



# Opportunities and Challenges Facing Ukraine's Democratic Transition

*July 2018 Nationwide Survey with Seven Oversamples  
May 2018 Focus Group Discussions*

The research is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the Government of Sweden and UK Aid.

Survey fieldwork was conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology

Focus group fieldwork was conducted by GfK Ukraine



NDI Ukraine

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# Survey Oversample Locations and Regions



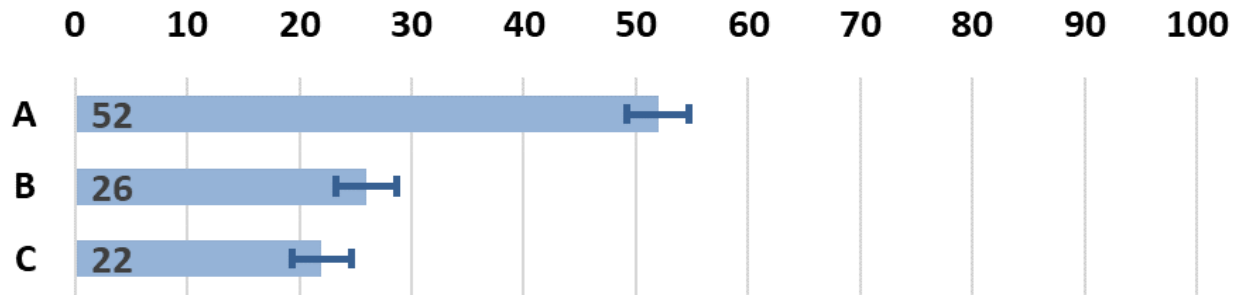
# Methodology 1

## Survey

- Fieldwork dates: July 3 – July 31, 2018
  - 5,784 completed interviews
    - The nationally representative sample was random at all stages:
      - Random selection of election precincts
      - Random selection of households via random route sampling
      - Random selection of respondents within the households using modified Kish grid
    - Areas outside the control of the Ukrainian government were excluded
  - Seven oversamples
    - Kyiv city [600]
    - Kharkiv city [600]
    - Kramatorsk Region [600] - cities of Kramatorsk and Slovyansk and surrounding rural areas
    - Kherson Oblast [600]
    - Odesa city [600]
    - Lviv city [600]
    - Ternopil Oblast [600]
  - Quality control:
    - All interviewers received a four level training system which includes 16 hours of training
    - An independent network of controllers conducted quality control interviews
    - 32% of all interviews were checked by controllers
  - All 5,784 interviews were conducted using tablets
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# Methodology 2

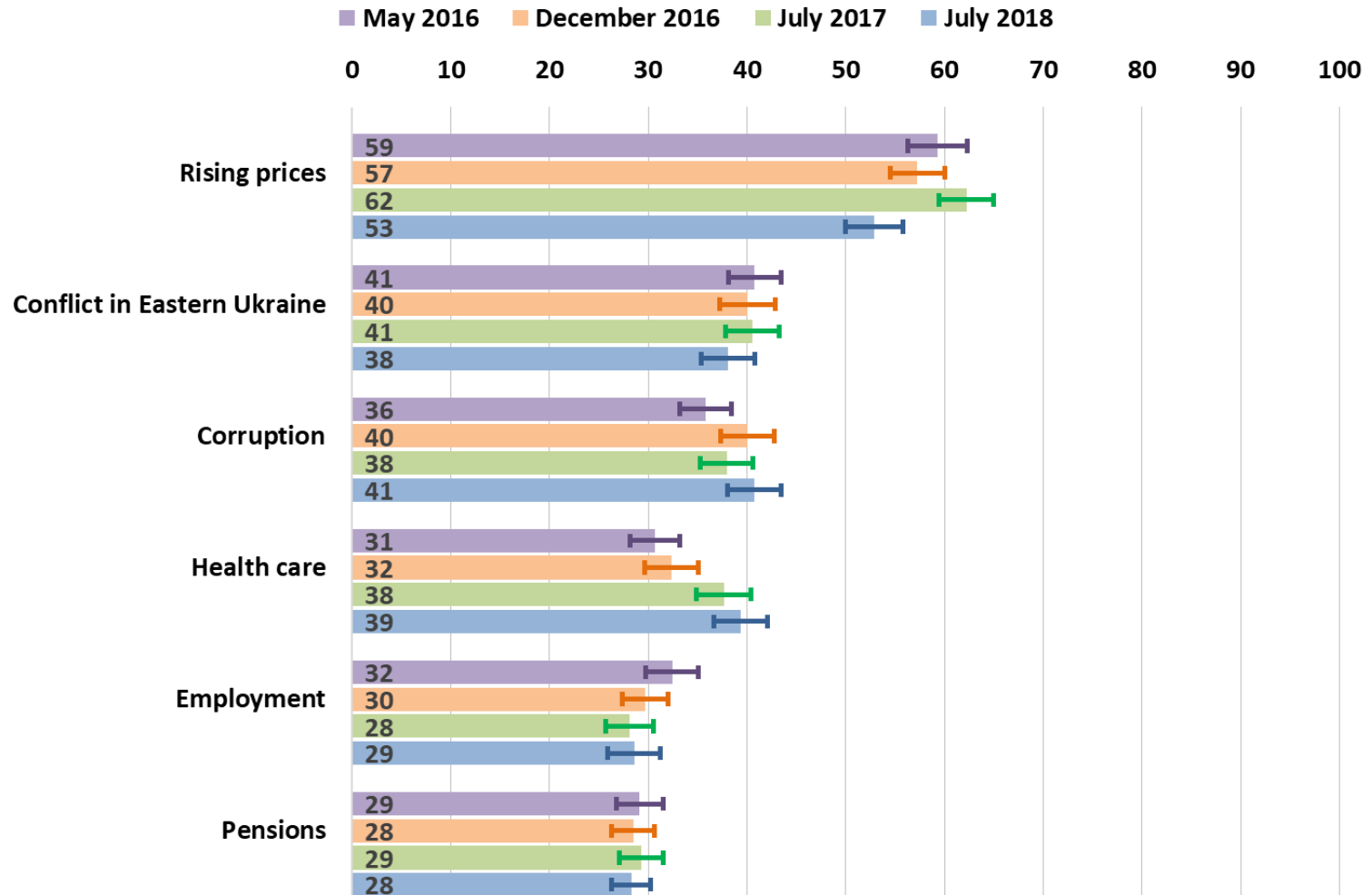
- The average margin of error for this survey is  $\pm 3\%$
- The margin of error is different for every response to every question in all surveys. In this presentation, the margin of error is shown for each question/option.
- This is shown in the example below:
  - A is statistically greater than B and C.
  - There is no statistical difference between B and C.



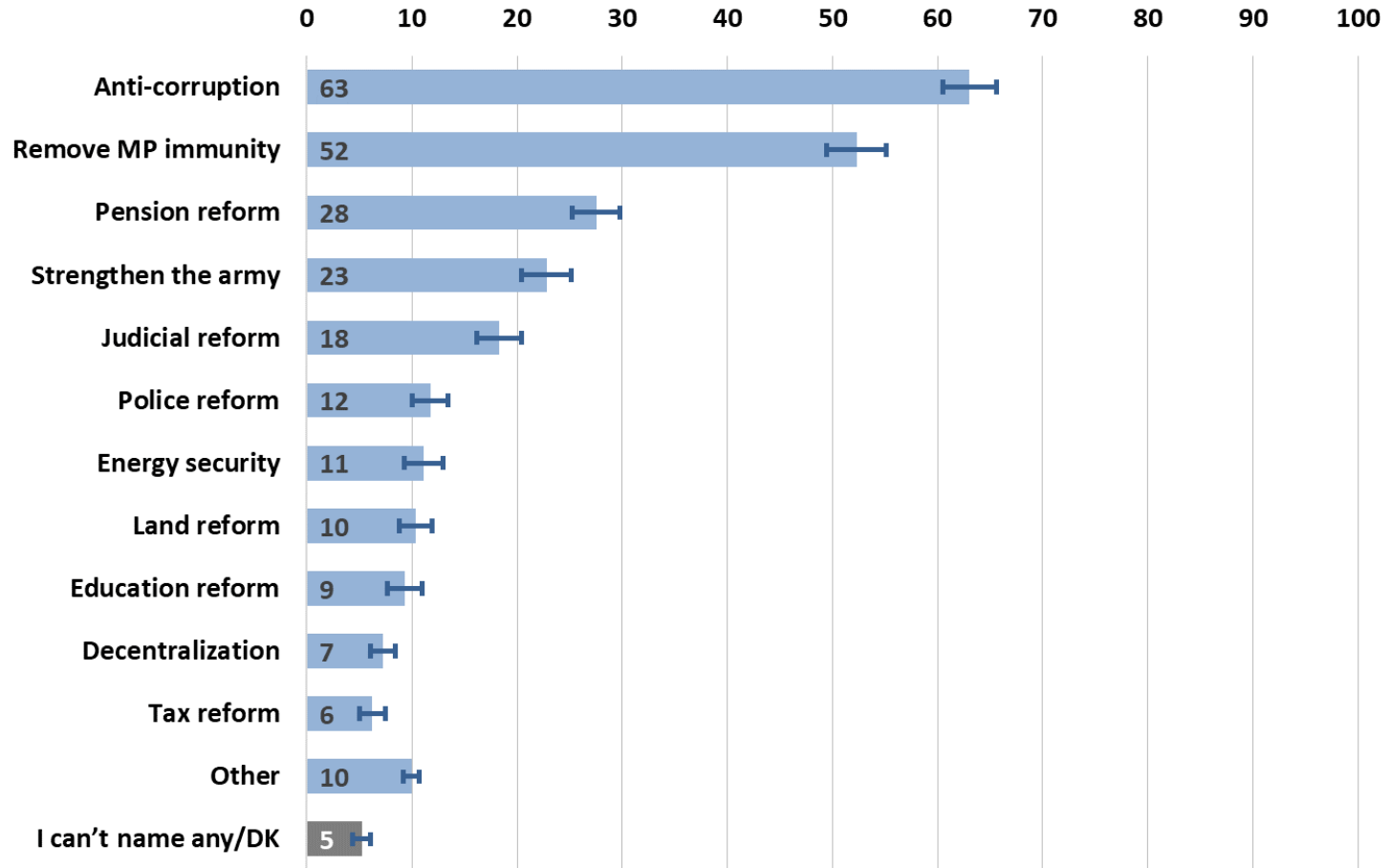
# **ISSUE PRIORITIES & SOCIETAL TRENDS**

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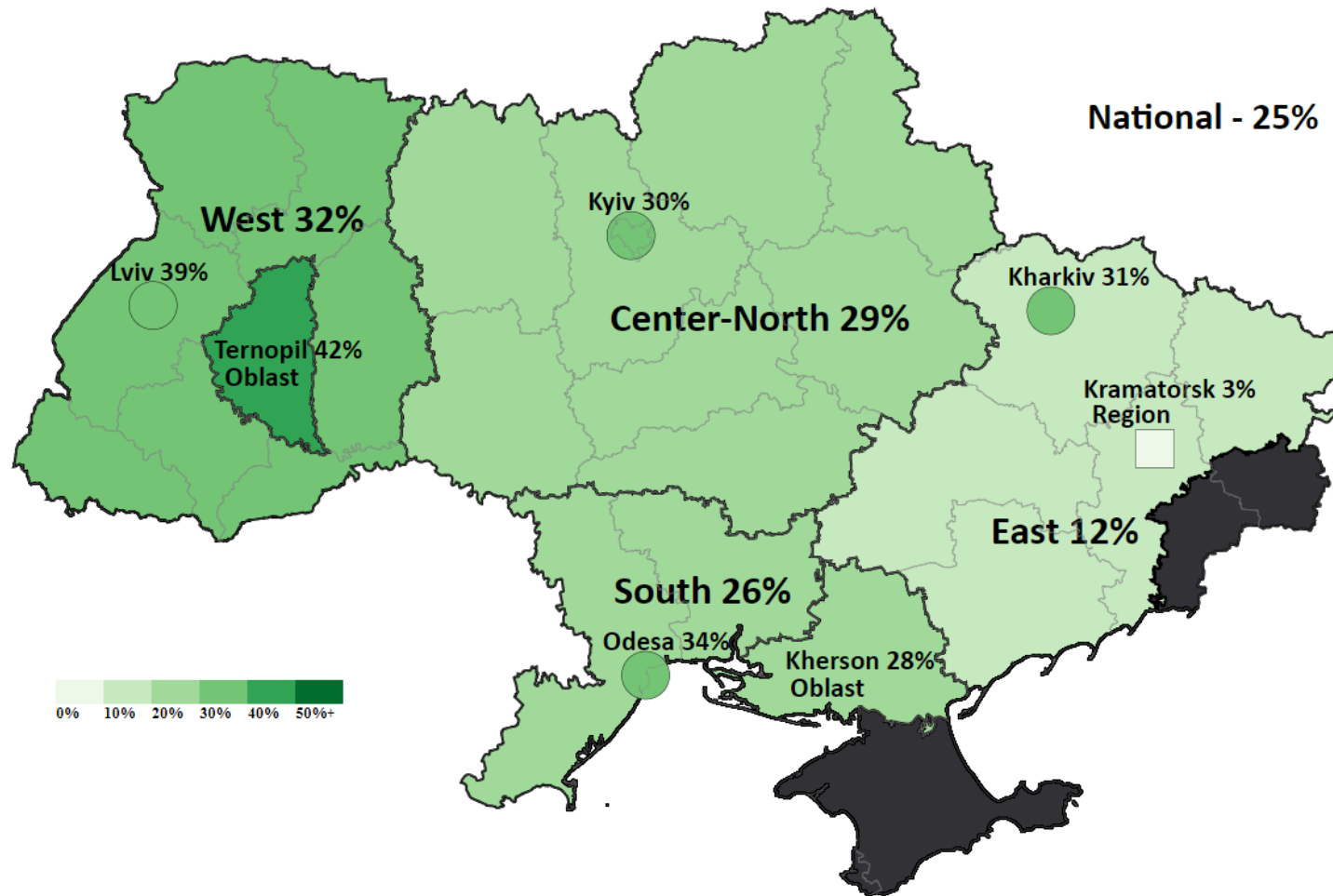
## Most important national issues (q1) Part 1



