









# SECURITY PASSPORT OF UKRAINE - 2018: RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS



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#### GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROJECT

The project "Security Passport of Ukraine 2018: regional and national dimensions" is a continuation of the initiative launched in 2017 by the international organization "Center for International Security" and the National Institute for Strategic Studies with the support of the NATO Information and Documentation Centre in Ukraine. The aim of the project is studying security situation in different regions of Ukraine, creating a risk map for each of them based upon information received, and developing recommendations for an adequate response to current threats.

In order to facilitate the implementation of the project during 2018, a special inter-departmental working group was created, which included representatives of the implementing organization and official partners: the National Institute for Strategic Studies; the Ministry for Temporarily Occupied Territories and Internally Displaced Persons; the Ministry of Information Policy; the Ukrainian Institute for the Advanced Training of Workers of Television, Radio and Press.

Last year, experts of the Center for International Security studied the problems in the regions of Vinnytsia, Zakarpattia, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv and Kherson. This year, the project was continued in six regions of Ukraine: Odesa (May 24-25), Rivne (June 14-15), Chernihiv (July 19-20), Kropyvnytskyi (August 16-17), Luhansk (September 13-14), Zaporizhia (October 11-12).

The fieldwork stage included quantitative and qualitative sociological research (employing a questionnaire and focus groups with experts). The sampling quota was based upon sex and age, and was targeted at key informants within the population of the regions in which the research was conducted, including representatives of law enforcement agencies, the civil service, civil society and the education sector. In total, 1280 questionnaires were processed. The organization that implemented the study is the Center for Applied Sciences.

Following the regional stages, roundtable discussions were organized also with representatives of local authorities, law enforcement agencies and public activists.

The regional security passports of Ukraine were developed on the basis of the Global Peace Index (GPI), revised and adapted by experts of the Center for International Security and the Center for Applied Sciences. As a result, a qualitatively new formula for assessing the security situation in certain territories was created, based upon 12 quantitative and 34 qualitative indices, which provided an objective view on the situation.



#### **ODESA AND ODESA REGION**

**Odesa** is a large Black Sea port and the southern maritime gateway of Ukraine. It has become increasingly important for trade development and tourism since

the annexation of the Crimea. The region has exceptional economic importance for the country, as a large share of trade relations with external partners transits through it. It is also significant in that its population is ethnically diverse and it is a target of Russian aggression.

The Odesa oblast is facing multiple challenges:

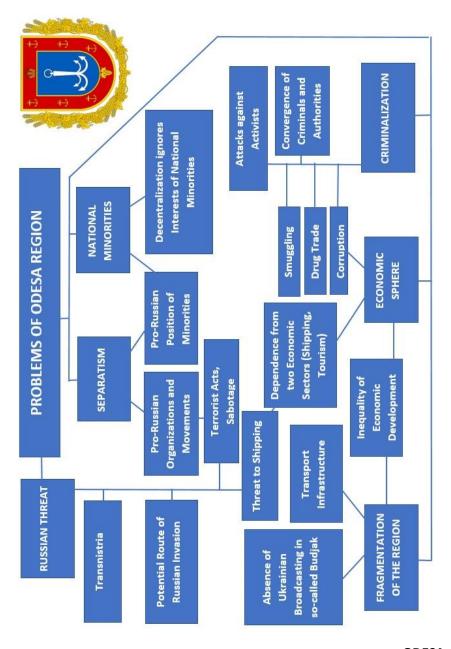
- Fragmentation of the region: The Odesa region can be divided into several parts with respect to infrastructure and economic development. Their levels of development differ significantly particularly in regard to the economic indicators of Odesa itself and the agricultural regions of the oblast. One part is cut off from the regional center given its poor transportation connections. In some areas there are problems with the broadcasting of Ukrainian television, which is used by the Russian aggressor to strengthen its position.
- Russian threat: The region is located in a zone that is potentially dangerous should there be an intensification of the conflict, such as the outbreak of large-scale military aggression. It is located close to two areas in which the Russian military presence is expanding: annexed Crimea,

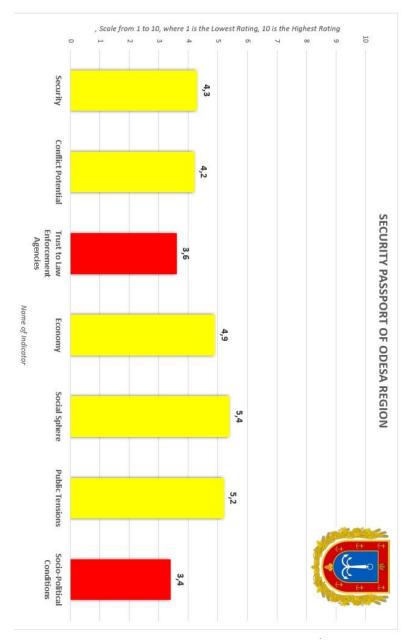
which is being actively militarized by the Russian authorities; and Transnistria, where there is the Russian contingent present under pretext military "peacemaking". Therefore, there is the risk of a Russian operation along on the coast of the Odesa region, supported by an invasion from the territory of the selfproclaimed/unrecognized republic. However, even in the absence of such an aggressive scenario, Russia represents a threat to the stability of the region. Russian politics aimed at establishing their complete control over the Black Sea represents a threat to maritime traffic. The threat of terrorist acts carried out by Russian diversionists in cooperation with local pro-Russian in the forces underground remains relevant.

ranked only 14th among the regions of Ukraine in terms of the regional product per capita. The region suffers from a series of negative economic tendencies. It is highly dependent on a limited number of income sources: mainly shipping and tourism, as well as construction related these sectors. But today even they are suffering from negative trends: in comparison with 2014, the freight turnover of the regional ports is reduced by 10-15%; the quality of tourism services remains insufficient. Other sectors comprise much less significant positions in the economic structure of the region. As well as this sectoral imbalance, there is also a geographical one: there is a significant development gap between districts in the Odesa oblast and

its regional center. Also GDP indicators, showed by statistical data, does not affect the lives of people who do not feel the impact of targeted positive trends in economic development.

- Criminalization of the region: The Odesa region is increasingly characterized by criminal activities such as drug trafficking and smuggling and there is a degree of convergence between local authorities and criminals; corruption in the is thriving in the upper levels of the local authorities. Those activists who seek to improve the situation by trying to expose corruption and criminality have become the object of persecution and do not feel safe.
- Rights and situation of national minorities: The ethnic diversity of the population in the Odesa region is the basis for a number of disputes at the national level. Some of these minority groups have openly pro-Russian views, which risks enhancing the threat of separatism in the region. A further problem relates to insufficient attention paid by the authorities to the rights of minorities in the implementation of decentralization reforms. As a result of the new division of authority, certain ethnic groups that live compactly in specific districts of Odesa region lose the opportunity to influence regional policy.





#### Recommendations

In order to improve the formation of the security climate in the Odesa region and reduce the negative impacts of some aspects of its development, the following actions are proposed:

- Strengthen dissemination of information by the state by improving the quality of broadcasted content and widening the development of relevant infrastructure. In order to achieve this, it will be necessary to improve the extent of coverage across the territory through the construction of new facilities (e.g. TV tower) in order to provide a stable signal for Ukrainian broadcasting throughout the region.
- Strengthen the region's defense capability and its potential to repel a Russian invasion. A permanent threat from the sea and the territory of Transnistria requires the creation of a Defense Staff that operates continuously, and which should include representatives of the military command, local authorities and law enforcement agencies. The coordination of efforts within such a framework should facilitate the identification of the main military threats and the development of adequate means of improving the situation.
- Strengthen the use of tools of "soft power" and informationsharing among the local population in relation Ukrainian and European cultural values and humanitarian issues, by gathering and sharing greater volumes of information about entertainment and cultural events aimed at both the general population (festivals, film forums) and specific audiences (educational seminars in schools and universities).

