



NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Public Perceptions of the 2012 Elections & Women's Role in Politics and Government

*Findings from a Survey of 1,210 adults
over the age of 18 in Ukraine*

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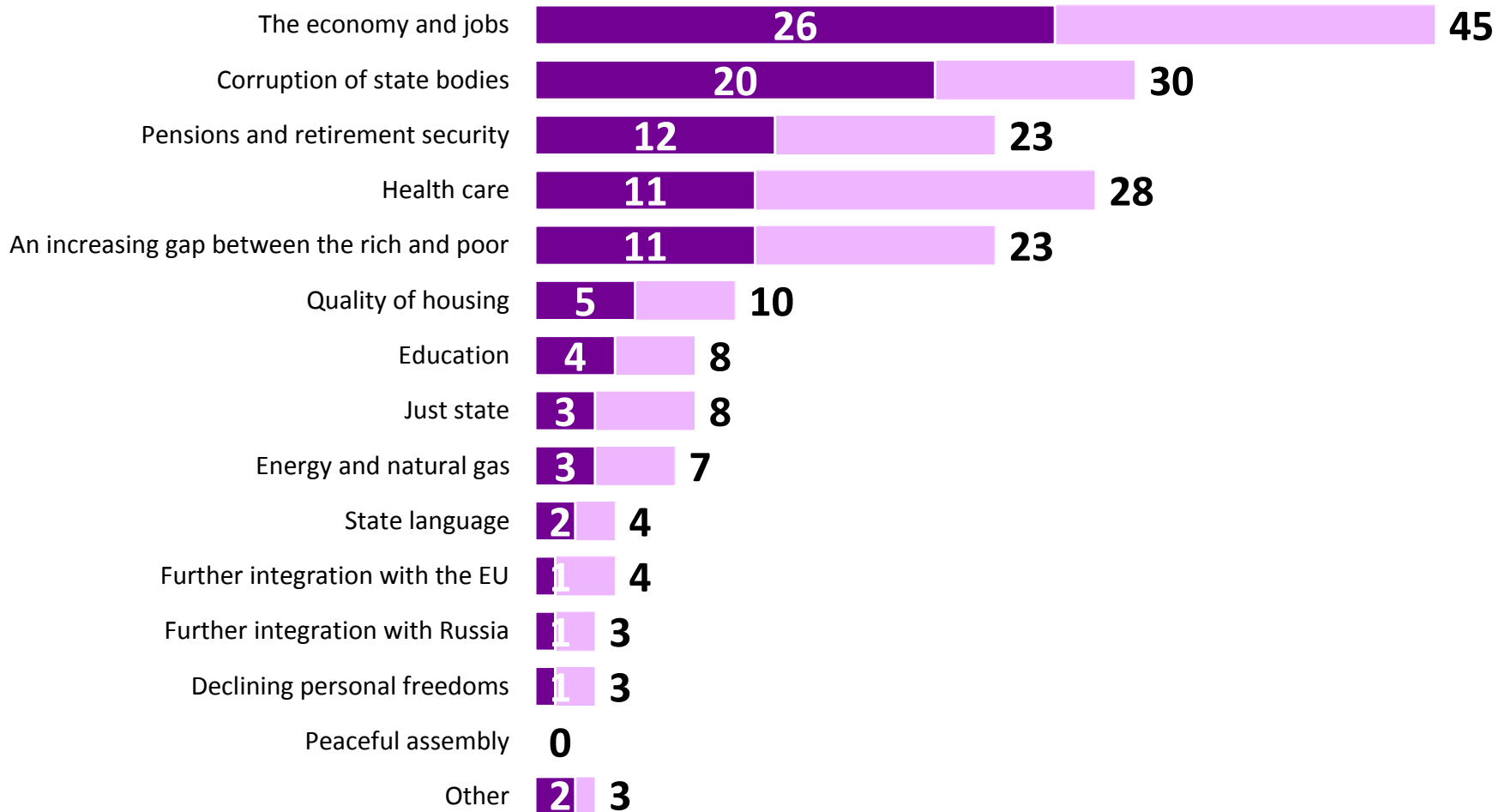


Background – Why this Survey?

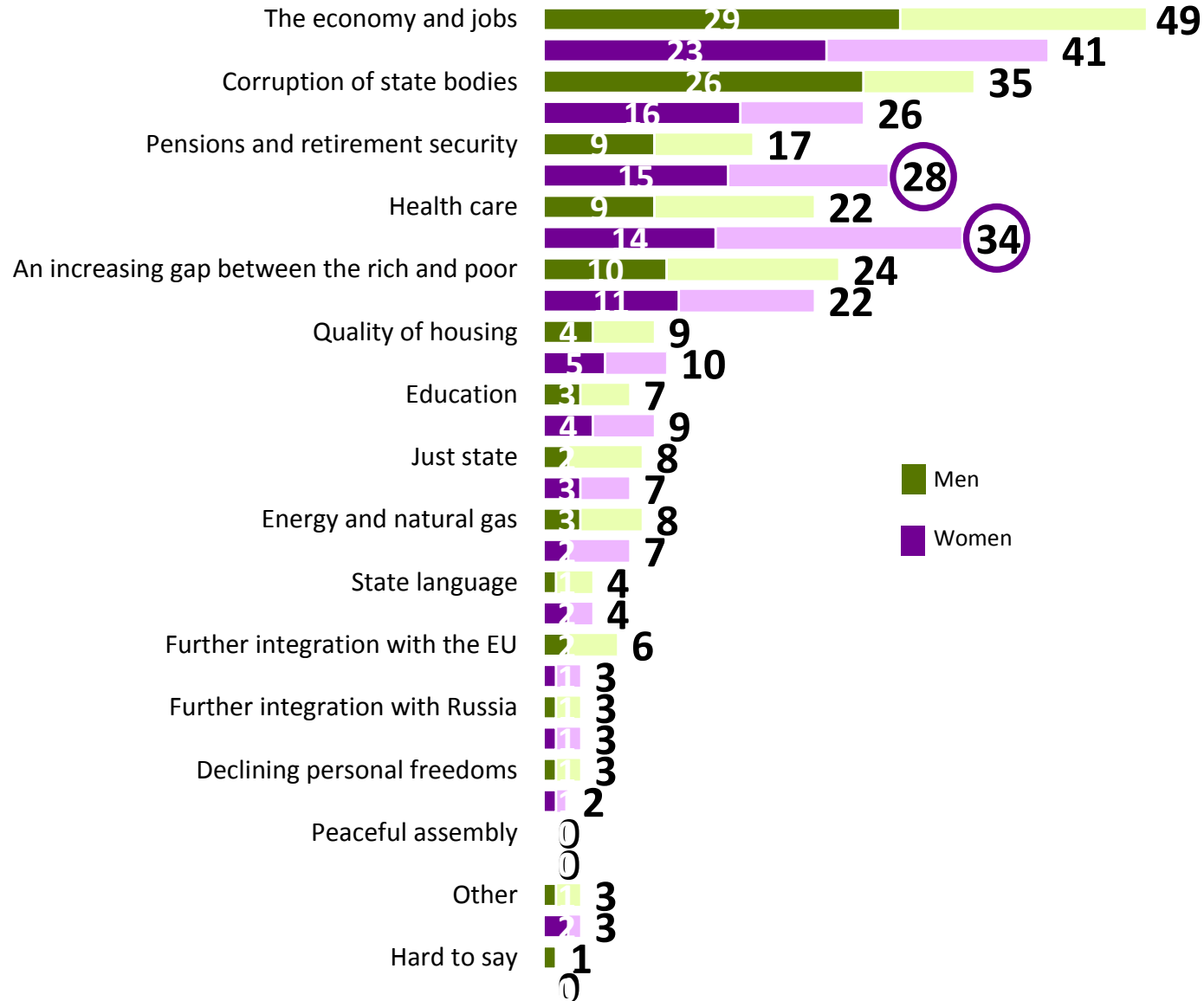
- Conducted by NDI not to *prove* there is widespread support for women but rather to examine the existing barriers to women's participation and help Ukrainian groups and individuals design plans to overcome them.
- Follow up from the focus groups, conducted by LRP and Razumkov with NDI support in summer of 2012.
- For use of political parties, the Rada Equal Opportunity Caucus, women candidates for local election, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), government agencies and others.
- Given focus group results, expectations for the poll were moderate. Survey research is a tool for identifying and working to combat stereotypes around women's participation.

The level of economic anxiety in Ukraine is palpable, with concerns over the economy, jobs, retirement security, and expanding wealth inequality dominating the public's issue agenda. Perceived corruption of state bodies is also quite high.

Top Two Concerns



Top Two Concerns By Gender

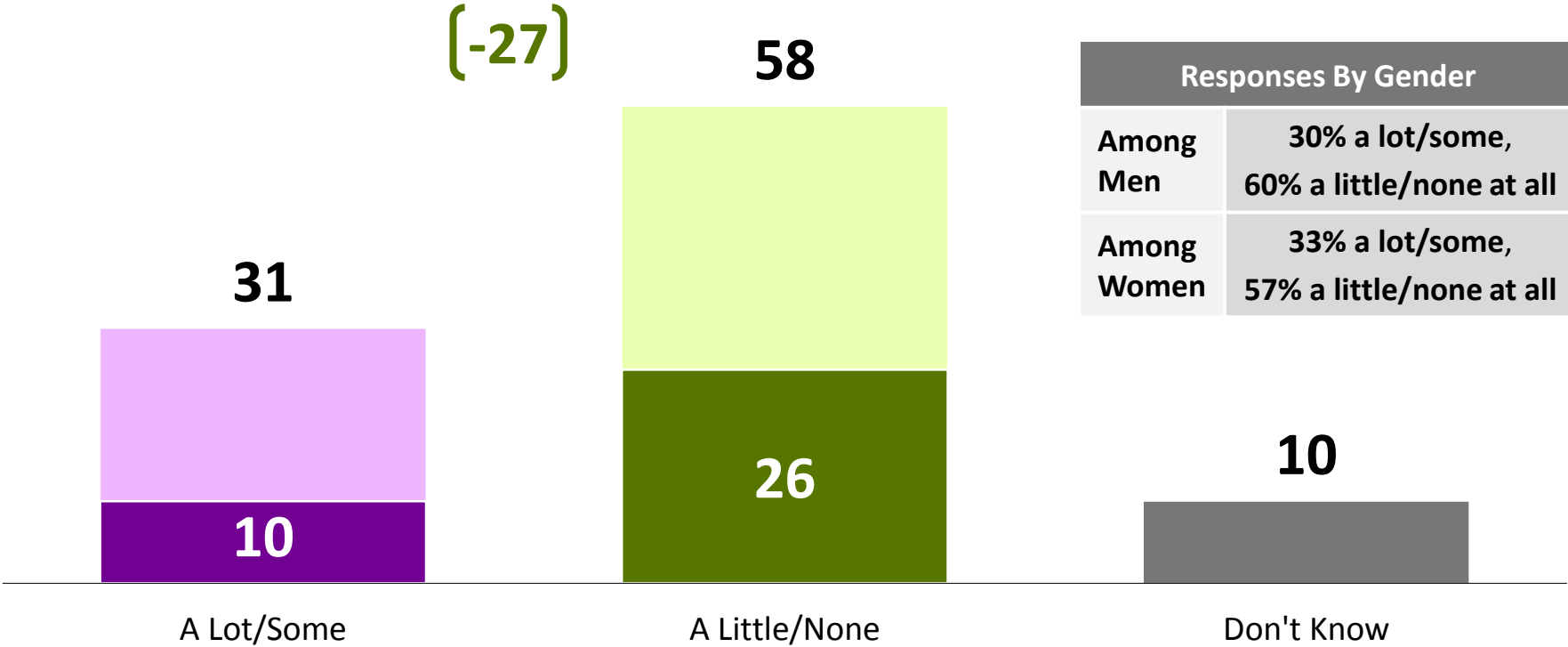


Economic concerns are shared by both men and women, however men are more concerned with joblessness and corruption, while women disproportionately prioritize health care and retirement security.

Now I am going to read you a series of issues facing Ukrainians today. Out of the following items, please RANK ORDER the TWO that are most concerning to you and your family [RANDOMIZE].

A solid majority lacks confidence that the parliamentary election results reflect the will of the people. This view is shared by both men and women.

Confidence in Election Results

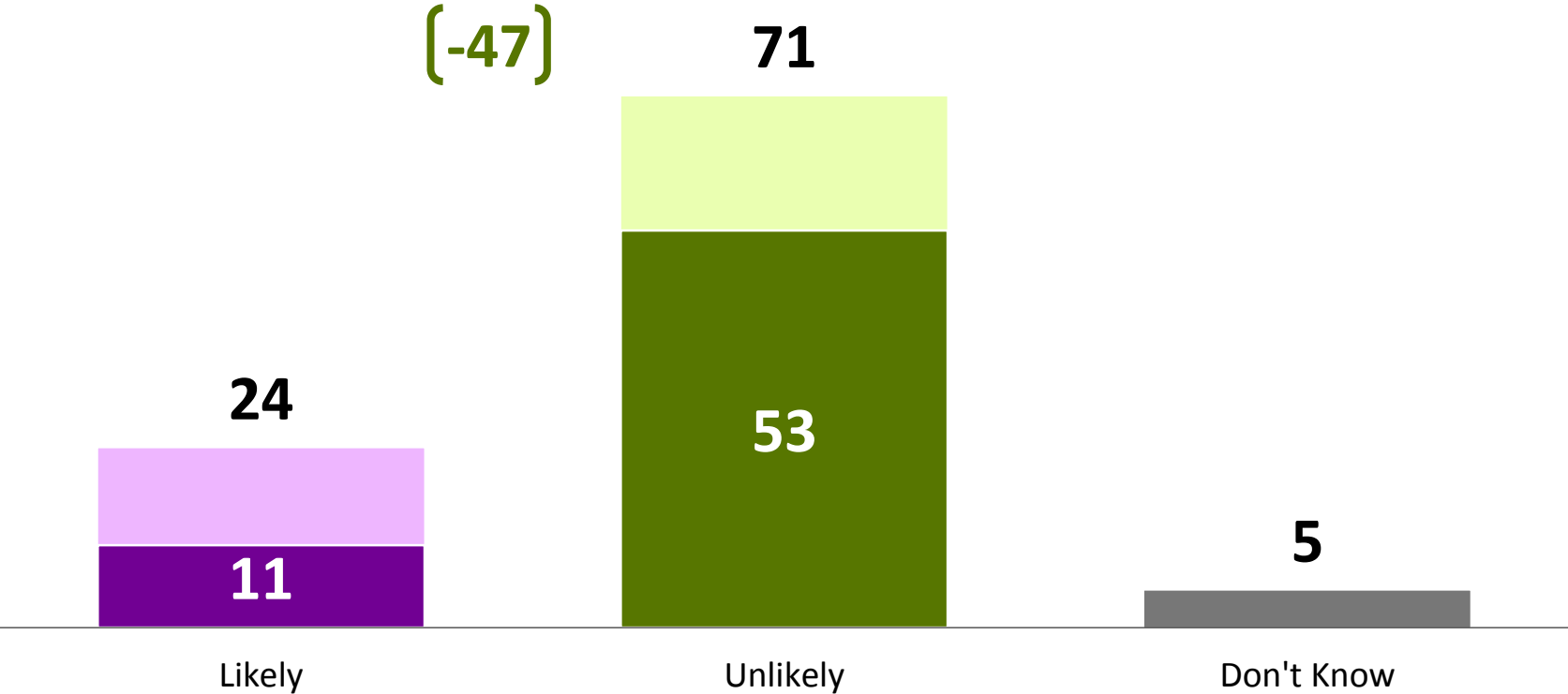


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And how much confidence do you have that the election results reflect the will of Ukrainian voters? Do you have a lot of confidence, some confidence, a little confidence, or no confidence at all that the results reflect the will of Ukrainian voters?

Perhaps unsurprising given the lack of confidence in the recent election results, more than seven in ten Ukrainians say they are unlikely to get involved in political life.

Likelihood of Getting Involved in Political Life



Darker colors used to represent intensity.

