasons were less widespread. Talking about the situations when human rights were violated, most often (53%) it happened in *everyday life*. 36% of respondents pointed out that violation of rights took place when *inquiries and permissions were received*, 33% – in *relations with employers*. Violations in other spheres were less widespread.

4. Level of respect for human rights in Ukraine

As part of the study the subjective estimates of the respondents towards the level of respect for different rights in Ukraine were explored. The respondents were asked to answer to which extent, taking into account their own experience and facts they know, the rights are respected in Ukraine according to a 7-point scale, where 1 – the right is not violated, and 7 – the right is violated always or very often.

The research results proved that the most violated, according to inhabitants', is *the right to free medical care* (mean observation is 6.2), *the right to work* (5.7), *the right to fair trial* (5.6), *the consumer rights* (5.6). The least violated is *the right to freedom of religion* (2.0), *the right to freedom of association* (2.3), *the right to freedom of assembly* (2.5).

The research results proved that comparing with 2006 in case of the *majority* of the rights the evaluation of the level of their respect *has undergone changes*. Only the level of respect for the right to fair trial, children's rights and the right to freedom from torture remained about the same as in 2006. The rest of the rights, comparing with the situation 4 years ago, are either less violated or, vice versa, more violated now. Especially a sudden increase of violation of *the right to free medical care* should be mentioned (from 4.1 in 2006 to 6.2 in 2010), *the right to work* (from 4.2 to 5.7), *the consumers rights* (from 3.9 to 5.6).

Table 4.1

«Taking into account your own experience and facts you know, how do you evaluate the level of respect for human right in Ukraine? Evaluate according to a 7-point scale, where 1 – the right is not violated, 7 – the right is violated always or very often)», mean observation, 2006-2010

	2006	2010
The right to free medical care	4.1	6.2
The right to work	4.2	5.7
The right to fair trial	5.5	5.6
The consumer rights	3.9	5.6
The right to social security	2.7	5.0
The right to education	4.1	4.7
The right to protection against discrimination	2.8	4.1
The right to freedom and personal immunity	5.2	4.0
The right to life	6.0	4.0
Children's rights	3.9	3.9
The right to unhampered possession of property	5.3	3.8
Freedom from torture	3.7	3.6
The right to receive information	3.8	3.6
The right to vote	4.6	3.5
The right to immunity of private life, house, and correspondence	5.1	3.5
The right to go to another country and come back	4.9	3.0
Freedom of speech	3.2	2.9
The right to peaceful assembly	3.7	2.5
The right to association	3.6	2.3
Freedom of religion	4.0	2.0

5. Views of Ukrainian inhabitants concerning the most vulnerable groups

The majority of inhabitants of Ukraine think that *old people* (63%) and *the poor* (61%) become victims of human rights abuse most of all. 38% of respondents said that most of all the victims of such abuse is *youth*.

6. Views of Ukrainian inhabitants concerning who is an immediate offender of human rights abuse

According to inhabitants of Ukraine, in most of the cases *law-enforcement authorities* are immediate offenders of human rights abuse – such view was expressed by 46% of respondents. 42% of respondents consider *local government* to be an offender, 40% – *ministries and other central authorities*, 36% – *people's deputies*.

CHAPTER 2. ATTITUDE TOWARDS MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

Attitude towards arrival of Ukrainians, Russians, and Belarusians to Ukraine

Around a half (52.7%) of respondents have a positive attitude towards enabling the nationalities that traditionally live on the territory of Ukraine to arrive and live on its territory. Almost one third (27%) of respondents think that it can be allowed only to few representatives of these nationalities, 9.3% think that this possibility can be given to only some representatives of these nationalities, 3% have pretty categorical attitude towards this perspective thinking that none of the representatives of above mentioned nationalities should be allowed to arrive to Ukraine and live on its territory.

