

## Political Regionalism in “Orange” Ukraine<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

This study analyzes changes in regional electoral behavior and foreign policy attitudes in Ukraine after “Orange Revolution.” The research question is whether the public support for major groups of political parties and presidential candidates and attitudes towards principal foreign policy issues in regions of Ukraine have changed after the “Orange Revolution.” This article employs comparative and statistical analyses of voting results of the 2007, 2006, and 2002 parliamentary elections, the 2010 local elections, and the 2004 and 2010 presidential elections, and survey data to examine effects of regional political culture, compared to other factors, on support for pro-nationalist/pro-Western and pro-Russian/pro-communist political parties and presidential candidates. This study also uses survey data to analyze changes in attitudes towards NATO, the European Union, and a union with Russia in regions of Ukraine and a change in separatist preferences in Crimea. The analysis shows that Ukraine after the “Orange Revolution” remained divided along regional lines in terms of support for political parties and presidential candidates and attitudes towards foreign orientation.

## **Research Question**

The “Orange Revolution” represented an important event in Ukrainian politics. The “Orange Revolution” involved a victory of Viktor Yushchenko in the repeat second round of the 2004 presidential elections and mass actions of protest, which followed an attempt to falsify the outcome of the second round of the elections in favor of Viktor Yanukovich. Many previous studies focused on the analysis of these developments at the national level.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, regional political polarization during, and, especially, after the 2004 presidential elections attracted relatively less attention.

This study analyzes changes in regional electoral behavior and attitudes concerning foreign orientation in Ukraine after the “Orange Revolution.” The research question is whether the regional support for major political parties and presidential candidates and attitudes towards principal foreign policy issues have changed significantly after the “Orange Revolution.” This paper employs comparative and statistical analyses of changes in regional support for parties since the 2002 parliamentary elections, support for presidential candidates in the 2004 and 2010 elections, and attitudes towards major foreign policy issues, such as Ukraine’s membership in NATO, the European Union, and Ukraine’s relations with Russia.

## **Previous Studies**

Previous studies have shown existence of strong regional political divisions in post-Soviet Ukraine. In presidential and parliamentary elections held since Ukraine became independent in 1991, Western regions backed nationalist and pro-Western parties and politicians, while historically Eastern regions have tended to vote for pro-Russian and pro-communist parties and politicians. Similarly, surveys of public opinion conducted since 1991 demonstrated a divide

between Western and Eastern regions on many political issues, such as Ukraine's membership in NATO and its relations with Russia.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of previous studies of Ukrainian regionalism focused on analysis of a single election or survey. With some exceptions, they examined regional political divisions before or during the "Orange Revolution." Several studies conducted since the "Orange Revolution" showed that the 2006 and 2007 parliamentary elections and the 2010 presidential elections produced significant regional differences in support for main political forces.<sup>3</sup> However, most of these studies did not examine changes in regional divisions, in particular, in support for political parties, presidential candidates, and attitudes towards foreign policy orientations of Ukraine since the "Orange Revolution."

Since it was defined as a revolution, the "Orange Revolution" was expected to produce fundamental and radical changes in political institutions, leaders, parties, and values on both national and regional levels in Ukraine, in particular, in terms of significant rise in popular support for Orange parties and politicians and pro-Western foreign orientation of Ukraine. Although scholars differ in their definitions of revolution, fundamental and rapid changes are often regarded as a key feature of revolutions that make them different from evolutionary changes exemplified, for example, by reform movements. Many theories of revolution imply profound and comprehensive political changes on both national and regional levels.<sup>4</sup>

Some scholars predicted that the "Orange Revolution" would reduce regional differences in support for political parties and attitudes concerning foreign orientation of Ukraine. They argued that a non-democratic political system and non-free mass media were used by the Kuchma-led government and his supporters to create artificial regional divides.<sup>5</sup> The democratization of the political system and increased media freedom were expected to prompt a

decline in popular support for parties that promoted a polarized agenda and were regionally based.<sup>6</sup>

Some studies presented the “Orange Revolution” as a “revolt of post-Soviet generation” because of the prominent role of youth political organizations, such as *Pora*, and university students in mass actions of protests against the falsification of the results of the second round of the 2004 presidential elections.<sup>7</sup> Because the young generation underwent political socialization in independent Ukraine, it was supposed to have more homogeneous values compared to older generations. The homogenizing effect of the generational change was likely to become more evident in the post-2004 elections as large numbers of younger people socialized in independent Ukraine were reaching voting age.

Similarly, the economic and financial crisis, which started in Ukraine in 2008, was expected to increase salience of economic factors, and consequently reduce importance of regional factors, as determinants of the voting behavior, in particular, during the 2010 presidential elections.<sup>8</sup> Ukraine was one of the most affected countries in the world by this global economic and financial crisis. The effects of the crisis were still felt in Ukraine during the 2010 elections.

Several studies argued that a gradual decline in regional political divisions in Ukraine started before the “Orange Revolution.” They implied that such a decline was likely to continue after the 2004 elections. For example, one study concluded that the 2002 parliamentary election showed diminishing regional variation in support for political parties compared to the 1994 and 1998 elections, and that these results indicated ‘a trend to an increasingly uniform pattern of party support across this nation.’<sup>9</sup>

In contrast, another study concluded that although the regional differences in the vote for main presidential candidates were declining in the 1990s they became more salient in 2004. The 2010 presidential elections showed the same regional alignment of the voters as in 2004 with the West and the Center backing different candidates than the South and the East.<sup>10</sup> Some scholars argue that there is a significant probability of a territorial break-up of Ukraine.<sup>11</sup>

Two book-length studies, which were published after the “Orange Revolution,” argued that a potential conflict in Crimea, located in the South of Ukraine, was successfully prevented. This autonomous region, which witnessed a strong separatist movement in the 1990s became integrated into the Ukrainian polity through a gradual process which begun before the “Orange Revolution.” The pro-Russian secessionist movement in Crimea failed. Secessionist attitudes are not strong even among ethnic Russians, who constitute the majority of the population in the region.<sup>12</sup> Similar conclusions are made concerning other geographically Southern and Eastern regions, which include significant Russian ethnic minority population.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast, some scholars argued that if the Orange government chose to pursue a policy of creation of a nation state (the French model) rather than a policy of state nation (the Canadian model), for example by limiting the use of the Russian language, this could have prompted rising opposition among ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking Ukrainians, who are concentrated in the geographic East and South of Ukraine.<sup>14</sup> Since President Yushchenko and his bloc “Our Ukraine,” that played prominent role in Orange coalition governments, pursued such a policy of creation of a nation state, this would likely result in growing regional divisions, in particular, in the case of Eastern and Southern regions.

The policy of Ukrainization, which was promoted by President Yushchenko and his bloc emphasized Ukrainian as one state language that has to be used universally not only in the

government and the military but also in education, mass media, and movies. Viktor Yushchenko and representatives of his bloc in the government attempted to ingrain common national values with the help of the public education system and information policies. For example, they intended to replace Soviet concepts of Ukrainian history with Ukrainian nationalist narratives and to create one Ukrainian national church that would be completely independent from the Russian Orthodox Church. In the realm of foreign policy, President Yushchenko and his bloc emphasized accession of Ukraine to NATO and the European Union (EU) as serving national interests. However, implementation of many of these policies was limited by ideological and personal disagreements between Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, who served twice after the “Orange Revolution” as prime-minister of Ukraine, and by opposition, primarily, from the Party of Regions and the Communist Party of Ukraine that formed a coalition government along with the Socialist Party in 2006.

During his presidency, Viktor Yushchenko and many of his allies denied existence of regional divides in Ukraine and talked about the people of Ukraine as one nation.<sup>15</sup> They often repeated a slogan of the “Orange Revolution” that proclaimed that ‘the East and the West are together.’ For example, President Yushchenko stated that the East-West divide is ‘children’s fairytales.’<sup>16</sup> He argued that although certain regional differences existed, they were declining in significance, in particular, concerning attitudes towards Ukraine’s membership in NATO, use of the Ukrainian language, and nationalist interpretations of Ukrainian history.<sup>17</sup>

### **A Political Culture Theory of Ukrainian Regionalism**

This study, based on the political culture theory, predicts that regional differences in fundamental political orientations would persist after the “Orange Revolution.” Political culture refers to shared fundamental values, norms, and orientations of people. It can emerge as a result

of different historical experiences and religious legacies. These values, norms, and orientations are transferred from one generation to another by means of political socialization by family, organized religion, mass media, education institutions, neighbors, and other agents of socialization.<sup>18</sup> Voter alignment and party systems in many countries reflect historical cleavages<sup>19</sup>.

Political values change gradually over a long period of time, in contrast to political attitudes which are much more volatile. Changes in voting behavior and attitudes over a significant period of time can indicate a trend in political values. For this reason, frequently analyzed results of only the 2004 presidential elections and mass actions of protest that accompanied these elections cannot be regarded as a reliable indicator of the political culture of Ukrainians.

