

Opportunities and Challenges Facing Ukraine's Democratic Transition

INSTITUTE

Nationwide Survey with seven local oversamples and Implicit Association Tests in four cities, April and May 2015

This research is funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and the 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 seven local oversamples
 - Implicit Association Tests in four cities
 - An explanation of Implicit Association Tests, and an opportunity to take one yourself, can be found on the website of Harvard University <u>https://implicit.harvard.</u> <u>edu/implicit/education.html</u>
- The results of both components have been arranged under four themes:
 - Wellbeing, reforms and optimism
 - Democratic institutions
 - International relations and the conflict
 - Political parties and voting behaviour

Survey Methodology 1

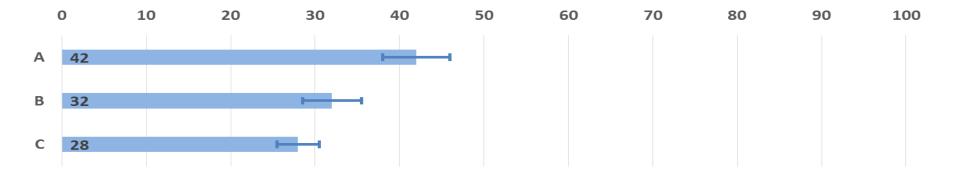
- Fieldwork dates: April 15 May 16, 2015
- 5,842 completed interviews
 - The nationally representative sample was random at all stages:
 - Random selection of election precincts
 - Random selection of households via random route sampling
 - Random selection of respondents within the households using the nearest birthday method
 - Areas outside the control of the Ukrainian government were excluded
- Seven oversamples (see map):
 - Kyiv city [600]
 - Raions of the North East Border in Sumi and Kharkiv Oblasts [608], rural only
 - Kharkiv city [600]
 - Mariupol city [601]
 - Kherson Oblast [600]
 - Odesa city [602]
 - The Ismail region of Southern Odesa Oblast [602]
- 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

Survey Oversample Locations and Regions

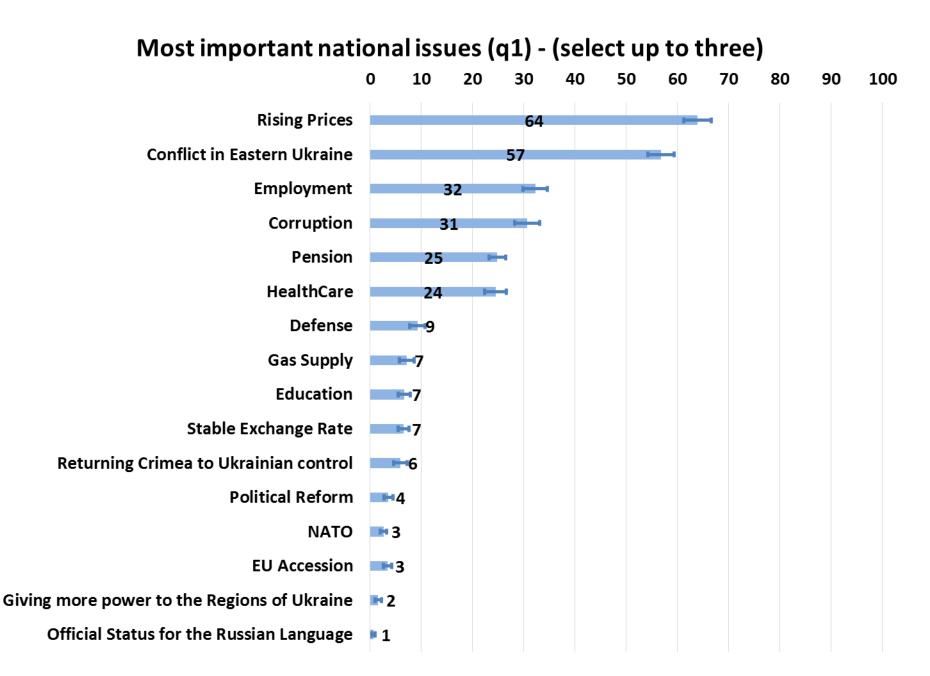


Survey Methodology 2

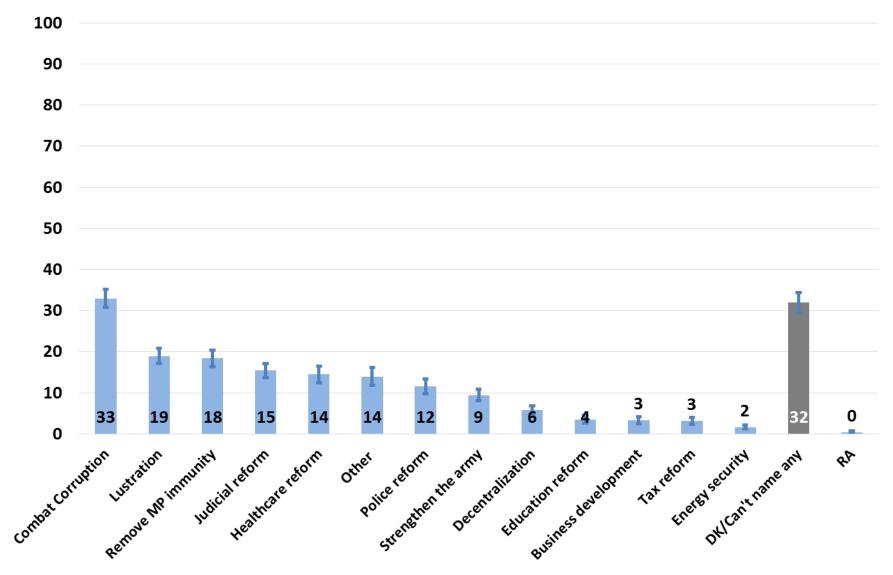
- The average margin of error for this survey is +/- 3%
- The margin of error is different for every response to every question in all surveys. In this presentation, the margin of error is shown for each option in each question. This is shown in the example below.
 - In this example A is statistically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