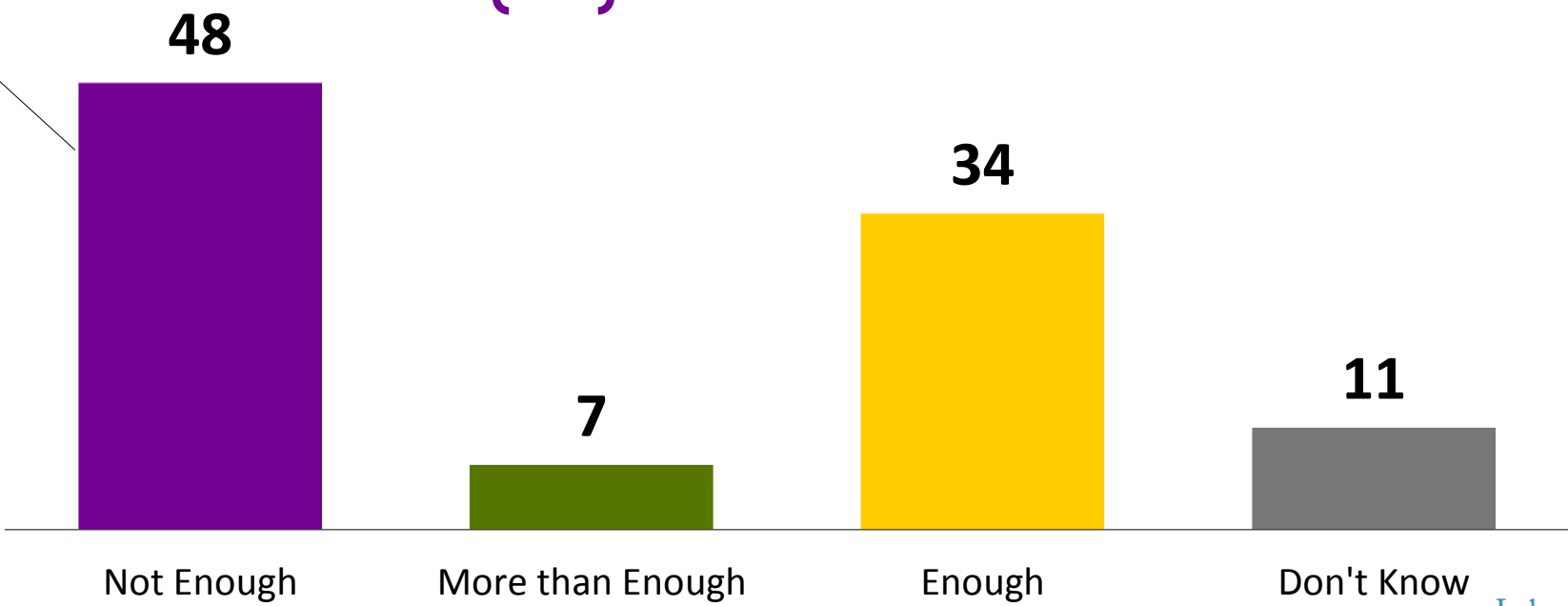
How likely are you to get involved in political life—are you very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely to be involved in political life?

Nearly half of Ukrainians believe there are too few women in elected office. Demonstrating how women are different, and focusing attention on the areas where they are perceived as better managers than men, can help convert this sentiment into greater support for women candidates.

Disproportionate <u>Not Enough</u>	% Not Enough
Russian women	69
UDAR women	67
Chose not to vote women	65
College-educated women	63

Amount of Women in Elected Office

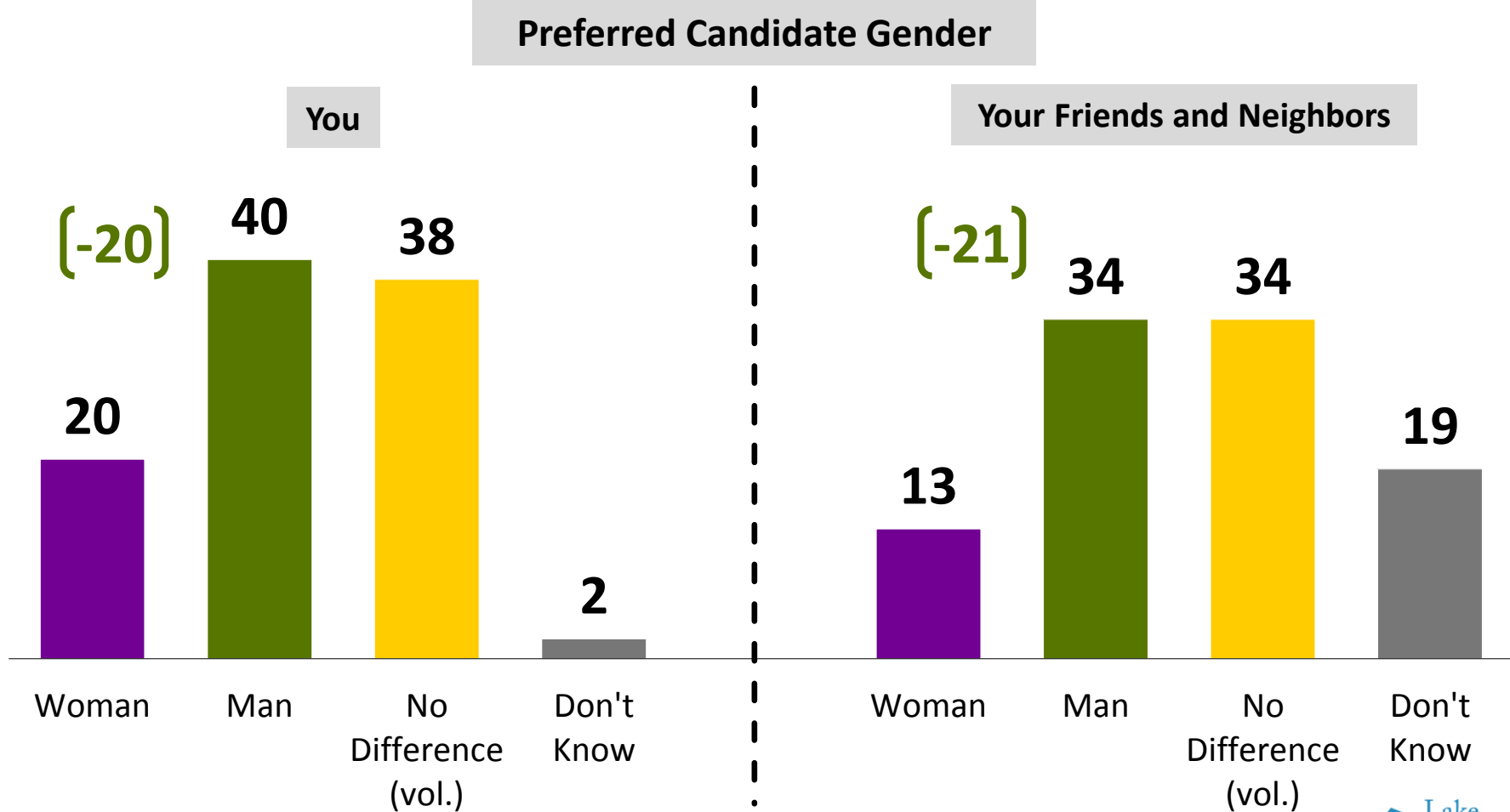
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Is it your sense that there are more than enough women in elected office, enough, or not enough women in elected office?

Perceptions of Women and Women Elected Officials

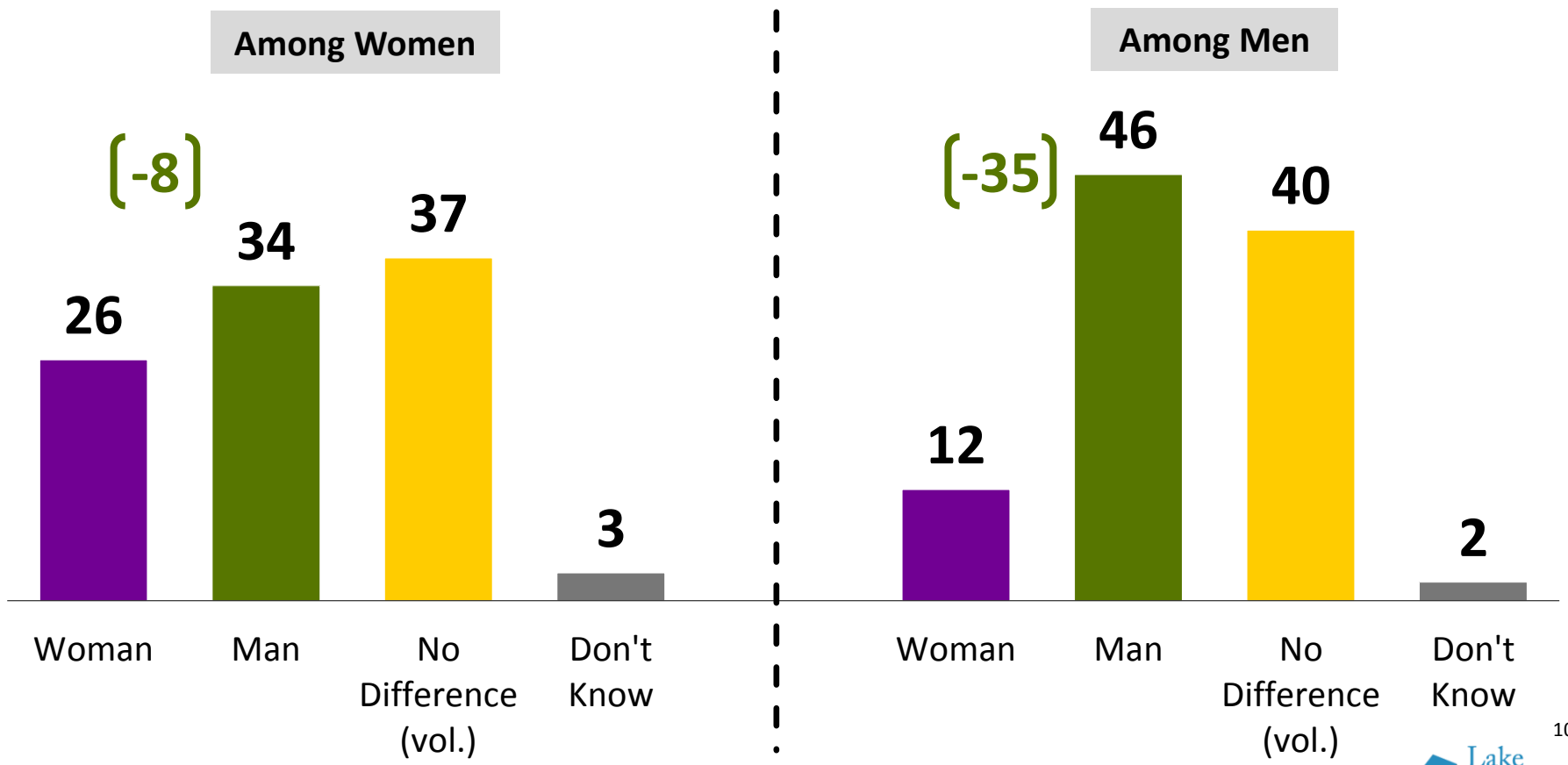
While over one-third of Ukrainians says a candidate's gender does not factor into their preferences, those who acknowledge a preference favor voting for a man by a margin of 2:1 or more, and see their friends and neighbors as like-minded.



All things being equal and without reference to any particular candidate, would you [do you think your friends and neighbors] prefer to vote for [ROTATE] _a man or _a woman for elected office?

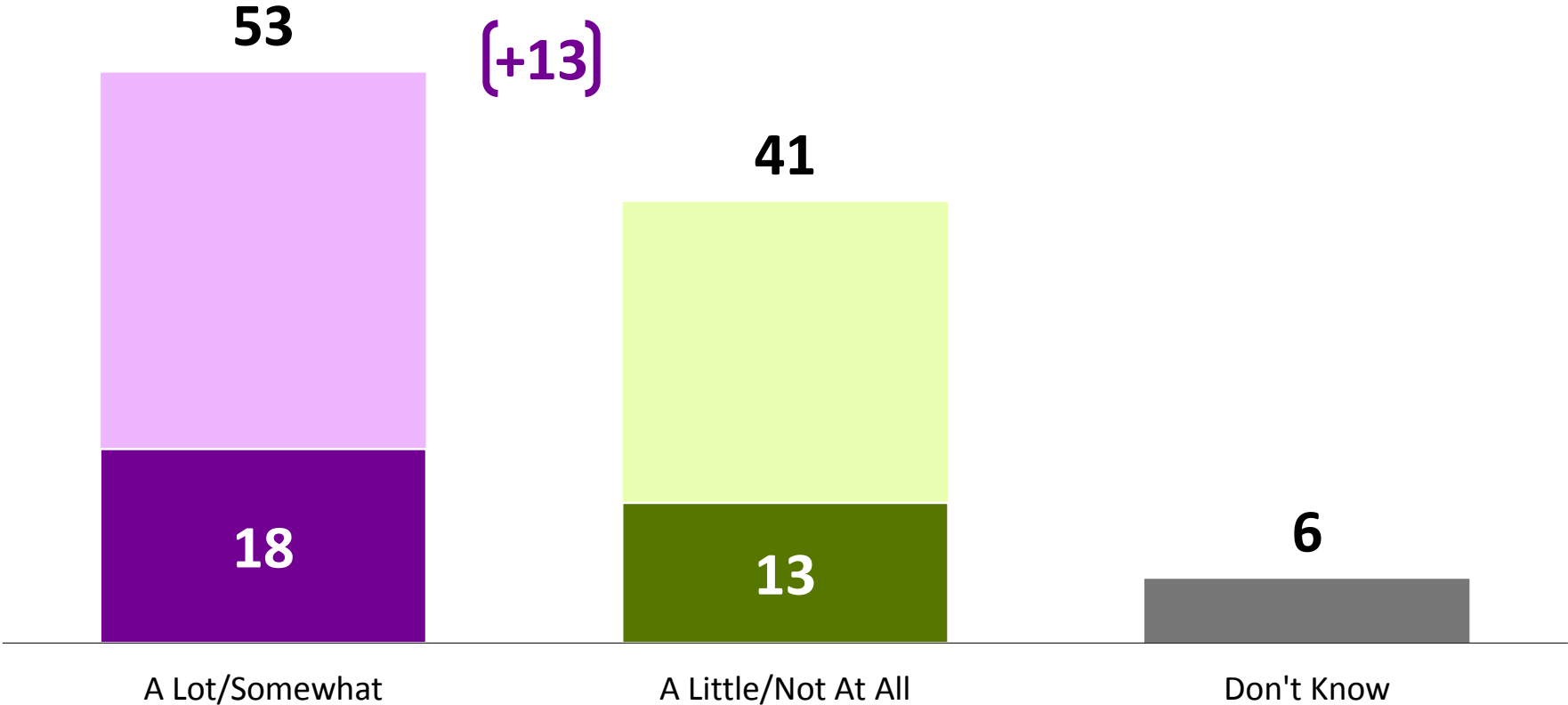
The desire to vote for a woman candidate is greater among women, though it still trails the number of women who say they prefer to vote for a man. However, a plurality of women says a candidate's gender is immaterial to them. Nearly half of men would prefer to vote for a man, compared to just 12% who would prefer to vote for a woman. Those who identify with Batkivshchyna, women with Russian heritage, women who chose not to vote, women who do not believe their views are reflected in any political party, women living in the Southern and Central regions, and older adults living in the West all personally prefer to vote for a woman.

Your Preferred Candidate Gender By Gender



A majority of Ukrainians believes there are differences between men and women in elected office, though many are unwilling to characterize these differences as significant and there is little intensity of feeling.