Attitude towards arrival of representatives of other nationalities and races to Ukraine

The respondents have a more selective attitude towards the arrival of representatives of other nationalities and races to Ukraine, in particular, around one fifth of respondents (19.6%) think that this possibility can be given to a great number of people, the most widespread thought is that the possibility to arrive to Ukraine should be given to few people (37%), 23.1% of respondents said that this possibility should be given only to some representatives of other nationalities and races, 9% expressed a very negative attitude towards such possibility, they think that nobody should be given this possibility.

Attitude towards arrival to Ukraine of representatives of poorer countries than Ukraine from outside Europe

The attitude towards the arrival to Ukraine of representatives of poorer countries from outside Europe is more cautious than towards the representatives of other nationalities. In particular, only one tenth of respondents (10.9%) think that this possibility should be given to many people, 27.3% of respondents said that only few people should be allowed to arrive to Ukraine, almost the same amount of respondents (25.5%) think that such possibility should be given to some representatives of poorer countries from outside Europe. One fifth (19.4%) think that none of the representatives of these countries should be allowed to arrive to Ukraine and live on its territory.

It should be mentioned that the attitude towards arrival to Ukraine of representatives of poorer countries is a quite different among representatives of different material groups. A general tendency is that the richer a household is more rarely its members are in favor of prohibition of arrival to Ukraine of mentioned people (among those who does not have enough money for food – 21.6%; among those who have enough money for food, but it's difficult for them to buy clothes – 21%; among those who have enough money for food, clothes and they are able to save something – 17.6%; among those who are able to afford buying some valuables – 15.5%).

CHAPTER 3. LEVEL OF EXTREMIST ORIENTATIONS AMONG THE POPULATION OF UKRAINE

1. *Problems of measurement of extremist orientations. Investigation of index number.*

In our research only the extremism on the ground of racial strife was studied. Under **extremism** we will understand violent acts towards the representatives of ethnic groups in connection with the fact of belonging to these groups. Under extremist orientation we will understand a positive attitude to such violent acts (to be more correct, it should be mentioned that we measure only cognitive component of extremist orientation).

The answers for three questions were figures of extremist orientations in the research – regarding attitude towards attacks on representatives of some ethnic groups, attitude towards beating of representatives of these groups and regarding the desire that humanity would “get rid of” these groups. Below in the tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 positives answers for these questions are accumulated (in 3.1 and 3.2 is the sum of answers “approve completely” and “more like approve”). In the tables 3.1 and 3.2 are also given answers “difficult to say”. The thing is that the question about one’s attitude towards violent acts is a sensitive question; it is difficult for a respondent to express approval of these actions, that’s why a part of respondents blink the question. The question is pretty simple, that’s why, to our point of view, the answer “difficult to say” is not the problem of difficulty of the question, but unwillingness to express one’s positive attitude, so it is a display of extremist orientations to some extent. It should also be mentioned that ethnic groups chosen by us are not meant to represent all multitude of ethnic groups, we chose some groups the attacks on which were announced in press, only as indicators of extremist orientations display.

Table 3.1. Percentage of approving answers for the question “From time to time we happen to hear about the attacks on (NATIONALITY) in Ukraine. Some people favor such attacks, other criticize. And what is your attitude towards such attacks?”

Attacks on	Favor	Difficult to say	Together
Asians	2.8	7.5	10.3
Africans	3	6.4	9.4
Jews	1.7	5.9	7.6
Gypsies	4.5	7	11.5

Table 3.2. Percentage of approving answers for the question “Let’s imagine that your friend has beaten (SAY VICTIM’S NATIONALITY) because of his/her nationality. What attitude would you have towards his action?”

Beating of	Favor	Difficult to say	Together
Asians	2.6	5.5	8.1
Africans	2.4	5.5	7.9
Jews	1.3	5	6.3
Gypsies	4.4	5.7	10.1

Table 3.3. Percentage of those who have chosen these groups in response to a question “There is a point of view that some ethnic and social groups are dangerous for existence and development of humanity, so it would be preferably to get rid of them at all. Have a look at a list of different ethnic and social groups and indicate, please, which of these groups the humanity should get rid of”.