Wellbeing, Reforms and Optimism



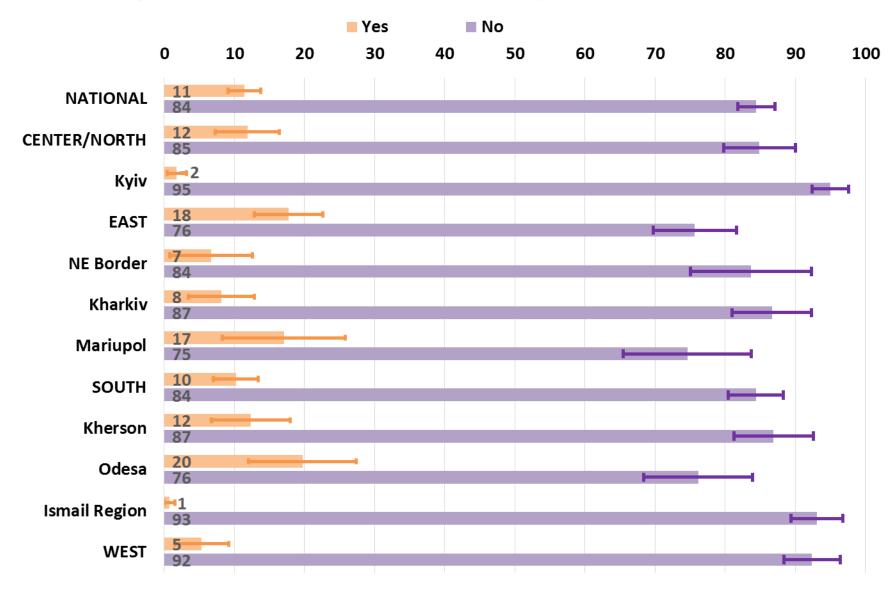
Can you name any reforms that the government has promised it will achieve during its term in office? (q3)



more power (q15 X Settlement) NATIONAL **CENTER/NORTH** Kyiv EAST **NE border** Kharkiv Mariupol SOUTH Kherson Odesa **Ismail Region** WEST

Do you agree with following: Local self-government should have

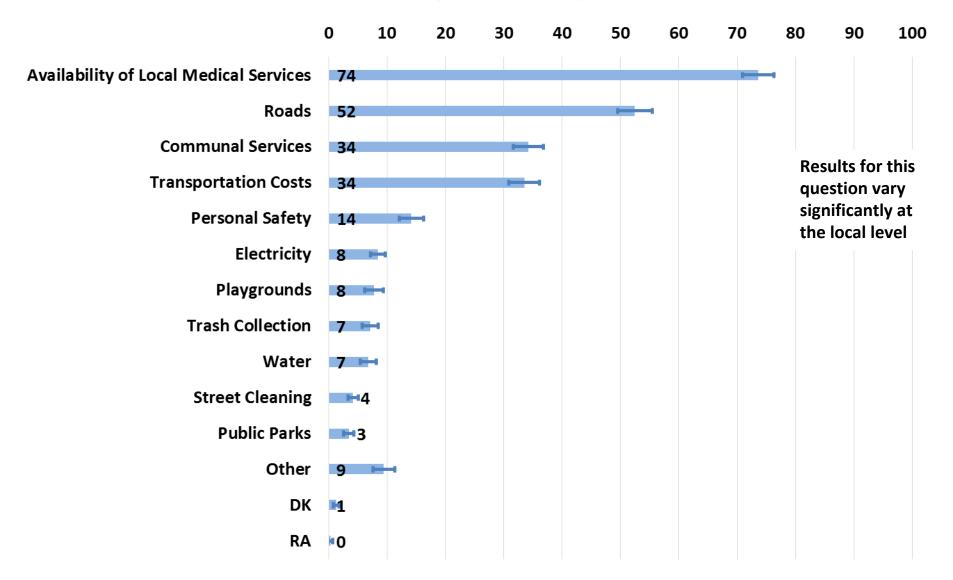
Do you think members of parliament should be immune from prosecution for criminal offenses? (q23 X Settlement)



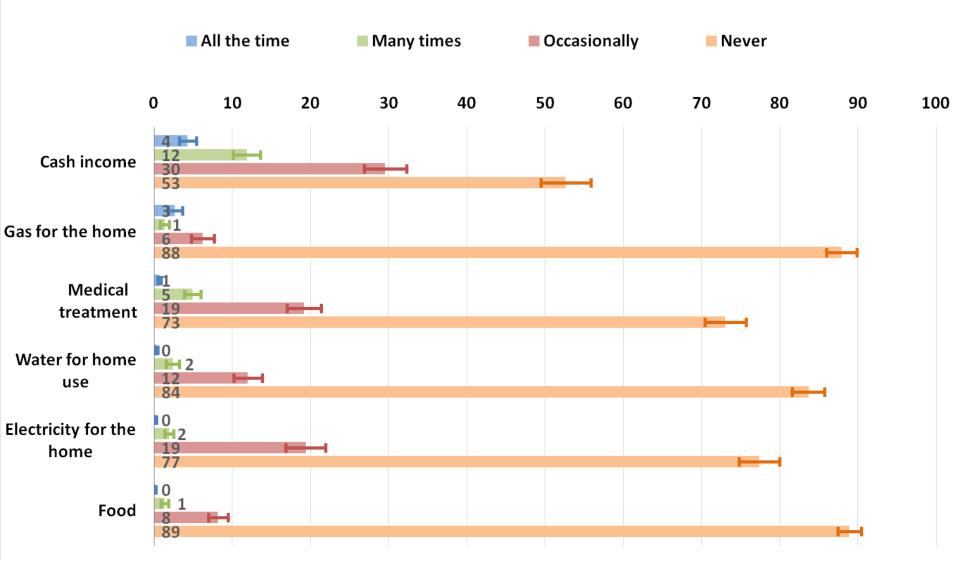
In your opinion, what would be the ideal percentage of women in the parliament? q22

| 100 | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------------|---------------------------|---|
| 90 | | | | | | | al w | pout the cu | rrent propo rliament w | o q21 asking ortion of as 10% (2% |
| 80 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 70 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 60 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 50 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 40 | | | | | I | | | | | |
| 30 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | | | Т | | | | | | | |
| 10 | I | I | - | - | | | | | | |
| 0 | 9 | 12 | 17 | 14 | 41 | 3 I | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| - | 0-10 | 11-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 61-70 | 71-80 | 81-90 | 91-100 |