Political culture theories attribute regional divisions in Ukraine to different political values that are unlikely to change radically over short period of time. Distinct regional political cultures emerged as a result of different historical experiences before World War I and World War II. Seven Western Ukrainian regions experienced Polish, Czechoslovak, and Romanian rule between the World Wars. The political culture in most of these regions was also influenced by the legacy of Austro-Hungarian rule before World War I and by the Greek Catholic Church. Nationalist and pro-Western values developed in the regions of historical Western Ukraine, i.e. regions that became part of Soviet Ukraine as a result of World War II. In contrast, a pro-Russian and pro-communist political culture evolved in regions of historic Eastern Ukraine, i.e. the rest of present-day Ukraine, as a result of long periods of first Russian and then Soviet rule.<sup>20</sup>

Shared regional historical experiences before World War I and World War II shaped political values and norms of Ukrainians living in the same region in similar directions. These



historical periods represented crucial junctures in the evolution of distinct regional political cultures. They coincided with formation of national identities and mass education of the population. These political values were transferred from one generation to another, including the post-Soviet generation in independent Ukraine.

The political culture theory predicts that separatist views in Crimea are unlikely to decline radically over a relatively short term period, specifically, since the “Orange Revolution.” Not only ethnic Russians but also ethnic Ukrainians in Crimea developed stronger pro-Russian and pro/Communist political values compared to their counterparts in other regions of Ukraine, because this region belonged to Russia, including in the Soviet times, for a much longer time period than regions of not only Western Ukraine but also historically Eastern Ukraine. Crimea was transferred from Soviet Russia to Soviet Ukraine only in 1954. In contrast to Russians and Ukrainians, the Crimean Tatars developed anti-Russian and anti-Communist political values because of their distinct historical experience, which was linked to Islam and Ottoman Turkey. Before it was incorporated into the Russian Empire by force in the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Crimean khanate was a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. Experience of their forced exile by Joseph Stalin from Crimea to Central Asia during World War II also contributed to distinct political culture of Crimean Tatars.<sup>21</sup>

Previous studies mostly examined the regional vote for Orange vs. anti-Orange parties or for individual parties and presidential candidates, specifically, in the repeat second round of the 2004 elections.<sup>22</sup> The Orange vote, in particular, the vote for Viktor Yushchenko in the final round of the 2004 presidential elections is often equated with nationalist and pro-Western orientation. However, the Orange camp was a tactical alliance of political leaders and parties with differing ideologies and foreign policy orientations that was created to support Viktor

Yushchenko in the 2004 elections. Its main members included Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko and their blocs. They were joined by Oleksander Moroz and the Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU). However, the SPU broke away from the Orange coalition after the 2006 parliamentary elections, and it joined the coalition of the Party of Regions and the Communist Party. The Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc and the “Our Ukraine-People’s Self-Defense Bloc” tried again to form a coalition after the 2007 elections, but the coalition de-facto broke apart soon after its formal creation because of ideological and personal differences between Yushchenko and Tymoshenko. There was no similar Orange alliance during the 2010 presidential elections. Moreover, former Orange leaders opposed each other, and Viktor Yushchenko publicly called to vote in the second round against both candidates, e.g. not only against Viktor Yanukovych but also against Yulia Tymoshenko.

Although Yulia Tymoshenko backed Yushchenko during the 2004 elections and employed certain pro-nationalist and pro-Western rhetoric, her and her bloc’s general ideological and foreign policy orientation is best characterized as opportunistic. For example, Tymoshenko and the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc (BYuT) abandoned their alliance with Viktor Yushchenko and attempted in the first half of 2009 to make a deal with Viktor Yanukovych and the Party of Regions. This deal was aimed at creation of a ruling coalition of the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc and the Party of Regions. The deal envisioned changing the constitution and the electoral system, extending the term of the parliament elected in 2007 until 2014, introducing the elections of the president by the parliament, and making Viktor Yanukovych a president of Ukraine in exchange for Tymoshenko keeping her position as prime-minister. Similarly, Yulia Tymoshenko backtracked on the issue of her support for NATO membership of Ukraine.<sup>23</sup>

Serhii Tyhypko and Arseniy Yatsenyuk, who came forth in the 2010 presidential elections, demonstrated similar opportunistic orientation to attain power. Tyhypko headed the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League before the collapse of the Soviet Union, served in the governments under President Kuchma, in particular in the Yushchenko cabinet, was an advisor to Prime-Minister Yulia Tymoshenko in 2008, and then joined the government under President Yanukovich in 2010. Yatsenyuk also worked in both Orange and non-Orange governments. He changed political parties several times, and backtracked on his support for NATO membership during the 2010 presidential elections.

This study classifies regional support for political parties and presidential candidates according to their ideological and foreign-policy orientations. It groups parties or presidential candidates into two broad categories: pro-nationalist/pro-Western and pro-Russian/pro-Communist. The pro-nationalist/pro-Western category includes political parties, electoral blocs, and presidential candidates who publicly espouse nationalist ideas, such as Ukrainization of all levels of government, secondary and higher education, and mass media and/or advocate pro-Western foreign policy orientation, in particular both NATO and EU memberships, as one of their primary goals.

The pro-Russian/pro-Communist category is comprised of parties, blocs, and presidential candidates who publicly advocate granting Russian language a status of an official language, pro-Russian orientation in foreign policy, and/or are regarded as successors of the Ukrainian republican branch of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The pro-Russian orientation in foreign policy is defined broadly, and includes emphasis on political and economic cooperation and/or integration with Russia, for example, supporting a prolongation of the Russian Black Sea Fleet stay in Crimea, joining the customs union of Russia, Belarus, and

Kazakhstan, or the Union of Russia and Belarus. The inclusion of pro-Russian and pro-Communist parties or candidates in the single category reflects the fact that the pro-Communist parties and presidential candidates tend to support official status of Russian language and pro-Russian foreign policy orientation. In addition, main pro-Communist parties, such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, formed a joint coalition with the Party of Regions after the 2006 parliamentary elections and the 2010 presidential elections.

This classification is intended mainly to represent perceptions of the ideological and foreign policy orientations of parties and presidential candidates by voters. Many political leaders and political parties in Ukraine serve their own business interests or interests of oligarchs, and they often change their ideological positions on key issues. In addition to Yulia Tymoshenko, who was herself an oligarch and whose electoral bloc includes several oligarchs, and Serhii Tyhipko, who is the former owner of one of the largest Ukrainian banks, this partly applies to the Party of Regions, which represents interests of several oligarchs. For example, the Party of Regions when it was a member of “For United Ukraine” Bloc supported President Kuchma’s decision, which he made after the 2002 parliamentary elections, to seek Ukraine’s membership in NATO. However, the party and its leader, Viktor Yanukovich publicly declared their opposition to NATO membership in the 2004 and subsequent elections.

Many previous studies attributed political regionalism in Ukraine to the role of ethnic, linguistic, economic, or geographic factors. For example, geographically western regions have much higher proportions of ethnic Ukrainians and Ukrainian speakers and much lower proportions of ethnic Russians and Russian speakers compared to the South and the East.<sup>24</sup> Western regions are less economically developed, industrialized, and urbanized, and they, generally, have lower proportion of large and small employers and the self-employed among

economically active population.<sup>25</sup> These studies also implied persistence of regional divisions after the “Orange Revolution” because these factors were unlikely to change radically over relatively short period of time.

However, most of these studies ignored political culture in their analysis. For example, they often defined regions based on a geographic location. For example, previous definitions of Western Ukraine range from 3 regions of the former Austrian province of Galicia to all regions located to the west of the Dnieper (Dnipro) River. In this article, Western Ukraine is defined as comprising of historic regions of Galicia (the Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, and Ternopil Regions), Bukovyna (the Chernivtsi Region), Carpatho-Ukraine (the Transcarpathia Region) and Volhynia (the Volyn and Rivne Regions). These regions have distinctive political culture because of their much shorter historical experiences of Russian and Soviet rule compared to other regions of Ukraine.