- Strengthen the level of interaction between local authorities and diasporas living in the region in order to conduct an information campaign among national minorities aimed at increasing the authority of the Ukrainian state. Through information-sharing events and mechanisms of practical interaction, this should present the audience with a positive image of Ukraine as a desirable country to live in, and in which the rights and opinions of national minorities are respected and listened to.
- Develop and implement a program that utilizes the tourism potential of the Odesa region in order to inform visitors of the region about its cultural significance. This would include highlighting the role of the city of Odesa and the region in the historical process of establishing the independent state of Ukraine; and demonstrate the region's importance to the political, economic and cultural development of the Ukrainian nation, thus countering Russian propaganda that seeks to the highlight the "Russianness" of the region.
- Strengthen the activities of the law enforcement sector, aimed at combating serious crimes involving organized groups (such as smuggling and drug trafficking). In this context, it is important to ensure broad cooperation between representatives of central structures and regional law enforcement officers. Such a campaign will require extensive informational support in order to ensure a sense of security and trust in law enforcement agencies among the local population and in order to avoid speculation that some activities of law enforcement agencies maybe linked to

- criminality, and that some of these actions may also involve representatives of national minorities.
- Implement an anti-corruption information campaign aimed at publicly exposing corrupt officials. To facilitate this, the public sector in cooperation with specialized anti-corruption structures should create a publicly-accessible database containing details on corrupt officials in the region (such as the Peacemaker database). This should contain details on corrupt practices at all levels, from the modest household to the most economically powerful.
- Promote the stimulation of business initiatives by members of the population in the region as part of the program to support small and medium-sized enterprises and encourage innovation. Geographically, the focus for these activities is on small towns and villages in the region rather than the regional center. Preference will be given to those initiatives that offer promising projects that differ in nature from the dominant sectors of the regional economy. Attracting public investment and funding sources from outside the region (including international funding), will help in the development of new economic sectors and facilitate in the diversification of sources that contribute towards the regional budget.
- Initiate regular consultations between representatives of local authorities, law enforcement and the military sector aimed at analyzing and sharing information about the current situation in the region, determining the dynamics of fluctuations, and updating the indicators used to collect data and assess the levels of safety and security in the Odesa region. To this end,

- it is proposed that threat levels be assessed continuously and objectively, and short-term strategies be developed that propose prompt responses to these threats.
- Improve the regional system of transport communications by updating the existing infrastructure and implementing new building projects. This should involve financial support secured through the relevant international financial institutions including European partners (EBRD projects), in particular in relation to the construction of a transport corridor with Romania, involving a bridge over the Danube River between the village of Orlovka (Ukraine) and the city of Isaccea (Romania).
- Strengthen the interaction in relation to monitoring the situation between law enforcement agencies and patriotic public activists. Projects should be implemented that are aimed at opening up ongoing integrated cooperation initiatives, such as: creating an early warning system for illegal activities (Civilian Guard); and launching the League of Young Policemen program, which aims to build trust between law enforcement officers and young people and prepare reserves of personnel for the police force.

#### RIVNE AND RIVNE OBLAST

**Rivne** is a western region of Ukraine bordering Belarus, where the main threats relate to the illegal mining of amber and religious disagreements.



- Fragmentation of the region: Despite its small size and population (1.16 million), the Rivne region serves as an example of uneven development within the territories. The south of the region is occupied by agricultural land and has significant tourism potential (Dubno, Ostroh). In the center of the region there is an administrative center the city of Rivne. This city is notable for its industrial production in particular the chemical factory "Rivneazot" and the railway hub Zdolbuniv. In the north of the region, the Rivne Nuclear Power Plant (NPP) is located in the city Varosh. The northern districts border with the Brest and Gomel regions of Belarus, and are covered with forests. However, while deforestation is a problem in this region, a greater environmental threat comes from the illegal activities of amber miners.
- Illegal amber mining: In certain districts of the region, amber mining represents a significant threat. A significant proportion of the population of the northern parts of the region are involved, notably in Volodymyretskyi, Dubrovytskyi, Zarichnenskyi, Rokytnivskyi and Sarnenskyi districts. A third of the area, on the north of so called "Warsaw highway", is popularly referred to as "Amber People's Republic". Illegal amber mining is under the control of local criminals, who have

widespread connections in the regional center and Kyiv. The activity of the miners, and the 'concealment' of their activities at the government level, have led to many high-profile criminal cases and special operations conducted by the Security Service of Ukraine. Attempts by law enforcement agencies to stop the mining - which every second resident in some regions is thought to be involved in – has been met with active opposition. The police do not have *de facto* free access to illegal mining areas and violence targeted at the police has become common practice. The extracted amber is mainly shipped for export to neighboring countries: Poland (up to 80%) and Belarus (about 20%). Amber schemes and the cognizant participation and attraction to the population to such activities (through its higher added value) is a significant challenge to the national security of Ukraine.

engaging in 'illegal work' as a result of specific problems they encounter. The region has relatively high unemployment rates (up to 10% according to calculations made using the methodology of the International Labor Organization) and low wages. An alternative to participation in the amber business for residents of the area is to seek employment abroad. This migration is mostly temporary, usually lasting up to three months. The main direction of migration is to Poland, the Czech Republic and Germany. In the north of the Rivne oblast, the percentage of the population covered by various social benefits (due to the events of the Chernobyl disaster, because they have large families, etc.) is significantly higher than the regional

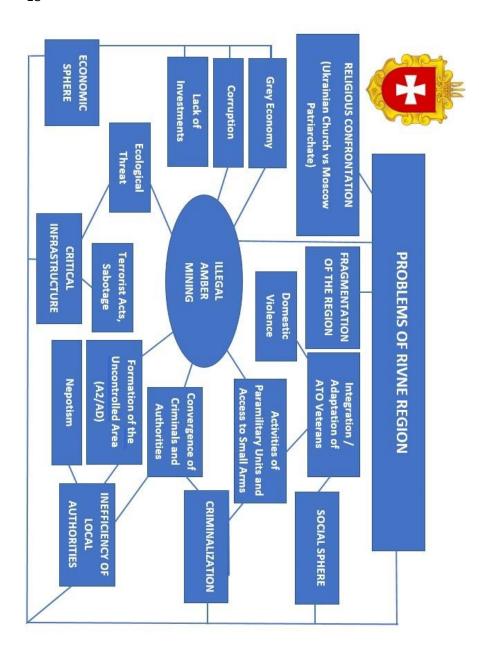
- average. Given this, many residents of these territories do not consider it necessary to find formal employment, because this will lead to a reduction in social benefits.
- The main problems of the Rivne region relate to economic issues, including unemployment, which undermines the development potential of the oblast. The structure of its economy is dominated by small and medium-sized businesses, which operate primarily as shadow schemes. The **shadow economy** is widespread. The payment of informal wages is well established practice in the region. This is facilitated by an inefficient tax system combined with "state corruption". The growth in **corruption** is facilitated by the low level of mobility among elites: stable communities are formed that are closed to the influx of new individuals from outside the system.
- The region has a relatively small land mass that is not of significant interest for large agro-industrial corporations (except for grain and leguminous crops).
- Crime situation: The situation in relation to criminal activity and public order varies considerably in different cities of the region. In Rivne, the situation is under the control of the authorities; while in the northern regions and the territories of the so-called "Amber People's Republic", law enforcement authorities struggle in their efforts to ensure the safety of citizens. At the same time, light weapons are affordable to the population.
- According to the police, in Rivne the number of crimes has been decreasing annually, but the proportion of those reported has increased. This occurs even when there has been a reduction of in the number of law enforcement officers - during the

