

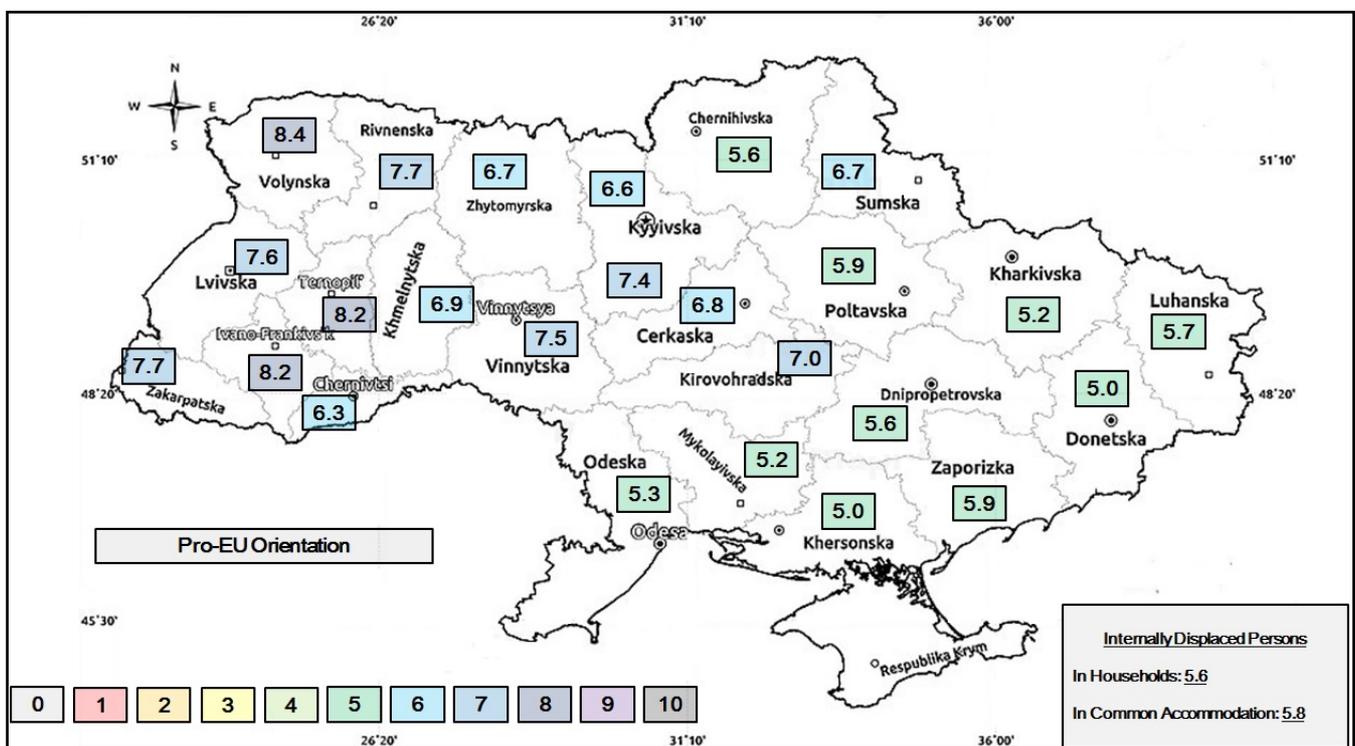
Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index

Executive Brief on Identity and Emerging Trends: Is Ukraine heading towards the West or Russia?

