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# Opportunities and Challenges Facing Ukraine's Democratic Transition

*Nationwide Survey with eight local oversamples and  
Implicit Association Tests in four cities, May and June 2016*

This research is funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), Global Affairs Canada (GAC) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)  
Cette étude est financée par la Fondation nationale pour la démocratie (NED), les Affaires mondiales Canada (AMC) et par l'Agence des États-Unis pour le développement international (USAID).

Fieldwork was conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology



NDI Ukraine

# Overview

- This research consists of two components:
  - A nationwide face-to-face survey with eight local oversamples
  - Implicit Association Tests (IATs) in four cities designed to measure regional stereotypes, May 2016
    - An explanation of Implicit Association Tests, and an opportunity to take one yourself, can be found on the website of Harvard University <https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/education.html>
- This is the third in a series of similar surveys carried out since May 2015:
  - May 2015, November-December 2015, May-June 2016

# Themes and Key Findings 1

- ***Democratic Transition:***

- This survey was conducted after the reformation of the government in April 2016. The previous survey was conducted after the local elections in October 2015. Comparisons between the two surveys provide insights into the effect of the political 'crisis' in the Spring of 2016
- Confidence in the country's democratic progress, expectations that the next generation will be better off and willingness to participate in civic activities have fallen since November 2015 but these shifts are not fundamental
- The destination to which most Ukrainians aspire remains a less paternalistic , more democratic society in which women and men play more equal roles, citizens' voices are heard and political parties represent the interests of citizens
- Political upheaval in the country and ongoing downward pressure on living standards have not undermined demand for a more democratic society, increased demand for early elections or raised expectations of a Third Maidan
- Attitudes towards those displaced by the conflict remain largely tolerant
- Negative regional stereotypes are the exception, not the rule

- ***Government Performance:***

- The new government has similar positive performance ratings, but lower negative ratings, than its predecessor
- There has been no significant improvement nationwide in respondents' willingness to believe that the government is committed to reform since the new government was formed

# Key Themes and Findings: 2

- ***International Relations:***

- Support for EU and NATO membership has fluctuated slightly over the past year
- Russian influence in Ukraine is consistently viewed as negative by an overwhelming majority
- Support for Donbas to return to Ukrainian control and for Ukraine to retain the right to decide its own future is strong and stable

- ***Political Parties:***

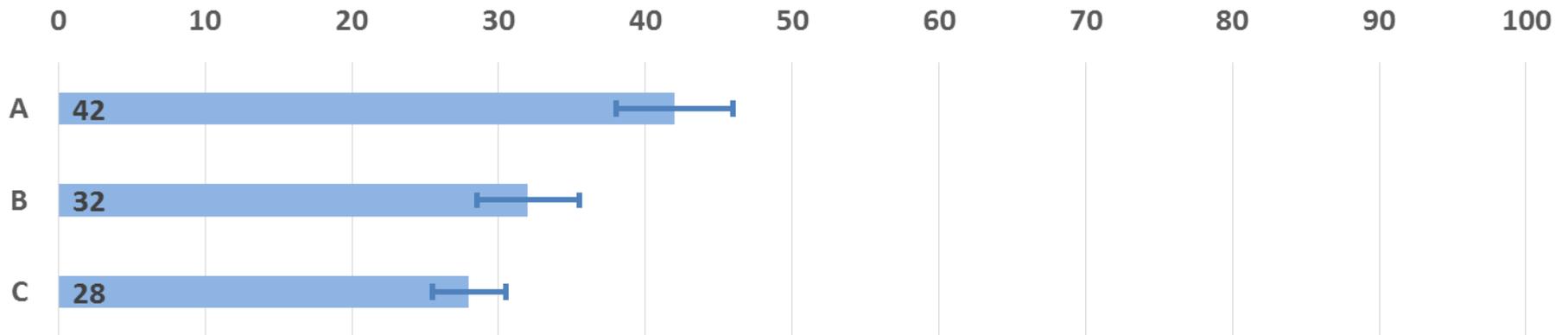
- Ukrainians are overwhelmingly united on the need for parties to represent the interests of citizens, rather than their financial backers
- Most want to receive regular reports from parties on their activities
- As with the local elections, preferences for candidates for future parliamentary elections highlight the importance of honesty
- A majority of Ukrainians are currently not able to make political choices if they are asked to choose a party or declare how they would vote in future elections
- Only 26% of the latest sample are certain to vote if elections are held tomorrow
  - 26% of these answered 'Don't Know' when asked which party they would vote for
- No party commands the support of more than 8% of the latest sample (q42)
  - The new 'Wave' party performs significantly better when respondents are asked about coalition partners than when they are asked to choose a party

# Survey Methodology 1

- Fieldwork dates: May 21 – June 15 , 2016
  - Note: Nadia Savchenko returned to Ukraine on May 25
- 6,378 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
- Eight oversamples (see map):
  - Kyiv city [603]
  - Raions of the North East Border in Sumi and Kharkiv Oblasts [609], rural only
  - Kharkiv city [605]
  - Mariupol city [600]
  - Kherson Oblast [600]
  - Odesa city [606]
  - The Izmail region of Southern Odesa Oblast [595]. Atypical balance of ethnic groups - 43% neither Ukrainian nor Russian, 37% Ukrainian, 14% Russian
  - Lviv [593]
- 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
  - 17% of all interviews were checked by controllers
- 4,634 interviews were conducted using tablets (including all oversamples except Mariupol)

# Survey Methodology 2

- The average margin of error for this survey is +/- 3%
  - Note additional information about uncertainty below
- 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.
  - In this example A is statistically greater than B and C.
  - However there is no statistical difference between B and C.

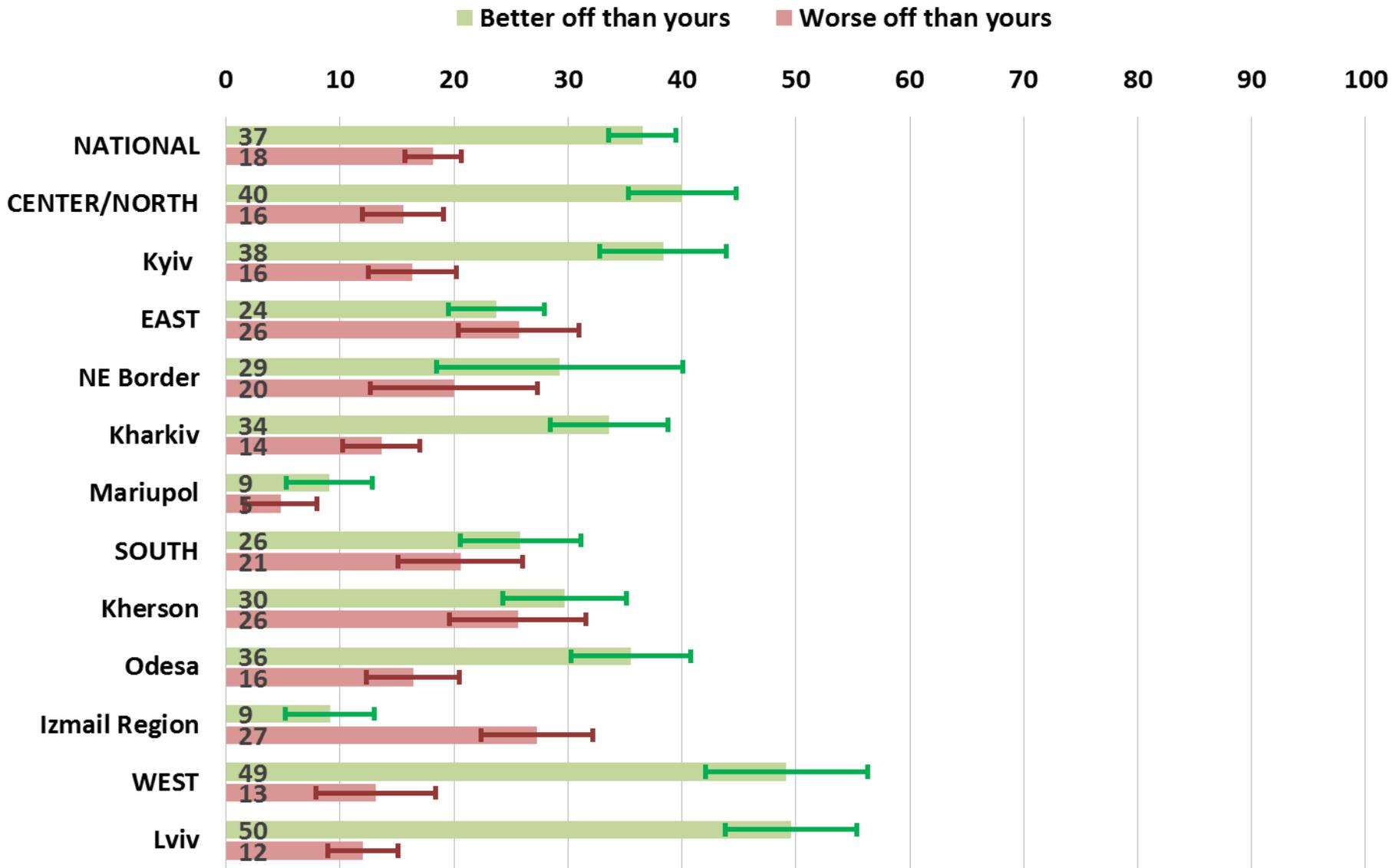


# Survey Oversample Locations and Regions



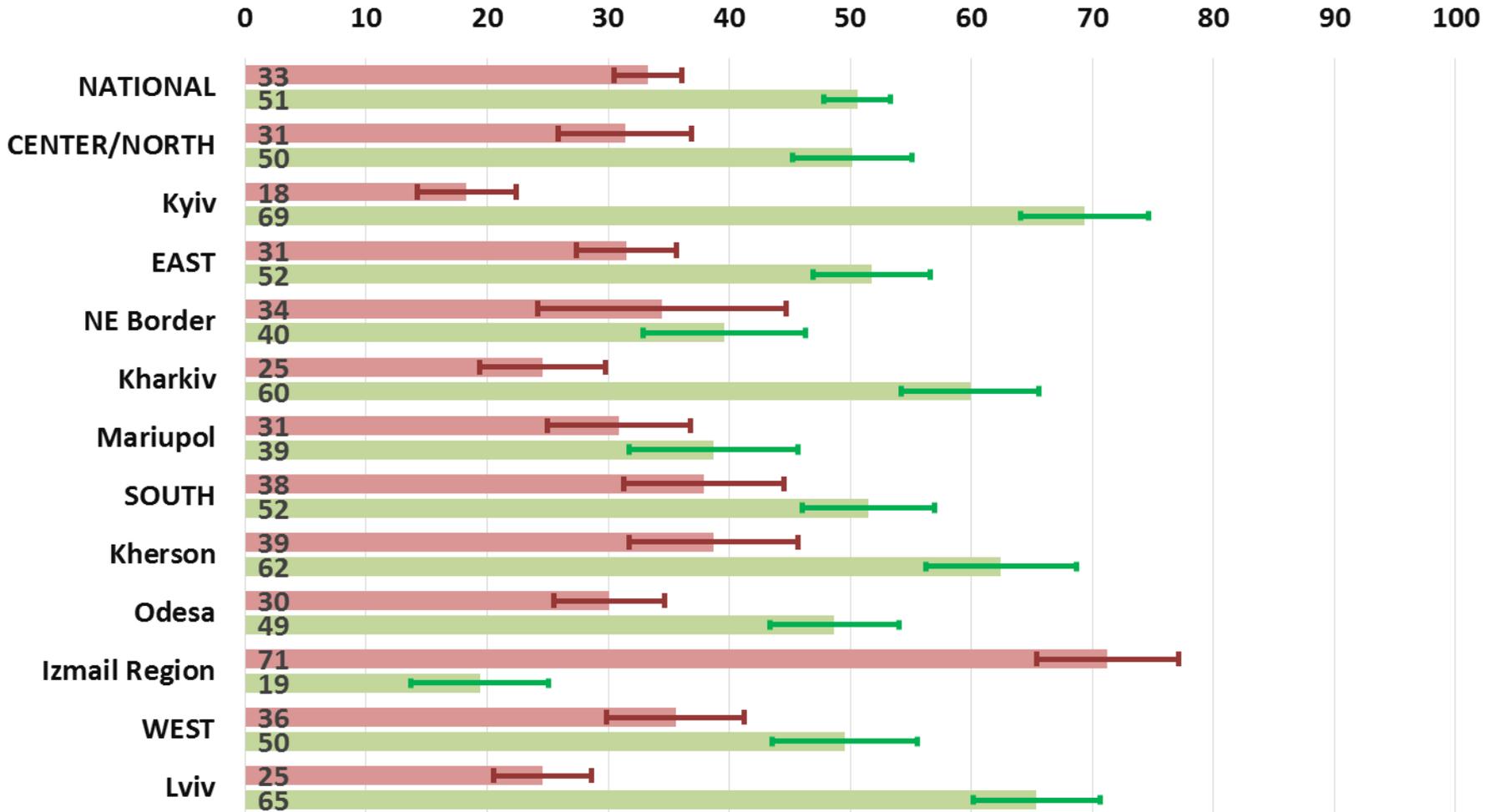
# Democratic Transition

# Overall, do you expect the next generation to be ...? (q5 X Settlement)

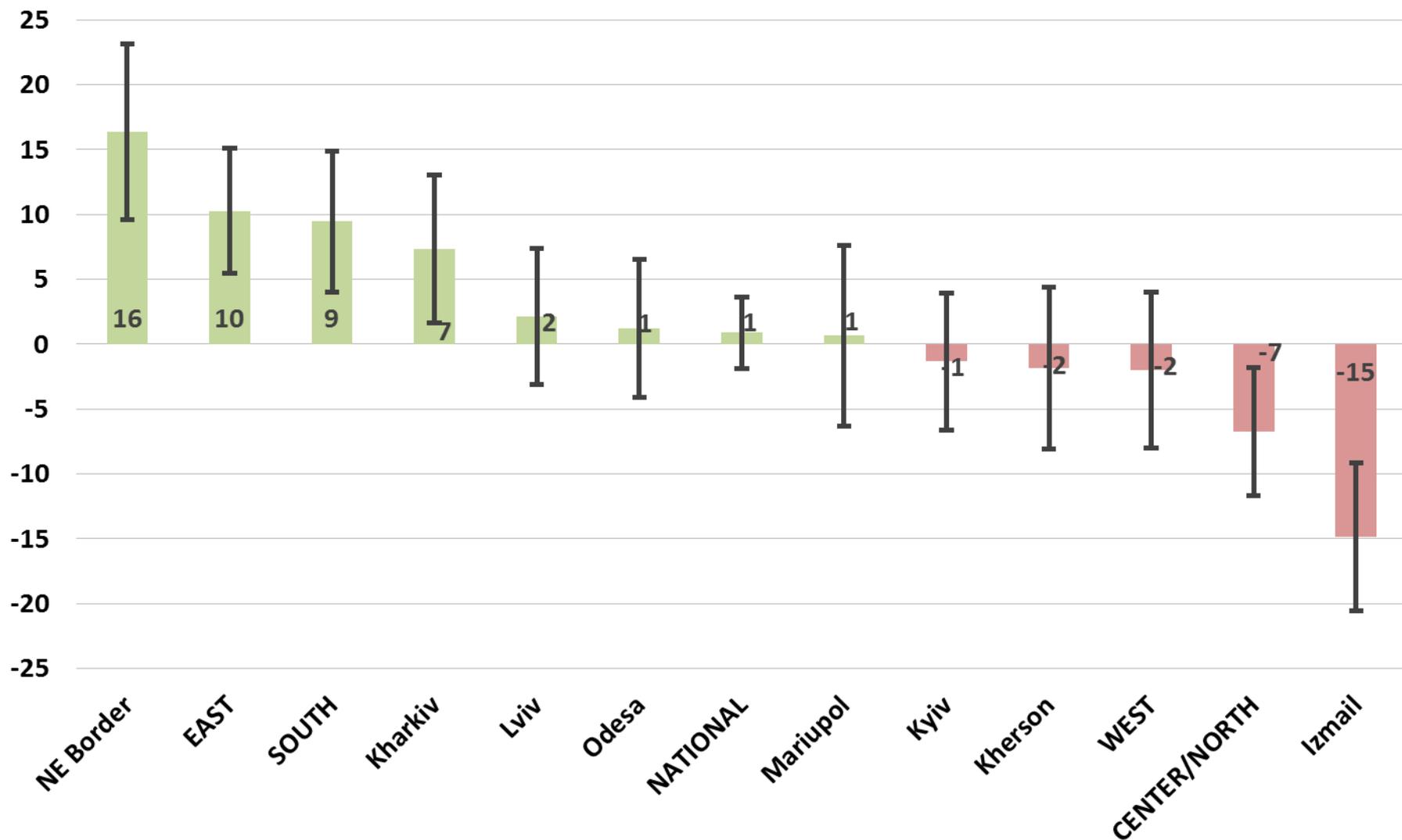


# Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q75 X Settlement)