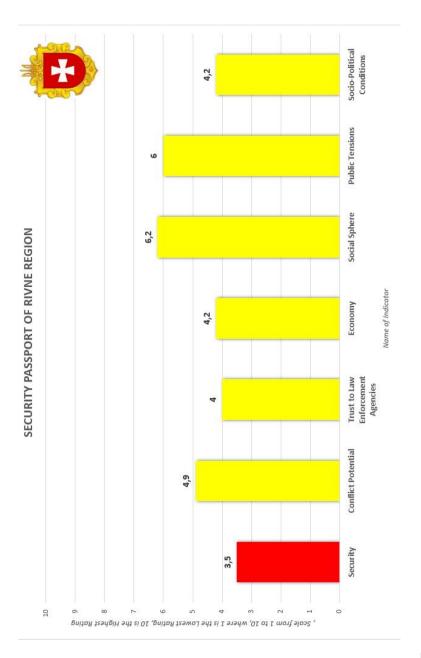
reorganization of the police, the number of officers has decreased threefold. Higher performance indicators have been achieved through innovative working methods, the opening of situational centers, increased public confidence in the police, and the implementation of the "Safe City" program to establish an automated video observation system. An interesting project is the joint patrol of the city of Ostroh by police and representatives of the voluntary structures of territorial defense among the students of the Ostroh Academy. Thus, young people have become accustomed to responsible behavior and social discipline.

- **Conflict in the region** is mainly due to the activities of **organized** illegal armed groups in northern areas. Volunteer battalions which are paramilitary structures whose members were part of the ATO frequently involved are **shootouts** throughout the region. **ATO** veterans often experience difficulties in returning to a peaceful life and integration into society. Now mainly public organizations are engaged in providing assistance for this vulnerable group, yet there is a need for additional support from the state sector or foundations.
- Religious beliefs form the basis for another type of conflict. The destabilizing influence of this source of conflict has only intensified with the formation of united territorial communities', whereby disagreements between the Kyiv and Moscow Patriarchates of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church became more commonplace. Disputes between "church to church" and "village to village" are often inspired under false

pretexts and this can contribute to an escalation in local tensions. Representatives of the Kyiv (now known as the Orthodox Church of Ukraine) and Moscow Patriarchates of the Orthodox Church comprise approximately the same number of parishes. This situation may be exacerbated by the creation of the Ukrainian local autocephalous church.

- Environmental risks: A significant challenge for Rivne region is the risks associated with the state of fire safety. There are 9 chemical facilities in the region; and more than 150,000 people live in the 30-km zone of the Rivne and Khmelnytskyi NPPs. In the context of the hybrid war between Ukraine and Russia, the state of protection of critical infrastructure facilities combined with the levels of training and support for fire brigades of the 28 united territorial communities' in the Rivne region, are of considerable concern. The limited potential for addressing a serious incident at the facilities of "Rivneazot", which serves the city of Rivne, is worrying.
- Environmental problems in the north of the region, related to the environmental impact of amber mining, is also cause concern. In the absence of a land reclamation program, Rivne is threatened by an environmental disaster. According to the State Forestry Agency of Ukraine, 3,500 hectares of forest have already been damaged in this region due to the illegal mining of amber. This is because the "black" diggers used do not comply with mining industry standards for this technology. The washing out the amber stones with motor-pumps leads to the destruction of the groundwater drainage channels and, as a result, microclimatic changes.





External calls: The amber mining problem has transboundary significance. Belarus, an allied state with Russia, is a source of danger in the context of intensified hybrid warfare. Local criminals can be a source of destabilization in the region in order to autonomize "amber minerals" from the region and Kyiv. Although the local population is patriotic, their perceptions can be manipulated. which can be used by the enemy. This calls to mind the FSB's unsuccessful plans to build the "Polesia People's Republic" as part of the Polesia regions of Belarus and Ukraine in 2014. Despite the unlikelihood of a repetition of such a scenario, there are certain negative preconditions, caused by the presence of Ukrainian institutions and enforcement agencies and their insignificant influence.

#### Recommendations

In order to improve the socio-political and economic situation in the region, the following is advised:

- Develop clear legislative mechanisms in relation to the mining of amber, including the issuance of licenses;
- Increase the levels of accountability and punishment for the illegal mining of amber;
- Strengthen the levels of protection and control over the border with Belarus in order to address the illegal transit of amber, as well as mitigate the potential military threat given its alliance with the Russian Federation;
- Expand the number of personnel and strengthen the technical ability of the special forces of the police (Corps of

Operative-Sudden Actions) in the Rivne region. The regulation of the activities of special units should include operational plans for the activities of the anti-amber mafia unit, and provide basic trainings, including with international partners such as US SWAT units;

- Create a regional map that analyses the situation of the cluster economy, identifying production chains that have been disrupted by negative economic and development trends, as well as propose ways to restore or diversify them;
- Intensify efforts to develop the region's tourism potential, primarily based upon XVI-XVIII century historical monuments (Ostroh, Dubno etc.); and develop "weekend" car routes in the region. The tourist potential of the region is particularly promising given its proximity to Kyiv, the presence of two international highways, and the interest of foreign audiences in nearby countries who have an interest in the local history;
- Restore the full functioning of the international airport in "Rivne" by introducing an operational taxiway, and allocating funding from the regional budget for the Development and support program of the Regional utility company "Rivne International Airport" in 2018-2020, and work on the proposal for investors to develop the airport potential;
- Special attention should be paid to the training of local fire brigades and the volunteer fire fighters of the united territorial communities, in particular through the development of a system of tax incentives (for example, for the purchase of a fire engine);

- Create regional programs on a permanent basis for the rehabilitation of former military personnel, including the provision of economic (employment assistance) and psychological support (following the example of the American "Equal to Equal" Program);
- Develop and implement a territorial defense system using the experience of Poland, with the possibility of wider participation of ATO / Joint Forces Operation veterans. This should be accompanied by a parallel decrease in compulsory military registration and the activities of enlistment offices;
- Organize explanatory work on the subject of religious tolerance, designed to prevent the escalation of related conflict; while in parallel using "soft" power in relation to the establishment and activities of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.
- To develop protocols for responding to man-made disasters
   within the framework of developing a system of national sustainability at the regional level.

## CHERNIHIV AND CHERNIHIV REGION

**Chernihiv region** is located in the northern region of Ukraine, which borders with the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus. In economic



terms, it remains quite depressed, dependent on small/medium businesses and international trade. The region's proximity to the capital, Kyiv, directly affects the attitudes of the population.

