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THE FUTURE OF ELECTIONS IN UKRAINE

Project Summary



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The project «The Future of Elections in Ukraine: The Factor of War» was carried out by the Razumkov Centre with the support of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Ukraine in May-September 2024, during the third year of Ukraine's full-scale war against the Russian aggressor. The project included an analytical report, a nationwide sociological and expert survey, an offline roundtable involving experts in the fields of law and political science, and original articles by renowned experts in electoral law. This publication contains an abridged version of the analytical report and the main findings of the expert and sociological surveys in descriptive form. All project materials (in Ukrainian) are available in a special issue of the National Security and Defence journal (№1-2, 2024).

THE WAR AND THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS IN UKRAINE: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

Introduction

After the war is over and sustainable peace is established, Ukraine is expected to return to the fully functional democratic governance

system, which includes the national (parliamentary, presidential) and local (local self-governments) elections.

However, the events that have taken place in Ukraine since the onset of Russian invasion on 24 February 2022 have created challenges that are not addressed by the existing legal framework for organising and conducting

elections, as well as the relevant institutional and organisational mechanisms. These challenges include mass internal and external migration of the population; mobilisation and a significant increase in military personnel; new temporarily occupied territories (TOT); forced change of the population in the TOT by the Russian occupiers, etc.

Many organisational and legal elections-related issues are already evident, such as the reliability of data and the specifics of maintaining and using the State Voter Register; lack of trained members of election commissions at various levels, given the complex new electoral system for the parliamentary elections; organisation of voting in national elections abroad; compliance with requirements for permanent residence in Ukraine by candidates in various elections; organisation of voting

by the military. A separate solution is needed for the possibility of creating appropriate conditions for holding the first post-war elections in the territories of Ukraine that will be de-occupied in the future.

All of this will necessitate the introduction of a so-called transitional period during the return to the procedures for organising and holding national and local elections provided for by national legislation. This raises questions about the duration of such a transition period, its goals and objectives, as well as the specifics of its implementation for different «types» of elections and in different areas of the country, taking into account the impact of the war on these territories. However, the central issue will be the creation of the so-called «transitional election legislation» for this transitional period.

The report consists of two sections, conclusions and proposals.

THE FIRST SECTION

describes the main stages of formation and development of the election legislation in Ukraine; provides a detailed analysis of its application after the beginning of the Russian aggression against Ukraine in 2014; examines the constitutional and legal provisions on the organisation of elections in Ukraine under martial law, as well as the measures necessary to preserve the democratic nature of the State in the settings of temporary non-conduct of elections during the war.

THE SECOND SECTION

explores the problems of organising and conducting national and local elections after the end of martial law in Ukraine, including challenges related to the State Voter Register, determining the nature of elections, their dates, appointment procedures, etc. It also studies issues of exercising the electoral rights of Ukrainian citizens, including those abroad, IDPs and the military, and analyses the conceptual issues of drafting transitional election legislation.

The report concludes with generalised **conclusions and recommendations** aimed at improving the existing legal framework and implementing the necessary organisational measures in the areas required for holding post-war elections in Ukraine in accordance with European standards.

The project «The Future of Elections in Ukraine: The Factor of War» was carried out by the Razumkov Centre with the support of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Ukraine



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<https://www.holosameryky.com/alybory-v-ukraini-pid-chas-vyny/734291.html>

I. STATUS AND PECULIARITIES OF THE ELECTION LEGISLATION IMPLEMENTATION BEFORE AND AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW IN UKRAINE

1.1. FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ELECTION LEGISLATION IN UKRAINE

Conceptual foundations of the ideology of modern Ukraine's election legislation were laid down just before Ukraine emerged as the state – in the last years of the Soviet Union.

Therefore, at the time of declaration of Ukraine's independence on 24 August 1991,

its election legislation was still based on the so-called «Soviet» regulations, namely the relevant provisions of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Ukrainian SSR (1978)¹ and a number of the so-called «basic» electoral laws – «On the Election of People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR» (27 October 1989),² «On the Election of the President of the Ukrainian SSR» (5 July 1991)³ and «On the Election of Deputies of Local Councils of the Ukrainian SSR» (27 October 1989).⁴

¹ Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady URSR, 1978, No.18, par. 268.

² Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady URSR, 1989, Supplement to No.45, par. 626.

³ Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady URSR, 1991, No.33, par. 448.

⁴ Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady URSR, 1989, No.45, par. 627.

For objective reasons, all these legal acts shortly received significant amendments and additions and even entirely new versions. For example, the organisation and procedure for electing people's deputies (MPs) of Ukraine at different times were regulated by five laws of 1989, 1993, 1997, 2001 and 2011. Instead, local elections were regulated by seven legislative acts of 1989, 1994, 1998 - twice, 2004, 2010 and 2015, and the procedure for electing the President of Ukraine, providing for only one electoral system, was actually regulated by two laws of 1991 and 1999.

At different times, Ukraine used a variety of approaches to electoral systems for electing MPs and local deputies. And it is not surprising, as the young democratic Ukraine, which just got rid of the Soviet yoke, needed not only to adopt the best European and American electoral practices, but also to adapt them to the dynamic and rapidly changing political and legal circumstances that the state experienced on its way to a sustainable democratic model of social development.

In order to understand the chronology and evolution of approaches to the design of electoral systems, it would be useful to inform about the types of systems that have been tested at different types and levels of elections in Ukraine.

Elections of people's deputies of Ukraine:

- ✓ 1990, 1994 – single-mandate majoritarian system of absolute majority;
- ✓ 1998, 2002 – mixed majoritarian-proportional system: 225 MPs elected in single-mandate constituencies under the majoritarian system of relative majority, while other 225 MPs elected on the basis of proportional representation;

2006, 2007 – proportional electoral system with closed party lists in a single nationwide electoral district;

- ✓ 2012, 2014, 2019 – mixed majoritarian-proportional system.

Following the adoption of the Election Code of Ukraine on 19 December 2019,⁵ the elections

to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 10th convocation were to be held under a totally new proportional electoral system – with a single nationwide and simultaneously twenty-seven regional electoral lists of each political party – subject of the electoral process. As known, the date of such elections – 29 October 2023 – was set by the relevant constitutional provisions.

In contrast to legal regulation of parliamentary elections, the legislation on presidential elections in Ukraine proved to be much more stable. Each time, the President of Ukraine has been elected under the single-mandate majoritarian electoral system of absolute majority.

Electoral systems for local elections in Ukraine were not too stable as well. The procedure for electing deputies to councils of different levels has changed many times – from single-mandate and multi-mandate majoritarian electoral districts to mixed systems, as well as the proportional system used in the 2015 and 2020 elections.

All this shows that the formation and development of Ukraine's election legislation is far from simple. The electoral laws have been amended many times, following the specific political vision of the country's development by different presidents and the parliamentary majority of different convocations. However, the greatest challenges for the national election legislation came with the outbreak of the Russian hybrid and then full-scale war against Ukraine.

1.2. PECULIARITIES OF THE ELECTION LEGISLATION IMPLEMENTATION IN THE SETTINGS OF RUSSIAN HYBRID AGGRESSION IN 2014-2022

The annexation of Crimea and terrorist activities by Russian forces and the so-called «militia» in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts were the main reasons for significant problems with organising elections after 2014. This resulted in the impossibility of holding elections at certain polling stations and in entire electoral districts, as well as the emergence of huge numbers of IDPs who were forced to leave their homes in the occupied Crimea or areas of hostilities within said Ukrainian regions.

⁵ Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrainy, 2020, No.7, No.8, No.9, par. 48.

At the same time, due to timely amendments to the election legislation and other regulatory acts, Ukraine managed to hold early presidential and parliamentary elections in 2014, regular local elections in 2015, and regular presidential and parliamentary elections in 2019.

Ukraine's experience in implementing election legislation in the settings of russian hybrid war of 2014-2022 shows the following:

- ✓ there is a need to revise the territorial distribution of electoral districts, but the solution to this problem is purely adaptive and situational due to the occupation of some territories;
- ✓ the issue of ensuring voting rights was partially resolved by granting citizens the right to vote in the national elections at polling stations located in the government-controlled areas of Ukraine;
- ✓ internally displaced persons were also given the opportunity to vote at their places of residence, change their voting place without changing their voting address (both offline and online);
- ✓ the security aspect of the electoral process has become the key condition for the possibility of organising and conducting elections in general;
- ✓ the key to the realisation of the people's will in the best possible way was the flexibility of lawmakers, which ultimately played in favour of direct democracy in Ukraine.

1.3. CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL PROVISIONS ON THE ORGANISATION OF ELECTIONS IN UKRAINE UNDER MARTIAL LAW

2024 was supposed to be a year of elections in Ukraine – both presidential and parliamentary – but a full-scale war continues in the country already for three years. Since

24 February 2022, Ukraine has been under the legal regime of martial law, introduced by a Presidential Decree and approved by the relevant law that was passed by the Verkhovna Rada according to the provisions of para. 20, part 1 of Article 106 of the Constitution of Ukraine and the Law of Ukraine «On the Legal Regime of Martial Law».

With due regard to the constitutional provisions, the said Decree restricted a number of constitutional rights of Ukrainian citizens, including the political rights contained in Articles 38-39 of the Constitution.

Article 19 of the Law of Ukraine «On the Legal Regime of Martial Law» clearly prohibits amending the Constitution of Ukraine, holding elections at all levels, as well as referendums. Article 20 of the Election Code of Ukraine also provides for a similar, but indirect, prohibition.

At the same time, the constitutional provisions are aimed at ensuring the continuity of power. Therefore, despite the fact that the terms of office of the President and the Verkhovna Rada have formally expired, they continue to exercise their powers in full compliance with the Constitution.

Nonetheless, the theoretical possibility of creating legislation that would allow for elections in the current situation does exist. Unlike the Constitution, there are no restrictions on amending other legal acts during martial law. However, such a development de facto seems impossible, since guaranteeing the exercise of citizens' voting rights and the observance of the electoral process principles is quite unrealistic task in the current conditions.

The only possible and most adequate solution would be to develop conceptual provisions and, subsequently, specific legislative changes for post-war elections, since the current election legislation is not adapted to the challenges that the state will face in holding the first peacetime elections.

PRESERVING THE COUNTRY'S DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN TEMPORARY NON-CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN UKRAINE DUE TO THE INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW: CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL POSITIONS.

Due to the Russian armed aggression, martial law was introduced in Ukraine on 24 February 2022.⁶ With that, the constitutional rights and freedoms of man and citizen provided for in Articles 30-34, 38, 39, 41-44, 53 of the Constitution of Ukraine may be temporarily restricted for the period of martial law, as well as temporary restrictions on the rights and legitimate interests of legal entities may be introduced within the limits and to the extent necessary to ensure the possibility of introducing and implementing measures of the martial law regime.

At the same time, the introduction of martial law in Ukraine (including the forced temporary restriction of certain constitutional rights and freedoms of man and citizen) **in no way means a change in the basic**

«constitutional characteristics» of the state enshrined in Article 1 of the Constitution.

The latter directly concerns the constitutional provision on the democratic nature of the state (Article 1), which, even under martial law, literally means not only preserving its «democratic essence», but also (if possible) maintaining/ensuring its democratic development.

To implement the tasks of preserving the democratic nature of the state and ensuring (if possible) its democratic development in temporary non-conduct of elections due to the introduction of martial law, it is crucial not only to properly comply with the relevant constitutional provisions, but also to maximise the role of the basic political and legal institutions of the national mechanism for democratic development.



⁶ On the introduction of martial law in Ukraine. Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 64/2022 of 24 February 2022. <https://www.president.gov.ua/documents/642022-41397>.



II. PROBLEMS OF ORGANISING AND HOLDING NATIONAL AND LOCAL ELECTIONS AFTER THE END OF MARTIAL LAW IN UKRAINE

2.1. CHALLENGES RELATED TO THE STATE VOTER REGISTER

As a result of the Russia's full-scale invasion, the State Voter Register has faced very serious challenges. As known, the Register is an automated information and communication system designed to store, process and use data with information required by law, and created to ensure state registration of Ukrainian citizens who have the right to vote in accordance with Article 70 of the Constitution of Ukraine.¹ The Central Election Commission (CEC) as

the Register's administrator presides the system of bodies of the State Voter Register.

The Register databases have not been regularly updated from 24 February 2022 to November 2023 (inclusive). On 22 December 2023, the CEC passed the Resolution No. 83,² which restored the functioning of the automated State Voter Register system in terms of periodic updating of its databases. On 20 September 2024, CEC's Resolution No. 54³ restored the functioning of the State Voter Register system in terms of accounting

¹ Article 1 of the Law of Ukraine «On the State Voter Register» // Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrainy, 2007, No.20, par. 282.

² <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/v0083359-23#Text>.

³ <https://act.cvk.gov.ua/acts/pro-vidnovlennya-funktsionuvannya-avtomatizovanoi-informatsiyno-komunikatsiynoi-sistemi-derzhavnyi-reiestr-vibortsiv-u-chastini-obliku-viborchih-dilnits-yaki-isnyut-na-postiyniy-osnovi.html>.

for polling stations that exist on a permanent basis.

More than 11.5 million cases of change of voters' electoral addresses were detected, which is more than 33% of records in the Register's database. Also, there were about 33,000 cases of renaming and more than 3,000 cases of naming new streets, avenues, boulevards, squares, lanes, blocks, corners, etc. In addition, processing of periodic updates found almost 87,000 new residential buildings that have been assigned numbers and are not included in any permanent polling station.

According to the CEC information, more than 7,500 voting premises and/or premises of election commissions have been destroyed or damaged so far. Therefore, the information on about 14 thousand permanent polling stations, which is 43% of the total number of such stations recorded in the Register, needs to be updated.

The main challenges for the State Voter Register in the immediate post-war period will include the following factors:

1) timeliness and reliability of database updates on millions of voters, primarily IDPs and refugees;

2) quality of information provided by state authorities and local self-governments for the purposes of periodic updating of the Register's databases, as well as in terms of necessary changes to permanent polling stations;

3) inadequate staffing of the Register bodies, lack of proper premises, and the issue of availability of necessary fibre-optic lines and their security.

A particular challenge for the Register concerns updating the information about citizens who, for various reasons and circumstances, live or stay in the occupied territories or in russia. In particular, this includes information on changes in the voters' first and last names, births and deaths of Ukrainian citizens. In this regard, the mechanism of legalisation of documents issued by the occupation authorities remains relevant.

In order for the CEC to determine whether a potential candidate in the national elections meets the residency requirement set out in the Constitution of Ukraine, it seems problematic to distinguish between the time a candidate has lived in the occupied territory and the territory of the aggressor state officially recognised by the international community.

The situation of Ukrainian military and civilians (officials and employees of state authorities and local self-government, journalists, educators, academics, civil society activists, etc.) in russian captivity requires urgent legislative regulation.

2.2. PECULIARITIES OF ORGANISING AND HOLDING POST-WAR ELECTIONS

The full-scale invasion of Ukraine has had a significant impact on all spheres of public life. The elections sphere was no exception.

