



## **The Eighth Survey of the Members of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine**

Prepared for USAID at the request of the  
**Parliamentary Development Project for Ukraine:  
Legislative Policy Development Program (PDP II)**

by Dr. Irina Khmelko  
Associate Professor of Political Science and Public Administration  
University of Tennessee, Chattanooga

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## Introduction

Since 1998, the Parliamentary Development Project for Ukraine (PDP II) has conducted eight surveys of Ukrainian Legislators/ Members of Parliament (MPs). Reports for the previous seven surveys were submitted to USAID and disseminated among MPs, parliamentary staff, Ukrainian civil society organizations, and international technical assistance organizations. This report presents results of Survey VIII; compares these results to previous surveys; and discusses the process of legislative institution building in post-Soviet Ukraine.

The first PDP survey (Survey I) was conducted in 1998 at the close of the second convocation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (VRU), the second and third surveys were administered at the beginning and at the end of the third VR convocation (1998-2002), and the fourth and the fifth surveys (Surveys IV and V) were conducted at the beginning and the end of the fourth convocation (2002-2006). The sixth and the seventh surveys were conducted in 2009 and 2010 respectively, during the term of the sixth convocation. This last survey was administered to 7<sup>th</sup> VR MPs who were seated on December 12, 2012 as a result of parliamentary elections October 28, 2012.

### Dates for Eight Surveys conducted by PDP 1998-2013

Survey	Convocation	Year	MPs Surveyed
I	End of 2 <sup>nd</sup>	1998	109
II	Beginning of 3 <sup>rd</sup>	1999	303
III	End of 3 <sup>rd</sup>	2002	193
IV	Beginning of 4 <sup>th</sup>	2003	176
V	End of 4 <sup>th</sup>	2006	144
VI	Beginning of 6 <sup>th</sup>	2009	125
VII	End of 6 <sup>th</sup>	2011	106
VIII	Beginning of 7 <sup>th</sup>	2013	117

PDP conducted entry surveys at the beginning of convocations and exit surveys at the end of MPs' term of office. The second through fourth convocations were elected for 4-year terms. However, beginning in 2006, the VR instituted a 5-year election cycle. The work of the fifth VR was disrupted by political turmoil and it served just over a year (2006-2007). No surveys were conducted during the fifth convocation. PDP II waited for the situation to be resolved. Therefore, although conducted more than a year after the election of the sixth VR, this survey is an entry survey. The seventh survey was conducted when it was expected that the PDP II would terminate in 2011, resulting in an exit survey that was a bit premature by comparison to other exit surveys. The last, eighth survey, was conducted during the first quarter of the seventh VR Convocation.

The surveys track institutional development of the VR through the analysis of attitudes and opinions of MPs on main issues in legislative institution building and functioning of a legislature. This report begins with an executive summary, followed by a discussion of survey methodology and sample selection. The remainder of the report details the survey results, which are organized according to the main subject headings in the following order:

1. Ukraine's most urgently needed reforms.
2. Deputy roles and priorities.
3. Parliamentary committees.
4. Factions and voting.
5. Rules of parliamentary procedure.
6. Relations with constituents and transparency of the legislative process.
7. Separation of powers.
8. Parliamentary oversight.
9. Verkhovna Rada secretariat and staff.
10. Assistance organizations and activities.

The literature on world parliaments identifies these three subject areas as important for post-authoritarian legislatures performing the main functions of any democratic legislature – legislation, representation, and oversight. Survey data from 1998 through 2013 allowed discussion of the main dynamics in 15 years of VRU institutional development. In conclusion, PDP II submits results of this report within the observed practice of world legislatures and discusses aspects of future technical aid to the VRU legislature.

Appended to this report is the survey instrument used for the 2013 survey. For more information or specific questions regarding this report, please contact Dr. Trevor Brown, Associate Professor, John Glenn School of Public Affairs, The Ohio State University [brown.2296@osu.edu](mailto:brown.2296@osu.edu)

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## Executive Summary

The results of this report not only reflect the state of affairs within the Verkhovna Rada during the 7<sup>th</sup> Convocation (Survey VIII), but also offer a picture of how things have changed over the last 15 years. This report incorporates the results obtained in previous reports and builds on the findings from those reports. The report uses statistical analysis of surveys' results to discuss the legislative institution building process in Ukraine. We observed that the general trends since Survey VI remained the same (with exceptions that we identify in the text) and that there was continuation rather than reversal of the trends and dynamics since Survey VI.

Overall, our findings indicate that the Verkhovna Rada has made significant strides in becoming a stronger, more robust legislative institution, with greater capacity to execute its representative, legislative, and oversight functions. The Ukrainian parliament is an important part of the Ukrainian political system and an important policy player in Ukraine. It has successfully asserted its powers among other institutions of power and has developed new organizational structures and new relationships that further contributed to the process of legislative institutionalization.

We further find that the Ukrainian legislature is not exempt from the 'growth pains' of any post-authoritarian legislature in a developing democracy and has experienced its share of challenges in its legislative institutionalization. The main challenges for the Rada include a rather large range of ideologies presented in the Rada as well as a relatively short post-authoritarian history of Ukraine. However, despite the political turmoil and long periods of parliamentary dysfunction that resulted from the standoff between the opposition factions and the pro-Government coalition in 2005-2008, and significant conflicts between majority and opposition in 2013, the Ukrainian legislature proved to be effective in mitigating conflict between power elites.

The comparison of survey results is especially important and valuable for current and future decision-making. Further, the surveys can indicate which successes and failures can be addressed by external aid to post-authoritarian legislature. Among the main reason for a comparative study of survey results is to illustrate the Ukrainian legislature's ability to navigate among political elites. This demonstrates one outstanding success of post-communist Ukraine that frequently gets overlooked and taken for granted.

Ukraine is an exception to the rule among 15 post-Soviet countries. With the exception of the three Baltic states (Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania), all of which had a relatively short history with the USSR and joined the European Union shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine is in the absolute minority of post-Soviet states that did not revert to political systems classified as 'comparative authoritarianism' or 'authoritarian' countries. In addition, Ukraine is the only post-Soviet country that avoided civil war, major protest bloodshed, and violent confrontations to the extent observed in the other 12 (non-Baltic) countries of the former Soviet Union. Yet, in the process of analysis of institutional development of any legislature, successes are frequently taken for granted and the challenges are magnified.

This report primarily on the Ukrainian Parliament and examines in-depth several factors associated with institutional developments. MP surveys allowed observation VRU's internal organizational structures and functions, redistribution of power among different internal actors, as well as follow-up on relations between VRU and external political actors. Therefore, this report has broader practical implications in understanding the workings of a developing legislature. This analysis of survey results indicates that the Rada may provide opportunities for competing groups to work out differences in an institutional setting rather than using political violence or by transferring over-reaching legislative powers to an executive.

This report does not say which were the most stabilizing factors in these institutional developments. More rigorous statistical analysis is needed for that purpose, but nevertheless, this report's results demonstrate the steady and consistent development of the VRU towards becoming a stable and influential political institution that functions within a multi-party legislature.. The 8 surveys

of MPs offer a unique opportunity to observe institutional developments through the perceptions of the immediate participants of the VRU from the very early stages until present.

### Survey Methodology

The PDP-developed survey for the VRU MPs of the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation was administered by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology from 18 February to 17 May 2013. The fieldwork was conducted from 03 March to 26 April 2013. Exactly 117 face-to-face interviews were conducted by 17 interviewers, mostly on VRU premises.

The survey sample is representative of the general population and special consideration was given to faction, committee membership, and gender representation. The following table reflects the total number of MPs in VR factions as well as the percentage of members of these factions in the sample.

**Faction Representation of VR: Survey VIII**

<b>Factions of VR</b>	<b>Number of MPs in factions</b>	<b>Number of MPs and % of faction in the sample</b>
The faction of the PARTY OF REGIONS	204	55 (46.7%)
The faction of the All-Ukrainian Union «Batkivshchyna»	99	27 (22.7%)
The faction of the Political Party «UDAR (Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform) of Vitaliy Klychko»	42	11 (9.6%)
The Faction of The Communist Party of Ukraine	32	9 (7.3%)
The Faction of the All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda"	36	10 (8.2%)
Non-Affiliated People's Deputies	24	6 (5.5%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>117 (100.00%)</b>

The sample is representative of respondents' committee memberships. Thus, the sample contains respondents who served on all major standing committees in the VRU. The following table presents number of MPs and respect percent of MPs on each of the listed below committees.

**Committees Composition**

Name of the committee	Number of MPs	Percent
Committee on Agrarian Policy and Land Relations	8	6.8%
Committee on Fighting Organized Crime and Corruption	3	2.6%
Committee on Construction, City Zoning and Communal and Housing	5	4.3%
Committee on Budget	6	5.1%
Committee on Rule of Law and Justice	3	2.6%
Committee on State Building and Local Self-Government	5	4.3%
Committee on Ecologic Policy, Use of Natural Resources and Cleanup of the Chernobyl Aftermaths	7	6.0%
Committee on Economic Policy	2	1.7%
Committee on European Integration	2	1.7%
Committee on Legislative Support to Law Enforcement	3	2.6%
Committee on Informatization and Information Technologies	3	2.6%
Committee on Culture and Spirituality	3	2.6%
Committee on Science and Education	3	2.6%
Committee on National Security and Defense	3	2.6%
Committee on Health	4	3.4%
Committee on Fuel and Energy Sector, Nuclear Policy and Nuclear Safety	10	8.5%
Committee on Entrepreneurship, Regulatory Policy and Anti-Monopoly Policy	4	3.4%
Committee on Tax and Customs Policies	6	5.1%
Committee on Human Rights, National Minorities and Inter-Ethnic Relations	3	2.6%
Committee on Legal Policy	5	4.3%
Committee on Industrial and Investment Policies	5	4.3%
Committee on the Rules of Procedure, Deputy Ethics, and Organization of VR Work	2	1.7%
Committee on Freedom of Speech and Information	3	2.6%
Committee on Family Issues, Youth Policy, Sports, and Tourism	2	1.7%
Committee on Transport and Communications	5	4.3%

Committee on Finances and Banking	4	3.4%
Committee on Foreign Relations	6	5.1%
Committee on Pensioners, Veterans and Disabled Individuals	2	1.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

The sample also contains male and female MPs. The table below presents number of MPs in the sample and corresponding percentages of both genders in the sample.

#### Gender

	Number of MPs	Percent
Male	104	90.3%
Female	13	9.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.0</b>

In addition, the survey looked at additional factors, such as experience with legislative work and the election system. The table below shows that the majority of MPs responding to the survey are serving their first term (73.4%) in the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation while 25.5% of MPs have experience of serving in at least one other VR convocation. This is higher than the 52% of MPs in the house who are serving their first term in the VR. The table below also shows how many of the respondent MPs serve their first, second, third, or fourth term.

#### Experience with Legislative Work: Number of Convocations Served Prior to the 7th

Number of convocations served	Number of MPs who served	Percent
1	86	73.4%
2	19	16.3%
3	9	7.7%
4.	3	2.5%
Total	117	100.00%

The table below presents a classification of sample respondents based on the election system. Analysis of the VRU allowed investigation of the impact of the election system on multiple aspects of institutional development. Although, this report presents initial information on the subject, it nevertheless is an important step and lays foundation for future and more rigorous study of the electoral aspects of institutional development of post authoritarian institutions. The table below shows the almost even distribution between MPs elected in Single Mandate Districts (SMD) and by party list (PL).

#### Election System

	Number of MPs	Percent
In majoritarian district (SMD)	60	51.0%
By party list (PL)	57	49.0%
Total	117	100.0%

The following table presents a comparison of distribution of seats in the VR of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> convocations (general population from which sample was drawn) as well as comparison of how many respondents (MPs who answered questions) were included in the survey sample.

**Distribution of Factions in Parliament and Recent Survey Sampling: VR VI and VR VII**

<b>Factions</b>	<b>Number of Seats: VR 6</b>	<b>Number of Seats: VR 7</b>	<b>Number in Sample Survey VII</b>	<b>Number in Sample Survey VIII</b>
Party of Regions	180	207	43	55
Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko – “Batkivshyna”(Motherland)	121	95	26	27
Our Ukraine – People's Self-Defense	71	-	16	-
Communist Party	26	32	8	9
Lytvyn's Bloc/National Party	20	-	3	-
“UDAR” (Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reforms) of Vitaliy Klitschko	-	42	-	11
Faction of the All-Ukrainian Union ‘Svoboda’ (Freedom)	-	36	-	10
Non-affiliated MPs	32	32	10	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>117</b>

Although it is important to look at party/factions in the Rada one-by-one, a classification of party/faction distribution in a parliament prove useful in an analysis of larger societal trends and implications of both the Ukrainian and other post-authoritarian legislatures. To this end, PDP developed the following working table for the purposes of investigating associations of party factions on the left-right and majority-opposition in the following analysis. It should be noted that the world practice demonstrates that there are instances when left-right and majority-opposition classification are the same. However, this classification becomes problematic in the Ukrainian case. The table below presents classification of Ukrainian factions according to left-right and pro-government/opposition classification.

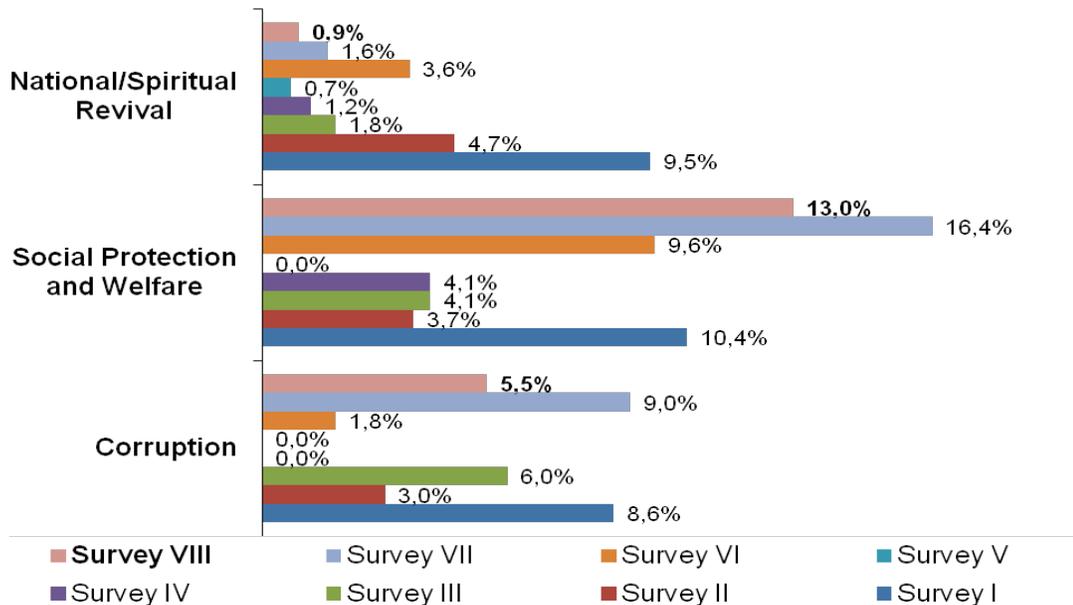
**Party/Faction Classification: Survey VIII (7<sup>th</sup> convocation of the VR)**

<b>Left Factions/ Parties</b>	<b>Center Factions/ Parties</b>	<b>Right Factions/ Parties</b>	<b>Pro-Government Factions/ Parties</b>	<b>Opposition Factions/ Parties</b>	<b>Independent Factions/ Parties</b>
Communist Party	Batkivshyna, UDAR, Party of Regions	Svoboda	Party of Regions, Communist Party	Batkivshyna, Svoboda, UDAR	Non-Faction

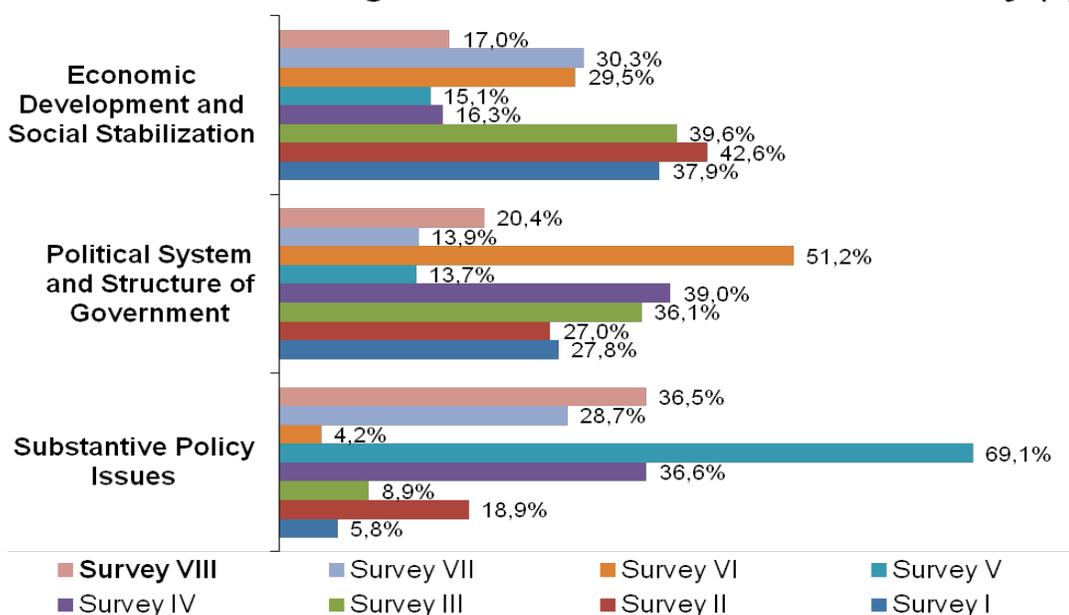
## 1. Ukraine's Most Urgently Needed Reforms

VRU MPs have been among the most influential and active policymakers in Ukraine and their sense of urgency on reforms is a reflection, however rough, of the issues that the country is facing and the direction Ukraine's policy making process may take. Therefore, since the first PDP survey in 1998, MPs have been asked in each successive survey to identify the most urgent areas in need of reform in Ukraine. The following charts list social problems that MPs identified as most urgent at the time of the survey.

**Most urgent area of reforms for Ukraine today (1)**



**Most urgent area of reforms for Ukraine today (2)**



As the chart above shows, in most of the earlier surveys MPs typically identified basic economic development and governance issues as the most urgent areas in need of reform. For example, in

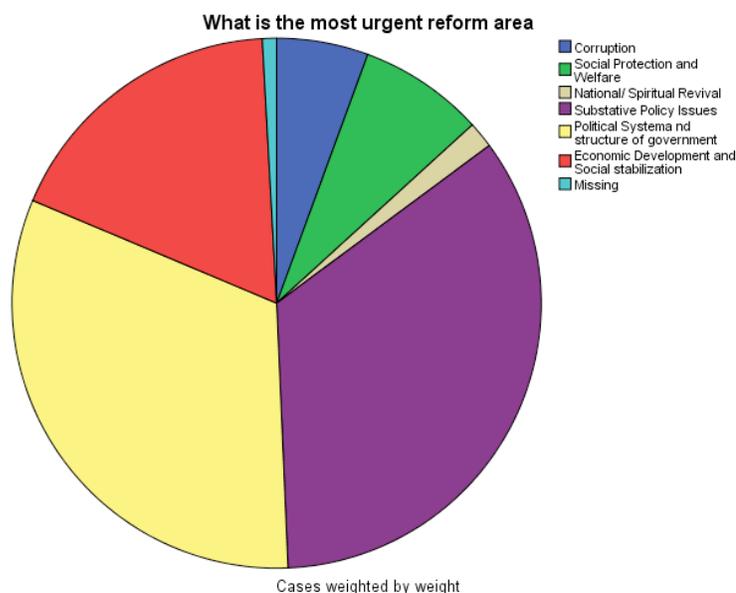
Surveys I, II and III, well over a third of all MPs identified general economic development and social stabilization issues as the most important areas in need of reform. Likewise, the second most frequently cited area in need of reform was the basic structure of the political system and government in Ukraine. In surveys VI and VII we see a return to this tendency for the economic development variable. However, after the surge of support for the need of the urgent reform of the political system and structure of government in Survey VI (51.2%), we see it drop to the previous levels in the latest survey (13.9%).

Beginning in surveys IV and V Ukrainian MPs 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 the 2004 Constitutional reform and the economic growth. Survey VI showed an equally dramatic shift away from substantive policy toward the political system; this shift was subsequently reversed in Survey VII.

In Survey VII, MPs held that economic development (30.3%) and other substantive policy issues (28.7%) were the areas in most need of reform. One reason that economic issues remained a priority, while systemic political matters ranked only 4<sup>th</sup> in importance, is that the global economic crisis deeply affected Ukraine in fall 2008 through winter 2010, when the survey was conducted.

Another likely contributing factor was the general dissatisfaction with the governance system change as a result of the 2004 Constitutional reform. The changes to the Constitution were enacted when the 5<sup>th</sup> convocation of the Ukrainian Parliament took an oath as deputies in May 2006. Since then, the political turmoil in the country continued practically unabated, revealing problems with governance institutions that underwent this change: the governing coalition operations and the separation of powers system between and within the two branches of power, the legislative and the executive.

Survey VIII results presented in the chart below demonstrate that MPs identify substantive policy issues as the most urgent area of reforms with political system and economic development coming second and third. Among substantive policy issues Judicial Reform is the most important with 26% of MPs mentioning this as an urgent need, after which 7.2% of respondents identify education as an urgent area for reform, communal policies constitute 6.2%, housing comes at 4.9%, pension reform at 3.5%, medical at 3.3%. Policies related to nationalism, national rebirth were not identified by respondents as an important area for reforms in this survey.