Among the **main security challenges** for Chernihiv region are the following:

- Russian threat: Chernihiv region is located on the northern border of Ukraine. It directly borders the aggressor state and its foreign policy partner the Republic of Belarus. Current attempts by the Kremlin to increase its influence on Minsk leave no doubt about the potential risk of Belarusian territory being used to serve Russian aggressive plans for a large-scale military invasion of Ukraine. The proximity to the Chernihiv region to Kyiv makes this region extremely dangerous in the event of an escalation of the conflict. However, the construction of fortifications on the Ukrainian state's border would not be an appropriate response to the level of threat.
- Economic problems: There is practically no large-scale industrial production in the Chernihiv region. Several large enterprises that were built during Soviet times (Chernihiv Radio Equipment Plant, Chernihiv Worsted-Combined Combine, Chernihiv Chemical Fibers Enterprise) operate at

minimum capacity or have stopped production altogether. Small and medium businesses cannot fully provide for the region's economic needs. Foreign trade relations with the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus have great potential importance. However, given the conditions resulting from Russian aggression, their development prospects have diminished. Chernihiv region suffers from a lack of capital investment, which leads to a further deepening of the economic depression and falling living standards due to low wages.

- Information Security: In parts of the Chernihiv region there are difficulties in being able to broadcast Ukrainian TV channels. At the same time, Russian television stations are able to broadcast in these border regions of Ukraine and disseminate aggressive propaganda messages.
- Religious tensions: Chernihiv region is one of the regions where there has been a prominent confrontation between the Ukrainian Orthodox churches of the Kyiv and Moscow Patriarchates. Creating a single Ukrainian Orthodox Church and acquiring tomos according to its autocephaly has the potential to further escalate these tensions.
- Migration: The loss of labor and intellectual resources is becoming a typical phenomenon in most regions of Ukraine and the Chernihiv region is no exception. However, in the Chernihiv region the phenomenon has acquired specific characteristics: the local population not only migrate to other countries (mainly the Republic of Belarus), but also internally to the Kyiv region, which offers better overall living

- conditions, employment prospects and opportunities for personal fulfilment.
- Problem in adaptation of ATO veterans: Combatants who return from the frontline often encounter difficulties integrating into civilian life without the provision of assistance.
   This forms the basis of destabilization in the region, thereby increasing potential of conflict in wider society.

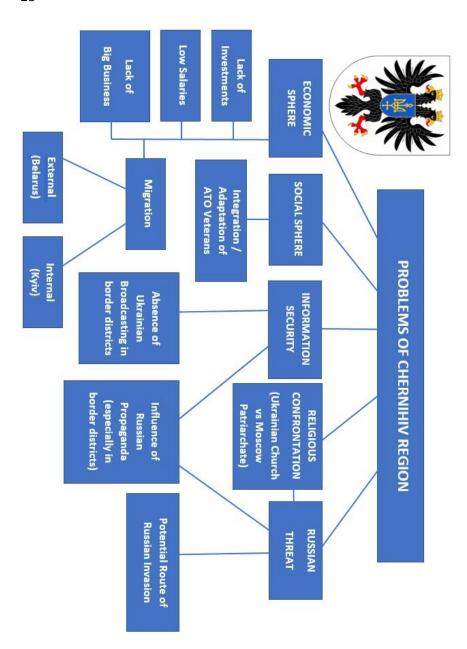
#### Recommendations

In order to improve the security climate of the Chernihiv region and reduce the negative impact of the factors identified, the following is proposed:

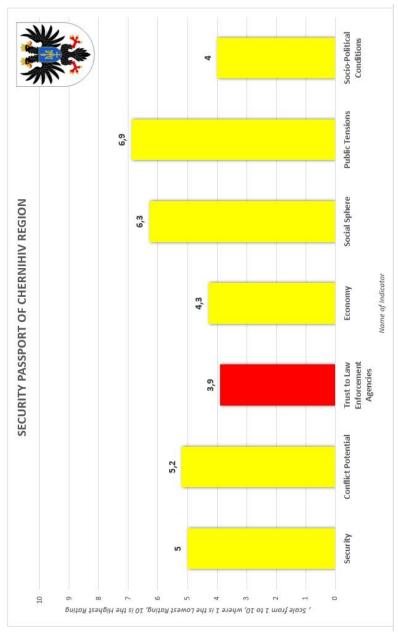
- Implement a comprehensive program to improve the defense of the region. The threat posed by Russia will not lose relevance in the coming years. Therefore, a strategy needs to be developed in order to protect the Chernihiv region from potential aggression that will not only generate short-term results, but also for the long term. Activities in this regard should include the strengthening the state border directly; and the development of methods for deterring a hostile invasion, which are likely to directed through the territory of the region towards the country's capital.
- Address the lack of information provided about state policy in the region. In this context, it is necessary to solve the problem of concerning the Ukrainian language, which is absent in some parts of Chernihiv region. Achieving a positive outcome for this requires improving the necessary infrastructure to

- provide access to Ukrainian TV channels in the border areas of the region.
- Establish a regional map of the economy clusters, which will determine the disruption to production chains which are an impact of the slowdown or cessation of activities of large-scale enterprises in the region and the loss of Russian export markets for Ukraine. The document should offer an alternative model for regional development, based upon exploiting the potential of small and medium-sized businesses, and reorienting producers to domestic and European markets.
- Establish a national regional development program that will attract foreign investment in the regional economy. Representatives of regional businesses should be encouraged to participate in the creation of programme in order to create practically-oriented action strategy that meets the requirements of business entities. Also, by combining the efforts of local authorities and business circles, their unity in developing solutions will be apparent to potential investors, which in turn will demonstrate the stability of the region and contribute to increasing its attractiveness to investors.
- Contribute to the development of the tourism sector and infrastructure in the region, using historical monuments from the XI-XII and XVII-XIX centuries that are located in the territory to enhance tourism both internally (from other regions of Ukraine) and regionally (from Poland, Belarus, Baltic countries).
- Strengthen activities in support of the adaptation of ATO veterans to civilian life. There is a need to ensure the that the

- efforts of public authorities, medical structures and civil society in this regard are unified. Extensive consultation, coordination of activities and exchange of experience will be essential to achieving successful outcomes.
- Implement an information campaign among local population aimed at promoting an idea of gaining employment in their home country and region for the benefit and development of themselves and their communities. This will serve to strengthen the sense of regional patriotism – albeit this should be limited to the economic sphere, rather than encouraging trends towards increasing political separatism.
- Organize explanatory work on the subject of religious tolerance, designed to prevent the escalation of the conflict linked to religion. It is important to emphasize the state's respect for the religious beliefs of the entire population. In parallel, it is advisable to launch an information campaign on "soft" propaganda that relates to the establishment and subsequent activities of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.
- Introduce a systematic approach to assessing the security situation in the region by analyzing current threats, collecting data based upon short- and long-term indicators and develop program documents that facilitate an adequate response to the existing challenges. There is a need to involve representatives from local authorities, law enforcement and military sectors, and trusted civil society activists. Consultations with these representatives need to organized and conducted on a regular basis.



#### **CHERNIHIV**





# KROPYVNYTSKYI AND KROPYVNYTSKYI REGION

**Kropyvnytskyi oblast** is a region located in the geographical center of Ukraine, primarily known for its developed agricultural sector and the presence of

deposits of natural resources, in particular uranium (comprising 83% of all Ukrainian reserves), nickel and cobalt.

