

ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS:
PUBLIC OPINION IN UKRAINE 2002

Rakesh Sharma
February 2003



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PUBLIC OPINION IN UKRAINE 2002

Findings from an IFES Survey

Rakesh Sharma

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I. Introduction

Over the past eight years, IFES has conducted more than 40 separate survey and focus group projects in 20 countries around the world. IFES' 2002 survey research in Ukraine builds upon this body of work, which seeks to provide relevant and reliable information on local opinions and attitudes to government officials, development professionals, political actors, academics, and others interested in democratic and political development.

Since establishing an on-site presence in Kyiv in 1994, IFES has conducted 10 nationwide surveys of public opinion. These studies have established a record of public opinion upon which to evaluate Ukraine's progress towards developing a more democratic society. This record has helped shape donor assistance programs, as well as IFES' technical assistance efforts, which are aimed at developing sustainable democratic electoral processes that meet the needs of an inclusive democratic state bound by the rule of law.

The principal analyst for this latest survey was IFES Applied Research Officer Rakesh Sharma. IFES Senior Program Officer Michael Svetlik and IFES Senior Program Assistant Nathan Van Dusen provided programmatic and administrative support to the project. Interviewing and data processing was completed by TNS-Ukraine, under the direction of Oxana Bandurovych.

The current survey relies heavily upon IFES' cumulative experience with opinion research in Ukraine. The questionnaire is reflective of the information and experience garnered from all previous IFES research and technical assistance programs in Ukraine. Previous surveys have been conducted under the direction of Elehie Natalie Skoczylas, Gary A. Ferguson, and Thomas Carson.

This survey report:

- Analyzes key indicators of democratic development, including: confidence in government and judicial institutions, corruption, and political and economic reform;
- Updates trend data on political efficacy and interest in politics collected by IFES beginning in 1994;
- Examines attitudes toward political parties and NGOs and assesses support for political rights and civic participation;
- Measures the level of contact with local officials and provides evaluations of local services;
- Evaluates perceptions of information available on political and economic developments, as well as the overall performance of Ukrainian media; and
- Summarizes variations in attitudes across social groups and geographic regions in Ukraine.

The report is comprised of seven sections. The Executive Summary provides technical details of the survey and focus group implementation and highlights key survey findings. Section I describes overall satisfaction levels with daily life in Ukraine, as well as evaluations of the economic situation in the country. Section II examines attitudes toward democracy and rights, and respondents' evaluations of the state of Ukrainian democracy. Section III measures confidence in and interaction with national and local-level government institutions. Section IV explores Ukrainians' interest in politics and related measures of efficacy. Section V focuses on the stature of political parties and NGOs. Lastly, Section VI examines access to information and media quality.

II. Executive Summary

This survey of public opinion is the 10th in a series of nationwide surveys conducted by IFES in Ukraine since 1994. The 2002 survey findings are based on 1,265 interviews conducted throughout the country, including an oversample of 65 interviews in Kyiv. The survey was fielded between September 13 and 23, 2002. Interviews were conducted in both Ukrainian and Russian.

The data used in this report has been weighted with regard to region, age, and education in order to be nationally representative. The margin of error for a survey of this size is plus or minus 3% at the 95% confidence level.

Following the survey, IFES conducted eight focus groups to further develop some of the survey findings. Four focus groups were held in Kyiv (two in Ukrainian, two in Russian), two groups were held in Lviv (Ukrainian), and two in Kharkiv (Russian). Each focus group consisted of between 7 and 9 participants of balanced gender. All participants recruited for the focus groups had at least some information on political developments in Ukraine.

Overall Satisfaction and Economic Situation

- As in previous IFES surveys, an overwhelming majority of Ukrainians are either generally dissatisfied (44%) or somewhat dissatisfied (40%) with the overall situation in Ukraine. Ten percent express satisfaction with the situation. The high level of dissatisfaction is primarily driven by dissatisfaction with the economic situation.
- Eighty-six percent of Ukrainians rate the current economic situation as either very bad or somewhat bad, compared to 7% who rate it as very or somewhat good. This is accompanied by overall pessimism about future economic conditions in the country. A plurality of Ukrainians (44%) think that the economic situation will remain the same over the next year, while 22% feel it will be worse and 13% feel it will be better. Combining responses to the questions on current and future economic conditions, 61% of respondents feel the situation is currently bad and likely to stay the same or get worse.
- This survey sees a continuation of a trend over the past three years toward a preference for a free market economy over a centrally-planned economy. Overall, 36% prefer a market economy, 17% prefer a centrally-planned economy, and 28% prefer a neutral point in between. Compared to last year, ethnic Russians have reversed their position on this question, with a plurality preferring a market-based economy. Preference for a market economy goes down with age and up with education.
- When asked about the pace of economic reforms in Ukraine, 47% feel that economic reforms are proceeding too slowly, 9% feel that they are moving at the right pace, and 1% feel that they are moving too quickly. Twenty-six percent of respondents feel that no economic reforms are occurring at all, but further analysis reveals that those taking this view do not necessarily represent a constituency favoring a market economy.
- Even with a plurality of responses showing support for a market economy and a faster pace of economic reforms, a majority of respondents are reluctant to support or don't at all support privatization in electricity, the coal industry, telecommunications and collective farms. The greatest support for privatization is for collective farms and telecommunications. There is some evidence that fears of corruption might play a role in the lack of support for privatization.
- Corruption continues to be a key concern. More than 85% state that corruption is both widespread and serious. Respondents are also pessimistic about the likelihood of corruption being countered in Ukraine, with 56% taking this view and just 20% stating that corruption is likely to be countered.
- When presented with a list of corrupt actions that could be undertaken by either ordinary citizens or public officials, a majority of citizens in each instance feel that these actions

take place frequently in Ukraine. The list of actions that could be undertaken by ordinary citizens includes: claiming benefits illegally, cheating on taxes, accepting money in exchange for a vote, and offering money to teachers for better grades. The list of actions that could be undertaken by officials includes: taking bribes, helping acquaintances, profiting from the privatization process, accepting money for permits, and using public funds for private aims. Corrupt actions by officials were felt to be less justifiable than corrupt actions by ordinary citizens.

Democracy and Rights

- Opinions on whether Ukraine is a democracy have shifted significantly since the 2001 IFES survey. In 2002 a majority (53%) say Ukraine is not a democracy (46% had this opinion in 2001), and 18% say Ukraine is a democracy (versus 30% in 2001). When respondents were asked why they don't think Ukraine is a democracy, primary reasons given included a lack of respect for rights, an authoritarian government, corruption and flawed elections. Ethnic Ukrainians are more likely to think that Ukraine is a democracy (19%) than ethnic Russians (13%). Perceptions that Ukraine is not a democracy increase with increasing dissatisfaction. Of those who said that Ukraine is not a democracy, a majority (59%) also feel that it is not moving in this direction.
- A plurality of respondents (46%) feel that democratic change is occurring too slowly in Ukraine. One percent believe it is occurring too quickly, 9% feel it is at the right pace, and 28% do not think change is occurring at all. Those who do not believe Ukraine is a democracy are much more likely to say that change is not occurring than those who do think it is a democracy. Similarly, those who do not think Ukraine is moving toward becoming a democracy are more likely to say that the change is not occurring. When asked whether the central government, oblast administration, or their local self-government is most likely to pursue democratic change, a significant number (30%) say none.
- A majority of Ukrainians say it is very or somewhat important that several specific human rights listed on the survey be protected, including: free and fair elections (91%), equal rights for women (85%), property rights (83%), religious rights (80%), the right to criticize officials (76%), choice of parties (73%), minority rights (72%), associative rights (56%), and the right to form parties (53%). Respondents were also asked whether it was ever justifiable for the government to restrict certain rights. Personal rights and freedom of speech were given higher priority than other rights: limiting freedom of the press is never justified for 51% of the respondents; limiting citizen protests (45%); limiting the authority of courts (41%); limiting associative groups (27%); and limiting the activities of political parties (23%).
- Commitment to rights, however, is not as strong as indicated by responses regarding the importance of rights. Respondents were asked to indicate whether it is more important for their leaders to maintain order or protect freedoms. A plurality (46%) indicate that it is more important to maintain order than protect freedoms, while 26% accord freedoms greater importance. A majority (51%) of those who feel that democratic change is occurring too slowly agree that it is more important to maintain order. Even a plurality of those who say that democratic change is not occurring would be more likely to favor order (34%).
- Ukrainians lack faith in the ability of their judicial system to acquit someone who is wrongly accused. Overall, 55% feel that the courts would not acquit a wrongly accused person, while 23% think that they would. Levels of confidence, however, vary for different levels of the judiciary. If "Don't know" responses are discounted, a majority of Ukrainians express a great deal or fair amount of confidence in the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court and the Appeals Court. A majority profess little or no confidence in local courts, public prosecutors, or the police.

- Despite the confidence of the majority in the upper courts, most Ukrainians believe that all levels of the judiciary are influenced in their decision-making by outside interests. Respondents believe that local courts are the most likely to be influenced (73% some or great influence), followed by the Supreme Court (56%), the Appeals Court (54%), and the Constitutional Court (52%).

