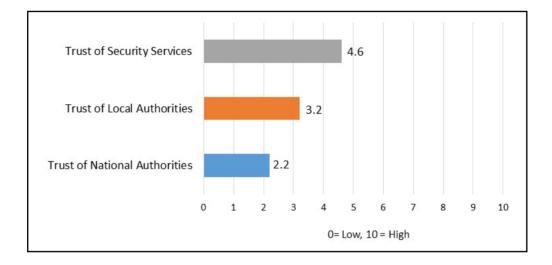


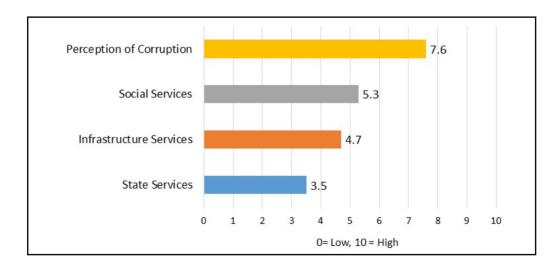
Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index

Executive Brief on Governance and Public Policy Reforms

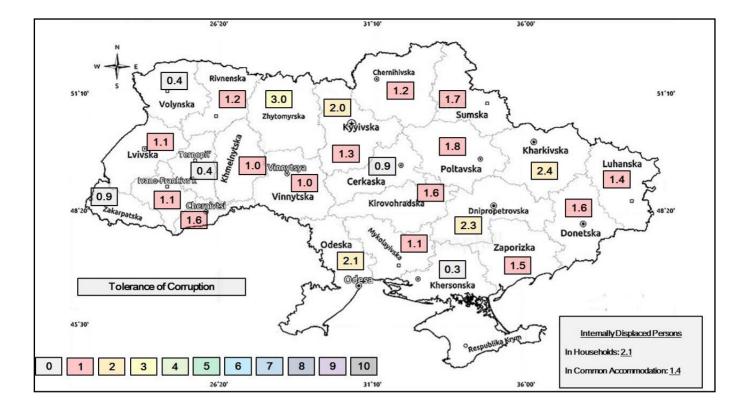
Despite their ideological differences, Ukrainian people share the same opinions on two major issues: high-levels of corruption and mistrust of institutions. To better understand the underlying causes of these challenges, SCORE Index has measured the levels of trust towards institutions. Throughout the country, citizens display the highest level of trust towards security services (i.e. Ukrainian army & police), which could be attributed to the current security situation in the country related to events experienced in Crimea and the Donbas region. Trust towards national authorities (score of 2.2 out of 10) is even lower than local authorities (score of 3.2 out of 10).



Equivalently, the research findings indicate low levels of satisfaction towards the services provided by the central government, and discontent regarding its policies (i.e. management of the national budget, and foreign policy). Furthermore, research results indicate that perceived corruption and trust towards government institutions are negatively related: the higher the perception of corruption, the lower the trust towards national and local authorities. As further indicated by the chart below, the level of corruption perceived by the society is very high (score of 7.2 out of 10). Yet, in general - people have very low tolerance towards corruption (score of 1.5 out of 10). So, if there were another way to go, people would choose not to be involved in corrupt practices.

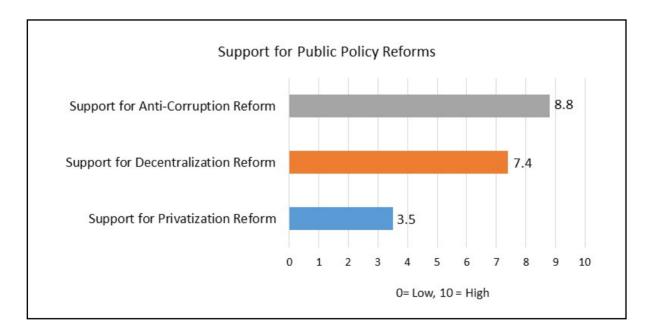


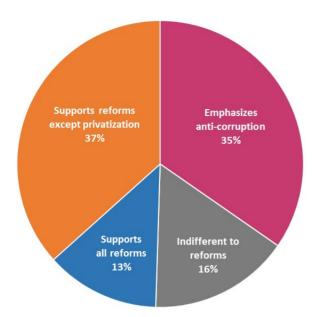
However, there are some regional differences regarding the tolerance of corruption. SCORE Index findings indicate that citizens of large cities in the South and the East are found to be more tolerant towards corrupt practices. Urbanisation seem to increase tolerance for corruption, which suggests that people might be using corruption as a strategy to survive bureaucratic hurdles in urban areas.



