



Ukraine – Assessment and Perspectives

Grigore Pop-Eleches
Princeton University

May 21, 2014

Oblasts (Regions)

Threat assessment in southeastern Ukraine as of April 30, 2014

Source:
Information
Resistance



Threat level

10	
9	Donetsk, Luhansk
8	
7	
6	Kharkiv
5	Odesa
4	Zaporizhia
3	Mykolayiv, Kherson
2	Dnipropetrovsk
1	
0	

0 – no threat

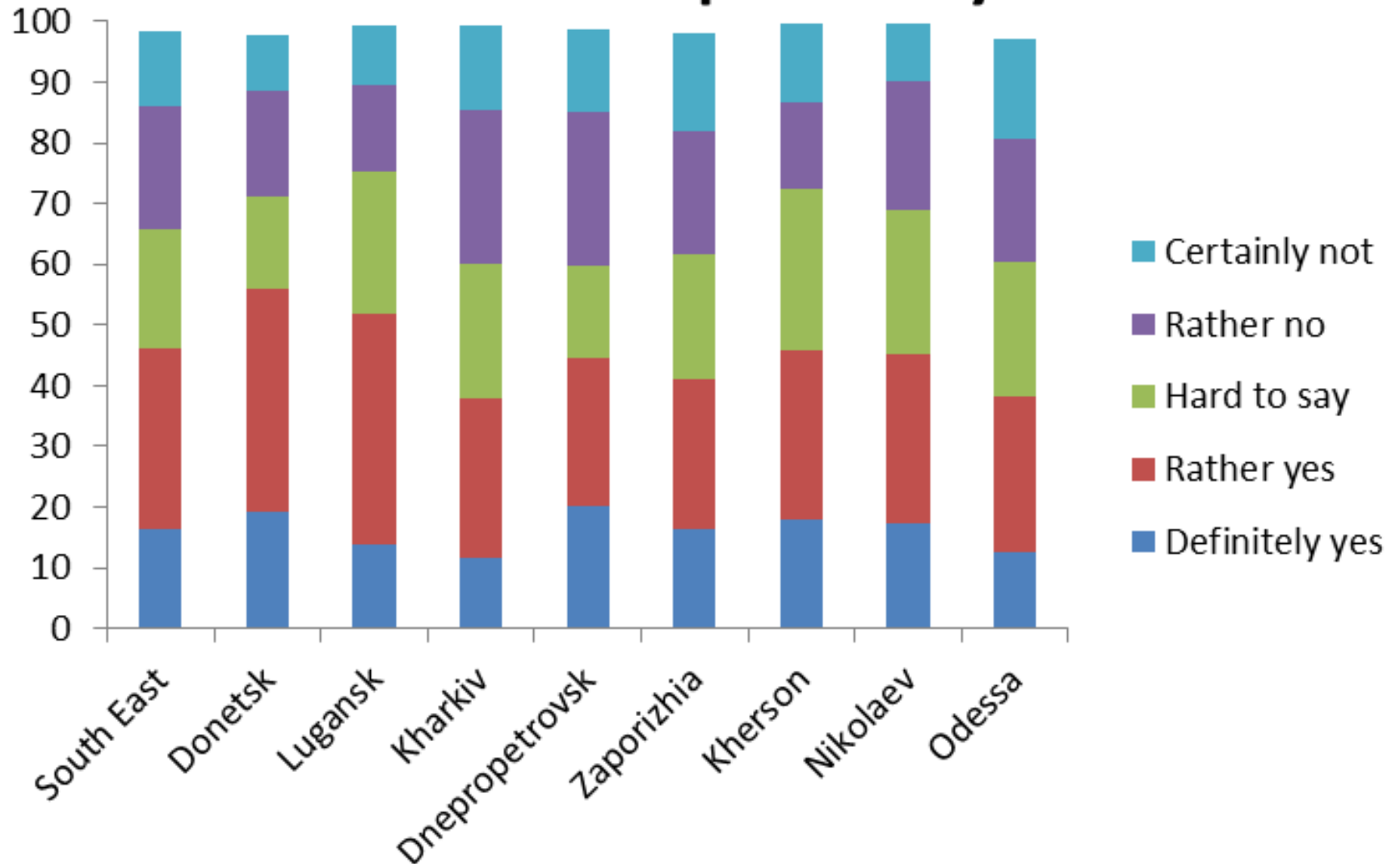
10 – region is under
extremist control



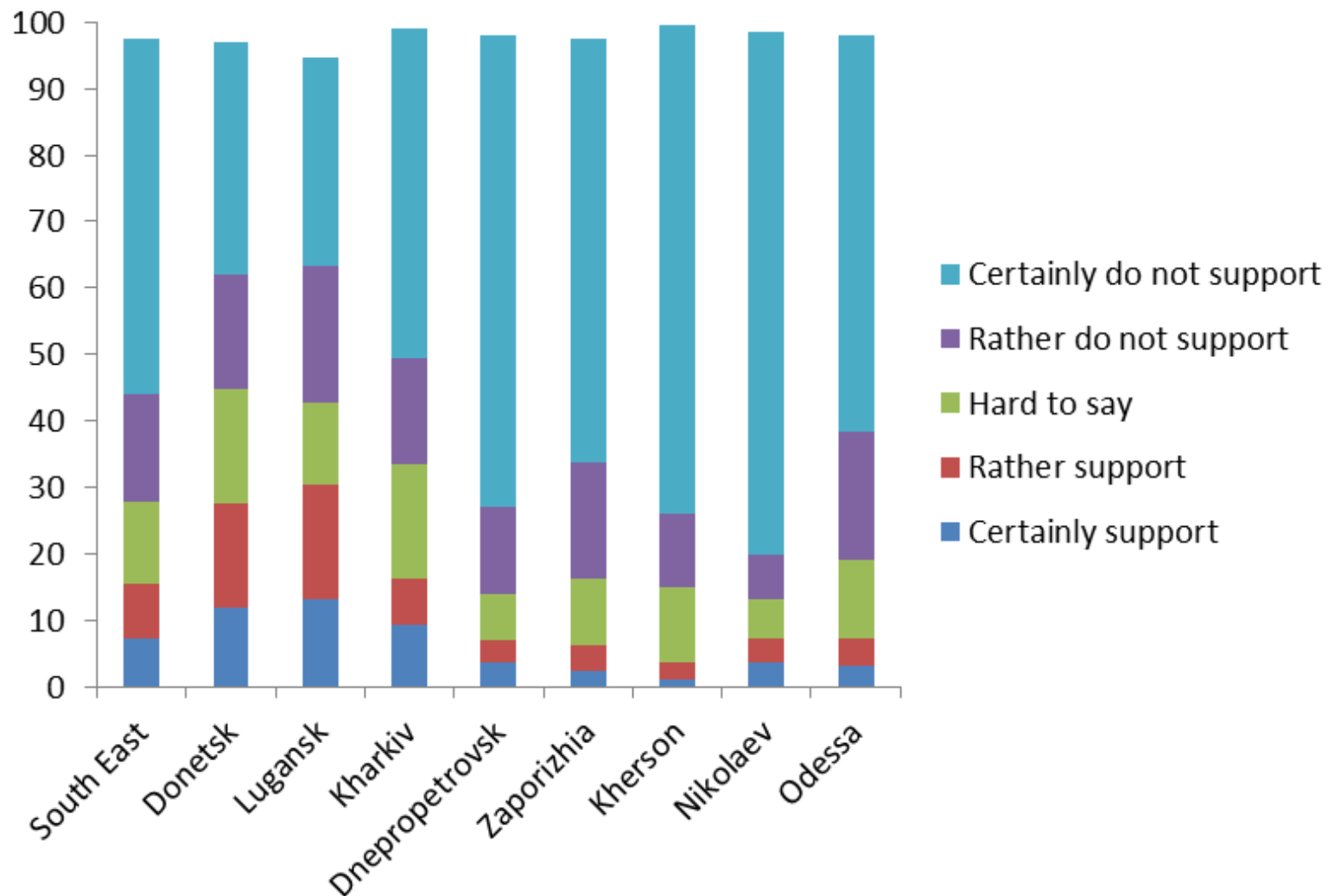
© Sergii Gorbachov, 2014

-  Separatist seizure of administrative buildings
-  Mass separatist rallies
-  Small separatist rallies
-  Separatist attacks on pro-Ukrainian rallies
-  Threat of Russian invasion
-  Threat of raids by subversive groups
-  Threat of airborne troops landing by shore
-  Temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine

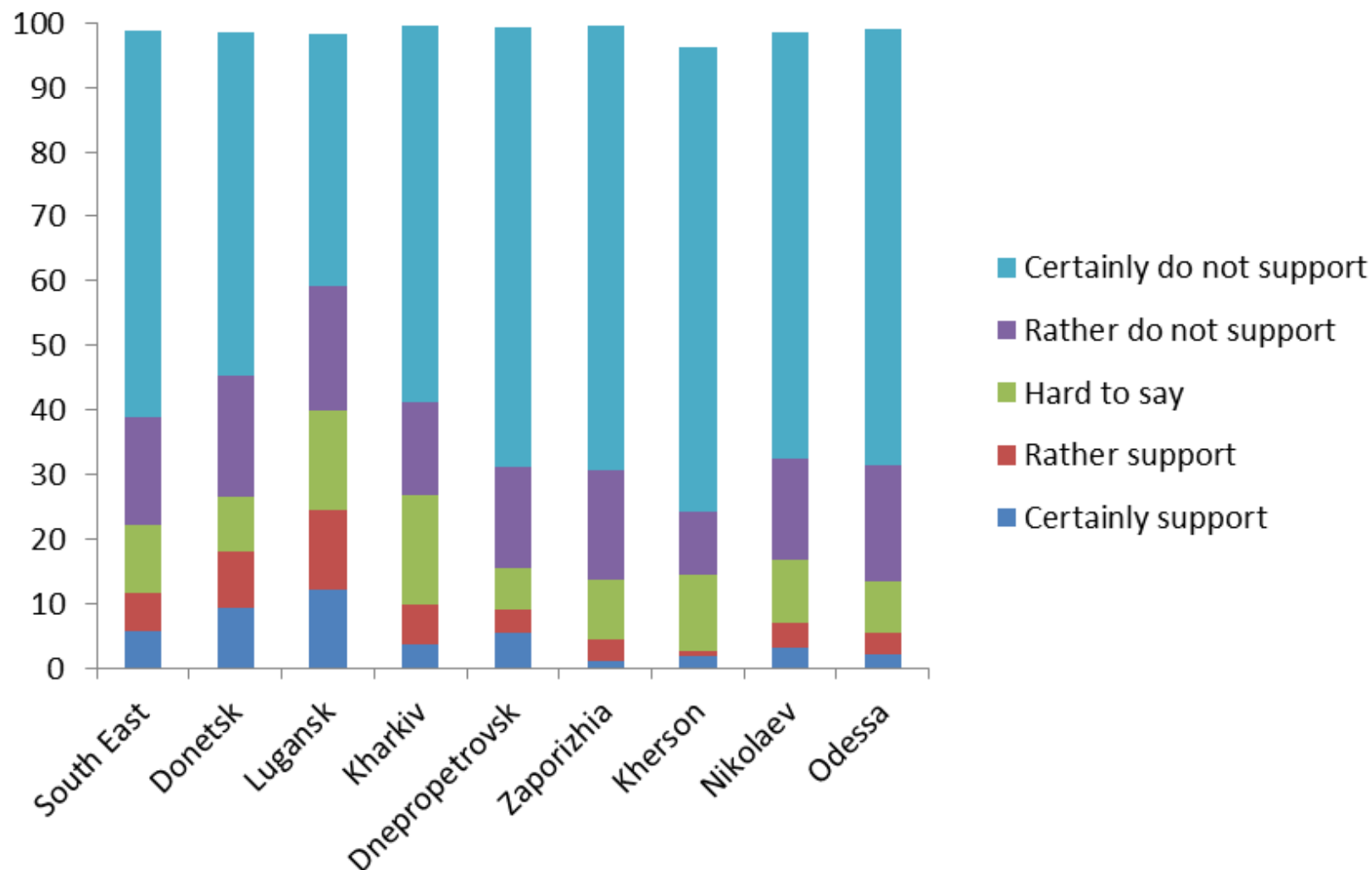
Civil war a possibility?