Humanity should get rid of:

People of African origin	7.8
People of Asian nationalities	6.7
People of Caucasian nationalities	11.8
Gypsies	17.1

We see that variation of difference in the attitude towards Asians, Africans, and Jews is within the bounds of sampling error, attitude towards Gypsies is a little bit worse. In general approving attitude towards attacks and beating expresses from 1% to 4% of population, this is a small percentage, but 1% of adult population of Ukraine is almost 400.000 people. If we take into account the answers “difficult to say”, the amount of people with extremist orientations approaches 10%. Data of the table 3.3 also demonstrate a higher level of extremist orientations than a percentage of those who favor beating and attacks (probably it’s because it’s not indicated in the question in what ways the humanity will be getting rid of undesirable groups).

Compassion of interview results with data of 2008 showed that significant changes in the level of extremist orientations were not found.

The index of extremist orientations was calculated as a sum of positive answers for all three questions. Those respondents who do not favor attacks and beating of any representatives of ethnic groups and do not want their liquidation have a minimum value of the Index 0. Respondents that favor attacks and beating of all the groups and want their liquidation have maximum value.

2. Abundance of extremist orientations. Factors that influence the level of extremism.

Table 3.4 demonstrates distribution of Ukraine’s population according to the level of extremist orientations index. As we see, 73% of population does not have any extremist orientations; around 19% have some elements of these orientations (together 92%).

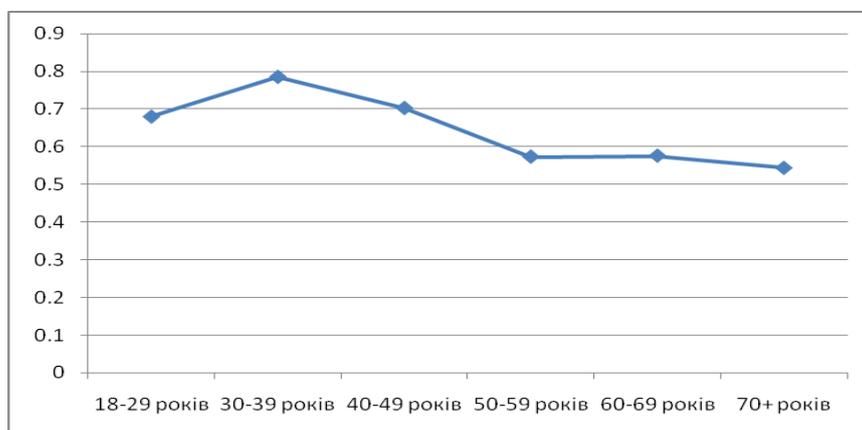
Table 3.4. Distribution of the population of Ukraine according to the value of extremist orientations index

Index of extremist orientation	N	%
0	1427	72.6
1	264	13.3
2	104	5.3
3	48	2.5
4	68	3.5
5-9	32	2.6
10-12	18	0.9
Together	1961	100.0

So around 8% of the population has displays of extremist orientations, among them 1% has a very high level of these orientations. This percentage is quite relative if to treat it directly, but it can be used for comparison of different groups of population and to monitor the dynamics of the processes. It should also be mentioned that orientations as attitudes towards conditional events and a real behavior of the respondent may not coincide, the connection between the level of orientations and their growth into a real behavior is not explored, and that's why these data cannot be treated as evidence for a direct threat to life or health of the representatives of ethnic groups.

As for the factors of extremist orientations, men have quite higher level of extremist orientations than women (0.72 comparing with 0.60).

Diagram 3.2. Level of extremist attitudes of age groups



- *18-29 years
- *30-39 years
- *40-49 years
- *50-59 years
- *60-69 years
- *70+ years

As for the age, strangely enough, a younger group (18-29 years) has a lower level of extremist orientations than the middle one, and then in general the level of extremism decreases (probably it is related to the fact that we research the population apart from 18 and the group of 18-29 years old is quite wide).

Regarding education, the level of extremist orientations is the lowest for those ones who have higher education, that was expected, but the highest is among people with specialized secondary education, that is unexpected and needs further investigation.

