**Half a year to the elections: candidate and party rankings, voter motivation, public expectations**

 *A nationwide public opinion survey in Ukraine was conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation jointly with the Razumkov Center sociological service on August 16-22, 2018 in all regions of Ukraine excluding the Crimea and occupied territories of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. 2,019 respondents were polled aged 18 years and older. The theoretical sample error does not exceed 2.3%.*

*For comparison, results are provided of nationwide surveys that were jointly conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation and partners in May 2013, March 2014, December 2016, December 2017 and May 2018.*

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* The overwhelming majority of citizens (70%) intend to participate in the presidential elections in Ukraine, while 23% (6% more than in May 2018) do not want to participate. The rest of the respondents have not yet decided whether they will participate. Donbas differs from the rest of the regions, with 36% of those polled saying they do not intend to participate in the elections.
* The main reason why voters are not inclined to vote is the absence of a candidate worth voting for (30% of those who do not plan to participate in the elections). This reasoning is particularly widespread in the West (52%) and Donbas (52%). The Donbas region differs considerably in this regard: the main reason why residents of this region do not want to participate in the elections is a lack of faith that the elections will be honest (62% of those who are not inclined to vote) and a lack of interest in political in general (42%).
* Among the presidential candidates, Yulia Tymoshenko’s ranking grew significantly in recent months: from 13.3% in May to 17.8% in August (among respondents who intent to participate in the elections). Next is Anatoliy Grytsenko – 8.4%, Petro Poroshenko – 7.9%, Vadim Rabinovich – 6.7%, Yuriy Boyko – 6.4%, Volodymyr Zelensky – 6.1%, Oleh Lyashko – 5.8%, Svyatoslav Vakarchuk – 5.6%. The percentage of those supporting “another candidate” dropped significantly from 9.7% in May to 3.7% in August. There are different levels of support in various regions. Two candidates – Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko – have support in nearly all regions of Ukraine (Poroshenko with the exception of the East). Anatoliy Grytsenko and Svyatoslav Vakarchuk are supported mostly in the West and Center, and Vadim Rabinovich and Yuriy Boyko in the South, East and Donbas. Oleh Lyashko has better results in the Center and South, and Volodymyr Zelensky in the South and Donbas. There is a noticeable trend of growing support for Boyko, Rabinovich and Tymoshenko among older age groups, and for Vakarchuk and Zelensky among youth.
* Only 37% of voters consider their choice in candidate final, while another 47% said they favor a particular candidate now but could still change their minds, and for another 11% everything could still change. No candidate has a share of stable supporters that exceeds half of potential voters. The highest such figures are for Rabinovich (50%), Tymoshenko (46%), Boyko (45%) and Grytsenko (42%), with lower figures for Lyashko (37%), Poroshenko (36%) and Vakarchuk (33%), while the percentage of definite supporters of Zelensky is only 16%.
* Among the factors that most influence choice of candidate, the following were most significant: candidate’s personal qualities (57%), previous activities (43%) and program and proposals (40%).
* With regard to motivations for choosing a candidate, there are two main motives for nearly all candidates: liking the candidate (a significant motive for 36% of voters) and the candidate’s ideas and proposals (also 36%). But the rest of the motives behind the choice are different for various candidates: for Yulia Tymoshenko’s voters it is important that she “sees real ways to overcome the economic crisis and ensure the country’s economic growth” (35%); that same motive applies to voters for Oleh Lyashko (32%). For voters for Vadim Rabinovich, Yuriy Boyko and Anatoliy Grytsenko it is important that these candidates will be able to ensure peace in Donbas (34% for Rabinovich voters, 34% for Grytsenko voters, and 31% for Boyko voters). For Boyko voters it is also important that he belongs to a party they support (32%). Svyatoslav Vakarchuk and Volodymyr Zelensky are attractive to their voters as individuals (half of voters for both candidates), one third of their voters see them as “fresh blood,” which the government badly needs. With Zelensky there is also hope that “he will care about people like me.” The motivations for voters supporting Petro Poroshenko differ the most from the rest: his voters appreciate him for what he has already been done for Ukraine (33%) and that he is respected in the world (25%).
* The majority of citizens (71%) support holding public debates between the top candidates: 38% consider participation in these debates mandatory and another 34% consider it desirable. Twenty-eight percent of Ukrainians will watch the debates regardless, and another 44% will watch if they are interesting.
* The five most interesting debate topics were: “How do you achieve peace in Donbas? How do you achieve the liberation of occupied territories of Donbas and integrate them into Ukraine?” (44%); “If elected president, which of the country’s problems will the candidate solve first?” (41%); “Development program for Ukraine for the years of one’s presidency and the longer-term.” (36%); “How will you ensure that living standards for Ukrainians increase?” (35%); “How will you overcome corruption in Ukraine?” (33%).
* Only 17% of Ukrainians believe the presidential elections will be honest; another 40% are certain the elections will not be very honest; and 29% are certain the elections will not be honest at all.
* Thirty-four percent of citizens believe the situation will change for the better after the presidential elections; almost the same percentage – 30 – are certain nothing will change; but only 11% predict a change for the worse.
* The level of potential readiness to participate in the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine is approximately the same as the presidential elections (68%), while 23% of respondents are not inclined to participate in the elections. The main reasons for not participating in the elections are: not seeing anyone to vote for (19%) and not believing the elections will be honest (17%). The greatest distrust in the honestly of the parliamentary elections is in Donbas, where 59% of those polled do not believe in the honesty of the elections, and in the Eastern region (46%).
* The political party with the most votes among those who will go to the polls is Batkivshchyna (18.5%), followed by Civic Position (9.4%), For Life (8.7%), Petro Poroshenko Bloc Solidarnist (7.7%), Opposition Bloc (7.1%), Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko (6.4%), Servant of the People party (6.4%). Samopomich has a chance of overcoming the electoral threshold (4.1%).
* As in the case of the presidential elections, not more than half of those who chose a party say their choice is definite. The parties with the most stable electorate are the Opposition Bloc (51%), For Life (47%) and Batkivshchyna (43%). Support for the following parties is slightly less stable: Civic Position (39.5%), Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko (37%), Petro Poroshenko Bloc Solidarnist (32%). Only 23% of voters for Servant of the People have made their final choice.
* Support for the following parties is relatively even across regions; Batkivshchyna, Petro Poroshenko Bloc Solidarnist (except in the East, where the result is significantly lower) and Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko (except in Donbas, where support is lower). Meanwhile, the popularity of Civic Position is substantially larger in the West and Center, and the opposite for Opposition Bloc and For Life – it is stronger in the South, East and Donbas.
* Older voters are more likely to support Opposition Bloc, Batkivshchyna and For Life, while Servant of the People has the greatest support among voters under 30.
* The overwhelming majority of citizens (41%) believe the next parliamentary elections should be held under the proportional open list system. Voters for all political forces give preference to this electoral system. The current electoral system is supported by 15%, pure majoritarian system – 16.5%, and purely proportional – 5%.
* ***There is no stable political leader in Ukraine whose level of trust exceeds the level of distrust.*** Thepoliticians withthe most negative level of trust vs. distrust are: Yuriy Lutsenko (-78%), Oleksandr Turchynov (-77%), Andriy Parubiy (-77%), Viktor Medvedchuk (-74%), Mikheil Saakashvili (-73%). Followed by: Petro Poroshenko (-68% trust-distrust), Vitaliy Klitschko (-68%), Oleh Lyashko (-68%), Yuriy Boyko (-60%), Volodymyr Groysman (-59%), Vadim Rabinovich (-55%), Andriy Sadovyi (-51%), Yulia Tymoshenko (-46%). Relatively better is the level of trust/distrust in Svyatoslav Vakarchuk (-12%), Volodymyr Zelensky (-25%) and Anatoliy Grytsenko (-25%).
* The majority of citizens (66%) believe that Ukraine needs new political leaders, while 25% do not see such a need. Twenty-nine percent see specific individuals as being new political leader. In an open question where respondents were asked to name a leader they would like to see, three such leaders are identified: Svyatoslav Vakarchuk (8%), Volodymy Zelensky (6%) and Yevhen Murayev (6%).
* The majority of citizens (54%) approve of the prospect of civic activists running for the Verkhovna Rada, while 21% view this negatively. The main reason for such support is the hope that civic activists will lead to positive changes in the work of the parliament (30%), while another 22% believe the Verkhovna Rada should be renewed through their civic activity. The negative attitude to the prospect of civic activists running for parliament is due to the fear that these new deputies of the Verkhovna Rada will be corrupted and become like the old ones (11.5%), and belief that civic activists can bring more benefit in the civic sector and that they will not be able to change anything in the Verkhovna Rada (10%).
* Overall, only 14% of the population believes that civil society organizations should not take part in the elections at all. In the opinion of citizens, the main election-related activities of civil society organizations should be to provide voters with objective information about candidates and parties (32%), monitor the fairness of the election campaign, document violations (32%), go to court if violations are found (17%), formulate the most important questions for voters and demand answers from parties and candidates (26%), be observers on election day (26%), analyze programs and proposals of candidates and parties (22%), call for public debates on important issues to be held between candidates and parties (19%).
* Citizens of Ukraine do not support a “pure” parliamentary form of government (11%) or “pure” presidential form (15%). Instead, the overwhelming majority – 56% - favor a “mixed” form of government: either parliamentary-presidential (30%) or presidential-parliamentary (26%).