Confidence in Officials and Institutions

- Ukrainians generally lack confidence in government institutions and officials. They do, however, have more confidence in local institutions than central institutions and officials. Confidence in the President and Rada has gone down since the 2001 survey: President (30% in 2001, 22% in 2002); Rada (31% in 2001, 23% in 2002). The military has declined from its generally high confidence ratings (70% in 2001) to the lowest level ever recorded in IFES surveys (48%). Respondents also have low confidence in representatives of the central government in the regions: Raion Administrators (27%); Oblast Governors (29%). Respondents have more confidence in their mayors (42%) and their local councils (37%).
- Although all major sub-groups in the population are likely to profess little or no confidence in President Kuchma, the level of confidence in Kuchma is higher among lower-educated respondents than higher-educated respondents. Kuchma has lost significant support in the Western part of the country since 2001. Confidence in the president is very low among those who stress the lack of democratic change in Ukraine (3%).
- The generally low level of confidence in government institutions can be attributed to their perceived lack of effectiveness. When asked about the effectiveness of the President, Rada, their Oblast governor, their mayor, and their city/village councils, more Ukrainians are of the opinion that these institutions are not effective than are of the opinion that they are effective. The Rada is felt to be the least effective of these institutions (18% saying it is very or somewhat effective), followed by the president (22%), oblast governors (29%), mayors (29%), and local councils (41%).
- The greater level of confidence in local officials may result from the greater possibility for personal interaction of respondents with these officials. Thirty percent of respondents report having contacted an elected local official to help solve a problem. The respondents who report having contacted local officials have a greater degree of confidence in their mayor and city/village councils than those respondents who have not tried to contact local elected officials. Contact with local elected officials is higher in rural areas (39%) than large or medium-sized cities (both 23%).
- Among those who contacted local officials, 57% report having received a response from the official. Of those who received a reply, 48% report satisfaction with the response, and 49% report dissatisfaction. A majority of respondents who did not contact local officials reported either no need to contact officials (32%) or that they would resolve the problem on their own (26%). Other responses were more negative, including: nothing would result from it (33%), don't trust them (12%), it's difficult to arrange (2%).
- Respondents were asked whether they had noticed any improvement in three services offered by their city/village local self-government: water supply, district heating, and housing maintenance (the latter was asked from urban and semi-urban respondents only). A majority of respondents report seeing no change or some deterioration in each of these services. Confidence in the mayor and city/village council is lower among respondents that have perceived deterioration in these services.
- Thirty-nine percent of respondents report that their city or village has a citizen advisory board. A majority (53%), however, do not know if their city or village has such a body. Among those who know that their city or village has a citizen advisory board, 28% think they are effective to some degree while 37% do not think they are effective.

Interest and Participation in Politics

- Interest in politics is at about the same level as in 2001 (60% vs. 62% at least somewhat interested). Interest in politics seems to have been affected by the opposition protests against President Kuchma in September. In the regions where interviews were conducted, 42% were somewhat interested before the protests began, compared to 50% after the protests. Men have greater interest in politics than women (68% men vs. 53% women), and higher-educated respondents are more interested than lower-educated respondents (72% vs. 49%). Those in the youngest age group (18-25) are the least interested in politics of all age groups, but a majority (52%) are still very or somewhat interested.
- Discussion about politics with friends and acquaintances is highly positively correlated with interest in politics. Overall, 24% of respondents report discussing politics often, 34% sometimes, 26% rarely, and 14% never.
- As in previous IFES surveys in Ukraine, respondents have little voter or political efficacy. Only 26% agree that voting gives them influence over decision-making (66% disagree); 69% agree that politics is too complicated (23% disagree); and 77% think that people in general have no influence in decision-making (14% disagree). Even a majority of those who are interested in politics or discuss politics regularly lack voter or political efficacy.
- Ten percent of respondents report having taken some action in the past to ensure that their rights and interests are protected by government officials. These respondents are more likely to believe that voting influences decision-making than those who have not taken steps to protect their rights.
- Eighty-one percent of respondents report having voted in the 2002 parliamentary and local elections. Those 55 and over were the most likely to vote (91%). A lower percentage of ethnic Russians report having voted (74%) than ethnic Ukrainians (83%). Rural voters had the highest participation rate (89%), while those in large cities had the lowest rate (73%). Women had higher participation (83%) than men (78%). Not surprisingly, those who strongly agree that voting influences decision-making had a higher participation rate (94%).
- A plurality of Ukrainians who voted report that their main reason for selecting a party is its platform (47%). Other reasons include the character of the party leader (24%); recommendation from an acquaintance (14%); and the party's local representative (4%). A majority of respondents think that the 2002 elections were completely or somewhat unfair (57%), while 25% think they were completely or somewhat fair. Those who think that the elections were fair are much more likely to believe that voting gives influence than those who don't think they were fair.
- Sixty-three percent of the public are very likely to vote in the 2004 presidential election and a further 23% are somewhat likely to vote. Three percent each are either somewhat or very unlikely to vote. A plurality of respondents (44%) do not have much confidence that the 2004 election will be fair, whereas 28% believe that it is very or somewhat likely that the election will be fair. Twenty-seven percent don't know whether the election will be fair or not.
- Respondents were asked to assess several aspects of the electoral process in Ukraine. On the positive side, a majority agrees that they feel safe in voting (70%); that the fairness of elections is strengthened by the presence of international observers (67%), political party observers (61%), and non-partisan domestic observers (56%); and that their vote is kept confidential by election authorities (53%). On the negative side, a majority disagrees that the election results reflect the way people actually voted (55%) and that elections in Ukraine are competently administered (55%). A plurality disagrees that the electoral system provides adequate means to challenge election violations (47%), and about an equal percentage disagree that citizens are informed about the electoral process in Ukraine (41%) as agree with this statement (40%).

Political Parties and NGOs

- The survey results suggest that the majority of Ukrainians do not have a particular affinity for any specific political party and may tend to change support from election to election. When asked whether they support any political party, even if they are not members, 31% replied yes and 65% replied no. Among those who replied yes, 34% support the Communist party, 17% Our Ukraine Bloc, 5% Social Democratic Party, 5% People's Rukh, 5% For a United Ukraine Bloc, 4% Socialist Party, 3% All Ukrainian Union, and 2% Tymoshenko Bloc.
- Support for the Communists is concentrated in the eastern part of the country and among the older population. Support for Our Ukraine is concentrated in the western part of the country and increases with education. Our Ukraine also tends to disproportionately attract younger respondents.
- The fact that the majority do not support any party may not be surprising given that only 18% of respondents think that most parties have clear proposals to address important issues, while 33% feel that only some of the parties have clear proposals, 25% feel that none do, and 23% don't know. Lack of party affiliation is correlated with the belief that parties have no clear proposals. Of those who do believe that most or some parties have clear proposals, 58% believe that parties have clear differences in their proposals, while 31% don't think this is the case.
- A plurality of Ukrainians (48%) do not think that political parties pay attention to issues affecting their local communities. Sixteen percent think that parties do pay attention to local issues, but even among these respondents, 51% think parties don't pay as much attention as the local issues deserve, and 43% think parties pay a great deal or fair amount of attention. Thirty-five percent of respondents do not know whether parties pay attention to local issues, further indicating a lack of awareness of political party activities.
- As in previous IFES surveys, few respondents (2%) report being members of a political party.
- Few respondents (12%) are aware of an NGO that is active in their communities. Fifty-five percent are not aware of any NGO in their community, and 22% don't know what an NGO is. Those who know of active NGOs mention the following areas of activity: providing social help, care for veterans of WWII and Afghanistan, environmental activities, women's aid and Chernobyl.
- A plurality of those who know what NGOs are (44%) feel that NGOs are essential or necessary for Ukraine. Twenty-three percent think that NGOs are not very or at all necessary, while 32% don't know. Twenty-seven percent of those who know what NGOs are express a great deal or fair amount of confidence in NGOs, while 20% don't have much or any confidence. A majority (53%) answered "Don't know," indicating a lack of in-depth knowledge of NGOs and their activities in Ukraine.

Information and the Media

- This year's survey shows a continuation of a trend of more information about political events than economic developments. Fifty-eight percent of respondents have a great deal or fair amount of information about political events in Ukraine, whereas 44% have a similar level of information about economic developments. The greater the level of information on political and economic developments, the more likely a respondent is to be interested in politics and the less likely to feel that politics is too complicated.
- Television, particularly private TV, is the major source of news and information for most Ukrainians. Respondents listed the following media outlets as their main source of information: Inter (34%), 1+1 (23%), Ukrainian newspapers (8%), UT-1 (6%), UT-2 (5%), UR-1 (5%), Novyi Canal (3%), NTV (3%), ORT (3%), Local TV stations (3%), international radio such as BBC, VOA (2%), and RTR (1%).

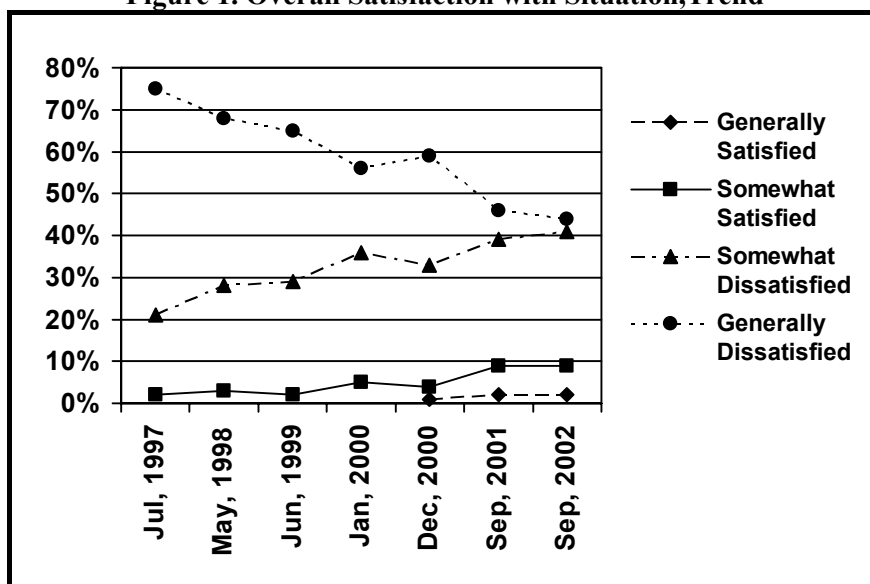
- When asked whether they have enough information to make a wise choice when voting, 15% of respondents reply that they have enough information, 39% reply that they have barely enough and 34% reply that they have very little or no information at all to make a wise choice. Private TV (67%) and State TV (42%) are the primary choices for information about elections. Local newspapers (39%) and national newspapers (35%) are also frequently mentioned.
- Few respondents report that their local self-government provides a great deal or fair amount of information on their budget and activities (14%). Seventy percent do not think that their local self-government provides enough information. A plurality of those who do think there is enough information (45%) do not think the information is reliable, while 33% think it is reliable. When asked for their main sources of information about their local government's activities, a plurality says friends and acquaintances (39%). Other frequent sources are local newspapers (36%), local TV (32%), and local radio (20%).
- A majority of the Ukrainian public has at least a fair amount of confidence in the media. Six percent of respondents have a great deal of confidence, 52% have a fair amount, 22% don't have much confidence, and 6% have no confidence at all. At the same time, there is concern among respondents that members of the media may be in danger in their quest to objectively report the news in Ukraine. Sixty-two percent of respondents think it is dangerous for journalists to objectively report the news, while 23% feel that journalists are safe in objectively reporting the news.