The question of the extent of changes in regional political orientations in Ukraine after the “Orange Revolution” is important not only for theoretical reasons but also for policy reasons which have implications beyond Ukraine. The US-led recognition of independence of the Kosovo region of Serbia in the beginning of 2008 and the use of military force by Russia in Georgia in August 2008 to back separatist regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia created precedents for a unilateral declaration and recognition of independence of separatist regions. These precedents, divisions among main Ukrainian political parties and leaders over such issues as NATO membership of Ukraine, status of the Russian Black Sea Fleet stationed in Crimea, and status of the Russian language in Ukraine, and involvement of foreign countries, in particular Russia and the United States, have a potential of reviving separatist movements in Ukraine and creating a major international crisis similar to crises over break-away regions of Yugoslavia and

Georgia. Pro-Russian separatist movements in Crimea in the 1990s and in Eastern and Southern regions that attempted to declare an autonomous republic during the 2004 presidential elections received significant popular support in these regions of Ukraine, but these movements lacked support from the Russian government.<sup>26</sup>

Ukraine's NATO membership was actively advanced by Viktor Yushchenko and the bloc "Our Ukraine," and it was supported by the United States. In contrast, the Party of Regions, the Communist Party, and a number of other political organizations in Ukraine opposed Ukraine joining NATO. The Russian government declared the NATO membership of Ukraine as an unacceptable threat to security of Russia. Vladimir Putin, Russian president at the time, warned during the NATO summit in Romania in April 2008 that such a move could result in a break-up of Ukraine along regional lines.<sup>27</sup>

### **Data and Methodology**

This study uses official voting results to examine changes in regional support for major parties in the 2007 snap parliamentary elections and the 2006 parliamentary elections, compared to the 2002 parliamentary elections. It employs a national survey conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) in 2007 to analyze the role of regional factors in support for major presidential candidates. A KIIS poll conducted in March of 2010 soon after the presidential elections provides an additional reference point to establish trends in regional voting preferences. This study also employs national surveys conducted by the Razumkov Center and the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology to examine changes in regional attitudes towards NATO, the European Union, and relations with Russia in 2002-2008. The 2008 Razumkov Center Survey, which was conducted in Crimea and included 6,891 respondents in this region, provides data concerning foreign policy orientations in Crimea.<sup>28</sup>

Multivariate OLS regression analysis is used to compare effects of regional variables on a percentage of the vote received by pro-nationalist/pro-Western and pro- pro-Russian/pro-Communist parties and blocs in the 2002, 2006, and 2007 parliamentary elections in 26 regions of Ukraine.<sup>29</sup> The results of the local elections in October 2010 are examined with the help of comparative analysis because these elections were not held in Kyiv city and in the regional parliament of the Ternopil Region.

Political organizations are grouped into these two categories because the pro-nationalist/pro-Western orientation *versus* the pro-Russian/pro-Communist orientation emerged as a leading cleavage in Ukraine after it became independent in 1991. In addition, the large number of different parties and blocs and presidential candidates which contest each election and in some cases change their political alliances and positions on key political issues, makes it too impractical to analyze changes in regional support of each organization and presidential candidate.

The pro-nationalist/pro-Western category includes the following electoral contestants: the Yushchenko bloc “Our Ukraine” in the 2002 and 2006 elections, the Ukrainian People’s Bloc and the bloc of *Pora* and the Party of Reforms and Order in the 2006 elections, *Svoboda* in the 2006 and 2007 elections, and the “Our Ukraine”-People’s Self-Defense Bloc in the 2007 elections. The pro-Russian/pro-Communist category is comprised of the following parties and blocs: the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Communist Party of Workers and Peasants, the Communist Party (Renewed), the Progressive Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of Ukraine, ZUBR (for the Union of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia), the Russian Bloc, and “For United Ukraine” Bloc in the 2002 elections; the Party of Regions, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, Nataliia Vitrenko’s “People’s Opposition” Bloc, and several smaller parties and electoral

blocs in the 2006 elections; the Party of Regions, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Progressive Socialist Party, and the Communist Party (Renewed) in the 2007 elections.<sup>30</sup>

The multivariate regression analysis compares the role of regional variables in the first and final rounds of the 2004 and 2010 presidential elections rounds. The following candidates are classified as pro-nationalist/pro-Western in the first rounds: Viktor Yushchenko in 2004, and Viktor Yushchenko, Oleh Tyahnybok, and Anatoliy Hrytsenko in 2010. Pro-Russian/pro-Communist presidential candidates are as follows: Viktor Yanukovych, Oleksander Moroz, Petro Symonenko, Nataliia Vitrenko, and Oleksander Yakovenko in 2004, and Viktor Yanukovych, Oleksander Moroz, and Petro Symonenko in 2010. Only candidates who received more than 1 percent of the vote in more than one region in one of the elections are included.

The study undertakes a similar analysis of the repeat second round of the 2004 presidential elections and the second round of the 2010 elections since they included at least one of the pro-nationalist/pro-Western (Viktor Yushchenko in 2004) and pro-Russian presidential candidates (Viktor Yanukovych in 2004 and 2010). The vote for Yulia Tymoshenko in the second round in 2010 is included for comparison purposes with the vote for Viktor Yushchenko in 2004. Although she was not openly a pro-nationalist/pro-Western candidate, many voters in the second round of the 2010 elections regarded her as relatively more pro-nationalist/pro-Western than Viktor Yanukovych.

The results of the second round of the 2004 presidential elections are excluded because of a large-scale fraud in favor of Viktor Yanukovych. In spite of claims by some losing parties and candidate, in particular, Yulia Tymoshenko concerning the second round of the 2010 elections, there is no evidence of similar large-scale fraud in other elections examined in this study. There is evidence of use of administrative resources and relatively small scale fraud in the



2002, 2006, and 2007 parliamentary elections, and the first and final rounds of the 2004 and 2010 presidential elections.<sup>31</sup> However, because of the relatively small level of the fraud, it is unlikely to have significant effect on the results of the analysis. Similarly, although the use of administrative resources and fraud increased during the local elections in October 2010, their overall results, with some exceptions, were consistent with results of the exit polls and pre-election polls.

Logistic regression analysis of intended vote for pro-nationalist/pro-Western and pro-Russian/pro-Communist parties and presidential candidates employs data of a KIIS national poll conducted in February 2007. Pro-nationalist/pro-Western parties and blocs in this survey are as follow: the bloc “Our Ukraine,” the Ukrainian People’s Bloc and the bloc of *Pora* and the Party of Reforms and Order. Pro-Russian/pro-Communist organizations in the 2007 KIIS poll are as follows: the Party of Regions, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and Nataliia Vitrenko’s Bloc. Viktor Yushchenko is the only pro-nationalist/pro-Western candidate who received significant support in the 2007 KIIS poll. The 2007 KIIS poll includes the following pro-Russian/pro-Communist presidential candidates: Viktor Yanukovych (the leader of the Party of Regions), Petro Symonenko (the leader of the Communist Party), Oleksander Moroz (the leader of the Socialist Party), and Nataliia Vitrenko (the leader of the Progressive-Socialist Party).

The Western regions dummy, as the omitted dummy variable in both OLS and logistic regressions, is used for the comparison of historically Western Ukraine with three separate Eastern Ukrainian regions (the Center, the South, and the East). The Western regions dummy is a proxy for distinct political culture of regions which had become a part of Soviet Ukraine as result of World War II and had much shorter histories of Russian and Soviet rule compared to three geographic groupings of regions in historically Eastern Ukraine. The Catholic variable measures

the proportion of Greek Catholics in regional population. The ethnic Ukrainian variable refers to the proportion of ethnic Ukrainians in the regional population in the 2001 census. The gross regional product per capita in 2004 measures the level of the region's economic development. The urbanization variable represents the proportion of urban residents in the 2001 census. Apart from similar regional variables, the independent variables in individual-level logistic regressions are derived from ethnicity, language, education, place of residence, age, and gender of the respondents.

### **Political Party Vote**

A comparison of regional results from the parliamentary elections held in 2007, 2006, and 2002 does not show revolutionary changes in the political orientations of Ukrainians in different regions. Although support for pro-nationalist/pro-Western parties in Western Ukraine declined in 2007 compared to 2006 and in 2006 compared to the 2002 elections, it remained in all three elections much higher than in the geographic Center, the South, and the East. Conversely, the vote for the pro-Russian/pro-Communist parties remained in 2007 and 2006 similarly to 2002 much lower in historically Western Ukraine compared to Central, Southern, and Eastern regions. In comparison with the 2002 elections, support for these parties and blocs in the 2007 and 2006 elections increased in the East and the South and declined in the Center. (Table 1).

[Table 1 and 2 about here]

Regression analysis shows that the average Western region in both 2007 and 2006 elections, as in 2002, was much more supportive of pro-nationalist/pro-Western parties compared to Central, Southern, and Eastern regions keeping the ethnicity, religion, economic development, and urbanization variables constant. Conversely, the vote for pro-Russian/pro-

Communist parties in the average region in the geographic Center, the South, and the East of Ukraine remained in 2007 and 2006 much higher compared to Western Ukraine. The regional variables are statistically significant in all three elections. Standardized regression coefficients (Beta) show that the East and the South variables have much bigger effect, compared to ethnicity, Catholic religion, gross regional product per capita, and urbanization rate, on the regional vote for both pro-nationalist/pro-Western and pro-Russian/pro-Communist parties in the 2007, 2006, and 2002 elections. The relative effect of the Center region dummy declined in 2007 and 2006 compared to 2002. (Table 2).

Logistic regression analysis of intended vote in the 2007 KIIS poll demonstrates that the odds of voting for pro-nationalist/pro-Western parties in Western Ukraine are about 2.5, 3, and 4 times higher than in, respectively, the Center, the South, and the East when other factors, such as ethnicity, language, education, age, and gender are held constant. The odds of voting for pro-Russian/pro-Communist parties in the Center, the South, and the East, are, respectively, about 4.5, 18, and 25 times higher than in the West. The regional differences are statistically significant in all these cases. (Table 3).