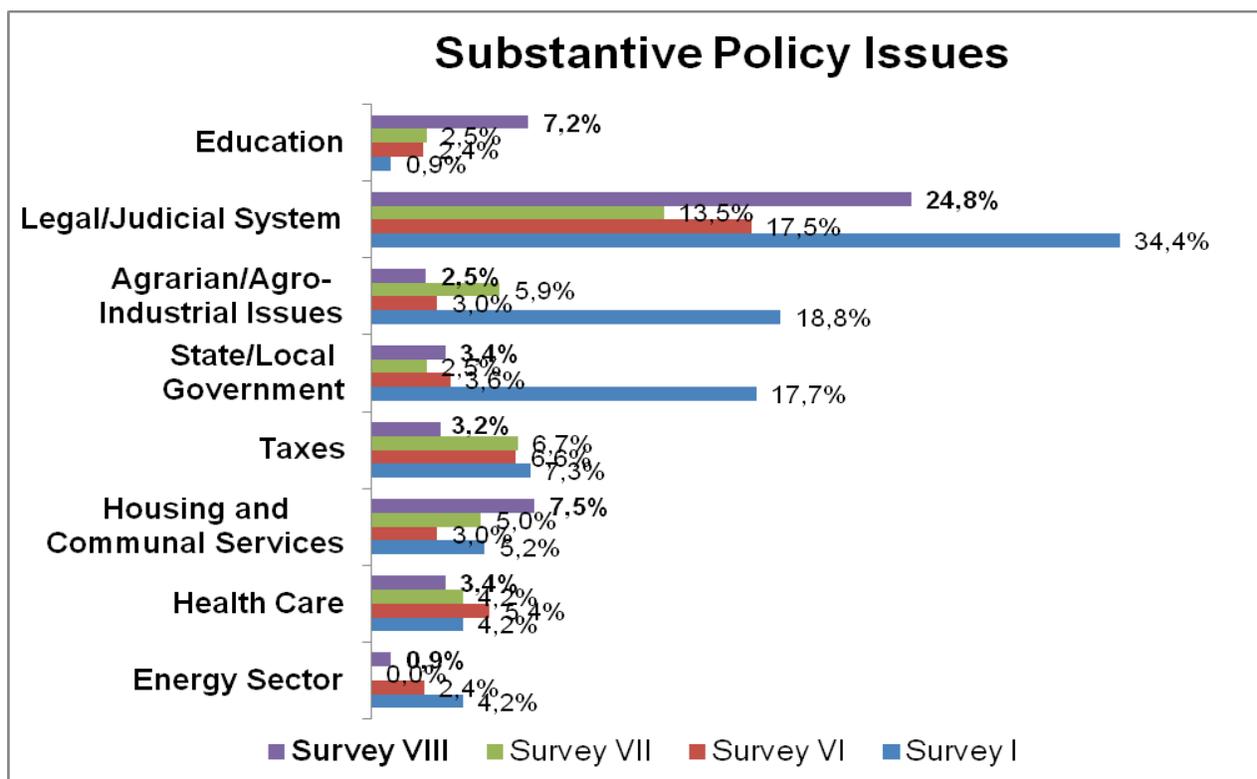
The chart demonstrates that MPs who participated in Survey VIII consider substantive policy issues, political system and structure of government among most urgent areas for reforms in Ukraine (35% and 32% accordingly), while economic development comes at 18%, and the other three options are all under 10%. National/ Spiritual revival comes at low 1.6%.

The comparison of results from Survey I and Survey VIII demonstrate a rather significant progress. The urgency of dealing with substantive policy issues moved up from about 6% to 37% and the issues of National/ Spiritual revival that has been a source of significant and increasing turmoil in the other post-soviet states, went down from about 10% to less than 1%

**Most Urgent Issue: Survey I and Survey VIII**

Most Urgent Issue	Survey I	Survey VIII
Corruption	8.6%	5.5%
Social Protection and Welfare	10.4%	13.0%
National/Spiritual Revival	9.5%	0.9%
Substantive Policy Issues	5.8%	36.5%
Political System and Structure of Government	27.8%	20.4%
Economic Development and Social Stabilization	37.9%	17.0%

The priority that MPs give to substantive policy issues call to have a closer look at this category. The table below demonstrates that the relative weight of some important issues has had decreased. However, the role of substantive policy issues increased from roughly 5% to 37% between 1998 and 2013. This can be an indicator that Ukraine is succeeding with the process of social stabilization. Attention to some issues has had increased, such as priority of education raised from under 1% to over 7% and we also observe slight increase in attention to housing and communal services.



Some of the issues indicated as priorities for reforms by MPs in 1998 are not a subject under consideration for MPs in 2013. These issues include what MPs of the 1998 referred to as “Ruin of power” (16.8%); “absence of national and civic consciousness” (7.5%); and then under 6% of MPs expressed ‘migration of intellectual people’ (which was a reference to a brain drain at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from Ukraine); re-creation of socialistic country (which was a priority in some groups of the population); preserving peace (civil wars raged in all former soviet republics around Ukraine, but not in Ukraine); functioning legislative-executive relations.

The data further indicates that pro-governmental factions have larger preference in dealing with substantive policy issues while the opposition factions are more interested in dealing with political system and structure of government. In addition, pro-government factions are considerably more interested in dealing with the issues of economic development and social stabilization. Thus members of governmental (majority) factions are at 40% and opposition is at 29% on Policy Issues. This may be explained by the desire of factions in power to remain in power and economic growth and social stabilization and usually associated with preserving power by elites in power. Opposition also seems to be motivated by desire to come to power which is evident by the opposition’s preference for reforms in political systems and the structure of government.

Corruption and welfare remain low priority for both pro-government and opposition factions.

**Cross Tabulations: ‘What is the most urgent reform area and ‘What faction are you a member?’**

		What faction are you a member of?		Total
		Government	Opposition	
What is the most urgent reform area	Corruption	4.8%	8.3%	6.4%
	Social Protection and Welfare	6.5%	6.2%	6.4%
	National/ Spiritual Revival	1.6%	2.1%	1.8%
	Substantive Policy Issues	40.3%	29.2%	35.5%
	Political System and structure of government	25.8%	43.8%	33.6%
	Economic Development and Social stabilization	21.0%	10.4%	16.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

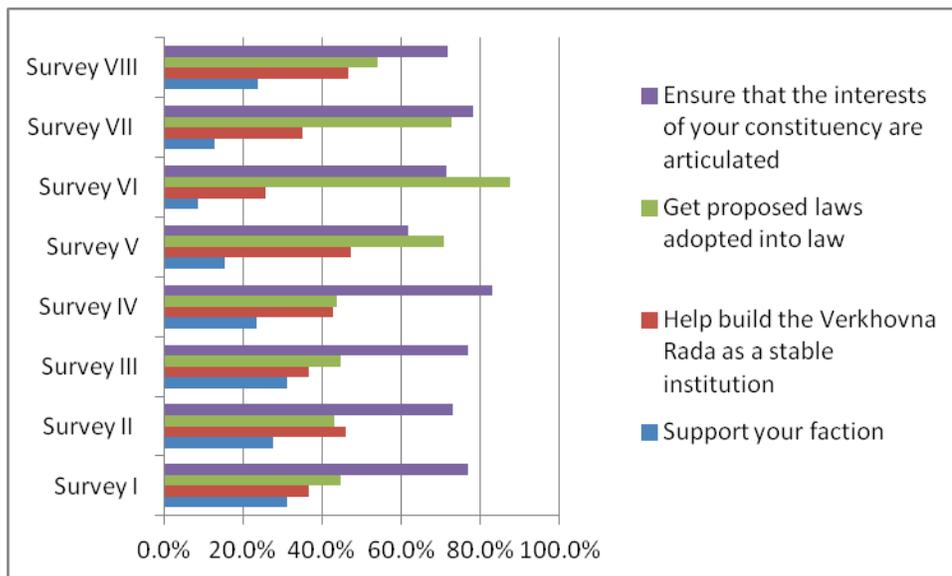
## 2. Deputy Roles and Priorities

Legislators around the world perform multiple functions. The list of tasks and roles of legislators in well-institutionalized legislatures with long democratic history is comparable. The assumption here is that roles that MPs identify as important and the way they prioritize their functions are reflective of the overall performance of a legislature in terms of performing three main functions of any democratic legislature – representation, legislation, and oversight. A comparison of results from all eight surveys allows us to see how VR has developed over time as a legislative institution and discuss how VR has been performing these three main legislative functions over time.

In all eight surveys, MPs were asked about the most important role that they perform in the parliament. In 6 out of the 8 surveys, a majority of respondents indicated that their main task was to ensure that the interests of their constituency were articulated. Surveys V and VI were exceptions. MPs indicated that getting proposed laws enacted into law was their main role.

The first four Surveys (I-IV) were characterized by predominating opinion that the main function of people’s deputies is representing voters’ interests in the Verkhovna Rada (VR) of Ukraine. Between 73-83% of the MPs interviewed expressed the above mentioned opinion; 43-45% of MPs identified their main function as enacting laws (other variants were not mentioned as often).

### MPs’ Roles



The next three Surveys demonstrated a sharp increase in the popularity of the opinion that the main task of a people’s deputy is enacting laws (71% in Survey V, 88% in Survey VI, and 78% in Survey VII) and some decrease in popularity from the Survey IV level of the opinion that a people’s deputy represents interests of his voters in the Parliament (62% in Survey V and 72% in Survey VI). This may be explained by transition to proportional election system that led to estrangement of people’s deputies from their voters. Nevertheless, the number of those considering the Parliament an institution for representing citizen interests rose to 79% in Survey VII and this opinion predominates in Survey VIII as well. A majority of the deputies also support the opinion that their main function is enacting laws. So, it is clear that the two opinions are almost equally popular among the people’s deputies. One third

of the interviewed people’s deputies (35%) reported that their main function is developing the Parliament as a stable democratic institution.

The Survey results also showed a continuation of the overall downward trend of MPs believing that their main function is to support their faction. While according to the first three surveys the number of such opinions varied from 28% to 31%, this measure dropped to 9% in Survey VII. It is possible that supporting one’s faction is perceived as a deputy’s main *de facto* duty while it may be more recognized that this is not the deputy’s main function.

Results of the Survey VIII presented in the chart below illustrate the role of supporting MP’s faction has been increasing since Survey VI, where this role was identified as the lowest of all surveys. However, it remains relatively low compared to all other roles. Articulating needs of constituency remains the first role that MPs see as the first or second most important role. Getting proposed laws enacted into law is a close second and clearly related to the first one. The task of building the VR as a stable institution was the main and most important one of all surveys in Survey VI. However, the importance of that role has been declining since Survey VI.

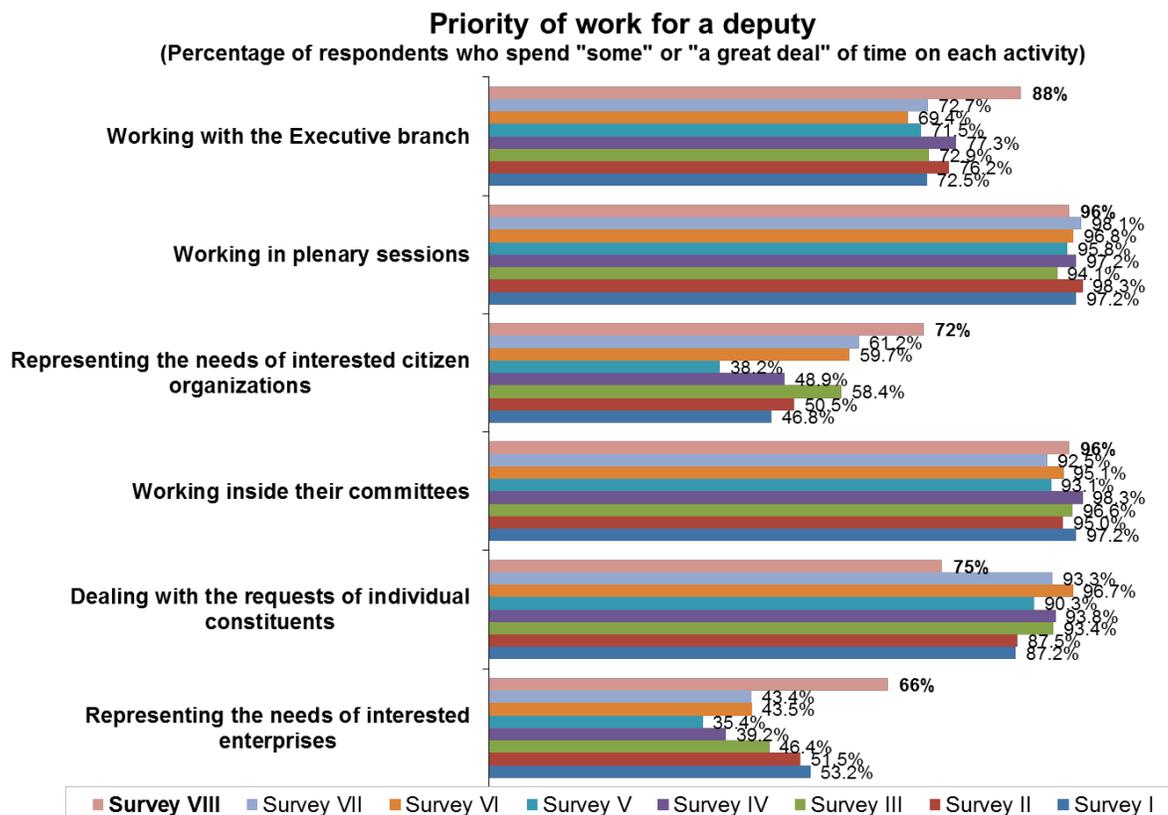
To assist the VR further with its institutional development more information is needed to determine who the constituencies are for different parliamentary groups and what kind of a connection is there. Studies published until now are reflecting merely the initial answers and much more is expected to be discovered by investigating in greater detail on this connection between MPs and their constituencies.

There is some difference between responses from members of the pro-governmental factions and opposition. For example, ensuring that the interests of the constituency are articulated is almost equally important for the members of pro-governmental factions (60%) and the members of the opposition factions (57%). However, we see that it is the pro-government MPs who recognize their role to be supportive of their factions, and the opposition see for themselves a greater responsibility for legislative institution building.

**Cross Tabulations: ‘Which role is the most important role for you?’ and ‘What faction are you a member of?’**

		What faction are you a member of?		Total
		Government	Opposition	
Which role is the most important role for you?	Ensure that the interests of your constituency are articulate	60.3%	57.4%	59.1%
	Get proposed laws enacted into law	31.7%	27.7%	30.0%
	Support your faction	1.6%		0.9%
	Help build the Verkhovna Rada as a stable institution	6.3%	14.9%	10.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

This question did not give an option of choosing performing an oversight function as one of the main roles of a deputy. However, the question gave an option to list additional roles under 'other'. None of the MPs chose to add any of the oversight functions here. However, another question offered MPs to answer a question about the time that MPs consider important to allocate to performing one or another role is indicative of the importance of these roles to MPs. The chart below presents details of a comparative analysis of all eight surveys with regard to how MPs have prioritized their efforts. As the chart below illustrates, there is a decrease in time spent on work with individual constituencies. However, working with citizen organizations takes priority over working with individual citizens. As in many developed democracies, organized interests account for a stronger political force than individual citizens.



MPs have multiple demands on their time. The way they allocate time is highly indicative of priorities that they actually place on performing a variety of function in VR. Over the course of eight surveys MPs choose to allocate a considerable amount of time to performing oversight related tasks. In addition, the table below demonstrates that working in committees and working in a plenary session remains a significant priority to MPs in 1999 and in 2013. However, there is an observed increase in time for working with the executive branch, as well as for representing the needs of interested enterprises. Some significant change in time increase is observed with regard to representing the needs of interested citizen organizations. Citizen organizations are important policy players in developed democracies. MPs entering the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation are considerably more interested in spending time and prioritizing work with these organizations than MPs of entering the 3<sup>rd</sup> convocation.

## Time Allocation of MPs: Comparison of Survey II and Survey VIII

Priority of work for a deputy	Survey II	Survey VIII
Representing the needs of interested enterprises	51.5%	66%
Dealing with the requests of individual constituents	87.5%	75%
Working inside their committees	95.0%	96%
Representing the needs of interested citizen organizations	50.5%	72%
Working in plenary sessions	98.3%	96%
Working with the Executive branch	76.2%	88%

Government and opposition factions are almost identical in the prioritizing their work with citizen organizations. For example, the table below demonstrates that they give almost equal priority to citizen organizations and the results are pretty similar on all other indicators.

### Work with Citizen Organizations

		Representing the needs of interested citizen organizations to the Government				Total
		A great deal of time	Some time	A Little time	No time	
What faction are you a member of?	Pro-Government	14 24.1%	27 46.6%	16 27.6%	1 1.7%	58 100.0%
	Opposition	11 25.6%	19 44.2%	12 27.9%	1 2.3%	43 100.0%
Total		25 24.8%	46 45.5%	28 27.7%	2 2.0%	101 100.0%

There is, however, some difference among factions, if divided according to left, right, center classification. The table below demonstrates that members of the left factions prioritize work with individual constituencies somewhat higher than members of the other factions. However, the difference appears to be small.

### Work with Individual Constituents

		Dealing with the requests of individual constituents for help with solving their problems			Total
		A great deal of time	Some time	A Little time	
What faction are you a member of?	Left	7 87.5%	1 12.5%	0 0.0%	8 100.0%
	Center	63 69.2%	23 25.3%	5 5.5%	91 100.0%
	Right	7 77.8%	2 22.2%	0 0.0%	9 100.0%
Total		77 71.3%	26 24.1%	5 4.6%	108 100.0%

Left also seem to be slightly different in giving less priority to work inside committees.

### Committee Work

		Working inside their committees			Total
		A great deal of time	Some time	A Little time	
What faction are you a member of?	Left	4 50.0%	3 37.5%	1 12.5%	8 100.0%
	Center	59 64.1%	30 32.6%	3 3.3%	92 100.0%
	Right	6 60.0%	4 40.0%	0 0.0%	10 100.0%
Total		69 62.7%	37 33.6%	4 3.6%	110 100.0%

The results of the surveys demonstrate that MPs have communicated with their constituencies and use different mechanisms for this purpose. The table below summarizes MPs' preferences in using one or another method to communicate with their constituencies.

### Method of Communication with Constituencies

Most frequent constituent communication method	Survey III	Survey IV	Survey V	Survey VI	Survey VII	Survey VIII
Other	10.3%	8.5%	4.2%	2.4%	0.9%	1%
Meetings with NGOs	4.8%	7.4%	0.7%	4.9%	3.8%	5%
Addressing the constituency through local press	3.6%	9.1%	7.6%	4.9%	5.7%	7%
General district meetings where all interested citizens could come	27.1%	32.4%	52.1%	71.3%	53.8%	63%
Meeting with individual citizens at their request	53.6%	40.9%	35.4%	18.9%	35.8%	23%

Beginning with Survey V, general district meetings became the most popular method for communicating with constituencies. Meeting with individual citizens at their request is second most important method that MPs prefer to communicate with their constituencies. For all surveys, addressing constituencies through local press or through meetings with NGOs are methods which were considerably less employed by MPs.

### 3. Parliamentary Committees

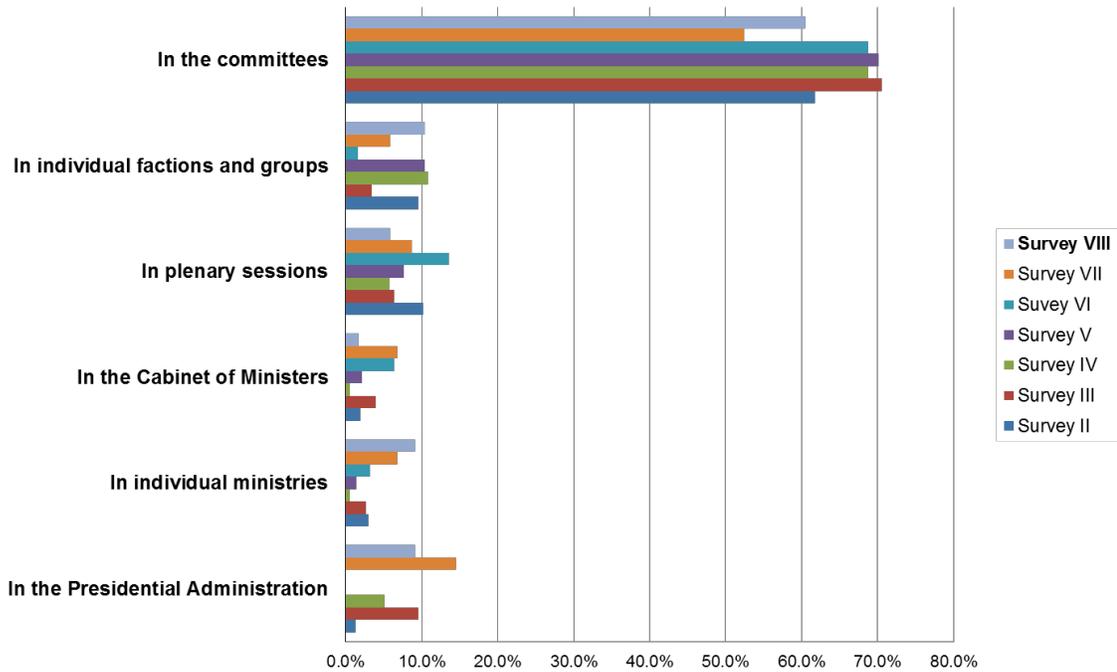
Committees have become more important in all world legislatures and are an important organizational unit in all functioning legislatures. The general global trend in legislatures is that stronger committee systems are associated with legislatures with stronger policy roles. Therefore, in all surveys except for the first, MPs were asked about the importance of the work of the committee in parliamentary decision-making process. Committees were identified as the main place where key deliberations take place. There are some significant changes in the roles of different actors between Survey II and Survey VIII. The role of presidential administration increased from 1% to 9%; the role of ministries increased as well from 3% to 9%; the role of decision making in informal setting decreased from 2% to 0%.

#### Place for Key Deliberations

Where do the key deliberations on proposed legislation take place?	Survey II	Survey III	Survey IV	Survey V	Survey VI	Survey VII	Survey VIII
In the Presidential Administration	1.3%	9.6%	5.1%	0%	0.0%	14.6%	9%
In individual ministries	3.0%	2.7%	0.6%	1.4%	3.2%	6.8%	9%
In the Cabinet of Ministers	2.0%	3.9%	0.6%	2.1%	6.4%	6.8%	2%
In informal settings (e.g. in the Verkhovna Rada corridors)	2.3%	2.7%	3.4%	2.8%	0.8%	1.0%	0
In the Council of Factions and Groups	1.0%	0.8%	2.3%	3.5%	2.4%	3.9%	3%
In plenary sessions	10.2%	6.4%	5.7%	7.6%	13.6%	8.7%	6%
In individual factions and groups	9.6%	3.4%	10.8%	10.4%	1.6%	5.8%	10%
In the committees	61.7%	70.5%	68.8%	70.1%	68.8%	52.4%	61%

These observations are consistent with the direction of constitutional reforms in Ukraine and subsequent changes in the Ukrainian governmental system. The amount of time that MPs dedicate to committee work further confirms the importance of committees in the Ukrainian legislative process. The chart and the table below illustrates that the Survey VIII respondents report that the majority of MPs in their committees attend over 75% of committee meetings whereas when this question was asked of respondents to Survey 1 only 8% reported that MPs attended over 75% of committee meetings. This is a significant finding because MPs have multiple demands on their time and it that MPs that their colleagues allocate time to work in committees is an indicator of the importance of this stage in legislative process. It should be noted that with the exception of special and temporary committees, MPs are assigned to serve on one committee only for their term of office. Furthermore, this is also an indication that the work of the committees is becoming more transparent and therefore MPs are accountable for their electorate if it is revealed that they are not participating in their committee duties. The work of committees is regularly reported by the parliament, though the demand of civil society to have attendance, stenographic and voting records of committee meetings has not been met.

