

# USAID Office of Transition Initiatives

2018 Ukraine Social Cohesion & Reconciliation Index (SCORE)

 **UAS** SCORE 2018



## What is SCORE?

The SCORE Index is a research and analysis tool that helps policy makers and stakeholders in Ukraine understand political leanings, the drivers of conflict and social cohesion. It also helps identify potential threats to national unity and stability during Ukraine's democratic transition. SCORE was developed in 2012 by The Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD) in partnership with UNDP and USAID. SCORE was conducted twice in Ukraine at a national level, in 2016 and in 2018. To date, SCORE has also been used in Cyprus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nepal, Liberia, Moldova and Iraq.

### 2016

August 2015 and December 2016

Overall Sample Size: 10,278

Government Controlled Area (GCA): 9,337

Non-Government Controlled Area (NGCA) Luhansk and Donetsk: 941

### 2018

November 2017 and March 2018

Overall Sample Size: 10,060

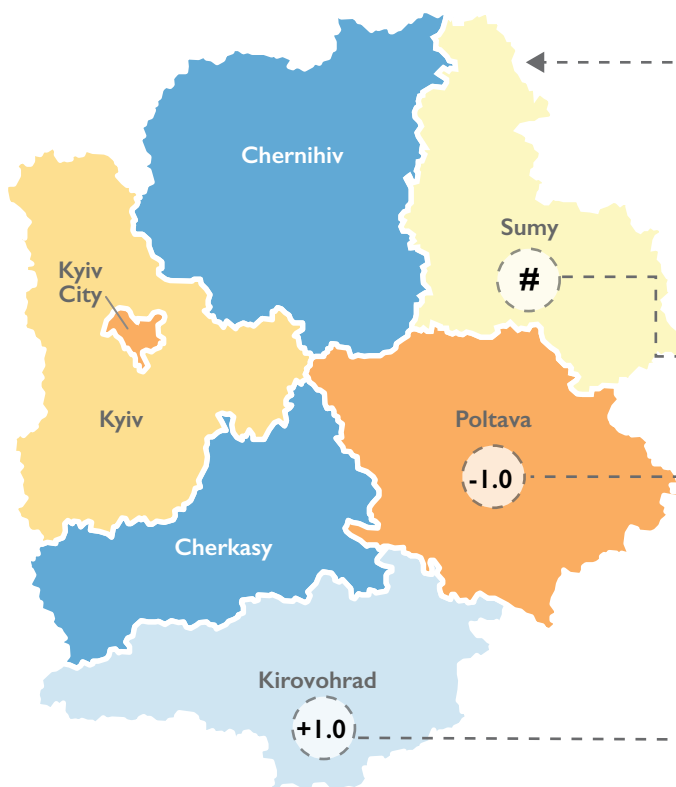
Government Controlled Area (GCA): 9,018

Non-Government Controlled Area (NGCA) Luhansk and Donetsk: 1,042

## Interpreting SCORE:

SCORE findings are presented as a series of indicators. Each indicator measures a particular phenomenon (e.g. economic security, social tolerance, support for reform or policies) and is derived from at least 3 questionnaire items. The scores are not percentages; they are composite index values that represent the intensity of a particular indicator as measured through a number of related questions.

### How to Read Heat Maps



### 2018 OBLAST-LEVEL SCORE

Each oblast is shaded by color with the 2018 value according to the scale below:



### CHANGE IN OBLAST SCORE BETWEEN 2016 & 2018

The value in each circle denotes the **change in value** from 2016 to 2018

Decrease



If the value has **decreased** since 2016, the change is shown as negative

Increase



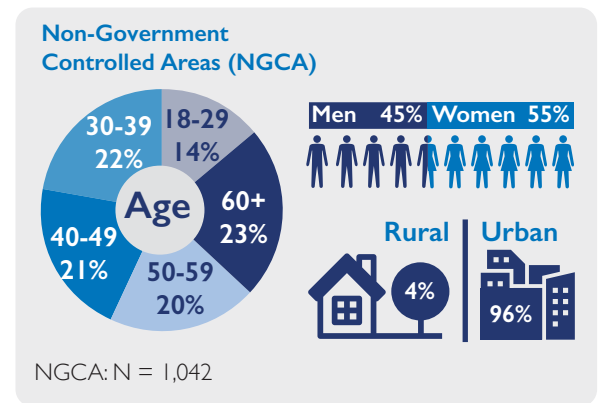
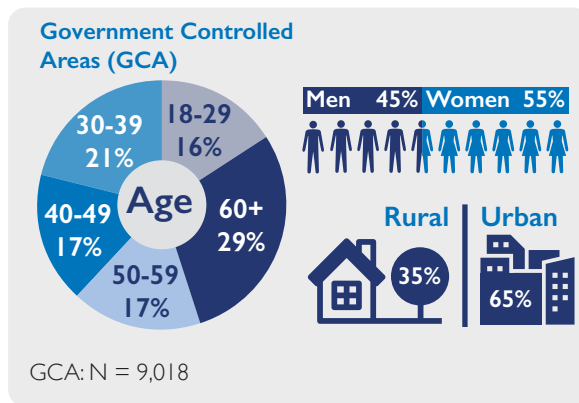
If the value has **increased** since 2016, the change is shown as positive

# Methodology

The SCORE Index is based on a participatory research methodology where multilevel stakeholder consultations, focus groups and interviews are conducted to inform the calibration of a national survey. Once experts conduct a preliminary analysis of the data collected, SCORE results are further refined via stakeholder consultations and dialogue groups, which inform the formation of indices and policy briefs.

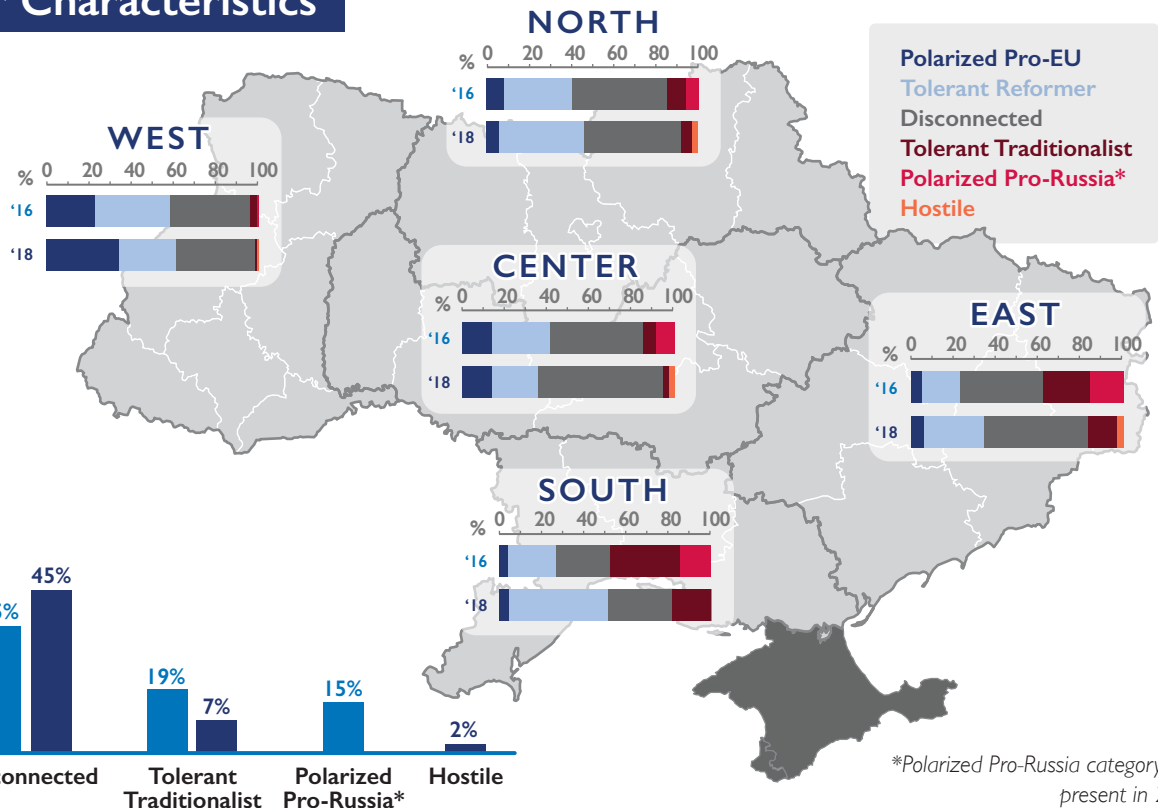
## 2018 Demographics

Information is broken down by demographics including age, gender and settlement, which helps target activity beneficiaries to maximize efficiency of program resources.