Results of the local elections in October 2010 show that the level of regional support for pro-Russian/pro-Communist parties remained much lower and support for pro-nationalist/pro-Western parties much higher in Western regions compared to other parts of Ukraine. The Party of Regions along with the Communist Party and smaller pro-Russian/pro-Communist parties received the absolute or the relative majority of seats in the regional councils in all regions of the East (74-97 percent), the South (75-93 percent), and the Center (41-66 percent). In historically Western Ukraine, these parties won a relative majority of the seats only in the Chernivtsi Region (48 percent), and they failed to win such a majority in all other regions (10-34 percent).<sup>32</sup>

In contrast, *Svoboda*, the ‘United Center’ party, the “Our Ukraine” party, the Ukrainian People’s Party, the People’s Movement of Ukraine along with smaller nationalist/pro-Western parties and Tymoshenko’s *Batkivchyna*, which embraced nationalist and pro-Western public ideology after the 2010 elections, together won the absolute or the relative majority of seats in all regions of historic Western Ukraine (40-63 percent) with the exception of the Chernivtsi Region (29 percent). In contrast, these parties received only between 0 and 11 percent of the regional councils seats in the East, 5-8 percent in the South, and 3-38 percent in the Center.<sup>33</sup>

### **Support for Presidential Candidates**

In the first and the repeat second rounds of the 2004 presidential elections, Viktor Yushchenko received the highest level of support in Western Ukraine (78 and 89 percent respectively). The absolute majority of voters in Central regions (from 63 to 84 percent) also backed Yushchenko in the repeat second round of the elections. However, his level of support in these regions in the first round was much smaller (from 39 to 62 percent). The regional pattern of the vote for pro-Russian/pro-Communist presidential candidates in the first round and for Viktor Yanukovich in the repeat second round of the 2004 presidential elections was diametrically opposite to that of Yushchenko. (Table 4).

Although the combined level of support for Viktor Yushchenko and other pro-nationalist/pro-Western candidates in the first round of the 2010 presidential elections declined significantly compared to 2004, it remained much higher in the regions of Western Ukraine (8-38 percent) compared to all regions in the East and the South (1-4 percent) and most regions in the Center (3-9 percent). Conversely, even though the vote for pro-Russian/pro-Communist presidential candidates also declined in the first round of the elections in 2010 compared to 2004, it was generally much lower in Western Ukrainians regions (6-32 percent) than in the rest of

Ukraine (18-80 percent). Transcarpathia remained a partial exception to this pattern in both 2010 and 2004 (32 and 44 percent, respectively). (Table 4).

[Table 4 about here]

While his level of support stayed very high in the East, Viktor Yanukovich increased his percentage of the vote in all Western, Central, and Southern regions, with the exception of Crimea, in the second round of the 2010 elections, compared to the final round of the presidential contest in 2004. However, the level of regional support for Yanukovich continued to vary significantly. Voters in Western Ukraine (from 7-9 percent in the regions of Galicia to 28 percent in Bukovyna and 42 percent in Transcarpathia) generally demonstrated much lower support for Yanukovich compared to most regions in the Center (24-40 percent), and all regions in the South (60-79 percent) and in the East (63-90 percent). Conversely, the vote for Yulia Tymoshenko, compared to the 2004 vote for Viktor Yushchenko declined in all regions with the exception of Crimea and the East where it was relatively stable but low. The regional pattern of the Tymoshenko vote in the second round of the 2010 elections was similar to the Yushchenko vote in 2004. (See Table 4).

The regression analysis shows that differences in the vote for pro-nationalist/pro-Western presidential candidates between Western Ukraine and other regions remain statistically significant in first rounds of both 2004 and 2010 elections. Pro-nationalist/pro-Western vote in the average region in the Center, the South, and the East in 2004 was lower by respectively 19, 39, and 52 percent compared to the average Western region. The difference between Western regions and Central, Southern, and Eastern regions in 2010 was 7, 9, and 15 percent, respectively. The regional differences in the pro-Russian/pro-Communist vote between Western

Ukraine and other regions were statistically significant in both 2004 and 2010 with the exception of the Centre in the 2010 elections. (Table 5).

The magnitude of the regional disparities declined in the first round of 2010 compared to 2004 (Table 5). However, the decline in the size of regional differences mostly reflects the participation of Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhii Tyhytko, who positioned themselves as more centrist candidates, in the first round of the 2010 elections, in contrast to the first round of the 2004 elections when they supported, respectively, Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovych. Regional variables had the strongest effect on both the pro-nationalist/pro-Western vote and the pro-Russian-pro-Communist vote in the first round of the 2004 presidential elections. In 2010, the East and the South variables remain the strongest predictors of the pro-Russian/pro-Communist vote, while the East variable is the strongest predictor of the vote for pro-nationalist/pro-Western presidential candidates in 2010.

[Table 5 and 6 about here]

The magnitude of the regional differences in support for Viktor Yanukovych in the final rounds of the presidential elections in 2004 and 2010 are similar. The same applies to the size of the regional disparities in the vote for Viktor Yushchenko in the repeat second round in 2004 and Yulia Tymoshenko in the second round in 2010. Differences between Western Ukraine and the Southern and Eastern regions in the vote for the presidential candidates in the final rounds of both elections are statistically significant at the 1 percent level in all regressions. The Center variable is statistically significant determinant (at the 10 percent level) of the regional vote for Yulia Tymoshenko in the second round of the 2010 presidential elections. (Table 6).

The percentage of ethnic Ukrainians in the regional population has a positive and statistically significant effect on vote for pro-nationalist/pro-Western candidates in the first round

of the 2004 elections and for Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko in the final rounds of both elections. Conversely, the ethnic Ukrainian variable is negatively associated with the vote for pro-Russian/pro-Communist presidential candidates in the first rounds and for Viktor Yanukovich in final rounds in both 2004 and 2010. The percentage of Greek Catholics is a positive and statistically significant determinant of the pro-nationalist/pro-Western vote in the first rounds of both the 2004 and 2010 elections and the Tymoshenko vote in the second round in 2010. This variable has a negative effect on the pro-Russian/pro-Communist vote in the first round of the 2004 presidential elections. The level of urbanization becomes a statistically significant determinant of regional vote for the nationalist/pro-Western candidates in the first round of the 2010 elections. (See Table 6).

Other variables, such as language and class, that were suggested by previous studies do not change main results of the regression analysis concerning the effect of the regional political culture on the regional voting behavior in both presidential and parliamentary elections in 2002-2010. When the Ukrainian native language is used instead of Ukrainian ethnicity, the regional variables remain statistically significant in all 14 regression models. In contrast to ethnicity, the proportion of Ukrainian native speakers in the regional population becomes statistically significant determinant of the vote for Viktor Yanukovich in second round of the 2010 elections.<sup>34</sup> When the proportion of large and small employers and the self-employed among economically active population is added as an independent variable, it is statistically insignificant in 13 out of 14 regression models, while the original effects of the regional variables remain.

Regression analysis of intended voting preferences for potential presidential candidates in the 2007 KIIS poll shows that the odds of support for Viktor Yushchenko in historically

Western Ukraine were, respectively, about 2, 4, and 5 times higher than in the Center, the East, and the South. Conversely, the odds of the vote for Viktor Yanukovich and other pro-Russian/pro-communist presidential candidates in the West were approximately 4, 16, and 18 times lower than in Central, Southern, and Eastern regions. The effects of all these regional variables are statistically significant at the .1 percent level. Age is positively associated with support not only for pro-Russian and pro-Communist parties and politicians but also pro-nationalist and pro-Western parties. (Table 3).

### **Changes in Foreign Policy Orientations**

Survey data show that Western Ukrainian regions remained consistently supportive of such key foreign policy objectives advocated by Viktor Yushchenko during his presidential campaigns and during his presidency as Ukraine's membership in NATO and the European Union. In contrast, other regions of Ukraine, including the geographic Center, which overwhelmingly voted for Viktor Yushchenko during the 2004 presidential elections, have stayed more supportive of aims advanced by Viktor Yanukovich, such as the opposition to NATO membership and support for pro-Russian orientation in foreign policy.

Razumkov Center polls show that regional disparities concerning support for Ukraine joining NATO increased somewhat after the "Orange Revolution." Majorities of Western Ukrainians, reaching as high as 70-75 percent, were likely to vote for NATO membership in almost all polls conducted from 2002 to 2008 if such a referendum were held at that time. Support for NATO in the Center ranged in the 20s and 30s. In contrast, the likely vote for NATO membership dropped significantly in the South and the East after the 2004 elections, and it constituted in some polls 7-8 percent in these two regions. (Figure 1).



Similarly, regional differences concerning the European Union membership increased somewhat since the end of 2004. The level of support for joining the European Union remained relatively stable in Western Ukraine (around 80-90 percent) and the Center (around 60-80 percent) after the “Orange Revolution.” However, public backing for Ukraine joining the EU declined significantly in the East and the South. While the majority of the respondents in these two regions (around 60-80 percent) backed the EU membership prior to the 2004 presidential elections, the level of support after the “Orange Revolution,” generally, dropped below 50 percent. (Figure 2).