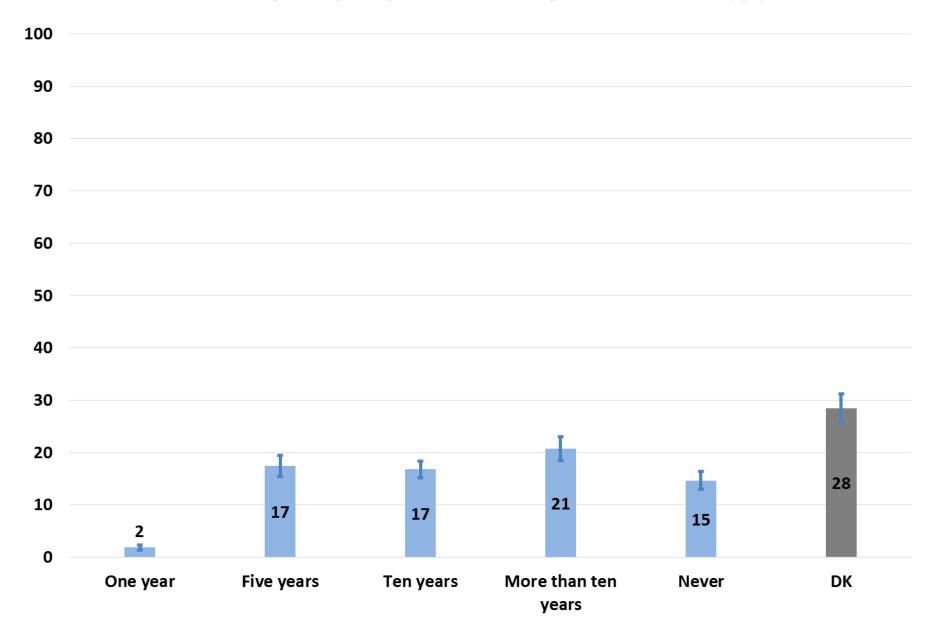
Which local issues are most important to you and your family? (select up to three) (q11)



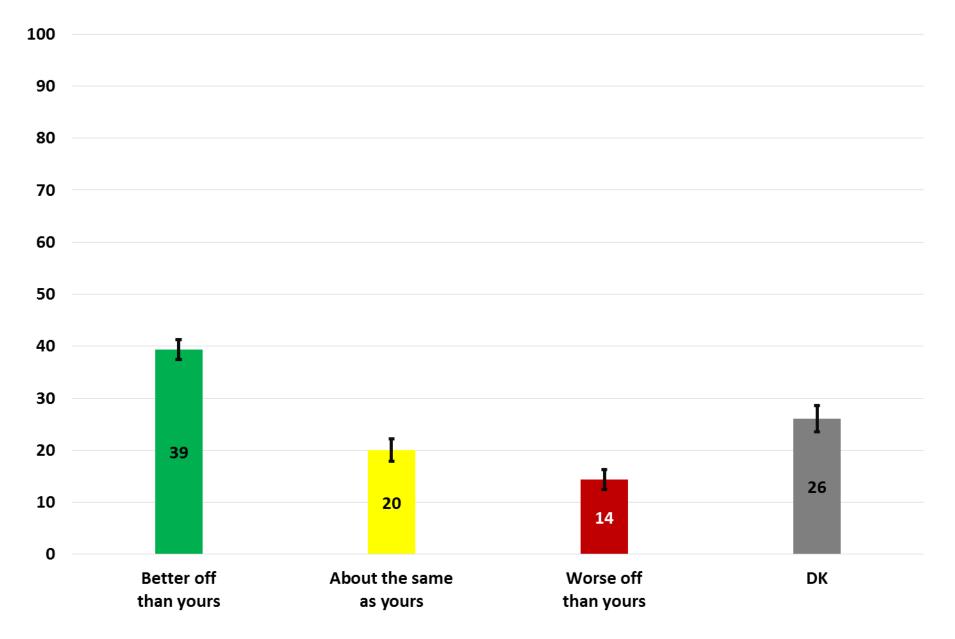
Over the past year, have you or anyone in your family gone without...? (q74)



When do you expect your life to change for the better? (q5)



Overall, do you expect the next generation to be ...? (q6)



Democratic Institutions

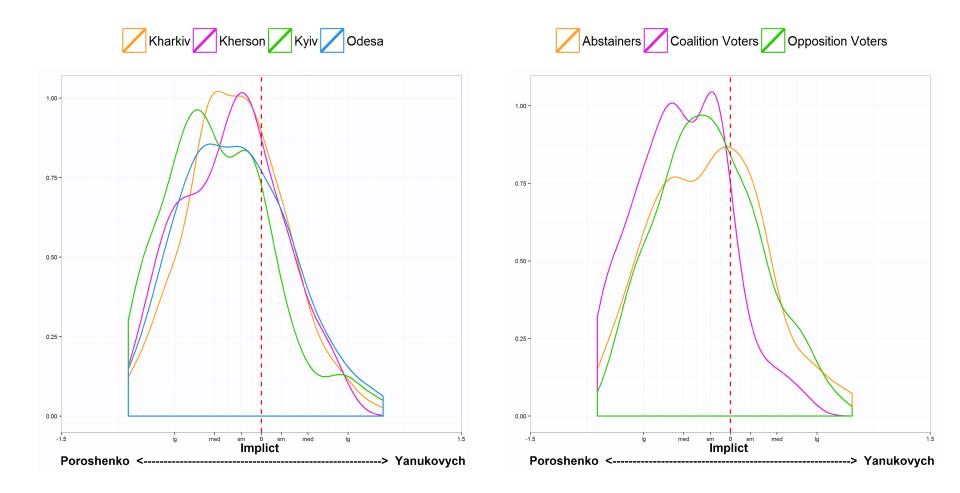
Democratic Institutions

IAT Results

April 2015 IAT Methodology

- Underlying preferences for the current government (Poroshenko) compared with the previous one (Yanukovych) were tested in four cities:
 - Kharkiv, Kherson, Kyiv, Odesa
- 600 respondents (150 per city)
- Selection criteria based on October 2014 voting behavior:
 - 50 citizens who voted for parties in the current ruling coalition
 - 50 citizens who voted for opposition parties (Opposition Bloc, Strong Ukraine and the Communist Party)
 - 50 abstainers
- Each group was stratified according to the population:
 - Age: 40% youth, 20% middle age, 40% senior
 - Gender: 45% men, 55% women

