Opportunities and Challenges Facing Ukraine’s Democratic Transition

Nationwide Survey with eight local oversamples
November – December 2016

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Fieldwork was conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology

NDI Ukraine
Survey Methodology

• Fieldwork dates: November 9 - December 16, 2016
• 6,342 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
• Average margin of error +/-3%
  • The margin of error is visualized for every option in every question
• Eight oversamples
  • Kyiv city [596]
  • Raions of the North East Border in Sumi and Kharkiv Oblasts [602], rural only
  • Kharkiv city [600]
  • Kherson Oblast [603]
  • Odesa city [602]
  • The Izmail region of Southern Odesa Oblast [600], Atypical balance of ethnic groups - 43% neither Ukrainian nor Russian, 37% Ukrainian, 14% Russian
  • Lviv city [600]
  • Khmelnytska 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
  • 27% of all interviews were checked by controllers
• 4,409 interviews were conducted using tablets
Survey Oversample Locations and Regions

West
- Lviv
- Khmelnytska oblast

Center
- Kyiv

North
- NE Border
- Kharkiv

South
- Odessa
- Kherson oblast
- Izmail region

East
Wellbeing, Reforms and Optimism
For the first time since this series started, the conflict in Eastern Ukraine and corruption are tied in second place.

The salience of the conflict has fallen from 57% in May 2015 to 40% in December 2016, while corruption has risen from 31% to 40%.

Other high priority issues were broadly stable during this period, except for healthcare (+7%) and pensions (+9%).
Police reform went up 8% between May and December 2016.
Which of the following steps would convince you that the government is committed to reform? (select up to three) (q9)

- Reduce utility prices/tariffs: 50
- Lift MP immunity: 37
- Improve quality of healthcare: 22
- Prosecute corrupt officials: 21
- Remove corrupt judges/prosecutors: 15
- Remove government officials from the previous regime: 14
- Repair roads: 12
- Improve quality of education: 8
- Implement market reforms: 8
- Prosecute those responsible for Euromaidan killings: 8
- Achieve visa free access to the EU: 8
- Improve transparency in public procurement: 2
- Protect the rights of minorities: 2
- Allow farmers to buy land: 1
- Other: 12
- DK/None: 9
Since the parliamentary elections in October 2014, would you say that in economic terms you and your family are...? "Worse off" only (q26)
The ratio of better off to worse off remains 2:1 nationally but is higher in Kyiv (4:1), Kherson (5:1), Odesa (4:1), West (3:1), Lviv (5:1) and Khmelnytska (6:1).
Democratic Institutions
Which three characteristics of a fully functioning democracy you think are most important? (q21) (Select up to three)

- Equal justice for all: 68
- Free and fair elections: 49
- Freedom of speech: 44
- Government is accountable to citizens: 31
- Political parties represent citizen’s interests: 31
- Government is transparent: 29
- Minority rights are protected: 5
How important is it to you that Ukraine becomes a fully functioning democracy? ‘Very important’ and ‘Important’ (q22 X Settlement)

- National: 86%
- West: 91%
- Lviv: 96%
- Khmelnytska oblast: 82%
- Center/North: 83%
- Kyiv: 80%
- NE Border: 69%
- Kharkiv: 73%
- East: 84%
- South: 86%
- Odessa: 72%
- Kherson oblast: 94%
- Izmail region: 69%
- 51% +
The views of respondents who are positive about the parliamentary parties are very similar – both overall and in the balance between ‘important’ and ‘very important’.
In Lviv, ‘employee’ leads by a ratio of 8:1. ‘Parent’ leads in only two oversamples: Ismail and Khmelnytska.
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? (q61)

There has been a clear trend away from ‘Yes’ towards ‘No’ since May 2015. Since May 2016, expectations of mass protests have hardly moved.
These results are broadly stable since the last survey. Being positive about a political party increases ‘Yes’ responses significantly.
Since May 2016, “I would if I had the chance” has increased 5, 5, 3 and 4 percent respectively since May 2016.
These results are broadly stable since the last survey.
If there was an equal balance of men and women in elected office, in your opinion, would there be:

- More focus on everyday concerns: 55% Yes, 25% No. ‘More focus on everyday concerns’ is up by 4% since the last survey.
- Less corruption: 33% Yes, 37% No.
- Fewer opportunities for men: 27% Yes, 53% No.
- Fewer qualified leaders: 11% Yes, 68% No.
Decentralisation
Which of the following do you agree with most? (q14)

- **Local self-government should have more power**
  - May 2015: 60
  - December 2015: 67
  - May 2016: 59
  - December 2016: 56

- **Central government should have more power**
  - May 2015: 7
  - December 2015: 10
  - May 2016: 10
  - December 2016: 10

- **The balance of power should stay the same**
  - May 2015: 10
  - December 2015: 8
  - May 2016: 12
  - December 2016: 4

- **Disagree with all**
  - May 2015: 4
  - December 2015: 3
  - May 2016: 4
  - December 2016: 5

- **DK/RA**
  - May 2015: 20
  - December 2015: 16
  - May 2016: 17
  - December 2016: 18
Elections held for amalgamated communities

Elections in amalgamated communities held in:
- October 2015 (158)
- January-November 2016 (25)
- December 2016 (184)
Since July of 2015, many communities in Ukraine have gone through the amalgamation process. Has your community gone through this process? (q15)