**Which of the following reforms should be the highest priority for the next government? (q3) - (select up to three)**

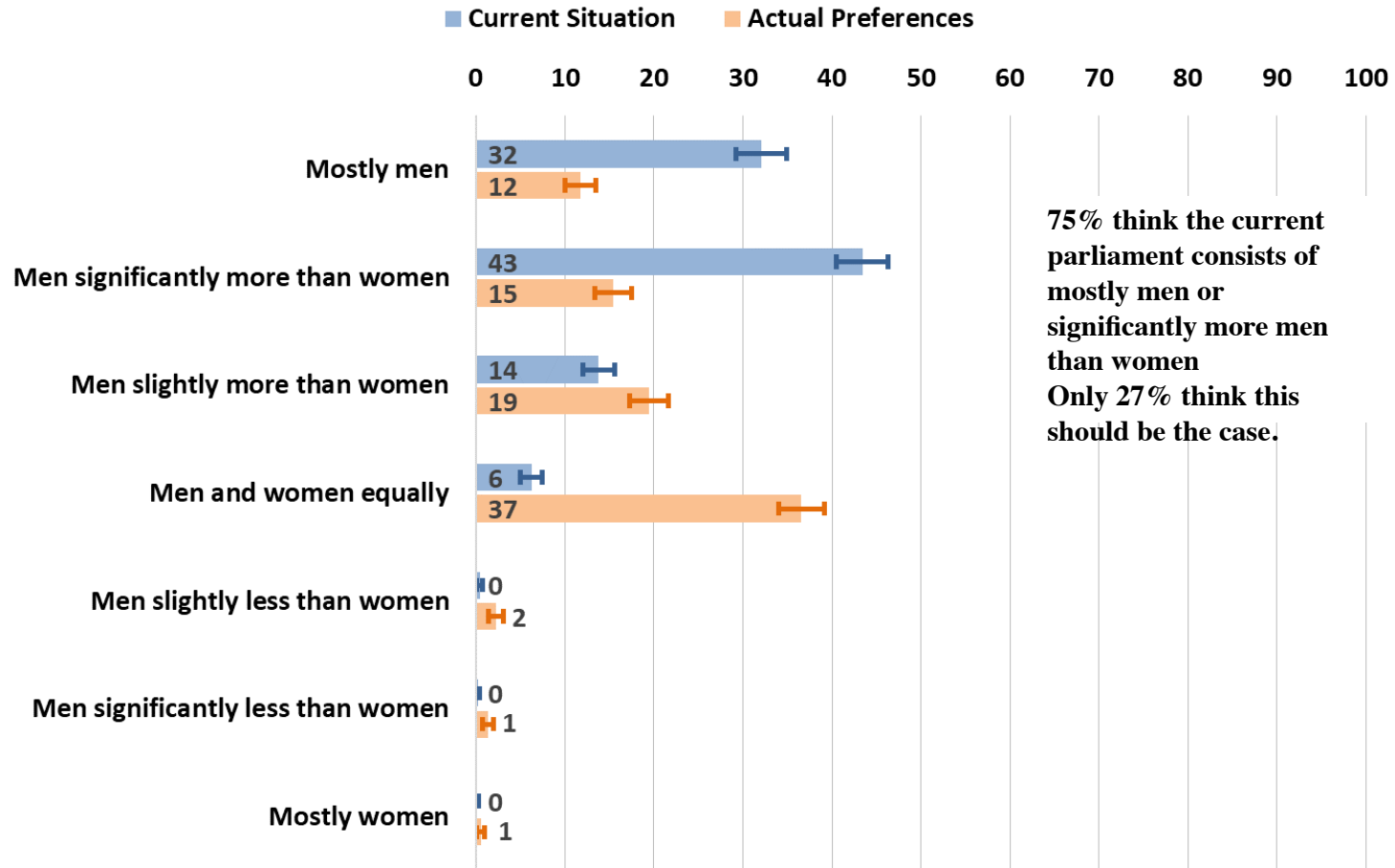


**Overall, do you expect the next generation to be ...?  
“Better off than yours” only (q4 X Settlement)**



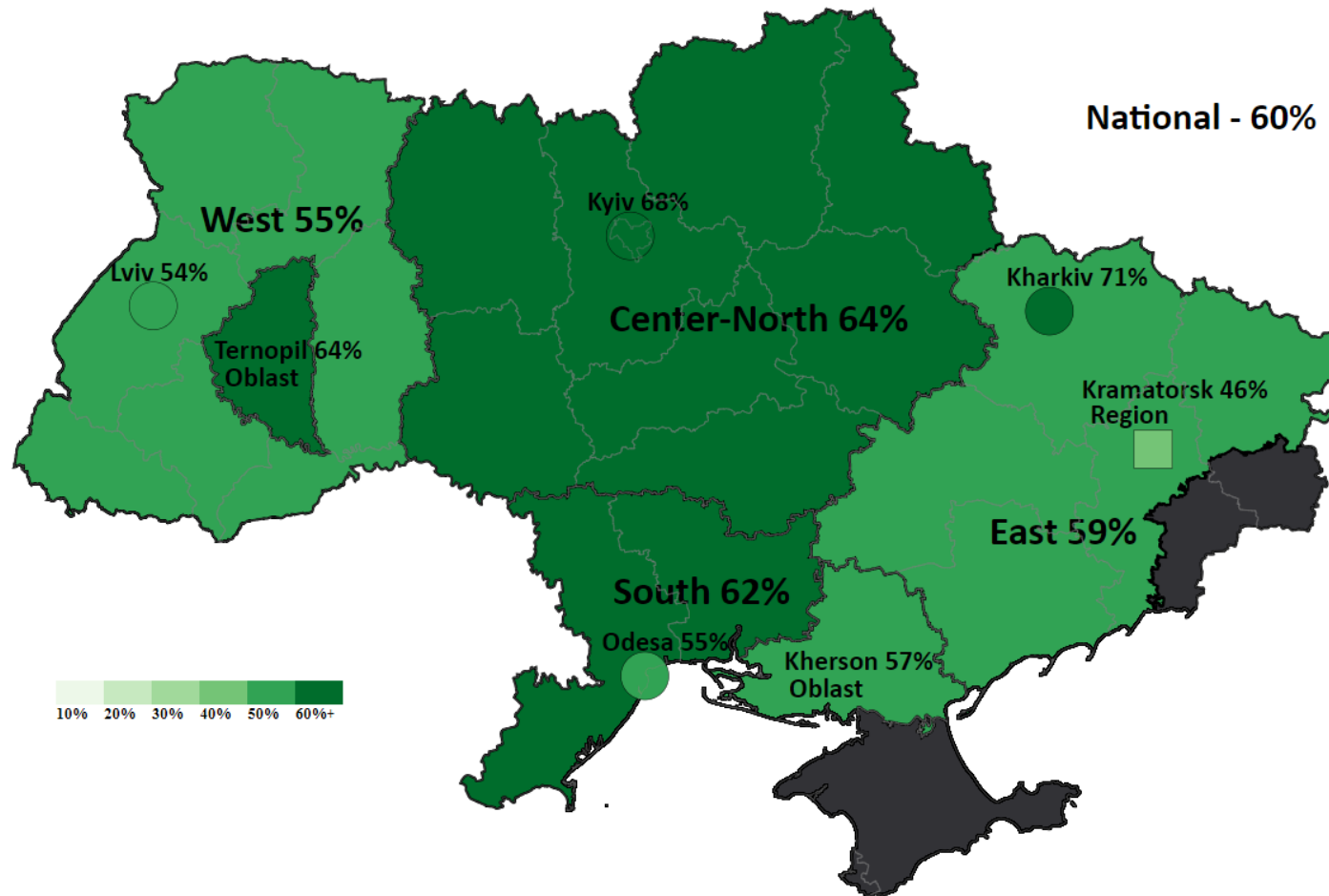


## In your opinion, who is/should be more involved in political life, men or women? (q24/q25)

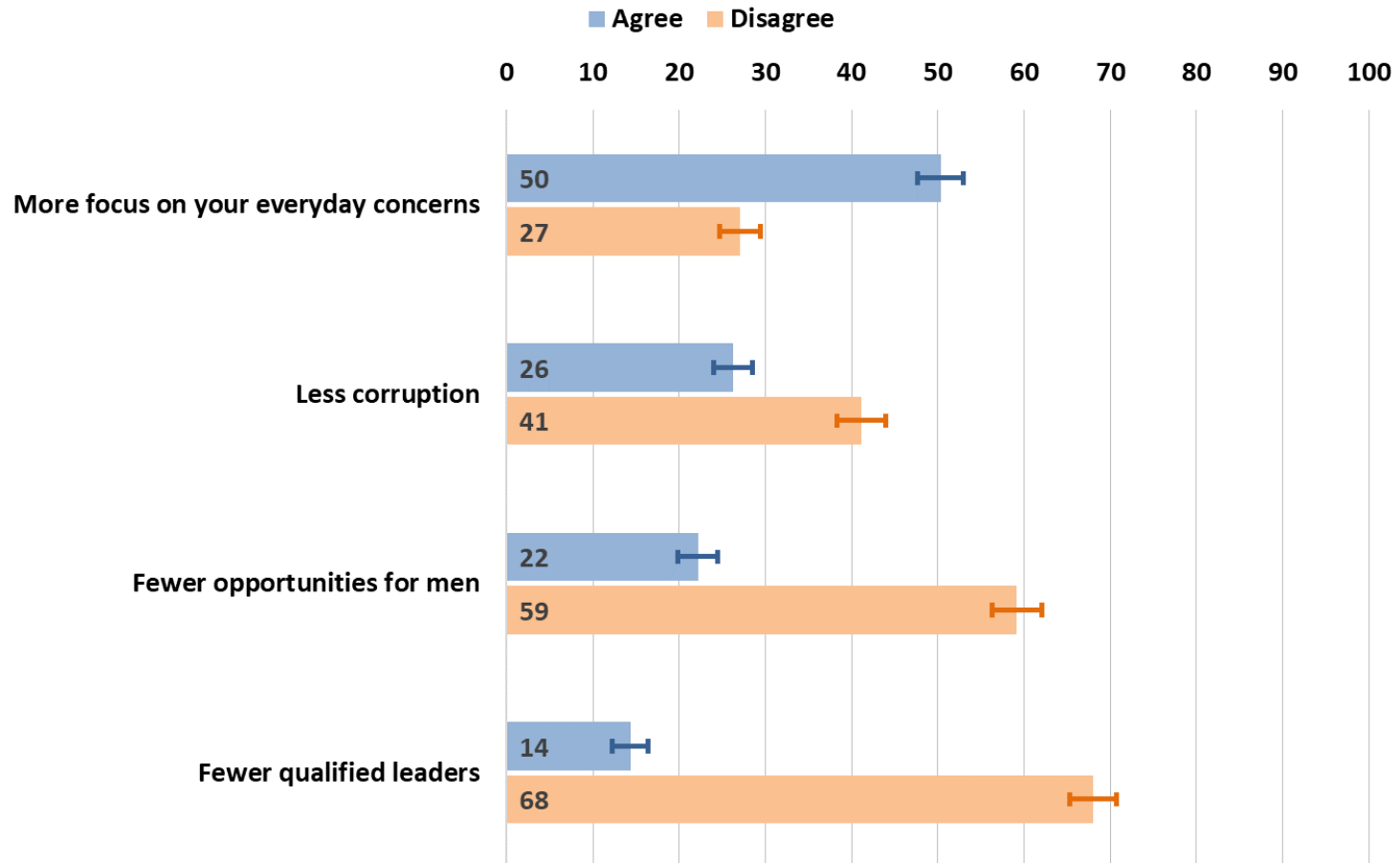


# In your opinion, who should be more involved in political life, men or women?

“Men slightly more than women/Men and women equally/Men slightly less than women/  
Men significantly less than women/Mostly women” only (q25 X Settlement)



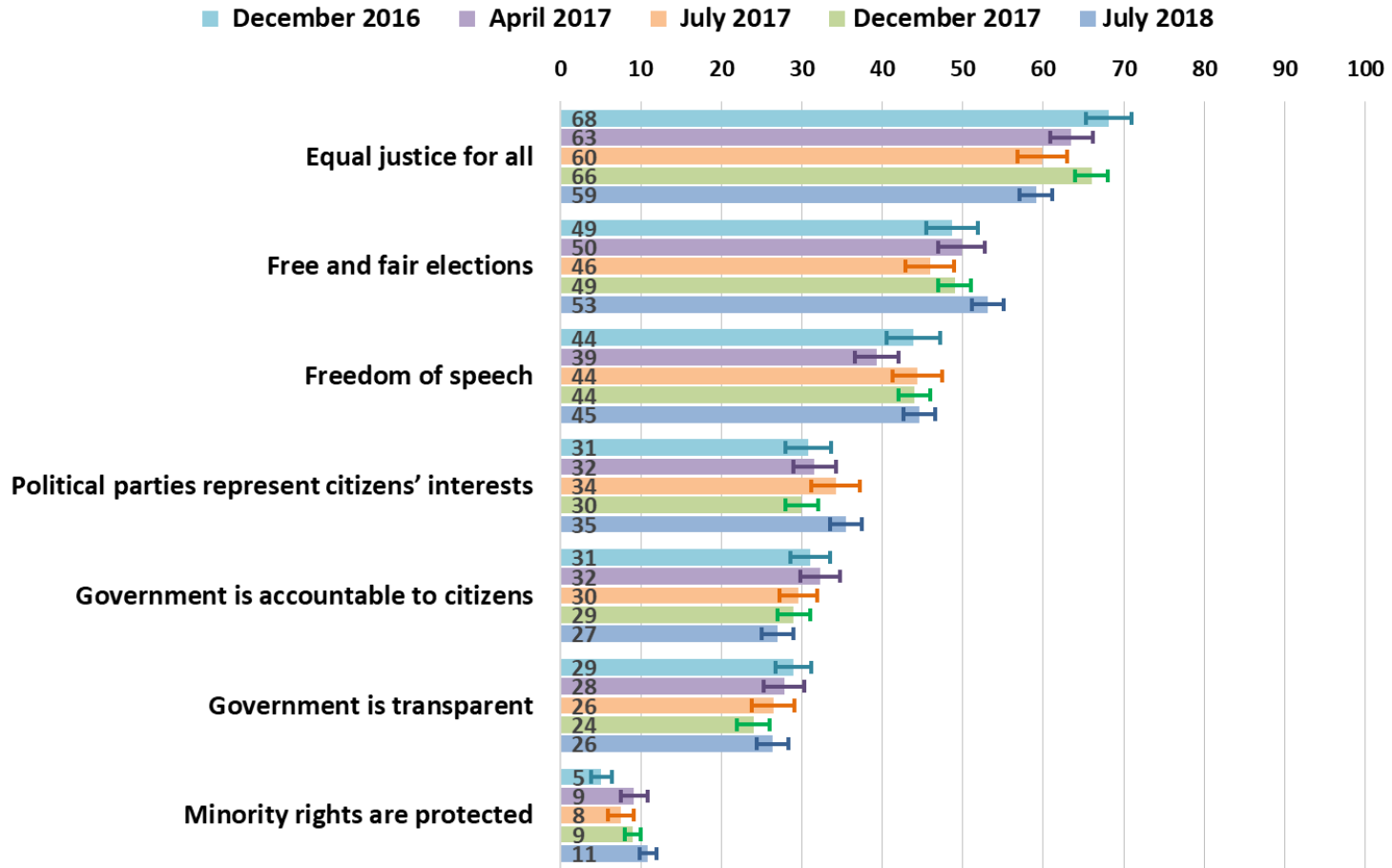
## If there was an equal balance of men and women in elected office, would there be...? (q27)



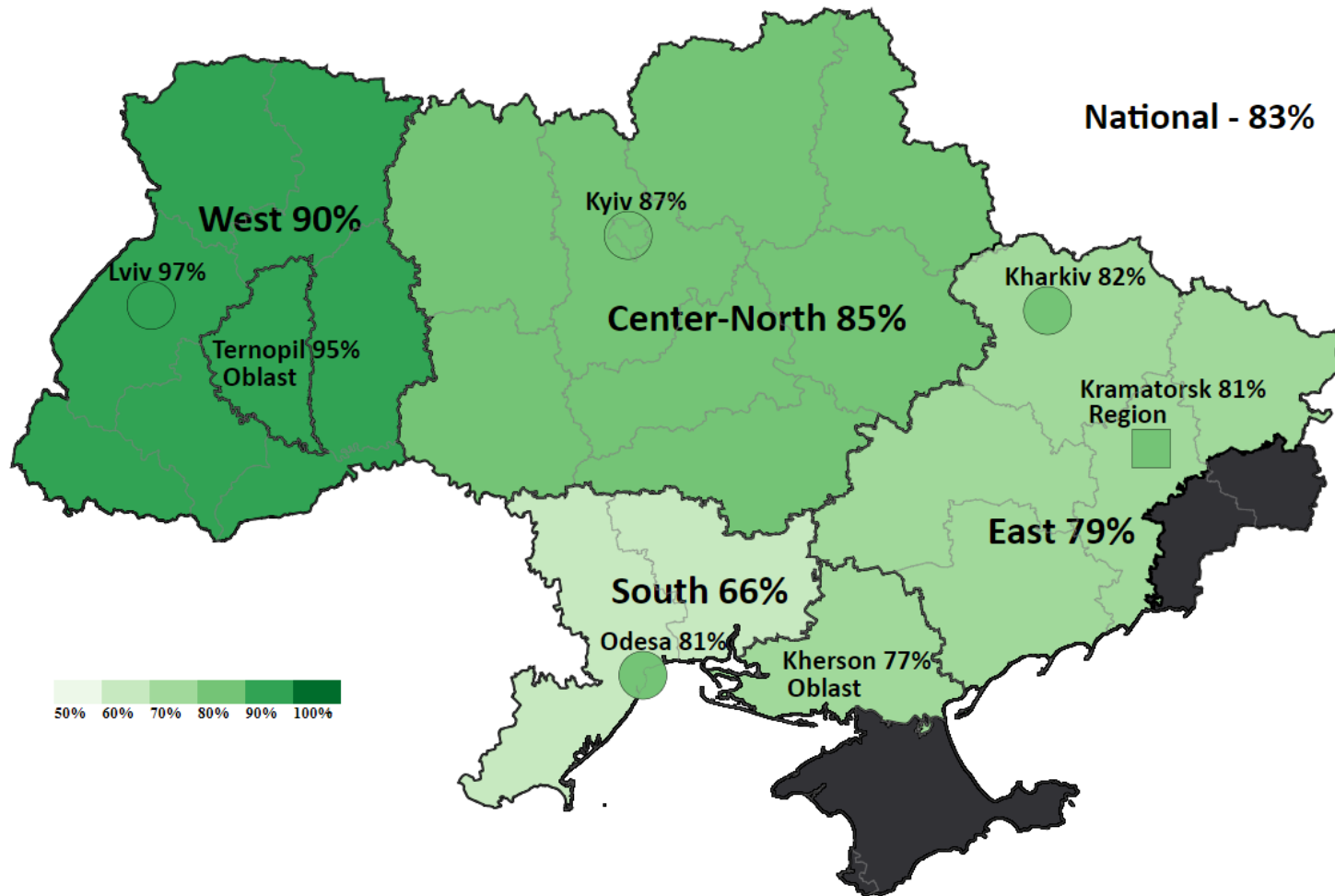
# **DEMOCRACY, INSTITUTIONS & DECENTRALISATION**

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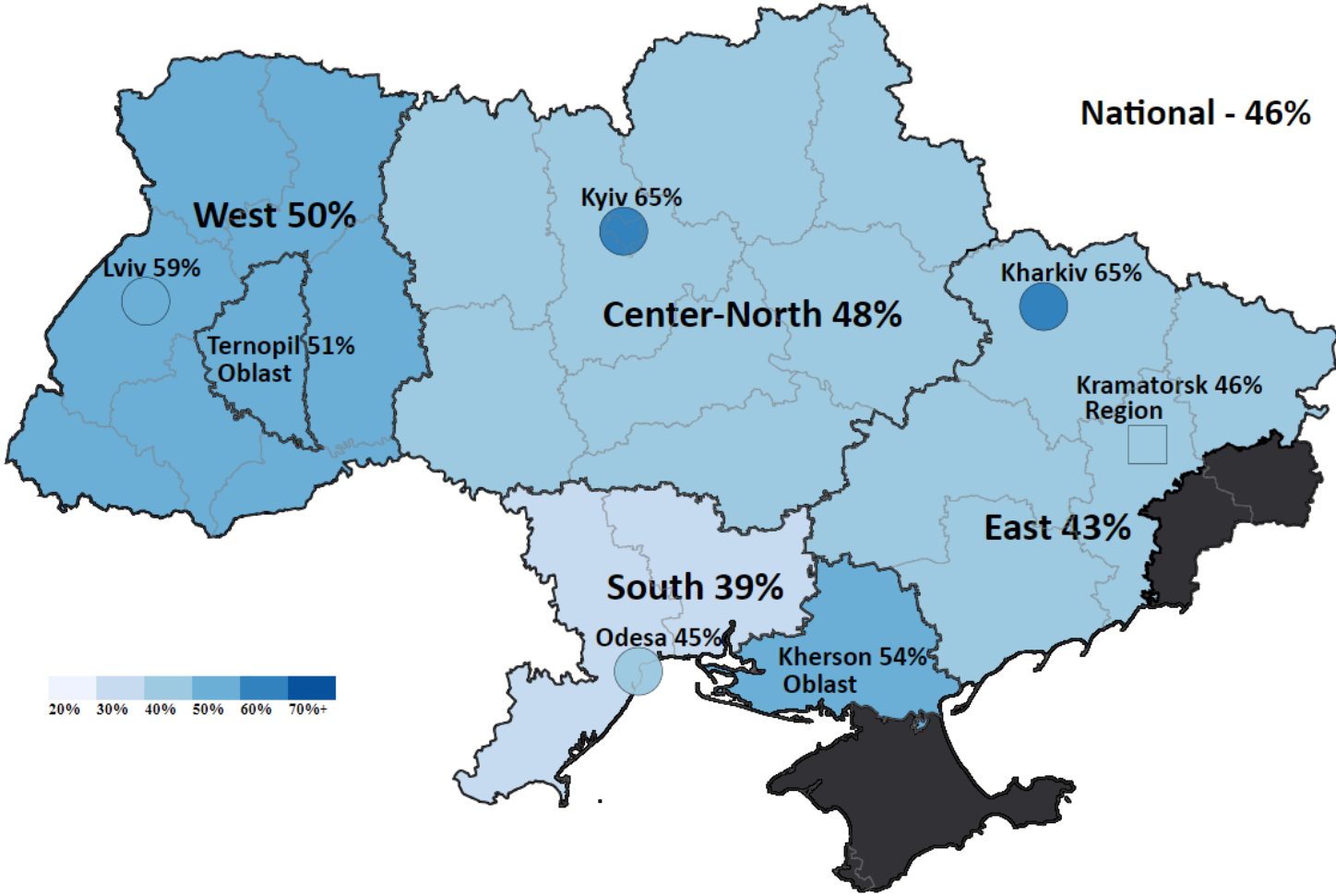
## Most important characteristics of a fully functioning democracy (q16) - (select up to three)



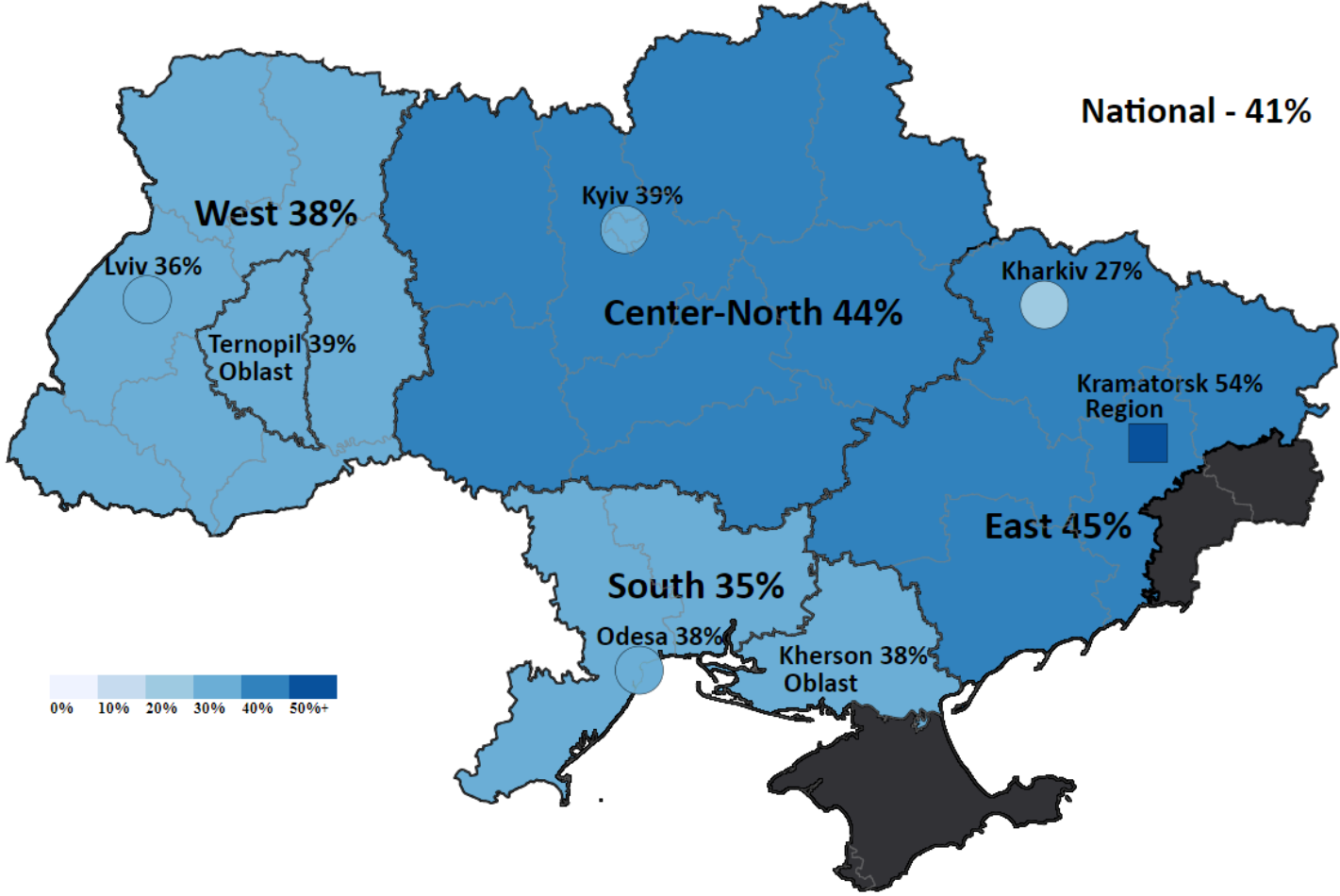
**How important is it to you that Ukraine becomes a fully functioning democracy? “Very important/Important” only (q17 X Settlement)**