Implicit Preferences for Poroshenko and Yanukovych Governments



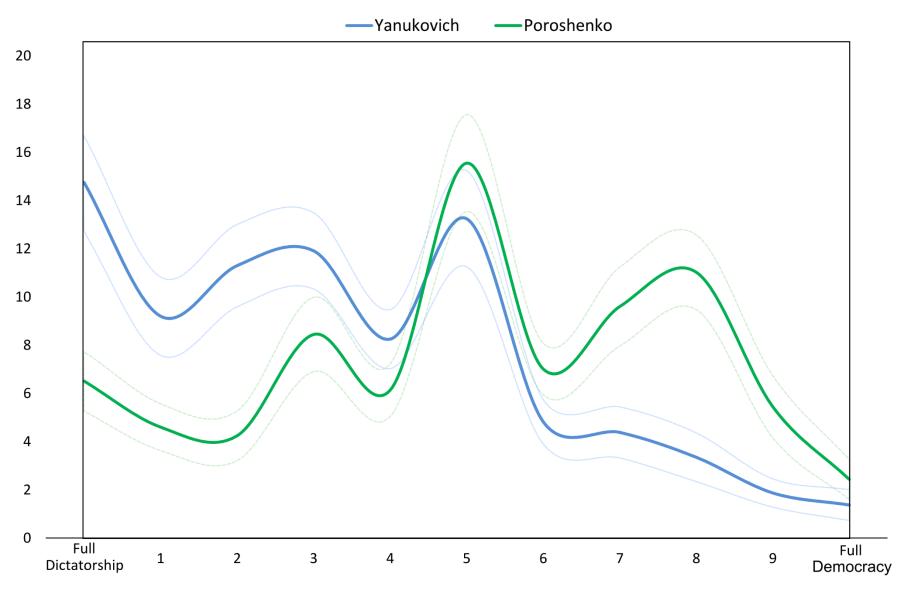
IAT Conclusions

- The left hand graph on the previous slide shows that in all four cities, on average, the respondents implicitly prefer the current Poroshenko government to the previous Yanukovych government
 - Kyiv has the strongest preference for the current government but the mean is clearly to the left of the line in all cases
- The right hand graph on the previous slide shows that, on average, all three groups (those who voted for one of the current ruling coalition parties, those who voted for opposition parties and those who abstained in October 2014) implicitly prefer the current Poroshenko government to the previous Yanukovych government
 - This response is stronger in the case of those who voted for the current ruling coalition but the mean is clearly to the left of the line in all cases

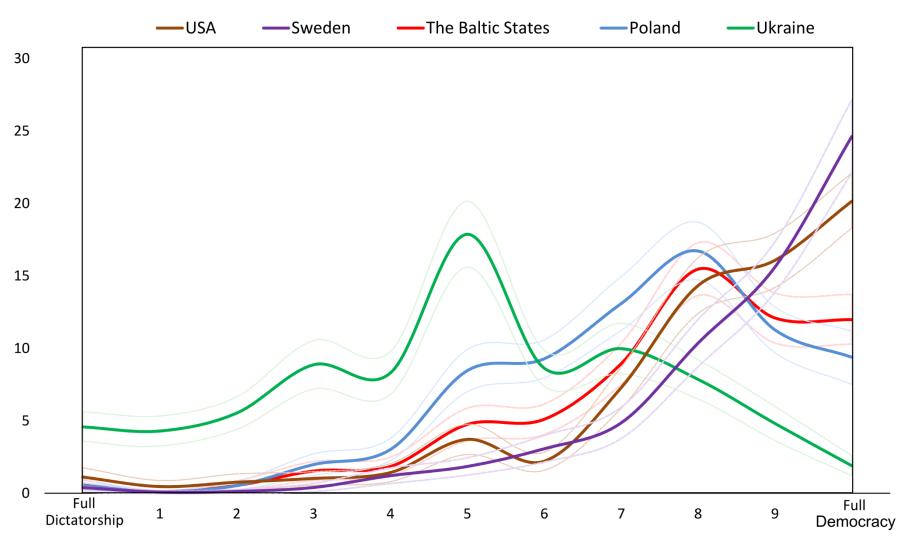
Democratic Institutions

Survey Results

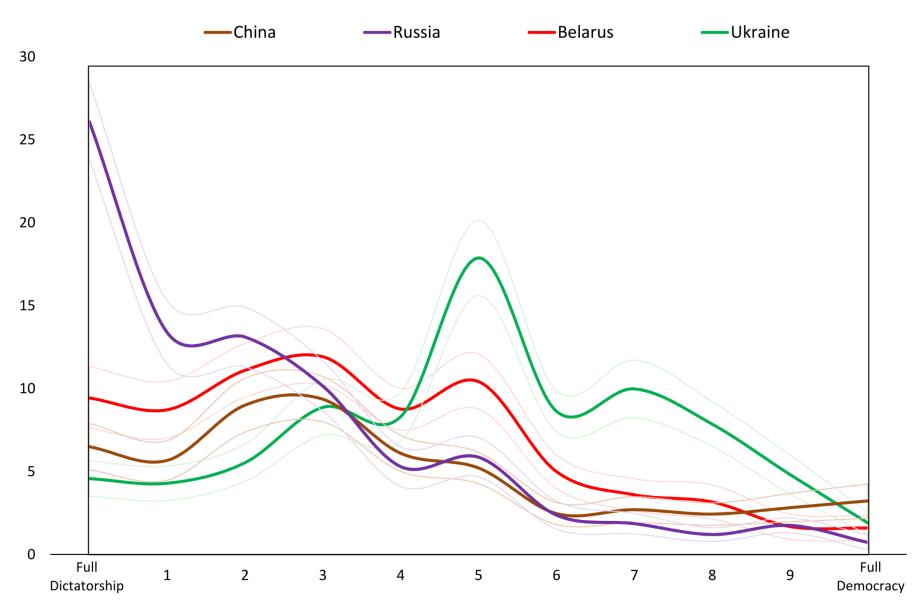
q17. How would you rate the level of democracy in Ukraine under the following governments? - Yanukovich and Poroshenko (%)



q18. How would you rate the following countries in terms of their democratic development? (%) Part 1



