TOWARD A COMMON FUTURE

VOICES FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE CONTACT LINE

SCORE
EASTERN
UKRAINE / 2019

BASED ON THE SOCIAL COHESION AND
RECONCILIATION INDEX IN DONETSK
AND LUHANSK OBLASTS, 2019

CONTENTS

ABOUT SCORE

The Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index (SCORE) for eastern Ukraine 2019 is a joint initiative funded by USAID to support the Democratic Governance in the East program (DG East), implemented by the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD), and in partnership with the United Nations Recovery and Peacebuilding Programme (UN RPP).

The aim of the SCORE initiative is to assist national and international stakeholders in their peacebuilding efforts. It provides a solid evidence base for developing policies and programs that strengthen national unity and social cohesion, particularly in eastern Ukraine, as well as for monitoring progress of their implementation.

SCORE is an analytical tool implemented on an annual basis and designed to improve the understanding of societal dynamics in Ukraine. SCORE findings presented in this report are based on 9,054 face-to-face interviews conducted in September–November 2019, including 619 in the non-government-controlled areas. The quantitative data was further enriched by validation consultations with both stakeholders and citizens (for more details on the data-collection strategy, see the Methodology section).

SCORE was developed in Cyprus through the joint efforts of SeeD and UNDP's Action for Cooperation and Trust program (UNDP-ACT), with USAID funding. SCORE examines two main components of peace: reconciliation and social cohesion. Reconciliation refers to the harmonious coexistence between groups that were previously engaged in a dispute or conflict, while social cohesion refers to the quality of coexistence between people and with the institutions that surround them. SCORE also looks at culturally specific components of peace that vary across different contexts and helps build a complete and rich understanding of societal, political and economic dynamics.

For more information on SCORE methodology and to see the results for eastern Ukraine, visit use.scoreforpeace.org

ABOUT THE PARTNERS

The Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD) works with international development organizations, governments and civil society leaders to design and implement people-centred and evidence-based strategies for promoting peaceful, inclusive and resilient societies. Working in Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia, SeeD provides social transformation policy recommendations that are rooted in citizen engagement strategies and an empirical understanding of the behaviors of individuals, groups and communities. SeeD's approach focuses on understanding the root causes of societal problems by developing an evidence-based theory of change which is empirically tested.

USAID is the world's premier international development agency and a catalytic actor driving development results. USAID has partnered with Ukraine since 1992, providing more than $3 billion in assistance. USAID's current strategic priorities include strengthening democracy and good governance, promoting economic development and energy security, improving healthcare systems, and mitigating the effects of the conflict in the east.

USAID's DG East program is a five-year activity to improve trust and confidence between citizens and government in eastern Ukraine, building opportunities for the region to lead Ukraine's democratic transformation. DG East aims to strengthen the connection and trust between citizens and their government in eastern Ukraine by promoting good governance and inclusive civic identity, increasing interaction between citizens and civil society, and increasing collaboration between government and citizens and citizen participation in community development and local decision-making.

The United Nations Recovery and Peacebuilding Programme (UN RPP) has been addressing priority needs in eastern Ukraine since the outbreak of the armed conflict in the spring of 2014. The Programme is intended to support the economic recovery and restoration of critical infrastructure in the conflict-affected communities, support the local governance and decentralization reform implementation alongside with healthcare reform, and strengthen community security and social cohesion in the government-controlled areas of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts and Zaporizhzhia oblast along the Sea of Azov.

UN RPP is being implemented by four United Nations agencies: the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). Twelve international partners support the UN RPP: the European Union, the European Investment Bank and the governments of Canada, Denmark, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK.

ABBREVIATIONS

ATM	Automated Teller Machine
ATO	Anti-Terrorist Operation
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union
EU	European Union
JFO	Joint Forces Operation
GCA	government-controlled area
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGCA	non-government-controlled area
NGO	non-governmental organizations
SCORE	Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index
UN RPP	United Nations Recovery and Peacebuilding Programme
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
USAID DG East	Democratic Governance in the East Programme
'DPR'	the so-called 'Donetsk People's Republic'
'LPR'	the so-called 'Luhansk People's Republic'

HOW TO READ SCORE HEATMAPS

A set of 3–5 questions from the SCORE survey helps to measure a certain phenomenon from different angles and to form an indicator.

For example, the PERSONAL SECURITY indicator is measured through three questions:

1   *To what extent do you feel safe from violence in your daily life?*

2   *To what extent do you feel confident that the police can protect you from violence?*

3   *To what extent do you feel safe walking alone in the street at night in your locality?*

PERSONAL SECURITY

The degree to which one feels safe from violence in daily life and that the police can protect them

Score	Region
4.1	DONETSK OBLAST
4.6	LUHANSK OBLAST
4.3	DONETSK & LUHANSK OBLASTS

Starobilsk 4.4
Sievierodonetsk 4.5
Lysychansk 4.2
Sloviansk 4.6
Kramatorsk 4.0
Popasna 3.5
Stanytsia Luhanska 3.3
Druzhkivka 3.9
Bakhmut 4.5
Kostiantynivka 2.6
Pokrovsk 3.4
Mariinka 1.9
Mariupol 4.2
Melitopol 4.0
Berdiansk 4.5

SEA OF AZOV

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10   RANGE OF SCORES

SCORE   EASTERN UKRAINE / 2019

Each indicator has a value from 0 to 10, where 0 means the absence of phenomena in society and 10 means its absolute presence. Only differences greater than 0.5 are considered statistically significant.

Indicators are presented on heatmaps to demonstrate the geographical distribution of a measured phenomenon.

The PERSONAL SECURITY heatmap shows that the regional average of how safe people in the area feel is 4.3, signifying that there is room for improvement. City scores show which areas can be prioritized when it comes to interventions (e.g. Mariinka with the lowest score of 1.9).

SCORE for eastern Ukraine 2019 has more than 200 indicators, which are measured across 12 THEMATIC DIMENSIONS:

- Belonging and identity
- Civic attitudes and behavior
- Demographic indicators
- Economic environment

- Exposure to adversities
- Future vision for the NGCA
- Governance and services
- Human security

- Intergroup relations
- Media and information consumption
- Political orientations and attitudes
- Psychosocial assets and skills

To read more about SCORE methodology and to explore the indicators please visit scoreforpeace.org

INTRODUCTION

This report presents key data findings of the Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index (SCORE) held in 2019 in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. Research was held in the two oblasts to support the area-based programmatic efforts of DG East and UN RPP programs and to shed light on the human side of the conflict. This report identifies policy entry points and recommendations for strengthening different socio-political, economic and civic dimensions of social cohesion in both government-controlled areas (GCAs) and non-government-controlled areas (NGCAs) of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. Current findings will be placed in a national perspective in 2020, when an all-Ukraine SCORE survey is due to be implemented.

ANALYTICAL SCOPE OF THE REPORT

The analytical scope of this report is limited to assessing the impact of the conflict on different dimensions of social cohesion, with a view to informing effective responses. Neither this report nor SCORE seeks to address the origins of the conflict nor to assign political responsibility. The authors recognize that the conflict in eastern Ukraine has complex historical and international dimensions that are far beyond the scope of the SCORE indicators. As such, this report neither seeks to provide a conflict analysis nor to diagnose the root causes of the conflict, but focuses instead on revealing perceptions that shape the current realities in which residents of these regions live.

One should interpret the findings of the report with caution given the limitations on robust data collection in the NGCAs due to the low levels of political security of respondents as well as due to the differences in polling methodology (see the Methodology section below).

AIMS OF THE REPORT

Having recognized these limitations, we truly hope that this research will help to:

- Fill in some of the information gaps about civic attitudes and aspirations of people on both sides of the line of contact, especially in the NGCAs;

- Broaden the concept of human security, which in times of armed conflict tends to be subjugated by hard security priorities; and

- Support and inform public discourse on possible options for the political resolution of the conflict, including options for the peaceful reintegration of the NGCAs.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This report comprises four chapters, each of which addresses a core dimension of social cohesion in eastern Ukraine. *Chapter 1* presents findings on perceived levels of economic, personal and political security on both sides of the contact line, the opinions of residents of the region about the quality and availability of services, and their perceptions of authorities. *Chapter 2* focuses on those who cross the line of contact, and how crossing patterns are linked to views on reintegration. *Chapter 3* investigates the media preferences of residents on both sides of the contact line and reveals the impact of television channels on the social and political attitudes of their audiences. *Chapter 4* presents a comprehensive profiling of different groups, based on their views on the future of the NGCAs and the resolution of the conflict. The *annexes* contain the glossary of main indicators and additional figures that present complementary data findings.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The SCORE 2019 findings demonstrate that residents of both the GCAs and NGCAs have many needs in common, in particular with regard to service provision and human security. This is largely due to the fact that respondents on both sides of the contact line have historically belonged to the same polity. Fatigued by the protracted conflict, a large share of the respondents on both sides of the contact line support the unconditional political reintegration of the NGCAs. However, many are also open to a compromise solution, such as special status, although different respondents have different views as to the purpose of special status.

KEY FINDINGS

Residents in both the GCAs and NGCAs do not feel safe, the latter being more vulnerable. Levels of personal, political and economic security are low on both sides of the line of contact. Respondents in both the GCAs and NGCAs do not feel safe on the streets: 60 % and 76 %, respectively, while about 51 % of respondents in the GCAs and 64 % in the NGCAs say they fear negative repercussions if they express their political opinions freely. In terms of economic security, 13 % of households in the GCAs and 20 % in the NGCAs lack money to buy food.

Residents in the GCAs and NGCAs have similar levels of satisfaction with most services. NGCA residents are more satisfied with the delivery of justice and higher education services, while GCA residents report that administrative and utility services are provided more effectively. People in the GCAs fail to connect somewhat higher satisfaction with services with the belief that authorities care for them. NGCA respondents report that Russian and 'local' authorities care about them more than do Ukrainian authorities.

Support for reintegration among NGCA respondents is hindered by the lack of belief in the utility of dialogue. Particularly, they think that such groups as 'people from western Ukraine' and 'Ukrainian nationalists'[1] are not ready to hear their arguments or to discuss them. Respondents in the NGCAs also report that they have very low contact with these two groups.

Commuters from the NGCAs are more supportive of reintegration than those who do not cross the contact line. Commuters are more likely to have a positive disposition toward the Ukrainian authorities and to identify as citizens of Ukraine. Crossing the contact line remains a significant channel for maintaining people-to-people contacts and for delivering services to and sharing information with those living in the NGCAs.

Preferences for media differ among GCA and NGCA residents, and one's choice of media can have divisive effects. Russian media is the most readily available and popular source of information and entertainment in the NGCAs, but is linked to divisive narratives and behaviors, including fueling support for separatism. In the GCAs, Ukrainian channels have no impact on status-related issues (e.g. on support for reintegration).

Ukrainian identity prevails in both the GCAs and NGCAs. When asked about their primary identity, nearly 90 % of GCA residents self-identify as Ukrainian or as a citizen of Ukraine, while NGCA residents are equally divided between those who self-identify as Ukrainian or as a citizen of Ukraine and those who self-identify as Russian or a citizen of so-called 'DPR'/'LPR'.

NGCA and GCA residents converge on some scenarios for the future of the NGCAs. Special status as a political solution is equally supported by residents of both the GCAs and NGCAs. However, some view this as a step toward reintegration, while others view this as a move toward separation. Support for unconditional reintegration carries different levels of support in the GCAs and NGCAs (70 % and 33 % respectively support returning to pre-conflict status). Among NGCA residents, 52 % support joining the Russian Federation.

Common factors that predict support for reintegration in the GCAs and NGCAs include the belief that Ukrainian authorities care, and the ability to discern divisive narratives. Human security is equally important: political security (in the GCAs) and personal security (in the NGCAs). Support for reintegration in the GCAs is additionally driven by a sense of agency, belief in effective reform implementation, locality satisfaction and one's sense of belonging to Ukraine. Belief that politically opposed groups are ready to listen strengthens support for reintegration in the NGCAs.

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1   The pre-identified definitions of these groups were not provided, but were left for interpretation of respondents.

RECOMMENDATIONS
TO STAKEHOLDERS

1. *Narrow the gap between levels of satisfaction with services delivery and attribution to the actions of the authorities in the GCAs:*

   • *Communicate improvements* in service delivery and reforms with explicit attribution to the efforts of the authorities and the desire to improve the lives of people. Ensure greater transparency in public communication, including reform risks and associated costs to better manage public expectations.

   • *Engage citizens in decision-making.* Effective participation of citizens in the political lives of their communities can improve their sense of agency and of belonging and readiness to listen to alternative views.

   • *Integrate gender-based assessment* into the development of all human security policies and programs to ensure targeted responses to the specific needs of different people and groups.

2. *Engage with frequent crossers to help realize their potential as agents for reintegration.* Identify reasons for dissatisfaction among the frequent crossers, including their lack of support for or belief in the utility of dialogue. Provide enhanced social assistance programs for low income earners and improve crossing conditions. This can lead to positive messaging across the line of contact.

3. *Communicate conflict resolution strategy and encourage inclusive discussion.* The Government of Ukraine should articulate a clear vision and strategy for conflict resolution and convene public discussion to discuss policy options for reintegration. Representatives from different regions of Ukraine and with different political views should be involved in facilitated public discussion to help shape a common future on the basis of public support.

4. *Convince the convincible in the NGCAs.* Winning over those who support both separation and special status will be an important step toward achieving lasting peace in the region. To achieve this, it is necessary to establish confidence that a constructive dialogue with groups that hold politically different views is possible. This can ensure that their concerns about political security are adequately addressed. Identifying and addressing concerns of different groups can help shift public opinions toward a more cohesive society and a more unified Ukraine.

2019 SCORE METHODOLOGY

SURVEY DESIGN

The 2019 Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index for eastern Ukraine focuses on the GCAs and NGCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. The total sample comprised 9,054 face-to-face interviews, capturing the views of people residing in the GCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts (3,325 respondents), the NGCAs (619) and along the contact line (1,810), as well as additional interviews in 15 towns of the region (3,000), and among military personnel and veterans (300). Data on other regions of Ukraine will be presented in the next SCORE Index wave. The assessment focuses on 2019 data, collected over September–November, immediately after the Presidential and Parliamentary elections.

The data collection in the GCAs was based on stratified random sampling, while in the NGCAs, the snowball method was used to identify respondents (see below).

The SCORE results were validated during a series of consultations with local, regional and national stakeholders, including representatives of the authorities and civil society, held in Kyiv and in various locations in the two eastern oblasts.

GEOGRAPHY OF SCORE 2019
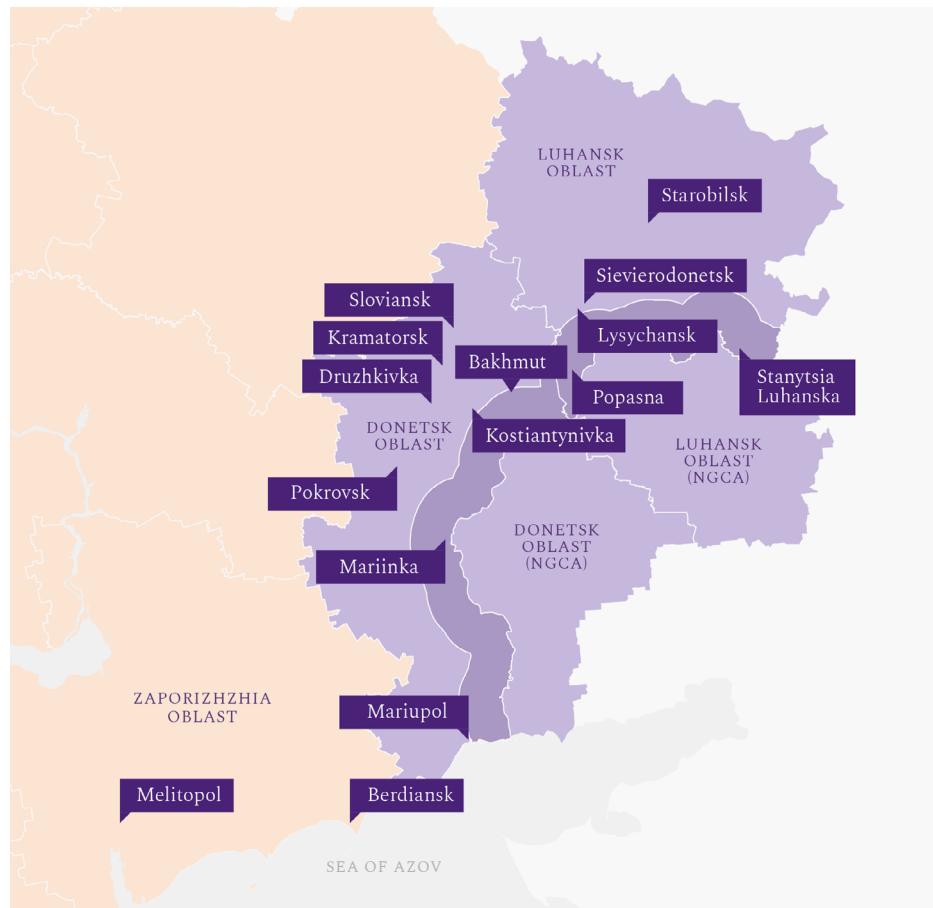
SAMPLING IN THE GCAs

The GCA polling for the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts was implemented by the Kantar Ukraine polling company based on the 2018 population data. The data is representative by age, gender and type of settlement for each oblast. To collect the sample of 3,325 respondents (70 % in Donetsk oblast and 30 % in Luhansk oblast) in 311 settlements, the company applied the computer-assisted personal interview (CAPI) method. The interviews were conducted from 16 September to 10 November 2019 by the team of about 80 enumerators. The average polling time was 52 minutes.

The quality assurance of the fieldwork was done by a combination of spot- and back-checks implemented by two external quality monitors, as well as by the polling company's control team. In addition, there was geolocation of about 50 % of the urban interviews, and weekly telephone control of 5 % of the interviews. A total of 23 % of the sample went through quality assurance.

SAMPLING IN THE NGCAs

The polling company, which requested to remain anonymous, used the face-to-face snowball technique based on the age and sex quota of the NGCA population in 2013. The sample size totaled 619 respondents: 306 in Donetsk NGCAs and 313 in Luhansk NGCAs. The total number of settlements in the sample was seven in Donetsk NGCAs and 11 in Luhansk NGCAs (see Figure 5.13 in Annex 1). The polling company applied a mix of computer-assisted (40 %) and pen-and-paper (60 %) personal interview methods. The interviews were conducted from 30 September to 10 October 2019 by the team of 13 enumerators, residents of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. The questionnaire was shorter than in the GCA survey with the average polling time of 20 minutes.

The survey data was complemented by the findings of two validation groups and several interviews with residents of the NGCAs, conducted in Kramatorsk, Donetsk GCA during February 2020. These comprised the 13 representatives of Donetsk and Luhansk regions from predominantly large towns and had balanced sex and age composition. Given the difficulty of convening the NGCA residents in the GCAs, the qualitative component of SCORE is limited in scope and has been used to complement some of the survey findings, rather than as a stand-alone piece of research.

Although the desirability bias is common for different data-collection techniques, the findings, particularly in the NGCAs, where the sample size is also smaller than in the GCAs, should therefore be interpreted in light of low political security of the respondents.