As known, the voting dates for the next national elections according to the Constitution were to be as follows:

1) elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine – 29 October 2023 (part 1 of Article 77);

2) elections of the President of Ukraine – 31 March 2024 (part 5 of Article 103);

3) elections of the deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, deputies of local councils and village, township and city mayors – 26 October 2025 (part 2 of Article 136, part 3 of Article 141).

As soon as hostilities cease, questions will inevitably arise about the type of post-war elections and their dates.

There are at least two options for determining the type of post-war national elections.

According to the first option, such an election process can be considered regular, but due to the ban on holding elections during martial law, it can be defined as postponed. The other option is to update the Election Code of Ukraine by adding relevant provisions on an additional type of elections

and calling them (the first) post-war or post-regular elections.

The idea of synchronising parliamentary, presidential and local elections remains at least debatable. It has been repeatedly expressed in society and in the media^{4,5}. Although the Constitution of Ukraine has no direct restrictions on the timing of post-war elections, it is believed that such a combination is inappropriate.

The electoral processes of the post-war elections, at least parliamentary and presidential, should be separated in time.

Given that the term of office of all representative institutions of power in Ukraine is five years, and the current president received his representative mandate from the Ukrainian people before the MPs of the current, 9th convocation of the Verkhovna Rada, it seems appropriate to hold the post-war presidential elections first.

Another argument in favour of holding the presidential election first is that parliamentary elections from purely organisational standpoint are more complex and require longer preparation.

It is believed that the electoral system provided for in the Election Code of Ukraine may be used in the first post-war parliamentary elections, but with certain peculiarities:

1) revising the number, names and boundaries of electoral regions;

2) forming a separate electoral region for foreign polling stations or adding them to the electoral region that includes the capital of Ukraine;

3) reducing the number of candidates nominated by a political party on a national list from 450 to 300 or 350.

At the same time, it seems unconstitutional to assign a fixed number of MP mandates to electoral regions.

An attempt to reinstate the rigid closed proportional electoral system, which is dependent on party lists formed by party leaders, will hardly contribute to the development of political parties as one of key civil society institutions in the post-war period.

2.3. ISSUES OF EXERCISING THE ELECTORAL RIGHTS OF UKRAINIAN CITIZENS, INCLUDING THOSE ABROAD, IDPS AND THE MILITARY

The scale of the challenge of updating the State Voter Register data is evidenced by the following figures:

- ✓ According to the UN agency for refugees (UNHCR), as of February 2024, nearly 3.7 million Ukrainians are internally displaced persons who still live in the country but were forced to abandon their homes due to the hostilities;⁶
- ✓ 6.1 million Ukrainians are refugees recorded in Europe and another 571 thousand recorded in other countries – a total of about 6.7 million of refugees from Ukraine recorded globally.⁷

One of the best ways to address the issue of updating the Register is to create a full-scale online voter registration system, which would offer a convenient and simple procedure for all those willing to vote and relieve the bodies maintaining the Register on the eve of elections.

In fact, Ukraine already has «Diiia»,⁸ the well-functioning state-run web portal of electronic services, and «Trembita»,⁹ the system of electronic interaction of state electronic resources. Both can be used as a possible basis

⁴ <https://suspilne.media/amp/477739-pislavoenni-parlamentski-vibori-ak-do-nih-gotuutsa-vlada-i-gromadskist/>.

⁵ <https://bin.ua/top/302010-vlada-gotuyetsya-odrazu-i-do-prezidentskix.html>.

⁶ Ukraine Emergency. USA for UNHCR. <https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/ukraine/>.

⁷ UNHCR Operational Data Portal. <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine>.

⁸ Provisions on the Unified State Web Portal of Electronic Services: Cabinet of Ministers Resolution No.1137 dated 4 December 2019 – Database of legislation of Ukraine / VR of Ukraine. <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1137-2019-%D0%BF#Text>.

⁹ Provisions on the system of electronic interaction of state electronic information resources «Trembita»: Cabinet of Ministers Resolution No.606 dated 8 September 2016 – Database of legislation of Ukraine / VR of Ukraine. <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/606-2016-%D0%BF#Text>.

for an information ecosystem for active voter registration.

Moreover, the experience of using «Diia», as well as user identification through Bank ID, biometric data (including face recognition), which, in line with subparagraph 13 of paragraph 6 of the Regulation on the Unified State Web Portal of Electronic Services, is included in the service's functionality, proves that the state is already capable of providing users with the necessary functionality to implement the initiative under discussion.

A separate problem of exercising the electoral rights is the technical capability of the state to organise voting of those abroad – we are talking about millions of Ukrainians who were forced to become refugees. Ways to resolve the problem of citizens exercising their voting right abroad are to:

- ✓ update international bilateral agreements on facilitating the ability of foreign (meaning Ukrainian) citizens to exercise their voting rights in the territory of each country. This requires efforts from the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consular offices and cooperation with the relevant authorities of foreign countries;
- ✓ not to increase the number of polling stations in foreign countries, but increase significantly the number of days allocated for voting in order to avoid chaotic workload on such stations;
- ✓ introduce electronic voting through specially created services as the last option.

The issue of the residency requirement (5 years of continuous residence in Ukraine for MP candidates, 10 years for presidential candidates) gains a particular relevance in view of the number of refugees and returnees. Taking into account international standards, in particular the provisions of the Code of

Good Practice in Electoral Matters of the Venice Commission (subparagraph c. iii of paragraph 1.1 of the Code),¹⁰ such a qualification is considered a vestige of modern constitutionalism, which is not approved by the democratic community.

The military makes a large category of citizens whose exercise of voting rights will face significant difficulties in the first post-war elections. Although there is no data on the exact number of people in the Armed Forces due to limited public access to this type of information, but based on statements by the President, one can speak of a figure of about 1 million people,¹¹ which, however, is constantly growing due to the ongoing mobilisation.

The main tool for ensuring the quality exercise of the voting rights of Ukrainian citizens, including those abroad, IDPs and the military, is a comprehensive adaptive approach that will recognise the fundamental principles of electoral law and international standards, while being flexible enough to meet Ukraine's needs in the post-war period and providing citizens with the widest possible range of opportunities to exercise their electoral rights.

2.4. CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS OF CREATING ELECTION LEGISLATION FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD

First of all, it should be stressed that according to para. 20 of part 1 of Article 92 of the Constitution of Ukraine, the issue of organising and conducting elections is subject only to legislative regulation, and therefore cannot be determined by the Verkhovna Rada resolutions, presidential decrees and orders, the Cabinet of Ministers resolutions and instructions. To date, organising and holding all types of elections in Ukraine is regulated by the Election Code of Ukraine, that is, a codified law.

¹⁰ European democratic achievements in the field of electoral law. Proceedings of the Venice Commission, the Parliamentary Assembly, the Committee of Ministers, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe: translated from English / edited by Y.Kliuchkovskiyi – 2nd edition, revised and supplemented – K., 2009. – p. 51.

¹¹ Zelenskyy: We have a million-strong army. Nadiia Sobenko for Suspilne. News from 29 January 2024. <https://suspilne.media/671816-zelenskij-u-nas-miljonna-armia/>.

Post-war elections may be held based on one of several options for legislative regulation.	
I. Only on the basis of the Election Code of Ukraine, with possible change	
<i>Pros:</i>	Stability of legislative regulation.
<i>Cons:</i>	Lack of legislative flexibility. A kind of spamming of the Code with temporary provisions that will only have a one-time effect for one election process.
II. On the basis of a special election law. The Election Code is temporarily not applied	
<i>Pros:</i>	Flexibility of election legislation.
<i>Cons:</i>	Delay in the actual enactment of the Code in terms of parliamentary elections. Risks of a return to the less voter-dependent proportional system with closed party lists, which was already used in the 2006 and 2007 elections, and which increases the role of the party and its leadership in its relations with elected MPs. ¹²
III. The Election Code and the special election law operate simultaneously. The Code applies to the extent that it does not contradict the special law	
<i>Pros:</i>	Flexibility of election legislation. Retention of the progressive proportional electoral system with open party lists, the introduction of which was once supported by the Council of Europe and the European Union institutions.
<i>Cons:</i>	Conflicting provisions of acts of identical legal force (special election law and the Election Code of Ukraine).

It seems that in addition to the Election Code, it would be best to adopt a special law for the first post-war elections to regulate certain specifics, such as setting the date of voting, announcing the start of the election process, defining the electoral territorial organisation, specifying electoral regions and rules for the formation of district and precinct

election commissions, forming voter lists, nominating and registering candidates for elections, and the voting procedure.

After the completion of the first post-war elections, the special election law should lapse, leaving the Election Code as the only act to be applied in the future.



¹² Y. Kliuchkovskiy, «Electoral Systems and Ukrainian Electoral Law», National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv, 2011, p. 69.



CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS

Ukraine's election legislation, which dates back to the early democratic transformations of the Soviet Union's final days, has undergone a difficult process of formation and development. The initial electoral laws of the first years of Ukrainian independence have been amended several times, taking into account both the peculiarities of political situation, the rapid social stratification and oligarchisation, and the democratic world's established approaches to the exercise of the constitutional right of citizens to participate in public administration. The return to democratic principles of the country's political development eventually prioritised Ukraine's approximation to European standards in further transformation of its national election legislation.

However, the real test for Ukraine's electoral law and legislation came with the Russian hybrid aggression and then full-scale war. Efforts to organise and hold elections during the hybrid war of 2014–2022 not only revealed the strengths and weaknesses of the national electoral system, but also outlined the likely challenges and threats that the

Ukrainian state may face during future post-war elections.

These include the need to revise the territorial distribution of electoral districts; ensure the voting rights of certain categories with a particular status (IDPs, refugees abroad, servicemen of the Armed Forces of Ukraine) in connection with the war; ensure safety and security of voters, election administration bodies, as well as transportation of election documents; create common criteria and a perfect procedure for recognising the impossibility of holding elections in certain territories.

All of this seems to require a deep rethinking of the current state of national election legislation and elaboration/creation of transitional legislation. At the same time, it is necessary to strictly adhere to the principle of preserving the legal balance of interests – between the flexible needs of a certain historical stage and the general systemic principles on which the concept of modern democracy in general and electoral law in particular is based.

Under martial law, constitutional and legislative provisions do not allow for virtually any political elections in the country. However, it is still possible to urgently develop a package of legislative changes that would not require amendments to the Constitution and would allow for the proper conduct of the first post-war elections in Ukraine.

In order to organise and hold such elections, it is necessary to legally define the type and date of the first post-war elections; avoid simultaneous national elections; adapt the current proportional system with regional lists to the needs of the first post-war elections; and prevent the return of a closed proportional system for parliamentary elections or the introduction of a fixed number of mandates from the regions.

When developing transitional election legislation, it deems necessary to:

- ✓ include separate books on the Central Election Commission and on the State Voter Register in the Election Code of Ukraine;
- ✓ for the purposes of the first post-war elections, adopt a (temporary) law on the specifics of such elections based on broad public consensus. Its provisions should prevail over the Election Code;
- ✓ remove provisions from the Election Code that contain apparent signs of unconstitutionality, including in terms of unequal opportunities for voters and candidates.

To ensure the proper exercise of the voting rights of Ukrainian citizens in the first post-war elections, it seems advisable to develop legislative changes for:

- ✓ introducing the mechanisms of active voter registration;
- ✓ ensuring the voting rights of Ukrainians abroad, including through the introduction of alternative ways of casting a vote (electronic voting) or changing the voting procedure (over several specially designated days instead of one);
- ✓ changing approaches to the established residency requirement, in particular by supplementing the list of exceptions provided for in Articles 75 and 134 of the Election Code with the rules on residence outside Ukraine for the period of martial law, or by completely revising the very concept of the residency requirement in accordance with the Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters, etc.

The tasks of organising and conducting national and local elections after the end of martial law will also require establishing regional and territorial offices of the Central Election Commission, allocating necessary resources from the State Budget of Ukraine, monitoring the functional capacity of the State Voter Register (staffing, premises, communications, security), liberalising the procedure for registering a person's place of residence, ensuring regular (monthly) updating of the State Voter Register database, creating favourable legislative conditions for active – self-initiated – voter registration, including active updating of voter data.

And finally, while developing legislative changes for proper organisation of its first post-war elections (or, essentially, creating temporary / transitional election legislation), the country should take steps to preserve its democratic development in the settings of temporary non-conduct of elections due to the effective martial law.

EXPERT OPINIONS ON THE PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES OF POST-WAR ELECTIONS

In the course of the project «The Future of Elections in Ukraine: The Factor of War», a survey was conducted to determine the expert community’s positions on the impact of the legislative framework and procedures for holding elections after the end of the war and martial law.¹

If as many as 40% of respondents of the national survey agreed that elections could be held immediately after the end of the war and martial law, then the number of experts sharing this opinion ranges from 13% (with regard to the presidential election) to 24.5% (with regard to elections of deputies of city, township, village councils).

Experts mostly believe that elections should be held 6 months after the termination of martial law: 53% believe so with

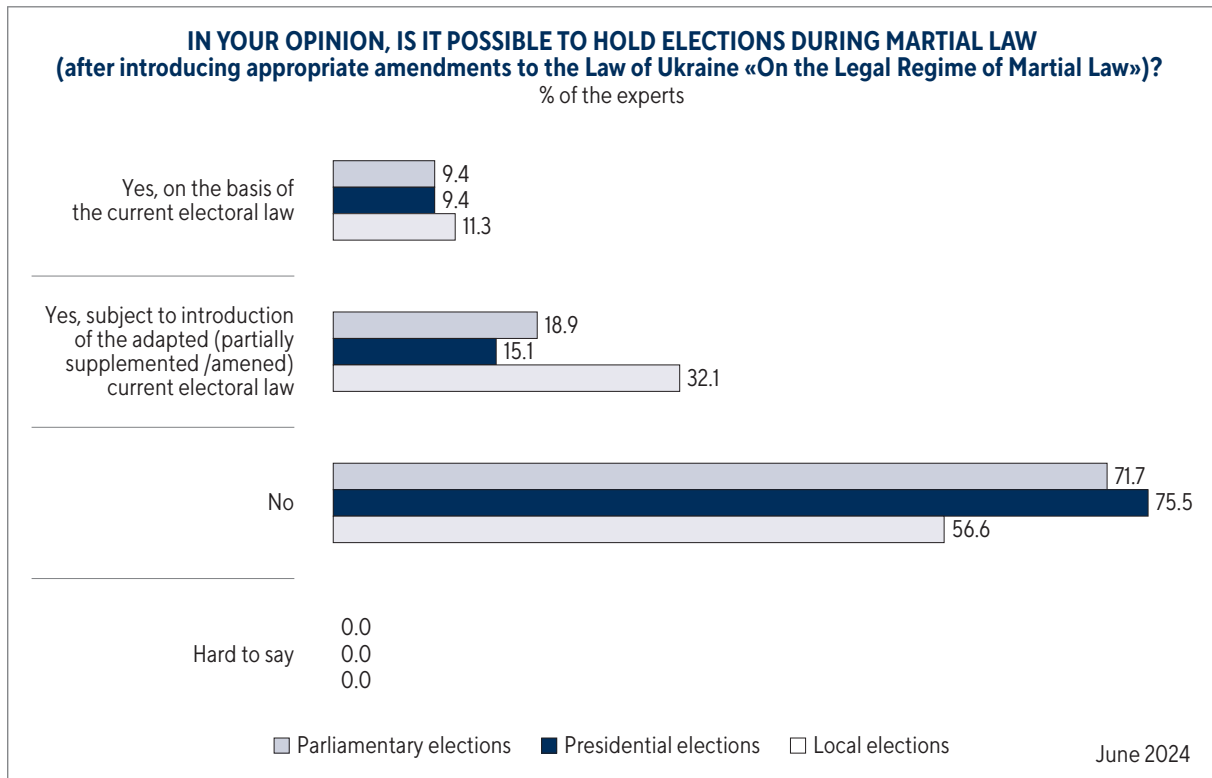
regard to the presidential election, and 58.5% with regard to the parliamentary and local elections. Another 9% (with regard to elections of deputies of city, township, village councils) to 32% (with regard to the presidential election) think that elections should be held a year after the war. Only 2% of experts believe that local elections should be held 2 years after the end of the war, and no one mentioned this period in relation to the parliamentary and presidential elections.