Level of support towards different policy reforms

Ukrainians share a common concern that the country's governance has not improved over the years (after the fall of Soviet Union). Therefore, there is generally very strong support for anti-corruption (score of 8.8 out of 10) and decentralization reforms (score of 7.4 out of 10), and generally any reform that will increase the efficiency of the public sector throughout the country. However, people do not consider "privatization" as part of a desirable reform package. This could be related to negative past experiences with privatization in the early post-communist years; or due to public perceptions of "privatization" as a potential area of corruption where political elites make gains.





Further SCORE analysis reveals that only **13%** of the respondents strongly **support all** types of reforms (including privatization, decentralization, deregulation and anti-corruption reforms).

37% of the respondents strongly **support** anti-corruption, decentralization and deregulation reform **but oppose privatization**.

35% of the respondents strongly emphasize their support for **anti-corruption** reforms, while they remain skeptical towards any other reform options.

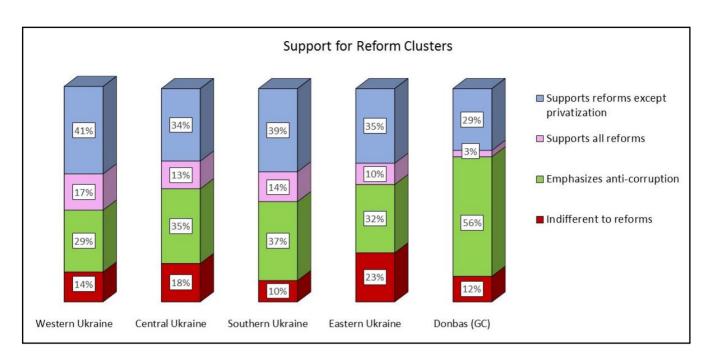
The remaining **16%** of the respondents are **indifferent to reforms** and did not display any specific preference in favor of the suggested reform options.

The table below highlights the profile of each group: People who support all reforms tend to be pro-EU, supporters of a free market philosophy, educated, optimistic and relatively young. Supporters of all reform except privatization are similar in their pro-EU orientation, but do not share the youthful optimism of all-reform supporters, mistrust national authorities and are intolerant of corruption. People who only support anti-corruption are more likely to be of a lower socioeconomic status, pro-Russian, and characterized by nostalgia of the Soviet era. People who are indifferent to all reforms are more likely to be experiencing psychosocial distress while being disengaged from political issues.

Indifferent to all reforms	Supports anti-corruption reform only	Pro-reform except for privatization	Supports all reforms
High tolerance for corruption	Exposure to Pro-Russia media	Low tolerance for corruption	Pro-EU orientation
Hostility to Western Ukraine	Some hostility to Western Ukraine	High political security	Free market orientation
Strong exposure to pro-Russia media	Elevated Soviet Nostalgia	Pro-EU orientation	Pro-NATO orientation
Pro-Russia orientation	Pro-Russia orientation	Affinity to pro-Maidan	Perceived EU benefit
Affinity to separatists	Low level of income	Lower trust of national authorities	Affinity to pro-Maidan
Low environmental and political security	Low civic optimism	Lower support for Minsk	Absence of Soviet Nostalgia
Hostility to younger people	Rural		Younger
Poor psychosocial adjustment			High civic optimism
Lack of perceived EU benefit			High level of income and education
High trait pessimism			Lower support for Minsk
Reduced perception of corruption			
Low information consumption			
Higher trust of national authorities			
Low social tolerance			

The following graph demonstrates the percentage of each identified group according to geographical location. It is worth noting that the percentage of the respondents who support all reforms gradually decrease as one moves from West towards the East.

In contrast, support for anti-corruption reform only follows the opposite trend, and increases as one moves from West to East. In other words, people in Western Ukraine tend to be comfortable with most types of reforms, whereas people in Eastern Ukraine tend to only be comfortable with anti corruption reform while being skeptical of decentralization. Beyond this regional difference, the reluctance to endorse privatization is prevalent nation-wide. Lastly, the highest percentage of people who are generally indifferent to policy reforms are in Eastern Ukraine (23%). Hence, there is a great need for public dialogue and awareness-raising, especially in Eastern Ukraine to inform the public on policy reforms and their benefits.



Policy recommendations:

While a small segment of the population enthusiastically supports all types of reforms, most others are skeptical of reforms to one or another degree. Two groups that should be prioritized for engagement are those who support all reforms except privatization; and those who only support anti-corruption reform.

1. Engaging with citizens who are primarily skeptical of privatization reforms

As described above, such citizens tend to be supportive of EU membership for Ukraine and understand the wider need to modernise and strengthen institutions through decentralization and anti-corruption reform. However, they fear that privatization, while useful in theory, would lead to additional corruption in the Ukrainian context. To address such concerns, public dialogue on the purpose and modalities of privatization is required. For instance, how can transparency be guaranteed in the process of handing over state assets? To what extent will tax-paying citizens benefit from privatization, either in the form of better and less expensive services or through increased corporate tax income of the state? Who exactly would own privatised assets: A small number of already wealthy Ukrainian business leaders, or a more distributed group of small to medium size shareholders? How can it be ensured that privatised corporations will not then be used to influence political developments in the country? Such are the questions and dilemmas that public dialogue on the scope and method of privatization should address. Given that concerns over privatization are particularly prevalent in already pro-EU West Ukraine, that is where much of this dialogue should take place – but without excluding perspectives from other regions of the country.