SECURITY RISKS AND OTHER FIELDWORK CONSTRAINTS IN THE NGCAs

CONSTRAINTS	FIELDWORK CONTEXT	MEASURES TAKEN	OBSERVATIONS
No reliable data about the population of the NGCAs	The sample's sex and age quotas in the NGCAs correspond to the area's population prior to the conflict, and therefore do not fully capture the demographic changes that have happened in the region since 2014 due to the outflux of IDPs and refugees.	Applying more flexible (wide) age quotas to reflect a seemingly more aging population structure.	Women in the 40–59 age category were especially hard to reach during daytime hours, possibly because the group represents the core of the employed population in the NGCAs.
Security risks for enumerators and interviewees	Residents in small settlements tend to be more suspicious of strangers and are known to be more likely to report on enumerators during their work. The access problem was exacerbated by poor availability of local transportation in the rural area and the curfew hours. Enumerators were concerned that the tablets could be checked/taken away during the fieldwork or at the checkpoints. Respondents were concerned about possible audio/video recording during the interview.	Granting anonymity to respondents; the company conducting the polling also opted to remain anonymous. Using paper questionnaires along with tablets. Using the snowball technique instead of random sampling. Engaging enumerators from the two oblasts.	Lower non-response rate and smaller representation of small or remote settlements.
Limited options for data quality assurance	Control measures applied in the GCAs, such as direct supervision, back-checks and geo-referencing, were not used due to security considerations.	Experienced enumerators were selected, who went through special training.	

1. HUMAN SECURITY, SATISFACTION WITH SERVICES *and* RELATIONS WITH AUTHORITIES

The concept of human security goes beyond security from violence and crime, and focuses on the security of people in all aspects: personal, economic, political. It takes a citizen-centric approach to defining and measuring security, rather than focusing on territorial security, and is a useful concept when investigating social cohesion and reconciliation. According to the 1994 Human Development Report, there are two major components of human security: 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. In democratic societies, governments guard these freedoms by providing services including policing, ensuring the economic security of citizens, and creating safe spaces for public expression, thereby strengthening the social fabric.

To measure how these freedoms are met in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts and how satisfied their residents are with governance in the region and country, SCORE assessed how safe people feel, including their personal, economic and political security (section 1.1); how satisfied the residents are with the availability and effectiveness of services (section 1.2); and, finally, to what extent people trust authorities and sense that the authorities care about them (section 1.3). Such an approach helps identify how residents assess the progress in the country and whether they attribute it to the actions of the authorities.

1.1 HOW SAFE PEOPLE FEEL

INCOME LEVEL — *perception of one's household's ability to purchase various items (food, clothes, electronics, etc.)*

The 2019 SCORE survey measured perceived levels of personal, economic and political security in the GCAs.[2] In the NGCAs, only personal and political security was measured, with the self-assessment of household income used as a proxy indicator for economic security.

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2   Additionally, in the GCAs, the 2019 survey also measured perceived levels of environmental and health security. See more at scoreforpeace.org

Figure 1.1.1 POLITICAL, ECONOMIC
AND PERSONAL SECURITY

POLITICAL SECURITY — *the degree
to which one feels comfortable express-
ing one's political views both collec-
tively and individually without fearing
consequences*
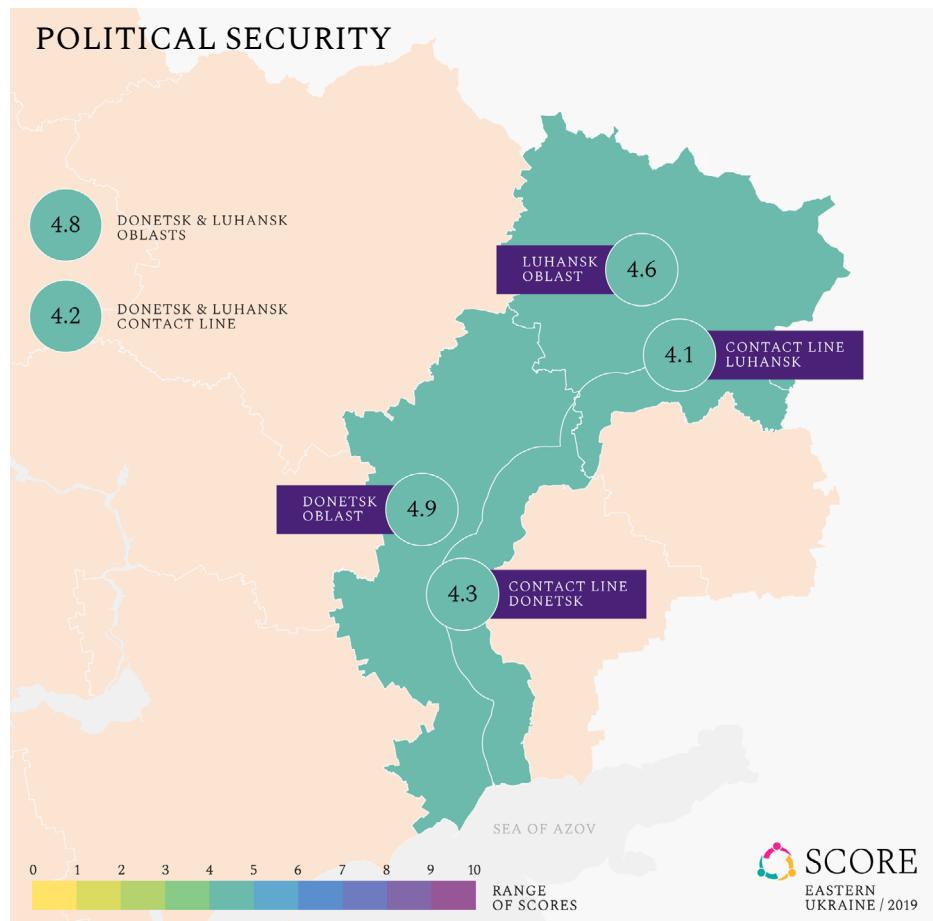
POLITICAL SECURITY

4.8 — DONETSK & LUHANSK OBLASTS

4.2 — DONETSK & LUHANSK CONTACT LINE

LUHANSK OBLAST — 4.6

CONTACT LINE LUHANSK — 4.1

DONETSK OBLAST — 4.9

CONTACT LINE DONETSK — 4.3

SEA OF AZOV

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 — RANGE OF SCORES

SCORE EASTERN UKRAINE / 2019

ECONOMIC SECURITY — *the degree
to which one has a stable source of in-
come, capacity to provide for nutritional
needs, and can rely on social welfare
payments if they are needed*[3]

ECONOMIC SECURITY

4.9 — DONETSK & LUHANSK OBLASTS

4.4 — DONETSK & LUHANSK CONTACT LINE

LUHANSK OBLAST — 4.9

CONTACT LINE LUHANSK — 3.9

DONETSK OBLAST — 4.9

CONTACT LINE DONETSK — 4.6

SEA OF AZOV

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 — RANGE OF SCORES

SCORE EASTERN UKRAINE / 2019
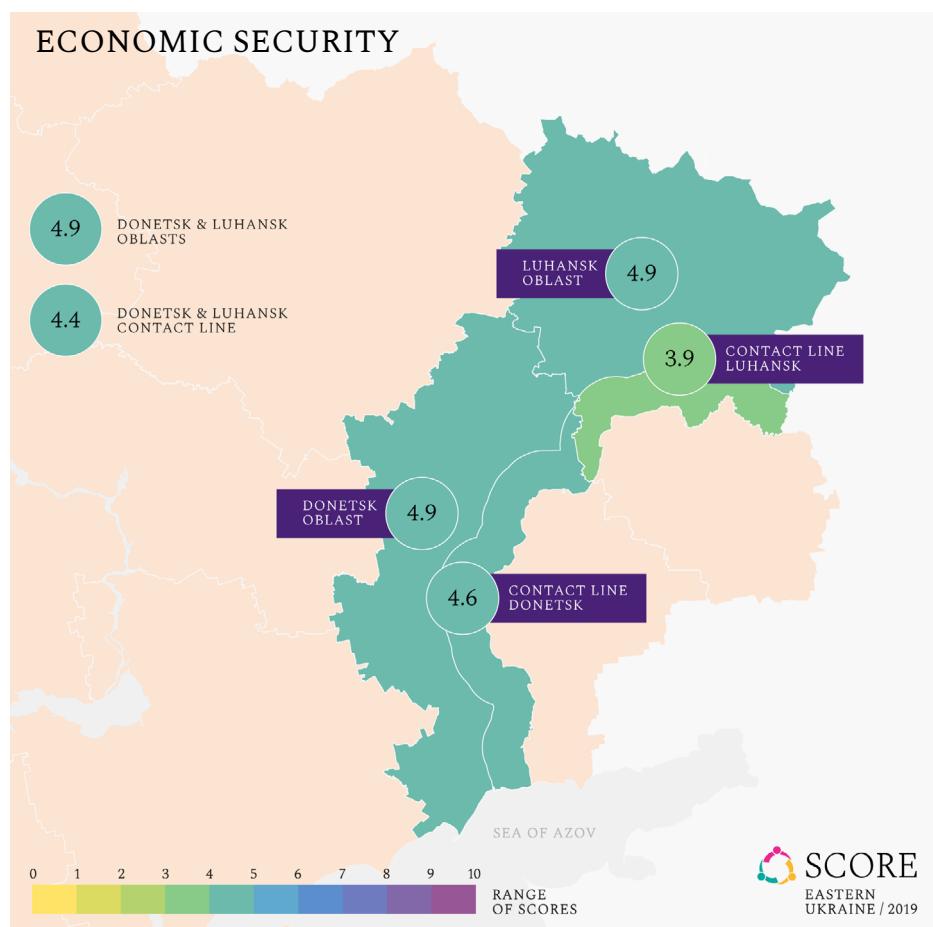
3 Compared to 2018, GCA respondents more positively assess their economic security in 2019. At
the same time, the share of the people in the GCAs who report lacking money for food has not notably
changed.

PERSONAL SECURITY — *the degree to which one feels safe from violence in daily life and that the police provides protection*

PERSONAL SECURITY

4.3 DONETSK & LUHANSK OBLASTS

3.6 DONETSK & LUHANSK CONTACT LINE

LUHANSK OBLAST 4.6

CONTACT LINE LUHANSK 3.2

DONETSK OBLAST 4.1

CONTACT LINE DONETSK 3.7

SEA OF AZOV

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10   RANGE OF SCORES

SCORE
EASTERN UKRAINE / 2019
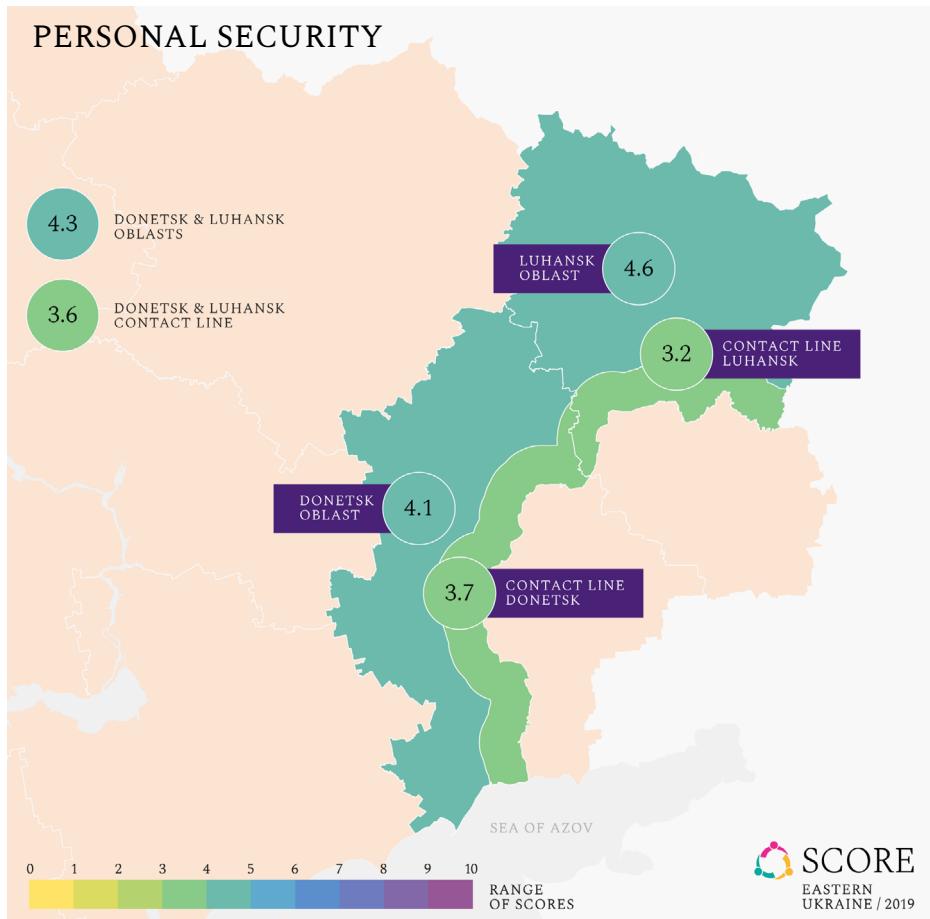
Both personal and political security are lower in the NGCAs than in the GCAs. However, the regional average is still low overall, meaning that most people do not feel physically safe in their locality, nor free to share their political opinions without facing repercussions. Residents of the Luhansk NGCAs are more vulnerable compared to residents of the Donetsk NGCAs; women feel less secure than men across all areas; and young people assess their political security more positively than older people (see Annex 1, Figure 5.4).

> *"People are afraid. Residents of the republics and the gray zone have post-traumatic stress disorder: very deep-down fear that they will come, find out, and punish"*
>
> Participants of the validation group from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

There is a difference in perceptions of personal insecurity between residents of the NGCAs and GCAs. Compared to their GCA counterparts, NGCA residents do not feel safe to walk alone on the street at night and, in general, do not feel safe from violence in their daily lives. GCA residents express a much lower level of confidence in the ability of the police to protect them.

Figure 1.1.2 PERSONAL SECURITY DIMENSIONS, GCAS AND NGCAS, %

● GCA

● NGCA

Please tell me to what extent you...? (GCAs, N = 3,325; NGCAs, N = 619)

	feel safe from violence in your daily life	*feel confident that the police can protect you and your family from violence*	*feel safe walking alone in the street at night in your locality*
Not at all	15	34	29
Not really	28	30	29
Yes, to some extent	42	24	28
Yes, very much	14	8	11
Difficult to answer	1	4	2
Not at all	34	38	51
Not really	30	34	25
Yes, to some extent	29	21	17
Yes, very much	6	4	3
Difficult to answer	2	3	3
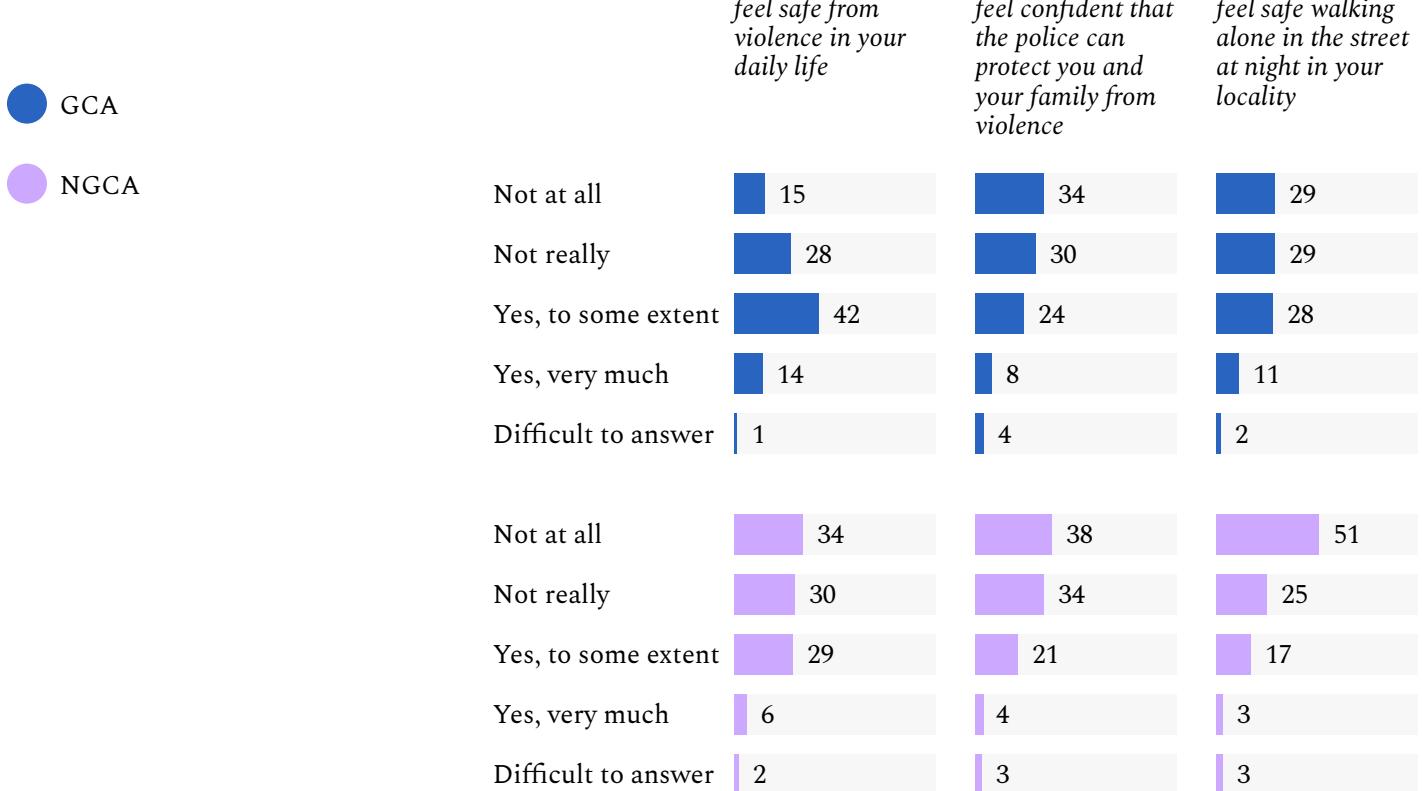
"Shelling is the greatest cause of personal insecurity. When the Ukrainian army starts shelling, negative attitudes toward Ukrainian authorities are on the rise"

Participants of the validation group
from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

Low levels of political security in the NGCAs and GCAs are reflected by the majority of respondents citing limits on freedom of assembly and on freedom of speech.

Figure 1.1.3 POLITICAL SECURITY DIMENSIONS, GCAs AND NGCAs, %

● GCA

● NGCA

Please tell me to what extent you...? (GCAs, N = 3,325; NGCAs, N = 619)

	can freely express your political views without negative repercussions	*feel free to get together with like-minded people*
Not at all	22	21
Not really	29	27
Yes, to some extent	29	30
Yes, very much	16	17
Difficult to answer	4	4
Not at all	27	29
Not really	37	40
Yes, to some extent	26	20
Yes, very much	5	5
Difficult to answer	4	6

"There is hardly any political opposition here"

Participants of the validation group
from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

Residents in the NGCAs face greater economic hardships, with 20 % of respondents from the NGCAs and 13 % of respondents from the GCAs stating they cannot afford food on a regular basis (see Figure 1.1.4). The elderly, women and residents of Luhansk oblast are the three most vulnerable groups.

Figure 1.1.4 INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS, GCAS AND NGCAS, %

How would you estimate the amount of your income?
(GCAs, N = 3,325; NGCAs, N = 618)

● GCA

● NGCA

	We lack money even for food	We have enough money for food, but are not always able to buy clothes	We always have money for food and clothes, but we cannot always afford household electronics or other expensive goods	We have enough money for household electronics or other expensive goods, but we cannot afford a car or an apartment	We can afford a car or other goods of similar cost, when needed
TOTAL	13 / 20	35 / 47	44 / 27	7 / 5	1 / 1
Men	9 / 17	32 / 46	49 / 30	9 / 6	1 / 1
Women	16 / 23	37 / 48	41 / 24	5 / 3	1 / 1
18–35 years	7 / 9	25 / 42	56 / 39	10 / 9	1 / 1
36–59 years	9 / 15	36 / 50	47 / 29	7 / 5	1 / 1
60+ years	23 / 34	42 / 47	31 / 17	3 / 2	1 / 0
Donetsk oblast	13 / 14	33 / 50	47 / 29	7 / 6	1 / 1
Luhansk oblast	13 / 26	40 / 45	39 / 26	6 / 3	1 / 0

1.2 HOW SATISFIED PEOPLE ARE WITH SERVICE DELIVERY

SERVICE SATISFACTION — *the extent to which one is satisfied with provision of a service or an assessment of its availability in their locality*

SCORE 2019 measured the level of satisfaction with public and infrastructure services in both the GCAs and the NGCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts.