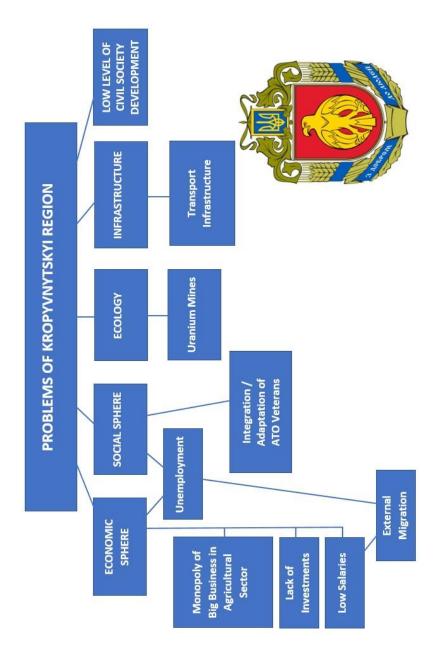
Among the **problems** that hinder the development of the region are the following:

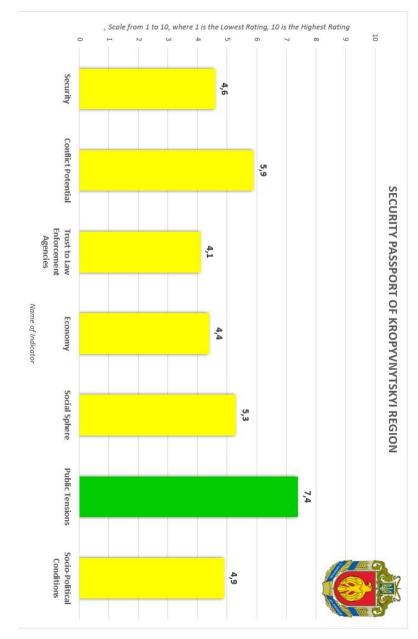
- Demographic situation: This remains the challenge for Kropyvnytskyi region. First of all, a rapid decrease in the population has been observed in rural areas, where there is a shortage of jobs. Young people in search of work mainly move to the regional center, Kyiv, other Ukrainian cities, or abroad.
- Demographic problems are made worse by the unsatisfactory socio-economic situation in the region. New enterprises are not opening, and old ones struggle in the difficult economic conditions. The average salary in the region is one of the lowest in Ukraine. The majority of the population is engaged in the agricultural sector and the service sector. People are concerned about high utility rates. The lack of competitive salaries is leading to mass migration, most of all to Poland. Other popular destinations for migrants are the Czech Republic, Germany and Belarus.
- Structure of the economy: The economy is largely agrarianindustrial, with a steady growth in the agrarian component.

More than 80% of the region's territory continues to comprise of agricultural land. Large agricultural enterprises specialize in the production of grain and leguminous crops, as well as sunflowers (which are then exported). A key problem in the agrarian sector is the prevalence of "individual farmers", who independently cultivate their plot of land. They cannot compete with large farms and many often migrate abroad for employment in the agricultural sector.

- Ecology: There are uranium mines in the region. On the one hand, these can provide Ukrainian NPPs with fuel; but on the other hand, they pose a threat to the environment. Enterprises such as the Eastern Mining and Concentration Combine and the Pobuzkyi Ferronickel Combine represent the greatest environmental threat to the region.
- Regional development in the Kropyvnytskyi oblast is hampered by territorial imbalances. Economic activity is concentrated around the cities of Kropyvnytskyi and Oleksandriia. The development of a transport and logistics network within the region has been insufficient. The shortage and poor condition of the roads means that the western and southern parts of the region remain largely "cut off".
- Corruption: The prevalence of corruption is also a problem in the region, and particularly schemes that relate to land issues. While the introduction of electronic declarations has drawn attention to the illegal enrichment of representatives of local authorities and law enforcement agencies, it has not solved the problem.
- Integration / adaptation of ATO veterans: Addressing this requires the state to increase veterans' access to medical

- services, material and psychological assistance. Providing veterans with land plots is problematic due to the lack of available land in the region.
- Criminality: The levels of crime in the region are stable. An increase in overall crime rates in the region has been recorded due to the greater transparency of the police force. In contrast with the pre-reform period, the police no longer resorts to manipulating the crime statistics. The prosecutor's office of the region has also observed an overall decrease in the level of crime, including the number of property related crimes. The most prevalent types of crime are domestic conflicts. A significant increase in the availability of weapons in the country represents a threat overall. However, in the Kropyvnytskyi region these trends are not directly related to ATO. The presence of veterans and displaced persons has little impact on the overall crime situation.
- There is a need for the **development of a civil society**. In Kropyvnytskyi, there are several active public organizations that implement various initiatives and activities, but the majority of the city's population is rather passive and does not participate in them.
- With respect to their foreign policy orientation, the majority of the population supports the direction towards membership in the EU and NATO. The authority of Russia among the inhabitants has dissipated, such that any return to friendship with Moscow seems impossible. However, from an economic point of view the need for cooperation with the Russian Federation remains important for certain sectors of the economy.





### **KROPYVNYTSKYI**

### Recommendations

In order to improve the socio-political and socio-economic situation in the region, it would be advisable to implement the following measures:

- Introduce regional programs for the development of rural and depressed areas, designed to stem the outward migration of the population.
- Attract investment and implement large-scale economic and infrastructure projects in traditional sectors of the region's economy.
- Use the resource potential of the region to ensure Ukraine's nuclear and energy security.
- Enhance the attraction of the region to foreign investment.
   This should prioritize the processing industry, which could use local raw materials most of which are currently being exported.
- Establish a regional map of the economy clusters, in order to determine which production chains are disrupted. These disruptions effect the operation of large-scale enterprises in the region, as well as the loss of access to Russian markets for Ukraine. The document outline an alternative development model for the region, based on using the potential of small and medium-sized businesses, and reorienting producers towards domestic and European markets.
- Create a program that will support the development of small and medium-sized farming in the region, including a reduction in the dominance of agricultural land among large

- agribusinesses in the region by extending access to markets for products from smaller producers.
- Develop large-scale infrastructure projects for the construction of road and rail links with neighboring regions, as well as conduct road repairs in areas where this is needed.
- Establish inter-regional cooperation within the framework of the central macro-region, in particular with the oblasts of Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia and Cherkasy.
- Introduce professional retraining programs in support of those effected the closure of industrial production. Priority areas are the services sector, agriculture, small production, self-employment, work on infrastructure logistics projects, the security sector (police and armed forces). To offer separate employment programs for different age categories (such as under and over 45 years).
- Continue with the processes of both decentralization and the abolishment of vertical command and decision-making structures (maximizing the involvement of the local population in decision-making, infrastructure development, and financial planning for the development of territories).
- Establish permanent regional programs for the rehabilitation of former military personnel, providing them with economic and psychological support.
- Develop skills and training programs on public activism, social mobility, media literacy and responsibility issues. This calls for an expansion of programs that support the development of civil society outside the regional center, especially in remote rural areas.

#### KROPYVNYTSKYI

## SIEVIERODONETSK AND LUHANSK REGION

**Luhansk region** is in the zone that is in its fifth year of hostilities. For more than four years, the city of Sievierodonetsk has been playing an untypical role as the *de facto* "capital"



of the Luhansk region. The complex security policy and social situation in the region has a significant impact on the population, which has become accustomed to the military status and the presence of people carrying weapons. While the area faces a number of specific problems associated with the conflict, it also faces significant challenges that are common to the whole country.