IN YOUR OPINION, HOW LONG AFTER THE END OF THE WAR AND MARTIAL LAW WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO HOLD...?						
% of the experts						
	Immediately	In 6 months	In one year	In two years	Later	Hard to say
Parliamentary elections	15.1	58.5	24.5	0.0	0.0	1.9
Presidential elections	13.2	52.8	32.1	0.0	0.0	1.9
Elections of city, township and village mayors	22.6	58.5	11.3	1.9	0.0	5.7
Elections of deputies of city, township, village councils	24.5	58.5	9.4	1.9	0.0	5.7

The vast majority of experts believe that it is impossible to hold elections of the president (75.5%) and people’s deputies of Ukraine (72%) during martial law. The rejection of the idea of holding local elections during martial law is

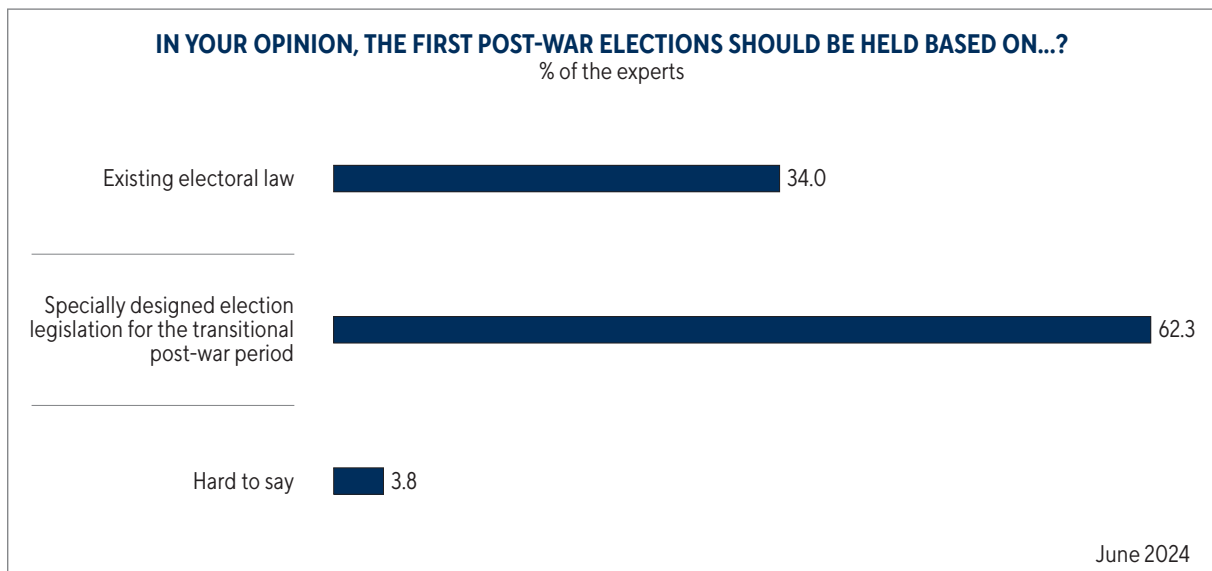
less categorical (57%). 32% of experts believe that local elections can be held even during martial law, provided that the current election legislation is adapted (partially supplemented/ amended) accordingly.

¹ The expert survey was conducted from 6 August through 2 September 2024. A total of 53 experts were interviewed, including government officials and public figures, political scientists, legal scholars (electoral law experts), think tanks and NGO representatives, judges, prosecutors, law enforcement officials, legal practitioners who apply / implement election legislation in their professional activities, and lawyers in the Armed Forces of Ukraine.



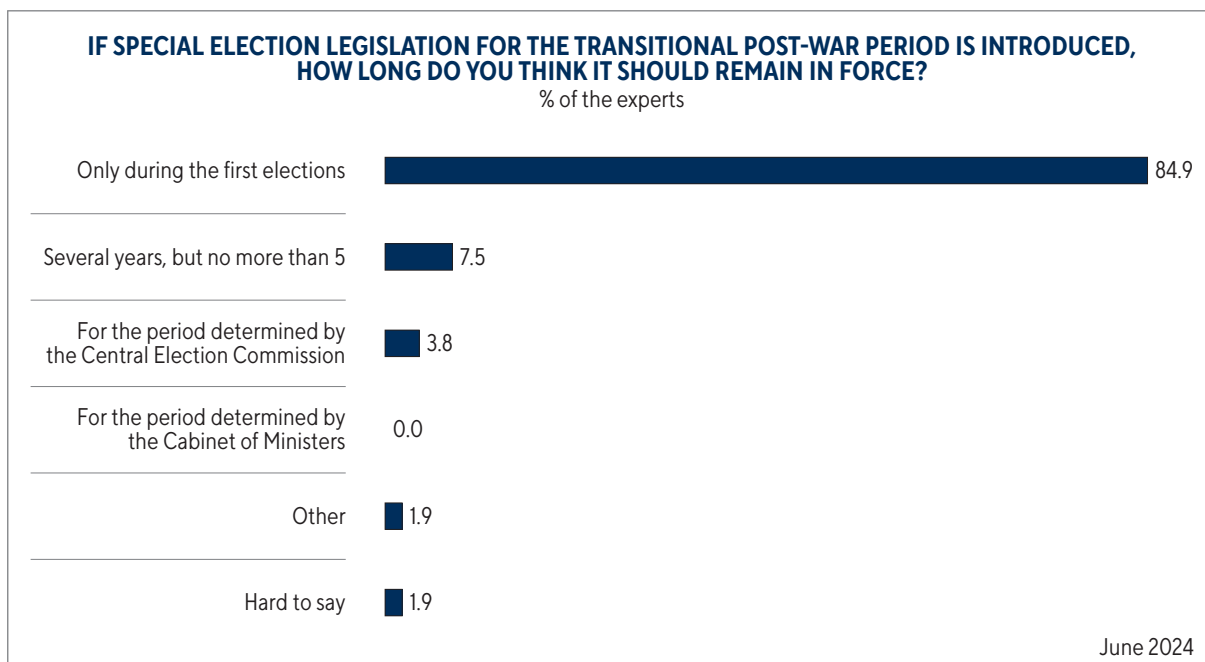
62% of experts believe that the first post-war elections should be held based on special election legislation for the transitional post-war

period, while 34% think that such elections should be regulated by the existing electoral law.



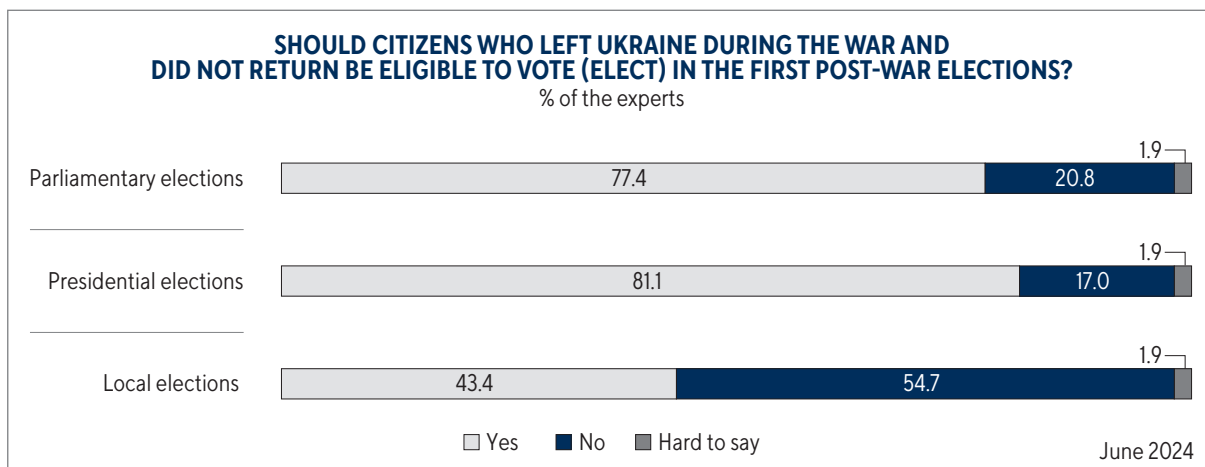
The overwhelming majority of experts (85%) share the opinion that if special election legislation for the transitional post-war

period is introduced, it should be in force only for the duration of the first post-war elections.

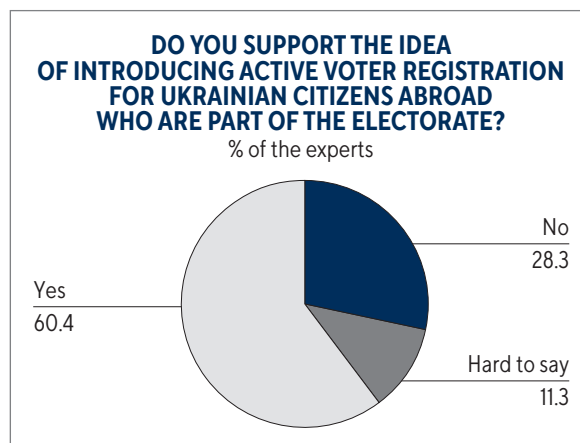


Most experts support the idea of allowing citizens who left Ukraine during the war and did not return to vote (elect) in the first post-war elections of the parliament and

the president (77% and 81% respectively). As for the local elections, the majority of experts (55%) oppose this, while 43% are in favour.



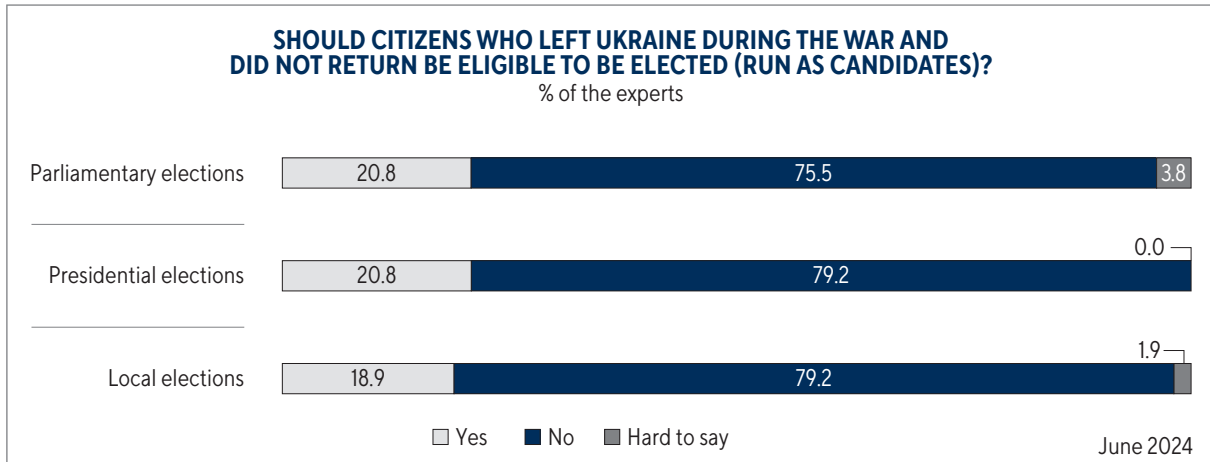
Also, 60% of experts support the idea of introducing active voter registration² for Ukrainian citizens abroad.



² Active voter registration here means updating the information of the State Voter Register following the voter's own request.

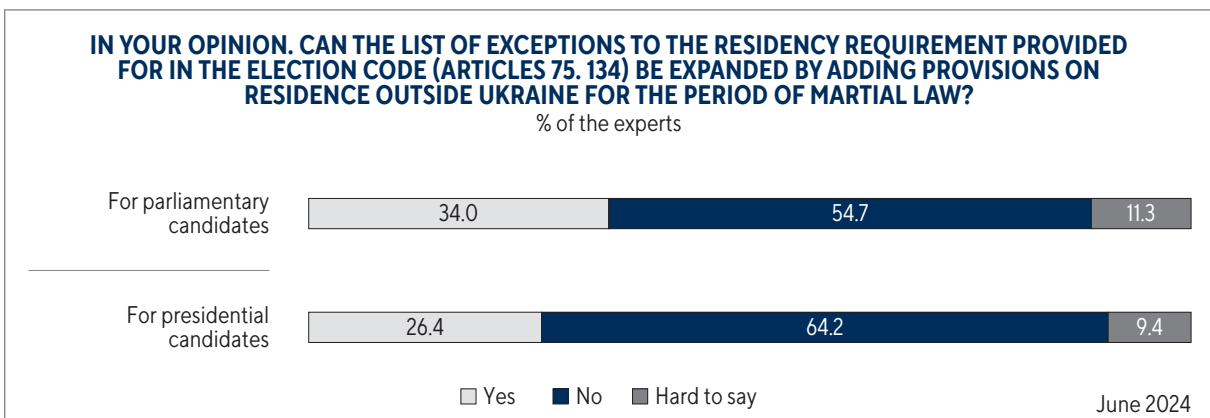
The vast majority of experts (75-79%), just like most respondents in the nationwide survey, believe that citizens who left Ukraine during the war and did not return should not

be eligible to be elected (run for office) in the first post-war elections of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the President of Ukraine, and local elections.