**SURVEY RESULTS**

**In general, do you believe events in Ukraine are moving in the right of wrong direction?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. In the right direction
 | 11.1 |
| 1. In the wrong direction
 | 72.5 |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 16.4 |

Do you intend to participate in the elections of the President of Ukraine? *ONE ANSWER*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Definitely yes
 | 38.0 |
| 1. Most likely yes
 | 32.0 |
| 1. Most likely no
 | 8.3 |
| 1. Definitely no
 | 14.5 |
| 1. Difficult to say, undecided
 | 7.3 |
| 1. Did not answer
 | 0.1 |

**If you do not intend to participate in the elections of the President of Ukraine, then why?** *SEVERAL ANSWERS POSSIBLE**(% of those who do not intend to participate in the elections)*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| I will not be able to (I do not live where I am registered, will be busy on election day, etc.) | 5.1 |
| I do not care about these elections because my life does not depend on them at all  | 12.3 |
| I do not see a single candidate worth voting for  | 30.0 |
| The elections will not change anything because the president really does not decide anything  | 11.7 |
| I am not interested in politics | 11.1 |
| I do not believe the elections will be honest | 16.5 |
| Other | 0.8 |
| Difficult to say | 0.7 |

**If elections of the president of Ukraine were held next Sunday, who would you vote for?***(ONE ANSWER)*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | *Among all surveyed* | *Among those who intend to participate in the elections* |
| 1. Roman Bezsmertnyi
 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| 1. Inna Bogoslovska
 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| 1. Yuriy Boyko
 | 4.8 | 6.4 |
| 1. Svyatoslav Vakarchuk
 | 4.3 | 5.6 |
| 1. Anatoliy Grytsenko
 | 6.0 | 8.4 |
| 1. Volodymyr Groysman
 | 2.2 | 2.7 |
| 1. Volodymyr Zelensky
 | 5.1 | 6.1 |
| 1. Oleh Lyashko
 | 4.5 | 5.8 |
| 1. Valentyn Nalyvaichenko
 | 0.8 | 1,1 |
| 1. Roman Nasirov
 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| 1. Petro Poroshenko
 | 5.8 | 7.9 |
| 1. Vadim Rabinovich
 | 5.3 | 6.7 |
| 1. Nadia Savchenko
 | 0.7 | 0.9 |
| 1. Andriy Sadovyi
 | 2.0 | 2.6 |
| 1. Petro Symonenko
 | 0.6 | 0.8 |
| 1. Serhiy Taruta
 | 0.4 | 0.5 |
| 1. Yulia Tymoshenko
 | 13.9 | 17.8 |
| 1. Mykola Tomenko
 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| 1. Oleh Tyahnybok
 | 1.2 | 1.7 |
| 1. Viktor Chumak
 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| 1. Oleksandr Shevchenko
 | 1.9 | 2.6 |
| 1. Dmytro Yarosh
 | 0.7 | 0.9 |
| 1. Other politician
 | 3.2 | 3.9 |
| 1. I will not participate in the elections
 | 18.2 | - |
| 1. Difficult to say
 | 16.8 | 15.5 |

**How final is your choice of candidate?** *% of those who named a specific candidate*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 – My choice is final and it will not change  | 37.4 |
| 2 – Now I favor this candidate, but I could change my mind  | 46.8 |
| 3 – My choice is not final and can still change  | 13.3 |
| Did not answer | 2.4 |

**How final is your choice of candidate?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | My choice is final and it will not change | Now I favor this candidate, but I could change my mind | My choice is not final and can still change | Did not answer |
| Yuriy Boyko | **44.7** | 40.8 | 10.4 | 4.1 |
| Svyatoslav Vakarchuk | 32.9 | 50.9 | 14.9 | 1.3 |
| Anatoliy Grytsenko | **42.1** | 43.2 | 13.1 | 1.6 |
| Volodymyr Zelensky | 16.4 | **56.4** | 20.4 | 6.8 |
| Oleh Lyashko | 37.5 | 52 | 9.3 | 1.2 |
| Petro Poroshenko  | 36.3 | 50.1 | 12.6 | 0.9 |
| Vadim Rabinovich | **49.5** | 37.2 | 9.3 | 4 |
| Yulia Tymoshenko  | **46.2** | 42.1 | 11 | 0.7 |

**Support for candidate by age**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | *18-29* | *30-39*  | *40-49*  | *50-59*  | *60+*  |
| Yuriy Boyko | 1.4 | 3.1 | 4.4 | 6 | 8.2 |
| Svyatoslav Vakarchuk | 9.1 | 7 | 2.8 | 1.9 | 1.1 |
| Volodymyr Zelensky  | 9.5 | 7 | 4.6 | 3.8 | 1.2 |
| Petro Poroshenko | 5.6 | 5.8 | 7.3 | 6.4 | 4.7 |
| Vadim Rabinovich | 2.8 | 2.3 | 5.2 | 8.2 | 7.6 |
| Yulia Tymoshenko  | 6.4 | 10.9 | 14.3 | 16.5 | 20.2 |

**Why did you decide to vote for this particular candidate?** *Choose no more than 5 variants (% of those who named a specific candidate)*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| This candidate will be able to ensure peace in Donbas | 21.4 |
| I support this candidate’s ideas and proposals  | 36.0 |
| I like this candidate as a person  | 36.4 |
| This candidate belongs to the party I support  | 13.2 |
| This candidate has the best strategy for the future development of the country  | 19.5 |
| This candidate has the best team of professionals capable of ensuring development and order in the state  | 14.7 |
| This candidate sees real ways to overcome the economic crisis and ensure the economic growth of the country  | 26.0 |
| This candidate will be able to overcome corruption and punish those who are corrupt  | 18.1 |
| This candidate will care about people like me  | 16.7 |
| This candidate has already done a lot for Ukraine  | 11.6 |
| This candidate will be able to achieve Ukraine’s accession to NATO and make significant steps towards European integration  | 6.5 |
| This candidate will be able to unite the citizens of all regions and overcome division in Ukraine  | 12.4 |
| This candidate will be able to have a majority in the future Verkhovna Rada, and therefore influence its decisions  | 6.1 |
| This candidate is respected in the world  | 7.9 |
| This candidate will be able to resist Russia’s aggression and ensure the independence and security of Ukraine  | 6.6 |
| This candidate will be able to return Crimea to Ukraine  |  3.9 |
| This candidate is the least tied up in corruption and other dishonest acts | 8.4 |
| This candidate will be able to fix relations with Russia  | 4.1 |
|  This candidate is “fresh blood,” which the current government needs  | 8.0 |
|  I just vote for this candidate all the time  | 3.2 |
| This candidate will ensure the removal of deputy immunity and eliminate deputy privileges  | 3.7 |
| I consider this candidate the “lesser evil” compared to the others  | 12.0 |
| Other reasons | 2.5 |
| Difficult to say | 0.4 |