III. Overall Satisfaction and Economic Situation

Overall Satisfaction

IFES surveys in Ukraine have repeatedly shown that the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian people are dissatisfied with the overall situation in the country. The findings in this survey are consistent with that trend (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Overall Satisfaction with Situation, Trend



“Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the situation in Ukraine today?” (2002: n=1200)

Note: In IFES surveys prior to Dec. 2000, response options were very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, and very dissatisfied.

The percentage of respondents who are either generally or somewhat dissatisfied is 85%, unchanged from the same figure in the 2001 IFES survey. Similarly, the percent of generally or somewhat satisfied has stayed at 11% since last year. As the chart above indicates, the intensity of dissatisfaction has declined since 1997 (from 75% very dissatisfied to 44% in 2002) but an overall dissatisfaction still pervades Ukrainian life.

The overwhelming majority of all major subgroups express dissatisfaction with the overall situation. Ethnic Ukrainians express slightly greater satisfaction than ethnic Russians (11% vs. 6%), with the starkest difference occurring between ethnic Ukrainian and ethnic Russian youth (21% vs. 0% satisfied, respectively).

The overall dissatisfaction is strongly driven by dissatisfaction with the current economic situation in Ukraine.¹ Respondents were asked to rate the current economic situation as very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad. Among those who say that the current economic situation is somewhat good, 15% say they are very satisfied with the overall situation in the country and 65% say they are somewhat satisfied. In comparison, 1% are very satisfied and 6% are somewhat satisfied with the overall situation among those who feel the current economic situation is somewhat bad and a total of 1% are very or somewhat satisfied among those who feel the current economic situation is very bad.

¹ Ordinal regression of overall satisfaction on current economic situation yielded significantly higher pseudo R-squares (Nagelkerke = 0.435) than other variables measuring attitudes toward democracy, rights, and civil society.

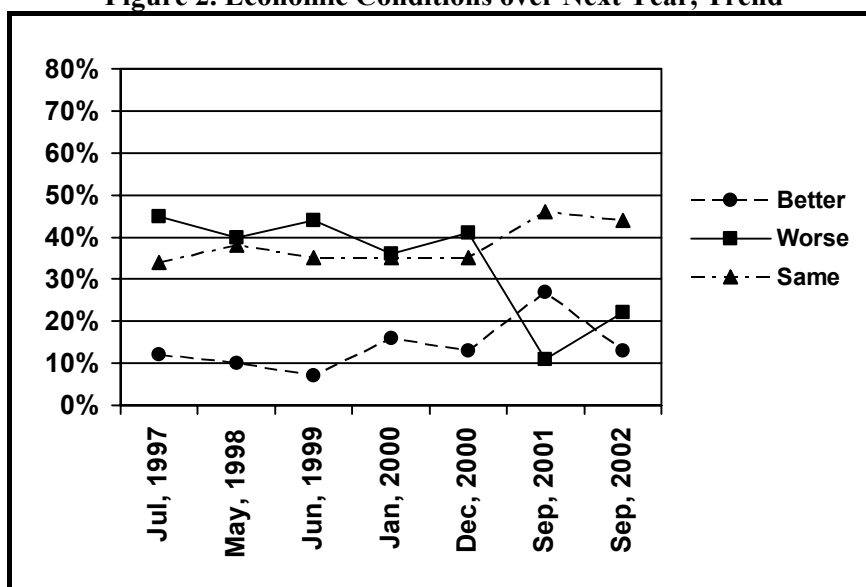
Dissatisfaction with the political and economic reform process, Ukrainian democracy, and corruption also plays a part in fostering overall dissatisfaction but not to the extent of economic dissatisfaction.

Attitudes toward the Economic Situation

In the 2002 survey, 7% of respondents report that the current economic situation is somewhat good, while 43% feel that the current economic situation is somewhat bad. The same percentage (43%) feel that the situation is very bad (only 1 respondent replied that the current situation is very good). As with overall dissatisfaction, a strong majority in all major subgroups feel that the economic situation is very or somewhat bad. The bleak economic conditions indicated by this data are further augmented by the evaluation of respondents' Socio-Economic Status (SES). Interviewers were asked to assess the respondent household's SES according to specific criteria.² In 2002, 1% of households were rated high SES, 28% were rated moderate SES, 39% were rated below moderate, and 27% were rated very low. Five percent of households could not be evaluated.

Along with dissatisfaction with current economic conditions, there is a general negative outlook about economic conditions in the coming year. Respondents were asked how they thought the economy would perform over the next year, whether it would get better, get worse, or stay the same. A plurality of respondents (44%) believe that economic conditions will stay the same over the next year, 22% think they will get worse, 13% think they will get better, and 21% don't know. As Figure 2 illustrates, there are a higher percentage of respondents saying future economic conditions will get worse in this year's survey than in the 2001 survey. This sentiment, however, is not as high as in the period from 1997 to 2000.

Figure 2. Economic Conditions over Next Year, Trend



"In your opinion will the economic situation in Ukraine in a year be better than it is now, remain the same, or get worse?" (2002: n=1200)

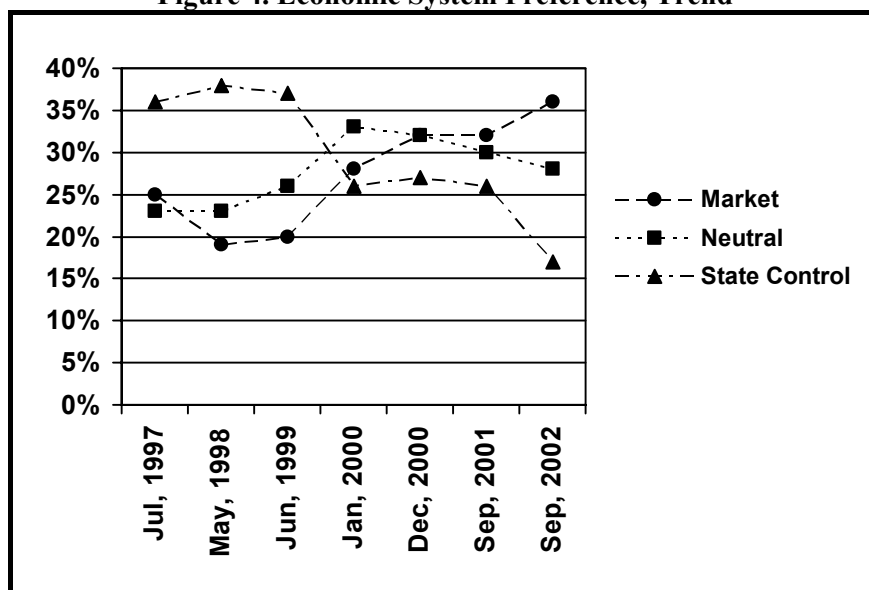
The biggest difference in attitudes from the 2001 survey to this survey is seen among the ethnic Ukrainian population. In 2001, 30% of ethnic Ukrainians felt that the economic situation in one year would be better, while 11% felt it would be worse. In the 2002 survey, 13% feel the situation will be better in a year, while 22% feel it will be worse.

² The criteria were established by the local research organization based on their knowledge of household characteristics in Ukraine.

Economic System and Reforms

Respondents were asked to identify the type of economic system they would prefer for Ukraine. They were given a scale containing values 1 through 5, where 1 represented a pure market economy and 5 represented a centrally-planned economy, and asked to choose a number to represent how they think the Ukrainian economy should be organized. Ten percent selected a pure market economy, 26% selected position 2, 28% position 3, 11% position 4, and 6% a completely centrally planned economy. If positions 1 and 2 can be thought of as pro-market positions, 4 and 5 as favoring central planning, and 3 a mixture of both, then 36% of Ukrainians favor a market economy, 17% favor a central planning, and 28% favor a mixture of both systems. There has been a slight movement toward favoring a market economy from 2001 to 2002 (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Economic System Preference, Trend



“Here you see a picture with a scale of one to five where one means a pure market economy and five means an economy that is completely centrally planned by the state. Where on that scale should Ukraine be located in the future?” (2002: n=1200)

Figure 4 illustrates that a preference for market economy has steadily gained ground over preference for a centrally-planned economy since the May 1998 IFES survey in Ukraine. A plurality of Ukrainians seem to be settling on the consensus that a market-based economic system is appropriate for Ukraine. This is the case whether a respondent is satisfied or dissatisfied with the overall situation in Ukraine, or whether they think the current economic situation is good or bad.

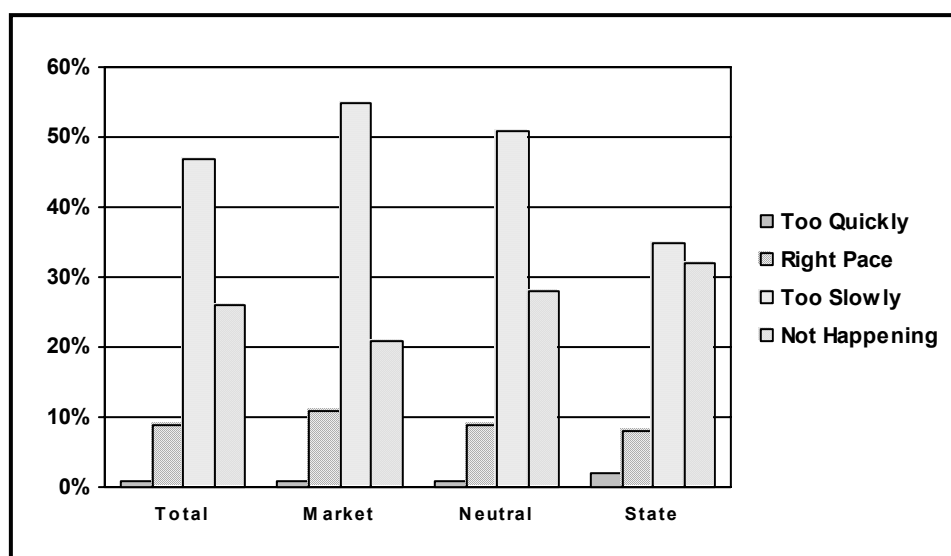
Support for a centrally-planned economy increases with age, while more respondents support a centrally-planned economy over a market economy only in the 56+ age group. Level of education has the opposite effect as support for a market economy goes up with education.