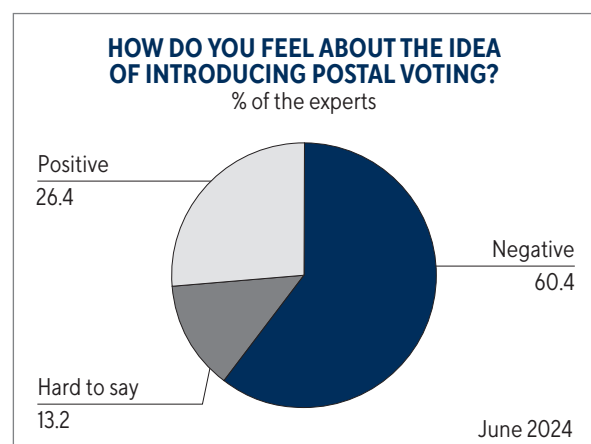
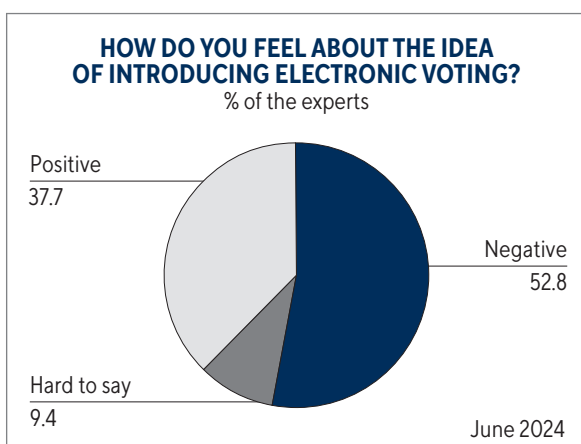
Most experts also oppose the expansion of the list of exceptions to the residency requirement provided for in the Election Code (Articles 75 and 134) by adding

provisions on residence outside Ukraine for the period of martial law for presidential candidates (64%) and for parliamentary candidates (55%).



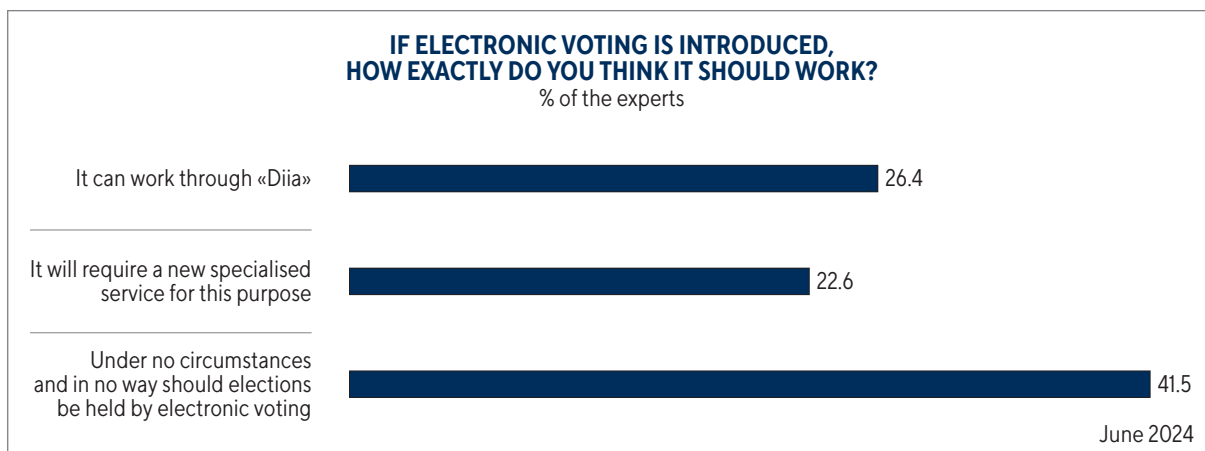
53% of experts are negative about the idea of introducing electronic voting (38% are

positive), and 60% are negative about the idea of introducing postal voting (26% are positive).



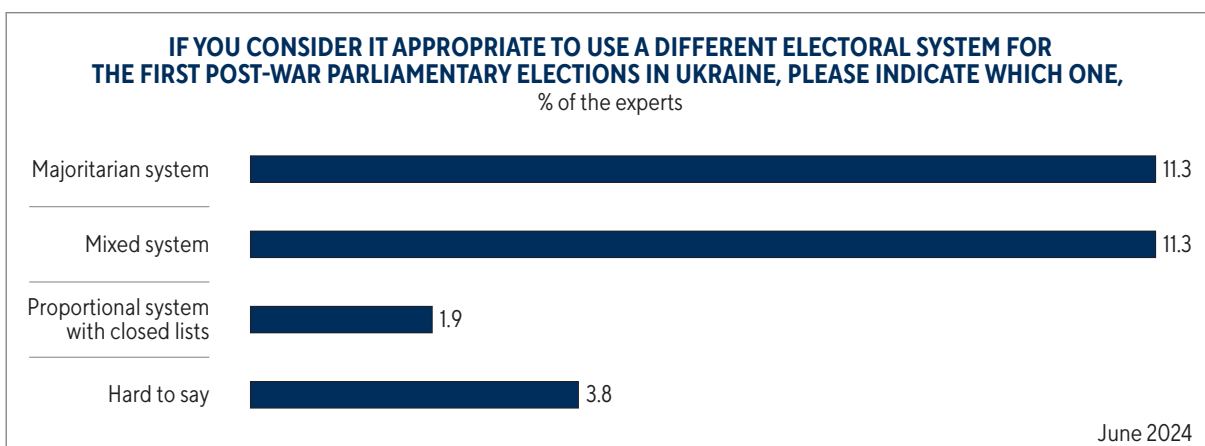
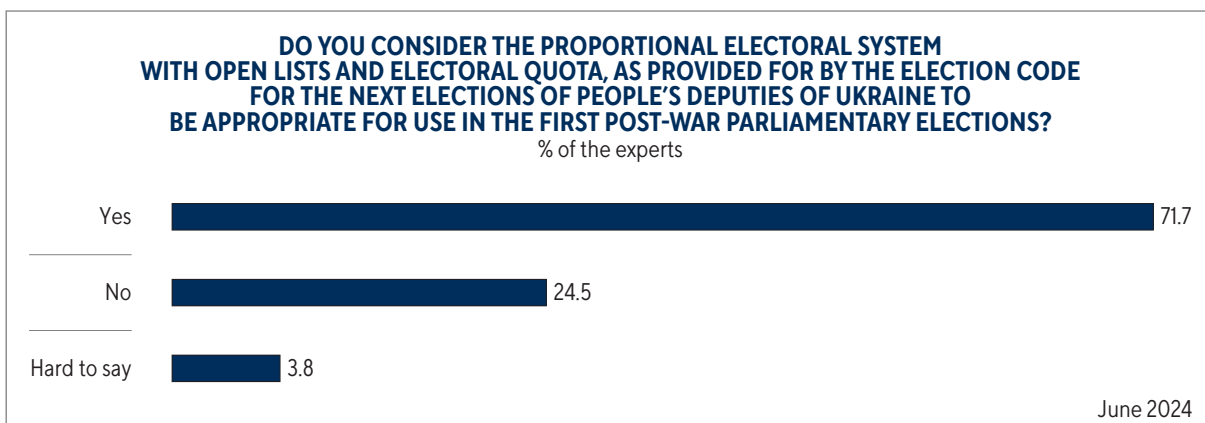
26% of experts believe that if electronic voting is introduced, it can be done through «Diia», while 23% think that a new specialised service will need to be

created. However, 41.5% said that voting in elections should never be done electronically, while others (9%) were undecided.



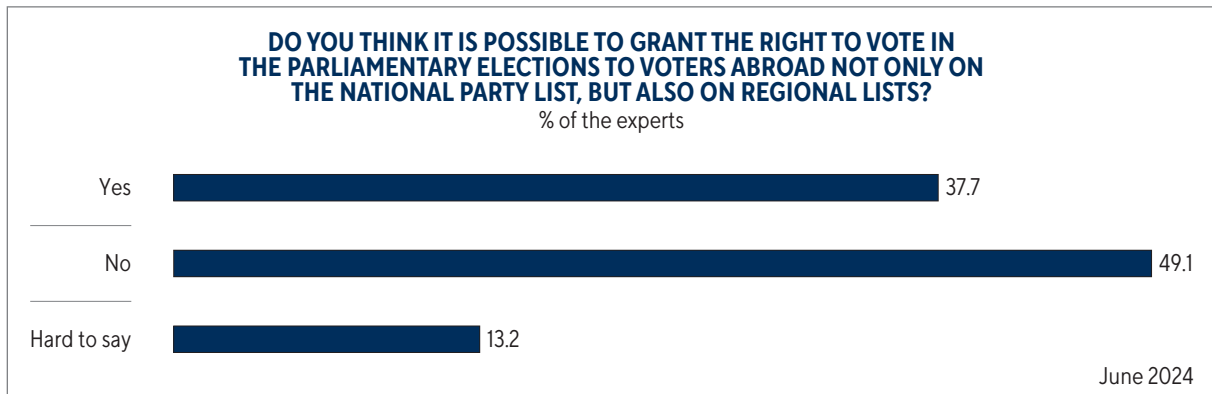
The vast majority of experts (72%) believe that a proportional electoral system with open party lists and an electoral quota, as provided for in the Election Code for the next elections of people’s deputies of

Ukraine, should be used in the first post-war parliamentary elections. 2% think that a proportional system with closed lists is appropriate; 11% prefer a majoritarian system; and 11% – a mixed system.



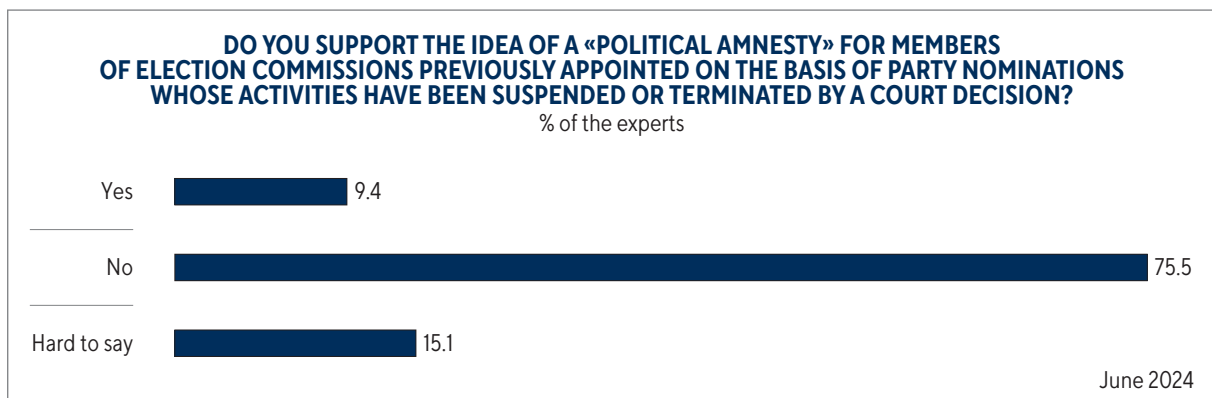
A relative majority of experts (49%) do not consider it possible to grant the right to vote in the parliamentary

elections to voters abroad on regional party lists, while 38% support this possibility.



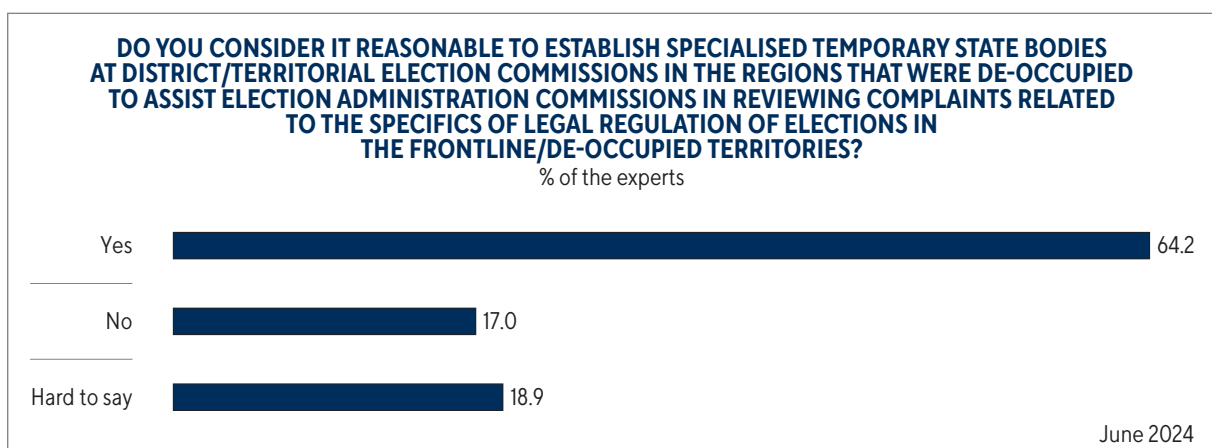
Three quarters of experts (75.5%) reject the idea of a «political amnesty» for election commission members previously appointed

at the request of parties whose activities have been suspended or terminated by a court decision.



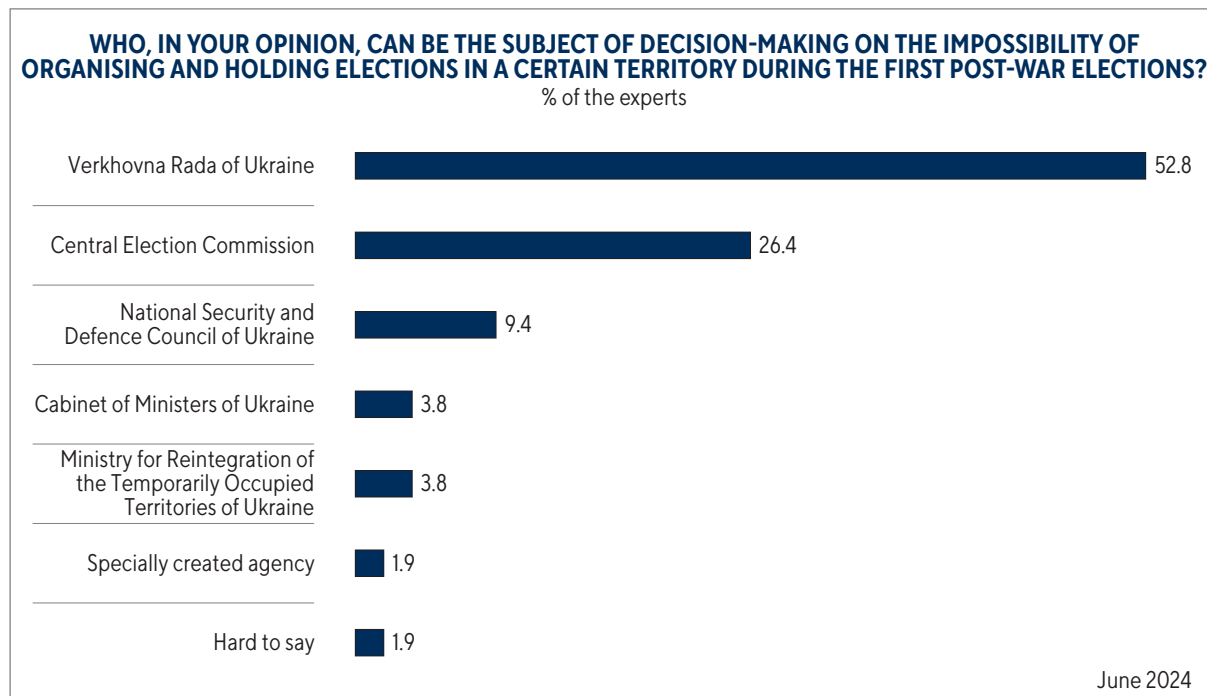
64% of experts consider it reasonable to set up specialised temporary bodies under district/territorial election commissions in the de-occupied regions to assist the relevant

election administration commissions in reviewing complaints related to the specifics of legal regulation of elections in the frontline/de-occupied territories.



