

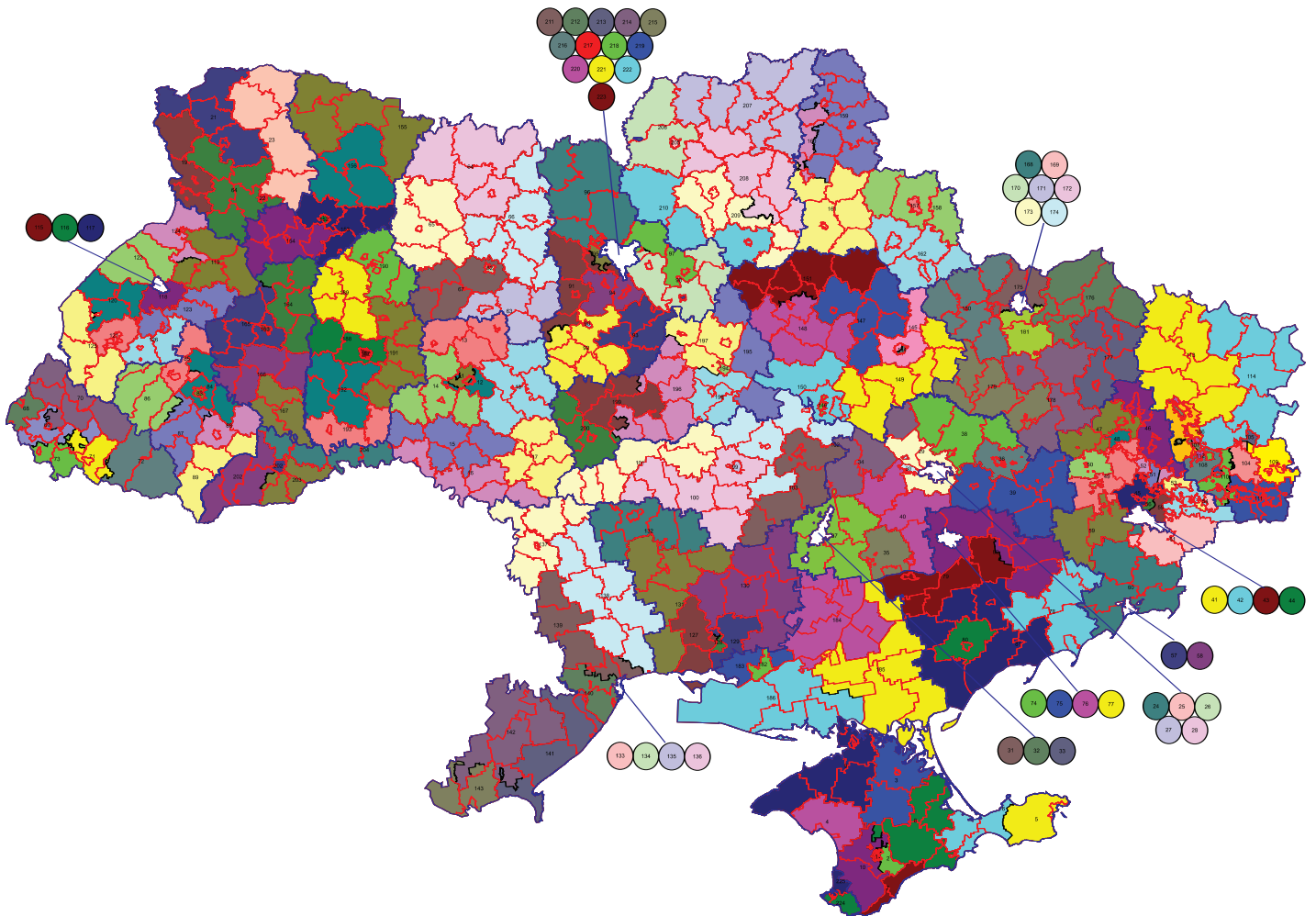


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2012 Parliamentary Elections

Boundary Delimitation Summary and Analysis





2012 Parliamentary Elections Boundary Delimitation Summary and Analysis

May 2012

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Introduction

This report reviews and assesses the single member electoral districts established for the 2012 parliamentary election by CEC Resolution No. 82 dated 28 April 2012. The report includes a separate analysis of the district boundaries for each of Ukraine's 27 administrative regions based on the methodology outlined below. It also includes maps showing the boundaries of the electoral districts in each administrative region in 2012 and in 2002, the last time Ukraine used single member districts in its parliamentary elections.

The purpose of this report is to provide objective and accurate information about the electoral districts by assessing them according to a number of more or less measurable criteria (described below). It offers no comment on the questions of whether the districts favor or disfavor any candidate or political party or what, if any, influence the electoral district boundaries will have on the outcome of the 2012 elections.

Background

The parliamentary election law adopted at the end of 2011² requires the Central Election Commission (CEC) to create 225 single member electoral districts, but provides very little guidance as to how the CEC should carry out that responsibility. Article 18 of that law requires only that:

1. The CEC allocate the 225 districts between the 27 regions at least 200 days before the day of an election;³
2. the CEC create the districts at least 180 days before the day of an election;
3. districts exist entirely within the bounds of a single administrative region; and
4. the number of voters in an electoral district not vary by more than 12% from the average number of voters in all districts.⁴

As IFES and others have pointed out, this lack of detail is a significant flaw in the legislation. By leaving the decision on how to draw the boundaries entirely in the discretion of the CEC, the parliamentary election law leaves open the possibility that boundary delimitation may be influenced by partisan motives or may be perceived as having been so influenced. In the absence of any objective criteria in the law, it may be difficult or impossible for the CEC to rebut allegations of bias. In this regard, the legislature has put the CEC in a difficult position.

It should be noted that the version of the law formally reviewed by IFES and the Venice Commission/OSCE/ODIHR included a provisions anticipating that a separate law on the territorial organization of elections would be passed, which presumably would have addressed the creation of electoral districts in more detail. Regrettably, for reasons that are not clear, that provision was removed from the version that was finally adopted and no supplemental legislation on the question of district boundaries was adopted.

A better approach would have been for the legislature to establish, either in the parliamentary election law or in a separate law on the organization of territorial elections, rules that would reduce the CEC's discretion to a degree and make boundary delimitation more predictable and transparent. A good example of such rules

¹ Available in Ukrainian at <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/acts/ShowCard?id=28122&what=0>.

² *Law on the Election of People's Deputies of Ukraine*, Law No. 4061-VI, enacted November 17, 2011.

³ The allocation of districts between regions was established using the largest remainder method in CEC Resolution No. 65 dated 9 April 2012.

⁴ Established by the CEC at 161,125 CEC in CEC Resolution No. 65 dated 9 April 2012.

can be found in the Statement of Principles on Electoral Districts issued by the Civic Consortium of Election Initiatives.⁵

In addition to the concerns with the lack of detail in the law, some comment should be made on the process by which the districts were made. The law gave the CEC wide latitude to create the district boundaries as it saw fit. Although the fault in that regard lies with the legislature, the CEC could have made the best of the situation by taking steps to increase the transparency and credibility of its decision making process. It might have issued public statements explaining the principles that would shape the boundary delimitation process. Indeed, it might have adopted the principles proposed by the Civic Consortium of Election Initiatives in its Statement of Principles. The CEC might also have met with stakeholders to answer questions and seek input on popular concerns. Regrettably it did not do any of those things. The manner in which this important decision was made and announced represents a missed opportunity for the CEC to build its status as a transparent and trusted public institution.

Methodology

Assessing the boundaries of the new single member electoral districts based on the standards of the parliamentary election law is not very useful because the law provides almost no limitations on the CEC's discretion. So long as the districts are of roughly equal population and don't cross regional boundaries, then the requirements of the law have been met. For this reason, this report focusses mainly on the consistency of the boundaries with the following international standards and best practices in boundary delimitation.

1. Number of voters and the degree to which the number varies from the average number of voters

Under the parliamentary election law, the number of voters in a district may not vary by more than 12% from the average number of voters. While this degree of variation is high, it is not outside of internationally accepted standards.⁶

In its Statement of Principles (mentioned above), the Consortium said that, in principle, all districts should be of equal size and that the variance allowed in the law should only be used where required by some specified geographical consideration, such as the need to follow administrative boundaries or otherwise keep a community of interest together. This is a sound approach and one that the CEC should consider in future delimitation processes.

This report includes calculations of the variance in the number of voters for each electoral district. These figures were calculated on the basis of the following formulae:

1) if the quotient of division of the number of voters in a district by the approximate average number of voters, as of April 9, 2012, was less than 1, then the following formula was used: $(1 - (N_d/N_a)) * 100$, N_d standing for the number of voters in the district; $N_a = 161,125$ (the average number of voters in a district, as of April 9, 2012); or

2) if the quotient of division of the number of voters in a district by the approximate average number of voters, as of April 9, 2012, was more than 1, then the following formula was used: $(N_d/N_a) * 100 - 100$. The resulting numbers were rounded to one decimal place.

⁵ Available in both Ukrainian and English at <http://electioninfo.org.ua/index.php?i=611>.

⁶ Venice Commission. *Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters*. October 2002. I.2.2.iv

2. Degree to which the districts follow administrative boundaries

Consistency with existing administrative boundaries helps ensure that electoral districts are understandable for voters and represent cohesive communities of interest. In the case of Ukraine, consistency with administrative boundaries can also facilitate ease of election administration, for example, by ensuring ease of communication between electoral authorities and local Register Maintenance Bodies in the creation of voter lists.

3. Degree to which the districts are contiguous

As a general principle, districts should be contiguous. Contiguous districts are more likely to represent a cohesive community of interest. Elections within contiguous districts are also more likely to be more efficient from an election administration perspective than districts that include multiple non-contiguous enclaves. Finally, a requirement that districts be contiguous makes partisan manipulation of boundaries less likely.

A possible exception to the rule that districts should be contiguous obtains where existing administrative boundaries create non-contiguous enclaves. As is made clear in the analyses below, Ukraine's administrative boundaries frequently create such "enclaves", based on historical or geographical considerations. Some, but not all, of the non-contiguous electoral districts created by the CEC for the 2012 elections are non-contiguous for this reason.

4. Ethnic or linguistic minority communities of Interest

Where ethnic or linguistic minority communities are prevalent, it is desirable for such communities to be kept together within a single district so that they can express their political will together. Districting which divides such communities among multiple electoral districts can reduce the chance that they will be able to influence the outcome of the election and achieve representation for their particular concerns.

5. Logistical issues arising from the district boundaries

The suitability of district boundaries may be influenced by geographical factors that facilitate or complicate the administration of the election within the district. For example, in some cases it may not be possible to travel (and transport ballots and other election materials) from one part of a district to another directly because of bad roads or other obstacles. In other cases, an irregular shape may be justified by a geographical feature, such as a river valley, which facilitates movement.

6. The degree to which the 2012 districts deviate from the district boundaries in 2002

Ukraine's human geography has changed much since 2002 due to large movements of people within Ukraine and between Ukraine and other countries. Nevertheless, comparison of the 2012 districts with the 2002 districts is a useful way of analyzing the new districts.

In addition, comparisons of the electoral maps of 2002 and 2012 must take into account that some regions have more or fewer seats than in 2002.

Despite these caveats, comparisons with 2002 can be useful in analyzing the 2012 electoral maps, especially where changes do not seem to be justified by any administrative or geographical concerns.

About the Maps

This report includes maps showing the electoral districts in each administrative region in both 2002 and 2012. These maps were prepared for IFES by Serhij Vasylchenko based on the narrative information in CEC Resolution No. 82 and political and administrative maps (scaled 1:250,000) published by the State Scientific and Production Enterprise “Kartografia.” Each electoral district is represented with a distinct color. The maps show the official number of each electoral district as well as the district center. The maps also show the rayon administrative boundaries, which in many cases coincide with electoral district boundaries.

On account of the large scale used in the maps, the boundaries of districts within cities were indicated schematically. No detailed analysis of district boundaries within cities/towns for the purpose of discovering enclaves was undertaken.

The maps contained in this report are unofficial. None of them have been reviewed by the CEC.

ANALYSIS BY ADMINISTRATIVE REGION

1. Autonomous Republic of Crimea

For the 2012 parliamentary elections, the CEC has established 10 single-member election districts within the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (ARC). The deviation in the number of voters in these districts from the approximate average number of voters in all 225 districts ranges from -10.9% to +9.6.

Table 1. Single-member election districts in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
1	+ 1.1%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
2	- 6.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous
3	- 0.5%	Consistent	Contiguous
4	+ 9.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
5	- 10.9%	Not consistent	Contiguous
6	- 7.2%	Not consistent	Contiguous
7	- 7.5%	Consistent	Contiguous
8	- 9.9%	Not consistent	Contiguous
9	- 10.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
10	- 1.1%	Not consistent	Contiguous

The districts within the ARC are generally consistent with the administrative and territorial structure of the Autonomous Republic. However, the Kyivskiy rayon of the city of Simferopol was included in election district No. 2, which also incorporates a part of Simferopolskiy rayon; Leninskiy rayon was divided between district Nos. 5 and 6. Simferopolskiy rayon was divided between district Nos. 2, 8, and 10.

The administrative and territorial structure of the Crimea was also not fully taken into consideration in the creation of districts for the 2002 parliamentary election: at that time, the Sakskiy rayon was divided between district Nos. 4, 8, and 10; the Nyzhnioghirskiy rayon, between district Nos. 3 and 8; the Simferopolskiy rayon, between district Nos. 2 and 10; the Kyivskiy rayon of the city of Simferopol was included in district No. 2, the larger part of which was the territory of the Simferopolskiy rayon.

Compared to 2002, all district boundaries have been changed, except for the boundaries of district Nos. 1, 7 and 9. In addition, the centers of some of the districts have also been changed. For example, the center of district No. 9 was transferred from the town of Krasnoperekopsk to Pervomaiske. As a result of the radical revision of the boundaries of district Nos. 3 and 8, the center of district No. 8 was transferred from the town of Krasnohvardiiske to Sovietskiy.

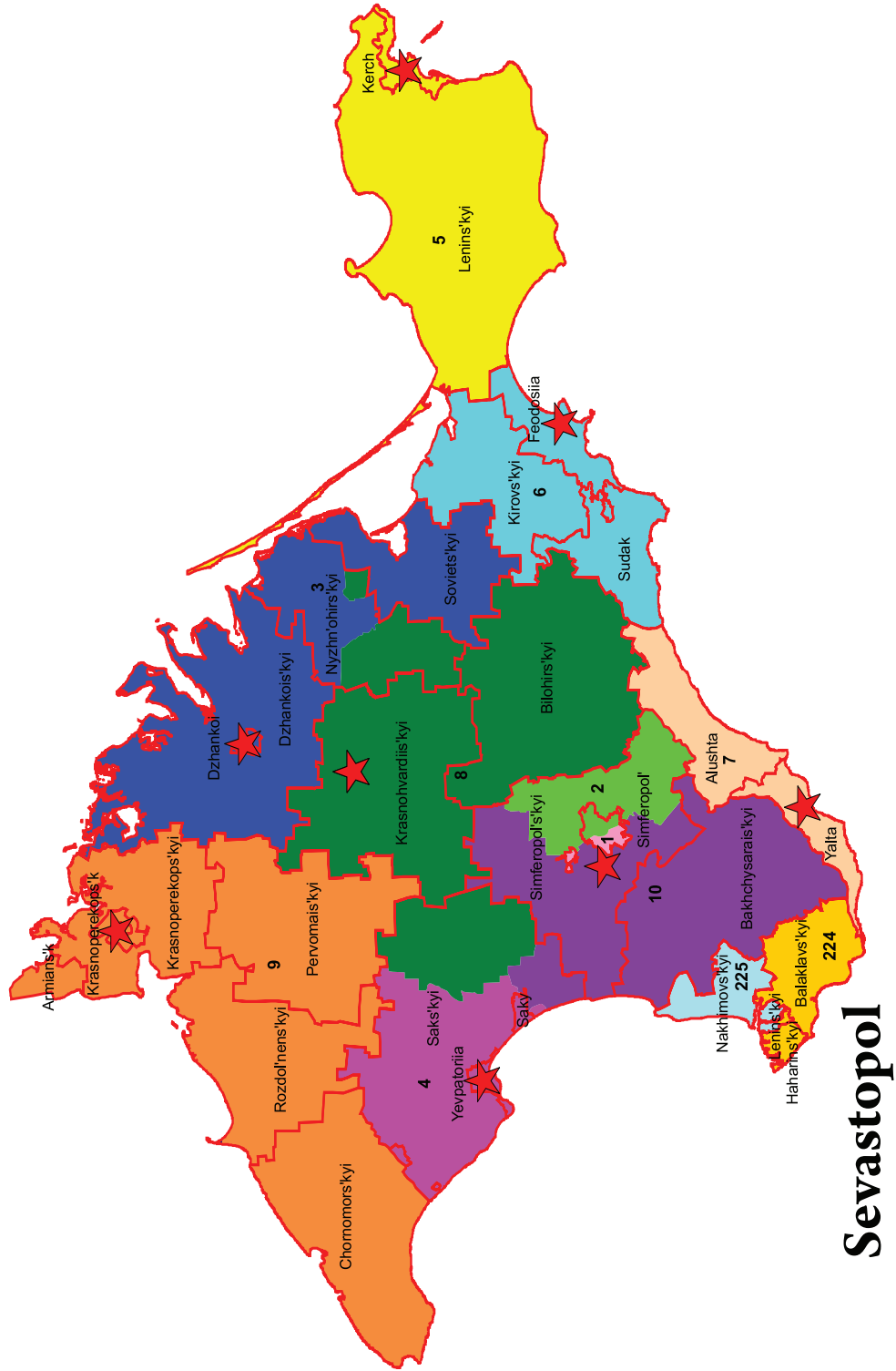
One positive aspect of the boundary delimitation in Crimea is the degree to which the principle of contiguity has

been observed. All district boundaries are contiguous except for those of district No. 1, which includes a non-contiguous enclave within district No. 10. However, this enclave is a natural one resulting from the administrative subordination of certain villages within Simferopolskyi rayon to the city of Simferopol.

We also note that the existence of a large and compact community of Crimean Tatars does not seem to have been taken into account in the process of the oblast's districting. In particular, Leninskyi rayon, which has a high proportion of Crimean Tatar inhabitants, was divided between two election districts. In 2002, all of Leninskyi rayon was part of a single election district (no. 5). By splitting this community into two different electoral districts, the 2012 boundaries may adversely affect the ability of this ethnic minority population to find representation in the national parliament.

2002

The Single-Member Election Districts Autonomous Republic of Crimea

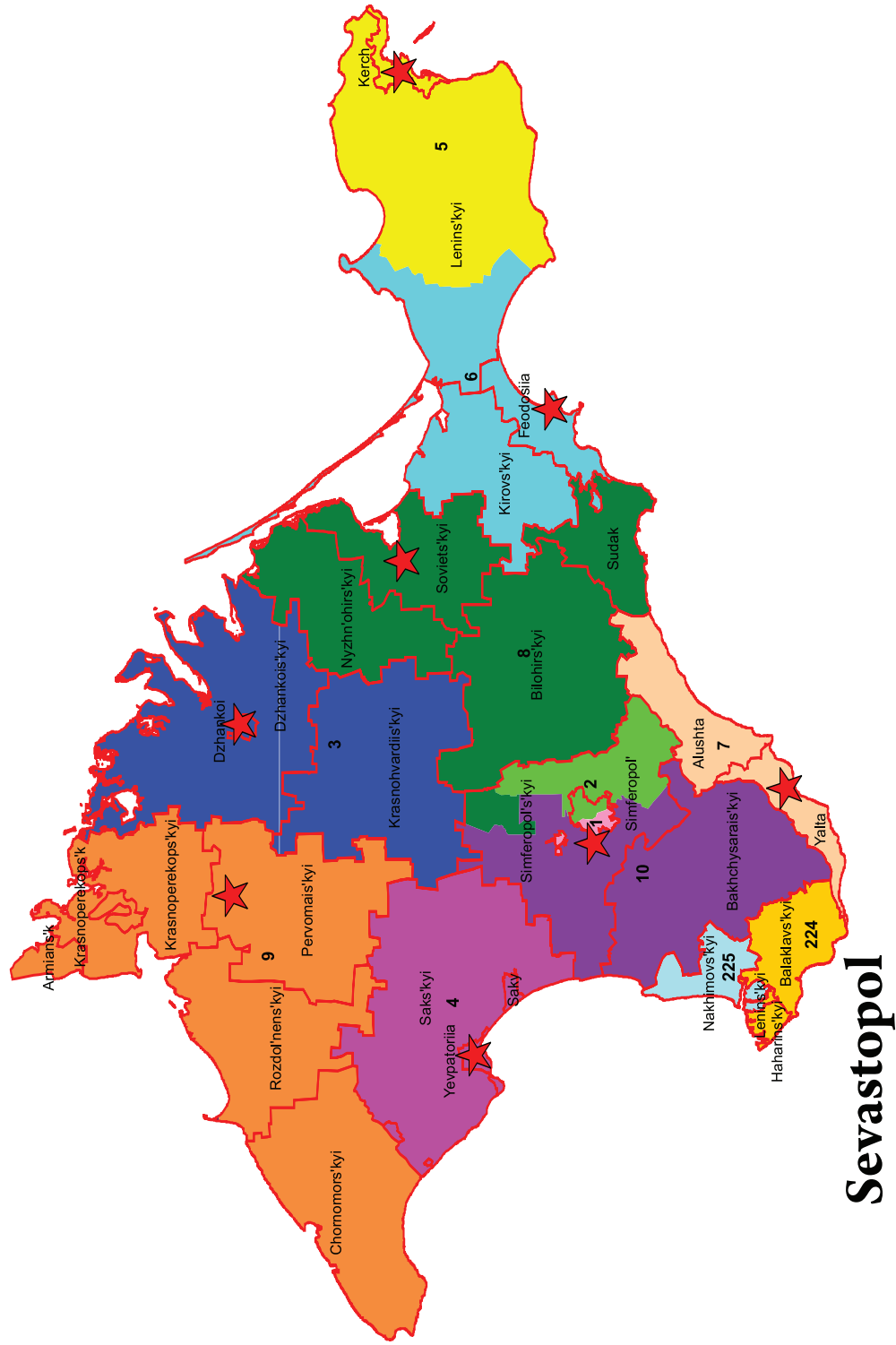


Sevastopol

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2012



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2. Vinnytsia oblast

Within the limits of Vinnytsia oblast, the CEC established 8 single-member election districts for the 2012 parliamentary elections. The deviation in the number of voters in these districts from the approximate average number of voters in all 225 districts ranges from -9.7% to +9.9%.

Table 2. Single-member election districts in Vinnytsia oblast, 2012.