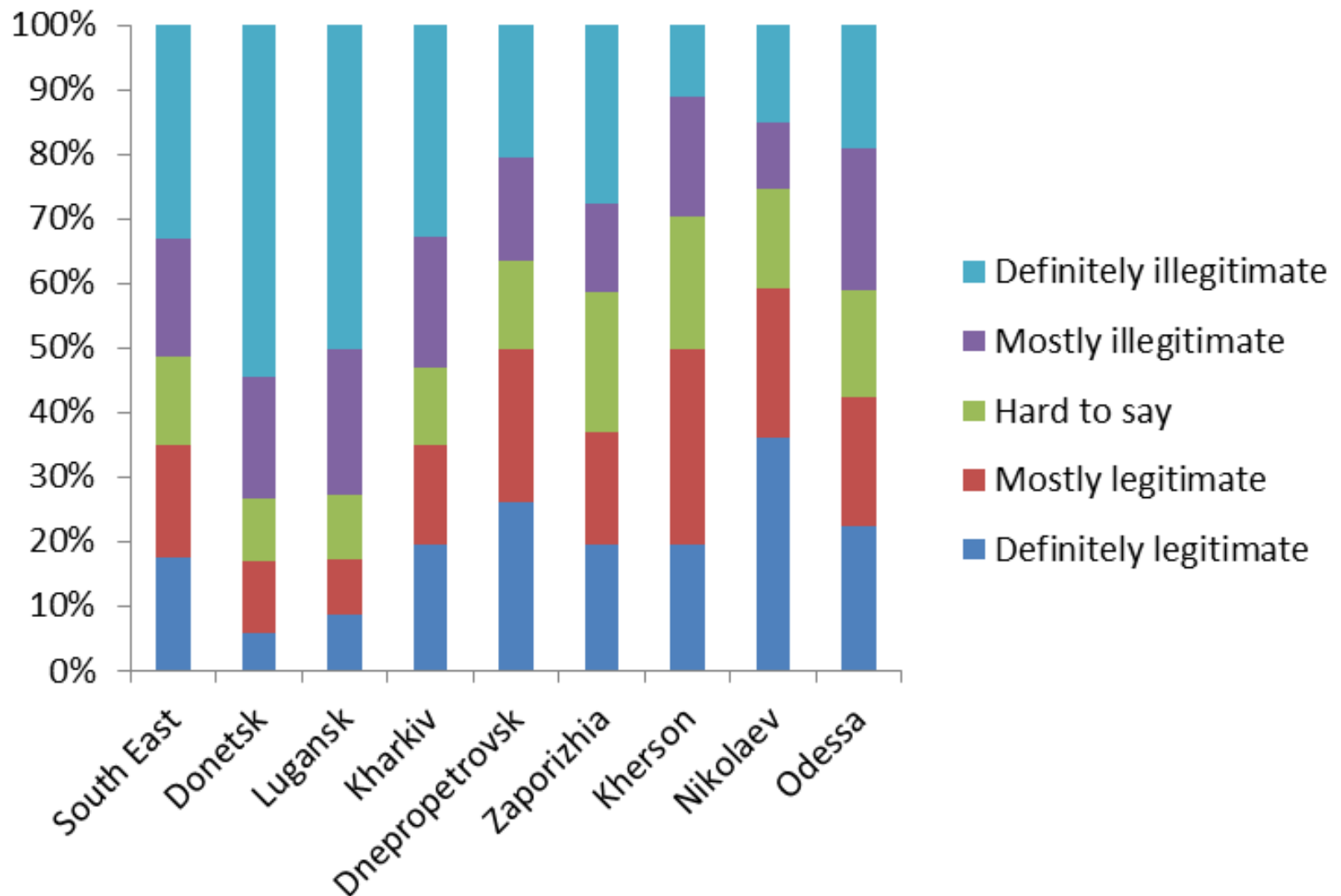
Support own region joining Russia



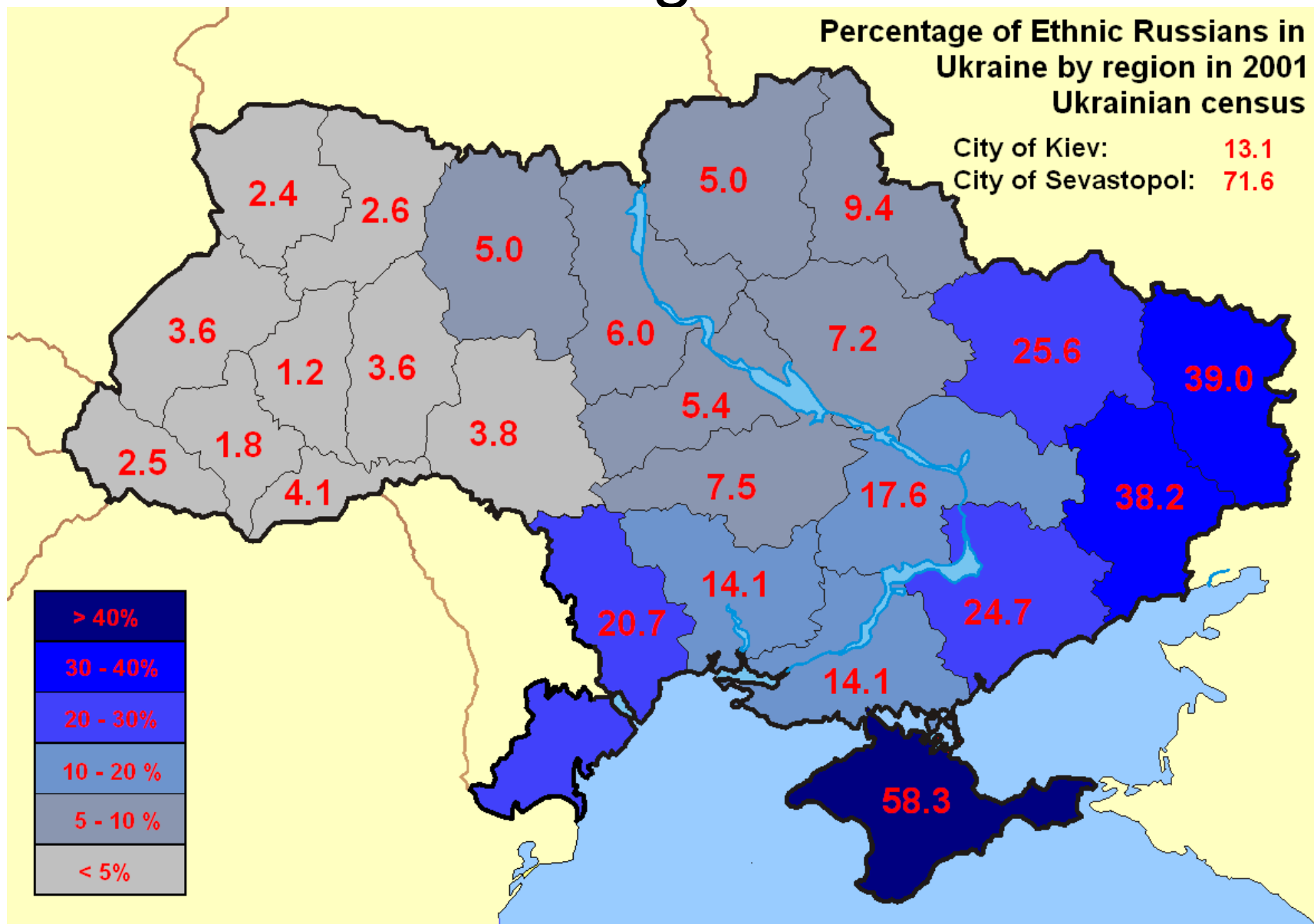
Support militants occupying admin buildings