Initial Difference Between Women and Men Elected Officials

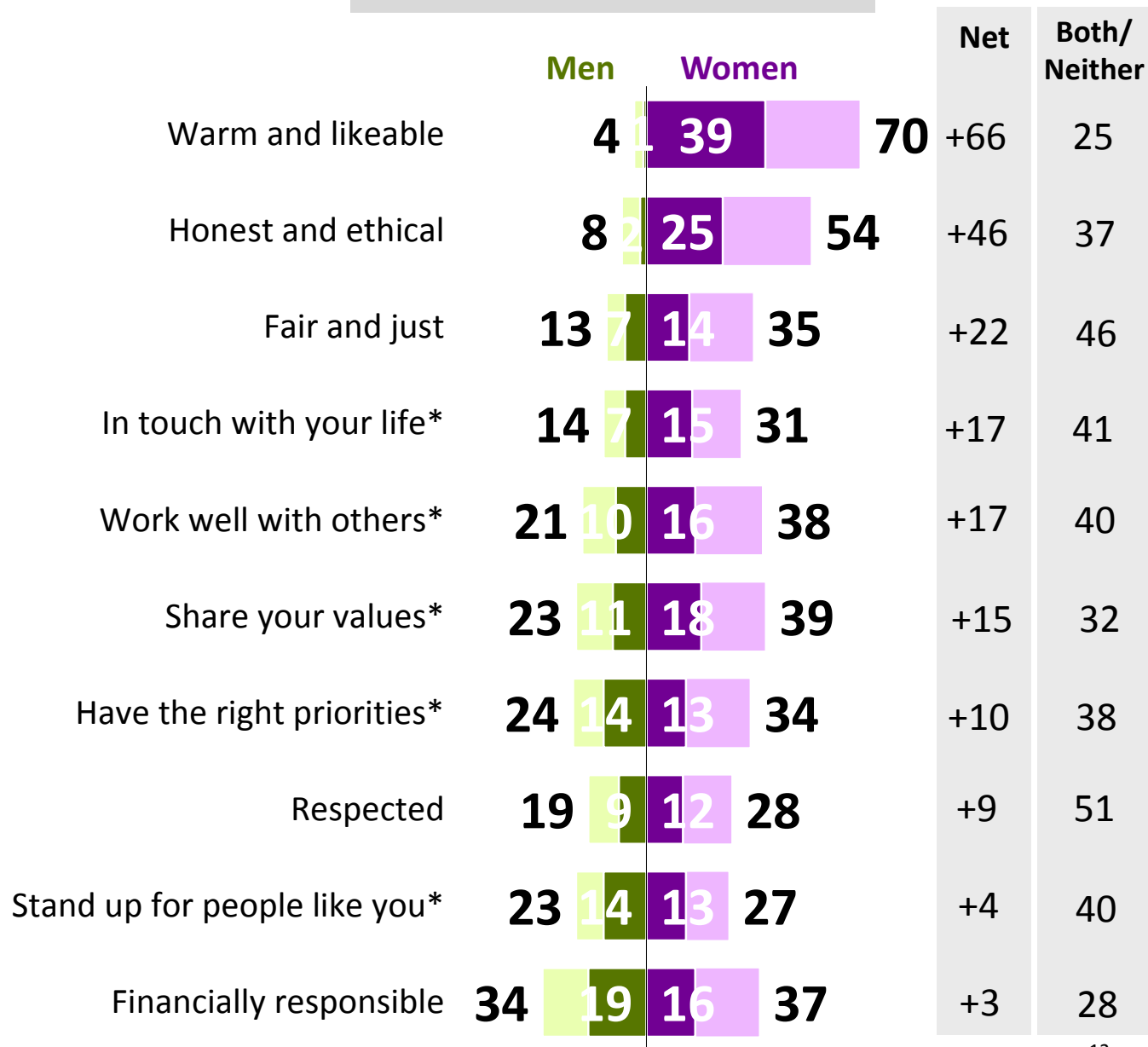


Darker colors used to represent intensity.

Overall, how different are women elected officials from men – a lot, somewhat, a little, or not different at all?

Positive Gender Associations

Ukrainians see women as more warm, likeable, honest, ethical, fair and just; these, however, are not qualities that strongly predict to vote preferences or the importance of electing women. By narrower margins, women are seen as more in touch with people's lives, able to work with others, and having the right priorities. Women voters, however, award women a decisive advantage on these issues.

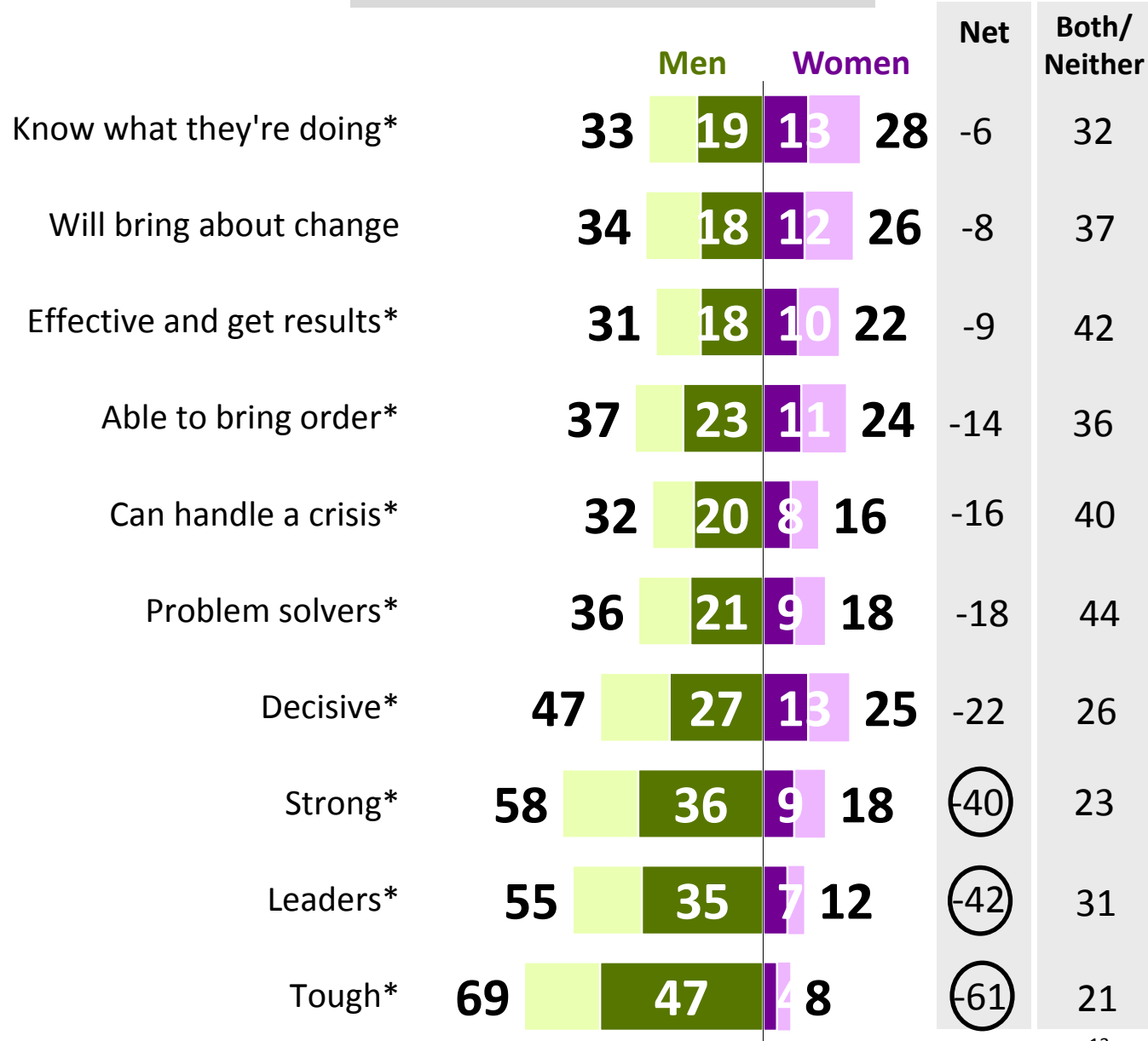


*Asked of ½ the sample. Darker colors represent intensity.

Now, for a little something different. I'm going to read you some different words and phrases and I want you to tell me if you think each one better describes [ROTATE] _men or _women. [IF MEN/WOMEN BETTER ASK:] Is that much or somewhat better?

Positive Gender Associations

Men lead on dimensions of strength, toughness, leadership, and decisiveness. They are also seen as better equipped to solve problems, handle crises, and bring order. Successfully positioning women candidates for office involves seizing ground on dimensions of strength, leadership, and an ability to bring order, while simultaneously elevating the salience of the qualities that women currently dominate, such as ethics, justice, and empathy.

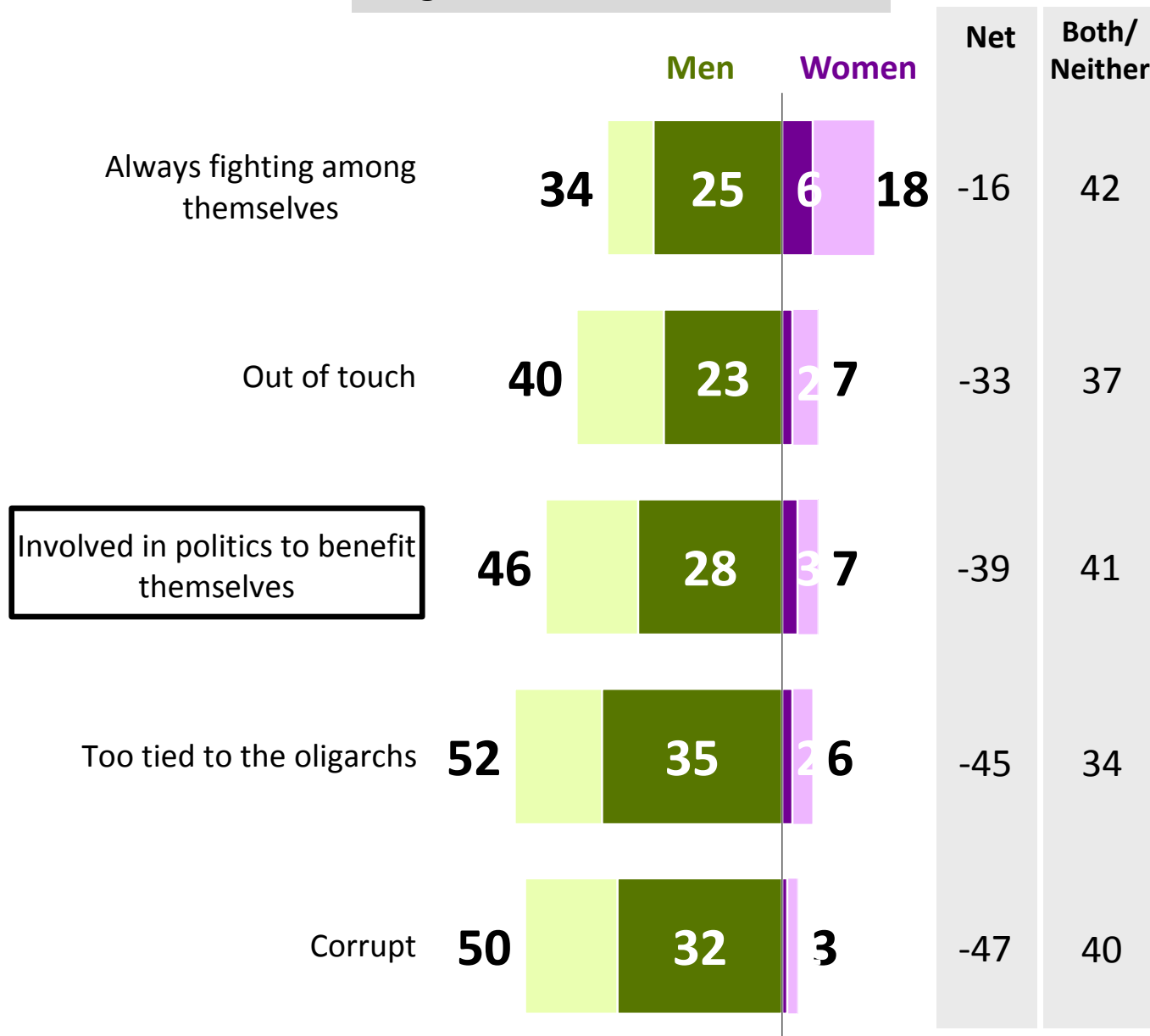


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Negative perceptions of women are extremely limited, but Ukrainians have no trouble ascribing negative traits to men. Men are viewed as more corrupt, out of touch, tied to the oligarchs, prone to in-fighting, and in politics to help themselves. Regression analysis indicates that a perception of men's involvement in politics to benefit themselves, in particular, can help erode voters' initial preference to vote for men.

Negative Gender Associations



Darker colors represent intensity.

Now, for a little something different. I'm going to read you some different words and phrases and I want you to tell me if you think each one better describes [ROTATE] _men or _women. [IF MEN/WOMEN BETTER ASK:] Is that much or somewhat better?

Gender-Based Issue Advantages

Women have decisive advantages on a host of key issues, including child care, health care, education, and ending gender discrimination. For the most part, this set of issues reinforces the qualities that women are already seen as possessing. There is less disagreement by gender on the issues than there is on the traits.

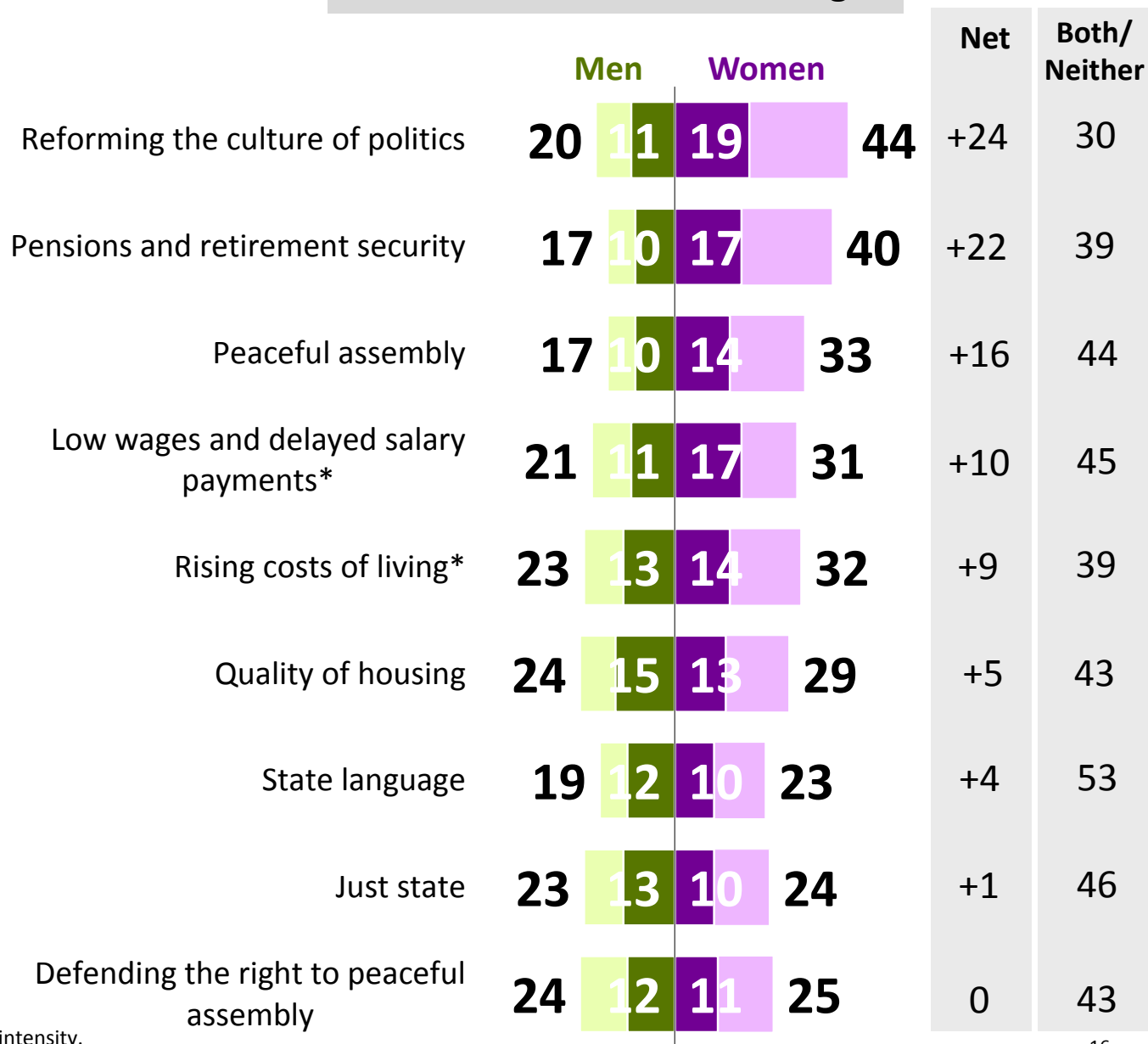


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Now I am going to read you issues that men and women candidates running for office might address if elected. I would like you to tell me whether you think a [ROTATE] _male candidate or _a female candidate would better handle that issue. [IF MEN/WOMEN BETTER ASK:] Is that much or somewhat better?

Gender-Based Issue Advantages

Women also have advantages on pensions and retirement security, peaceful assembly, reforming the culture of politics, and to a lesser degree, dealing with the rising cost of living.