**Main motivation for voting for a candidate**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Yuriy Boyko | Ideas and proposals (42%)I like him as a person (31%)Ensuring peace in Donbas (45%)Belongs to the party I support (32%) |
| Vadim Rabinovich | Ideas and proposals (41%)Ensuring peace in Donbas (34%)Sees real ways of overcoming the economic crisis and ensuring economic growth of the country (32%) |
| Svyatoslav Vakarchuk | I like him as a person (52%)Ideas and proposals (27%)This candidate is “fresh blood” (27%) |
| Volodymyr Zelensky | I like him as a person (48%)This candidate is “fresh blood” (32%)He will care about people like me (25%)The “lesser evil” compared to others (23%) |
| Anatoliy Grytsenko | Ideas and proposals (49%)I like him as a person (38%)Ensuring peace in Donbas (34%) |
| Oleh Lyashko | Ideas and proposals (49%)I like him as a person (38%)Sees real ways of overcoming the economic crisis and ensuring economic growth of the country (32%) |
| Yulia Tymoshenko | I like her as a person (39%)Ideas and proposals (35%)Sees real ways of overcoming the economic crisis and ensuring economic growth of the country (35%) |
| Petro Poroshenko | Ideas and proposals (28%)Has already done a lot for Ukraine (33%)This candidate is respected in the world (25%) |

**What has most influenced your choice of candidate?** *(select all you consider necessary)*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 – previous activities  | 42.7 |
| 2 – personal qualities  | 57.0 |
| 3 – program and proposals  | 39.7 |
| 4 – performances in public debates  | 17.8 |
| 5 – availability of compromising materials  | 6.6 |
| 6 – team of associates | 14.2 |
| 7 – publications in the media | 7.7 |
| 8 – visual agitation, posters | 4.1 |
| 9 – advice of people I trust  | 11.7 |
| 10 – other | 0.7 |
| 11 – difficult to say | 7.8 |

**Do you think the candidates for president with the highest rankings should participate in public debates with each other, particularly televised debates?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 – yes, definitely  | 37.9 |
| 2 – yes, preferably, but not definitely  | 33.9 |
| 3 – not necessary at all | 18.7 |
| 4 – difficult to say | 9.5 |

**If there are debates, will you watch them?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 – yes, definitely | 28.0 |
| 2 – yes, if they are interesting and informative  | 44.4 |
| 3 – no | 19.8 |
| 4 – difficult to say | 7.8 |

**What debate topics would be most interesting? Pick no more than 5**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| * 1. Development program for Ukraine for the years of one’s presidency and the longer-term
 | 35.8 |
| * 1. If elected president, which of the country’s problems will the candidate solve first?
 | 40.6 |
| * 1. How do you achieve peace in Donbas? How do you achieve the liberation of occupied territories of Donbas and integrate them into Ukraine?
 | 43.9 |
| * 1. How do you return Crimea?
 | 16.3 |
| * 1. How do you overcome corruption in Ukraine?
 | 33.6 |
| * 1. How do you ensure economic growth?
 | 30.0 |
| * 1. Prospects for Ukraine’s accession to NATO
 | 6.3 |
| * 1. Prospects for Ukraine’s accession to the EU
 | 6.8 |
| * 1. How do you make medicine accessible to all citizens?
 | 29.8 |
| * 1. What should education reform be?
 | 7.7 |
| * 1. How do you stop migration from Ukraine?
 | 14.8 |
| * 1. What do you do with the oligarchs?
 | 12.9 |
| * 1. How will you ensure living standards for Ukrainians increase?
 | 34.8 |
| * 1. Personnel policy: who does the candidate for president plan to appoint to key posts if elected?
 | 9.2 |
| * 1. Foreign policy: in which direction should Ukraine move – towards European integration or to Russia and CIS countries?
 | 7.7 |
| * 1. What does the candidate for president see as the best system and structure of government in Ukraine?
 | 6.5 |
| * 1. What changes should be made to the Constitution of Ukraine?
 | 4.9 |
| * 1. Other topics
 | 1.0 |
| * 1. Difficult to say
 | 11.3 |

**How honest do you think the next presidential elections in Ukraine will be?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Completely honest | 1.9 |
| 2. Mostly honest | 15.1 |
| 3. Not very honest | 40.1 |
| 4. Not at all honest | 28.6 |
| 5. Difficult to say | 14.3 |

**How do you think the next presidential elections in Ukraine will change the situation in the country?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. The situation will change for the better considerably | 4.8 |
| 2. The situation will change for the better somewhat | 29.4 |
| 3. The situation will change for the worse somewhat | 5.5 |
| 4. The situation will change for the worse considerably | 5.6 |
| 5. Nothing will change | 30.1 |
| 6. Difficult to say | 24.5 |

**Do you intend to participate in the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine?** *ONE ANSWER*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Definitely will participate
 | 35.4 |
| 1. Most likely will participate
 | 32.2 |
| 1. Most likely will not participate
 | 8.9 |
| 1. Definitely will not participate
 | 14.7 |
| 1. Difficult to say for certain, have not yet decided
 | 8.6 |
| 1. Did not answer
 | 0.2 |

**If you do not intend to participate in the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, then why?** *SEVERAL ANSWERS POSSIBLE (% of those who do not intend to participate in the elections)*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. I will not be able to | 4.4 |
| 2. I do not care about these elections because my life does not depend on them | 9.8 |
| 3. I do not see a single candidate/party worth voting for  | 19.0 |
| 4. The elections will not change anything because the Verkhovna Rada does not really decide anything  | 8.6 |
| 5. I am not interested in politics | 5.6 |
|  6. I do not believe that the elections will be honest  | 17.0 |
| 7. Other | 0.9 |
| 8. Difficult to say | 0.2 |

**If elections to the Verkhovna Rada were held next Sunday, which political party would you vote for?** *ONE ANSWER*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | *Among all those surveyed* | *Among those who intend to participate in the elections* |
| 1. Agrarian Party of Ukraine (V. Skotsyk)
 | 1.3 | 1.8 |
| 1. Civic Platform of Nadia Savchenko (N. Savchenko)
 | 1.0 | 1.2 |
| 1. Civic Movement People’s Control (D. Dobrodomov)
 | 0.4 | 0.5 |
| 1. Civic Position (A. Grytsenko)
 | 6.6 | **9.4** |
| 1. People’s Front (A. Yatseniuk)
 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| 1. Samopomich (A. Sadovyi)
 | 3.0 | 4.1 |
| 1. Opposition Bloc (Y. Boyko)
 | 5.5 | **7.1** |
| 1. Svoboda (O. Tyahnybok)
 | 2.1 | 2.9 |
| 1. National Corps (A. Biletsky)
 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| 1. Right Sector (A. Tarasenko)
 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| 1. People’s Movement of Ukraine (V. Kryvenko)
 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| 1. Left Opposition Movement (Communist Party of Ukraine and Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine) (P. Symonenko, N. Vitrenko)
 | 0.7 | 0.8 |
| 1. Ukrainian Union of Patriots – UKROP (D. Borysenko, B. Filatov)
 | 0.7 | 0.9 |
| 1. Petro Poroshenko Bloc Solidarnist
 | 5.7 | **7.7** |
| 1. Revival (V. Bondar)
 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| 1. Our Land (Y. Hranaturov)
 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| 1. Batkivshchyna (Y. Tymoshenko)
 | 13.9 | **18.5** |
| 1. Power of People (Y. Bova)
 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 1. Strong Ukraine (S. Tihipko)
 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| 1. Social Democratic Party (S. Kaplin)
 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| 1. Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko
 | 4.7 | **6.4** |
| 1. People’s Party (V. Lytvyn)
 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 1. Democratic Alliance (V. Hatsko, V. Ptashnik)
 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| 1. People’s Movement Wave (V. Chumak, V. Kasko, N. Novak)
 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| 1. Government Initiative of Yarosh (D. Yarosh)
 | 0.4 | 0.7 |
| 1. For Life (V. Rabinovich, Y. Murayev)
 | 6.1 | **8.7** |
| 1. Osnova (S. Taruta)
 | 0.4 | 0.6 |
| 1. Movement of New Forces (M. Saakashvili)
 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| 1. Servant of the People (I. Bakanov, V. Zelensky)
 | 5.2 | **6.9** |
| 1. Justice (V. Nalyvaichenko)
 | 0.8 | 1.2 |
| 1. Other party
 | 3.8 | 4.8 |
| 1. WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS
 | 18.6 | - |
| 1. DIFFICULT TO SAY/DID NOT ANSWER
 | 17.3 | 13.5 |