[Figures 1 and 2 about here]

A comparison of surveys conducted in 2005 with those conducted in the second half of the 1990s shows certain changes in regional views on relations between Ukraine and Russia. Western Ukrainian regions, compared to Eastern Ukrainian regions, remained much bigger proponents of Ukraine and Russia becoming completely independent countries.<sup>35</sup> Support for Ukraine joining the union of Russia and Belarus decreased in the Center, but was stable in other regions. If a referendum were to be held on the issue of joining a union of Russia and Belarus, Ukraine would be as sharply divided along the same regional lines as in 1998. The majority of respondents, excluding the undecided, in the geographic East (92 percent), the South (84 percent), and the Center (53 percent), compared to 31 percent in Western regions, favored such a union for Ukraine in 2005.<sup>36</sup> In comparison, a KIIS poll showed that 31 percent of Western Ukrainians and, respectively, 67 percents of the respondents in the Centre, 80 percent in the South, and 90 percent in the East favored Ukraine joining a union of Russia and Belarus in 1998.

KIIS polls, which gave respondents greater number of options in selecting preferred relations with Russia, indicate that only a small minority of the respondents in Western regions

(4-6 percent) expressed their support for Ukraine and Russia uniting into one state in 1996, 2006, and 2008. Support for such a union declined somewhat in the South and the East in 2006 compared to 1996. However, separatist attitudes increased again in the East in 2008 to the levels that were comparable to 1996. Almost half of residents of the geographic East in both 1996 and 2008 (49 and 47 percent, respectively) and 40 percent in 2006 favored the option of unification of Ukraine and Russia into one country. In the South, support for the unification declined slightly from 40 percent in 1996 to 33 percent in 2008. Backing for a Ukrainian-Russian partnership with open borders, without visas or customs, remained relatively stable in these regions and in the Center. Such an option for relations with Russia became more popular in geographic Western regions after the “Orange Revolution.” Sixty two percent of people in these regions in 2008, compared to 43 percent in 1996, and 52 percent in 2006 backed this option. Despite of its declining popularity, a much higher proportion of the respondents in the geographic West than in other regions continued to embrace a view that Ukraine and Russia should be like other independent countries with closed borders, visas. (See Table 7).

[Table 7 about here]

No major political party has publicly supported secession in Ukraine since the 2004 elections when the Party of Regions threatened to establish an autonomous Republic in the Eastern and Southern region. However, the absence of major overt separatist movements in Ukraine cannot serve as a reliable indicator of popular support for separatism since actions or public calls for changes of the territory or the borders of Ukraine are punishable by an imprisonment under the Criminal Code, which was adopted in 2001.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, a number of Western Ukrainian intellectuals after the 2010 presidential elections started to voice publicly an idea of splitting Ukraine. In addition, pro-Russian separatist ideas have been publicly expressed

by certain politicians and intellectuals in Crimea after the Ukrainian independence, in particular, after the “Orange Revolution.” Although most of Western and Eastern Ukrainian proponents of separatism advocate a peaceful secession of some regions or Czechoslovak-style peaceful break-up, specifically, via referendums, they neglect a real possibility of a violent conflict, which accompanied secessionism in other post-communist countries, in particular, in Russia, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, and Serbia.

### **Crimea**

Since a disintegration of the “Russia” Bloc, which won two thirds (67 percent) of the vote in the 1994 regional election, in the middle of the 1990s, overtly separatist pro-Russian organizations did not receive strong support in national and local elections in Crimea. However, results of the national parliamentary and local elections show that pro-Russian and pro-Communist parties and blocs increased significantly their support in Crimea since the “Orange Revolution.” Seventy one percent of the voters in Crimea in the 2006 parliamentary elections, 77 percent in the 2007 parliamentary elections, and 71 percent in the 2010 local elections, compared to 55 percent in the 2002 parliamentary elections, backed parties and blocs of such an orientation. (Table 1). While support for the Communist Party in Crimea dropped significantly since 2002, the Party of Regions supported by the Russian Bloc rose to become the most popular political organization in Crimea. In contrast, electoral support for pro-Ukrainian nationalist and pro-Western parties in Crimea remained relatively stable in the 2006 parliamentary elections (8 percent) and the 2007 snap elections (7 percent), compared with the 2002 elections (9 percent) (Table 1). In the 2010 local elections, these parties along with *Batkivshchyna* received 11 percent of the votes.<sup>38</sup>

In the 2008 Razumkov Center Survey, the overwhelming majority (91 percent) of the respondents in Crimea backed Ukraine joining a union of Russia and Belarus (Razumkov Center, 2008, p. 59). In comparison, 99 percent of the Crimeans in the 1998 KIIS Poll supported such a union. Undecided respondents, who represented small minorities in both cases, are excluded.

The 2008 Razumkov Center Survey showed that 73 percent of the Crimeans, who made their minds on this issue, backed a secession of Crimea from Ukraine with a goal of joining Russia. When asked separately, 47 percent of the respondents in Crimea in 2008 favored their region seceding from Ukraine and becoming an independent state. Six percent of the respondents gave an affirmative answer to a question concerning support for unification of Crimea with Turkey.<sup>39</sup> The results are noteworthy because the survey was conducted shortly after Russia went to war with Georgia to support a pro-Russian separatist region of South Ossetia.

In 1996, estimated 46 percent of the Crimeans in a SOCIS-Gallup poll supported their region joining Russia, while 22 percent backed independent Crimea.<sup>40</sup> The 2001 Razumkov Center survey conducted in the region showed that 50 percent of the respondents favored Crimea becoming a part of Russia, and 9 percent preferred to see their region as an independent state.<sup>41</sup>

Although these questions are not exactly comparable because of differences in their wording and the number of alternative answers offered, the general pattern indicates persistence and even certain increase in the secessionist attitudes among majority of the Crimeans, especially ethnic Russians and Ukrainians. For example, the 1996 SOCIS-Gallup poll showed that 68 percent of ethnic Russians, 47 percent of ethnic Ukrainians, and 9 percent of the Crimean Tatars wanted Crimea to join Russia. In addition, 17 percent of Russians, 20 percent of Ukrainians, and 30 percent of the Crimean Tatars favored independence of Crimea. In the 2008 Razumkov

Center Survey, 85 percent of ethnic Russians, 65 percent of ethnic Ukrainians, and 17 percent of the Crimean Tatars in Crimea wanted this region to secede from Ukraine and join Russia.

Separately, 49 percent of Russians, 45 percent of Ukrainians, and 39 percent of the Crimean Tatars supported independence of Crimea.<sup>42</sup>

In contrast to ethnic Russians and Ukrainians in Crimea, the Crimean Tatars support mainly not pro-Russian but Crimean Tatar-oriented separatism. For example, the 2008 Razumkov Center survey shows that 33 percent of Crimean Tatars, compared to 6 percent of ethnic Ukrainians and 2 percent of ethnic Russians, favored unification of Crimea with Turkey. In a separate question, 59 percent of the Crimean Tatars, compared to 2 percent of Russians and 7 percent of Ukrainian, preferred their region to become a Crimean Tatar national autonomy in Ukraine, even though the Crimean Tatars comprised according to the 2001 census about 10 percent of the population of Crimea, including Sevastopol city.<sup>43</sup>

### **Conclusion**

This study shows that Ukraine after the “Orange Revolution” remained divided along regional lines in terms of support for major political parties and presidential candidates and attitudes concerning such principal foreign policy issues as Ukraine’s membership in NATO and the European Union and relations of Ukraine with Russia. Comparative and statistical analyses of the parliamentary election results in 2007, 2006, and 2002, the 2010 local elections results, the presidential elections results in 2004 and 2010, and the 2007 KIIS poll data, Western Ukrainian regions after the “Orange Revolution” continued to express much higher levels of support for pro-nationalist/pro-Western political parties and presidential candidates than other regions. In contrast, Eastern and Southern regions and, to a lesser extent, Central regions continued to back pro-Russian or pro-Communist parties and presidential candidates. This pattern holds when other

factors, such as ethnicity, religious composition of the population, the level of economic development, language, education, and age, are held constant in regression analysis.

Razumkov Center poll data reveal that a divide between historically Western Ukraine and the East and the South on issues of NATO and EU memberships widened after the “Orange Revolution.” Respondents in the Western regions were much more supportive than the East, the South, and, to a lesser extent, the Center of Ukraine joining NATO and the EU. In contrast, the respondents in the East, South, and, to a lesser degree, the Centre continued to express much stronger backing, compared to Western Ukrainians, for some form of a union with Russia.

In Crimea, popular support for pro-Russian/pro-Communist parties increased since the “Orange Revolution,” while backing for pro-nationalist/pro-Western parties remained relatively stable. Even though overtly separatist organizations did not win large proportion of the votes in elections in Crimea, pro-Russian values continue to be strong. Support for secession of this region from Ukraine in order to either to join Russia or to become an independent state remained prevalent among ethnic Russians and Ukrainians in Crimea. Different kinds of separatist preferences remain popular among a significant proportion of the Crimean Tatars.