■ Government is like a parent; the people should be taken care of like children
 ■ Government is like an employee; the people should be the bosses who control the government



# Which of the following statements you agree with? Government is like an employee (q75) (December 2015 - May 2016)



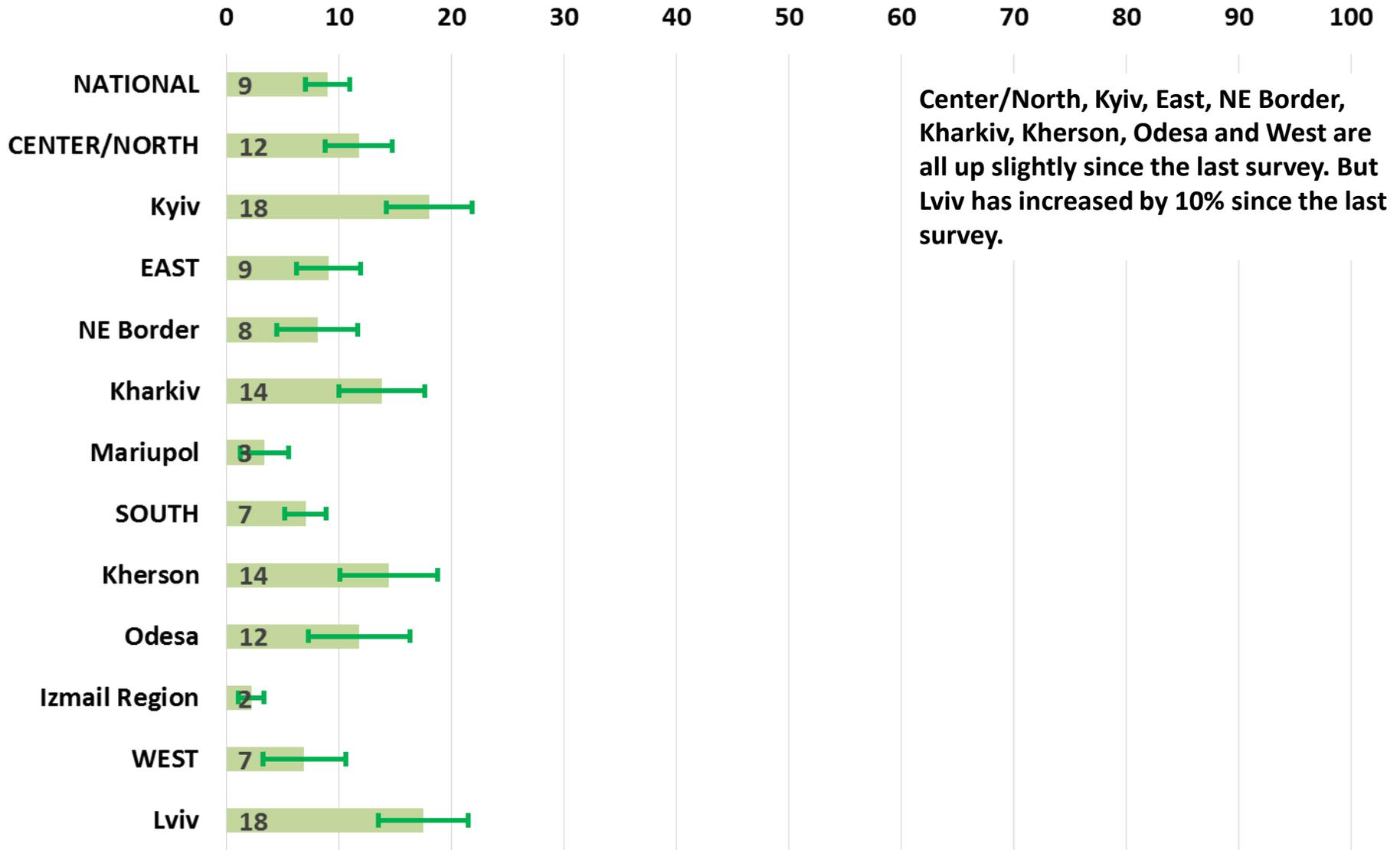
# In your opinion are any of the following interested in hearing your opinions? (q78)

Yes No DK

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

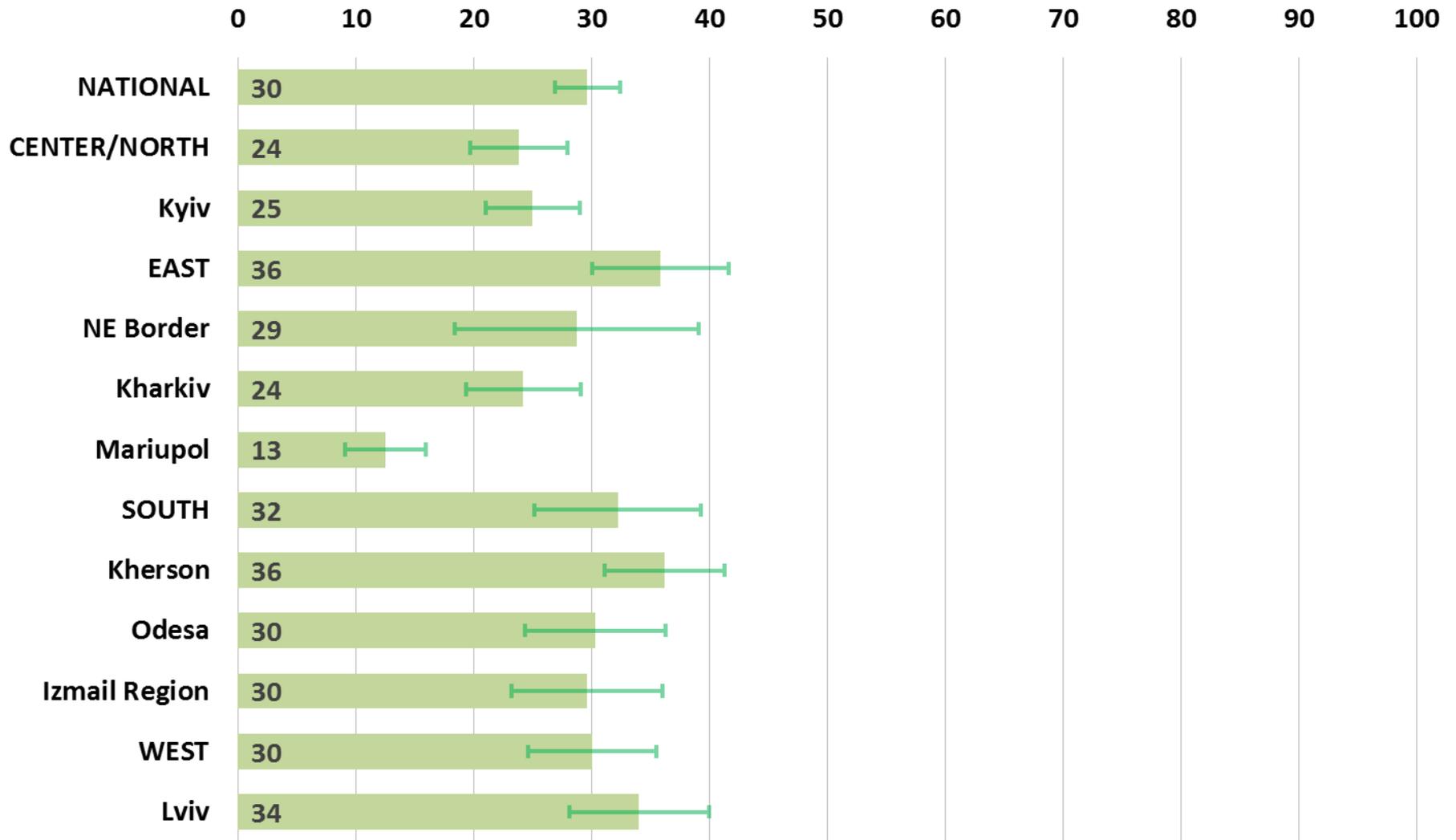


# In your opinion are political parties interested in hearing your opinions? Yes only (q78 X Settlement)



# If you were given an opportunity to participate in the budget setting process in your community, would you take part?

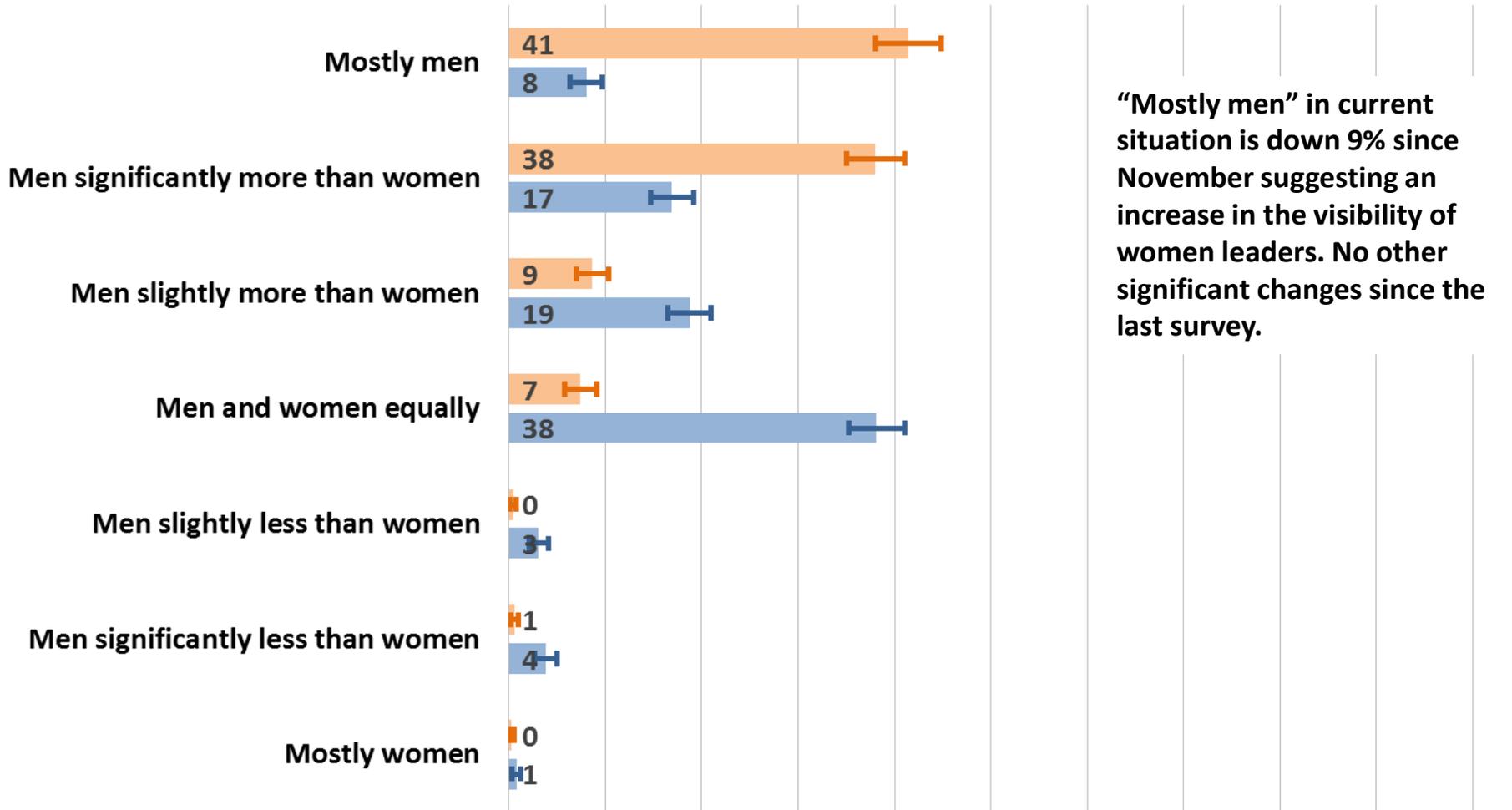
## YES only (q12 X Settlement)



