



Indiana University Parliamentary Development Project

Cooperative Agreement Number 121--A-00-03-00008-00
“Democratic Parliamentary Strengthening Program in Ukraine”

Opportunities for Legislative Strengthening Post-2007 Elections

Overview: The Importance of Legislative Strengthening

Free and fair elections are essential to the establishment and consolidation of democracy, but they are not sufficient. Increasingly, objective social science research points to the importance of strengthening the legislature – the primary representative institution – as a cornerstone of democratization and democratic consolidation.¹ Practitioners in the democratization field also recognize the importance of strong legislatures. Perhaps the most respected surveyor of the status of democracy around the world, Freedom House in its annual “Freedom in the World” evaluation includes criteria assessing the accountability, transparency and efficacy of the legislature.²

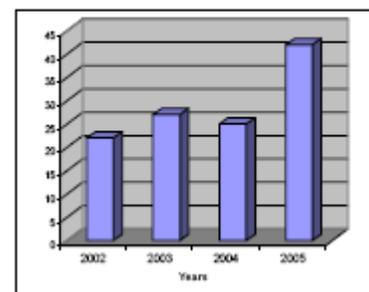
Most recently, increasing evidence points to the connection between legislative strength and democracy. Professor M. Steven Fish at the University of California at Berkeley and Professor Matthew Kroenig at Georgetown University have developed a Parliamentary Powers Index (PPI) covering:

- parliament’s ability to oversee the president and the bureaucracy;
- parliament’s independence from presidential control;
- parliament’s authority in specific areas (e.g. budget process); and
- parliament’s capacity and resources to execute its essential tasks and functions.

In assessing the relationship between the PPI and a country’s Freedom House score, Fish and Kroenig find an almost lock-step connection – higher ratings on the PPI are matched by superior levels of democracy on the Freedom House scale. Stronger legislatures lead to stronger democracies.³

In Ukraine, the legislature has played a critical role in the consolidation of democracy. While the Orange Revolution was a battle over the fairness and transparency of the presidential election process, its peaceful resolution was in part channeled through Ukraine’s national parliament, the Verkhovna Rada, where a new election law was passed to authorize a new election round. As a result, public confidence in the parliament has jumped dramatically (see figure).

Public Confidence in the
Parliament, %
(Source: IFES annual opinion poll)



¹ See for example: Samuel Huntington. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press); Juan L. Linz. 1996. “The Perils of Presidentialism,” in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 143-149; and Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi. 1996. “What Makes Democracies Endure?” *Journal of Democracy* 7: 39-55.

² For example, Freedom House’s rankings ask: Is the budget-making process subject to meaningful legislative review and public scrutiny? Do the freely elected head of government and national legislative representatives determine the policies of the government?

³ See M. Steven Fish. 2006. “Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies,” *Journal of Democracy* 17: 5-20.

USAID acknowledges the importance of legislative strengthening for its overall program of promoting democracy and good governance in Ukraine. Specifically, USAID’s Strategic Objective #4 aspires to ensure that “government institutions are more effective, transparent and accountable to their citizens.” USAID’s ongoing support of the Verkhovna Rada, primarily through a cooperative agreement with Indiana University’s Parliamentary Development Project (PDP), has played an important part in strengthening the legislature, and by extension democracy and good governance in Ukraine. USAID’s sustained programming for Rada convocations that have supported and not supported reform has increased the Rada’s capacity over time.

USAID’s investments in the Rada have resulted in important enhancements in legislative capacity, notably the increased use of public hearings, better trained parliamentary and committee staff, and a more professionalized parliamentary information service to name a few. However, there is still some distance to cover before the parliament joins the ranks of the world’s developed legislatures. In Fish and Kroenig’s PPI rankings, Ukraine’s Verkhovna Rada sits in the bottom third of Post-Soviet and Eastern European nations, ahead of Uzbekistan, Belarus and Russia, but far behind Estonia, Slovakia, and Romania.

Given recent constitutional changes that expand the formal powers of the parliament, and new parliamentary elections scheduled for September 30 2007, there is a real opportunity to boost the Rada into the upper echelon of the world’s parliaments and solidify Ukraine’s democracy. While elections are currently scheduled for some time in the future, preparation of materials and planning for orientation and sustained activities with new and continuing deputies and staff must be undertaken in the current period in order to assure that effective programming can be delivered to the new Rada. This report highlights those opportunities and suggests targets for USAID as it designs its future strategies to promote democracy and good governance in Ukraine.

To identify targets and opportunities, this report draws on the results of sequential surveys conducted by PDP of incoming and outgoing members of the Rada. Most recently, in March-April 2006, PDP surveyed outgoing deputies of the fourth convocation of the Rada. This was the fifth such survey conducted by PDP, which has been tracking the attitudes and opinions of Ukrainian MPs since 1998. The first PDP survey (Survey I) was conducted at the close of the second convocation of the VR in 1998; the second and third waves (Surveys II and III) were administered at the beginning and end of the third VR convocation (1998-2002); and the fourth and fifth waves of the survey (Surveys IV and V) were conducted at the beginning and end of the fourth convocation (2002-2006).⁴ Taken together these surveys provide a comprehensive picture of the trajectory of the Rada.

Survey	Convocation
I	End of 2 nd
II	Beginning of 3 rd
III	End of 3 rd
IV	Beginning of 4 th
V	End of 4 th

This report presents the comparative results of the five surveys to identify trends in the institutional development of the legislature, demonstrating how far the Rada has come in critical areas, but also highlighting areas that require continued assistance. Throughout, the report

⁴ An appendix reports the basic survey methodology for the most recent survey, Survey V. The same methodology has been employed for each of the five surveys.

suggests targets for future legislative technical assistance. In particular, the report points to following areas as potential targets to further strengthen Ukraine's legislature:

- Key Reform Policies (e.g. judicial reform, corruption, European integration)
- Increased Effectiveness of Internal Management Systems and Processes (e.g. committee hearings, faction organization, rules of procedure)
- Cooperative and Efficacious Legislative-Executive Relations (e.g. oversight, committee-ministry interactions)
- Improved transparency and citizen access to the legislative process (e.g. media access, NGO participation in hearings)