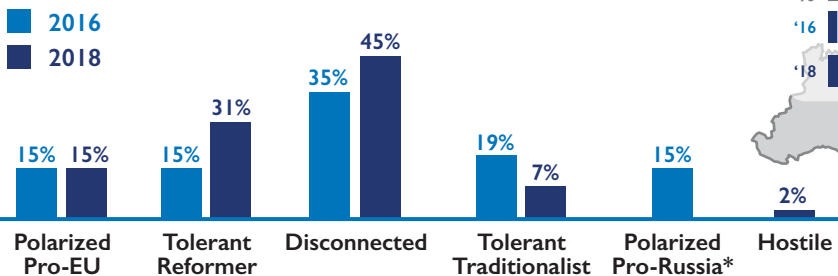


## Groups and Their Characteristics

In order to identify potential changemakers in society, SCORE examined various civic and political attitudes of Ukrainian citizens and identified five different groups.



## Change in Distribution of Groups



### Polarized Pro-EU

This group strongly supports a European future for Ukraine, but does not embrace many democratic values, such as pluralism. They are strongly nationalistic and more open to political violence.



### Tolerant Reformer

This group supports change and reform for Ukraine and embraces values such as social cohesion and diversity.



### Disconnected

This group is increasingly disenfranchised by politics and is economically insecure. Many from this group were previously strongly aligned toward Russia.



### Tolerant Traditionalist

This group tends to be older and nostalgic for Soviet times, but is tolerant and open to dialogue about the future of Ukraine.



### Hostile

This group is hostile toward Russia, the West and Ukraine. They are intolerant and open to political violence.



# FOSTERING CONSTRUCTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND UNIFYING NATIONAL VISIONS

SCORE measured the prevalence of constructive, democratic civic values such as social tolerance, civic engagement and readiness for compromise among the Ukrainian population.

## TOP RECOMMENDATIONS & TAKEAWAYS

- Geopolitical leanings are becoming less important. Most Ukrainians support some ties with Russia and the EU. In eastern Ukraine there is some support for the EU, while western Ukraine is more skeptical of relations with Russia.
- The community of tolerant reformers is growing in the east and south of Ukraine. However, many Ukrainians with any Russian political and cultural sentiments do not feel free to voice their political opinions, leading to disengagement by a significant portion of the population.
- Support for a pluralistic Ukrainian identity is strong in the east and south, but Ukrainian identity is understood based more on ethnicity in the west.
- There is an opportunity to build unity around a vision for Ukraine that emphasizes core Western values such as civic engagement, good governance, and human rights.

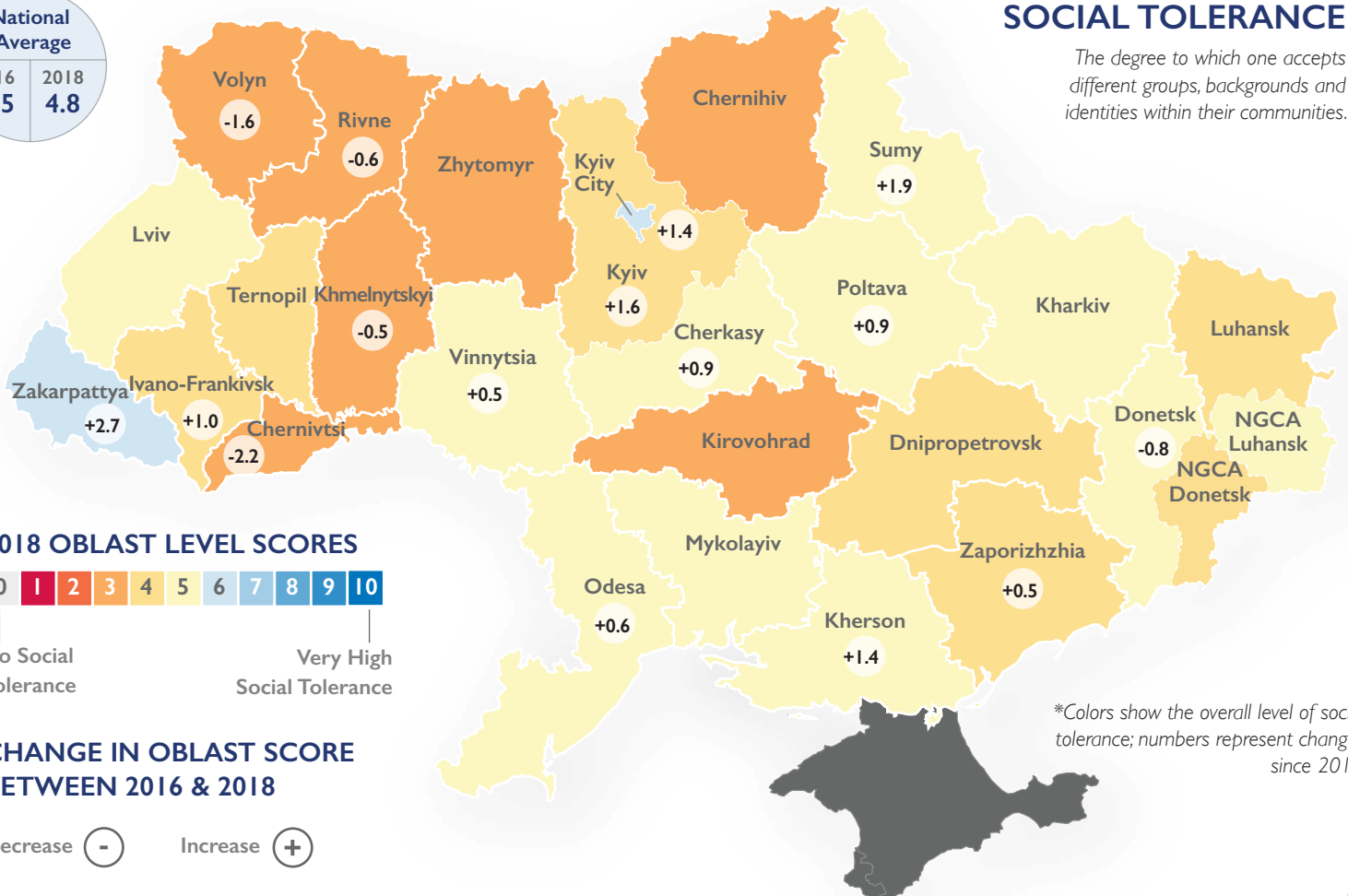
## CHANGES SINCE 2016

+ What Improved	What Stayed The Same	- What Got Worse
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- Growing civic optimism
- Higher support for a pluralistic Ukrainian identity, particularly in the east and south

- A concerning readiness for violence
- Very low civic engagement
- Somewhat low social tolerance, particularly in the northwest

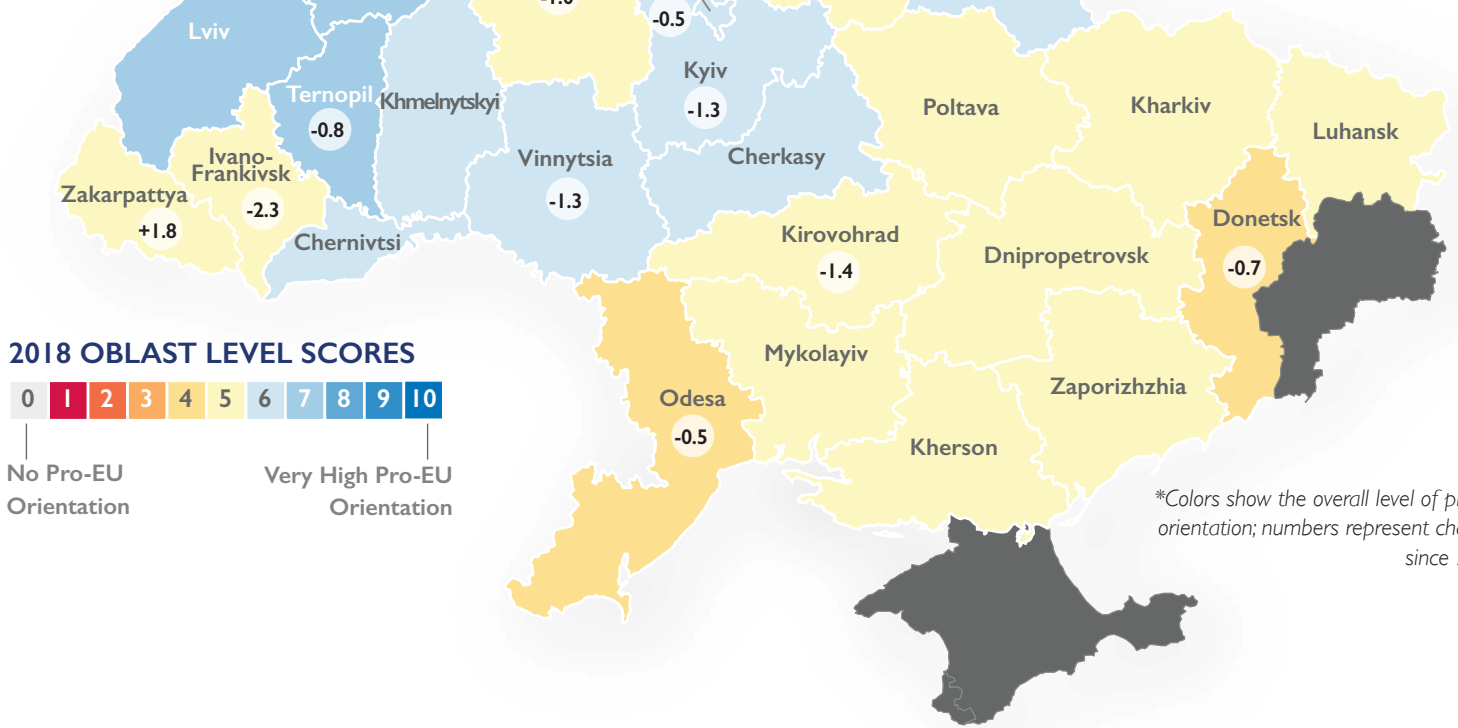
- Increase in tolerance for corruption
- Decrease in perceived benefit from the EU and increased skepticism about the EU's stability