**Which of the following statements you agree with? “Government is like an employee; the people should be the bosses who control the government” only  
(q56 X Settlement)**

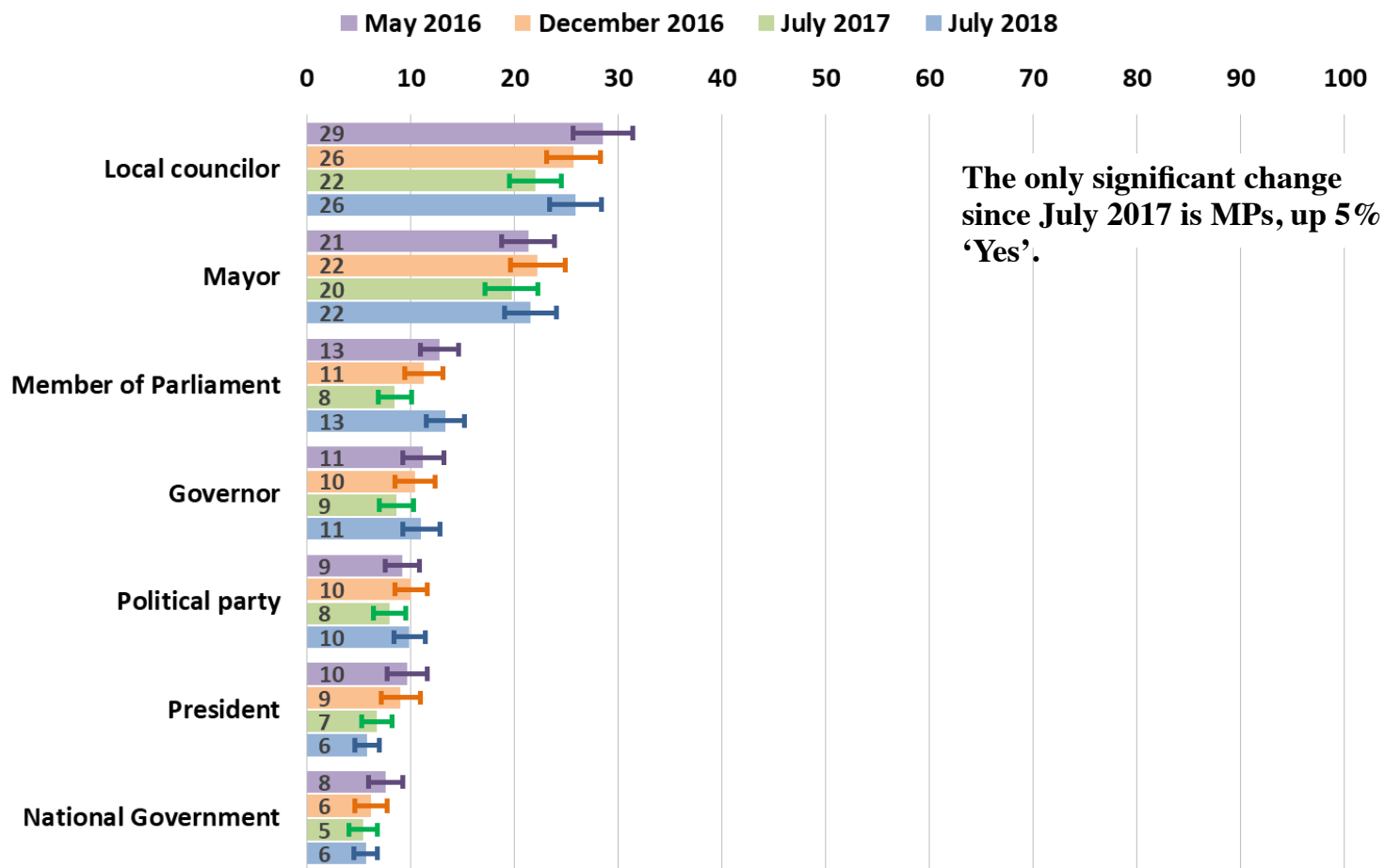


**Do you think the next government will represent your interests better than the current one?  
“No” only (q8 X Settlement)**

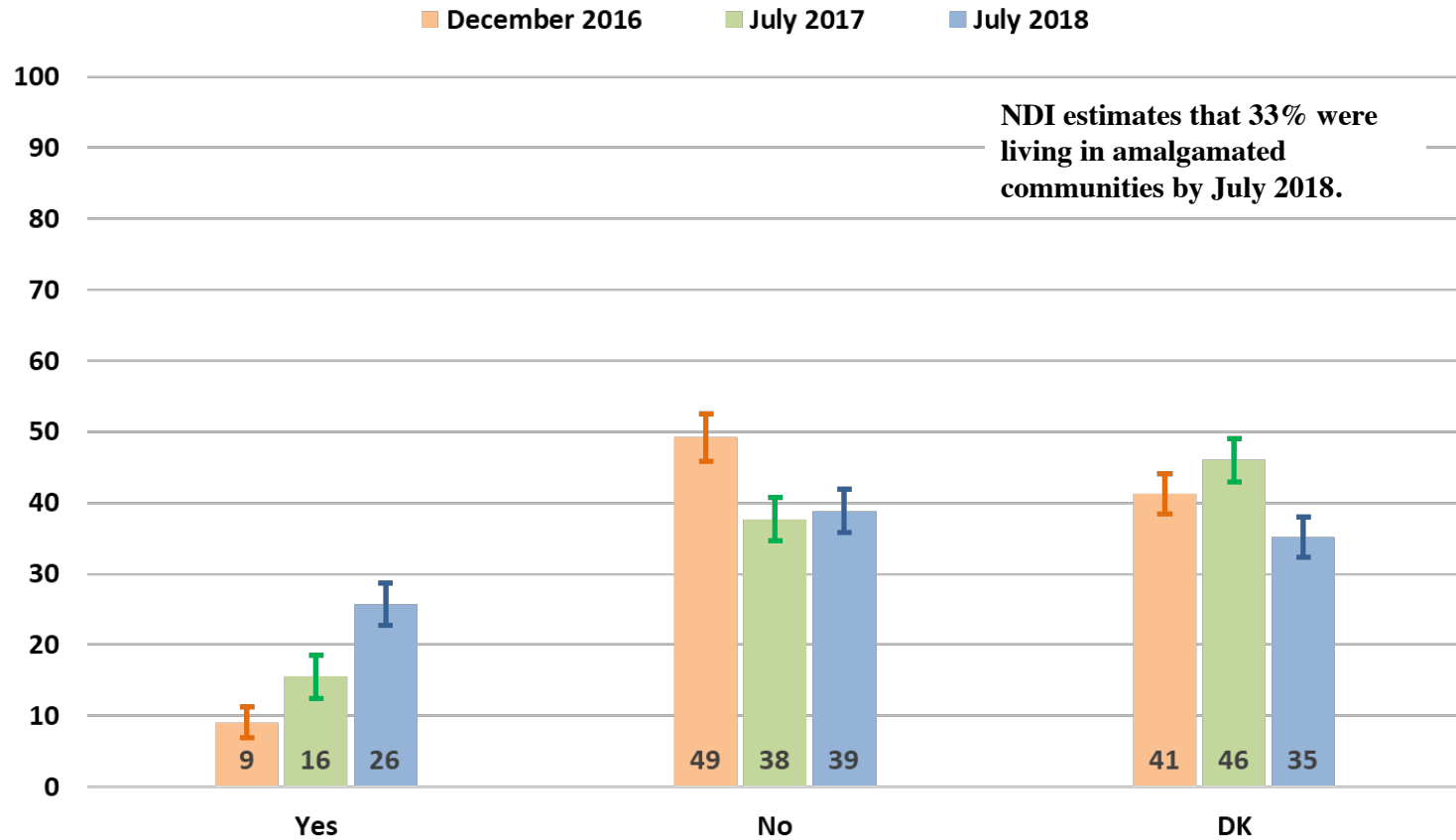




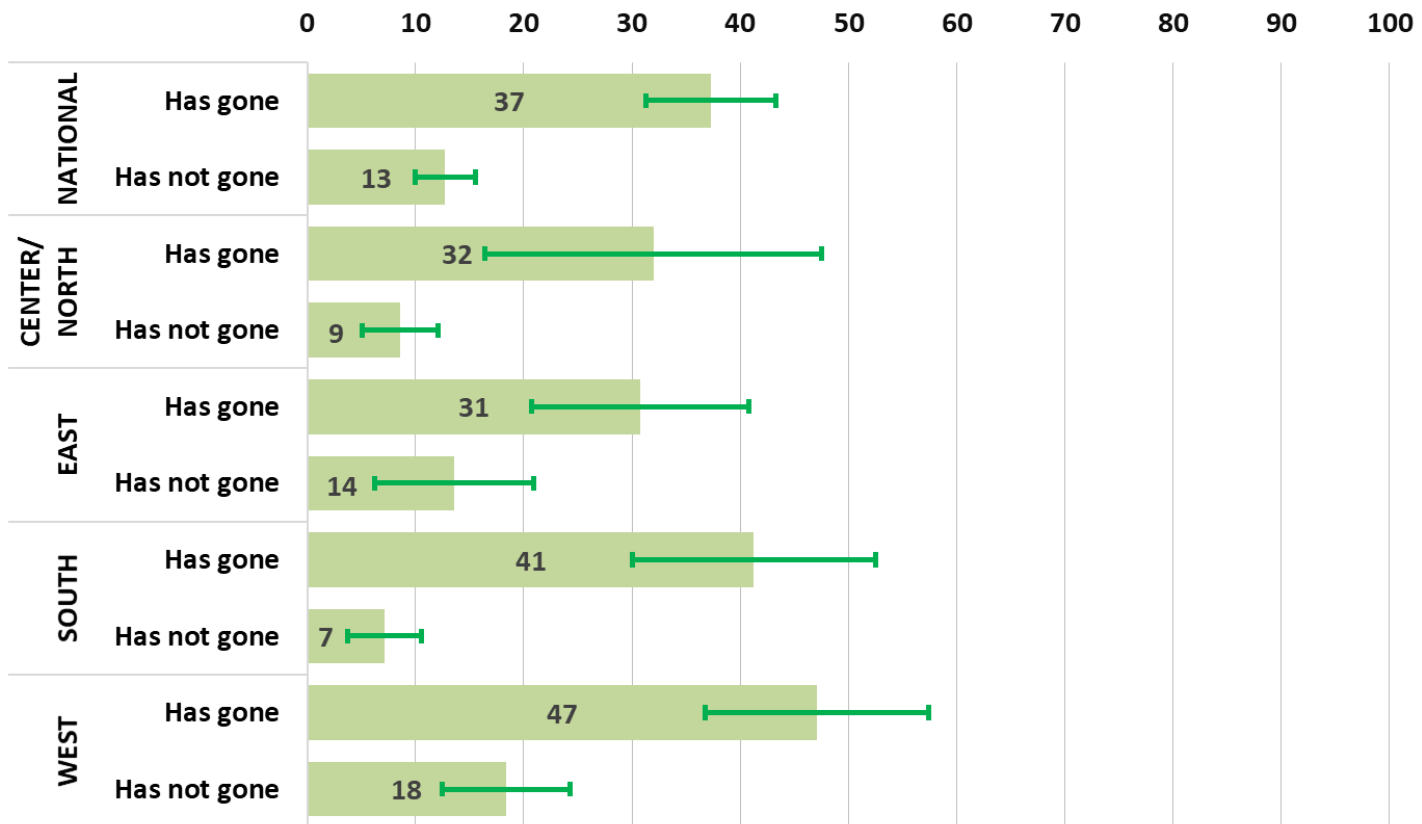
## Are any of the following interested in hearing your opinions? "Yes" only (q57)



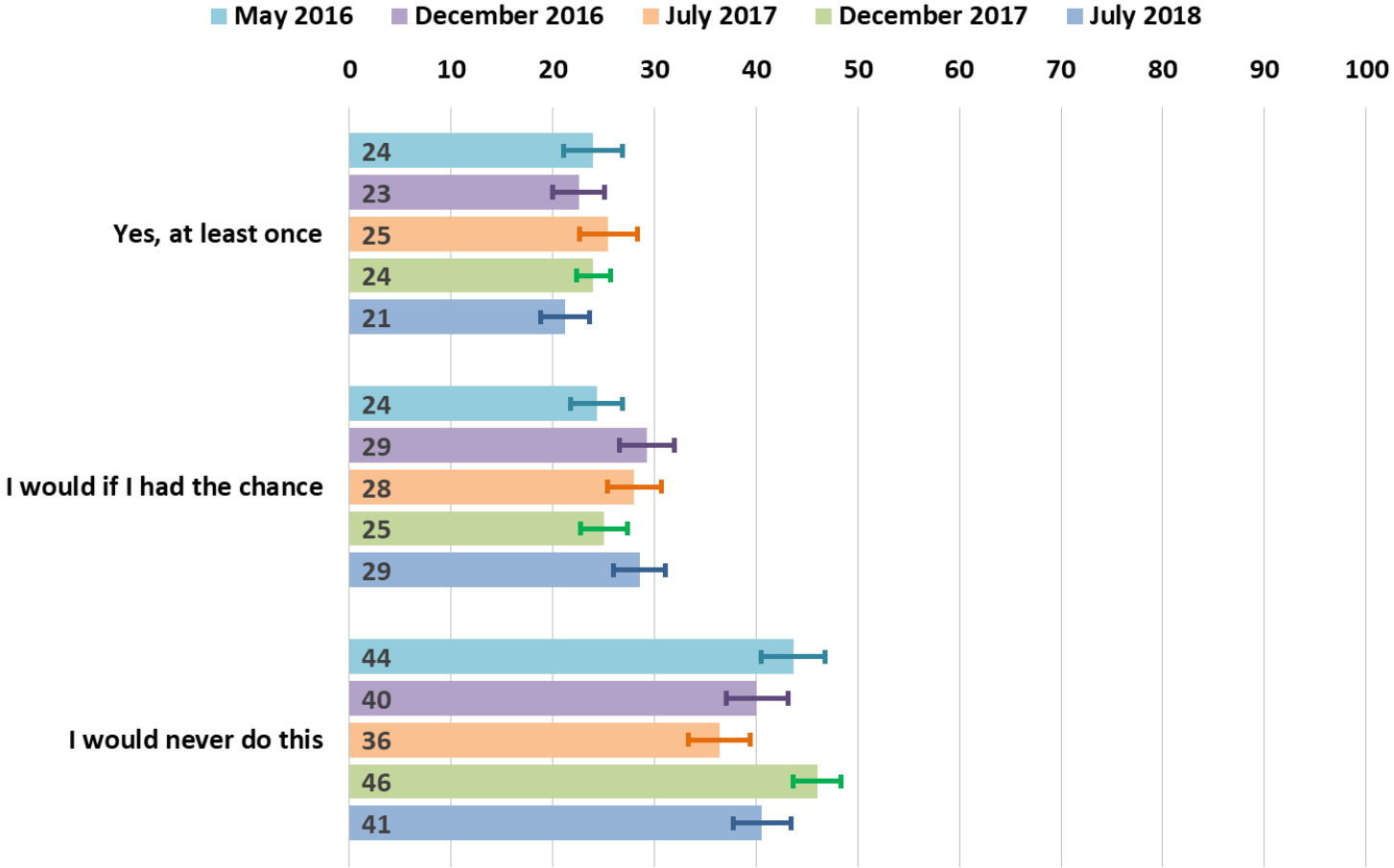
Since July of 2015, many communities in Ukraine have gone through the amalgamation process. Has your community gone through this process? (q11)



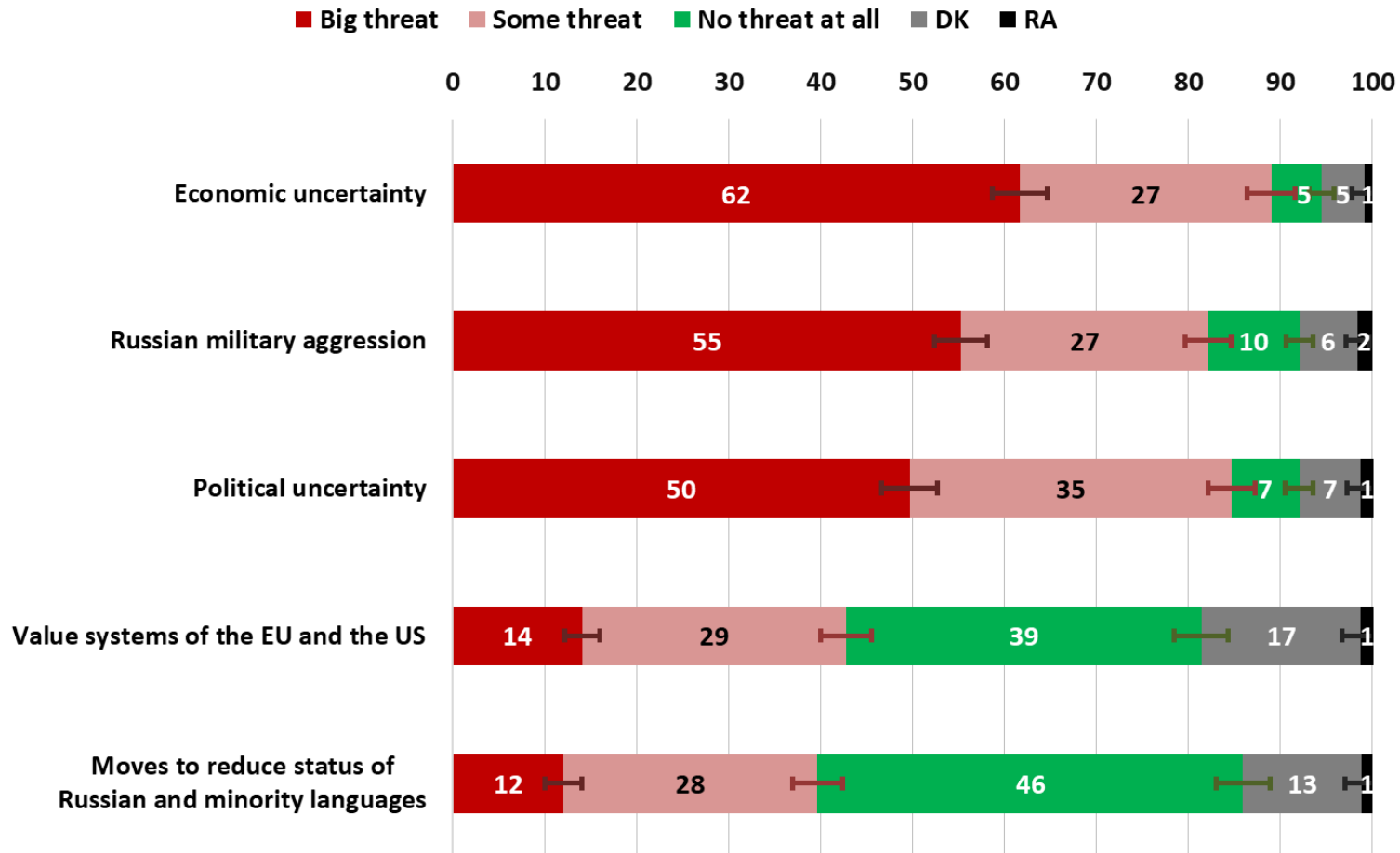
Since July of 2015, many communities in Ukraine have gone through the amalgamation process. How would you evaluate the impact on your/these communities? "Good/Somewhat good" only  
(q12/q13 X Settlement)