**How final is your choice of party?** (*% of those who named a specific party)*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 – My choice is final and it will not change | 38.5 |
| 2 – Now I favor this party, but I could change my mind | 46.6 |
| 3 – My choice is not final and can still change | 14.0 |
| Did not answer | 0.8 |

**How final is your choice of party?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | My choice is final and it will not change | Now I favor this party, but I could change my mind | My choice is not final and can still change | Did not answer |
| Civic Position (A. Grytsenko) | 39.5 | 50.3 | 10.2 | 0 |
| Opposition Bloc (Y. Boyko) | **51.5** | 40.3 | 7.4 | 0.8 |
| Petro Poroshenko Bloc Solidarnist | 32 | 52.6 | 15.3 | 0 |
| Batkivshchyna (Y. Tymoshenko) | **42.9** | 47 | 9.9 | 0.2 |
| Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko | 37.2 | 47.2 | 15.5 | 0 |
| For Life (V. Rabinovich, Y. Murayev) | **47.1** | 34 | 15.1 | 3.8 |
| Servant of the People (I. Bakanov, V. Zelensky) | 23.1 | 54.6 | 21.3 | 1 |

**Why are you inclined to vote for this party?** *NO MORE THAN TWO VARIANTS. (% of those who named a specific party)*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| I like their ideas and proposals  | 47.9 |
| I like their leaders  | 44.0 |
| This party has a good chance of overcoming the 5% threshold  | 10.8 |
| This party represents the interests of people like me  | 19.6 |
| This party is supported by people I respect  | 7.1 |
| I voted for this party in previous elections and it did not disappoint me  | 9.9 |
| This party is new and politics needs renewal | 7.8 |
| There are people in this party who I would like to support  | 10.3 |
| Compared to others this party is the “lesser evil”  | 15.0 |
| I chose this party randomly  | 1.3 |
| Other | 0.1 |
| DIFFICULT TO SAY | 0.9 |

**Under which electoral system should the next elections to the Verkhovna Rada be held?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Proportional system, when all deputies are elected by party lists formed by parties  | 5.1 |
| 2. Proportional system with open lists, when voters can vote not only for a party but also for candidates from the list that determines the order of passage to the Verkhovna Rada  | 40.8 |
| 3. Majority system, when all deputies are elected in constituencies  | 16.5 |
| 4. The current system – half of deputies are elected by lists and half by constituencies  | 14.7 |
| 5. Difficult to say | 22.8 |

**To what extent do you trust the following politicians and public figures?** (*%)*

|  | Do not trust at all | More likely do not trust | More likely trust | Fully trust | Do not know him/her | Difficult to say  | Level of trust-distrust  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Yuriy Boyko** | 48.2 | 26.8 | 11.5 | 3.3 | 5.4 | 4.7 | – 60.2 |
| **Svyatoslav Vakarchuk** | 25.9 | 21.7 | 29.6 | 5.7 | 3.3 | 13.9 | –12.3 |
| **Anatoliy Grytsenko** | 25.9 | 29.2 | 26.8 | 5.3 | 4.7 | 8.1 | –23.0 |
| **Volodymyr Groysman** | 40.6 | 35.3 | 14.1 | 2.8 | 0.6 | 6.5 | –59.0 |
| **Volodymyr Zelensky** | 27.7 | 27.3 | 25.1 | 5.1 | 1.9 | 12.8 | –24.8 |
| **Vitaliy Klitschko** | 47.0 | 33.3 | 11.4 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 6.9 | –68.1 |
| **Yuriy Lutsenko** | 54.9 | 29.9 | 6.2 | 0.8 | 1.5 | 6.6 | –77.8 |
| **Oleh Lyashko** | 47.6 | 33.3 | 10.1 | 2.9 | 0.4 | 5.8 | –67.9 |
| **Viktor Medvedchuk** | 54.6 | 24.3 | 4.3 | 1.0 | 9.1 | 6.7 | –73.6 |
| **Andriy Parubiy** | 54.0 | 29.2 | 6.1 | 0.5 | 3.8 | 6.4 | –76.6 |
| **Petro Poroshenko** | 54.0 | 27.0 | 9.6 | 3.0 | 0.2 | 6.2 | –68.4 |
| **Vadim Rabinovich** | 43.6 | 27.5 | 11.8 | 3.8 | 6.7 | 6.6 | –55.5 |
| **Mikheil Saakashvili** | 56.0 | 25.4 | 7.4 | 1.1 | 1.4 | 8.8 | –72.9 |
| **Andriy Sadovyi**  | 37.5 | 30.5 | 14.5 | 2.1 | 6.1 | 9.3 | –51.4 |
| **Yulia Tymoshenko** | 41.9 | 27.9 | 16.2 | 7.8 | 0.1 | 6.1 | –45.8 |
| **Oleksandr Turchynov** | 55.0 | 27.9 | 6.1 | 0.6 | 3.5 | 6.9 | –77.2 |

**In your opinion, which form of government is best for Ukraine?** *ONE ANSWER*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. **Presidential,** in which the president is head of state, can appoint and dismiss the prime minister and the Government and determines all state policy. | 15.3 |
| 2. **Presidential-parliamentary**, in which the Government is appointed by the president with the consent of the Verkhovna Rada and can be dismissed by the president and Verkhovna Rada, and the majority of state power is in the hands of the president. | 26.1 |
| 3. **Parliamentary-presidential**, in which the Government is appointed by the Verkhovna Rada with the consent of the president and can be dismissed only by the Verkhovna Rada, and the majority of state power is in the hands of the prime minister. | 29.8 |
| 4. **Parliamentary,** in which the Government is appointed and dismissed by the Verkhovna Rada and the post of president is either eliminated completely or the president is elected by the parliament. | 11.0 |
| 5. Difficult to say | 17.7 |

**Please answer the following questions:**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *(Pick one answer that best applies for each row)* | No | Difficult to say | Yes |
| **Are there political leaders in Ukraine today who could effectively lead the country?**  | 34.9 | 22.6 | 42.5 |
| **Are there political parties and movements in Ukraine today to whom you can trust giving power?**  | 35.7 | 24.2 | 40.1 |

**In your opinion, does Ukraine need new political leaders (politicians that have not yet been in power)?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | May 2013 | March 2014 | December 2016 | December 2017 | May 2018 | August2018 |
| Yes, they are necessary | 49.1 | 70.5 | 61.8 | 66.7 | 62.1 | 66.2 |
| No, there are enough already  | 37.1 | 16.9 | 27.5 | 22.0 | 26.9 | 24.9 |
| Difficult to say | 13,8 | 12.6 | 10.7 | 11.4 | 11.0 | 8.8 |

**Do you see such new political leaders?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Yes | 28.9 |
| No | 70.3 |
| Did not answer | 0.8 |