## PRO-EU ORIENTATION

The degree to which one supports EU integration and NATO membership, and would vote positively in a potential EU accession referendum.

National Average	
2016	2018
6.5	5.9

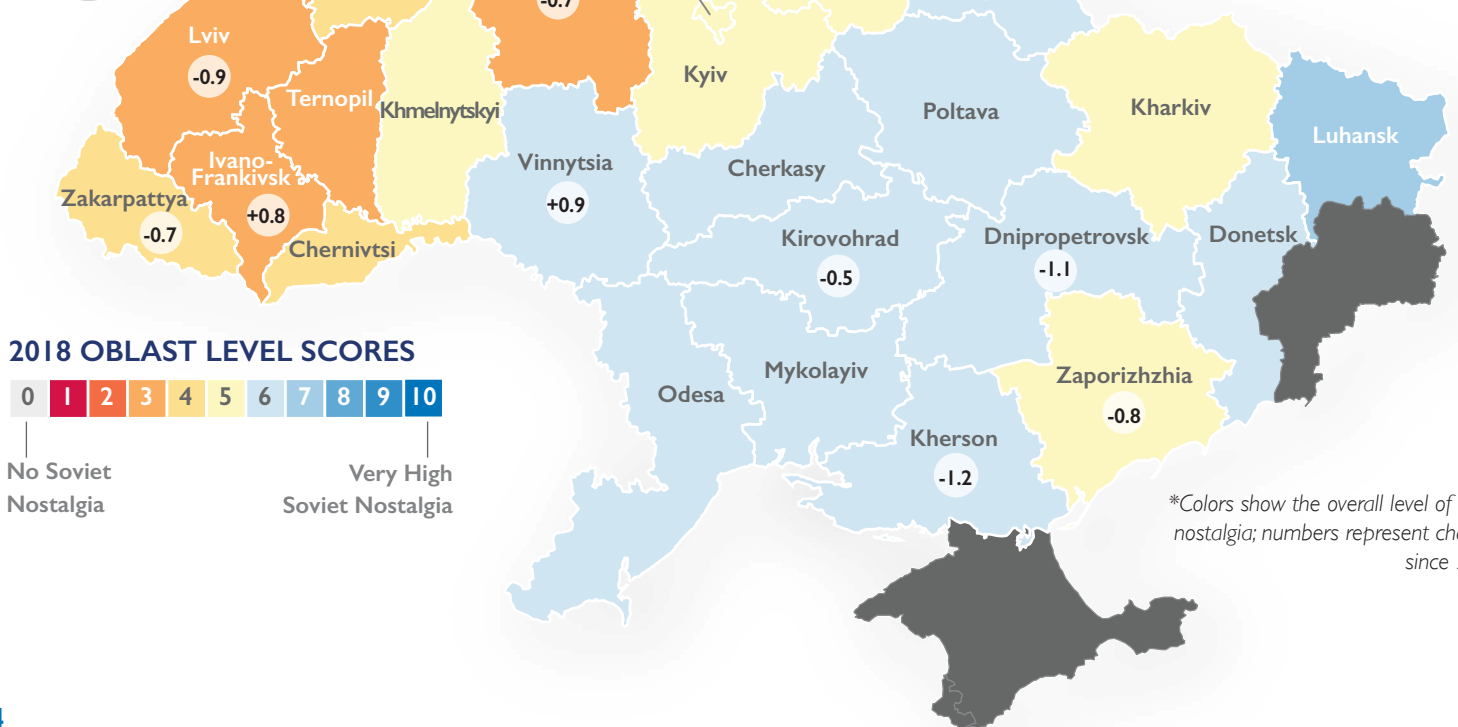


\*Colors show the overall level of pro-EU orientation; numbers represent changes since 2016.

## SOVIET NOSTALGIA

The extent to which one regrets the collapse of the Soviet Union and believes that life was better before 1991.

National Average	
2016	2018
5.8	5.5



\*Colors show the overall level of soviet nostalgia; numbers represent changes since 2016.



# SUPPORT FOR THE REFORM PROCESS

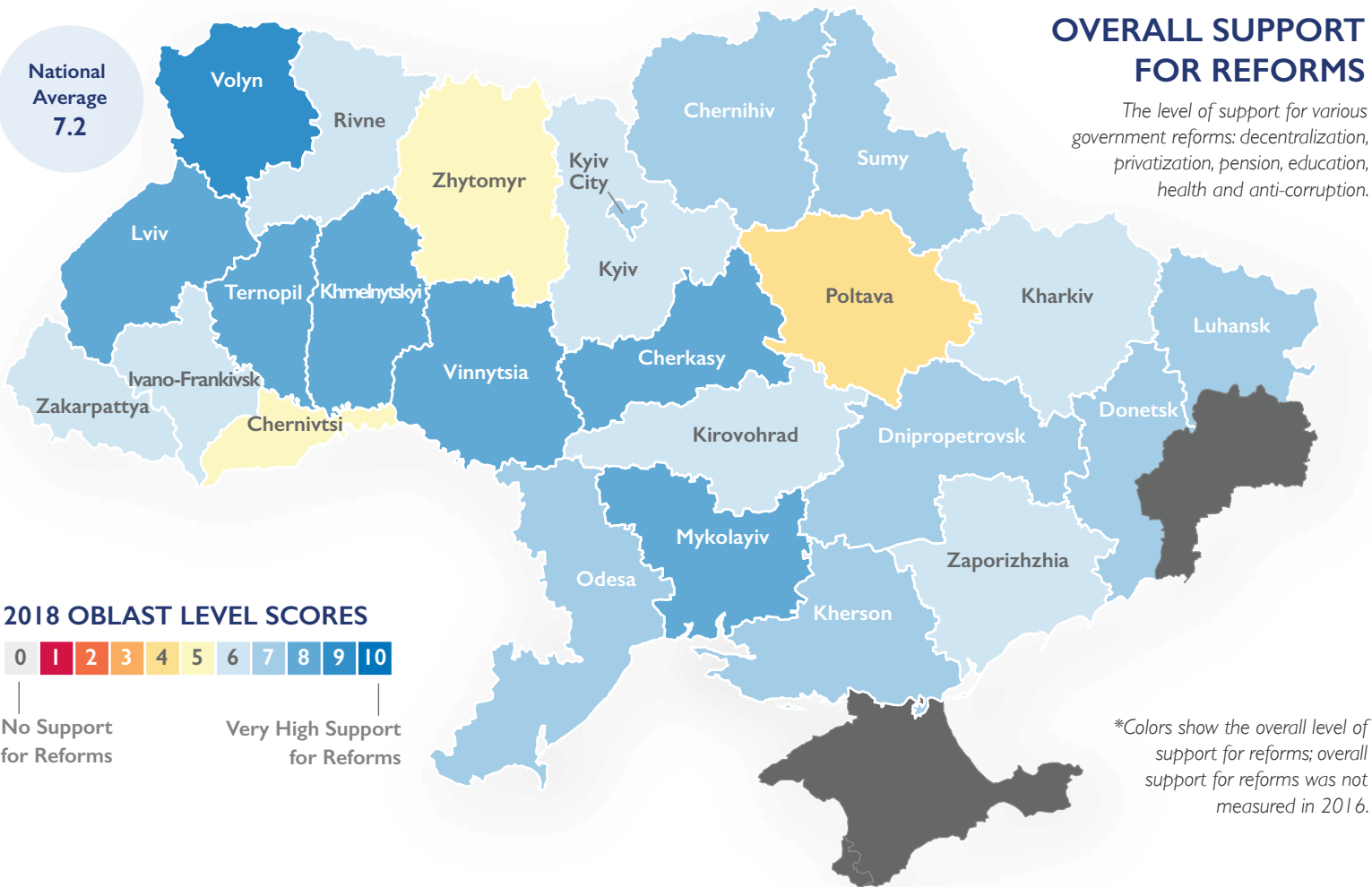
SCORE identified and measured the drivers and strategic entry points for improving public support for Ukraine's ambitious reform process.