- Fragmentation of territories: The territory in the region that
  is controlled by Ukraine is developing unevenly. In fact, the
  region is divided into agglomeration comprising LysychanskSievierodonetsk-Rubizhne, which are the northern agrarian
  regions and the 'gray', frontline zone.
- Military aggression of the Russian Federation: This has led to a massive flight of the population from uncontrolled territory, the destruction of the economic potential of the Luhansk region, and a sharp deterioration in social standards. Military operations remain a major security issue in the region. However, in four years the population has become accustomed to the proximity of the front line to some extent. In general, the situation with public security is calm due to a large number of military and law enforcement

- officers. But there is a threat of terrorist attacks and the uncontrolled circulation of weapons.
- One of the most painful consequences of ongoing hostilities continues to be the threat posed by landmines and unexploded ordinance. From 2014 to 2017, about 200 people in the region were victims. According to State Emergency Service of Ukraine, a territory of about 3,000 square kilometers requires landmine clearance. Other problems associated with the conflict include disruptions in the water supply in some areas and the threat of flooding to mines.
- The so-called "gray zone" that encompasses the contact line and the northern border areas of the region remain a zone of heightened military insecurity due to the threat of the intensification in hostilities or a further large-scale intervention. In this context, it should be noted that the state border with the Russian Federation is not adequately fortified. There are virtually no special engineering structures (except for the Troitskyi district). At the same time, the Russians are carrying out work to strengthen the border in their own interests.
- A difficult situation exists on the entry-exit check points along the contact line: The frontier guards capture the illegal circulation of weapons and drugs, the use of forged documents for entry and exit, and periodic attempts by militants from illegal armed groups to enter the territory controlled by the Government of Ukraine. Work of EECPs in Zolote is sometimes disrupted due to the hostile actions of the terrorist groups.

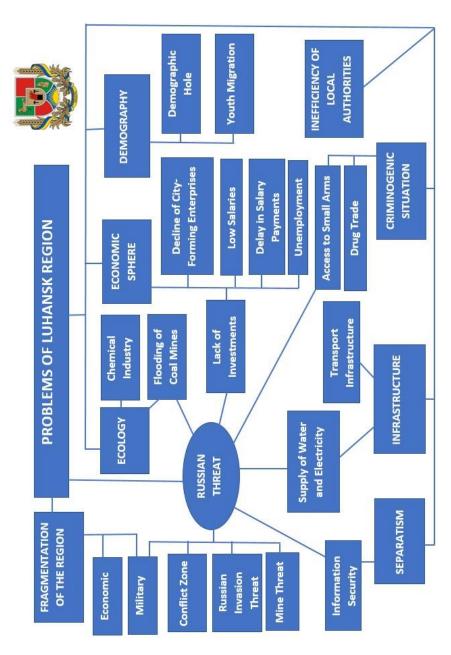
- Economic problems: The economy of the region is in upheaval. First of all, this is caused by military actions in the region. In addition, the industrial situation represents a threat this sector provides the largest contribution to the budget of the region. There is an issue with large industrial urban centres "Linik" in Lysychansk, "Azot" in Sievierodonetsk, "Zoria" in Rubizhne. These enterprises have been instrumental in realizing a decrease in wages and delays in salaries being payed. Negative consequences also emanated from the break in economic ties with the Russian Federation, which was the main location of export markets for these enterprises until 2014.
- The official unemployment rate in the region is 16.4% according to data from the ILO for the first half of 2018, this is the highest level in Ukraine. However, in reality the actual level of unemployment is 30%. As a result, many people have moved abroad for work. The main recipient of labor migrants from Luhansk region continues to be the Russian Federation. This a major problem for the region because it is the most economy active and qualified personnel who leave, as well as many young people.
- The main part of the territory controlled by the government is comprised of agricultural areas. This industry is controlled by large-scale agro-concerns and some local enterprises.
   Small and medium businesses in the region tend to be underdeveloped. The decline of the collective farm system has led to massive unemployment and threatens the

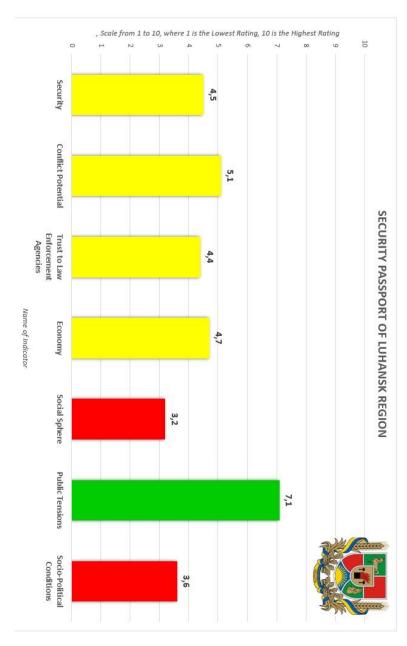
- continued existence of villages. The rural population overall has steadily declined in number.
- Infrastructure: One of the main problems in the Luhansk region is insufficient development and the decline of the existing infrastructure. This, combined with prolonged military operations, creates an unfavorable investment climate and thus a shortage of external financial revenues. A further problem for the region continues to be the lack of provision of sustainable energy supplies, as a result of the seizure of the accounts of the enterprise of Luhansk Energy Association. Furthermore, the regional energy supply system has not been integrated into the national one. The area is disconnected from the rest of the country's railway system. High-speed passenger trains cannot operate there due to the non-electrification of the railway line from the town of Kupiansk in Kharkiv region. Most parts of the region are not connected by high-quality roads either. For example, a trip between the neighboring district centers of Svatovo and Bilokurakyne (50 km) takes about two hours because of the poor state of the roads.
- Bad governance: The region receives significant funds from the state budget as well as foreign assistance which is aimed at restoring infrastructure, developing the economy, and the social conditions. But due to the low standard of project management in local communities, the assistance being provided to the region is not being utilized to its full potential. The population of the region has a low level of trust in both central and regional authorities. The attitude towards local

authorities is better. At the same time, reforms following the events of 2014 have largely not been implemented, which carries the risk of preserving the existing clan system and corrupt practices.

- Environmental threat: The presence of 535 potentially dangerous sites, as well as 34 chemically dangerous sites, in the government-controlled areas represents a significant threat. The majority of these are situated in the Lysychansk-Sievierodonetsk-Rubizhne agglomeration. Nearly 41% of the population in the government-controlled territories reside in areas of potential chemical contamination. There are risks associated with the flooding of mines in the temporarily uncontrolled territories of Ukraine.
- Crime situation: The crime situation is controlled the main security risks for the population are due to their proximity to the military zone. The activities of law enforcement in the Luhansk region tend to be evaluated positively. After the reforms, the patrol police managed to significantly reduce crime rates and increase the level of security in the region. At the same time, police representatives highlight specific challenges in their work, which are characteristic of the conflict zone.
- The problem of **drug addiction** exists in the Luhansk region. It is aggravated by the increasing availability of cheap synthetic drugs.
- The problem of separatism on the territory controlled by the government has not been eliminated. However, the level of threat has decreased. The continuation of artificially inspired

- separatist sentiments is a consequence of: the Kremlin's information campaigns in 2014–2018; communications with the population in uncontrolled territories; as well communications with relatives in the Russian Federation.
- Events during 2014-2015 have had an impact on the psychological wellbeing of the inhabitants in the region, comparable to the post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD). This has resulted in a prejudiced perception of information and materials that have propaganda goals or make value judgments. The level of trust in Ukrainian media is low and the region has coverage of Russian TV channels. Attempts to blocking the Russian channels do not work. Moreover, in some areas (the north of the region), there is no alternative to Russian TV because of problems with the provision of Ukrainian broadcasting. Given all this, separating the population of the Luhansk region with the Russian information field is complicated.
- On the religious front, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate is dominant in the region.
- There is widespread view in the the region that foreign policy is the responsibility of the authorities, and that this is not the domain of ordinary people. While opinions differ about how to move forward, Russia continues to be perceived by the population as mostly neutral, primarily because of their family ties there.