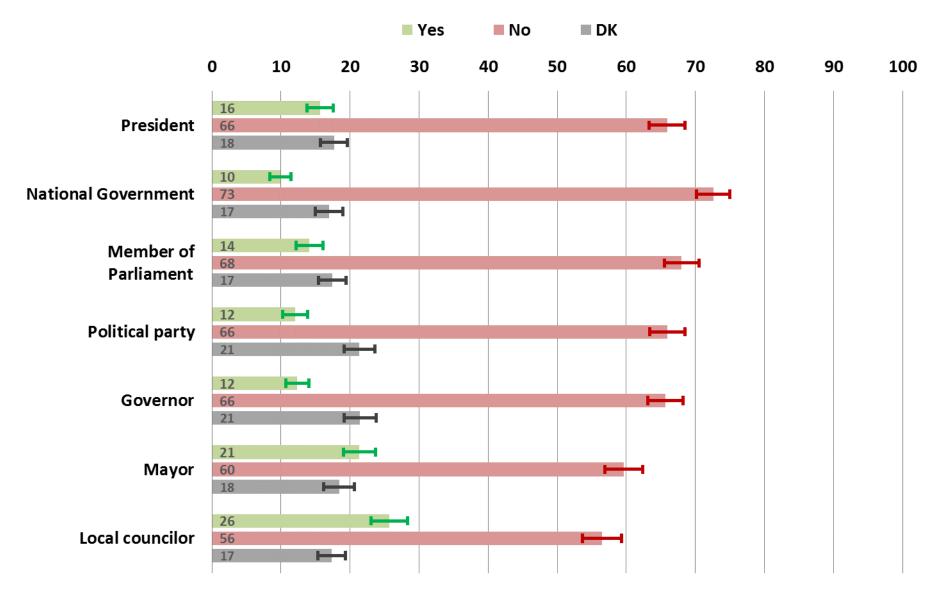
q18. How would you rate the following countries in terms of their democratic development? (%) Part 2



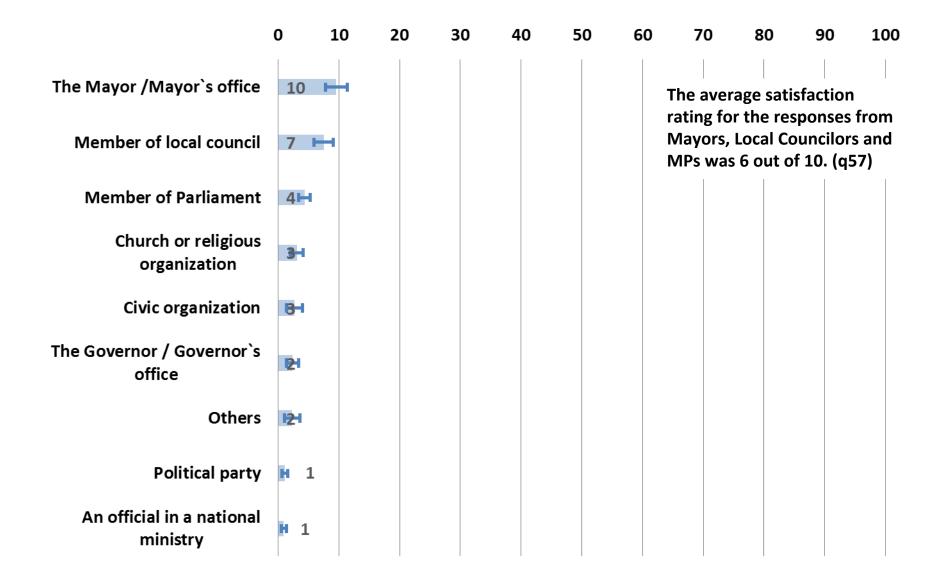
Which of the following statements you agree with? (q55)

| 100 | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|---------------|--|---------------------------------|-----------------------|----|----|
| 90 | | | | | | | |
| 80 | | | | | | | |
| 70 | | | | | | | |
| 60 | | | | | | | |
| 50 | | | | | | | |
| 40 | | | | | | | |
| 30 | | | | I | | | |
| 20 | | | | | | | |
| 10 | 4 | I | | _ | | 4 | |
| 0 | 13 | 11 | 25 | 31 | <mark>Т</mark> 8 | 11 | 1 |
| U | Completely agree | Agree | Completely agree | Agree | | | |
| | People are like of government sho of them like a | uld take care | Government employee; the p be the bosses w govern | people should ho control the | Agree with neither | DK | RA |

In your opinion are any of the following interested in hearing your opinions? (q58)



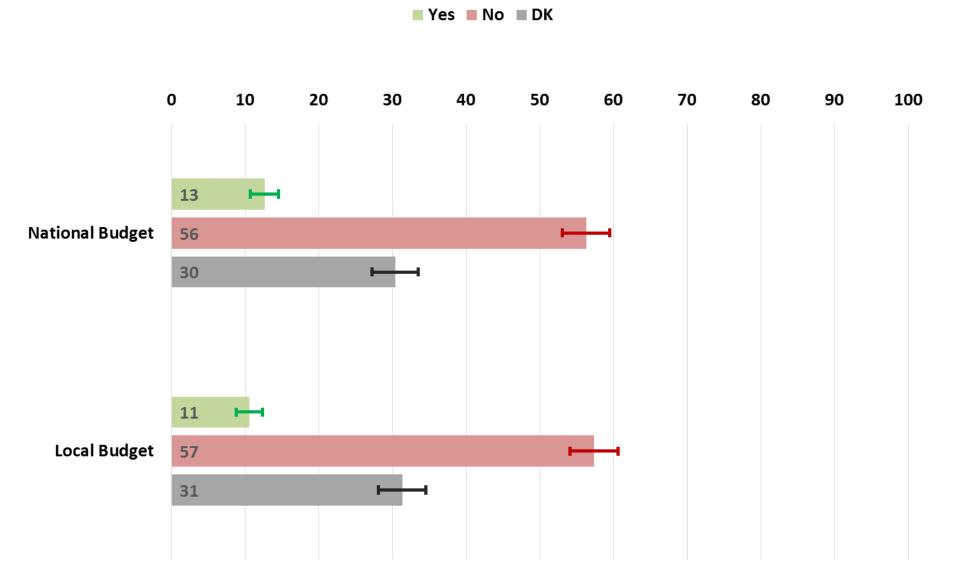
Have you sought help from any of the following in the past year about a problem? (q56)