**Where do the key deliberations on proposed legislation take place?**



As noted earlier, the way MPs choose to spend their time is indicative of actual priorities of legislators. In a way, MPs vote with their feet when they choose to how to allocate their time to work with one over another policy actor. Therefore, attendance of committee meetings is a strong indicator of the actual value that MPs assign to committee work. The table below provides a comparison over time of the percentage reported by the survey respondents of the committee meetings that other members of the respondent's committee attend in an average month. Rather than ask whether they themselves attend, asking what percentage their colleagues attend is a more illustrative indicator of actual committee attendance. MPs are at least reporting that more MPs now attend most of the committee meeting – in fact more than double the number of the previous convocation.

**Attendance of Committee Meetings**

**Percentage of committee meetings that other members attend in an average month**

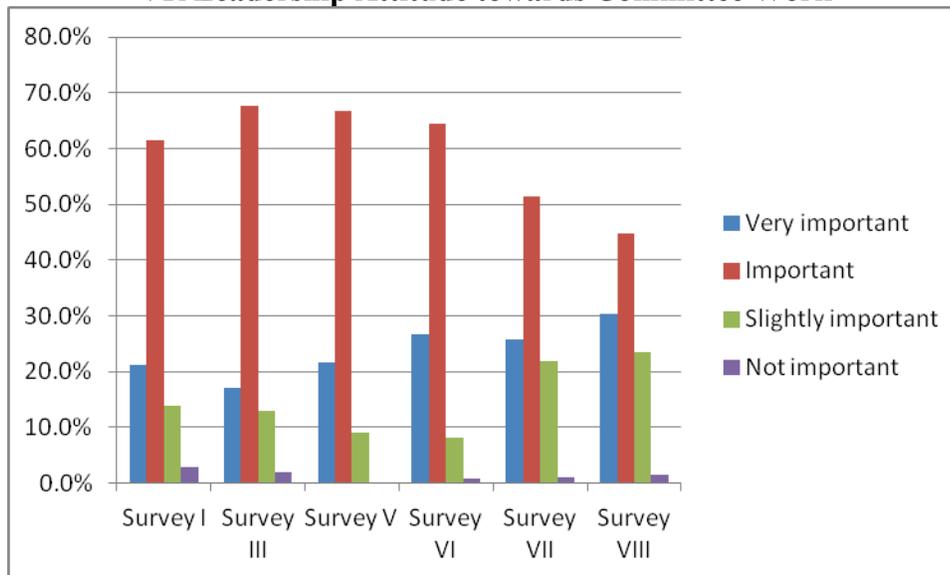
	Survey I	Survey III	Survey V	Survey VI	Survey VII	Survey VIII
75-100%	8.3%	12.2%	9.0%	32%	29%	66%
50-75%	59.6%	60.9%	52.1%	55%	54%	30%
25-50%	25.7%	22.0%	27.8%	12%	13%	3%
0 - 25%	5.5%	4.5%	9.7%	1%	4%	2%

In terms of achieving an effective legislative process, the opinion of the leadership of committee importance is another indicator MP respondents were asked to rate. The chart and the table below illustrate that MPs believe that the leadership consider committees to play an important role in the Rada’s decision making process.

**Leadership Attitudes Towards Committees**

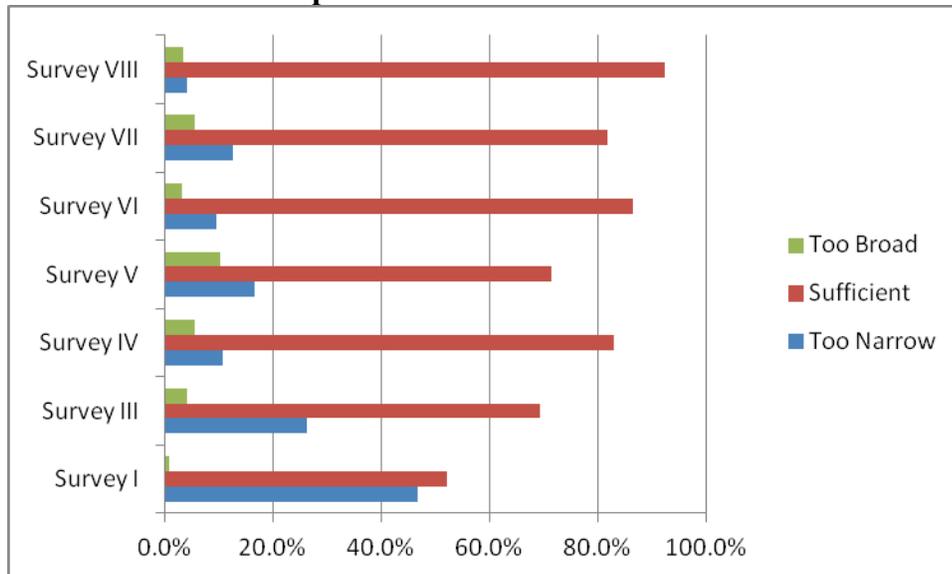
	Number of MPs	Percent
Very important	35	30.4%
Important	51	44.7%
Slightly important	27	23.5%
Not important	2	1.5%
Total	114	100.0%
No Answer	3	
Total	117	

**VR Leadership Attitude towards Committee Work**



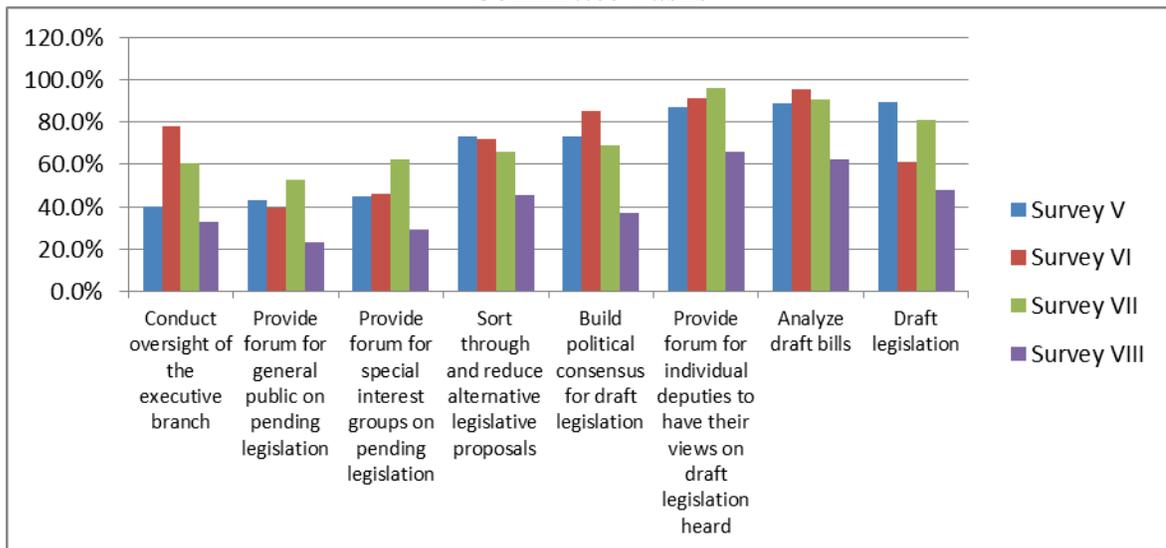
Committee jurisdiction is another important indicator of an overall strength of a legislature. The practice of world parliaments demonstrates that committee jurisdictions that are well defined and parallel to those of governmental ministries (agencies) are usually associated with legislatures with stronger policy roles and more independent policy functions than the other legislatures. Therefore, surveys also included a question regarding the scope of jurisdiction of the committees, in particular, whether the scope is too broad or too narrow or sufficient. As can be seen in the chart below, the majority of MPs who participated in survey 8 (92%) consider the scope of jurisdiction sufficient. This is a slight increase in comparison to Survey VII where 82% of MPs considered the jurisdiction sufficient and a significant increase in comparison to Survey I where only 52% of MPs considered the jurisdiction of committees sufficient.

### Scope of Committee Jurisdiction



As noted earlier, strong committees that perform important tasks with regard to all three main functions of any democratic legislature (legislative, representative, and oversight) are associated with overall stronger legislatures with policy roles independent from the executive. The frequency with which committees perform certain functions indicates the importance that MPs give to some tasks over others. Therefore, all the surveys asked MPs to answer how often the committees perform their main tasks<sup>1</sup>. The chart below includes the list of tasks and the frequency the tasks are performed (the sum of the answers “routinely” and “often”). The results show that the committees are active in performing the most important legislative functions.

### Committee Tasks



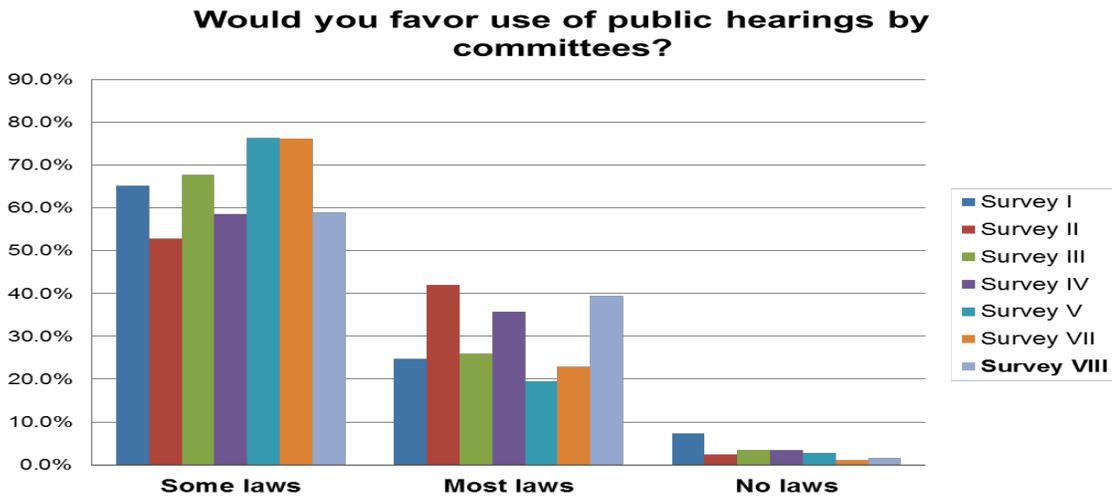
As the chart above illustrates, committees remain most active in analysing draft bills, drafting legislation and sorting through alternative draft laws to reduce the number of bills that will be heard on the plenary. But it is important to note that for both the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation, committees more often are a place where the voice of individual MPs (presumably with commiserate policy expertise

<sup>1</sup> this question was first asked in Survey 5

relevant to the committee's provide) can be heard, but MPs of the 7<sup>th</sup> VR see it less as a place where political consensus is built than their colleagues in previous convocations. MPs of the 7<sup>th</sup> VR also see less of an oversight role exercised in committees and considerably less as a place for public input on pending legislation.

The fact that more than 50% of MPs responding to the question in 2013 indicated that each of the functions of committees is important also illustrates that MPs recognize that committees are a forum where MPs fulfill their multiple roles for legislative, oversight and representation.

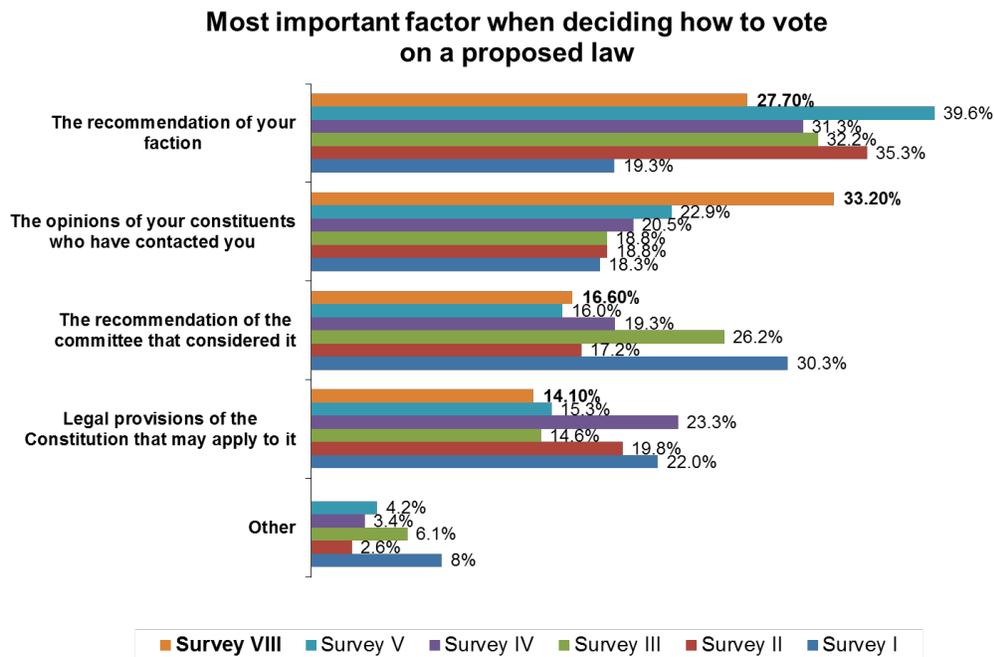
MPs consistently recognized the importance of public committee hearings and the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation MPs had higher recognition of this need for most and some laws than then MPs of the previous incoming convocations.



## 4. Factions and Voting

All post authoritarian legislatures face a major challenge of working in a new (to them) multi-party environment. This new multi-party environment influences the decision making process of individual legislators and subsequently their voting decisions. Factors that MPs consider important in their voting decisions are indicative of the quality of the legislative process. Those decisions are one of the main outcomes of legislative work that are most consequential to the overall performance of a legislature.

Multiple factors influence MPs' voting decisions, such as constituencies, factions, etc. As the table below demonstrates, there are some significant changes in some factors that affect MPs' voting decision when we compare results of Surveys I-VIII.



Having results of surveys over 15 years allows analysis of changes in factors that influence MPs' voting decisions. Thus, the opinion of constituents has increased most significantly. This may be indicative of the recognized need among single mandate MPs to be responsive to their electorate. The role of factions increased somewhat compared to the first survey in 1998 but considerably less in the 8<sup>th</sup> survey than in all other previous surveys and is much less than the outgoing MPs of the 4<sup>th</sup> term (Survey V)<sup>2</sup>. This could be attributed to changes in the election law as well as to the discussions of constitutional reforms in Ukraine.

The importance of the recommendation of the profile committee has however decreased, especially compared with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> surveys, which appears to be inconsistent with the increased recognition of the importance of the committees in the legislative process as seen above. This may be that MPs consider the work of their own committees to be important, but when it comes to vote on an issue, their responsiveness to their electorate's stated needs and their faction's position on the issue are more important.

<sup>2</sup> This questions was not asked in Survey 6 and 7

There is also an indication that the MPs entering the VR have a higher expectation that the legal provisions of the constitution is an important factor in their decision how to vote than it is for those MPs who are at the end of their term of office.

There is a significant difference between members of government and opposition factions on some of these issues and this is one of the questions where generalizations about MPs in general could be misleading. Thus, as the table below demonstrates, opinion of constituents is most important for 44% of MPs in the majority and to only 19% in opposition factions. However, the position of the faction is important to only 19% of the majority factions but to 42% of the opposition. Constitutional provisions are equally important to the majority and opposition, however, foreign expert analysis is even lower. It would appear that expertise whether from within the VR, or Ukrainian, or foreign experts is of little importance to MPs decision on how to vote on a draft law.

The following table illustrates the difference between members of VR 7 pro-government and opposition factions with regard to their first and second most important factor in making voting decisions. For those MPs in the pro-government factions, the opinion of their constituents is the most important and position of the faction 2<sup>nd</sup> most important. For opposition MPs, the position of their faction is the first and second most important factor in their decision to vote. Legal provisions of the constitution ranked high as the first most important factor for both MPs from pro-governmental as well as opposition factions. However, VR leadership, and expert opinion have little, if any, importance for legislators and the position of the president is important only as a secondary factor for 12.9% of government MPs.

**Factors in VR 7 MPs' Voting Decisions**

		What faction are you a member of? (Most Important)		What faction are you a member of? (Second Most Important)	
		Govt	Oppos.	Govt	Oppos.
First, please tell me what factor is the most and second important for you when deciding how to vote on a proposed law.	The recommendation of the committee that considered it	8 12.9%	8 15.4%	17 24.4%	9 17.3%
	The position of the VR leadership	2 3.2%	1 1.9%	1 1.6%	3 5.8%
	The opinions of your constituents who have contacted you on	27 43.5%	10 19.2%	8 12.9%	11 21.2%
	The position of your faction	12 19.4%	22 42.3%	21 33.9%	17 32.7%
	Legal provisions of the Constitution that may apply to it	9 14.5%	8 15.4%	2 3.2%	5 9.6%
	The position of the President	1 1.6%	0 0.0%	8 12.9%	0 0%

	The recommendation of the Legal Expertise Department	1 1.6%	0 0.0%	1 1.8%	1 1.9%
	Domestic expert analysis from outside the Verkhovna Rada	2 3.2%	2 3.8%	0 0%	2 3.8%
	Foreign expert analysis	0 0.0%	1 1.9%	1 1.6%	2 3.8%
Total		62 100.0%	52 100.0%	62 100%	52 100%

Factions do play a role and may influence MPs voting decisions, but to a different degree depending on many other factors that influence MPs' voting. When asked about the most important factor for WHY an MP votes with his/her faction the number one reason for all convocations was consistency with personal principles and beliefs. This was higher in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> VR convocations than in the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation<sup>3</sup> and there is also a strong indication that MPs are open to being persuaded by their faction colleagues if they do feel conflicted about their position on an issue.

#### Voting with Faction

<b>Most important factor determining decision to vote with faction</b>	<b>Survey II</b>	<b>Survey III</b>	<b>Survey V</b>	<b>Survey VIII</b>
The faction leadership persuaded me that we need to maintain our cohesion and power in the Parliament	5.0%	2.5%	4.2%	5.3%
The faction leadership persuaded me how this particular decision is good for the country	20.5%	14.0%	13.9%	30.3%
Consistency with my personal principles and beliefs	68.3%	75.9%	79.2%	64.4%

Surveys also provide information on important actors in the legislative decision making process. As the table below demonstrates, the role of actors external to parliament has increased while the role of the internal organizational units (with the exception of parliamentary leadership) of the legislature has decreased since survey 5. Thus, we observe slight increase in the role of NGOs and Prime Minister but we observe a significant increase in the role of the parliamentary leadership and the President in 2013 compared to 2006. The survey results demonstrate that MPs indicate a slight decrease in faction roles in passing bills as well as a decrease in committee roles in this process. Again, this decrease in the committee as an actor in passing a bill seems inconsistent with the otherwise perceived importance of the committees in the legislative process generally as noted above. This question was asked only in Surveys III, V, and VIII.

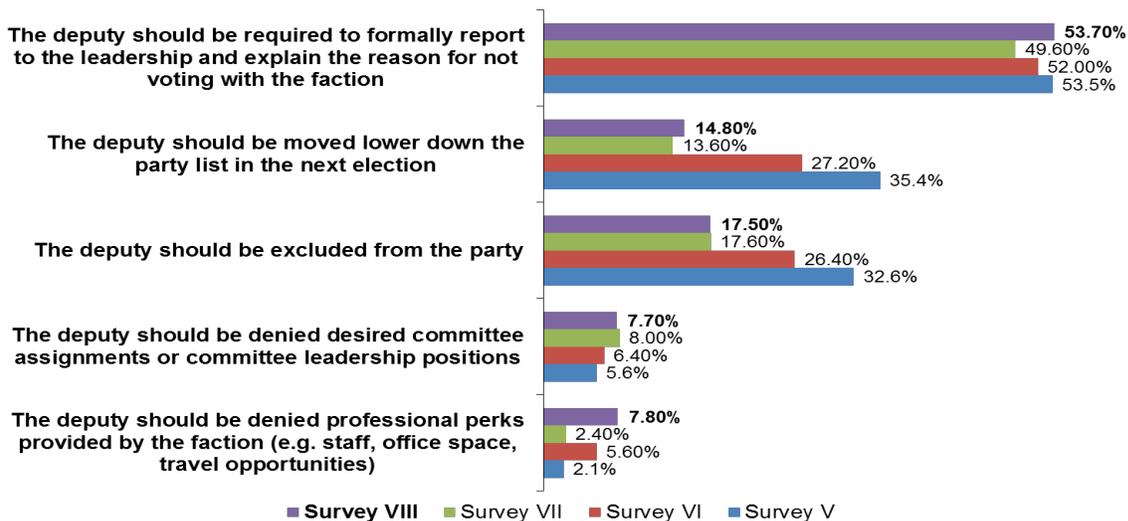
<sup>3</sup> This question was asked only in Surveys II, III, V, and VIII

## Most Important Actors in Passing a Draft Law

Most important actor for passing a bill	Survey III	Survey V	Survey VIII
Support of civil society organizations and NGOs (not asked in Survey III)	0%	2.1%	2.5
Support of the Prime Minister	0%	2.1%	4.3
Support of the President	14.7%	5.6%	15.9
Support of the parliamentary leadership	12.4%	8.3%	15.3
Support of your faction	21.1%	27.8%	22.4
Endorsement by the relevant parliamentary committee	50.8%	50.7%	37.1

In some surveys MPs were asked about sanctions that should be imposed on their colleagues, if they do not vote with the faction. Comparing results from two entry Surveys (VI and VIII), “reporting to leadership” remains the first most important sanction (53%) that MPs believe needs to be applied to an MP who does not vote with the faction. Some sanctions relative to their relationship with their party are of less importance to MPs who participated in Survey VIII compared to those who participated in Survey VI, while those sanctions related to their work in Verkhovna Rada bodies (committees and benefits associated with constituency work) are slightly higher among the MPs of the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation.

### What steps should be taken if a member does not vote with his/her faction? (Respondents were allowed more than one choice)



## 5. Rules of Parliamentary Procedure

Parliamentary Rules of Procedure are aimed at raising the Parliament’s capacity to perform its main functions. Therefore, MPs were asked how well they felt the rules of procedure in Ukraine’s parliament ensured democratic principles of representation, order and efficiency. Results of the surveys are presented in the table below indicating those MPs who said that the Rules work “Well” or “Very Well” for each of the potential functions.