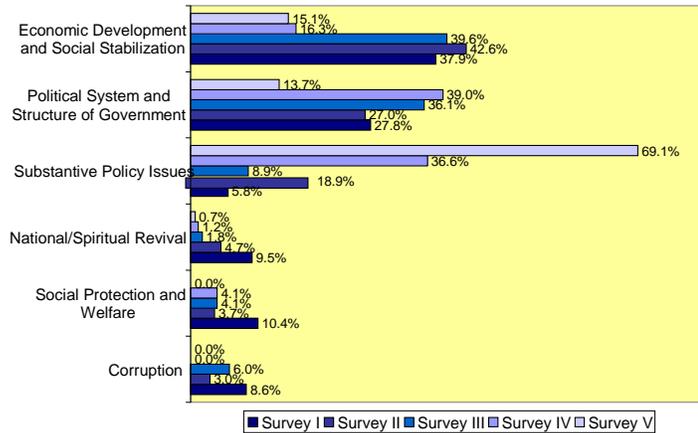
Target #1: Key Reform Policies

Parliaments are judged by the laws they produce. While there have been notable improvements in a variety of policy areas in Ukraine in recent years (e.g. Ukraine now enjoys positive GDP growth and the Rada has passed the requisite laws for Ukraine to enter the WTO), there is significant room for progress in key policy areas. There are likely to be a number of policy areas that demand attention after parliamentary elections on September 30, 2007, but four areas stand out as likely targets:

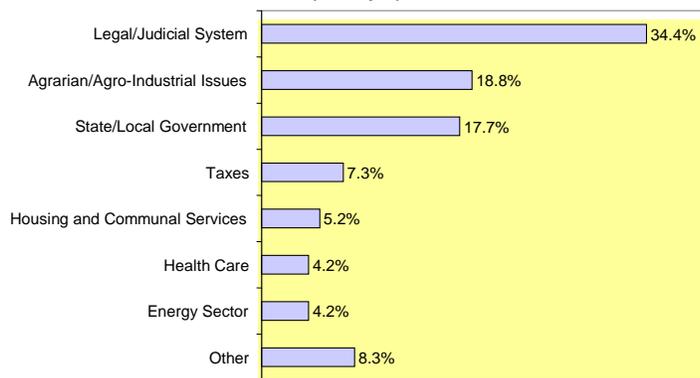
- judicial reform,
- corruption,
- European integration, and
- administrative reform.

Since the first PDP survey in 1998, MPs have been asked in each successive wave to identify the most urgent areas in need of reform. As Graph 1.1 indicates, MPs in earlier waves of the survey typically identified basic economic development and governance issues as the most urgent areas in need of reform. For example, in Surveys I, II and III, well over a third of all MPs identified general economic development and social stabilization issues as the most important areas in need of reform. Likewise, the second most frequently cited area in need of reform was the basic structure of the political system and government in Ukraine. More recently, MPs have shifted their attention quite dramatically, moving away from the basic structure of the political system and economic issues toward more substantive policy issues, perhaps because of recent Constitutional reforms and economic growth. This can be seen most clearly in Survey V, where almost 70% of MPs reported a specific policy issue as the most important area in need of reform in Ukraine.

Graph 1.1 Most urgent area of reforms for Ukraine today



Graph 1.2 Most urgent area of substantive policy reforms (Survey V)*



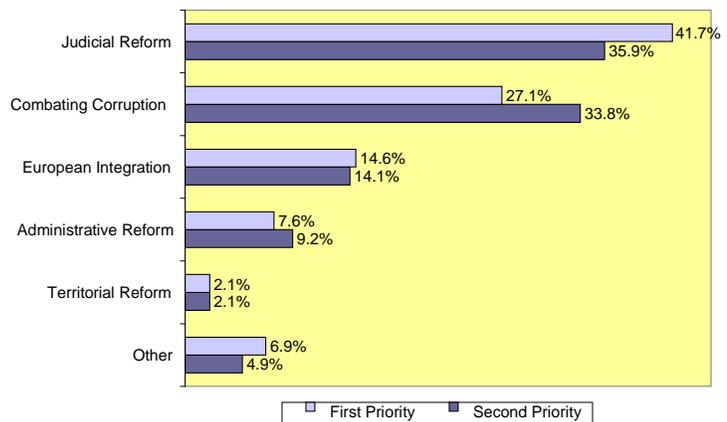
*Among respondents who identified substantive policy issues as the most urgent area of reforms for Ukraine today

Graph 1.2 provides some insight into the specific policy issues that attract the concern of MPs in the most recent survey. By far the most pressing policy issue facing Ukraine, according to respondents in Survey V, is the reform of the country's legal and judicial system. More than one third of those MPs who chose a substantive policy issue as the most important area for reform indicated that reforming the Ukrainian judiciary was paramount. Given the prominent role the

Constitutional Court and the customary courts have played in the recent conflict over the disbanding of the parliament, this focus on judicial reform is highly likely to carry over into the new post-2007 elections parliament.

Graph 1.3 focuses on the results of Survey V concerning priority areas of legislation for future parliamentary convocations. While judicial reform was the most frequently mentioned area in need of legislative attention during the next convocation of the VR (approximately 42% of MPs cited judicial reform as their top legislative priority, while another 36% reported it as their second priority), the second most important area in need of legislative attention, according to Survey V, is combating corruption. A full 27% of MPs indicated the fight against corruption as their top legislative priority, while over a third of respondents cited combating corruption as the second most important legislative issue for the next parliamentary convocation. Reform oriented politicians like President Viktor Yushenko and Yulia Tymoshenko have signaled that corruption at all levels of government remains a critical problem in Ukraine. Consequently, this issue is likely to rise to the fore post-elections as well.