Overall, levels of satisfaction with public service delivery remain above average on both sides of the contact line. Levels of satisfaction in delivery of justice and higher education services are higher in the NGCAs, while administrative services are scored higher in the GCAs (see Figure 1.2.1).

The gap in levels of satisfaction with higher education is particularly notable. Residents of the GCAs note both the absence of such services (educational institutions) in their locality and the low quality of what is available.

"Higher education in the NGCAs is very accessible due to very low entry requirements, which also attracts middle aged and elderly students. The non-recognition of NGCA university diplomas in Ukraine or elsewhere is a deficiency. There is a strong expectation among NGCA students that Russia will soon be granting accreditation to key NGCA universities. Some young people enroll in (GCA) universities while others study in both (NGCA and GCA) universities at the same time. Others still choose to pursue tertiary education in the Russian Federation"

Participants of the validation group from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

Figure 1.2.1 SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC SERVICES, GCAS AND NGCAS, SCORES, 0–10

● GCA

● NGCA

Provision of...

	GCA	NGCA
administrative services	6.4	5.9
basic schooling	6.7	7.0
health care	5.4	5.2
higher education	4.7	6.5
justice services	5.2	5.8
welfare payments	6.7	6.7
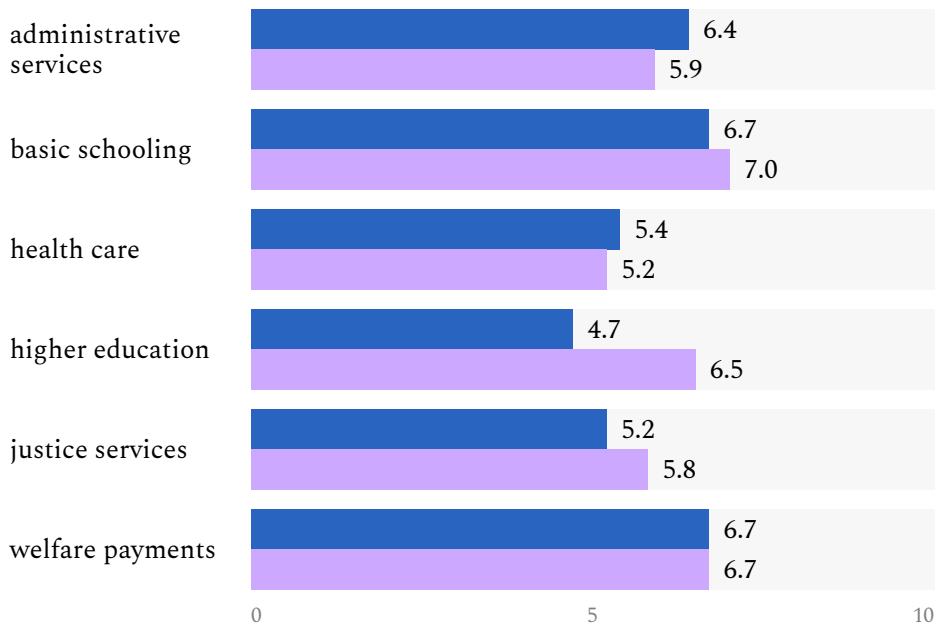
The higher level of satisfaction with the provision of justice among NGCA residents appears to be linked with the recent restoration of the judicial system (courts) in the NGCAs, which nearly stopped functioning in 2014. People aged 35+ and men tend to report the highest levels of satisfaction with access to justice in the NGCAs.

> *"We have more order here"*
>
> *"Until recently it was very bad, but now we see some improvements and people are less demanding when assessing the services"*
>
> *"Healthcare services are mediocre. In Luhansk the situation is extremely bad: a lot of doctors left the region (all have gone); financial compensation is very low, e.g. nurses receive about 4,000 rubles a month (or UAH 1,530)"*
>
> *"The reason why people apply for Russian passports here, is because it is very hard to get a Ukrainian one (Фиг получишь)"*
>
> Participants of the validation group from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

Residents of the GCAs are relatively more satisfied with administrative services. On the other hand, NGCA residents are not able to access a number of crucial services locally. For example, the latter continue to be dependent on GCA service providers in obtaining or renewing personal identification documents, such as birth certificates and passports.

Like with public services, NGCA and GCA residents assess key infrastructure in their localities similarly, except for the provision of utilities (such as water and power). NGCA residents are less satisfied with utilities, which may be linked to more frequent interruptions of water or electricity supply. Both NGCA and GCA residents share a low perception of road quality and a positive assessment of internet access (see Figure 1.2.2).

Figure 1.2.2 SATISFACTION WITH INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES, GCAS AND NGCAS, SCORES, 0–10

● GCA

● NGCA

	GCA	NGCA
Internet access	7.4	7.7
Provision of utilities	6.2	5.0
Quality of public transport	6.2	6.3
Quality of roads	4.8	5.1
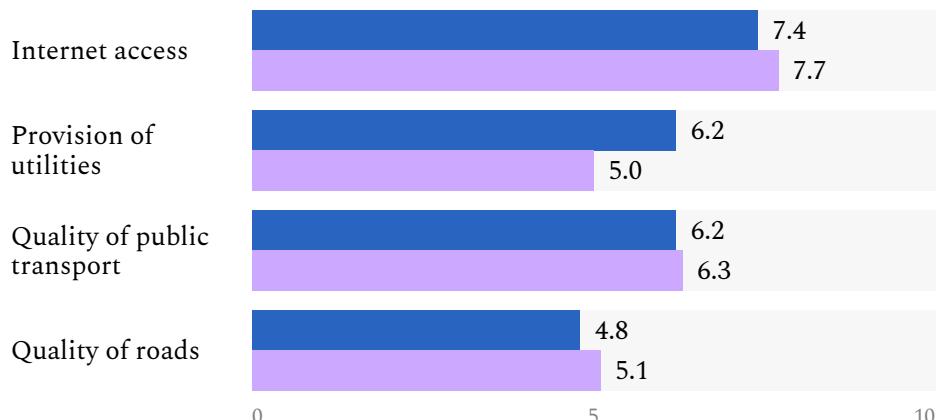
According to validation group discussion, services could also be perceived as being at times more effective in the NGCAs for the following reasons:

1. The more urbanized and economically developed parts of the NGCAs preserved sufficient infrastructure and human capital to resume the provision of these key services after 2014. The GCAs did not manage to fully substitute for the loss of easy access to the NGCAs, which undermines the perception of service quality.

2. Lower personal and political security among NGCA residents prevents them from being too critical of the service providers.

3. There are very asymmetric expectations of service delivery on both sides of the contact line. NGCA residents may expect much less from their local (unrecognized and often inexperienced) administration and what it can provide, compared to the expectations of GCA respondents about what their established and better funded service providers should deliver.

Read more about how satisfaction with services is linked with the support for reintegration of the NGCAs in Chapter 4, which addresses future visions of the region.

1.3   DO PEOPLE THINK THAT THE AUTHORITIES CARE?

UKRAINIAN AUTHORITIES CARE — *the degree to which one feels that Ukrainian authorities represent their concerns and views, care equally about all parts of Ukraine and are ready to listen*

Feeling that authorities are governed by the needs of the communities, are accountable to people and provide effective participation mechanisms is crucial to nurture democratic and vibrant societies, and is a fundamental aspect of the modern social contract. One's perceptions of authorities are linked not only to the effectiveness of public services, but also to how well reforms and improvements in service provision are communicated, and to whether decision-making is inclusive.

SCORE results consistently show that very few people in the GCAs feel that authorities care about the overall welfare of Ukrainian citizens, or are responsive to their needs and concerns (see Figure 1.3.1). Despite relatively high levels of satisfaction with most public services, people still fail to connect the country's progress with efforts of the government: less than 30 % of residents of the GCAs think that authorities represent their concerns and serve the needs of ordinary people.

Figure 1.3.1 PERCEPTION THAT
AUTHORITIES CARE, GCAS, %

Please tell me to what extent public authorities...? (N = 3,325)

	represent my concerns and views	*care equally about all parts of Ukraine*	*are attentive to the needs of the ordinary people*	*are open to hear points of view that are different*
Not at all	35	35	42	37
Not really	35	34	34	37
Yes, to some extent	22	19	18	18
Yes, very much	4	4	2	3
Difficult to answer	4	8	3	6
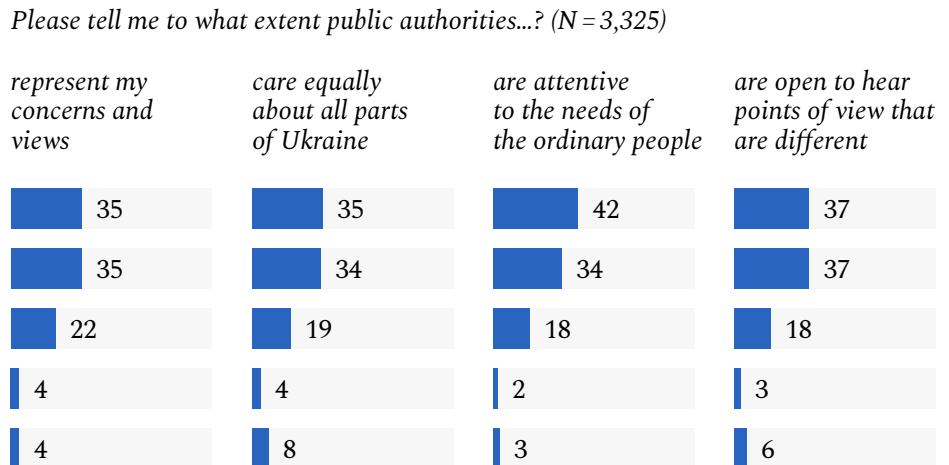
Figure 1.3.2 PERCEPTION THAT
AUTHORITIES CARE, GCAS,
SCORES, 0–10

*People throughout the region do not feel
that authorities care about the needs of
ordinary people*

UKRAINIAN AUTHORITIES CARE

3.1 DONETSK OBLAST

2.5 LUHANSK OBLAST

2.9 DONETSK & LUHANSK OBLASTS

Starobilsk 2.5
2.7 Sievierodonetsk
Sloviansk 3.0 2.3 Lysychansk
Kramatorsk 3.5 2.6 2.2 Stanytsia Luhanska
Druzhkivka 2.4 2.7 Popasna
2.1 Bakhmut
Kostiantynivka
Pokrovsk 2.7
Mariinka 2.1
Mariupol 3.3
Melitopol 3.4 Berdiansk 3.1

SEA OF AZOV

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 RANGE OF SCORES

SCORE
EASTERN UKRAINE / 2019

More than half of NGCA residents[4] think that local and Russian
authorities care about them (see Figure 1.3.3). Significantly fewer
residents in Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs think that Ukrainian
authorities cared about them: 36 % and 20 %, respectively.

4 While GCA residents were asked about authorities as presented in Figure 1.3.1, NGCA residents
were asked whether the following three entities care about them: 'Ukrainian government, Russian
government, and local authorities'.

Such comparatively high levels of satisfaction with the so-called 'DPR' and 'LPR' and Russian authorities may be a reflection of the improvements in the services (according to focus group discussions), and the low levels of political security. The negative responses about the Ukrainian authorities should also be viewed in the context of contacts with the GCAs. Almost half the NGCA respondents indicated that they have not crossed the contact line, which suggests that a large share of the NGCA residents have limited or no experience of services or information provided by the Government of Ukraine.

"Russia is not a country of our dreams — we are well aware it is not perfect, but Ukraine is worse. Each time Verkhovna Rada discusses Donbas or the language law, the attitudes toward Ukraine deteriorate (here) and then improve back"

Participants of the validation group
from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

Figure 1.3.3 PERCEPTION THAT UKRAINIAN, RUSSIAN AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES CARE, NGCAS, %

To what extent do you feel the following bodies care about your needs? (N = 619)

Donetsk oblast	Ukrainian authorities	Russian authorities	Local authorities
Do not care at all	75	43	38
Care to a certain extent	19	47	57
Care a lot	1	3	0
Difficult to answer	4	6	4

Luhansk oblast	Ukrainian authorities	Russian authorities	Local authorities
Do not care at all	57	31	31
Care to a certain extent	33	55	56
Care a lot	3	7	6
Difficult to answer	7	7	7

1.4 FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FINDINGS

- Overall, residents of the NGCAs feel less safe than residents of the GCAs. The top issues affecting personal insecurity differ on each side of the contact line: residents of the GCAs are more concerned with police being not ready to protect them and NGCA residents fear most when walking late on the streets. Constraints in expressing one's views in public for fear of some form of repercus-

sion is a shared concern for people living on both sides of the contact line. The elderly are the most vulnerable in terms of economic security. Overall, women feel least safe across all dimensions of human security: political, personal and economic.

- Levels of satisfaction with both public and infrastructure services are also similar on both sides of the contact line, with few exceptions. Residents of the NGCAs are more satisfied with the delivery of justice and higher education services, while residents of the GCAs report that administrative and utility services are better. GCA residents of Donetsk and Luhansk regions seem not to link good service provision with the actions of the authorities. The majority of the respondents do not think that the government takes care of the needs of ordinary people. NGCA residents report that Russian and the so-called 'DPR' and 'LPR' authorities care about them more than the Ukrainian government does.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Conduct service-oriented training for the local police in the GCAs, including on gender-sensitive policing. Assess public awareness and perceptions of the true state of crime rate in their locality and develop localized response strategies. Political security can be increased by systematically monitoring and addressing portrayal of negative stereotypes and even incidents of hate speech in the media and by public figures based on one's political orientation. Given that women report the highest vulnerability when it comes to security, gender assessments should inform the development of policies and programs.

- Prioritize improvements in the following services in the GCAs: road infrastructure, provision of justice and healthcare, and access to higher education. Enabling the economic and physical mobility of people, the elderly in particular, across the contact line, including for better access to specialized services, will improve levels of satisfaction with and public perceptions of the authorities. To improve access for students living in the NGCAs to accredited education institutions, the enrollment should be simplified across all universities in Ukraine, and not only those located in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts.

- Inform the public about the reform benefits, their possible risks and necessary costs for citizens. Engaging citizens in decision-making might potentially strengthen their trust in authorities.

2. CROSSING *the* CONTACT LINE

Crossing the contact line remains the main channel for maintaining people-to-people contacts in the region, for sharing information, and for providing services to NGCA residents. This chapter will address the scale of crossing among GCA and NGCA residents, the reasons for crossing, satisfaction with the services provided, and also the differences in civic profiles between those who do and do not cross.

2.1 FREQUENCY OF CROSSING

Prevalence of crossing the contact line is asymmetrical: as many as 62 % of NGCA respondents reported visiting GCAs over the past year, while only 7 % of GCA respondents crossed to the other side (see Figure 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). One in five NGCA commuters are frequent visitors, making more than 10 visits to GCAs per year, while most commuters from the GCAs visited NGCAs once or twice per year. NGCA residents from Luhansk oblast are much more likely to cross than residents from Donetsk NGCAs: 76 % and 47 %, respectively.

Figure 2.1.1 FREQUENCY OF CROSSING THE CONTACT LINE, GCAs, %

How many times have you visited NGCAs in the past year?
(Donetsk oblast, N = 2,331; Luhansk oblast, N = 994; Total, N = 3,325)

	Donetsk oblast	Luhansk oblast	TOTAL
Never	93	91	93
Once or twice	5	6	5
Up to 10 times	2	2	2
More than 10 times	0	1	0
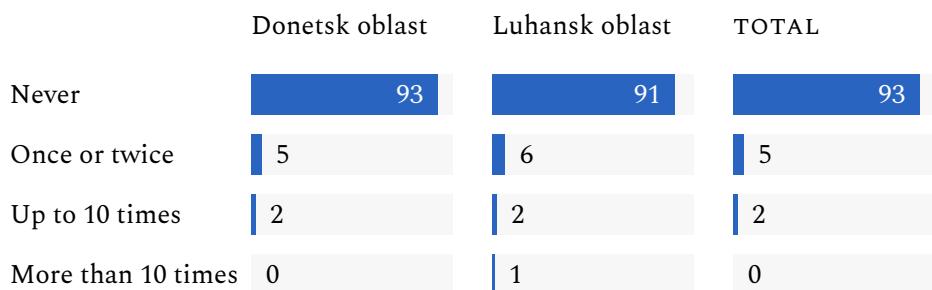
Figure 2.1.2 FREQUENCY OF CROSSING THE CONTACT LINE, NGCAs, %

How many times have you crossed the contact line in the past year?
(Donetsk oblast, N = 306; Luhansk oblast, N = 313; Total, N = 619)

	Donetsk oblast	Luhansk oblast	TOTAL
Never	53	24	38
Once or twice	18	19	19
Up to 10 times	22	22	22
More than 10 times	7	34	21
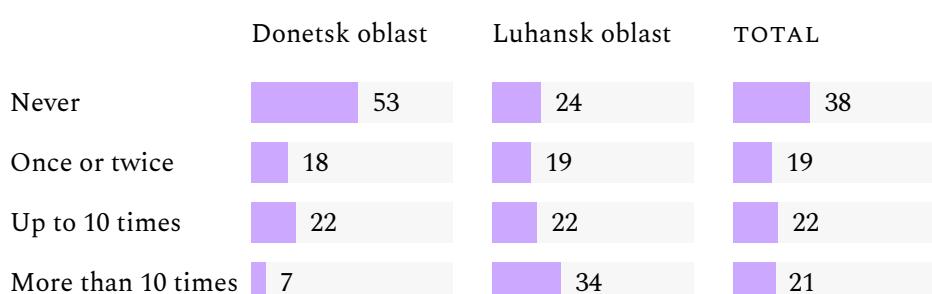
Pensioners are the main commuting group from the NGCAs, accounting for more than 40 % of all commuters. They also tend to have lower incomes, as reflected in section 1.1. People with a regular source of income and those aged under 40 are less likely to leave the NGCAs.

Figure 2.1.3 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THOSE WHO COMMUTE FROM OR STAY, NGCAS, %

How many times have you crossed the contact line in the past year? (N = 617)

	Employed	Pensioner	Student	Running a household / on maternity leave / unemployed
Never	57	28	5	10
Once or twice	59	23	3	15
Up to 10 times	31	59	2	7
More than 10 times	39	46	5	10
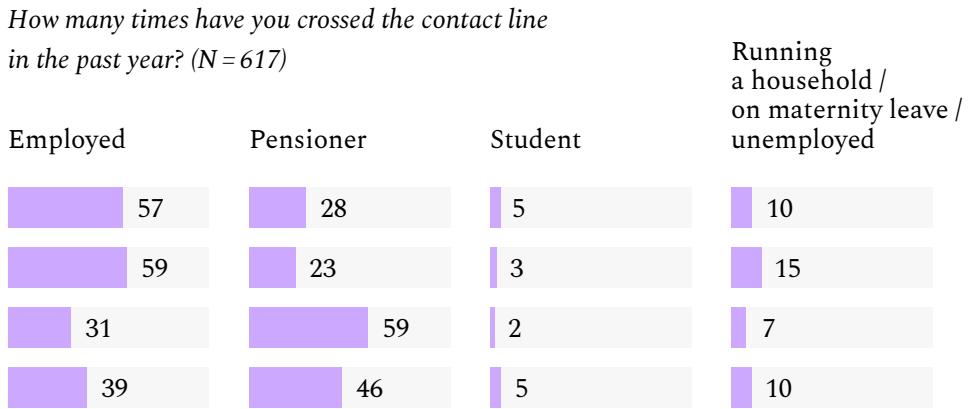
2.2 REASONS FOR CROSSING

The main reasons for commuting also differ between GCA and NGCA residents. The only shared reason for crossing the line of contact in both directions is family visits (see Figure 2.2.1).