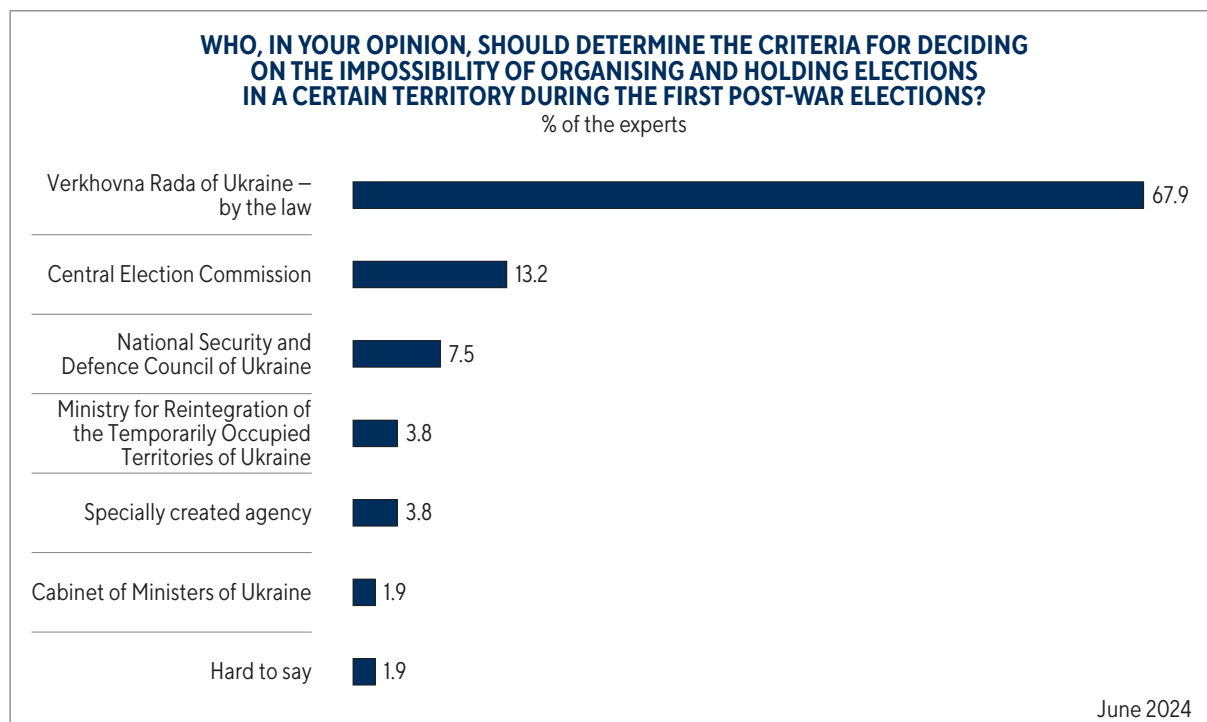
In most cases, experts believe that the Verkhovna Rada (53%) could decide on the impossibility of organising and holding elections in a certain territory during the first post-war elections. Another 26% believe that it could

be the Central Election Commission; 9% – the National Security and Defence Council; 4% – the Cabinet of Ministers; 4% – the Ministry for Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories; and 2% – a specially created agency.



As for who should determine the criteria for deciding on the impossibility of organising and holding elections in a certain territory during the first post-war elections, 68% of experts believe that this should be done by the Verkhovna Rada. Other experts assign

this role to the Central Election Commission (13%), National Security and Defence Council (7.5%), the Ministry for Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories (4%), specially created agency (4%), and the Cabinet of Ministers (2%)



MAIN FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The majority of experts:

- ✓ consider it **impossible** to hold presidential, parliamentary and local elections during martial law and see the expediency of holding elections 6 months after the termination of martial law;
- ✓ believe that in case of introduction of special election legislation for the transitional post-war period, it should be valid **only for the first post-war elections**;
- ✓ **support the idea of introducing active voter registration** for Ukrainian citizens abroad;
- ✓ advocate that citizens who left Ukraine during the war and did not return should have the **right to vote** in the first post-war elections of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the President of Ukraine;
- ✓ **oppose the right** of such citizens to vote in local elections;
- ✓ believe that in the first post-war parliamentary, presidential and local elections, citizens who left Ukraine during the war and did not return **should not be eligible to be elected** (run for office);
- ✓ **oppose** the expansion of the list of exceptions to the residency requirement provided for in the Election Code of Ukraine (Articles 75, 134) by adding provisions on residence outside Ukraine for the period of martial law for presidential and parliamentary candidates;
- ✓ are **negative** about the introduction of electronic and postal voting;
- ✓ consider it **appropriate** to use **a proportional electoral system with open lists** and an electoral quota, as provided for in the Election Code for the next elections of people's deputies of Ukraine, in the first post-war parliamentary elections;
- ✓ **do not support** the idea of a «political amnesty» for members of election commissions previously appointed at the request of parties whose activities have been terminated or suspended by a court decision;
- ✓ **consider it reasonable** to establish specialised temporary state bodies at district / territorial election commissions in the de-occupied regions to assist the respective election administration commissions in considering complaints related to the peculiarities of legal regulation of elections in the frontline/ de-occupied territories;
- ✓ believe that the **Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine** could be a subject of decision-making on the impossibility of organising and holding elections in a certain territory during the first post-war elections, and also determine the criteria for making such decisions.

UKRAINIAN CITIZENS ABOUT THE FUTURE POST-WAR ELECTION

(Results of a Sociological Survey)

Citizens' attitudes to the possibility of holding elections after the end of the war and martial law, their readiness to participate in the first post-war elections, as well as attitudes towards democracy and political parties were the main subjects of a sociological survey conducted by the Razumkov Centre in June 2024.¹

CITIZENS' ATTITUDES TO THE POSSIBILITY AND PROCEDURES FOR HOLDING ELECTIONS AFTER THE END OF THE WAR AND MARTIAL LAW

Those who agree that elections can be held immediately after the end of the war and martial law range from 37% with regard to elections of mayors to 42% with regard to parliamentary elections.

However, the total share of those who believe that the elections should be postponed for 6 months or more after the end of martial law make a relative or absolute majority. In particular, 49% of those polled believe that the elections of the people's deputies be postponed for at least 6 months, while 42% believe that such elections should be held immediately after the lifting of martial law. Relevant figures for presidential elections are 52% and 39% respectively; for the elections of city and village mayors – 52.5% and 37%; and

for elections of the deputies of local councils – 52% and 38%.

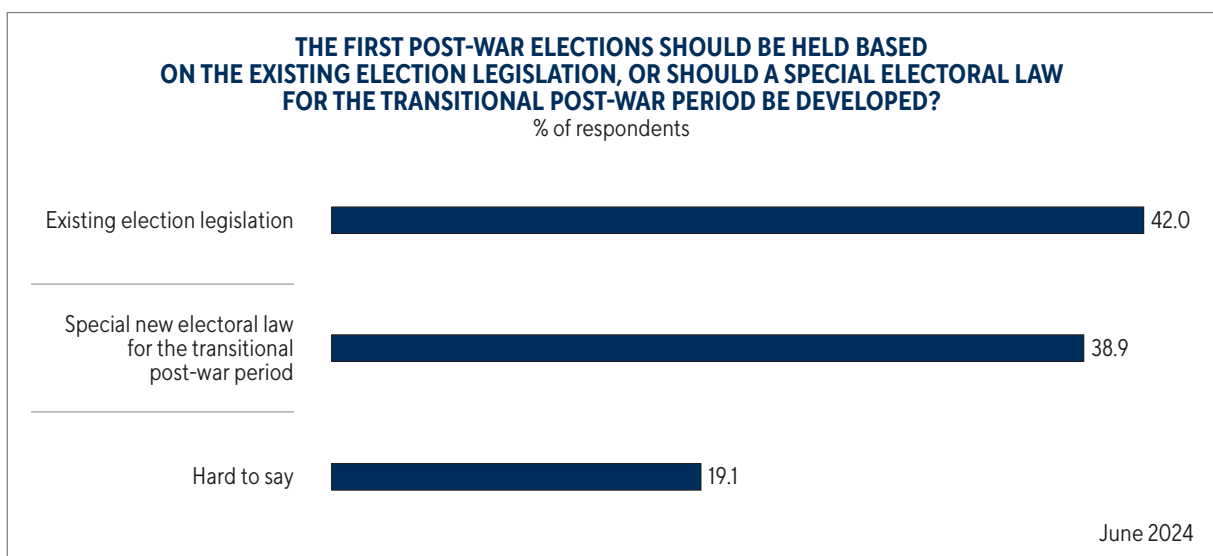
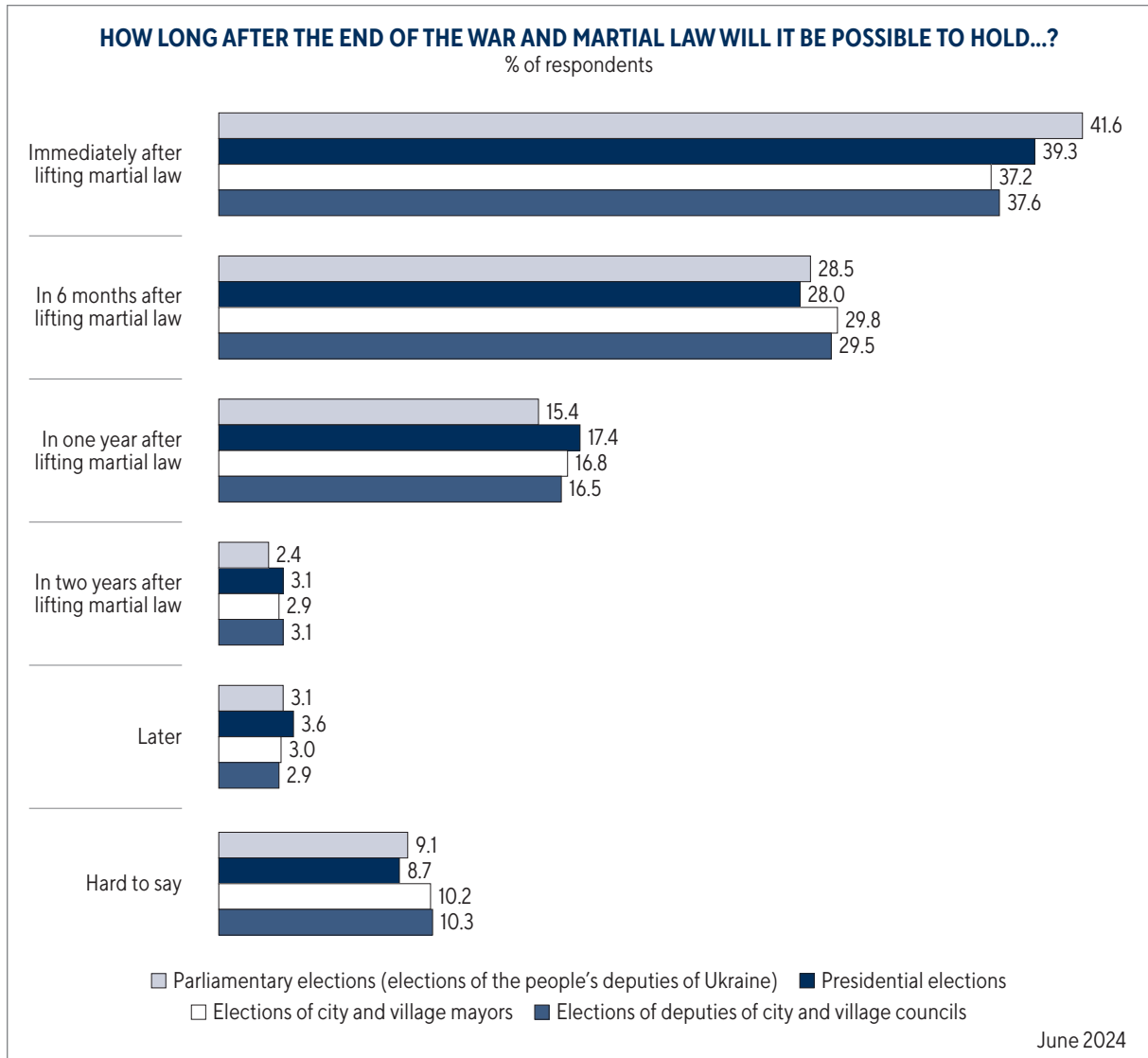
Residents of the South region are more likely than residents of all other regions to support the election of national institutions of power – the President and the Verkhovna Rada – immediately after the end of the war and martial law (59% and 54%, respectively) (Diagram «*How long after the end of the war and martial law will it be possible to hold...?*», c.24)

The respondents' opinions were divided on whether the first post-war elections should be held based on the existing election legislation (42% of supporters) or whether a special electoral law for the transitional period should be developed (39% of supporters) (Diagram «*that the first post-war elections should be held based on the existing election legislation, or should a special electoral law for the transitional post-war period be developed?*», c.24)

¹ The survey was conducted by the Razumkov Centre's sociological service on 15-20 June 2024 using face-to-face method in Vinnytsia, Volyn, Dnipropetrovsk, Zhytomyr, Zakarpattia, Zaporizhzhia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Lviv, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Poltava, Rivne, Sumy, Ternopil, Kharkiv, Kherson, Khmelnytskyi, Cherkasy, Chernihiv, Chernivtsi oblasts and the city of Kyiv (the survey in Zaporizhzhia, Mykolaiv, Kharkiv and Kherson regions was only carried out in government-controlled areas not subject to hostilities).