Graph 1.3 Priority areas of legislation for the next convocation (Survey V)



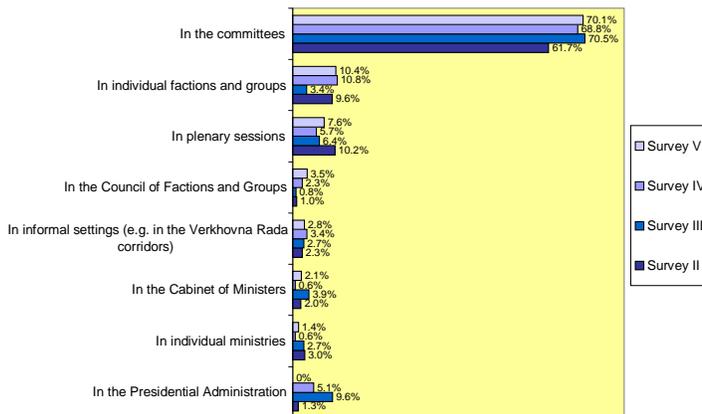
Deputies of the fourth convocation also cited European integration and administrative reform as areas that will demand legislative attention. Just under 15% of respondents targeted European integration as the first priority of future convocations, and a similar percentage as the second priority. Given President Yushenko's and other reformers interests in building connections with the west, and the ongoing imperatives of European integration processes, the post-2007 election parliament will most certainly target this area as well. Around one-tenth of respondents identified administrative reform as the first or second priority. The Ukrainian civil service system faces tremendous challenges in its transition from a state-planning operation, to a change-oriented, entrepreneurial, responsive system. Deputies will likely take up a variety of bills in the future in this area.

Taken together, these four areas are likely to be reform priorities of the post-2007 election parliament. Consequently, USAID's Parliamentary Development Project should provide technical assistance to the Rada – primarily through committees, factions and staff – to facilitate the passage of the relevant draft laws.

Target #2: Increased Effectiveness Internal Management Systems and Processes

In order for the Rada to carry out its legislative, representative, and oversight functions it requires capacity. In the absence of effective internal management systems and processes – notably functioning committees, rules of procedure, and well trained staff – it will be unable to pass legislation that makes a difference in the lives of Ukrainian citizens. Fortunately, over the past several years there has been progress on all three fronts. The post-2007 election parliament has an opportunity to solidify the institutional gains that have been made to date in order to harness them for effective policy making.

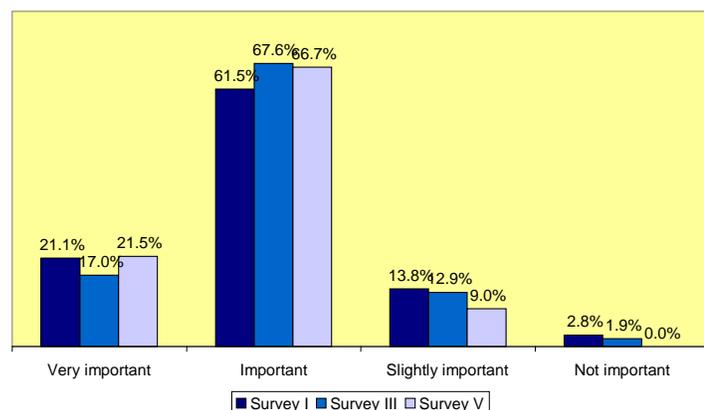
Graph 2.1 Where do the key deliberations on proposed legislation take place?



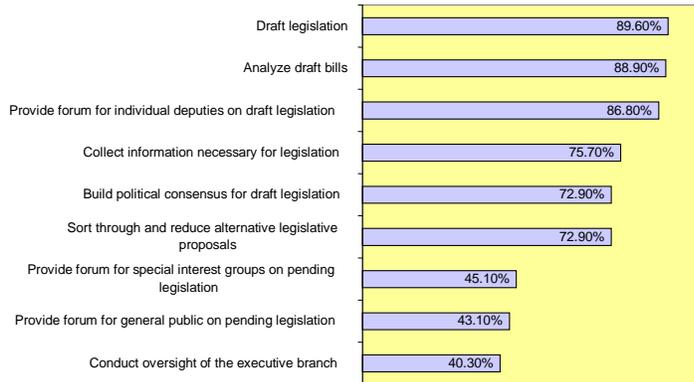
To begin, it is increasingly clear that committees are the engines of the legislative process in the Rada. In several waves of PDP surveys, MPs were asked questions about the role of committees in parliament. One such question concerns the importance of committees as venues for deliberating proposed legislation in comparison to other settings, both formal and informal, inside and outside of the parliament. As Graph 2.1 reveals, a clear majority of deputies reported that committees are the most important place for deliberation. In all four surveys, between 62% and 70% of survey

respondents said that the key deliberations on proposed legislation take place in parliamentary committees, as opposed to places like faction meetings, plenary sessions, and other less formal settings. Furthermore, as Graph 2.2 indicates, the vast majority of MPs also believe that the VR leadership recognizes the importance of committees in the legislative process. In the three surveys that asked the question, approximately 80-90% of deputies responded that the VR leadership believes that committees are either “important” or “very important” to the legislative process. Due in part to the efforts of USAID’s Parliamentary Development Project, which has long worked to build committee capacity, deliberation on the details of legislation has shifted from the floor of the Rada into a well-structured committee system, thereby increasing the ability of the Rada to develop policy expertise and review more draft legislation in a productive fashion.

Graph 2.2 In the opinion of the VR leadership, how important is committee work to the legislative process?