Often Several times Once or twice I would if I had the chance I would never do this 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 H 2 4 Attend a community meeting 9 31 45 H 1 Get together with others to H2 raise an issue with local 6 -37 officials 44 Η 1 4 Collect money from your 8 neighbors to support a cause 32 43 H 1 H2 Attend a demonstration or 6 march about a specific issue 26 53

Have you done any of these since November 2013? (q53) Part 1

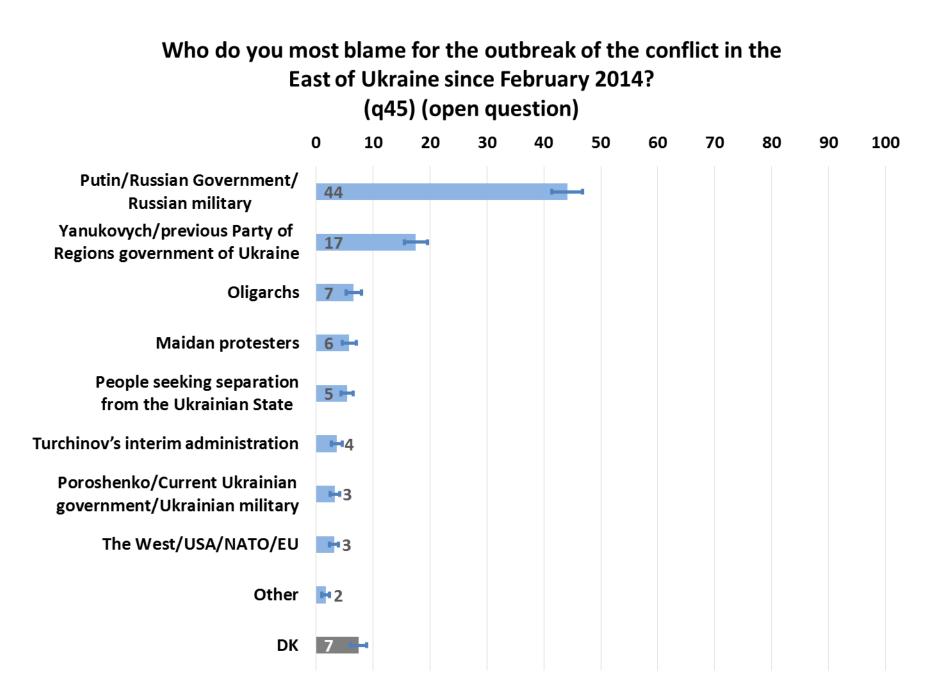
To the best of your knowledge, is information about the 2015 national/local budget available to you? (q7/q12)



How often do you access the internet for news? (q60)

| | Every day | Several times a week | Once a week | A few times a month | Once a month | Never |
|-----|-----------|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------|---|-------|
|) — | | 16 | 6 | 4 1 | 2 | |
|) — | 26 | I | | | | |
| | - t | | | | | 45 |
|) — | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
|) — | | | | | | т |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | N | IE Border, every day, | 18% |
| | | | | K C | iyiv, every day, 44% Odesa, every day, 239 | |
| | | | | P | ig variations locally: | |

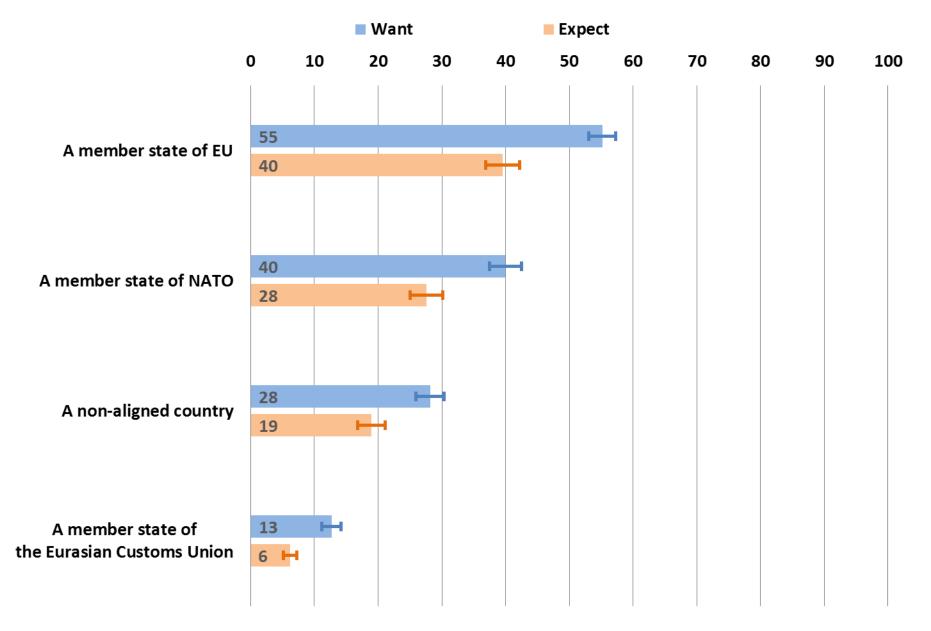
International Relations and the Conflict



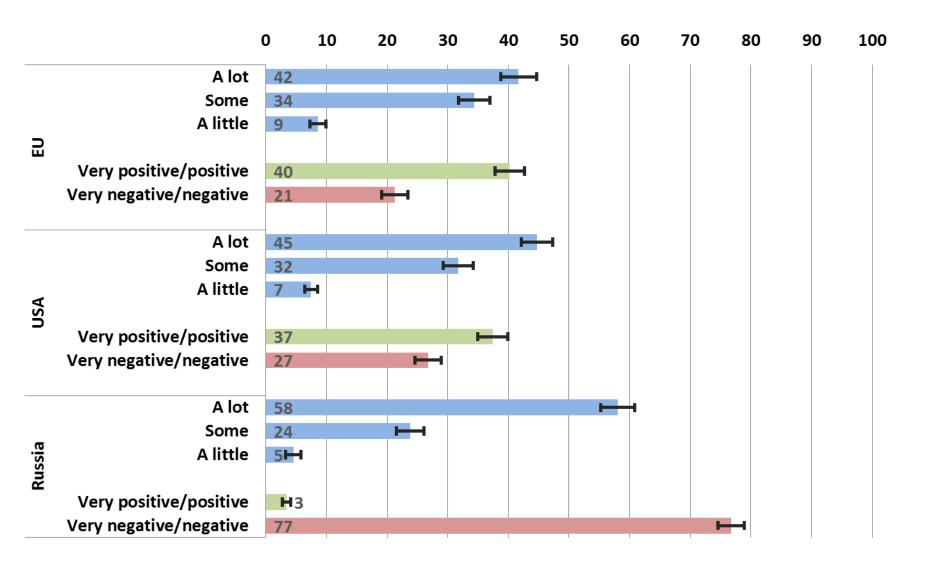
Do you believe any of the following explain why the conflict started? (Yes/No - Yes responses only) (q44)