Legitimacy of Interim Gov't



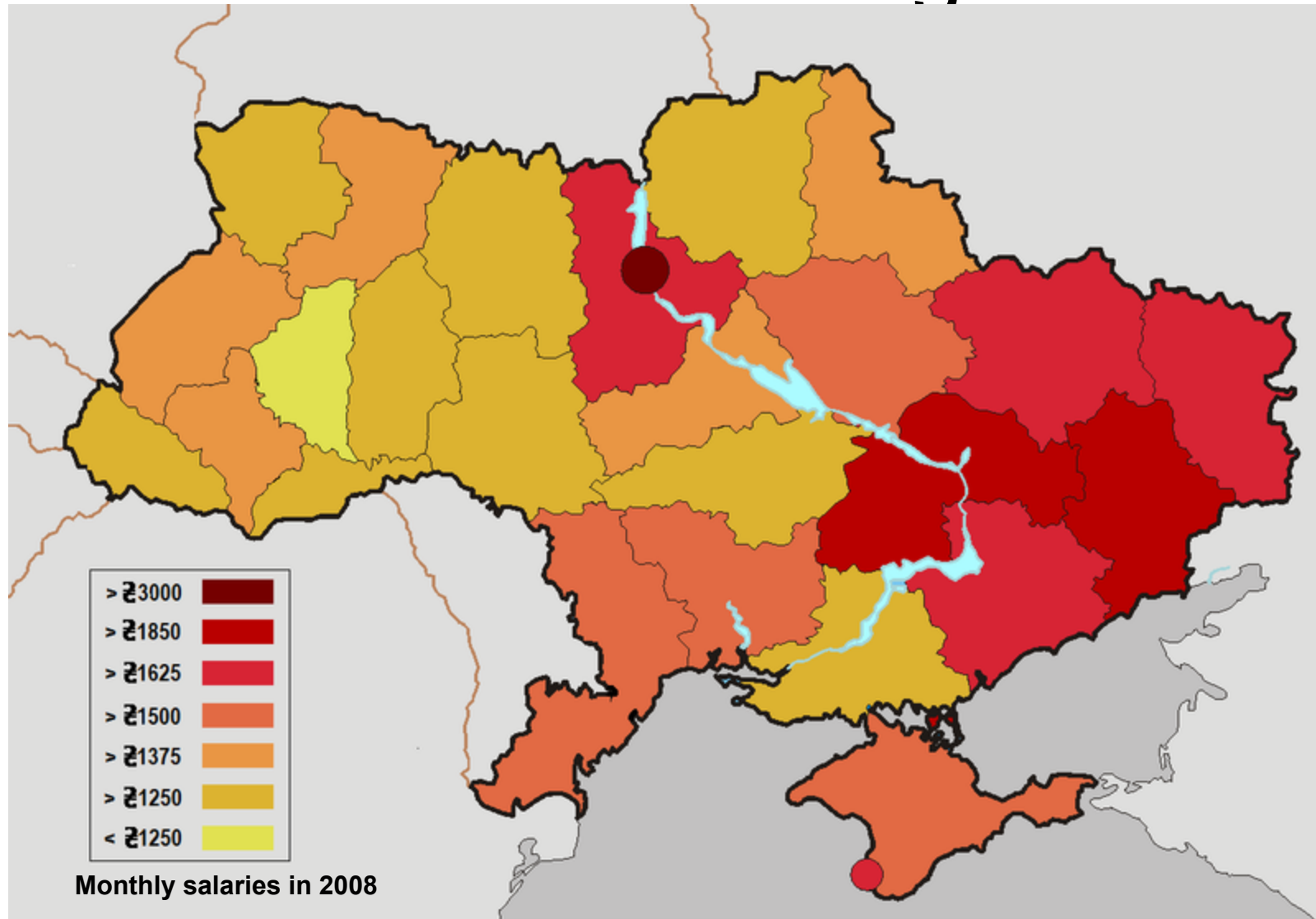
The ethnic cleavage



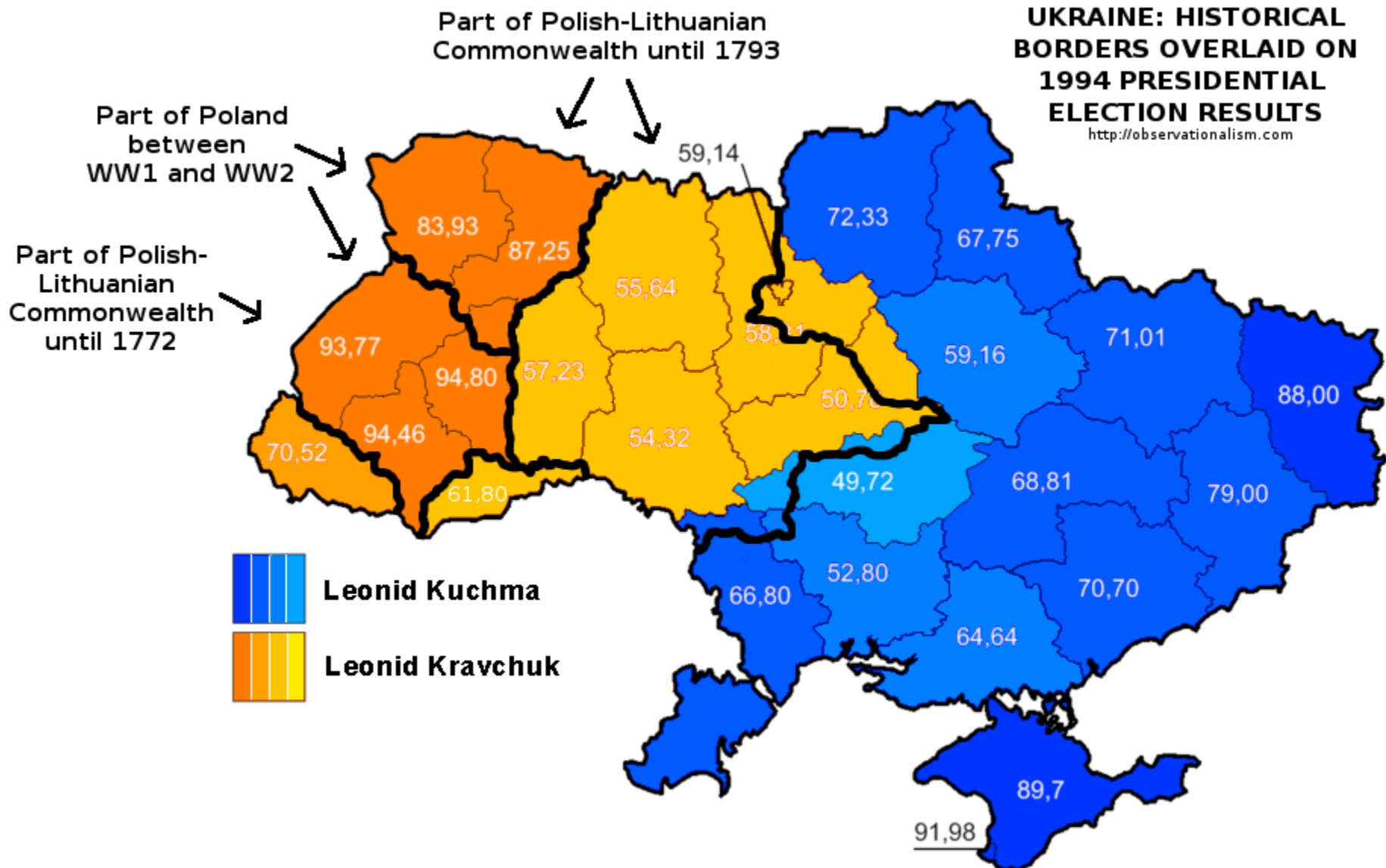
The linguistic cleavage



The economic cleavage



Political cleavages and historical legacies



Протести в Україні. Хто контролює регіони країни

Protests in Ukraine. Who controls regions

21:00

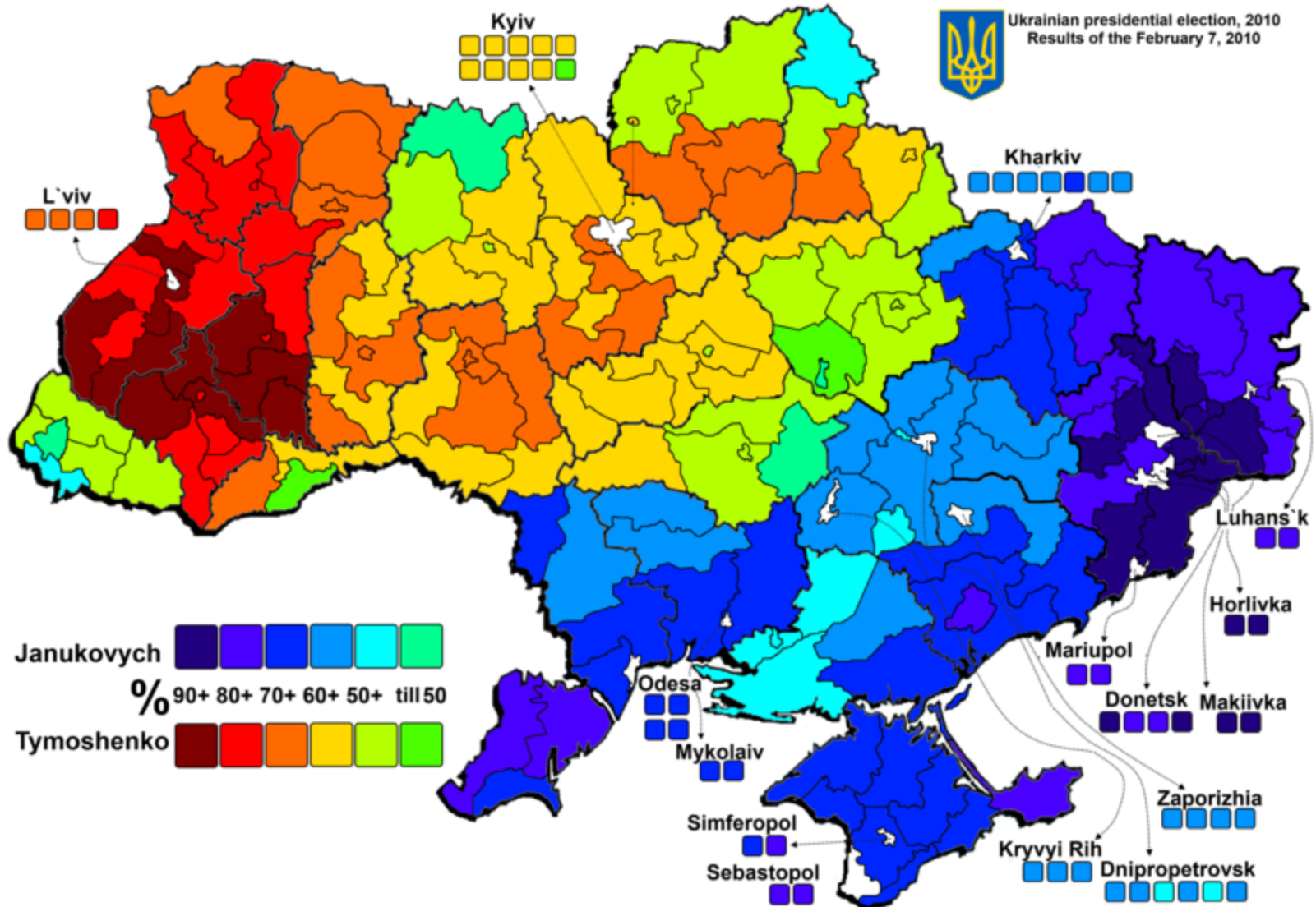
#euromaidan



Оскільки протестувальників підтримали практично всі футбольні фан-клуби (крім Севастополя), позначки окремих міст знято, щоб спростити карту. Поскільки протестувальники підтримали всі футбольні фан-клуби (крім Севастополя), позначки окремих міст знято, щоб упростити карту. Because of practically all football fan-clubs support protesters (apart from Sevastopol), individual city marks were removed to simplify the map.