Graph 2.3 How often do committees perform the following tasks? (Survey V)*



*Percentage of respondents who said committees perform each task "routinely" or "often"

While committees are clearly at the center of the legislative process, more work needs to be done on making them more open to citizens and more effective at conducting oversight. Graph 2.3 shows how often respondents from Survey V estimate committees perform various tasks. According to the data, committees most often spend their time drafting legislation, analyzing draft bills, and providing a forum for individual deputies to discuss their concerns about draft legislation. Approximately 80-90% of deputies said

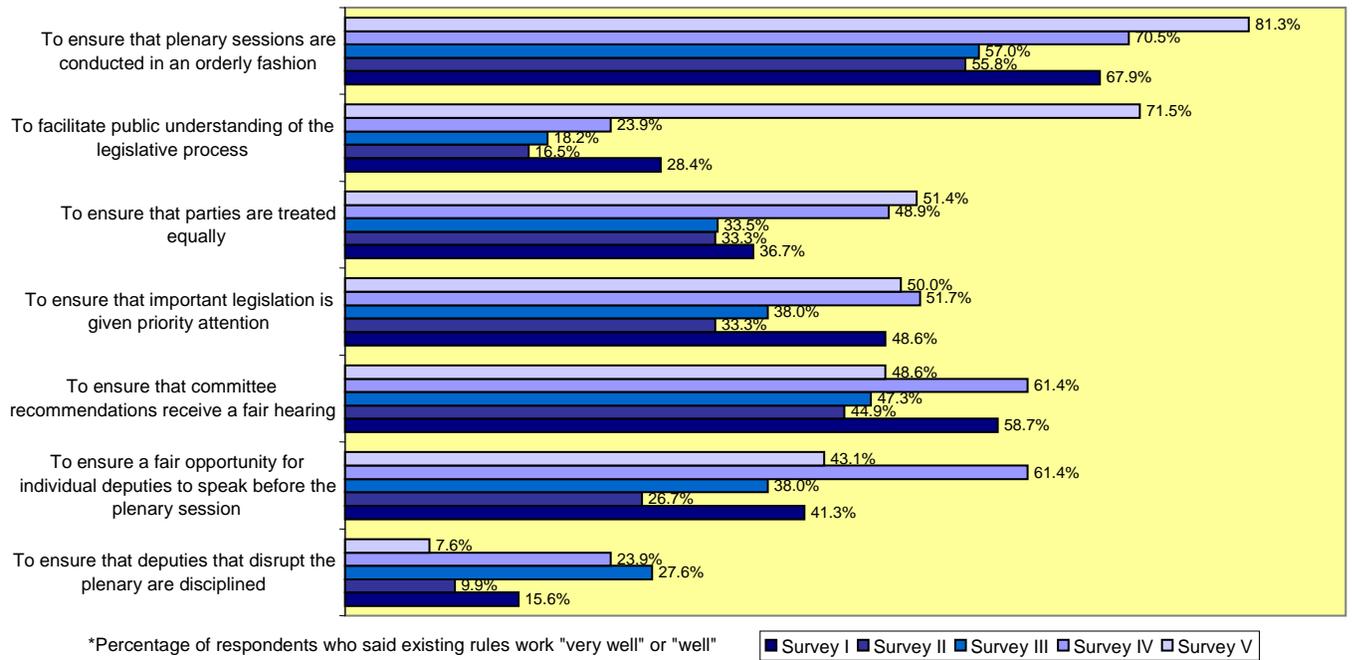
that committees are engaged in these activities either routinely or often. Other tasks cited frequently by respondents included collecting information necessary for legislation, building political consensus for draft legislation, and sorting through and reducing alternative legislative proposals. On the other hand, less than 50% of respondents indicate that committees provide a forum for special interest groups or the general public on pending legislation. Furthermore, only 40% of respondents indicate that committees conduct oversight of the executive branch. These are critical functions of effective committees. **Consequently, USAID's Parliamentary Development Project should target citizen access and oversight functions of committees in the post-2007 election parliament.**

Parliamentary rules of procedure, intended to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the parliament, also play an important role in the legislative process. PDP asked deputies to evaluate how well the rules work in practice with regard to a number of different aspects of the legislative process. Graph 2.4 on the next page reports the results.

According to the survey results, existing VR rules are most effective at ensuring that plenary sessions are conducted in an orderly fashion. Moreover, the results suggests that parliamentary rules have become more effective in this respect over time, with more than 80% of deputies in Survey V reporting that the rules work "very well" or "well" at ensuring orderly sessions. Survey V also reveals an improvement in the effectiveness of VR rules in terms of their ability to facilitate public understanding of the legislative process. While only a quarter or less of deputies rated this aspect of the VR rules positively in previous surveys, over 70% of MPs in Survey V said that the rules do a good job facilitating public understanding.

In other areas, however, VR rules appear to have lost some of their effectiveness in recent years. In Survey V, fewer deputies said that existing rules are good at ensuring a fair hearing for committee recommendations, or at ensuring that individual deputies have an opportunity to speak before the plenary session. Moreover, a very small number of MPs (less than 8% in Survey V) believe that existing parliamentary rules do a good job at ensuring that deputies are disciplined when they disrupt the plenary session. **These are critical functions of the rules and suggest that USAID's Parliamentary Development Project should continue to focus on ensuring the rules' effectiveness.**

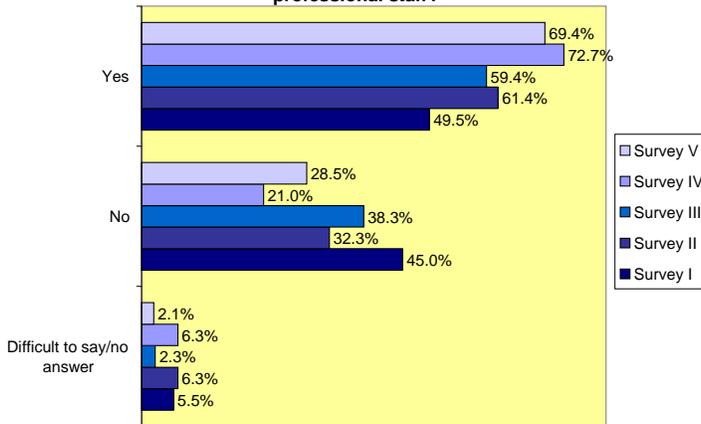
Graph 2.4 How well do existing VR rules work?*



Finally, in the area of the effectiveness of internal management systems and processes, deputies rely heavily on the support staff of the Verkhovna Rada Secretariat. This staff comes in the form of personal staff, committee staff, and staff that serve the various support bodies of the parliament (e.g. Information Office). Thus, in each survey wave, MPs were asked a series of

questions concerning the composition and training of the VR staff, as well as ways in which the Secretariat may be improved. First, deputies in each survey were asked whether the parliament has a sufficient number of professional staff. As Graph 2.5 reveals, a clear majority of respondents in all but the first survey responded that the VR has enough professional staff. Moreover, the number of deputies who feel the VR is sufficiently staffed has increased over time, with more than two thirds of MPs in the two most recent surveys indicating their satisfaction with the number of professional staff.