## TOP RECOMMENDATIONS & TAKEAWAYS

- Support for all reforms, with the exception of privatization (while very low), is declining. People are most skeptical of “pocket book reforms” such as pensions, healthcare and utilities.
- Corruption remains a key grievance of the public, but support for anti-corruption reform is waning as people lose hope in the possibility of progress.
- There is a correlation between economic security and reforms (i.e. people expect the reform process to lead to tangible improvements in their quality of life).
- Strengthening civic values has a positive impact on perception of reforms.

## CHANGES SINCE 2016

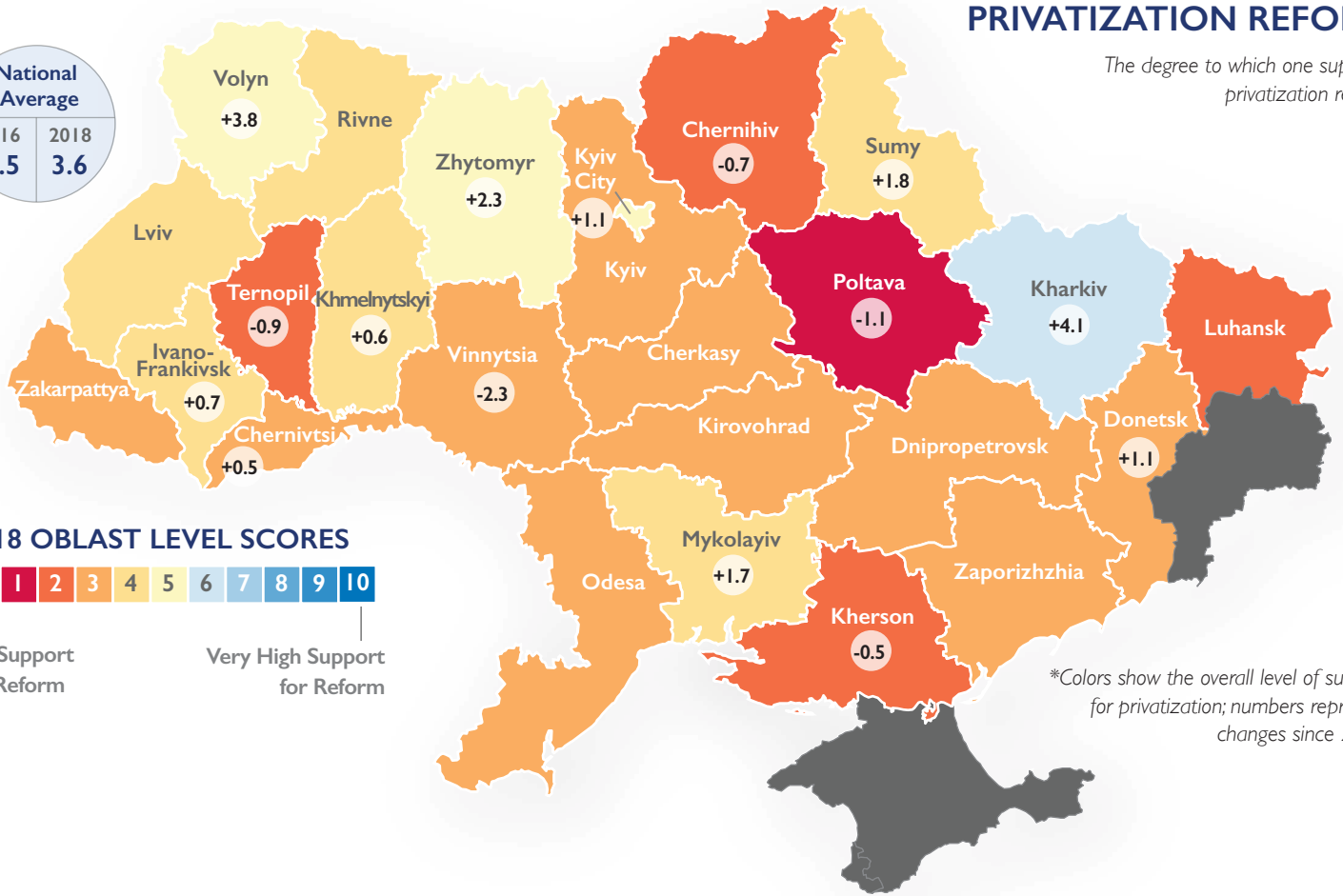
+ What Improved	What Stayed The Same	- What Got Worse
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased feelings of economic, human and personal security in most oblasts</li> <li>• Improved perceptions of infrastructure and state services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low trust in local and national authorities, security services and media institutions</li> <li>• Low support for privatization reform</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decreased support for decentralization, deregulation and anti-corruption reforms</li> <li>• Significant increase in tolerance to corruption</li> </ul>



## SUPPORT FOR PRIVATIZATION REFORM

The degree to which one supports privatization reform.

National Average	
2016	2018
3.5	3.6



### 2018 OBLAST LEVEL SCORES

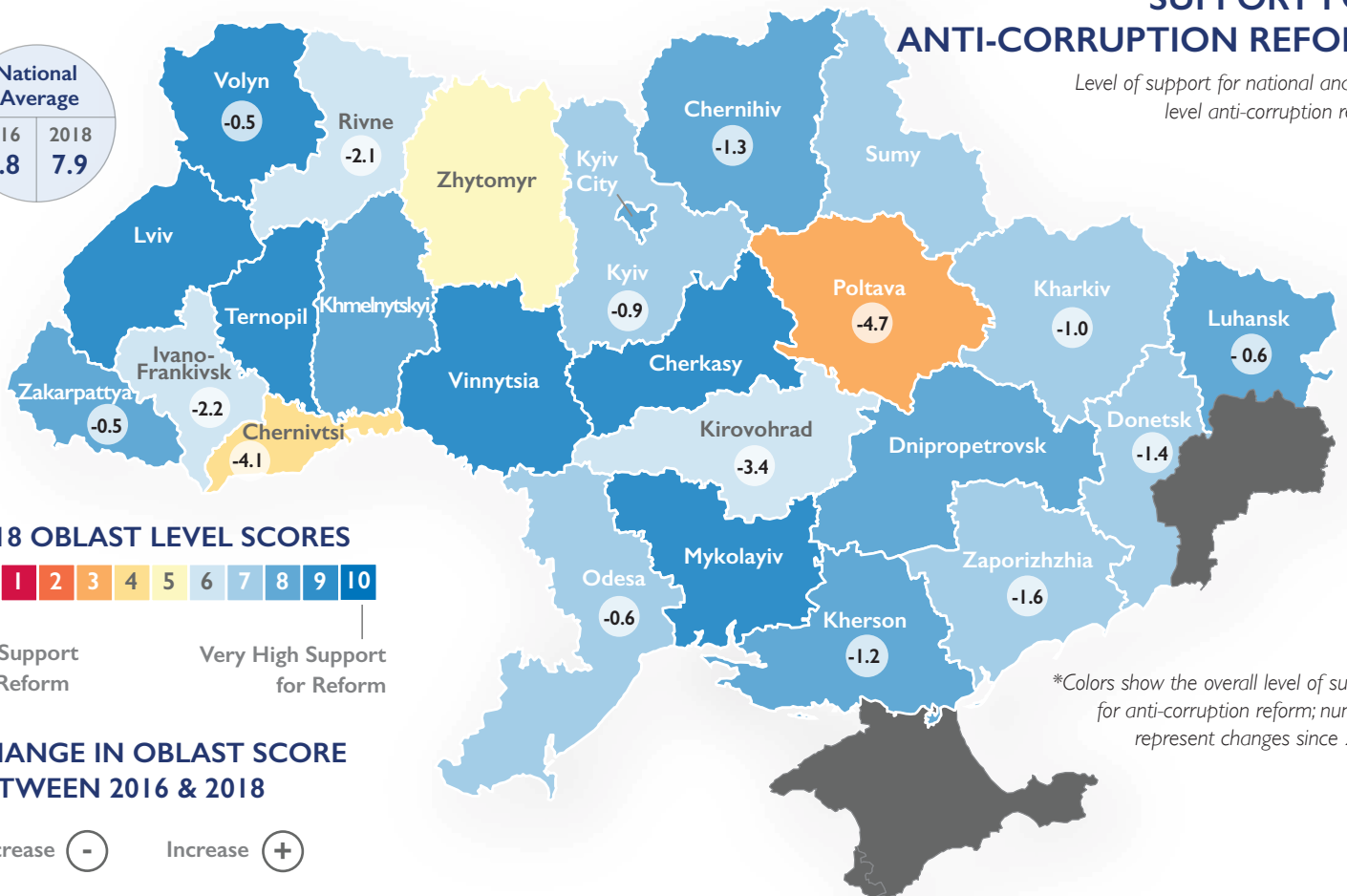


\*Colors show the overall level of support for privatization; numbers represent changes since 2016.