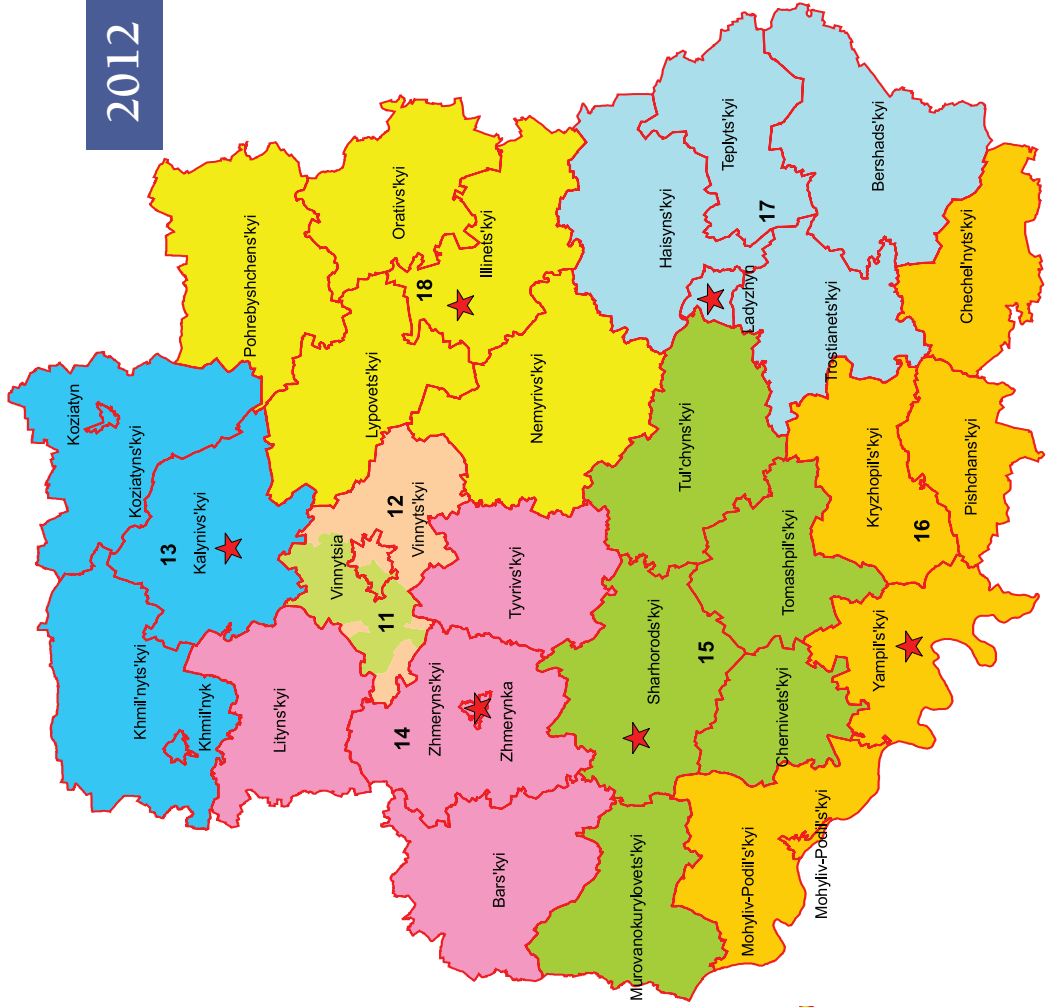
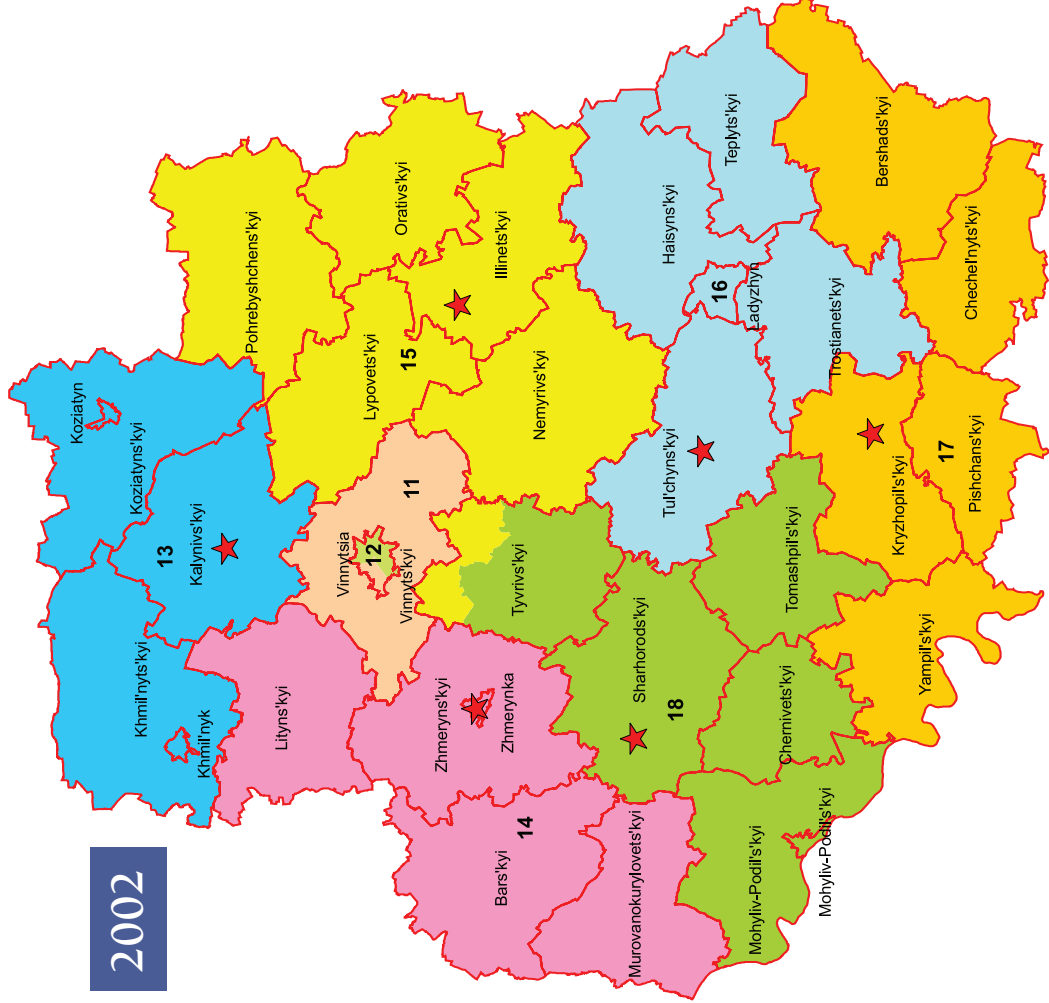
Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
11	+ 5.4%	Not consistent	Contiguous
12	+ 9.9%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
13	- 3.9%	Consistent	Contiguous
14	+ 6.8%	Consistent	Contiguous
15	- 0.9%	Consistent	Contiguous
16	- 7.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
17	+ 5%	Consistent	Contiguous
18	- 9.7%	Consistent	Contiguous

Compared to 2002, the map of the oblast's districts was substantially revised; only the boundaries of election district No. 13 were unchanged. These boundary changes were accompanied by the change in the center of district No. 16 from the town of Kryzhopil to the town of Yampil, and of district No. 17 from Tulchyn to Ladyzhyn.

The majority of district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in Vinnytsia oblast. The only exception is the oblast's administrative center (city of Vinnytsia), which was divided between two districts (Nos. 11 and 12).

The boundaries of districts within Vinnytsia oblast depart significantly from the principle of contiguity. In particular, election district No. 12 consists of four separate parts. The main part of the district is formed from the territory of the city of Vinnytsia and an adjacent part of Vinnytskyi rayon; the other three are made up of fragments of Vinnytskyi rayon that are separated by the territory of election district No. 11. We see no administrative or geographical reason for the unusual boundaries of this district. By contrast, all of the districts within Vinnytsia oblast in the 2002 elections were entirely contiguous.

The Single-Member Election Districts Vinnytsia region



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3. Volyn oblast

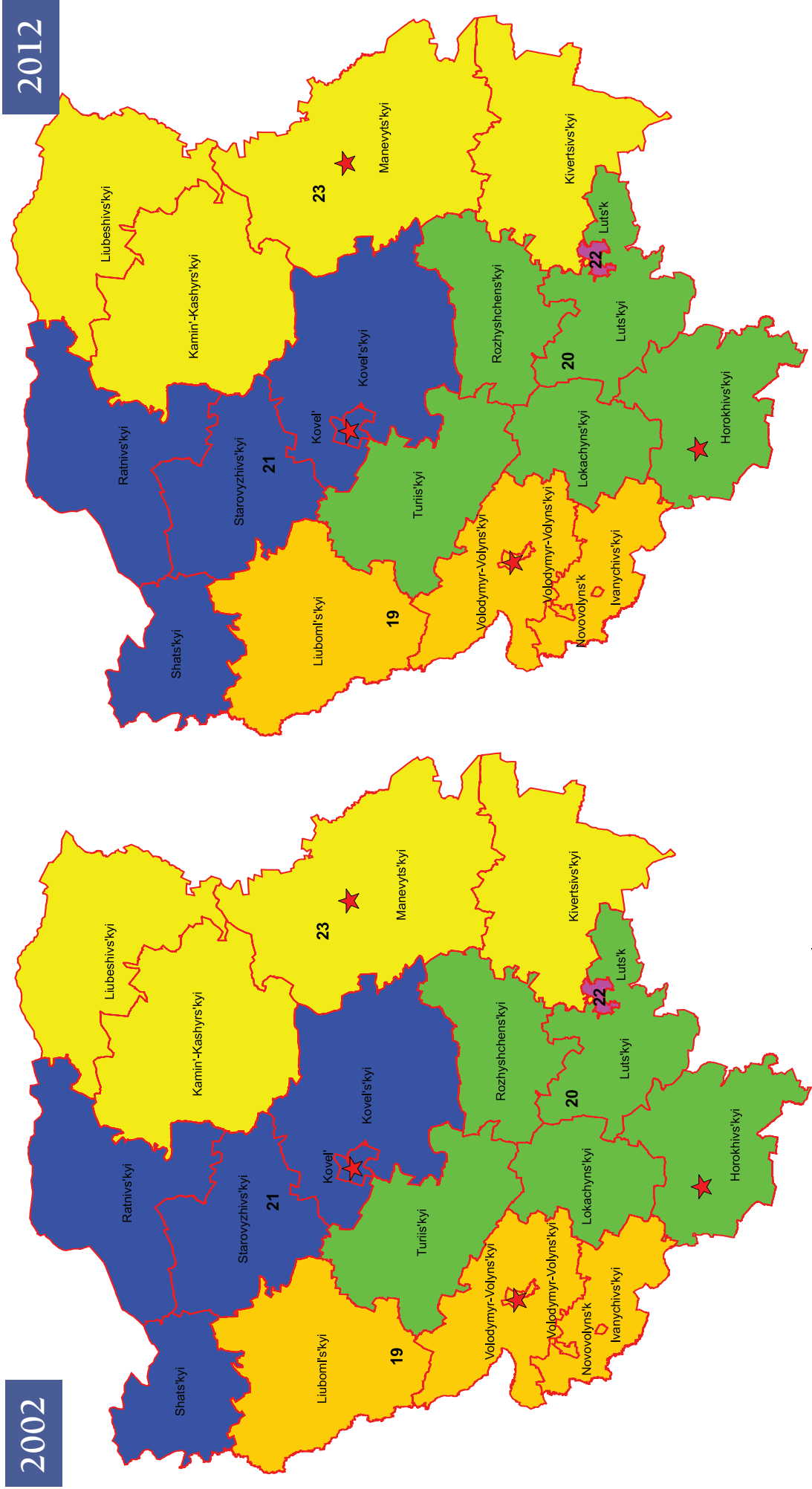
For the 2012 elections, the CEC has established 5 single-member election districts within Volyn oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in these districts from the approximate average number of voters in all 225 districts ranges from -8.7% to +0.2%.

Table 3. Single-member election districts in Volyn oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
19	- 8.7%	Consistent	Contiguous
20	- 1.5%	Consistent	Contiguous
21	- 2.5%	Consistent	Contiguous
22	+ 0.2%	Consistent	Contiguous
23	- 0.5 %	Consistent	Contiguous

The district boundaries within Volyn Oblast are unchanged from 2002. All district boundaries are consistent with the existing boundaries for rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination. In the process of districting for the 2012 parliamentary election, the CEC did not violate the principle of contiguity of district boundaries.

The Single-Member Election Districts Volyn region



4. Dnipropetrovsk oblast

For the purpose of organizing and conducting the 2012 parliamentary election within Dnipropetrovsk oblast, the CEC created 17 single-member districts. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -8.4% to +10.9%.

Table 4. Single-member election districts in Dnipropetrovsk oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
24	+ 0.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
25	- 7.3%	Consistent	Contiguous
26	- 7.9%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
27	- 5.2%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
28	- 7.1%	Not consistent	Contiguous
29	- 8.4%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
30	+ 4.7%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
31	+ 11%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
32	+ 10.9%	Not consistent	Contiguous
33	- 3.4%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
34	0.02%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
35	+ 9.2%	Consistent	Contiguous
36	+ 0.6%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
37	- 2.2%	Not consistent	Contiguous
38	- 4.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
39	- 2.2%	Consistent	Contiguous
40	- 5.2%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous

All of the 2012 single-member district boundaries in Dnipropetrovsk oblast were changed to a greater or lesser extent from the 2002 boundaries.

The boundaries of most districts in Dnipropetrovsk oblast are not consistent with the administrative boundaries. This lack of regard for consistency between the electoral and administrative maps, which may reflect a particularly convoluted set of administrative divisions, was less pronounced in 2002.

The electoral boundaries within Dnipropetrovsk oblast depart in many cases the principle of contiguity. The following non-contiguous district boundaries are “natural” (i.e. they reflect existing administrative boundaries):

1. district No. 29 is divided into two parts by the territories of the cities of Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhynsk;
2. the town of Aviatorske, which was included in district No. 26, despite being entirely surrounded by district No. 29;
3. part of the territory of election district No. 30, which is separated from the main part of the district by district No. 29;
4. parts of district No. 31 that are separated from the main part of the district by the territory of election district No. 37;
5. parts of district No. 33 that are separated from the main part of the district by the territory of district No. 37;
6. part of district No. 40, which is separated from the main part of the district by the territory of district No. 35.

While the desire to maintain consistency with administrative boundaries is understandable, the advantage of this practice in must be weighed against the disadvantages of having so many non-contiguities in the electoral district boundaries of one oblast.

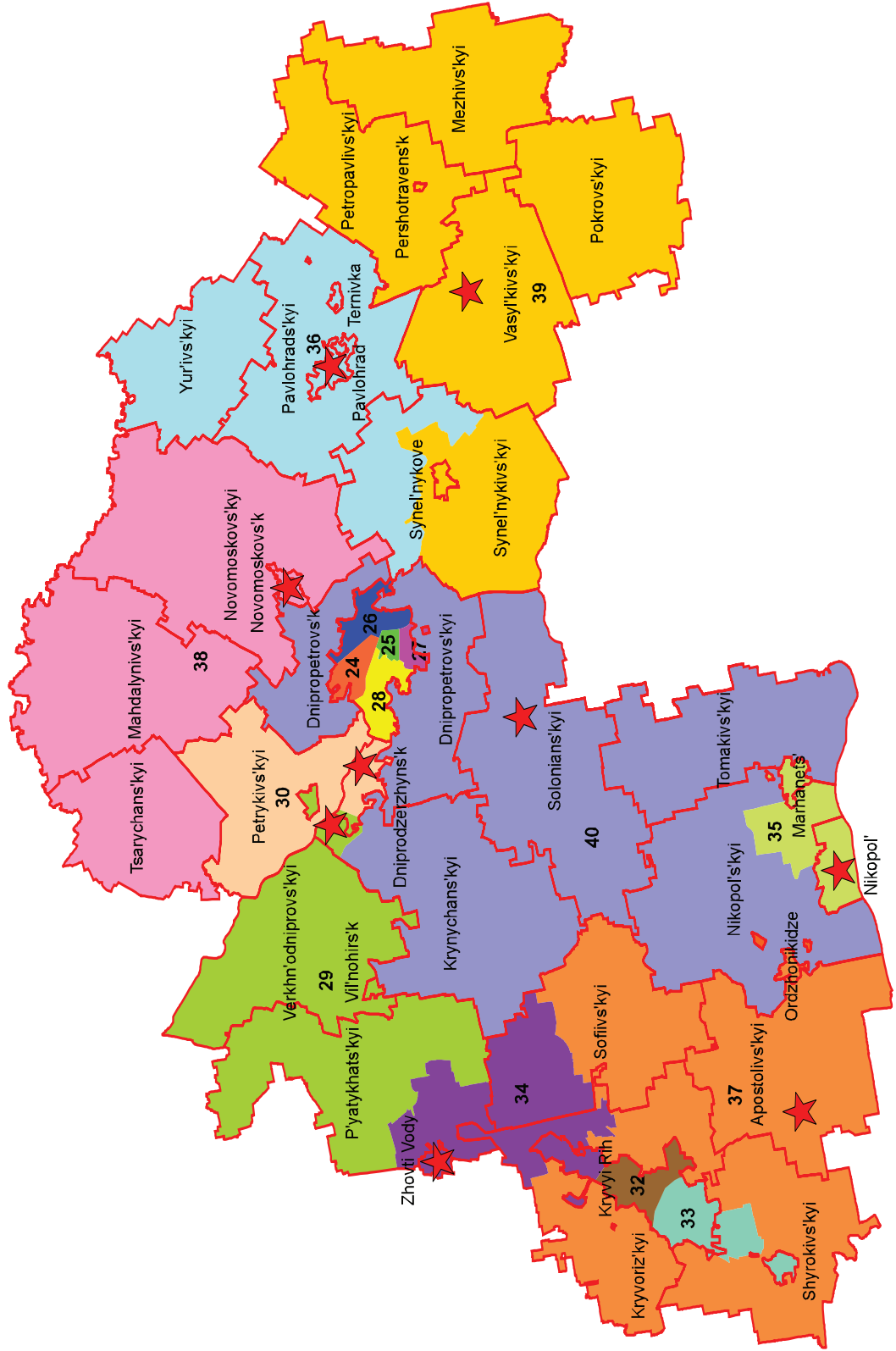
In addition to these “natural” non-contiguous enclaves, the district boundaries in Dnipropetrovsk oblast, include the following non-contiguous enclaves that have no apparent administrative or geographical justification:

1. Kirovskyi rayon of the city of Dnipropetrovsk, which was included in election district No. 27 despite being unconnected to the rest of the district;
2. Tsarychanskyi rayon, which was included in district No. 34 despite being unconnected to the rest of the district;
3. the town of Pershotravensk, which was included in district No. 36, despite being entirely surrounded by district 39.

Absent some justification, the creation of these non-contiguous enclaves deserves a negative assessment, especially considering that the CEC did not consider it necessary to create such boundaries in 2002.

2002

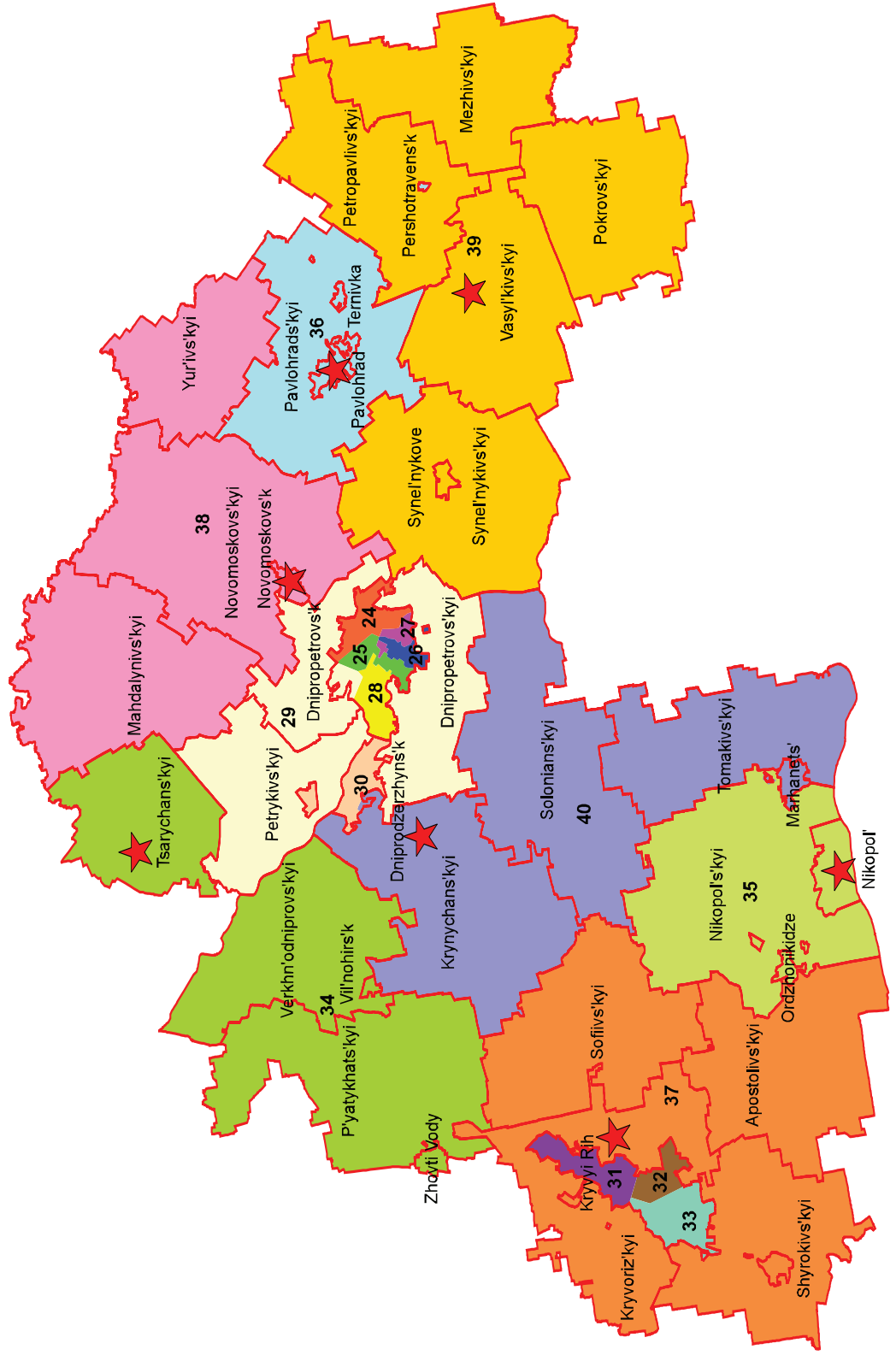
The Single-Member Election Districts Dnipropetrovsk region



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The Single-Member Election Districts Dnipropetrovsk region

2012



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5. Donetsk oblast

For the purpose of conducting the 2012 parliamentary elections, the CEC established 21 single-member districts within the limits of Donetsk oblast, two districts less than it created for 2002 elections. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -8.3% to +8.9%.

Table 5. Single-member election districts in Donetsk oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
41	- 6%	Consistent	Contiguous
42	- 8.3%	Not consistent	Contiguous
43	- 2.4%	Not consistent	Contiguous
44	+ 0.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous
45	+ 7.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous
46	- 1.2%	Consistent	Contiguous
47	- 7.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
48	- 1.4%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
49	+ 0.3%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
50	+ 4.4%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
51	- 6.7%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
52	+ 2.9%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
53	+ 8.2%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
54	- 3.5%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
55	+ 3.1%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
56	+ 4.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
57	+ 8.1%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
58	+ 8.9%	Consistent	Contiguous
59	+ 7%	Consistent	Contiguous
60	+ 4.7%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
61	- 5.7%	Consistent	Non-contiguous

As might be expected given that Donetsk oblast has two fewer districts, almost all of the district boundaries and centers have changed compared with 2002.

There are many inconsistencies between the boundaries of the 2012 electoral districts and the boundaries of city rayons and the boundaries of cities/towns. For example, the city of Horlivka is divided between several districts – the Mykytivskiyi and Tsentralno-Miskiyi rayons of Horlivka formed a separate district, No. 51, whereas the Kalininskiyi rayon of Horlivka was included in district No. 52, to which the towns of Debaltseve and Dzerzhynsk were assigned. The Hirnytskyi and Sovietskiyi rayons of the city of Makiivka were “extracted” from district No. 56, which was created from the territories of three other rayons of Makiivka, and assigned to district No. 55, the territory of which also encompassed the towns of Zhdanivka and Kirovske. Similar levels of inconsistency between the electoral and administrative boundaries in Donetsk oblast occurred in 2002, which may reflect a particularly convoluted set of administrative divisions.

The CEC, by attempting to ensure consistency of electoral district boundaries with the the complicated administrative and territorial structure of Donetsk oblast, has created a large number of “natural” non-contiguous enclaves:

1. part of the territory of election district No. 48 that is separated from the main part of the district by the territory of the Slovianskiyi rayon, which is included in district No. 47;

2. part of district No. 49 that is separated from the main part of the district by the territory of the city of Kramatorsk, which forms district No. 48;
3. parts of district No. 50 (which are administratively subordinated to either the Dobropillia town council or to the Krasnoarmiisk city council) that are separated from the main part of the district (the Dobropilskyi rayon) by the territories of district No. 47 and 49;
4. part of district No. 51 that is separated from the main part of the district by the territory of the Artemivskyi rayon (district No. 46);
5. parts of district No. 53 that are separated from the main part of the district by the Yasynuvatskyi rayon (district No. 45);
6. parts of district No. 54 that are administratively subordinated to the Khartsyzk city council and are separated from the main part of district by the territory of the Amvrosiivskyi rayon (district No. 61);
7. parts of district No. 57 that are administratively subordinated to the Mariupol city council and are separated from the main territory of the district by the Novoazovskyi rayon (district No. 60); and
8. part of district No. 60 that is separated from the main part of the district by the territory of district No. 61 as a result of a division of the Volnovaskyi rayon into two parts by the territory of the town of Dokuchaievsk.

While the desire to maintain consistency with administrative boundaries is understandable, the advantage of this practice in must be weighed against the disadvantages of having so many non-contiguities in the electoral district boundaries of one oblast.

In addition to these “natural” non-contiguous enclaves, the district boundaries in Donetsk oblast, include the following non-contiguous enclaves that have no apparent administrative or geographical justification:

1. enclaves created as a result of assigning the towns of Dzerzhynsk and Debaltseve to election district No. 52, even though they would otherwise be in district 46;
2. the enclave created by assigning the city of Torez to election district No. 53, even though the city is entirely surrounded by district 54;
3. the enclaves created by assigning the towns of Zhdanivka and Kirovske to district No. 55, even though these towns are separated from the main part of the district by the territory of district No. 54;
4. the enclave created as a result of assigning the town of Snizhne to election district No. 61, even though Snizhne is separated from the main part of the district by the territory of district No. 54; and
5. the enclave created by assigning the cities of Krasnoarmiisk and Dymitrov to election district No. 50, even though those cities are located within district No. 49.