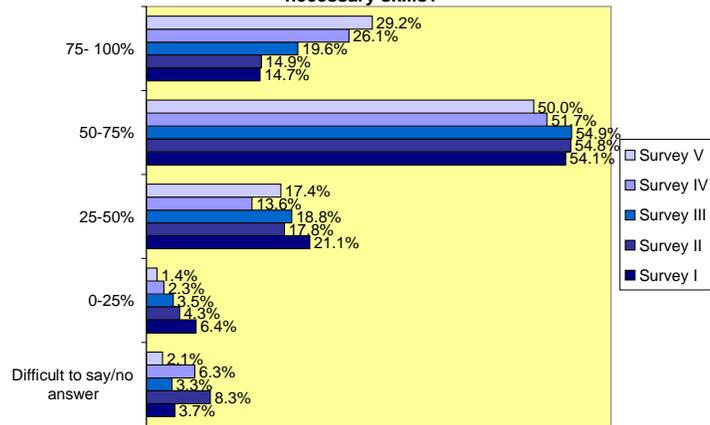
Graph 2.5 Does Parliament have a sufficient number of professional staff?



Next, MPs were asked what proportion of the existing VR staff has the necessary skills to adequately assist the work of parliamentarians. According to the results presented in Graph 2.6, it appears that a growing majority of MPs believe that a good portion of the VR staff is adequately trained, though there is still room for improvement. About half of the respondents in each of the five surveys said that 50-75% of VR staff members have the necessary skills, while the number of deputies who believe that more than 75% of the VR staff is adequately skilled has

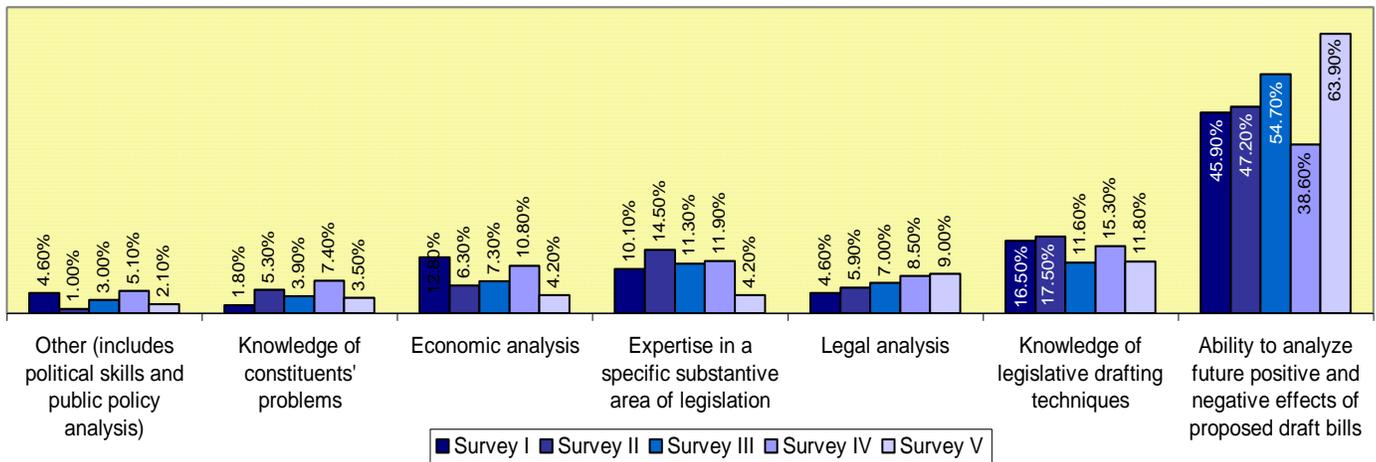
grown over time, from about 15% in Survey I to approximately 30% in Survey V. At the same time, the number of deputies complaining that less than half of the VR staff is adequately skilled has remained substantial, despite a significant drop from about 27% in Survey I to just under 19% in Survey V. **Taken together, USAID's Parliamentary Development Project needs to continue to work with the Rada leadership and secretariat in the post-2007 election period to ensure that the number of staff continues to grow.**

Graph 2.6 What proportion of existing VR staff has necessary skills?



Given the need for better trained staff, deputies were asked what additional skills they would most like VR staff to have. Graph 2.7 reports the results. As the graph indicates, the clear preference among all the skills mentioned in the survey is the ability to analyze the potential positive and negative effects of draft legislation – policy analysis, essentially. In all five waves of the survey, the ability to analyze draft legislation appears more than twice as often as any other response. USAID's implementing partners should continue to work with parliamentary staff, particularly in the period before the 2007 election, to enhance their analytical capacity in the form of policy analysis training. This will ensure that when the new parliament is elected the Rada will be serviced by staff who can provide deputies the analysis they need to make informed judgments about pending reform legislation.