**Who do you see as a new political leader?** *(no more than 5 names) Listed are only those political leaders named by no less than 0.5% of those surveyed.*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Svyatoslav Vakarchuk  | 7.9 |
| Volodymyr Zelensky  | 6.3 |
| Yevhen Murayev | 4.2 |
| Oleksandr Shevchenko | 2.4 |
| Anatoliy Grytsenko | 2.0 |
| Yulia Tymoshenko | 1.2 |
| Vadim Rabinovich | 1.1 |
| Valentyn Nalyvaichenko | 0.7 |
| Mykhailo Dobkin | 0.7 |
| Nadia Savchenko | 0.7 |
| Andriy Sadovyi | 0.6 |
| Roman Bezsmertnyi | 0.6 |
| Dmytro Spivak | 0.6 |
| Viktor Chumak | 0.5 |
| Oleh Lyashko | 0.5 |
| There aren’t any | 6.5 |
| Difficult to say | 17.2 |
| Did not answer | 47.6 |

**What is your position on civic activists running for the Verkhovna Rada?** *(you can choose several answers)*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Positive, they can bring positive changes to the work of the Verkhovna Rada  | 30.3 |
| 2. Negative, because they will not change anything and it is better that they remain in the civic sector  | 9.8 |
| 3. Positive, because the Verkhovna Rada should be renewed through civic activity  | 22.4 |
| 4. Negative, because I am certain these new deputies will quickly be corrupted and become like the old ones  | 11.4 |
| 5. Positive for a different reason  | 0.8 |
| 6. Negative for a different reason  | 0.5 |
| 7. Indifferent | 11.5 |
| 8. I do not know anything about them  | 18.5 |
| 9. Difficult to say | 7.3 |

**In general, what role should civil society organizations play in elections? Select all you consider necessary**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 – Analyze programs and proposals of candidates and parties  | 22.1 |
| 2 – Formulate the most important questions for voters and demand answers to them from parties and candidates  | 26.3 |
| 3 – Call for public debates between candidates and parties on important issues  | 18.9 |
| 4 – Provide voters with objective information about candidates and parties  | 32.0 |
| 5 – Monitor the honesty of the election campaign, document violations  | 31.6 |
| 6 – Go to court if violations are found  | 17.4 |
| 7 – Publicly support a particular candidate or party  | 4.2 |
| 8 – Together with sociologists organize sociological surveys independent of politicians  | 13.9 |
| 9 – Be observers on election day  | 26.0 |
| 10 – Nominate their representatives in presidential elections  | 6.2 |
| 11 – Nominate their representatives in parliamentary elections | 7.9 |
| 12 – Provide information about the elections and candidates in the media  | 14.5 |
| 13 – Other (what?) | 0.2 |
| 14 – I believe civil society organizations should not take part in elections at all  | 14.0 |
| 15 – Difficult to say | 14.6 |

**SURVEY RESULTS: REGIONAL DIFFERENCES**

**IN GENERAL, DO YOU BELIEVE EVENTS IN UKRAINE ARE MOVING IN THE RIGHT OR WRONG DIRECTION?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| In the right direction | 9.9 | 14.1 | 5.2 | 10.8 | 9.7 |
| In the wrong direction | 73.0 | 69.6 | 74.8 | 76.0 | 71.9 |
| Difficult to say | 17.1 | 16.3 | 20.0 | 13.1 | 18.4 |

**DO YOU INTEND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| Definitely yes | 41.7 | 38.3 | 36.8 | 36.8 | 28.2 |
| Most likely yes | 32.6 | 35.3 | 31.9 | 25.6 | 30.3 |
| Most likely no | 5.4 | 8.4 | 7.1 | 10.4 | 14.1 |
| Definitely no | 14.1 | 12.8 | 13.9 | 16.4 | 21.7 |
| Difficult to say, undecided | 6.2 | 5.3 | 10.4 | 10.9 | 5.7 |

**IF YOU DO NOT INTEND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE, THEN WHY?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| I will not be able to (I do not live where I am registered, will be busy on election day, etc.) | 10.5 | 9.1 | 3.7 | 2.3 | 7.6 |
| I do not care about these elections because my life does not depend on them at all | 22.0 | 22.6 | 12.7 | 13.7 | 4.3 |
| I do not see a single candidate worth voting for | 51.5 | 40.0 | 46.8 | 27.2 | 51.3 |
| The elections will not change anything because the president really does not decide anything  | 10.2 | 13.4 | 24.4 | 21.1 | 8.6 |
| I am not interested in politics | 6.7 | 16.4 | 20.0 | 14.3 | 42.8 |
| I do not believe the elections will be honest | 16.2 | 20.5 | 30.7 | 29.6 | 62.4 |
| Other | 2.3 | 0.7 | 2.5 | 0.0 | 4.3 |
| Difficult to say | 5.8 | 8.4 | 11.3 | 22.2 | 0.0 |

**IF ELECTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE WERE HELD NEXT SUNDAY, WHO WOULD YOU VOTE FOR?** (% of all respondents)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| Roman Bezsmertnyi  | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.0 |
| Inna Bogoslovska | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.9 |
| Yuriy Boyko  | 0.9 | 2.8 | 6.7 | 10.6 | 8.8 |
| Svyatoslav Vakarchuk  | 6.8 | 5.8 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 0.0 |
| Anatoliy Grytsenko  | 10.4 | 6.1 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 1.9 |
| Volodymyr Groysman  | 1.6 | 4.1 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 0.0 |
| Volodymyr Zelensky  | 3.5 | 5.3 | 7.1 | 4.5 | 7.4 |
| Oleh Lyashko  | 3.9 | 5.2 | 4.7 | 4.2 | 2.2 |
| Valentyn Nalyvaichenko  | 0.5 | 1.1 | 1.7 | 0.4 | 0.0 |
| Roman Nasirov | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Petro Poroshenko  | 7.4 | 6.4 | 5.4 | 3.2 | 5.9 |
| Vadim Rabinovich | 0.7 | 3.3 | 9.2 | 9.5 | 13.9 |
| Nadia Savchenko | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 2.1 |
| Andriy Sadovyi | 4.2 | 1.7 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 0.9 |
| Petro Symonenko | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 2.6 |
| Serhiy Taruta | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.6 |
| Yulia Tymoshenko  | 14.9 | 15.8 | 10.9 | 12.5 | 9.1 |
| Mykola Tomenko | 0.0 | 0.3 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 0.9 |
| Oleh Tyahnybok | 1.9 | 1.8 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.9 |
| Viktor Chumak | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Oleksandr Shevchenko | 4.0 | 1.0 | 2.4 | 1.1 | 0.0 |
| Dmytro Yarosh | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.0 |
| Other politician | 0.7 | 1.6 | 7.8 | 6.4 | 1.9 |
| I will not participate in the elections | 16.4 | 17.9 | 17.6 | 18.0 | 29.8 |
| Difficult to say | 20.1 | 15.1 | 15.4 | 19.6 | 8.3 |

**How final is your choice of candidate?** *(% of respondents who decided on a candidate)*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| My choice is final and it will not change  | 38.7 | 36.8 | 39.9 | 37.0 | 31.9 |
| Now I favor this candidate, but I could change my mind | 46.1 | 48.4 | 40.2 | 45.7 | 56.3 |
| My choice is not final and can still change | 13.3 | 12.7 | 15.7 | 15.0 | 7.8 |
| Did not answer | 1.9 | 2.1 | 4.1 | 2.3 | 4.0 |