CHAPTER 4. LEVEL AND DYNAMICS OF XENOPHOBIA IN UKRAINE

4.1. Measurement method of xenophobia

For determination of attitude towards different ethnic groups we use Bogardus¹ scale in the version of N. Panina who adjusted it and used this scale for the first time in Ukraine, see Supplement, Questionnaire, unit Xenophobia:

I agree that the representatives of a national group mentioned in the line...
(SEE **TABLE** , WHERE THEY ARE LISTED ALPHABETICALLY)

...were members of my family	1
...were my close friends	2
...were my neighbors	3
...were my colleagues	4
...were residents of Ukraine	5
...were guests of Ukraine	6
...were not allowed to enter Ukraine at all	7

SEVERAL ANSWERS ARE POSSIBLE FOR EACH NATIONAL GROUP

Table 1

	members of my family	close friends	neighbors	colleagues	residents of Ukraine	guests of Ukraine	would not allow to enter Ukraine
Americans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Belarusians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Jews	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

And so on.

Although in general researches were done as direct interviews (face-to-face), part of the questionnaire with the questions of Bogardus' scale the interviewer gave to respondents for filling out by themselves. It should be mentioned that in the list that was offered to respondents there were not only representatives of ethnic groups, but also representatives of language-ethnic (Russian-speaking Ukrainians) and racial groups. The scale is built in such a way that if the respondent agrees to admit the representatives of any national group as members of his family, he also agrees to admit them as friends,

¹ Bogardus E.S. Measuring Social Distance // Journal of Applied Sociology. – 1925. – vol.9 – p.299-308

neighbors, colleagues, and so on. And if he agrees to admit them as colleagues, so he therefore agrees to admit them as residents or visitors of Ukraine. So, if the respondent has enclosed any figure in the line into a circle, he will also enclose all the figures that are bigger. The first (the smallest) figure in the line can be considered an answer for the question, in other words a minimum social distance to which the respondent agrees to allow to approach to him the representatives of this ethnic group.

Therefore the index of social distance between a certain group of respondents and any ethnic group is an arithmetic middling from minimum social distances to which the respondent agrees to allow approaching the representatives of this ethnic group. It ranges from 1 to 7. Index is 1 if all the respondents agree that the representatives of this national group were members of their families; index is 7 if all the respondents would not allow the representatives of this national group to enter Ukraine.

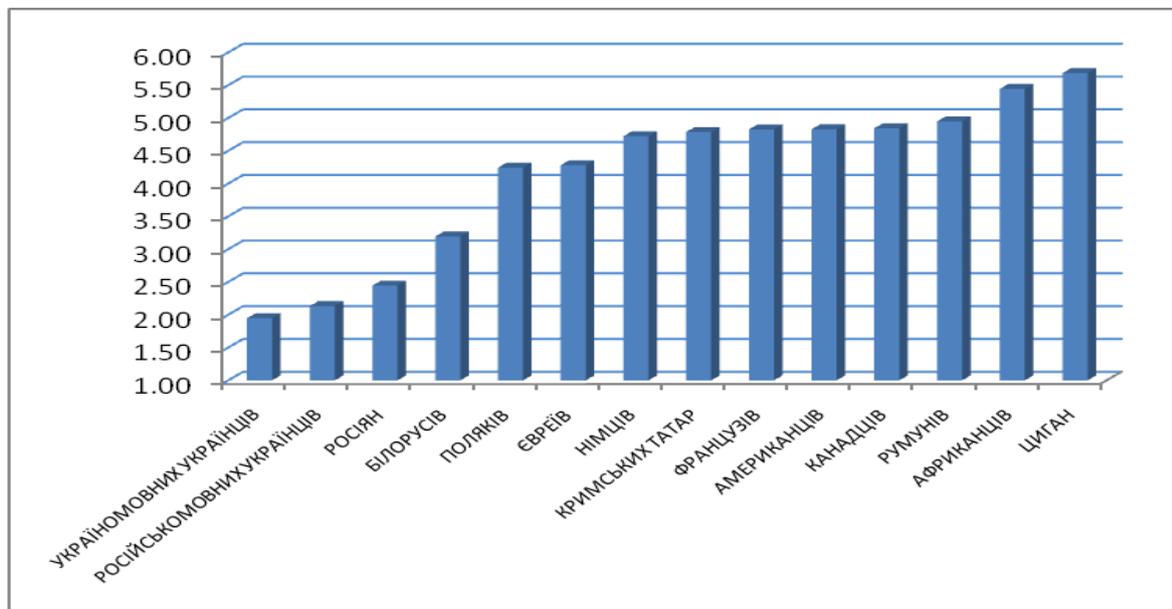
An average social distance from the respondent to all 13 ethnic groups can be used as an index of xenophobia level of each respondent – we will call it **xenophobia index (Xenophobia Index - XI)**. The index ranges from 1 to 7, where 1 means that the respondent is ready to admit as his family member all 13 ethnic groups, and 7 means that the respondent would not allow the representatives of any 13 groups to enter Ukraine.