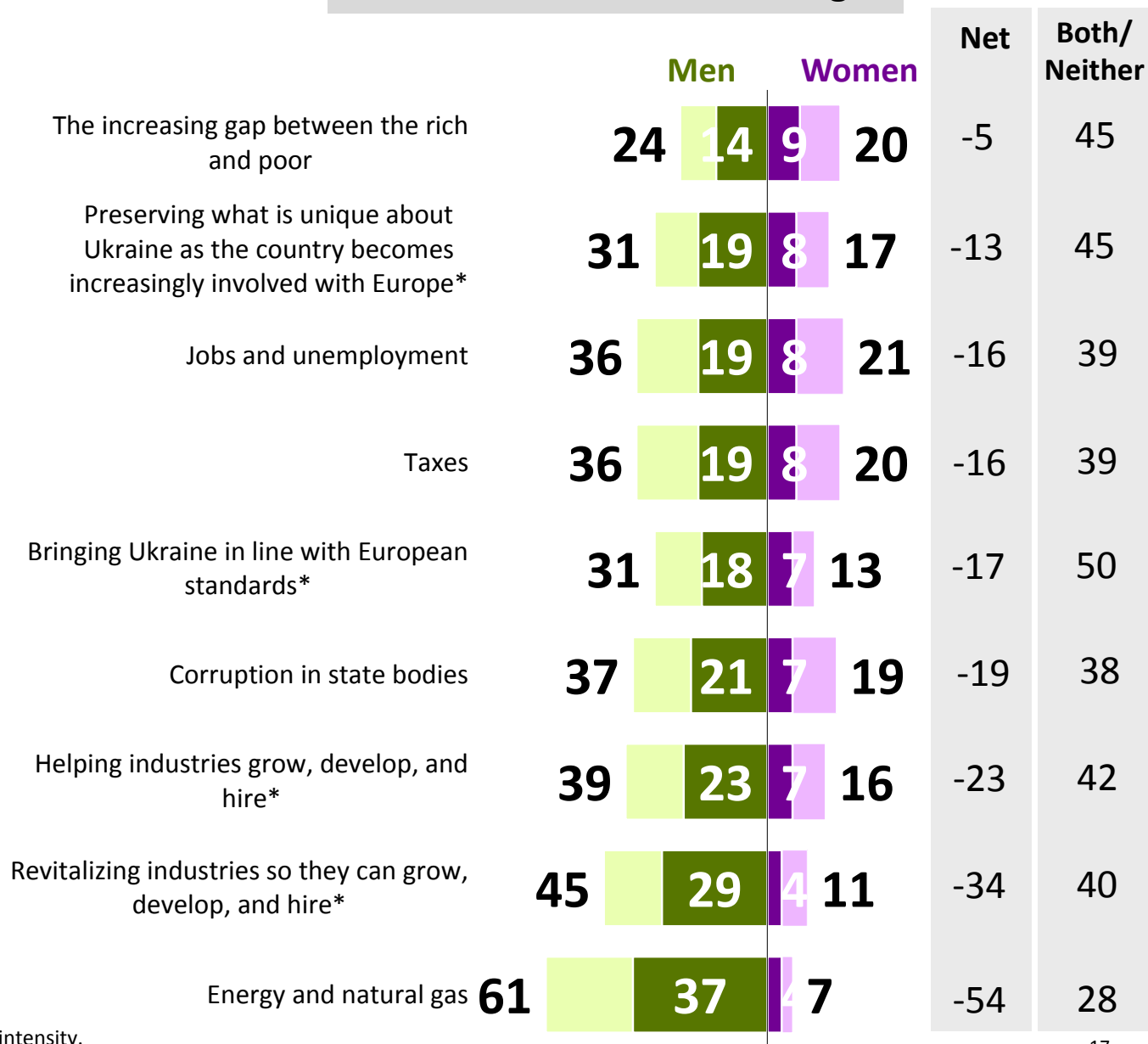


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Gender-Based Issue Advantages

Men's issue profile is more limited than women's, but it includes key economic issues. The only issues on which men have substantial advantages are revitalizing industry and energy and natural gas. Men enjoy narrower, yet critical, margins on jobs and unemployment as well as corruption in state bodies—Ukrainians' top two priorities for those in power to address.

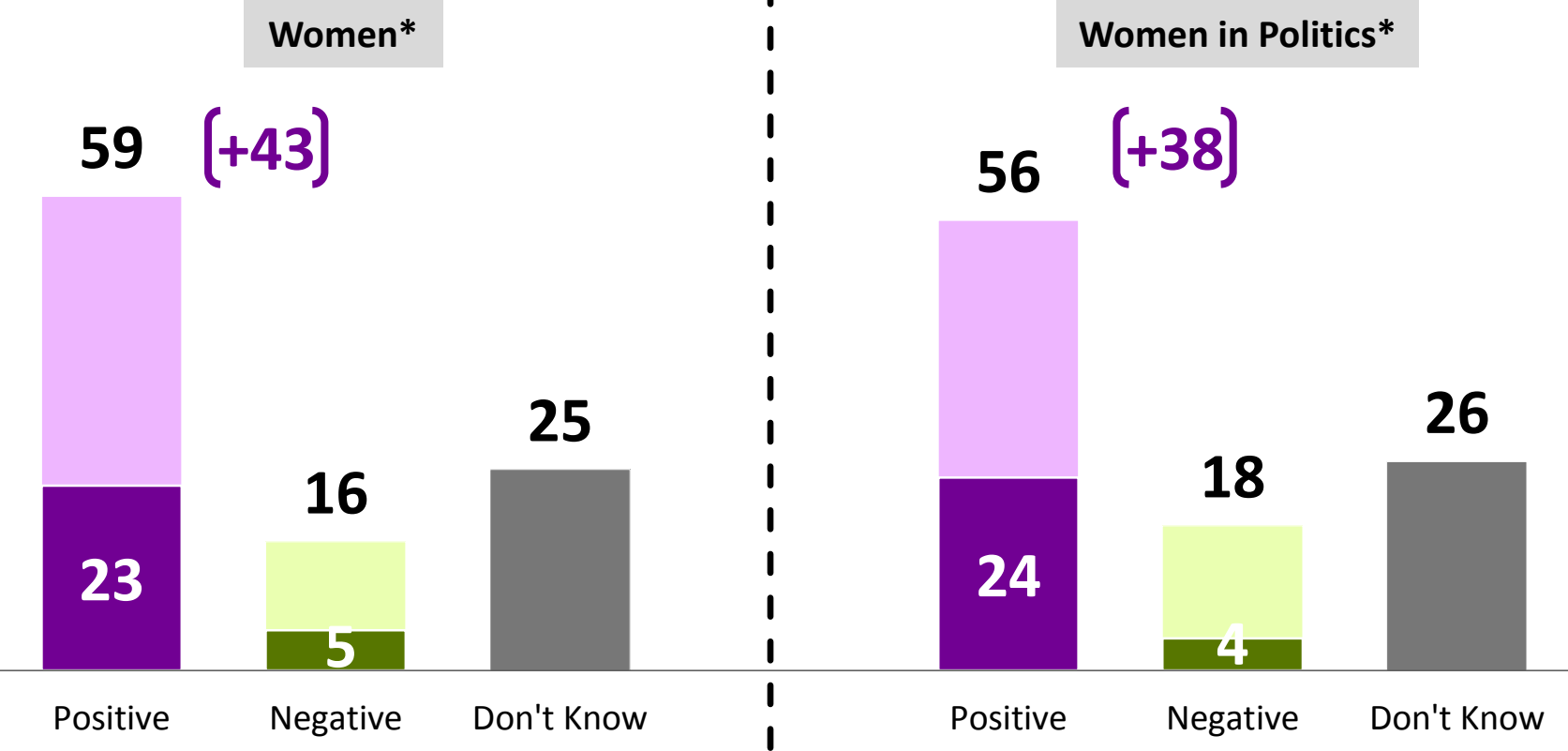


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The public assesses the media’s portrayals of women—including women in politics—in mostly positive terms. Suspicions of sexist or generally more negative depictions of women are limited to less than a fifth of adults.

Portrayal of Women in the Media



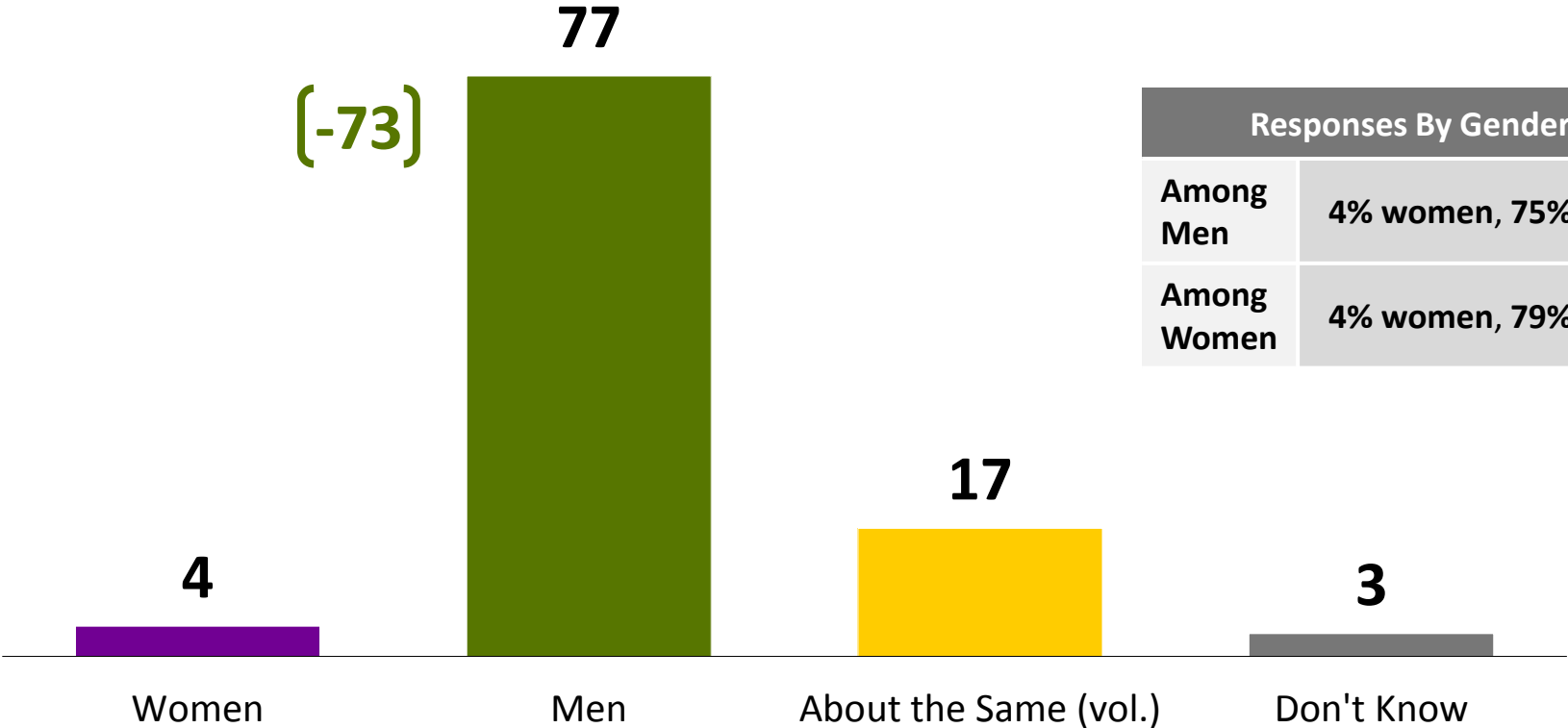
*Asked of ½ the sample. Darker colors used to represent intensity.

Generally speaking, do you think the media in Ukraine portrays women [women in politics] in a [ROTATE] _mostly positive or _mostly negative way? [IF POSITIVE/NEGATIVE:] And do you feel that way strongly or just somewhat?

Perceptions of Women's Involvement in Politics

Over three-quarters of Ukrainians, and nearly eight in ten women, see men as more involved in political life.

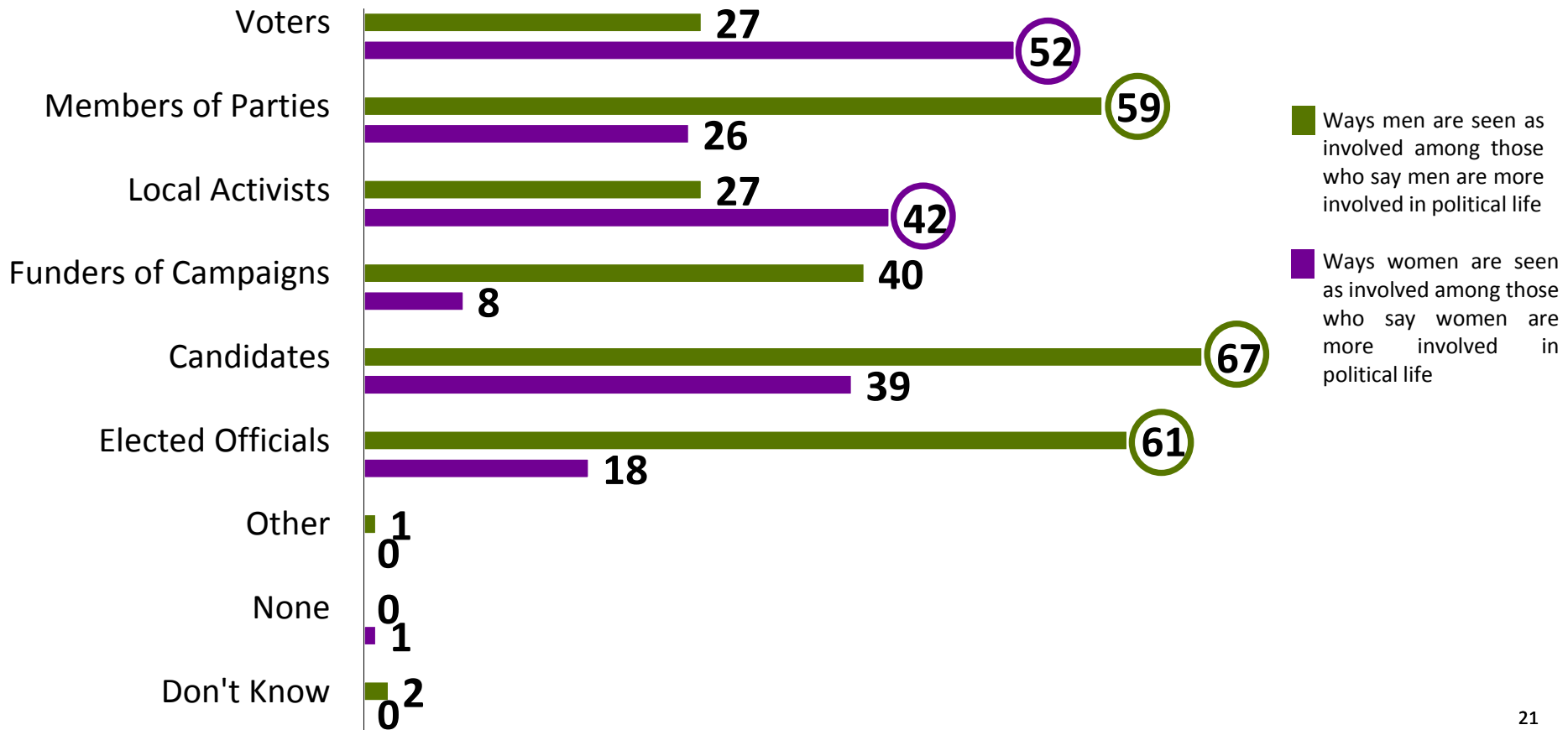
Perceptions of Involvement in Political Life



Responses By Gender	
Among Men	4% women, 75% men
Among Women	4% women, 79% men

Those who see men as more involved in politics are referring mainly to men's roles as candidates, elected officials, and party members. While only a handful of respondents see women as more involved, those who do cite women's participation as voters and local activists.