It is worth noting that in 2002 the CEC created only one artificial enclave in Donetsk (in district No. 50). We do not know why the CEC chose to create the enclaves identified above for the 2012 elections. However, it bears repeating that non-contiguous enclaves such as these work against development of cohesive communities of interest within districts and can complicate election-related logistics. The existence of such anomalies may also invite speculation that electoral boundaries are being manipulated for partisan purposes.

The Single-Member Election Districts Donetsk region

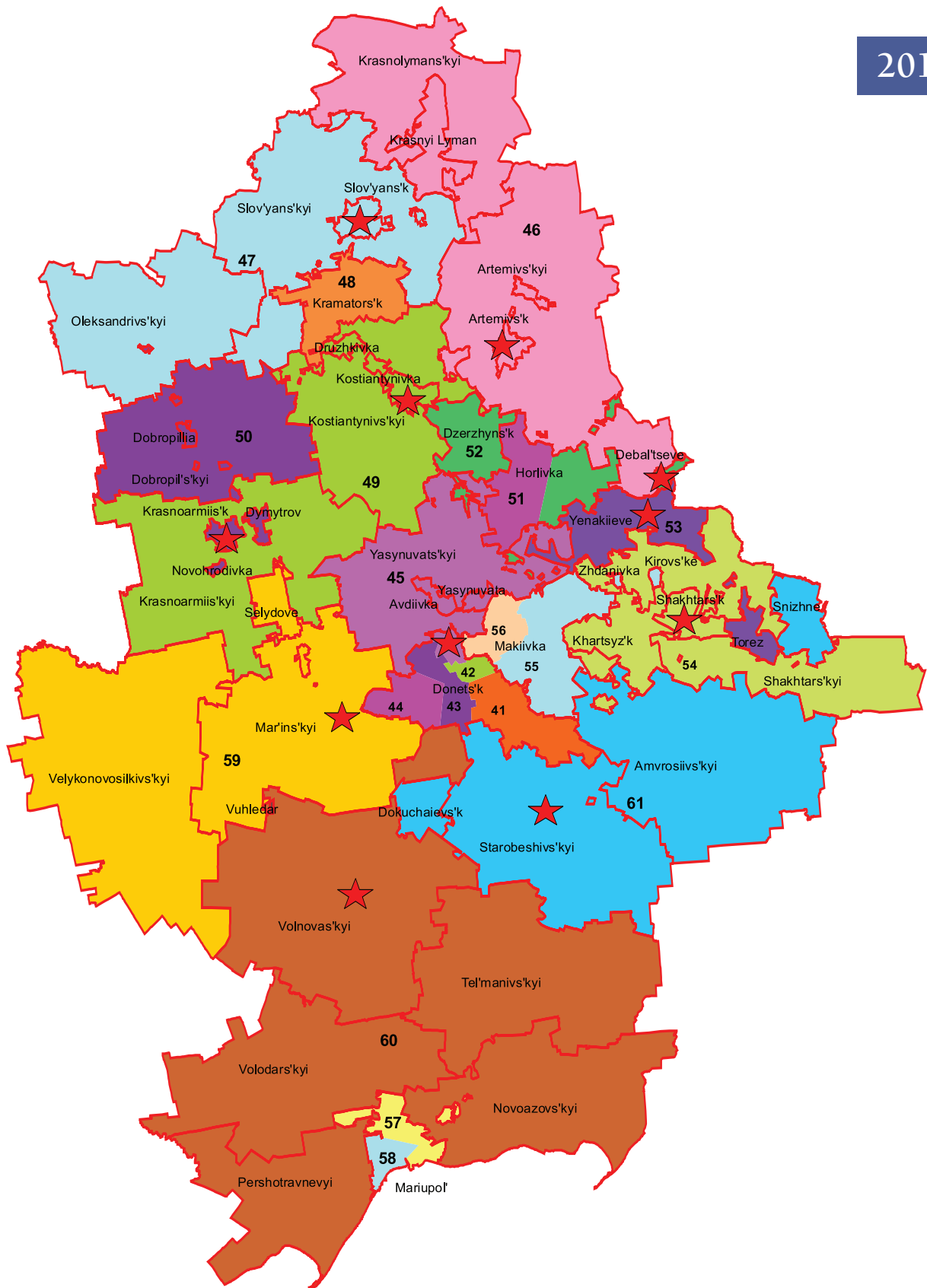
2002



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The Single-Member Election Districts Donetsk region

2012



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6. Zhytomyr oblast

In the territory of Zhytomyr oblast, the 2012 Parliamentary election will be organized and conducted in 6 single-member election districts. Within those districts, the deviation in the number of voters from the approximate average number of voters in all 225 districts ranges from -0.4% to +10.2%.

Table 6. Single-member election districts in Zhytomyr oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
62	+ 10.2%	Not consistent	Contiguous
63	+ 5.2%	Consistent	Contiguous
64	+4.3%	Consistent	Contiguous
65	- 0.4%	Consistent	Contiguous
66	+ 5.5%	Consistent	Contiguous
67	+ 5%	Not consistent	Contiguous

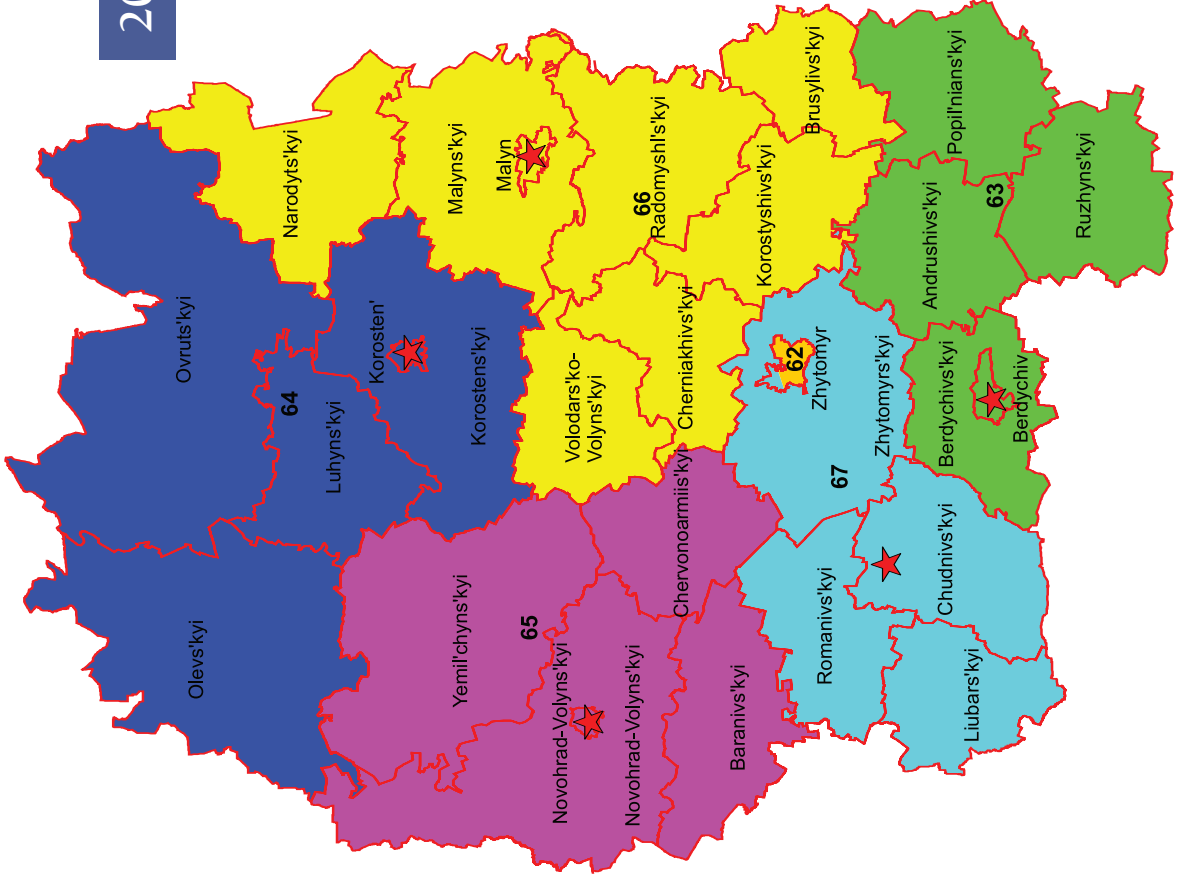
Compared to 2002, all district boundaries in Zhytomyr oblast have been changed, except for district No. 62 (in 2002, district No. 64) and No. 63 (in 2002, district No. 65). These changes did not result in any change to the district centers.

The boundaries of most of the single-member districts coincide with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination. The exceptions to this rule are district Nos. 62 and 67, which divide the city of Zhytomyr between them.

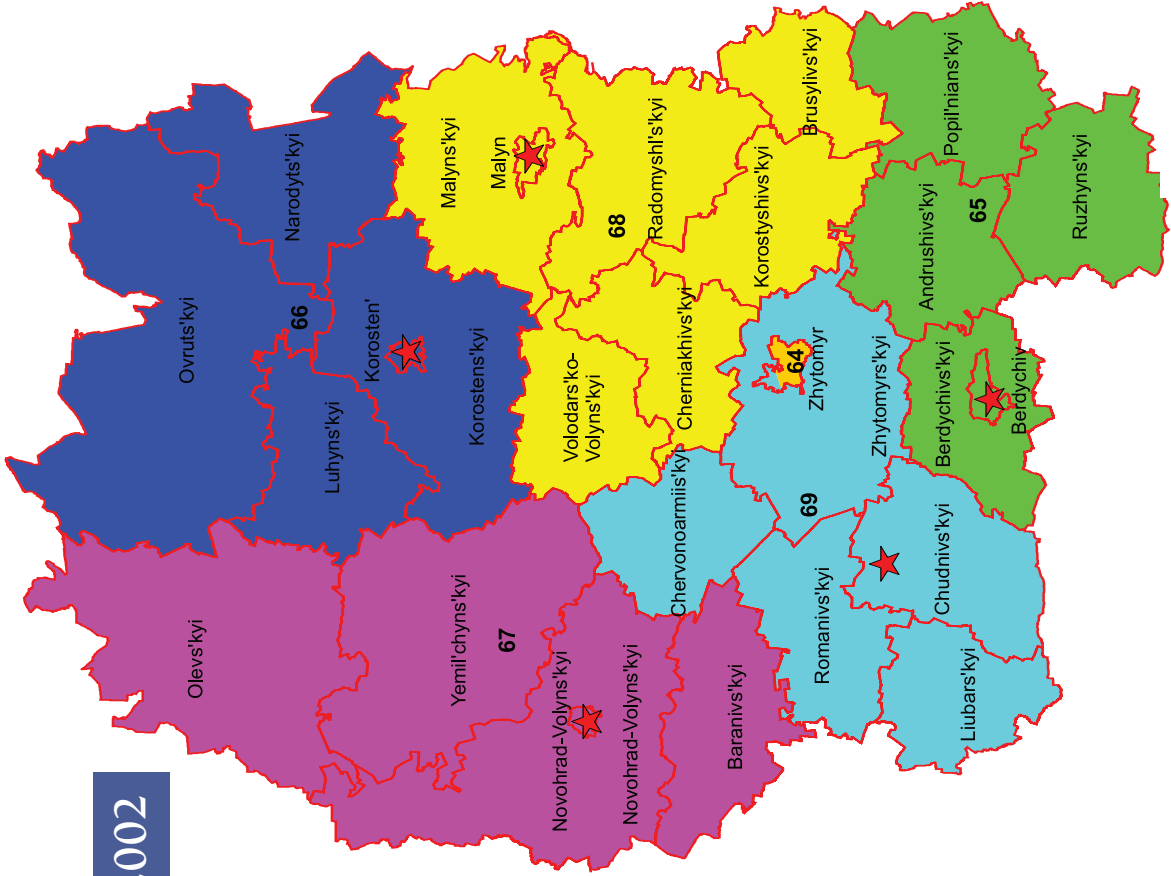
The CEC has observed the principle of contiguity in creating electoral districts for the 2012 elections within Zhytomyr oblast.

The Single-Member Election Districts Zhytomyr region

2012



2002



★ The office of the District Election Commission

7. Transcarpathian oblast

For the 2012 elections, the CEC created 6 single-member election districts within the Transcarpathian oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -8.8% to 7.7%.

Table 7. Single-member election districts in Transcarpathian oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
68	- 1.19%	Consistent	Contiguous
69	-0.6%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
70	+ 3.3%	Not consistent	Contiguous
71	- 4.27%	Not consistent	Contiguous
72	+ 7.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
73	-8.8%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous

Compared to 2002, the boundaries of all 6 districts were revised. Furthermore, the centers of half of the districts were also changed.

District no. 68 is the only district within Transcarpathian oblast that entirely follows the existing administrative boundaries. In all other cases, rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination have been divided between electoral districts. Thus, the Mukachivskiy rayon was divided between district Nos. 69 and 70; the Berehivskiy rayon, between district Nos. 73 and 69; the Irshavskiy rayon, between district Nos. 69, 71, and 73; the Tiachivskiy rayon, between district Nos. 71 and 72.

One of the drawbacks of the oblast's districting is that the principle of contiguity was violated in the creation of two districts. In particular, election district No. 73 was divided into four parts, two of which lie within the boundaries of election district No. 69, and one of which lies within the limits of election district No. 71. The principle of contiguity was also not observed in the establishment of district No. 69, which is divided into two parts by the territory of district No. 71. It is remarkable that the Irshavskiy rayon has a total of three enclaves, two of which are parts of district No. 73 and another one is part of district No. 69. We see no administrative or geographical reason for the creation of these enclaves. We also note that they were not included in the districts used in 2002.

We also note that the existence of a compact community of ethnic Hungarians does not seem to have been taken into account in the process of the oblast's districting. According to estimates of community leaders, the number of ethnic Hungarians registered to vote in Western Transcarpathia is roughly 150,000.⁷ During the 2002 elections, the majority of these voters resided in a single district (No. 72). However, for 2012, the western part of Transcarpathia formerly represented by district No. 72 has been divided between district Nos. 68, 69, 71, and 73. The division of this distinct ethno-linguistic community between several districts may reduce their ability to find representation in the national parliament.

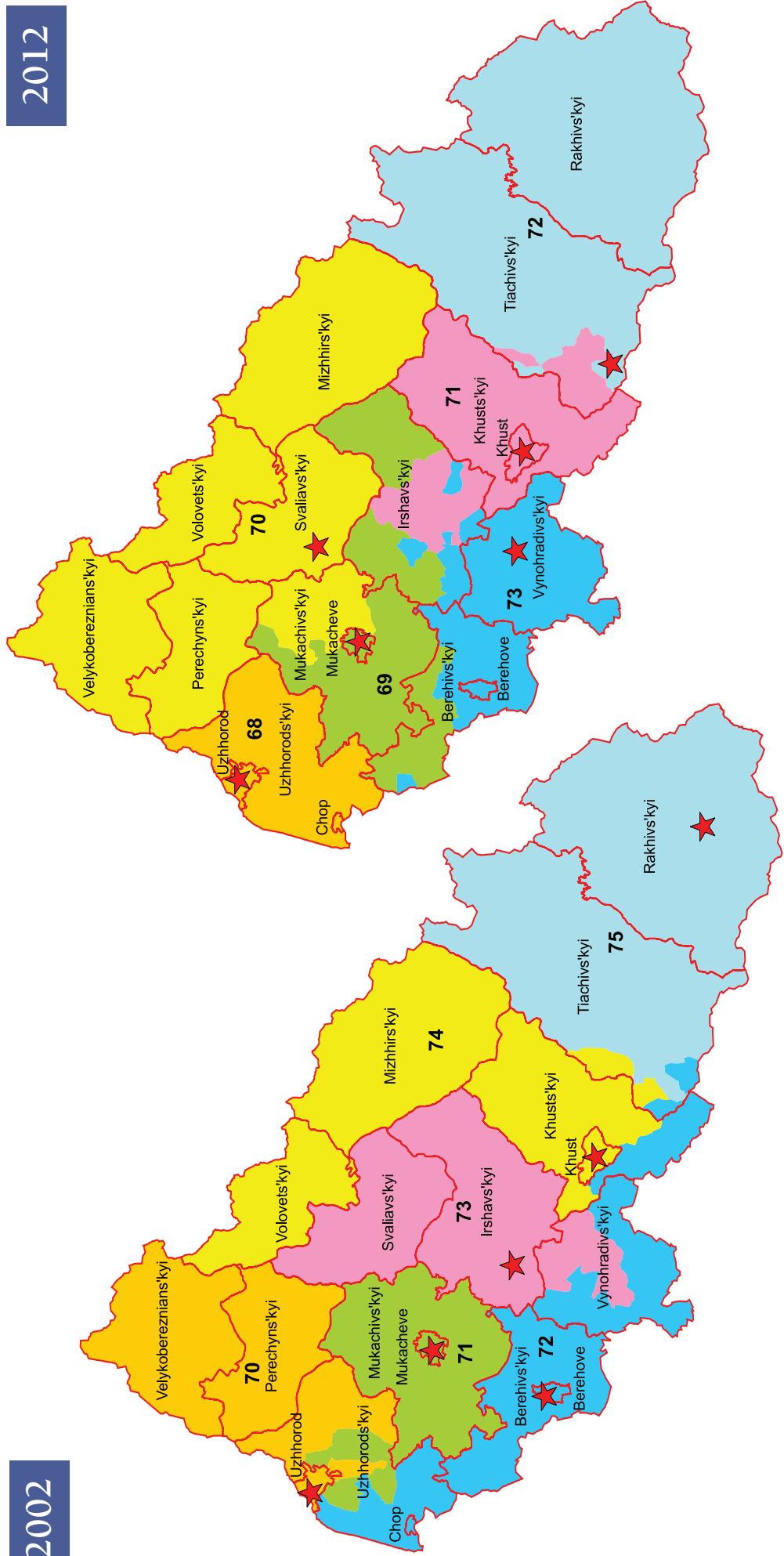
The mountainous geography of the Transcarpathian oblast, the non-central location of some of its election district centers, and the existences of non-contiguous enclaves (in particular in the oblast's Irshavskiy rayon), may create problems related to election logistics within the oblast.

⁷ Ukrainian Hungarian Uncompromising, Vladimir Martin in Mirror of the Week, 2012, № 2, January 20, 2012, available at http://dt.ua/POLITICS/ukrayinsko-ugorska_bezkompromisnist-95992.html

The Single-Member Election Districts Zakarpats`ka region

2002

2012



★ The office of the District Election Commission

8. Zaporizhia oblast

For the 2012 parliamentary elections, the CEC has divided the territory of Zaporizhia oblast into 9 single-member election districts. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -10.9% to +11.3%.

Table 8. Single-member election districts in Zaporizhia oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
74	- 10.9%	Not consistent	Contiguous
75	+ 2.5%	Consistent	Contiguous
76	+ 7%	Consistent	Contiguous
77	- 10.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous
78	+ 1.9%	Consistent	Contiguous
79	+ 11.3%	Not consistent	Contiguous
80	+ 5.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
81	+ 5%	Consistent	Contiguous
82	+ 2%	Not consistent	Contiguous

The boundaries of the oblast's rayons, the rayons in the city of Zaporizhia, and the cities/towns of oblast subordination were only partially taken into account in the process of districting. Thus, the Zhovtnevyi rayon of the city of Zaporizhia was divided between district Nos. 74 and 77, and Orikhivskyi rayon was divided between election district Nos. 79 and 82.

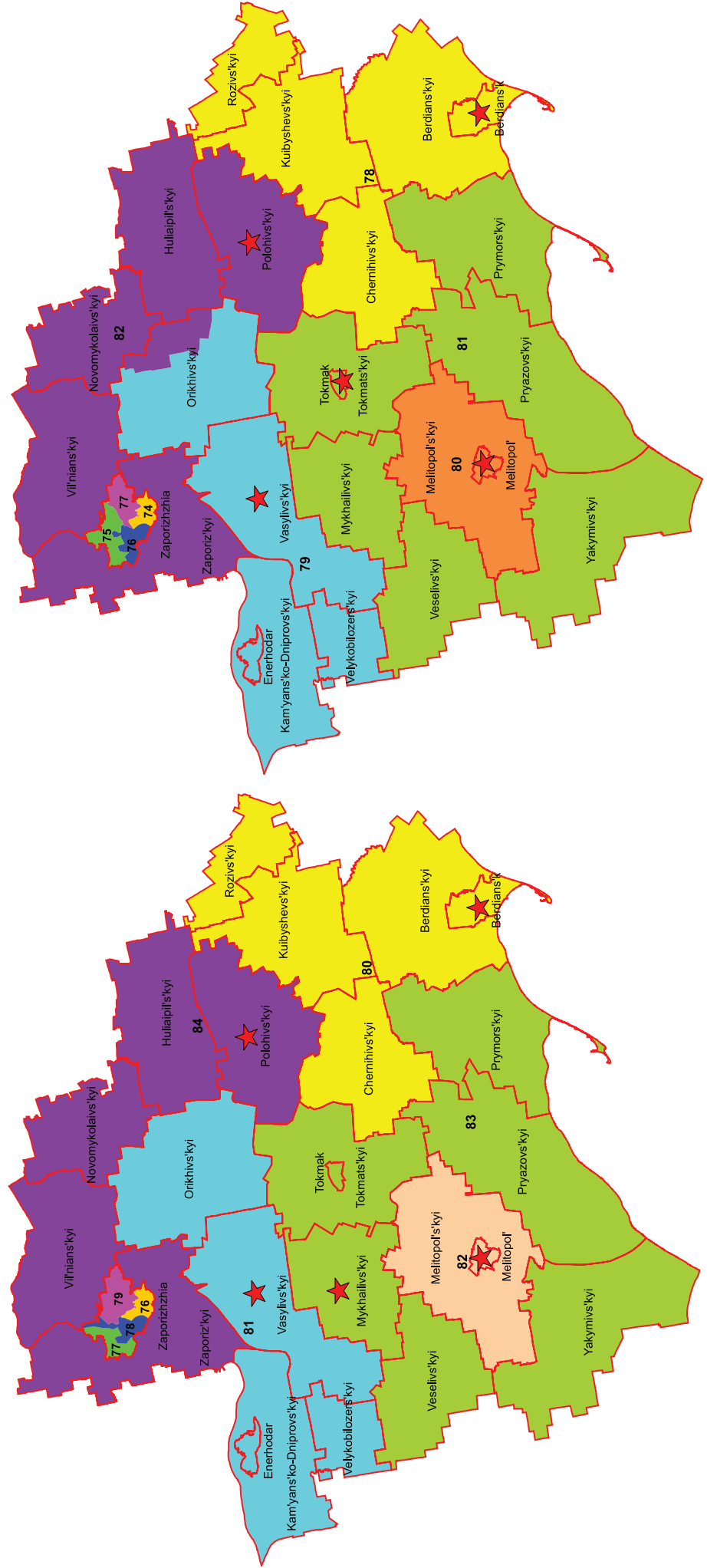
On the whole, the boundaries of the districts established for the 2002 election remained unchanged. Substantial changes pertain only to the Zaporizhia city districts as well as to the former district Nos. 81 and 84 – the changes in their boundaries result from a division of the oblast's Orikhivskyi rayon between them. The district centers are the same as they were in 2002, with the exception of the center of district No. 81, which was transferred from Mykhailivka to the Tokmak.

All of the district boundaries created within Zaporizhia oblast are consistent with the principle of contiguity.

The Single-Member Election Districts Zaporizhzhia region

2012

2002



★ The office of the District Election Commission

9. Ivano-Frankivsk oblast

For the 2012 parliamentary elections, the CEC created 7 single-member districts in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, one more than in 2002. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -10.7% to +3.8%.