Ethnic Ukrainians support a market economy marginally more than ethnic Russians (37% vs. 32%), but ethnic Russians’ preference for a market economy has increased since 2001 (20% in 2001 to 32% in 2002), while their preference for a centrally-planned economy has declined (33% in 2001 to 17% in 2002). This is also illustrated by the fact that the two regions with the largest Russian population, Crimea and the East, have increased their support for a market economy over the past year (Crimea: 32% to 42%, and East: 25% to 33%).

Respondents were also asked to assess the pace of economic reforms taking place in Ukraine. A plurality of respondents (47%) feel that economic reforms are being implemented too slowly, while 9% feel they are being implemented at the right pace and 1% feel they are being implemented too quickly. A significant percentage of respondents, 26%, feel that economic reforms are not happening at all in Ukraine. In the 2001 IFES survey, a majority (57%) felt that reforms were too slow while 20% felt they were not happening at all.

While it may seem that those answering that reforms are not happening might be a constituency for market reforms in Ukraine, this is not necessarily the case. On the scale of 1 to 5 where a 1 means a preference for a pure market economy, the percentage of respondents saying that reforms are not happening increases the further a respondent moves away from the free market position. On the other hand, the percentage who say that reforms are moving too slowly increases the closer a respondent is to the free market position (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Pace of Economic Reforms vs. Economic System Preference

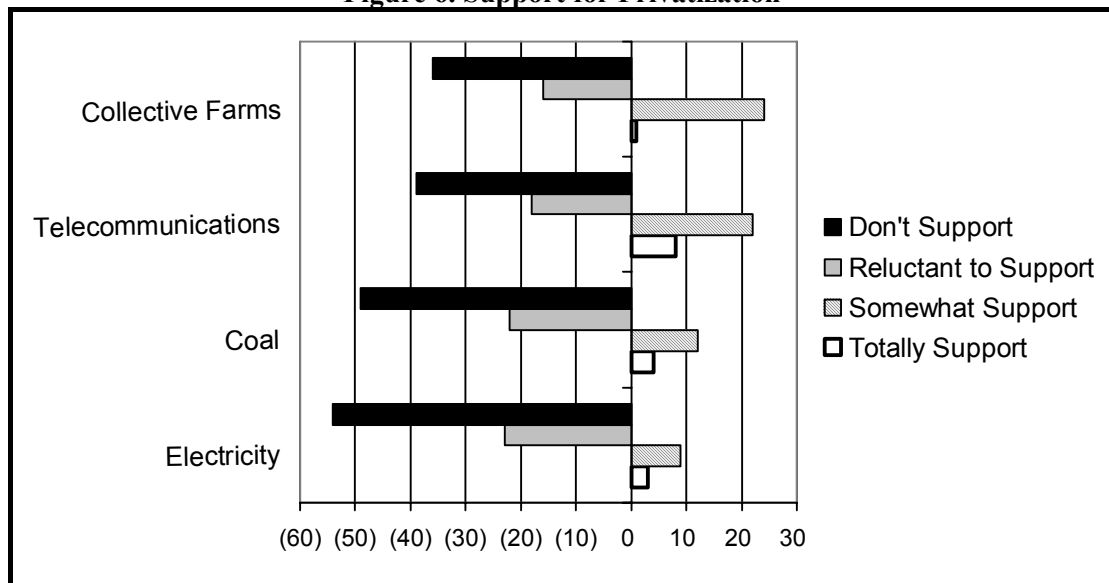


“In general, would you say that economic reforms in Ukraine are occurring too quickly, too slowly, or at the right pace?” (n=1200)

Figure 5 suggests that those who lament the perceived non-existence of economic reforms are not decisively in favor of either a market economy or a centrally-planned economy.

There is also a difference between support for the idea of a free market economy and economic reforms on the one hand, and support for specific reforms that would seem to be a necessary part of any market reform package on the other. Respondents were asked how much they support the privatization of specific industries and services currently under government control. Responses to these questions are given in Figure 6 on the next page.

Figure 6. Support for Privatization



"In the last few years the government has begun the process to sell state owned enterprises. Please tell me to what degree you support privatization efforts in the following sectors?" (n=1200)

For each of the items, a majority of respondents either do not support or are reluctant to support privatization. Privatization of collective farms gets the most support from respondents (34%), followed by telecommunications (29%), the coal industry (16%), and electricity (13%).

Although Ukrainians who advocate a free market economy are more likely to support privatization in each of these sectors than those who advocate a centrally-planned economy, even these respondents are more likely to oppose privatization than support it in every sector except agriculture.

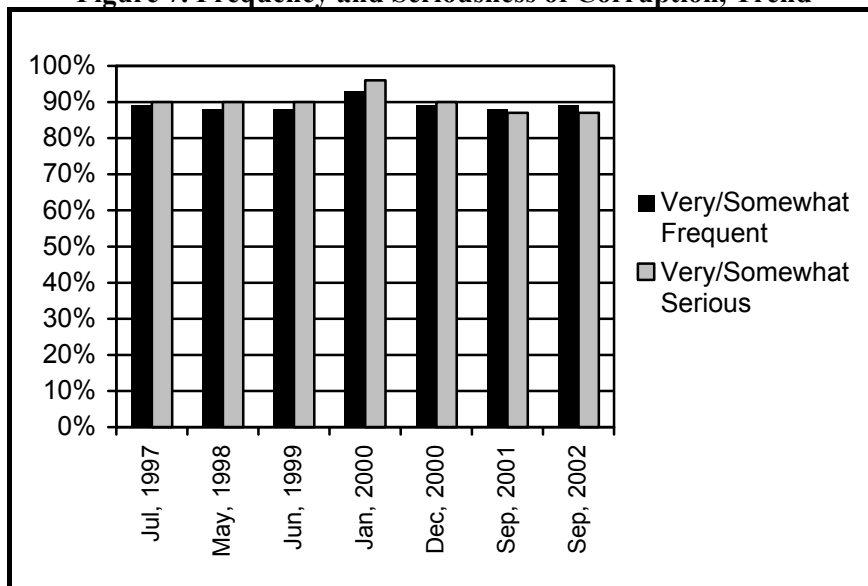
The youngest age group in the survey, 18-25, is most likely to support privatization in all sectors and support generally decreases with age. Respondents with higher levels of education are more supportive of privatization.

It should be noted that privatization and other economic reforms have proceeded in fits and starts since independence, but have been hampered by administrative and parliamentary resistance and official corruption. As mentioned above, the control of already privatized sectors and industries by oligarchs may be one form of corruption that prompts Ukrainians to oppose privatization in key sectors of the economy. Privatization, however, is just one area where respondents perceive widespread corruption in Ukraine, and public officials are not the only ones seen to be participating in corrupt activities.

Corruption

As in the case of dissatisfaction with the overall situation, the IFES surveys in Ukraine have consistently shown extremely high percentages of respondents who believe that official corruption is common and serious in Ukraine. This year's responses do not reflect a significant break from that trend (Figure 7 on the next page).

Figure 7. Frequency and Seriousness of Corruption, Trend



“In your opinion, how widespread is the problem of official corruption?”
 (Note: In previous surveys, respondents asked, “How common is the problem of official corruption?”) (2002: n=1200)
“And how serious is the problem of official corruption?” (2002: n=1200)

For this year’s survey, respondents were also asked how likely it is that official corruption can be countered in Ukraine. Overall, 8% feel that it is very likely that corruption can be countered, 19% feel that it is somewhat likely, 37% feel that it is somewhat unlikely, and 19% feel it is very unlikely that it can be countered. The fact that corruption is perceived as being widespread and serious by close to 9 out of 10 respondents may explain why a majority of Ukrainians think it is very or somewhat unlikely that corruption can be countered in Ukraine.

Just how widespread corruption has become in Ukrainian society is illustrated by responses to another question about corrupt actions. Respondents were given a list of actions that may be considered corrupt and illegal, and asked how widespread these actions are and whether these actions are ever justified. The exact question was:

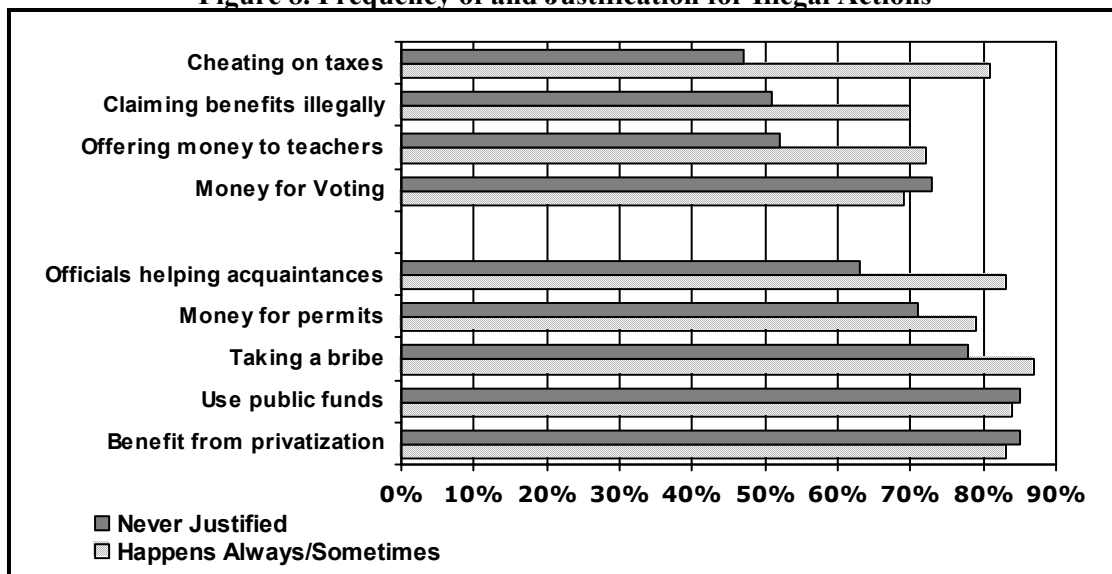
Next, I will read you a list of actions people sometimes do. For each, tell me if this activity occurs often here in Ukraine.