**Why did you decide to vote for this particular candidate?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| This candidate will be able to ensure peace in Donbas | 19.0 | 22.4 | 15.5 | 19.8 | 42.0 |
| I support this candidate’s ideas and proposals  | 39.0 | 35.0 | 41.4 | 30.3 | 38.9 |
| I like this candidate as a person  | 45.8 | 33.1 | 39.9 | 28.8 | 38.6 |
| This candidate belongs to the party I support  | 8.6 | 12.5 | 16.7 | 19.6 | 9.8 |
| This candidate has the best strategy for the future development of the country  | 20.0 | 17.7 | 23.2 | 19.6 | 23.6 |
| This candidate has the best team of professionals capable of ensuring development and order in the state  | 13.4 | 11.0 | 22.5 | 19.7 | 14.7 |
| This candidate sees real ways to overcome the economic crisis and ensure the economic growth of the country  | 23.8 | 26.7 | 25.5 | 29.9 | 19.6 |
| This candidate will be able to overcome corruption and punish those who are corrupt  | 23.4 | 17.1 | 18.1 | 15.2 | 12.7 |
| This candidate will care about people like me  | 15.4 | 16.7 | 18.6 | 13.6 | 29.1 |
| This candidate has already done a lot for Ukraine  | 13.9 | 10.5 | 10.8 | 12.7 | 8.3 |
| This candidate will be able to achieve Ukraine’s accession to NATO and make significant steps towards European integration  | 8.3 | 6.4 | 4.0 | 5.9 | 6.6 |
| This candidate will be able to unite the citizens of all regions and overcome division in Ukraine  | 11.2 | 10.4 | 16.9 | 16.0 | 10.6 |
| This candidate will be able to have a majority in the future Verkhovna Rada, and therefore influence its decisions  | 6.4 | 5.1 | 9.9 | 6.0 | 4.0 |
| This candidate is respected in the world  | 5.9 | 8.5 | 10.9 | 7.7 | 7.2 |
| This candidate will be able to resist Russia’s aggression and ensure the independence and security of Ukraine  | 10.2 | 6.2 | 2.9 | 5.6 | 5.2 |
| This candidate will be able to return Crimea to Ukraine  | 4.0 | 3.5 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 3.7 |
| This candidate is the least tied up in corruption and other dishonest acts | 10.2 | 8.9 | 9.9 | 4.7 | 5.8 |
| This candidate will be able to fix relations with Russia  | 1.4 | 2.0 | 8.1 | 9.3 | 6.0 |
| This candidate is “fresh blood,” which the current government needs  | 8.2 | 9.0 | 11.5 | 3.9 | 6.0 |
|  I just vote for this candidate all the time  | 3.0 | 3.8 | 3.5 | 1.3 | 6.3 |
|  This candidate will ensure the removal of deputy immunity and eliminate deputy privileges  | 1.5 | 3.9 | 5.3 | 5.5 | 2.9 |
| I consider this candidate the “lesser evil” compared to the others  | 13.2 | 10.9 | 15.0 | 11.6 | 9.5 |
| Other reasons | 6.5 | 1.9 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.0 |
| Difficult to say | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 |

**What will influence your choice of candidate most?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| previous activities  | 48.7 | 41.7 | 49.0 | 39.3 | 32.6 |
| personal qualities  | 55.8 | 64.1 | 50.4 | 52.1 | 59.3 |
| program and proposals  | 26.8 | 40.9 | 47.9 | 51.3 | 34.0 |
| performances in public debates  | 13.6 | 20.7 | 15.6 | 17.4 | 25.0 |
| availability of compromising material  | 3.3 | 8.6 | 5.6 | 6.8 | 9.5 |
| team of associates | 10.7 | 13.4 | 20.3 | 14.6 | 21.6 |
| publications in the media | 8.1 | 8.3 | 7.3 | 5.5 | 12.7 |
| visual agitation, posters | 5.0 | 4.2 | 2.5 | 2.7 | 8.8 |
| advice of people I trust  | 15.2 | 10.9 | 5.5 | 10.2 | 23.6 |
| Other | 1.2 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 0.0 |
| difficult to say | 7.9 | 6.9 | 10.5 | 7.6 | 9.2 |

**Do you think the candidates for president with the highest rankings should participate in public debates with each other, particularly televised debates?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| Yes, definitely  | 41.8 | 37.2 | 41.5 | 28.0 | 53.4 |
| Yes, preferably, but not definitely  | 32.8 | 37.1 | 33.5 | 32.1 | 24.8 |
| Not necessary at all | 15.0 | 16.2 | 10.2 | 33.9 | 13.9 |
| Difficult to say | 10.4 | 9.4 | 14.8 | 5.9 | 7.9 |

**If there are debates, will you watch them?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| Yes, definitely | 32.3 | 29.7 | 24.6 | 19.6 | 35.4 |
| Yes, if they are interesting and informative | 42.5 | 45.1 | 50.5 | 44.2 | 36.6 |
| No | 17.0 | 17.6 | 14.1 | 30.6 | 19.6 |
| Difficult to say | 8.2 | 7.6 | 10.7 | 5.6 | 8.4 |

**What debate topics would be most interesting?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| Development program for Ukraine for the years of one’s presidency and the longer-term  | 31.9 | 32.7 | 43.2 | 40.5 | 42.9 |
| If elected president, which of the country’s problems will the candidate solve first? | 45.5 | 37.8 | 35.9 | 38.6 | 58.9 |
| How do you achieve peace in Donbas? How do you achieve the liberation of occupied territories of Donbas and integrate them into Ukraine?  | 37.3 | 48.5 | 40.0 | 44.9 | 46.6 |
| How do you return Crimea?  | 14.8 | 21.7 | 11.5 | 13.6 | 7.1 |
| How do you overcome corruption in Ukraine?  | 38.8 | 36.5 | 40.3 | 19.5 | 31.5 |
| How do you ensure economic growth?  | 21.7 | 32.2 | 40.1 | 27.0 | 41.6 |
| Prospects for Ukraine’s accession to NATO  | 4.6 | 8.9 | 4.2 | 4.6 | 6.6 |
| Prospects for Ukraine’s accession to the EU | 8.6 | 7.1 | 5.8 | 4.3 | 8.0 |
| How do you make medicine accessible to all citizens?  | 23.4 | 31.3 | 42.9 | 28.9 | 24.6 |
| What should education reform be? | 4.3 | 5.7 | 11.6 | 13.4 | 7.0 |
| How do you stop migration from Ukraine?  | 11.9 | 16.8 | 17.5 | 12.4 | 17.9 |
| What do you do with the oligarchs?  | 11.2 | 14.2 | 9.9 | 12.9 | 18.9 |
| How will you ensure living standards for Ukrainians increase?  | 34.5 | 37.6 | 47.1 | 27.6 | 20.7 |
| Personnel policy: who does the candidate for president plan to appoint to key posts if elected?  | 8.5 | 9.9 | 5.8 | 8.4 | 17.7 |
| Foreign policy: in which direction should Ukraine move – towards European integration or to Russia and CIS countries?  | 2.8 | 3.8 | 9.6 | 17.2 | 17.0 |
| What does the candidate for president see as the best system and structure of government in Ukraine?  | 5.4 | 3.4 | 7.1 | 10.1 | 18.6 |
| What changes should be made to the Constitution of Ukraine?  | 3.1 | 4.3 | 3.5 | 8.2 | 7.1 |
| Other topics | 1.2 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 0.5 | 2.6 |
| Difficult to say | 14.2 | 10.0 | 10.8 | 12.7 | 4.9 |

**How honest do you think the next presidential elections in Ukraine will be?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| Completely honest | 1.8 | 3.4 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.9 |
| Mostly honest | 27.1 | 13.2 | 8.6 | 9.7 | 10.9 |
| Not very honest | 34.4 | 41.0 | 46.5 | 43.7 | 31.9 |
| Not at all honest | 19.9 | 26.6 | 30.1 | 35.8 | 47.6 |
| Difficult to say  | 16.9 | 15.7 | 14.7 | 10.1 | 8.8 |