# In your opinion, who is/should be more involved in political life, men or women? (q34, q35)

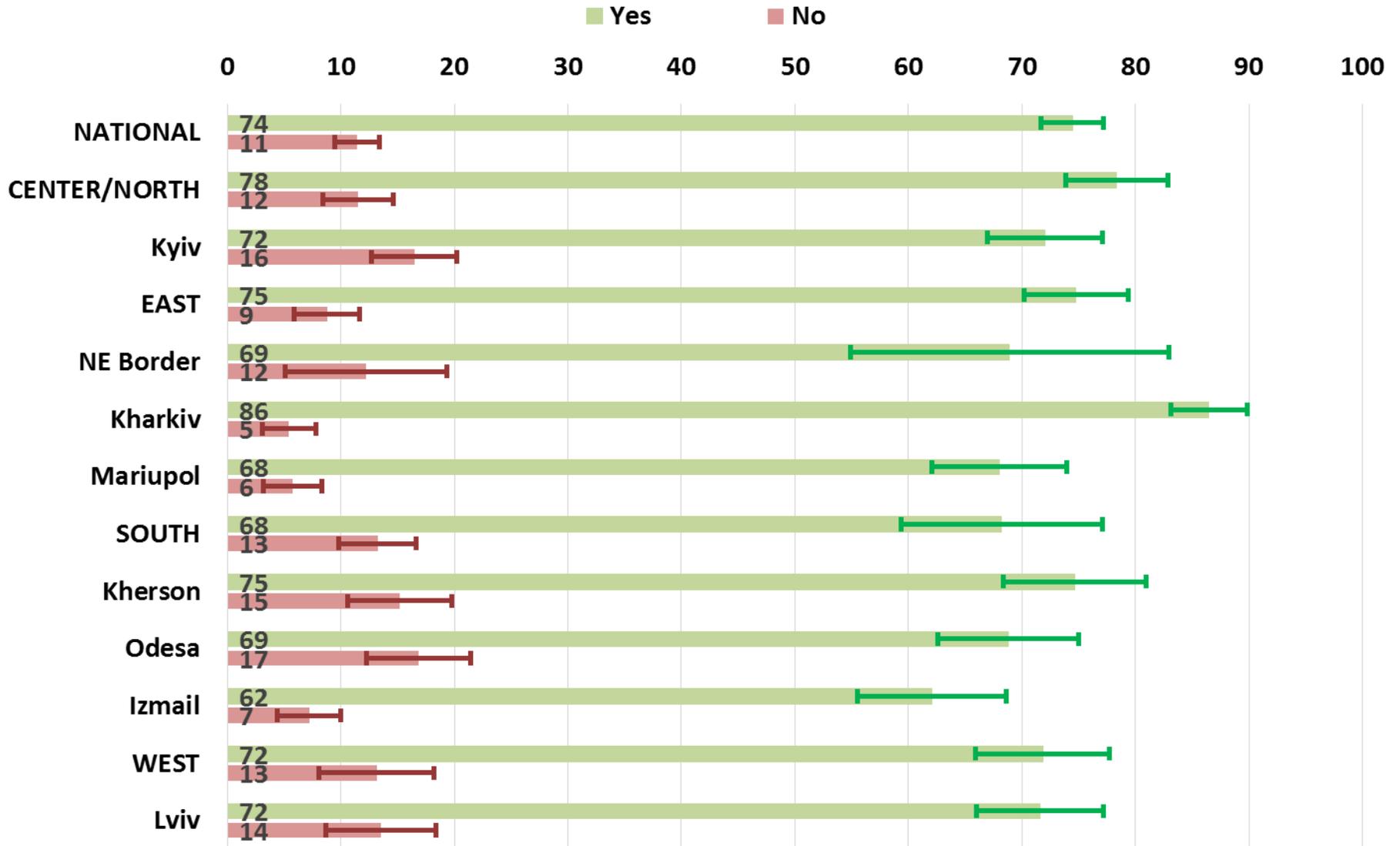
Current Situation Actual Preference

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



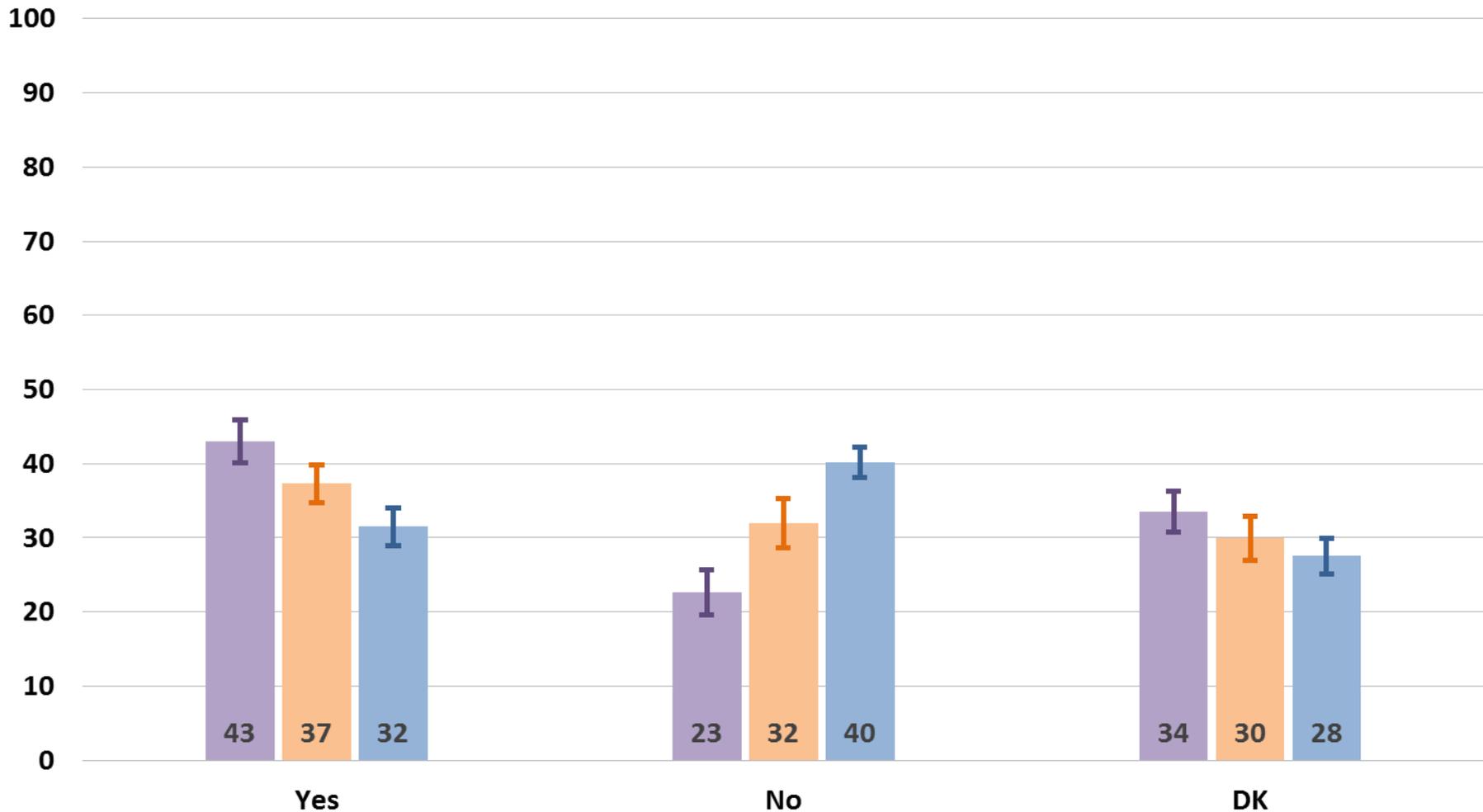
“Mostly men” in current situation is down 9% since November suggesting an increase in the visibility of women leaders. No other significant changes since the last survey.

# Do you think IDPs should be able to vote where they currently reside in all types of elections? (q66 X Settlement)

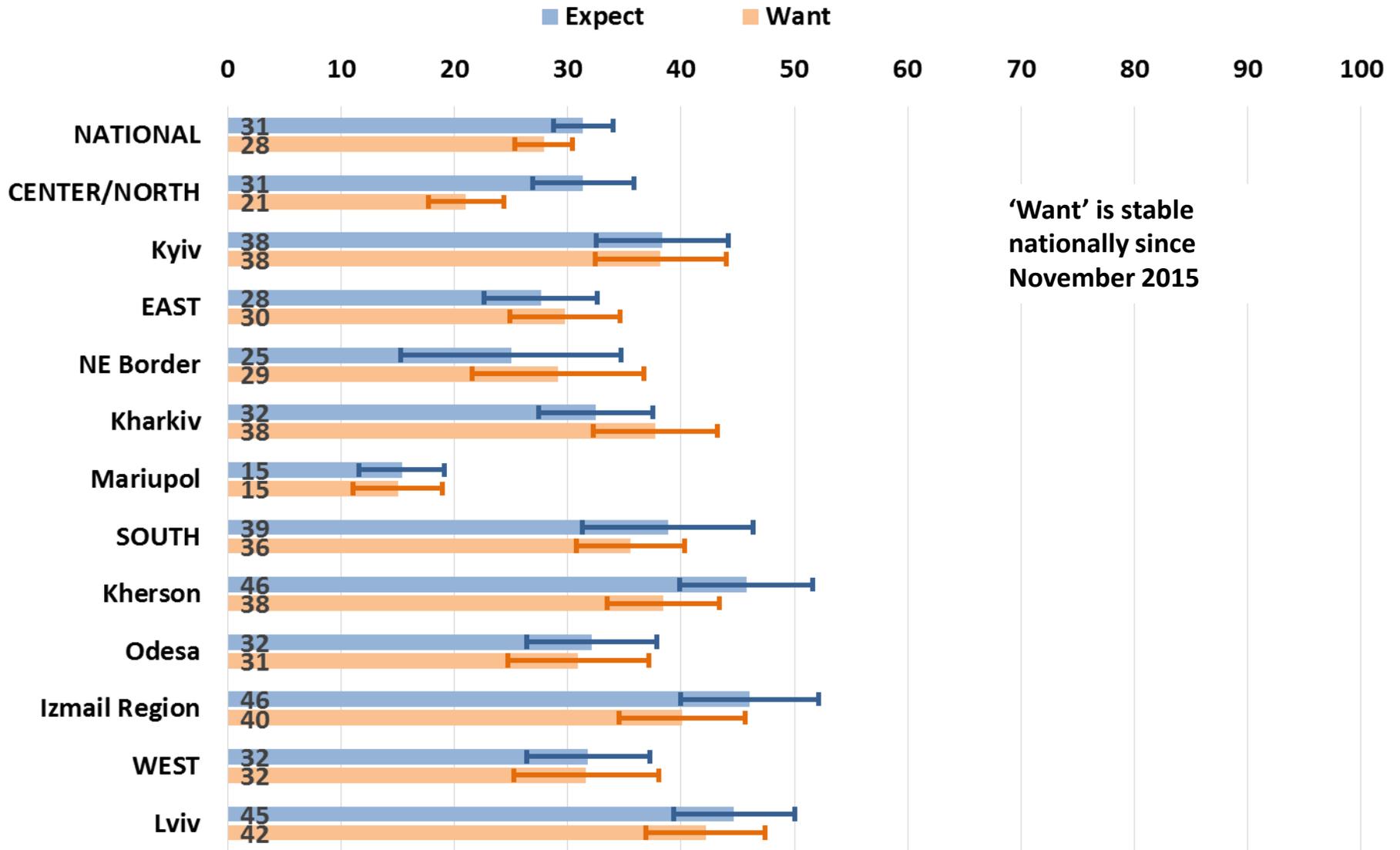


# Some people expect that 'Third Maidan' will occur, others believe it will not. Do you expect more protests on that scale in the next year? (q74)

■ May 2015   ■ December 2015   ■ May 2016

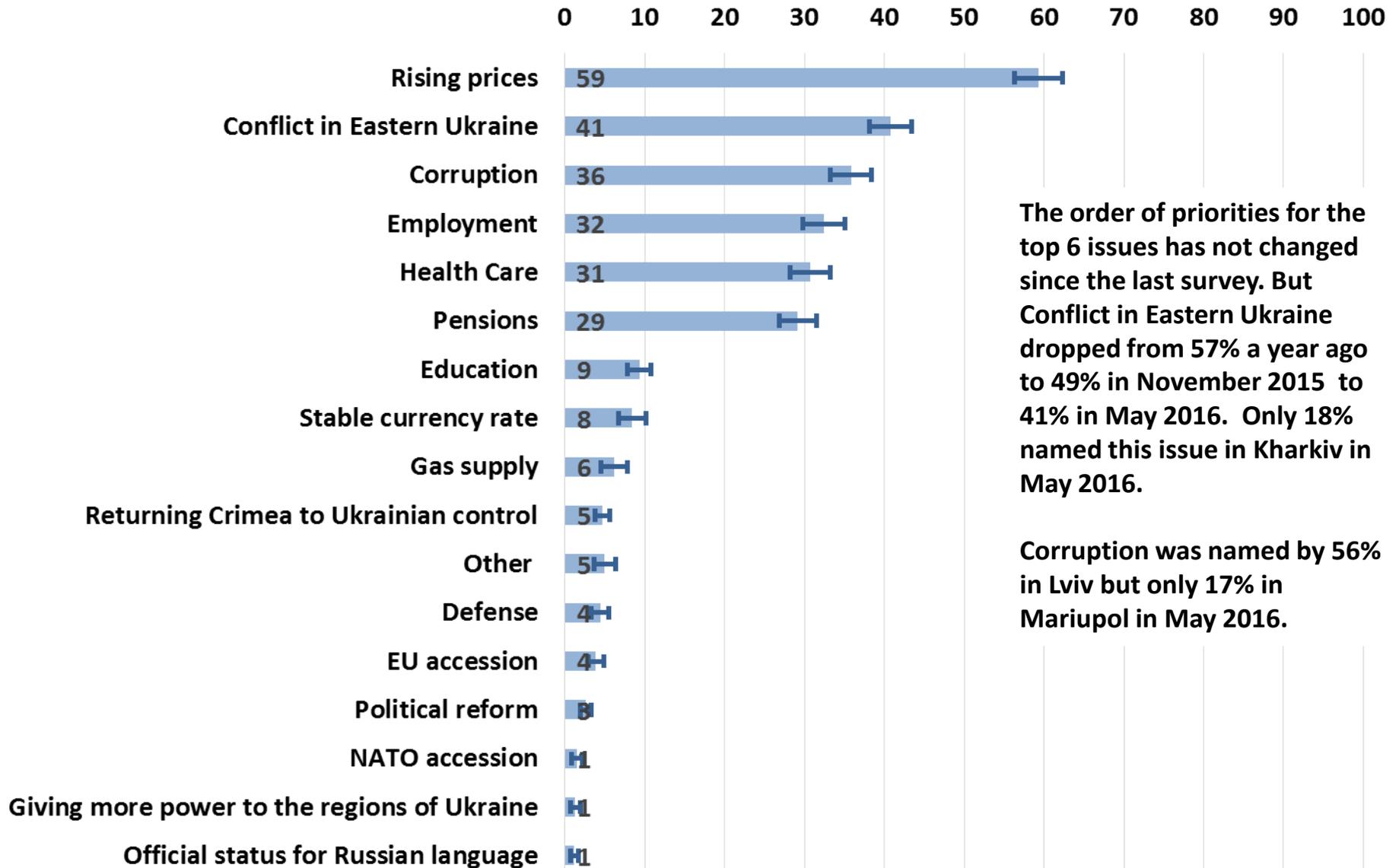


# Do you expect/want early Parliamentary elections to be held? (q43/q44 X Settlement)



# Government Performance

## Most important national issues (q1) - (select up to three)



The order of priorities for the top 6 issues has not changed since the last survey. But Conflict in Eastern Ukraine dropped from 57% a year ago to 49% in November 2015 to 41% in May 2016. Only 18% named this issue in Kharkiv in May 2016.

Corruption was named by 56% in Lviv but only 17% in Mariupol in May 2016.

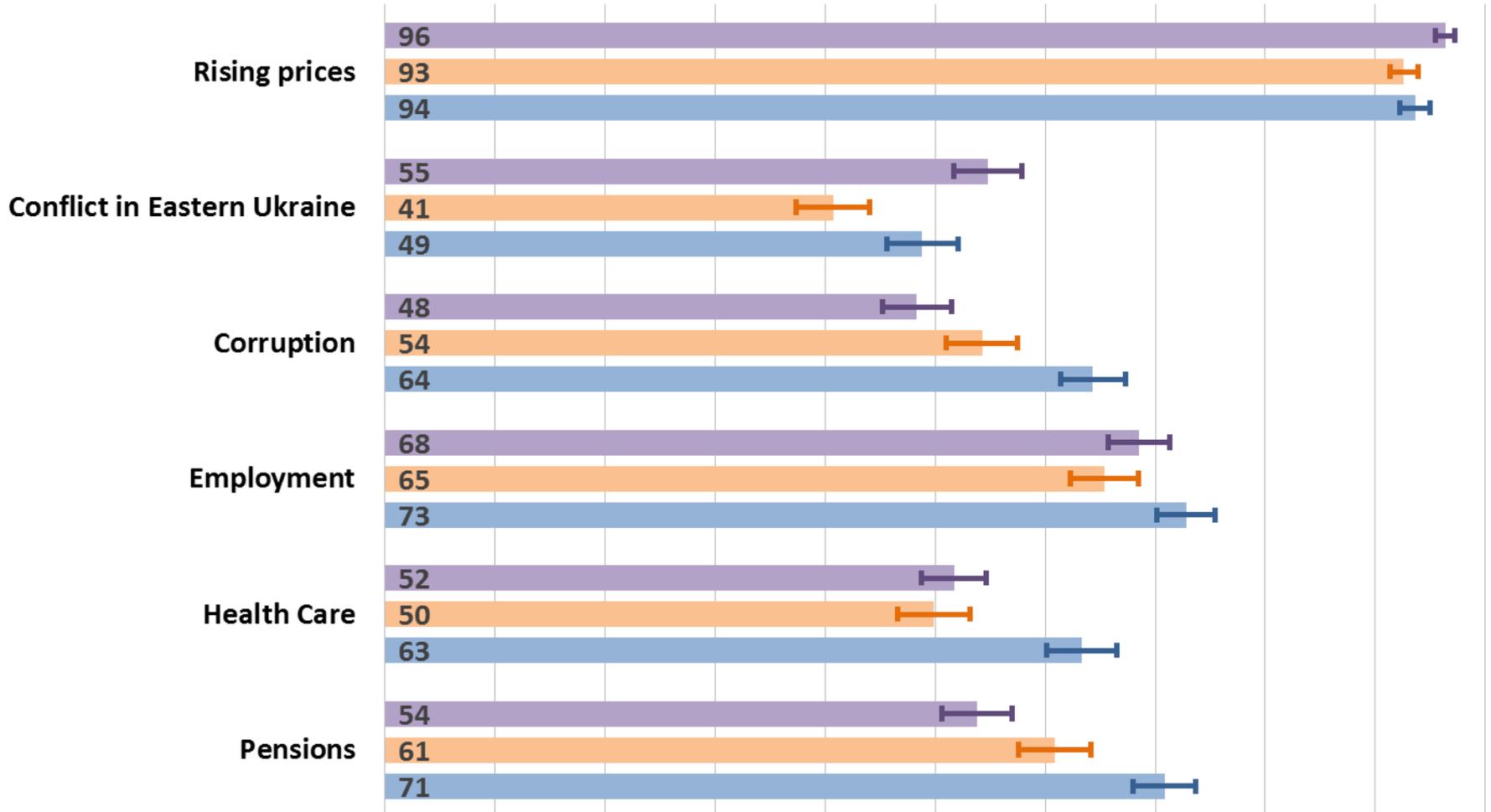
# How has the situation changed in Ukraine since the Parliamentary elections in October 2014? "Worse" only (q2) Part 1