Graph 2.7 Most important additional skill needed by VR

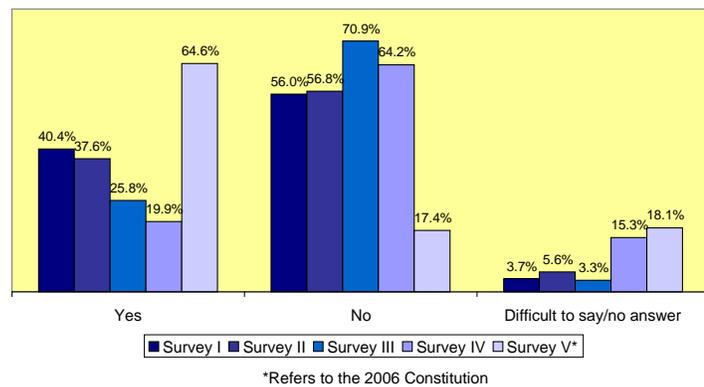


Target #3: Cooperative and Efficacious Legislative-Executive Relations

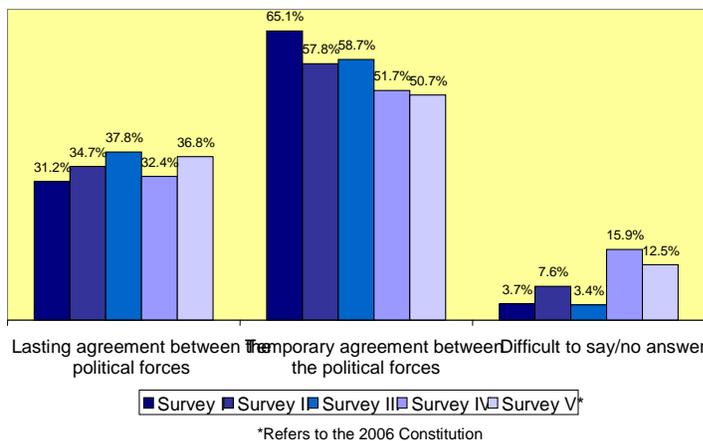
Legislative-executive conflict has been at the root of the major destabilizing events throughout Ukrainian independence (since 1991), culminating in President Yuschenko's most recent decision to disband the parliament and call for new elections. While constitutional changes which came into force in January 2006 strengthened the parliament relative to the president – an important democratic step given Ukraine's history of executive dominance under Yuschenko's predecessor, Leonid Kuchma – these changes have not brought stability to relations between the legislature and the executive. Though these changes transferred a number of rights and responsibilities from the office of the President to the Ukrainian Parliament, significantly altering the balance of power in Ukraine, they have not yet provided clarity and consensus about which branch enjoys control over important assets and functions (e.g. the police and internal security).

In light of these changes, PDP asked deputies in Survey V a number of questions about the Ukrainian Constitution and the separation of powers. The results are presented in comparison with responses from previous PDP surveys. First, MPs were asked whether the current separation of powers arrangement provides a foundation for building a democratic state in Ukraine. As Graph 3.1 reveals, before the introduction in 2006 of amendments to the Constitution, MPs' confidence in the system of separation of powers had steadily declined. However, the results show a very significant surge in the number of deputies favoring the system of separation of powers under the 2006 constitutional arrangement. From Survey IV to Survey V, the percentage of deputies supporting the current arrangement of separation of powers more than tripled, from less than 20% to nearly 65%.

Graph 3.1 Does the system of separation of powers, as defined by the Constitution, provide a foundation for building a democratic Ukrainian state?



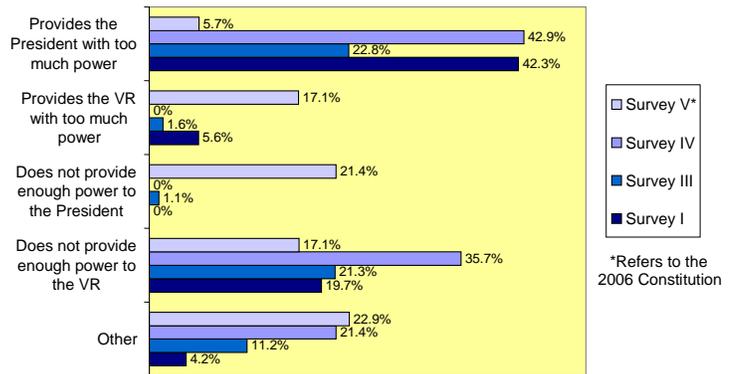
Graph 3.2 Does the current Constitution represent a lasting agreement or a temporary agreement?



Given the contentious and often unstable nature of politics in Ukraine, deputies were also asked whether the current Constitution represents a lasting agreement or a temporary agreement. According to the results presented in Graph 3.2, half to two thirds of deputies believe that the current Constitution is only a temporary agreement—including the most recent 2006 Constitution. Moreover, this finding has changed little over the course of the five surveys conducted by PDP.

However, among those deputies who feel that the Constitution is only a temporary agreement, Graph 3.3 indicates that the reasons for believing so appear to be different in Survey V than in previous surveys. Whereas deputies felt in the past that the Ukrainian Constitution gave too much power to the President and not enough to the Parliament, deputies in Survey V report that the 2006 Constitution gives too little power to the President and too much power to the Parliament.

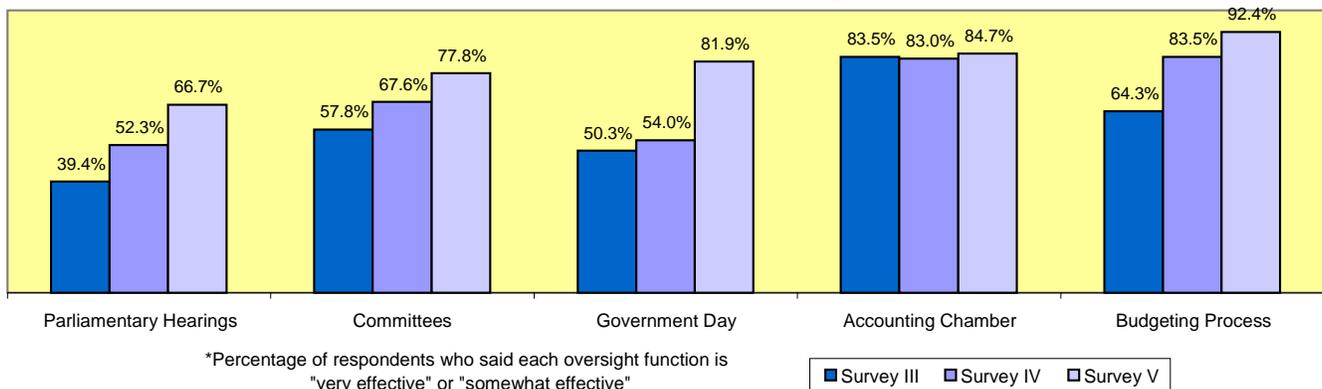
Graph 3.3 Most important reason likely to make the Constitution only a temporary agreement