Approximately half of those NGCA residents who visit the GCAs do so to withdraw cash or to visit relatives, with the bulk of such people being pensioners. The other main reasons for visiting the GCAs are to obtain administrative services (see section 1.2) and to purchase food and other consumer products.

> *"There are (trade) restrictions imposed by the Ukrainian authorities, also imports of certain goods from the GCA, for instance cigarettes, are limited (on our side)"*

> *"Passing Russian checkpoints is much more complicated than the Ukrainian ones: too time-consuming (queue might be up to 4–5 hours), they confiscate food, like sausages, etc. They also check mobiles phones and applications carefully — having Facebook app on the phone, or Ukrainian music is very undesirable"*

> Participants of the validation group
> from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

Figure 2.2.1 REASONS FOR CROSSING, GCAS AND NGCAS, %

On your last trip across the contact line, what was your main reason for crossing it?
(GCAs: Donetsk oblast, N = 159; Luhansk oblast, N = 85;
NGCAs: Donetsk oblast, N = 145; Luhansk oblast, N = 238)

	FOR GCA RESIDENTS		FOR NGCA RESIDENTS	
	Donetsk oblast	Luhansk oblast	Donetsk oblast	Luhansk oblast
Visiting relatives	67	72	46	43
Withdrawing cash: e.g. pension, ATM	—	—	54	39
Checking on property or land	20	14	—	—
Solving problems with documents	7	2	53	20
Shopping	2	12	32	32
Health treatment	14	5	4	11
Work	4	6	6	8
Education	—	—	1	3
Other	13	31	6	7
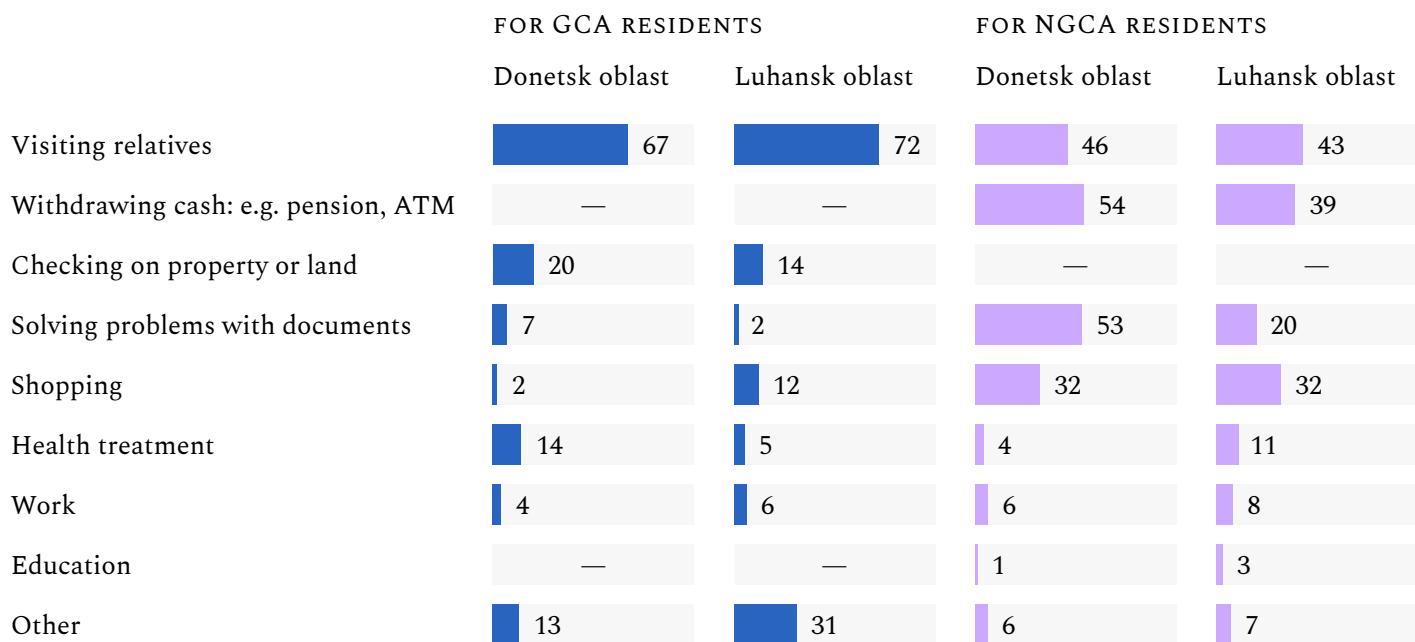
Those NGCA residents who choose never to cross the contact line do so for various reasons. The most often cited (during focus group discussions) were security-related reasons, for example, having a relative who is a combatant, or being an employee at a large company or with the entities in control of certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions and, consequently, fearing detention by the Ukrainian authorities. Young men also choose not to cross for fear of being conscripted in the GCAs or being investigated by Ukrainian authorities at the checkpoints as possible combatants.

For GCA residents, the main reason for crossing the contact line is to visit relatives, with two additional reasons being to check on property and to obtain health treatment in the NGCAs. The latter is likely to reflect the fact that most specialized health establishments are located in the NGCAs. Some health services in the NGCAs are provided free of charge to GCA residents, which reportedly also serves as an incentive to seek healthcare treatment in the NGCAs.

"The doctors continue to make free surgeries to people from GCA and this makes NGCA residents angry, since they often have to pay for the same service. A lot of residents from Stanytsia Luhanska travel to Luhansk to receive health services. Even people from Russia come to Luhansk to get health treatment"

Participants of the validation group
from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

2.3 KEY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COMMUTERS AND NON-COMMUTERS IN THE NGCAS

Different indicators characterize those who cross and those who do not cross the line of contact (see Figure 2.3.1). Residents of the NGCAs who cross the contact line tend to display more pro-Ukraine sentiments compared to those who never visit the GCAs[5] Specifically, more commuters are of the opinion that the Ukrainian authorities care about them, in part due to the fact that they are able to benefit from the services provided and enjoy material support from friends and relatives in the GCAs to some extent. Commuters to the GCAs also demonstrate a higher level of belief that 'Ukrainian nationalists'[6] — the group with one of the lowest contact[7] scores in the region — would listen to them. This may mean that the perceived threat from such a group as 'nationalists' is not necessarily grounded in actual encounters.

Commuters also express significantly higher levels of self-identification as citizens of Ukraine than those who never visit the GCAs and, unsurprisingly, report higher levels of support for the reintegration of the NGCAs. Finally, commuters are also greater media consumers of both Ukrainian and Russian media, including on all mediums (online, TV, print and radio; for more about the influence of media, see Chapter 3).

HOW DOES SCORE DEFINE GROUPS?

SCORE eastern Ukraine measures attitudes and relations between different groups in society. These groups are identified based on extensive consultations, including focus groups and interviews. They are not limited to demographic groups (e.g. Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO) veterans, IDPs, people from western Ukraine, people from eastern Ukraine, people who live in NGCAs) but also include groups that are perceived to exist based on certain stereotypes or affiliations to political narratives: for example, Ukrainian nationalists, people who support separation, pro-EU oriented people, pro-Russia oriented people). The pre-identified definitions of these groups were not provided, but were left for interpretation of respondents.

Unlike commuters, NGCA residents who do not visit the GCAs exhibit low levels of support for reintegration (2.7 % compared to 4.5 % for commuters). They report being more satisfied with services available locally, which reinforces their stronger sense of affinity with the settlement they live in. These NGCA residents who do

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5 The differences in characteristics of these two groups are statistically significant.

6 Additionally, data for 2017–2018 indicates that GCA residents recognize that one's place of living or geography: e.g., being from western Ukraine or NGCA, does not automatically imply a certain political agenda: being a nationalist or supporter of separation, respectively. Names of groups (nationalists, pro-EU, pro-Russia oriented, etc.) were left for interpretation of respondents.

7 The frequency of direct personal contact with members of various groups in society.

not commute also demonstrate greater support for the two separation options: for the NGCAs: to become a part of Russia or to become independent entities. Such views may be self-reinforcing, like an echo chamber, because non-commuters have much less contact and exposure to different opinions. Incidentally, such people tend to watch Russia's Pervyi Kanal more often than commuters (for more on how the media influences political attitudes, see Chapter 3).

Figure 2.3.1 PROFILES OF THOSE WHO CROSSED AND DID NOT CROSS THE CONTACT LINE TO GCAS IN THE PAST YEAR	HIGHER FOR THOSE WHO CROSS	HIGHER FOR THOSE WHO DON'T CROSS
	Think that Ukrainian authorities care	Satisfaction with infrastructure and services
	Identity: citizen of Ukraine	Sense of belonging to one's settlement
	Future vision: NGCA as part of Ukraine	Future vision: NGCA part of Russia; independent countries
	Media consumption: both Ukrainian and Russian	News consumption: Pervyi Kanal
	Contact with people from western Ukraine	Perception that so-called 'DPR'/'LPR' cannot exist without Russia
	Confidence that Ukrainian nationalists will listen in dialogue	Perception that residents in so-called 'DPR'/'LPR' are willing to be part of Russia
	Receiving aid from friends, relatives or NGOs in GCA	

About 20 % of NGCA commuters crossed the contact line more than 10 times a year. This group of frequent commuters, or 'super-crossers' share a number of similarities with less frequent commuters, but also display some important differences: they tend to be older people, from rural areas, and poorer, with many of them living close to the contact line in Luhansk oblast. Compared to those who cross less than 10 times a year, the frequent commuters visit the GCAs on a regular basis as part of their routine to address such basic needs as withdrawing cash and to work, while few of them do one-off trips, such as crossing to obtain official documents.

Members of this group, despite crossing more and coming in contact with other groups more often, tend to have a lower level of confidence that a number of socio-political groups (people from eastern Ukraine, those who support the separation of the NGCAs and those who are pro-Russian) will listen to them in a hypothetical dialogue (see Figure 2.3.2). Frequent crossers have a more multifaceted identity (possibly because of the necessity to operate in different political environments), with no clear preferences between Russian, Ukrainian or a citizen of Ukraine identity. Furthermore, frequent crossers are more likely to be critical of the Soviet Union, most supportive of the reintegration of the NGCAs of all groups, and much less ready for political violence.

Figure 2.3.2 CONFIDENCE THAT VARIOUS GROUPS WOULD HEAR ONE'S ARGUMENTS AND BE READY TO DISCUSS, NGCAs, SCORES, 0–10

- People from eastern Ukraine
- People who support NGCA separation
- Pro-Russia oriented people
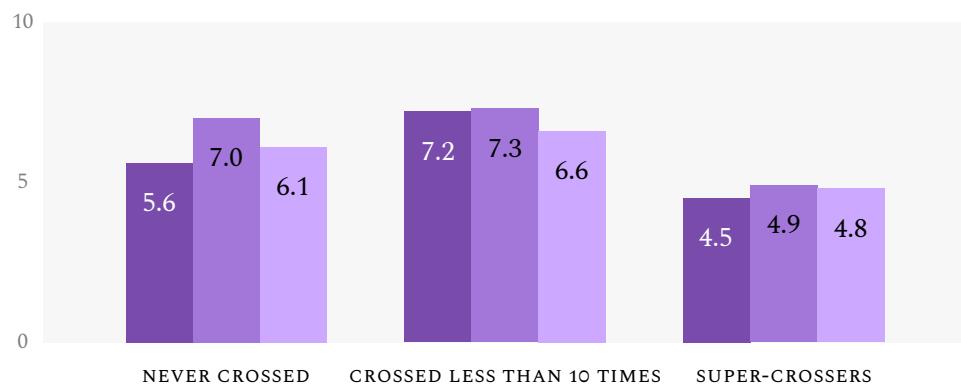
2.4 COMMUTERS' ASSESSMENT OF SERVICES IN THE GCAs

Despite recent improvements, crossing the checkpoints remains a time-consuming and risky activity, but one that many residents of the NGCAs must endure to access required services. More than 80 % of visitors use social welfare and administrative services in the GCAs (see Figure 2.4.1) and most respondents are satisfied with the quality of the services. According to focus group discussions, there are, however, occasional cases of discrimination by the service providers in the GCAs based on residence status.

"It was very tough for my daughter to get her first Ukraine passport: the way I was treated... what we went through... it was horrible"

Participants of the validation group
from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

Figure 2.4.1   SATISFACTION WITH SERVICES IN THE GCAs BY THOSE WHO CROSS, NGCAS, %

How good was the provision of the following services? (N = 383)

	Not used the service	Could not access the service	Used and NOT satisfied with the service	Used and satisfied with the service
Social services	12	1	27	61
Administrative services	13	1	26	60
Legal services	27	3	24	46
Healthcare services	32	2	22	44
Education services	36	5	14	46
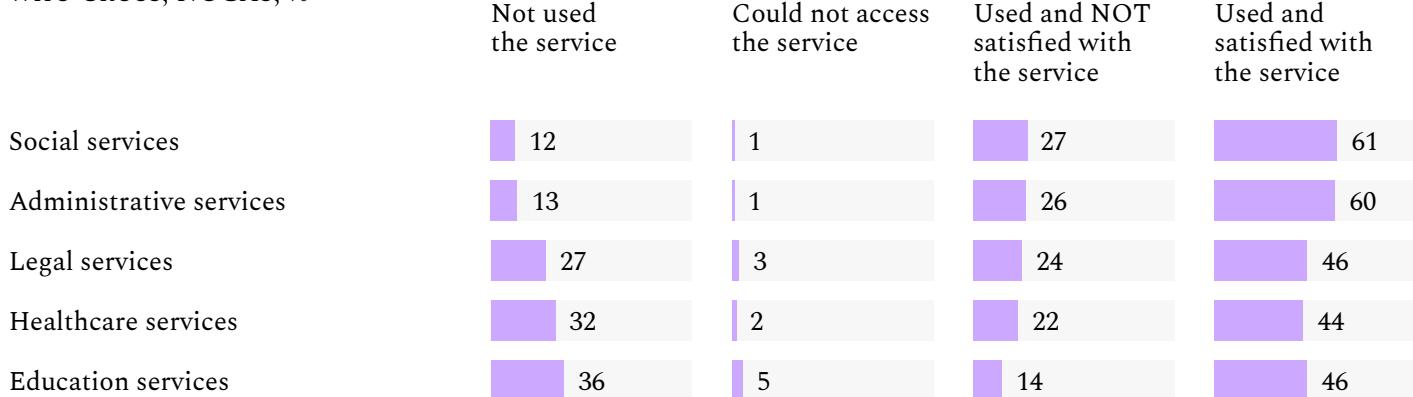
2.5   FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FINDINGS

- Residents of the NGCAs cross more often than residents of the GCAs. Older people residing near the contact line in the Luhansk NGCAs are the most frequent crossers.

- Receiving welfare payments and accessing administrative services are the two main reasons for NGCA residents to cross the contact line. Most commuters from the NGCAs assess these two services as relatively accessible and of good quality. Visiting family is the most common reason for commuters from the GCAs and NGCAs.

- Those who do not commute from the NGCAs are hard to reach both in terms of service provision and communication, as they have relatively higher levels of satisfaction with locally provided services and preference for Russian media over Ukrainian.

- Most NGCA commuters support reintegration. However, a sizable minority of very frequent crossers who cross to sustain livelihoods have a strong perception that their voices will not be heard.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Decrease barriers to accessing legal aid, health and higher education services for the NGCA residents.

- Engage with super-crossers to realize their potential as ambassadors of reintegration. Follow-up research into the reasons for their disillusionment would help tackle fears and doubts of all citizens who cross, and to empower them as bridge-builders. The low income of a segment of this group may justify a social assistance program for those in need.

3. MEDIA CONSUMPTION

Information consumption is another component of healthy, active citizenship in most socially cohesive democracies. However, over-reliance on only certain sources of information can lead to distorted viewpoints in a world increasingly dominated by misinformation, disinformation and echo chambers. SCORE investigated media consumption patterns in both the GCAs and NGCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts to better understand how media preferences differ and if these are associated with different social or political attitudes.

MEDIA CONSUMPTION — *the degree to which one uses traditional (TV, newspapers, radio) and online media (news websites, social networks) to keep up with current affairs*

This chapter reports on the sources of information on current events that are preferred (section 3.1) and which television channels have the largest viewership on both sides of the contact line (section 3.2) before considering the impact that watching certain channels has on social attitudes and on political tendencies (section 3.3).

3.1 WHAT SOURCES OF INFORMATION ARE MOST COMMON ON EITHER SIDE OF THE LINE OF CONTACT?

In both the GCAs and NGCAs, the main sources of information are informal ones: friends and family (76 % of respondents in the GCAs use this source at least weekly, 85 % in the NGCAs). In both areas, television is the second-most popular media source (see Figure 3.1.1 and Figure 3.1.2). More than half of all respondents in the GCAs use online news websites, YouTube and social media at least once per week, which implies that online media is much more widespread than radio (21 %) or newspapers (17 %).

Figure 3.1.1 CONSUMPTION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION BY TYPE OF SOURCE, GCAS, %

Which sources do you use to get information about political affairs? (N = 3,325)

	Nearly every day	Once or twice a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice per quarter	Once or twice a year	Less than once a year	Never	I am not interested in getting information about political affairs	Difficult to answer
Friends and family	49	27	8	1	1	0	11	3	1
Daily news on TV	53	20	6	1	1	1	15	3	0
News websites including YouTube channels	36	19	7	2	1	0	31	4	1
Political talk shows online or on TV	27	26	12	3	2	1	25	4	0
Social media	36	16	5	1	1	0	36	4	1
News on radio	11	10	8	4	3	2	58	4	0
Newspapers	5	13	14	6	3	2	52	4	0

Figure 3.1.2 CONSUMPTION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION BY TYPE OF SOURCE, NGCAS, %

How often do you use the following sources of information? (N = 619)[8]

		Nearly every day	Once or twice a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice per quarter	Once or twice a year	Less than once a year	Never	I am not interested in getting information about political affairs	Difficult to answer
Social and online	Friends and family	68	16	4	1	0	0	5	5	0
	Online media	49	15	3	1	1	1	24	5	1
	Social media	52	11	3	0	1	2	24	5	1
Television	Russian TV	61	18	5	1	0	0	9	5	1
	Ukrainian TV	14	10	5	3	4	3	53	7	1
Radio	Local radio	22	17	11	3	2	1	34	7	2
	Russian radio	19	14	11	4	3	2	39	8	1
	Ukrainian radio	3	2	5	4	3	4	69	9	2
Press	Local newspapers, magazines	7	22	10	4	4	3	40	8	2
	Russian newspapers, magazines	5	14	7	5	4	3	51	8	3
	Central Ukrainian newspapers, magazines	2	4	3	6	3	6	64	10	3

8 Respondents residing in the NGCAs were asked a slightly different set of questions about possible media sources. In particular, NGCA residents were asked about Russian and Ukrainian media separately to investigate the relative levels of usage of each.

In the NGCAs, social media is even more prevalent than in the GCAs as a source of information (63 % in NGCAs, 52 % in GCAs), as is online media. There is a preference for Russian and local traditional media sources over Ukrainian media in the NGCAs, particularly for television. Nevertheless, a significant minority consumes Ukrainian television (24 %), while use of Ukrainian radio and newspapers to keep up with current affairs is very low (5–6 %).