Table 9. Single-member election districts in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
83	+ 3.8%	Not consistent	Contiguous
84	+ 1.9%	Not consistent	Contiguous
85	- 9.4%	Not consistent	Contiguous
86	- 8%	Not consistent	Contiguous
87	- 8.4%	Not consistent	Contiguous
88	+ 0.8	Not consistent	Contiguous
89	- 10.7	Consistent	Contiguous

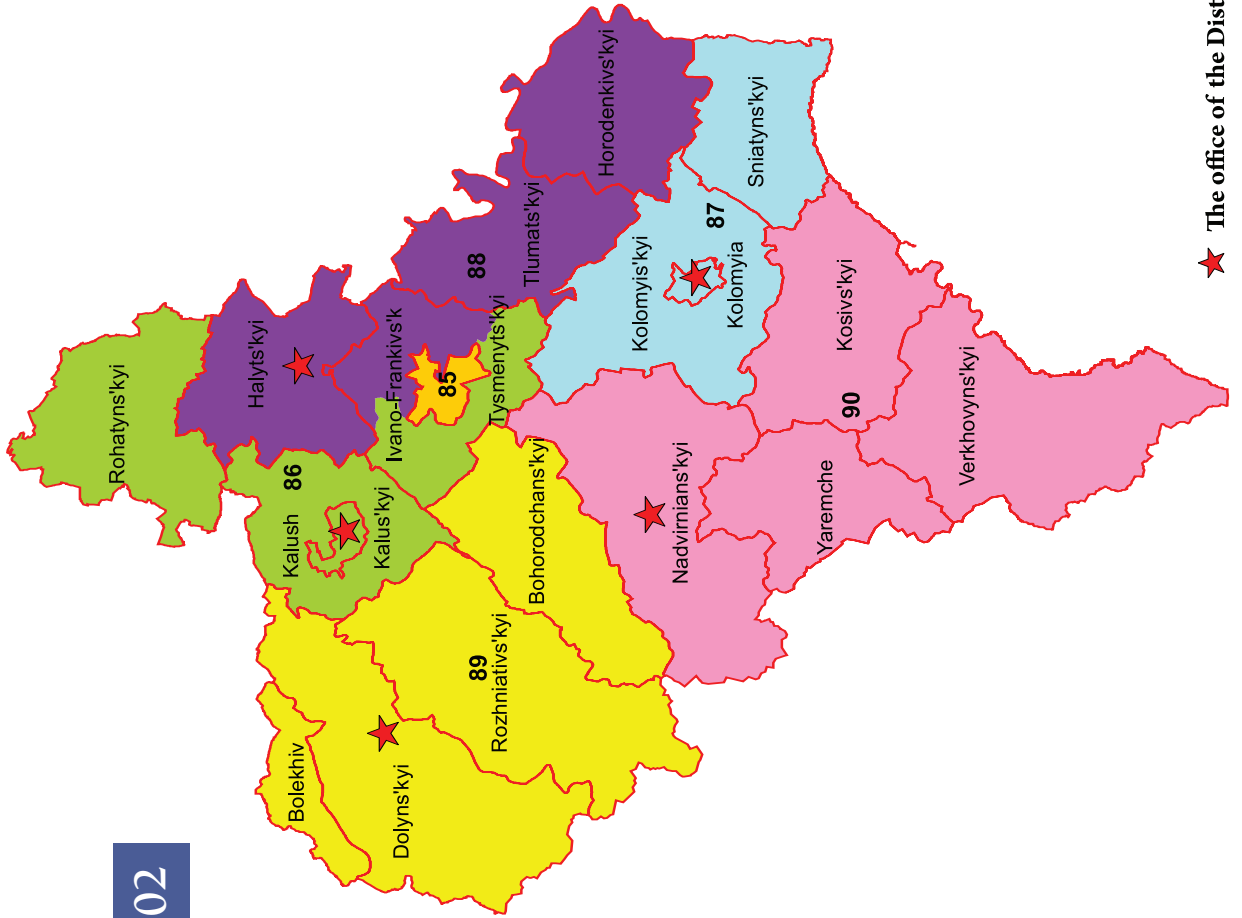
The only district whose boundaries coincide exactly with the existing administrative and territorial structure of the oblast is district No. 89. All of the other districts are inconsistent with existing administrative divisions. In particular, the city of Ivano-Frankivsk was divided between district Nos. 83 and 84; the Halytskyi rayon, between district Nos. 84 and 85; the Kolomyisky rayon, between district Nos. 87 and 88; the Bohorodchanskyi rayon, between district Nos. 86 and 87. By contrast, in 2002, district Nos. 85, 87, 89 and 90 were all entirely consistent with administrative boundaries. The likely reason for this change is the increase in the number of districts assigned to the oblast.

The principle of contiguity of the boundaries of election districts was observed in the creation of all of the districts in Ivano-Frankivsk for the 2012 election. Given that the number of districts in the oblast increased compared to 2002, the boundaries of all the districts were changed.

Ivano-Frankivsk oblast is rather unique in that it includes certain geographical features (a part of the oblast includes the Carpathian Mountains) that could pose a challenge in some districts for election-related logistics (especially the transportation of election documents and materials).

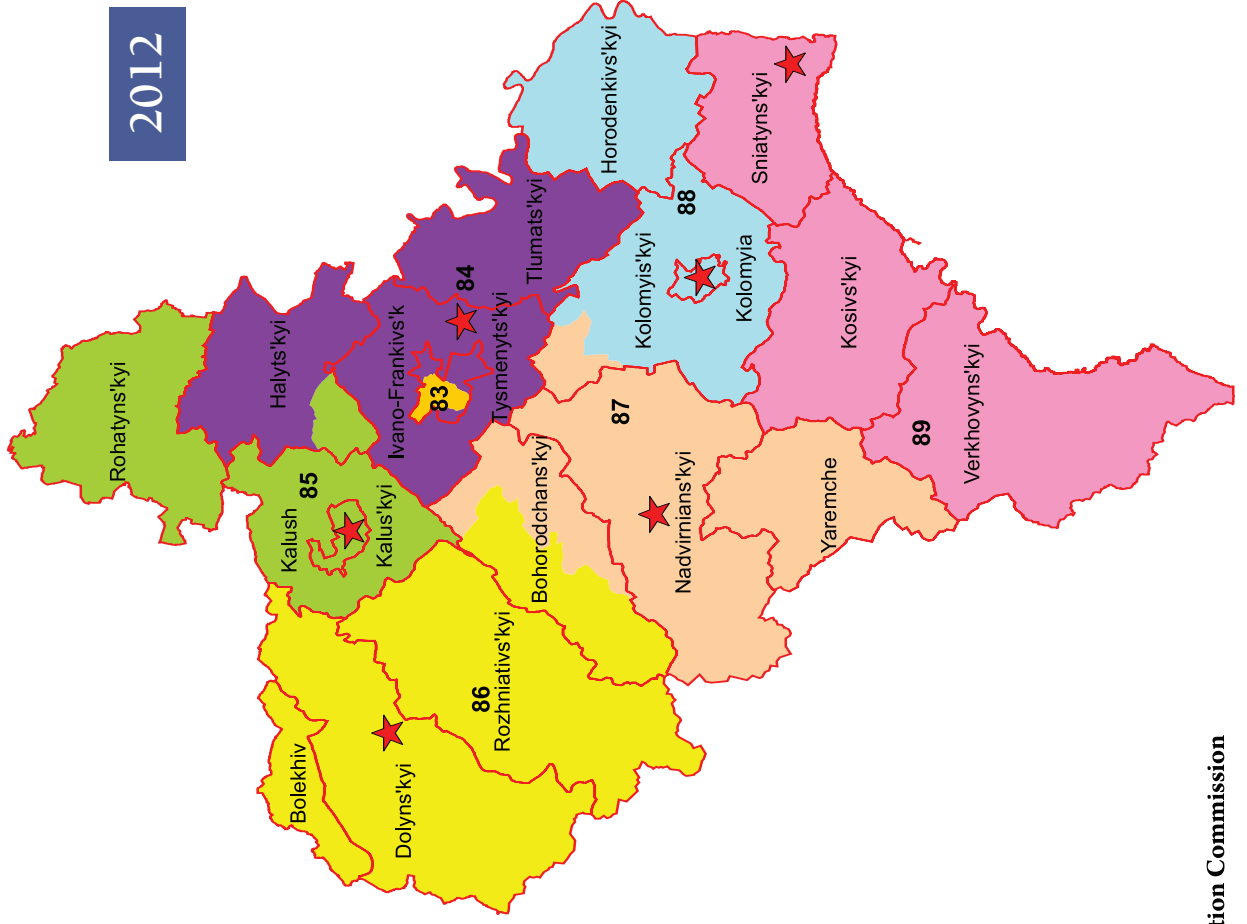
The Single-Member Election Districts Ivano-Frankivsk region

2002



★ The office of the District Election Commission

2012



10. Kyiv oblast

Within Kyiv oblast, the regular parliamentary election of 2012 will be organized and conducted in 9 single-member districts, up from 8 in 2002. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -9.3% to +11.6%.

Table 10. Single-member election districts in Kyiv oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
90	+ 1%	Consistent	Contiguous
91	- 6.7%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
92	- 3.4%	Not consistent	Contiguous
93	- 9.3%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
94	- 6.1%	Consistent	Contiguous
95	- 1.6%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
96	+ 11.6%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
97	+ 10.1%	Not consistent	Contiguous
98	+ 11.2%	Not consistent	Contiguous

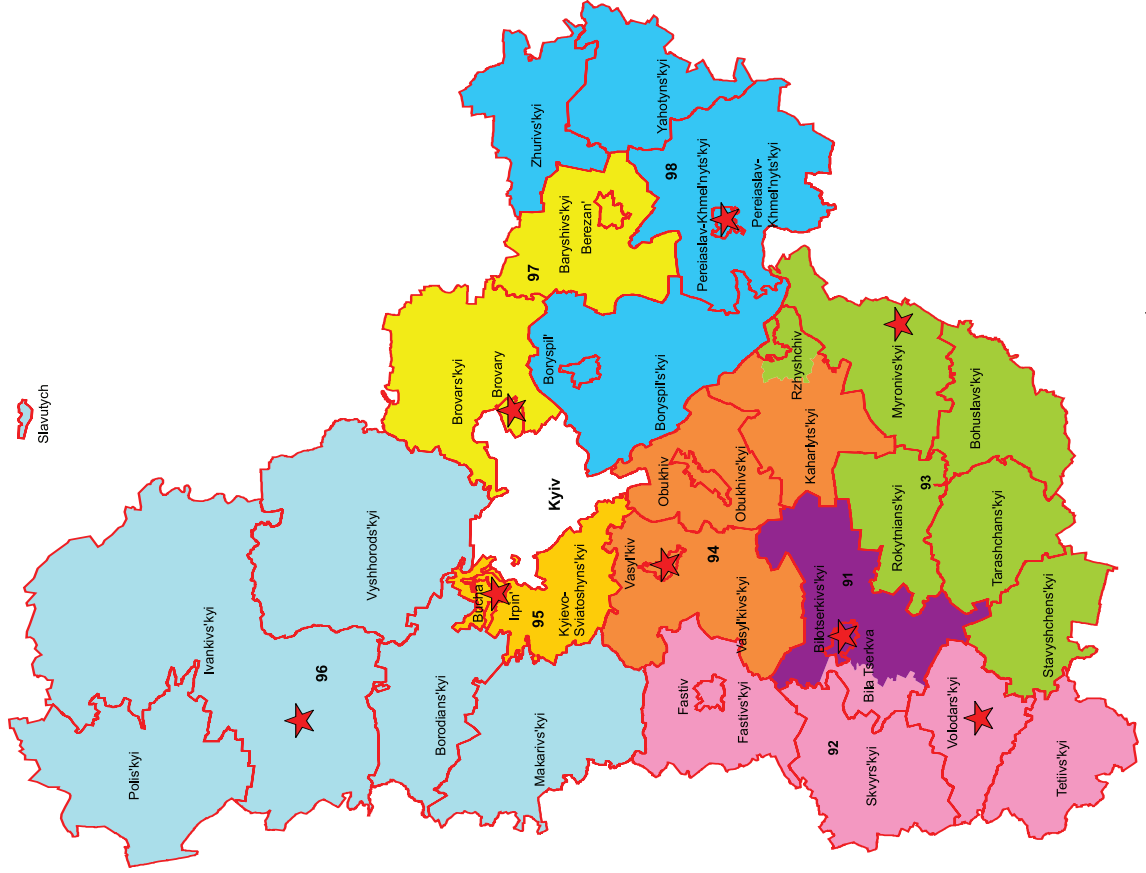
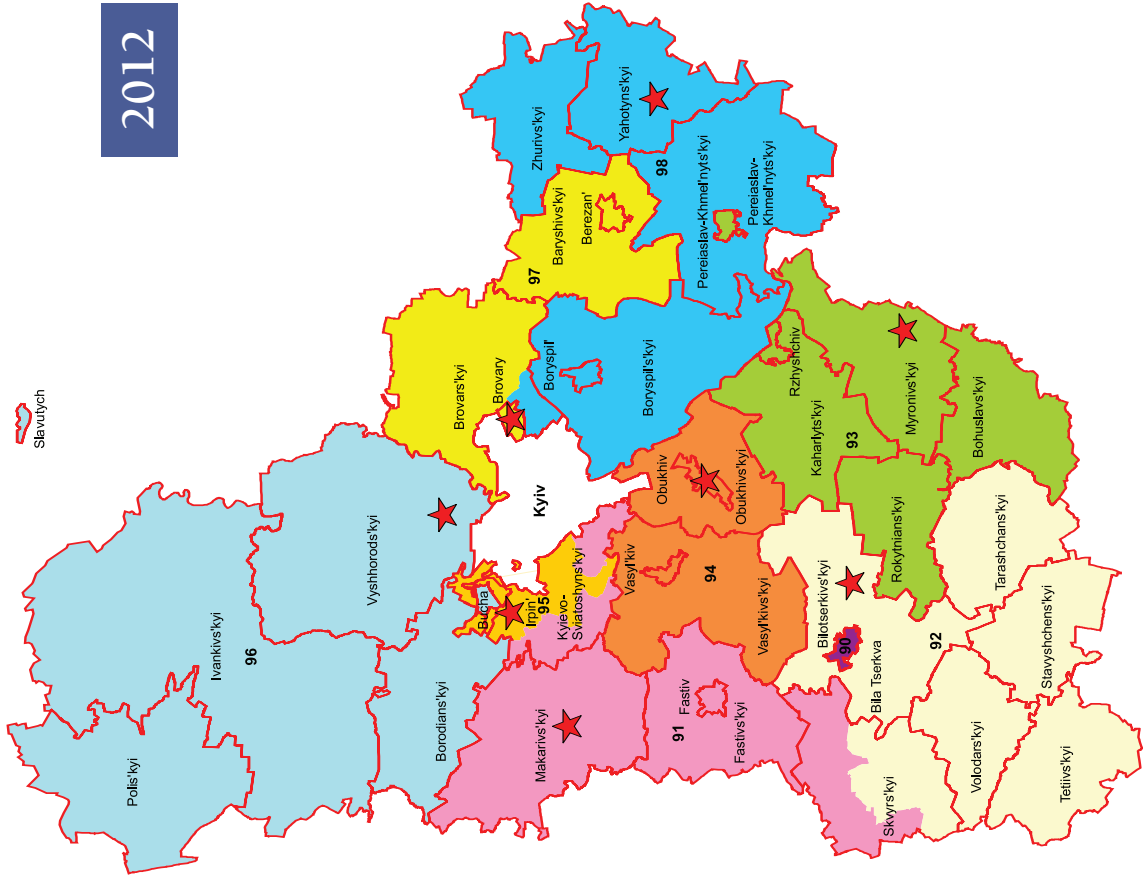
Compared to 2002, the boundaries of all of the election districts in Kyiv oblast have been substantially revised. This can partially account for the shifting of the centers of five out of the nine districts to other administrative and territorial units.

The electoral boundaries within Kyiv oblast depart in a number of places from existing administrative divisions. In particular, the territory of the Skvytskyi rayon was divided between district Nos. 91 and 92; Brovary rayon, between district Nos. 97 and 98; and Kyievo-Sviatoshynskyi rayon, between district Nos. 91 and 95. This lack of consistency between electoral and administrative divisions was also seen in 2002.

One area of concern in Kyiv oblast is the lack of respect for the principle of contiguity, with a number of districts including non-contiguous enclaves. Some of these are of “natural” origin, as their existence is caused by differences in administrative subordination of relevant administrative and territorial units. For example, the city of Slavutych (which is geographically located within the territory of Chernihiv oblast, while being administratively subordinated to Kyiv oblast) and the town of Kotsiubynske, which is located within the Kyiv city limits, while being administratively subordinated to the Irpin city council.

However, some enclaves within districts of Kyiv oblast are “artificial”, which is to say there is no administrative or geographical reason that would require their existence. The examples include the enclave that was created as a result of assigning a number of precincts of Kyievo-Sviatoshynskyi rayon (election precincts No. 320562, 320578 – 320582, 320597, 320598, 320607 – 320609, 320612 – 320614, 320617, 320618, 320624, 320628 – 320640, and 320642) to election district No. 91 and the enclave that resulted from assigning the city of Pereiaslav-Khmelnyskyi (which is geographically located within election district No. 98) to election district No. 93. It should be noted that while there were some non-contiguous enclaves in the districts for the 2002 elections, all of them were natural enclaves arising out of the existing administrative divisions.

The Single-Member Election Districts Kyiv region



11. Kirovohrad oblast

For the 2012 election, the territory of Kirovohrad oblast was divided into 5 single-member election districts. The deviation in the number of voters in the oblast's districts from the approximate average number of voters in all 225 single-member districts ranges from -5.8 % to +9.3%.

Table 11. Single-member election districts in Kirovohrad oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
99	+9.3%	Not consistent	Contiguous
100	- 3.3%	Not consistent	Contiguous
101	- 5.8%	Consistent	Contiguous
102	- 5.1%	Consistent	Contiguous
103	- 3.7%	Consistent	Contiguous

In general, the CEC took account of the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination when establishing election districts in Kirovgrad oblast. The only exception is the city of Kirovohrad, the territory of which is divided between election district Nos. 99 and 100.

The principle of contiguity of the boundaries of election districts was not violated. Compared to 2002, only district 99 retained its boundaries, while the boundaries of the other districts were all revised. The electoral district centers have all remained the same as they were in 2002, except district No. 100

12. Luhansk oblast

Since the number of voters in Luhansk oblast has decreased, the number of election districts allocated to the oblast was reduced from 12 (in 2002) to 11. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -4.4% to +10.7%.

Table 12. Single-member election districts in Luhansk oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
104	+ 10.7%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
105	+ 7.2%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
106	- 1.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous
107	+ 4.6%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
108	+ 0.2%	Consistent	Non-contiguous
109	+ 5.5%	Not consistent	Contiguous
110	+ 10.2%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
111	+ 6.6%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
112	- 1.4%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
113	- 1.3%	Consistent	Contiguous
114	- 4.4%	Consistent	Contiguous

Except for district No. 113, all of the 2012 district boundaries have changed compared to 2002. The revision of the district boundaries resulted in changes in three of the district centers.

All but a few districts have boundaries that are inconsistent with the boundaries of rayons, cities/towns, and rayons of the city of Luhansk. A similar degree of inconsistency between the electoral and administrative boundaries occurred in 2002, which may reflect a particularly convoluted set of administrative divisions.

The boundaries of electoral districts in Luhansk oblast demonstrate a particular lack of regard for the principle of contiguity, with 7 out of 11 districts include one or more non-contiguous enclaves. Several of these enclaves result from the complexity of the oblast's administrative and territorial structure. For example, some territories within the Stanychno-Luhanskyi and Slovianoserbskyi rayons are included in district Nos. 104 and 105 because they are administratively subordinated to the Luhansk city council. Other "natural" enclaves of this nature are included in district Nos. 106, 108, 110, 111, and 114.

In addition to these natural enclaves, Luhansk oblast includes a number of non-contiguous enclaves that cannot be explained by reference to the oblast's complex administrative divisions:

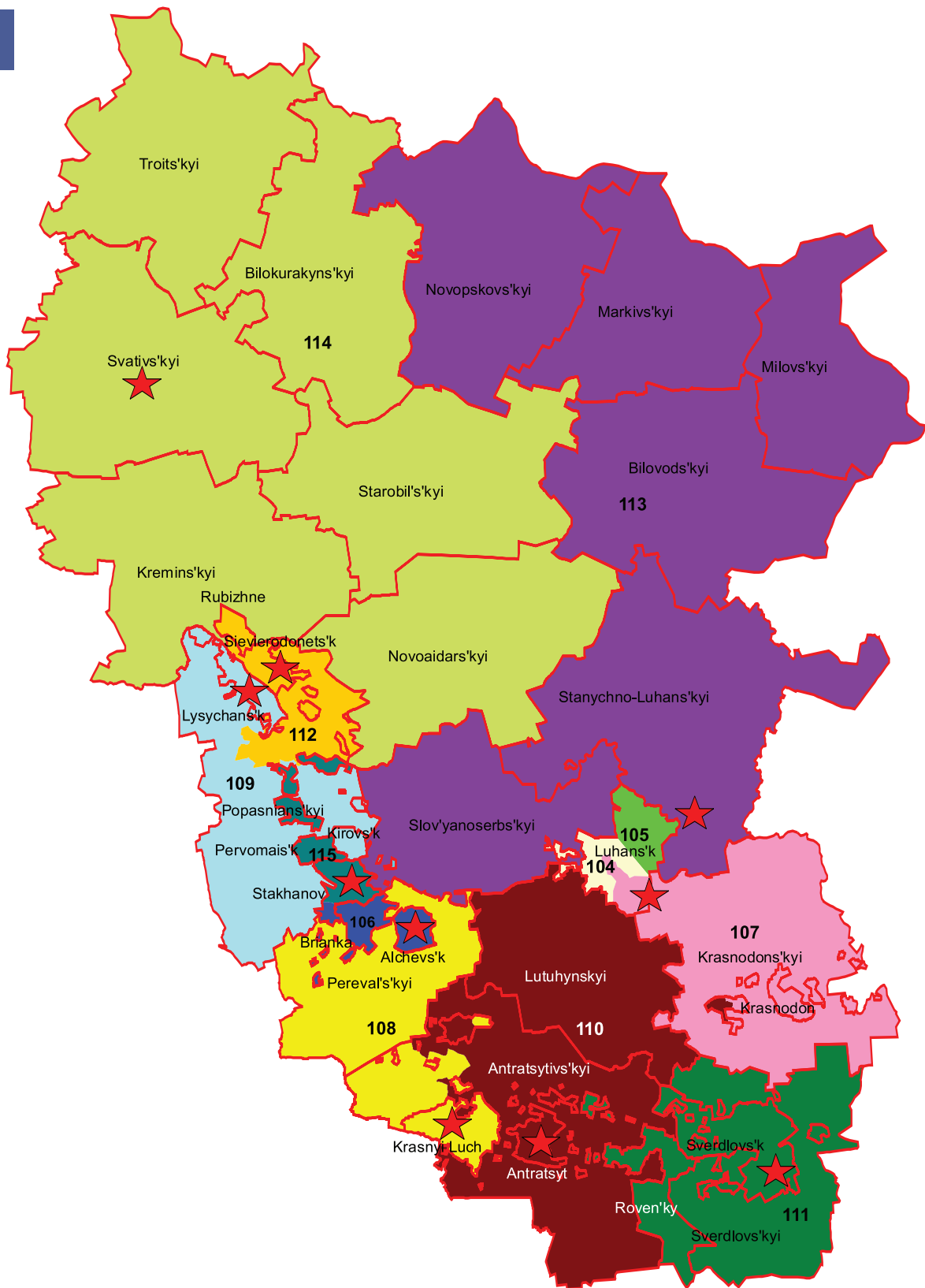
1. Election district No. 107 was constructed to include the city of Lysychansk, the town of Popasna (election precincts Nos. 440381 – 440392, 440422, 440423), and a part of the city of Stakhanov, which are separated from each other by the territory of the district 106;
2. The city of Krasnyi Luch and territories that are administratively subordinated to the Krasnyi Luch city council, which are separated from the rest of the territory of district No. 108;
3. The city of Alchevsk, which is assigned to district No. 110 but is located within the territory of district 108;
4. The villiage of Mykytivska (election precinct No. 440021), which was included in district No. 111 despite being unconnected to the rest of the district;
5. The the towns of Rubizhne, Brianka, Kirovske and a part of Pervomaisk in district No. 112, which results in a district fragmented into several unconnected parts.

It is worth noting that in 2002 the CEC created only a single artificial enclave in Luhansk (in district No. 110). We do not know why the CEC chose to create the enclaves identified above for the 2012 elections. However, it bears repeating that non-contiguous enclaves such as these work against development of cohesive communities of interest within districts and can complicate election related logistics. The existence of such anomalies may also invite speculation that electoral boundaries are being manipulated for partisan purposes.

A negative impact on election logistics in the course of organization and conduct of the election of MPs of Ukraine within Luhansk oblast may come from four major factors: violation of the principle of districts' cohesiveness (which led to division of some districts into two or more parts and to emergence of quite a lot of enclaves); unsatisfactory condition of road infrastructure in some areas; considerable elongation of some districts; and the non-central location of some districts' centers.

The Single-Member Election Districts Luhansk region

2002



★ The office of the District Election Commission

The Single-Member Election Districts Luhansk region

2012



★ The office of the District Election Commission

13. Lviv oblast

Within the limits of Lviv oblast, the 2012 parliamentary elections will be organized and conducted in 12 single-member election districts. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -6.6% to +10.7%.