Thus, many deputies appear to believe that the 2006 Constitution represents a pendulum swing in terms of the system of separation of powers in Ukraine, which they believe has gone too far in stripping powers from the President and allocating new powers and responsibilities to the Parliament. This suggests that constitutional reform may once again return to the policy, and hence legislative, agenda. Alternatively, given the challenges of altering the constitution, deputies may choose to pursue regular legislative channels to alter the separation of powers (e.g. the Law on the Cabinet of Ministers). **USAID’s Parliamentary Development Project should be prepared to offer technical assistance to guide separation and distribution of power reform discussions in the post-election period.**

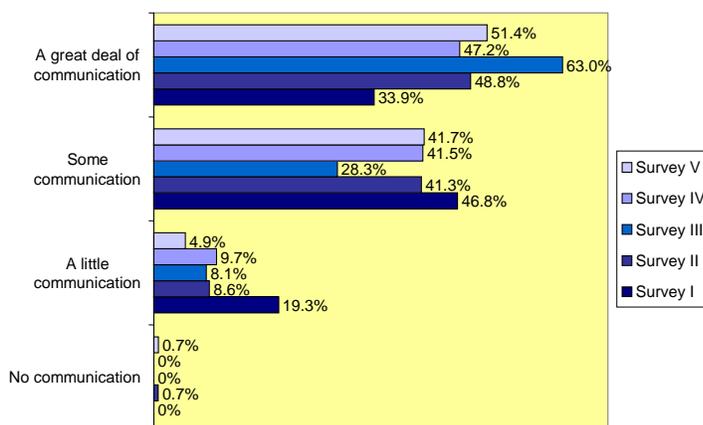
At the same time that deputies may look to alter the distribution of powers, they will also likely look to improve their use of available tools and processes to execute one of their primary functions in their relationship with the executive – oversight and monitoring. The Rada currently enjoys an array of oversight tools to ensure that the executive carries out laws in line with legislative intentions. In various surveys, PDP has asked deputies to evaluate the effectiveness of various oversight mechanisms. As Graph 3.4 shows, for every oversight mechanism mentioned, at least two thirds of respondents said that each oversight mechanism is either “very effective” or “somewhat effective.” Moreover, upwards of 80-90% of deputies in Survey V positively evaluated parliamentary oversight vis-à-vis the budgeting process, the accounting chamber, and government day.

Graph 3.4 Effectiveness of parliamentary oversight functions



Comparing the results of Survey V with those of previous survey waves, the data also reveals a positive trend over time. Since Survey III, when the question was first asked, parliamentary oversight appears to have improved, as an increasing number of deputies in each survey wave rate the oversight functions of the parliament positively. In particular, several mechanisms of oversight have shown notable improvement over time, including parliamentary hearings, government day, and the budgeting process. Compared to Survey III, a full 25-30% more deputies evaluated each of these three mechanisms positively in Survey V. **This is an important development, as USAID’s primary legislative strengthening partner – PDP – has targeted effective oversight and monitoring. These results suggest that these technical assistance efforts have contributed positively to making parliamentary oversight more robust.** On the flip side, as noted earlier in Graph 2.3, when asked specifically about committees and their oversight activities, only 40% of respondents indicated that committees conducted oversight “routinely” or “often”. **Taken together, there’s evidence to suggest that parliamentary oversight has improved as a result of current technical assistance efforts, but there’s still room for more progress to be made. USAID’s PDP needs to provide guidance and counsel to the post-2007 election parliament in order to ensure that they use oversight tools in an effective, rather than a combative, manner.**

Graph 3.5 How regular is communication between committees and ministers?



Fortunately, while the legislative-executive tilts at the macro level have been destabilizing, there is evidence of cooperative working relations at the micro level, namely between committees and ministries. PDP has repeatedly asked deputies about communication between branches of government. Graph 7.5 reports the results of a question asking MPs how regularly parliamentary committees communicate with government ministers working in the same policy areas. The results indicate that a vast

majority of deputies feel that committees and ministers engage in either “some” or “a great deal” of communication. Very few MPs would describe the level of communication as “little.” Moreover, the findings are consistent over time. **This suggests that USAID’s PDP should continue to offer technical assistance to facilitate and nurture these cooperative working relations between key elements of the legislative-executive system.** These micro connections make a positive contribution towards stabilizing and clarifying the separation and distribution of powers between the branches.

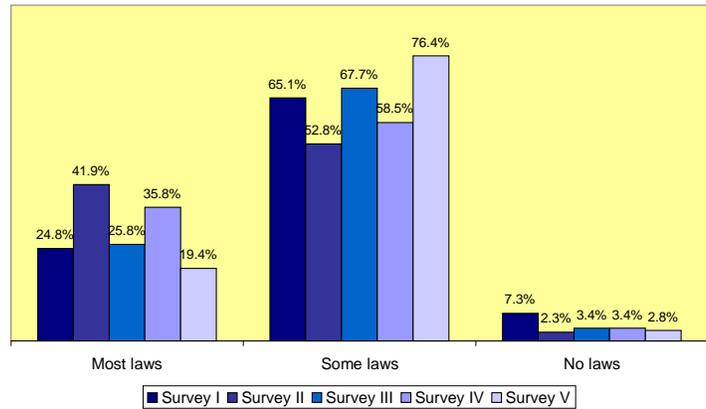
Target #4: Improved Transparency and Citizen Access to the Legislative Process

As highlighted in USAID’s Strategic Objective #4, increasing the transparency of government institutions is a key target of USAID’s efforts in Ukraine. Fortunately, US technical assistance efforts have contributed positively to improving the transparency of the Verhovna Rada and to increasing citizen access to the legislative process. In particular, deputies have become more open to the use of public hearings in which NGOs and citizen organizations participate. Furthermore, even though deputies are no longer elected directly but rather through party lists, they still engage in significant outreach to the public. Given this continued inclination towards opening the legislative process, there is a continued opportunity to work with various Rada entities (e.g. committee staff, legislative staff, the Rada’s Information Office) to make concrete improvements in the flow of information from a variety of sources into the parliament, as well as out of the parliament to inform concerned stakeholders and citizens.