**Have you done any of these since November 2013?  
"Attend a community meeting" only (q55)**



## Do you feel the following are either a big threat, some threat or no threat at all to your way of life? (q51)

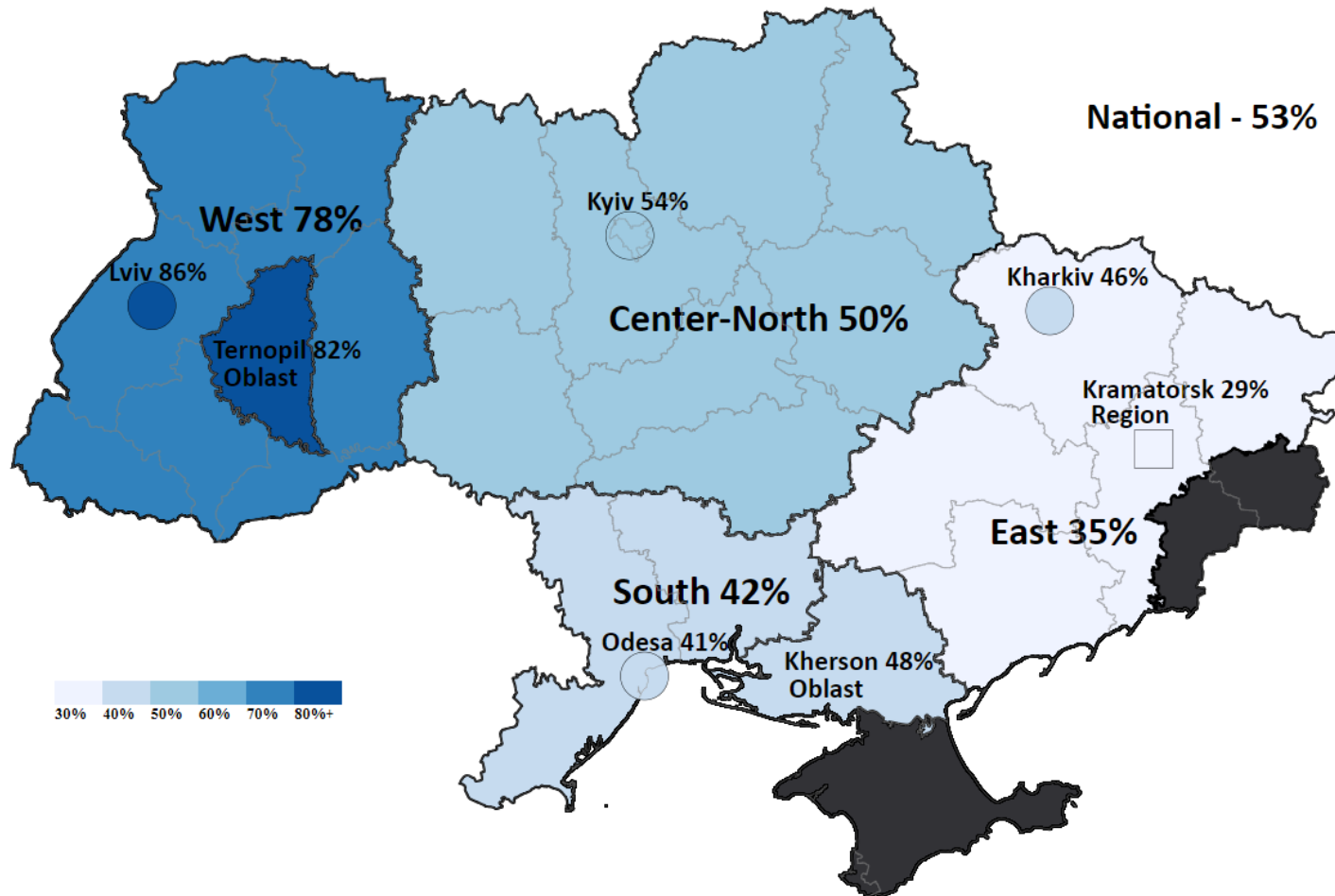


'Big threat' responses remained broadly stable, apart from political uncertainty which has risen 12% since December 2017.

# **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

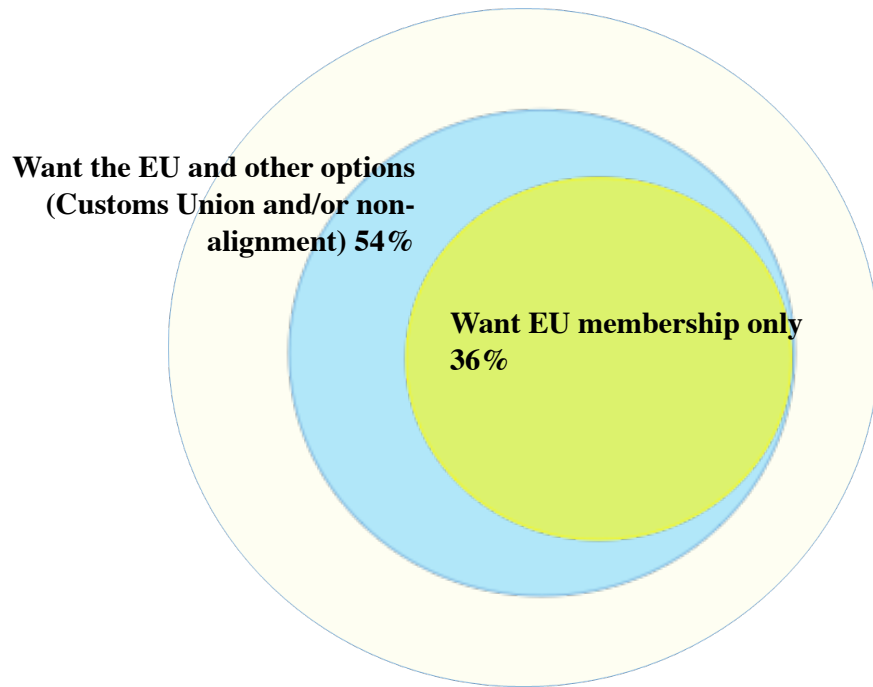
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**By 2030, do you want Ukraine to be a member state of the EU? “Yes” only (q42 X Settlement)**

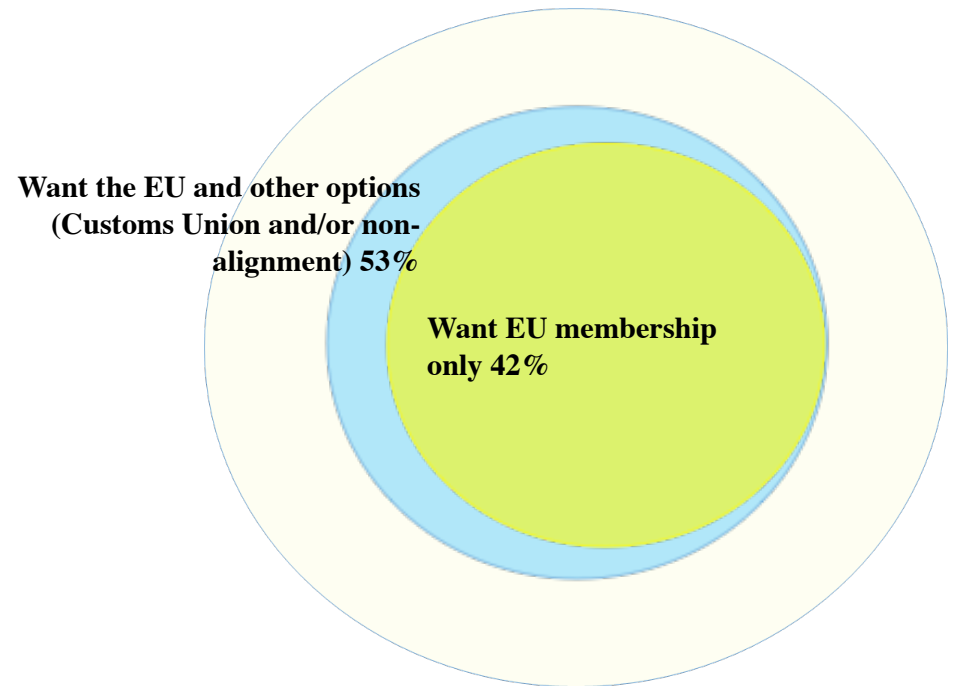


**EUROPEAN UNION MEMBERSHIP**  
**Want European Union only; Want European Union and the**  
**Customs Union and/or a non-aligned country (q42)**

**December 2017**



**July 2018**



*\*In July 2018, there was a date change in question from 2020 to 2030*

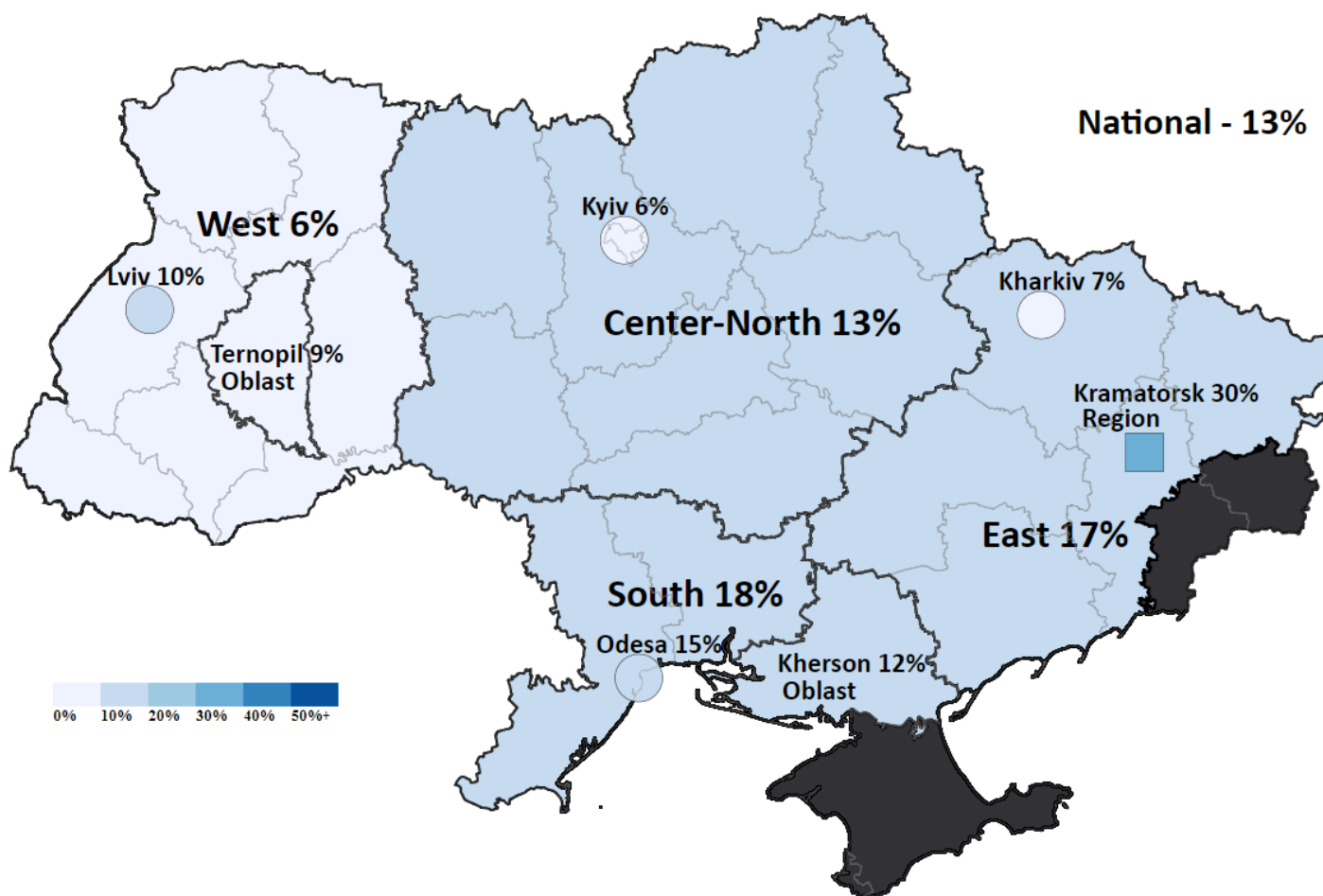


## Focus Group Associations with the European Union



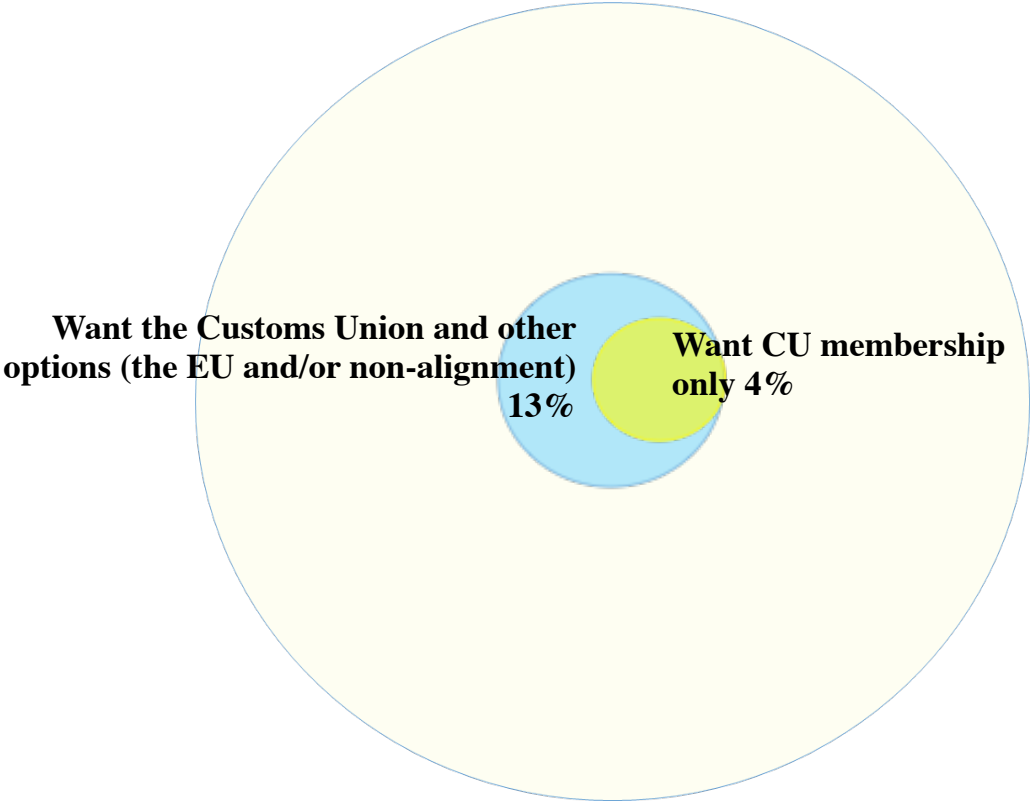
*\*Participants in Focus Groups in Kharkiv, Kramatorsk, Odesa and Kherson Associate the EU with Stability, Quality of Life, Freedom, Visa-Free Travel and Prosperity, May 2018*