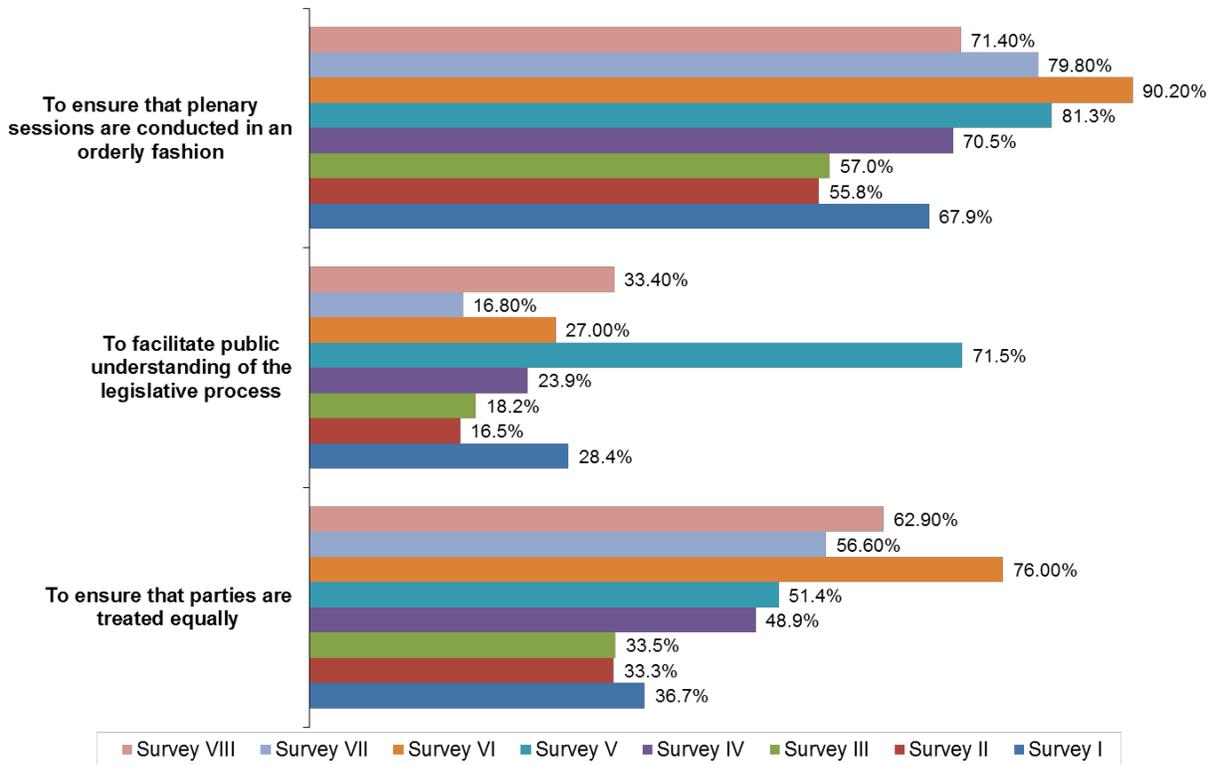
### Parliamentary Rules of Procedure

How well do existing VR rules work?	Survey I	Survey II	Survey III	Survey IV	Survey V	Survey VI	Survey VII	Survey VIII
To ensure that deputies that disrupt the plenary are disciplined	15.6%	9.9%	27.6%	23.9%	7.6%	9.10%	18.40%	31.50%
To ensure a fair opportunity for individual deputies to speak before the plenary session	41.3%	26.7%	38.0%	61.4%	43.1%	85.80%	68.90%	66.30%
To ensure that committee recommendations receive a fair hearing	58.7%	44.9%	47.3%	61.4%	48.6%	68.3%	63.8%	67.80%
To ensure that important legislation is given priority attention	48.6%	33.3%	38.0%	51.7%	50.0%	55.70%	68.00%	54.30%
To ensure that parties are treated equally	36.7%	33.3%	33.5%	48.9%	51.4%	76.00%	56.60%	62.90%
To facilitate public understanding of the legislative process	28.4%	16.5%	18.2%	23.9%	71.5%	27.00%	65.40%	33.40%
To ensure that plenary sessions are conducted in an orderly fashion	67.9%	55.8%	57.0%	70.5%	81.3%	90.20%	79.80%	71.40%

According to the VR 7 MPs, the existing rules of the VR remain most effective in ensuring order in plenary sessions. There has been a significant increase since Survey I in MPs evaluating rules as ensuring that all parties are treated equally (though MPs of the new 6<sup>th</sup> convocation considered this higher than current 7<sup>th</sup> VR MPs). Only MPs at the end of their term in the 4<sup>th</sup> convocation recognized that Rules significantly contributed the public’s better understanding the legislative process.

### How well do existing VR rules work?

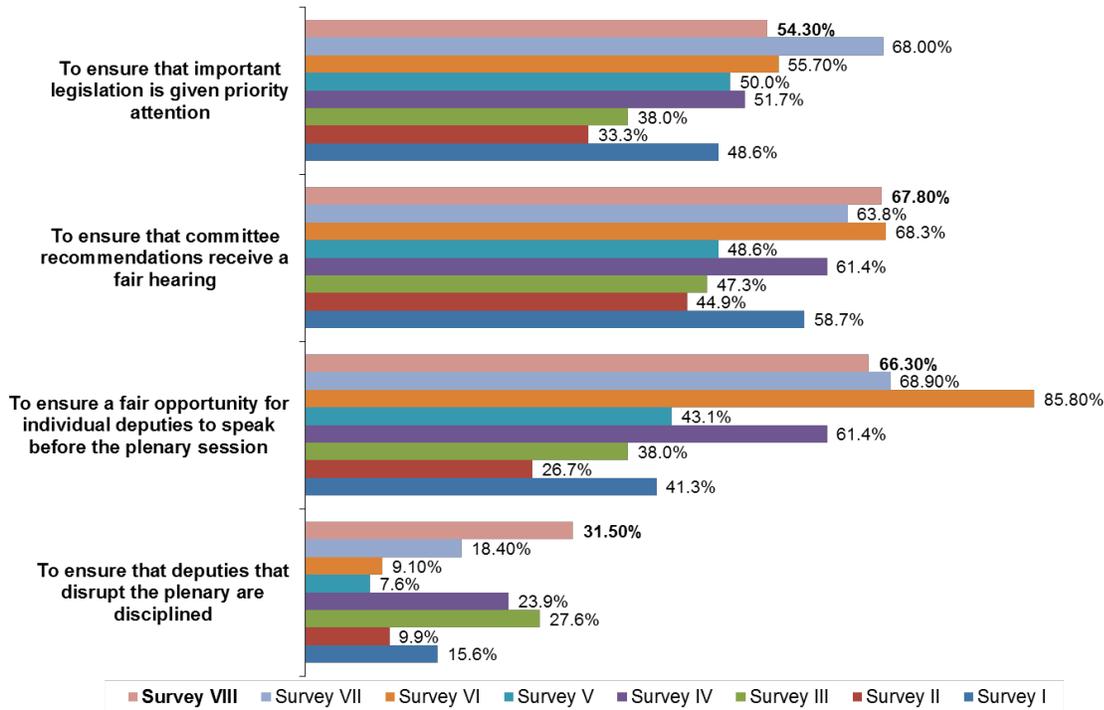
Percentage of respondents who said existing rules work "very well" or "well"



Significantly more VR 7 MPs see rules ensuring that deputies who disrupt the plenary are disciplined than their colleagues of previous convocations as well as ensuring that committee recommendations receive a fair hearing. They also see the Rules as ensuring a fair opportunity of individual deputies to speak before the plenary session, though not as much as their colleagues who began the 6<sup>th</sup> VR Convocation.

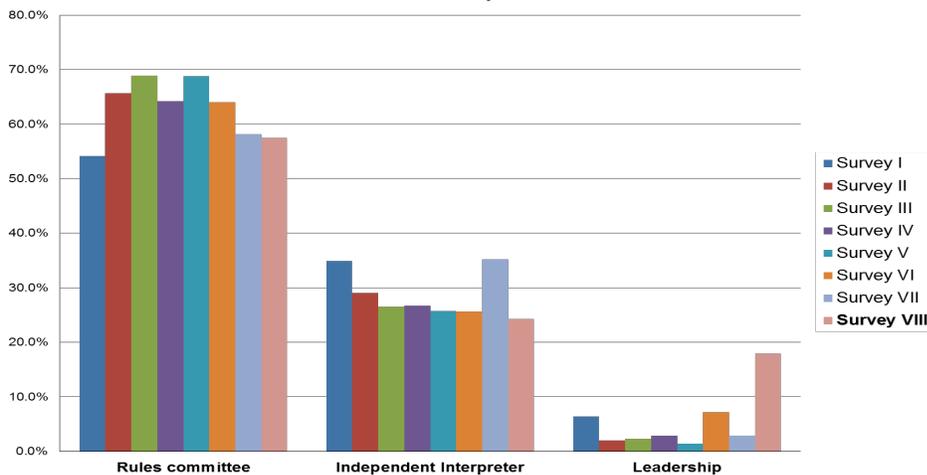
### How well do existing VR rules work?

Percentage of respondents who said existing rules work "very well" or "well"



MPs have also been asked how the Rules are best interpreted. Throughout the surveys, the Rules Committee has been the number one choice of MPs as the interpreter of the Rules. Survey VIII is the first time that a significant number of MPs have suggested that the Leadership (Speaker) should be the one to interpret the rules, though still more MPs would prefer an independent interpreter than leaving interpretation to the leadership.

### Who should interpret VR rules?

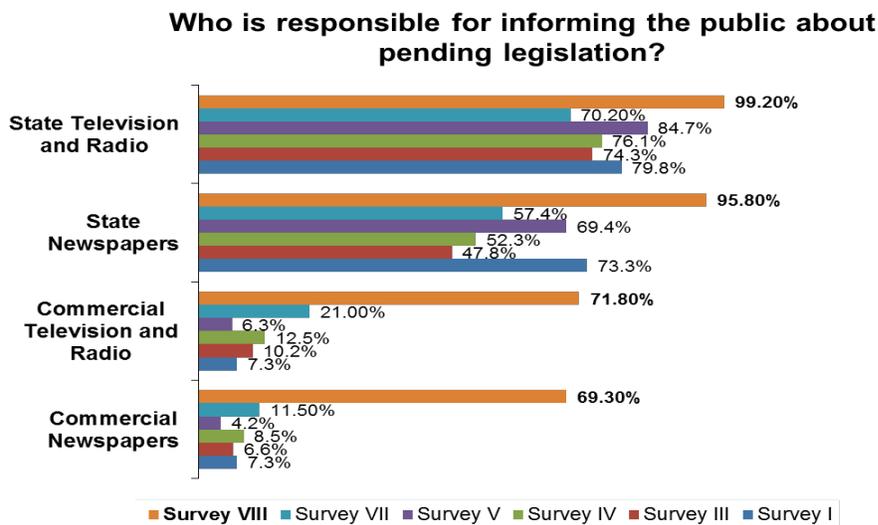


Comparing the MPs' answers to these questions at the beginning and end of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> VR we see that MPs increase their support of the Rules Committee as the interpreter of the Rules during the course of the term of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> parliament as well as a decrease in the idea of the leadership or independent entity to be responsible for the interpretation of the rules. Among the MPs of the 6<sup>th</sup> convocation of the VR, however, we see a reversal of this trend. This might be explained by the situation in the 6<sup>th</sup> convocation when the leadership of the Rules Committee at the beginning of the convocation was in the opposition, but at the end of the convocation the chair of the committee was a majority faction position.

<b>Who should interpret the VR rules?</b>	<b>Survey I</b>	<b>Survey II</b>	<b>Survey III</b>	<b>Survey IV</b>	<b>Survey V</b>	<b>Survey VI</b>	<b>Survey VII</b>	<b>Survey VIII</b>
Rules committee	54.1%	65.7%	68.8%	64.2%	68.8%	64.00%	58.10%	57.4%
Independent Interpreter	34.9%	29.0%	26.5%	26.7%	25.7%	25.60%	35.2%	24.2%
Leadership	6.4%	2.0%	2.3%	2.8%	1.4%	7.20%	2.90%	17.9%

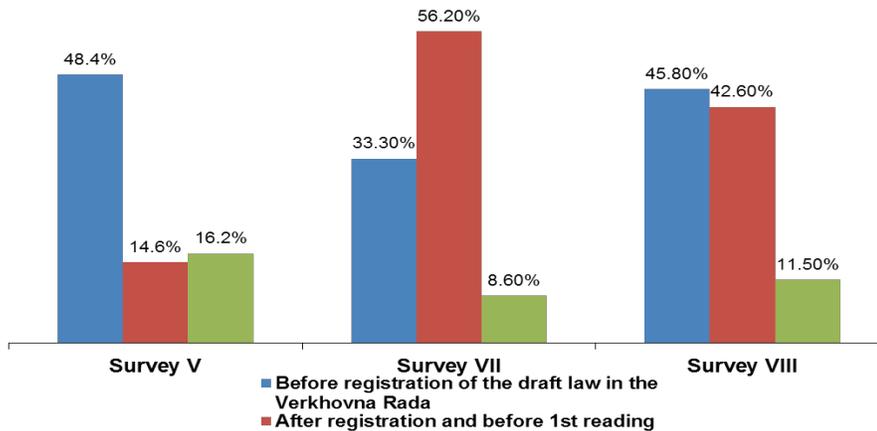
## 6. Relations with Constituents and Transparency of the Legislative Process

Representation is one of the main functions of any democratic legislature. Therefore, work with constituents is an important indicator of institutional development of a post-authoritarian legislature. This section of the report discusses MPs' work with constituents and feedback mechanisms that they use when working with their constituencies. The chart below reflects answers to the question as to who is responsible for informing the public on pending legislation. The comparison illustrates a significant increase in the role of commercial newspapers and commercial television and radio. However, there is an increase in assigning higher level of responsibility to the state newspapers and state television and radio as well. This is significant because it means it is important for independent commercial news media to have access to the Verkhovna Rada to cover legislative matters and MPs will need to commensurately increase their interaction with both print and TV/Radio journalists of commercial outlets.

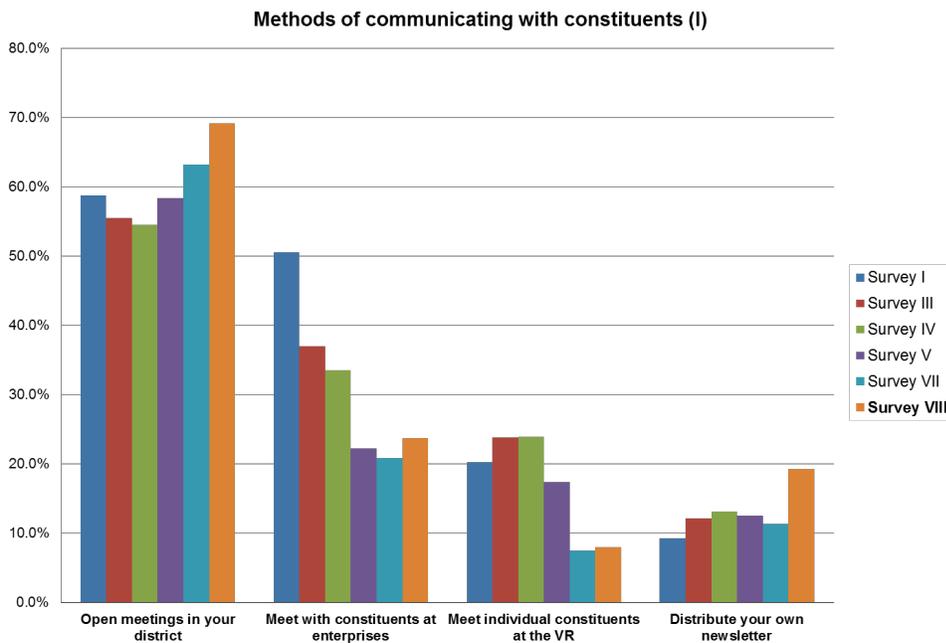


Another question asked at which stage of legislative process the public should be informed about pending legislation. The chart below compares results of the three surveys where this question was asked and demonstrates that there is an increasing number of MPs who considers it important to inform the public even before registration of the draft law in the VR. There was an observed decrease of those who consider it important to do so after registration and before 1<sup>st</sup> reading. The number of MPs considering that it is important to inform public after the 1<sup>st</sup> reading was about the same and no MPs consider not informing the public at all.

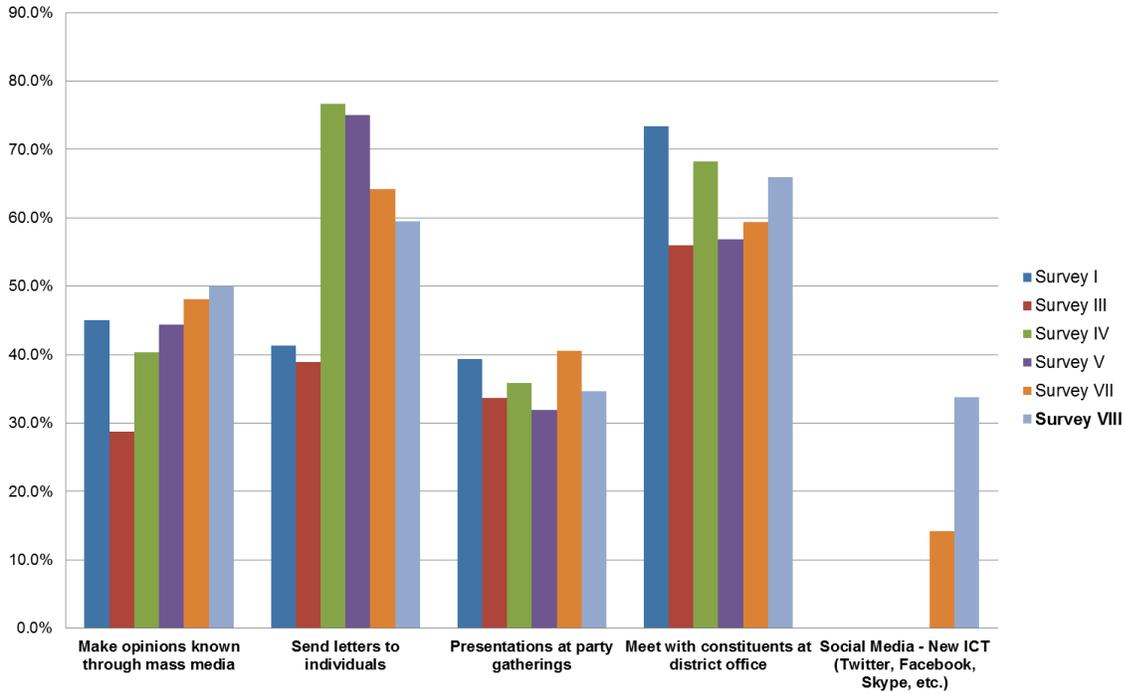
**At what stage of legislative process should the public be informed about pending legislation?**



A separate set of questions asked how frequently MPs used particular forms of contact with constituents. The chart below illustrates the share of MPs using different types of contacts with citizens. The majority of MPs said that they often communicate with constituents via letters to individuals (64%), holding open meetings in communities in their election district (63%) or meetings with individual constituents at their district office (59%). Informing the public on MPs' positions through the media (48%) and making presentations at party gatherings (41%) are also popular. Meetings with constituents has become less popular (in 2010 it was practiced by 21% of respondents, in 2002 – 37%); meetings with constituents in VR also fell in popularity -- under 8% in 2010 and 2013 compared to just under 24% in 2002 and 2003. Not surprisingly, use of social media communication is increasing as well.

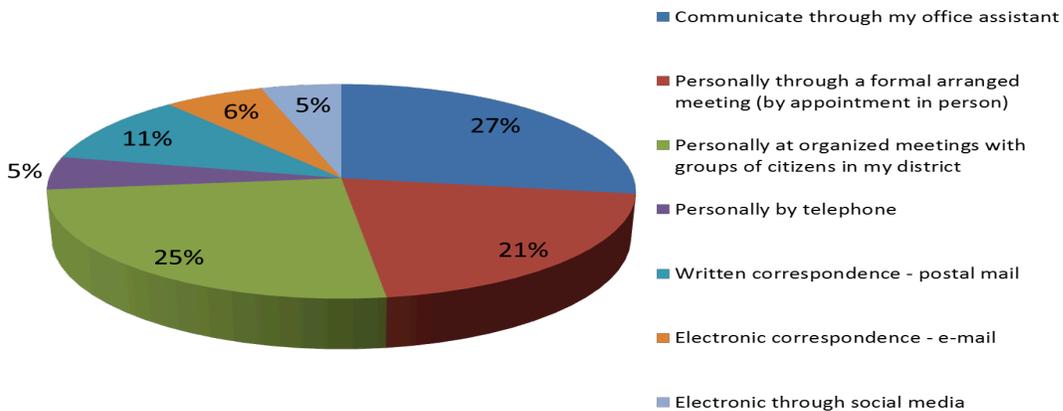


**Methods of communicating with constituents (II)**



The following chart presents results of Survey VIII on the most often used method of communication with constituencies for single-mandate MPs. The survey results show three main methods used that are communication through office assistant, through meetings with groups of citizens in MPs’ districts, and by appointment.

**MPs' Most Often Used Communication Method (MP Survey VIII)**



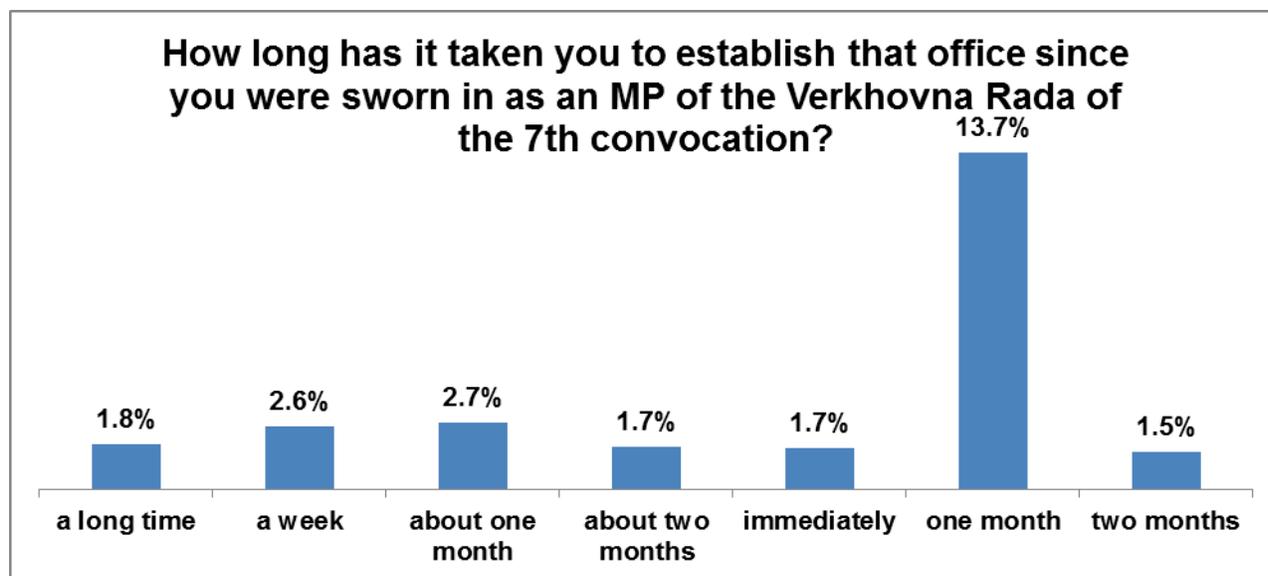
Surveys do not demonstrate significant differences in terms of the average monthly meetings with citizens groups when all groups are averaged together. However, differences can be observed when the respondents are divided according to faction affiliation – government and opposition. Some groups of opposition MPs met citizen groups over 16 times per month, while the majority of both pro-government and opposition MPs met their constituent groups up to 10 times per month. The following table summarizes the results of the survey on this question.