Table 13. Single-member election districts in Lviv oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
115	+ 6.1%	Not consistent	Contiguous
116	+ 10.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
117	+ 8.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
118	+ 6.5%	Not consistent	Contiguous
119	- 4.2%	Not consistent	Contiguous
120	- 4.3%	Not consistent	Contiguous
121	+ 9.7%	Consistent	Contiguous
122	+ 8.7%	Consistent	Contiguous
123	- 0.7%	Consistent	Contiguous
124	- 6.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous
125	+ 1.8%	Not consistent	Contiguous
126	- 4.6%	Consistent	Contiguous

Compared to 2002, the boundaries of most of the oblast's districts were substantially revised. Only district Nos. 123 and 124 retained their 2002 boundaries. Apart from boundaries, the centers of 5 single-member districts were also changed.

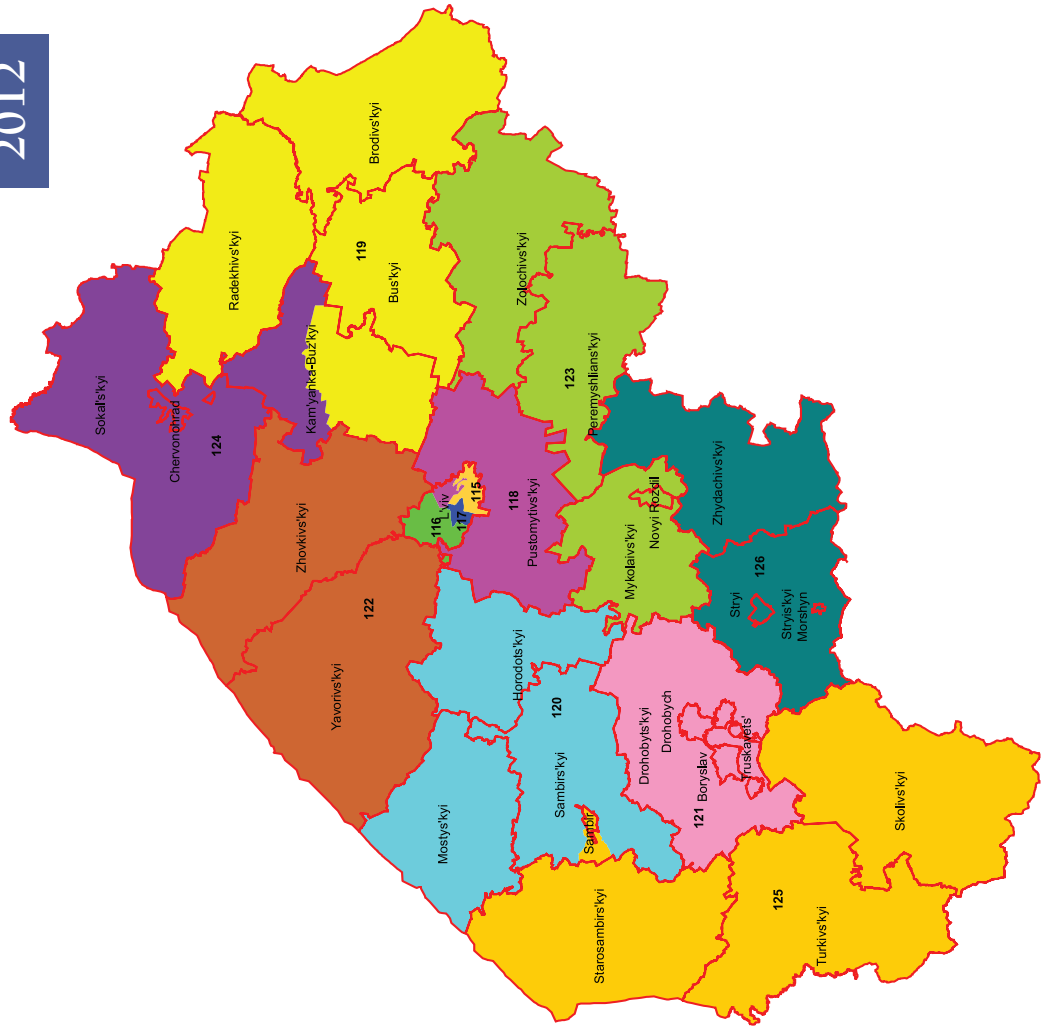
The boundaries of district Nos. 121-123 and 126 are entirely consistent with the oblast's division into rayons, city rayons (for districts established within the Lviv city limits), and cities/towns of oblast subordination. In all of the other cases, the boundaries of districts do not coincide with those of the relevant administrative and territorial units. In particular, the Lychakivskyi rayon of the city of Lviv was divided between district Nos. 115 and 118; the Shevchenkivskyi rayon of the same city, between district Nos. 116, 117, 118. Certain parts of the Lychakivskyi and Shevchenkivskyi rayons of Lviv and Pustomyivskyi rayon of the oblast formed a separate election district, No. 118; that is, this district was established without taking into consideration the limits of the oblast center. The Kamianka-Buzkyi rayon was divided between district Nos. 119 and 124; the Sambirskyi rayon, between district Nos. 120 and 125.

It should be noted that the electoral boundaries used in 2002 were no more consistent with administrative divisions.

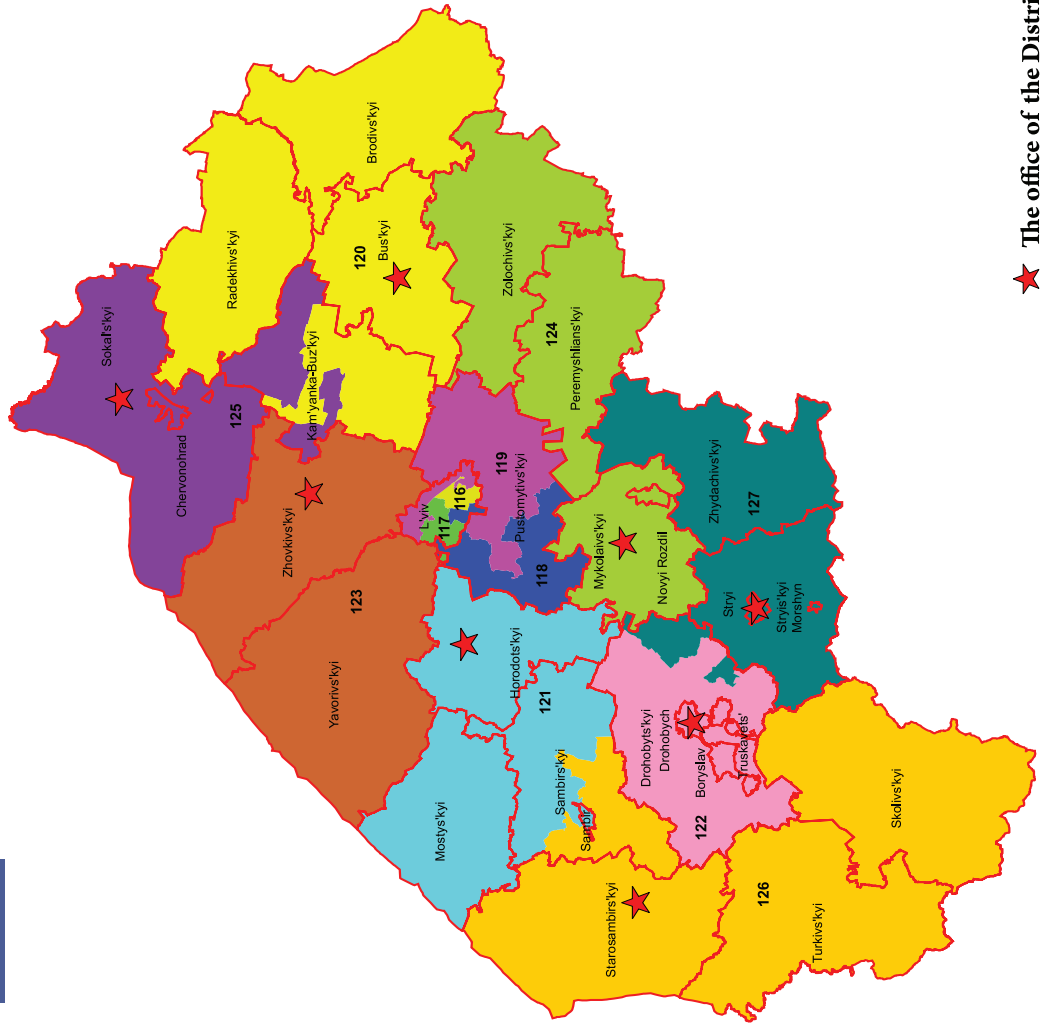
It is praiseworthy that, while establishing single-member districts for the 2012 parliamentary elections in Lviv oblast, the CEC did not violate the principle of contiguity of election district boundaries. By contrast, in 2002 there were a number of enclaves, both natural and artificial. The elimination of these enclaves and the creation of entirely contiguous districts in Lviv oblast is to be welcomed.

The Single-Member Election Districts Lviv region

2012



2002



★ The office of the District Election Commission

14. Mykolaiv oblast

For the purpose of conducting the 2012 election, the CEC established 6 single-member districts within the limits of Mykolaiv oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -8.4% to +7.1%.

Table 14. Single-member election districts in Mykolaiv oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
127	- 3.8%	Not consistent	Contiguous
128	+ 7.1%	Consistent	Contiguous
129	- 5.4%	Not consistent	Contiguous
130	- 8.4%	Consistent	Contiguous
131	+ 0.3%	Consistent	Contiguous
132	- 7.5%	Consistent	Contiguous

All of the district boundaries have changed from 2002 with the exception of district No. 131. However, that revision did not lead to replacement of district centers, except for the former district No. 129, where changes in the boundaries led to transfer of the district's center to the Leninskyi rayon of the city of Mykolaiv.

On the whole, the electoral districts in Mykolaiv oblast are consistent with the existing boundaries of rayons in the oblast's administrative center, the boundaries of the oblast's rayons, and the boundaries of cities/towns of oblast subordination. The only exception to that rule is the city of Mykolaiv, the territory of which was divided between three single-mandate districts, as was the case in 2002.

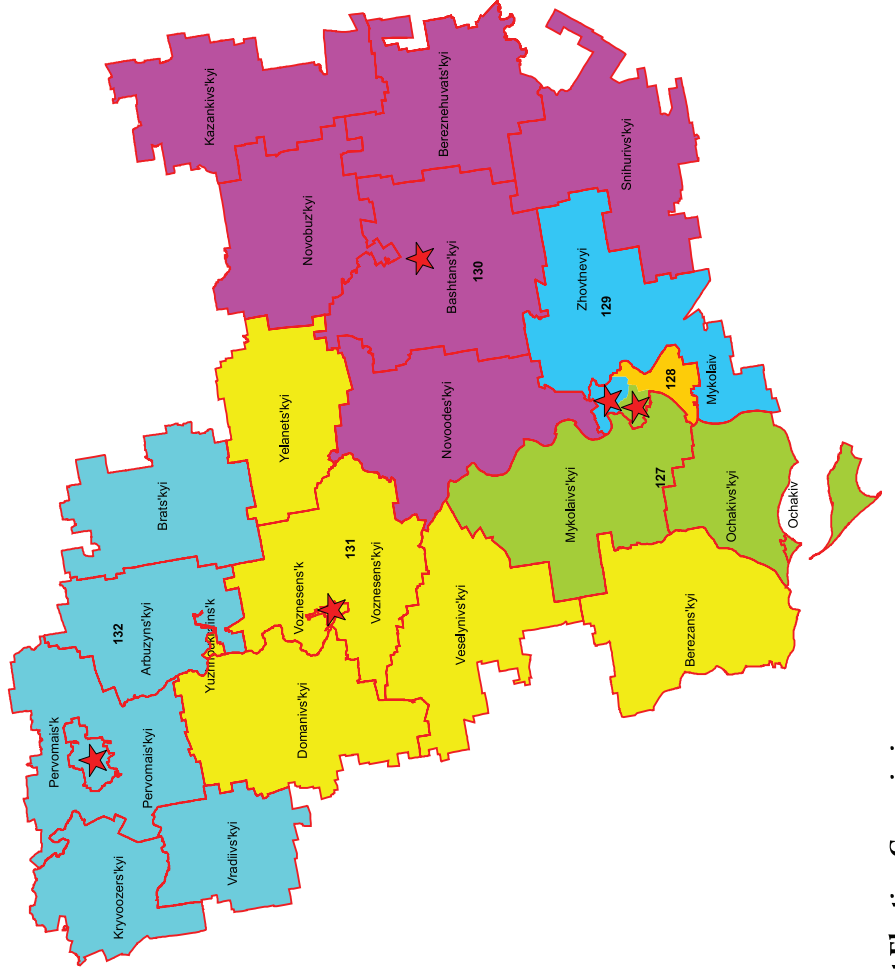
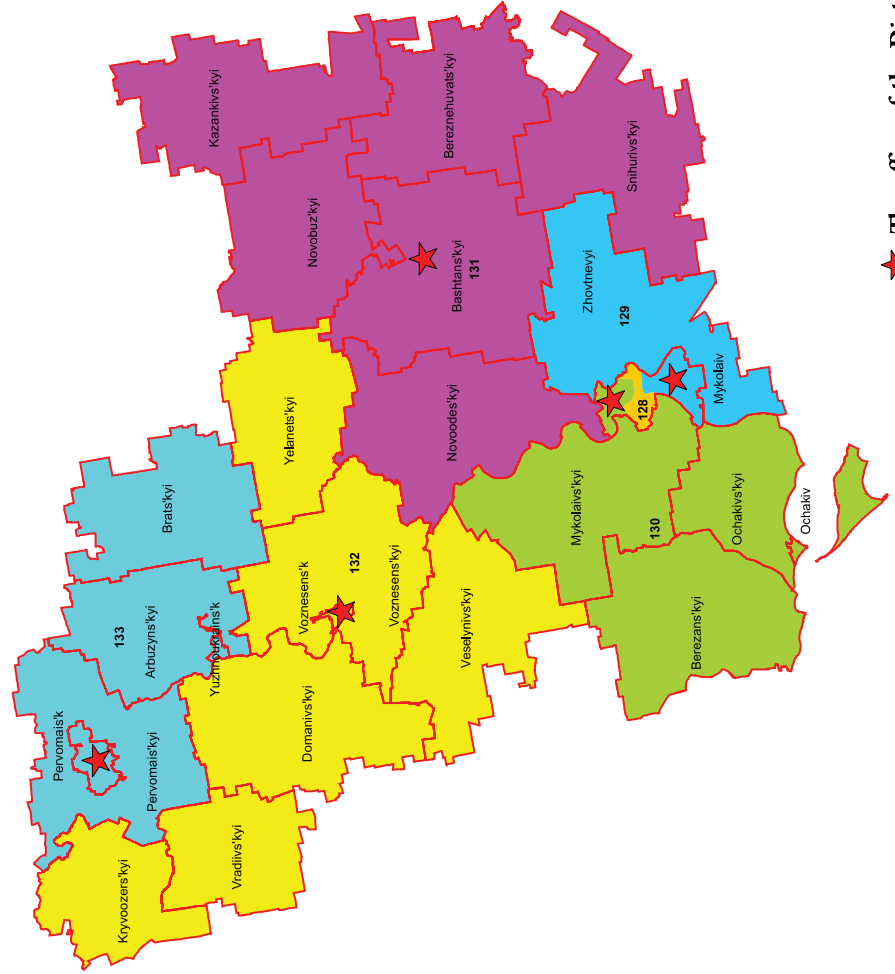
In creating district boundaries for Mykolaiv oblast, the CEC abided by the principle of contiguity.

The interaction of district and precinct election commissions in district Nos. 130 and 131 may be complicated by inadequate condition of road infrastructure, the non-compact shape and (especially in district No. 131) the non-central location of district centers.

The Single-Member Election Districts Mykolaiv region

2002

2012



★ The office of the District Election Commission

15. Odessa oblast

For the 2012 parliamentary elections, the CEC established 11 single-member election districts within Odessa oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -10.3% to 11.9%.

Table 15. Single-member election districts in Одеській oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
133	+ 10.9%	Consistent	Contiguous
134	+ 10.1 %	Not consistent	Contiguous
135	+ 11.9%	Consistent	Contiguous
136	+ 11.8%	Not consistent	Contiguous
137	- 10.3%	Consistent	Contiguous
138	- 4.9%	Not consistent	Contiguous
139	+ 8.1 %	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
140	+ 10.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
141	- 2.3%	Not consistent	Contiguous
142	+ 0.2%	Not consistent	Contiguous
143	- 8.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous

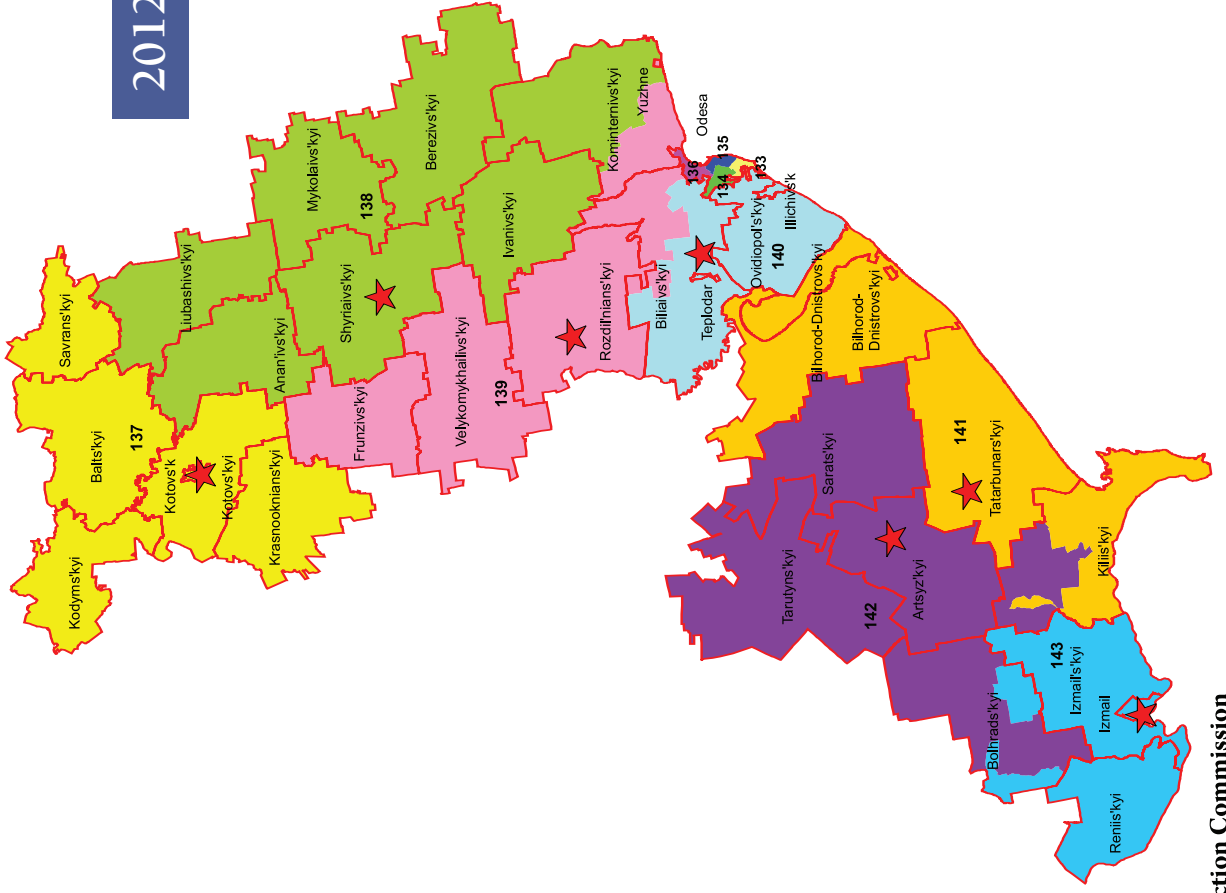
Compared to 2002, only the boundaries of election district No. 143 (at present, district No. 137) remained unchanged, whereas the boundaries of all other districts were revised. In addition, the centers of three electoral districts were changed.

The electoral boundaries within Odessa oblast depart in a number of places from existing administrative divisions. The Malynovskiy rayon of the city of Odesa was divided between districts Nos. 134 and 136; the Suvorovskiy rayon of Odesa, between districts Nos. 136 and 139; the Kominternivskiy rayon, between districts Nos. 138 and 139; the Biliaivskiy rayon, between districts Nos. 139 and 140; the Kiliiskiy rayon, between district Nos. 141 and 142; the Bolhradskiy rayon, between district Nos. 142, 143. The lack of consistency between electoral and administrative boundaries was also typical of the districts created in 2002.

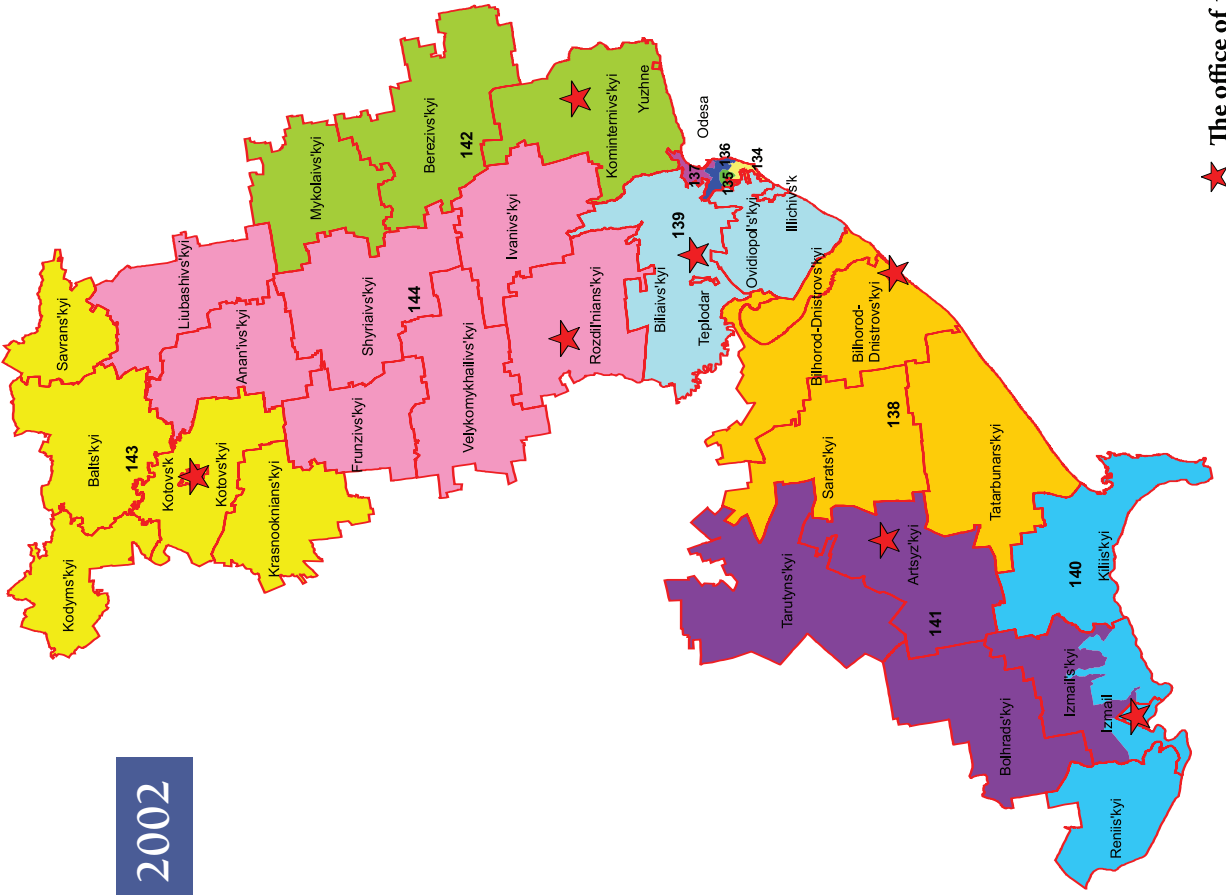
The principle of contiguity was observed with respect to all districts except election district No. 139, which includes a non-contiguous enclave resulting from the inclusion of the town of Yuzhne, which is otherwise located within district 138. In the election of 2002, that town was included with the rest of Kominternivskiy rayon within in district No. 142. We see no administrative or geographical reason for this departure from the principle of contiguity.

The Single-Member Election Districts Odessa region

2012



2002



★ The office of the District Election Commission

16. Poltava oblast

Within the territory of Poltava oblast, the CEC created 8 single-member districts for the 2012 parliamentary election. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -9.6% to -1.6%.