Now, I will read the list to you again. Please tell me for each, whether the action can always be justified, sometimes be justified, or never be justified.

- A. Claiming government benefits to which one is not entitled
- B. Cheating on tax if one had the chance
- C. Someone taking a bribe in the course of their duties
- D. Accepting money to vote for a politician or political party
- E. Officials taking money from entrepreneurs to approve businesses quickly
- F. High officials benefiting from the privatization of Ukrainian public industries
- G. High officials helping their acquaintances in private business
- H. The use of public funds for the personal benefit of officials
- I. Offering gifts or money to teachers/professors to improve one’s grade or that of one’s child

Responses to these questions are presented in Figure 8 (next page).

Figure 8. Frequency of and Justification for Illegal Actions



The actions in the top half of the figure above are those that ordinary citizens may engage in while the actions in the bottom half are those that only officials may undertake. The figure shows that a majority of respondents (at least 69%) think that each action occurs always or sometimes. The average percentage saying corrupt actions taken by officials happen always or sometimes is higher than the average percentage saying actions taken by ordinary citizens happen always or sometimes (83% versus 73%). In either case, both citizens and officials are thought to contribute significantly to the problem of corruption in Ukraine.

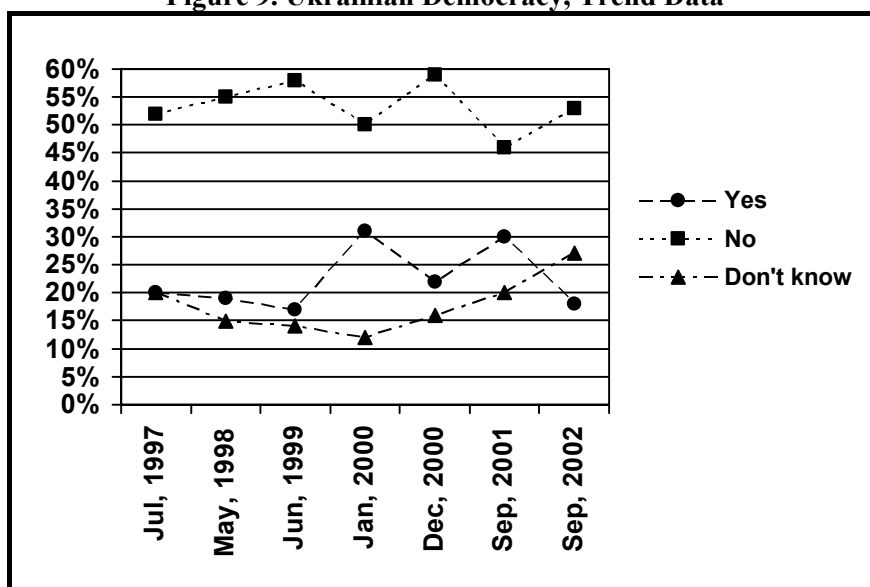
There is, however, a difference in how respondents perceive the corrupt actions that citizens may engage in versus the actions that officials may undertake. Generally, respondents are more likely to say that corrupt actions by officials are never justified (average 76%) than corrupt actions by ordinary citizens (average 55%).

IV. Democracy

Democracy in Ukraine

Like most other former Soviet Republics, Ukraine has adopted democracy as its system of government. At the same time, some of the institutions that are reflective of a democratic state remain elusive or underdeveloped. While elections have been regularly held, they have been far from fair.³ Freedom of speech and the press has been violated throughout all of the last decade, the rule of law is fractured at best, and government accountability is hard to find. This has not gone unnoticed by the Ukrainian people. A majority of respondents since 1997 (plurality in 2001) have said that Ukraine is not a democracy. This pattern continues this year, with 53% of respondents agreeing that Ukraine is not a democracy, while 18% do think it is a democracy (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Ukrainian Democracy, Trend Data



"Is Ukraine a democracy?" (2002: n=1200)

Human rights, rule of law, and societal inequalities are the primary concerns of respondents who do not think Ukraine is a democracy. When these respondents are asked why they think Ukraine is not a democracy, their responses include: corruption among authorities (10%), differences in standards of living (10%), violations of human rights (9%), laws are not implemented (8%), people do not have influence (6%), state doesn't care about ordinary people (6%), democracy in name only (5%), dictatorship (5%), violations of freedom of speech (4%), and anarchy and chaos (3%). Other concerns include dishonest elections and crime. On the other hand, those who think that Ukraine is a democracy emphasize the existence of public liberties in Ukraine (39%) and the independence of Ukraine (7%). Yet, a plurality (44%) of Ukrainians who think that their country is a democracy do not know why that is so.

Despite the fact that Ukrainians seem to evaluate Ukrainian democracy on the basis of widely accepted tenets of democracy, such as respect for the law, civil liberties, and equality, there is

³ The OSCE/ODIHR observation mission's final report on the 2002 parliamentary election notes that while these elections represented a step up from previous elections in terms of meeting the criteria of free and fair elections, there were still concerns about guarantees of a level playing field, ballot secrecy, and an orderly election process. For further details, please see the complete text of the final report at http://www.osce.org/odihr/documents/reports/election_reports/ua/ua_pe_march2002_epr.php3.

also strong evidence that Ukrainians apply strictly instrumental criteria to their evaluation of Ukrainian democracy. Forty-nine percent of those who think the current economic situation is very or somewhat good think that Ukraine is a democracy (23% not a democracy). These opinions are opposite those of respondents who think the current economic situation is somewhat bad (19% democracy, 52% not a democracy) and those who think the current economic situation is very bad (10% democracy, 63% not a democracy). A similar pattern of responses is observed with regard to the overall satisfaction: 52% of those who are very satisfied think Ukraine is a democracy compared to 33% somewhat satisfied, 20% somewhat dissatisfied, and 10% very dissatisfied.

Ethnic Ukrainians are more likely than ethnic Russians to believe that Ukraine is a democracy (19% vs. 13%). Logically, respondents in the western part of the country are most optimistic about Ukraine being a democracy (28% yes) while those in the East and Crimea, where the Russian communities are greater, are the least optimistic (12% and 8% yes, respectively).

Of those who don't think Ukraine is a democracy, 23% say that it is moving toward democracy while 59% say that Ukraine is not moving toward democracy and 19% don't know. The pattern of responses is similar to that observed for the overall democracy question.

The dissatisfaction of the majority of the Ukrainian population with the current political order in Ukraine is strongly associated with dissatisfaction with the pace of democratic change. Respondents were asked to evaluate the pace of democratic change in Ukraine. A plurality (46%) feel that democratic change is occurring too slowly, 28% think it is not occurring at all, 9% think it is at the right pace, and 1% think democratic change is occurring too quickly.⁴ Nearly three-quarter of respondents (74%) think democratic change in Ukraine is either not occurring at all or is occurring too slowly. Figure 10 breaks down responses on this question by attitudes on democracy.

Figure 10. Pace of Democratic Change by Attitudes toward Democracy

	Is Ukraine a Democracy?		Ukraine Moving Toward Democracy?	
	Yes (n=210)	No (n=640)	Moving (n=144)	Not Moving (n=377)
Too quickly	1%	1%	3%	1%
Right pace	31%	4%	5%	3%
Too slowly	51%	51%	71%	46%
Change Not Occurring	7%	34%	13%	42%

"In general, would you say that democratic change in Ukraine is occurring too quickly, too slowly, or at the right pace?"

There is a clear correlation between attitudes about the pace of democratic change and attitudes toward democracy. Among those who think Ukraine is a democracy, 7% think that democratic change is not occurring compared to 34% among those who do not think Ukraine is a democracy. Further, 42% of those who do not think Ukraine is becoming a democracy are of the opinion that change is not occurring at all compared to 13% of those who think that Ukraine is moving toward democracy.

As a follow-up question, respondents were asked which institution they think is most likely to undertake reforms in its sphere of influence, the central government, their oblast/raion

⁴ 'Change not happening' is a volunteered response, it was not provided as a response option to respondents.

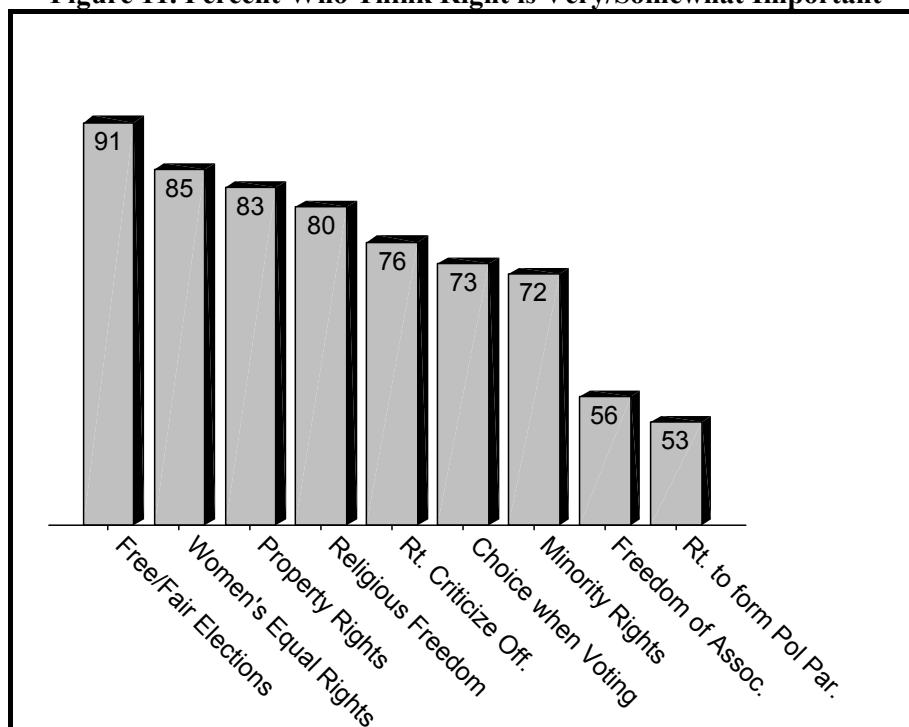
administration, or their local self-government. A plurality of respondents (35%) did not respond to this question, but the second-largest group (30%) do not think any of these institutions is likely to undertake reforms. The central government is mentioned by 23% of respondents, followed by the local self government (7%) and the oblast/raion administration (5%).

