Opportunities and Challenges Facing Ukraine’s Democratic Transition

Nationwide Survey with Kramatorsk oversample
December 2017

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Fieldwork was conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology

NDI Ukraine
Survey Methodology 1

• Fieldwork dates:
  • National sample: November 10 - December 10, 2017
  • Kramatorsk Region: December 10 – December 25, 2017

• 7,200 completed interviews
  • National sample [6,000]
    • 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
  • Oversample
    • Kramatorsk Region - cities of Kramatorsk and Slovyansk and surrounding rural areas [1,200]

• 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
    • 31% of all interviews were checked by controllers
  • All 7,200 interviews were conducted using tablets
  • The average margin of error for this survey is +/- 3%
Survey Regions and Kramatorsk Oversample
Broader Societal Trends
How important is it to you that Ukraine becomes a fully functioning democracy? "Very important/Important" only (q9 X Settlement)

- National: 84%
- West: 91%
- Center-North: 86%
- East: 78%
- South: 72%
- Kramatorsk Region: 80%
Overall, do you expect the next generation to be...?
(q1 X Settlement)

Ratio of optimists to pessimists (1:1) has not changed since July 2017

- NATIONAL: 31 (Better) / 31 (Worse)
- CENTER/NORTH: 36 (Better) / 30 (Worse)
- EAST: 25 (Better) / 32 (Worse)
- Kramatorsk Region: 8 (Better) / 26 (Worse)
- SOUTH: 24 (Better) / 38 (Worse)
- WEST: 35 (Better) / 28 (Worse)
Overall, do you expect the next generation to be...
"Better off than yours" only (q1 X Settlement)

National - 31%

West 35%
Center-North 36%
South 24%
East 25%

Kramatorsk Region 8%
Overall, do you expect the next generation to be...?
"Better off than yours" only (q1 X Settlement)
Which of the following statements you agree with?
(q2 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

7% shifted from ‘employee’ to ‘Parent’ since July 2017
Which of the following statements you agree with?
"Government is like an employee; the people should be the bosses who control the government" only
(q2 X Settlement)

National - 52%

West 51%
Center-North 54%
South 55%
East 49%

Kramatorsk 36%
Region
In your opinion, who is more involved in political life, men or women? (q10)

- Mostly men: 31% (July 2017), 26% (December 2017)
- Men significantly more than women: 43% (July 2017), 44% (December 2017)
- Men slightly more than women: 15% (July 2017), 16% (December 2017)
- Men and women equally: 8% (July 2017), 9% (December 2017)
- Men slightly less than women: 0% (July 2017), 1% (December 2017)
- Men significantly less than women: 0% (July 2017), 0% (December 2017)
- Mostly women: 0% (July 2017), 0% (December 2017)
For the first time, more than half of Ukrainians (52%) support equal participation of men and women or more women than men in political life.
In your opinion, who should be more involved in political life, men or women?
"Men and women equally/Men slightly and significantly less than women/
Mostly women" only (q11 X Settlement)

National - 52%

West 57%

Center-North 56%

East 49%

South 38%

Kramatorsk Region
To what extent, if at all, do you feel you are able to improve your situation in life? (q4 X Settlement)

- I have many opportunities to improve my situation in life
- I may be somewhat able to improve my situation in life
- I feel powerless to do anything to improve my situation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Many Opportunities</th>
<th>Somewhat Able</th>
<th>Powerless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center/North</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kramatorsk Region</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To what extent, if at all, do you feel you are able to improve your situation in life? (q4 X Age)

- **I have many opportunities to improve my situation in life**
  - 19 (18-35)
  - 9 (36-55)
  - 3 (Over 56)

- **I may be somewhat able to improve my situation in life**
  - 55 (18-35)
  - 45 (36-55)
  - 24 (Over 56)

- **I feel powerless to do anything to improve my situation**
  - 21 (18-35)
  - 39 (36-55)
  - 69 (Over 56)
To what extent, if at all, do you think religious leaders should influence the political process?
"Not at all" only (q28 X Settlement)
Have you done any of these since November 2013? (q29)

- **Attend a community meeting**
  - Yes, at least once: 24
  - I would if I had the chance: 25
  - I would never do this: 46
  - DK: 5

- **Collect money to support a cause**
  - Yes, at least once: 19
  - I would if I had the chance: 27
  - I would never do this: 47
  - DK: 7