■ May 2015

■ December 2015

■ May 2016

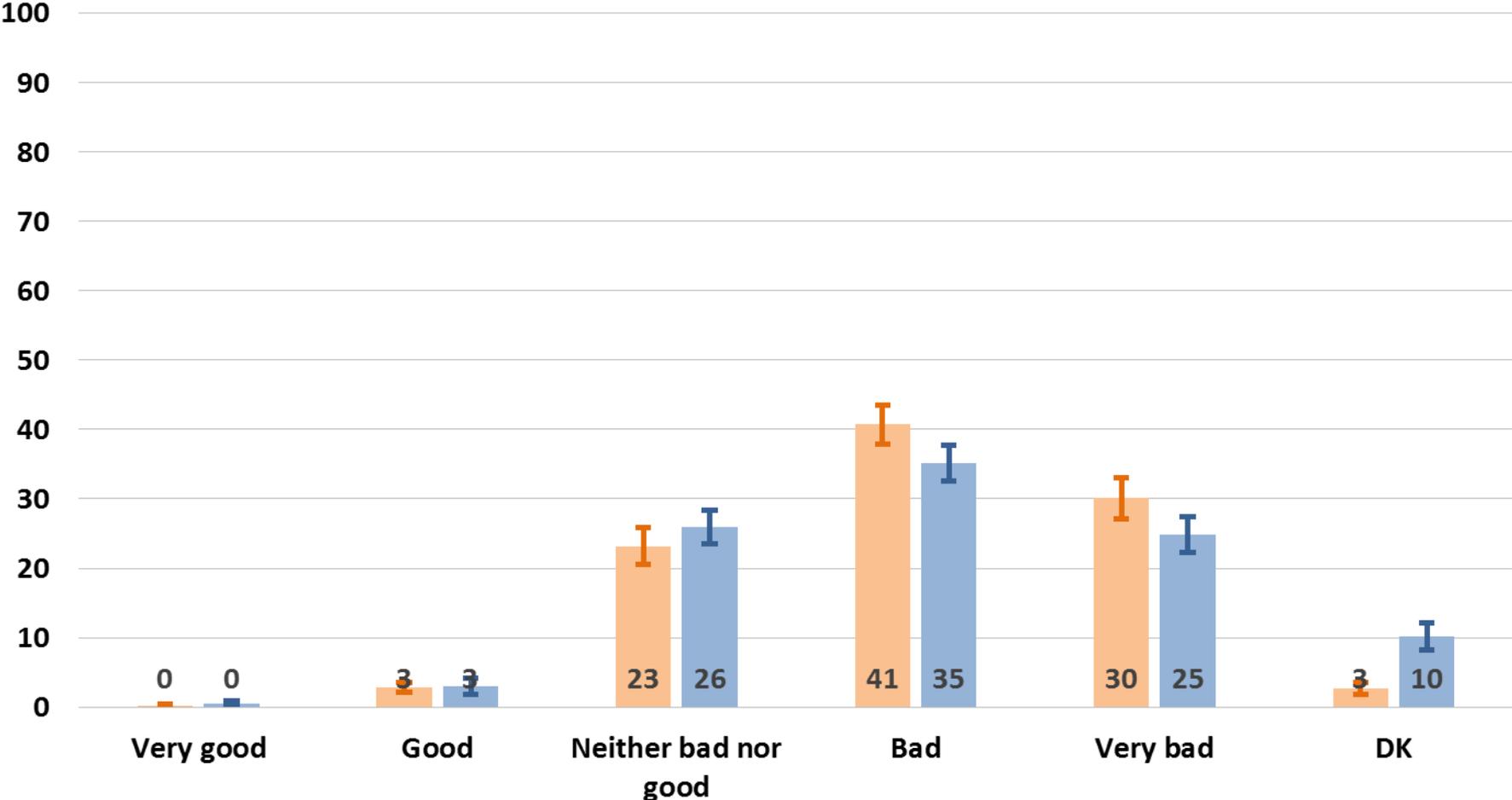
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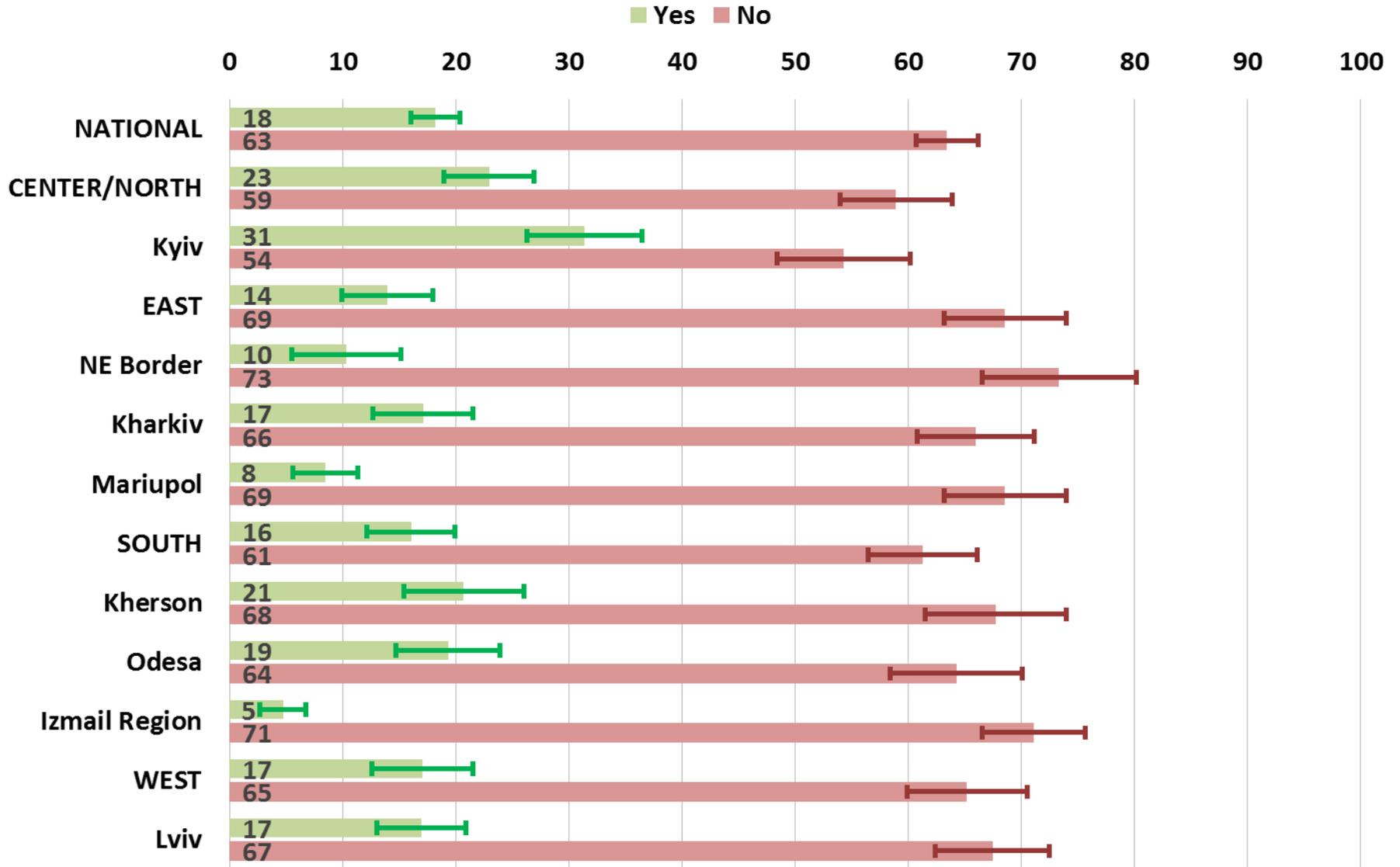
**A new government was formed in December 2014. How would you rate its performance so far? (q8) (December 2015 )**

**A new government was formed in April 2016. How would you rate its performance so far? (q7) (May 2016)**

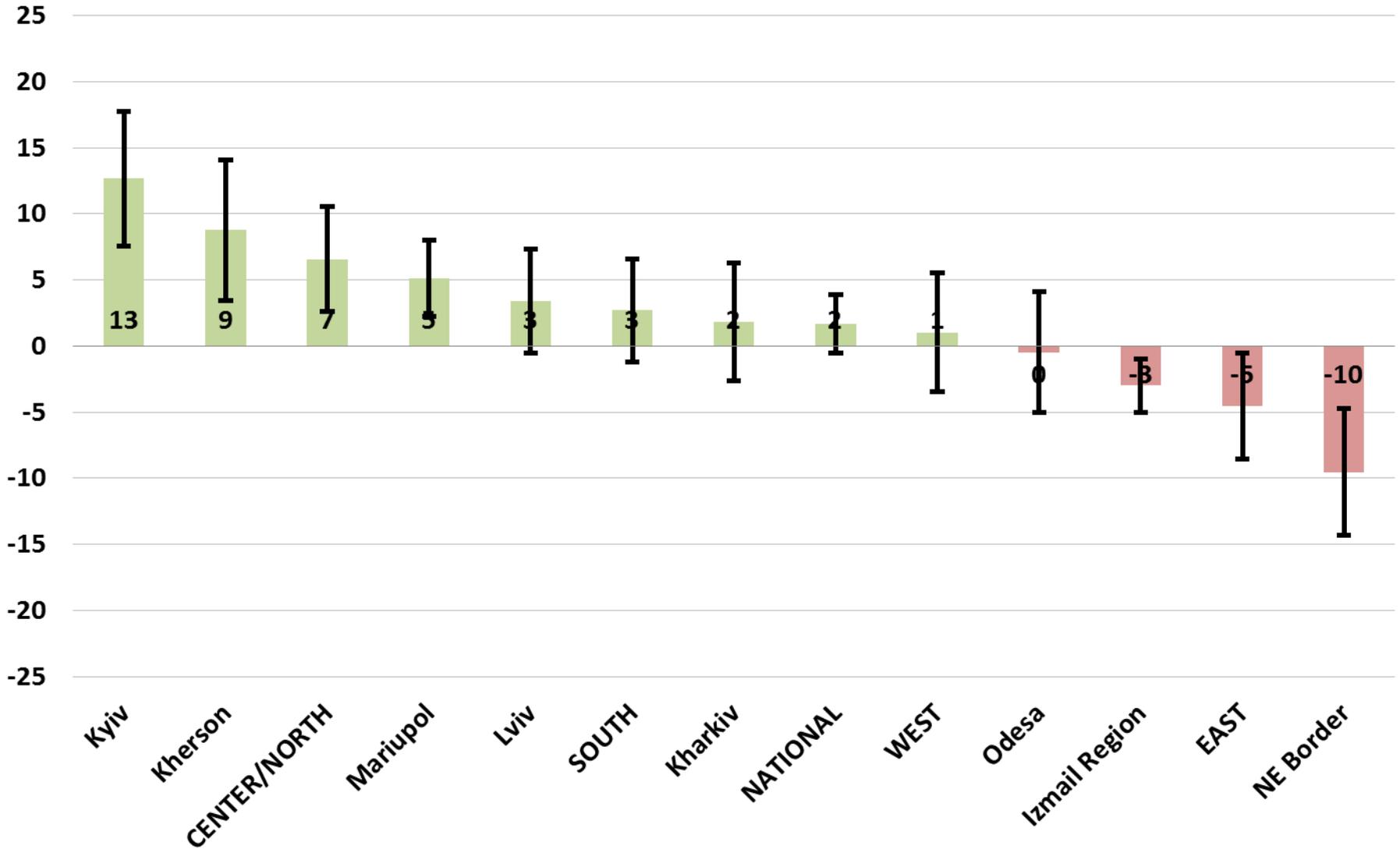
December 2015      May 2016



# Do you think the current government is committed to reform? (q8 X Settlement)

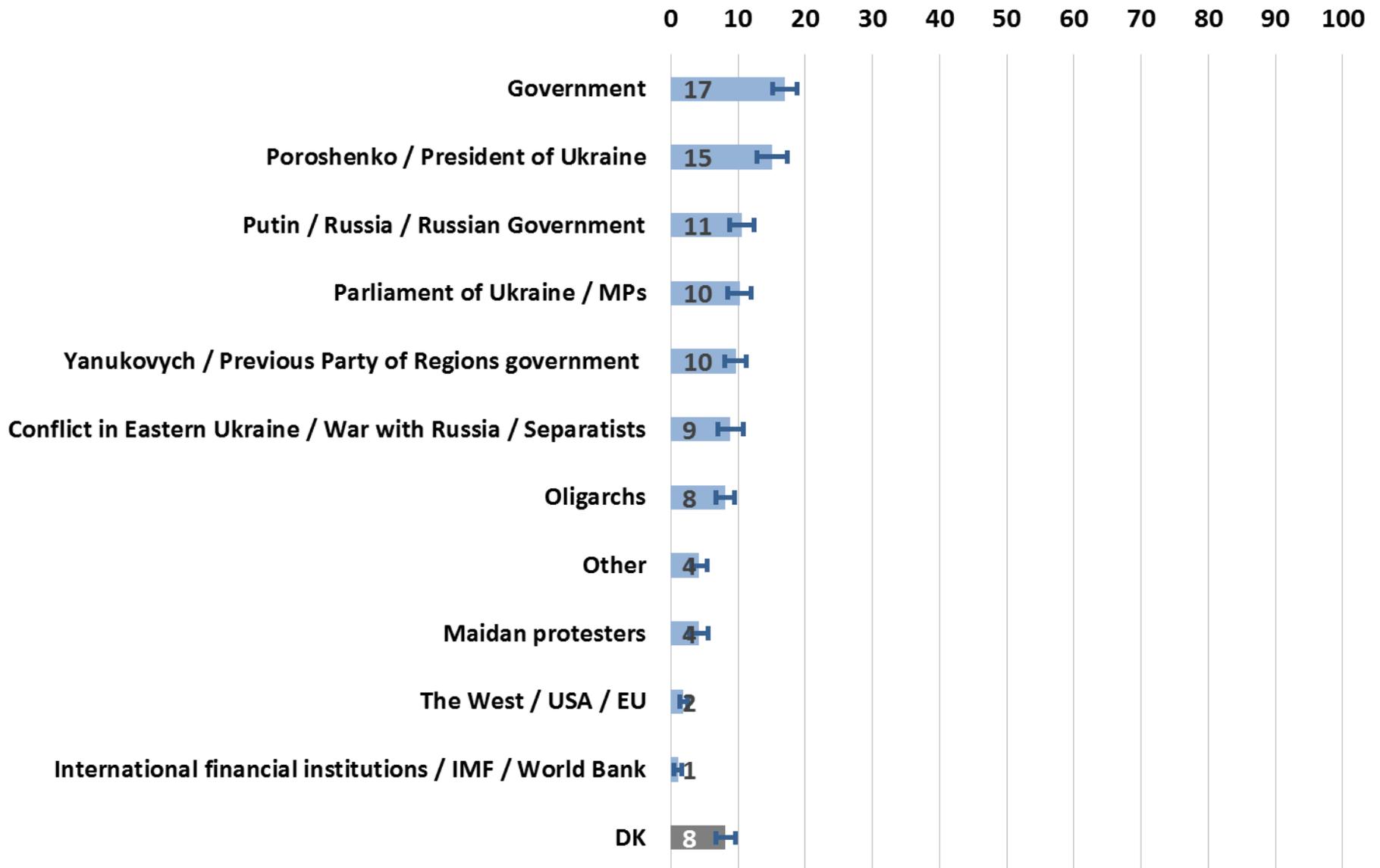


# Do you think the current government is committed to reform? Yes only (q8 X Settlement)( December 2015 - May 2016)

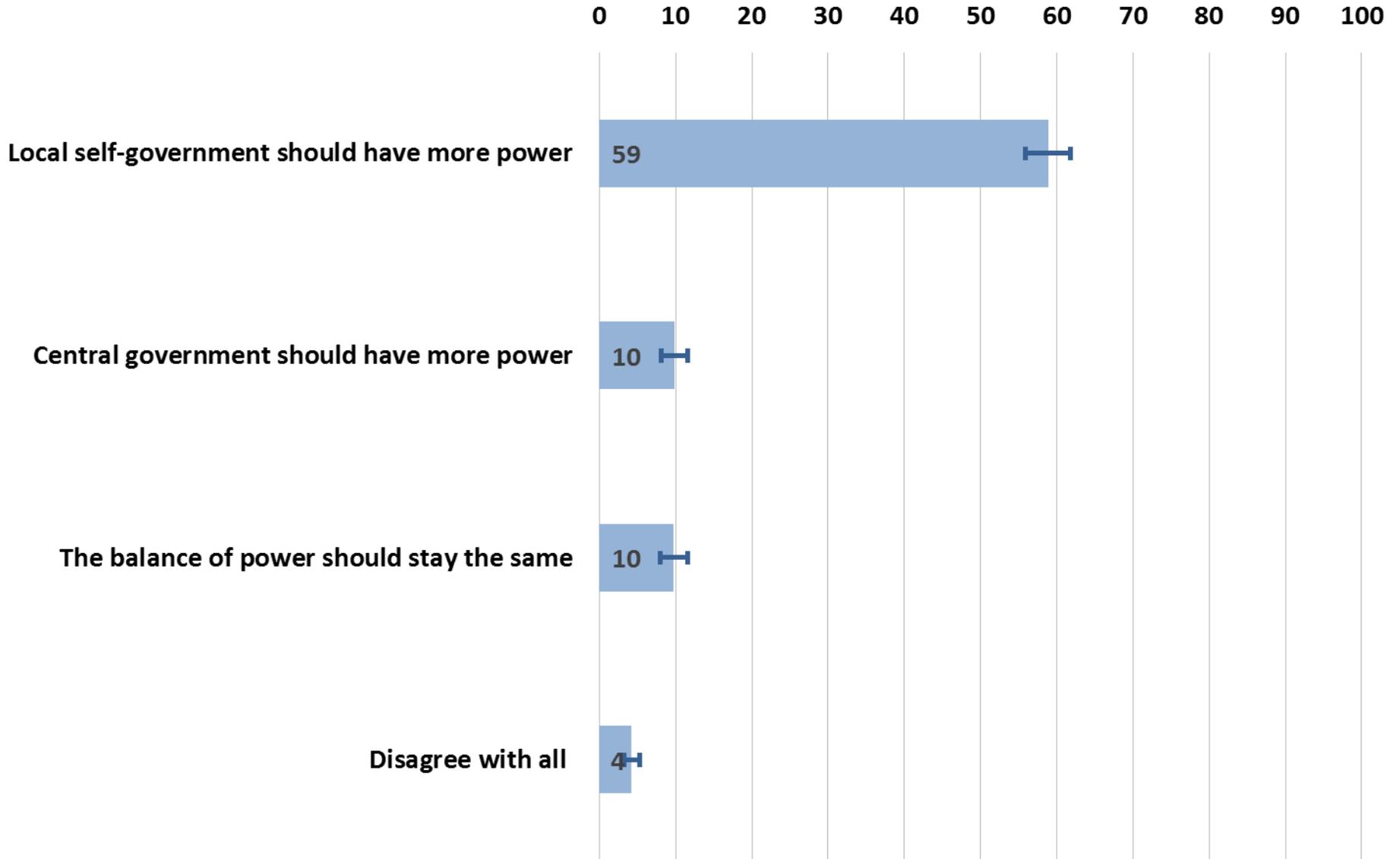


# On average, living standards have fallen in Ukraine since 2014.

## Who do you most blame for this? (q9)



# Which of the following do you agree with most? (q14)



# IAT Results on Regional Stereotypes

Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv, Odesa

600 respondents (150 per city)