Two of the more prominent reasons why respondents don't think Ukraine is a democracy is the lack of respect for personal rights and liberties and the general dissatisfaction with the rule of law. The next two sections will elaborate attitudes in these two subject areas.

Rights

Respondents were asked whether or not it is important for specific rights to be respected in Ukraine. Figure 11 depicts the percentage of respondents who feel each of these rights is very or somewhat important.

Figure 11. Percent Who Think Right is Very/Somewhat Important



“Please take a look at the list of rights on this card. How important is it to you that each of the following rights is respected in Ukraine? Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all?” (n=1200)

Figure 11 indicates that a majority of respondents feel that it is very or somewhat important that each of the particular rights mentioned be respected. The figure also indicates that respect for the right to form political parties and to form associations or unions are given less importance than other rights. Interestingly, while the right to free and fair elections is deemed most important, the right to have choices of parties and candidates when voting is not as highly prized. The level of importance attached to the various rights generally follows the pattern witnessed in previous IFES surveys in Ukraine.

The relatively lower level of importance attached to political parties and unions or associations is illustrated by responses to another question on the survey. Respondents were

asked if it is always justified, sometimes justified, or never justified for the government to limit the rights listed below in the interest of maintaining order:

- A. Limit activities of certain political parties
- B. Limit the rights of citizens to protest
- C. Limit freedom of the press
- D. Limit authority of the courts
- E. Limit activities of citizens' groups and unions

The percentage of people who feel it is never justified for the government to take these sorts of actions is 51% for limiting press freedom, 45% for limiting citizen protests, and 41% for limiting the authority of the courts. Far fewer say that the government should never limit associations or groups (27%) or limit the activities of political parties (23%).

The generally high degree of importance attached to the rights in Figure 10 does not mean that Ukrainians assert the primacy of rights over all else. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "It is more important that leaders maintain order than protect freedoms." A plurality (46%) agrees with this statement completely or somewhat, while 26% disagree completely or somewhat. Twenty-seven percent reply "Don't know." While Ukrainians might attach importance to most rights as an ideal concept, they are willing to forego some rights to possibly improve the day-to-day realities they face. This question was also asked on the 2001 IFES survey, in which 48% agreed with that statement and 33% disagreed.

University-educated respondents are less likely to prefer order over political freedoms (45%) than those with a secondary-level education (26%) or primary-level education (19%). It should be noted, however, that nearly as many university-educated respondents prefer order (44%) as prefer freedoms.

Those who feel that it is less important that leaders maintain order than freedoms are more consistent in the importance they attach to rights than those who agree with the statement. This is especially evident for the two rights that respondents valued least, the right to form political parties and the freedom to form association or unions (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Differences in Attitudes toward Rights

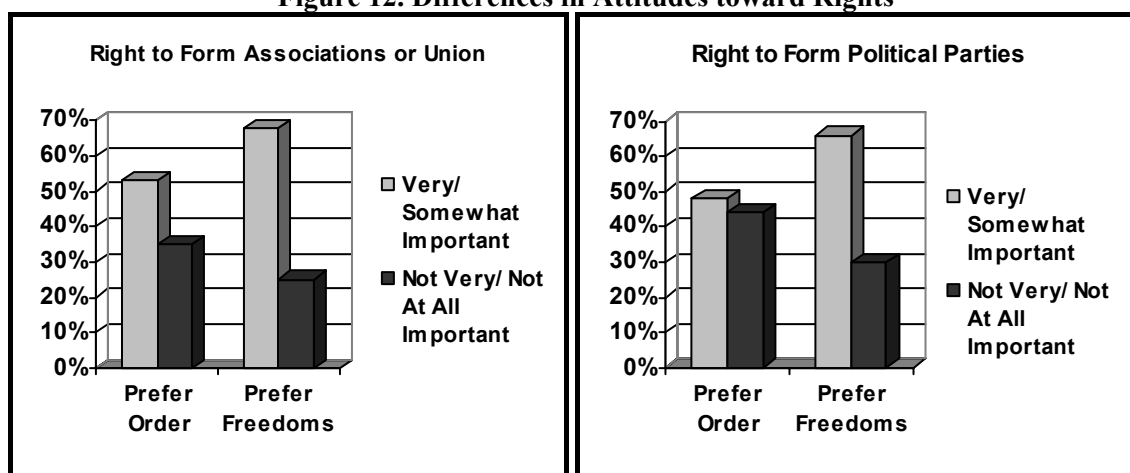


Figure 12 shows that those who prefer freedoms are significantly more likely to say that it is important to respect the right to form political parties and associations or unions than those who prefer order. Those who prefer freedoms are also more likely to say that there is no democratic change occurring in Ukraine (33%) than those who prefer order (24%).

Rule of Law and the Legal System

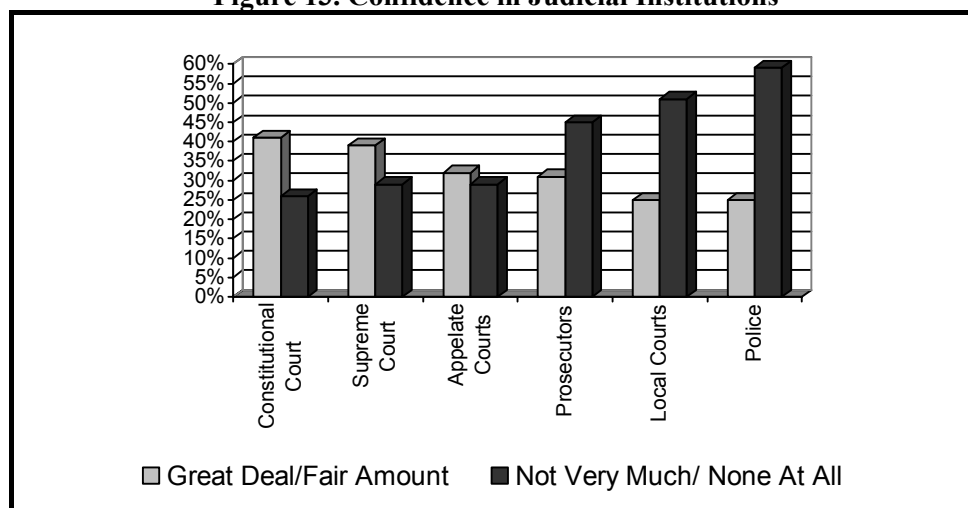
Another reason frequently cited by respondents for the lack of democracy in Ukraine is concern with the legal environment. The last chapter highlighted the belief among respondents that official corruption is both widespread and serious. Respondents also have little confidence that the Ukrainian justice system can act in the best interests of Ukrainian citizens.

One example of this is the legal system's prosecution of unjustly accused respondents. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with this statement: "If I were wrongly accused of a crime, I am sure that our judicial system would acquit me." The responses indicate a lack of confidence in the judicial system: 55% disagree strongly or somewhat with this statement and 23% agree strongly or somewhat. Twenty-two percent reply, "Don't know."

Comparing responses to this question with those to the question on Ukrainian democracy reveals that the lack of confidence in the judicial system does have an impact on perceptions of democracy in Ukraine. Among those who agree that the judicial system would acquit a wrongly accused person, 39% think Ukraine is a democracy and 37% think it is not a democracy. Among those who disagree that the judicial system would acquit a wrongly-accused person, 12% think Ukraine is a democracy and 65% think it is not a democracy.

The lack of confidence in the judicial system is not evenly distributed. Specifically, respondents are less likely to have confidence in local courts, public prosecutors, and the police than they are in upper courts. Respondents were asked how much confidence they have in the following institutions: the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, appellate courts, local courts, public prosecutors, and the police. Responses are presented in Figure 13.

Figure 13. Confidence in Judicial Institutions



"And how much confidence do you have in each of the following institutions to treat people with fairness and justice when making their decisions?"
(n=1200)

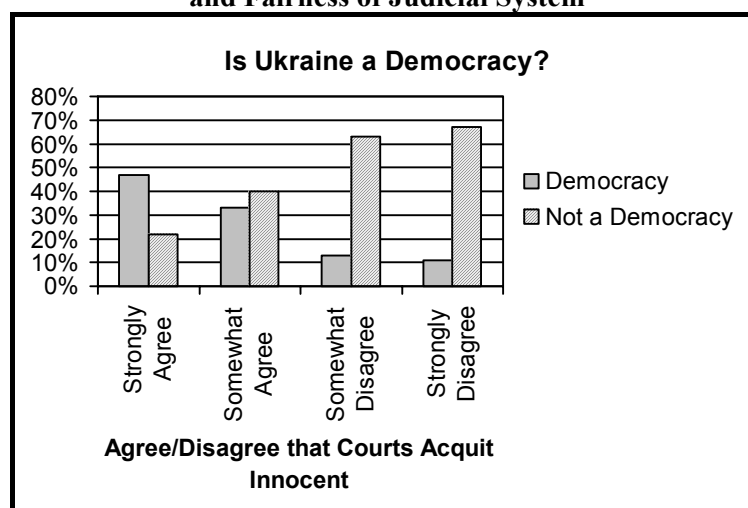
A plurality of respondents say they have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in the Supreme Court, Constitutional Court, and appellate courts. On the other hand, more respondents than not say they have little or no confidence in local courts, public prosecutors, and the police. The lowest degree of confidence is in the police. Day-to-day experience may play a part in confidence levels as the two institutions that respondents are most likely to interact with, the police and local courts, inspire the least confidence.