### Average Number of Monthly Meetings with Citizen Groups

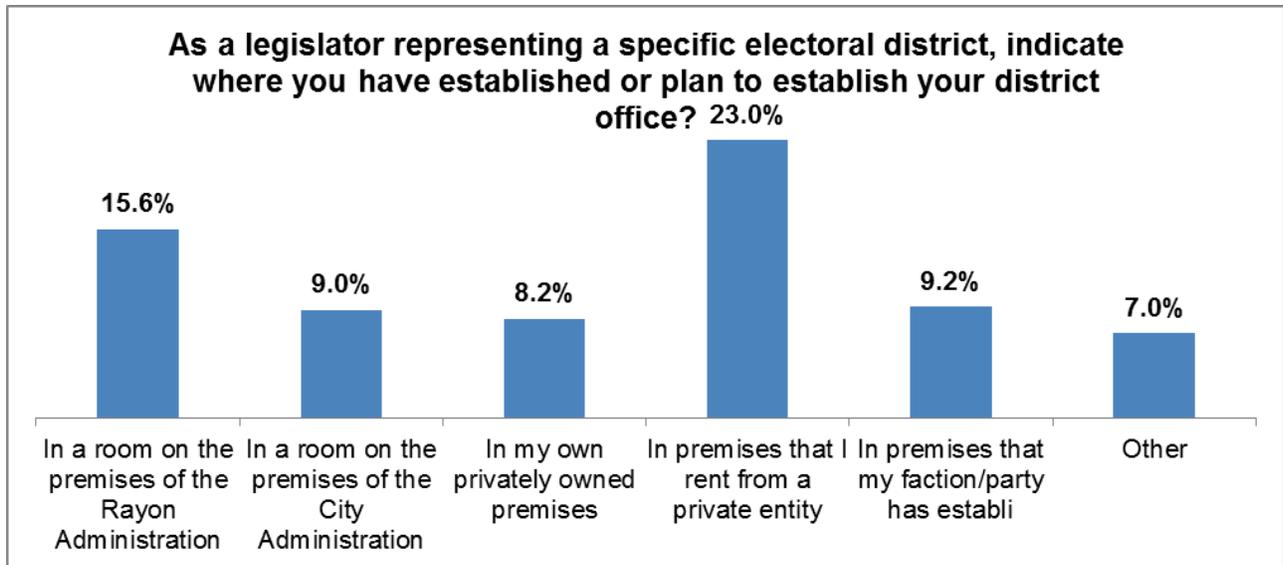
		What faction are you a member of?		Total
		Government	Opposition	
In an average month, how many meetings would you have with citizen groups?	1-5	31.6%	26.7%	29.4%
	6-10	40.4%	33.3%	37.3%
	11-15	8.8%	6.7%	7.8%
	16 and over	19.3%	33.3%	25.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In Survey VIII Single-Mandate MPs were also asked for the first time about their ability to set up their district offices and about the allowances provided for their district work.

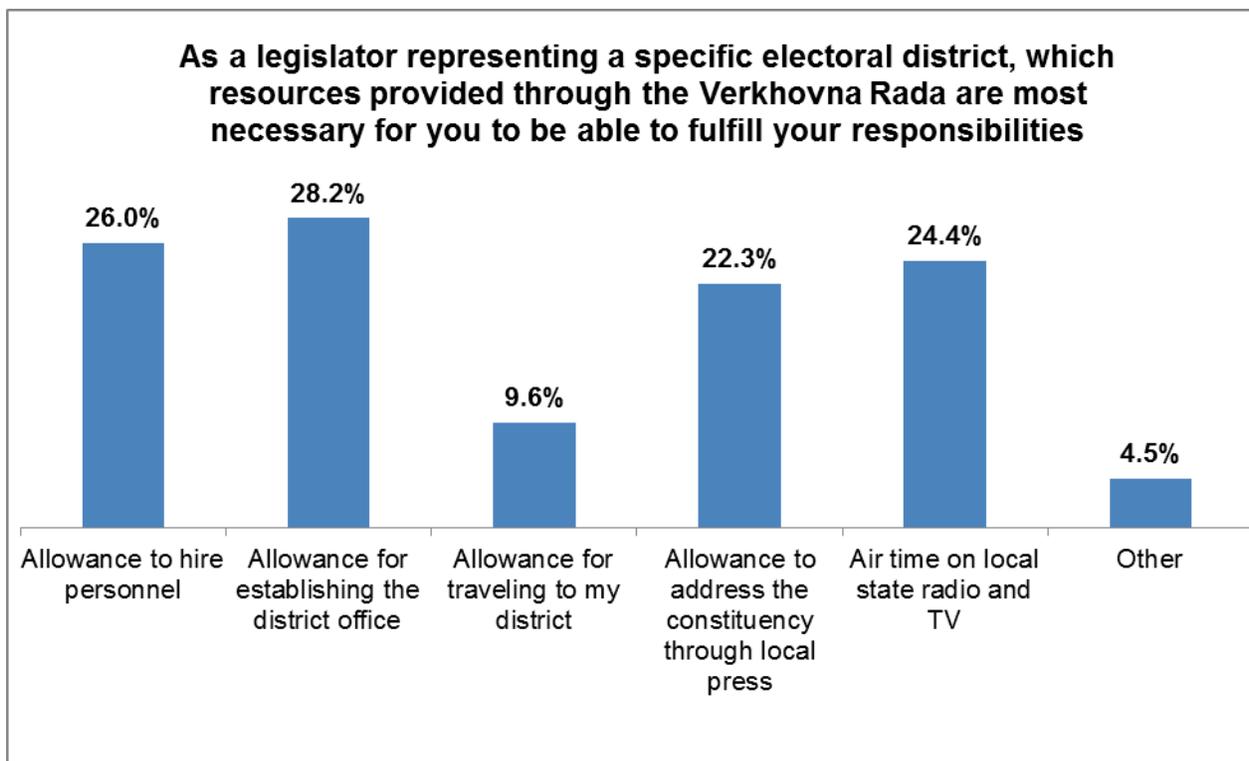
The most MPs responding to this question were able to set up their district offices within one month.



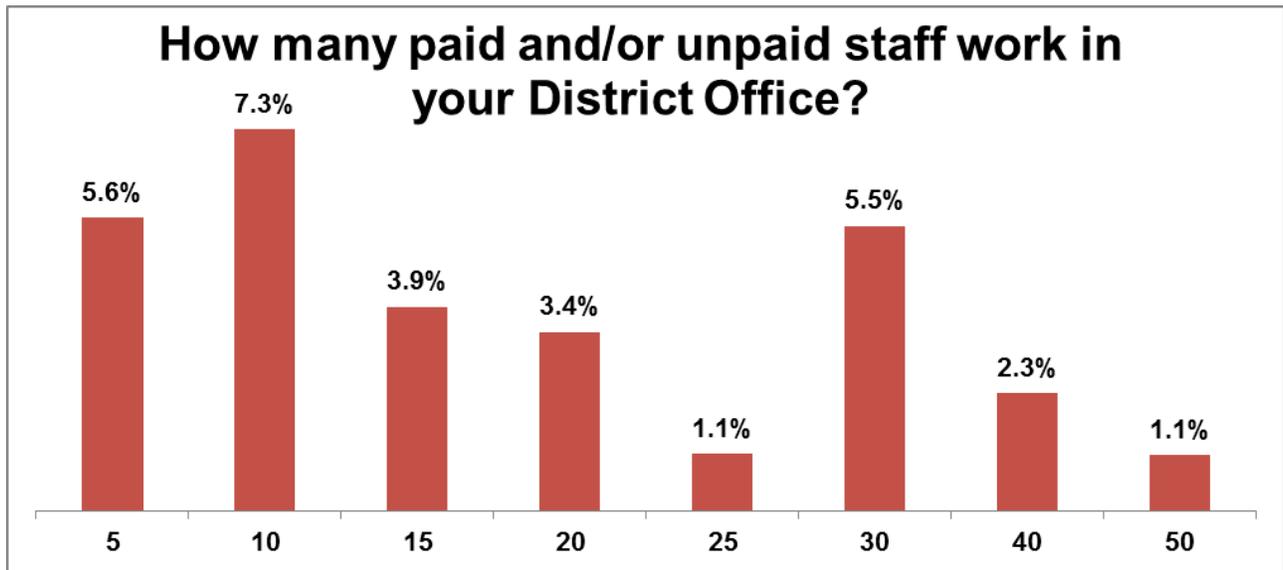
Ukrainian law provides that space for MP district offices should be provided by local rayon administrations. Survey responses reveal, however, that a significant number of SMD MPs find other ways to establish their district offices. It should be noted that respondents could mention up to two types (assuming they had more than one office in their district).



It is interesting to note that MPs did not feel that allowances for travel to districts were as important as other support for their district work.



Parliamentary monitoring organizations in Ukraine have drawn much attention to the need of 7<sup>th</sup> VR MPs to reveal their list of MP Aides and names and contact information. By law MPs are allowed four paid staff and up to 27 volunteer staff. Asked about the number of staff working in their district office, SMD MPs showed a broad range of staffing schemes for their district offices.



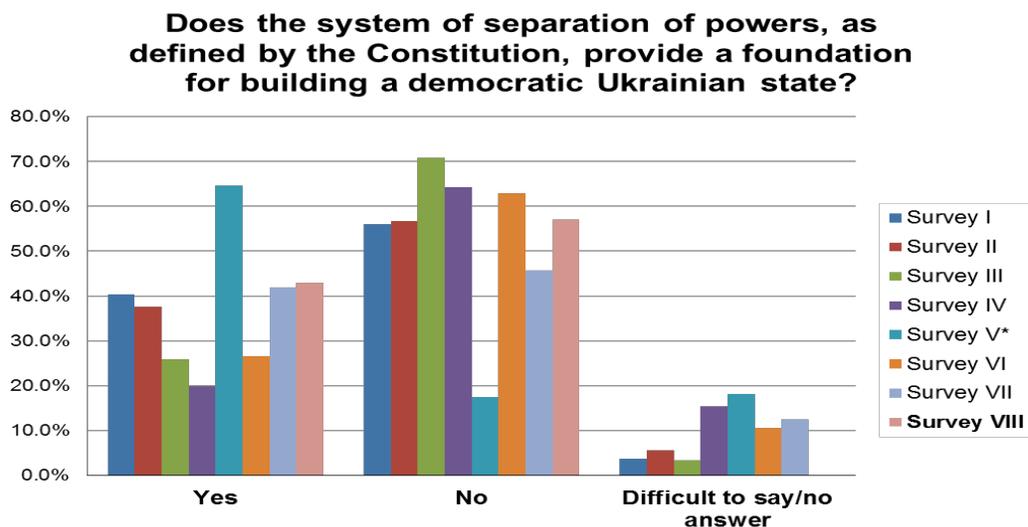
## 7. Separation of Powers

Ukraine became an independent state in 1991 and proceeded on the course of democratic reforms. However, democratic countries differ in terms of their governmental systems defined by constitutions. Thus, some democratic countries have presidential governmental systems (e.g. USA); some have parliamentary governmental systems (e.g. UK); and some have mixed systems (e.g. Ukraine).

For almost the entirety of the Ukrainian state's existence there have been heated discussions on the best governmental system. Given the strong role of a President in the Ukrainian political system from the beginning of its independent political history, separation of powers between legislative and executive branches of power has been among most controversial issues in Ukrainian politics. The situation was further complicated by the examples of neighboring Russia and Belarus where presidents effectively took considerable powers at the expense of their legislatures.

In accordance with the 1996 Ukraine Constitution, Ukraine had established a presidential-parliamentary republic. On December 8 2004, against the background of deep political crisis, the Law on Introducing Changes to the Constitution of Ukraine was enacted, making provisions for transition from a presidential-parliamentary to parliamentary-presidential form of government, where the government was to be formed by a coalition of deputy factions and VR's appointment term was extended to 5 years. The Law entered into effect on January 1, 2006. However, on October 1, 2010, the Constitutional Court of Ukraine abrogated the constitutional reforms adopted in 2004. The 1996 Constitution came into force once again.

The issue of separation of powers in Ukraine remains an important part of a political debate in Ukraine and in many ways is indicative of the direction the country has been heading the last 15 years. Therefore, survey questions address the issue of separation of powers. The chart below compares answers from all surveys on the separation of power system in Ukraine.



Although the question was repeated in all the surveys, it is important to pay special attention to the time when the surveys were conducted and separation of powers during that period of time. The question

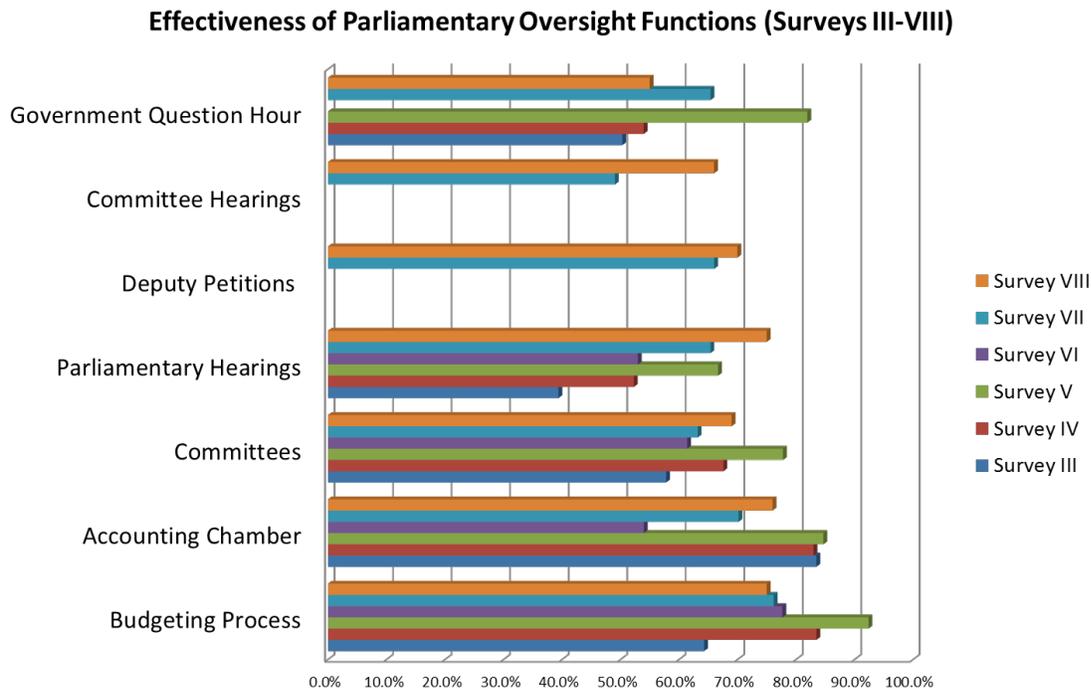
asked in Survey V referred to the constitutional amendments implemented in 2006. The following table provides a comparison of results between Survey II and Survey VIII.

### **Effectiveness of the Separation of Powers System in Ukraine**

<b>How effectively have components of the system of separation of powers been working to contribute to a workable system of government in Ukraine?</b>	<b>Survey II</b>	<b>Survey VIII</b>
Power given to the President to appoint the prime-minister and other members of the Cabinet	26.0%	83.50%
Power given to the Constitutional Court to resolve disputes between the Parliament and the President	40.0%	60.90%
Power given to the President to veto legislation	38.0%	81.70%
Power given to the Parliament to refuse the nomination of the Prime Minister and other key government officials	38.0%	83.50%
Power given to the Parliament to express a vote of no confidence in the Prime Minister that leads to the resignation of government	36.0%	77.70%

## 8. Parliamentary Oversight

Legislative oversight is one of the three main functions of any democratic legislature and an important part of a system of separation of powers. This section of the report presents the MPs' opinions on the effectiveness of the VR's oversight mechanisms.



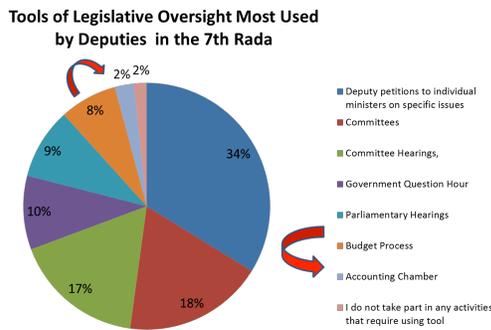
MPs of the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation, like their colleagues in previous convocations, report that the Accounting Chamber is one of the most effective parliamentary oversight tools, followed by the Budget process and Parliamentary Hearings. Deputy Petitions (Interpellations), committees and committee hearings are also important effective oversight tools in the opinion of MPs of the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation. Government Question Hour<sup>4</sup> is considered the least effective in Survey VIII, but at the time of the survey only 2-3 Government Hours had been conducted during this convocation. It's worth noting that the MPs of the 6<sup>th</sup> convocation considered it more effective, while the committee hearings were not seen to be as effective an oversight tool for 6<sup>th</sup> convocation MPs as they are perceived to be by those in the 7<sup>th</sup> VR.

However, in entry Survey VIII the MPs (especially new MPs) provided their perception of effectiveness of these tools while in the exit surveys (III, V, VII) MPs reported on the ACTUAL effectiveness.

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<sup>4</sup> Government Question Hour is a current tool of oversight – in Surveys III-V they were evaluating “Government Day”

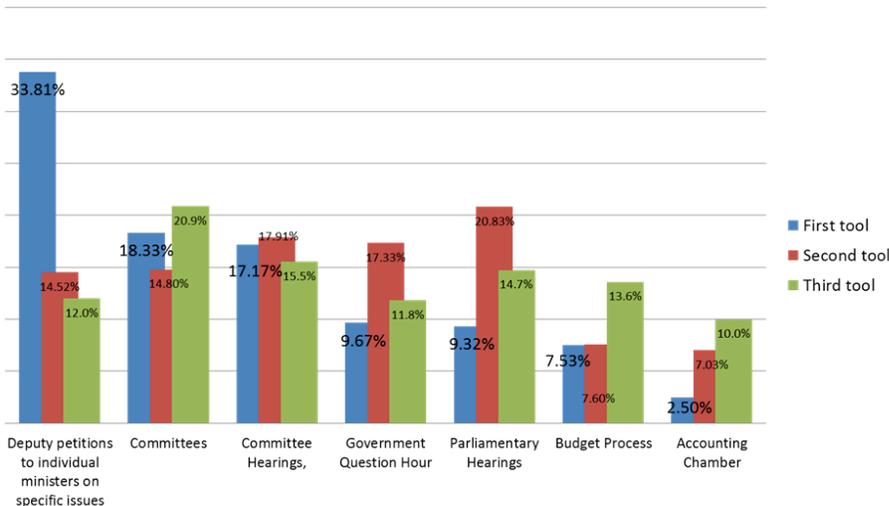
When asked which oversight tools the MPs actually USED, another picture emerges (Survey VIII).



Here we see that MPs of the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation report that they rarely actually use the Accounting Chamber or Budget Process as an oversight tool. In fact, the Accounting Chamber was the least used tool of those available to MPs.

Even when looking at the top three most used oversight tools, the Verkhovna Rada MPs of the 7th Convocation use the Accounting chamber and the Budget process the least. The budget process results are understandable, especially for new MPs since they had not yet been engaged in real budget process responsibilities and since the first stage of their convocation only occurred in June (MPs did not have a chance to confirm the budget resolution and the previous year's budget execution report).

**Tools of Legislative Oversight (1st -3rd) Most Used by Deputies in the 7th Rada**



Parliamentary Hearings, which are more like public debates, can be important tools for highlighting or exposing policies or problems in their implementation and the results are published with recommendations for action. However, it is usually the committees that are charged with the follow-up to actually implement the oversight. It could be that MPs' recognition of the oversight role of committees and committee hearings now reflects this as well.

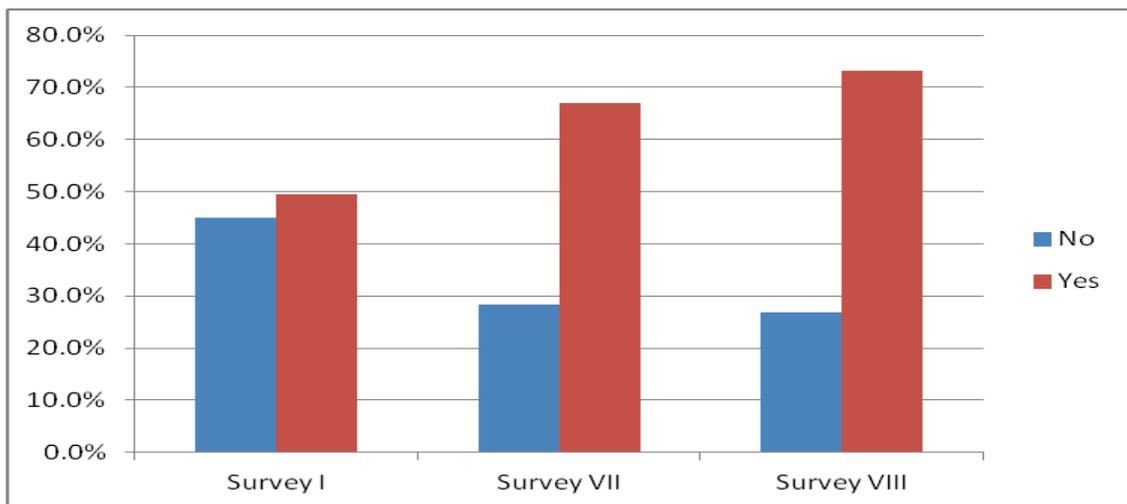
## 9. VR Secretariat & Staff

The VR Secretariat is responsible for providing legislative, organizational, and logistical support, documentation, information, and other assistance to the Parliament and MPs. The Secretariat consists of various subdivisions of professionals who participate in drafting legislation, conducting scientific and legislative review of legislative drafts, providing consultation, and helping to facilitate cooperation between the Parliament and other state jurisdictions, scientific institutes, non-governmental organizations, etc.