70 80 10 30 50 60 90 100 0 20 40 Desire on the part of Russia to stop Ukraine moving 77 towards NATO and EU membership Desire on the part of Russia to destabilize the new 64 Ukrainian government Desire on the part of Russia to regain control 64 of territory lost since the collapse of the Soviet Union Failure of the Yanukovych government to curb 49 corruption Historical ties between Donbas and Russia 35 Support from the West for the protesters on the 33 Maidan Historical divisions between the East and West of 30 Ukraine Failure of the government in Kyiv to protect the rights 26 of Russian speakers

By 2020, do you want /expect Ukraine to be... (q35/q36)

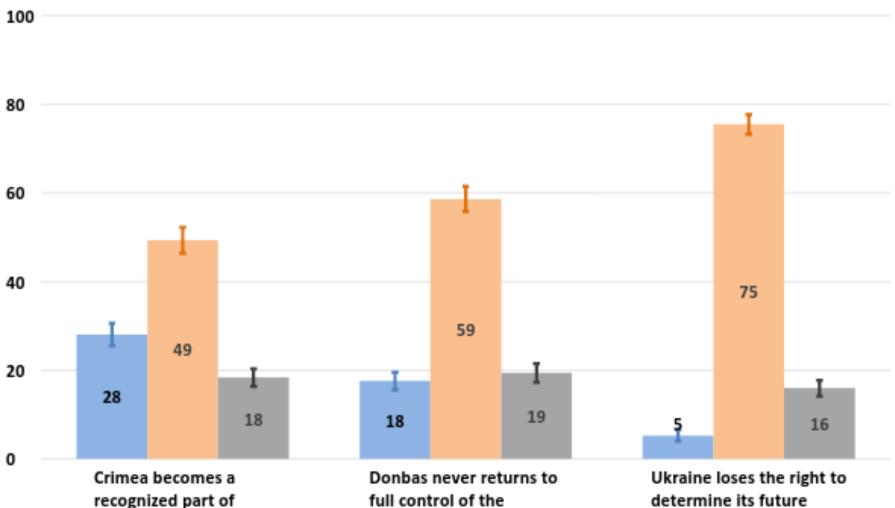


How much influence, if any, do the following countries have in determining Ukraine's future? (q37) Is this influence...? (q38)



Which, if any, of the following you would accept as the price for peace? (q41)

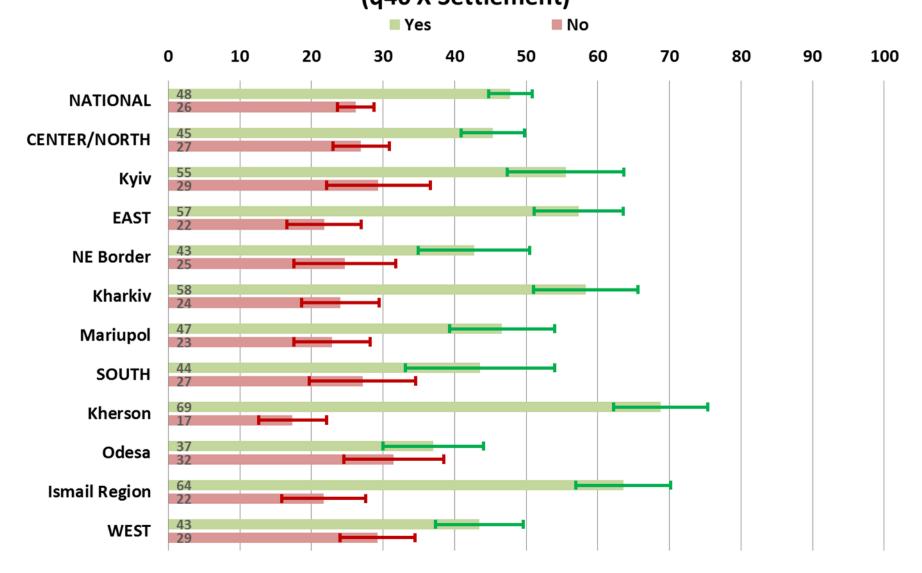
Yes No DK



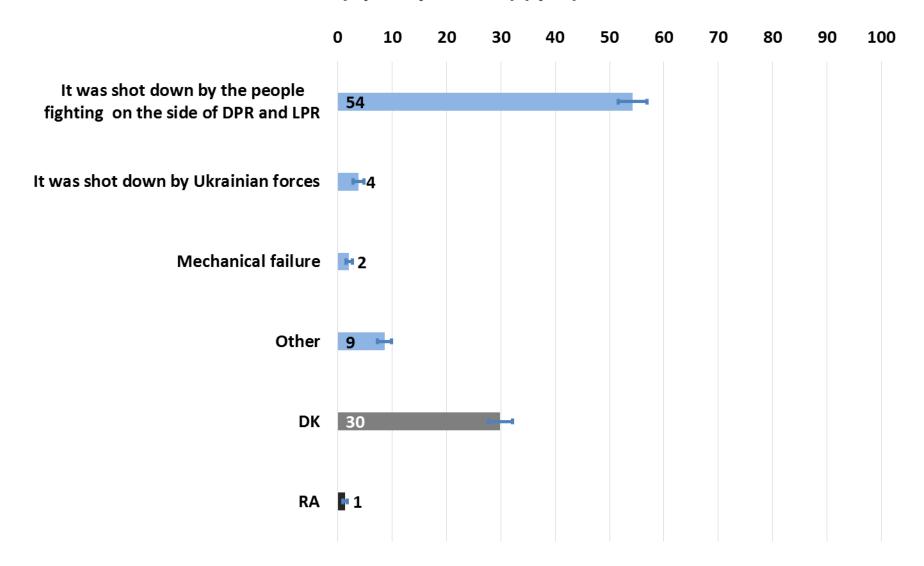
the Russian Federation

full control of the Ukrainian authorities determine its future

Would you be willing to sit down with people who support the other side of this conflict and discuss ways to resolve it? (q46 X Settlement)