## SUPPORT FOR ANTI-CORRUPTION REFORM

Level of support for national and local level anti-corruption reform.

National Average	
2016	2018
8.8	7.9



### 2018 OBLAST LEVEL SCORES



\*Colors show the overall level of support for anti-corruption reform; numbers represent changes since 2016.

### CHANGE IN OBLAST SCORE BETWEEN 2016 & 2018



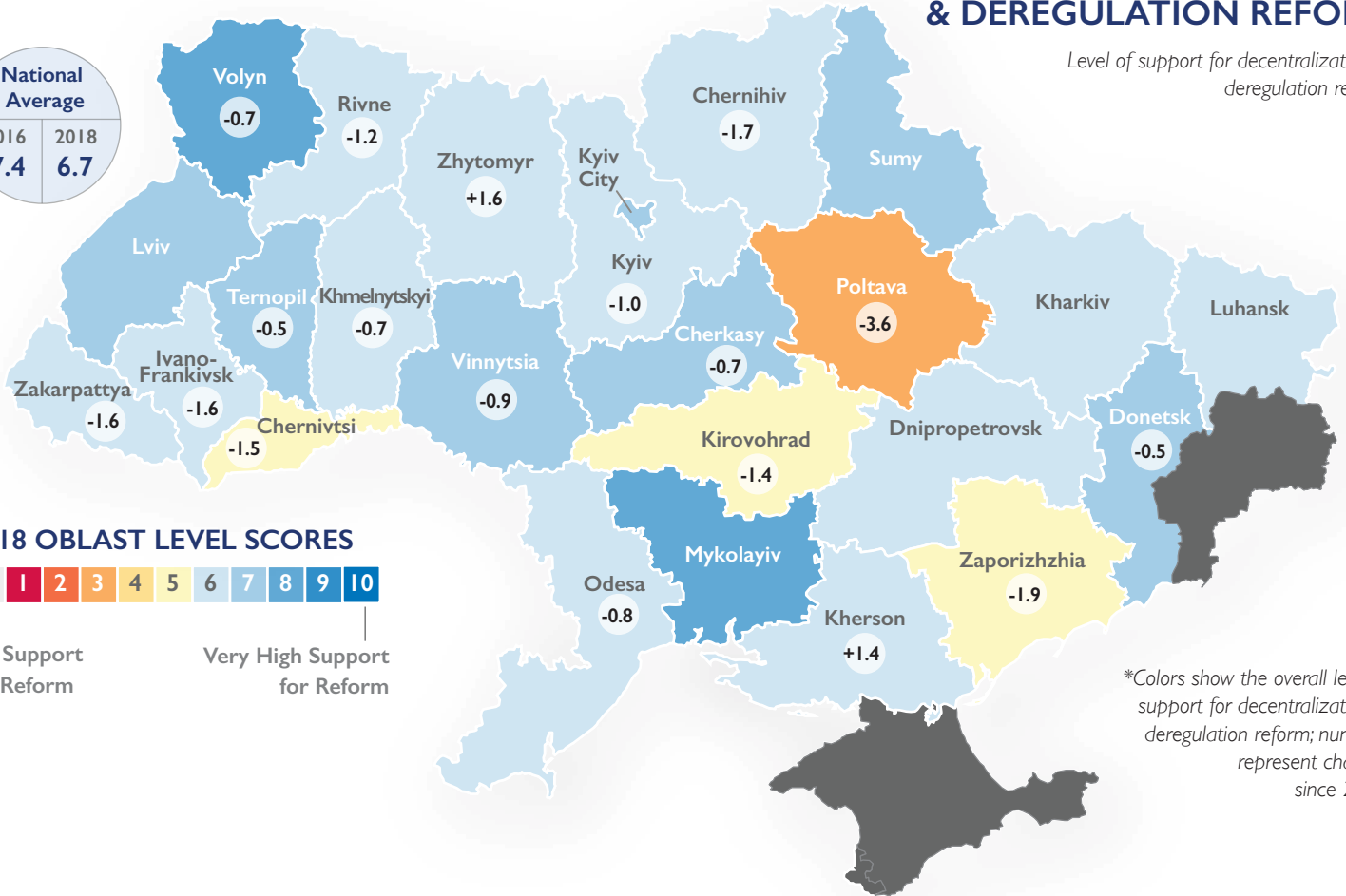
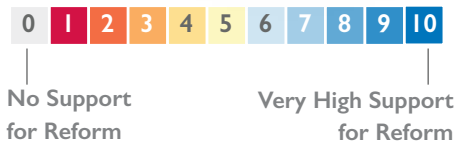


## SUPPORT FOR DECENTRALIZATION & DEREGULATION REFORM

Level of support for decentralization & deregulation reform.

National Average	
2016	2018
7.4	6.7

### 2018 OBLAST LEVEL SCORES

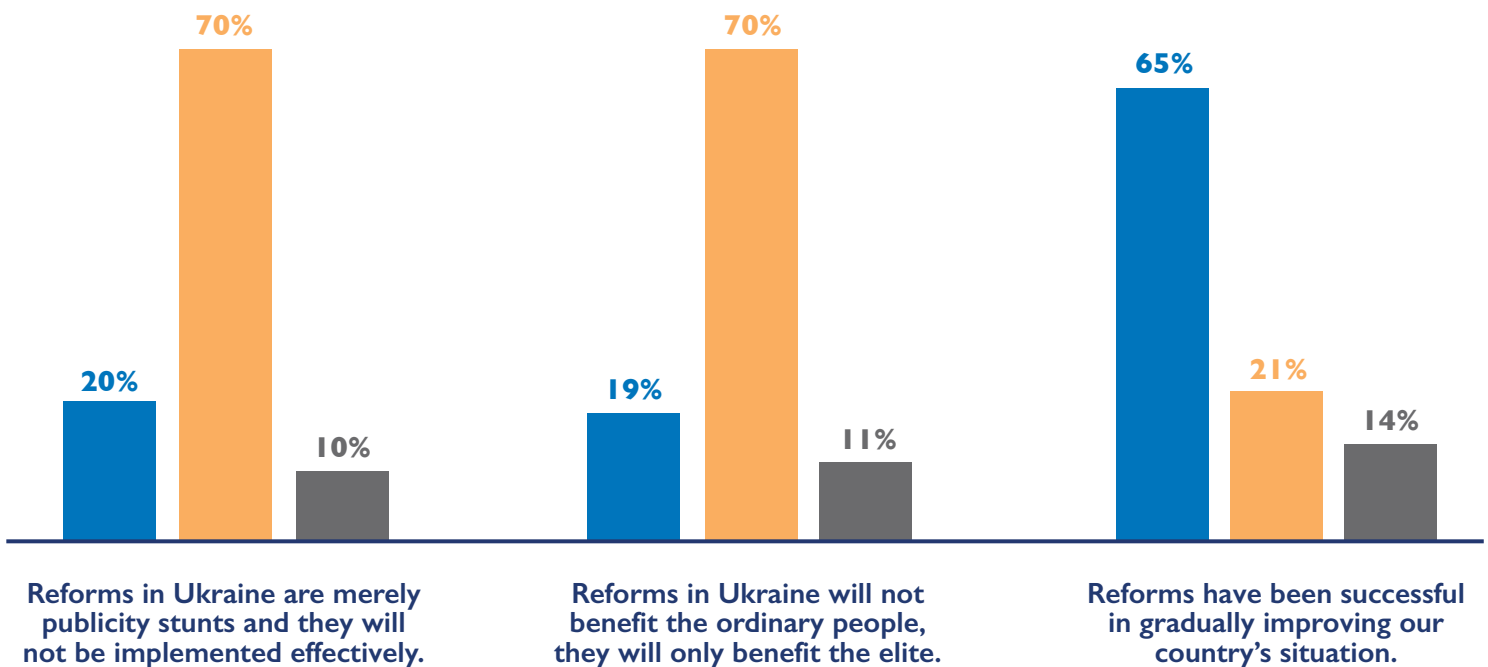


\*Colors show the overall level of support for decentralization & deregulation reform; numbers represent changes since 2016.

### Skepticism About Implementation of Reforms National Averages

■ Strongly/Somewhat Disagree   
 ■ Don't Know  
■ Strongly/Somewhat Agree

\*The below are examples of individual questions that form the overall "Support for Reform" indicator.