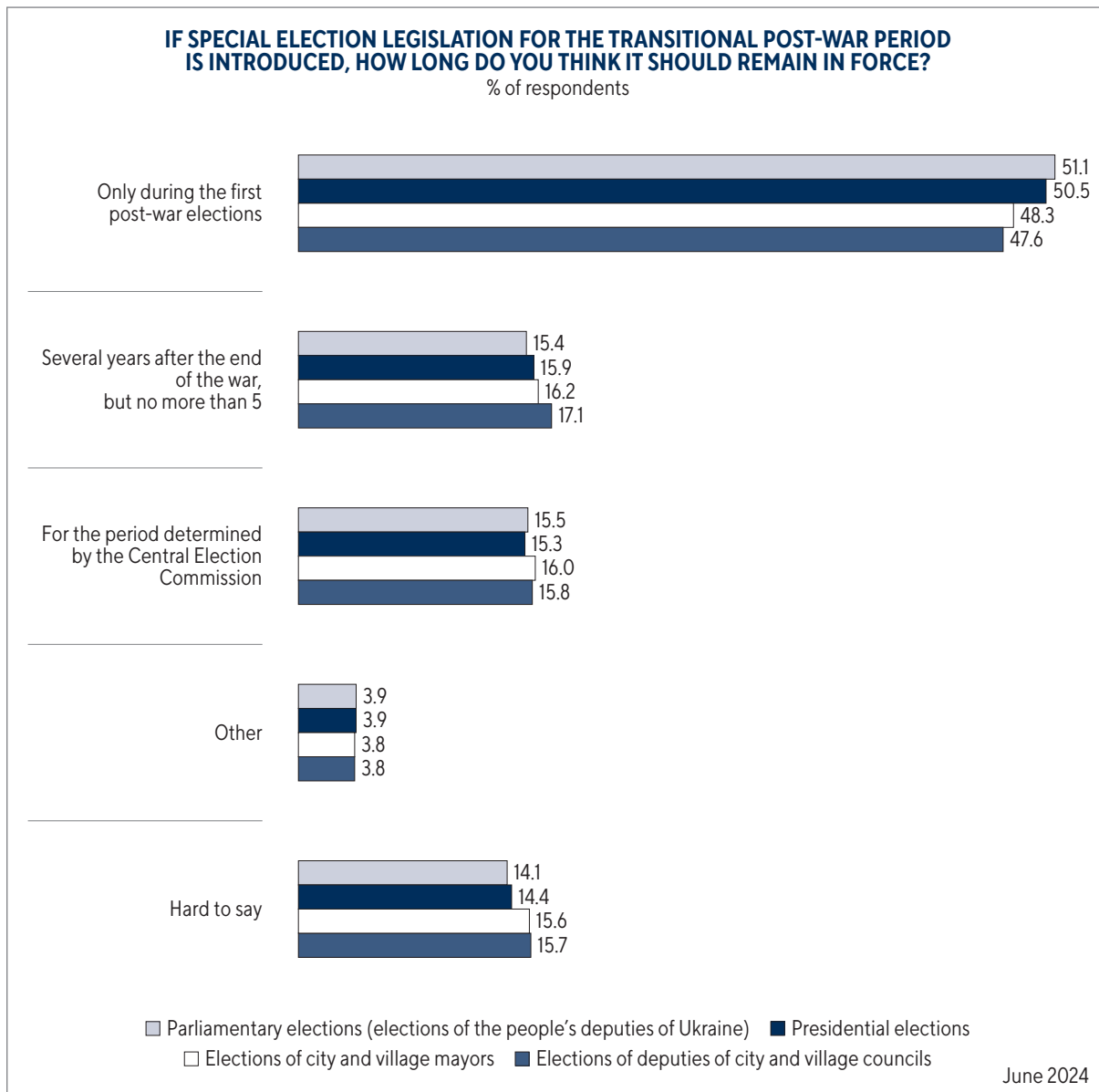
The survey was based on a stratified multi-stage sampling method with random selection at the earlier stages of sampling and a quota method of selecting respondents at the final stage (when respondents were selected based on gender and age quotas). The sample structure reflects the demographic structure of the adult population of the surveyed areas as of the beginning of 2022 (by age, gender, type of settlement).

A total of 2,016 respondents aged 18+ were interviewed. The theoretical sampling error does not exceed 2.3%. Additional systematic sampling deviations may be caused by the effects of Russian aggression, in particular, the forced evacuation of millions of citizens.



In the Centre, a relative majority of respondents (44%) believe that special electoral law for the transitional post-war period should be developed, while in other regions, a relative majority (47% to 49%) believe that the first post-war elections should be held based on the existing election legislation.

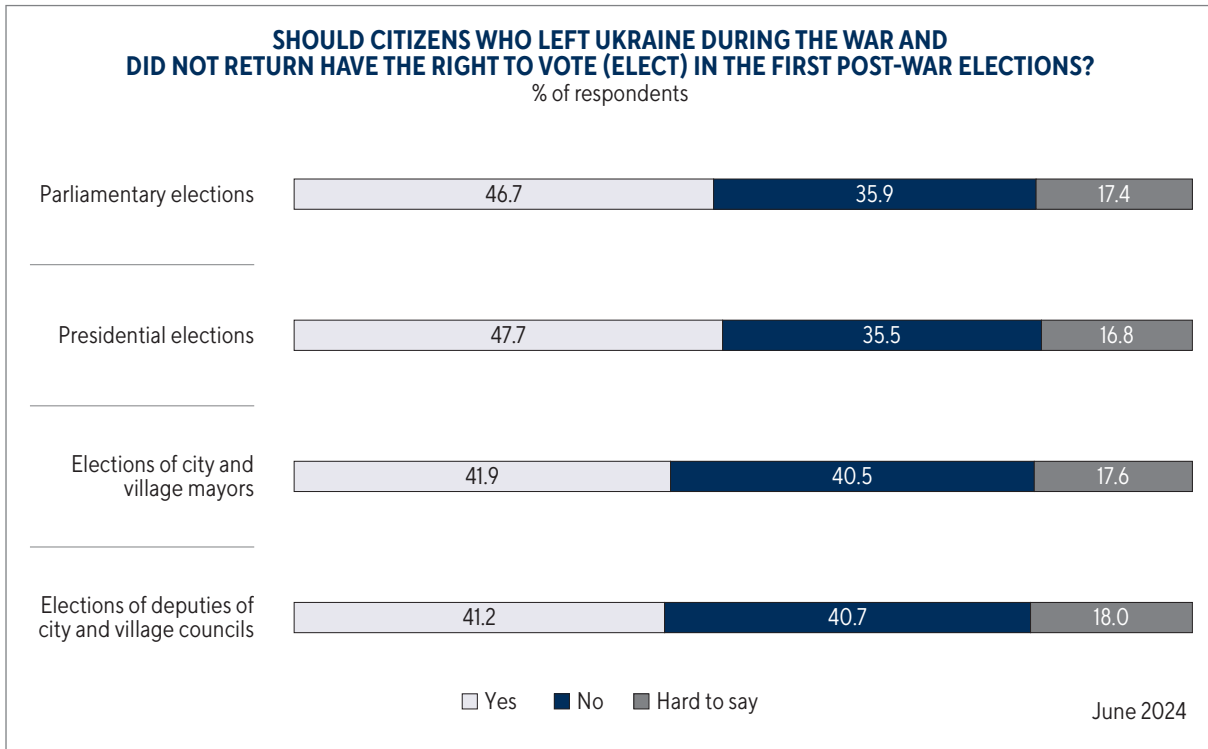
Ukrainian citizens generally think that if special election legislation for the transitional post-war period is introduced, it should be valid only for the first post-war elections (48% of respondents believe so with regard to local elections, and 51% – with regard to presidential and parliamentary elections).



Residents of the South and West are more likely to believe that in the event of introduction of special election legislation for the transitional period, it should be in force only for the first post-war elections, while residents of the East are the least likely to agree with this.

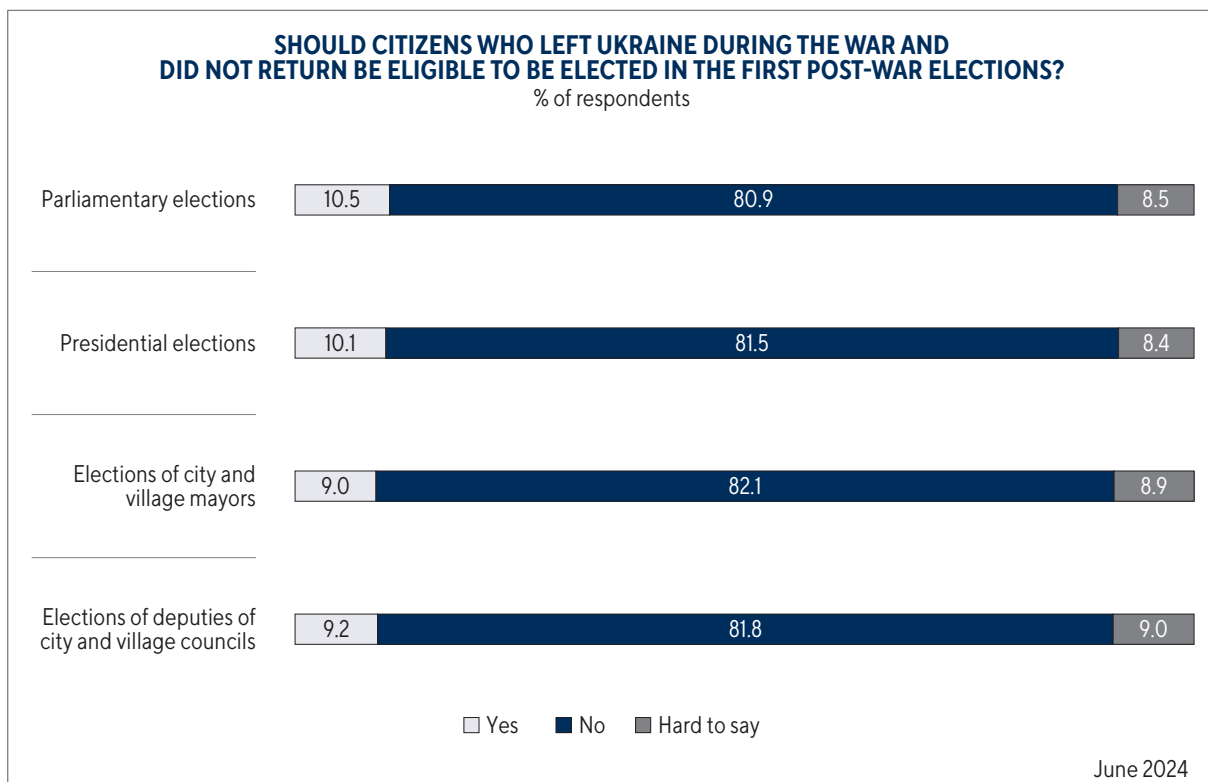
Only a relative majority of respondents believe that citizens who left Ukraine during

the war and did not return should have the right to vote (elect) MPs and the President at the first post-war elections (47% and 48% respectively, with 36% and 35.5% of those who oppose this). As for local elections, approximately equal shares support and oppose such vote (Diagram «Should citizens who left Ukraine during the war and did not return have the right to vote (elect) in the first post-war elections?», c. 26).



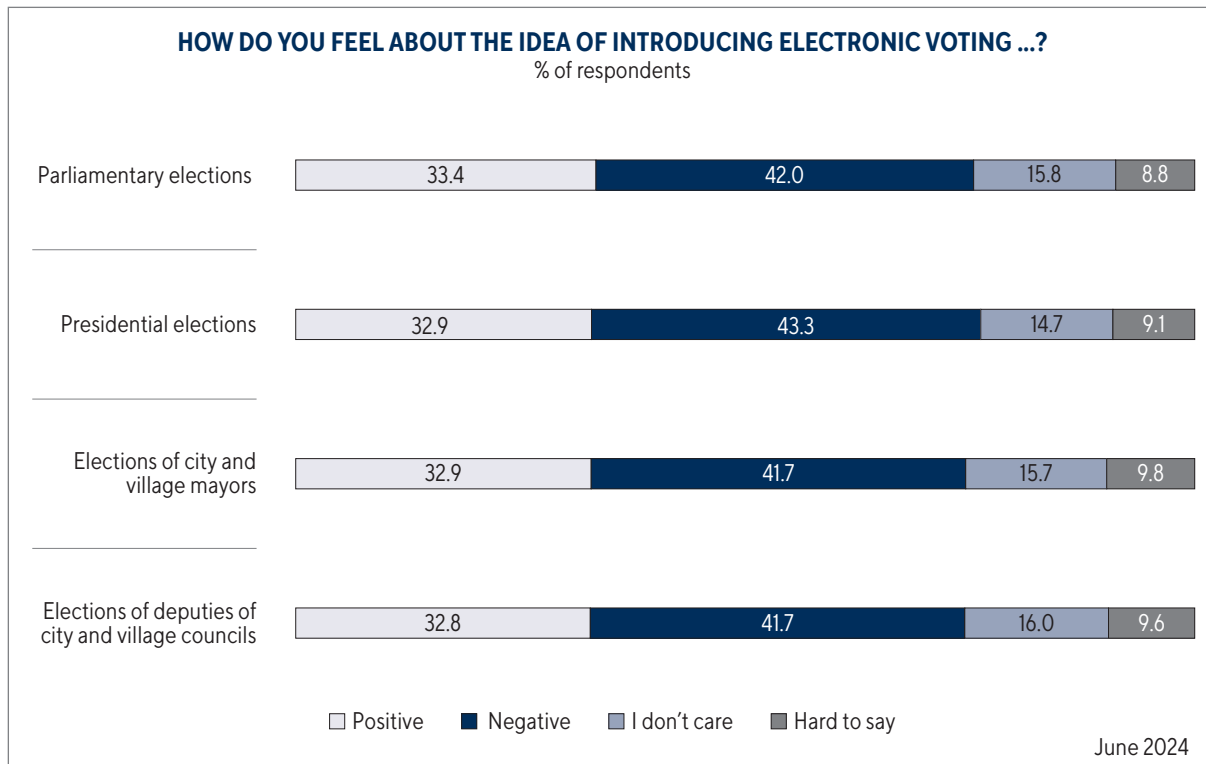
East was the only region, where a relative majority of respondents (45% vs. 38%) believe that such citizens should also have the right to vote in the first post-war local elections. Instead, the overwhelming majority of

Ukrainians (81-82%) believe that citizens who left Ukraine during the war and never returned should not be eligible to be elected in the first post-war elections of all types – parliamentary, presidential and local.



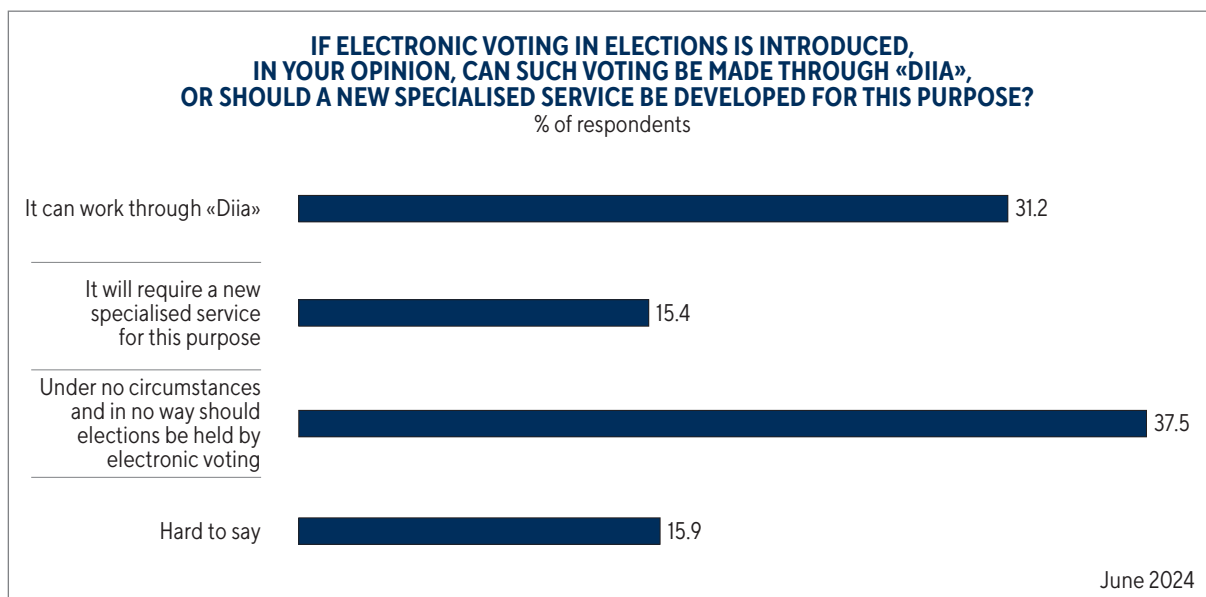
A relative majority of respondents (42-43%) are negative about the idea of introducing electronic voting at elections at all levels, while 33% like this idea. Residents of the West are most likely to oppose it (50-51%), while 29-30% are in favour.