April-May 2016

# Spring 2016 IAT Methodology

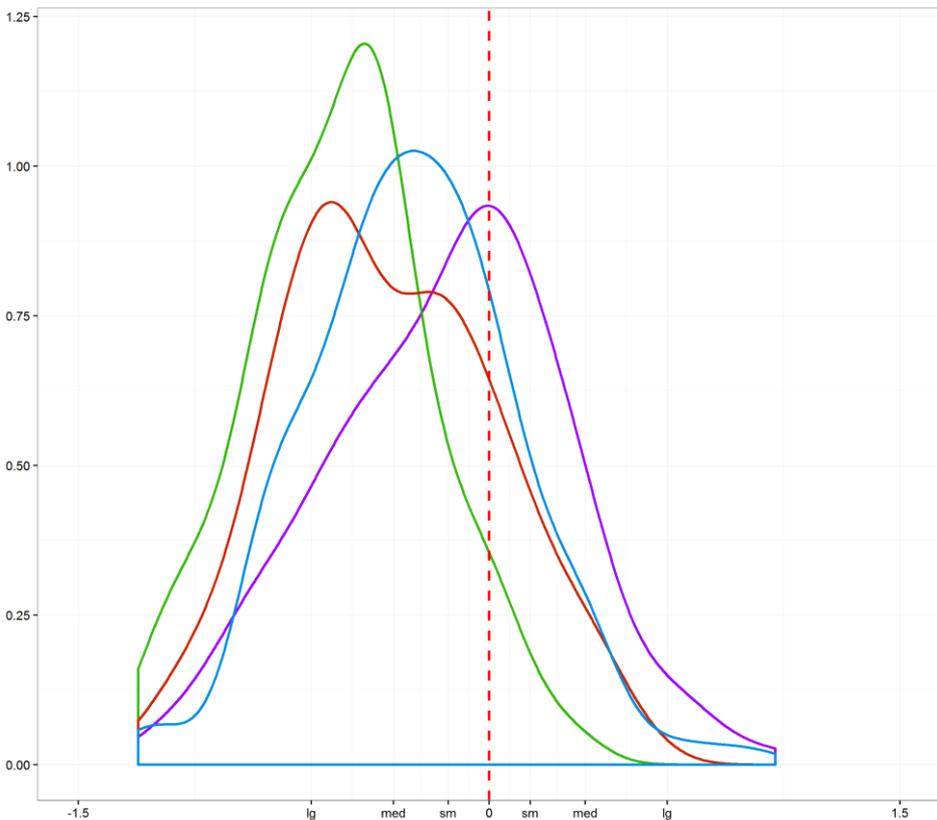
- Based on the same concept as the Ukraine-Russia tests conducted in 2015, these tests looked at regional stereotypes
- Good and bad words were juxtaposed with place names associated with Kyiv and East/West regions
- Two tests were conducted in each location:
  - Regional preferences: Eastern Ukraine / Kyiv (nation)
  - Regional preferences: Western Ukraine / Kyiv (nation)
- Four cities: Kharkiv, Lviv, Kyiv, Odesa
- 600 respondents (150 per city)
- Each group was stratified according to the population
  - Age: 1/3 youth, 1/3 middle age, 1/3 senior
  - Gender: 50% men, 50% women
  - Languages in which the test was taken: 69% Russian, 31% Ukrainian

# Key Findings - IATs

- *In these tests, Kyiv proved to be a symbol of the nation, rather than a symbol of the government*
- On average, respondents in all cities implicitly prefer Kyiv to the East and most implicitly prefer Kyiv to the West:
  - The only exceptions were respondents in Lviv or those whose language spoken at home is Ukrainian. They prefer the West to Kyiv.
  - Respondents who speak Ukrainian at home prefer the West to Kyiv both implicitly and explicitly.
  - However, those who speak Russian at home implicitly prefer Kyiv to the East, even though they explicitly expressed a preference towards the East.
- *When comparing implicit preferences between East and West, most respondents implicitly prefer the West over the East*
  - Those who have never travelled to the West are the only ones who implicitly prefer the East
  - People who have never traveled to the East are explicitly and implicitly more negative towards the East
  - Those who have travelled to the East once explicitly expressed no preference, but implicitly are more pro-West
  - People who have been several times to the West explicitly and implicitly prefer it to either the East or Kyiv

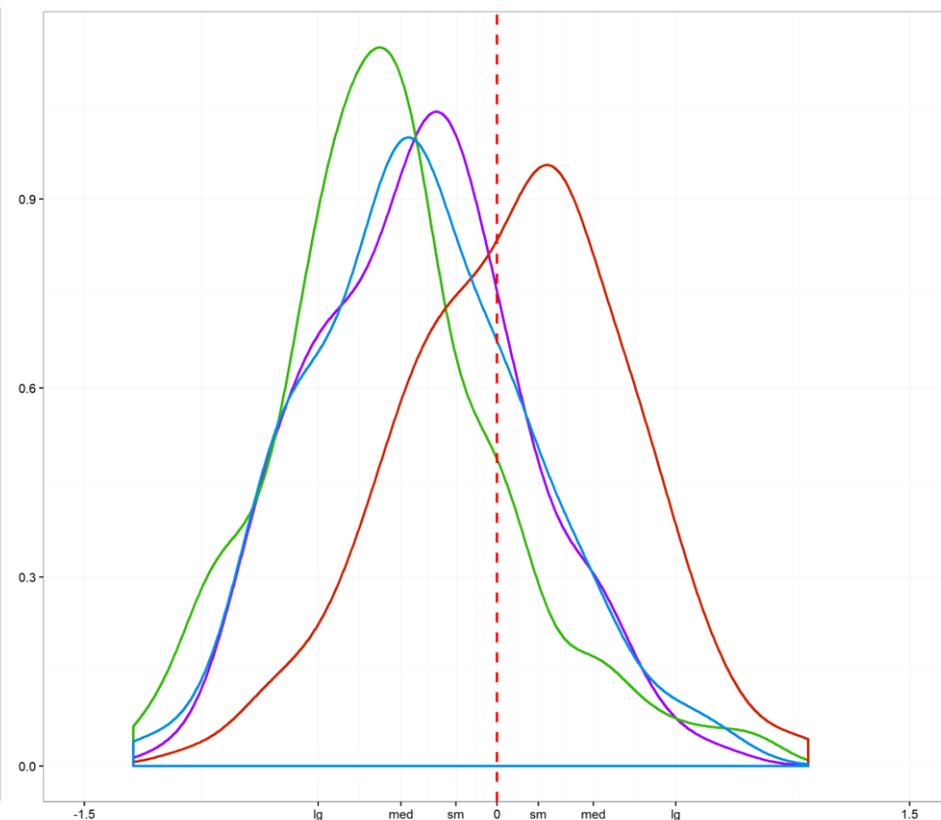
# Implicit Preferences for Kyiv vs. East & West\_by city