2. Engaging with citizens who are skeptical of decentralization reforms

The SCORE Index has revealed that what underlies skepticism towards decentralization is a fundamental disagreement regarding what should be the role of the state in public life. Specifically, citizens who are skeptical of decentralization display elevated support for state-centric models of governance, as evidenced by their high level of soviet nostalgia and pro-Russia orientation. Even so, they do believe that anti-corruption reform should take place while retaining a centralized state structure.

The stakes in addressing the concerns of such citizens are high: A successful engagement would reduce their soviet nostalgia and pro-Russia orientation, while strengthening their civic loyalty towards Ukraine. Failing to engage them, in contrast, would increase their civic pessimism and eventually lead to increased sympathy for separatist narratives.

More specifically, a helpful strategy would be to engage such citizens in public dialogue on how anti-corruption reform can be effective, which domains of public life it could touch, and how it can be supported by improved institutional efficiency – so that citizens will no longer feel the need to use corruption as a means of getting their daily problems addressed. Achieving progress on the anti-corruption agenda will go a long way towards resolving the underlying soviet nostalgia which drives pro-Russia attitudes in East and South Ukraine.

At the same time, dialogue needs to take place regarding the role of the state in public life: What is it that makes a country strong? Must a country be centralized for it to be cohesive? Or is a nation stronger when decision-making authority is distributed more widely? Under what circumstances would decentralization lead to improved service delivery? Such issues need to be discussed openly, especially in East and South Ukraine, both to address citizen concerns but also to educate regarding how a contemporary democratic state should function.

About SCORE Index in Ukraine: Recently emerged and long standing political and cultural divisions have been exploited and in part have contributed to Ukraine's current conflict and history of regional divisions. To address the issues underpinning community tensions and cohesion, USAID/OTI supported programme "Ukraine Confidence Building Initiative (UCBI)" implemented the Social cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index in partnership with the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD) and local survey/polling partner GfK. The UCBI programme is complementing ongoing USAID efforts to create a prosperous and stable Ukraine by responding to the crisis in the East, helping the Government of Ukraine engage citizens in the reform process, and promoting national unity. Within this context, the SCORE Index in Ukraine has focused on 5 key areas: identity and emerging trends, governance and public policy reforms, civic engagement, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and the peace process. In terms of sample structure, more than 7,700 interviews were conducted throughout Ukraine, (over 300 per oblast in 24 oblasts and in Kyiv city) as well as 640 interviews in non-controlled areas of Donbas; 300 interviews in Crimea and 1600 interviews with IDPs. All interviews were conducted via telephone.

About SCORE Index: The SCORE Index was originally developed by SeeD in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with USAID funding. The tool supports policy decisions for national and international stakeholders and is particularly suited for post-conflict multi-ethnic societies that now face peace-building and state-building challenges. By examining social cohesion and reconciliation, the SCORE Index aims to identify and analyse the factors that underpin peace in a society - as needed in order to evaluate intervention programs as well as to better inform them. So far, the SCORE has been implemented three times in Cyprus (2013, 2014 and 2015), once in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2013), once in Nepal (2014) and currently in Ukraine, Liberia and Moldova.

About SeeD: SeeD is a peace-building think tank, with regional scope, that uses participatory research to support international organizations, local policy makers, stakeholders and peace-practitioners to develop, implement and monitor targeted efforts towards social cohesion and reconciliation. SeeD specializes in the development of innovative quantitative methodologies for use in peace-building contexts such as Participatory Polling and the SCORE Index, which seeks to understand the underlying social dynamics of conflict and its transformation.

About UCBI: In July 2014, USAID began implementation of a program in Ukraine to support the country's historic political transition and mitigate the effects of this crisis. The Confidence Building Initiative (UCBI) complements ongoing USAID efforts to create a prosperous and stable Ukraine. UCBI provides fast, flexible, short-term assistance to Ukrainian partners in support of a peaceful democratic transition and community cohesion in the East. The program's current objectives are (1) to mitigate social tensions caused by the conflict, which threaten Ukraine's political transition and (2) to increase availability of information and inform public debate on issues related to the conflict and its impact.

The SCORE Index in Ukraine has been implemented in partnership between by the USAID/OTI supported programme "Ukraine Confidence Building Initiative" (UCBI) and SeeD.