Table 16. Single-member election districts in Poltava oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
144	- 5%	Not consistent	Contiguous
145	- 1.6 %	Not consistent	Contiguous
146	- 7.5%	Not consistent	Contiguous
147	- 9.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
148	- 4.3%	Not consistent	Contiguous
149	- 6.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
150	- 6.5%	Not consistent	Contiguous
151	- 8.3%	Not consistent	Contiguous

On the whole, the boundaries of every single district of the oblast are noticeably different from the boundaries of districts established in 2002. At the same time, the centers of all districts remained the same, except election district No. 150, the center of which was transferred from the town of Hlobyne to the town of Komsomolsk.

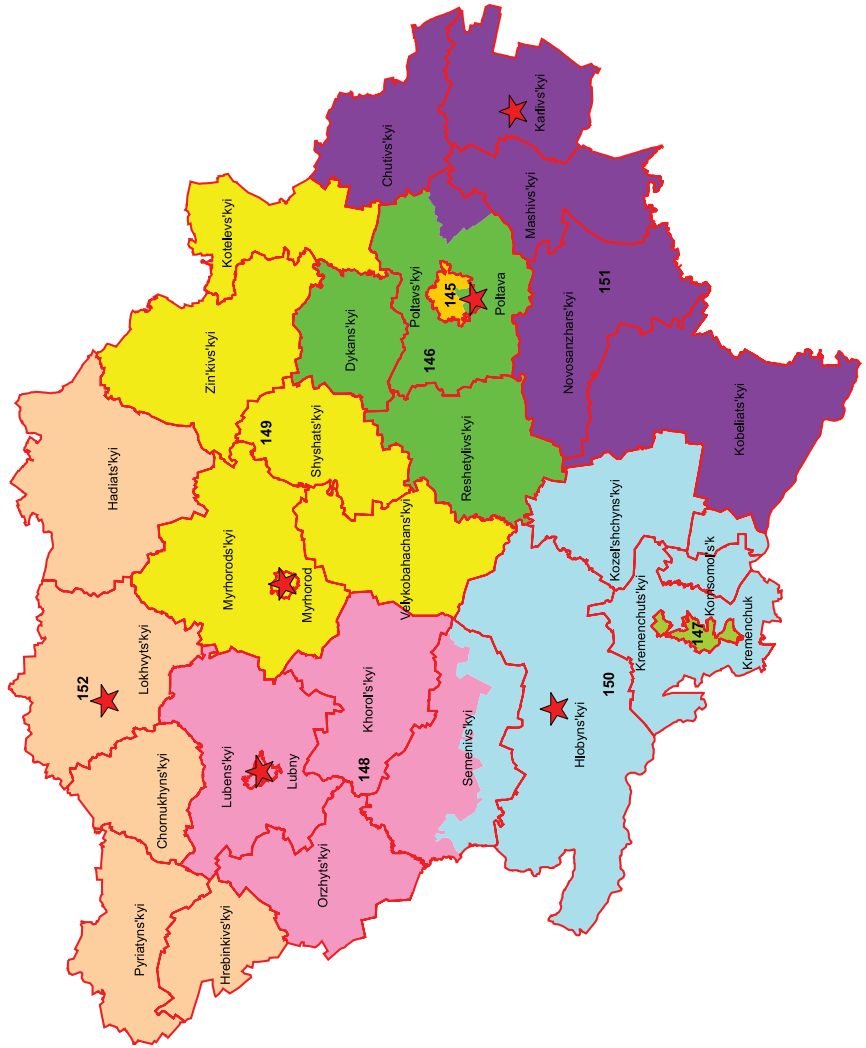
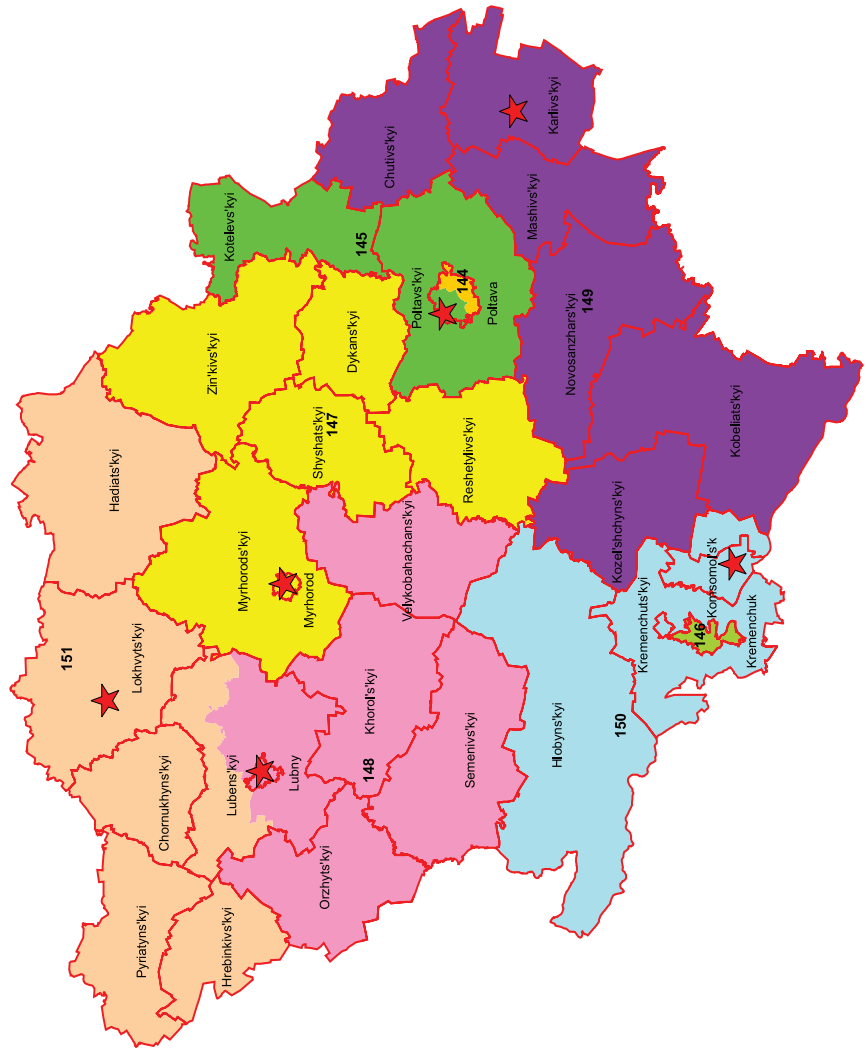
The boundaries of district Nos. 147 and 149 are entirely consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination. The boundaries of all the other districts depart from existing administrative boundaries to some extent. In particular, the city of Poltava was divided between election district Nos. 144 and 145 (which crosses the boundaries of the city); a part of the Avtozavodskyy rayon of the city of Kremenchuk was assigned to district No. 150 (the rest of the territory of Kremenchuk formed a separate single-mandate district, No. 146), while the Lubenskyi rayon was divided between district Nos. 148 and 151. In 2002, administrative divisions coincided with three electoral districts, including district No. 147, the boundaries of which coincided with those of the city of Kremenchuk.

A favorable point worthy of mention is that, as in 2002, the principle contiguity of districts was not violated in the creation of districts for the 2012 elections in Poltava oblast.

The Single-Member Election Districts Poltava region

2012

2002



★ The office of the District Election Commission

17. Rivne oblast

For the 2012 parliamentary election, the CEC established 5 single-member districts in Rivne oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from +4.9 to +11.7%.

Table 17. Single-member election districts in Rivne oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
152	+ 7.1%	Not consistent	Contiguous
153	+ 9.4%	Not consistent	Contiguous
154	+ 11.7 %	Consistent	Contiguous
155	+ 7.6 %	Consistent	Contiguous
156	+ 4.9%	Consistent	Contiguous

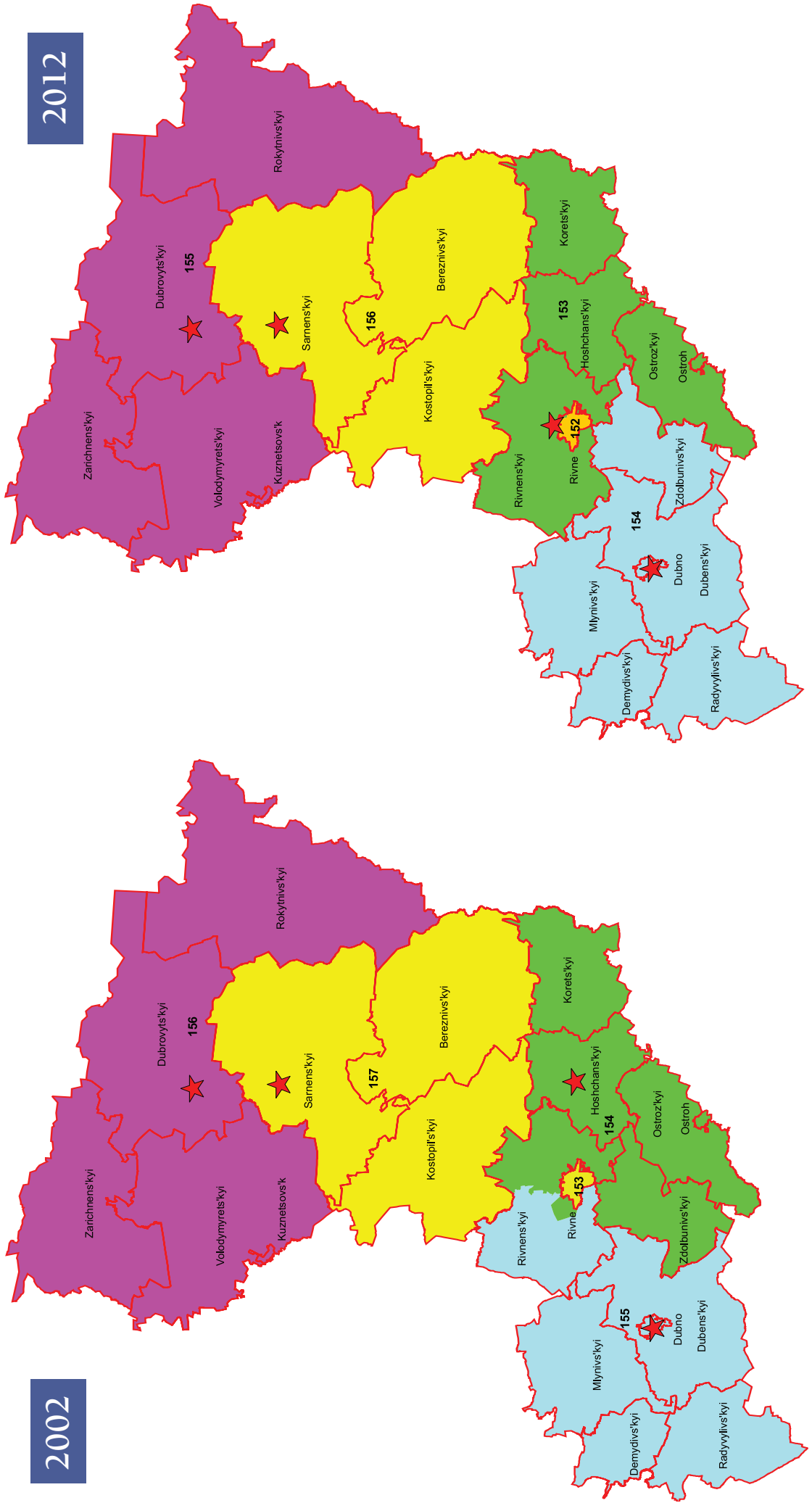
Compared to 2002, there are no changes in the boundaries of election district Nos. 155 and 156 (former district Nos. 156 and 157, respectively), while the boundaries of the other districts were revised.

The boundaries of the electoral districts coincide with the existing rayonal boundaries in most of the districts in Rivne oblast. The exception is the city of Rivne. Almost all of the City of Rivne was included in district No. 152, except for 9 election precincts, which were included in the surrounding district No. 153. In 2002 all of the city of Rivne was included in a single district. It seems likely that this change resulted by the need to ensure that the number of voters in district 152 remained within the 12% variance requirement.

It is also worth noting that the attachment of several election precincts of Rivne to district No. 153 made it possible to transfer the district center from the town of Hoscha to the city of Rivne itself.

A favorable aspect of the 2012 district boundaries in Rivne oblast is the absence of any non-contiguous enclaves. In 2002, district 154 included an enclave that resulted from detachment of a part of Rivnenskyi rayon from district No. 155. We see no administrative or geographical justification for that boundary, and its abolition is to be welcomed.

The Single-Member Election Districts Rivne region



★ The office of the District Election Commission

18. Sumy oblast

As in 2002, the parliamentary election in 2012 within Sumy oblast will be organized and conducted in 6 single-member districts. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -8.8% to +11.3%.

Table 18. Single-member election districts in Sumy oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
157	+11.3%	Not consistent	Contiguous
158	+ 9%	Not consistent	Contiguous
159	- 8.8%	Not consistent	Contiguous
160	- 8.5%	Not consistent	Contiguous
161	- 7.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
162	- 8.2 %	Consistent	Contiguous

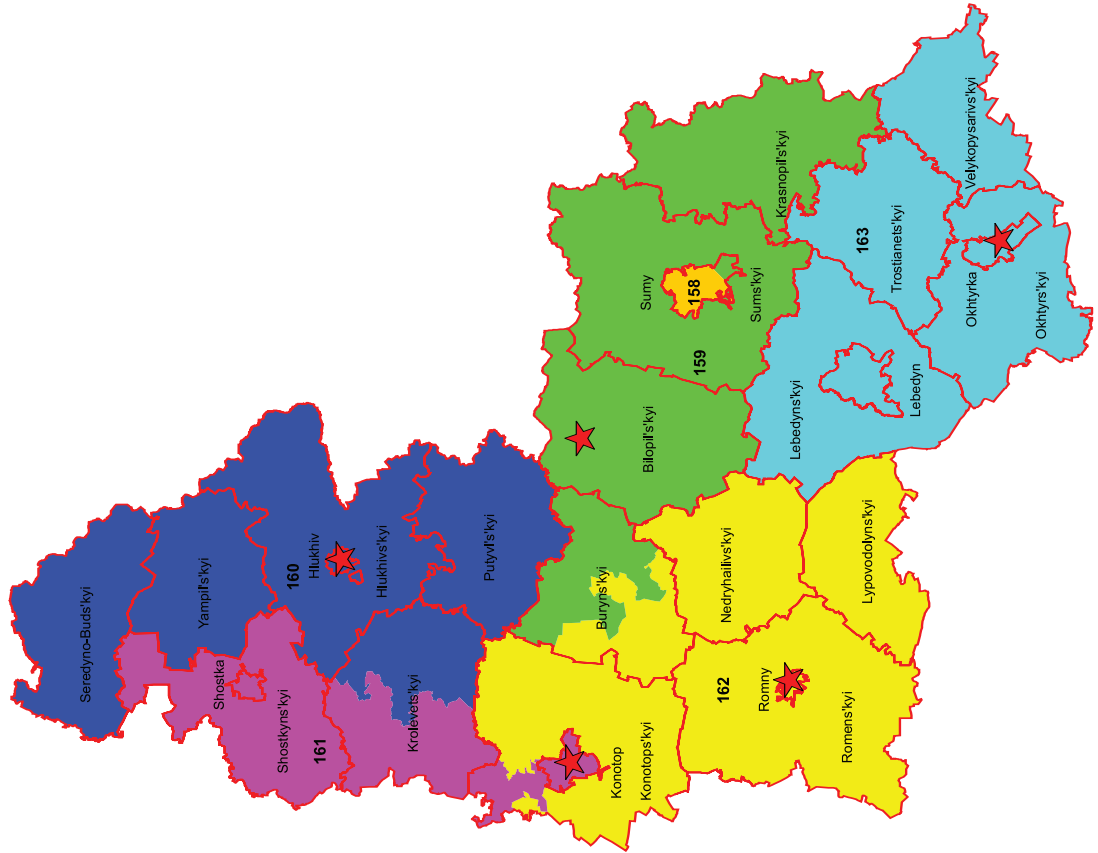
Compared to 2002, the boundaries of election district Nos. 157 and 162 (former district Nos. 158 and 163, respectively) remained unchanged, whereas the boundaries of the other districts were revised to some extent. By contrast, there was no revision of the centers of practically all the districts, except for election district No. 160, the center of which was transferred from the city of Konotop to the city of Shostka.

The boundaries of district No. 162 are entirely consistent with the oblast's rayonal boundaries. All other districts in Sumy oblast depart from administrative divisions to some extent. Thus, the city of Sumy was divided between election district Nos. 157 (the territory of which was formed from the city's larger part) and 158 (the territory of which was formed from rayons adjacent to Sumy and a part of the Zarichnyi rayon of Sumy). The territories of the Krolevetskyi and Shostkynskyi rayons were divided between two districts (Nos. 159 and 160); moreover, the Konotopskyi rayon was divided even between three districts (Nos. 159, 160, 161). In this context, it should also be noted that election district No. 160 was formed entirely out of fragments of various rayons (Shostkynskyi, Krolevetskyi, and Konotopskyi), as well as the cities of Shostka and Konotop, although in 2002 it included at least one whole rayon (Shostkynskyi).

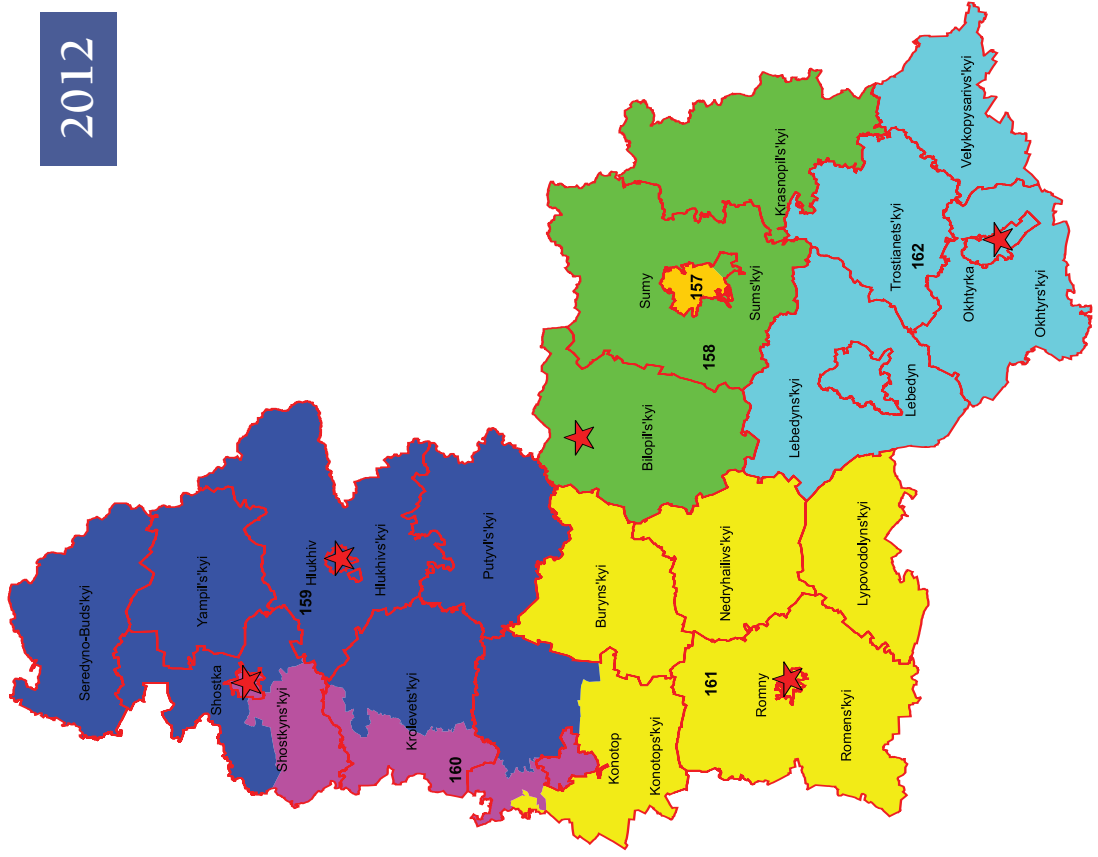
In creating the electoral districts in Sumy oblast, the CEC ensured the contiguity of all district boundaries, although a small part of election district No. 161 is almost separated from the main part of the district by the territory of district No. 160.

The Single-Member Election Districts Sumy region

2002



2012



★ The office of the District Election Commission

19. Ternopil oblast

For the parliamentary elections of 2012, the CEC established 5 single-member election districts in Ternopil oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -4.0% to +10.7%.

Table 19. Single-member election districts in Ternopil oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
163	+ 10.1%	Not consistent	Contiguous
164	+ 10.2%	Not consistent	Contiguous
165	+ 10.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
166	+ 8.9%	Consistent	Contiguous
167	- 4%	Consistent	Contiguous

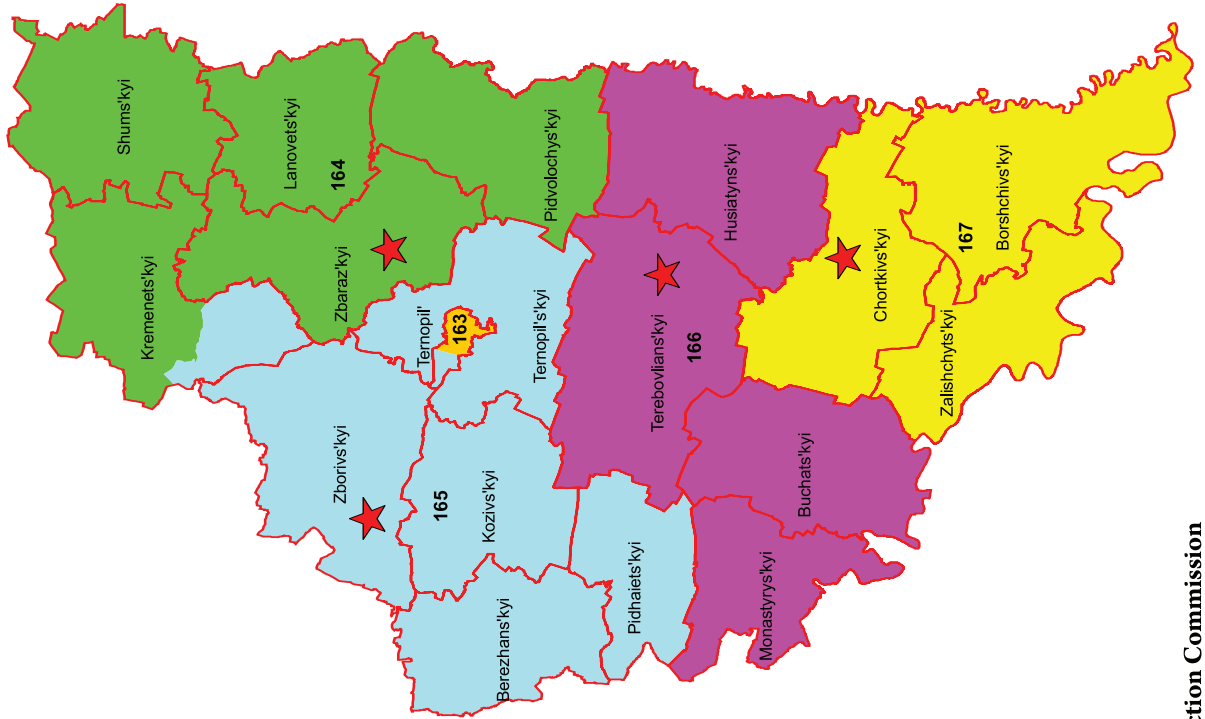
With the exception of district No. 167 (formerly district No. 168), all of the districts have boundaries different from those in 2002. In connection with these changes in the boundaries, the centers of most of the districts were also changed.

The boundaries of district Nos. 166 and 167 coincide with existing rayonal boundaries. The other districts all depart from administrative divisions to some extent. For example, the city of Ternopil was divided between election district Nos. 163 and 165. In addition, Kremenetskyi rayon was divided between district Nos. 164 and 165.