### Recommendations

In order to improve the socio-political and economic situation in the region, it would be advisable to:

- Implement urgently the specialized engineering and construction of fortifications on the border of the Lugansk region of Ukraine and the Russian Federation;
- Attract international humanitarian organizations, including ones specialized in complex humanitarian landmine disarmament activities. In parallel there is a need to expand the number of specialist staff and to modernize the technical equipment of the Special Center for Rapid Response and Humanitarian Mine Disarmament of the State Emergency Service of Ukraine;
- Develop and submit to Parliament a draft law on the status of the controlled areas, which will define their legal definition and regulation in Ukrainian legislation;
- Ensure the appropriate working conditions exist for the police in connection with activities that are specific to the frontline zone. In particular, they encounter challenges such as: an inability to conduct a full inspection of crime scenes due to the threats resulting from criminal activity and by military actions and their consequences (unexploded ordinance, landmines etc.); the difficulty in accessing the so-called "gray zone" in order to conduct investigations; legal difficulties associated with the policy of stop-and-search of people in criminal cases, which was initiated in the occupied territories; and difficulties issuing charges under Article 260 ("Participation in illegal armed formations"), given that the

- majority of those accused are in-hiding in the occupied territories: these individuals cannot be registered on international lists of fugitives because of the "political" context;
- Implement preventive measures to combat the illegal trafficking of weapons and narcotics;
- Coordinate the activities of the OSCE monitoring mission with the Headquarters of the State Emergency Service in the Luhansk region (through regular meetings and consultations) aimed at the prevention of man-made disasters in both the controlled and the occupied territories;
- Develop protocols for responding to disasters of a technogenic nature (within the framework of the development of national sustainability system at the regional level);
- Develop a national strategy for the implementation of the activities of the "Security Centers" of the united territorial communities. This includes carrying out information and educational activities on the activities of the "Security Centers" with various age groups within the population;
- Develop large-scale infrastructure projects by priority: build a rail service, repair roads of regional importance, and provide full Internet coverage across the region. It is necessary to build a new power transmission system, since the power supply to cities of regional significance in Luhansk oblast (Rubizhne, Sievierodonetsk, Lysychansk) is currently being conducted through a redundant circuit;

- Create a regional map of the economic clusters that analyzes the current situation and identify broken production chains that have resulted from the negative economic development trends, and suggest ways to restore or diversify them;
- Develop a Small and Medium Farming Development Program aimed at supporting agrarian regions in the north of the Luhansk region;
- Intensify efforts to develop the tourist potential of the region (e.g. ecotourism) and attract Polish investment in the development of the tourist potential of city Starobelsk (as one of the key cities in memory of the Polish history of the twentieth century);
- Develop regional programs for the professional retraining of personnel in connection with the closure/reduction of large-scale industrial producers. Priority areas in this regard are the services sector, agriculture, small production, self-employment, work on infrastructure logistics projects, and the security sector (police and armed forces). This includes offering separate employment programs for different age categories within the population (such as under 45 and over 45 years);
- Develop skills and curricula for social activism, social mobility, media literacy and social responsibility;
- Use tools of "soft power" and people-to-people diplomacy to inform about and consolidate Ukrainian identity within the region;

- Develop regional programs for the national-patriotic education of young people and to eliminate traditions of the Soviet Union;
- Support initiatives that strengthen ties with other regions of Ukraine (sports, cultural events, educational projects);
- Pursue a state regulatory policy of satellite broadcasting to prevent the broadcasting of Russian media;
- Conduct an information campaign to counter negative, substantiated content regarding the existing socio-economic problems of the temporarily occupied districts of the Luhansk and Donetsk regions, while at the same time avoiding condemning attitudes towards the population of the temporarily occupied areas of the region, their civil position, level of consciousness and so on;
- Initiate measures for residents in front-line areas to overcome feelings of anxiety, depression and other symptoms (through counseling, therapy and professional psychological support to alleviate negative and/or traumatic experiences, and strengthening skills of psycho-social adaptability;
- Conduct trainings and seminars for IDPs and the local population affected by post-traumatic stress disorder, offering opportunities for community development, strengthening socially responsible citizenship, developing leadership skills and so on. In addition, it is also important to create instruments for encouraging active representatives of IDPs for employment in administrative positions;

- Implement regional programs for the construction of affordable housing and jobs for IDPs; and create a commission for the consideration of residential properties in support IDPs who have suffered property losses;
- Continue the processes of decentralization and the dismantling of vertical command decision-making methods (and maximize the involvement of the local population in decision-making, infrastructure development and financial planning for the development of territories);
- Carry out effective measures to clean up authorities from pseudo-referendum separatist organizers (including their prohibition from taking public office or working in educational institutions).



# ZAPORIZHIA AND ZAPORIZHIA REGION

**Zaporizhia oblast** is an industrial and agrarian region that lies in a strategically important geographical position between the Joint Forces Operation in the east of Ukraine and Crimea, annexed by the

Russian Federation. Due to the Russian Federation aggressive actions in the Sea of Azov, Zaporizhia oblast remains vulnerable to an escalation in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

There are several problems in the oblast, which have both regional and national significance:

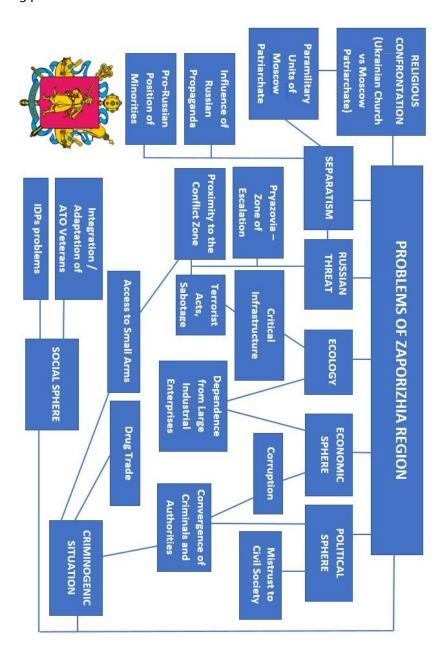
- The most important problem is the war with the Russian Federation in the east of Ukraine. A significant number of IDPs from the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts live in the region. This directly affects electoral preferences, as politicians who promise a quick end to the conflict with the Russian Federation may receive support during the elections. In addition, about 11,000 ATO veterans require psychological rehabilitation and social adaptation in the region.
- At the same time, the region continues to face the **threat of Russian aggression**, in particular the risk of Russian troops landing on the coast of the Sea of Azov (the coastline within the region exceeds 300 km). This region has an important place in the plans of the Kremlin. If the Russian authorities continue to fail to address the socio-economic problems of the annexed peninsula (most importantly provision of water resources), this could lead to the creation of a "land corridor" to Crimea.