City □ Kharkiv □ Kyiv □ Lviv □ Odesa



Kyiv ←-----→ East

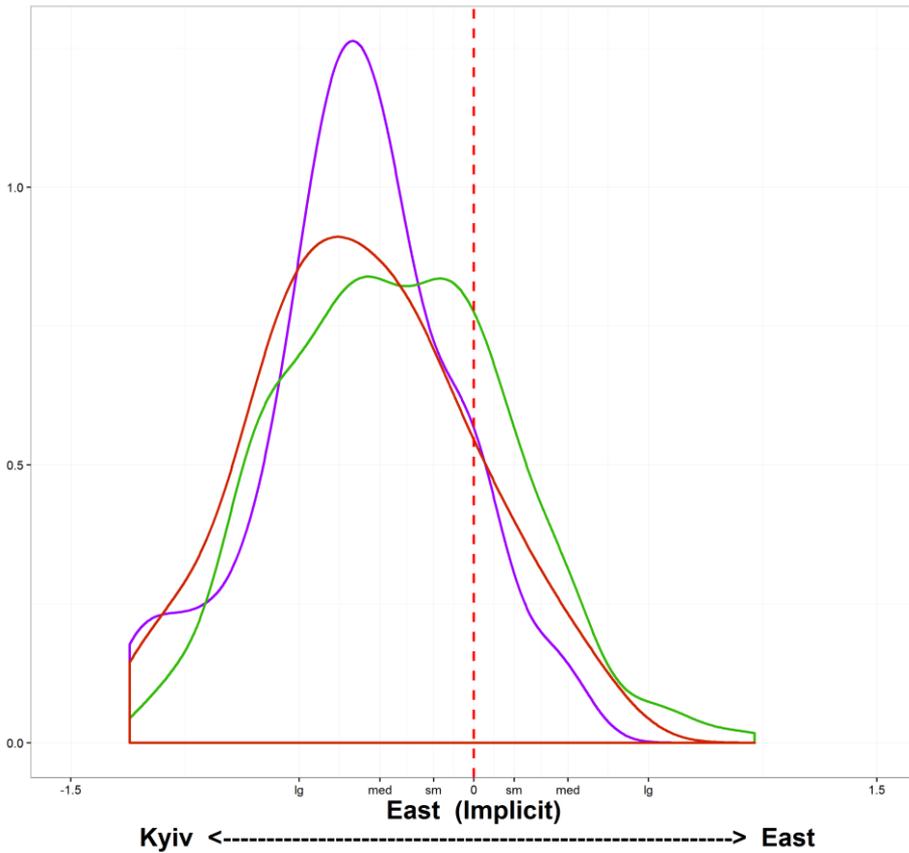
City □ Kharkiv □ Kyiv □ Lviv □ Odesa



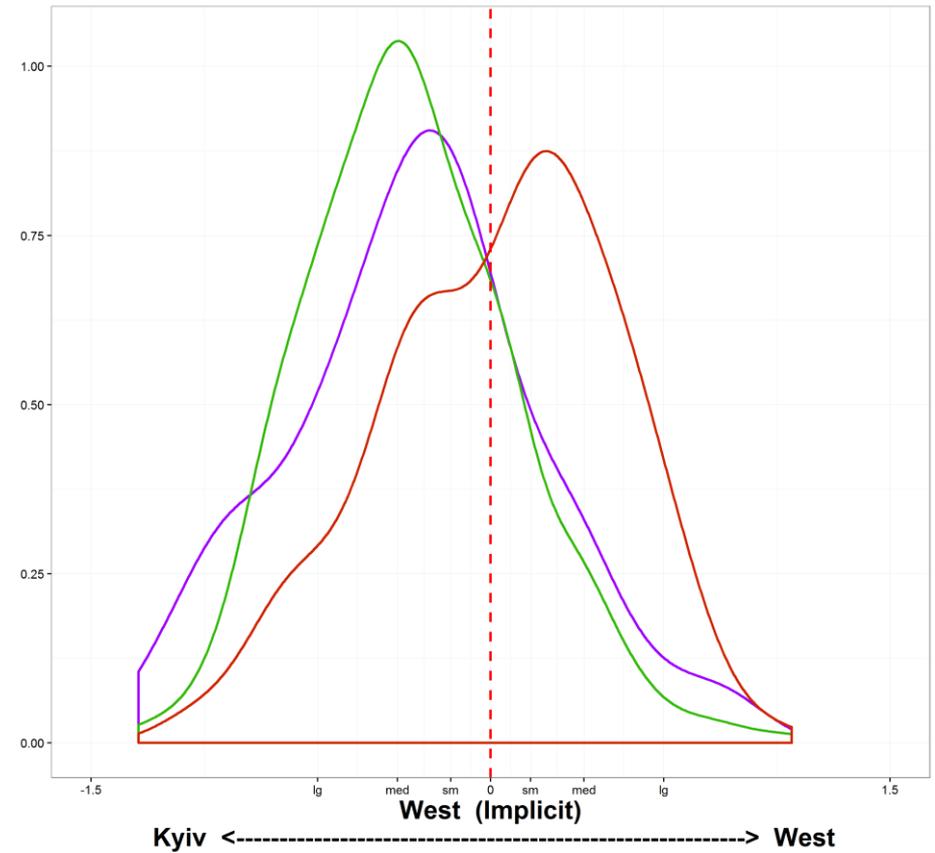
Kyiv ←-----→ West

# Implicit Preferences for Kyiv vs. East & West\_by language spoken at home

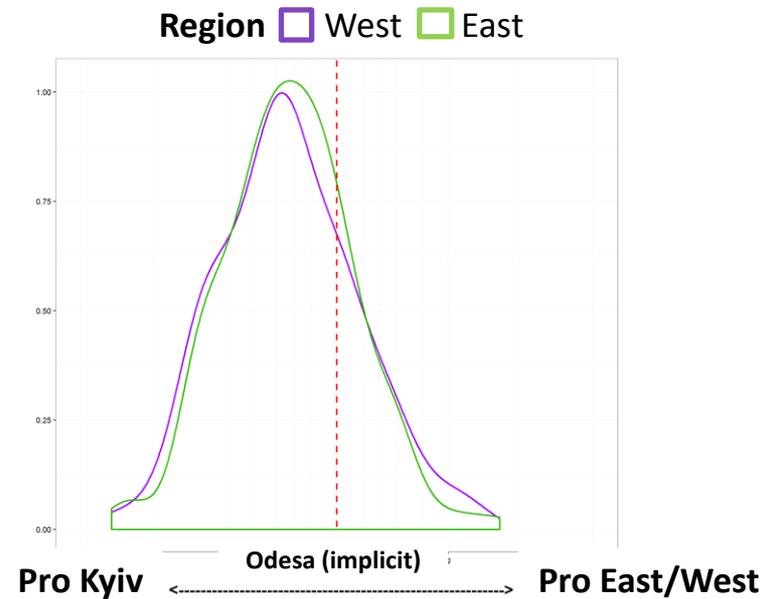
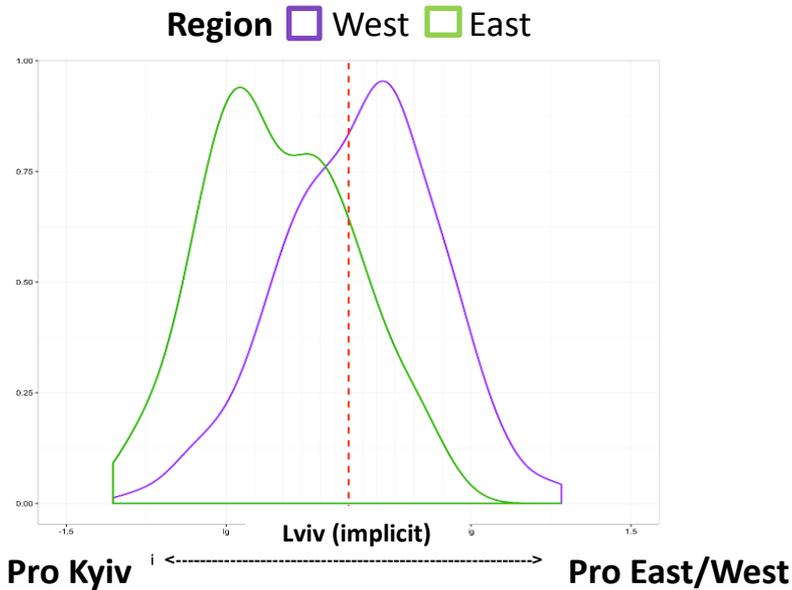
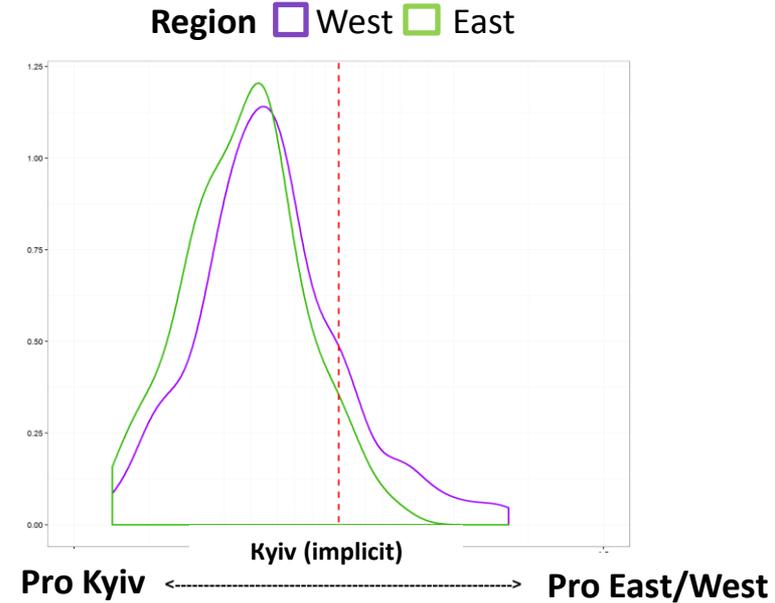
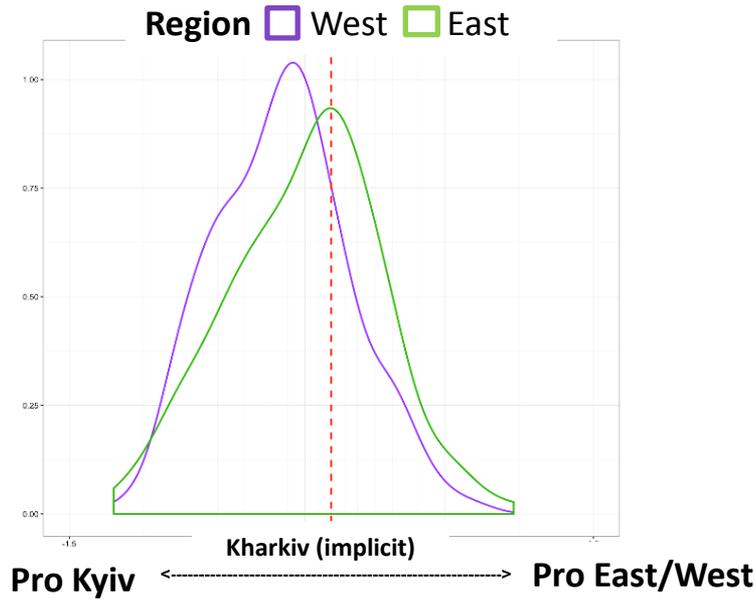
Home language □ Both □ Russian □ Ukrainian



Home language □ Both □ Russian □ Ukrainian



# Implicit Preferences for West vs. East\_by city

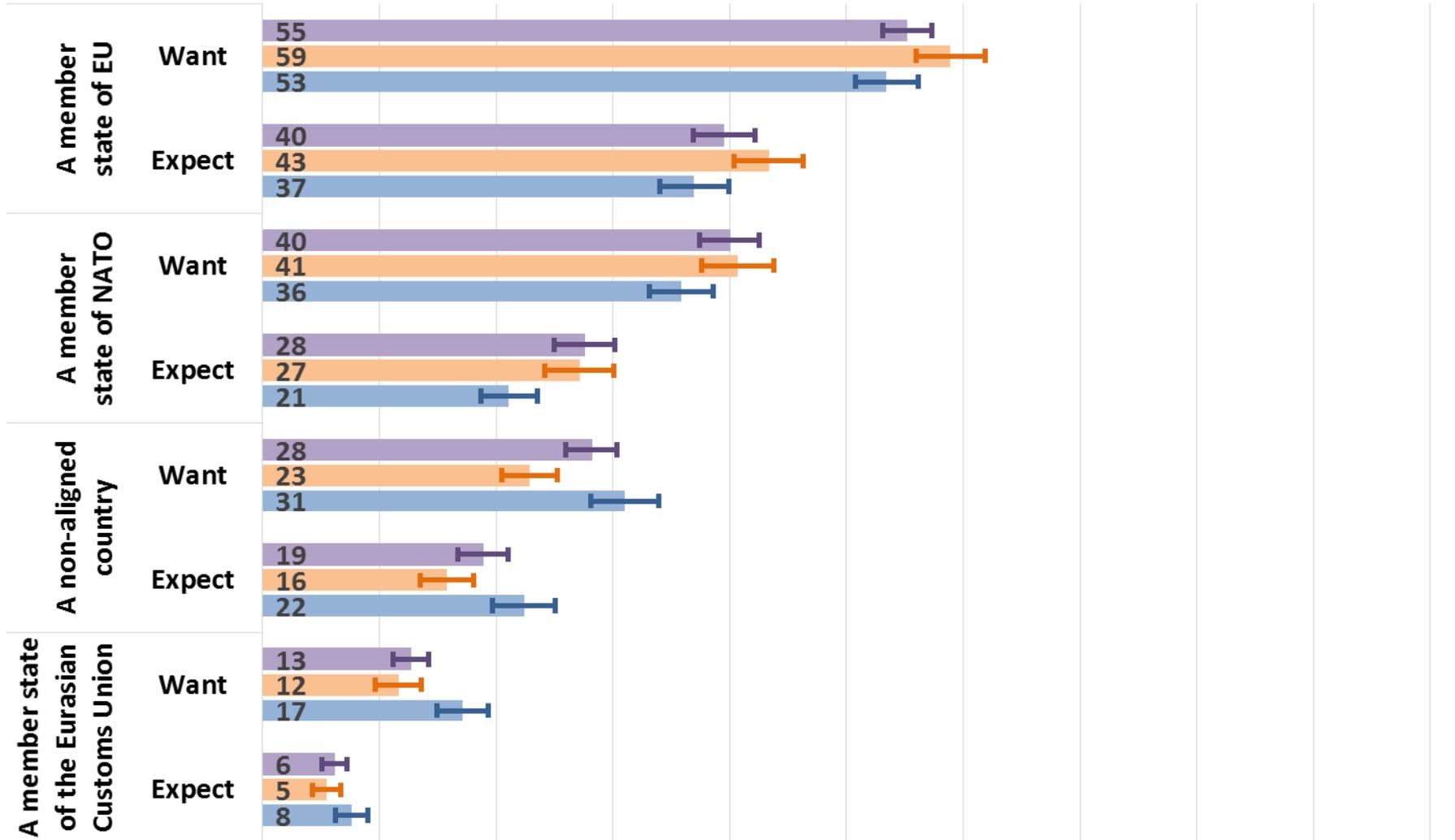


# International Relations and the Conflict

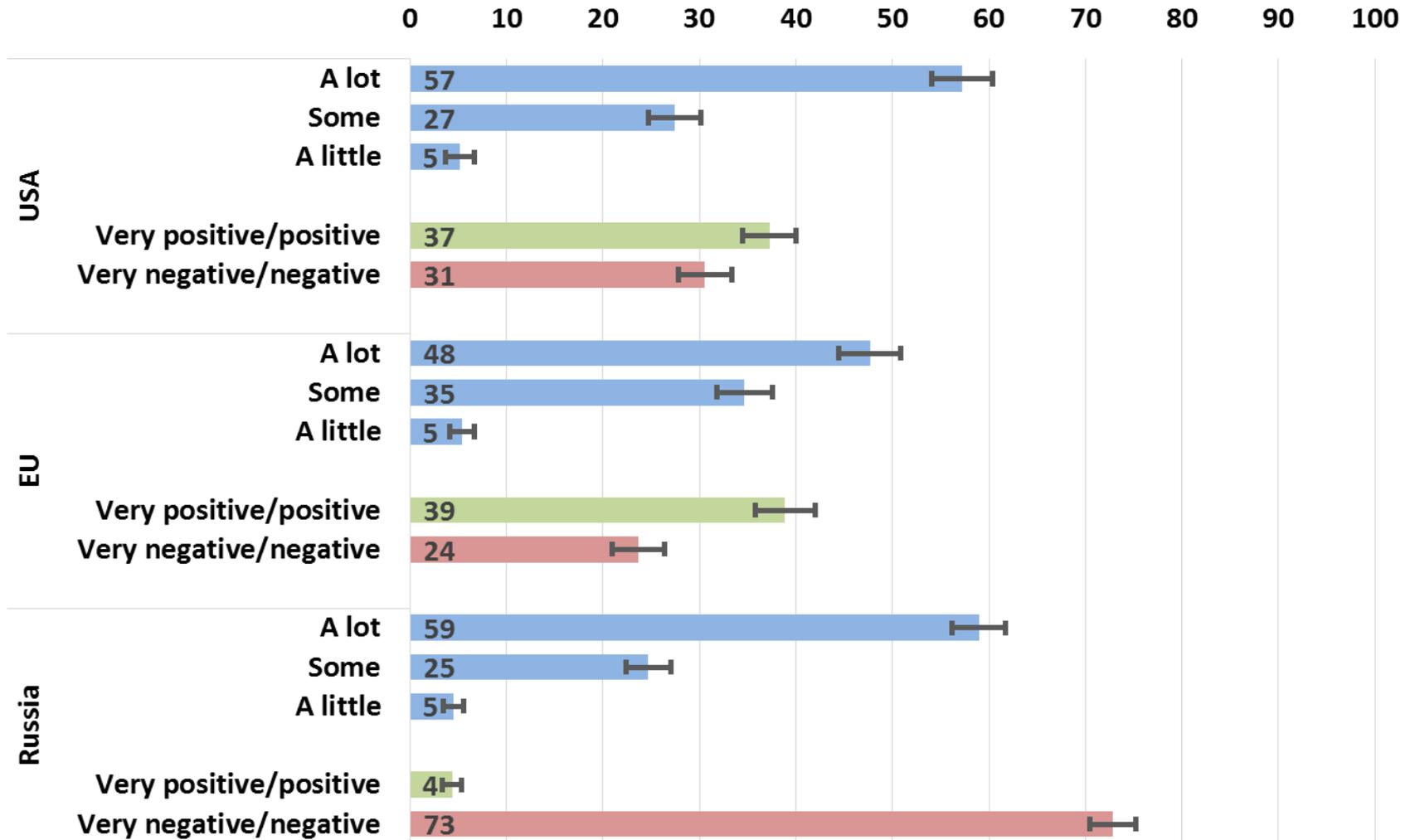
# By 2020, do you want Ukraine to be...(q56/q57)