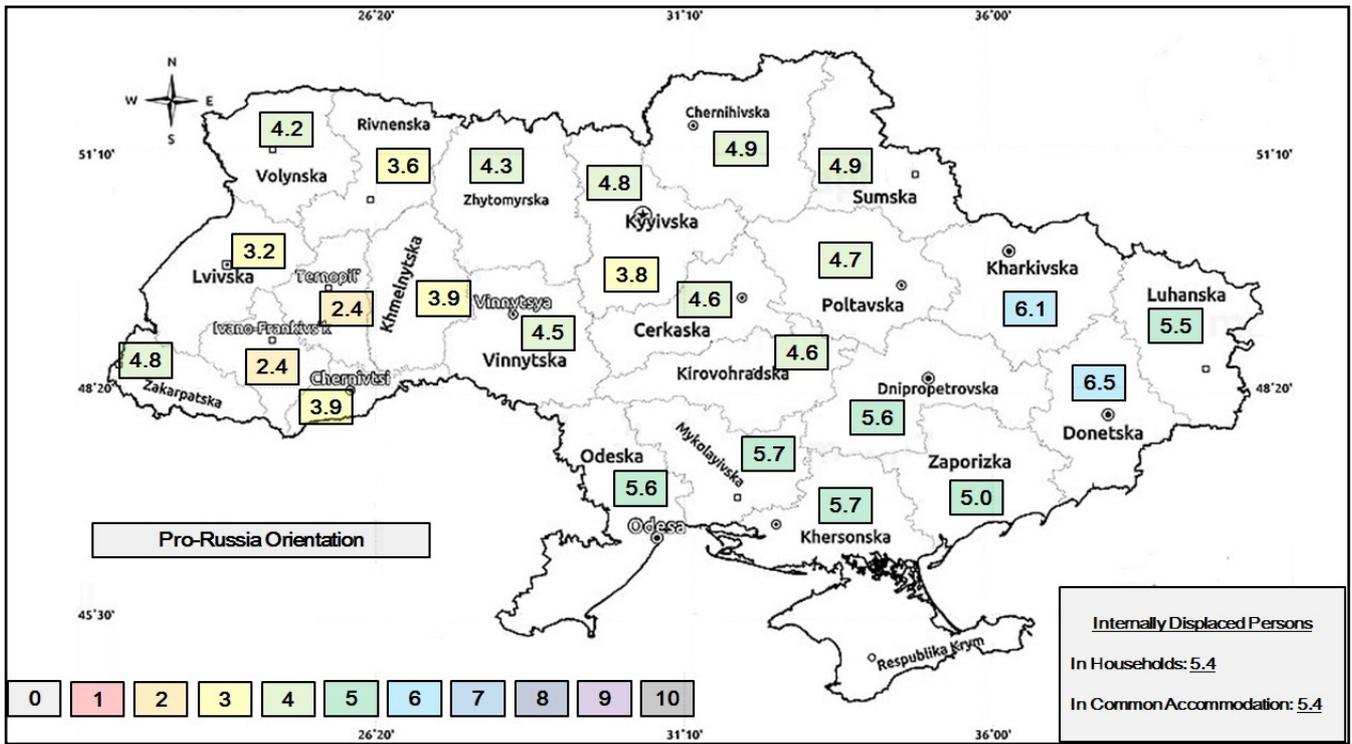
People throughout Ukraine are more similar than prevailing stereotypes would suggest. The SCORE Index has measured psychosocial adjustment throughout the country, in order to better understand the behavioural choices of Ukrainians in terms of balancing their personal needs against obstacles encountered in day-to-day life. Despite the differences in geo-political orientation, Ukrainians were found to share similar personal characteristics and psychological traits across the country. Such similarities in traits include: levels of empathy, which are moderate throughout the country; ability to plan ahead, which is high throughout the country; attitudes towards authoritarianism, with a prevailing ambivalence throughout the country; levels of tolerance towards diversity, which are moderate throughout the country, and attitudes towards the free market, with citizens across Ukraine tending to place themselves on the centre-left of the economic spectrum.

In terms of Ukrainian Nationalism (i.e. supporting beliefs such as “only those who are ethnic Ukrainians should hold high positions in the government”, “further prevalence of Russian language should be prevented”), Western part of Ukraine has considerably higher scores in comparison to the rest of the country. People in the West are in fact found to have very sharp ideological narratives: They have very low tolerance for pro-Russian and anti-Maidan perspectives (with a small strong minority advocating for the use of political violence), while many in the West also display high levels of negative stereotyping against people from Eastern Ukraine.