- Yes: 9
- No: 49
- DK: 41
Since July of 2015, many communities in Ukraine have gone through the amalgamation process. How would you evaluate the impact? (q16/q17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluation</th>
<th>Has gone through amalgamation</th>
<th>Has not gone through amalgamation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Somewhat good</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neither good nor bad</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Somewhat bad</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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)

- NATIONAL: 29
- CENTER/NORTH: 23
- Kyiv: 23
- EAST: 30
- NE Border: 28
- Kharkiv: 26
- SOUTH: 25
- Kherson: 36
- Odesa: 26
- Izmail region: 37
- WEST: 37
- Lviv: 25
- Khmelnytska oblast: 29
International Relations and the Conflict
By 2020, do you want/expect Ukraine to be... (q43/q44)

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A member state of EU</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expect</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>A member state of NATO</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expect</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A non-aligned country</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expect</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>A member state of the Eurasian Customs Union</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expect</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
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How much influence, if any, do the following have in determining Ukraine’s future? (q45) Is this influence...? (q46)

**USA**
- A lot: 52
- Some: 33
- Little: 4
- Very positive/Positive: 35
- Very negative/Negative: 29

**EU**
- A lot: 50
- Some: 33
- Little: 6
- Very positive/Positive: 35
- Very negative/Negative: 25

**Russia**
- A lot: 62
- Some: 24
- Little: 3
- Very positive/Positive: 4
- Very negative/Negative: 76
Should economic sanctions be maintained against Russia for its role in the conflict? “Yes” only (q52 X Settlement)

National – 70%

West 88%
Lviv 91%
Khmelnitska oblast 79%
Center/North 74%
Kyiv 76%
NE Border 51%
Kharkiv 47%
South 48%
Odessa 49%
Kherson oblast 60%
East 55%
Izmail region 22%

Legend:
- 0-1%
- 2-10%
- 11-20%
- 21-30%
- 31-40%
- 41-50%
- 51% +
There is no statistically significant change from May 2016.
Which, if any, of the following would you accept as the price for peace? (q50)

'No' has increased in each group 6, 5, 5 percent respectively since May 2016.
In July 2014, Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 crashed over Donetsk. In your opinion, what is the most likely reason for this? (q54)

- It was shot down by the people fighting on the side of DPR and LPR
  - May 2015: 54
  - December 2016: 53

- It was shot down by Ukrainian forces
  - May 2015: 14
  - December 2016: 3

- Mechanical failure
  - May 2015: 2
  - December 2016: 3

- Other
  - May 2015: 9
  - December 2016: 9

- DK
  - May 2015: 30
  - December 2016: 30

There has been no significant change in opinion since this question was last asked in May 2015.
Elections & Parties
Do you expect/want early Parliamentary elections to be held? (q37/q38 X Settlement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Expect</th>
<th>Want</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL</td>
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<td>CENTER/NORTH</td>
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<td>Kherson</td>
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<td>Odesa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Izmail region</td>
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<td>WEST</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lviv</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khmelnytska oblast</td>
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Do you think IDPs should be able to vote where they currently reside in all types of elections? “Yes” only (q55 X Settlement)
The only significant change since May 2016 is a 9% increase in ‘the political party that nominates them’. This suggests that increased diversity in the political marketplace is becoming more noticeable to voters.
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote?
I absolutely will vote (q39 X Settlement)

The national result in May 2016 was 26%
What is your attitude toward the following parties today? (q35)

- Samopomich: Very positive/Positive 19, Very negative/Negative 30
- Radical Party: Very positive/Positive 17, Very negative/Negative 43
- Batkivshchyna: Very positive/Positive 17, Very negative/Negative 45
- Civic Position: Very positive/Positive 12, Very negative/Negative 31
- Opposition Bloc: Very positive/Positive 11, Very negative/Negative 31
- Svoboda: Very positive/Positive 10, Very negative/Negative 48
- UKROP: Very positive/Positive 9, Very negative/Negative 36
- BPP-Solidarity: Very positive/Positive 8, Very negative/Negative 54
- For Life: Very positive/Positive 8, Very negative/Negative 25
- Right Sector: Very positive/Positive 8, Very negative/Negative 42
- Agrarian Party: Very positive/Positive 7, Very negative/Negative 28
- Statehood Initiative of Yarosh: Very positive/Positive 5, Very negative/Negative 38
- A party led by Saakashvilli: Very positive/Positive 5, Very negative/Negative 29
- Nash Krai: Very positive/Positive 4, Very negative/Negative 30
- People’s Force: Very positive/Positive 4, Very negative/Negative 28
- Renaissance: Very positive/Positive 4, Very negative/Negative 34
- People’s Front: Very positive/Positive 4, Very negative/Negative 61
- Democratic Alliance: Very positive/Positive 5, Very negative/Negative 31
- Social Democratic Party: Very positive/Positive 5, Very negative/Negative 31
- Volya: Very positive/Positive 29, Very negative/Negative 29
- National Korpus: Very positive/Positive 24, Very negative/Negative 26
Would you like regular reports from political parties in your area about their activities? "Yes" only (q30 X Settlement)

- NATIONAL: 50
- CENTER/NORTH: 47
- Kyiv: 39
- EAST: 49
- NE Border: 39
- Kharkiv: 40
- SOUTH: 37
- Kherson: 59
- Odesa: 29
- Izmail region: 64
- WEST: 60
- Lviv: 58
- Khmelnytska oblast: 52
Which party would you say is closest to you now? (q36)

The top 5 parties are still in a statistical tie.