The analysis of the elections, which were held in Ukraine since the “Orange Revolution,” and similar analysis of survey data concerning preferences for political parties, presidential candidates, and foreign policy orientation provide for support the regional political culture hypothesis. Significant differences in fundamental political orientations between Western and Eastern regions have persisted after the “Orange Revolution.” Since political culture evolves slowly, the regional political divisions are likely to remain an important factor of the Ukrainian politics in the foreseeable future, and they have a potential to undermine a territorial unity of one of the biggest European countries.

Table 1. Vote for pro-nationalist/pro-Western and pro-Russian/pro-Communist political parties and blocs in the 2002, 2006, and 2007 parliamentary elections, percent

Region	Pro-nationalist/pro-Western			Pro-Russian/pro-Communist		
	2002	2006	2007	2002	2006	2007
<i>West</i>						
Chernivtsi	46	31	21	20	21	23
Ivano-Frankivsk	75	55	40	6	5	5
Lviv	64	49	39	9	6	6
Rivne	55	36	22	21	17	15
Ternopil	69	49	39	5	7	5
Transcarpathia	37	30	32	21	25	26
Volyn	58	30	21	17	11	12
<i>East</i>						
Dnipropetrovsk	6	6.5	7	56	58	59
Donetsk	3	2	2	76	88	89
Kharkiv	6	7	8	59	64	63
Luhansk	4	2	2	67	85	86
Zaporizhzhia	8	7	5	54	66	68
<i>South</i>						
Crimea	9	8	7	55	71	77
Kherson	12	11	9	55	54	57
Mykolaiv	6	7	6	57	64	66
Odesa	7	8	7	56	61	67
<i>Center</i>						
Cherkassy	27	16	16	42	29	25
Chernihiv	25	14	15	46	36	32
Khmelnysky	35	23	19	35	23	20
Kyiv City	28	20	17	23	22	22
Kyiv Region	26	16	16	38	23	19
Kirovohrad	10	11	12	56	37	37
Poltava	21	16	15	51	40	35
Sumy	19	22	21	56	29	25
Vinnysia	29	23	19	43	28	21
Zhytomyr	22	20	16	48	33	31

Source: Central Electoral Commission, <http://www.cvk.gov.ua>.

Table 2. Determinants of regional vote for pro-nationalist/pro-Western and pro-Russian/pro-Communist parties and blocs in the 2002, 2006, and 2007 parliamentary elections, OLS regressions

	Pro-nationalist/pro-Western						Pro-Russian/pro-Communist					
	2002 elections		2006 elections		2007 elections		2002 elections		2006 elections		2007 elections	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Ethnic Ukrainian	.157	.123	.080	.093	.024	.038	-.072	-.062	-.375***	-.263	-.438***	-.287
Urban	-.033	-.025	-.030	-.034	-.069	-.102	.372	.304	.094	.063	.145	.090
GDP per capita	.000	.057	.000	.045	.000	.058	-.002**	-.377	-.001	-.123	-.001	-.108
Catholic	.253***	.246	.263***	.379	.238***	.458	-.207**	-.220	-.115	-.099	-.135	-.110
Center	-26.283***	-.598	-14.029***	-.475	-6.358**	-.288	23.103***	.578	14.068**	.286	9.322*	.178
South	-36.935***	-.624	-21.026***	-.528	-14.368***	-.483	28.705***	.533	34.646***	.523	35.152***	.497
East	-40.858***	-.754	-24.827***	-.680	-16.263***	-.597	33.254***	.674	45.769***	.755	42.706***	.659
Constant	35.632*		25.299**		23.499***		19.028		50.087***		54.009***	
R Square	.92		.93		.94		.92		.94		.95	
N	26		26		26		26		26		26	

\*\*\* Statistically significant at the .01 level, \*\* statistically significant at the .05 level, \* statistically significant at the .1 level.



Table 3. Determinants of vote for pro-nationalist/pro-Western and pro-Russian/pro-Communist parties and presidential candidates, 2007 KIIS survey, logistic regressions (odds ratios)

	Parties and blocs		Presidential candidates	
	Pro-nationalist/ pro-Western	Pro-Russian/ pro- Communist	Pro-nationalist/ pro-Western	Pro-Russian/ pro- Communist
Ethnic Russian	.078**	3.358***	.222**	2.115***
Other ethnic minority	.258	.865	.910	.799
Russian-speaker	.674	1.257	.487*	1.669*
Male	1.046	1.177	1.079	1.091
Age	1.013*	1.015***	1.003	1.009*
Education	1.041	.918*	.931	.879***
Rural	1.415	.913	1.026	.929
Center	.394***	4.540***	.500***	4.100***
South	.306*	17.916***	.223***	16.123***
East	.270***	24.807***	.234***	18.412***
Constant	.128***	.070***	.607	.109***
Nagelkerke R Square	.17	.44	.20	.41
N	1098	1098	1175	1175

\*\*\* Statistically significant at the .001 level, \*\* statistically significant at the .01 level, \* statistically significant at the .05 level.

Table 4. Regional vote for presidential candidates in the first and final rounds of the 2004 and 2010 presidential elections, percent

Region	First Round				Final Round			
	Pro-nationalist/ pro-Western		Pro-Russian/ pro-Communist		Yush- chenk o	Tymo- shenko	Yanuko- vych	Yanuko- vych
	2004	2010	2004	2010	2004	2010	2004	2010
<i>West</i>								
Chernivtsi	67	10	25	21	80	66	16	28
Ivano-Frankivsk	89	31	7	6	96	89	3	7
Lviv	87	38	9	6	94	86	5	9
Rivne	69	11	25	15	85	76	12	19
Ternopil	88	33	9	11	96	88	3	8
Transcarpathia	47	8	44	32	68	52	28	42
Volyn	77	9	17	12	91	82	7	14
<i>East</i>								
Dnipropetrovsk	19	3	70	46	32	29	61	63
Donetsk	3	1	93	80	4	6	94	90
Kharkiv	15	3	74	55	26	22	68	71
Luhansk	5	1	90	76	6	8	91	89
Zaporizhzhia	17	2	74	56	25	22	70	72
<i>South</i>								
Crimea	12	2	81	66	14	16	83	79
Kherson	32	4	58	48	43	34	51	60
Mykolaiv	18	3	71	57	28	23	67	72
Odesa	17	3	72	54	28	20	67	74
<i>Center</i>								
Cherkassy	58	8	36	22	79	65	17	29
Chernihiv	43	5	49	25	71	64	24	31
Khmelnysky	58	6	35	18	81	70	16	25
Kyiv City	62	9	24	19	78	65	18	26
Kyiv Region	60	6	32	18	83	70	14	24
Kirovohrad	39	3	53	32	63	55	32	40
Poltava	44	5	49	31	66	54	29	39
Sumy	53	7	39	25	80	63	17	30
Vinnysia	60	5	34	19	84	71	13	24
Zhytomyr	44	5	48	28	67	58	29	37

Source: Central Electoral Commission.

Table 5. Determinants of the regional vote for pro-nationalist/pro-Western and pro-Russian/pro-Communist candidates in the first round of the 2004 and 2010 presidential elections, OLS regressions

	Pro-nationalist/pro-Western				Pro-Russian/pro-Communist			
	2004		2010		2004		2010	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Ethnic Ukrainian	0.401**	0.260	0.084	0.146	-0.434**	-0.293	-0.445***	-0.353
Urban	0.129	0.080	0.279**	0.459	-0.026	-0.016	0.091	0.068
GDP per capita	0.000	0.055	0.000	-0.173	-0.001	-0.141	-0.001	-0.119
Catholic	0.242**	0.194	0.338***	0.723	-0.194*	-0.162	-0.085	-0.084
Center	-18.502**	-0.349	-7.086***	-0.356	17.728**	0.348	6.611	0.152
South	-39.350***	-0.550	-9.717***	-0.362	34.561***	0.503	25.194***	0.431
East	-52.407***	-0.800	-14.790***	-0.603	48.558***	0.772	33.631***	0.628
Constant	23.112		-8.557		70.342***		57.063***	
R Square	0.92		0.92		0.92		0.92	
N	26		26		26		26	

\*\*\* Statistically significant at the .01 level, \*\* statistically significant at the .05 level, \* statistically significant at the .1 level.

Table 6. Determinants of the regional vote in the final round of the 2004 and 2010 presidential elections, OLS regressions

	Viktor Yushchenko		Yulia Tymoshenko		Viktor Yanukovich		Viktor Yanukovich	
	2004		2010		2004		2010	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Ethnic Ukrainian	0.530***	0.304	0.449***	0.294	-0.563***	-0.329	-0.472***	-0.308
Urban	-0.065	-0.035	0.135	0.084	0.143	0.080	-0.087	-0.054
GDP per capita	0.000	0.061	0.000	-0.014	-0.001	-0.091	0.000	-0.030
Catholic	0.121	0.086	0.178*	0.144	-0.090	-0.065	-0.160	-0.130
Center	-8.199	-0.137	-10.036*	-0.191	7.208	0.123	9.410	0.179
South	-39.201***	-0.484	-38.365***	-0.541	35.760***	0.451	36.954***	0.521
East	-50.954***	-0.688	-48.080***	-0.741	47.028***	0.648	46.821***	0.721
Constant	35.458*		24.950		61.386***		70.814***	
R Square	0.95		0.94		0.95		0.94	
N	26		26		26		26	

\*\*\* Statistically significant at the .01 level, \*\* statistically significant at the .05 level, \* statistically significant at the .1 level.