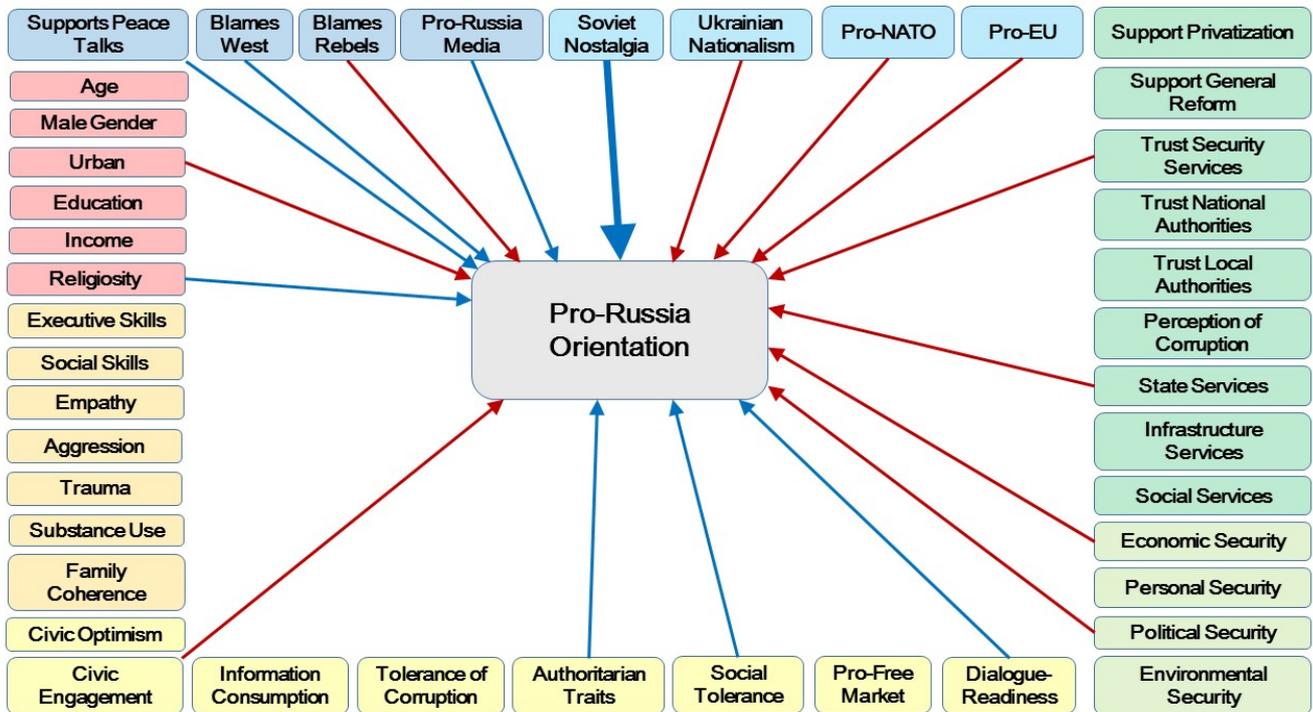
SCORE research findings suggest that there is emerging consensus in support of EU membership throughout the country, including non-government controlled areas. The majority of people see EU membership as the only option at this moment of historical transition in Ukraine.



SCORE results provide significant evidence for moving beyond the assumption of East-West polarization by highlighting the fact that there is emerging pluralism in the East: As shown in the map below, people in Eastern Ukraine no longer have the strong “Pro-Russia” orientation that they had in the past, and they are more tolerant towards different opinions.



Factors that predict pro-Russia Orientation



A positive relationship (blue lines) suggests that higher scores on the predictor lead to greater readiness for political violence. A negative relationship (red lines) suggests that higher scores on the predictor lead to less readiness for political violence.

The strongest factor that affects pro-Russia orientation is Soviet nostalgia. So, missing Soviet times translates for people (even in the West) to having desire for closer links with Russia, even though today's Russia is not the Soviet Union. The Eastern part of Ukraine is displaying particularly high levels of Soviet nostalgia (most notably in Khersonska, Donetska and Luhanska).

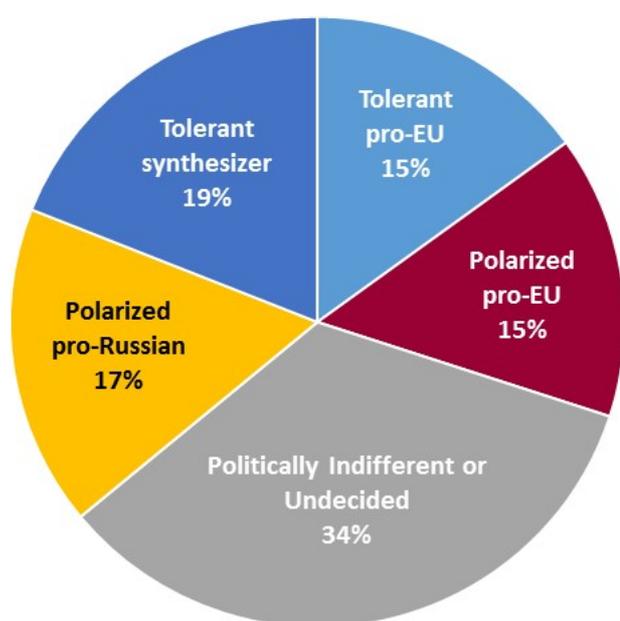
Factors that predict soviet nostalgia



Perceived corruption is an important driver of Soviet nostalgia in Ukraine. The more one perceives Ukraine as a corrupt country and the unhappier one is about corruption, the more one would miss the Soviet Union. Additionally, dissatisfaction with provision of government services, suspicion of the free market ideology, lower income, authoritarian traits and civic pessimism are all associated with elevated levels of Soviet nostalgia.