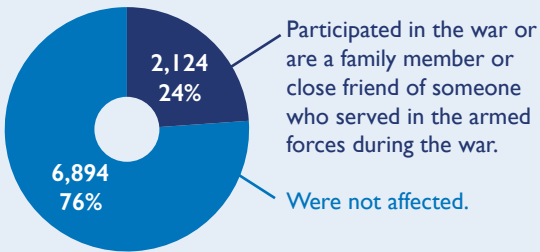
# IMPACT ON PARTICIPANTS IN THE WAR

SCORE found that up to a quarter of the Ukrainian population participated in the war or are close to a participant.

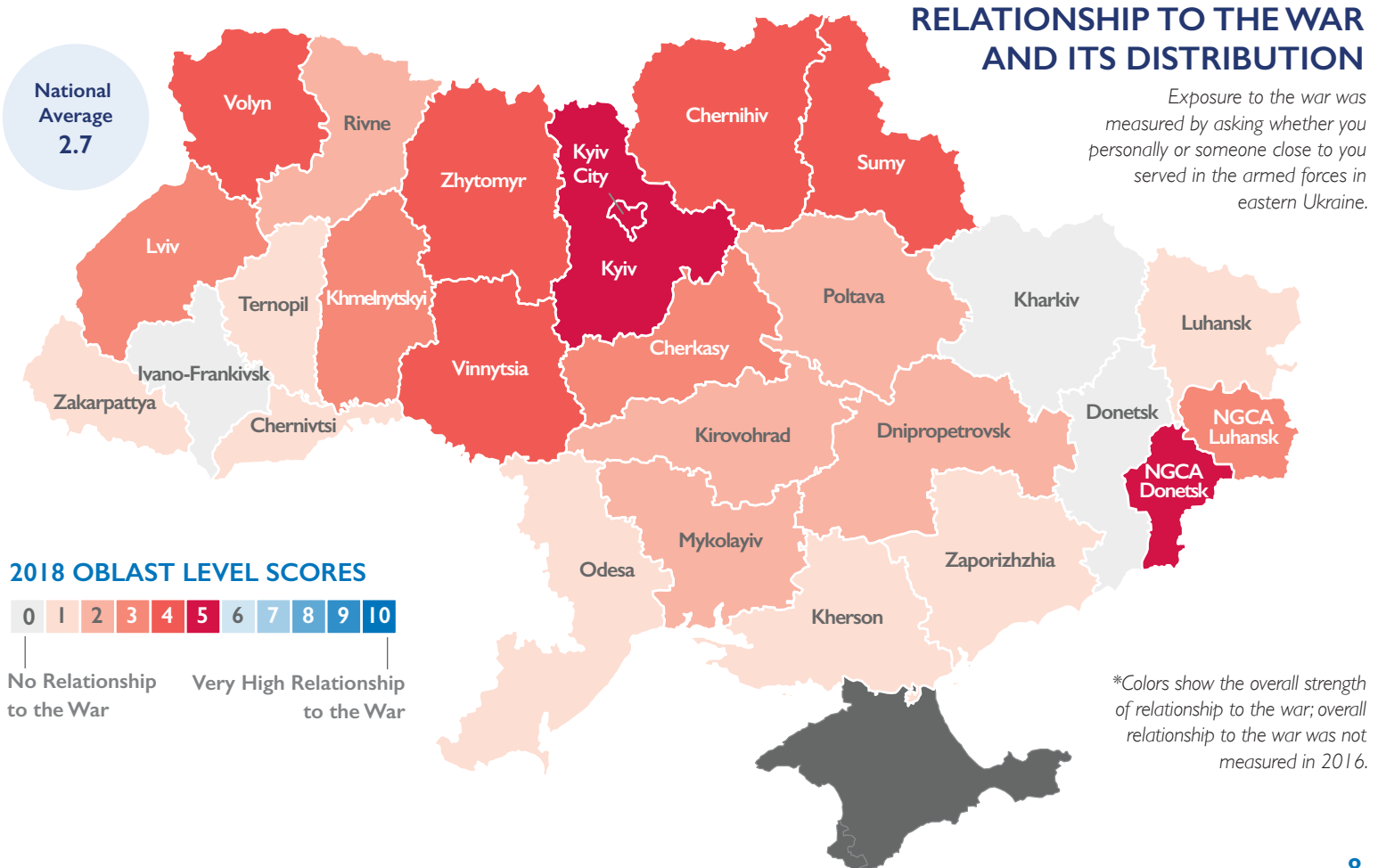
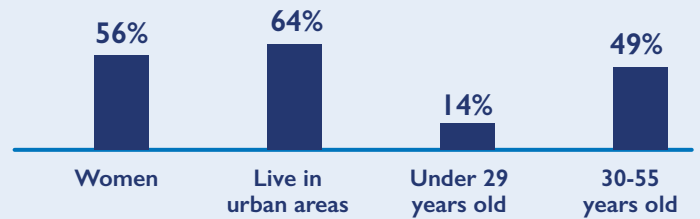
## TOP RECOMMENDATIONS & TAKEAWAYS

- A quarter of the population, or up to 10 million Ukrainians, either participated in the war or are a family member or close friend of someone who served in the armed forces during the war.
- This group is more likely to suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, exhibit more aggression and intolerance, and have lower empathy, social skills and family cohesion. They are more likely to have radical nationalistic tendencies and be economically insecure.
- The highest concentrations of war participants are in western Ukraine and Kyiv.
- Effective rehabilitation and outreach programs to this community could have a strong impact on improving tolerance and support for an inclusive Ukrainian identity.

### Of the 10,060 people surveyed...

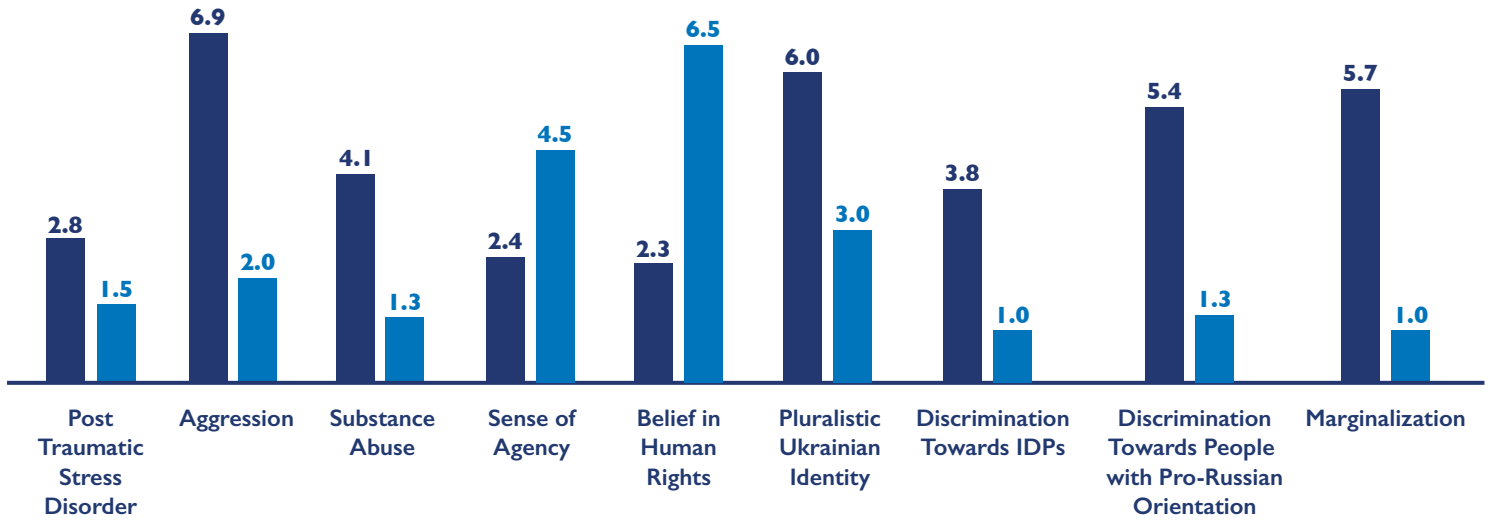


### Of those who have participated in or are close to someone who participated in the war...



**Mental Health and Civic Attitudes of Participants in the War Compared to Those That Were Not Affected**

■ Affected, Relationship with the War  
 ■ Not Affected, No Relationship with the War



*\*National average based on a 0 - 10 scale; the above indicators measure the traits of participants in the war and their close friends and families compared to those who were not affected by the war.*



# INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND FUTURE OF THE DONBAS

SCORE assessed Ukrainians' perceptions about prospects for peace and the future of the areas affected by the ongoing war in the east, unveiling key differences in intergroup relations.