- **Get together with others to raise an issue**
  - Yes, at least once: 17
  - I would if I had the chance: 32
  - I would never do this: 46
  - DK: 5

- **Attend a demonstration about a specific issue**
  - Yes, at least once: 10
  - I would if I had the chance: 20
  - I would never do this: 61
  - DK: 9
Have you attended a community meeting since November 2013?
"Often/Several times/Once or twice/I would if I had a chance" only (q29 X Settlement)
Do you think the dissolution of the Soviet Union was a good thing or a bad thing? (q34 X Settlement)

- **NATIONAL**: A good thing 31, Neither good nor bad 19, A bad thing 36, DK 13
- **CENTER/NORTH**: A good thing 29, Neither good nor bad 21, A bad thing 38, DK 11
- **EAST**: A good thing 17, Neither good nor bad 19, A bad thing 49, DK 15
- **Kramatorsk Region**: A good thing 8, Neither good nor bad 22, A bad thing 43, DK 26
- **SOUTH**: A good thing 18, Neither good nor bad 16, A bad thing 48, DK 17
- **WEST**: A good thing 53, Neither good nor bad 19, A bad thing 16, DK 12
Do you think the dissolution of the Soviet Union was a good thing or a bad thing?
"Bad thing" only (q34 X Settlement)

- National: 36%
- West: 16%
- Center-North: 38%
- South: 48%
- East: 49%

Kramatorsk Region: 43%
Do you think the dissolution of the Soviet Union was a good thing or a bad thing? (q34 X Age)

- A good thing: 35, 32, 26
- Neither good nor bad: 18, 23, 17
- A bad thing: 22, 35, 51
- DK: 24, 10, 5
Blockade, Threats & Russian Propaganda
On March 15, 2017 National Security Council of the government of Ukraine decided to blockade all road and rail links with DPR and LPR allowing nothing but humanitarian assistance to cross. Do you agree or disagree with this decision? (q31)
On March 15, 2017, National Security Council of the government of Ukraine decided to blockade all road and links to DPR and LPR allowing nothing but humanitarian assistance to cross. Do you agree or disagree with this decision?

"Agree" only (q31 X Settlement)
Do you feel economic uncertainty is a big threat, some threat or no threat at all to your way of life? (q22)

- **Kramatorsk Region**: 79% Big threat, 16% Some threat, 3% No threat at all, 1% DK, 2% RA
- **SOUTH**: 78% Big threat, 16% Some threat, 2% No threat at all, 3% DK, 4% RA
- **EAST**: 70% Big threat, 20% Some threat, 6% No threat at all, 3% DK, 4% RA
- **NATIONAL**: 60% Big threat, 27% Some threat, 8% No threat at all, 3% DK, 15% RA
- **WEST**: 55% Big threat, 32% Some threat, 7% No threat at all, 3% DK, 6% RA
- **CENTER/NORTH**: 49% Big threat, 32% Some threat, 12% No threat at all, 3% DK, 7% RA
Do you feel Russian military aggression is a big threat, some threat or no threat at all to your way of life? (q22)

- **WEST**: 61 Big threat, 24 Some threat, 10 No threat at all, 4 DK, 1 RA
- **CENTER/NORTH**: 49 Big threat, 31 Some threat, 14 No threat at all, 6 DK, 4 RA
- **NATIONAL**: 49 Big threat, 28 Some threat, 16 No threat at all, 7 DK, 2 RA
- **EAST**: 42 Big threat, 24 Some threat, 23 No threat at all, 10 DK, 2 RA
- **SOUTH**: 34 Big threat, 33 Some threat, 19 No threat at all, 12 DK, 2 RA
- **Kramatorsk Region**: 15 Big threat, 15 Some threat, 36 No threat at all, 27 DK, 7 RA
Do you feel political uncertainty is a big threat, some threat or no threat at all to your way of life? (q22)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Big threat</th>
<th>Some threat</th>
<th>No threat at all</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kramatorsk Region</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTER/NORTH</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you feel Ukraine's trade blockade of DPR and LPR is a big threat, some threat or no threat at all to your way of life? (q22)

- **EAST**
  - Big threat: 18
  - Some threat: 29
  - No threat at all: 34
  - DK: 17
  - RA: 2

- **SOUTH**
  - Big threat: 18
  - Some threat: 31
  - No threat at all: 29
  - DK: 23