"This new government channel (to be launched targeting NGCAs) will have no chances because of the language: they will again say 'separatists', 'pension tourism', 'occupied territories', etc. Ukrainian TV contains a lot of aggression and it is very Russophobic: it is the reason why it is not popular. Russian channels have higher quality content, respond to news in a more timely manner. Overall, Russian propaganda makers are better than those of Ukrainian propaganda"

Participants of the validation group
from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

The consumption of Ukrainian media sources in the NGCAs could probably be larger if access to Ukrainian media was easier. Access to printed media and radio is very low, with more than 70 % of residents of the NGCAs having no access at all (see Figure 3.1.3). However, 44 % of respondents in the NGCAs do have some level of access to Ukrainian television, and more than half to Ukrainian media sites?

Figure 3.1.3 ACCESS TO UKRAINIAN MEDIA, NGCAS, %

Which of the following Ukrainian media can you access? (N = 619)

	Ukrainian internet sites	Ukrainian TV channels	Ukrainian radio	Ukrainian printed media
Full access	26	16	5	4
Partly access	28	28	16	13
No access at all	43	54	71	76
Difficult to answer	3	2	8	7
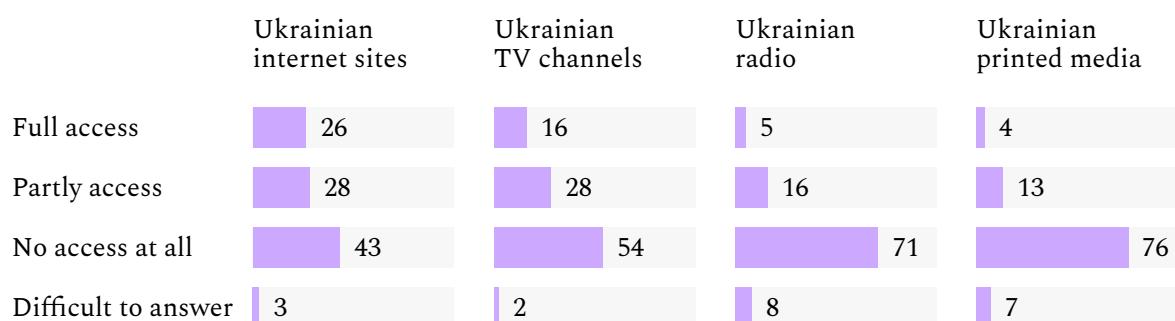
9   This refers to the period of data collection at the end of 2019. At the time of this report being written (2020) access to Ukrainian media channels became much worse due to satellite encoding of top Ukrainian media channels.

3.2 WHICH TV CHANNELS ARE MOST POPULAR?

There is a clear disparity between television channel choices of respondents living on either side of the line (Figure 3.2.1). The most popular channels in the GCAs are TRK Ukraina, 1+1, Inter and STB, all of which are based in the GCAs and achieve at least 30 % viewership for either their political or entertainment content. However, in the NGCAs the most viewed television channels are Rossia 1, Rossia 24 and NTV, which are based in Russia. Channels based in the NGCAs, such as Novorossiya, are not particularly popular with their NGCA target viewers, with a viewership of around 1 %.[10]

Figure 3.2.1 TOP TELEVISION CHANNELS BY TYPE OF CONTENT, GCAS AND NGCAS, %

Thinking about your daily routine, please tell me the top three channels you watch for the following purposes? (GCA, N = 3,325; NGCA, N = 619)

1. Current affairs & politics (e.g. political talk shows, news)
2. Entertainment (e.g. series, comedy, competitions)

	GCA News	GCA Entertainment	NGCA News	NGCA Entertainment
1+1	42	40	11	7
TRK Ukraina	41	34	8	4
Inter	33	25	7	3
ICTV	26	28	9	7
STB	21	35	11	9
Novyi Kanal	13	21	3	3
Channel 112	8	1	0	0
News One	4	0	0	0
Rossia 1	8	5	55	39
Rossia 24	7	3	45	30
Pervyi Kanal	5	3	21	23
NTV (Mir)	3	5	23	36
TNT	0	1	0	2
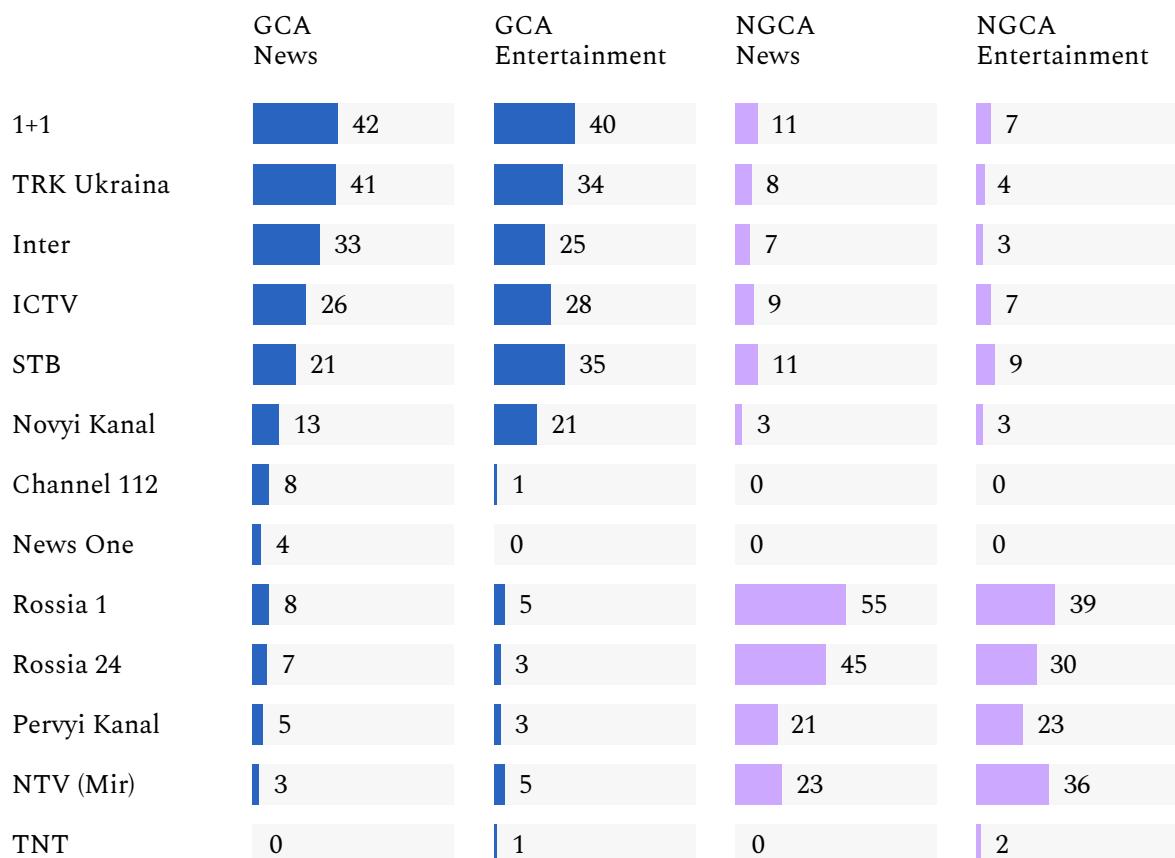
10 Channels which did not achieve 1 % and more of responses are not shown.

Some channels tend to command a larger proportion of viewership among certain demographic groups (these differences are shown in Figure 3.2.2 below, only for channels which displayed differences). In the GCAs, TRK Ukraina and STB have higher viewership among women than men. Inter and TRK Ukraina are preferred by older generations, while Novyi Kanal is the only channel with higher viewership among under-35s than over-35s. These results hold both for news content and entertainment.

In the NGCAs, ICTV, 1+1 and STB have much higher popularity among rural viewers than urban viewers (over 20 % of rural respondents watch it compared to less than 10 % of urban respondents). Urban viewers have higher preference of Rossia 1 and Pervyi Kanal. The most-watched channels in the NGCAs, Rossia 1 and Rossia 24, are much more popular among older generations. Only 37 % of under-35s watch Rossia 1, but more than half of 36 to 59-year-olds and two in three over-60-year-olds watch that channel. Unlike the differences observed between age groups, and urban and rural populations, there are no notably large gender differences in television consumption patterns in the NGCAs.

Overall, NGCA residents have a strong preference for local or Russian information sources rather than Ukrainian sources. Access to Ukrainian media is not totally blocked (as of 2019), with 26 % and 16 % of NGCA respondents (out of a total sample of 619) reporting unfettered access to websites and television on the other side of the contact line. Television channel preferences vary significantly between GCA and NGCA residents, with no channel having high viewership on both sides of the line of contact simultaneously.

Figure 3.2.2 CHANNEL VIEWERSHIP BY AGE, GCAS AND NGCAS

	GCAs	NGCAs
Channels with more younger viewers than older viewers	Novyi Kanal	
Channels with more older viewers than younger viewers	TRK Ukraina, Inter	Rossia 1, Rossia 24
Channels with close to equal viewership across ages	All other channels	All other channels

3.3 HOW DOES TELEVISION CONSUMPTION IMPACT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PREFERENCES?

The value of knowing the popularity of each source of media, and each television channel in particular, is thrown into sharp focus by examining how consumption of each channel is related to changes in social or political attitudes. Using SCORE data for two consecutive time-points (2018 and 2019) from the same respondents in the GCAs, we can compare those who watch each channel with those who do not and track how the two groups' civic behavior has changed over time.

Viewers of Rossia 1, NTV, Channel 112 and News One show significantly higher support for membership of the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU). However, the score for support for EEU membership has increased from 5.0 to 6.5 for viewers of these channels, possibly implying that the narratives and coverage of these channels are effective in shifting viewers toward having a positive perception of EEU membership.

Channels were also found to have an effect on desired future statuses of the NGCAs. Viewers of Rossia 1, Rossia 24 and NTV all showed a marked decrease in their support for the NGCAs returning to the pre-2014 status as part of Ukraine (scores plummeted by two points, from above 7.5 in 2018). Similarly, the same three channels, as well as one of the Ukrainian channels, had the effect of raising support for the NGCAs becoming part of Russia. Viewers of these channels had generally low support for such an outcome in 2018 (scores between 2.5 and 3.0). However, by 2019 that score had increased, most notably for viewers of Rossia 24 who scored an average of 4.3.

Figure 3.3.1 SUPPORT FOR MILITARY OPERATION OR DIALOGUE AS A WAY OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION, GCAs, %

On a scale from 0 to 10, speaking of the conflict in eastern Ukraine, emphasis should be placed… (N = 3,325)
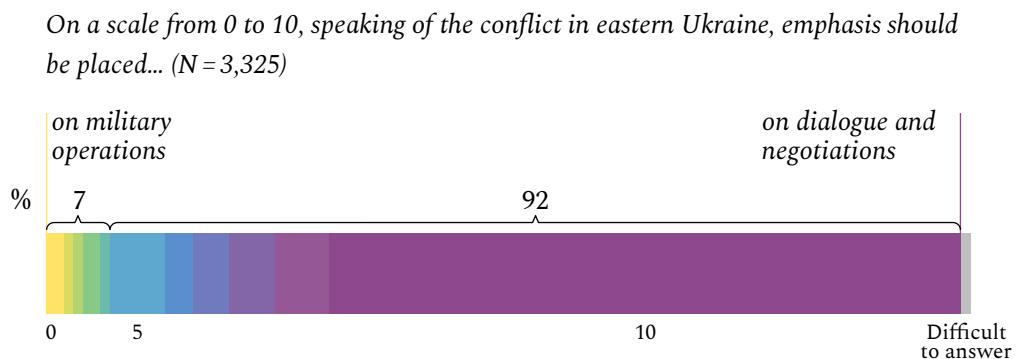
Viewers of certain Ukrainian channels in the GCAs got higher scores for this indicator in 2019, implying a shift in preferences away from dialogue toward military action, although there is still a majority in support of dialogue.

SUPPORT FOR MILITARY WAY OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION — *the level of support for exclusive focus on military operations as opposed to dialogue and negotiations to end the conflict in eastern Ukraine*

Over time, the viewers of some of the most-watched channels in the GCAs have become less supportive of dialogue as a solution to the conflict in the east, and more supportive of military operations as a solution (increase from 0.9 to 1.5), compared to non-viewers whose opinions on the matter did not change (steady score of 1.2). However, the military solution to the conflict in the east is still much less popular than negotiations and dialogue.

Another effect potentially undermining social cohesion was found when comparing viewers of Rossia 24 to non-viewers: non-viewers' score of social tolerance increased (marginally) from 5.7 to 6.0, while for viewers it decreased from 5.3 to 4.9, meaning that the gap in social tolerance is widening and the two groups have trajectories in different directions.

3.4 FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FINDINGS

- On both sides of the contact line, TV is the main preferred media, outstripping radio and newspapers. Online sources are a close second, with half of respondents consuming it once a week or more. The most trusted source of information, however, remains friends and family.

- There are no channels that command a large viewership on both sides of the divide. The domination of Russian channels in the NGCAs and Ukrainian channels in the GCAs means that there is no shared narrative about the conflict, and different preferred visions of its possible solution are promoted.

- As of 2019, the access to Ukrainian TV and online media in NGCAs is not very limited, since around half of NGCA respondents have some access. Certain channels, particularly the ones that have the largest viewership on either side of the line, are associated with an increase in potentially disruptive socio-political tendencies: Russian channels undermine support for the reintegration of the NGCAs into Ukraine and also reduce social tolerance. Simultaneously, a number of Ukrainian channels undermine support for a peaceful solution based on dialogue. It is notable that Ukrainian channels had not influenced support for reintegration either on a political or social level.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Increase access to Ukrainian TV channels in NGCAs.

- Given that friends and family is the most popular source of information, there should be more TV time for talk shows and other similar programs.

- Increase the share of media-projects targeting social cohesion on online platforms, to provide the floor for different parties to have dialogue.

4. VISIONS *of* REINTEGRATION *of* DONETSK *and* LUHANSK RESIDENTS

The ability to discuss and participate in shaping the common future is one of the prerequisites of democratic societies. Taking into account how citizens of Ukraine view reintegration, what their fears and convictions are, will help choose a strategy that will generate public support and strengthen social cohesion.

SCORE captures the levels of support for five conflict resolution (status-related) scenarios in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, and what civic attitudes and behavior are typical of those who support the different scenarios.

This chapter introduces the five political resolution scenarios and shows the level of support each of them receives. It then groups and characterizes respondents on the basis of their views using a clustering algorithm[11] Such analysis provides a better understanding of the motives behind different conflict resolution visions and helps identify entry points for a dialogue toward a common future.

11 Cluster analysis is a statistical methodology which separates a sample into various groups which have common characteristics.

SCENARIOS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE NGCAS

Respondents were asked to consider the following scenarios for the future of the NGCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, and to state if they strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, somewhat agree or strongly agree with each of them.

Depending on their responses to these indicators, each individual was classed into a cluster group with similar preferences (see section 4.2).

PART OF UKRAINE — *the NGCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts to remain part of Ukraine, with the same legal status as all other oblasts.*

SPECIAL STATUS — *the NGCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts remain part of Ukraine on the basis of a special autonomy status.*

INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES — *the NGCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts become internationally recognized independent countries.*

PART OF RUSSIA — *the NGCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts become part of the Russian Federation.*

STATUS QUO — *the current status of the NGCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts is preserved.*

4.1 FUTURE OF THE NGCAs: FROM SEPARATION TO REINTEGRATION

To explore how the residents of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts view different options for a political settlement of the conflict, people's opinions about five scenarios were mapped (see Figure 4.1.1).

Residents of both the NGCAs and GCAs converge in their views on two issues:

- Over 90 % of residents on both sides of the contact line do not accept the status quo of a protracted conflict and would like to see a lasting political resolution.

- Half of the respondents on both sides of the contact line support the idea of granting special status to the NGCAs[12] within the Ukrainian state.

The other scenarios show divergent views. The most popular scenario among GCA residents is unconditional reintegration (70 %), i.e., a return to the pre-2014 status. And the NGCA residents support almost equally three scenarios: part of Russia (52 %), special status (48 %) and independent countries (43 %).

12 The formulation 'special autonomous status' was not defined: hence each respondent interpreted this solution in their own way.

"A lot of people feel like being inside of someone's game, and just want to have the current situation ended"

Participants of the validation group
from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

Figure 4.1.1 VISIONS OF NGCA REINTEGRATION, GCAS AND NGCAS, %, SCORES, 0–10

● GCA   ● NGCA

How would you evaluate each of the following options regarding the future of the NGCAs? (GCA, N = 3,325; NGCA, N = 619)

	Part of Ukraine	Special status	Part of Russia	Independent countries	Status quo
Strongly disagree	10	23	55	53	73
Somewhat disagree	12	18	22	19	14
Somewhat agree	22	29	8	12	4
Strongly agree	48	20	5	5	3
Difficult to answer	8	10	10	10	6
SCORES	7.3	5.0	2.0	2.2	1.1
Strongly disagree	36	23	18	21	65
Somewhat disagree	22	20	18	24	21
Somewhat agree	17	27	27	26	3
Strongly agree	16	21	25	17	2
Difficult to answer	9	10	12	13	8
SCORES	3.8	5.1	5.5	4.8	1.2

4.2 GCA GROUPS BASED ON THEIR SUPPORT FOR DIFFERENT REINTEGRATION SCENARIOS

Using a cluster analysis approach, three distinct groups emerged in the GCAs based on their levels of support for the various reintegration scenarios (see Figure 4.2.1).

All three groups in the GCAs of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts support either reintegration or a special status scenario:

1. The 'unconditional reintegration' group (23 % of the respondents) supports unconditional reintegration of the NGCAs (9.7 out of 10) and strongly rejects both separation[13] (0.1 out of 10) and special status (0.7 out of 10). Representatives of this group would like to see the return of the NGCAs to their pre-2014 status.

2. The 'reintegration and special status' group (56 % of the respondents) is the largest, and supports reintegration (8.4 out of 10) but with many people in this group willing to accept special status (6.5 out of 10). This group views special status as a step toward full reintegration. Their support for separation is higher than the first group's, but still low, with a score of 2.4 out of 10.

3. The 'special status and moderate separation tendency' group (21 % of the respondents) prefers special status out of all options (5.9 out of 10) and has moderate separatist tendencies (3.2 out of 10), but rejects reintegration on pre-2014 terms (1.8 out of 10).

Figure 4.2.1 GROUPS BASED ON THEIR LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR DIFFERENT REINTEGRATION SCENARIOS, GCAS, %, SCORES, 0–10

REINTEGRATION SUPPORT SHARES, %

- Reintegration without special status
- Reintegration and special status
- Special status and moderate separation

REINTEGRATION SCENARIOS SUPPORT PER GROUP, 0-10, SCORES

Part of Ukraine	9.7	8.4	1.8
Special status	0.7	6.5	5.9
NGCA separation	0.1	2.4	3.2
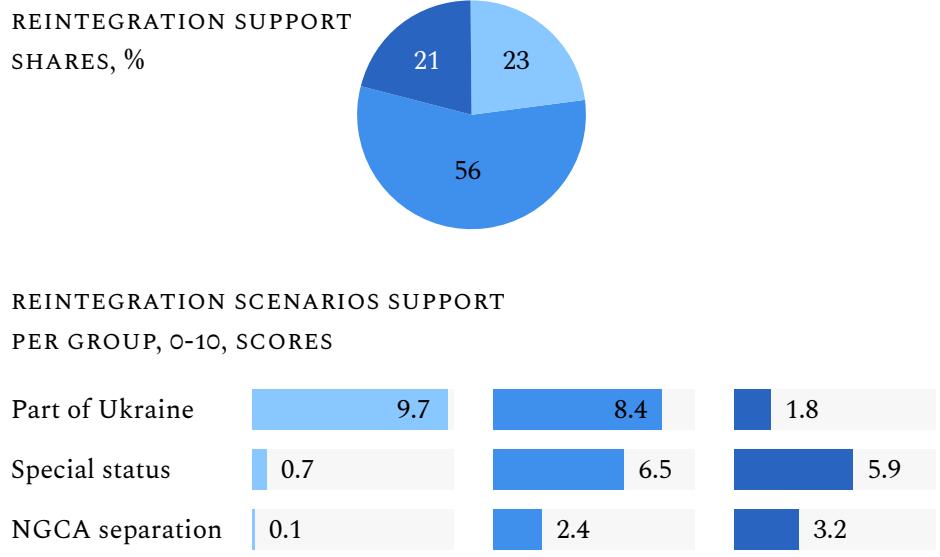
Having identified these groups, one can then compare their scores across all other indicators, as shown in Figure 4.2.2.