- Existing separatist and anti-state sentiments in the region create favourable conditions for the destabilizing efforts of the Kremlin. The areas at high risk are the districts Melitopol and Berdiansk. The Russians are mostly supported among the local ethnic minorities, such as in the villages of Pryazovia, where a pro-Russian Bulgarian minority live in a compact settlements. With the goal of worsening the socio-economic situation in the region and strengthening protest sentiments, in 2018 the Russian Federation began delaying commercial ships sailing to the ports of Berdiansk and Mariupol. The ultimate goal of Moscow is the closure for export of the Ukrainian metals and agricultural products from the Sea of Azov to world markets.
- The economic situation in the Zaporizhia region remains difficult. The specifics of the region are the presence of a developed mining and smelting complex on its territory, which mainly manufactures products with low added value and thus low competitiveness. Before 2014, the products of industrial enterprises in the region were mainly exported to the Russian Federation, so now producers have to look for new markets. Similarly, fruits and vegetables from the south of Zaporizhia oblast were previously supplied to the Crimean Peninsula. Unsatisfactory wages have led to a shortage of personnel in the industry and migration of the population to other regions and abroad for employment. The share of the working population also decreased due to negative demographic trends.
- Migration from the region is currently mainly directed towards the west - to European countries. This is due to sanctions, Russian employers are not able to provide highly skilled professionals with

- proper payment. Although the scale of migration to the Russian Federation has decreased, it has not disappeared.
- The most dangerous issue for the Zaporizhia region is the environmental problem. high concentration The environmentally hazardous industries in the region makes it one of the most high risk areas of Ukraine. The main sources of pollutants are metallurgical enterprises, thermal power stations, and industries with obsolete equipment. As a result, the region has the highest levels of diseases among its inhabitants (cardiac, oncological, etc.). The modernization of the treatment facilities of the main source of pollution in the city of Zaporizhzhya - the plant "Zaporizhstal" - has been postponed for several years. Potential dangers also result from the presence of such facilities as Zaporizhia Nuclear Power Plant and chemically hazardous enterprises, emergency situations on the dams on the Dnipro river are also possible.
- Situation with the infrastructure: The roads in the Zaporizhia region are in state of disrepair, and the pace of reconstruction is very slow. Existing bridges across the Dnipro River have low throughput capacity. Furthermore, in the regional centre of Zaporizhia it has not been possible to complete the construction of new bridges for 15 years.
- The level of the crime threat to the population in Zaporizhia and the region in general is currently quite low. Statistics on serious crimes rates do not vary significantly from year-to-year, with some exceptions. The problem of drug trafficking has increased fivefold in recent years and now the region ranks first place in Ukraine according to indicators; the number of thefts is increasing; the

circulation of weapons from the ATO among the population is also growing. The overall situation may become aggravated within the coming months, as the economic crisis creates a suitable social base for criminals. Police officers emphasize the imperfection of the regulatory framework, which prevents them from fully fulfilling their duties. Their low wages and inability under the current legislation to bring justice to many criminals leads to dissatisfaction and disillusionment among law enforcement officers. This has led to mass retirements, which is causing a shortage in personnel. This is especially reflected in the district police officers department, where young inexperienced workers make up 70% of the staff.

- In the area of **healthcare**, the epidemiological situation in the oblast has become aggravated over the past few years. The region suffers with African swine fever annually. Sexually transmitted diseases and HIV infection have spread from the ATO zone.
- Civil society does not have the trust and support of the population – most NGOs have the reputation of "grant eaters" or those who serve the interests of the authorities.
- Most parishes in the region are a part of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) and their transition to Ukrainian Orthodox Church may be accompanied by conflict. The destructive influences of the Russian church can be observed not only in the information sphere. The threat is also related to the activities of paramilitary Orthodox public organizations, such as "Radomyr", which includes the former "berkutovtsi" and other anti-government elements.



**ZAPORIZHIA** 



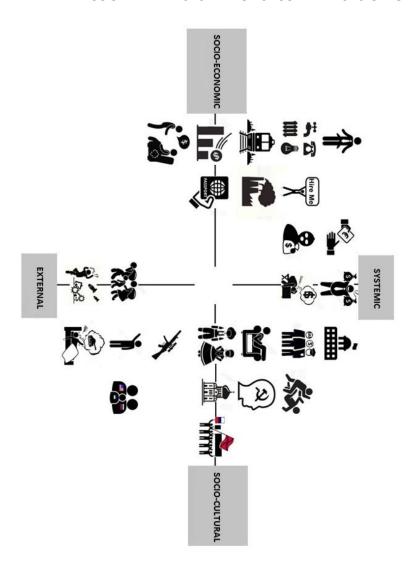
### Recommendations

In order to improve the security situation in the Zaporizhia region it is proposed to:

- Strengthen the defence capability of the region, primarily on the coastal area of the Sea of Azov. Develop the naval base in the city Berdiansk and increase in the number of Ukrainian warships and boats in the region should prevent the Russian Federation from establishing full control over the sea routes, and prevent a troop-landing operation scenario.
- Intensify the information policy of the State to counteract Russian propaganda in the region.
- Introduce measures to minimize the negative and harmful impacts of industries on the environment and human health through the construction of sewage treatment plants at the expense of business owners.
- Implement programs of economic diversification encouraging the investments in high-tech industries with highvalue-added products; and to promote the development of small and medium-sized businesses and the tourism industry.
- Develop a regional programme of professional retraining in connection with the closure or reduced output of large industrial enterprises, in order to prevent the emigration of the working-age population from the region. The priority areas are the service sector, infrastructure logistics projects, the security sector (police, armed forces). There is a need for separate employment programmes aimed at the older population (over 45 years)

- Introduce a programme for the development of small and medium-sized farming, aimed at supporting the agrarian parts of Zaporizhia oblast.
- Use the recreational, historical and cultural potential of the region to attract tourists from other regions of Ukraine.
- Develop a strategy for solving infrastructure problems in the region, to promote the development of navigation on the Dnipro river and complete the construction of the bridge crossings. The development of the logistics and transport potential will enable the region to become an important transit hub between the north and south, and the east and west of Ukraine.
- Implement preventive measures to counteract the illegal trafficking of weapons and drugs.
- To introduce a systematic approach to security assessment in the region (analysis and development of short- and long-term policy documents on the prevention of substantial threats).
- Continue the process of decentralization (maximize involvement of the local population in decision-making, infrastructure development, and financial planning for the development of the territories).
- Enhance mass informational, entertainment and cultural events aimed on the patriotic education of the public (festivals, film forums, etc.).
- Raise public awareness on the issues around the European integration and cooperation with NATO, to promote the popularization of European and Euro-Atlantic vector among the young population

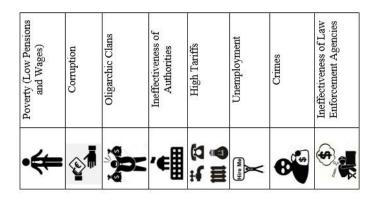
# ANNEXES: COORDINATE SYSTEM OF SECURITY RISKS ORIGIN



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Regional Diversity	Religious Tensions	Separatism	Lack of Foreign Investments	Ease of Access to Small Arms	Refugees and IDPs	Radicalism	External Influence on the Elite	Russian Aggression	Posttraumatic Stress Disorder

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Patronage / Nepotism	Intolerance of Society	Infrastructure	Ecological Risks	Low Mobility of the Population	Paternalism	Ineffective Economic Model	Migration



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