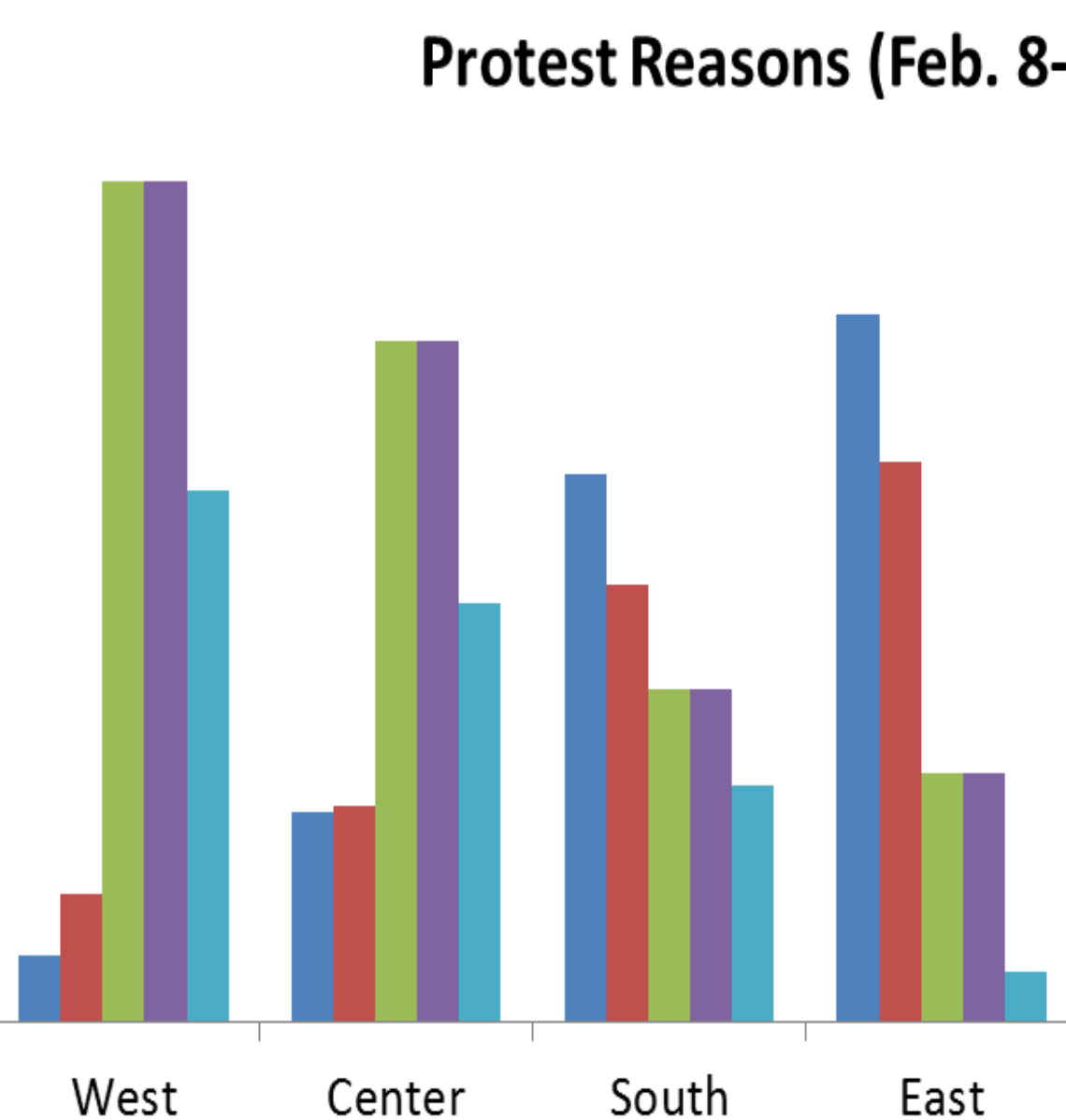
© Sergii Gorbachov, 2014

The political cleavage (2010)

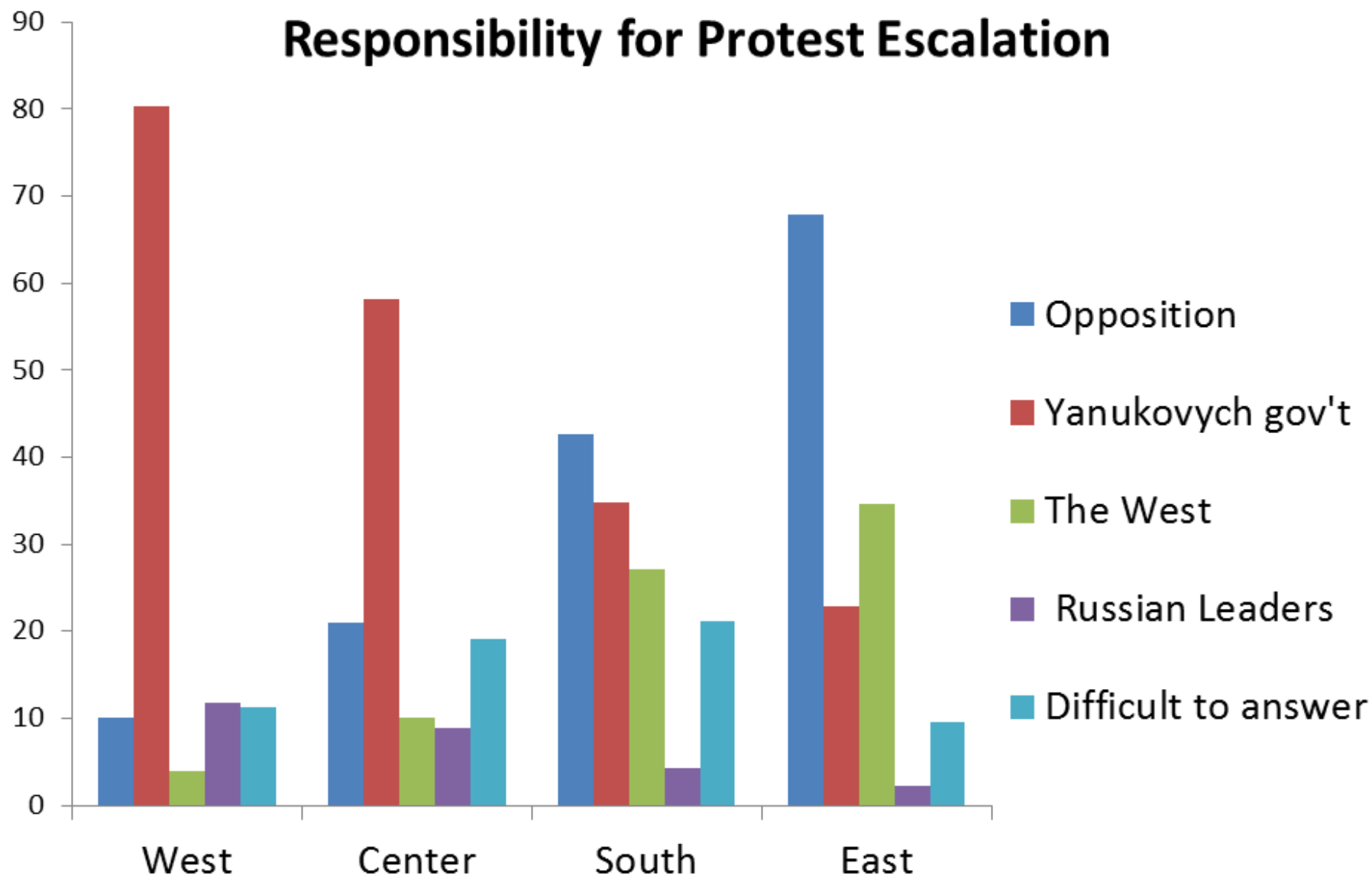


Protest Reasons (Feb. 8-18)

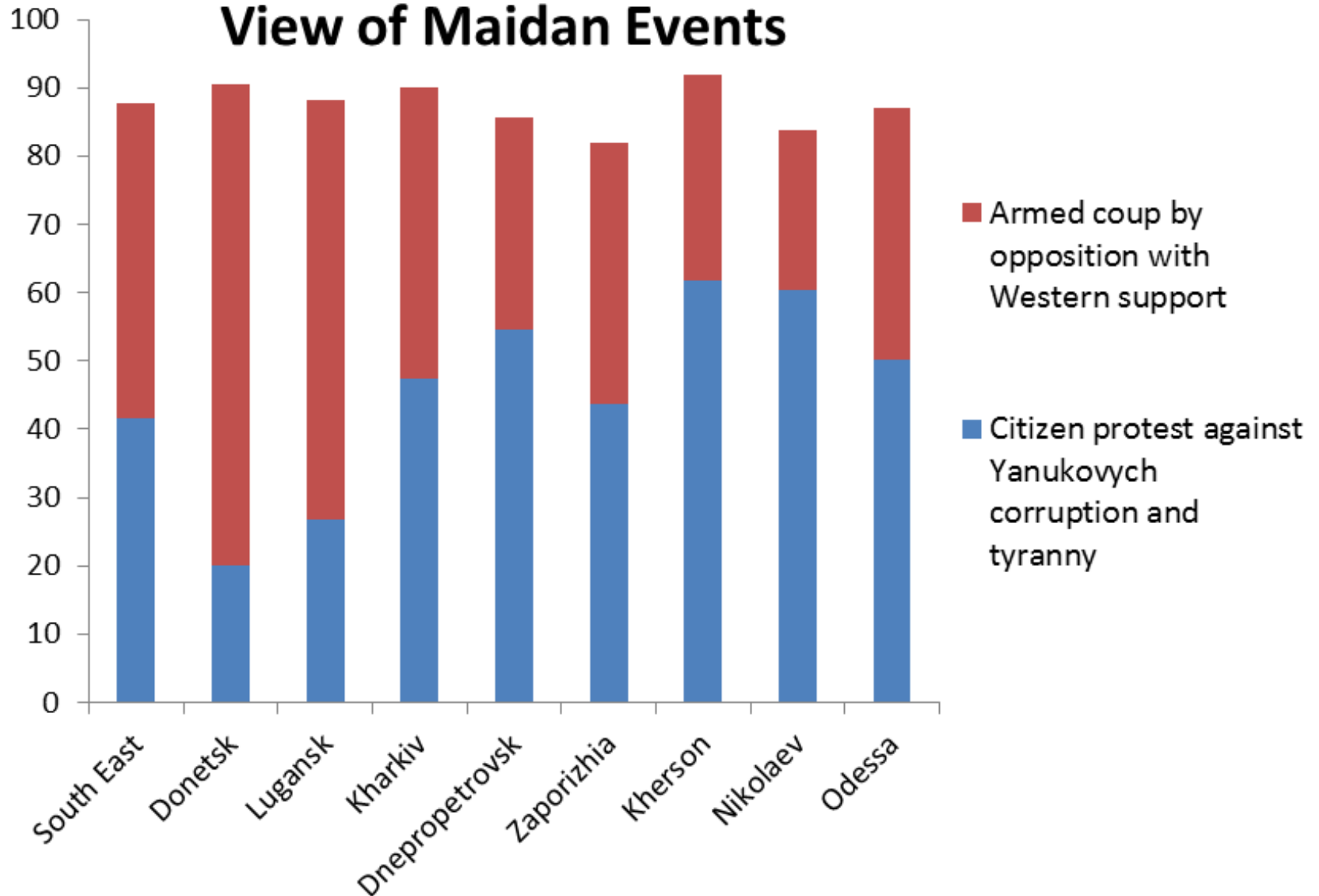
- Western meddling
- Nationalist sentiments
- Become "normal" European country
- Yanukovych regime corruption
- Response to Berkut harsh actions