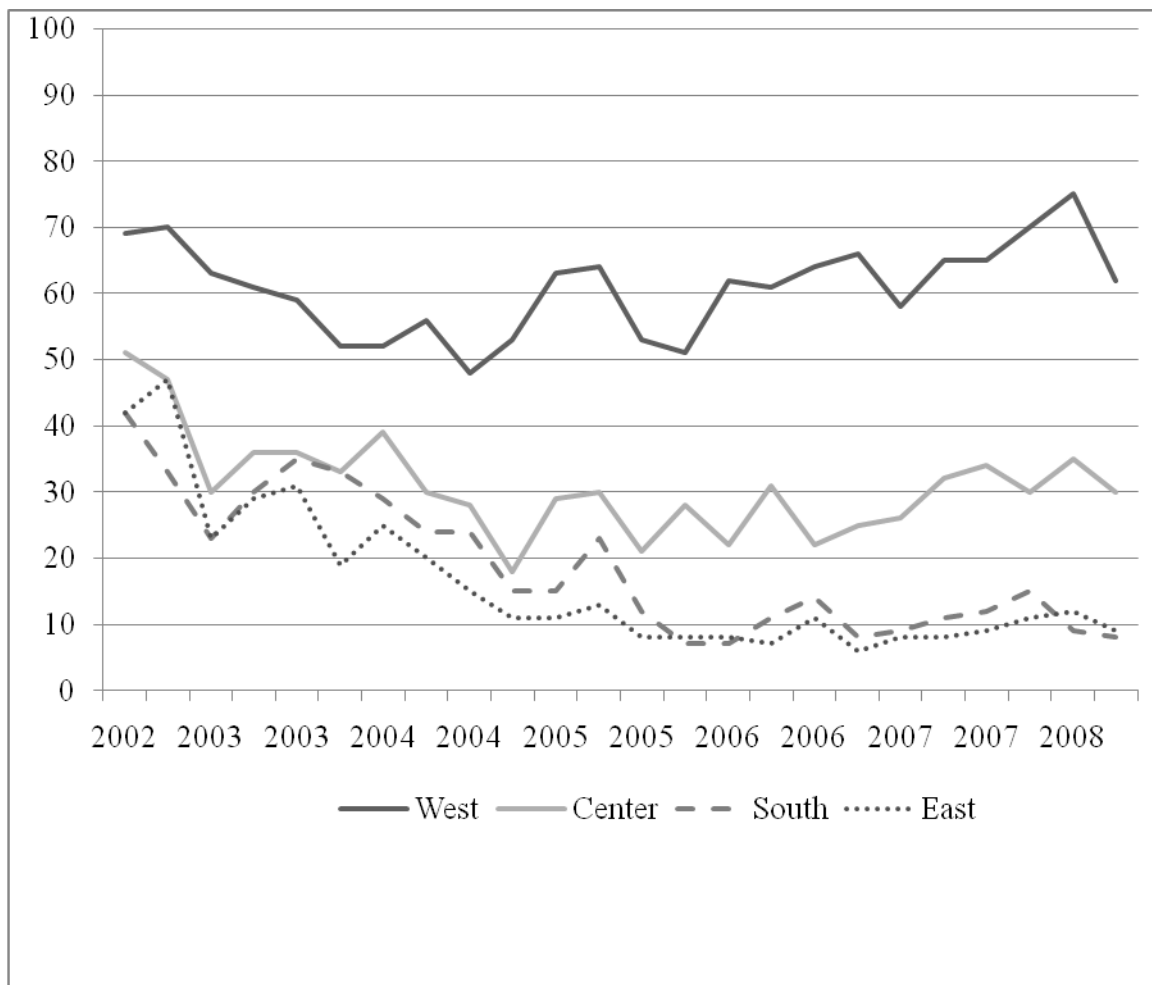


Figure 1. Regional vote for Ukraine’s membership in NATO if a referendum was held at the time of the poll, Razumkov Center polls (%).

Note: Don’t know and non-voters are excluded.

Source: Calculated from “Informatsiina skladova evropeiskoi ta evroatlantychnoi integratsii: gromadska dumka,” *Natzionalna bezpeka i oborona* 1 (2008): 42-60; and Razumkov Center, [http://www.uceps.org/ukr/poll.php?poll\\_id=116](http://www.uceps.org/ukr/poll.php?poll_id=116) (2009).

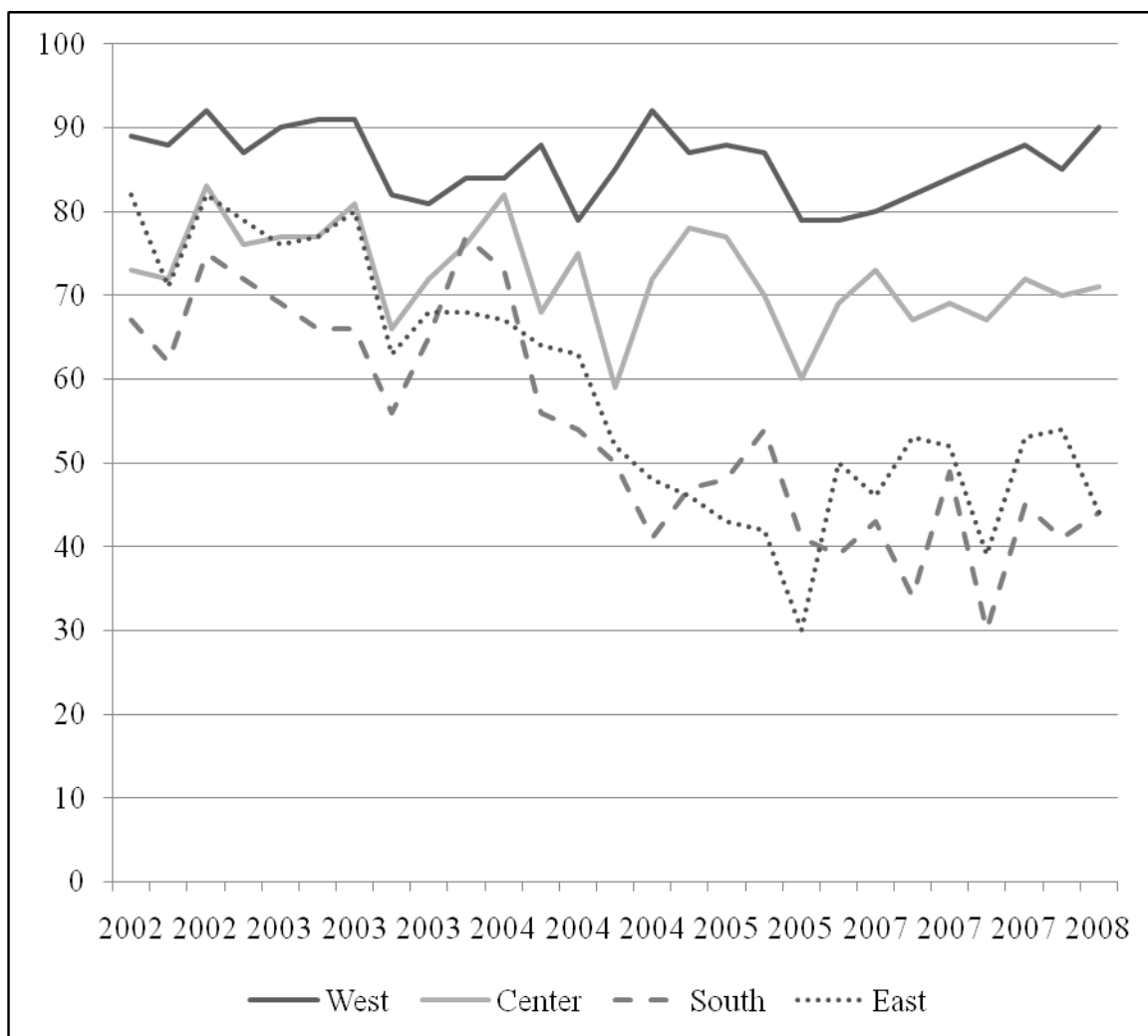


Figure 2. Regional support for Ukraine’s membership in the European Union, Razumkov Center polls (%).

Note: Don’t know and not sure are excluded.