The only group that mostly supports electronic voting is young people aged 18 to 29 (52% are in favour, while 27-30% are against this idea). People aged 60+ are mostly negative about it (55-57%, vs 17% of those favouring this idea).



Meanwhile, 31% of respondents believe that electronic voting can be done through «Diia», while 15% suggest developing a new specialised service for this purpose. 37.5% said that voting in elections should never be done electronically, while others (16%) were undecided.

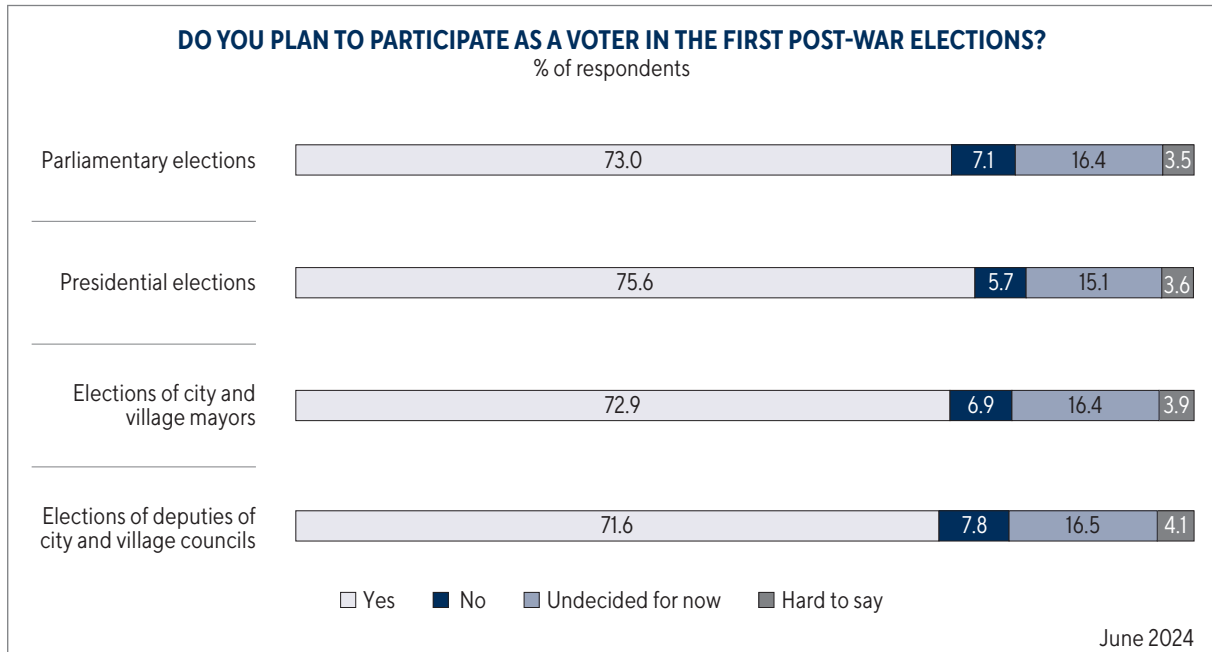
Residents of the South are somewhat more likely to support voting via Diia (41%). With younger age, the number of supporters of both voting through «Diia» and developing a new specialised service is increasing, as there are fewer opponents of electronic voting among young respondents.



READINESS OF CITIZENS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FIRST POST-WAR ELECTIONS

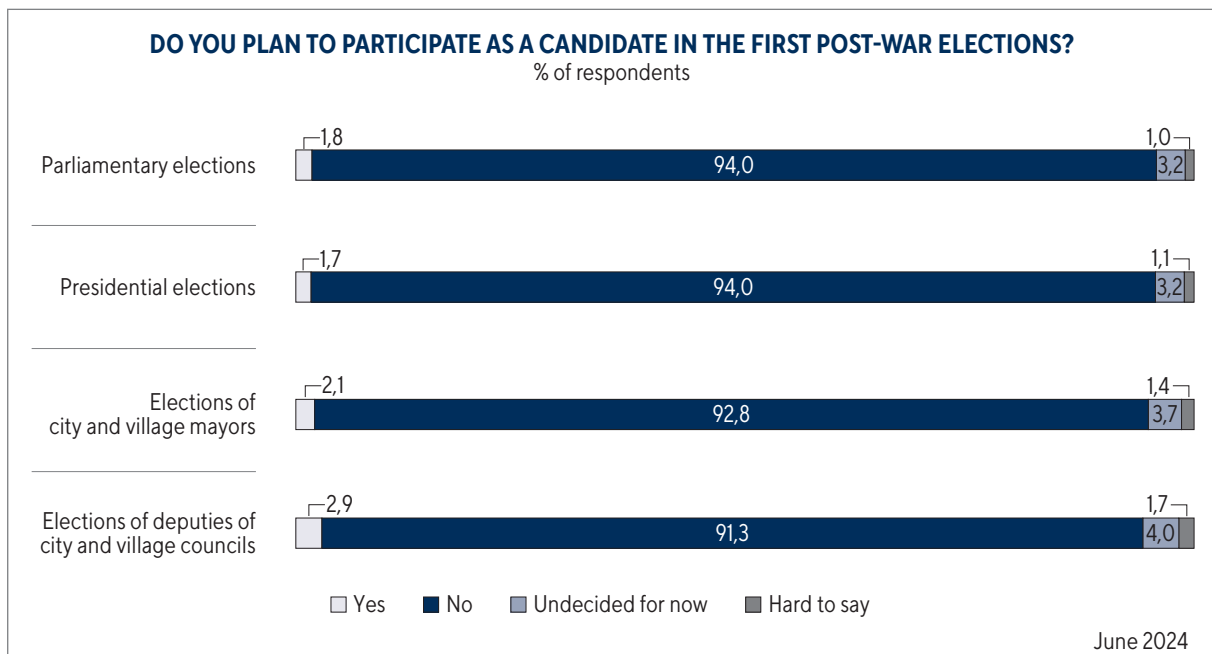
Between 72% and 76% of respondents plan to participate in the first post-war elections of various levels as voters. Intentions to participate become more pronounced with

the level of respondents' education. Therefore, 69.5% of those with general or incomplete secondary education and 81% of those with higher education plan to vote in the presidential elections. Those respondents who speak Russian at home are somewhat less likely to vote in the elections compared to their Ukrainian-speaking compatriots.



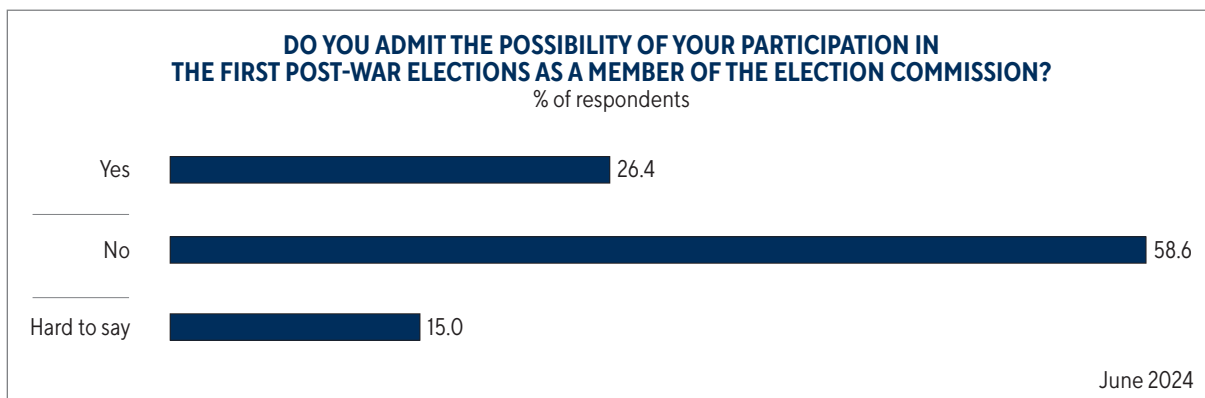
Meanwhile, 2% of respondents plan to run as a candidate in the first post-war elections of the Verkhovna Rada, the President of Ukraine, and city and village mayors, and 3% – in the

elections of deputies of city and village councils (although it is obvious that 2% of those who plan to run for presidency are rather admitting a hypothetical possibility than real intentions).



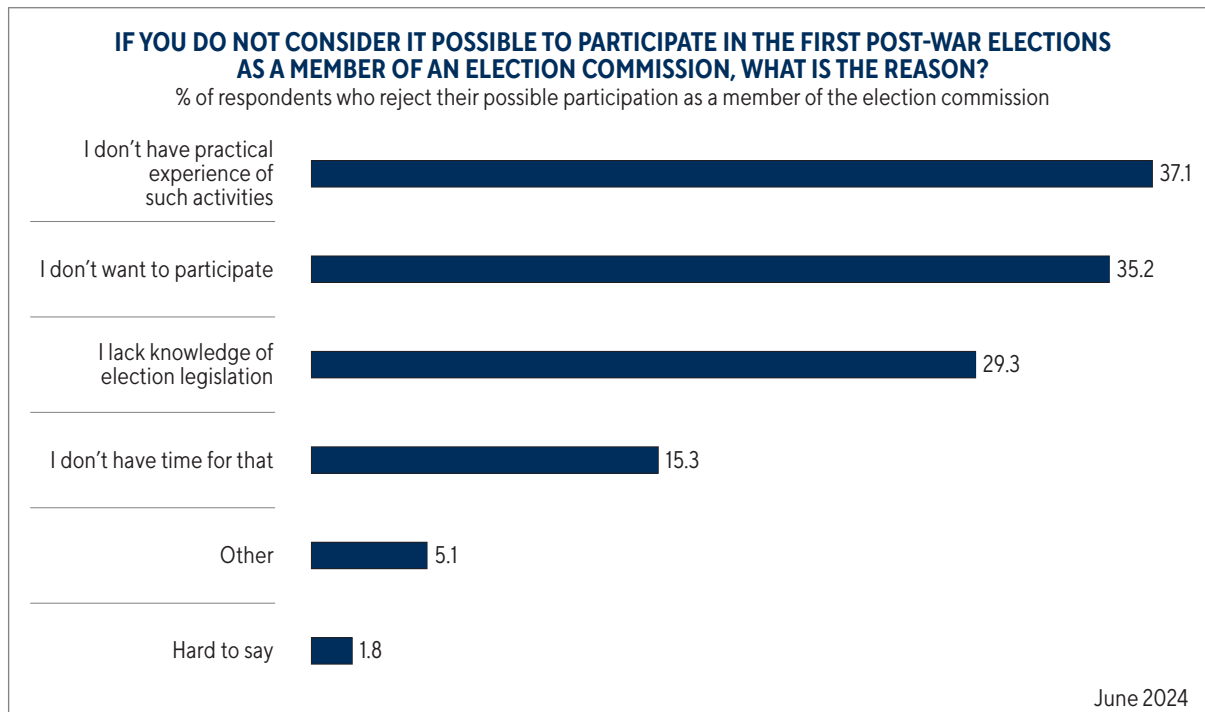
26% of respondents admit the possibility of their participation in the first post-war elections as a member of the election commission (59% reject this possibility, and 15% are undecided). The higher the respondents' educational level, the more likely they are to admit this possibility (their share increases from 21% among those with general or incomplete secondary education to 30%

among those with higher education). Also, intentions to join election commissions are more often expressed by residents of the South (34%) and East (32%) regions compared to those living in the West (23%) and Centre (24%) regions. Age-wise, the participation in such commissions is the most attractive for those aged 30-59 (29%), and the least attractive – for those aged 60+ (22%).



Those respondents who reject the possibility of participating in the first post-war elections as a member of an election commission most often mention the lack of practical experience (37%), unwillingness

to work in election commissions (35%), and lack of knowledge of election legislation (29%) as main reasons for this. Another 15% point to lack of time (which is largely a marker of lack of desire)



* Several options are possible.

Compared to 2018, the share of those who believe that a proportional system with open party lists is the best for Ukraine has increased from 34% to 41%. The level of support for elections with open party lists also increases with the respondents' educational level (34% among those with general or incomplete secondary

education and 49% among those with higher education).

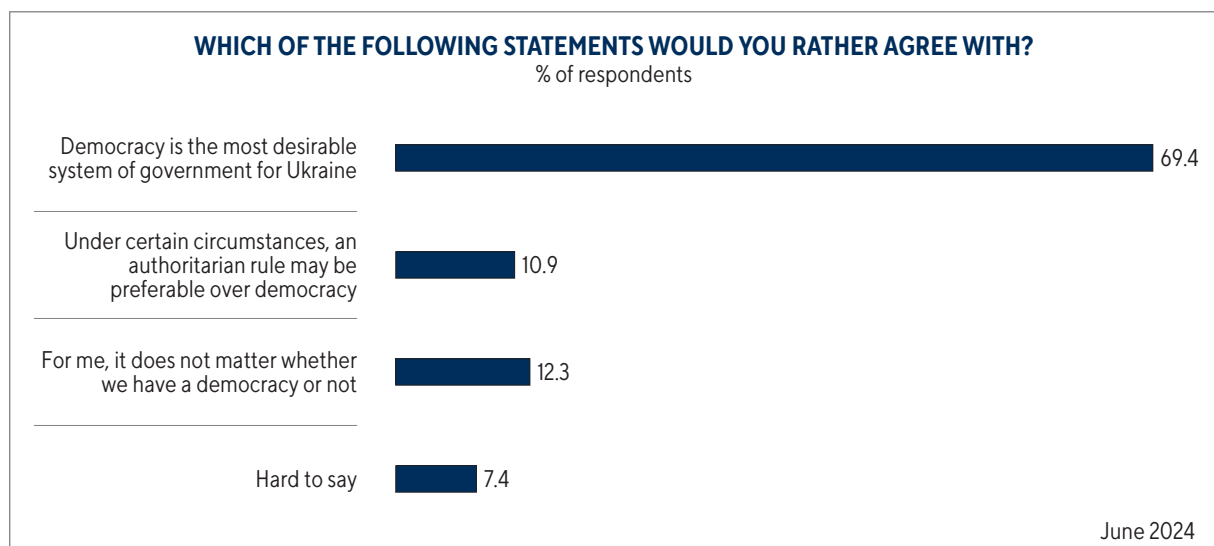
The support is also higher in the West and Centre (43% and 44%, respectively) compared to the South and East (36% and 37%, respectively), and among urban residents (44.5%) compared to rural residents (35%).