**By 2030, do you want Ukraine to be a member state of the Customs Union? “Yes” only (q42 X Settlement)**

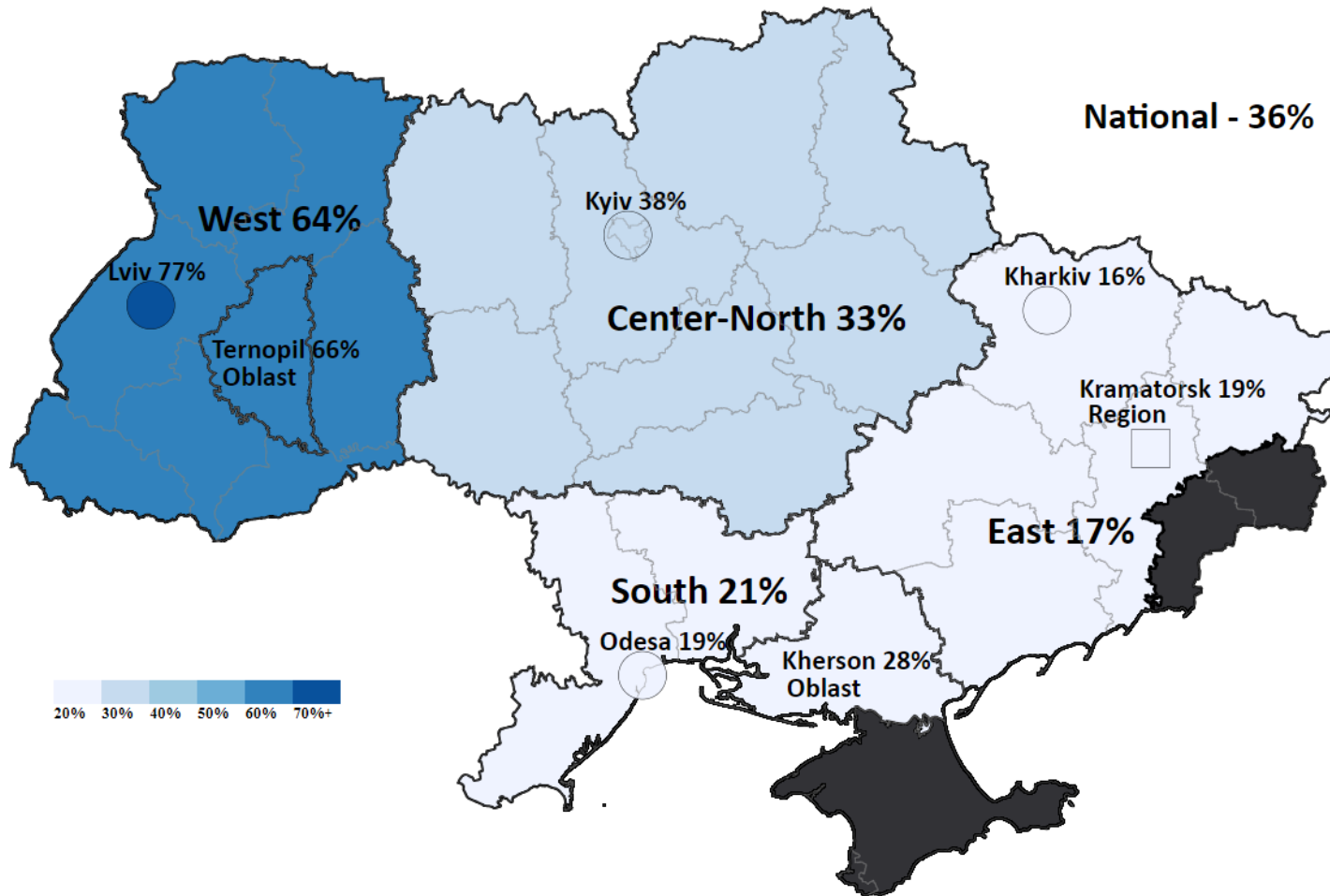


**EURASIA CUSTOMS UNION MEMBERSHIP**

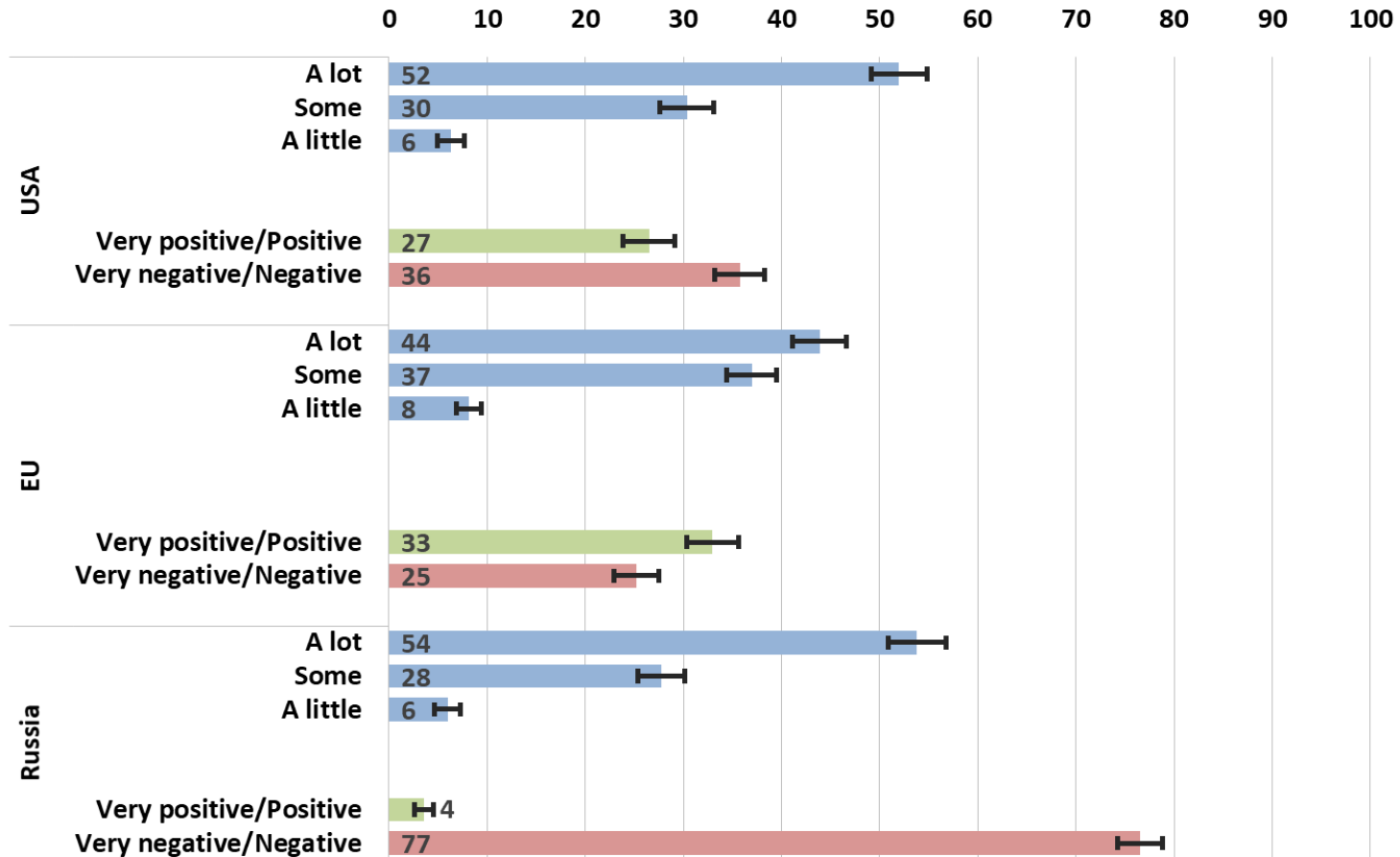
**Want the Customs Union only; Want the Customs Union and the EU/non-aligned country (q42)**



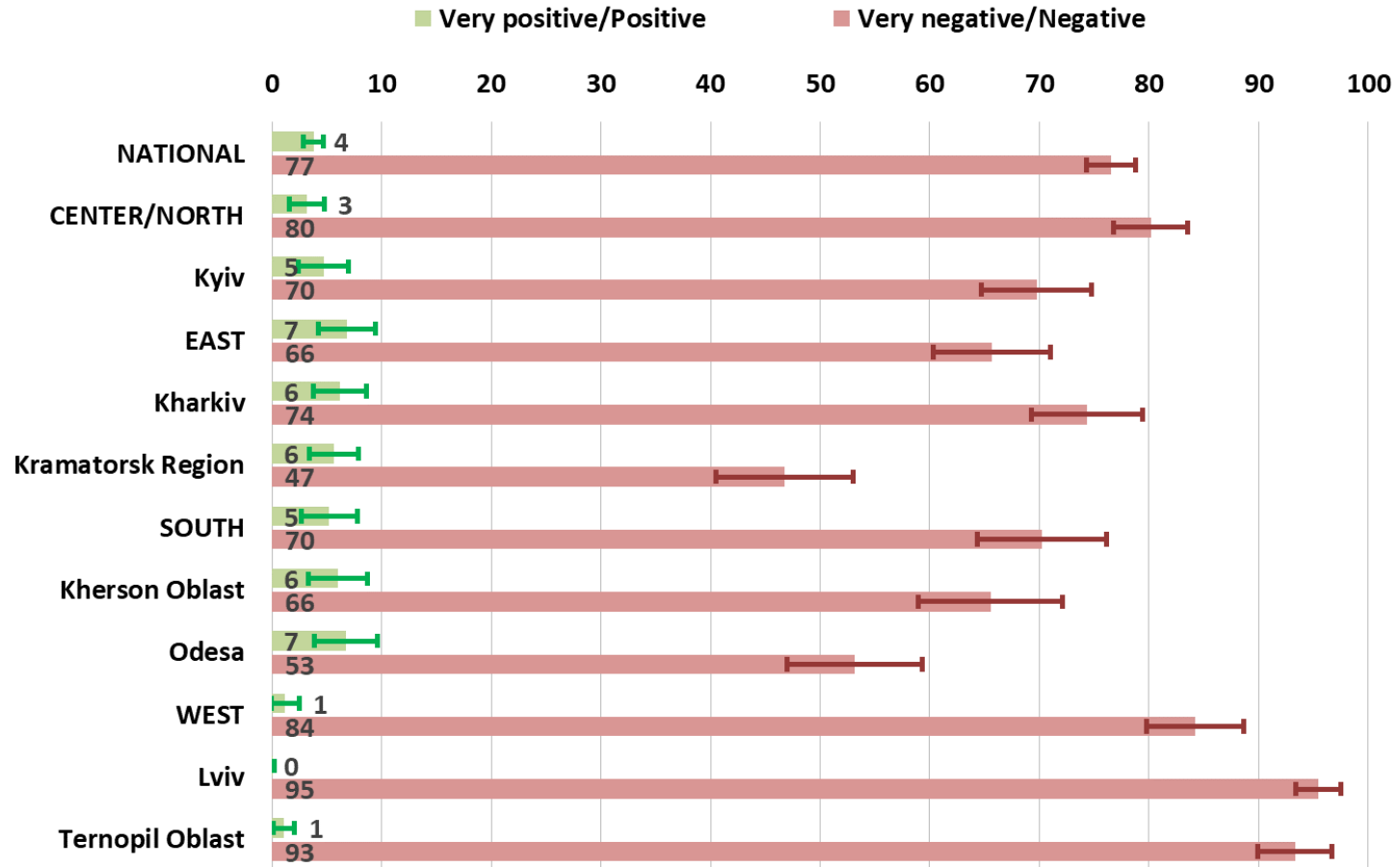
**By 2030, do you want Ukraine to be a member state of NATO? “Yes” only (q42 X Settlement)**



**How much influence, if any, do the following have in determining Ukraine's future? (q44) Is this influence...? (q45)**



## In your opinion, the influence of Russia, in determining Ukraine's future, is...? (q45 X Settlement)



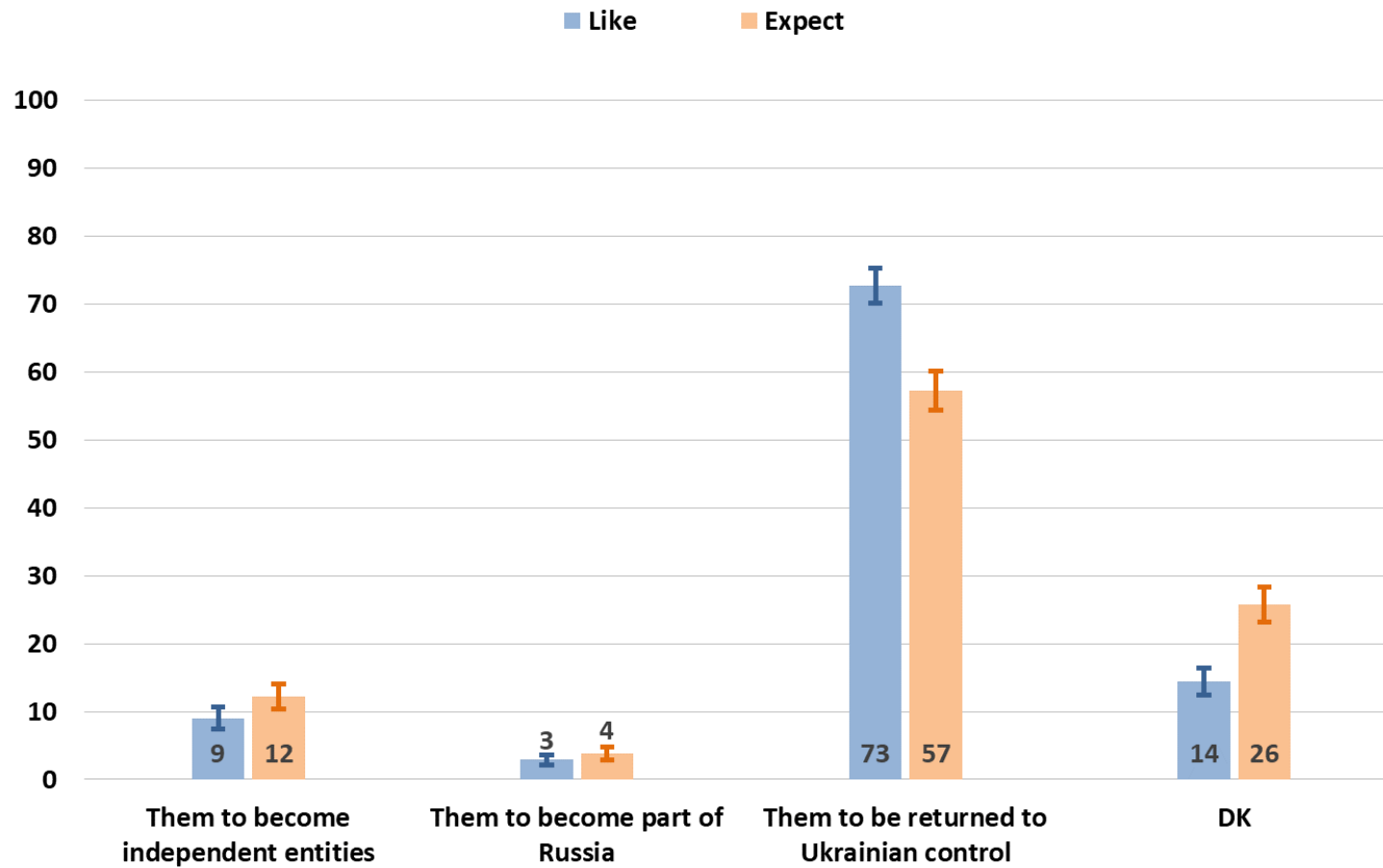
## Focus Group Associations with Russia

# aggressor



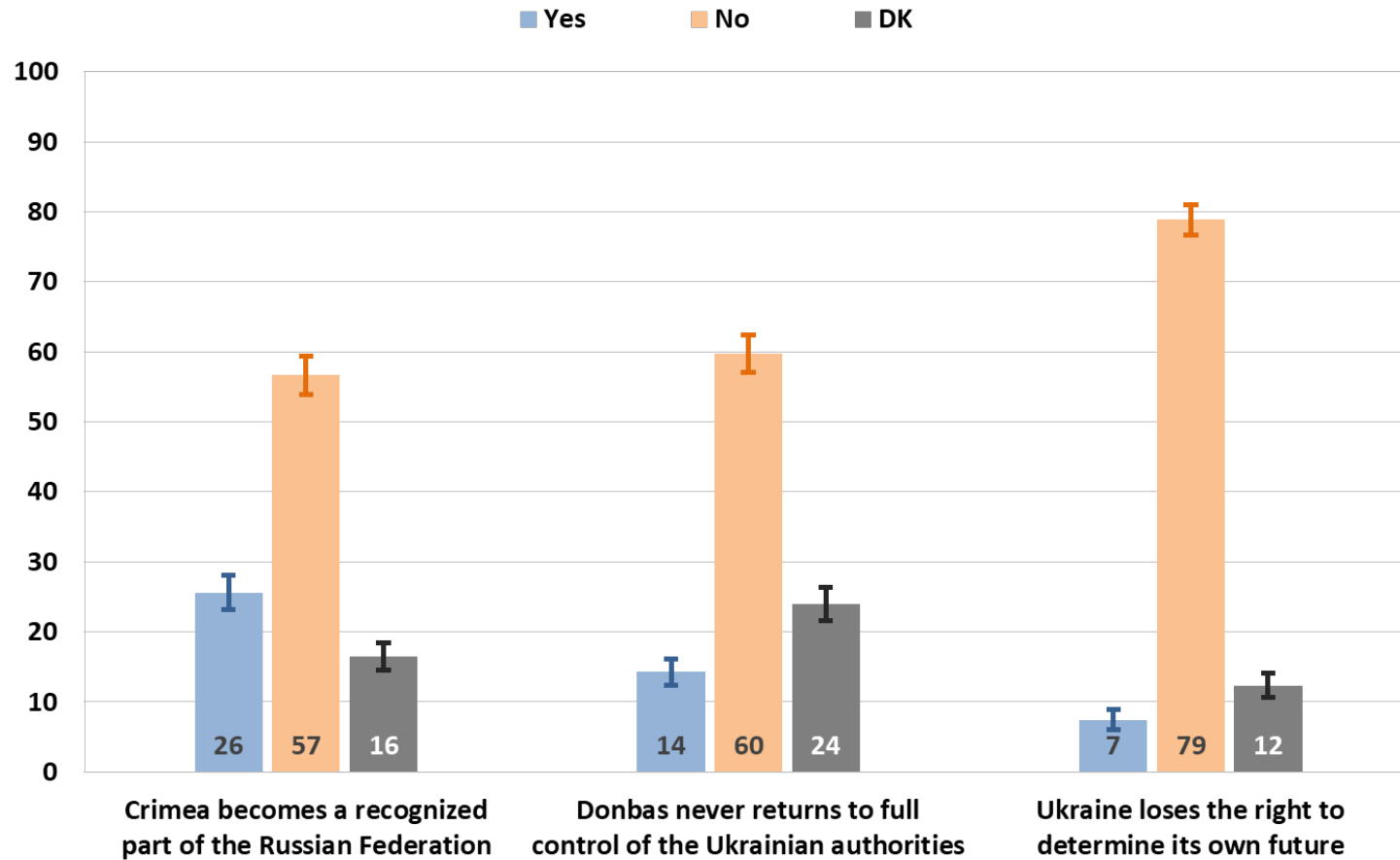
*\*Participants in Focus Groups in Kharkiv, Kramatorsk, Odesa and Kherson Associate Russia with Aggression and Putin, May 2018*

## What would you like/expect for the future of those parts of Donbas that are not under Ukrainian control? (q48/q49)





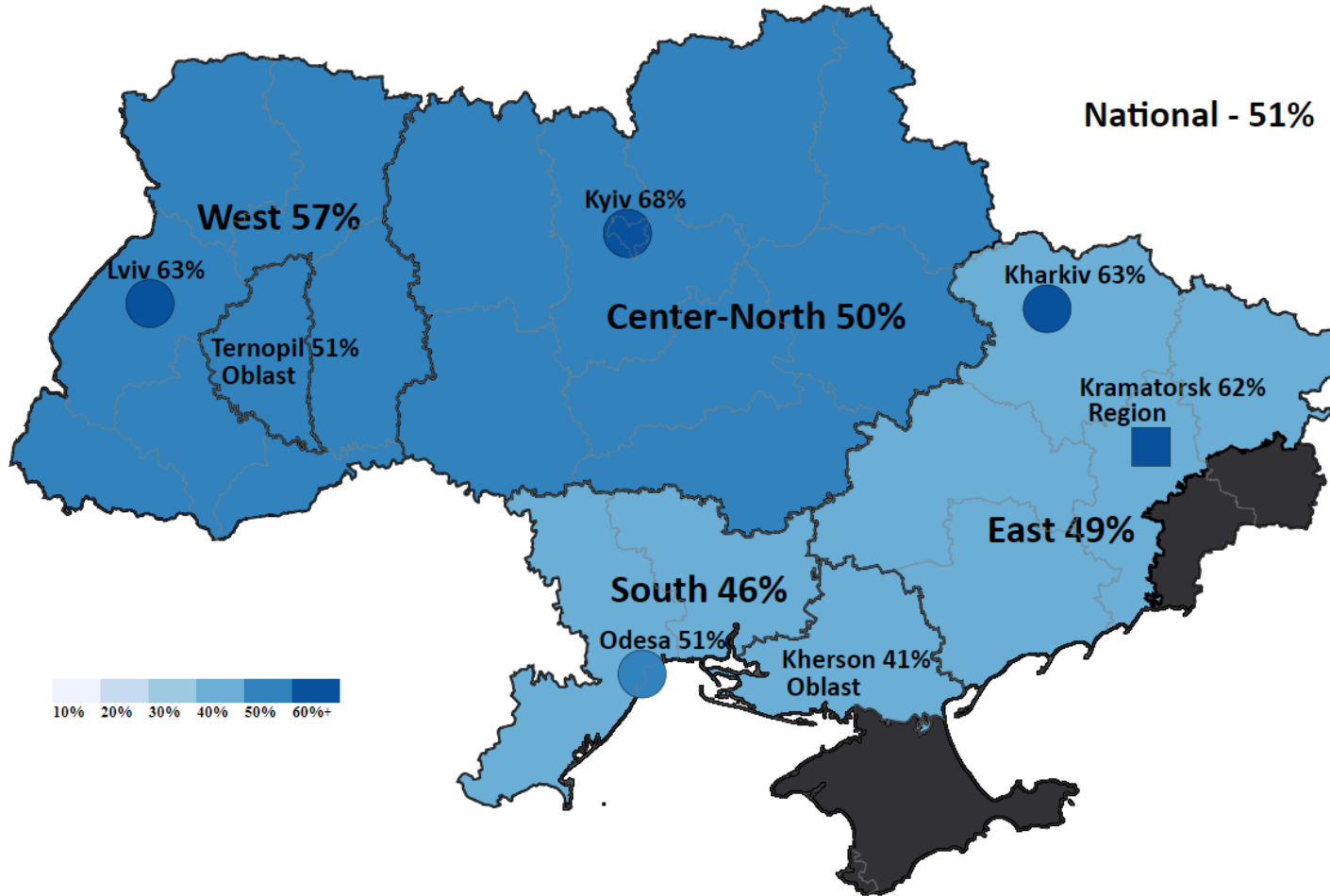
## Which, if any, of the following would you accept as the price for peace? (q50)