Source: Calculated from “Spivrobotnytstvo Ukrainy z ES: Otsinky hromadian,” *Natzionalna bezpeka i oborona* 6 (2008): 37-56.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Anders Aslund and Michael A. McFaul, eds., *Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006); Ingmar Bredies, Andreas Umland, and Valentin Yakushik, eds., *Aspects of the Orange Revolution III: The Context and Dynamics of the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential Elections* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2007); and Andrew Wilson, *Ukraine's Orange Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> See Dominique Arel, "The Orange Revolution's hidden face: Ukraine and the denial of its regional problem," *Revue Detudes Comparatives Est-Ouest* 37 (2006): 11-48; Lowell Barrington and Regina Faranda, "Reexamining Region, Ethnicity, and Language in Ukraine," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 25 (2009): 232-256; Lowell Barrington and Erick Herron, "One Ukraine or Many?: Regionalism in Ukraine and its political consequences," *Nationalities Papers* 32 (2004): 53-86; Lowell Barrington, "The Geographic Component of Mass Attitudes in Ukraine," *Post-Soviet Geography* 38 (1997): 601-614; Sarah Birch, *Elections and Democratization in Ukraine* (New York: St. Martin Press, 2000); Sarah Birch, "Interpreting the Regional Effect in Ukrainian Politics," *Europe-Asia Studies* 52 (2000): 1017-1042; Ralph S. Clem and Peter R. Craumer, "Orange, Blue and White, and Blonde: The Electoral Geography of Ukraine's 2006 and 2007 Rada Elections," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 49 (2008): 127-151; Ralph S. Clem and Peter R. Craumer, "Shades of Orange: The Electoral Geography of Ukraine's 2004 Presidential Elections," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 46 (2005): 364-385; Vicki Hesli, William Reisinger, and Arthur Miller, "Political Party Development in Divided Societies: The Case of Ukraine," *Electoral Studies* 17 (1998): 235-256; Ivan Katchanovski, *Cleft Countries: Regional Political Divisions and Cultures in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Moldova* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag,



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<sup>3</sup> Arel, "The Orange Revolution's hidden face;" Clem and Craumer, "Orange, Blue and White, and Blonde;" Timothy J. Colton, "An Aligning Election and the Ukrainian Political Community," *East European Politics and Societies* (In Press); D'anieri; Melvin Hinich, Valerii Khmelko, Marianna Klochko, and Peter C. Ordeshook, "A Coalition Lost, Then Found: A Spatial Analysis of Ukraine's 2006 and 2007 Parliamentary Elections," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 24 (2008): 63-96; and Ivan Katchanovski, "Regional Political Cleavages, Electoral Behavior, and Historical Legacies in Ukraine," in Bredies, Umland, and Yakushik, eds., *Aspects of the Orange Revolution III*, 55-77.

<sup>4</sup> See Jack A. Goldstone, "Revolution," in Mary Hawkesworth and Maurice Kogan, eds., *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, 2nd edition, Vol. 2 (New York, Routledge, 2004), 1029-1048; Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Ivan Katchanovski, "The Orange Evolution? The "Orange Revolution" and Political Changes in Ukraine," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 24 (2008): 351-382; Alexander J. Motyl, *Revolutions, Nations, Empires: Conceptual Limits and Theoretical Possibilities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); and Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Adrian Karatnycky, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," *Foreign Affairs* 84 (March/April 2005), 35-52; Lyudmyla Pavlyuk, "Extreme rhetoric in the 2004 presidential campaign: Images of geopolitical and regional division," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 47 (2005): 293-316.

<sup>6</sup> See Karatnycky, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," 48.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Olena Nikolayenko, "The Revolt of the Post-Soviet Generation: Youth Movements in Serbia, Georgia, and Ukraine," *Comparative Politics* 39 (2007): 169-188.

<sup>8</sup> See, for instance, Regina Goodnow and Yekaterina Oziashvili, "Testing the Resilience of Ethnic, Linguistic, and Regional Cleavages in the Face of Economic Hard Times: A Comparison of the Pre and Post-Crisis Presidential Elections in Ukraine," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in Washington, DC (September 2010).

<sup>9</sup> Andrey Meleshevich, "Geographical Patterns of Party Support in the Baltic States, Russia, and Ukraine," *European Urban and Regional Studies* 13 (2006): 113-129.

<sup>10</sup> Colton, "An Aligning Election and the Ukrainian Political Community."

<sup>11</sup> Timothy J. Colton, "Thinking the Unthinkable: Is the Breakup of the Ukrainian State a Real Threat?" Paper presented at the Sixth Annual Danyliw Research Seminar, University of Ottawa (October 2010); Katchanovski, *Cleft Countries*.

<sup>12</sup> Taras Kuzio, *Ukraine - Crimea - Russia: Triangle of Conflict* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2007); and Gwendolyn Sasse, *The Crimea Question: Identity, Transition, and Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> Paul D'anieri, "Ethnic Tensions and State Strategies: Understanding the Survival of the Ukrainian State," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 23 (2007): 4-29.

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<sup>14</sup> Alfred Stepan, "Ukraine: Improbable Democratic 'Nation-State' but Possible Democratic 'State-Nation?'" *Post Soviet Affairs* 21 (2005): 279-308.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, Arel, "The Orange Revolution's hidden face."

<sup>16</sup> "Viktor Yushchenko: "Ukraina iedyndna,"" 11 September 2007, <http://www.president.gov.ua>, accessed 3 February 2010.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1965); Seymour Martin Lipset, *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (New York, Routledge, 1990); and Robert Putnam, with Robert Leonardi & Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>19</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, 'Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments,' in Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds., *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-national Perspectives* (New York, Free Press, 1967), 1-64.

<sup>20</sup> See Birch, "Interpreting the Regional Effect;" Steven Roper and Florin Fesnic, "Historical Legacies and Their Impact on Post-Communist Voting Behavior," *Europe-Asia Studies* 55 (2003): 119-131; and Katchanovski, *Cleft Countries*.

<sup>21</sup> See Fisher, Alan W., *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press), 1978; and Ivan Katchanovski, "Small Nations but Great Differences: Political Orientations and Cultures of the Crimean Tatars and the Gagauz," *Europe-Asia Studies* 57 (2005): 877-894.

<sup>22</sup> See Clem and Craumer, "Orange, Blue and White, and Blonde," Clem and Craumer, "Shades of Orange."

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<sup>23</sup> See “Taemne stae iavnym: Proekt Konstytutsii vid BYuT i PR,” *Dzerkalo tyzhnia*, (6-12 June 2009).

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Dominique Arel, “Ukraine: The Temptation of the Nationalizing State,” in Vladimir Tismaneanu, ed., *Political Culture and Civil Society in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (Armonk, M. E. Sharpe, 1995), 157-188.

<sup>25</sup> See Peter Craumer and James Clem, “Ukraine's Emerging Electoral Geography: A Regional Analysis of the 1998 Parliamentary Elections,” *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics* 40 (1999): 1-26; and Vlad Mykhnenko, “Class Voting and the Orange Revolution: A Cultural Political Economy Perspective on Ukraine's Electoral Geography,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 25 (2009): 278-296.

<sup>26</sup> Katchanovski, *Cleft Countries*; Kuzio; and Sasse.

<sup>27</sup> “To shcho skazav Volodymyr Putin u Bukharesti,” *Dzerkalo tyzhnia* (19 April 2008).

<sup>28</sup> “AR Krym: Liudy, problemy, perspektyvy,” *Natsionalna bezpeka i oborona* 10 (2008): 2-72.

<sup>29</sup> Sevastopol city is included in the data for Crimea.

<sup>30</sup> The Party of Regions was a leading force in the “For United Ukraine” electoral bloc in the 2002 parliamentary elections.

<sup>31</sup> Personal observations and Mikhail Myagkov, Peter C. Ordeshook, and Dimitri Shakin, *The Forensics of Election Fraud: Russia and Ukraine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>32</sup> Calculated from “Rezultaty mistevykh vyboriv. Poperedni dani,”

<http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/11/8/5552584>, accessed 12 December 2010.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>34</sup> Because the Ukrainian ethnicity and native language are very highly correlated (.97), they cannot be simultaneously included in the regression analysis because of the multicollinearity problem.

<sup>35</sup> These surveys provide only general trends because of the differences in regional samples and formulation of questions.

<sup>36</sup> Calculated from N. Panina, *Ukrainske suspil'stvo 1994-2005: Sotsiologichnyi monitoringh* (Kyiv: Sofiia, 2005), 36.

<sup>37</sup> "Kryminalnyi Kodeks Ukrainy," <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=2341-14>, accessed 14 December 2010.

<sup>38</sup> Calculated from <http://www.izbircom.crimea-portal.gov.ua>, accessed 16 December 2010.

<sup>39</sup> Calculated from "AR Krym."

<sup>40</sup> Calculated from USIA, "Crimean Views Differ Sharply from Ukrainian Opinion on Key Issues," *Opinion Analysis* (15 March 1996).

<sup>41</sup> Calculated from "Krym na politychnii karti Ukrainy," *Natsionalna bezpeka i oborona* 4 (2001): 2-39.

<sup>42</sup> Calculated from USIA, "Crimean Views Differ Sharply from Ukrainian Opinion on Key Issues," and "AR Krym," 20.

<sup>43</sup> Calculated from "AR Krym," 20. Undecided respondents in all these surveys are excluded.