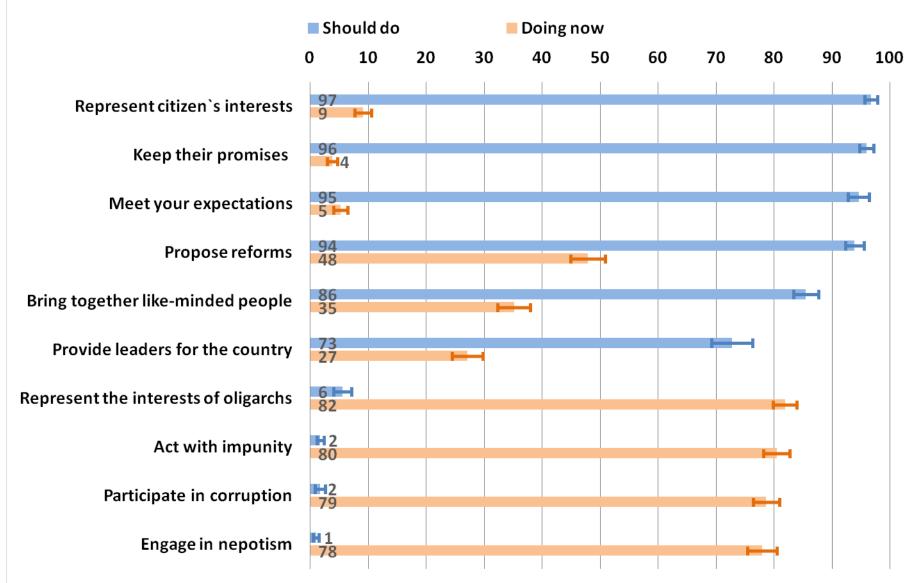


In July 2014, Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 crashed over Donetsk. In your opinion, what is the most likely reason for this? (open question) (q48)

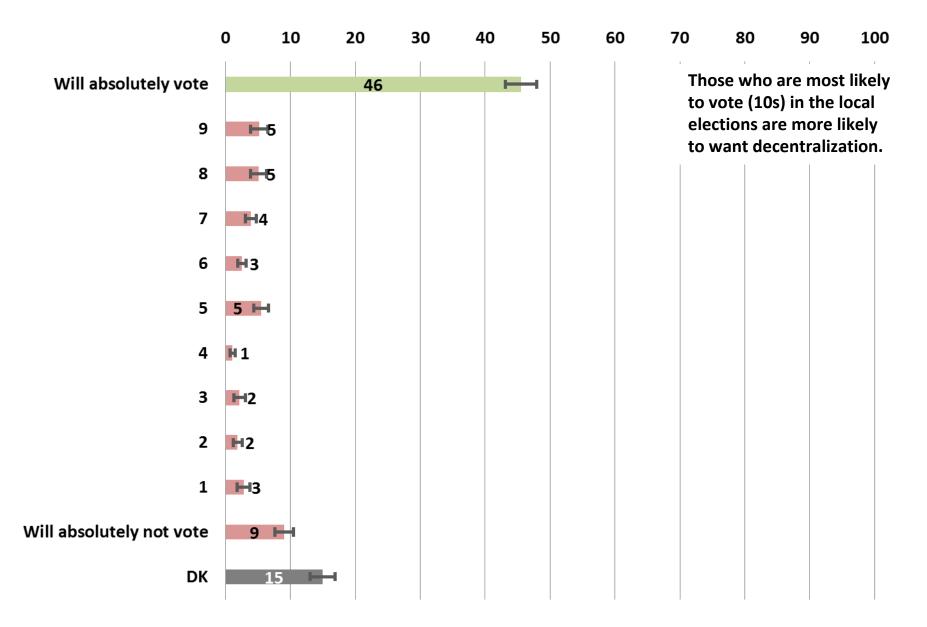


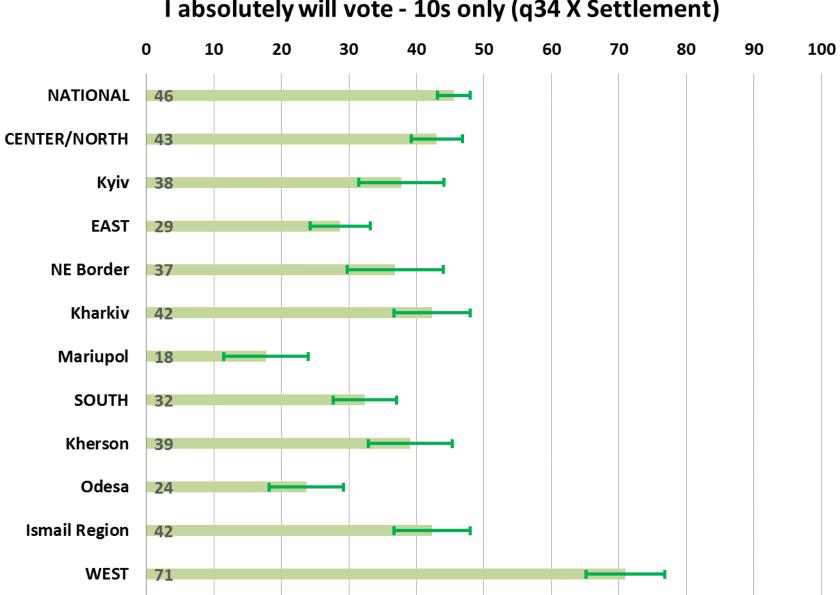
Political Parties and Voting Behavior

Do political parties currently do any of the following? What would you like them to do? (q51/q52)



If local elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? (q34)





If local elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? I absolutely will vote - 10s only (q34 X Settlement)

When deciding which candidate to vote for in the local elections, what is important to you? q14 X Gender