How do people feel about others who have different views about the future direction of Ukraine?

The following chart provides information regarding the current 'schools of thought' in Ukraine as well as a brief review on profiles of 5 population segments which are grouped according to (1) their views regarding the future direction of Ukraine and (2) whether they are tolerant towards people who think differently.



Politically indifferent or undecided people do not display any clear preference for Russia or the EU, and are generally less involved in political issues.

Tolerant synthesizers are open to closer cooperation both with the EU and Russia, while they do not display hostility towards supporters of either political orientation.

Polarized Pro-EU People strongly support EU membership and having closer ties with the EU. They have no desire to have links with Russia and they display strong hostility towards supporters of Russia, while they also report very high affinity towards Ukrainian Nationalists.

Tolerant Pro-EU people display support for EU membership and having close ties with the EU, while they have very low levels of support towards cooperation with Russia. They display low levels of hostility towards supporters of Russia and Ukrainian Nationalists.

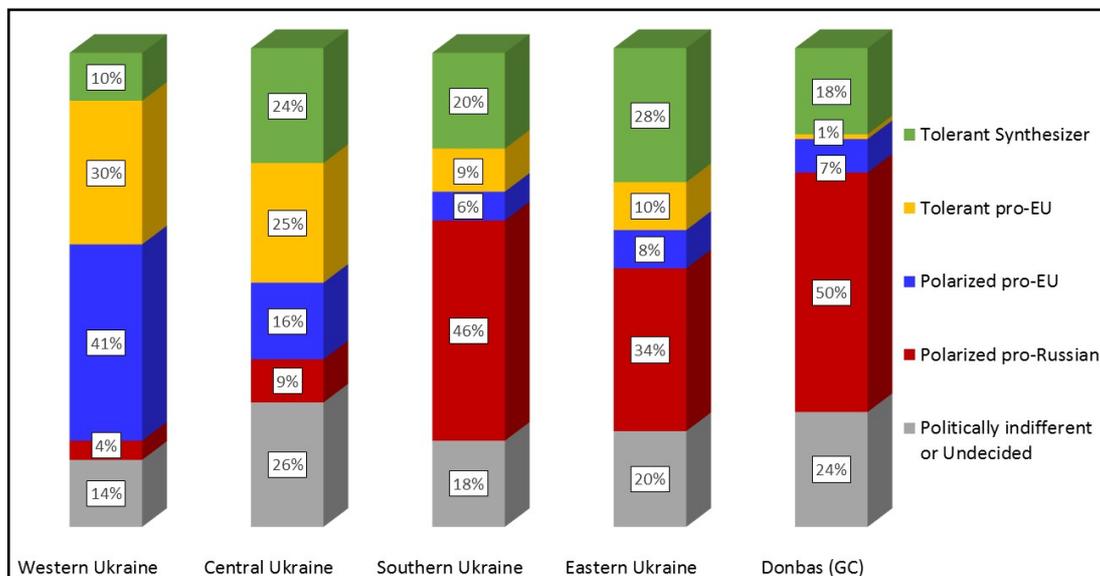
Polarized Pro-Russia people strongly support having closer ties with Russia and they show very high affinity towards supporters of Russia (as they identify themselves belonging to the same group). In addition, they display very low levels of support towards cooperation with the EU, while they also display high level of hostility towards Ukrainian Nationalists.

More information on the profile of each group could be found in the table below:

Polarized pro-EU	Tolerant pro-EU	Tolerant Synthesizer	Polarized pro-Russia
Pro-NATO	Absence of soviet nostalgia	Absence of stereotyping	Anti-NATO
Stereotypes to outgroups	Blames Russia & Rebels	Apportions blame to all	Stereotypes to outgroups
Absence of soviet nostalgia	Civic Optimism	High readiness for dialogue	Soviet Nostalgia
Blames Russia & Rebels	High political security	Somewhat supports Minsk	Blames Ukraine & West
Low readiness for dialogue	Supports Donbas	Opposes Ukrainian Army	Strongly supports Minsk
Opposes Minsk	High support for reform	Low political security	Social threats from outgroups
Social threats from outgroups	Low authoritarianism	High Social Tolerance	Strongly opposes Ukrainian Army operations
Supports Ukrainian Army operations	High Social Tolerance	Higher trust of local & national authorities	Support for Amnesty
Tension towards IDPs	High Executive Skills & Emotion Regulation	Low discrimination to outgroups	Civic Pessimism
Opposes Amnesty	Rural		Low political, personal & economic security
Civic Optimism	Lower levels of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)		Opposes Donbas re-integration
High political & economic security	Lower trait aggression		Supports Peace Talks
High support for reform			Lower trust of local & national authorities
Low Social Tolerance			Dissatisfaction with public service delivery
Younger			Urban
Higher trait aggression			Anti free market
Male			Older