Perceived Types of Political Involvement of Men and Women Among Those Who See Either Men or Women as More Involved

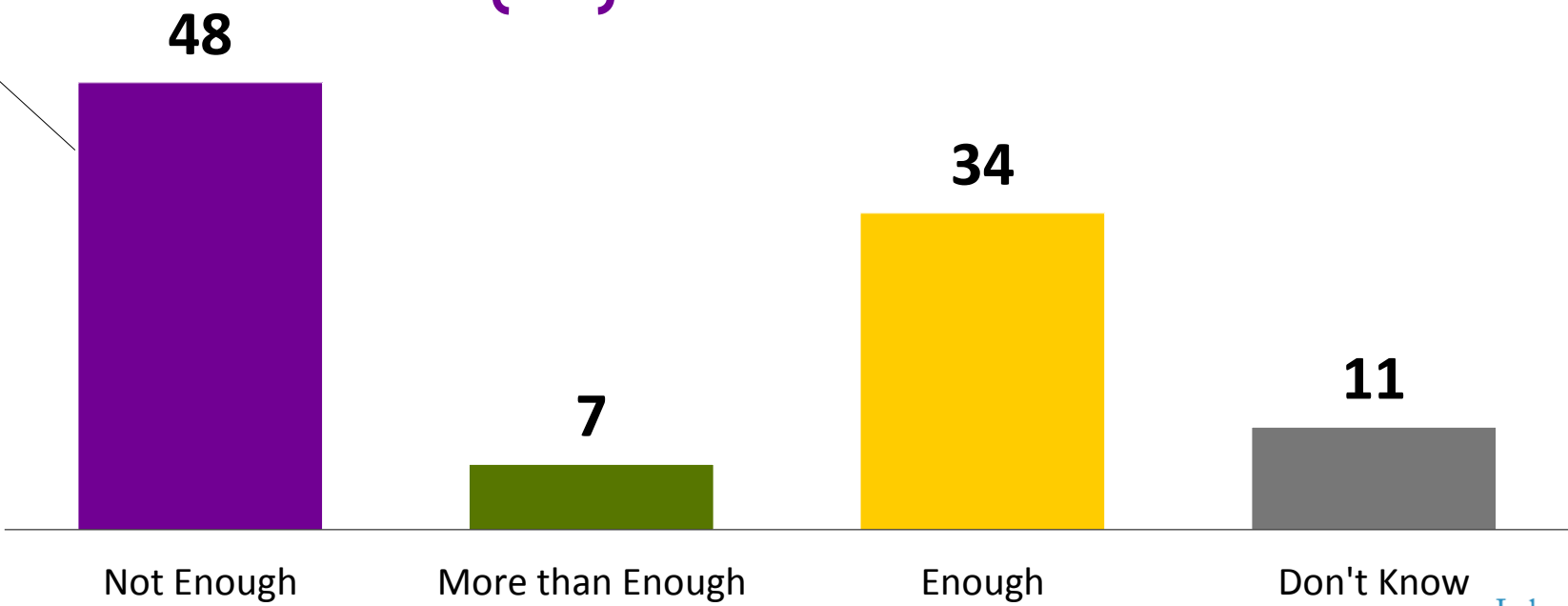


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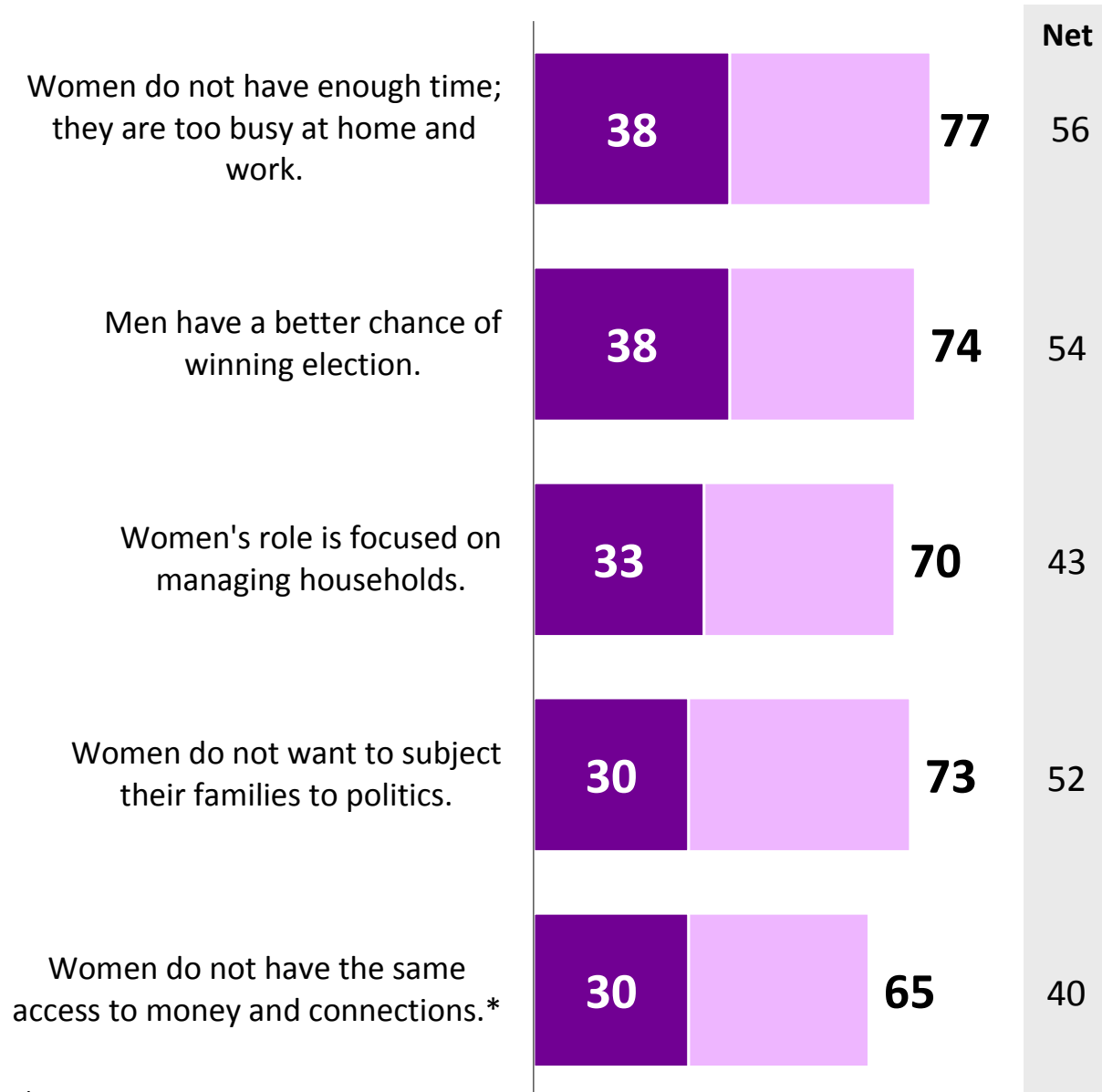
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Is it your sense that there are more than enough women in elected office, enough, or not enough women in elected office?

Top-Tier Reasons Why Women Don't Get Involved

Among the obstacles Ukrainians see hindering women's involvement in politics are women's central role in the household, their perceived lack of time and access to money and connections, as well the belief that men simply have a better chance of winning.

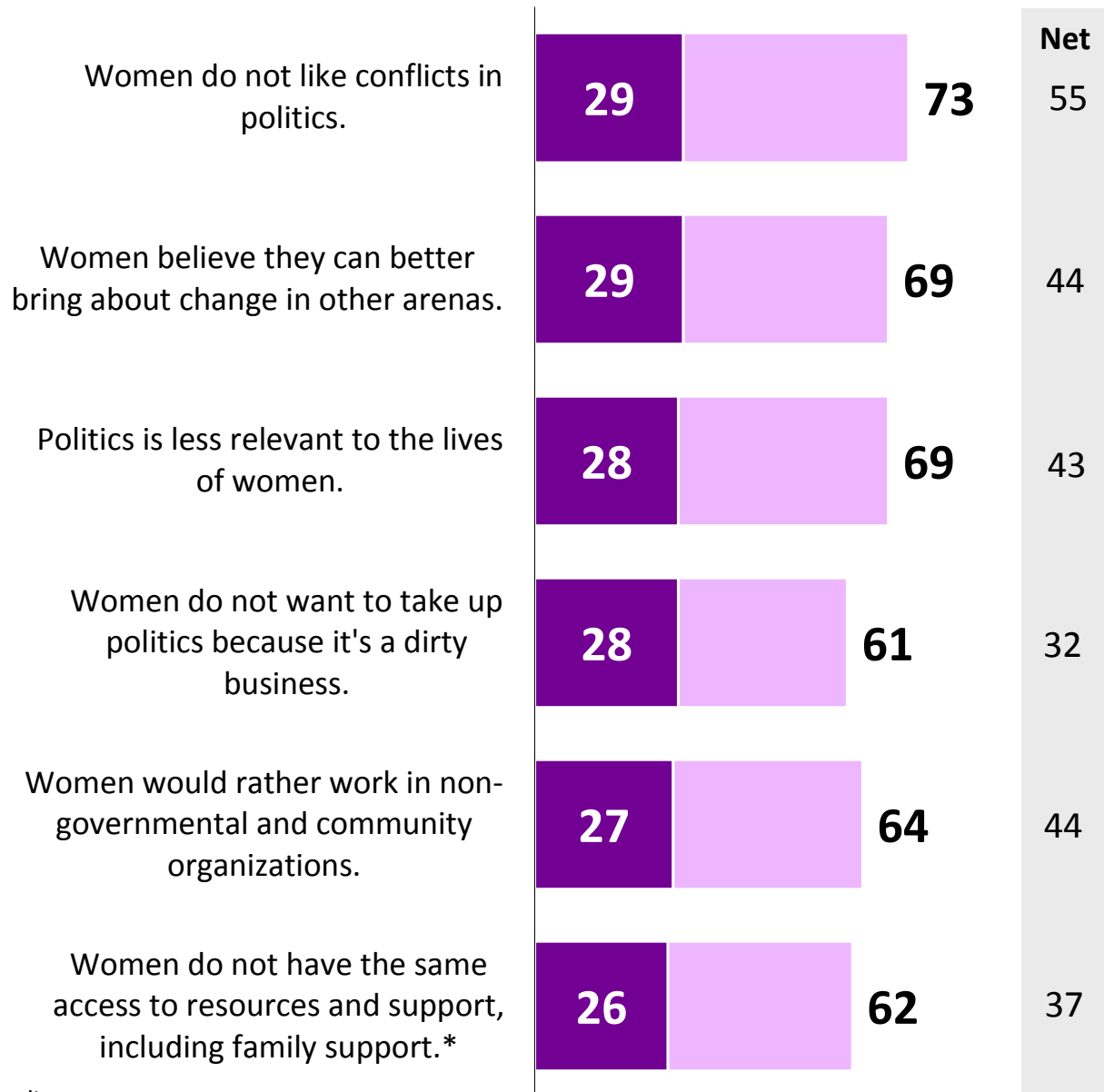


*Asked of 1/2 the sample. Darker colors used to represent intensity.

Now, I'm going to read you a list of reasons people come up with regarding why women don't get more involved in political life. For each one, I'd like you to tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with that as a reason as to why women do not get involved in political life.

Second-Tier Reasons Why Women Don't Get Involved

A second tier of perceived barriers to women becoming more involved in political life relate to some of the more unsavory aspects of politics and a sense that women would prefer to work toward change in other areas.



*Asked of ½ the sample. Darker colors used to represent intensity.

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Third-Tier Reasons Why Women Don't Get Involved

Ukrainians tend to reject the notion that parties bar women from politics, and are divided when women's credentials and professional experience are questioned. Though there is less concern about women not being placed toward the top of party lists is more limited, it is a strong predictor of preferring to vote for a man. However, there are differences by gender.

Men – 46% agree
Women – 62% agree

Men prevent women from taking up politics.

Women do not participate because power doesn't change no matter who participates.

Women do not know as much about the policies and issues.

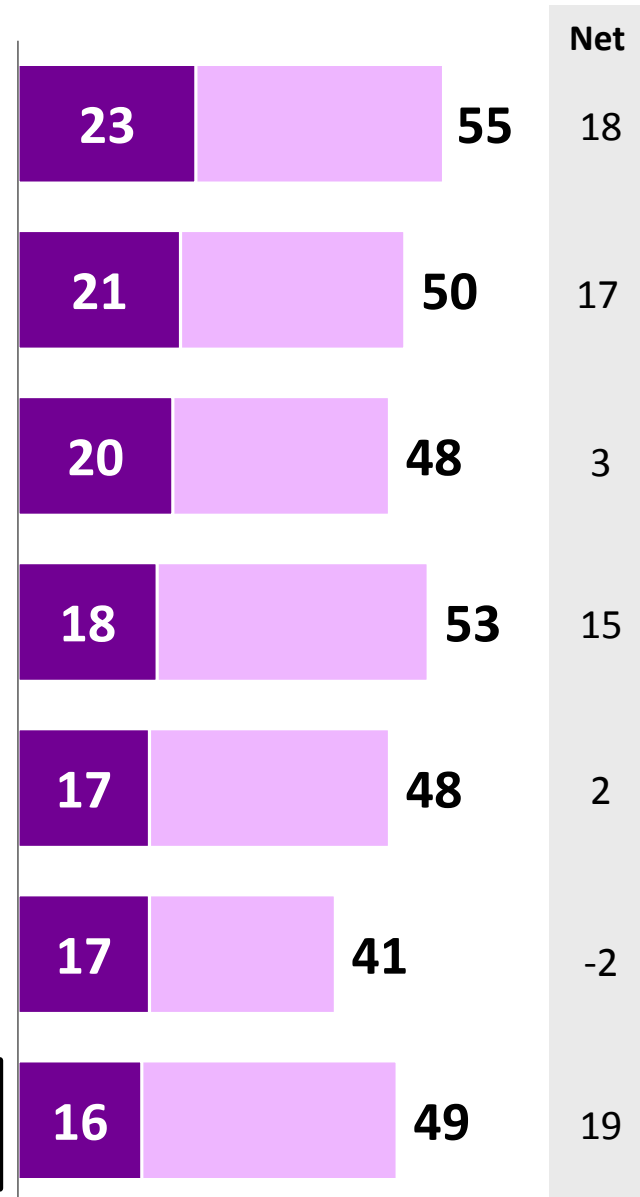
In Ukraine, women are the neck and men are the head, so women don't need to be personally involved in political life.

Women do not have the necessary training and experience.

Parties prevent women from taking up politics.

Men – 40% agree
Women – 56% agree

Women are not placed toward the top of party lists.

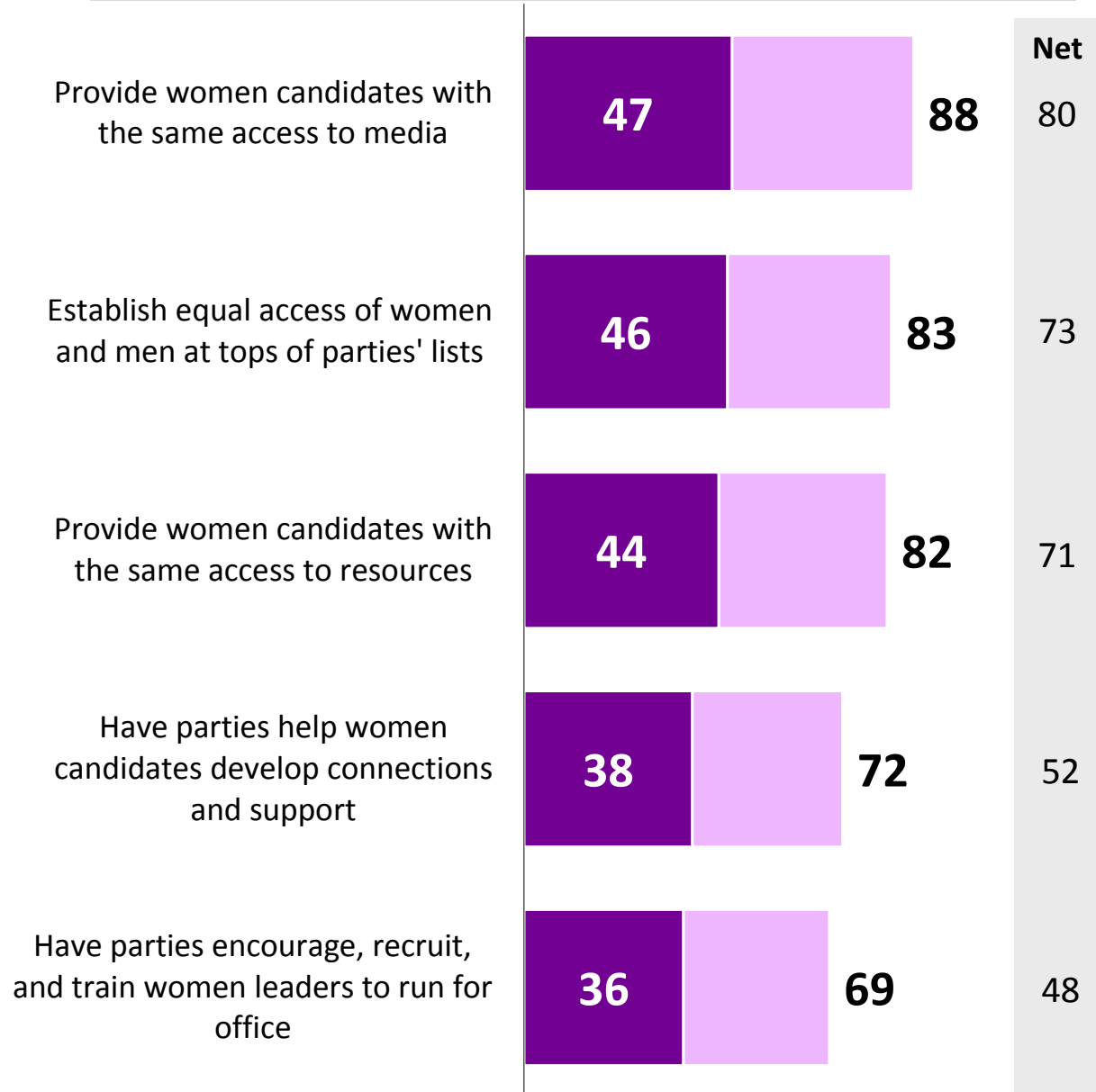


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Proposals to Increase Number of Women Candidates

Ukrainians support parties' encouragement of women's involvement, and respond to the theme of equality. Over eight in ten favor providing women candidates with the same access to resources and media as well as establishing equal access of women and men at the tops of parties' lists.