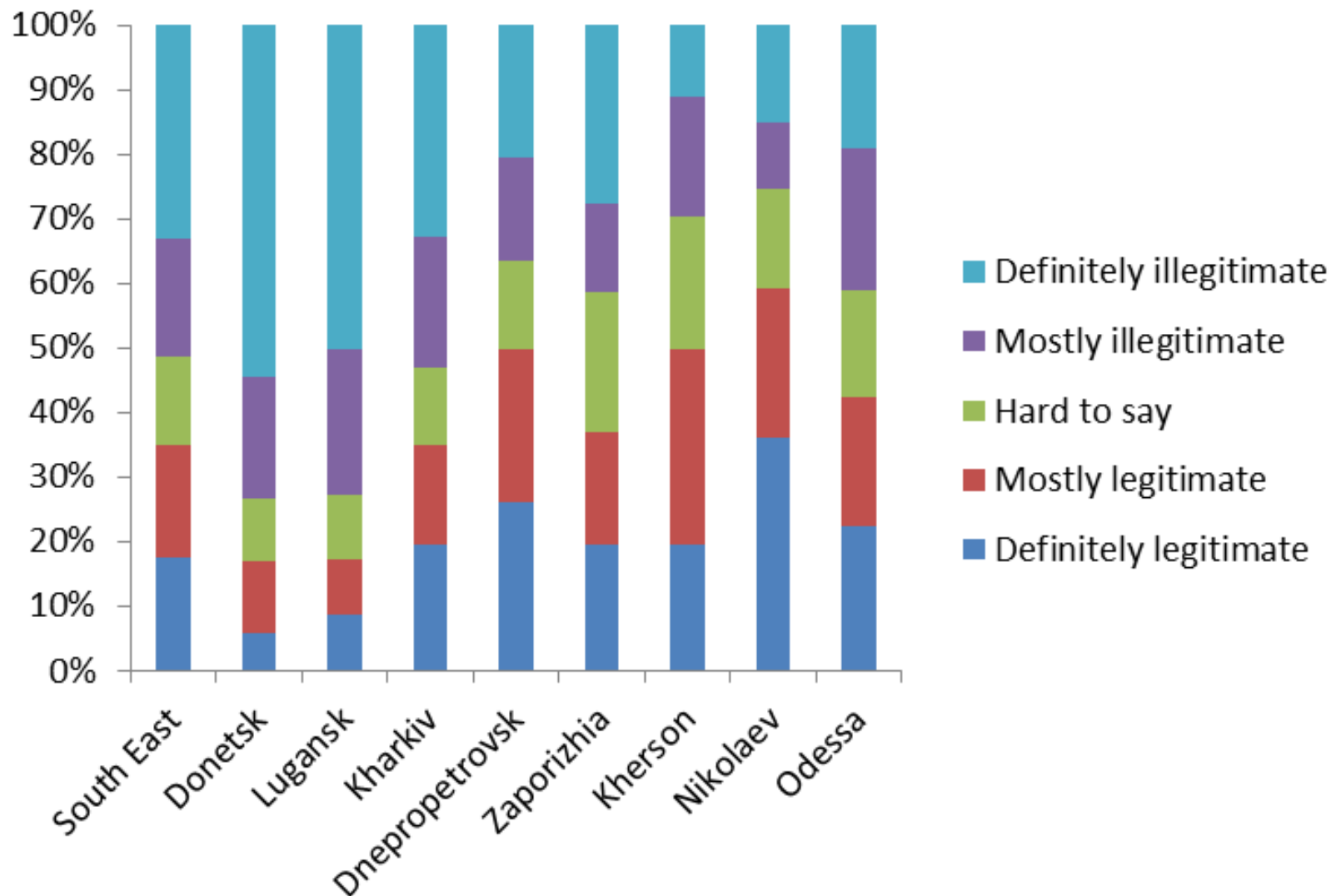
Responsibility for Protest Escalation



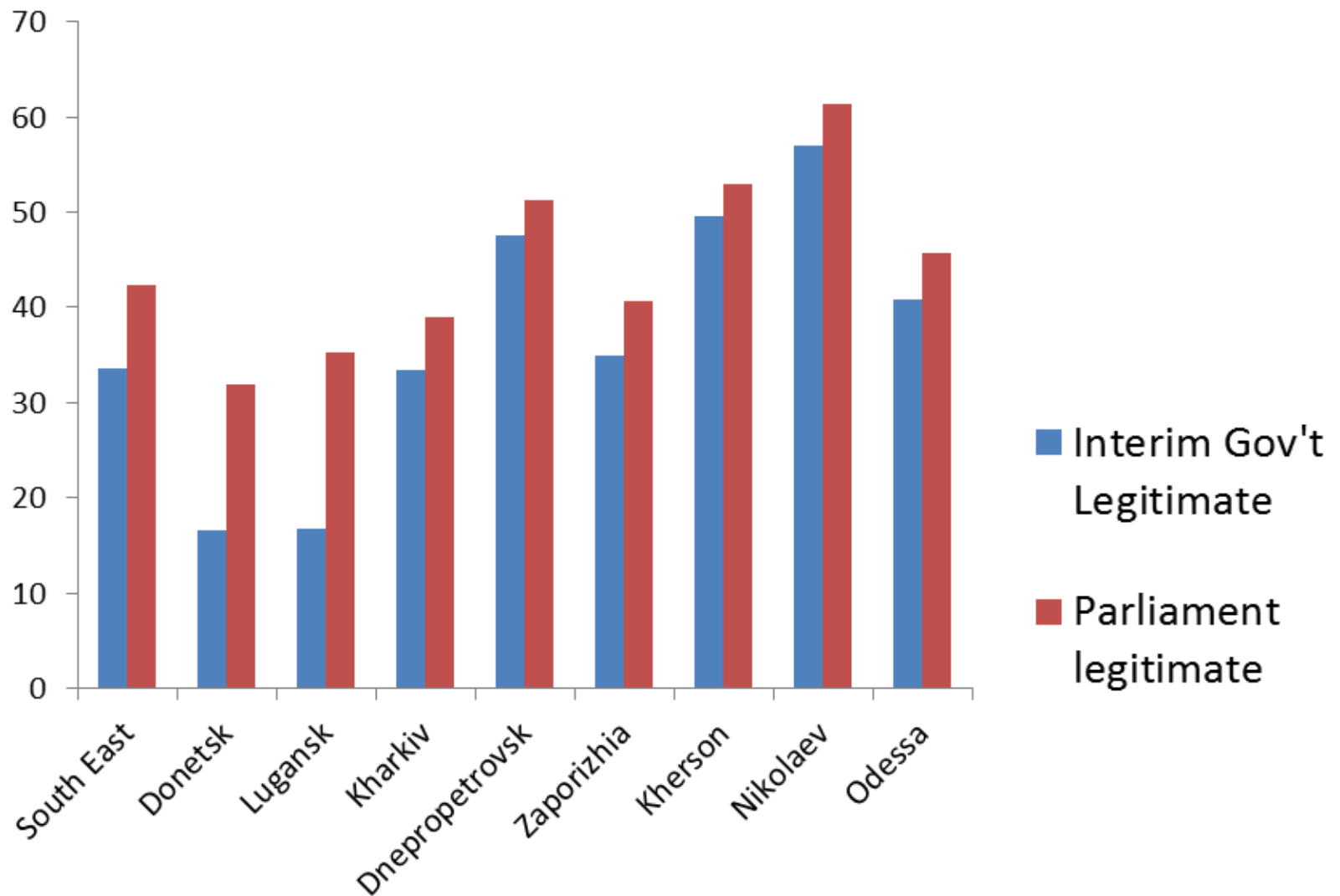
View of Maidan Events



Legitimacy of Interim Gov't

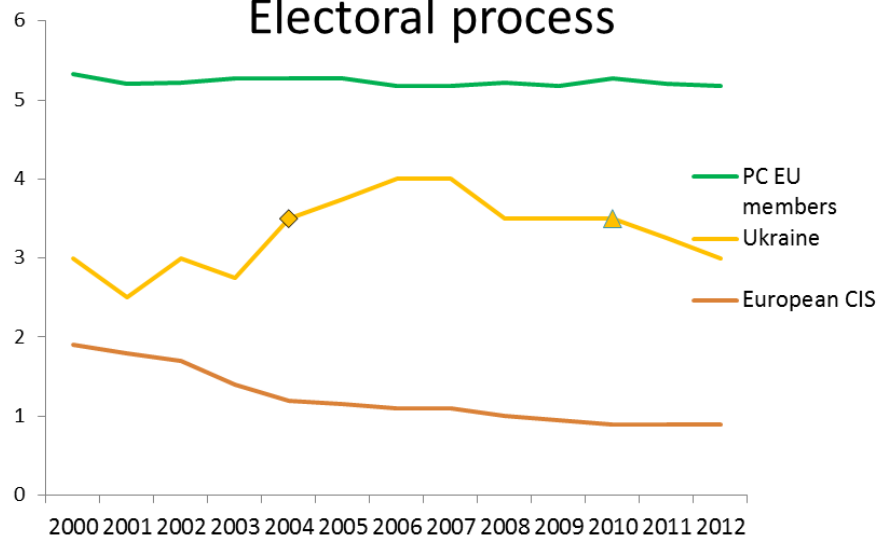


Gov't vs. Parliament Legitimacy

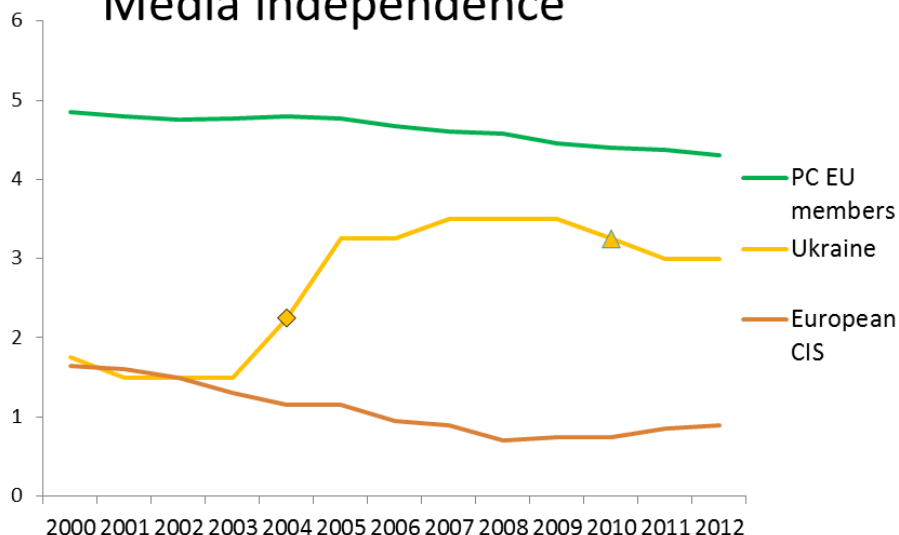


Ukraine's governance in comparative perspective