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13 Separation is a combined indicator based on responses to two scenarios: NGCAs becoming part of Russia and or independent countries, which was constructed for the cluster analysis once the responses to all scenarios were collected.

SUPPORTERS OF REINTEGRATION
WITHOUT SPECIAL STATUS

The supporters of unconditional reintegration (those rejecting special status and separation) feel the strongest connection to Ukraine compared to the other two groups, scoring 8.7 out of 10 for their sense of belonging to the country. They exhibit the strongest sense of Ukrainian identity and believe that all people living in Ukraine should be called Ukrainians, irrespective of their ethnic, religious or political affiliation (7.8 in pluralist Ukrainian identity).

Compared to the other groups, this group has significantly higher levels of trust in the Ukrainian army (6.3 out of 10), including support for a military solution to the conflict (1.9 out of 10, see Chapter 3). This group also feels more secure in expressing their political opinions (5.6 out of 10). They are more confident in the success of the reform process than other groups, and express stronger pro-EU orientation (for geopolitical orientations see p. 55). People in this group also tend to be more satisfied with where they live and show the strongest constructive citizenship attitudes, such as civic responsibility and civic agency (being confident that ordinary people can change things in society).

Figure 4.2.2 GROUP PROFILES
BASED ON THE RESPONDENTS'
SUPPORT FOR REINTEGRATION
SCENARIOS, GCAS, SCORES, 0–10

The table shows how each group scores in different indicators. Only indicators with statistically different scores between the groups are presented.

DIMENSION	INDICATOR	Reintegration without special status	Reintegration and special status	Special status and moderate separation
BELONGING AND IDENTITY	Locality satisfaction	6.1	5.8	5.1
	Russian identity	0.7	1.4	2.1
	Sense of belonging to the country	8.7	8.0	7.5
	Ukrainian identity	6.8	5.7	4.8
CIVIC ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR	Acceptance of manipulative narratives	5.1	6.1	6.6
	Civic optimism	5.5	4.4	3.6
	Civic responsibility	5.7	4.7	5.1
	Criticism of the Soviet Union	7.2	6.1	5.6
	Pluralist Ukrainian identity	7.8	7.1	6.3
	Sense of agency	6.4	5.2	5.2
	Social tolerance	7.0	6.2	6.4
EXPOSURE TO ADVERSITIES AND MARGINALIZATION	Marginalization	0.4	0.5	1.0
GOVERNANCE AND SERVICES	Skepticism about reforms	5.0	5.9	6.3
	Trust in central institutions	4.3	4.5	3.6
	Trust in the army	6.3	4.9	3.9
HUMAN SECURITY	Political security	5.6	4.6	4.5
MEDIA AND INFORMATION CONSUMPTION	Russian media consumption (entertainment)	0.4	0.7	1.3
POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS AND ATTITUDES	Support for military way of conflict resolution	1.9	1.0	1.2
	Support for EEU membership	3.3	5.2	5.6
	Support for EU membership	5.7	4.1	3.1

SUPPORTERS OF REINTEGRATION
AND SPECIAL STATUS

People who support reintegration with special status tend to fall in between the other two groups in the GCAs. They form a bridging majority group between the two other groups, which represent opposing points on the spectrum.

Of the three groups, this group has the highest level of trust in central institutions (4.5, compared to 3.6 for the group that prefers special status with moderate separation, and slightly more than the reintegration without special status group). It does not, however, have the highest trust in the army; in fact, it is lower than for the reintegration without special status group (4.9 vs 6.3). Coupled with the lower trust, this group has the lowest level of endorsement of military operations as a solution to the conflict (1.0).

At the same time, this group underperforms in the domain of civic behavior, exhibiting the lowest scores for civic responsibility, social tolerance and sense of agency.

Finally, members of this group tend to support EEU membership more than EU membership (5.2 vs 4.1), but both scores represent lukewarm equivocation between support and opposition. Geopolitically, this is a balanced centrist group.

SUPPORTERS OF SPECIAL STATUS
AND MODERATE SEPARATION TENDENCY

Supporters of special status with moderate separation tendency express lower Ukrainian identity and stronger Russian identity compared to the other two groups. However, their sense of belonging to Ukraine is still high (7.5), and their expression of Ukrainian identity is still more than twice as strong as their Russian identity (4.8 and 2.1 respectfully).

This group exhibits the least trust in central institutions and the Ukrainian army, and is the most insecure when it comes to expressing their political opinions publicly (4.6 out of 10). They also have the lowest locality satisfaction, are rather skeptical of the reform process and do not believe in a better future.

This group has a lower level of belief that ordinary people can change things in society (sense of agency) and tend to feel more marginalized. They also seem to be more susceptible to manipulative narratives, believing that central (Kyiv) authorities, for example, are destabilizing the country on purpose (for more on manipulative narratives, see Annex 1).

4.3 NGCA GROUPS BASED ON THEIR SUPPORT FOR DIFFERENT REINTEGRATION SCENARIOS

As in the GCAs, the cluster analysis that was run in the NGCA sample identified three groups based on the respondents' levels of support for the various reintegration scenarios (Figure 4.3.1). Unlike in the GCAs, where none of the groups supported separation strongly, there are two such groups in the NGCAs:

1. One-third of NGCA respondents (34 %) form the 'reintegration and special status' group. This group mirrors the largest GCA group, with a high level of support for reintegration (8.0 out of 10 as opposed to 8.4 in the GCAs) and somewhat high support for special status (5.9 out of 10 as opposed to 6.5 in the GCAs). This group's support for separation is almost as low (2.9, compared to 2.4 in the GCAs).

2. Half of the respondents (47 % of NGCA respondents) fall into the 'special status and separation tendency' group, not indicating a strong preference between the two scenarios: 6.4 and 6.0, respectively. Their support for reintegration is, however, low (2.3 out of 10).

3. The remaining 19 % of the NGCA respondents are firm in their preference for uncompromising support for separation (7.2 out of 10). This group considers the options of special status or reintegration as totally unacceptable with scores of 0.4 and 0, respectively.

Groups in the NGCAs exhibit greater differences between them than those in the GCAs (see Figure 4.3.1)[14]

Figure 4.3.1 GROUPS BASED ON THEIR LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR DIFFERENT REINTEGRATION SCENARIOS, NGCAs, SCORES, 0–10

- Reintegration and special status
- Special status and separation tendency
- Uncompromising support for separation

REINTEGRATION SUPPORT SHARES, %

REINTEGRATION SCENARIOS SUPPORT PER GROUP, 0–10, SCORES

	Reintegration and special status	Special status and separation tendency	Uncompromising support for separation
Part of Ukraine	8.0	2.3	0.0
Special status	5.9	6.4	0.4
NGCA separation	2.9	6.0	7.2
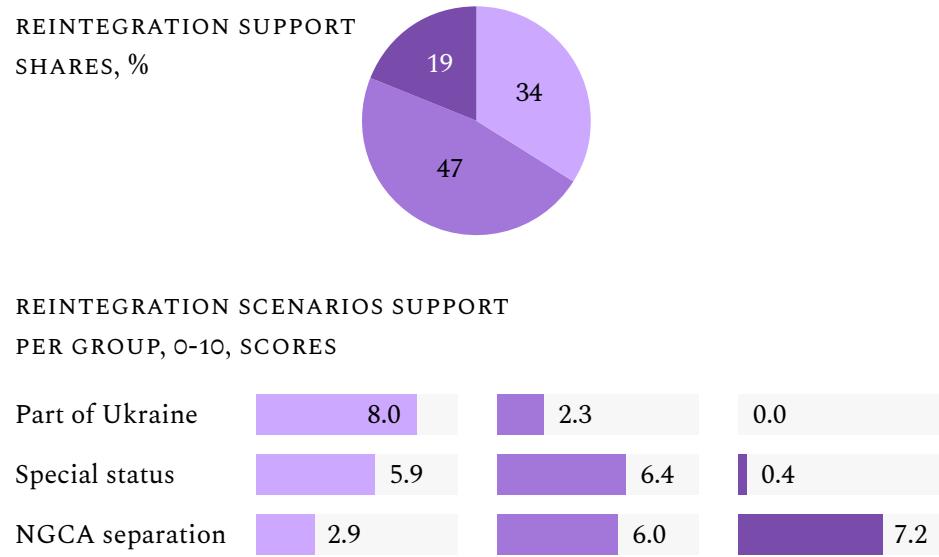
14 Profiles of groups in the NGCAs and GCAs are only partly comparable. Only a limited number of indicators measured in the GCAs and NGCAs are identical; the NGCA component of SCORE is based on a shorter survey and it contains a number of exclusive indicators.

SUPPORTERS OF REINTEGRATION
AND SPECIAL STATUS

The supporters of reintegration on the basis of pre-2014 terms and of special status are similar to the largest group in the GCAs (see Figure 4.3.2). People in this group express the strongest Ukrainian identity (7.2 as opposed to 1.2 of the 'uncompromising separation' group) and the lowest levels of self-identification as citizens of 'DPR' and 'LPR' (1.9 as opposed to 5.0 of the separation group; for more information, see Figure 4.3.3 below and the accompanying explanation of patterns of self-identification in the GCAs and NGCAs. They are relatively more convinced (albeit with a low score of 2.9) that Ukrainian authorities represent their views and care equally about all parts of Ukraine. This group has the highest support for EU membership (4.7) and holds the view that the conflict is in fact between Russia and Ukraine, rather than between Ukraine and the people living in the NGCAs.

"People in Donetsk are quite practical and some of them are ready to return to Ukraine, if it normalizes our economy. They are political agnostics"

"People (from NGCAs) cannot change anything, even if they try"

Participants of the validation group
from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

This group is also more confident than other groups that NGCA residents are willing to be part of Ukraine and that 'DPR' and 'LPR' cannot exist without Ukraine. They also consume more Ukrainian media and believe that such groups as Ukrainian nationalists and people from western Ukraine[15] are ready to listen to them.

At the same time, this group has the lowest feeling of personal security, unlike the equivalent group in the GCAs. This means that NGCA residents who support reintegration feel under threat.

15 SCORE measures attitudes toward such groups as people from western Ukraine, people from eastern Ukraine, pro-Russia oriented people, pro-EU oriented people, people who support separation of 'DPR'/'LPR' and Ukrainian nationalists. Groups were defined by the calibration consultations participants.

Figure 4.3.2 GROUP PROFILES BASED ON THE RESPONDENTS' SUPPORT FOR REINTEGRATION SCENARIOS, NGCAS, SCORES, 0–10

The table shows how each group scores on the different indicators. Only indicators with statistically different scores between the groups are presented.

DIMENSION	INDICATOR	Reintegration and special status	Special status and separation tendency	Uncompromising support for separation
BELONGING AND IDENTITY	Identity: 'DPR' and 'LPR' citizen	1.9	2.5	5.0
	Identity: Citizen of Ukraine	6.7	3.5	0.4
	Russian identity	3.2	5.7	7.3
	Ukrainian identity	7.2	4.0	1.2
CROSSING	Frequency of crossing	5.7	3.6	3.1
GOVERNANCE AND SERVICES	Local authorities care	2.6	3.3	4.6
	Russian authorities care	2.3	3.3	5.0
	Satisfaction with public services	5.9	6.5	7.2
	Ukrainian authorities care	2.9	1.1	0.6
HUMAN SECURITY	Personal security	2.1	3.1	4.2
INTERGROUP RELATIONS	Confidence that people from western Ukraine will listen	4.7	2.3	1.3
	Confidence that 'Ukrainian nationalists' will listen	3.5	1.2	0.7
MEDIA AND INFORMATION CONSUMPTION	Russian media consumption (news)	3.5	4.8	6.9
	Ukrainian media consumption	3.6	2.6	2.1
POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS AND ATTITUDES	Confidence that this conflict is between Ukraine and Russia and not between NGCA and Ukraine	6.0	5.3	3.7
	Perception that 'DPR' and 'LPR' cannot exist without Ukraine	4.9	2.8	1.3
	Perception that 'DPR' and 'LPR' residents are willing to be part of Russia	5.2	7.0	8.3
	Perception that NGCA residents are willing to be part of Ukraine	5.9	3.5	1.7
	Pro-Russia orientation	5.6	7.0	7.2
	Support for EEU membership	5.4	7.2	7.1
	Support for EU membership	4.7	2.5	0.8
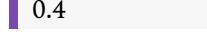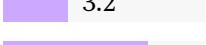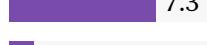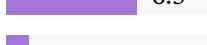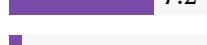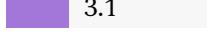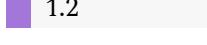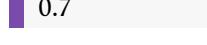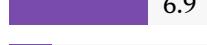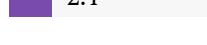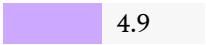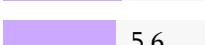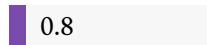
SUPPORTERS OF SPECIAL STATUS AND SEPARATION

This largest group is located between the other two NGCA groups: they exhibit almost equal support for special status (6.4 out of 10) and separation (6.0) as future NGCA status solutions. Despite their strong pro-Russian orientation, most people in this group think that the conflict is not only between Ukraine and the NGCAs, but that Russia is also a party. Another strong feature of this group is that they are also highly skeptical that people from western Ukraine and 'nationalists' will listen to their arguments. At the same time, this group feels a slightly stronger identity as citizens of Ukraine rather than as 'citizens' of the 'LPR' or 'DPR'.

Figure 4.3.3 SELF-IDENTIFICATION, GCAS AND NGCAS, %

● GCA

● NGCA

First of all you identify yourself as... (GCAs, N = 3,325; NGCAs, N = 619)

	GCA	NGCA
Ukrainian	53	25
Russian	9	35
Citizen of Ukraine	36	22
European	0	0
Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'	—	14
Other	2	3
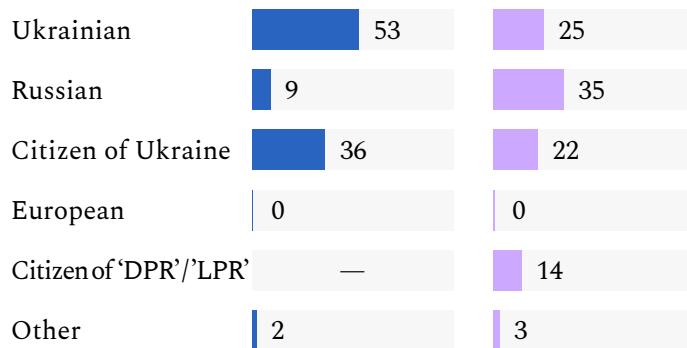
PATTERNS OF SELF-IDENTIFICATION IN THE GCAS AND NGCAS

To investigate how respondents assess their own identities, respondents from both the GCAs and NGCAs were asked to select as many identity options as they wished (see Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.6 in Annex 1) from a list that included:

- *In the GCAs: Ukrainian, Russian, citizen of Ukraine, European, and Other.*
- *In the NGCAs: Ukrainian, Russian, Citizen of Ukraine, European, Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR', and Other.*

Then, they were asked to pick which identity they identify most with (see Figure 4.3.3).

IDENTITY IN THE GCAS. An overwhelming majority of GCA respondents (89 %) identify themselves as Ukrainian or citizens of Ukraine, with only 9 % who primarily feel Russian. Choosing multiple identities is not common in the GCAs. Some 7 % affiliate themselves with Russian and Ukrainian or a citizen of Ukraine identity simultaneously.

IDENTITY IN THE NGCAS. Similarly, the biggest primary group in the NGCAs are those who identify themselves as Ukrainian or a citizen of Ukraine (47 %). About 35 % of NGCA residents choose Russian and 14 % opt for a citizen of 'DPR' or 'LPR' as their primary identity.

When not limited in their choice to one identity, as many as 20% of those who chose Russian also identify themselves as Ukrainian and/or a citizen of Ukraine, which means that these identities are not mutually exclusive for them. The tendency to choose multiple identity options in the NGCAs could be the result of low political security and politicization of identity because of the conflict.

Choosing a citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR' as the primary identity option in the NGCAs is the most controversial as such "citizenship" is not recognized by Ukraine or the international community. People might choose 'DPR'/'LPR' citizenship because they see this as the geographic location of their place of residence or see this as an expression of their political orientation. Only 5.7% chose a citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR' as their only identity.

"The (de facto) loss of Ukrainian citizenship causes a sense of insecurity. As a result, people apply for Russian passports (and citizenship), so that they can be entitled to the associated civic rights and privileges"

Participants of the validation group
from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

UNCOMPROMISING SUPPORTERS OF SEPARATION (REJECTING SPECIAL STATUS)

Members of this group exhibit a strong sense of Russian identity, and many of them also identify themselves as citizens of 'DPR' and 'LPR'. This group feels that Russian and 'local' authorities care more about them than the Ukrainian authorities do. They report a higher level of personal security (4.2 as opposed to 2.1 of the 'reintegration' group). They are more satisfied with 'DPR' and 'LPR' public services compared to the other two groups and display high levels of support for EEU membership. Finally, people in this group think that the conflict is in fact between Ukraine and the NGCAs and hold the view that all residents of the NGCAs are willing to be part of Russia. They mainly watch Russian media, rarely (if ever) cross to the GCAs, and do not believe that the group 'People from western Ukraine' will listen to their arguments.

"We have become increasingly more economically dependent on Russia post-2014, also following the so-called economic blockade imposed by the Ukrainian authorities in 2016"

"People will go out to the streets protesting [if Ukraine were to declare its intention to join NATO]"

Participants of the validation group
from Donetsk and Luhansk NGCAs

While the pro-EU and pro-Russia preferences continue to serve as reliable predictors of civic behavior patterns, a large part of the population does not exhibit a strong geopolitical affiliation. The notion of non-aligned status for Ukraine, for example, is supported by 51 % and 39 % of respondents in the GCAs and NGCAs respectively. As detailed in SCORE 2018 reports, this reflects widespread conflict fatigue and aversion to the political confrontation underpinning the armed conflict. The support for the non-aligned status also represents ambivalence and confusion with regards to benefits or dividends of either pro-EU or pro-Russia integration options.

Ukraine joining the Russian-led EEU remains a popular option in both the GCAs and NGCAs (44 % and 62 % respectively). To a large extent, this reflects the historically strong trade links of the region's economy with Russia and other parts of the former Soviet Union.

Finally, Ukraine's European Union (EU) membership enjoys not so high levels of support: 36 % in the GCAs and 24 % in the NGCAs. The idea of EU integration is widely seen as an alternative to the EEU. Support for Ukraine's membership of NATO is lower: 23 % in the GCAs and 15 % in the NGCAs.

Figure 4.3.4 GEOPOLITICAL PREFERENCES, GCAS AND NGCAS, %

● GCA

● NGCA

Regarding the future of Ukraine, how do you evaluate each of the following statements? (GCAs, N = 3,325; NGCAs, N = 619)

Ukraine should…

	join the European Union	become a member of NATO	join the EEU with Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan	be strictly non-aligned and not join either pro-Western or pro-Russian institutions
GCA				
Strongly disagree	27	40	23	19
Somewhat disagree	25	26	21	22
Somewhat agree	21	12	25	25
Strongly agree	15	11	19	26
Difficult to answer	11	12	12	8
NGCA				
Strongly disagree	43	51	10	21
Somewhat disagree	16	18	13	23
Somewhat agree	16	8	31	19
Strongly agree	8	6	30	20
Difficult to answer	17	16	16	16

4.4 FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FINDINGS

The levels of support for different scenarios are the following:

- Support for unconditional reintegration is shared by both GCA and NGCA respondents, but to a different extent: 70 % of respondents in the GCAs and 33 % of those in the NGCAs would agree with being back to a pre-conflict state.