## TOP RECOMMENDATIONS & TAKEAWAYS

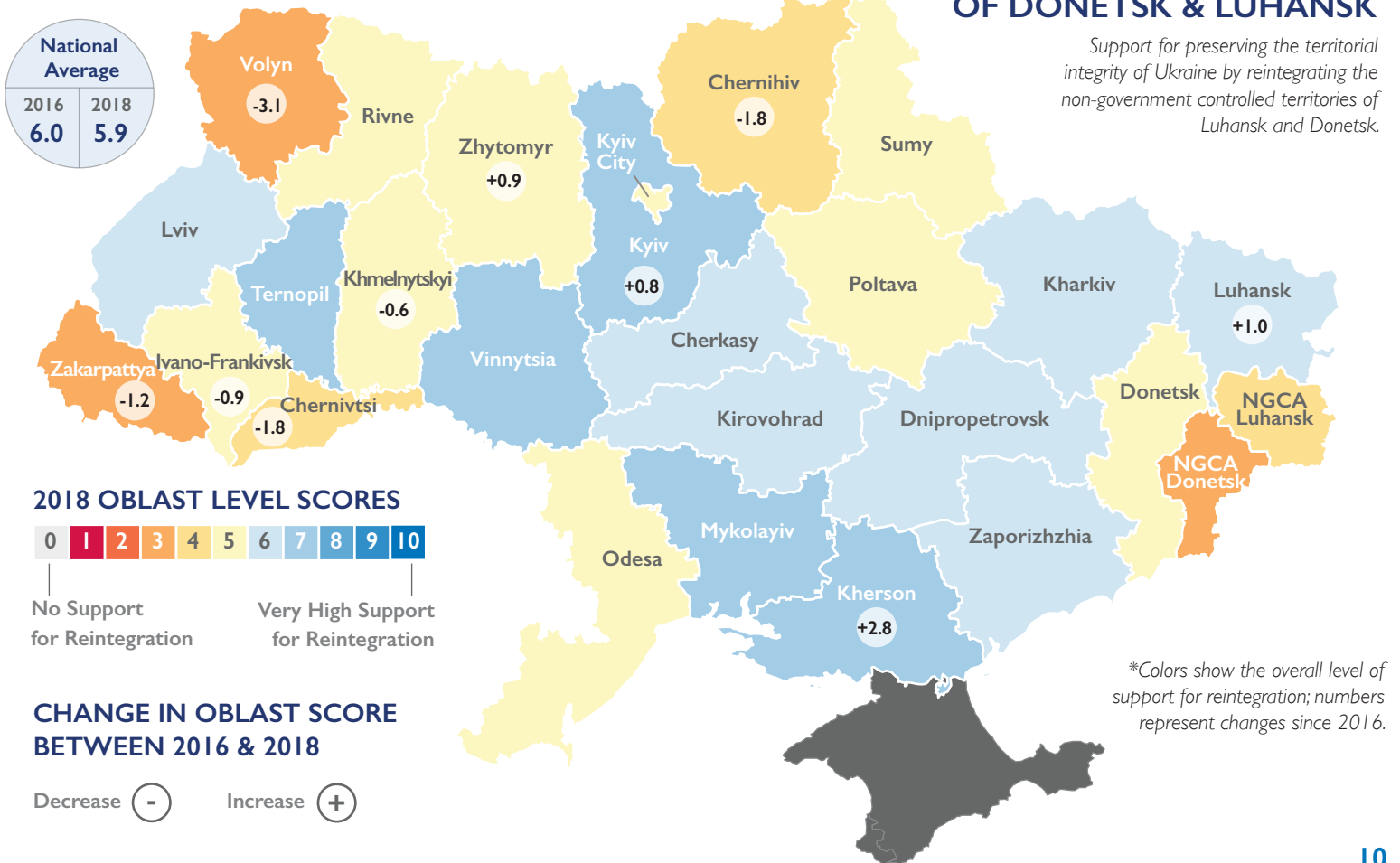
- Ukrainians in the NGCAs and GCAs both have similar desires to reunite.
- Support for reintegration is significantly lower in the west than the east. Support in the west is decreasing due to fatigue from the conflict and a lack of understanding or visible progress of the peace process.
- Reintegration is threatened by poor intergroup relations and lack of contact between eastern and western Ukraine.
- Hostility in the west toward the east of the country is slightly higher than hostility in the east toward the west. The non-government controlled areas of the country have a strong skepticism of the Ukrainian government and its efforts to end the war.
- Ensuring a Donbas perspective in discussions about the peace process will be essential to its success.

## CHANGES SINCE 2016

+ What Improved	What Stayed The Same	- What Got Worse
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased feeling of human security and civic optimism, which provides room for constructive dialogue</li> <li>• Support for unity of Ukrainians nationwide and territorial integrity of Ukraine</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intergroup tensions and stereotypes felt by Ukrainians across the country</li> <li>• Support for peace talks across Ukraine</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased fatigue of the war across the country is exacerbated by the absence of clear reintegration strategy</li> </ul>

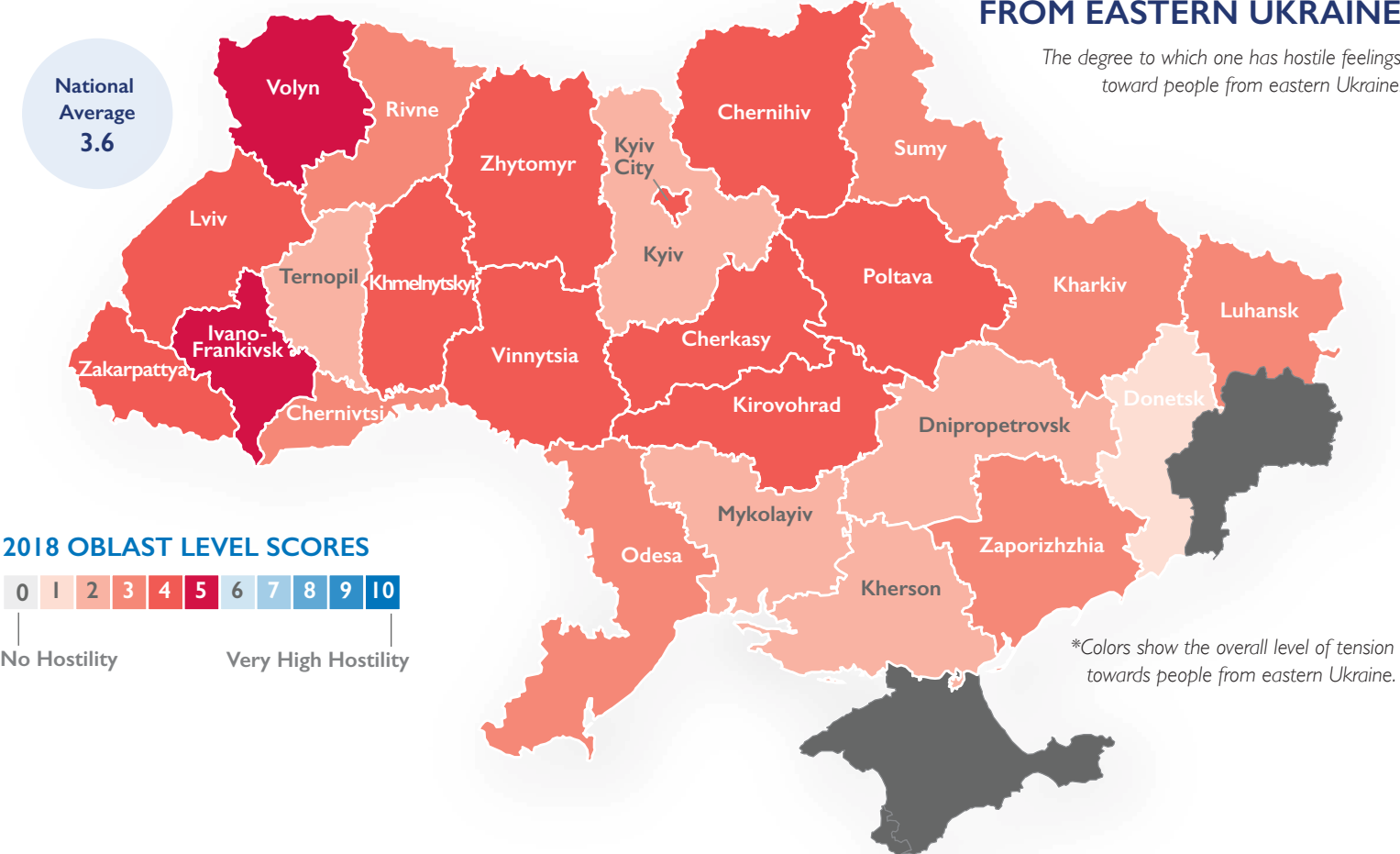
## SUPPORT FOR REINTEGRATION OF DONETSK & LUHANSK

Support for preserving the territorial integrity of Ukraine by reintegrating the non-government controlled territories of Luhansk and Donetsk.