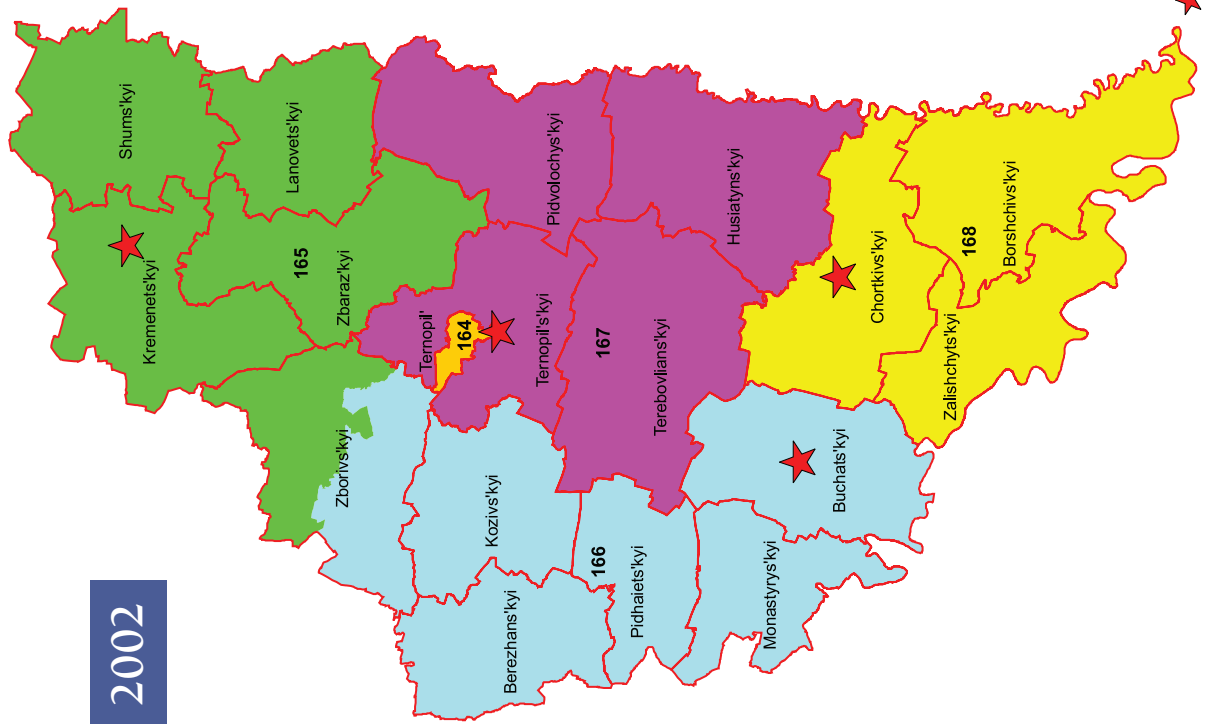
The principle of contiguity of the boundaries of election districts was not violated in Ternopil oblast.

The Single-Member Election Districts Ternopil region

2012



2002



★ The office of the District Election Commission

20. Kharkiv oblast

For the 2012 parliamentary elections, the CEC has established 14 single-member districts within Kharkiv oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in these districts from the approximate average number of voters in all 225 districts ranges from -9.4% to +5.1%.

Table 20. Single-member election districts in Kharkiv oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
168	+ 5.1%	Consistent	Contiguous
169	+ 1.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
170	+ 0.5%	Not consistent	Contiguous
171	- 3.1%	Not consistent	Contiguous
172	- 0.9%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
173	- 6.4%	Not consistent	Contiguous
174	- 1.5%	Consistent	Contiguous
175	- 4.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous
176	- 6.9%	Consistent	Contiguous
177	- 1%	Consistent	Contiguous
178	- 8.4%	Consistent	Contiguous
179	+ 0.3%	Consistent	Contiguous
180	- 9.4%	Not consistent	Contiguous
181	+ 0.5%	Not consistent	Contiguous

Compared to 2002, the greatest changes to district boundaries in Kharkiv oblast were made to the boundaries of districts established in the city of Kharkiv. The boundaries of the district Nos. 180 and 181 were changed only slightly. The boundaries of district Nos. 174, 176-179 are the same as in 2002. In addition, district Nos. 179, 180 and 181 were given new electoral district centers.

As in 2002, the boundaries of a number of electoral districts were not entirely consistent with the administrative divisions within Kharkiv oblast. In particular, the Moskovskiy rayon of the city of Kharkiv was divided between district Nos. 169, 170, and 172; the Kominternivskiy rayon of the city of Kharkiv, between district Nos. 171 and 173; the Ordzhonikidzevskiy rayon of the oblast center, between district Nos. 171 and 172; the Kharkivskiy rayon of Kharkiv oblast, between district Nos. 175, 180, and 181.

In drawing the districts for the 2002 election in Kharkiv, the CEC ensured that all district boundaries were contiguous. Unfortunately, the CEC did not continue this approach for the 2012 elections. In particular, certain precincts in the west of Kharkiv city, which would otherwise have been included in district No. 171, were included in district No. 172. We see no administrative or geographical reason for the creation of this non-contiguous enclave.

21. Kherson oblast

For the 2012 parliamentary elections, the CEC established 5 single-member election districts in Kherson oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from +1.9% to +11.8%.

Table 21. Single-member election districts in Kherson oblast, 2012.

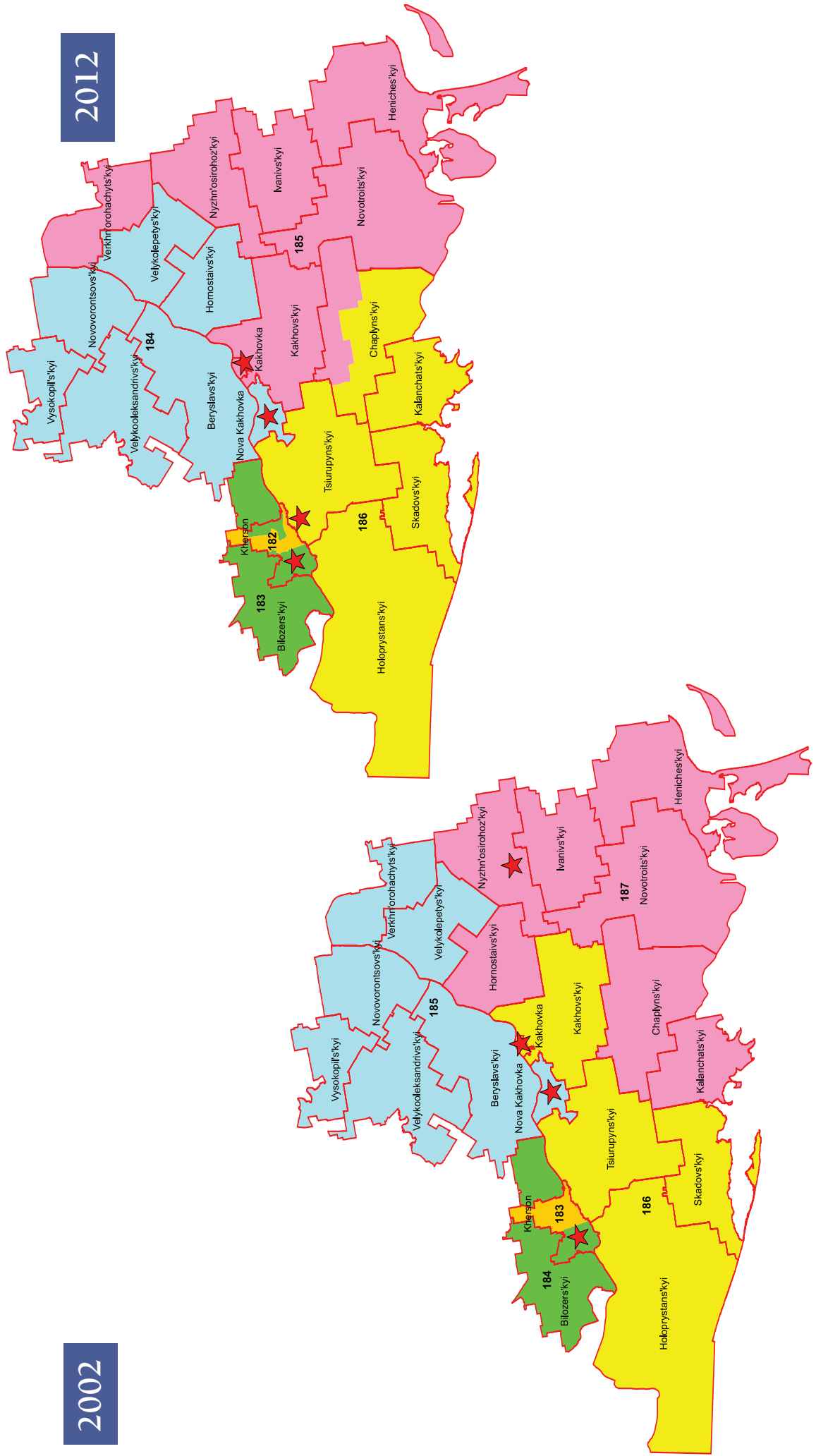
Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
182	+ 1.9%	Not consistent	Contiguous
183	+ 5.4%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
184	+ 10.4%	Consistent	Contiguous
185	+ 11.5%	Not consistent	Contiguous
186	+11.8%	Not consistent	Contiguous

Compared to 2002, the boundaries of all five districts established in the territory of Kherson oblast were revised. The revision of districts' boundaries was also one of the reasons for replacement of the centers of some of the districts.

The boundaries of district No. 184 are entirely consistent with existing administrative divisions. All other district boundaries depart from administrative divisions to some extent. In particular, the territory of the city of Kherson was divided between election district Nos. 182 and 183, while Chaplynskyi rayon was divided between district Nos. 185 and 186.

While the electoral districts in Kherson oblast are generally contiguous, we note that district No. 183 is bisected by district No. 182. We are unsure if this slight non-contiguity is justified by geographical or administrative reasons.

The Single-Member Election Districts Kherson region



2012

2002

★ The office of the District Election Commission

22. Khmelnytskyi oblast

In the territory of Khmelnytskyi oblast, the CEC created 7 single-member election districts for the 2012 parliamentary elections. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -11.5% to -2.7%.

Table 22. Single-member election districts in Khmelnytskyi oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
187	- 9.2%	Not consistent	Contiguous
188	- 7.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
189	- 4.5%	Consistent	Contiguous
190	- 3.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
191	- 11.5 %	Consistent	Contiguous
192	- 3%	Consistent	Contiguous
193	- 2.7%	Consistent	Contiguous

All of the election districts established by the CEC in 2012 have boundaries differing from those established for the 2002 elections. A number of them also have different district centers.

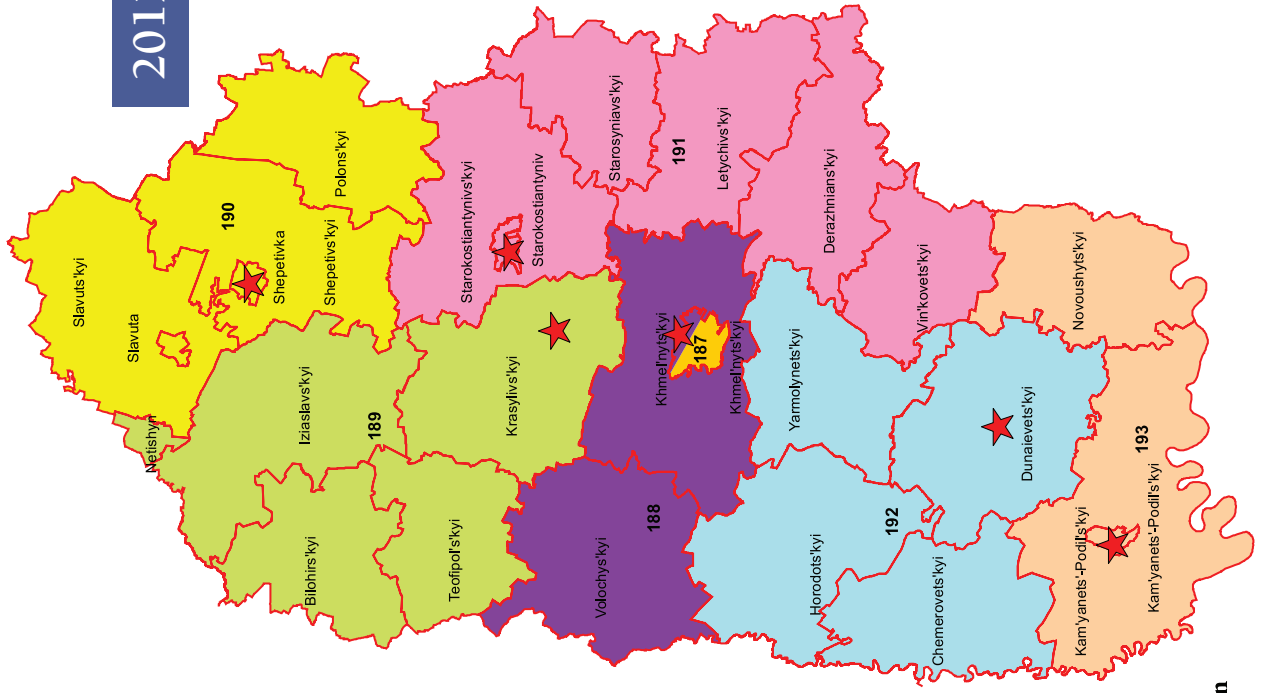
The electoral boundaries are generally consistent with existing administrative divisions within the in Khmelnytskyi oblast. The only exception is the city of Khmelnytskyi, which is divided between district Nos. 187 and 188.

As one can see from the map of districts established within the limits of the oblast in 2002, district Nos. 191-194 had a rather peculiar configuration and included parts of several different rayons. The elimination of this anomaly and the creation of electoral districts more or less consistent with the administrative and territorial structure of the oblast is to be welcomed.

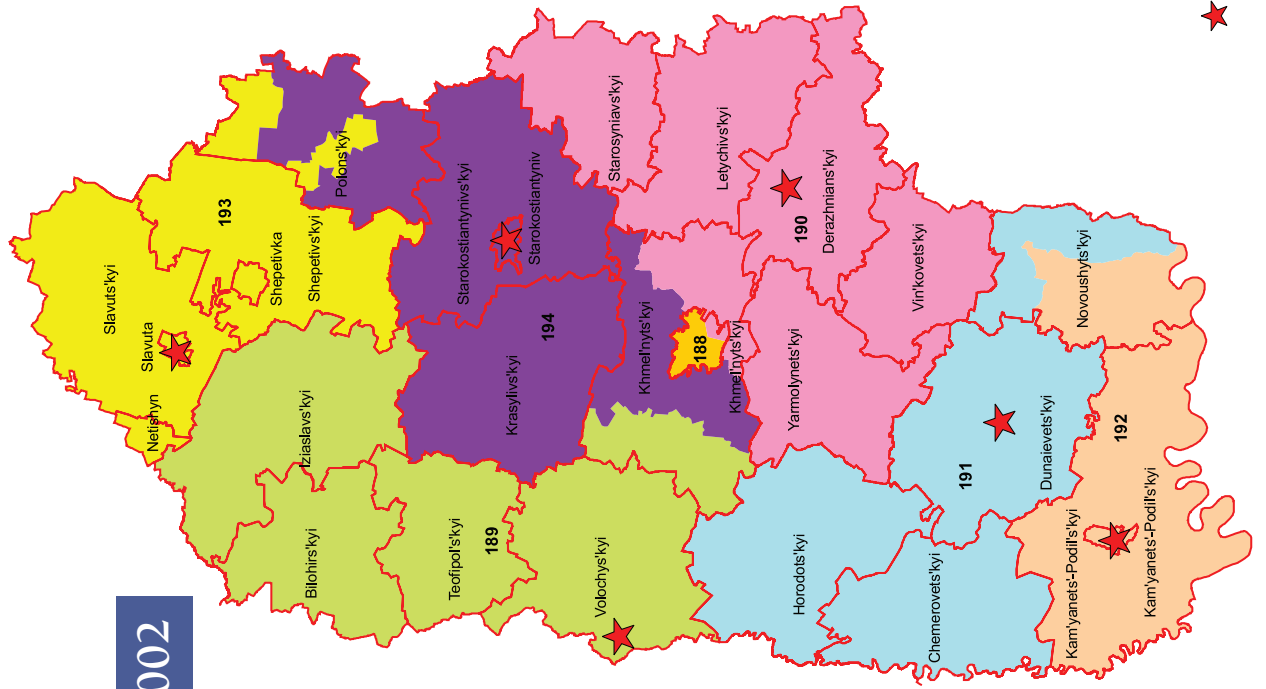
All of the districts created in Khmelnytskyi oblast for the 2012 elections are contiguous.

The Single-Member Election Districts Khmelnyskiy region

2012



2002



★ The office of the District Election Commission

23. Cherkasy oblast

For the 2012 parliamentary elections, the CEC has established 7 single-member districts within Cherkasy oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in these districts from the approximate average number of voters in all 225 districts ranges from -10.8% to +0.6%.

Table 23. Single-member election districts in Cherkasy oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
194	- 6.8%	Not consistent	Contiguous
195	- 5.8%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
196	- 5.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
197	- 10.8%	Not consistent	Contiguous
198	- 8.9%	Not consistent	Contiguous
199	- 10%	Not consistent	Contiguous
200	+ 0.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous

The boundaries all of the districts in Cherkasy oblast have changed from those used in 2002 and three of the seven districts have been given new district centers.

None of the electoral districts in Cherkasy oblast have boundaries that are entirely consistent with the boundaries of rayons in the oblast center, oblast rayons, and cities/towns of oblast subordination. In particular, the city of Cherkasy has been divided between district Nos. 194, 195, and 197; Kanivskyi rayon, between district Nos. 196 and 197; Lysianskyi rayon, between district No. 196 and 199; Talnivskyi rayon, between district Nos. 196, 199, and 200; and Cherkaskyi rayon, between district Nos. 197 and 198.

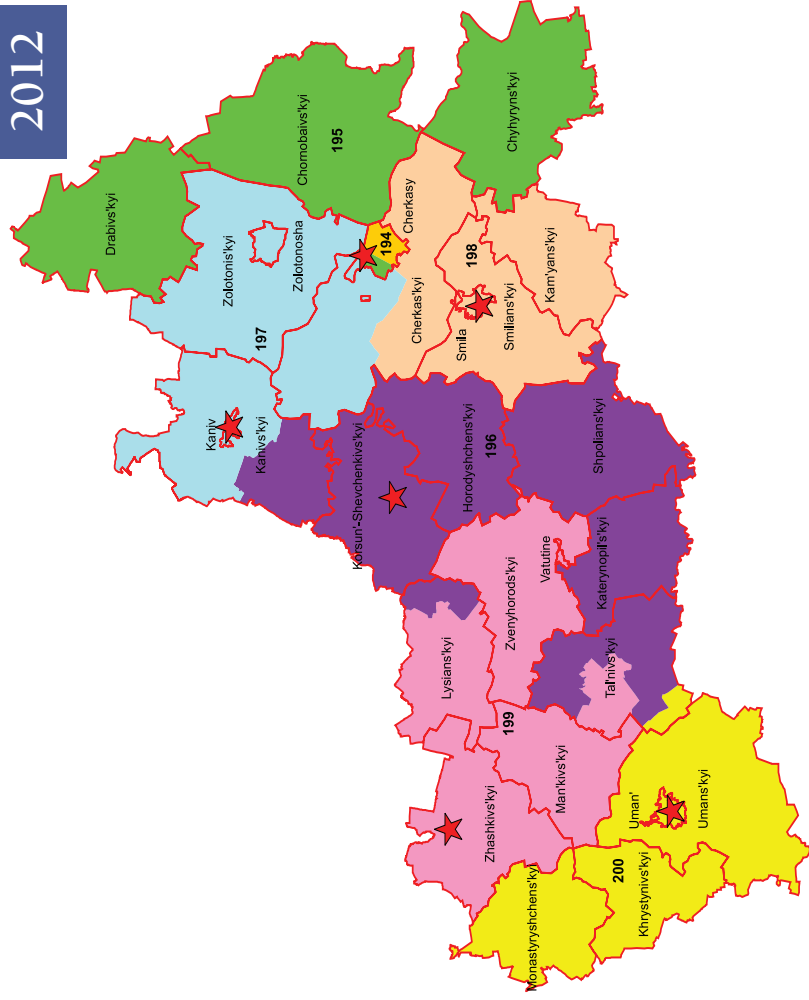
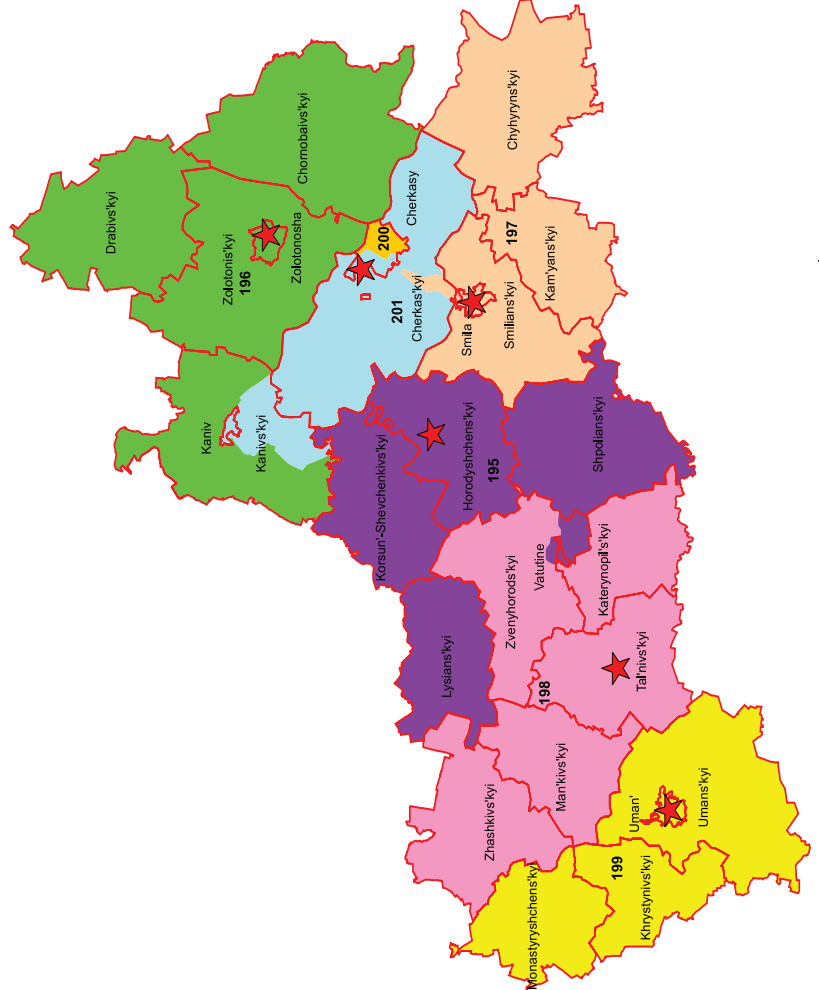
It should be noted that the districts created by the CEC for the 2002 were considerably more consistent with the oblast's administrative divisions.

In drawing the districts for the 2002 election, the CEC ensured that the principle of contiguity of districts was maintained. Unfortunately, the CEC did not continue this approach for the 2012 elections. In particular, a number of precincts within the city of Cherkasy (No. 711043, 711045 – 711048, 711050 – 711067, and 711074 – 711079), were assigned to the non-contiguous election district No. 195. We see no administrative or geographical reasons that would justify this non-contiguous enclave, which was not present in the 2002 election districts.

The Single-Member Election Districts Cherkasy region

2002

2012



★ The office of the District Election Commission

24. Chernivtsi oblast

For the 2012 parliamentary elections, the CEC established 4 single-member election districts in Chernivtsi oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from +8.7% to +10.1%.

Table 24. Single-member election districts in Chernivtsi oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
201	+ 9.2%	Not consistent	Contiguous
202	+ 10.1%	Not consistent	Contiguous
203	+ 8.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
204	+ 9.1%	Consistent	Contiguous

Compared to 2002, only the boundaries of election district No. 204 (in 2002, district No. 205) were unchanged. The centers of three districts remained the same, whereas the center of district No. 202 (in 2002, district No. 203) was transferred from Kitsman to Storozhynets.