- Special status is accepted as a solution by both GCA and NGCA respondents equally (around 50 %), but it is attributed different meaning: for some, it is a step toward reintegration and for others — a move toward separation.

- Nearly all GCA and NGCA respondents do not support the status quo.

- There is no group that would support uncompromising separation in the GCAs, while in the NGCAs, such a group makes up 19 % of respondents.

In the GCAs, groups that support reintegration and/or special status, compared to those who support special status and moderate separation, are more satisfied with their locality, have a stronger sense of belonging to the country and stronger Ukrainian identity. They are less skeptical about effective reforms and trust in the army more. Additionally, reintegration supporters have a higher sense of agency (feeling that ordinary people can change things in society) and civic responsibility.

Groups that support reintegration and special status in the NGCAs are more confident than the uncompromising separatist group that Ukrainian authorities care about them, are less satisfied with 'DPR' and 'LPR' public services, and watch less Russian media. They are more convinced than the group of uncompromising separatists that the conflict is between Ukraine and Russia, and not between Ukraine and the NGCAs. This group feels less secure to express their opinions publicly.

Overall, NGCA respondents think that such groups as 'people from western Ukraine' and 'Ukrainian nationalists' are not ready to hear arguments and discuss them. Respondents in the NGCAs also report that they have very low contact with these two groups.

Common factors that predict support for reintegration in the GCAs and NGCAs: feeling that the Ukrainian government cares and being able to discern divisive narratives. Human security is important as well: political security (in the GCAs) and personal security (in the NGCAs). Additionally, support for reintegration in the GCAs is driven by the sense of agency, belief in effective reform implemen-

tation, locality satisfaction and one's sense of belonging to Ukraine. Belief that politically diverse groups are ready to listen (such as 'nationalists' or 'people from western Ukraine') drives support for reintegration in the NGCAs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- *Communicate reintegration strategy clearly and encourage inclusive discussion.* The Government of Ukraine should define reintegration terms, vision and policy options. Representatives from different regions of Ukraine and with different political views should be involved in a public discussion of the common future. This will increase public support for any outcome.

- *Promote participatory decision-making at the community level in the GCAs.* Effective participation of citizens in the lives of their communities can help boost people's sense of agency. The more people believe they can change things in society, the more they are inclined to support reintegration. Confidence that decision-making processes are done in a participatory and inclusive manner contributes to supporting reintegration.

- *Convince the convincible in the NGCAs.* Winning over those who support both separation and special status will be an important step toward achieving lasting peace in the region. To achieve this, it is necessary to establish confidence that a constructive dialogue with groups that hold politically different views is possible. This can ensure that their concerns about political security are adequately addressed. Identifying and addressing concerns of different groups can help shift public opinions toward a more cohesive society and a more unified Ukraine.

Annex 1. ADDITIONAL FIGURES

Figure 5.1 PERSONAL SECURITY BY AGE, SEX AND REGION, GCAS, SCORES, 0–10

TOTAL	4.3
Men	4.8
Women	3.9
18–35 years	4.7
36–59 years	4.2
60+ years	3.9
Donetsk oblast	4.1
Luhansk oblast	4.6

Figure 5.2 PERSONAL SECURITY BY AGE, SEX AND REGION, NGCAS, SCORES, 0–10

TOTAL	3.0
Men	3.3
Women	2.6
18–35 years	3.1
36–59 years	3.0
60+ years	2.9
Donetsk oblast	3.3
Luhansk oblast	2.7

Figure 5.3 POLITICAL SECURITY
BY AGE, SEX AND REGION,
GCAS, SCORES, 0–10

	Score
TOTAL	4.8
Men	5.1
Women	4.5
18–35 years	5.0
36–59 years	4.7
60+ years	4.7
Donetsk oblast	4.9
Luhansk oblast	4.6

Figure 5.4 POLITICAL SECURITY
BY AGE, SEX AND REGION,
NGCAS, SCORES, 0–10

	Score
TOTAL	3.5
Men	3.8
Women	3.3
18–35 years	3.9
36–59 years	3.5
60+ years	3.2
Donetsk oblast	3.5
Luhansk oblast	3.5

Figure 5.5 IDENTITIES COMBINATIONS, GCAs, %

Speaking of identity, you would call yourself... (pick all that apply) (N = 3,325)

Ukrainian	Russian	Citizen of Ukraine	European	Other	%
Ukrainian					45.3
		Citizen of Ukraine			30.0
	Russian				7.2
Ukrainian		Citizen of Ukraine			7.0
	Russian	Citizen of Ukraine			2.7
Ukrainian	Russian				2.4
				Other	2.1
Ukrainian	Russian	Citizen of Ukraine			1.3
Other combinations of identities					< 1
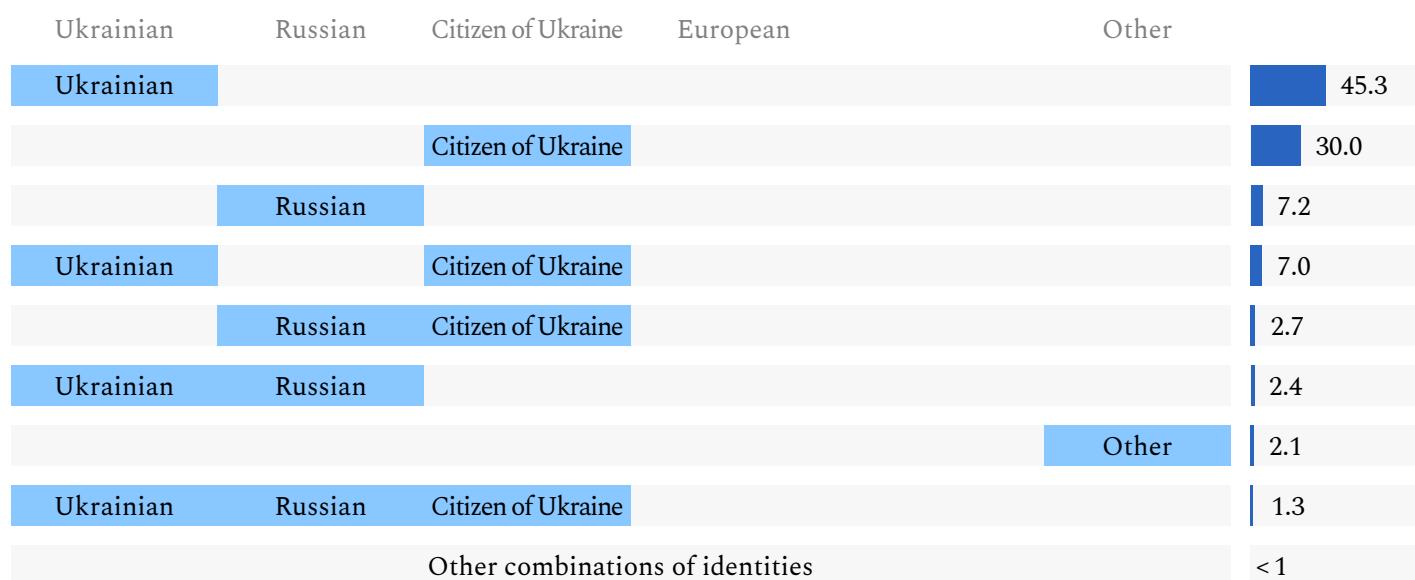
Figure 5.6 IDENTITIES COMBINATIONS, NGCAs, %

Speaking of identity, you would call yourself... (pick all that apply) (N = 619)

Ukrainian	Russian	Citizen of Ukraine	European	Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'	Other	%
	Russian					22.3
Ukrainian						13.6
		Citizen of Ukraine				9.0
Ukrainian		Citizen of Ukraine				9.0
	Russian			Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'		8.4
Ukrainian	Russian	Citizen of Ukraine		Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'		6.9
				Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'		5.7
Ukrainian	Russian	Citizen of Ukraine				4.8
	Russian	Citizen of Ukraine				3.2
					Other	3.1
Ukrainian		Citizen of Ukraine	European			2.4
Ukrainian	Russian					2.4
Ukrainian		Citizen of Ukraine		Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'		2.1
Ukrainian				Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'		1.9
	Russian	Citizen of Ukraine		Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'		1.6
Ukrainian	Russian			Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'		1.1
Other combinations of identities						< 1

Figure 5.7 GROUPS BASED ON THEIR VISION OF NGCA REINTEGRATION
SCENARIOS BY SEX, GCAS, SCORES, 0–10

		Reintegration without special status	Reintegration and special status	Special status and moderate separation tendency	Total
Part of Ukraine	Men	9.7	8.4	1.6	7.2
	Women	9.7	8.4	2.0	7.3
	TOTAL	9.7	8.4	1.8	7.3
Special status	Men	0.6	6.6	5.8	4.8
	Women	0.8	6.4	6.0	5.2
	TOTAL	0.7	6.5	5.9	5.0
NGCA separation	Men	0.1	2.6	3.3	2.1
	Women	0.1	2.3	3.2	2.1
	TOTAL	0.1	2.4	3.2	2.1
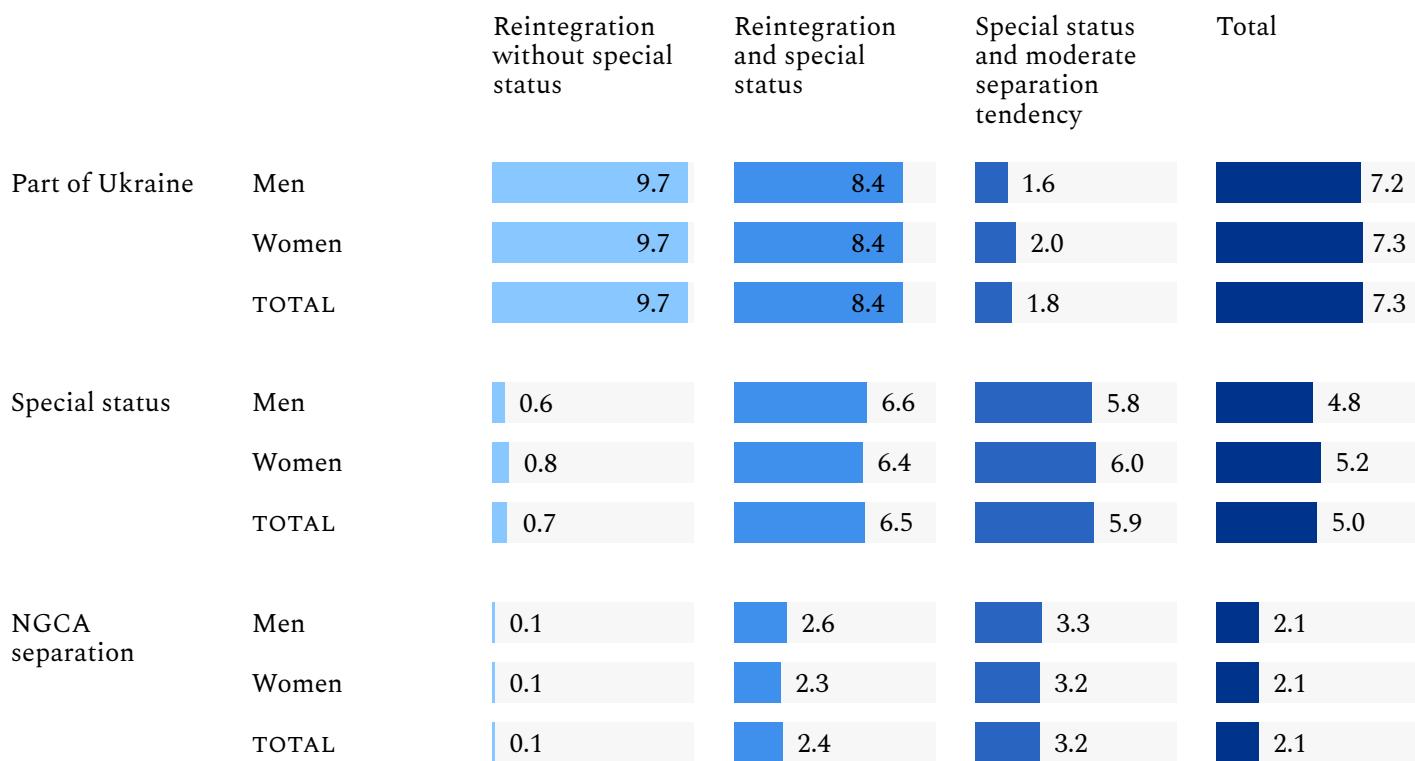
Figure 5.8   GROUPS BASED ON THEIR VISION OF NGCA REINTEGRATION
SCENARIOS BY AGE, GCAS, SCORES, 0–10

		Reintegration without special status	Reintegration and special status	Special status and moderate separation tendency	Total
Part of Ukraine	18–35	9.7	8.3	1.9	7.3
	36–59	9.8	8.4	1.8	7.2
	60+	9.7	8.5	1.8	7.3
	TOTAL	9.7	8.4	1.8	7.3
Special status	18–35	0.8	6.2	5.4	4.7
	36–59	0.7	6.5	6.0	5.1
	60+	0.7	6.7	6.2	5.3
	TOTAL	0.7	6.5	5.9	5.0
NGCA separation	18–35	0.1	2.4	2.7	1.9
	36–59	0.1	2.5	3.4	2.2
	60+	0.2	2.4	3.3	2.1
	TOTAL	0.1	2.4	3.2	2.1

Figure 5.9 GROUPS BASED ON THEIR VISION OF NGCA REINTEGRATION SCENARIOS
BY SETTLEMENT SIZE, GCAS, SCORES, 0–10

		Reintegration without special status	Reintegration and special status	Special status and moderate separation tendency	Total
Part of Ukraine	Rural	9.8	8.4	2.0	7.1
	Urban	9.7	8.4	1.7	7.3
	TOTAL	9.7	8.4	1.8	7.3
Special status	Rural	0.8	6.7	5.5	5.3
	Urban	0.6	6.4	6.1	5.0
	TOTAL	0.7	6.5	5.9	5.0
NGCA separation	Rural	0.1	2.4	3.5	2.2
	Urban	0.1	2.5	3.1	2.0
	TOTAL	0.1	2.4	3.2	2.1
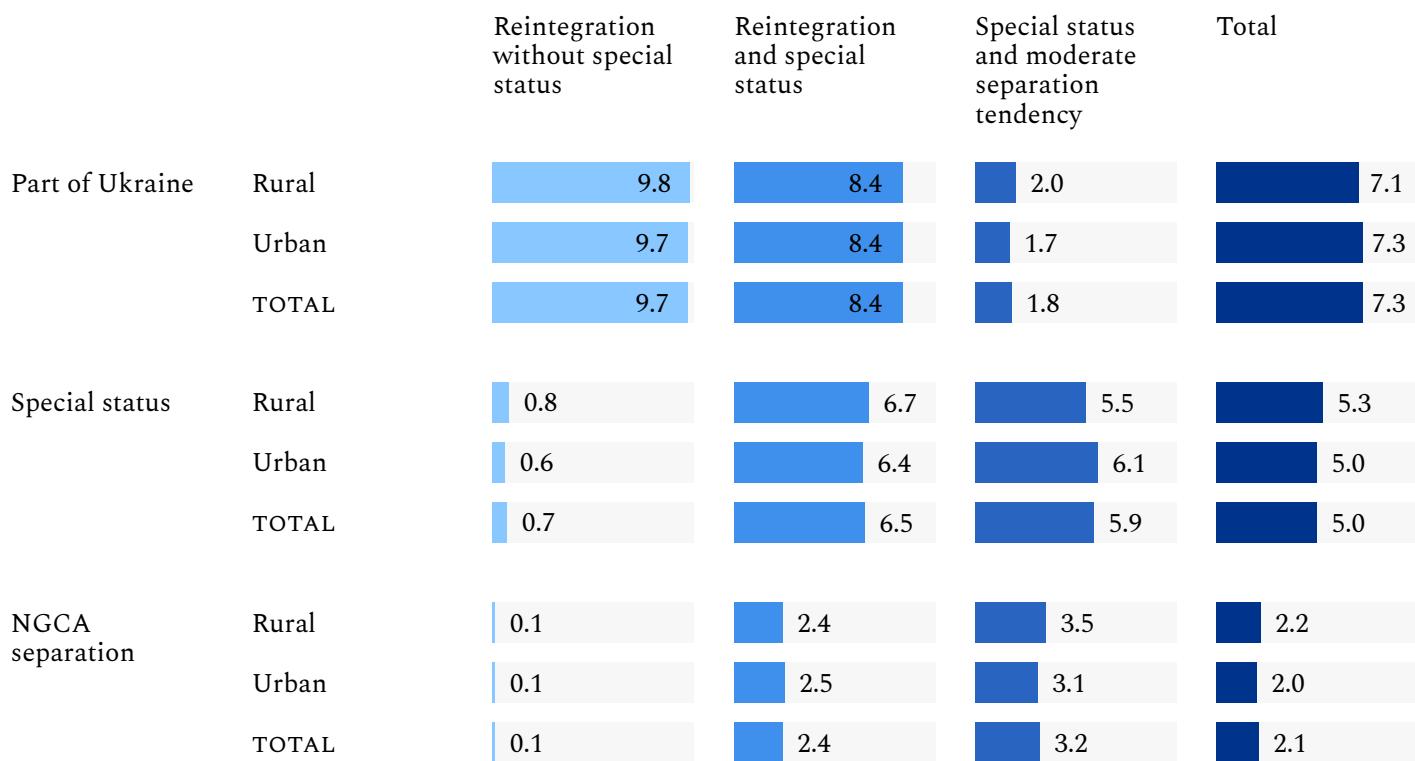
Figure 5.10 GROUPS BASED ON THEIR VISION OF NGCA REINTEGRATION
BY SEX, NGCAS, SCORES, 0–10