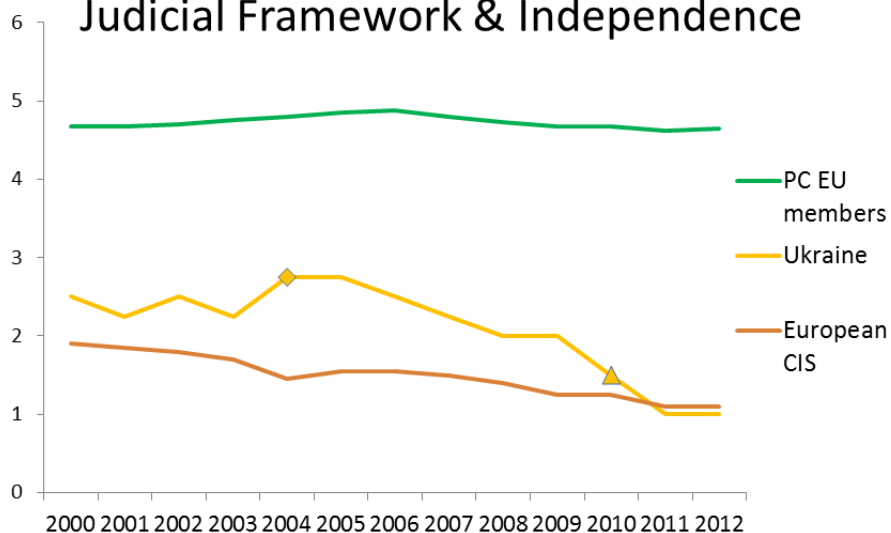
Electoral process



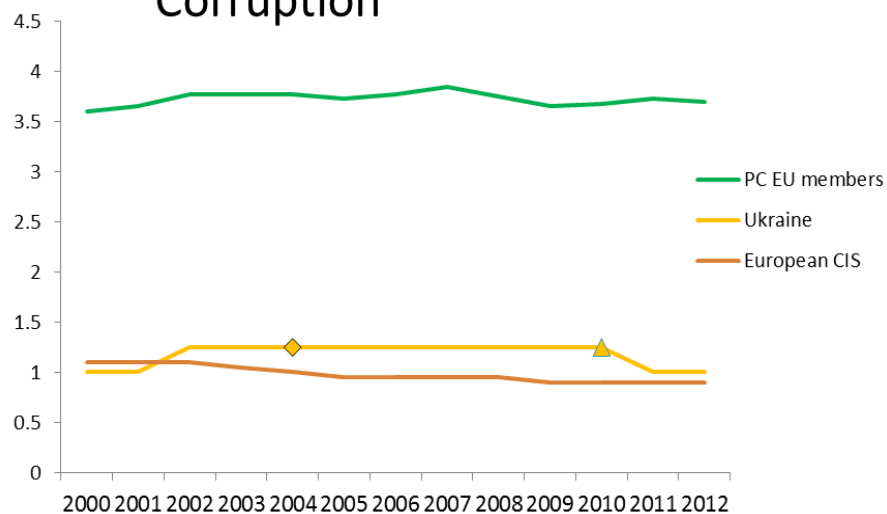
Media independence



Judicial Framework & Independence



Corruption



Civil Society



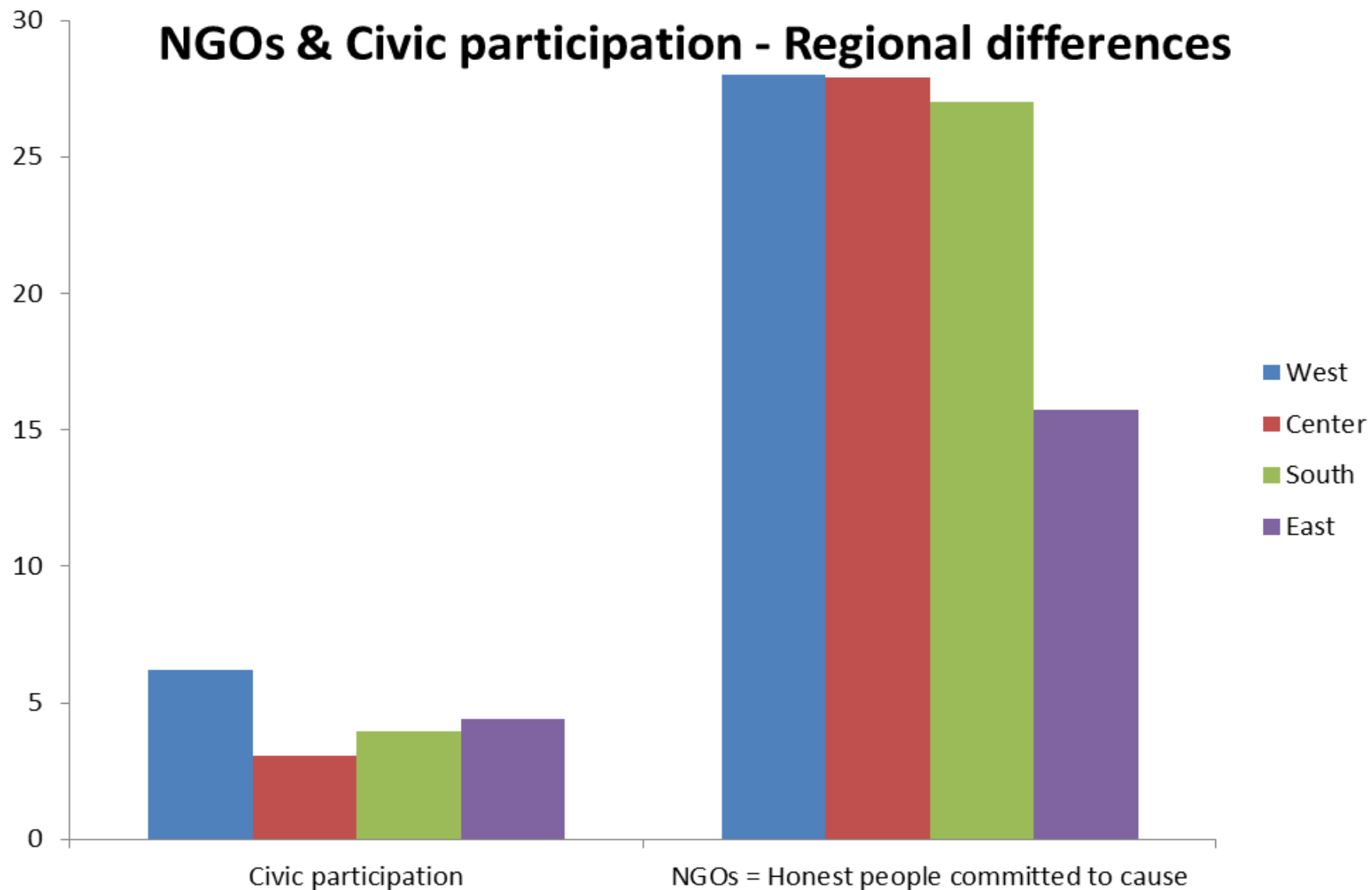
Хто контролює держадміністрації
Кто контролирует госадминистрации
Who controls Local State Administrations