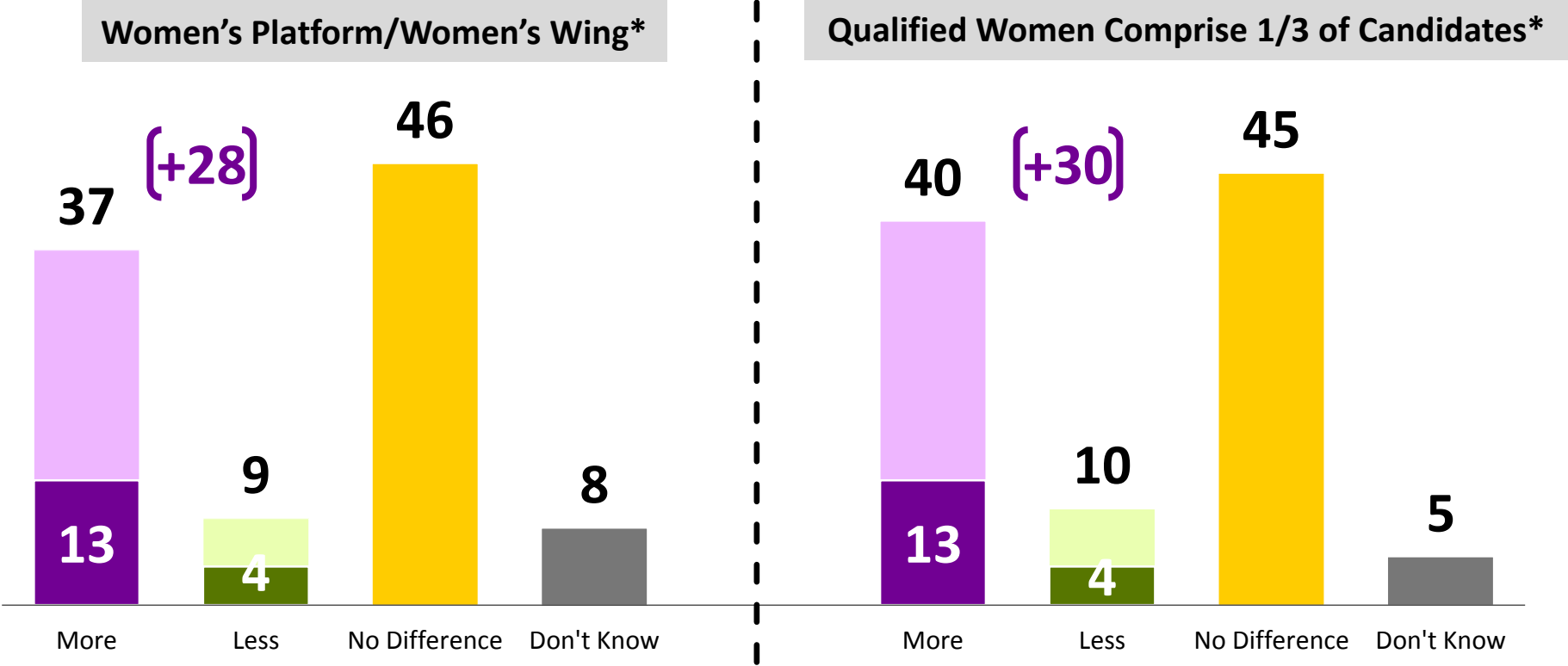


Darker colors used to represent intensity.

Now let me read you proposals that some have considered to increase the number of women who run for political office. Please tell me for each one of the following if you support or oppose that proposal. [IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE ASK:] And do you feel that way strongly or just somewhat?

While pluralities say that parties' inclusion of women makes no difference, it is a voting issue to roughly half the public. Of those with an opinion, they would, by 4:1, be more likely to vote for a party that has some form of outreach to women voters and candidates.

Vote Likelihood Based on Parties' Inclusion of Women



* Asked of 1/2 the sample. Darker colors used to represent intensity.

If a political party were to develop a women's platform or women's wing of the party [have qualified women comprise a third of its candidates], would you be more or less likely to vote for that party, or would it make no difference? [IF MORE/LESS] And is that much [more/less] or only somewhat [more/less]?

Attitudes Surrounding the Equal Opportunities Caucus

Support for the Equal Opportunities Caucus is quite broad, but most pronounced among women, especially women who identify with Batkivshchyna, UDAR, or the Party of Regions; women of Russian heritage; women who voted in the Parliamentary election; and women living in the South and East.

Support for the Equal Opportunities Caucus



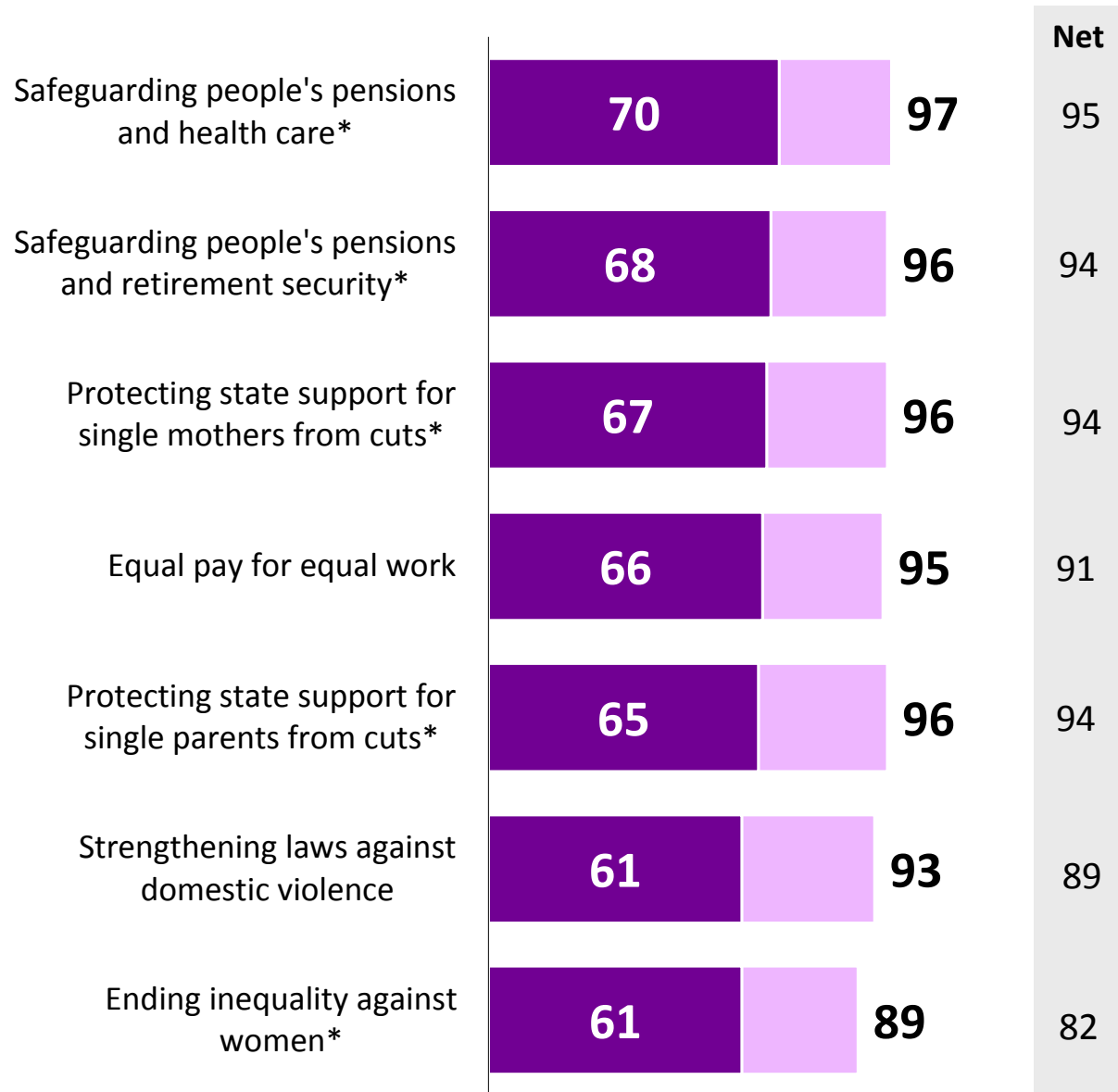
Responses By Gender	
Among Men	59% support, 22% strongly support
Among Women	80% support, 38% strongly support

Darker colors used to represent intensity.

As you may know there was an Equal Opportunities Caucus formed recently in the Verkhovna Rada. The caucus comprises 15 MPs representing different factions and political parties who stand on priorities of equal opportunities for men and women in getting jobs, education, access to medical care, and participation in social and political life. Do you support or oppose the creation of the Equal Opportunities Caucus? [IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE ASK:] And do you feel that way strongly or just somewhat?

Top-Tier Caucus Agenda Priorities

The public is overwhelmingly supportive of the caucus' agenda. Beyond guaranteeing equal rights and opportunities, the themes of protecting and safeguarding benefits are also especially salient. Specifically, voters support safeguarding pensions and state support to single parents, ensuring pay equity, and cracking down on domestic violence and discrimination against women. Protecting state support for single parents is an issue that predicts to more positive views of having women in elected office.

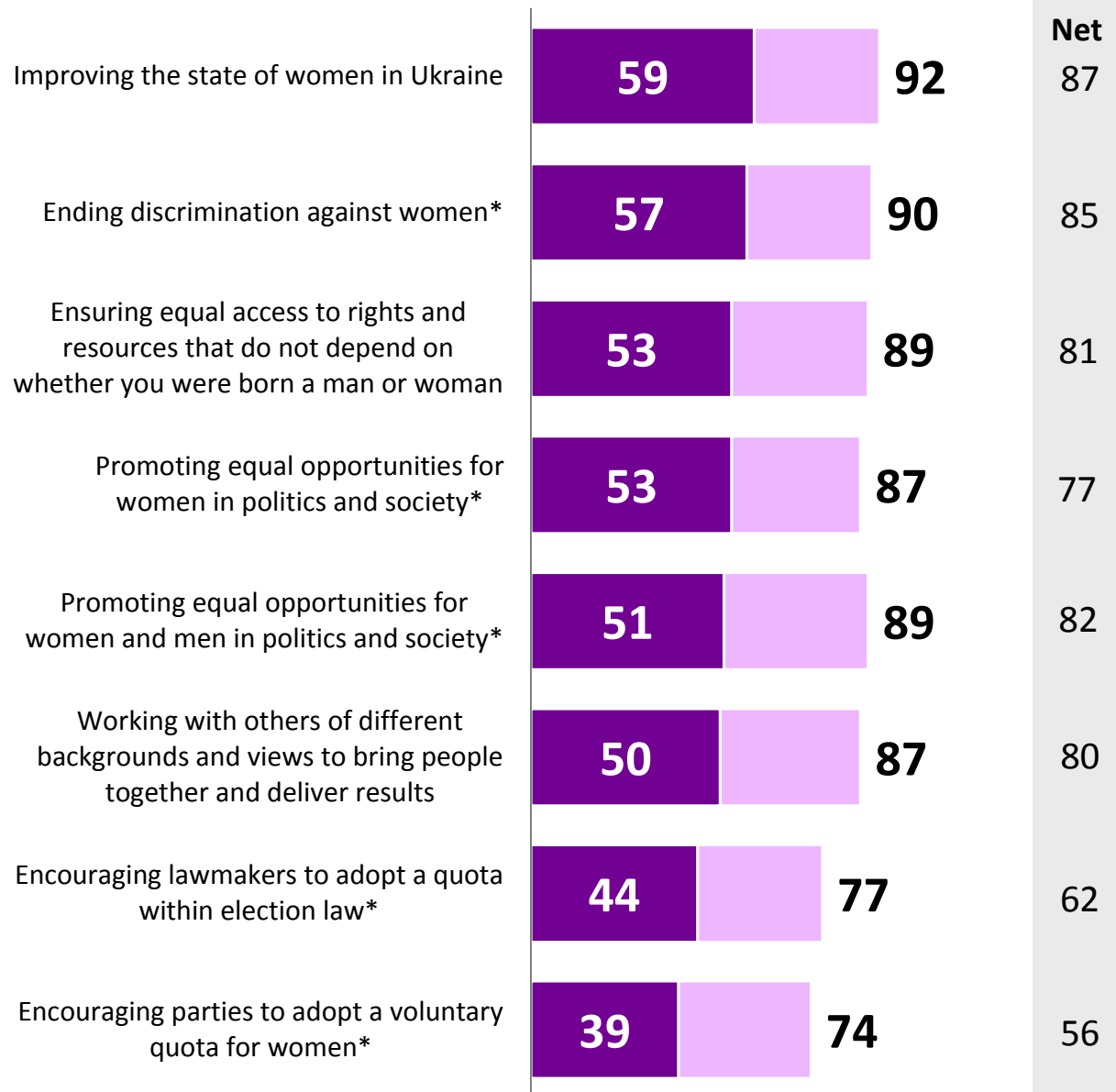


*Asked of 1/2 the sample. Darker colors used to represent intensity.

Here are some of the issues on which the Equal Opportunities Caucus might focus. For each, please tell me if you support or oppose the Equal Opportunities Caucus focusing on that issue. [IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE ASK:] And do you feel that way strongly or just somewhat?

Second-Tier Caucus Agenda Priorities

There is less intense support for the adoption of internal party quotas for women's representation and the promotion of equal opportunities in more abstract terms, but there are sizeable gender differences on some of these issues. Ending discrimination against women also predicts to a positive shift in attitudes about the importance of having women in elected office. Encouraging parties to adopt quotas is not only the lowest ranking agenda priority, it also predicts against holding more positive attitudes toward having women in elected office.



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*Asked of 1/2 the sample. Darker colors used to represent intensity.

Here are some of the issues on which the Equal Opportunities Caucus might focus. For each, please tell me if you support or oppose the Equal Opportunities Caucus focusing on that issue. [IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE ASK:] And do you feel that way strongly or just somewhat?