**How do you think the next presidential elections in Ukraine will change the situation in the country?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| The situation will change for the better considerably | 4.2 | 5.1 | 4.4 | 5.7 | 3.5 |
| The situation will change for the better somewhat | 29.8 | 32.9 | 34.7 | 21.6 | 21.7 |
| The situation will change for the worse somewhat | 5.4 | 4.9 | 2.4 | 6.2 | 13.5 |
| The situation will change for the worse considerably | 2.6 | 4.7 | 3.2 | 9.0 | 16.2 |
| Nothing will change | 32.0 | 26.6 | 29.0 | 36.2 | 26.4 |
| Difficult to say | 26.0 | 25.7 | 26.2 | 21.3 | 18.8 |

**Do you intend to participate in the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| Definitely will participate | 37.5 | 38.3 | 31.0 | 33.1 | 25.2 |
| Most likely will participate | 33.1 | 33.9 | 27.4 | 30.2 | 33.5 |
| Most likely will not participate  | 8.0 | 6.8 | 9.8 | 11.1 | 17.1 |
| Definitely will not participate  | 14.1 | 14.6 | 14.2 | 14.4 | 19.0 |
| Difficult to say for certain, have not yet decided | 7.3 | 6.4 | 17.5 | 11.1 | 5.2 |

**If you do not intend to participate in the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, then why?** *(% of those who do not intend to participate in the elections)*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| I will not be able to | 7.9 | 11.3 | 9.1 | 1.2 | 0.0 |
| I do not care about these elections because my life does not depend on them | 28.0 | 18.9 | 3.7 | 12.6 | 7.7 |
| I do not see a single candidate/party worth voting for  | 38.7 | 41.0 | 25.2 | 19.8 | 48.1 |
| The elections will not change anything because the Verkhovna Rada does not really decide anything  | 11.1 | 10.1 | 28.1 | 24.9 | 14.4 |
| I am not interested in politics | 6.7 | 10.5 | 8.9 | 8.7 | 28.9 |
| I do not believe that the elections will be honest  | 15.5 | 23.7 | 30.9 | 45.7 | 58.6 |
| Other | 3.3 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 0.0 | 4.8 |
| Difficult to say | 6.7 | 5.7 | 9.1 | 1.4 | 9.6 |

**If elections to the Verkhovna Rada were held next Sunday, which political party would you vote for? *(%*** *of all****)***

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| Agrarian Party of Ukraine (V. Skotsyk)  | 1.1 | 2.3 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Civic Platform of Nadia Savchenko (N. Savchenko)  | 0.2 | 1.1 | 2.0 | 0.6 | 3.3 |
| Civic Movement People’s Control (D. Dobrodomov) | 0.7 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Civic Position (A. Grytsenko) | 11.7 | 6.3 | 4.1 | 3.9 | 2.8 |
| People’s Front (A. Yatseniuk) | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Samopomich (A. Sadovyi) | 5.3 | 3.0 | 2.4 | 1.2 | 0.9 |
| Opposition Bloc (Y. Boyko) | 1.4 | 3.0 | 7.1 | 12.8 | 10.2 |
| Svoboda (O. Tyahnybok) | 4.8 | 2.5 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 |
| National Corps (A. Biletsky) | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Right Sector (A. Tarasenko) | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| People’s Movement of Ukraine (V. Kryvenko) | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.9 |
| Left Opposition Movement (Communist Party of Ukraine and Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine) (P. Symonenko, N. Vitrenko) | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 2.6 |
| Ukrainian Union of Patriots – UKROP (D. Borysenko) | 0.7 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.0 |
| Petro Poroshenko Bloc Solidarnist | 6.9 | 6.5 | 5.1 | 3.5 | 5.0 |
| Revival (V. Bondar) | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Our Land (Y. Hranaturov) | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 |
| Batkivshchyna (Y. Tymoshenko) | 14.6 | 16.3 | 8.5 | 12.9 | 10.0 |
| Strong Ukraine (S. Tihipko) | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 |
| Social Democratic Party (S. Kaplin) | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 |
| Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko | 4.4 | 5.4 | 4.7 | 4.5 | 2.2 |
| Democratic Alliance (V. Hatsko, V. Ptashnik)  | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 |
| People’s Movement Wave (V. Chumak, V. Kasko) | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Government Initiative of Yarosh (D. Yarosh)  | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.0 |
| For Life (V. Rabinovich, Y. Murayev) | 0.0 | 4.1 | 8.2 | 13.5 | 13.4 |
| Osnova (S. Taruta) | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.7 |
| Movement of New Forces (M. Saakashvili) | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Servant of the People (I. Bakanov, V. Zelensky) | 2.6 | 6.3 | 7.9 | 4.1 | 6.5 |
| Justice (V. Nalyvaichenko) | 1.0 | 0.7 | 1.7 | 0.6 | 0.0 |
| Other party | 2.8 | 5.1 | 4.7 | 2.9 | 0.0 |
| Will not participate in the elections | 18.1 | 17.5 | 20.0 | 17.4 | 29.8 |
| Difficult to say/Did not answer | 20.6 | 15.0 | 20.1 | 18.6 | 8.6 |

**How final is your choice of party?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| My choice is final and it will not change | 35.2 | 36.0 | 41.3 | 36.0 | 33.1 |
| Now I favor this party, but I could change my mind | 47.4 | 42.9 | 34.0 | 45.1 | 51.5 |
| My choice is not final and can still change | 12.1 | 13.2 | 16.2 | 12.5 | 14.5 |
| Did not answer | 5.3 | 8.0 | 8.5 | 6.3 | 0.8 |

**Why are you inclined to vote for this party?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| I like their ideas and proposals  | 51.1 | 52.5 | 49.8 | 43.3 | 21.0 |
| I like their leaders  | 48.5 | 47.5 | 37.4 | 37.5 | 40.1 |
| This party has a good chance of overcoming the 5% threshold  | 10.1 | 9.3 | 17.5 | 10.1 | 14.9 |
| This party represents the interests of people like me  | 16.3 | 20.0 | 20.8 | 18.4 | 32.6 |
| This party is supported by people I respect  | 5.6 | 8.9 | 5.5 | 5.0 | 11.2 |
| I voted for this party in previous elections and it did not disappoint me  | 14.5 | 8.7 | 11.7 | 8.3 | 2.2 |
| This party is new and politics needs renewal | 6.5 | 5.2 | 11.3 | 11.6 | 10.6 |
| There are people in this party that I would like to support  | 9.5 | 9.9 | 9.9 | 10.5 | 16.8 |
| Compared to others this party is the “lesser evil”  | 18.2 | 10.5 | 18.7 | 18.2 | 15.1 |
| I chose this party randomly  | 0.4 | 1.3 | 2.5 | 1.6 | 2.2 |
| Other | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| Difficult to say | 0.0 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 0.8 |

**Under which electoral system should the next elections to the Verkhovna Rada be held?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *West* | *Center* | *South* | *East* | *Donbas* |
| Proportional system, when all deputies are elected by party lists formed by parties  | 6.9 | 5.6 | 3.7 | 2.4 | 6.5 |
| Proportional system with open lists, when voters can vote not only for a party but also for candidates from the list that determines the order of passage to the Verkhovna Rada  | 42.0 | 43.4 | 40.3 | 34.6 | 43.0 |
| Majority system, when all deputies are elected in constituencies  | 15.1 | 13.7 | 12.3 | 24.2 | 22.2 |
| The current system – half of deputies are elected by lists and half by constituencies  | 13.9 | 16.8 | 10.0 | 13.2 | 18.9 |
| Difficult to say | 22.1 | 20.6 | 33.6 | 25.6 | 9.3 |

**The elections are close: what can we expect?***(expert survey)*

*The Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation conducted a survey on August 27 – September 3, 2018, of political experts, sociologists and journalists about the upcoming election campaign. The aim of the survey was to gauge expert opinion on the upcoming elections of the president and Verkhovna Rada, the prospects that a new electoral code will be passed, and to formulate recommendations regarding the context of the upcoming election debates. A total of 40 experts were surveyed.*