# **DISINFORMATION & MEDIA CONSUMPTION**

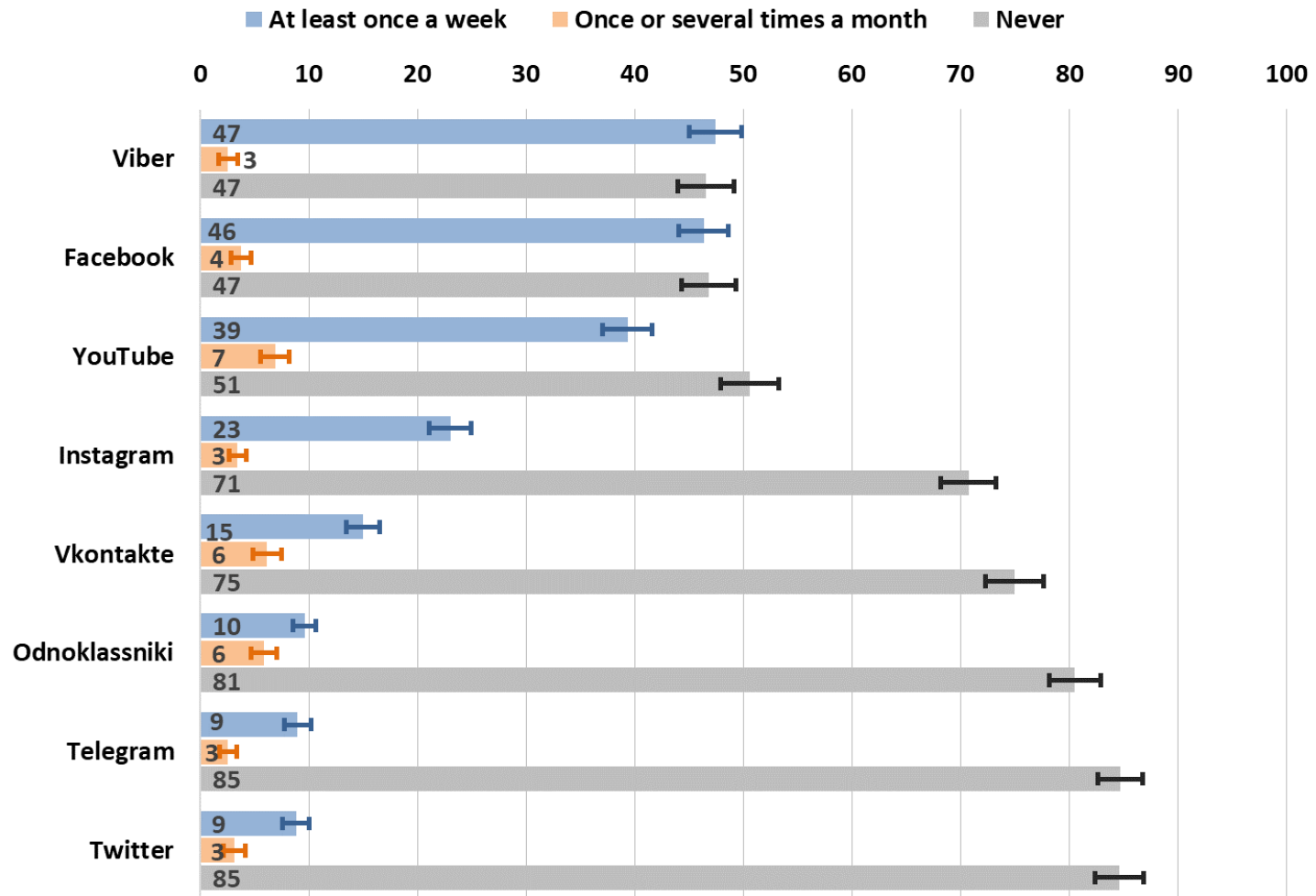
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**How often do you access the internet for news?  
“Every day/Several times a week” only  
(q63 X Settlement)**



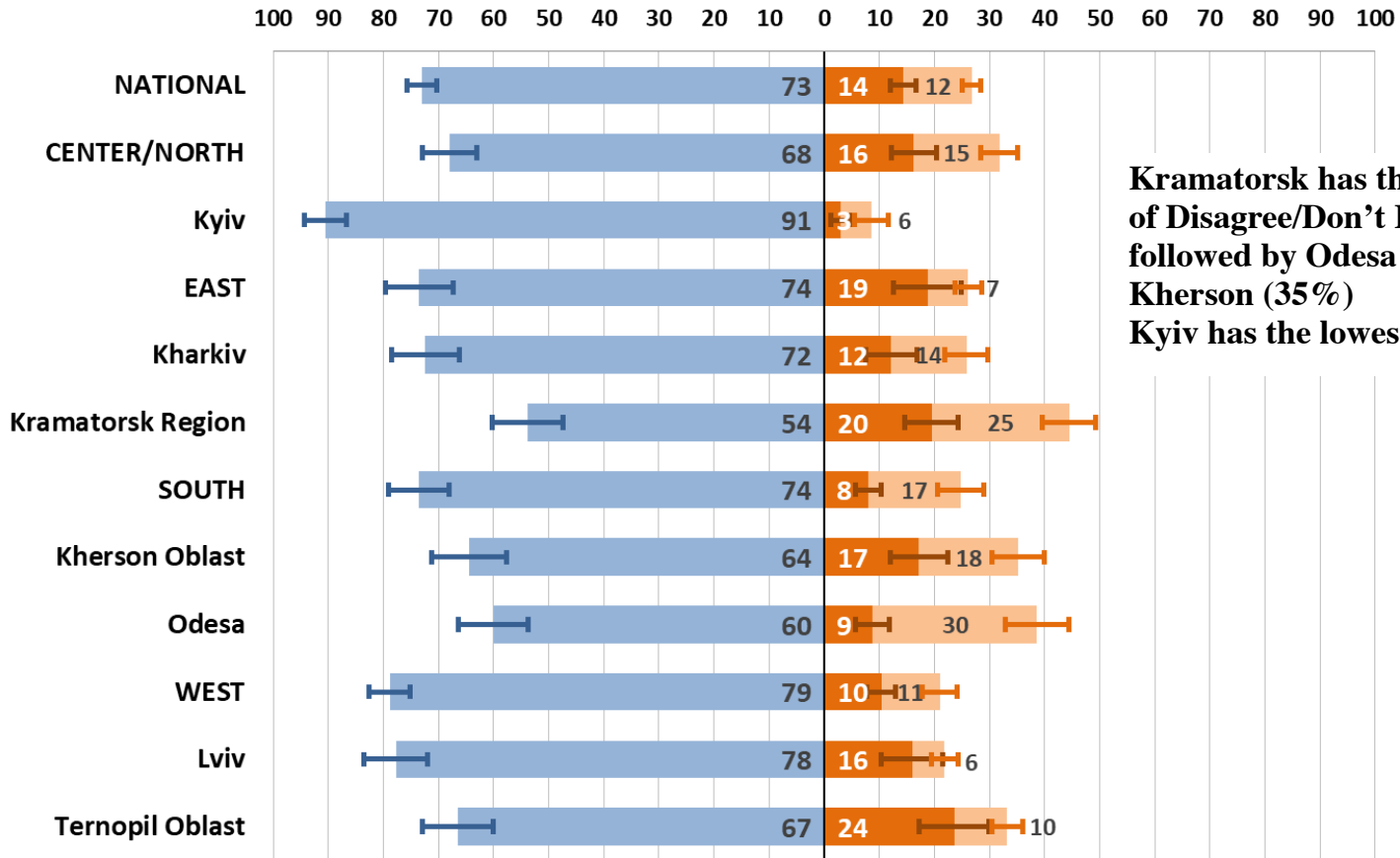
Since December 2016, ‘every day’ plus ‘several times a week’ has risen from 39% to 51%

## How often do you engage with the following platforms? (q65)



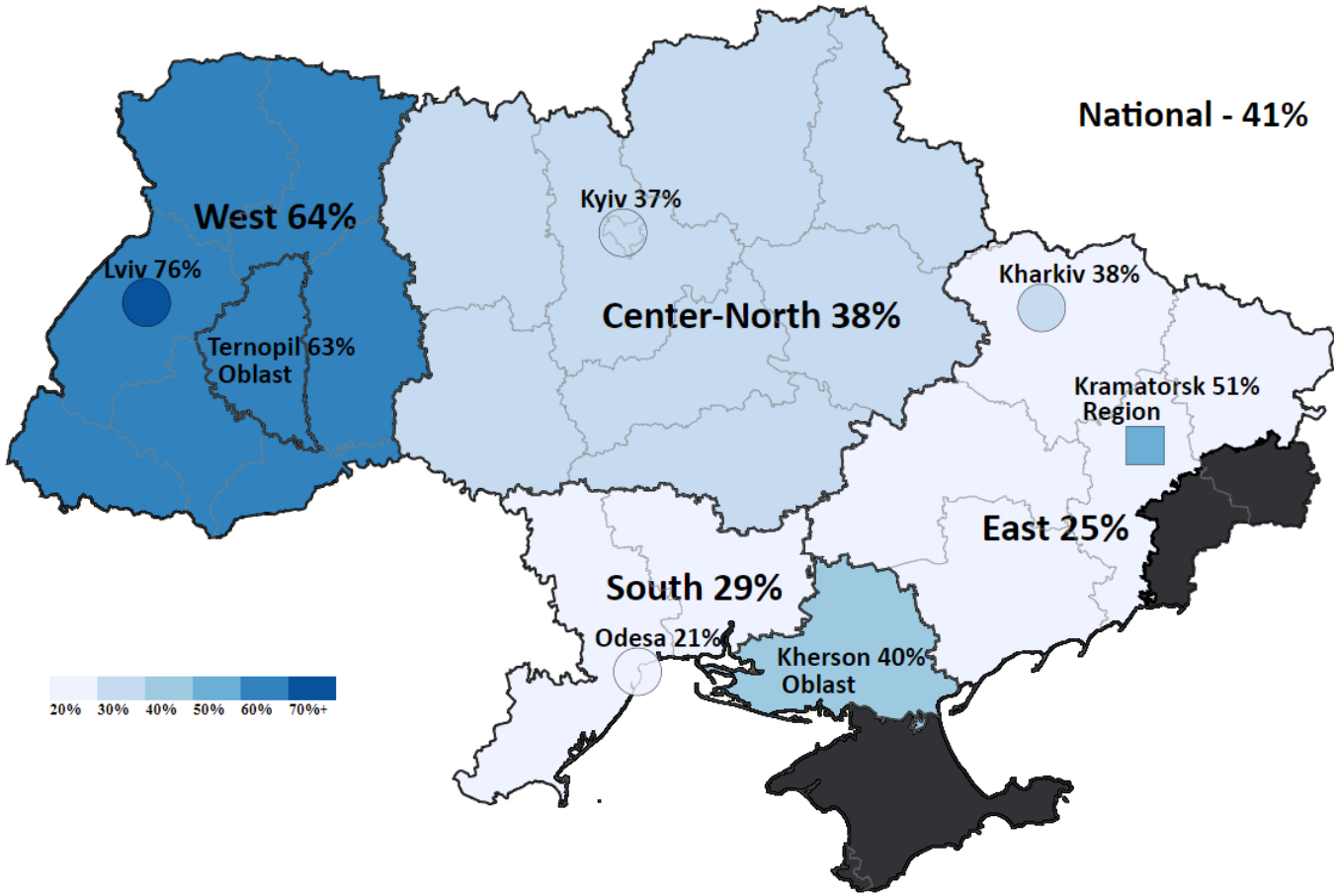
## Do you agree or disagree that propaganda or disinformation is being spread in Ukraine? (q46 X Settlement)

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK

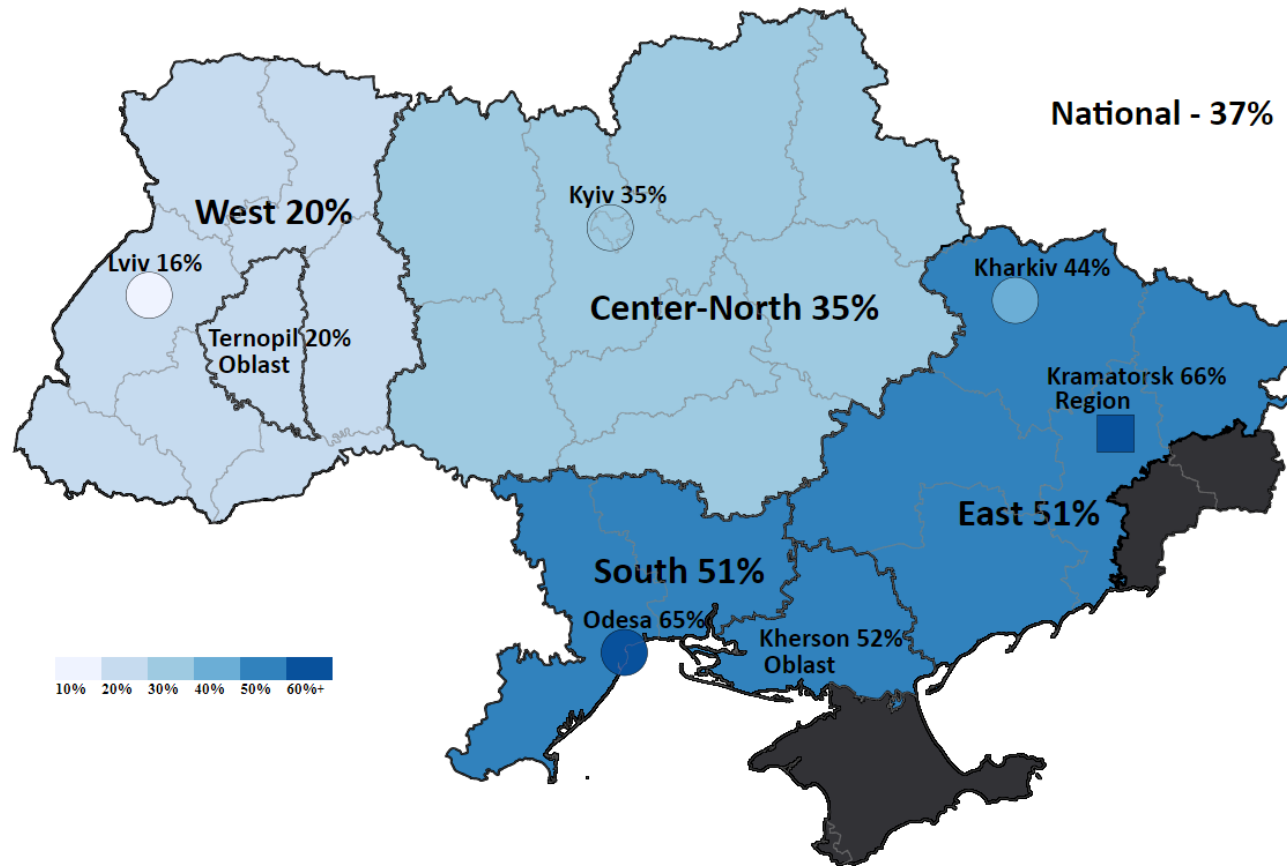


**Kramatorsk has the highest level of Disagree/Don't Know (45%) followed by Odesa (39%) and Kherson (35%)  
Kyiv has the lowest level: 9%**

**Who is the most responsible for spreading of propaganda or disinformation in Ukraine? “Russia (Putin/Russian government)” only (q47 X Settlement)**  
of 73% who agree that propaganda or disinformation is being spread in Ukraine



**In July 2014, Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 crashed over Donetsk. In your opinion, what is the most likely reason for this? “It was shot down by Ukrainian forces/Mechanical failure/Don’t Know” only (q21 X Settlement)**



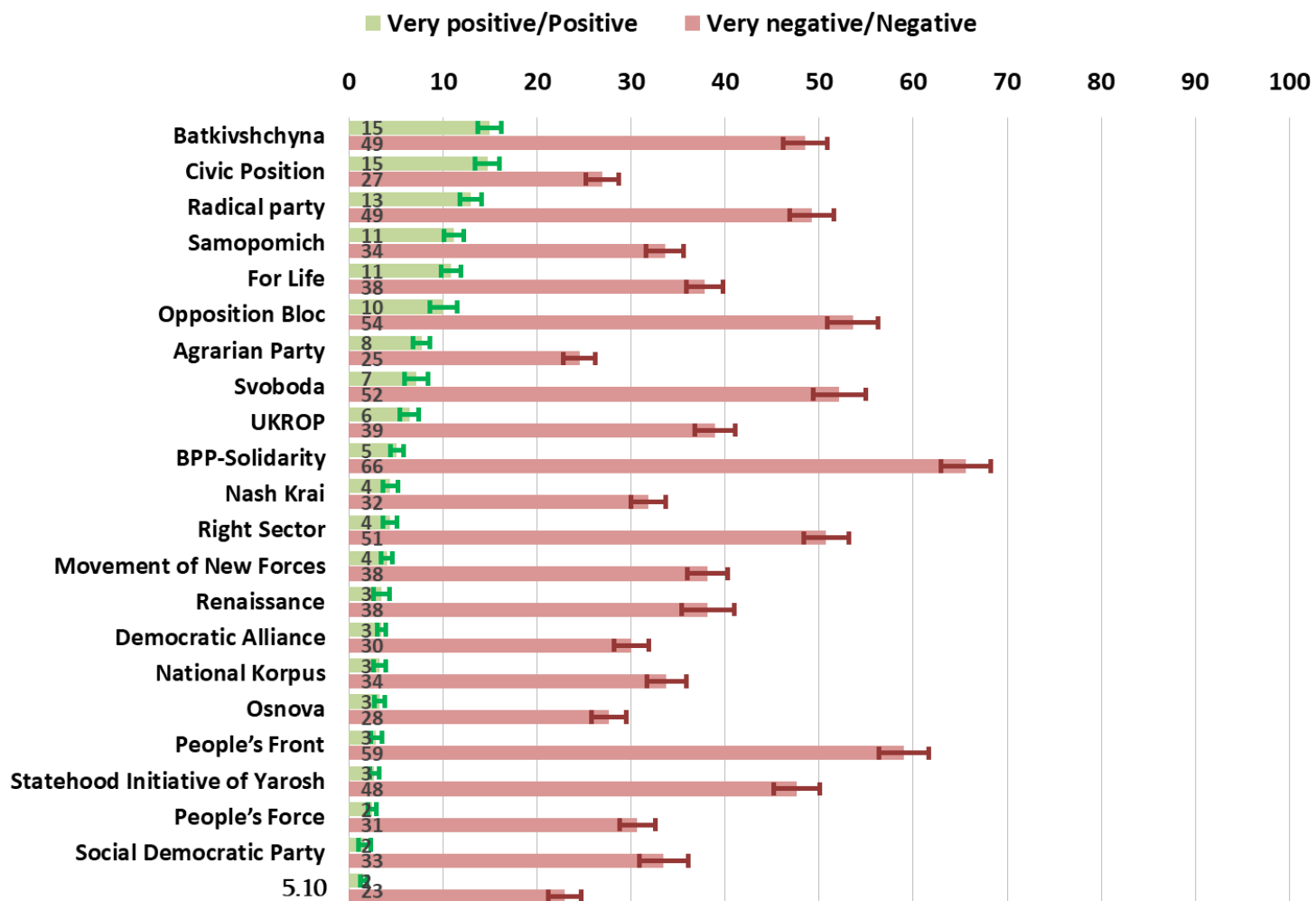
This number was 46% in December 2017. The change can probably be explained by publication of the Joint Investigation Team report in May 2018