■ May 2015    ■ December 2015    ■ May 2016

0    10    20    30    40    50    60    70    80    90    100

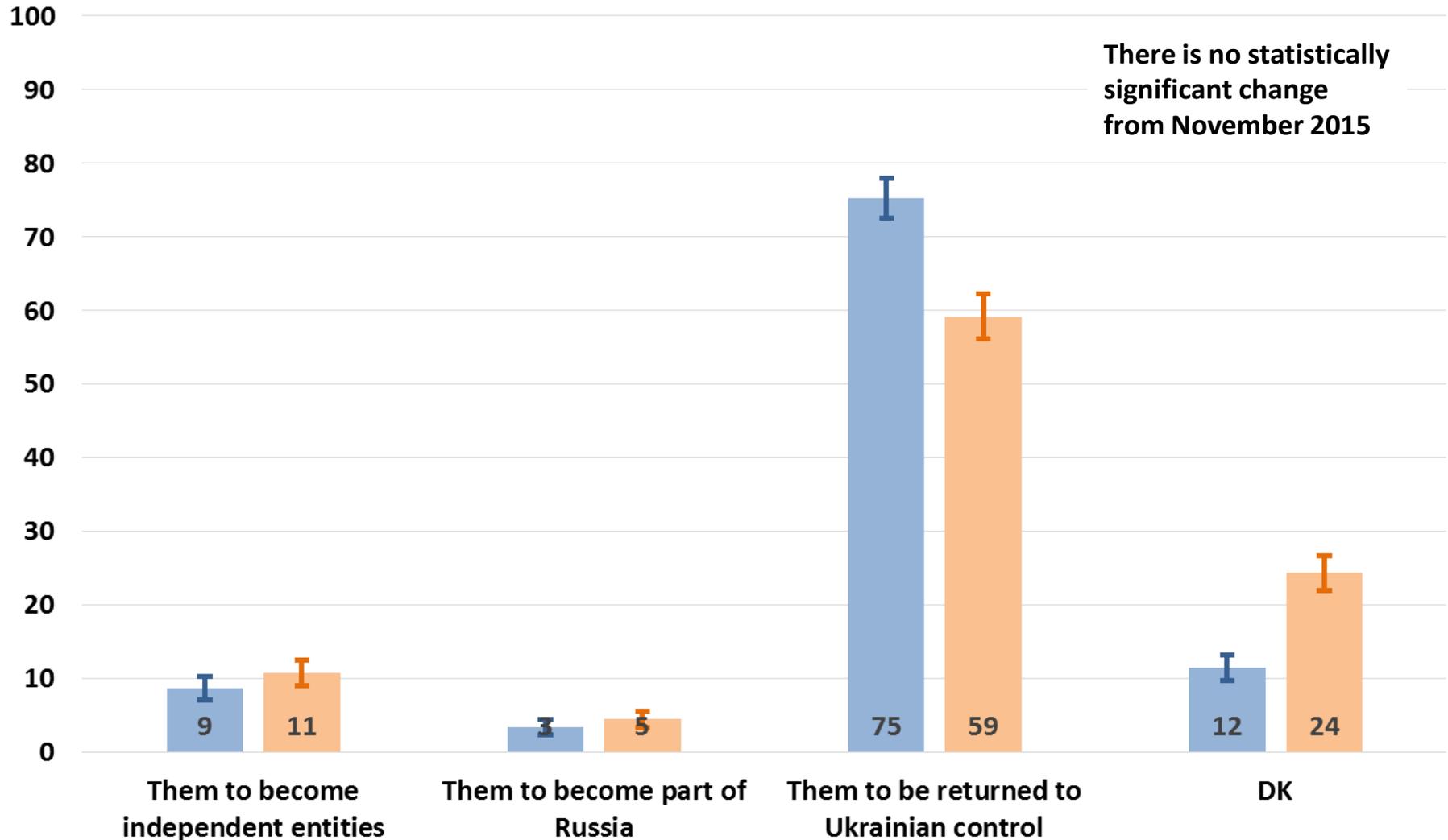


## How much influence, if any, do the following have in determining Ukraine's future? (q58) Is this influence...? (q59)

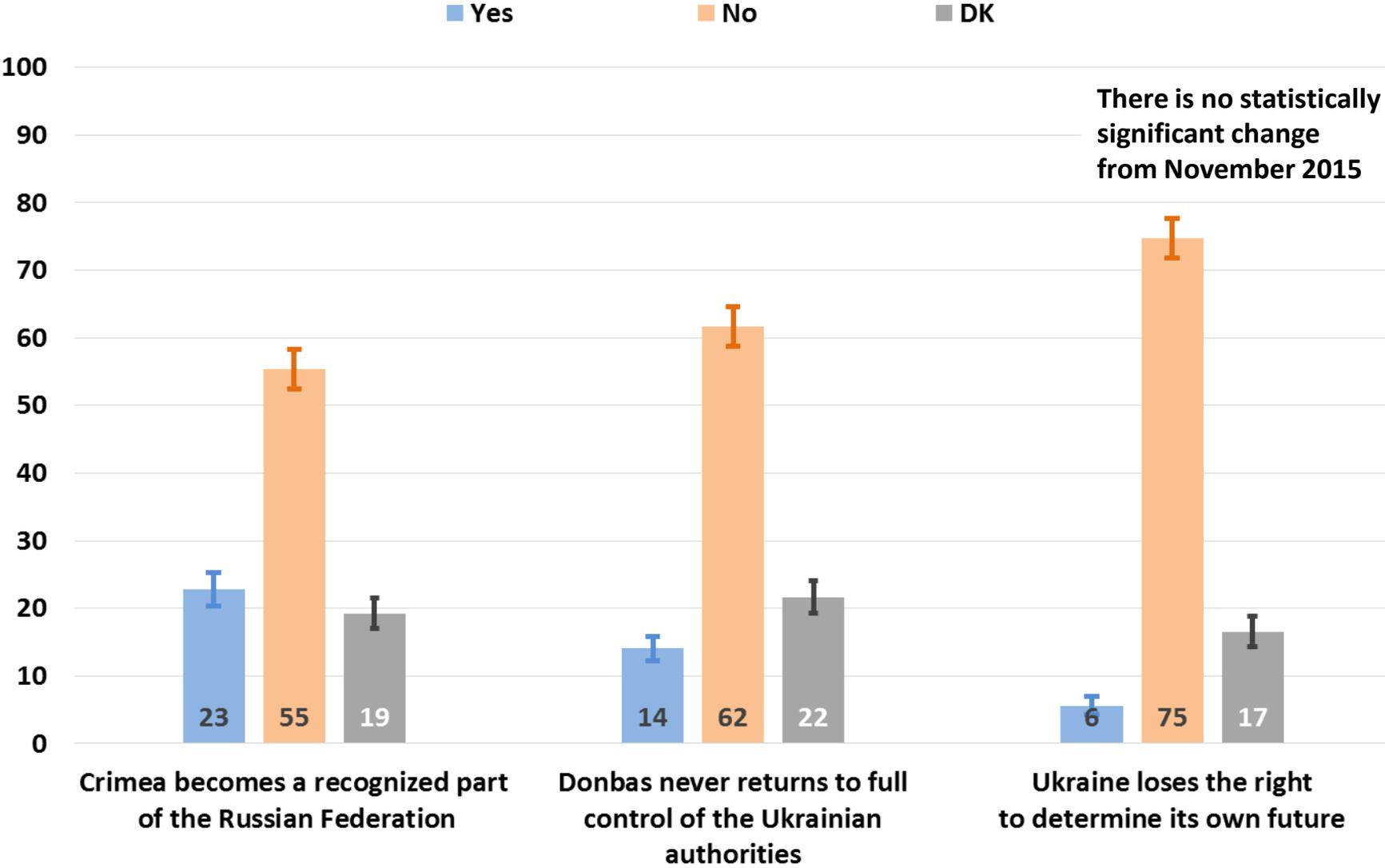


# What would you like/expect for the future of those parts of Donbas that are not under Ukrainian control? (q60/q61)

Like Expect

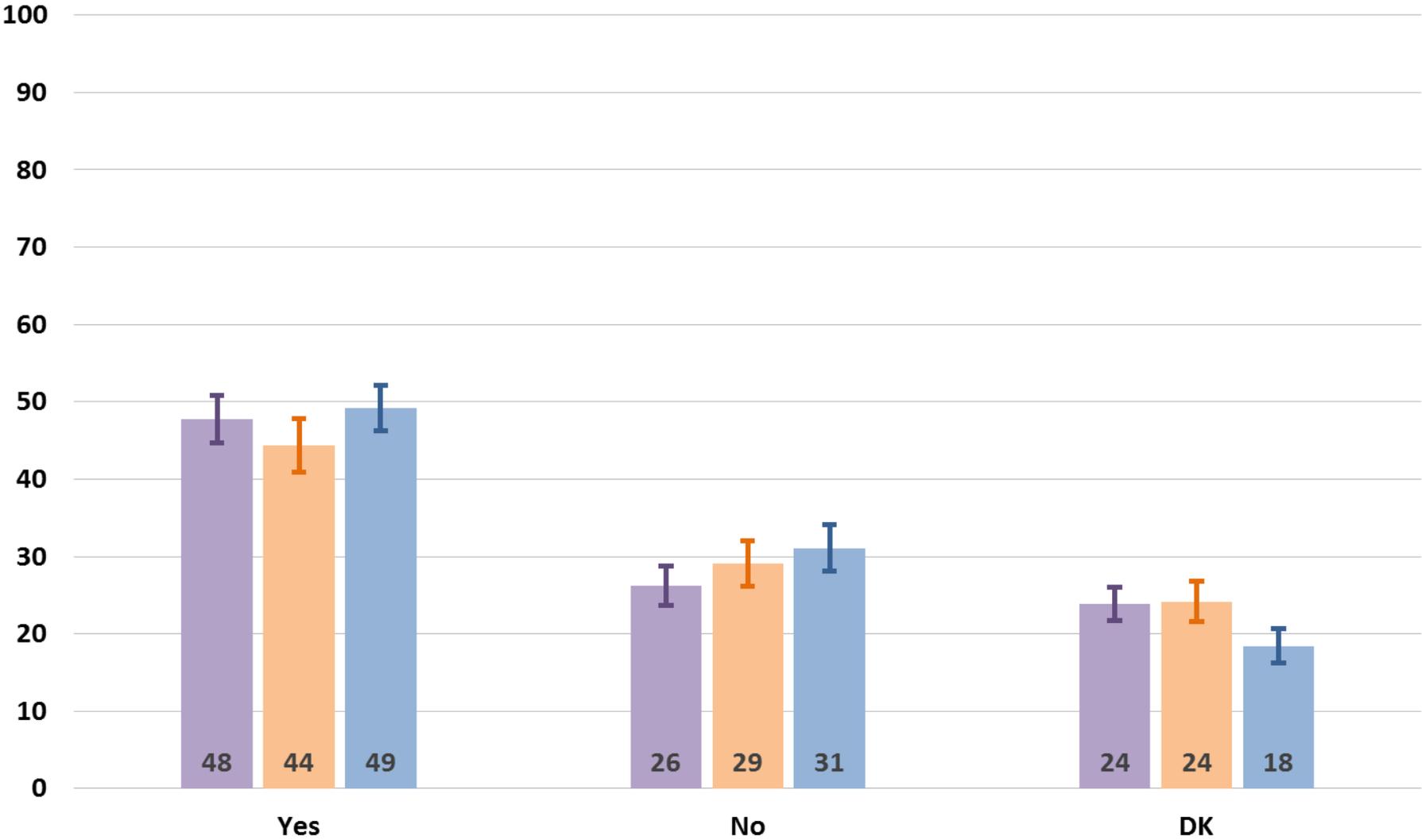


# Which, if any, of the following would you accept as the price for peace? (q62)



# Would you be willing to sit down with people who support the other side of this conflict and discuss ways to resolve it? (q65)

■ May 2015   ■ December 2015   ■ May 2016



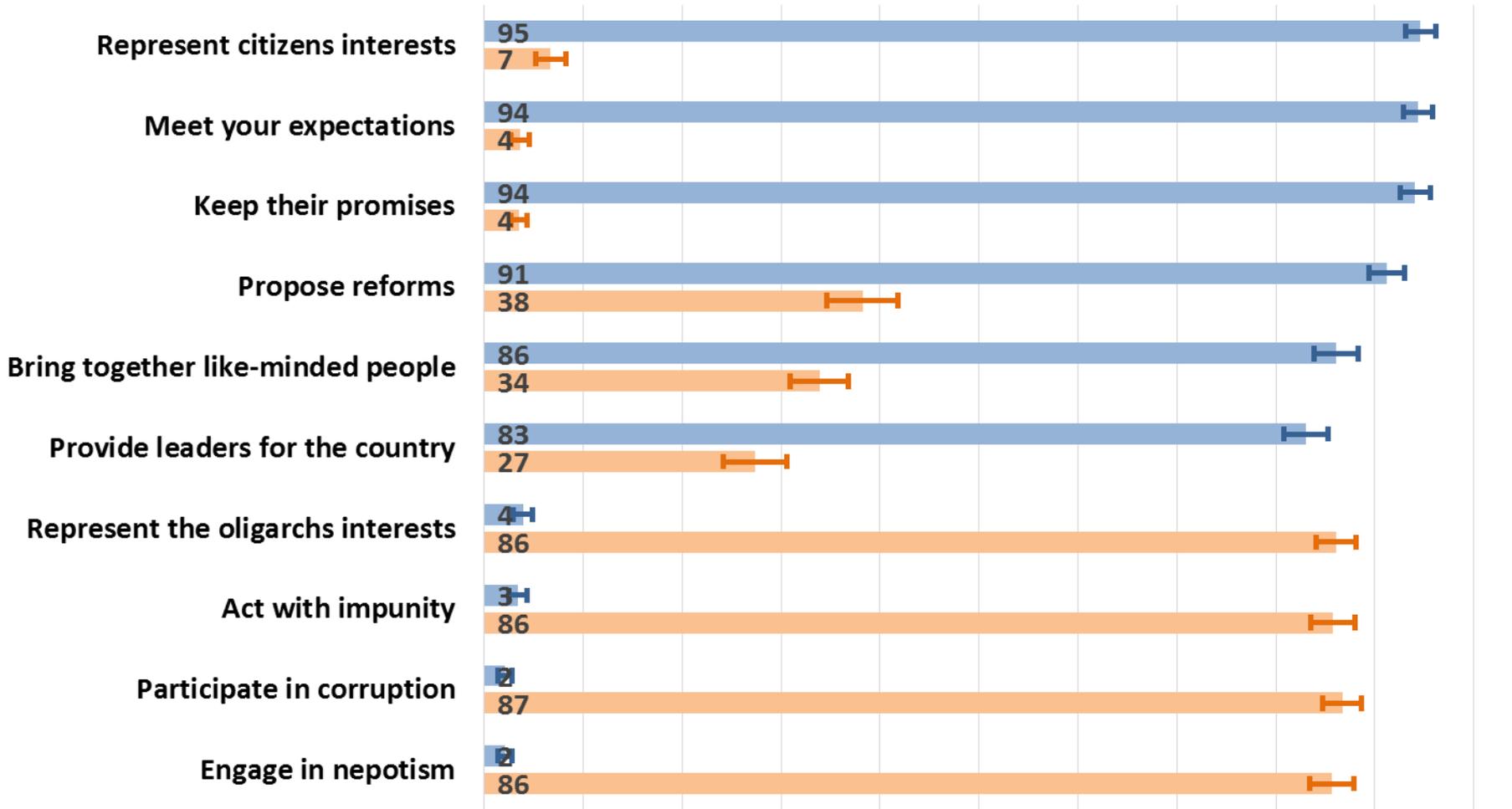
# Political Parties

# Do political parties currently do any of the following? What would you like them to do? (q71/q72)

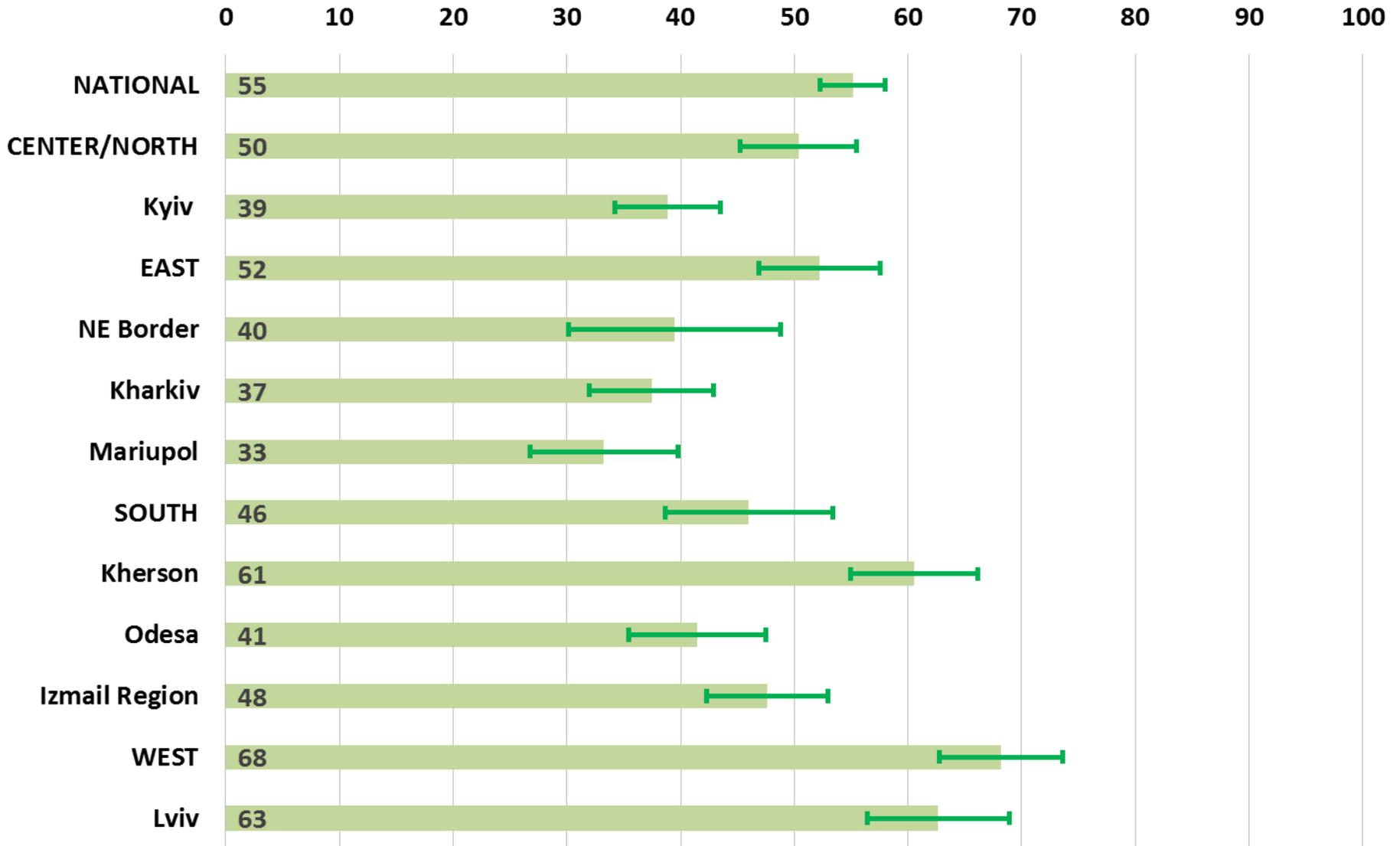
Should do

Doing now

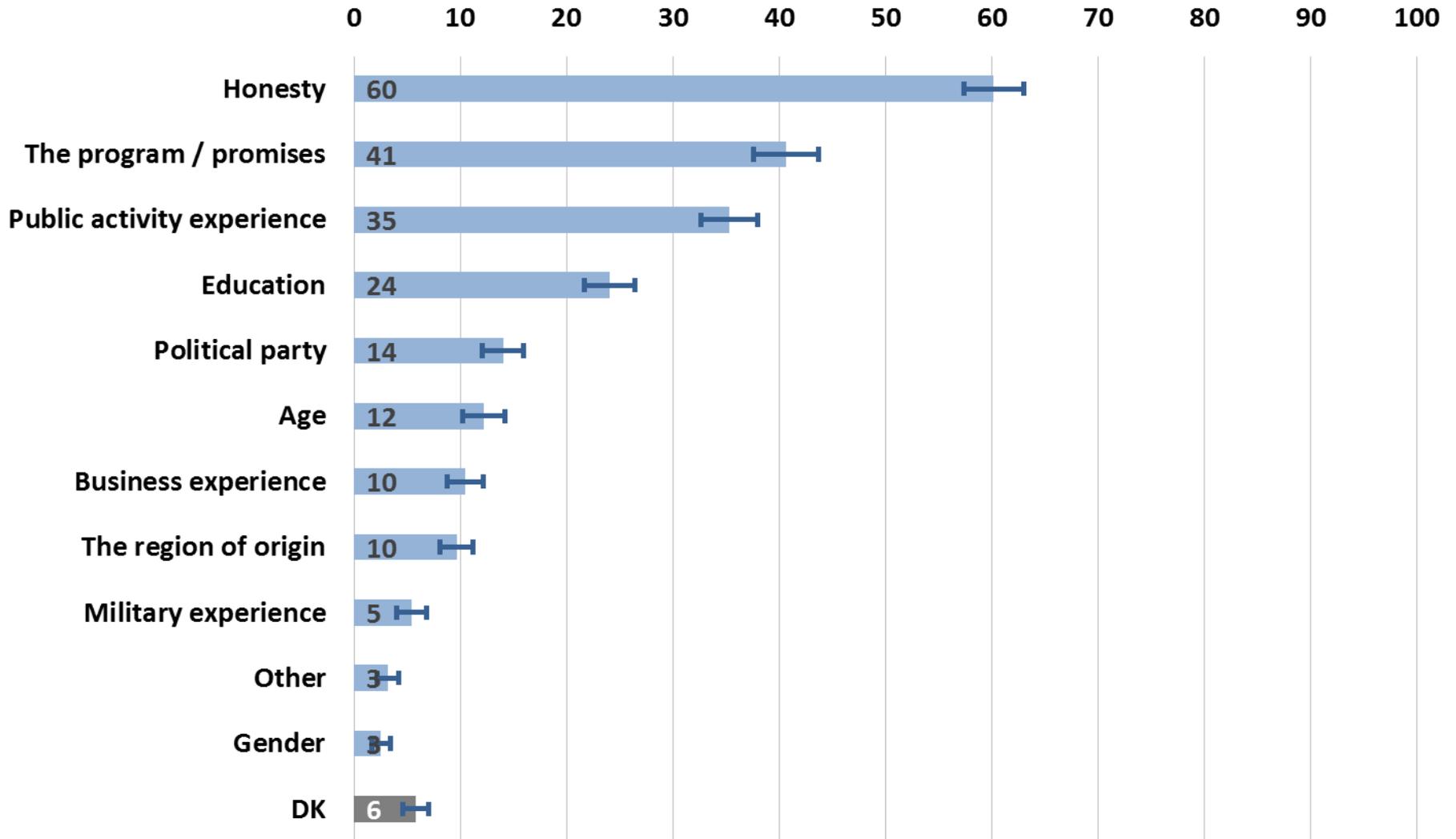
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