4.2. Hierarchy of prejudices in 2010

On the diagram 4.1 are given data about the hierarchy of attitude of the population of Ukraine towards different ethnic groups.

Diagram 4.1. Social distance (xenophobia index) from the population of Ukraine to some ethnic and lingual-ethnic groups in 2010

- 1) Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians
- 2) Russian-speaking Ukrainians
- 3) Russians
- 4) Belarusians
- 5) The Poles
- 6) Jews
- 7) Germans
- 8) Crimean Tartars
- 9) The French
- 10) Americans
- 11) Canadians
- 12) Romanians
- 13) Africans
- 14) Gypsies



It can be seen on the diagram that the hierarchy of prejudices of the population is as follow: Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians, Russian-speaking Ukrainians, then Russians and Belarusians.

Then with some breakaway there are the Poles and Jews (difference of their indices is insignificant), then almost on the same level are Germans, Crimean Tartars, the French, Americans, Canadians, and Romanians. Africans and Gypsies hold two last positions.

4.3. Dynamics of xenophobia

For determination of xenophobia dynamics we also used data of 18 omnibuses – sociological researches held by Kiev International Institute of Sociology in 2004-2010 apart from the research by the Institute of Human Rights and Prevention of Extremism. The data are representative for the population of Ukraine aged from 18. The sample is stratified by regions and types of residential areas. On the first stage a random selection of residential areas is done (using PPS – probability proportion to size), on the second stage of the sample a random section of post offices is done and then they do a random selection of household addresses in the territory of post offices and respondents in each household. In different years interviewing was held in 120-165 cities and villages (in the territory of 250-375 post offices) in all 24 regions of Ukraine and in the Crimea.

Sampling error for the array in general according to a fraction of the feature in different years was ranging from 3% to 4% taking into account design effect (we estimate design effect of our sample as 1.5). The amount of respondents aged from 18 and older every year varies from 1.500 to 2.000 people (in the majority of researches is around 2000). A general amount of respondents interviewed during all these years (1994-2010) is around 34.000 people. Let's consider dynamics of xenophobia level (Diagram 4.2)

It can be seen on the diagram that xenophobia index in Ukraine from 1994 to 2010 considerably increased. What can it be related to? Unfortunately, existing data are not enough to answer this question, only some hypotheses can be expressed. Increase of xenophobia till 1998 including can be explained by decrease of the level of prosperity of

the population and poverty level increase (according to the data of our annual monitoring the percentage of those who didn't have enough money for food was growing and reached its maximum of 52% in 1998 and after that it began decreasing, in 2007 it was around 13%).

Diagram 4.2. Dynamics of xenophobia level in Ukraine (1994-2010)



*Xenophobia index

The second factor that explains further changes of xenophobia level may be interethnic conflicts that take place outside of the country, wars and conflicts in other parts of the world which are being widely broadcasted in media and become media-events (war in Chechnya, Afghanistan, on Balkans, in Iraq). Our researches demonstrate increase of adherents of Ukraine's independence after the beginning of war in Chechnya or after the hostage taking in Moscow², both our data and data of N.Panina demonstrate the level of xenophobia increase after the 11th of September, 2011. International conflicts increase level of fear and distrust towards the representatives of other ethnic groups. The diagram shows that maximum of xenophobia level was in 2007, during the last three years xenophobia level has been stable.