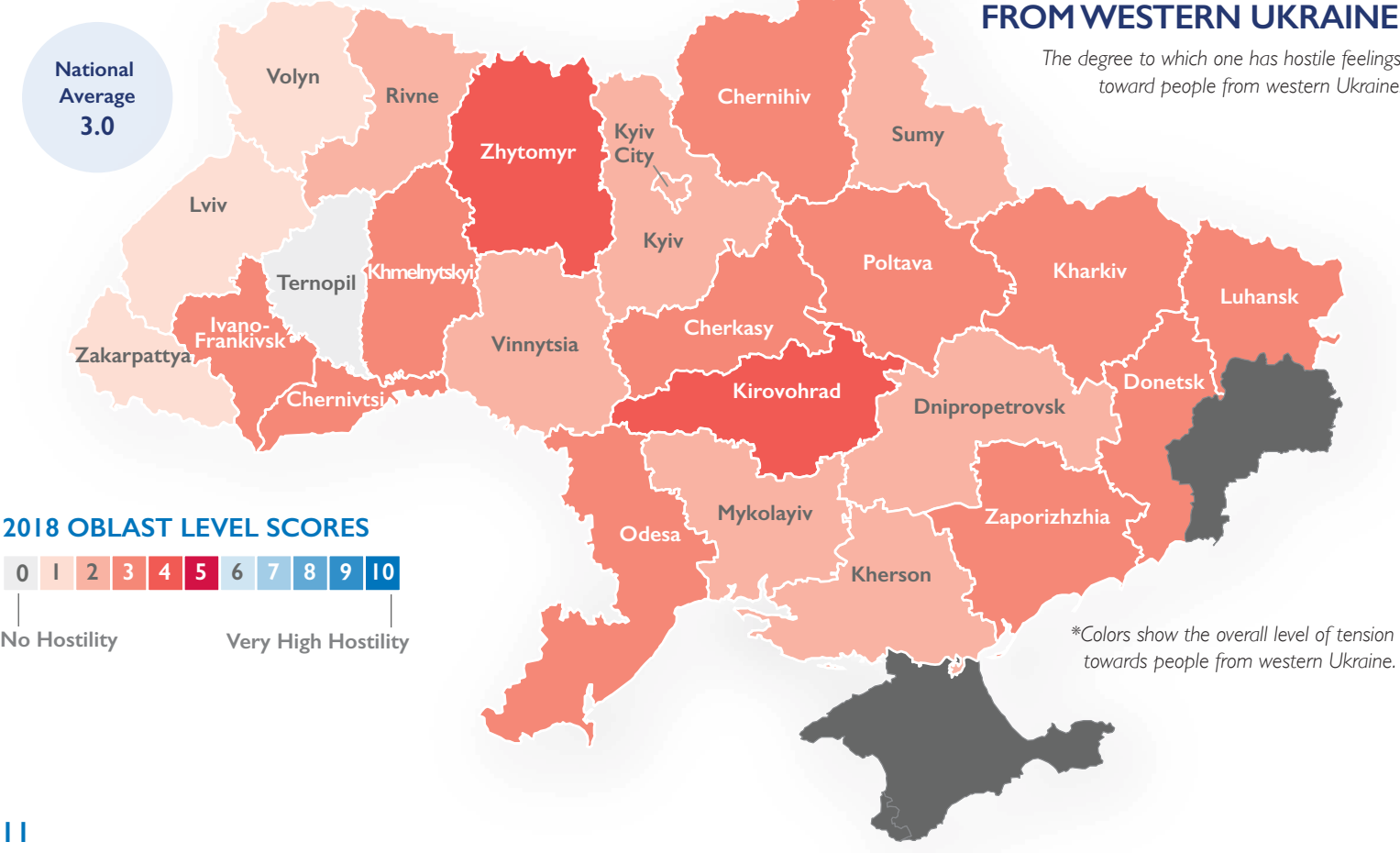
### TENSION TOWARD PEOPLE FROM EASTERN UKRAINE

The degree to which one has hostile feelings toward people from eastern Ukraine.



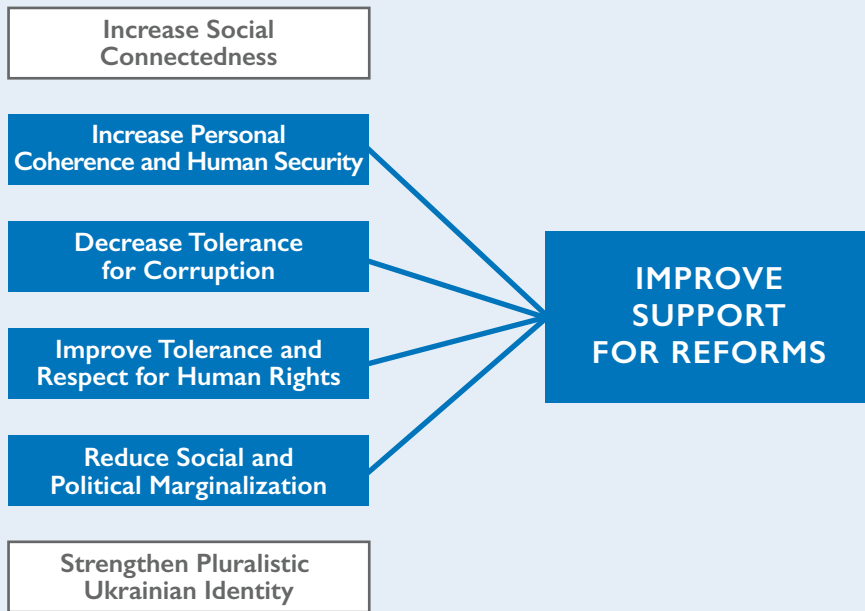
### TENSION TOWARD PEOPLE FROM WESTERN UKRAINE

The degree to which one has hostile feelings toward people from western Ukraine.



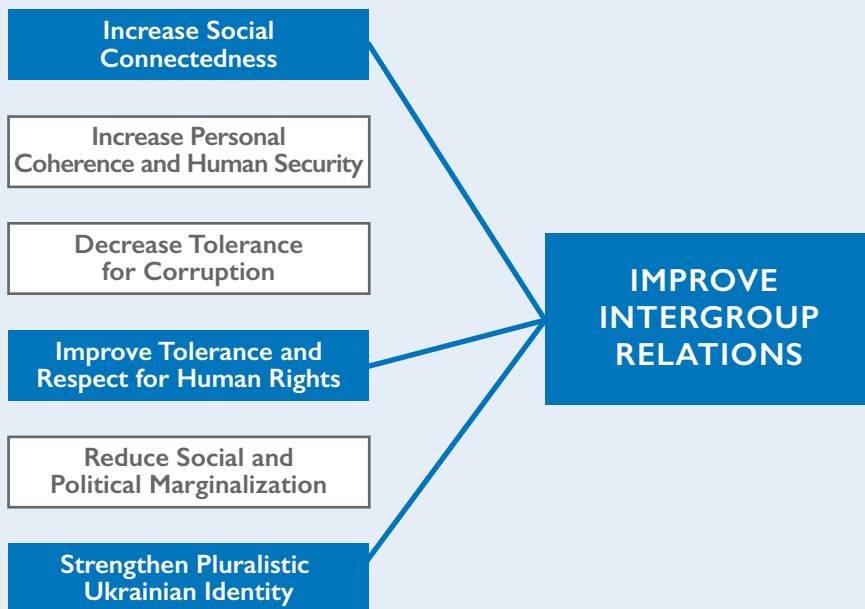
# SCORE Predictive Models

SCORE allows policy makers and those designing development programs to identify the outcomes and results that will contribute to specific development and peacebuilding goals. More models are available at [www.scoreforpeace.org/en/ukraine](http://www.scoreforpeace.org/en/ukraine).



## Increasing Support for Reform

Support for reforms is not just about witnessing or participating in the reform process. Ukrainians with strong civic values such as social tolerance, respect for human rights and social responsibility are more likely to support the reform process.



## Improving Intergroup Relations

Ukrainians are increasingly becoming united around a national identity that values tolerance and pluralism. Some regions of the country have embraced this identity more than others, and strengthening these underlying values can improve intergroup relations across Ukraine.

## Pro-European Orientation in Eastern Ukraine

According to the SCORE longitudinal predictive model, two main factors influence whether Ukrainians share pro-European orientation and values. The model finds that one of the strongest predictors of pro-European orientation is experience with improved service delivery which results in stronger trust in institutions. Conversely, the model finds that a strong sense of Soviet nostalgia, rooted in values such as social welfare, empathy and fairness, and a strong skepticism of free markets, rather than allegiance to or influence by Russia, inhibits European orientation.