25.01.2014
19:00

Протести
Протесты
Protests

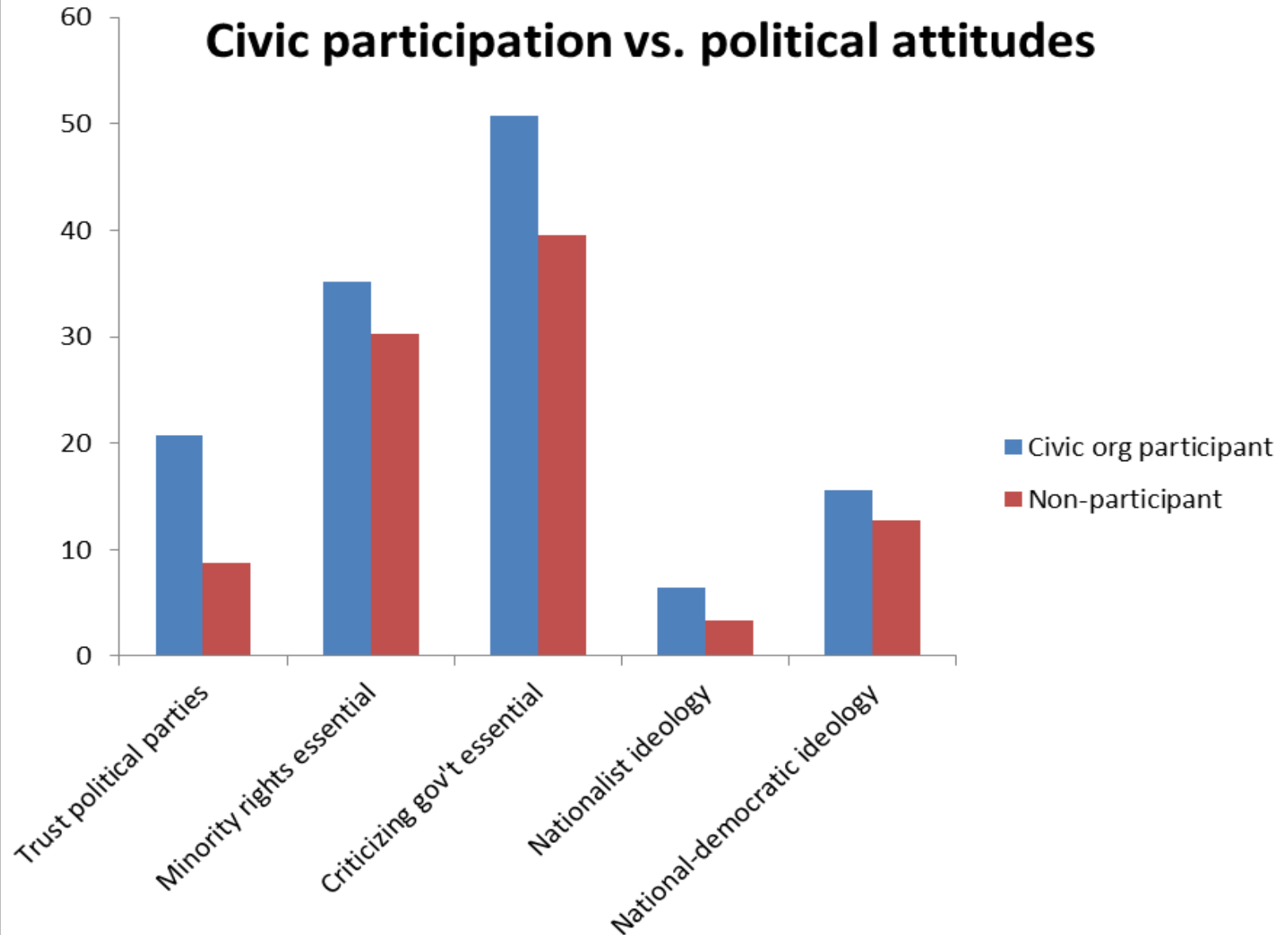


NGOs & Civic participation - Regional differences



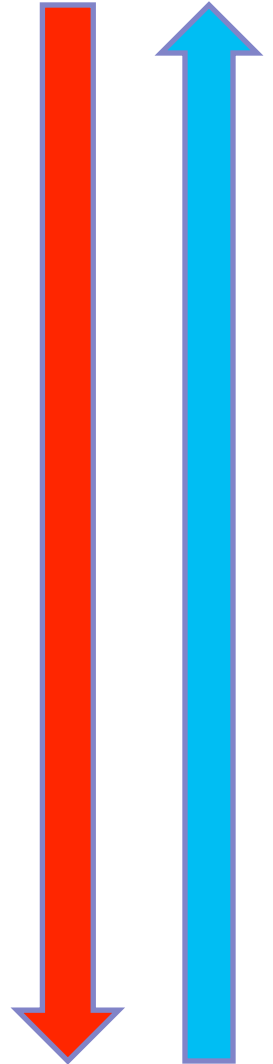
Source: Razumkov Centre Public Opinion Survey (January 2013)

Civic participation vs. political attitudes



From ethnic diversity to ethnic conflict

1. **Ethnic diversity**
 - a. Large + regionally concentrated Russian minority
 - b. Low cultural distance
2. **Ethnic identity**
 - a. Different schooling traditions (national in West vs. Russian/Soviet in East)
3. **Ethno-linguistically based political conflict**
 - a. Regional/ethnic political cleavages
 - b. Ukrainian nationalists in West vs. Russian nationalists in East
4. **Extreme ethno-constitutional crisis**
 - a. Regional autonomy + federalization demands
 - b. Independence demands
5. **Violent ethno-constitutional crisis**
 - a. Armed ethnic groups + occupation of gov't offices
 - b. Logic of retaliation and escalation
 - c. Manipulation by radicals/outsideers



Prospects for reforms

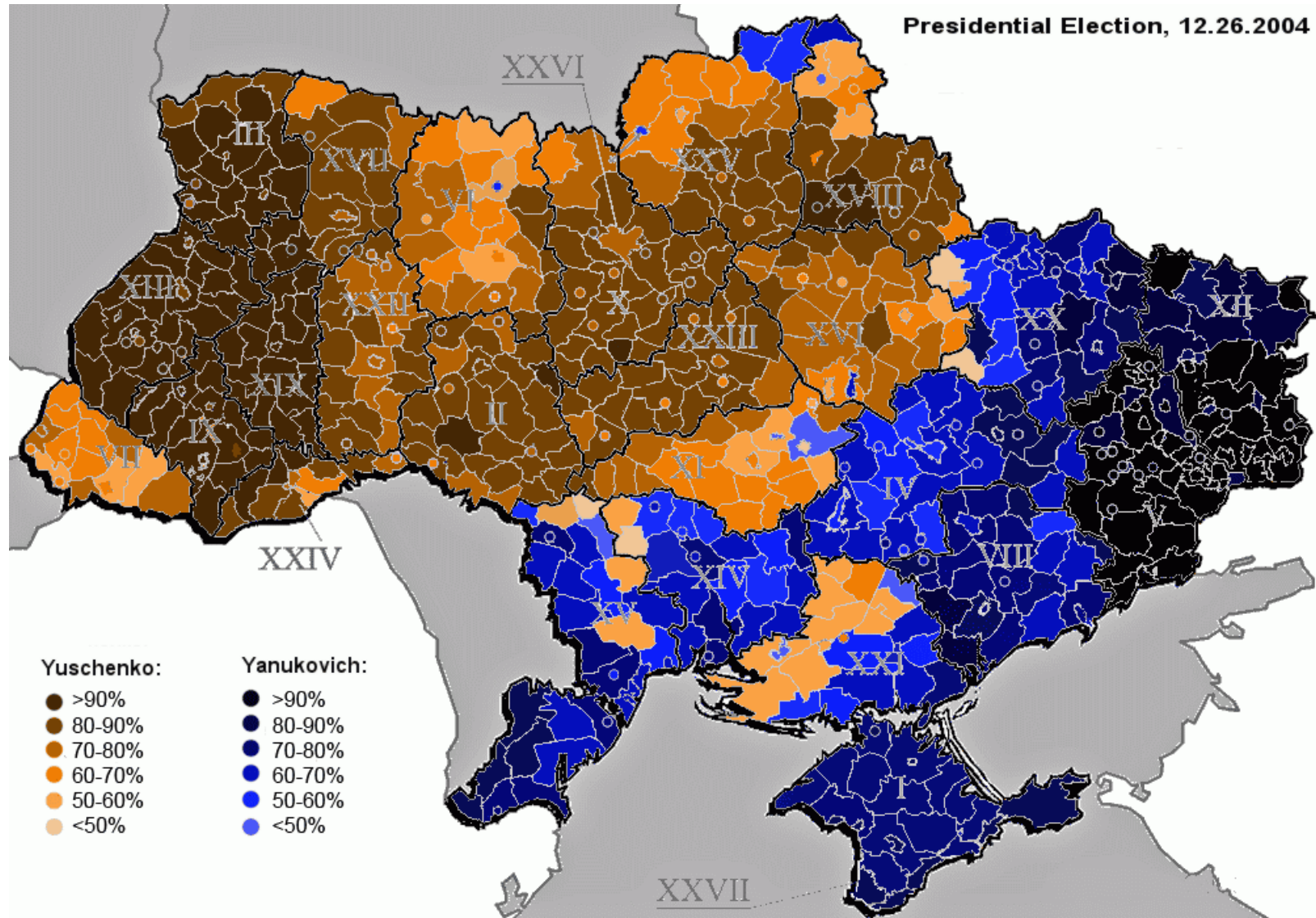
■ Grounds for pessimism

- Absence of legitimate authority in East
- Ethnic & regional mobilization + radicalization
- Resilience of oligarchs
- Dire economic prospects
- Unclear institutional fixes
- Western passivity vs. Russian unpredictability