CHAPTER 5. ABUNDANCE OF ANTI-SEMITIC BELIEFS AMONG THE POPULATION OF UKRAINE

In order to estimate the abundance of anti-Semitic beliefs among the population of Ukraine a special index was constructed. Calculation methodology of the index was developed by American organization "Anti-Defamation League", the main task of which is

struggle against anti-Semitism and all forms of intolerance. The index itself is an additive scale which includes a number of possible ideas about Jews. The more “stereotypical” ideas a person has about Jews, to a greater extent this person shares anti-Semitic ideas. It’s important to mention that the methodology is oriented on measurement of *cognitive*, but not behavioral aspects. In such a way the presence of anti-Semitic ideas not necessarily indicates the corresponding behavior towards Jews. A built index has two variants: “Index of anti-Semitic ideas-14” (IASI-14) and “Index of anti-Semitic ideas-10” (IASI-10) according to a number of affirmations that are used to build it.

1. *Jews support each other more than the population of Ukraine in general.*
2. *Jews always like to be the first ones.*
3. *Jews-businessmen are as honest as other businessmen*.*
4. *Jews who live in Ukraine are more devoted to Israel than to Ukraine. .*
5. *Jews have too much power in Ukraine now.*
6. *Jews have too much influence in the sphere of business now.*
7. *Jews have too many irritable defects.*
8. *Jews are pleasant and benevolent people*.*
9. *Jews more than other people are ready to recourse to shady actions in order to reach what they want. .*
10. *Jewish businessmen are so quick-witted and keen that other people are not able to compete with them successfully. .*
11. *Jews are not bothered with the fact what is going on with somebody, except of their own congeners.*
12. *Jews-businessmen are less honest than other businessmen.*
13. *Jews-employees tend to hire only Jews*.*
14. *Jews have too much influence on Ukrainian media*.*

Respondents could agree or disagree with each affirmation. For each approval of the affirmation respondent gets 1 point, except of the position 3 and 8 of the scale (for these affirmations 1 point is given in case of choosing the variant “more like not agree”), after that a general amount of points is calculated.

A respondent can have from 0 to 14 points according to the scale IASI-14, from 0 to 10 points according to the scale IASI-10. The meaning of the scale is interpreted as showed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1.

Index of anti-Semitic ideas meaning interpretation

IASI-14	IASI-10	Interpretation
0-1 points	0-1 points	Are not anti-Semites (considerably deprived of anti-Semitic ideas).
2-6 points	2-5 points	With an average level of anti-Semitic ideas (are not completely free of prepossession towards Jews, but are not those that one should be deeply worried about).
7-14 points	6-10 points	With predominantly anti-Semitic ideas (actually anti-Semites).

Based on received data we can state that the great majority of the population of Ukraine belongs to those that have a *high* level of anti-Semitic ideas and actually anti-

Semites. To “non anti-Semites” belong from 7.4% (IASI-14) to 9.4% (IASI-10). To a group of people with an *average* level of anti-Semitism belong from 45.2% (IASI-10) to 45.8% (IASI-14), to actually “anti-Semites” belong from 41.4% (IASI-10) to 43.1% (IASI-14) of the population of Ukraine.

Within a framework of this research we have a possibility to compare received data with the data of 2008 gathered by KIIS within the project of xenophobia studying (comparison is done according to the index IASI-10). The amount of “non anti-Semites” increased a little bit (from 7.3% in 2008 to 9.4% in 2010) and also of those who are actually “anti-Semites” (from 34.8% in 2008 to 41.4% in 2010). Accordingly, the amount of those who have an average level of anti-Semitic ideas decreased from 52.4% in 2008 to 45.2% in 2010.

It should be pointed out that all represented data are received with the help of Anti-Defamation League and reflect the definition of anti-Semitism given by this organization.