Geographical distribution of the identified groups across the country

While most people in the West are pro-EU and anti-Russian, people in the East are now displaying a diversity of opinions and seem to be equally supportive – and equally critical – of Russia and the EU. Central Ukraine has the highest percentage of politically indifferent/undecided people (26%), along with tolerant people, consisting of 24% tolerant synthesizers and 25% tolerant pro-EU people. Hence, Central Ukraine could be considered as a hub for dialogue to bridge the gap among different schools of thought, with the aim of increasing the level of tolerance towards different opinions. As far as general trends are concerned, the percentage of polarized pro-EU and tolerant pro-EU people decrease dramatically as one moves from the West to Southern Ukraine and the Donbas region. In contrast, the percentage of polarized pro-Russian people significantly increases as one moves from the West to Southern Ukraine and the Donbas region.



Finally, it is important to note that the highest percentage of tolerant synthesizers (28%) is in Eastern part of Ukraine. This finding further strengthens the fact that the East is indeed less polarized than it used to be and it is in fact becoming more tolerant towards alternative views (as opposed to its strong pro-Russian stance). In light of these research findings, the task for peace-builders is to strengthen the voices of tolerant synthesizers in the East, but also tolerant pro-EU people in the West, in support of efforts for building a cohesive Ukrainian society.

Policy recommendations:

The wider strategy for developing a more cohesive Ukrainian identity should include: making the voices of tolerant synthesizers and tolerant pro-EU people heard; moving people from the polarized to the tolerant camp; and creating opportunities for dialogue between tolerant pro-EU and tolerant synthesizers. More specifically:

1. Making the voices of tolerance heard

In this regard, an important role can be played by the media, by allocating programme time to panels and interviews with participants who can bring out more tolerant narratives. In Western Ukraine, this would imply giving additional airtime to tolerant pro-EU people, while in Eastern Ukraine, additional airtime should be given to tolerant synthesizers. Beyond the role of the media, development organizations could contribute to strengthening the capacities of NGOs which emphasize pluralism and tolerance.

2. Moving people from the polarized to the tolerant camp

Specific challenges in working with **polarized pro-Russia people** is their socio-economic distress, their mistrust of government institutions, a sense that their narratives and way of thinking are no longer welcome in Ukrainian society, and a dismissive attitude towards 'pro-Maidan' people and people from Western Ukraine.

Engaging such groups in community development programmes, fostering their participation in local decision-making, discussing the benefits of EU membership and expanding the political space so that their concerns can be acknowledged and if possible addressed, are all measures that would encourage some members of this group to transition towards a 'tolerant synthesizer' orientation. Such recommendations are more salient for Southern and Eastern Ukraine.

Specific challenges in working with **polarized pro-EU people** is the dismissive attitude they currently hold towards people from Eastern Ukraine, their conflation of nationalist ideology with Europeanization narratives, and their elevated tendency for aggression.

Such groups would benefit from contact with and exposure to tolerant synthesizers from Eastern Ukraine, as this would help to disconfirm current stereotypes. Furthermore, discussion and education around core European values, such as tolerance and multi-culturalism, would help to address the values confusion which characterizes this group. In areas with elevated social violence and militancy, aggressive traits could be addressed through trainings and workshops on non-violent-communication and collaborative problem solving. The implementation of such recommendations, which are most salient in Western Ukraine, would encourage some members of this group to transition towards a 'tolerant pro EU' orientation.

3. Creating opportunities for dialogue between tolerant pro-EU people and tolerant synthesizers

The two tolerant groups, synthesizers and pro-EU, have a lot in common (e.g. shared values of tolerance and belief in non-violent resolution of conflicts, agreement that Ukraine would benefit from European Union membership) but at the same time disagree on what type of relationship, collaborative or adversarial, Ukraine should have with Russia in the future. Bringing these groups together for policy dialogue around the issue of Ukraine's future relationship with Russia would probably yield creative consensual solutions, and at the same time send a strong message in support of tolerance in Ukrainian society.

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 face-to-face, except non-government controlled areas of Donbas in which 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.



More information can be found at SCORE Online Platform: www.scoreforpeace.org

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