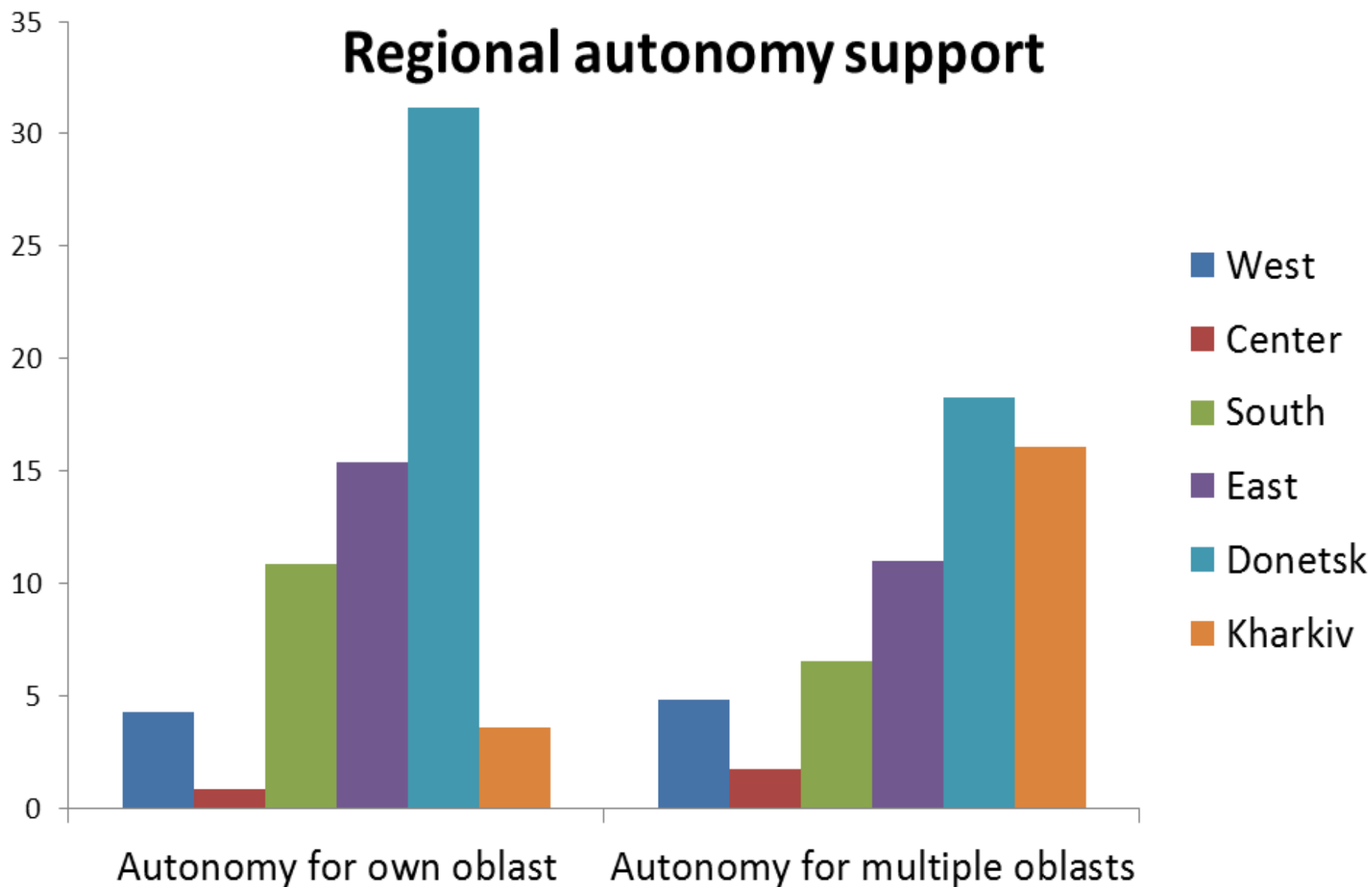
■ Grounds for optimism

- Beneficial side effects of crisis
 - Unifying effects of Russian threat?
 - Opportunity for security sector reforms
- European integration incentives
- Civil society?

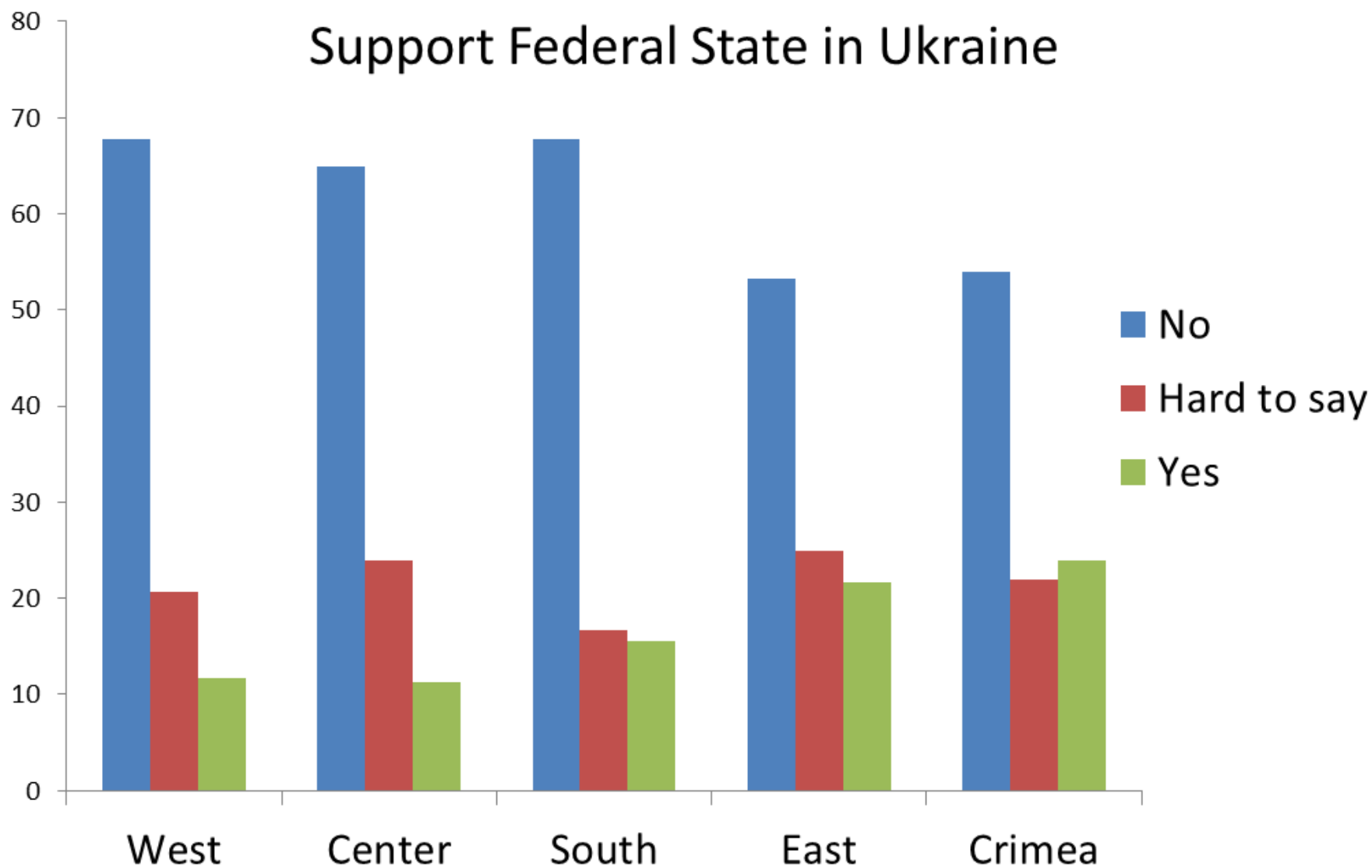
The political cleavage (2004)



Regional autonomy support



Support Federal State in Ukraine

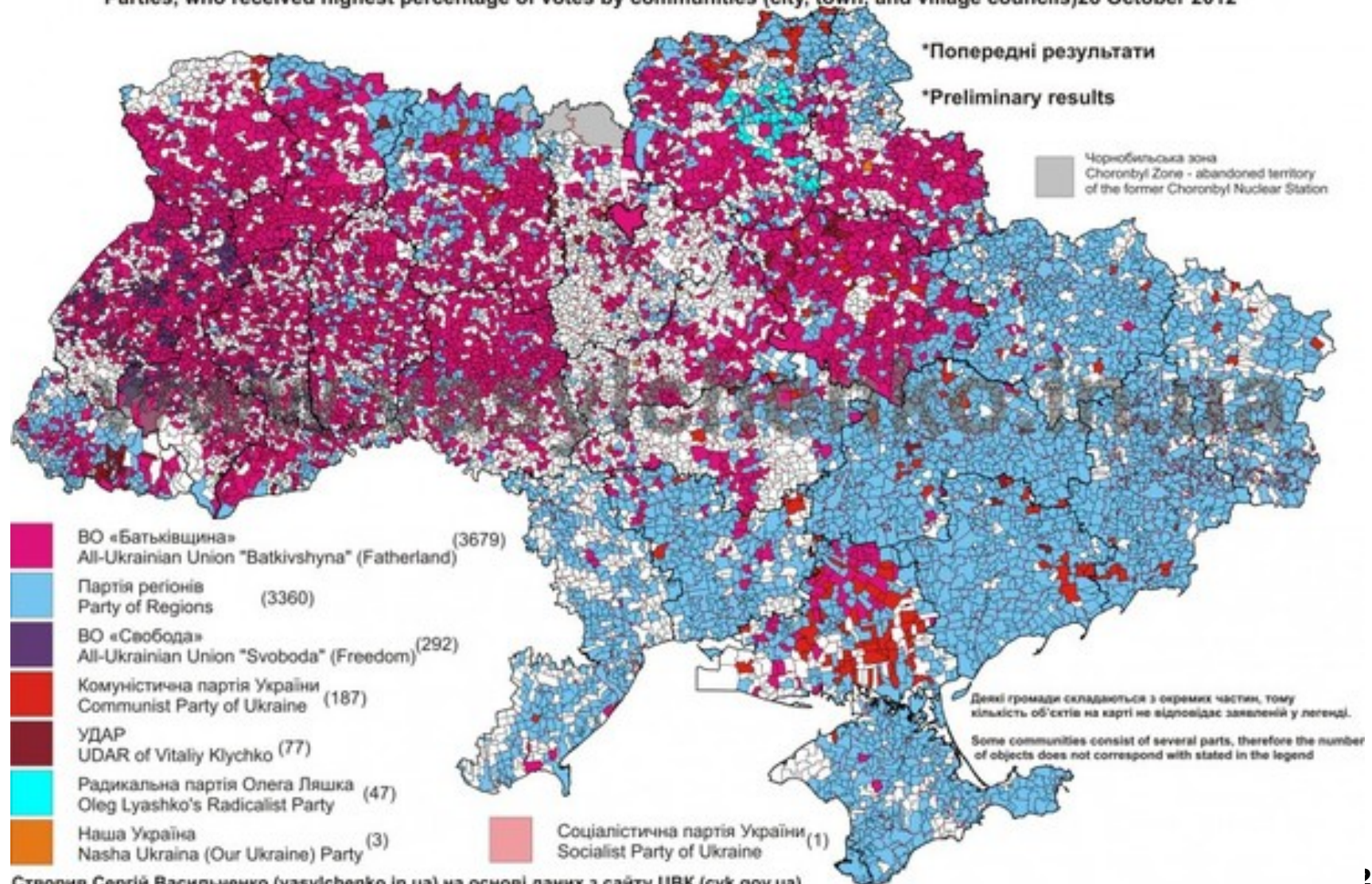


Source: Razumkov Centre Public Opinion Survey (December 2013)

The political cleavage (2012)

Партії, які отримали найбільший відсоток голосів виборців по громадах (міських, селищних та сільських радах) 28.10.2012р*

Parties, who received highest percentage of votes by communities (city, town, and village councils) 28 October 2012*



Створив Сергій Василиченко (vasylchenko.in.ua) на основі даних з сайту ЦВК (cvk.gov.ua)

Developed by Serhiy Vasylichenko (vasylchenko.in.ua) using information of the official website of the Central Election Committee (CVK) of Ukraine (cvk.gov.ua)