## Would you like to receive regular reports from political parties in your area about their activities? YES only (q31 X Settlement)



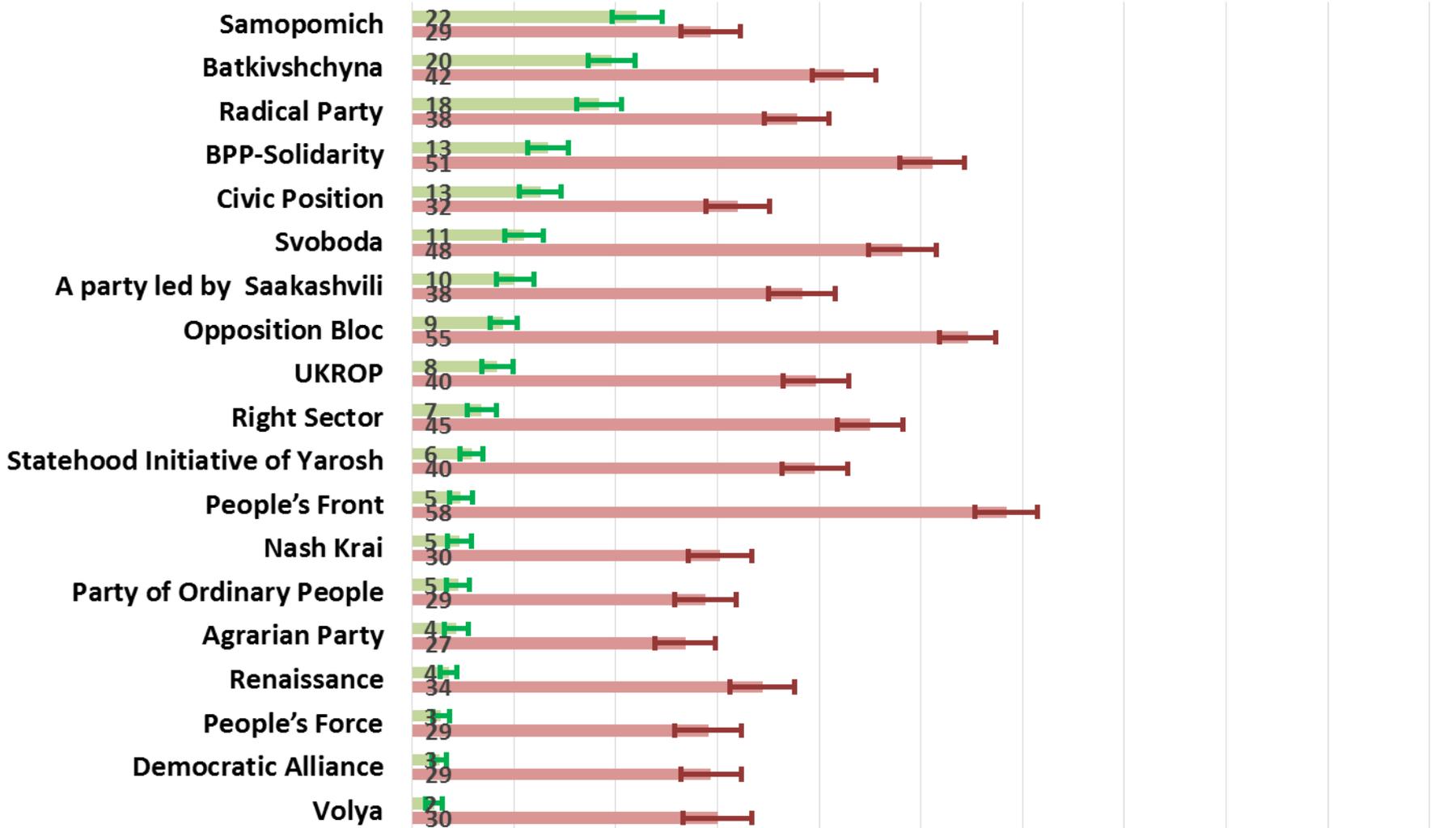
# When deciding which candidate to vote for in the next parliamentary elections, what is important to you? (q13) - (select up to three)



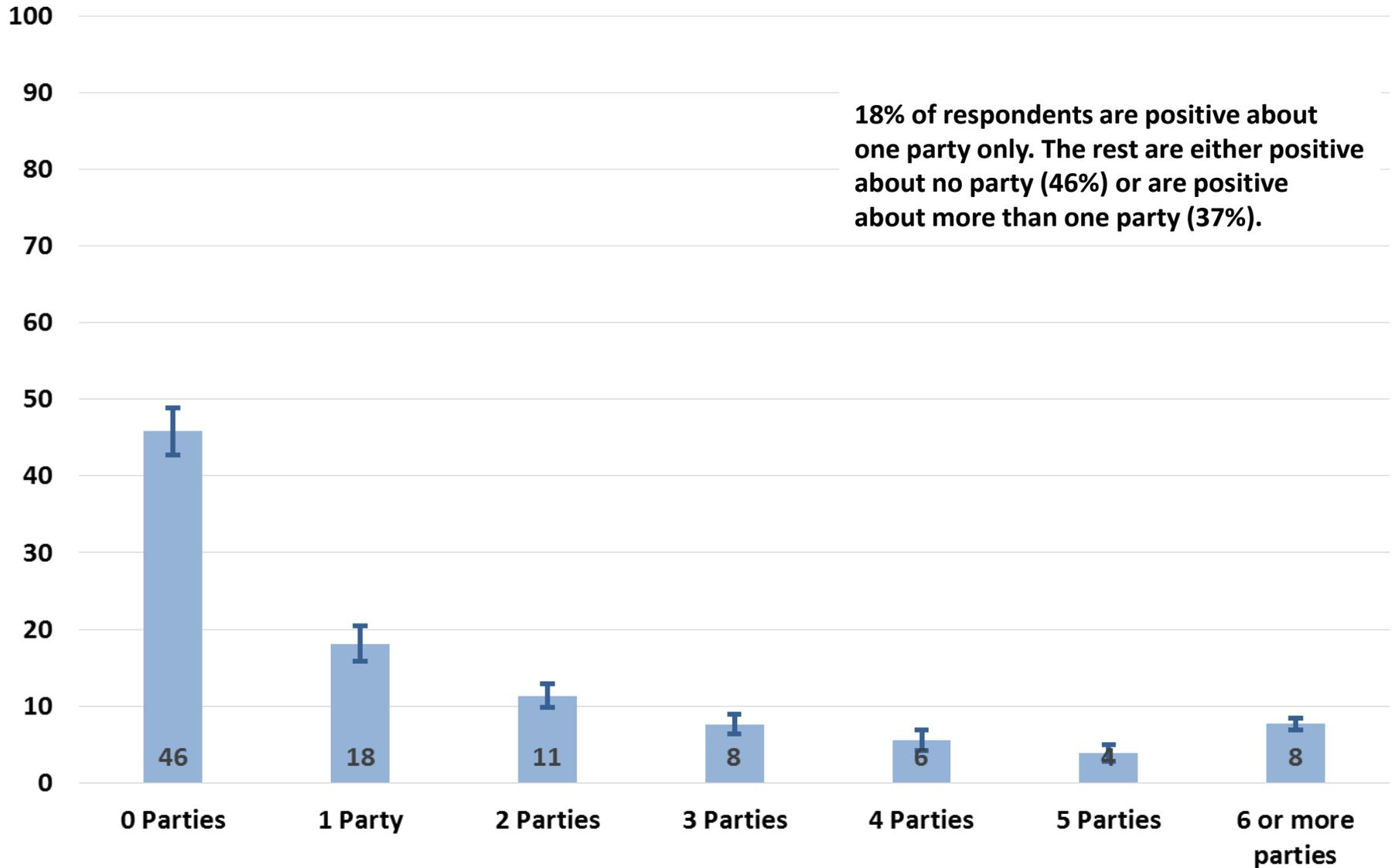
# What is your attitude toward the following parties today? (q41)

Very positive/positive      Very negative/negative

0    10    20    30    40    50    60    70    80    90    100



## Positive or very positive about parties (q41) Number of parties selected by respondents

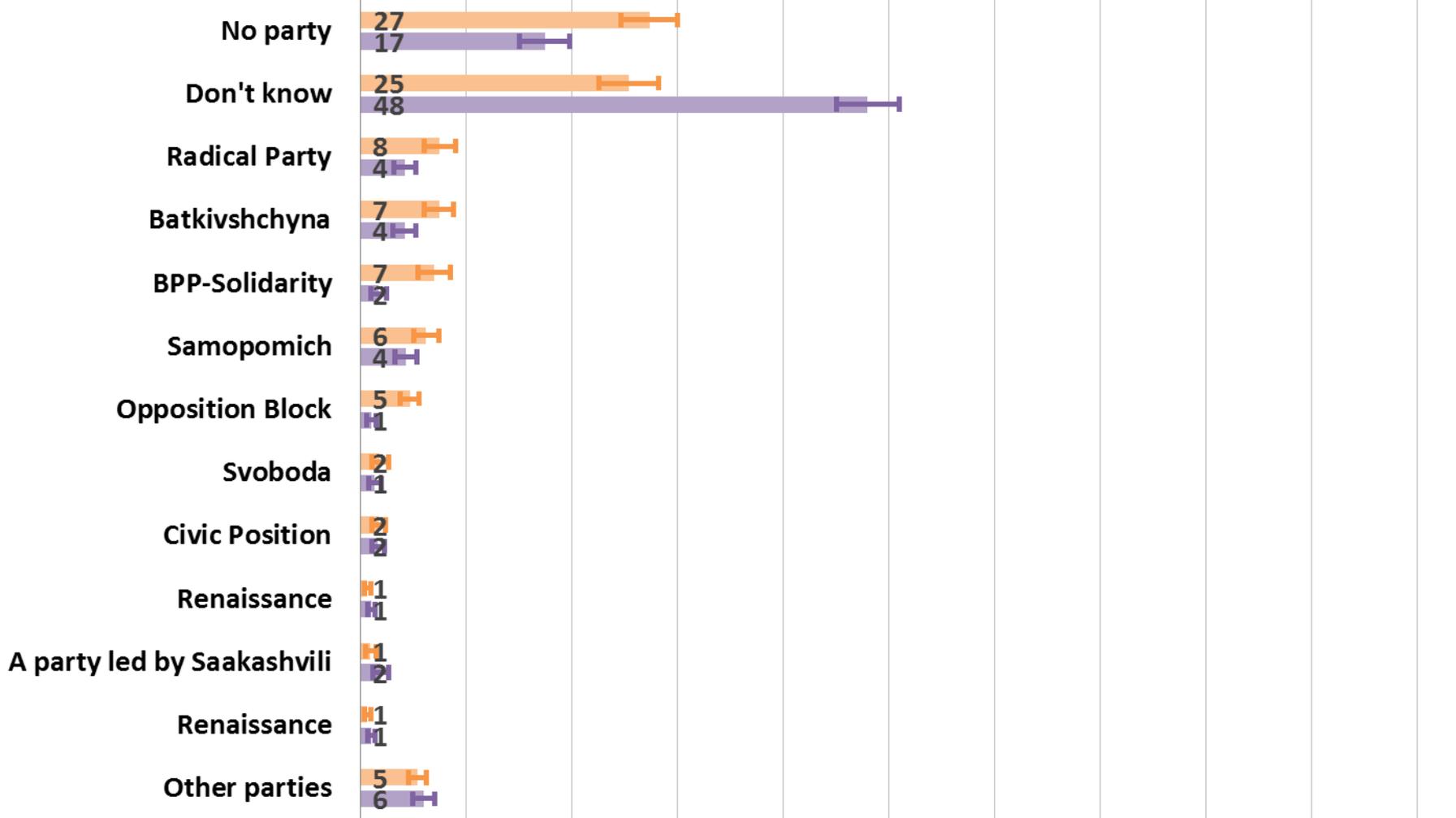


# Which party is closest to you now? (q42)

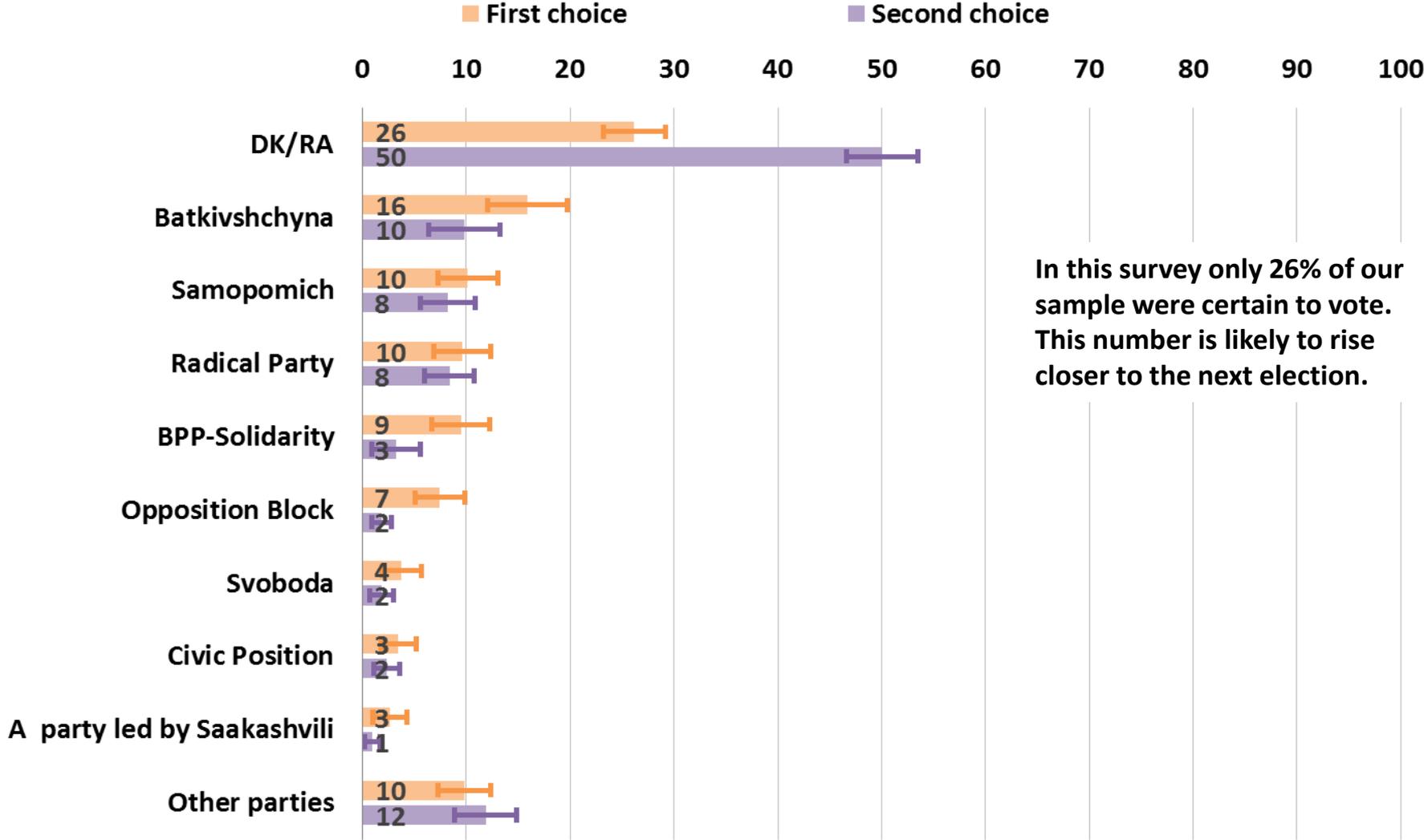
First choice

Second choice

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



# Which party would you vote for if parliamentary elections were held tomorrow? First choice? Second choice? (q46) X I absolutely will vote (q45)



In this survey only 26% of our sample were certain to vote. This number is likely to rise closer to the next election.

# If your preferred party was able to form a ruling coalition with other parties, which ones would you choose? (q41 x q50)