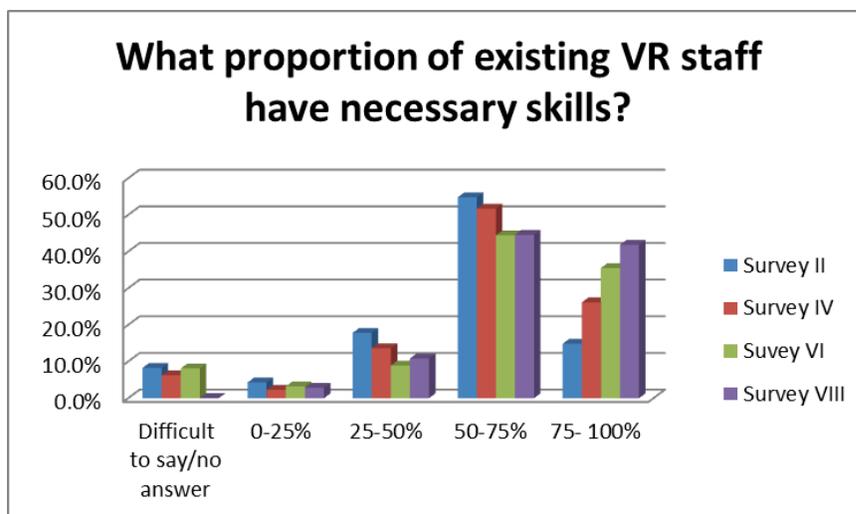
In routine Parliament activities MPs rely heavily on the assistance and professional education of employees of VR Secretariat. Therefore, in every poll MPs were asked questions about the professionalism of VR Secretariat staff, their organizational structure, and possible ways for enhancing the efficiency of the Secretariat's activities.

Deputies were asked whether the Parliament has a sufficient number of professional staff. The comparison of survey results from Surveys I, VII, and VIII demonstrated a steady increase in the number of MPs who believe there are a sufficient number of VR Secretariat staffers.

**Number of Professional Staff**



The survey also asks MPs to evaluate the skills of the parliamentary staff.



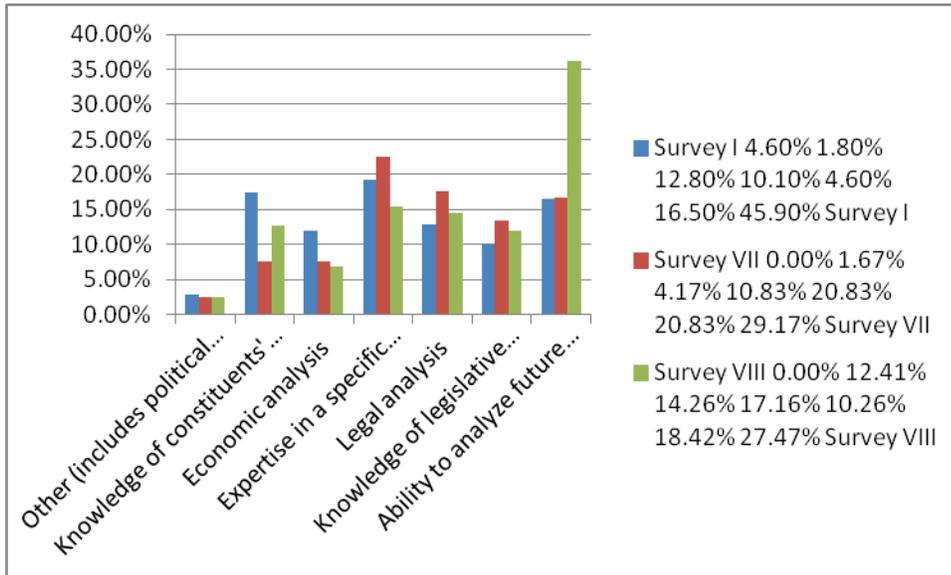
The above comparison of entry Surveys II, IV, VI and VIII demonstrated that a steadily increasing number of MPs estimated that 75-100% of staff have skills necessary for this job. It can be noted that a considerable increase in MPs evaluations of staff having necessary skills in comparing Surveys II and VIII can be observed.

The following two tables provide comparison of first and second most important additional skills as identified by respondents in Survey I, VII, and VIII. PDP observed a significant increase in knowledge of constituents' problems identified as most important additional skill in Survey VIII comparing to Surveys I and VII. There is also increase in economic analysis identified as needed additional skill in Survey VIII. There is a decline between Survey VII and VIII in the need of skill of legal analysis and well as knowledge of legislative drafting techniques and the first most important skill and.

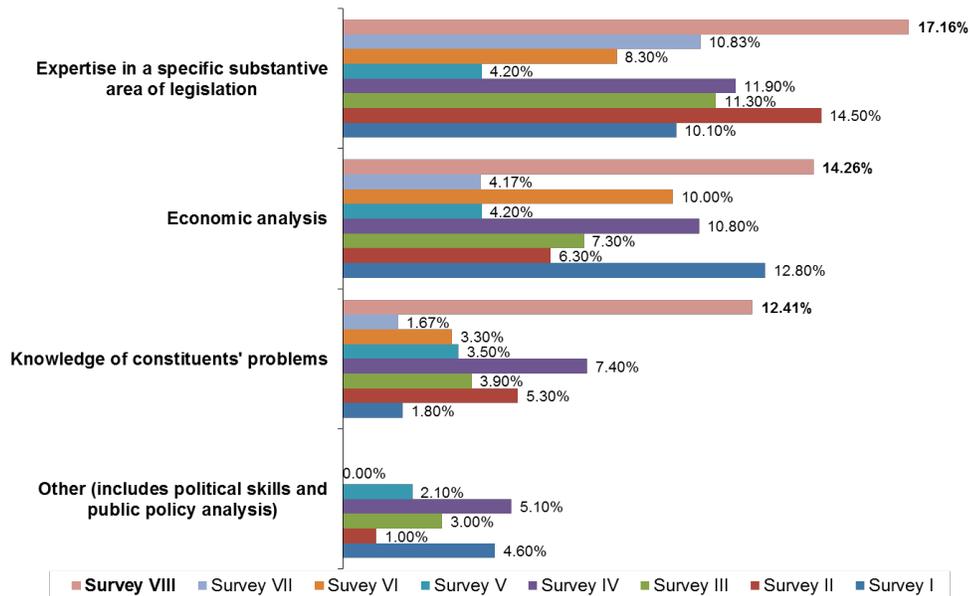
#### **Staff Skills**

	<b>Survey I</b>	<b>Survey VII</b>	<b>Survey VIII</b>
<b>Most important additional skill needed by VR staff</b>			
Other (includes political skills and public policy analysis)	4.60%	0.00%	0.00%
Knowledge of constituents' problems	1.80%	1.67%	12.41%
Economic analysis	12.80%	4.17%	14.26%
Expertise in a specific substantive area of legislation	10.10%	10.83%	17.16%
Legal analysis	4.60%	20.83%	10.26%
Knowledge of legislative drafting techniques	16.50%	20.83%	18.42%
Ability to analyze future positive and negative effects of proposed draft bills	45.90%	29.17%	27.47%
<b>Second most important additional skill needed by VR staff</b>			
Other (includes political skills and public policy analysis)	2.80%	2.50%	2.51%
Knowledge of constituents' problems	17.40%	7.50%	12.60%
Economic analysis	11.90%	7.50%	6.86%
Expertise in a specific substantive area of legislation	19.30%	22.50%	15.47%
Legal analysis	12.80%	17.50%	14.41%
Knowledge of legislative drafting techniques	10.10%	13.33%	11.85%
Ability to analyze future positive and negative effects of proposed draft bills	16.50%	16.67%	36.28%

Looking at the summary of both first and second most important skill in a summarized table below, we see that 7<sup>th</sup> VR MPs feel strongly that ability to analyze future positive and negative effects of proposed draft bills is the most important additional skill needed by VR staff.



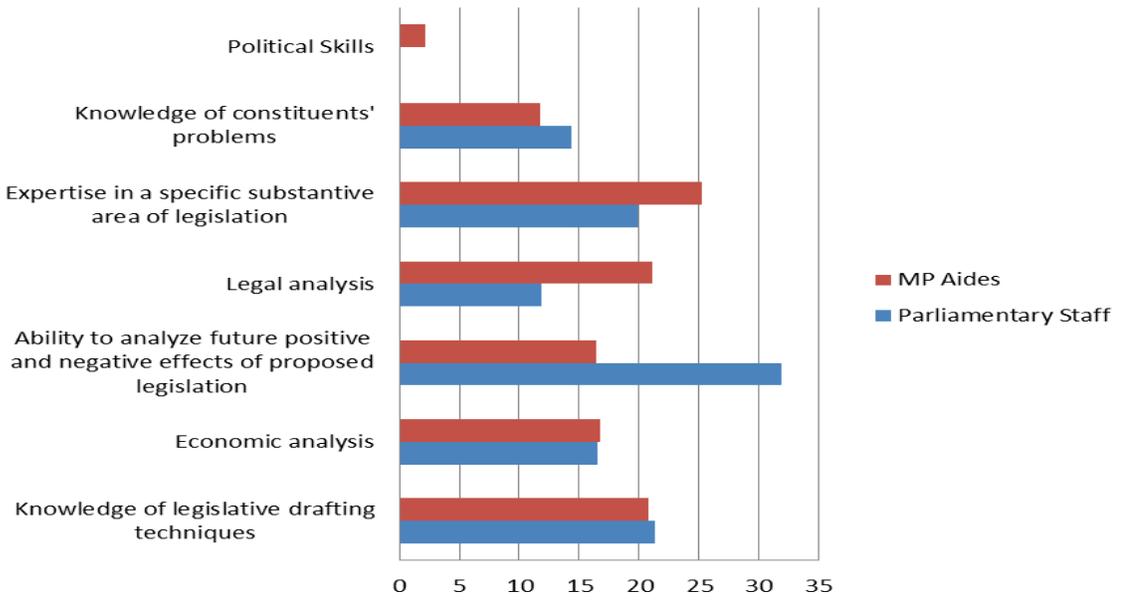
**Most important additional skill needed by VR staff**



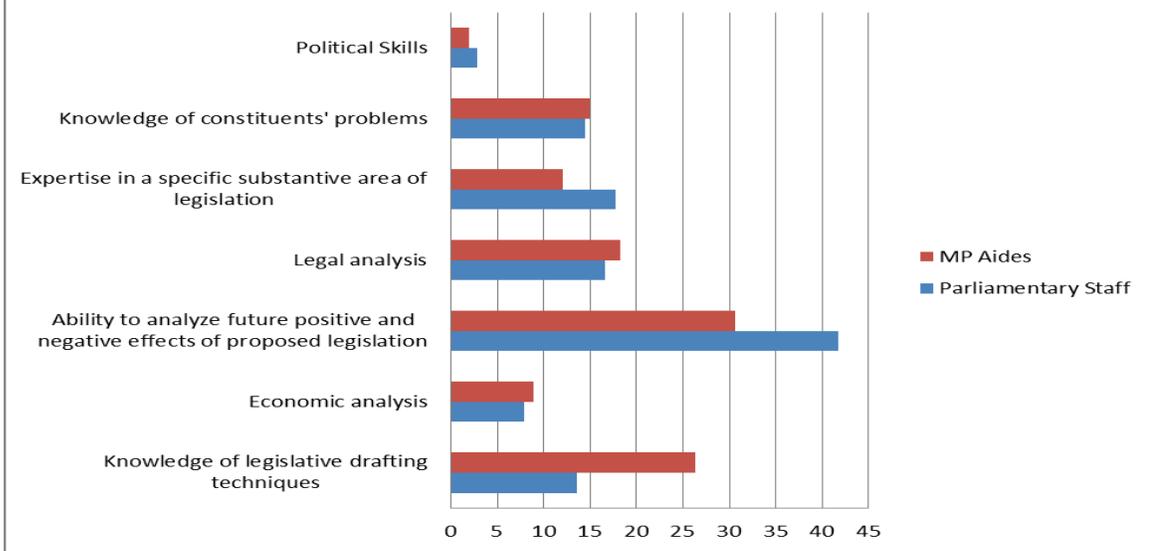
MPs of the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation were the first to indicate to a significant degree that the VR staff needed to have knowledge of constituents' problems.

The graphs below comparing what skills MPs believe that VR Staff need and what additional skills their own staff need provide insight to what type of support MPs require for their work, MPs believed that both VR Staff and their own MP Aides need additional skills to analyze future positive and negative effects of proposed draft legislation (both the most important and the 2<sup>nd</sup> more important additional skill).

### What is the most important additional skill that staff need in order to adequately support their activities in the Parliament?

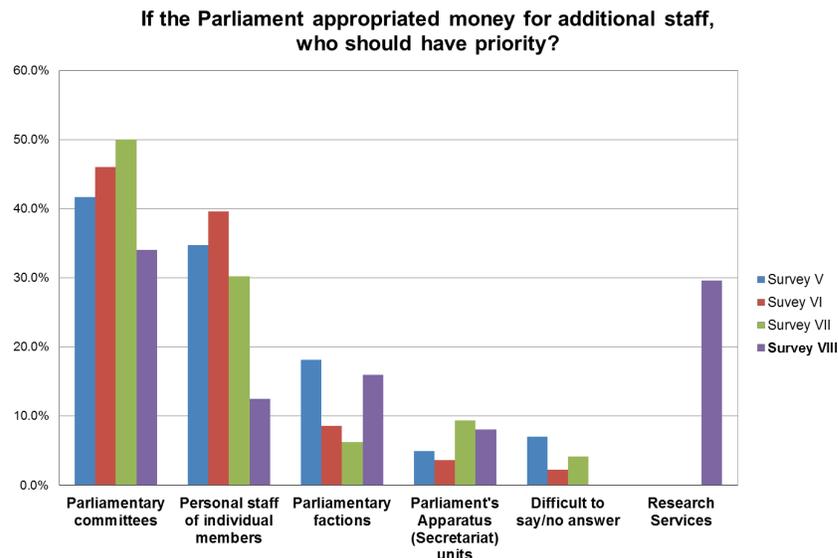


### What is the 2nd most important additional skill that staff need in order to adequately support their activities in the Parliament?



The 7<sup>th</sup> VR MPs indicated that both the VR staff and their own personal staff needed the skills required for legal and economic analysis of legislation and also needed to improve drafting skills.

MPs were also asked how they thought the Parliament should appropriate money for additional staff and if additional funds were available. The results of the comparison among Surveys V, VI, VII, and VIII are presented below. MPs in Survey VIII gave preference to committees and faction staff whereas previous surveys singled out committees and their own personal staff. This continues to emphasize the importance of the work of committees and the need for quality and adequate staff in committees. However that 7<sup>th</sup> VR Convocation MPs identify the need for more faction staff could indicate that they see an important role of their faction in supporting the work of MPs more so than in previous convocations. The Survey VIII was the first time that MPs were specifically asked whether there was a need to increase research services and their affirmative response was significant.



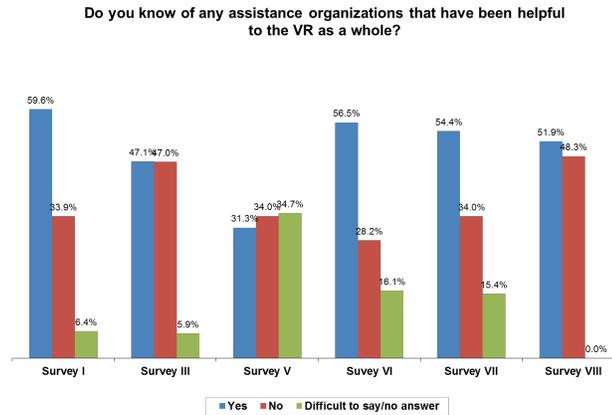
The following table illustrates differences between members of pro-government and opposition factions. Pro-government MPs gave preference to funding staff of parliamentary committees and existing staff (Secretariat); while MPs from opposition factions gave preference to funding research services as well as staff for parliamentary factions.

### Funding for Additional Staff

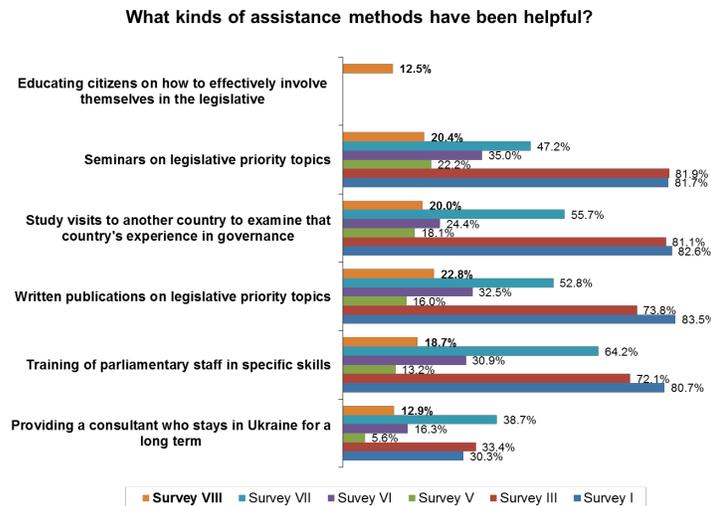
		What faction are you a member of?	
		Government	Opposition
If the Parliament were to appropriate money for additional staff, which of the following should have priority?	Parliamentary committees	21 36.2%	13 26.0%
	Parliamentary factions	8 13.8%	11 22.0%
	Existing Verkhovna Rada Staff (Secretariat) units	7 12.1%	2 4.0%
	Research Services	13 22.4%	19 38.0%
	Personal staff of individual members	9 15.5%	5 10.0%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>58 100.0%</b>	<b>50 100.0%</b>

## 10. Assistance Organizations & Activities

At the end of the survey, MPs were asked to evaluate the role and activities of international organizations that provided technical support to the Ukrainian Parliament. The chart below reflects answers to the question about their awareness of helpfulness of technical assistance organizations. This question historically has been asked only during exit surveys until the sixth convocation. Like the 6<sup>th</sup> VR, more than half the respondents in the 7<sup>th</sup> VR indicated that they know of helpful assistance organizations, although there was also a significant increase among respondents of Survey VIII who could not identify such organizations.



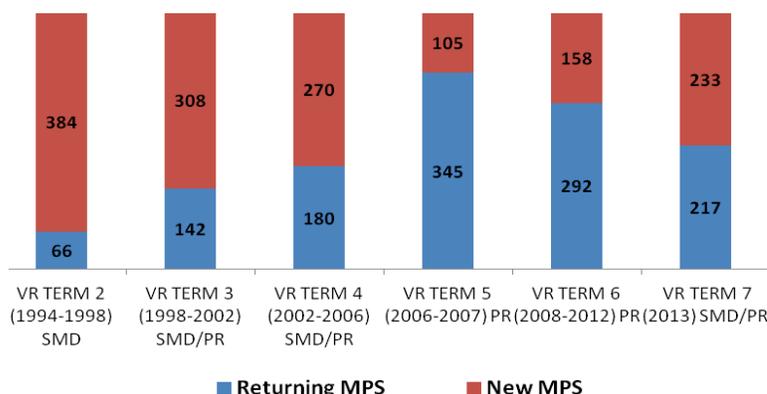
There is a significant difference in estimations of helpfulness of all the types of delivery of technical assistance listed below between Surveys I and VIII. MPs who participated in Survey VIII estimated helpfulness of the techniques lower than those who participated in Survey I. The perceptions of such assistance of the two new convocations (Survey VIII and Survey VI) show similar perceptions of what methods of assistance might be helpful with a higher response of MPs of the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation regarding long-term expert consultants. But those MPs who actually served in the Verkhovna Rada (Surveys VII, V, III and I) rate all methods of assistance considerably higher which would seem to speak to its actual effectiveness



In Survey VIII, interviewers added the choice of “working with citizens to help them understand the work of the Verkhovna Rada.” Twelve percent of MPs chose this as a helpful mode of technical assistance to parliament.

In this context, it may be useful to look at the trend of re-election of MPs in each of the VR convocations as well as the method of election for each Verkhovna Rada.

TREND OF RE-ELECTED MPs in Subsequent VR Terms 2-7

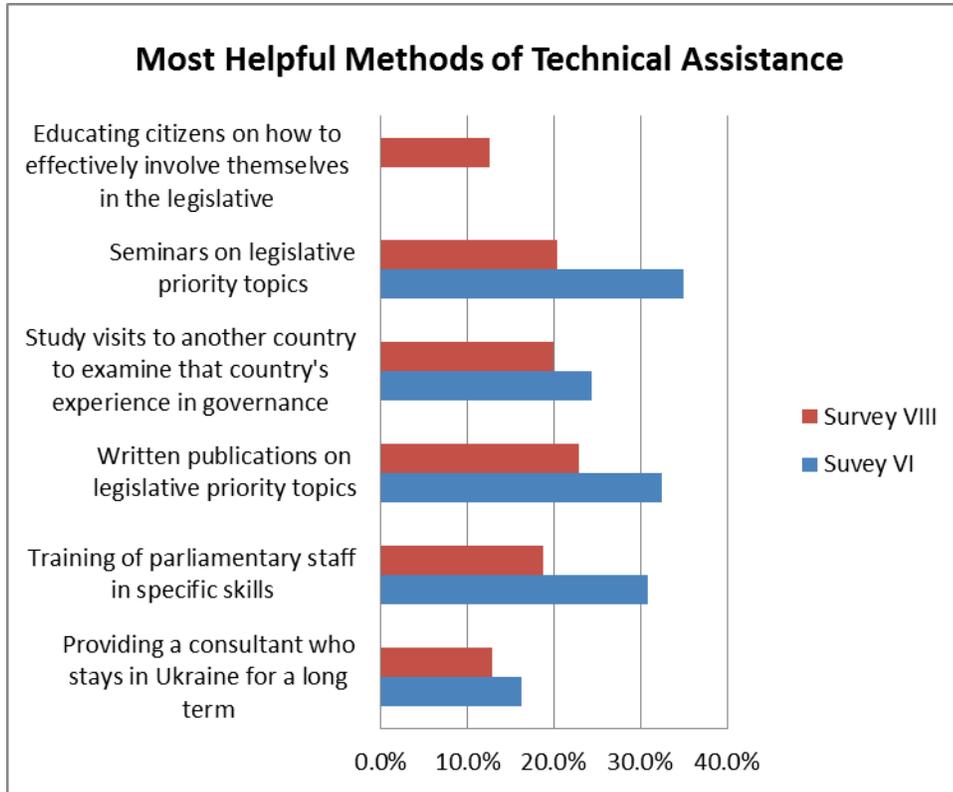


In the 7<sup>th</sup> VR more than 50 percent of the convocation were new MPs and in the survey sample, there 73.4 % of the respondents were first time MPs. The relatively low estimation of helpful assistance identified by 7<sup>th</sup> convocation MPs could be due to the short time of their tenure at the time of the survey and that they had not yet had an opportunity to participate in any activities or otherwise benefit from assistance provided by international organizations. Also, in comparison, Entry Survey VI was conducted almost a year after the MPs were inducted to the 6<sup>th</sup> Convocation.