Advice for the Caucus

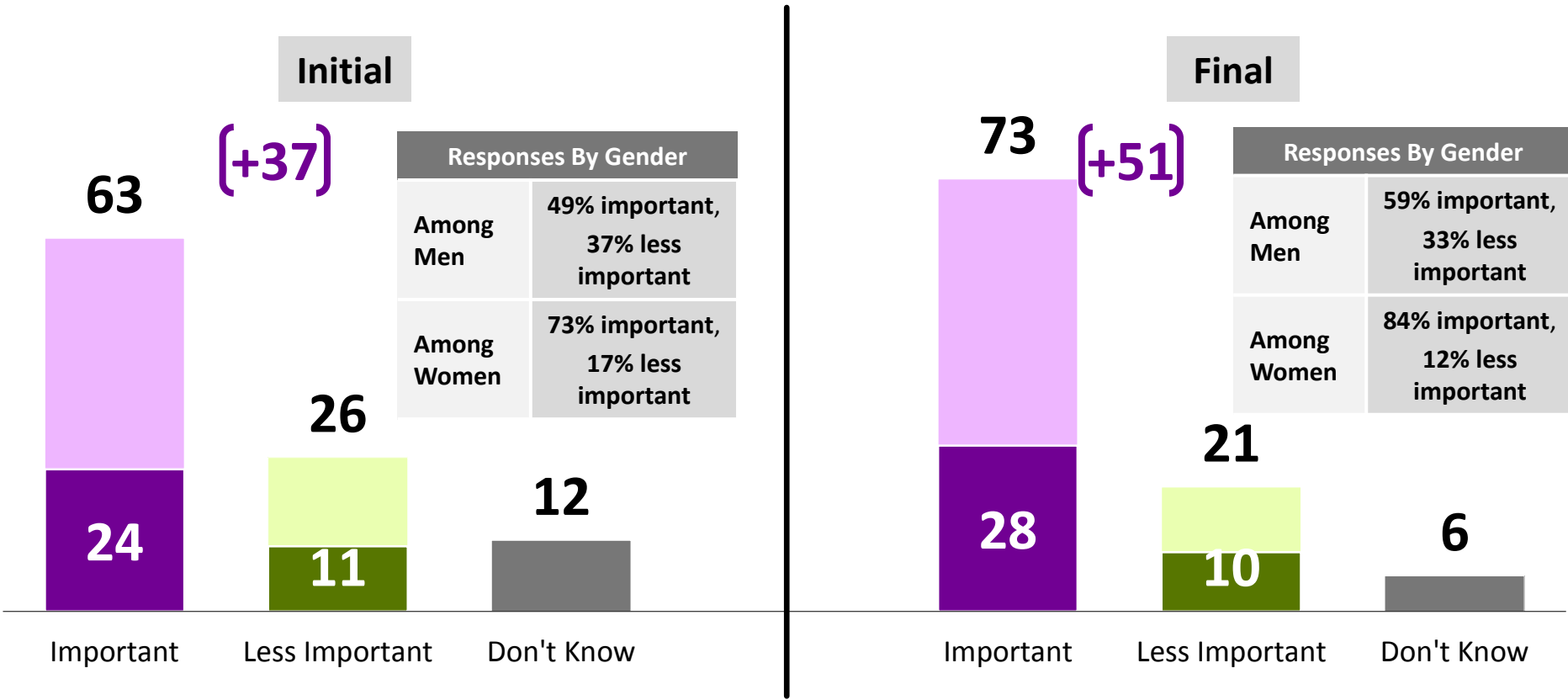
- There is value in continued collective efforts to increase awareness and education about the Caucuses, particularly through demonstrating practical successes.
- Continuing to frame issues from a gender equality standpoint – both in description and actual policy; proposed legislation to benefit single mothers and fathers is an example.
- Themes of protection and safeguarding Ukrainians will resonate, especially when coupled with an economic agenda.

How to Influence the Perceptions

Over the course of the survey, respondents become increasingly attuned to the importance of having women in office. One area where public perception remains more static, however, is regarding self-reported likelihood to get involved in political life. This finding, likely reflecting the extent of Ukrainians' frustration and a lack of confidence in the political process, is striking.

Messaging and education on the topic of gender inequality has an impact, with increased numbers of respondents saying it is important to support qualified women candidates by the end of the survey.

Importance of Supporting Qualified Woman Running for Elected Office Because of She is a Woman*

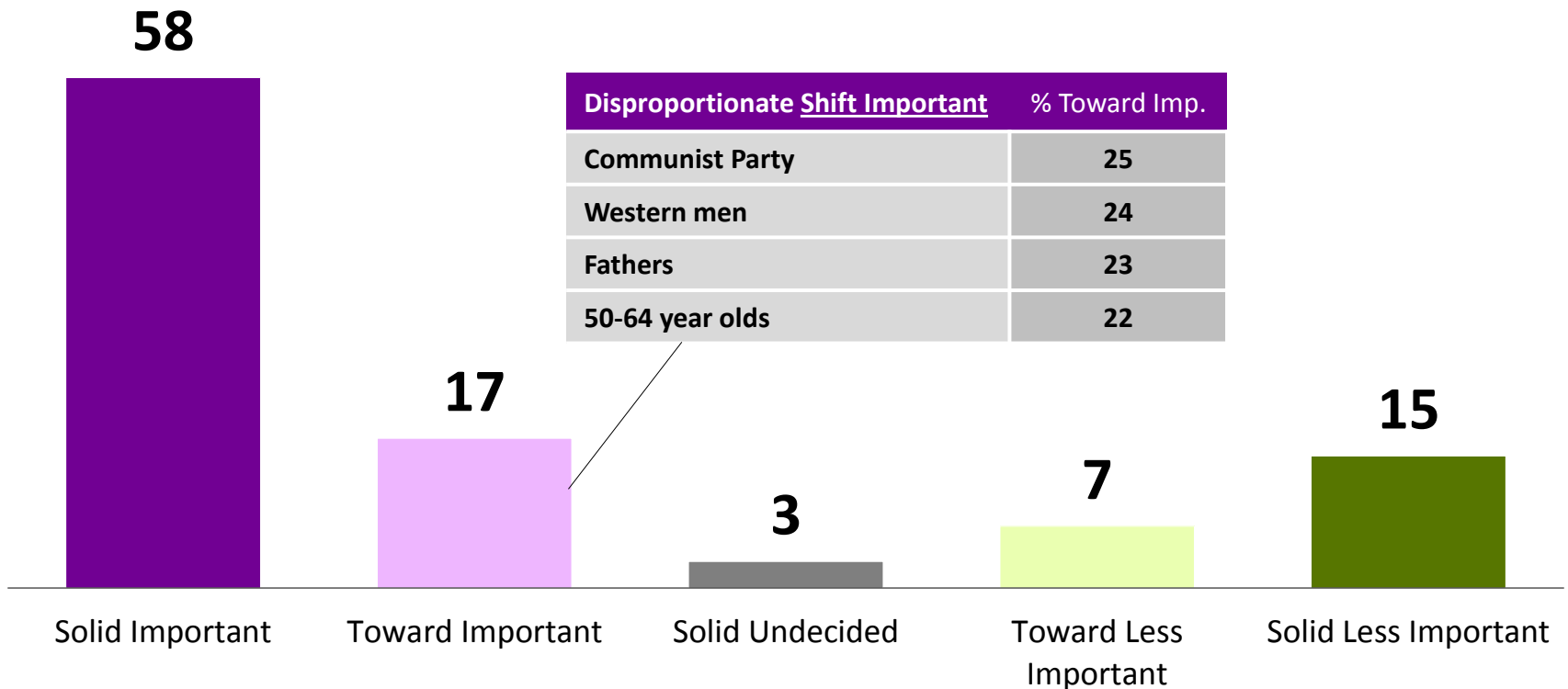


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Sometimes over the course of a survey like this, people change their minds. How important is it to support a qualified woman running for elected office because she is a woman? Is it very important, somewhat important, a little important, or not important at all?

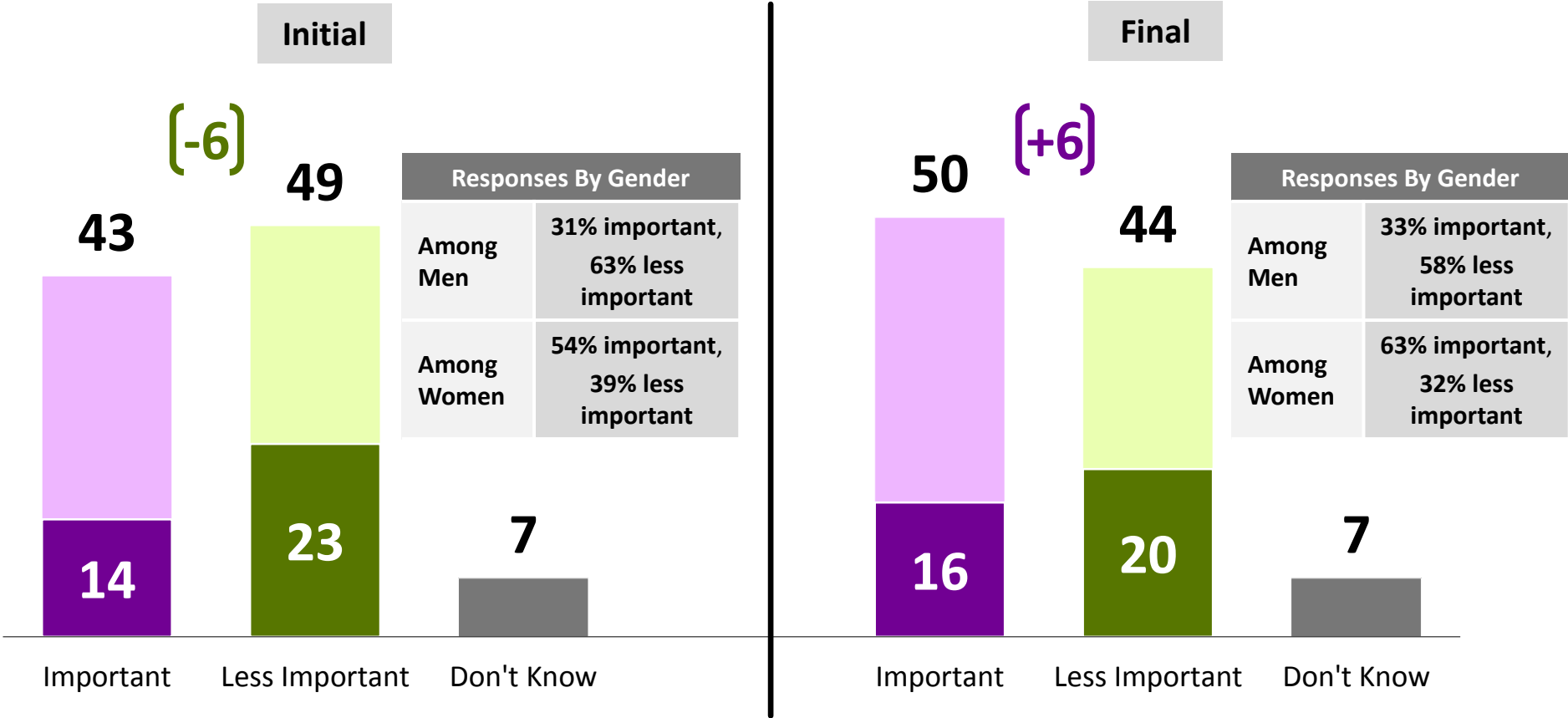
The groups who disproportionately shift toward supporting qualified women because they are women as important tend to be supporters of the Communist Party, men living in the West, fathers, and those between the ages of 50 and 64.

Initial to Final Shift: Importance of Supporting Qualified Women



Though the generic importance of supporting women running for elected office shifts for both men and women, the personal importance shifts more among women. On the matter of personal salience, feelings could still be more intense.

Personal Importance of Having More Women in Elected Office

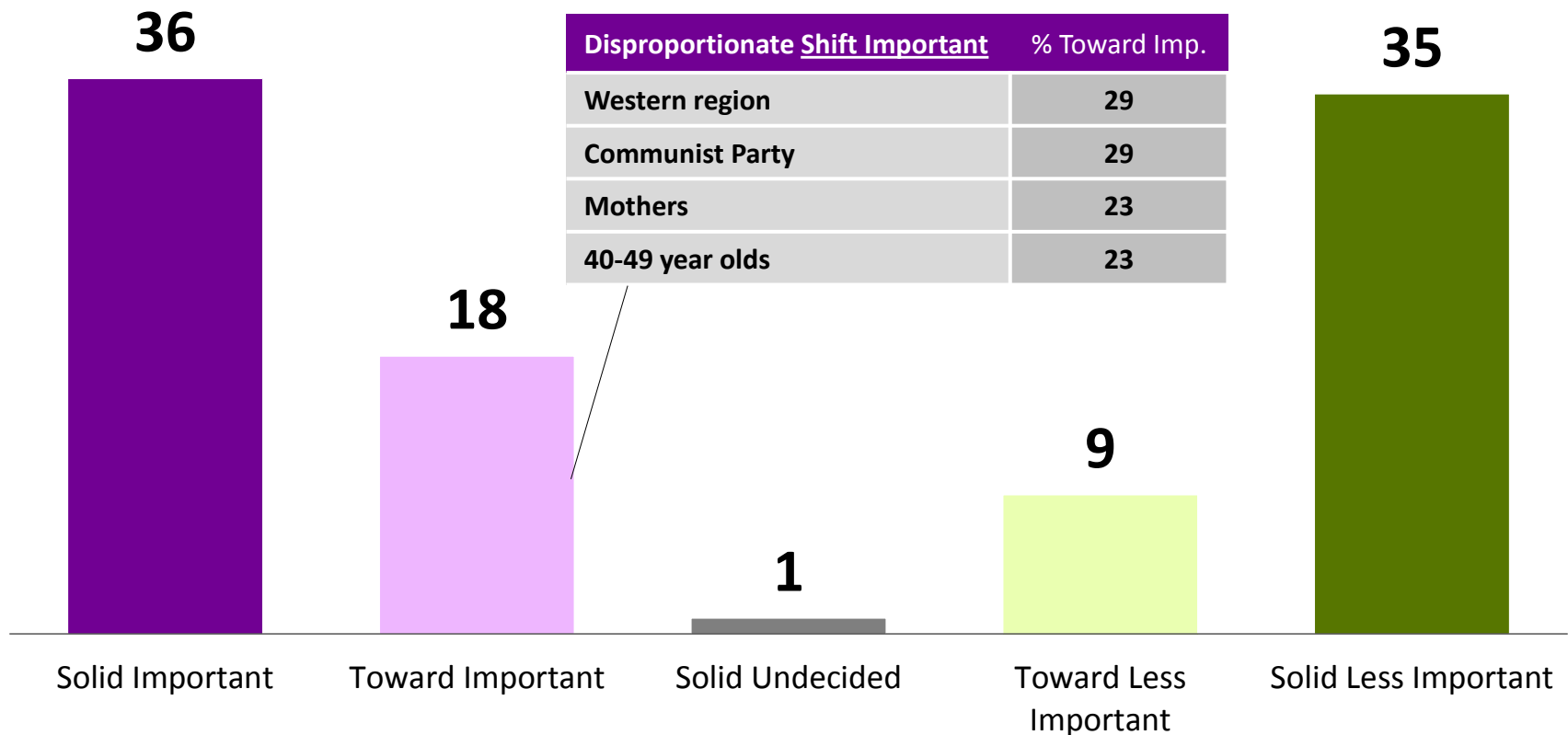


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Sometimes over the course of a survey like this, people change their minds. How important is it you personally to have more women in elected office? Is it very important, somewhat important, a little important, or not important at all?

The groups who disproportionately shift toward seeing women in office as personally important tend to be people living in the Western region, those who believe the Communist Party best represents their views, mothers, and adults in their forties.

Initial to Final Shift: Personal Importance of Having More Women Elected Officials



Messages and Positioning

Text of Messages

Out of Touch

Power is out of touch with the people, ignoring people's real-life problems. Women candidates who know what the price of milk and bread is, moms who know what it's like to worry about how their child is doing at school, and daughters who are trying to care for aging parents who have reduced health care and pensions—they all are the best representatives of our values and concerns who will deliver on our priorities.

Women's Voices

Women's voices are too important and their number is too large to go unrepresented in power. We need the voices of women—of mothers, grandmothers, and daughters in politics to stand up for future generations by investing in schools, health care, and child care. Power has failed to address our concerns, but by engaging in politics, women can improve their lives, the lives of their children and families, and all of Ukraine.

Economic Equality

As the country's wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a small group of people, we need more people in power who are in touch with the lives of ordinary Ukrainians. Corruption has permeated our power and our work places, and we have not seen results. We need women in political office to address such pertinent issues as health care, pensions, the rising costs of living, and basic economic and social fairness.

Gender Equality

Women have had the opportunity to break through in other areas of life and in different professions. Political life should not be different. Gender equality means equality in terms of opportunities, rights, benefits, responsibilities, and security and access to control over resources. Equality does not mean that women and men become the same, but that their access to these does not depend on whether they were born male or female.

New Lens

We often hear that women are the neck and men are the head. But women lack real authority in most aspects of daily life. This is especially problematic for the younger generation of women and girls. We need more women in power, alongside men, checking their influence, and shaping and cultivating our society, so all women's concerns are addressed and women's potential is realized.