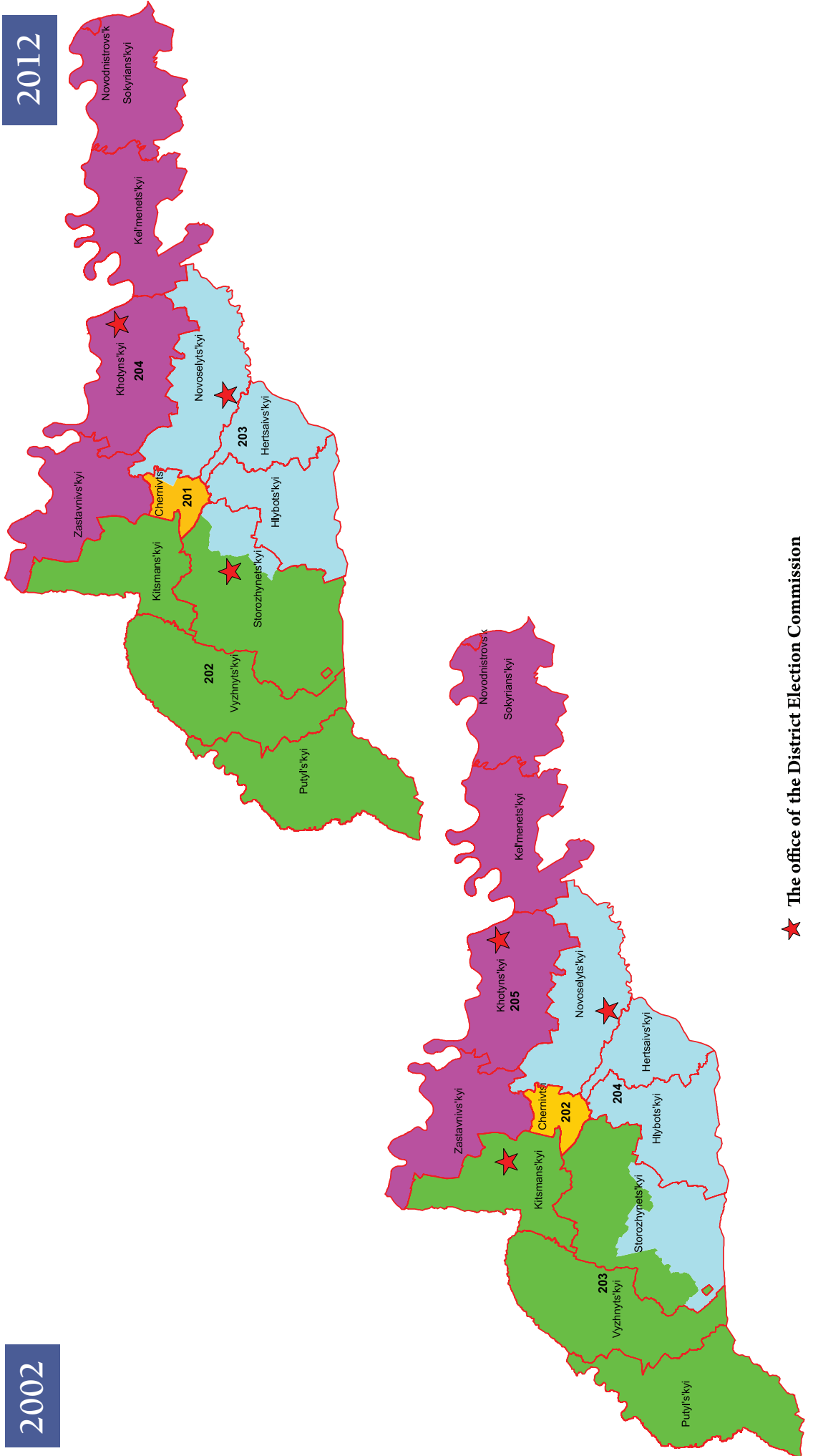
The boundaries of three of the four districts in Chernivtsi oblast are inconsistent to some extent with existing administrative boundaries. In particular, a part of the city of Chernivtsi (whose major part formed election district No. 201) was included in election district No. 203, whereas Storozhynetskyi rayon was divided between election district Nos. 202 and 203.

We also note that the existence of a compact community of ethnic minority Romanians does not seem to have been taken into account in the process of the oblast's districting. In particular, election district No. 203, in which many ethnic Romanians live, was changed from its 2002 boundaries to include precincts from the city of Chernivtsi and a part of Storozhynetskyi rayon, both of which are majority Ukrainian speaking areas. In addition, some territories with significant ethnic Romanian population that might have been included in district 203 were included in district 202, which has an ethnic Ukrainian majority. The district boundaries created by the CEC for 2012 elections in Chernivtsi oblast may reduce the ability of this distinct ethno-linguistic community of interest to find representation in the national parliament when compared with 2002.

Unlike in 2002, in 2012 the CEC abided by the principle of contiguity in creating election districts in Chernivtsi. An enclave that existed in 2002 in the territory of what was then election district No. 204 was included in the new election district No. 202. This development is to be welcomed.

On account of the specifics of the oblast's administrative and territorial structure, the centers of all the districts except No. 201 are to some extent distanced from their boundaries. Problems pertaining to election logistics may be particularly onerous in the case of district No. 202, as its center is far away from some of the mountain areas that it includes.

The Single-Member Election Districts Chernivtsi region



25. Chernihiv oblast

For the 2012 parliamentary elections, the CEC established 6 single-member election districts in Chernihiv oblast. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -10.3% to -3.3%.

Table 25. Single-member election districts in Chernihiv oblast, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
205	- 6.5%	Not consistent	Contiguous
206	- 6.9%	Not consistent	Contiguous
207	- 10.3%	Consistent	Contiguous
208	- 9.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
209	- 8.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous
210	- 3.3%	Consistent	Non-contiguous

Compared to 2002, the boundaries of practically all of the districts of the oblast (except district No. 205 (in 2002, No. 206) which is established within the limits of the city of Chernihiv) have been changed. In addition, the centers of some of the districts were also changed.

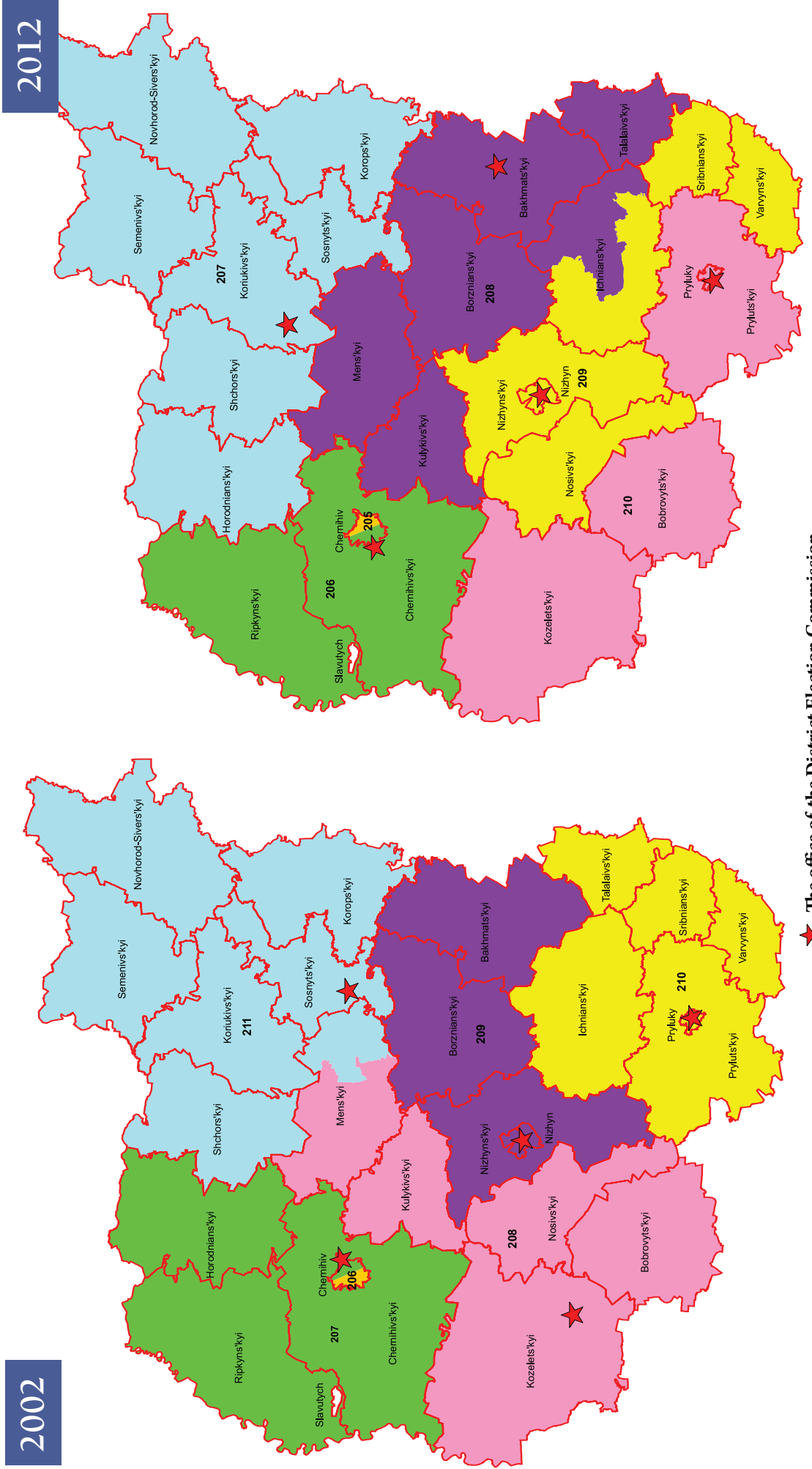
The boundaries of electoral district Nos. 207 and 210 coincide with existing rayonal boundaries. All Other district boundaries are inconsistent with the oblast's administrative divisions. Thus, Ichnianskyi rayon was divided between district Nos. 208 and 209; a part of the city of Chernihiv (whose other part formed a separate district –No. 205) was included in election district No. 206.

In some of the cases, the CEC failed to observe the principle of contiguity of the boundaries of election districts. Of particular importance, Prylutskyi rayon is separated from the main part of district No. 210 by the territory of district No. 209. We see no administrative or geographical reason for this lack of contiguity.

It should also be mentioned that the city of Slavutych constitutes an unusual “natural” enclave in the territory of Chernihiv oblast. Although it is located within Chernihiv oblast, Slavutych is administratively subordinated to Kyiv oblast. It is not included in any of the districts established in the territory of Chernihiv oblast but, instead, in district No. 96 in Kyiv oblast.

As a result of the formation of an individual district from territories of Nizhynslyi, Nosivskyi, parts of Ichnianskyi, Sribnianskyi, and Varbyskyi rayons, the town of Bakhmach became the center of single-member district No. 208. The non-central location of this district center could make interaction between the district election commission and some of the precinct commissions in that district more difficult.

The Single-Member Election Districts Chernihiv region



★ The office of the District Election Commission

26. City of Kyiv

Since the number of voters in the city of Kyiv has increased, the number of election districts allocated to the city was increased from 12 (in 2002) to 13. The deviation in the number of voters in those districts from the approximate average number for all 225 single-member districts ranges from -9% to + 9.9%.

Table 26. Single-member election districts in the city of Kyiv, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
211	+ 7%	Consistent	Contiguous
212	+ 5.3%	Consistent	Contiguous
213	+ 3.1%	Consistent	Contiguous
214	+ 2.4%	Consistent	Contiguous
215	+ 5.6%	Not consistent	Contiguous
216	- 1.4%	Not consistent	Contiguous
217	+ 6.6%	Consistent	Contiguous
218	- 6.7%	Not consistent	Contiguous
219	+ 4.3%	Consistent	Contiguous
220	- 9%	Consistent	Contiguous
221	+ 8.8%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous
222	+ 9.9%	Consistent	Contiguous
223	+ 5.1%	Consistent	Contiguous

Except for district No. 219, all of the 2012 district boundaries have changed to some degree compared to 2002, as might be expected given the increase in the number of districts allocated to the city of Kyiv.

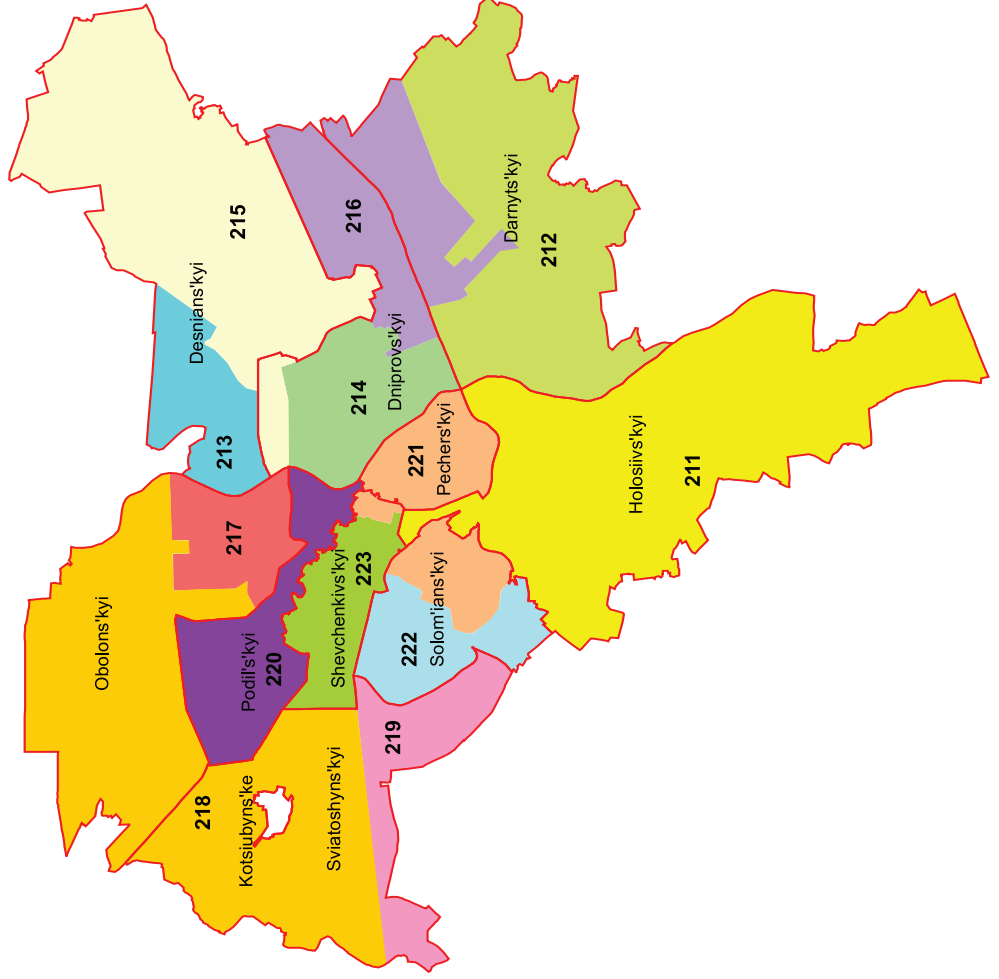
All but a four districts have boundaries that are consistent with the boundaries of the rayons of the city of Kyiv. This should be welcomed, as in 2002 the majority of the district boundaries were not consistent with the boundaries of the rayons of Kyiv.

All district boundaries are contiguous except for those of district No. 221. This district is divided by the territory of the district No. 211 into two parts. We see no administrative or geographical reason for the unusual boundaries of this district. By contrast, all of the districts within the city of Kyiv in the 2002 elections were entirely contiguous.

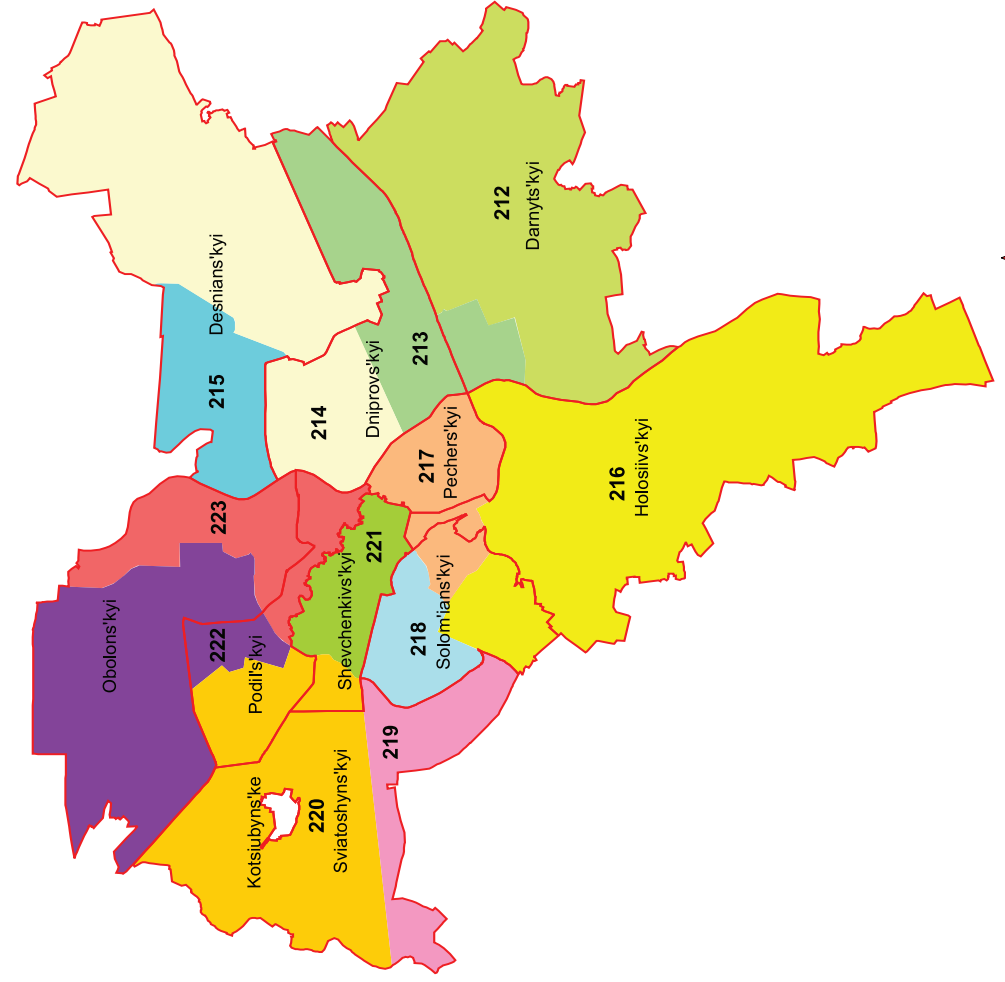
The Single-Member Election Districts

City of Kyiv

2012



2002



★ The office of the District Election Commission

27. City of Sevastopol

As in 2001, two single-member districts were established in the city of Sevastopol for the 2012 election (see the map of districts for the Autonomous Republic of Crimea). In them, the number of voters is somewhat smaller than the approximate average number of voters in a single-mandate district, but the deviation does not exceed 4.8%.

Table 27. Single-member election districts in the city of Sevastopol, 2012.

Number	Deviation in the number of voters in the district from the approximate average number of voters as of April 9, 2012	Electoral district boundaries are consistent with the boundaries of rayons and cities/towns of oblast subordination in the creation of election districts	Electoral district boundaries are contiguous
224	- 3.5%	Not consistent	Contiguous
225	- 4.8%	Not consistent	Non-contiguous

Compared to 2002, the boundaries of the districts in the city of Sevastopol were not changed. However, the center of election district No. 225 was moved from the Nakhimovskiy rayon to the Leninskiy rayon of the city of Sevastopol.

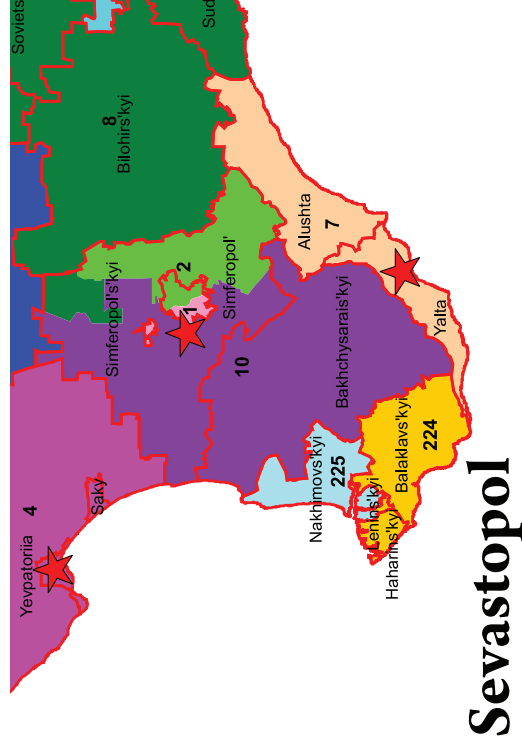
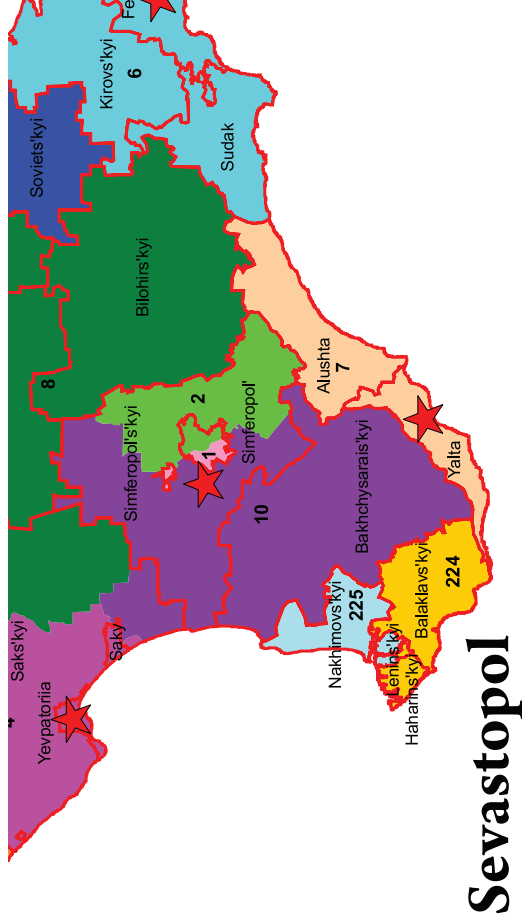
As was the case in 2002, neither of the election districts in Sevastopol region has boundaries that are entirely consistent with the city's rayonal divisions. In particular, the territory of the Leninskiy rayon was divided between district Nos. 224 and 225.

Finally, as was the case in 2002, the principle of contiguity of election district boundaries was not observed in the process of districting of Sevastopol. In particular, a part of the Nakhimovskiy rayon that is included in election district No. 225 is separated from the main part of the district by the sea and the territory of district No. 224. While this enclave, which is a natural one caused by geographic features and administrative boundaries, may be inconvenient, it should not materially affect the administration of the election.

The Single-Member Election Districts City of Sevastopol

2002

2012



★ The office of the District Election Commission

Summary

The single member electoral district boundaries established by the CEC for the 2012 parliamentary elections comply with the minimal requirements of the parliamentary election law. In particular, no election district violates the rule against variance in the number of voters from the average number in all districts in excess of 12%. However, as the regional analyses above make clear, the extent to which boundary delimitation has complied with international standards and best practices varies considerably from region to region.

The degree to which districts follow existing administrative boundaries varies widely between regions, although it must be recognized that in some regions the complexity of the administrative divisions made the task more difficult. In some regions, administrative divisions are so fragmented that it might have been better to sacrifice fidelity to the administrative boundaries in the interest of compactness and contiguity of districts.

Perhaps the most serious issue with the districting from our perspective is the existence of many districts with non-contiguous boundaries. While some of the non-contiguous enclaves that we have noted evidently resulted from a desire to follow administrative boundaries that include administrative enclaves, many of them appear to have no administrative or geographical justification.

This is troubling because districts composed of separate, non-contiguous territories are less likely to share a common identity and to form a genuinely cohesive community that can be effectively represented in the legislature. In addition, districts that are fragmented may pose challenges for election administration. Finally, the existence of non-contiguous enclaves without any explanation or justification may suggest to some that political considerations have played a part in boundary delimitation. Even if bias played no part, such speculation could undermine the credibility of the CEC as a competent and impartial election management body.

In a number of cases, we observed that no effort had been made to keep geographically concentrated ethno-linguistic minority communities together within a single electoral district. While the current parliamentary election law does not, like the 1998 law, require the CEC to take such considerations into account, ensuring that such communities have a chance to achieve representation remains a desirable public policy goal.

We also noted a few districts in which difficult geography and the location of the district center may raise logistical issues. However, given the relatively small size of the single member districts and the generally favorable geography and infrastructure in Ukraine, these potential problems were comparatively rare.

Given the above, we offer a mixed assessment of the 2012 boundary delimitation process. While there are certainly flaws in district boundaries, these affect only a minority of districts. The most serious flaws, namely the non-contiguous enclaves that cannot be explained by reference to administrative divisions, affect no more than 12% of the single-member districts. The majority of districts are compact, contiguous and follow the existing administrative boundaries. It should also be noted that incidence of flaws in boundary delimitation are not evenly distributed. Some regions, such as Lviv and Volyn oblast, appear unproblematic. Others, especially Luhansk, Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk have a large number of problematic boundaries. Undoubtedly, this is due in part to the greater population density and convoluted administrative divisions in those regions.

This regional variation may also reflect the way that the CEC went about the work of drawing up the boundaries. As we understand it, the CEC assigned each region to a different person or persons who were responsible for developing initial drafts. While the final decisions on boundaries were taken collectively, the particular approaches of the various authors likely had some influence on the final product. In future election cycles, it might make sense for the CEC to take steps to ensure consistency by, for example, adopting a prescriptive set of principles that must be applied in all regions. The possible content of such principles is described in the Background section above.

In closing, it is worth reiterating a point that has been made several times in this report. The lack of detail in the current law puts the CEC in the difficult position of drawing electoral boundaries without any guidance at all. Under such circumstances, a significant part of the blame for the shortcomings that we have noted lies with the legislature.