# **POLITICAL PARTIES, LEADERS & ELECTIONS**

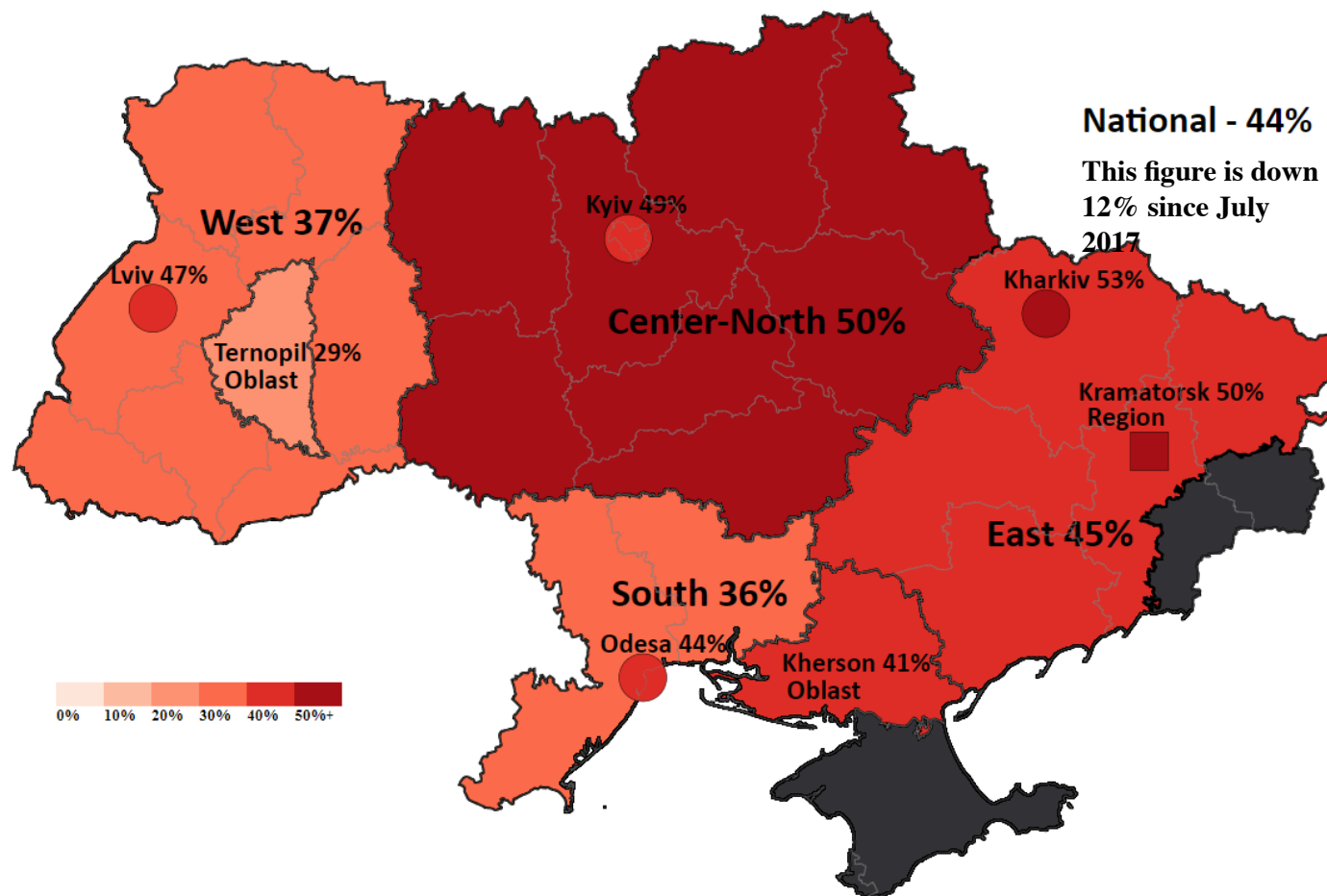
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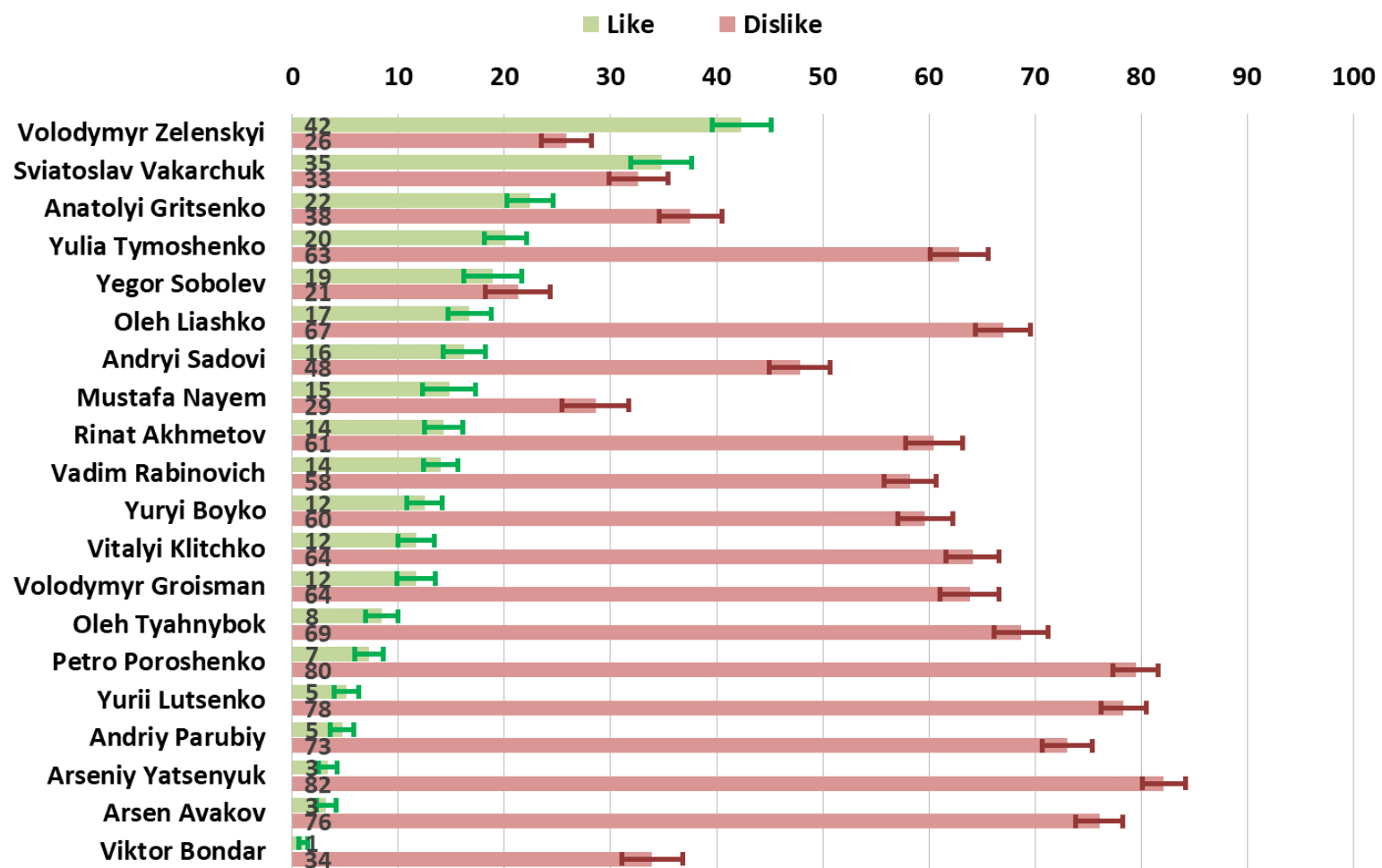
## What is your attitude toward the following parties today? (q28)



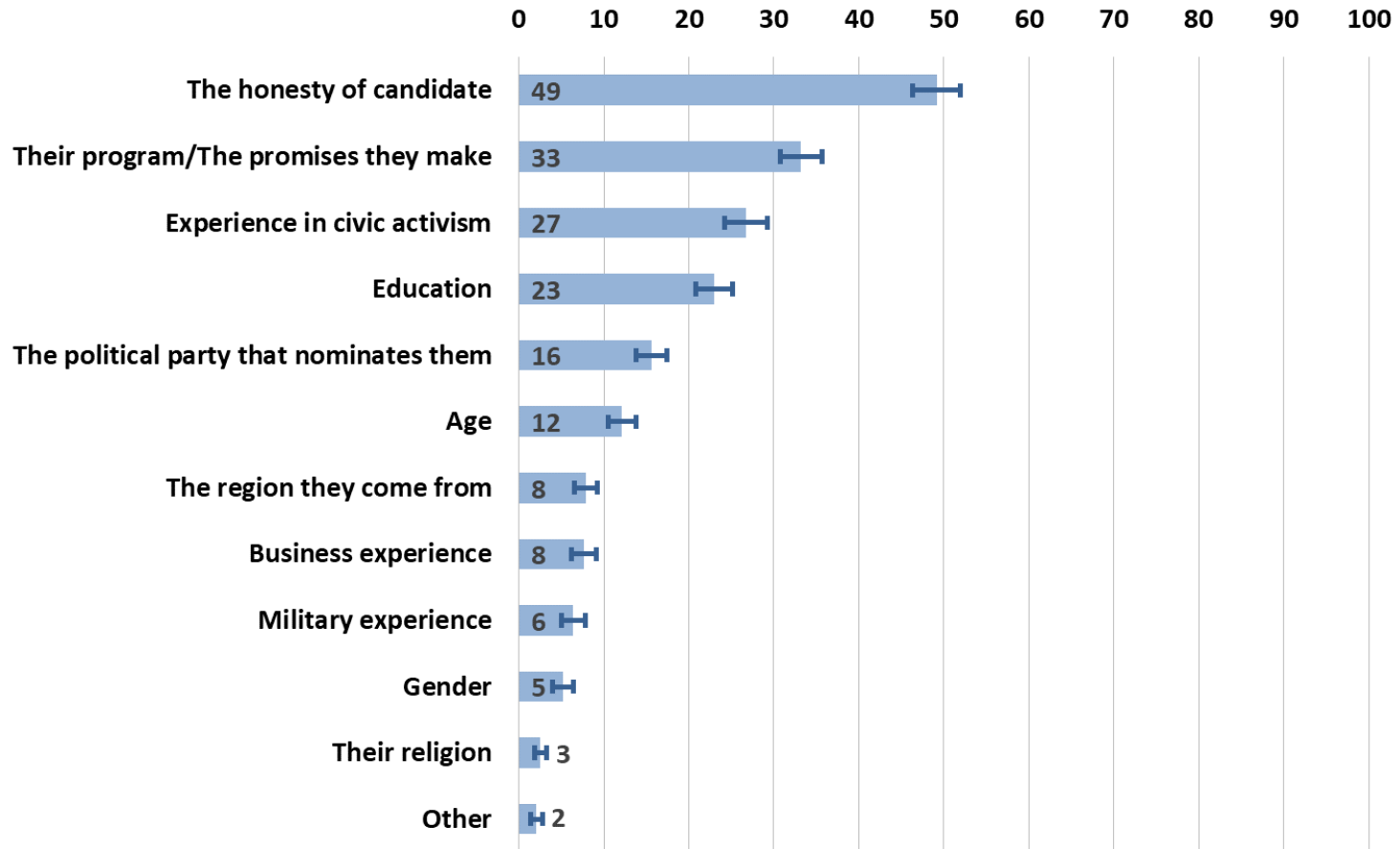
**What is your attitude towards the following parties today?  
No positive attitude towards any party (q28 X Settlement)**



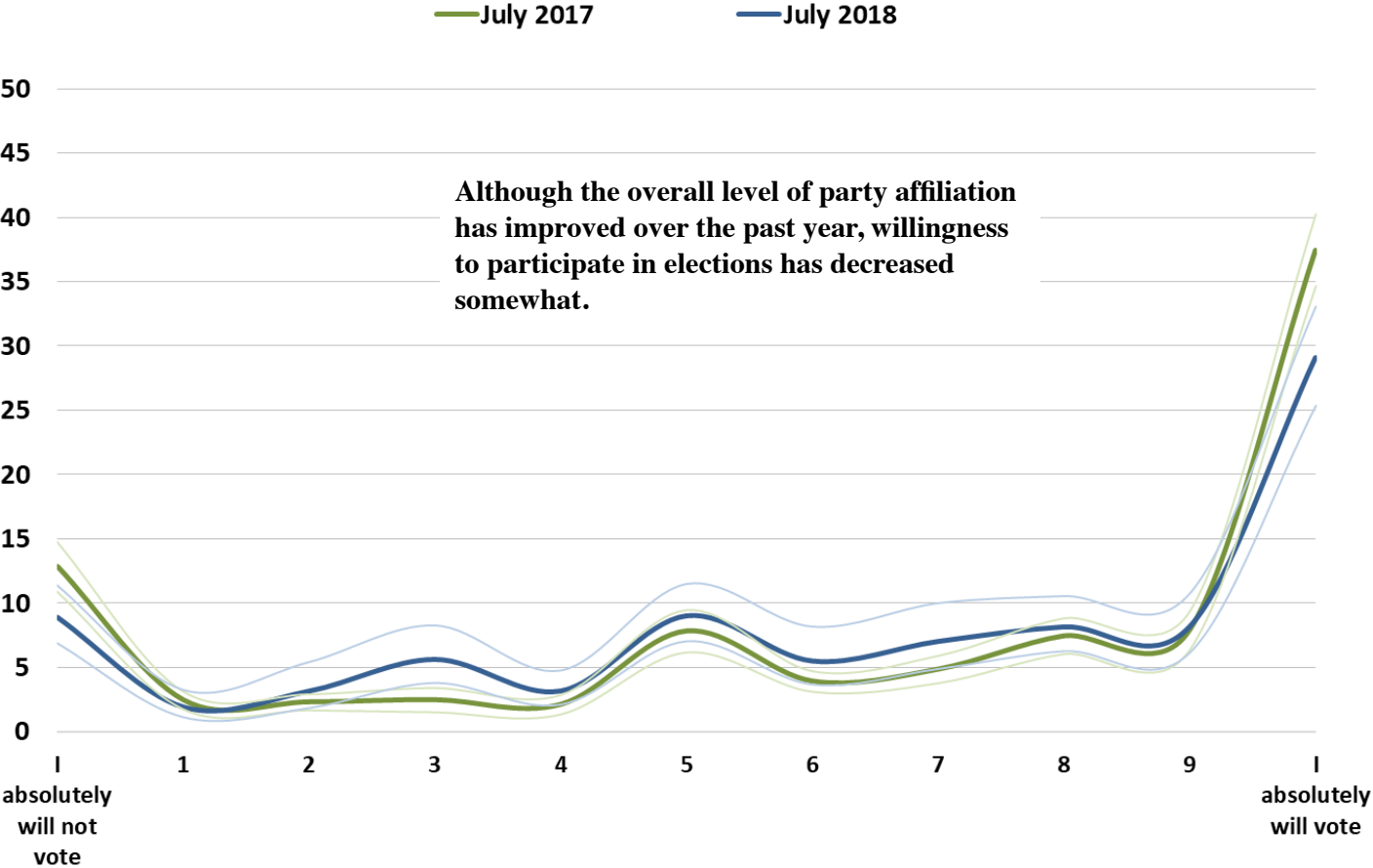
Of the following people, please tell me whether you like or dislike...?  
(q37/q38)



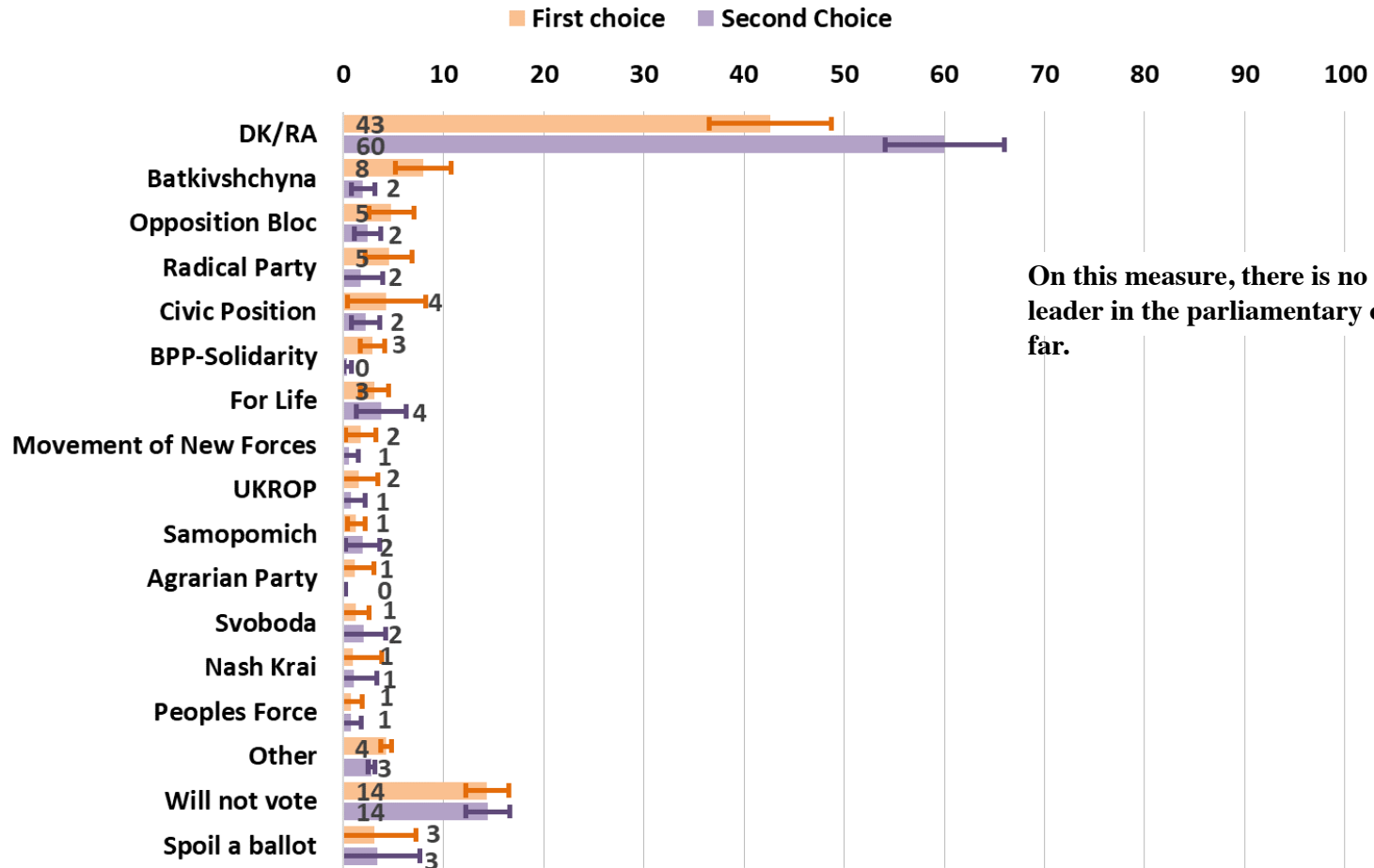
**When deciding which candidate to vote for in the next parliamentary elections, what is important to you? (q10) - (select up to three)**