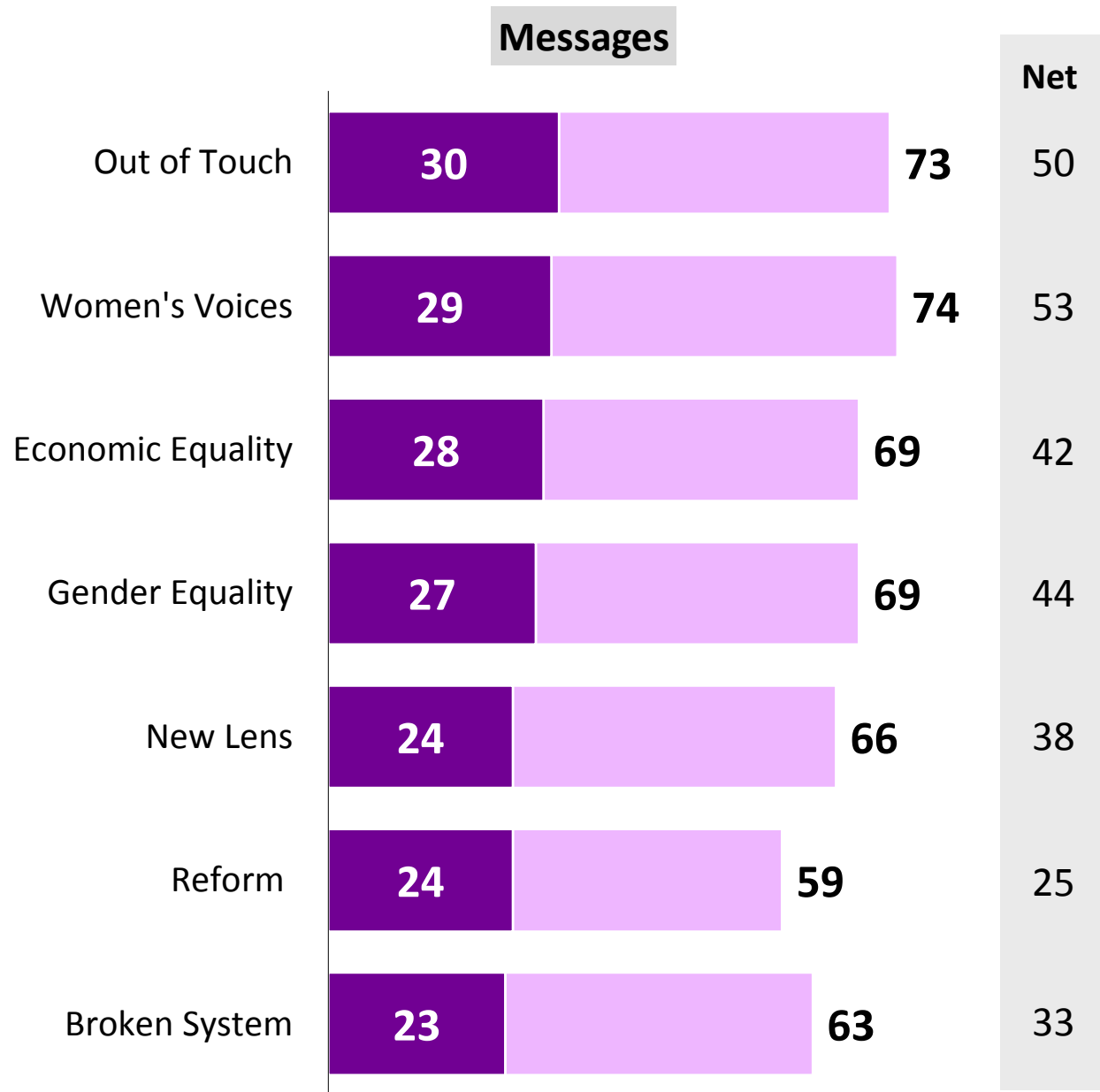
Reform

We need power that comes together to deliver results for the people. Corruption in business and politics is hurting ordinary Ukrainians. But to change political culture, we need to change who we send to represent us and our interests. We need people who are not benefitting from the ties to corruption, like women, to go to power and curtail these practices by introducing overdue political reforms as a first step in achieving change.

Broken System

Politicians too often come to power to advance their own interests. As a result, little gets done for ordinary Ukrainians. We are facing economic issues that have impacted our families' and our children's futures. We need women to vote for and enact the changes we and our families need. Women leaders bring ideas and solutions as well as the ability to work with others to get things done so that the people's voices are heard.

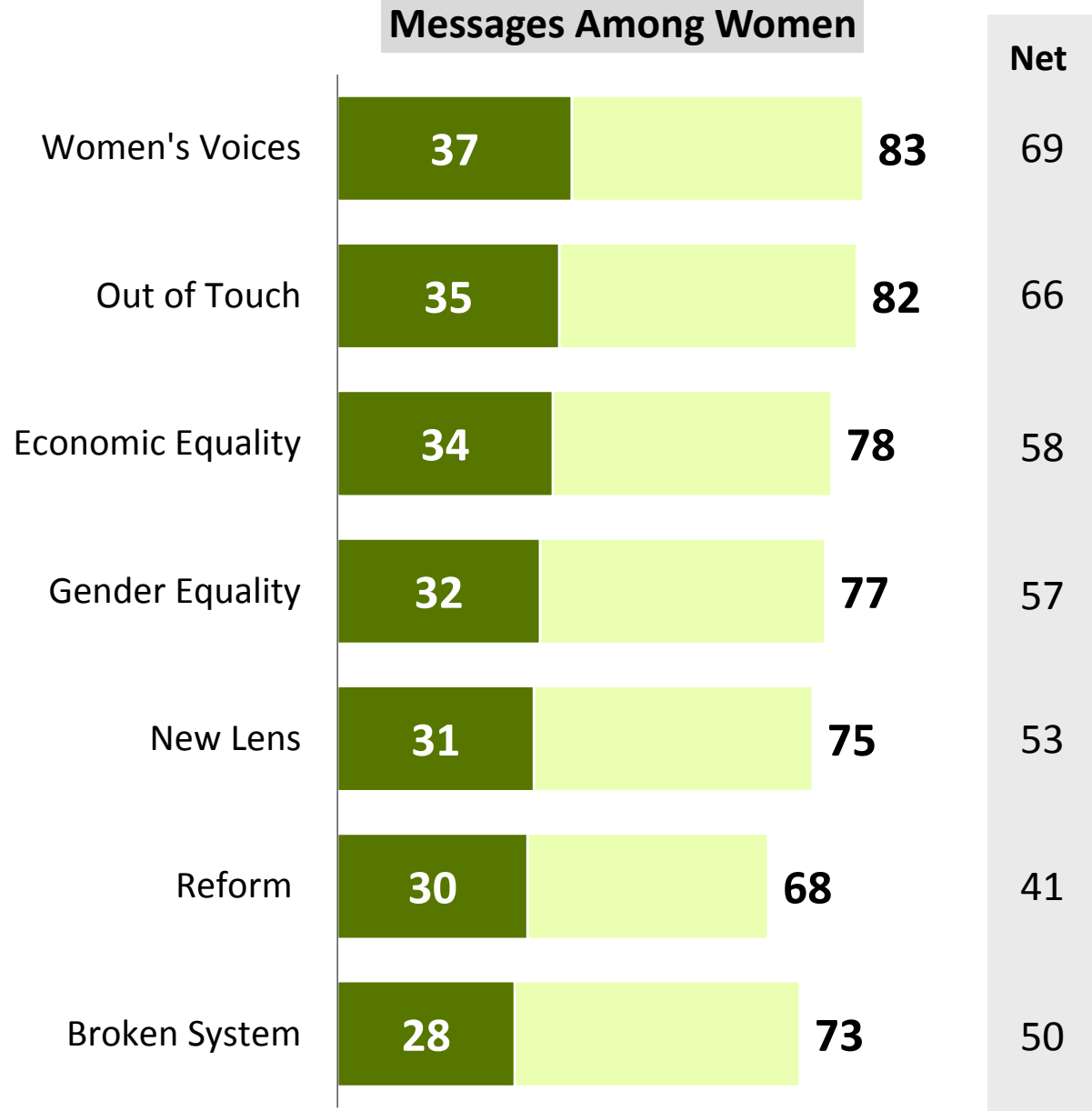
The messages have good reach. Those that resonate best focus on those in power being out of touch, the need for more women’s voices in government, and the importance of both economic equality and gender equality. Arguments centered on the need for political reform lack the same intensity and reach, underscoring Ukrainians’ pessimism about systemic change.



Darker colors indicate intensity.

Now, I am going to read you some statements people have made about the need for women to become more involved in civic and political life. Please tell me whether each statement, is a VERY convincing, SOMEWHAT convincing, NOT TOO convincing, or NOT AT ALL convincing reason for women to become more involved in civic and political life? If you are not sure how you feel about a particular item, just say so.

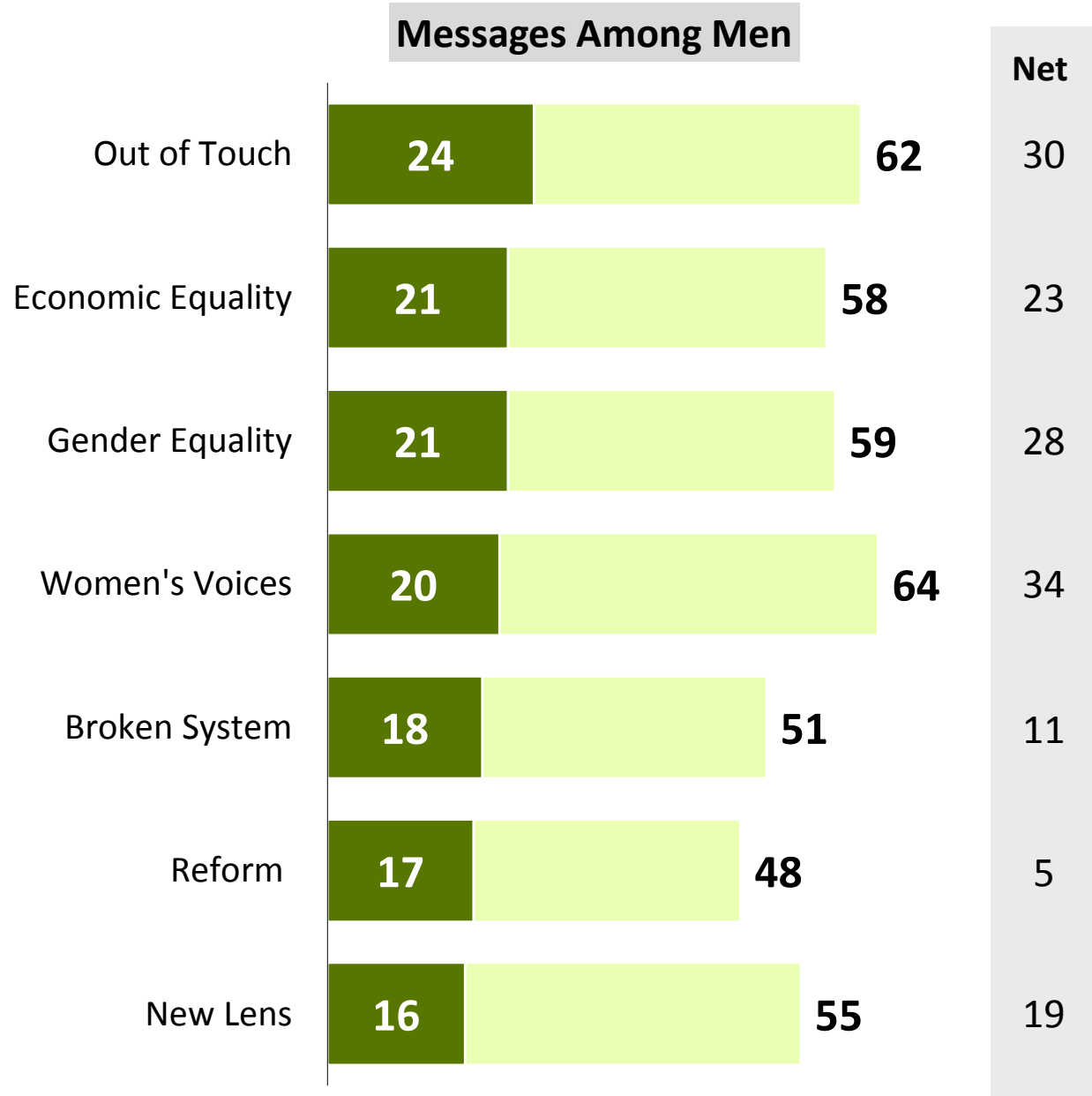
Women are broadly and intensely supportive of messages designed to increase their involvement in civic and political life. The most persuasive arguments revolve around the importance of women's voices to stand up for families and future generations and prioritize such issues as education, health care, child care, pensions, the rising costs of living, and basic economic and social fairness.



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Messages designed to encourage more involvement of women in civic and political life are less persuasive to men. **The most compelling arguments use women's traditional strengths as the managers of households to elevate the importance of leaders who are in touch with the lives of ordinary Ukrainians.**



Darker colors indicate intensity.

Now, I am going to read you some statements people have made about the need for women to become more involved in civic and political life. Please tell me whether each statement, is a VERY convincing, SOMEWHAT convincing, NOT TOO convincing, or NOT AT ALL convincing reason for women to become more involved in civic and political life? If you are not sure how you feel about a particular item, just say so.

Message Triangle

Play up existing strengths for women

- Issue strengths:
 - Education
 - Health care
 - Child care
 - Equal rights (and economic equality for all Ukrainians).
- Personal & Stylistic Strengths:
 - Honesty
 - Fairness
 - Justice
 - Warmth and empathy

Increasing the
Personal Salience of
Electing Women to Power

Build a profile on issues & dimensions where women trail and where voters want action

- Amplifying women's advantages on honesty, fairness, and justice can serve as an entrée point to economic issues (a vetted economic plan can also help enhance women's bona fides)...
 - Job creation
 - Industry
 - Wealth inequality
 - Cracking down on corruption
- ...and building a profile on dimensions of toughness, leadership, and the ability to resolve crises and bring order.

Drive a contrast with the status quo, using vulnerabilities Ukrainians ascribe to men, and define the call for change on terms favorable to women

- Too many of those in power are out of touch with the people, too tied to the oligarchs, and in politics to serve themselves. This corruption has permeated our power and our work places. It's time for a change.
- As the country's wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a small group of people, we need leaders with a strong sense of justice and fairness, who are in touch with the lives and struggles of ordinary Ukrainians.
- Women candidates know what the price of milk and bread is; they also know the cost to families, children, and our entire country when power prioritizes the interests of an elite few over jobs and economic prosperity for all.
- By engaging in politics, women can improve the lives of their children and families, and all Ukrainians.

Practical Solutions

Practical Solution

How to address the obstacles to women's participation

- Women see men as more involved because they are—only 16% candidates in the recent election were women. Political parties need to involve more women for the situation to change.
- Recognize that improving the economic situation, and balance of family responsibilities is a factor in increasing women's ability to participate.
- Reforms designed to encourage women's involvement are quite popular; in particular, reforms that emphasize the theme of equal access are appealing to both men and women.
 - **Framing it to appeal to both women and men is better than framing as a reform for the benefit of women.** The public is skeptical of the impact that political reforms can have on them personally. They are more receptive to reforms that affect the country at large.

Practical Solution

How to alter the perceptions of women's value as candidates and elected officials

- Successfully positioning women candidates for office involves seizing ground on dimensions of strength, leadership, and an ability to bring order—traits where men currently lead substantially—while at the same time elevating the salience of the qualities and issues that women currently dominate.
- Demonstrating how women are different, and focusing attention on areas where they are perceived as better managers than men, can help increase support for women candidates.
- Men are viewed as more corrupt, out of touch, tied to the oligarchs, prone to in-fighting, and in politics to serve themselves. Regression analysis indicates that viewing men as having entered politics to benefit themselves predicts to a decrease in voters' preference for having men in power.
- Support systems to show the unique and value-added role of women would help alter the perceptions.

Practical Solution

Altering media perceptions

- Regardless of citizen perceptions, gender analysts report that international comparisons of Ukraine's media coverage indicate a high level of sexism and bias in coverage of women.
- A more comprehensive study is needed assessing women's portrayal in the media, how it impacts politics and what kind of project should be undertaken as a result.
- In the meantime, journalists should be engaged, educated and held accountable to improving the standards of coverage.

Practical Solution

*Be strategic
about
messengers and
targets*

- Let women take the lead on issues where they have more credibility.
- Fathers of young daughters could play a key role in broadening the coalition supporting women candidates and an equality agenda.



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