Respondents were also asked whether each level of the courts is subject to influence from outside interests in its decision-making. Respondents could reply that courts are not influenced at all by outside interests, that they are influenced to some extent, or that they are influenced a great deal. For all four court levels, a majority of respondents feel that outside interests have some or a great deal of influence on decision-making: Constitutional Court (52%), Supreme Court (56%), appellate courts (55%), and local courts (73%). Local courts were rated the lowest, as a plurality (42%) say that this level of the judicial system is influenced a great deal by outside interests and only 2% say that they are not influenced at all.

As would be expected, the perceived exercise of outside influence has a negative impact on each institution's confidence rating. For each level, the percentage of respondents with a great deal or fair amount of confidence in the court falls with an increase in perceptions of outside influence. Increased perceptions of outside influence also lead to a higher percentage of respondents disagreeing that the judicial system would acquit those unjustly accused.

The inefficiencies of the judicial system, as well as its perceived susceptibility to outside influence, not only impact the level of confidence in judicial institutions but also play a large part in coloring the negative perceptions of Ukrainian democracy (Figure 14).

Figure 14. Attitudes toward Democracy in Ukraine and Fairness of Judicial System



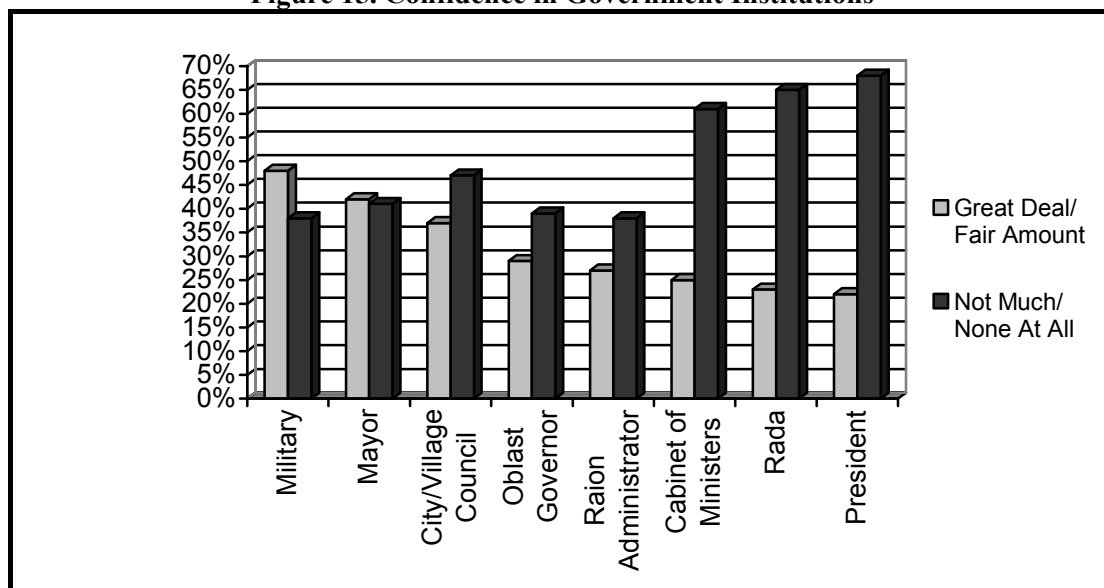
V. Attitudes toward Government Institutions

The previous chapter discussed the general lack of confidence that most Ukrainians have in their judicial system, particularly at the lower levels of the judicial system. This lack of confidence exists not only for judicial institutions, but for most other government institutions as well. This chapter will look at Ukrainians' attitudes toward their government institutions, including confidence, and how this impacts interaction with these institutions.

Confidence in Institutions and Officials

In a manner identical to the question about confidence in judicial institutions, respondents were asked to rate their level of confidence in various government institutions. Responses to this question are provided in Figure 15.

Figure 15. Confidence in Government Institutions



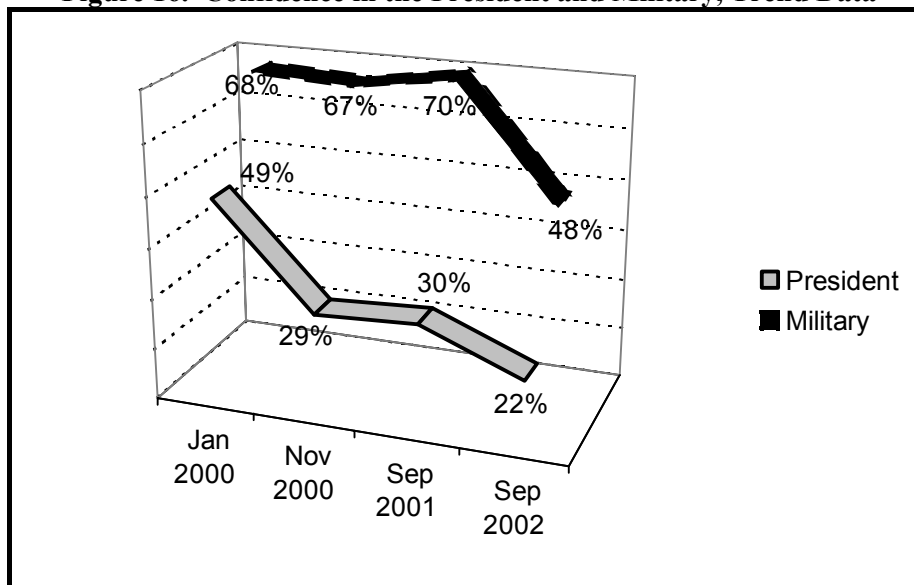
“Here on this card is a list of possible answers for the next questions. I am now going to ask you about several government institutions. For each, please tell me how much confidence you have in them.”
(n=1200)

For most of the institutions included in the questionnaire, at least a plurality exhibits a lack of confidence. The two exceptions are the military (48% great deal/fair amount, 38% not much/none at all) and the respondent's mayor (42% great deal/fair amount, 41% not much/none at all). Other patterns that emerge from this question include:

- Respondents generally have more confidence in local institutions, such as mayors and city/village councils than they do in national-level institutions;
- The appointed local and regional-level officials (Oblast governor and Raion administrator) elicit less confidence than elected local officials (mayors and councils); and
- More than 60% of respondents have little or no confidence in the three major national-level institutions, the President, the *Verkhovna Rada*, and the cabinet of ministers.

President Kuchma receives the lowest confidence rating (22%) and the highest lack of confidence percentage (68%). This continues a downward trend in confidence for Mr. Kuchma since the IFES survey in January 2000. And although the military has the highest confidence rating of all represented institutions (48%), this represents by far the lowest level of confidence expressed in the military in all IFES surveys. The trend in confidence percentages for President Kuchma and the military are presented in Figure 16.

Figure 16. Confidence in the President and Military, Trend Data



The steep drop in confidence in the military is likely attributable to the two accidents over the last year that seriously undermined the reputation of the Ukrainian military. In October 2001 a Russian civilian jetliner was found to have been shot down by a missile fired by the Ukrainian military during military exercises. And on July 27, 2002 during an air show in Lviv, a Ukrainian military jet crashed into a crowd, killing 78 people and injuring more than a hundred.

The decline in confidence in Mr. Kuchma has not been as precipitous as for the military, but has been gradual and pronounced over the past two years. The President elicits especially low confidence among the reform-oriented constituency, those who think that no reform or change is occurring in the economic sphere (11% have confidence in Mr. Kuchma) or the democratic sphere (8% confidence). Confidence in Mr. Kuchma also goes down with an increase in education.

There has also been a substantial decrease in confidence in the President in the Southwestern and Western regions of the country. In 2001, 46% of respondents in the Southwest and 38% in the West reported a great deal or fair amount of confidence in Mr. Kuchma. In 2002, only 28% of respondents in the Southwest and 15% in the West echo the same sentiment.

Confidence in public institutions and officials is determined to a large extent by the perceived effectiveness of those institutions or officials in carrying out their responsibilities. Ukrainians tend to think that local officials are more effective in carrying out their responsibilities than national officials. Forty-one percent of respondents believe that their local council is somewhat or very effective in carrying out its responsibility (43% do not); 29% believe their mayor is effective versus 46% who do not and 29% think their oblast governor is effective versus 49% who do not. The President (22% effective, 68% not) and *Verhovna Rada* (18%, 70%) are believed to be the least effective.

The performance of public institutions and officials is instrumental in determining the level of confidence respondents have in these institutions and officials. Respondents are likely to express greater confidence in an institution or official if they think that the institution is effective in its responsibilities than if they don't think it is effective.

Local Officials and Services

The last section noted that Ukrainians have greater confidence in local officials and institutions than in central institutions, and believe that these local institutions are more effective in carrying out their responsibilities. This section will discuss contact between local officials and their constituents, service deliveries in local areas, and the impact that both of these have on confidence in those officials.

Overall, 30% of respondents report having gone to a local official for help in solving a problem in the past. Contact with local officials is more prevalent in rural areas (39%) than in large and medium-sized cities (each 23%). Ethnic Ukrainians are more likely to have contacted their local officials (31%) than ethnic Russians (24%). As would be expected, contact with local officials is concentrated among older participants, with those ages 18-25 much less likely to contact officials (16%) than the national average. Overall, women are nearly as likely to contact local officials (29%) as men (30%), but there are some differences with regard to location. In rural areas, men are more likely to contact local officials than women (44% vs. 35%). In large cities, however, women are more likely to contact local officials than men (27% vs. 19%). Perhaps a more conservative environment in rural areas accounts for the lower percentage of contact relative to men.

Those who have not contacted local officials in the past were asked why they had not done so. The most frequent responses were:

- No need for contact (33%);
- Will not result in anything (32%);
- Resolve problems myself (26%);
- Don't trust public officials (12%); and
- Difficult to arrange contact (3%).

A majority of respondents report that they either had no need to contact a local official or that they resolved the problem on their own. There is also, however, a great deal of skepticism about the benefits of contacting local officials for help, as evidenced by responses stating that this contact would not result in anything and expressing a lack of trust in local officials. This sentiment was also expressed in the focus groups conducted by IFES after this survey. A majority of the focus group participants do not think highly of contacting public officials. The consensus among the participants seemed to be that the public officials send those who contact them on a bureaucratic 'relay race' that produces few or no results.