		Reintegration and special status	Special status and separation tendency	Separation tendency without special status	Total
Part of Ukraine	Men	8.1	2.2	0.0	3.9
	Women	7.9	2.4	0.0	3.7
	TOTAL	8.0	2.3	0.0	3.8
Special status	Men	6.1	6.6	0.5	5.2
	Women	5.7	6.2	0.3	5.0
	TOTAL	5.9	6.4	0.4	5.1
NGCA separation	Men	2.9	5.8	7.4	5.1
	Women	2.9	6.2	6.9	5.3
	TOTAL	2.9	6.0	7.2	5.2
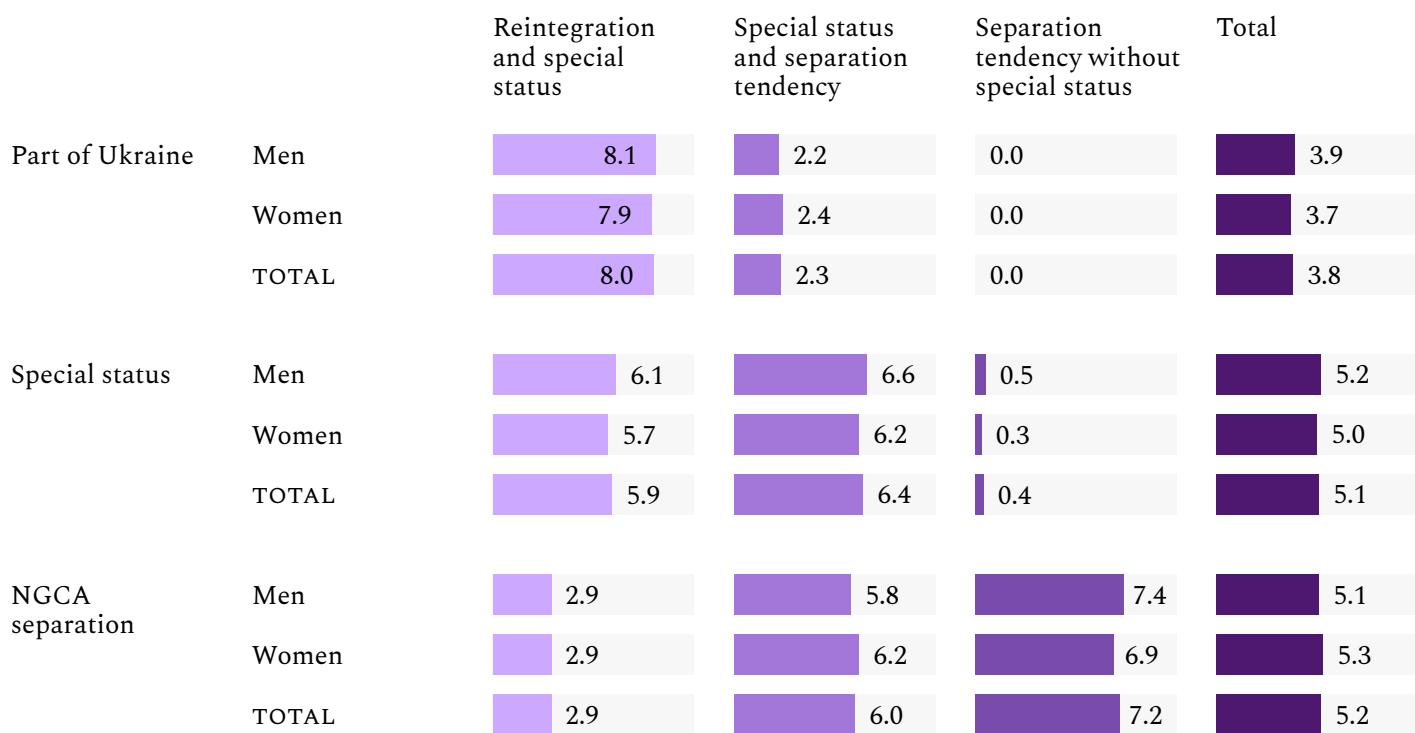
Figure 5.11 GROUPS BASED ON THEIR VISION OF NGCA REINTEGRATION
BY AGE GROUP, NGCAs, SCORES, 0–10

|		Reintegration and special status	Special status and separation tendency	Separation tendency without special status	Total
Part of Ukraine	18–35	8.2	2.4	0.0	4.1
	36–59	8.1	2.3	0.0	4.0
	60+	7.7	2.2	0.0	3.4
	TOTAL	8.0	2.3	0.0	3.8
Special status	18–35	5.4	6.5	0.7	5.3
	36–59	6.1	6.6	0.3	5.2
	60+	6.2	6.1	0.4	4.8
	TOTAL	5.9	6.4	0.4	5.1
NGCA separation	18–35	2.8	6.0	6.1	4.9
	36–59	3.0	6.1	7.5	5.2
	60+	2.8	6.1	7.4	5.4
	TOTAL	2.9	6.0	7.2	5.2
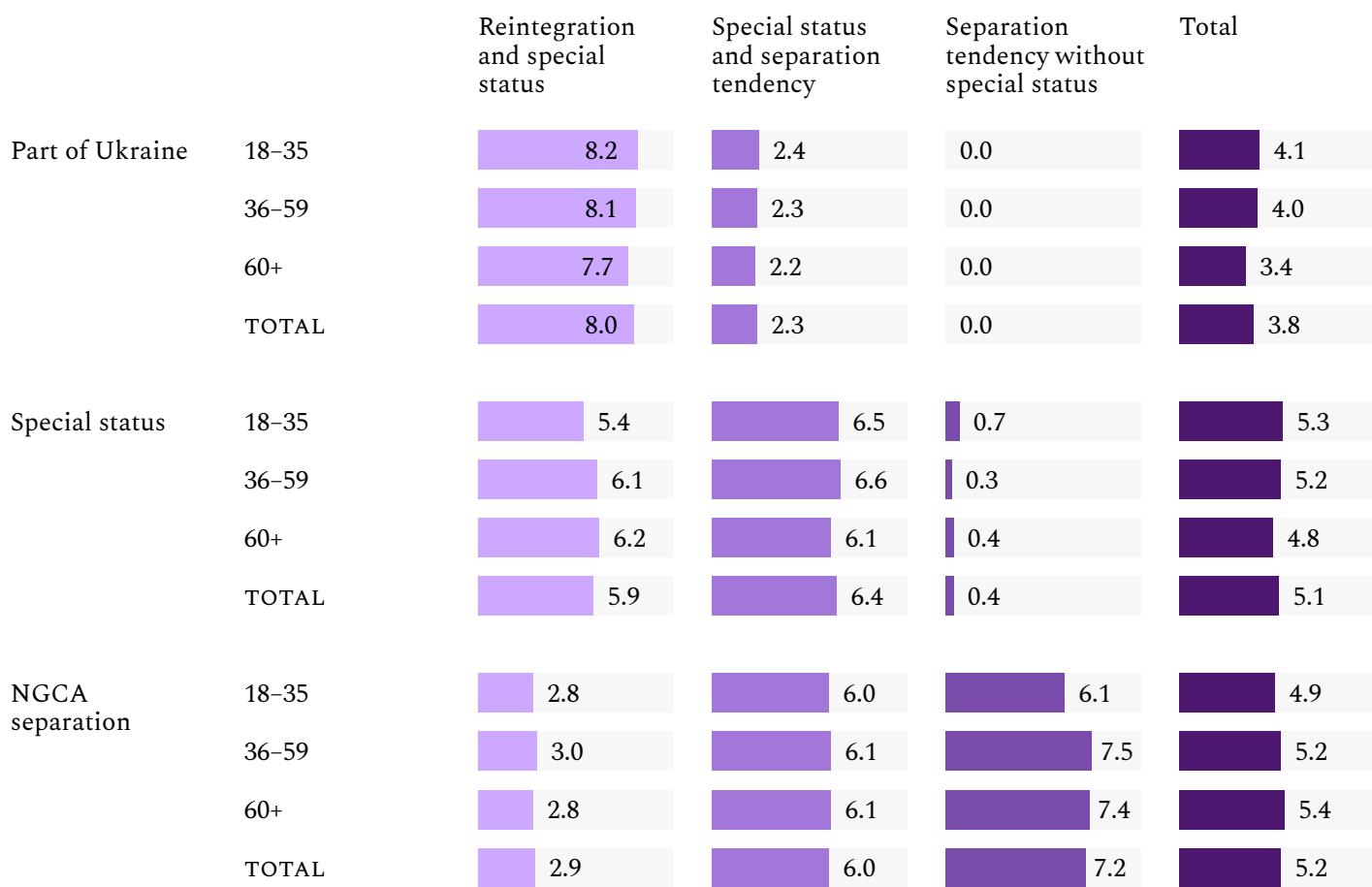
Figure 5.12 ACCEPTANCE OF
MANIPULATIVE NARRATIVES,
GCAs, %

The following statements are about different perceptions about the current political situation in Ukraine. To what extent do you agree or disagree with them? (N = 3,325)

	Central authorities are destabilizing our country on purpose	Ukrainian politicians are entirely dependent on the EU and USA's political agenda	The conflict in eastern Ukraine is not between Russia and Ukraine, but between Kyiv and the people in NGCA	Ukrainian politicians are entirely dependent on Russia's political agenda	Politicians in Ukraine are puppets of oligarchs
Strongly disagree	13	6	21	39	5
Somewhat disagree	23	17	23	32	10
Somewhat agree	29	37	23	11	36
Strongly agree	18	27	15	3	38
Difficult to answer	17	13	18	15	10

Figure 5.13 GEOGRAPHY OF
THE NGCA SAMPLING
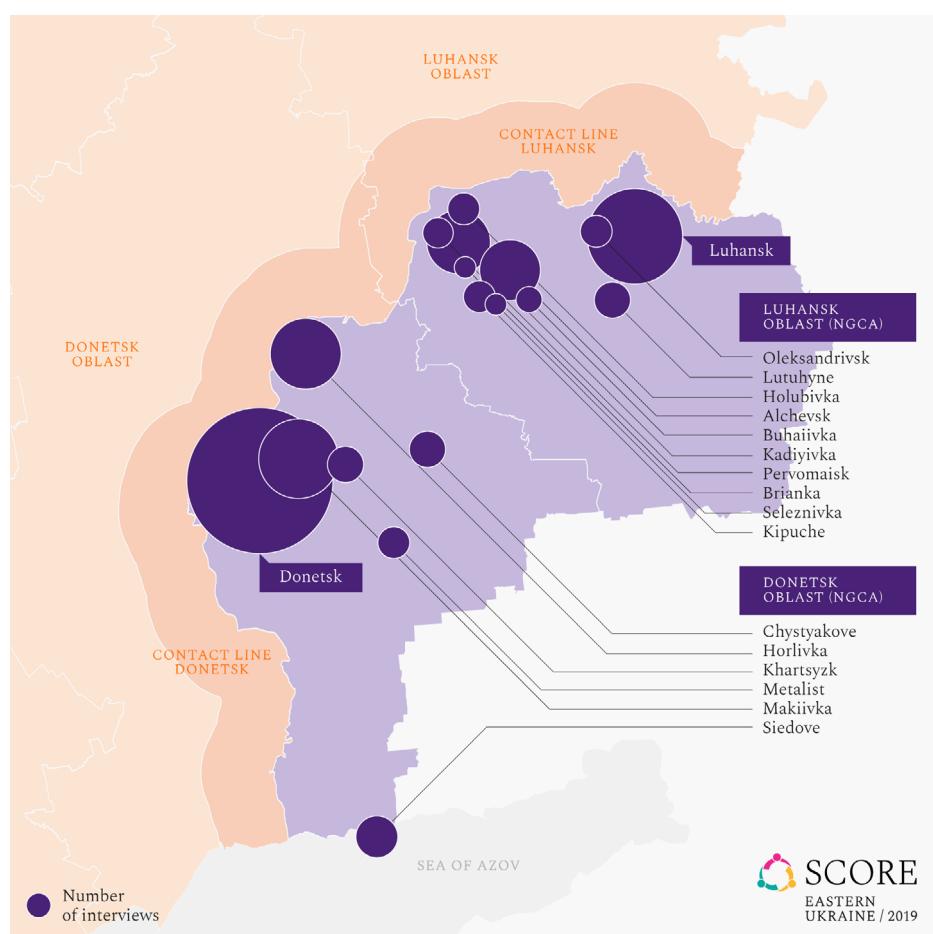
Annex 2. GLOSSARY

INDICATOR	DESCRIPTION	

A

Acceptance of manipulative narratives — The degree to which one believes in propaganda or conspiratorial narratives such as "central authorities are destabilizing our country on purpose" and "politicians in Ukraine are puppets of oligarchs"

Accountability of authorities — The degree to which one feels that the representatives of the authorities are and can be held accountable

C

Civic optimism — The degree to which one believes that the present generation is in a better position than the past and that the future generation will be in a better position compared to the current one

Confidence that people from different groups will listen (overall) — The belief that people from different groups would hear one's arguments and be ready to discuss matters (i.e. IDPs, ATO/JFO military personnel, people from western Ukraine, people from eastern Ukraine, pro-EU and pro-Russia oriented people, people living in the NGCAs, Ukrainian nationalists, people who support separation of the NGCAs)

Contact with different groups (overall) — The frequency of direct personal contact with members of various groups in society (i.e. IDPs, ATO/JFO military personnel, people from western Ukraine, people from eastern Ukraine, pro-EU and pro-Russia oriented people, people living in the NGCAs, Ukrainian nationalists, people who support separation of the NGCAs)

Criticism of the Soviet Union — The degree to which one agrees that people lacked basic goods and freedoms, and many innocent people were persecuted during Soviet times

E

Economic security — The degree to which one has a stable source of income, capacity to provide for nutritional needs, and can rely on social welfare payments if they needed them

Employment status	The level of one's employment status (e.g. full time, part time, retired), where 10 means being employed full time and 0 means unemployed
Entertainment media consumption: Russian channels	The degree to which one watches Russian TV channels for entertainment purposes
Entertainment media consumption: Ukrainian channels	The degree to which one watches Ukrainian TV channels for entertainment purposes
Environmental security	The degree to which one is satisfied with the quality of air and overall environmental health in their locality
Exposure to adversity (family/friend)	The degree to which one has family members or close friends who have been exposed to adversity, violence or trauma (e.g. property violation, physical attack, torture etc.)
Exposure to adversity (overall)	The combined degree to which one has been exposed to adversity (personally or a family member), violence or trauma (e.g. property violation, physical attack, torture etc.)
Exposure to adversity (personal)	The degree to which one has been personally exposed to adversity, violence or trauma (e.g. property violation, physical attack, torture etc.)

F

Family and friends in the NGCAs	The degree to which one has friends and/or family living in the NGCAs
Future vision for the NGCAs: Independent countries	The level of support for the future status of the non-government-controlled areas of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts to become internationally recognized independent countries
Future vision for the NGCAs: Part of Russia	The level of support for the future status of the non-government-controlled areas of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts to become part of the Russian Federation
Future vision for the NGCAs: Part of Ukraine	The level of support for the future status of the non-government-controlled areas of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts to remain part of Ukraine
Future vision for the NGCAs: Special status	The level of support for the future status of the non-government-controlled areas of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts to remain part of Ukraine, but with special autonomy
Future vision for the NGCAs: Status quo	The level of support for the status quo, where one envisions the current status of the non-government-controlled areas of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts is preserved

H

Health security	The level of access to and affordability of both basic and specialized medical services

I	*Identity: Citizen of Ukraine*	The degree to which one self-identifies as 'Citizen of Ukraine'
	Identity: European	The degree to which one self-identifies as 'European'
	Identity: Russian	The degree to which one self-identifies as 'Russian'
	Identity: Ukrainian	The degree to which one self-identifies as 'Ukrainian'
	Income level	The level of household income based on one's purchasing power, where 0 means the household does not have enough money for food, and 10 means it has enough for expensive items
	Information consumption from friends and family	The degree to which one keeps up with current affairs primarily from family and friends
	Internet access	The degree to which one is satisfied with the internet service provision in their locality
L	*Locality satisfaction*	The degree to which a person is satisfied with their place of residence (in terms of jobs, leisure activities and raising children)
M	*Marginalization (overall)*	The combined degree to which one feels treated unfairly because of their position in society (e.g. level of income, education) or identity
N	*News media consumption: Russian channels*	The degree to which one watches Russian TV channels for news and current affairs
	News media consumption: Ukrainian channels	The degree to which one watches Ukrainian TV channels for news and current affairs
O	*Online media consumption*	The degree to which one uses online media sources of information such as social media to keep up with current affairs
P	*Personal security*	The degree to which one feels safe from violence in daily life and that the police can protect them
	Pluralist Ukrainian identity	The degree to which one believes that everyone despite their ethnic and cultural background who lives in Ukraine are an integral part of Ukrainian society
	Political security	The degree to which one feels comfortable expressing their political views both collectively and individually without fearing consequences
	Political violence	The degree to which one justifies violence for attaining a political goal

Pro-Russia orientation	The degree to which one supports Eurasian Economic Union with Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, and believes that Ukrainians and Russians are one people and that Ukraine cannot thrive without Russia
Provision of administrative services	The degree to which one is satisfied with administrative services in their locality (e.g. obtaining official documents)
Provision of basic schooling	The degree to which one is satisfied with provision of basic schooling in their locality
Provision of healthcare	The degree to which one is satisfied with the health services in their locality
Provision of higher education	The degree to which one is satisfied with the provision of higher education in their locality
Provision of infrastructure	The degree to which one is satisfied with the provision of utilities (e.g. water, electricity), quality of road network and public transportation services in their locality
Provision of justice services	The degree to which one is satisfied with the provision of justice services (e.g. courts) in their locality
Provision of public services	The degree to which one is satisfied with the provision of public services, such as education, healthcare and social welfare payments
Provision of utilities	The degree to which one is satisfied with the provision of utility services (e.g. water, heating, electricity and waste disposal) in their locality
Provision of welfare payments	The degree to which one is satisfied with the welfare payments to those in need (e.g. disabled, unemployed, pensioners, scholarships)

Q

Quality of public transport	The degree to which one is satisfied with the efficiency of public transportation in their locality
Quality of roads	The degree to which one is satisfied with the quality of roads in their locality

R

Relationship to conflict: Family member or friend	The degree to which one has family members or close friends who participated in the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine
Relationship to conflict: Personal	The degree to which one has personally participated in the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine

S

Skepticism about reforms	The degree to which one feels skeptical about the reform process and believes that they will only benefit the elite

Sense of agency	The degree to which one feels that ordinary people can change things in their community
Sense of belonging (overall)	The combined degree of attachment to one's place of living (country, region, settlement)
Sense of belonging to the country	The degree of attachment to one's country
Sense of belonging to the region	The degree of attachment to one's region
Sense of belonging to the settlement	The degree of attachment to one's village, town or city
Sense of civic responsibility	The degree to which one feels responsible for the future and well-being of their society and country.
Social proximity toward different groups (overall)	The degree to which one would accept members of different socio-demographic groups as their close friends and colleagues (i.e. IDPs, ATO/JFO military personnel, people from western Ukraine, people from eastern Ukraine, pro-EU and pro-Russia oriented people, people living in the NGCAs, Ukrainian nationalists, people who support separation of the NGCAs)
Social tolerance (overall)	The combined level of social tolerance toward different minority and marginalized groups (e.g. immigrants, Roma) in terms of personal interaction and/or acceptance in the community
Support for EEU membership	The level of support for Ukraine to become a member of the Eurasian Economic Union with Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan
Support for EU membership	The level of support for Ukraine to become a member of the EU
Support for military way of conflict resolution	The level of support for exclusive focus on military operations as opposed to dialogue to end the conflict in eastern Ukraine
Support for non-aligned status	The degree to which one thinks that Ukraine should be strictly non-aligned and not join either pro-Western or pro-Russian entities
Traditional media consumption	The degree to which one uses traditional media sources of information such as radio, TV and newspapers to keep up with current affairs
Trust in central institutions (overall)	The combined level of trust in national institutions such as the President, Parliament, Cabinet of Ministers and courts

T

U

Trust in local institutions (overall)	The combined level of trust in local administrations and village or town heads
Trust in military institutions	The level of trust in Ukrainian Armed Forces
Ukrainian authorities care	The degree to which one feels that Ukrainian authorities represent their concerns and views, equally care about all parts of Ukraine and are ready to listen

UNIQUE INDICATORS FOR THE NGCAS

INDICATOR	DESCRIPTION
Aid sources	The degree to which one receives any type of aid from Russian or Ukrainian organizations, friends/family, so-called 'DPR'/'LPR' authorities
Frequency of crossing	The frequency of crossing the contact line in the past 12 months
Identity: Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'	The degree to which one self-identifies as "Citizen of 'DPR'/'LPR'"
Local authorities care	The degree to which one feels that so-called 'DPR'/'LPR' authorities care about their needs
Reasons for crossing	The main reasons for crossing (e.g. visiting relatives, shopping, obtaining healthcare, work etc.)
Russian authorities care	The degree to which one feels that Russian authorities care about their needs
Satisfaction with Government of Ukraine services	The degree to which one is satisfied with the provision and efficiency of public services (e.g. social, education, health, legal, administrative services) on the other side of the contact line
Ukrainian media accessibility	The degree to which one has access to Ukrainian media sources (e.g. TV, radio, printed media, internet)