- **NATIONAL**
  - Big threat: 13
  - Some threat: 27
  - No threat at all: 43
  - DK: 16

- **Kramatorsk Region**
  - Big threat: 12
  - Some threat: 19
  - No threat at all: 30
  - DK: 26
  - RA: 13

- **WEST**
  - Big threat: 11
  - Some threat: 23
  - No threat at all: 53
  - DK: 12

- **CENTER/NORTH**
  - Big threat: 9
  - Some threat: 26
  - No threat at all: 47
  - DK: 17
Do you feel Russian propaganda is a big threat, some threat or no threat at all to your way of life? (q22)

- **WEST**: 43 Big threat, 30 Some threat, 21 No threat at all, 6 DK, 6 RA
- **NATIONAL**: 33 Big threat, 33 Some threat, 25 No threat at all, 9 DK, 9 RA
- **EAST**: 30 Big threat, 28 Some threat, 30 No threat at all, 11 DK, 12 RA
- **SOUTH**: 29 Big threat, 38 Some threat, 20 No threat at all, 12 DK, 9 RA
- **CENTER/NORTH**: 28 Big threat, 37 Some threat, 25 No threat at all, 9 DK, 6 RA
- **Kramatorsk Region**: 13 Big threat, 16 Some threat, 44 No threat at all, 24 DK, 4 RA
Propaganda is false or distorted information that is spread to promote the interests of a country and undermine its opponents. Do you agree or disagree that Russian propaganda is being spread in Ukraine? "Agree" only (q7 X Settlement)

- West: 72%
- Center-North: 58%
- East: 47%
- South: 51%

Kramatorsk: 25%
International Relations & Aspirations
By 2020, do you want Ukraine to be a member of EU? "Yes" only (q24 X Settlement)

- West: 76%
- Center-North: 54%
- East: 39%
- South: 36%

National: 54%
By 2020, do you want Ukraine to be a member state of the EU? (q24 X Settlement) "Yes" only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>July 2017</th>
<th>December 2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTER/NORTH</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kramatorsk Region</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By 2020, do you want Ukraine to be a member of Customs Union? "Yes" only (q24 X Settlement)
By 2020, do you want Ukraine to be a member state of NATO?
"Yes" only (q24 X Settlement)

- National - 40%
- West 59%
- Center-North 43%
- East 22%
- South 24%
- Kramatorsk Region 12%

(-10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60%+)
Attitudes Towards Political Parties
What is your attitude toward the following parties today?
No positive attitude towards any party (q20 X Settlement)

National - 56%
Up 15% since July 2017.

West 49%
Center-North 63%
East 54%
South 53%
Kramatorsk Region 69%
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>Very Positive/Positive</th>
<th>Very Negative/Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batkivshchyna</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samopomich</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Position</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radical Party</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Life</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition Bloc</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svoboda</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UKROP</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrarian Party</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPP-Solidarity</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right Sector</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement of New Forces</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Front</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash Kraj</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renaissance</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Korpus</td>
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<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DemAlliance</td>
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<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volya</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Force</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ukraine’s Party Affiliation Iceberg

34% has a party closest to them

64% doesn’t have a party closest to them
Social Media Consumption
How often do you engage with the following social media sites? (q38)

- **Facebook**
  - Daily: 17
  - Several times a week: 15
  - Once or several times a month: 6
  - Never: 60

- **Twitter**
  - Daily: 2
  - Several times a week: 4
  - Once or several times a month: 4
  - Never: 89

- **Instagram**
  - Daily: 7
  - Several times a week: 8
  - Once or several times a month: 4
  - Never: 80

- **Vkontakte**
  - Daily: 6
  - Several times a week: 8
  - Once or several times a month: 6
  - Never: 77

- **Odnoklassniki**
  - Daily: 4
  - Several times a week: 7
  - Once or several times a month: 5
  - Never: 81
OVERLAPPING AUDIENCES
Social media consumption; Regular users only (q38)

- Facebook 32%
- Vkontakte 14%
- Instagram 15%
- Twitter 6%
- Odnoklassniki 13%
- Overlap 1%
Do you own a cellphone? (q42)

- NATIONAL: 91% Yes, 8% No
- CENTER/NORTH: 92% Yes, 8% No
- EAST: 92% Yes, 7% No
- Kramatorsk Region: 90% Yes, 10% No
- SOUTH: 94% Yes, 6% No
- WEST: 88% Yes, 11% No