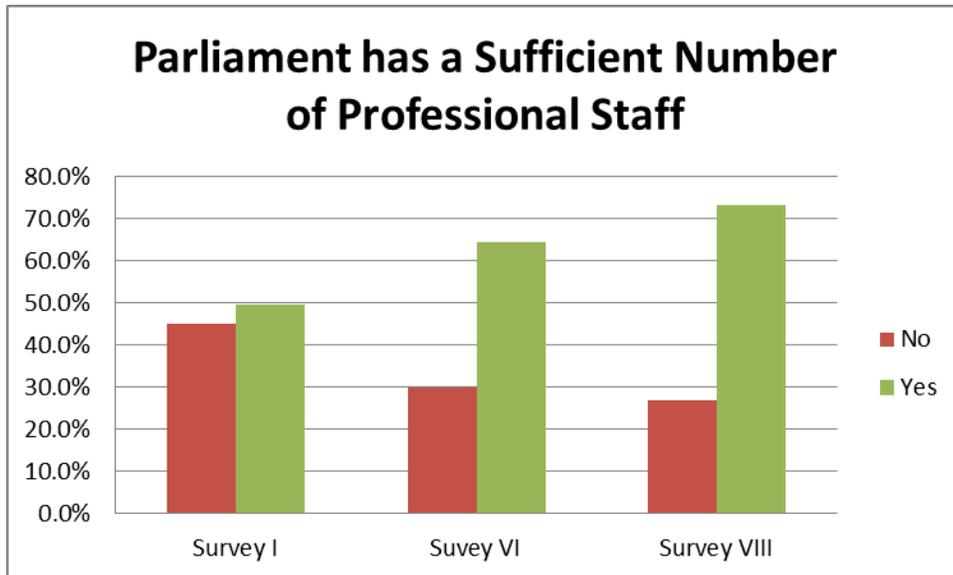
### Experience with Legislative Work

	Have you ever been a deputy of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in previous convocations, if yes, which ones? None of previous convocations		Total	
	No	Yes		
First, with respect to the Verkhovna Rada as a whole, do you know of any assistance organizations that you think have been helpful to the Parliament?	No	23 50.0%	14 42.4%	37 46.8%
	Yes	23 50.0%	19 57.6%	42 53.2%
Total	46 100.0%	33 100.0%	79 100.0%	

The following chart summarizes MPs views on most helpful methods of technical assistance. Respondents in Survey VIII indicate that seminars on legislative priority topics, written publications, and training of staff are among the 2-3 most helpful methods of technical assistance.



One explanation for the relatively low response of the need for assistance organizations to work with VR staff correlates with the MPs response that there is adequate number and highly skilled professional staff in the Rada. Thus, the chart below demonstrates that 73.2% of MPs said that the Rada has sufficient number of professional staff in Survey VIII and only 49.9% indicated this in Survey I for example. This trend has been increasing compared to the last entry survey of the Verkhovna Rada (Survey VI).

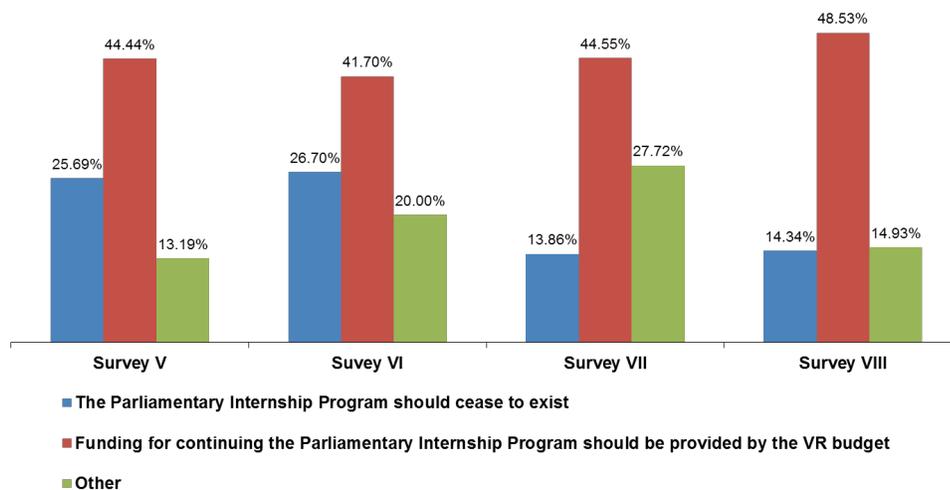


In addition, as we saw above, MPs believe that the staff competency has increased significantly between Survey I and VIII. This indicates that 7<sup>th</sup> convocation Verkhovna Rada is developing as an

independent and self-sufficient institution that can rely on its own resources considerably more than during the time of Survey I (end of 2<sup>nd</sup> VR Convocation). Yet, the process is not complete as indicated by the question on the helpfulness of assistance organization and by the fact that more than 50% of MPs indicate that these organizations are still helpful.

USAID has been supporting a Parliamentary Internship Program in varying degrees since 1995 with the intention that the Verkhovna Rada would eventually take responsibility for running the program on their own. With regard to the internship program, almost half of the Survey VIII respondents (49%) believed that the program needs to be funded by the Rada’s budget and only 14% believe that the program should cease to exist. The general trend also points that the number of supporters is steadily increasing over the years, as the program becomes more institutionalized in the Rada.

**What should be done with regard to the Parliamentary Internship Program when USAID funding ends?**



More importantly, MPs are willing to vote to allocate resources for this program. Specifically, 74% of MPs would be willing to allocate resources to this program in 2013 while only 45% were willing to do it during Survey V. The survey did not address what amount of resources so this does not allow us to estimate if the involvement of assistance organizations would still be needed for this purpose or the program can be fully funded by the Rada.

**Would you vote for line appropriation in the VR budget to fund the Parliamentary Internship Program?**

	Survey V	Survey VI	Survey VII	Survey VIII
Yes	45.1%	48.3%	56.9%	74.0%
No	38.9%	46.7%	33.3%	26.0%

Finally, 91% of respondents to Survey VIII said ‘yes’ to the question: “Do you agree that Parliament can support activities such public organizations, such as the 'League of interns' as a partner in the program training young people in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.’

This indicates that MPs are ready and willing to cooperate with Ukrainian NGOs to provide assistance such as support and administration of the internship program.

## CONCLUSION

The USAID Parliamentary Development Project (PDP) for Ukraine has been doing entry and exit surveys of Ukrainian legislators since 1998 in order to identify what areas of technical assistance might be most effective and to help the Verkhovna Rada to document and analyze its institutional development. This analysis contributed to the evaluation of most useful areas of technical assistance to institutional development. This analysis also contributed to our understanding of how technical assistance to the Ukrainian legislature fits into overall technical assistance efforts. It further helped to identify areas for the future assistance efforts by Ukrainian organizations and other international donors and to find out where their assistance might be most effective. PDP has also used this survey data with VR partners to help them prioritize their own capacity building efforts.

This report has covered major areas of the Verkhovna Rada's institutional development. The results of this analysis demonstrate that VR is a functioning legislative institution and has succeeded in the process of institutionalization of legislative tools, processes and procedures. This analysis demonstrates that the Rada has established internal organizational structures and has fostered the independence in the public policy process in relation to other external political institutions. The Verkhovna Rada is a multi-party legislature that uses two main channels to accomplish its internal and external legislative work: factions and committees. All of these developments are in line with what is observed as main trends in legislative institution building around the world.

This report also demonstrated that the Rada has had its share of challenges and is continuing to experience some major reform challenges. The Rada's institutional development is one part of larger changes in the Ukrainian governmental system. Constitutional reforms in post-Soviet Ukraine has lead to the redistribution of power among main political institutions. These institutions include Members of Parliament (MPs), the President of Ukraine, and the Government. Depending on the period of the Rada's development, these changes lead to changes inside the Rada. These include changes in the internal organizational structures of the Rada, the redistribution of power among different organizational units and actors in the Rada, and the resulting changes in the Rada's overall influence in Ukraine's policy process. Changes of this magnitude are not easy for any legislature. The VRU has experienced its own 'growth pains' and though these pains are not unique for any post-authoritarian legislature, the Rada has found its own way of dealing with these challenges. In some instances the VRU has used the experiences and methods deemed successful on the other post-authoritarian legislatures, and at other times the solutions were organically Ukrainian.

The characteristics of legislative challenges deserve a closer look because those may explain the dynamics discussed in this report. One significant challenge that the Rada has had over the years and that is frequently overlooked is the range of ideologies represented in the Rada. This range is rather extreme in comparison to many other world legislatures and especially broad in comparison to any legislature found in a long-lasting democracy. The VRU has representatives of extreme left and extreme right ideologies. In addition, representatives of groups with pro-western and pro-Russian orientations further complicate the picture of representation. The groups that place emphasis on the spiritual/cultural revival of the Ukrainian nation and those who are economy oriented further complicate this.

The main challenge is that these groups are very far apart in their views of what the country needs and what priorities need to be. This makes reaching a compromise extremely difficult. These challenges have proven to be overwhelming and have hampered democratic development of legislatures in the other countries of the former Soviet Union, such as Russia and Belarus. Executives there claimed more active policy roles and more powers at the expense of the legislatures. The Verkhovna Rada of

Ukraine, however, has survived independently from executive legislative institutions and has asserted important powers in the Ukrainian policy process

Multiple factors have contributed to the Rada's institutional development success in comparison to the legislative institutions in neighboring countries. This report does not intend to outline all possible factors. However, it clearly points to one significant trend: the Rada has used institutional mechanisms to strengthen itself as an influential institution among other policy actors in Ukraine and individual MPs are increasingly aware of this potential. This analysis of eight surveys indicated that institutional tools that the Rada used are in line with those that other successful legislative institutions have employed for legislative strengthening. Information, its understanding and access, appeared to be one of the plausible explanations for this observed success.

World 'best practice' offers a large array of tools that post authoritarian legislatures can use for institutional strengthening. This analysis demonstrates that the Rada had timely access to that information which may have been crucial for observed successes in the Rada's development. Timely information is an important factor because of the short window of opportunity that post authoritarian legislatures usually have in the initial fast-paced race with the executive for power that is observed in many post authoritarian countries.

This report also concluded that VRU MPs are realistic in identifying needs in research and analysis among priorities. Future support of the Rada with regard to research and analysis may be instrumental in assisting in building VRU internal capacity and successfully resolving current challenges. As world best practice demonstrates, a functioning legislature is a necessary condition for the success of democratic reforms in post-authoritarian societies. Where legislatures fail, we can observe changes from democratic to authoritarian orientation.

For these reasons, one may conclude as well, that support to legislative strengthening in Ukraine is still critical, especially at a time when the range of ideologies and subsequent societal cleavages are increasing. This usually is evidenced by claims of one of the groups to make a large scale political reform and change the "rules of the game" significantly. Changing established rules can lead to larger conflicts and destabilization in a society. As the range of ideologies and conflicts among different groups subsides, the external legislative strengthening aid can probably be reduced to the level of maintenance. This will be evidenced by the decrease in claims to change the "rules of the game" and by the acceptance of these rules by major political players. The need for timely information and analysis will be high until such time. Therefore, technical legislative strengthening assistance will remain in need until such time of decreased ideological range and the acceptance and institutionalization of democratization rules of the games.

APPENDIX

**Entry Survey Questionnaire for 7<sup>th</sup> Convocation of the Verkhovna Rada**

March 2013

Note: Directions for interviewers are listed in brackets [ ].

[ON ALL QUESTIONS IF THE RESPONDENT PROVIDES THE RESPONSE “NO OPINION” OR “NO ANSWER” THE INTERVIEWER SHOULD CODE THE ANSWER AS “NO ANSWER”. IN ALL CASES IN WHICH THE RESPONDENT REPLIES DIFFICULT TO SAY ON THE PRETEST, THE INTERVIEWER SHOULD ASK WHY IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY.]

**SECTION I: INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS ON LEGISLATIVE ROLES and LEGISLATIVE PROCESS**

1. What area of reforms is the most urgent for Ukraine today?

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2. I'm going to show you a card listing some of the roles of a deputy. First, please tell me which role is the most important role for you. Then please tell me which is the second most important role for you.

1. Ensure that the interests of your constituency are articulated
2. Get proposed laws enacted into law
3. Support your faction
4. Help build the Verkhovna Rada as a stable institution
5. Difficult to Say
6. No answer

[ OPTIONS 1 – 4 SHOULD BE LISTED ON A HANDCARD AND GIVEN TO THE RESPONDENT.]

Most important role for you: \_\_\_\_\_

Second most important role for you: \_\_\_\_\_

3. How, in your opinion, should deputies prioritize their efforts? I am going to read some of the things that deputies do and for each one I want you to tell me whether you think that deputies should spend (1) a great deal of time (2) some time (3) a little time or (4) no time on that activity.

A. Representing the needs of interested enterprises before the institutions of power

1. A great deal of time
2. Some time
3. A Little time
4. No time
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

B. Dealing with the requests of individual constituents for help with solving their problems

1. A great deal of time

2. Some time
3. A Little time
4. No time
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

C. Working inside their committees

1. A great deal of time
2. Some time
3. A Little time
4. No time
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

D. Representing the needs of interested citizen organizations to the Government

1. A great deal of time
2. Some time
3. A Little time
4. No time
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

E. Working in plenary sessions

1. A great deal of time
2. Some time
3. A Little time
4. No time
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

F. Working with the Executive branch

1. A great deal of time
2. Some time
3. A Little time
4. No time
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

4. Where do you feel that the key deliberations regarding proposed legislation are taking place?

1. In the Presidential Administration
2. In the Cabinet of Ministers
3. In individual ministries
4. In the Reconciliation Council of Factions
5. In committees
6. In factions
7. In plenary sessions
8. In informal settings (e.g. in the Verkhovna Rada corridors)
9. Difficult to say

10. No answer

## SECTION II: RULES OF PROCEDURE

5. The rules of any parliament can potentially serve various purposes. I am going to read some potential purposes the rules could serve. For each purpose, I want you to tell me how well the existing rules of the VR are serving that purpose: very well (2) well (3) a little (4) not well.

A. Ensuring that plenary sessions are conducted in an orderly fashion

1. Very well
2. Well
3. A little
4. Not well
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

B. Ensuring a fair opportunity for individual deputies to speak before the plenary session

1. Very well
2. Well
3. A little
4. Not well
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

C. Ensuring that party factions are treated equally

1. Very well
2. Well
3. A little
4. Not well
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

D. Ensuring that committee recommendations receive a fair hearing

1. Very well
2. Well
3. A little
4. Not well
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

E. Ensuring that important legislation is given priority attention

1. Very well
2. Well
3. A little
4. Not well
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

F. Ensuring that deputies that disrupt the plenary are disciplined

1. Very well
2. Well
3. A little
4. Not well
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

G. Facilitating public understanding of the legislative process

1. Very well
2. Well
3. A little
4. Not well
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

H. Ensuring that the way the Parliament works is democratic

1. Very well
2. Well
3. A little
4. Not well
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

I. Establishing legal and ethics provisions for elected and appointed officials as well as sanctions for violating them

1. Very well
2. Well
3. A little
4. Not well
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

J. Establishing prompt sanctions for violating legal and ethics provisions

1. Very well
2. Well
3. A little
4. Not well
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

### SECTION 3: PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES

6. Please estimate the percentage of committee meetings other members of your committee regularly attend in an average month.

1. 75-100%
2. 50-75%
3. 25-50%
4. 0 -25%
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

7. In terms of achieving an effective legislative process, would you say that in general the VR leadership thinks that the work of the committees is (1) very important (2) important (3) slightly important (4) not important.

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Slightly important
4. Not important
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

8. If you have a bill, which is a top priority for you and your constituency, how important is it to enlist the support of the actors listed below to get the bill passed. Please, first tell me who is the most important actor, then who is the second most important actor, and finally, who is the third most important actor.

[SHOW THE CARD AND ASK RESPONDENTS TO MARK THEIR ANSWER ON THE CARD  
[READ 1 through 7 ONLY]

1. The endorsement by relevant parliamentary committees
2. Parliament's leadership
3. Your faction
4. President of Ukraine
5. Prime Minister of Ukraine
6. Mass media
7. Public (organizations of civil society, NGOs)
8. Difficult to Say
9. No answer

1. Most important \_\_\_\_\_
2. Second most important \_\_\_\_\_
3. Third most important actor \_\_\_\_\_

9. According to the experience of parliamentarians throughout the world, one of the most difficult tasks in organizing legislative activity is to establish the jurisdiction of parliamentary committees. According to your own experience, has the jurisdiction of the committee you serve on been:

1. Too narrow

2. Sufficient
3. Too broad
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

[IF RESPONDENT CHOSE OPTION 2, ASK QUESTION 10, FOR ALL OTHER OPTIONS PROCEED TO QUESTION 11]

10. What other principle or system would you suggest?

---

11. Parliamentary committees in various democratic systems perform a variety of different tasks. Please tell me how often the committee on which you serve performs the following tasks. For each task, please tell me whether you think the committees on which you serve: (1) routinely performs this task; (2) often performs this task; (3) sometimes performs this task; (4) does not perform this task; (5) difficult to say; (6) no answer.

[SHOW HANDCARD OF FOUR CHOICES FOR EACH OPTION]

- A. Analyze draft bills and identify their potential positive and negative effects for presentation to the plenary
- B. Sort through and reduce the number of alternative proposals offered by individual deputies for consideration by the plenary
- C. Conduct oversight of the executive branch in the committee's area of jurisdiction
- D. Draft legislation
- E. Provide a place for special interest groups to be heard on pending legislation
- F. Provide a place for the general public to be heard on pending legislation
- G. Build political consensus among parliamentarians for draft legislation
- H. Provide individual deputies with a means to have their views heard on draft legislation

12. In your opinion, what analysis is required for the draft legislation submitted to Parliament by the subjects of the legislative initiative in addition to existing analyses provided by the VR Secretariat's Main Scientific Expertise Department and Main Legal Department (please choose all that apply)

- A. Fiscal Analysis
- B. Environmental Impact Analysis
- C. Gender Analysis
- D. Analysis for Harmonization with EU Law
- E. Anti-Corruption Analysis
- F. Other (please specify)
- G. Difficult to say
- H. No answer

13. We have heard that committees often interact with executive ministries. When the committee(s) on which you serve requests information or tries to get access to a ministry official, how easy or difficult is it?

- A. Very easy
- B. Usually easy
- C. Somewhat easy

- D. Not easy at all
- E. Difficult to say
- F. No answer

14. Below are some things that may facilitate good working relationships with committees. Please tell me whether each of the following are: (1) very helpful; (2) somewhat helpful; (3) not very helpful; (4) not helpful at all.

- A. Existing rules, regulations and laws
- B. Personal contacts between members of your committee and executive officials
- C. Having leadership support
- D. The profile of the committee
- E. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
- F. Difficult to say
- G. No answer

15. Based on your experience in your parliamentary committee, how effective has the committee been in formulating policies?

- A. Very effective
- B. Effective
- C. Somewhat effective
- D. Not very effective at all
- E. Difficult to say
- F. No answer

16. Based on your experience in your parliamentary committee, how effective has the counterpart ministry(ies) been in formulating policies?

- A. Very effective
- B. Effective
- C. Somewhat effective
- D. Not very effective at all
- E. Difficult to say
- F. No answer

17. Based on your experience in your parliamentary committee, how effective has the counterpart department(s) of the Presidential Administration been in formulating policies?

- 1. Very effective
- 2. Effective
- 3. Somewhat effective
- 4. Not very effective at all
- 5. Difficult to say
- 6. No answer

18. Based on your experience in your parliamentary committee, how useful has the information you've received from research think tanks and civil society organizations been?

- A. Very Useful
- B. Useful
- C. Somewhat useful

- D. Not very useful at all
- E. My committee hasn't received any information from research think tanks or civil society organizations
- F. Difficult to say
- G. No answer

## SECTION IV: WORK IN PLENARY SESSIONS AND VOTING DECISIONS

19. Deputies have said in the past that there are numerous factors to consider in deciding how to vote on a proposed law. I am going to present you a list of factors identified by the deputies that help them decide how to vote. First, please tell me what factor is the most important for you when deciding how to vote on a proposed law. Then please tell me what is the second most important factor for you. Then please tell me what is the third most important factor for you.

[THESE OPTIONS SHOULD BE LISTED ON A HANDCARD AND GIVEN TO THE RESPONDENT.]

1. The recommendation of the committee that considered it
2. The position of the VR leadership
3. The opinions of your constituents who have contacted you on this issue
4. The position of your faction
5. Legal provisions of the Constitution that may apply to it
6. The position of the President
7. The position of the Prime Minister
8. The recommendation of the Academic Expertise Department
9. The recommendation of the Legal Expertise Department
10. Domestic expert analysis from outside the Verkhovna Rada
11. Foreign expert analysis
12. The position of a deputy you consider to be influential
13. Difficult to say
14. No answer

Most important factor: \_\_\_\_\_

Second most important factor: \_\_\_\_\_

Third most important factor: \_\_\_\_\_

20. What factors have determined your personal decision to vote with your faction? Please, mark the number indicating the rank next to each factor: (1) First Most Important, and (2) Second Most Important.

1. Consistency with my personal principles and beliefs
2. If the faction leadership persuaded me how this particular decision is good for the country
3. If the faction leadership persuaded me that we need to maintain our cohesion and power in the parliament
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

21. Which of the following steps should be taken if a member does not vote with the faction. Select all that you believe are appropriate.

1. The deputy should be excluded from the faction
2. The deputy should be denied desired committee assignments or committee leadership positions
3. The deputy should be denied professional perks provided by the faction (e.g. staff, office space, travel opportunities)
4. The deputy should be moved lower down the party list in the next election
5. The deputy should be required to formally report to the leadership and explain the reason for

not voting with the faction.

6. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Difficult to say
8. No answer

22. I'm going to show you a card listing some problems in considering the budget indicated by previous convocations of national deputies of Ukraine. First, please tell me which is the most important problem in considering the budget. Then please tell me which is the second most important problem in considering the budget.