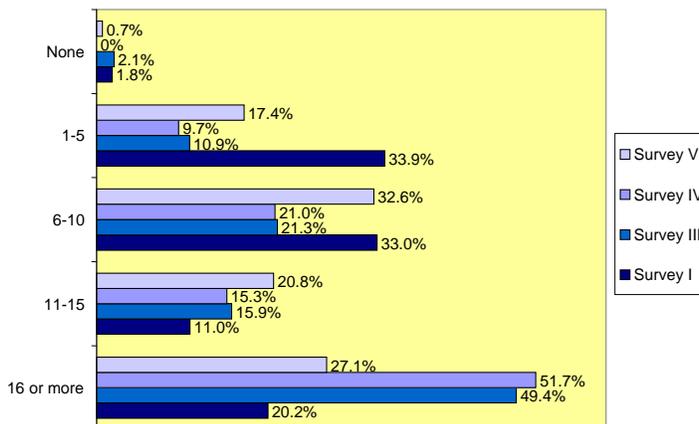
PDP has asked deputies in each survey how often they think committees should hold public hearings when considering draft legislation. As Graph 4.1 indicates, a vast majority of MPs favor the use of public hearings in general terms. This is reflected by the increased use of public hearings. However, half to three quarters of deputies believe that such hearings are only appropriate some of the time. Significantly fewer deputies (less than 20% in Survey V) believe that public hearings should be used for all laws.

Here the opportunity for technical assistance providers should build on the positive momentum to date in the parliament and be carried through into the post-2007 election parliament to ensure that gains made in the use of public hearings continue as these are a primary vehicle for citizen access.

Graph 4.1 Would you favor use of public hearings by committees?



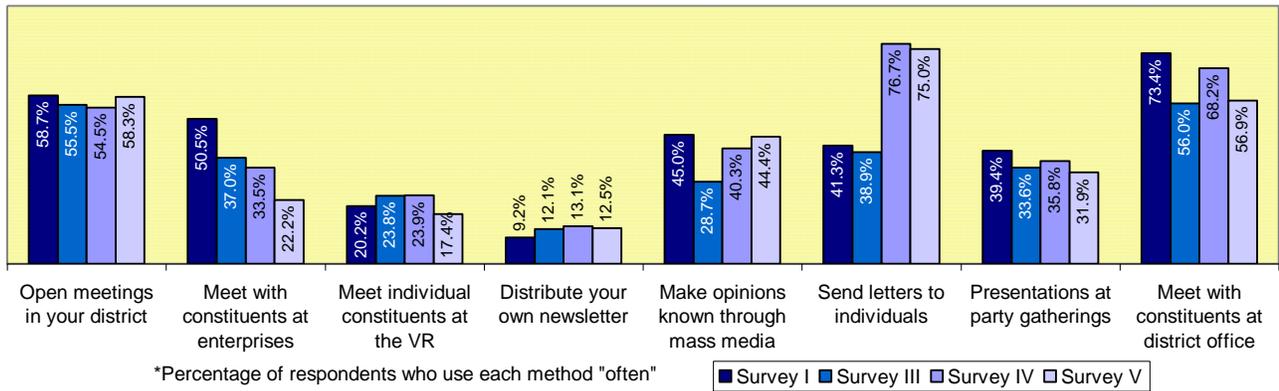
Graph 4.2 Average monthly meetings with citizen groups



Deputies were also asked how often they hold meetings as a form of direct communication with citizen groups. As Graph 4.2 reveals, almost all deputies report holding meetings with citizen groups in all four surveys where the question was asked. However, the number of meetings per month has fluctuated over time. While about half of the deputies surveyed reported holding 16 or more meetings in Surveys III and IV, that number dropped by almost half in Survey V. PDP also asked about a variety of other means by which deputies

communicate with citizens. Graph 4.3 reports the percentage of deputies who use each of the methods across each of the five surveys. The majority of deputies report that they hold open meetings in their districts (58.3%), send letters to individual constituents (75.0%), and meet with constituents in their district offices (56.9%), although there's been a notable drop in the percentage of deputies that meet in districts. This likely reflects the change in the electoral system from direct to proportional election. Deputies no longer need to make personal connections with voters to get elected. Instead, parties do. **The change in the electoral system means that USAID's PDP needs to work actively with faction and deputy staff in the post-2007 election parliament to ensure that deputies connect with citizens.**

Graph 4.3 Methods of communicating with constituents



APPENDIX: SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey of national deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the 4th Convocation was conducted in Ukraine from March 1 to April 28, 2006. The survey consisted of 127 questions and 11 survey sections. 144 deputies (of the 450-deputy parliament) participated in the survey. The survey consists of both open-ended and closed-ended questions. The Parliamentary Development Project developed the survey instrument and the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) carried out the interviews.

The sample for the survey was drawn from the complete list of Verkhovna Rada deputies from the 4th Convocation. Out of the entire membership of 426 deputies, 144 participated in the survey for a response rate of 33.8%. This response rate is largely in line with the previous four surveys, which had response rates of 39.1%, 43.7%, 24.2%, and 67.3%, respectively. A sample of this size is sufficiently reliable to generalize about the entire population of deputies with a + or – sample error of 6.9%. The membership in the various factions was tabulated for sample respondents and compared to proportions in the Parliament as a whole. As can be seen from the table below, the sample is representative of factions in the Parliament.

Distribution of Factions in Parliament and Survey V Sample

Faction	Number in Parliament	% in Parliament	Number in Sample	% in Sample
LEFT	86	20%	42	29%
Communist Party	56		28	
Socialist Party	30		14	
CENTER-LEFT	138	32%	39	27%
People's Democratic Party	41		12	
Lytvyn's People's Bloc	22		8	
Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc	42		15	
Ukrainian People's Party	18		2	
Renaissance Party	15		2	
CENTER-RIGHT	95	22%	18	13%
Social Democratic Party (united)	19		4	
Regions of Ukraine	60		10	
Industrialists & Entrepreneurs Party	16		4	
RIGHT	72	18%	38	26%
Our Ukraine	41		23	
People's Rukh of Ukraine	16		8	
Reforms & Order	15		7	
INDEPENDENT	35	8%	7	5%
TOTAL	426	100%	144	100%