# If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? (q30)

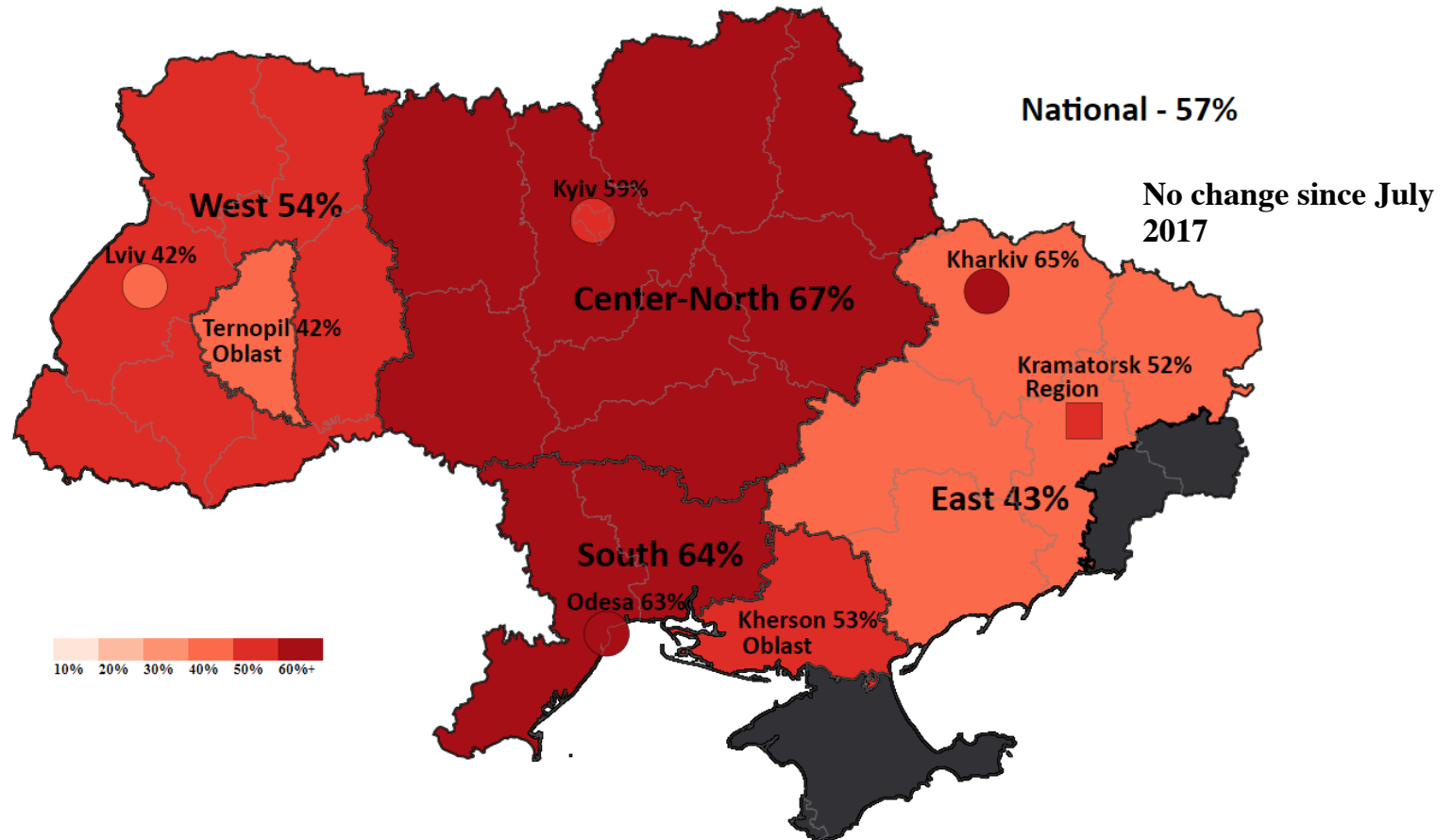


## Which party would you vote for if parliamentary elections were held tomorrow? First choice? Second choice? (q31)

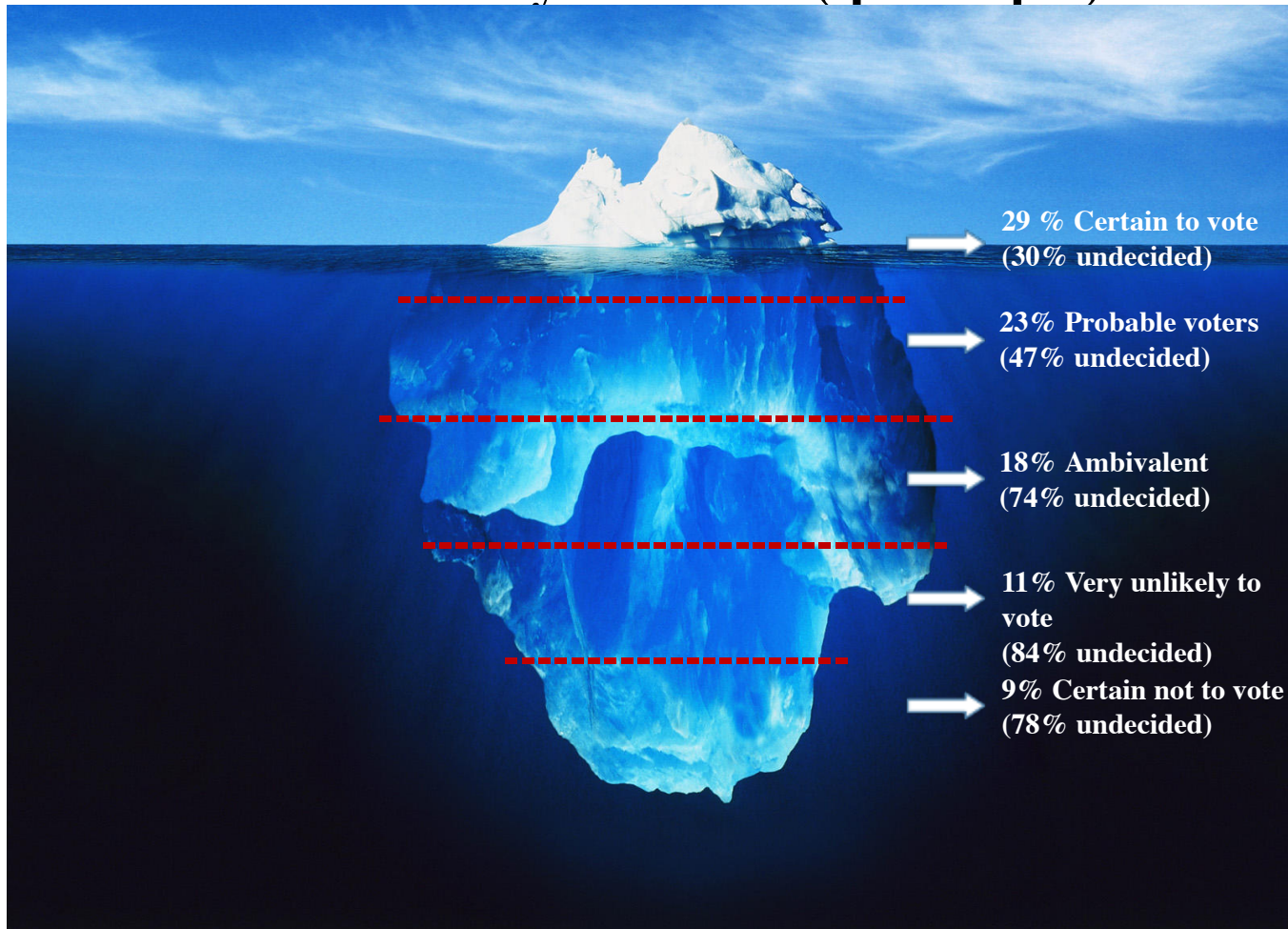


On this measure, there is no clear leader in the parliamentary contest so far.

**Which party would you vote for if parliamentary elections were held tomorrow?  
No preference only (q31 X Settlement)**



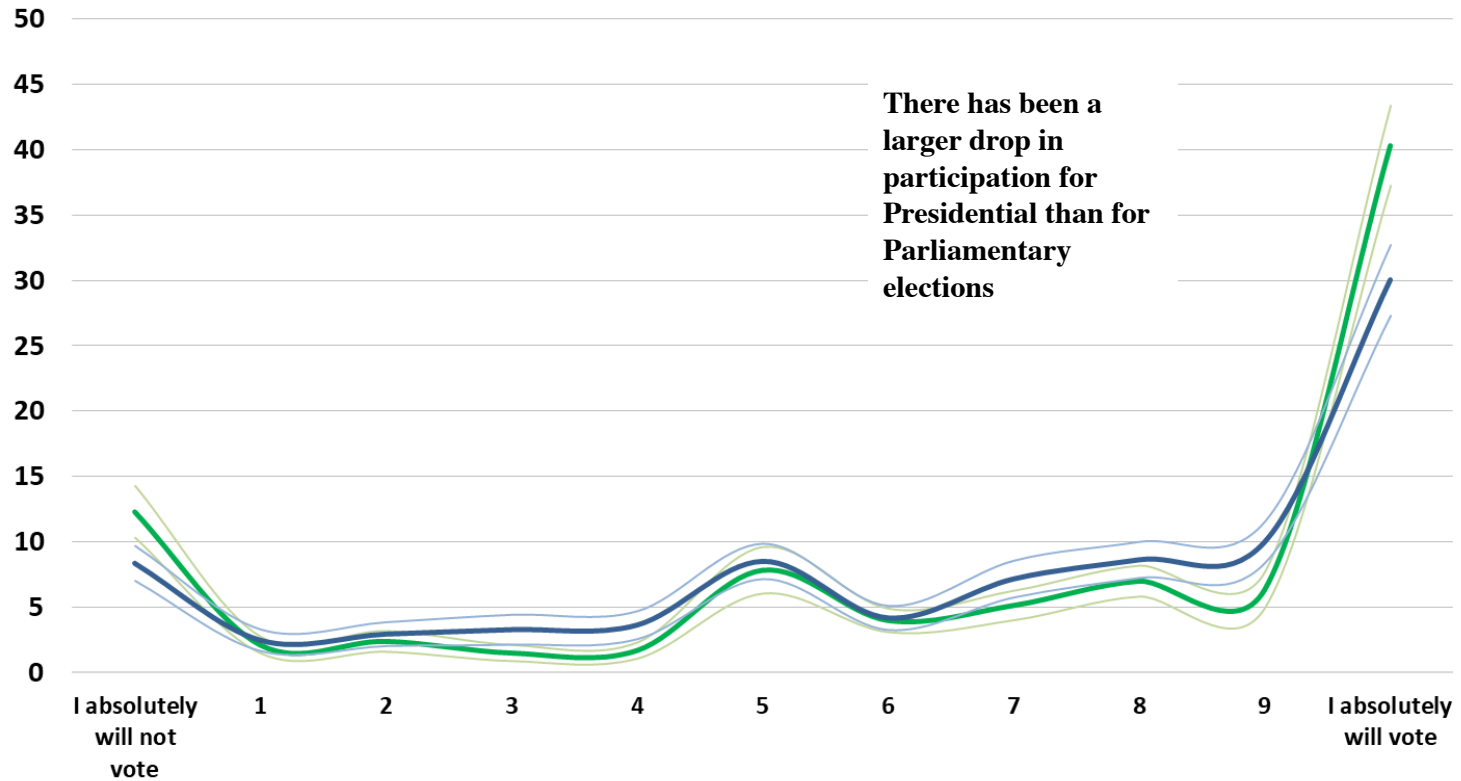
## Ukraine's Electoral Iceberg Parliamentary Elections (q30 X q31)





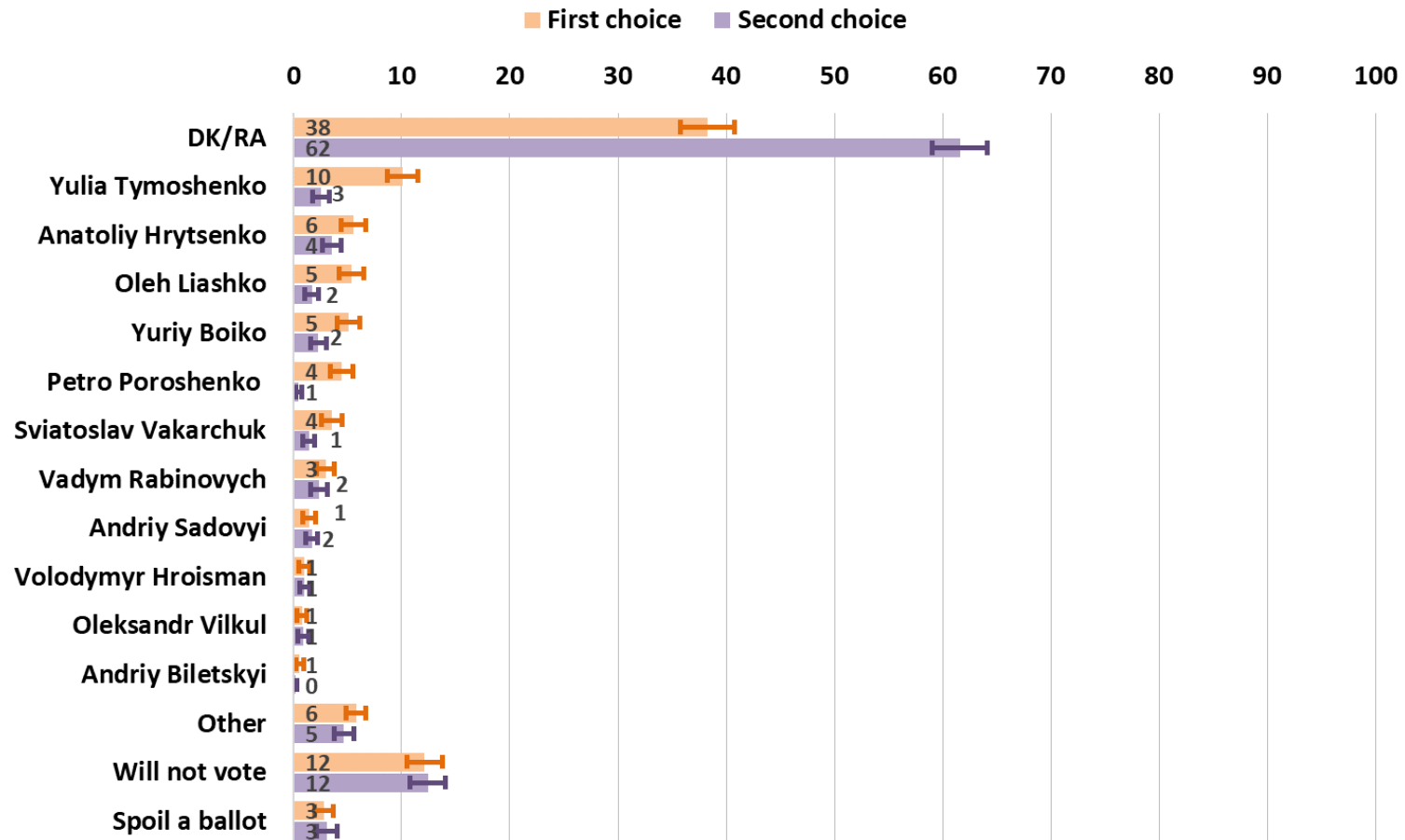
# If the presidential election was held tomorrow, would you vote? (q33)

— July 2017 — July 2018

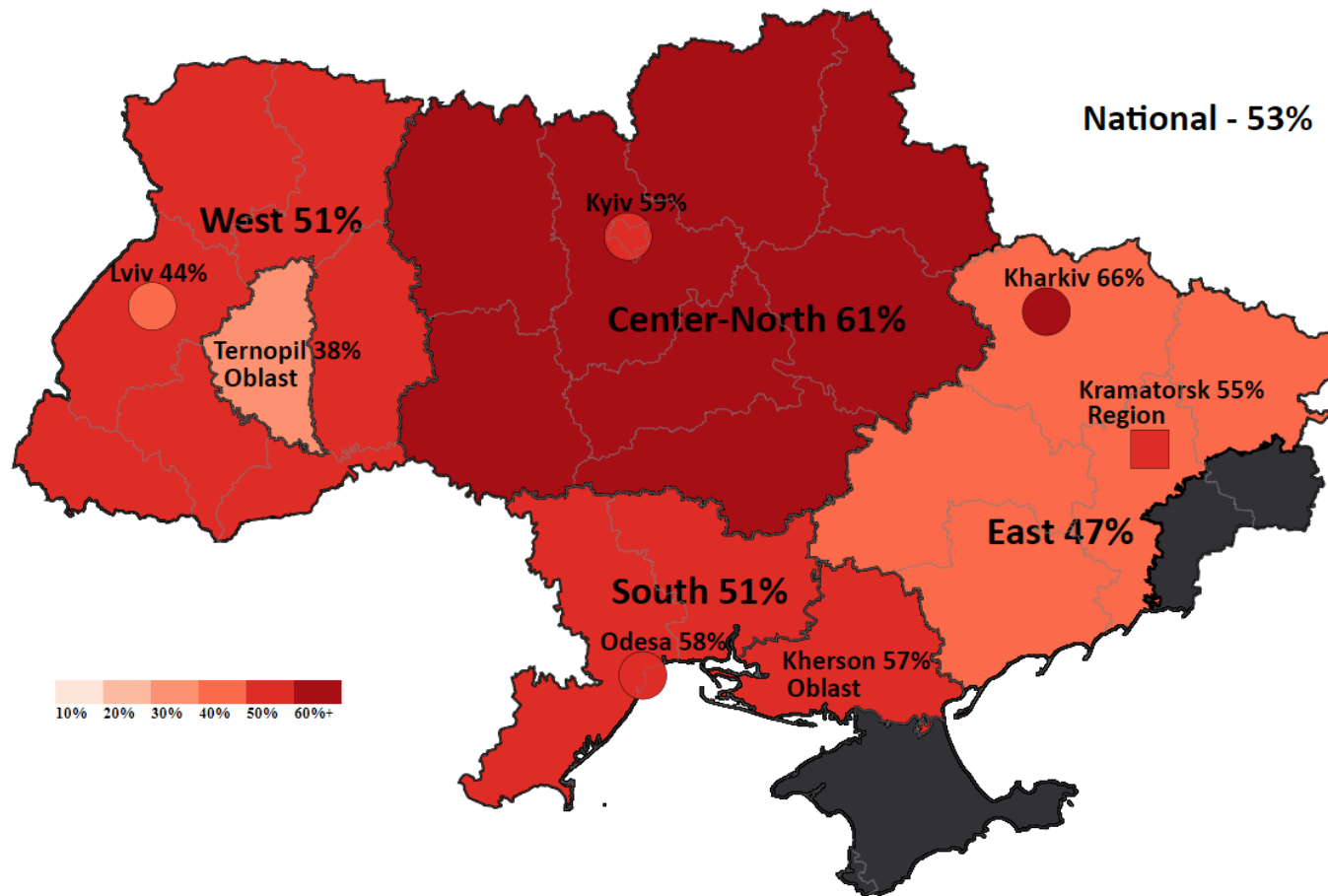


**There has been a larger drop in participation for Presidential than for Parliamentary elections**

## If first round of the presidential election was held tomorrow, for whom would you vote? (q34)



**If the first round of presidential elections were held tomorrow, for whom would you vote?  
No preference only (q34 X Settlement)**



# Ukraine's Electoral Iceberg

## Presidential Elections (q33 X q34)