* The experts surveyed were skeptical about the prospects that electoral code 3112-1 will be passed as a whole. More than half of respondents believe it will not be passed at all. And although some respondents do believe that this code could be adopted, most of them believe it will become significantly worse after revisions are made.
* The overwhelming majority of experts surveyed believe it would be expedient to introduce gender quotas in the elections to the Verkhovna Rada, but only one quarter of experts believe these quotas are really necessary.
* The overwhelming majority of experts surveyed believe the upcoming presidential elections will not be free of violations, but they will not have a decisive influence on the results. At the same time, the experts are less optimistic about the upcoming parliamentary elections – more than a third believe that violations could significantly distort the results of the vote.
* Most of the experts surveyed are for strict regulation of political advertising, but not for prohibiting it completely. Experts are most critical of television and outdoor (billboards, citylights) advertising, and are relatively neutral about advertising on the internet and social networks.
* Given the fact that not all potential ranking candidates have confirmed their participation in the presidential race, the list of challengers could change. The experts have almost no doubt that current President Petro Poroshenko, former Defense Minister Anatoliy Grystenko and Opposition Bloc leader Yuriy Boyko will participate in the elections. For Life leader Vadim Rabinovich will also most likely run. As for former Prime Minister Arseniy Yatseniuk and singer Svyatoslav Vakarchuk, most experts believe that they most likely will not participate in the race. The experts do not have a clear opinion on Volodymyr Zelensky and Lviv Mayor Andriy Sadovyi,
* All the experts agree on the importance of pre-election debates between the presidential frontrunners. At the same time, the experts agree that debates should be mandatory.
* Most experts said that debates between presidential candidates should be held on topics that are the direct responsibility of the president: foreign policy and defense (especially the military conflict). At the same time, given the strong public interest in the activities of the president and his team, there should also be competition of positions on economic development, general discussion of constitutional reform, fighting corruption and humanitarian policy.

**SURVEY RESULTS**

**1. What do you think are the prospects that Draft Electoral Code 3112-1[[1]](#footnote-1) will be passed as a whole?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | Number of answers |
| The bill will be adopted with minimum substantial revisions  | 0 |
| The bill will be adopted with substantial revisions that will improve its quality  | 5 |
| The bill will be adopted with substantial revisions that will worsen its quality | 9 |
| The bill will not be adopted | 22 |
| OtherThe bill will be adopted with substantial revisions if it enters into force with the election of the 10th convocation of the parliament – 1Depends who wins the presidential election – 1 | 2 |
| Difficult to say | 2 |

**2. Do you think there should be gender quotas in the elections to the Verkhovna Rada** *(mandatory inclusion in the electoral lists of a certain percentage of people of different genders)?*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | Number of answers |
| I believe such quotas are absolutely needed  | 12 |
| Quotas are needed, but not required | 15 |
| Not needed at all | 9 |
| OtherNeeded, but this contradicts the Constitution – 1In general quotas are desirable, but they should be encouraged, not required –1  | 2 |
| Difficult to say | 2 |

1. **In your opinion, the upcoming elections will be:**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Will be honest without significant violations  | Will have violations, but they will not influence the election results significantly  | There will be significant violations that will seriously influence the election results  | They will be completely falsified  | Other | Difficult to say |
| President | 0 | 35 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Verkhovna Rada | 0 | 26 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

**4. At present, not all potential presidential candidates have confirmed their participation in the elections. What is the probability the following candidates will participate in the upcoming elections, with 1 being they will definitely NOT participate, and 5 being they will definitely participate**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1 – definitely will not participate  | 2 – most likely will not participate  | 3 – difficult to say for certain  | 4 – most like will participate  | 5 – definitely will participate  | Probability |
| Petro Poroshenko | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 31 | 95% |
| Anatoliy Grytsenko | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 34 | 96% |
| Yuriy Boyko | 0 | 0 | 5 | 8 | 27 | 89% |
| Vadim Rabinovich | 0 | 3 | 6 | 18 | 13 | 76% |
| Svyatoslav Vakarchuk | 5 | 21 | 12 | 2 | 0 | 32% |
| Volodymyr Zelensky | 2 | 12 | 15 | 8 | 3 | 49% |
| Andriy Sadovyi | 5 | 13 | 7 | 11 | 4 | 48% |
| Arseniy Yatseniuk | 11 | 19 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 27% |

**5. How do you think political advertising should be regulated ?**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | No need to restrict at all  | Should be strictly regulated (limit length, budgets, etc.) | Ban completely  | Difficult to say |
| Television | 2 | 26 | 12 | 0 |
| Radio | 2 | 30 | 7 | 1 |
| Print media | 7 | 27 | 3 | 3 |
| Outdoor (billboards, citylights) | 3 | 24 | 13 | 0 |
| Internet and social networks  | 14 | 16 | 6 | 4 |

**6. Do you think the presidential frontrunners should debate each other, especially on TV?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **Number of answers** |
| Yes, absolutely | 34 |
| Yes, preferably, but not necessary  | 6 |
| Not necessary at all | 0 |
| Difficult to say  | 0 |

**7. What debate topics would you propose?** (no more than five)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **Number of mentions** |
| How do you regulate the situation in Donbas and promote the future reintegration of these territories?  | 20 |
| What should be the foreign policy of Ukraine (vector of its development, integration direction, how to interact with neighbors)?  | 19 |
| How do you ensure stable economic growth in Ukraine and improve social standards (economic stabilization and growth, social policy, investment in Ukraine, etc.)? | 17 |
| How in general do you conduct the current policy regarding occupied territories (in particular with regard to Crimea, and also how do you facilitate the liberation of Crimea)?  | 15 |
| How do you ensure security and conduct effective defense policy? | 12 |
| Is constitutional reform and a change in balance of power among state institutions necessary? | 10 |
| How do you effectively fight corruption and reduce its level? | 8 |
| What should be the humanitarian policy, formation of identity, position of candidates to development of culture, language quotas, etc.? | 7 |
| Should the land market be introduced? | 6 |
| What should be the education and science reform, how do you ensure the development of innovation in Ukraine? | 6 |
| What should Ukraine-Russia relations be? | 4 |
| How do you ensure human rights and stable democracy? Is control of the internet and media acceptable? | 4 |
| How do you build effective relations with NATO and integrate with the Alliance? | 4 |

**8. How do you think the 2019 presidential elections will differ from all previous presidential elections?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **Number of mentions** |
| Absence of clear leaders, resulting in high competition  | 10 |
| Above-average (higher than usual) level of populism  | 8 |
| Critical nature for Ukraine and potential threats  | 6 |
| Reduced influence of former socio-economic divisions, emergence of new divisions | 5 |
| Strong attempts by Russia to influence the elections and their results  | 5 |
| Lots of compromising material and “dirt” during the election campaigns | 4 |
| Total distrust of candidates, which could result in disagreement with results  | 3 |
| Absolutely unpredictable election results  | 3 |

LIST OF EXPERTS SURVEYED

Andriy Andrushkiv

Yuriy Anufriyev

Ihor Babiuk

Iryna Bekeshkina

Dementiy Biely

Yevhen Byssstrystsky

Inna Borzylo

Yuriy But

Oleksiy Haran

Mykhailo Honchar

Lilia Honiukova

Yuriy Horban

Vita Dumanska

Mykhailo Zhernakov

Viktor Zamiatin

Ruslan Kermach

Mykoal Kireev

Ihor Koliushko

Roman Kot

Oleksiy Koshel

Bohdan Kuzmych

Natalia Lynnyk

Andriy Meleshevych

Yuriy Mykytiuk

Volodymyr Paniotto

Petro Burkovsky

Volodymyr Ponomarenko

Yevhen Radchenko

Oleh Rybachuk

Anatoliy Romaniuk

Serhiy Stukanov

Andriy Sukharyna

Viktor Taran

Yulia Tyshchenko

Andriy Tkachuk

Volodymyr Fesenko

Yaroslav Filiak

Oleksandra Cholovska

Ihor Chorny

Yaroslav Yurchyshyn

1. <http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=56671> [↑](#footnote-ref-1)