WHAT SYSTEM OF ELECTIONS TO THE VERKHOVNA RADA DO YOU THINK IS BEST FOR UKRAINE? % of respondents	
Proportional system with open party lists (voters vote for a party and also mark the most acceptable candidates from that party; the candidate's place on the party list is determined by the number of votes for him/her)	41.2
Mixed system with closed party lists (some MPs are elected based on closed lists, when parties themselves determine the order of candidates on their lists, and some are elected in majority districts)	16.4
Majoritarian system (all MPs are elected in majority districts without voting for party lists)	13.5
Proportional system with closed party lists (parties adopt lists of candidates and determine their order in the list, and voters vote for the list)	3.8
Other	0.4
Hard to say	24.6

ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEMOCRACY, POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Since the outbreak of full-scale Russian aggression, Ukrainians are increasingly aware of the importance of democracy for the country's development: while in June 2021,

only 54% of respondents agreed that «democracy is the most desirable system of government for Ukraine», in June 2024, they share increased to 69%. At the same time, the share of those who believe that «under certain circumstances, an authoritarian rule may be preferable over democracy» dropped from 24% to 11%.

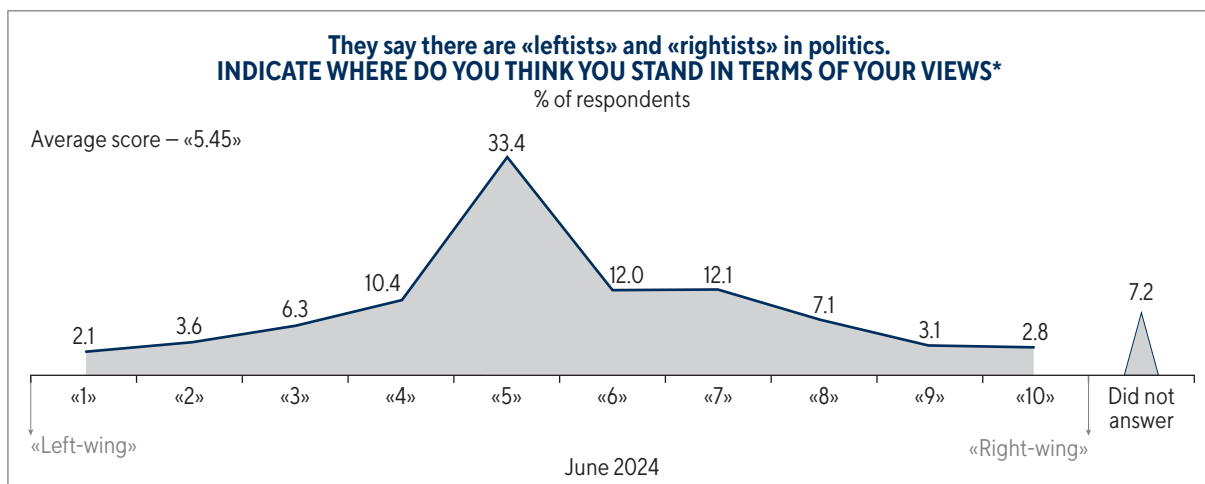


The share of those who believe that democracy is the most desirable type of government for Ukraine is rising with respondents' educational level (from 60% among those with general or incomplete secondary education to 76% among those with higher (or incomplete higher) education).

Support for the democratic system also increases with younger age of respondents, from 59% among those aged 60+ to 79% among young people under 30. Similarly, level of support for the democratic system is higher

in the West (76%), and lower in the East (60%) compared to the country average.

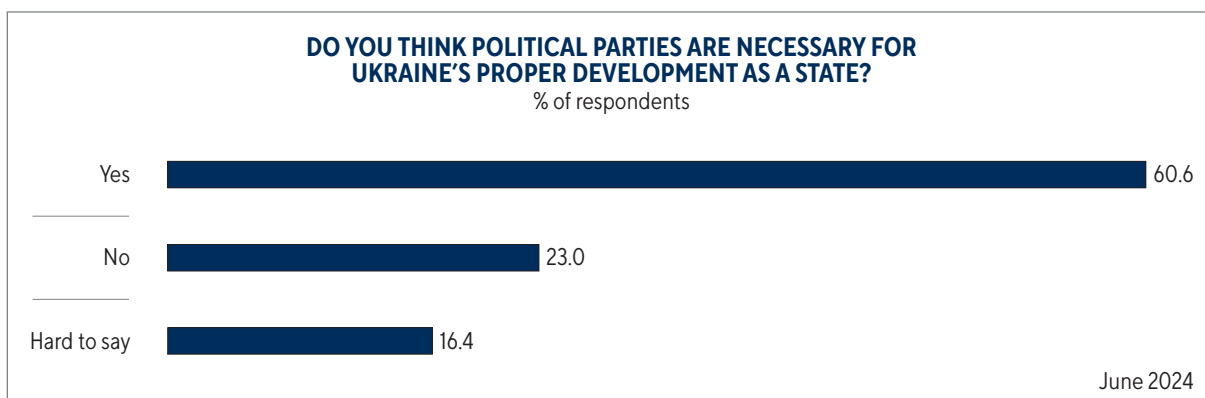
When assessing their own political views on a «leftists-rightists» scale (where «1» means «left-wing», and «10» means «right-wing»), in June 2024, respondents rated them with an average of 5.5 points, with a predominance of «centrist» positions, as 56% of respondents chose a value between 4 and 6. Residents of the West are somewhat more «right-wing» in their political views (average score of 6.2), while in other regions values range from 5.0 to 5.3.



* By using a scale from 1 to 10, where «1» means «left-wing» and «10» means «right-wing».

While support for democracy in Ukraine has increased, citizens' attitude towards political parties as a component of the democratic system has deteriorated. Although 61% of respondents

today believe that political parties are necessary for Ukraine's proper development as a state, in October–November 2020, the number of those sharing this opinion was much higher (75%).



This is largely due to the low level of public confidence in political parties: according to findings of the survey conducted by the Razumkov Centre sociological service on 6-12 June 2024, 77.5% of respondents do not trust political parties, and only 12% trust them.

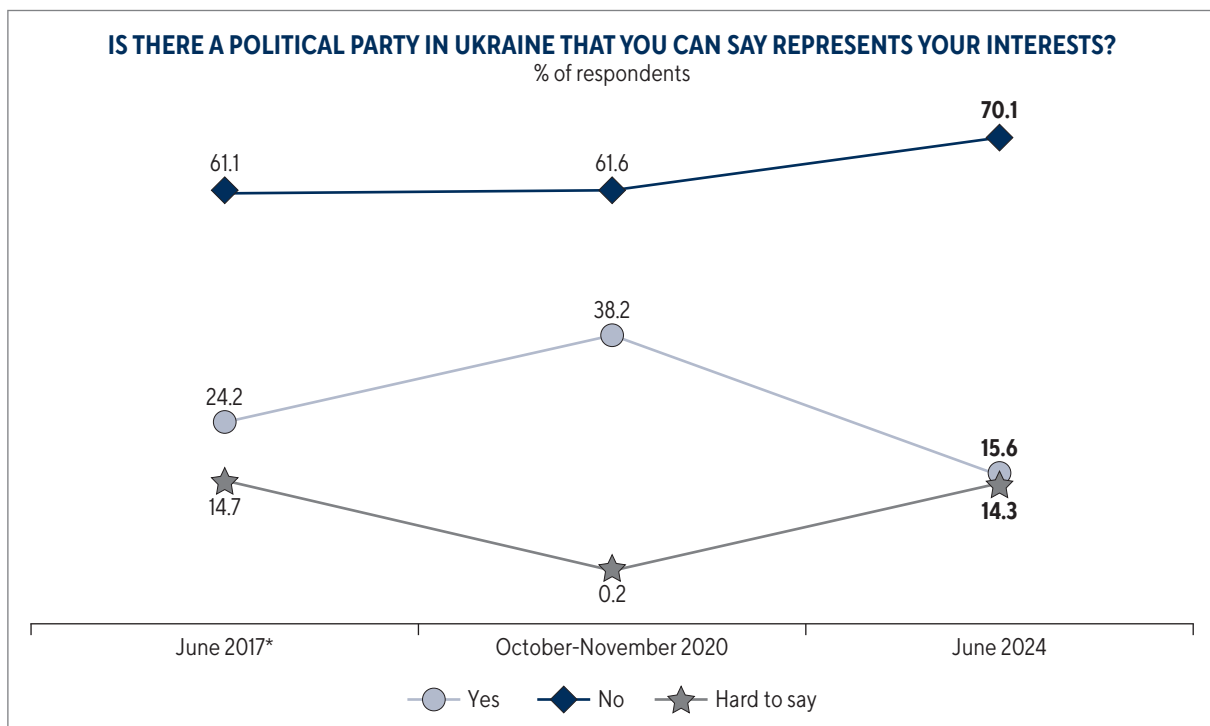
Political parties are seen as necessary for Ukraine's proper development by 68% of those respondents who believe that democracy is the most desirable system of government for Ukraine, and only by 36% of those who believe that under certain circumstances an authoritarian rule may be preferable over democracy.

The share of those who believe that political parties are necessary for Ukraine's proper

development is increasing with the level of educational (from 53% among those with general or incomplete secondary education to 63% among those with higher (or incomplete higher) education).

Residents of the South (69%) and West (65%) are more likely than the national average to perceive parties as necessary elements of the country's proper development. The proportion of Ukrainians sharing this view is the lowest in the Centre (56%).

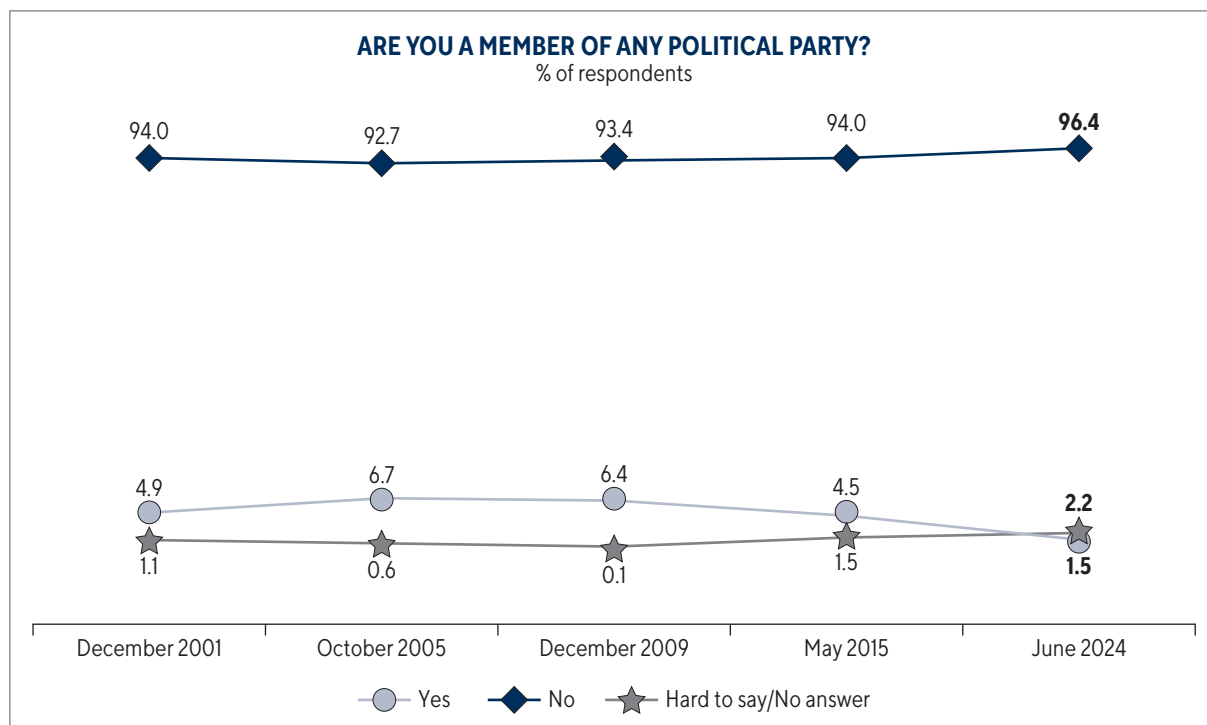
The share of those who believe that there is a party in Ukraine that can be said to represent their interests has dropped from 38% in 2020 to 16% in 2024. The number of such people is slightly higher in the West (21%).



* In 2017, the question was formulated as follows: «Is there a political party among the existing ones that defends your interests?».

Compared to the pre-war period, the number of members of political parties has decreased

significantly (1.5%), compared to 7% in 2006 and 4.5% in 2015.



MAIN FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

- ✓ The total share of those who believe that the elections should be postponed for 6 months or more after the lifting of martial law makes a relative or absolute majority of respondents, depending on the bodies to be elected.
- ✓ The respondents' opinions are divided on whether the first post-war elections should be held based on the existing election legislation (42% of supporters), or whether a special electoral law for the transitional post-war period should be developed (39% of supporters).
- ✓ Ukrainian citizens generally think that if special election legislation for the transitional post-war period is introduced, it should be valid only for the first post-war elections.
- ✓ A relative majority of respondents believe that citizens who left Ukraine during the war and did not return should have the right to vote (elect) for MPs and the president in the first post-war elections.
- ✓ As for local elections (elections of city/village mayors and deputies of city/village councils), approximately equal shares of respondents are both in favour and against it.
- ✓ An overwhelming majority of Ukrainians believe that citizens who left Ukraine during the war and never returned should not be eligible to be elected in the first post-war elections of all types – parliamentary, presidential and local.
- ✓ A relative majority of respondents are negative about introducing electronic voting in elections at all levels. Young people are the only group that mostly supports this idea.
- ✓ 31% of respondents believe that if electronic voting is introduced, it can be done through «Diia», while 15% think that a new specialised service will be needed for this purpose.
- ✓ About three-quarters of respondents plan to participate in the first post-war elections of various levels of government as voters.

- ✓ 2% of respondents plan to run as a candidate in the first post-war elections of the Verkhovna Rada, the President of Ukraine, and city and village mayors, and 3% – in the elections of deputies of city and village councils (although it is obvious that 2% of those who plan to run for presidency are rather admitting a hypothetical possibility than real intentions).
- ✓ About a quarter of respondents admit the possibility of their participation in the first post-war elections as a member of the election commission.
- ✓ Those respondents who reject the possibility of participating in the first post-war elections as a member of an election commission most often mention the lack of practical experience in this area, unwillingness to work in election commissions, and lack of knowledge of election legislation as main reasons for this.
- ✓ Compared to 2018, the share of those who believe that a proportional system with open party lists is the best for Ukraine has increased from 34% to 41%.
- ✓ Since the outbreak of full-scale war, Ukrainians have become more aware of the importance of democracy for the country's development, and the share of those who believe that democracy is the most desirable system of government for Ukraine has increased.
- ✓ While support for democracy in Ukraine has increased, the attitude towards political parties as a component of the democratic system has deteriorated. Although most respondents still believe that political parties are necessary for Ukraine's proper development as a state, the vast majority of Ukrainians do not trust political parties.
- ✓ Political parties are seen as necessary for Ukraine's proper development by vast majority of those respondents who believe that democracy is the most desirable system of government for Ukraine, and only by one-third of those who believe that under certain circumstances an authoritarian rule may be preferable over democracy
- ✓ Compared to the pre-war period, the number of those who think that there is a party in Ukraine that can be said to represent their interests has significantly decreased, and so did the number of those claiming to be a member of a political party.