[THESE OPTIONS SHOULD BE LISTED ON A HANDCARD AND GIVEN TO THE RESPONDENT.]

1. On time submission of the draft budget by the Executive Branch
2. Having sufficient expertise among the parliamentary staff to analyze budgetary information.
3. Obtaining sufficient information from the Executive Branch to make budgetary decisions
4. Getting the deputies to focus on budgetary issues.
5. Conflicts among deputies over budgetary priorities
6. Other \_\_\_\_\_
7. Difficult to say
8. No answer

Most important problem: \_\_\_\_\_

Second most important problem: \_\_\_\_\_

23. How do you get information about current developments in Ukraine:

[THESE OPTIONS SHOULD BE LISTED ON A HANDCARD AND GIVEN TO THE RESPONDENT.]

- A. Newspapers
- B. TV
- C. Radio
- D. Internet
- E. Social media
- F. Printed journals
- G. Citizen letters
- H. Other sources (please specify)
- I. Difficult to say
- J. No answer

24. What are the main sources of information for your work as a deputy of the VRU (check all that apply)

- A. NGO research
- B. Think tanks' and research institutions' research
- C. Citizen letters
- D. Newspapers
- E. TV
- F. Internet
- G. Libraries
- H. Academic literature
- I. VR Secretariat divisions expert analyses
- J. Research Briefs and Information provided by the VR European Information Support Ct.r
- K. Other \_\_\_\_\_

- L. Difficult to say
- M. No answer

**SECTION V: CONSTITUENCY RELATIONS AND TRANSPARENCY OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS**

25. As a legislator, you are expected to conduct regular communication with your constituents. In your experience, which are the most frequent means of communication. Please, indicate first most frequent practice and second most frequent practice:

- 1. Meeting with individual citizens at their request
- 2. General district meetings where all interested citizens could come
- 3. Meetings with NGO representatives
- 4. Addressing the constituency through local press
- 5. Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 6. Difficult to say
- 7. No answer

First most frequent practice \_\_\_\_\_  
Second most frequent practice \_\_\_\_\_

26. In an average month, how many meetings would you have with citizen groups?

- 1. None
- 2. 1-5
- 3. 6-10
- 4. 11-15
- 5. 16 and over
- 6. Difficult to say
- 7. No answer

27. I am going to ask you about the necessity of informing the public about the pending legislation. Let us assume that there is an important draft law introduced in the parliament. At what stage of the legislative process do you think the public should be informed about it?

- 1. Before registration of the draft law in the Verkhovna Rada
- 2. After registration and before 1<sup>st</sup> reading
- 3. After 1<sup>st</sup> reading and before 2<sup>nd</sup> reading
- 4. At no time should the public be informed
- 5. Difficult to say
- 6. No answer

28. I am going to read to you some organizations outside the Verkhovna Rada in Ukraine. For each one, tell me whether you think the person or organization has (1) major responsibility to inform the public (2) some responsibility to inform the public or (3) hardly any responsibility to inform the public about pending legislation.

A. State Television and Radio

- 1. Major responsibility to inform the public
- 2. Some responsibility to inform the public
- 3. Hardly any responsibility to inform the public

4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

## B. Commercial Television and Radio

1. Major responsibility to inform the public
2. Some responsibility to inform the public
3. Hardly any responsibility to inform the public
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

## C. State Newspapers

1. Major responsibility to inform the public
2. Some responsibility to inform the public
3. Hardly any responsibility to inform the public
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

## D. Commercial Newspapers

1. Major responsibility to inform the public
2. Some responsibility to inform the public
3. Hardly any responsibility to inform the public
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

29. In some parliaments around the world, public hearings are conducted in which representatives of the executive branch, non-profit groups, and individual citizens testify about proposed laws, while in others public hearings are not conducted. Would you favor the use of public hearings by committees of the Verkhovna Rada for (1) most laws (2) some laws or (3) no laws?

1. Most laws
2. Some laws
3. No laws
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

30. Various parliamentarians use different methods to keep in contact with their constituents. I am going to read some of the methods used. For each one, tell me whether you (1) often use this method (2) sometimes use this method (3) do not use this method.

### A. Hold open meetings in communities in your district

1. Often use this method
2. Sometimes use this method
3. Do not use this method
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

### B. Meet with constituents at enterprises

1. Often use this method
2. Sometimes use this method
3. Do not use this method

4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

C. Meet individual constituents at the Verkhovna Rada

1. Often use this method
2. Sometimes use this method
3. Do not use this method
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

D. Distribute your own newsletter to report parliamentary activity

1. Often use this method
2. Sometimes use this method
3. Do not use this method
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

E. Make your opinions known through the mass media

1. Often use this method
2. Sometimes use this method
3. Do not use this method
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

F. Send letters to individuals

1. Often use this method
2. Sometimes use this method
3. Do not use this method
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

G. Make presentations at party gatherings

1. Often use this method
2. Sometimes use this method
3. Do not use this method
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

H. Meet with individual constituents at your district office

1. Often use this method
2. Sometimes use this method
3. Do not use this method
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

I. Through the use of new information and communication technologies such as social media networks (twitter), Skype, etc.

1. Often use this method

2. Sometimes use this method
3. Do not use this method
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

**THESE ARE QUESTIONS SPECIFICALLY FOR SINGLE MANDATE DEPUTIES:**

31. As a legislator representing a specific electoral district, which resources provided through the Verkhovna Rada are most necessary for you to be able to fulfill your responsibilities: PLEASE IDENTIFY THE TOP THREE (NOTE TO INTERVIEWERS: Please rotate the order of the prompts)

1. Allowance to hire personal staff
2. Allowance for establishing a district office
3. Allowance for traveling to my district
4. Allowance to address the constituency through local press
5. Air time on local state TV and Radio
6. Other \_\_\_\_\_
7. Difficult to say
8. No answer

32. How long has it taken you to establish that office since you were sworn in as an MP of the Verkhovna Rada of the 7<sup>th</sup> convocation? [OPEN ENDED]

\_\_\_\_\_

33. As a legislator representing a specific electoral district, please indicate where you have established or plan to establish your district office:

1. In a room on the premises of the Rayon Administration
2. In a room on the premises of the City Administration
3. In my own privately owned premises
4. In premises that I rent from a private entity
5. In premises that my faction/party has established
6. Don't know
7. Other \_\_\_\_\_
8. Difficult to say
9. No answer

34. How many paid and/or unpaid staff work in your district office? [OPEN ENDED– can include total number or number each of full and part-time and volunteers]

\_\_\_\_\_

35. An MP's ability to have conversations and/or dialogue or correspond with constituents to hear their concerns or problems [case work] is an important part of the MPs work. Which three of the following do you use most often to communicate with your constituents from your district? (NOTE TO INTERVIEWERS: Please rotate the order of the prompts)

1. Communicate through my office assistant
- 2..Personally through a formal arranged meeting (by appointment in person)
3. Personally at organized meetings with groups of citizens in my district
4. Personally by telephone
- 5..Written correspondence - postal mail

6. Electronic correspondence - e-mail
7. Electronic through social media
8. Other \_\_\_\_\_
9. Difficult to say
10. No answer

## SECTION VI: SEPARATION OF POWERS AND LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE RELATIONS

36. Would you say that the system of separation of powers between the President and the Verkhovna Rada as defined by the 1996 Constitution provides a foundation for building a democratic Ukrainian state?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Difficult to say
4. No answer

37. For the following components of the Ukrainian separation of powers system under the 1996 Constitution, please tell me how effectively you believe that component actually works contributing to a workable system of government in Ukraine.

[RESPONDENT SHOULD BE GIVEN A HAND CARD: "THE DEGREE OF EFFECTIVENESS THAT THIS COMPONENT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO ATTAINING A WORKABLE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN UKRAINE" THESE OPTIONS SHOULD BE LISTED ON HAND CARD]:

1. Very effective
2. Somewhat effective
3. Not very effective
4. Not effective at all

A. Power given to the parliamentary majority to appoint the prime-minister and other members of the Cabinet

1. Very effective
2. Somewhat effective
3. Not very effective
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say \_\_\_\_\_
6. No answer

B. Power of the President to dismiss the Verkhovna Rada

1. Very effective
2. Somewhat effective
3. Not very effective
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say \_\_\_\_\_
6. No answer

C. Power of veto given to the president

1. Very effective

2. Somewhat effective
3. Not very effective
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say \_\_\_\_\_
6. No answer

D. Power to override presidential veto given to the parliament

1. Very effective
2. Somewhat effective
3. Not very effective
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

E. Power to resolve disputes between the Parliament and the President given to the Constitutional Court

1. Very effective
2. Somewhat effective
3. Not very effective
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

38. In the past, national deputies of Ukraine often noted that the Constitution of Ukraine needs to be amended to accommodate developments in Ukraine since 1996. Would you say that the Constitution:

1. Should provide President of Ukraine with more powers
2. Should provide the Parliament of Ukraine with more powers
3. Should provide more powers to the Cabinet of Ministers
4. Needs no changes
5. Other \_\_\_\_\_
6. Difficult to say
7. No answer

## **SECTION VII: PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT OVER THE EXECUTIVE**

39. The Verkhovna Rada has established some mechanisms to provide for parliamentary oversight of the actions of the executive branch. I am going to read some of them. For each one, I am going to ask you to tell me whether you feel (1) very effective in conducting oversight (2) somewhat effective in conducting oversight (3) a little effective in conducting oversight or (4) hardly at all effective in conducting oversight.

A. Government Question Hour

1. Very effective in conducting oversight
2. Somewhat effective in conducting oversight

3. Hardly at all effective in conducting oversight
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

B. Accounting Chamber

1. Very effective in conducting oversight
2. Somewhat effective in conducting oversight
3. Hardly at all effective in conducting oversight
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

C. Committees

1. Very effective in conducting oversight
2. Somewhat effective in conducting oversight
3. Hardly at all effective in conducting oversight
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

D. Committee Hearings

1. Very effective in conducting oversight
2. Somewhat effective in conducting oversight
3. Hardly at all effective in conducting oversight
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

E. Parliamentary Hearings

1. Very effective in conducting oversight
2. Somewhat effective in conducting oversight
3. Hardly at all effective in conducting oversight
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

F. Budgeting Process

1. Very effective in conducting oversight
2. Somewhat effective in conducting oversight
3. Hardly at all effective in conducting oversight
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

G. Deputy petitions to individual ministers on specific issues

1. Very effective in conducting oversight
  2. Somewhat effective in conducting oversight
  3. Hardly at all effective in conducting oversight
  4. Not effective at all
  5. Difficult to say
  6. No answer
40. Of these different tools of legislative oversight, please identify first, second, and third most frequently used tool in the Rada that you use in from the list of the following:
- A. Government Question Hour
  - B. Accounting Chamber
  - C. Committees
  - D. Committee Hearings,
  - B. Parliamentary Hearings
  - D. Budget Process
  - E. Deputy petitions to individual ministers on specific issues

First most frequently used tool of legislative oversight \_\_\_\_\_

Second \_\_\_\_\_

Third \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_ I do not take part in any activities that require using tools of legislative oversight.

41. In other democratic countries, parliaments use a variety of additional mechanisms to provide for parliamentary oversight over the executive. I am going to read some of them. For each one, I am going to ask you to tell me whether, in your opinion, with the expanded role of Parliament this mechanism would be (1) very effective in conducting oversight (2) somewhat effective in conducting oversight (3) a little effective in conducting oversight or (4) hardly at all effective in conducting oversight.

A. Power to require Government officials to appear before parliamentary committees in hearings

1. Very effective in conducting oversight
2. Somewhat effective in conducting oversight
3. Hardly at all effective in conducting oversight
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

B. Power to require ministries to provide written reports on implementation of laws to the Parliament

1. Very effective in conducting oversight
2. Somewhat effective in conducting oversight
3. Hardly at all effective in conducting oversight
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

C. Power to require ministries to periodically submit performance indicators including quantitative information about results achieved in implementation of programs enacted by the Parliament

1. Very effective in conducting oversight
2. Somewhat effective in conducting oversight
3. Hardly at all effective in conducting oversight
4. Not effective at all
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

#### **SECTION VIII: PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIAT AND STAFF**

42. Do you think that Parliament as a whole has a sufficient number of professional staff?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Difficult to say
4. No answer

43. If the Parliament were to appropriate money for additional staff, which of the following should have priority?

1. Parliamentary committees
2. Parliamentary factions
3. Existing Verkhovna Rada Staff (Secretariat) units
4. Research Services
5. Personal staff of individual members
6. Difficult to say
7. No answer

44. Please tell me what proportion of existing parliamentary staff you believe have the necessary skills to support the legislative activity of the Verkhovna Rada?

1. 75-100%
2. 50-75%
3. 25-50%
4. 0 -25%
5. Difficult to say
6. No answer

45. I'm going to read you a list of additional skills deputies have indicated parliamentary staff needs in order to adequately support the parliament. Please choose the most important additional skill that they need. Then please choose the second most important skill that they need.

[THESE OPTIONS SHOULD BE LISTED ON A HANDCARD AND GIVEN TO THE RESPONDENT]

1. Knowledge of legislative drafting techniques
2. Economic analysis
3. Ability to analyze future positive and negative effects of proposed draft bills
4. Legal analysis
5. Expertise in a specific substantive area of legislation

6. Knowledge of constituents' problems

7. Political Skills

8. Other \_\_\_\_\_

Most important: \_\_\_\_\_

Second most important: \_\_\_\_\_

46. Now I'd like to ask you about your personal staff. I'm going to read you a list of additional skills deputies have indicated personal staff need in order to adequately support their activities in parliament. Please choose the most important additional skill that they need. Then please choose the second most important skill that they need.

[THESE OPTIONS SHOULD BE LISTED ON A HANDCARD AND GIVEN TO THE RESPONDENT]

1. Knowledge of legislative drafting techniques

2. Economic analysis

3. Ability to analyze future positive and negative effects of proposed draft bills

4. Legal analysis

5. Expertise in a specific substantive area of legislation

6. Knowledge of constituents' problems

7. Political Skills

8. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Most important: \_\_\_\_\_

Second most important: \_\_\_\_\_

47. Some parliaments of the world employ a staff member who serves as an independent interpreter of the rules. Others assign this responsibility exclusively to the parliamentary leadership. And others assign it to a committee. For the Verkhovna Rada, would you like to see an independent interpreter of the rules appointed, or would you rather leave rules interpretation exclusively to the leadership, or would you assign rules interpretation to a rules committee?

1. Independent Interpreter

2. Leadership

3. Rules committee

4. Difficult to say

5. No answer

## SECTION IX: TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE ORGANIZATIONS

Finally, I am going to ask you about technical assistance organizations, both foreign and Ukrainian organizations whose purpose is to help the Parliament and the deputies. I am going to ask you if they have helped the Parliament as a whole and you as an individual deputy.

48. First, with respect to the Verkhovna Rada as a whole, do you know of any assistance organizations that you think have been helpful to the Parliament?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Difficult to say
4. No answer

[IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED “1. YES”, ASK QUESTION 49, THEN 50. IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED “2. NO” OR 3. OR 4. GO TO QUESTION 51.]

49. Which organizations have been helpful to the parliament as a whole?

[LIST INDIVIDUAL ORGANIZATIONS MENTIONED:]

- org. 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
org. 2. \_\_\_\_\_  
org. 3. \_\_\_\_\_

50. I am going to read some of the kinds of methods that assistance organizations use to attempt to assist the Parliament. Would you please tell what methods are helpful. [RESPONDENT IS NOT LIMITED IN NUMBER OF OPTIONS TO SELECT]

1. Written publications on legislative priority topics
2. Seminars on legislative priority topics
3. Study visits to another country to examine that country’s experience in governance
4. Training of parliamentary staff in specific skills
5. Providing a consultant who stays in Ukraine for a long term to advise the Verkhovna Rada on legislative priority topics.
6. Educating citizens on how to effectively involve themselves in the legislative process through seminars and similar events
7. Difficult to say
8. No answer

51. I am going to read some issues confronting the Verkhovna Rada that international assistance organizations might help the parliament with in the future. Would you tell me whether this issue should be a priority for assistance.

[RESPONDENT IS NOT LIMITED IN NUMBER OF OPTIONS TO SELECT]

1. Rules Governing Legislative Procedures
2. Organizing the jurisdiction of parliamentary committees
3. Role of Committees in conducting oversight of the Executive Branch
4. Techniques in research analysis
5. Techniques in drafting legislation
6. Methods of Budgetary Analysis
7. IT for informing the public about VR activities and transparency of the legislative process
8. IT for engaging the public in the legislative process
9. VR staff organization

10. Work with constituents
11. Coordination of legislative drafting work between subjects of the legislative initiative
12. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
13. Difficult to say
14. No answer

52. Since 1995 the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has been fully funding the Parliamentary Internship Program. This funding will terminate July 31, 2013. What, in your opinion, should be done with regard to the Parliamentary Internship Program? Please select only one option.

1. The Parliamentary Internship Program should cease to exist
2. Funding for continuing Parliamentary Internship Program should be secured through the Verkhovna Rada's portion of the State Budget
3. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
4. Difficult to say
5. No answer

53. Since 2010, the Parliamentary Internship Program has been administered by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in partnership with the NGO alumni "Interns League", supported by PDP II. Do you agree that Parliament can support activities of such public organizations, such as the "League of Interns" as a partner in the program training young people in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Difficult to say
4. No answer

54. Would you be willing to vote for a line appropriation in the Verkhovna Rada's portion of the State Budget to fund the Parliamentary Internship Program?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Difficult to say
4. No answer

## D. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

**D1. Note the respondents' sex:** male ...1 female...2

**D2. How old you are?** \_\_\_\_\_ years

**D3. What is your education?**

Secondary education	1	→ D6
Special secondary education	2	
Higher education	3	

**D4. Do you have a degree?**

Master	1	→ D6
PhD	2	
Dr.	3	
None of the above	4	

**D5. Do you have an academic rank?**

Lecturer	1
Professor	2
Corresponding Member	3
Academician	4
None of the above	5

**D6. NOTE METHOD FOR ELECTION RESPONDENT:**

In majority district (SMD)	1
By party list	2

**D6A. Have you ever been National Deputy of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in previous convocations, if so, which one(s)? Multiple answers possible**

First Convocation (1990–1994 )	1
Second Convocation (1994–1998 )	2
Third Convocation (1998–2002 )	3
Fourth Convocation (2002–2006 )	4
Fifth Convocation (2006–2007 )	5
Sixth Convocation (2007–2012 )	6
None of the previous convocations	7
NO ANSWER	8

**D7. If your faction has authorized you to work with voters in one of the regions (oblasts) of Ukraine, in which? Multiple answers possible**

Crimea	1	Zaporizka	10	Sumska	19
Kiev (city)	2	Ivano-Frankivska	11	Ternopil'ska	20
Kiyvska	3	Kirovograd'ska	12	Harkiv'ska	21
Vinnitska	4	Luganska	13	Herson'ska	22
Volinska	5	Lviv'ska	14	Hmel'nitska	23
Dnipropetrovska	6	Mykolayvska	15	Cherkast'ska	24
Donetska	7	Odessa	16	Chernivetska	25
Zhytomir'ska	8	Poltav'ska	17	Chernigiv'ska	26
Zakarpatska	9	Rivnenska	18	Not authorized	27

**D8. Were you a member of any political party at the time of the election, if so – which one?**

**D9. Are you a member of any political party now, if so – which one?**

	<b>D8 Party at the time of elections</b>	<b>D9 Party at the time of the survey</b>
Independent	1	1
Political Party Ukrainian Platform "Sobor"	2	2
Socialist Party of Ukraine	3	3
Communist Party of Ukraine	4	4
Political Association "Ridna Vitchyzna"	5	5
Party "Ukraine - Go!"	6	6
Party "Russian Block!"	7	7
Political Party All-Ukrainian Union "Community"	8	8
Political Party Ukrainian National Assembly	9	9
Liberal Party of Ukraine	10	10
Political Party "New Politics"	11	11
Political Party All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda"	12	12
Ukrainian Party "Green Planet"	13	13
Party of Pensioners of Ukraine	14	14
Political party "Our Ukraine"	15	15
Political Party "The Greens"	16	16
Green Party of Ukraine	17	17
Political party "UDAR (Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform) Vitaliy Klitschko"	18	18
Political Party "Ukraine is the future"	19	19
Political party All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland"	20	20
Party of Regions	21	21
Political Party "People's Labour Union of Ukraine"	22	22
Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko	23	23
Other (write down)	24	24

**D10. What is your profession (by Education)? CARD D10**

Military expert	1
Engineering and construction profession	2
Doctor	3
Journalist	4
Culture, art	5
Educator	6
Natural profession	7
Religious Figure	8
Agricultural trade	9
Management expert, economist	10
Trade expert	11
Lawyer, sociologist, political scientist	12
Other (write down)	13

**D11. Of which Faction are you a Member?**

Party of Regions faction in Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine	1
Faction of the All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland"	2
Faction of a political party "UDAR (Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform) Vitaliy Klitschko"	3
Communist Party of Ukraine	4
Faction of the All-Ukrainian Union "Freedom"	5
Not part of any faction	6

**12. Do you belong to a committee, if so, which?**

Committee on Agrarian Policy and Land Relations	1
Committee on Fighting Organized Crime and Corruption	2
Committee on Construction, City Zoning and Communal and Housing Sector, and Regional Policy	3
Committee on Budget	4
Committee on Rule of Law and Justice	5
Committee on State Building and Local Self-Government	6
Committee on Ecologic Policy, Use of Natural Resources and Cleanup of the Chernobyl Aftermaths	7
Committee on Economic Policy	8
Committee on European Integration	9
Committee on Legislative Support to Law Enforcement	10
Committee on Informatization and Information Technologies	11
Committee on Culture and Spirituality	12
Committee on Science and Education	13
Committee on National Security and Defense	14
Committee on Health	15
Committee on Fuel and Energy Sector, Nuclear Policy and Nuclear Safety	16
Committee on Entrepreneurship, Regulatory Policy and Anti-Monopoly Policy	17
Committee on Tax and Customs Policies	18
Committee on Human Rights, National Minorities and Inter-Ethnic Relations	19
Committee on Legal Policy	20
Committee on Industrial and Investment Policies	21
Committee on the Rules of Procedure, Deputy Ethics, and Organization of VR Work	22
Committee on Freedom of Speech and Information	23
Committee on Family Issues, Youth Policy, Sports, and Tourism	24
Committee on Social Policy and Labor	25
Committee on Transport and Communications	26
Committee on Finances and Banking	27
Committee on Foreign Relations	28
Committee on Pensioners, Veterans and Disabled Individuals	29

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATION IN THIS SURVEY. WE REALLY APPRECIATE YOUR TIME AND CONSIDERATION!**

TIME END INTERVIEW \_\_\_\_\_ HOURS \_\_\_\_\_ MINUTES