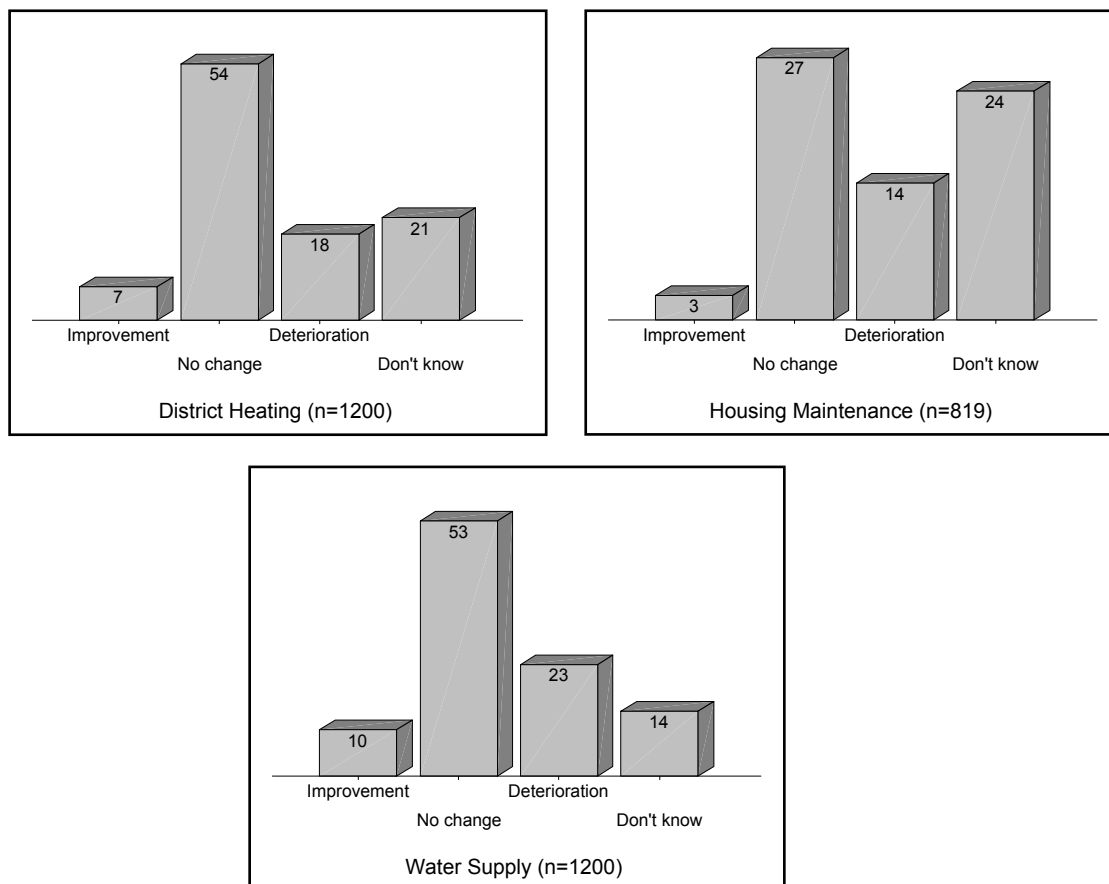
Of those who contacted local officials, 57% report having received a response from the official. Twenty six percent reply that they received a partial response and 16% report not having received a response at all. Half of those who received a response are dissatisfied with the response they got from their local official while 49% are satisfied. Not surprisingly, those who report receiving a partial response express a greater degree of dissatisfaction (77%) than those who received, in their opinion, a more complete response (38%). Those who have contacted their local officials are more likely to have confidence in their mayors (48%) and local councils (44%) than those who have not contacted local officials (40% and 34%, respectively).

These findings may not, however, indicate that mayors and local council members are necessarily the officials primarily approached. In the focus group sessions, most participants indicated that they would first approach their regional (Raion) administrator rather than the mayor because that is in line with the "order of subordination." The expectation among the focus group participants seems to be that the Raion administrator may be more powerful in addressing problems than the mayor. Elected officials, however, are perceived to be more

trustworthy and responsive because of the fact that they are elected and not appointed. These focus group observations provide some insight into the rationale behind contacting various officials, but because these questions were not asked on the survey, we cannot be sure if these rationales are widespread among the Ukrainian population.

Survey respondents were also asked to state whether delivery of some services provided by their local authorities had improved, deteriorated, or stayed the same over the past year. Most respondents have seen little change in the water supply, district heating, and housing maintenance provide by their local governments over the past year (only the urban respondents were asked about housing maintenance). Of those who respond that the service has either improved or deteriorated, more say that each service has deteriorated over the past year than improved. Results for this question are presented in Figure 17 below.

Figure 17. Quality of Local Services Over Past Year, in percent



“I will now provide you with a list of services provided by your city/village local self-government. Please tell me if you have noticed improvement in these services over the past year, whether you have not noticed any change, or whether there has been deterioration in these services over the past year?”

Respondents in large urban areas are more likely to give an opinion on each of these services than those in smaller cities and rural areas (an average of 7% of respondents in large cities reply “Don’t know” to these questions compared to an average of 33% in rural areas and 18% in small cities).

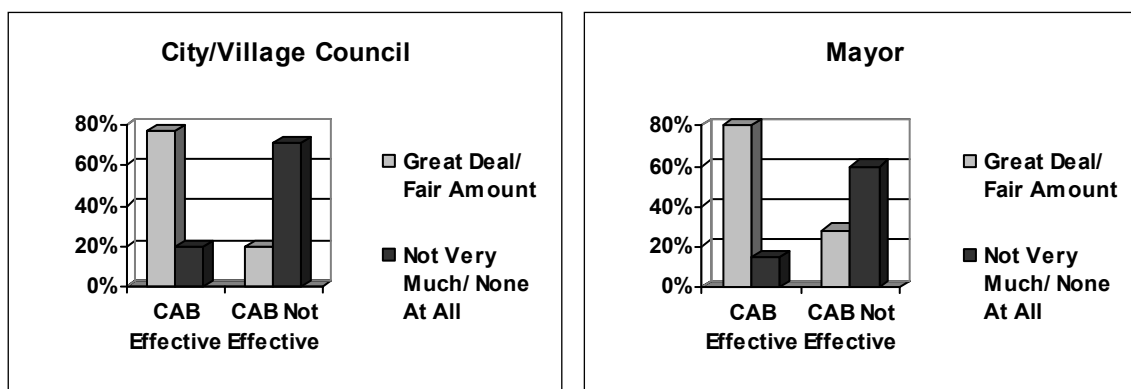
Some Ukrainian local communities have Citizen Advisory Boards (CAB) that interact with local self-governments in adopting policies. Only 39% percent of respondents know that their local self-governments have advisory boards. Eight percent know that their local self-governments do not have advisory boards and a majority (53%) do not know if their

community has an advisory board. Respondents in urban areas are more likely to say that their local self-government has a CAB (44%) than those in rural areas (30%).

Of those who know of these advisory boards in their communities, a plurality (38%) do not think these boards are very or at all effective in influencing the decisions of their local self-government, whereas 28% think they are somewhat or very effective. Thirty-seven percent don't know.

Overall, close to 70% of Ukrainians either do not know that the community has a CAB or do not know enough about its activities to judge its effectiveness. The data, however, indicates that involvement of citizens in policymaking or deliberations may provide a boost to confidence in local officials. Respondents who feel that their CAB is effective in influencing the decisions of their local self-government have more confidence in their mayors and local councils than those who do not think CABs are effective or those who do not know. The data is provided in Figure 18.

Figure 18. CAB Effectiveness and Confidence in Local Officials

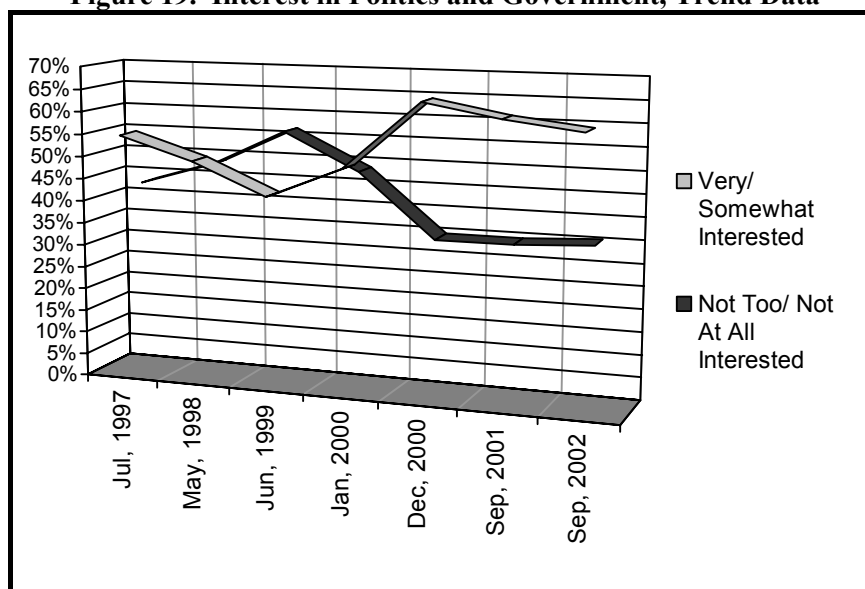


VI. Interest in, and Attitudes toward Politics

Interest in Politics

Most Ukrainians are at least casually interested in political affairs (12% very interested, 48% somewhat interested). Twenty four percent of respondents are not too interested in politics and 11% are not at all interested. The level of interest in politics and government is on a slight downward trend over the past three years (Figure 19).

Figure 19. Interest in Politics and Government, Trend Data



“How interested are you in matters of politics and government – are you very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested?” (2002: n=1200)

The survey data provides some indication that the protests against the government that started on September 16, 2002 may have increased casual interest in politics. In the areas where IFES had conducted interviews before September 16, those somewhat interested in politics increased from 51% before the protests to 60% after the protests. Some other notable differences between groups:

- Men have more interest (68%) than women (53%);
- Those with a university education have more interest (73%) than those with a secondary-level education (58%) or a primary-level education (49%); and
- Those 18-25 have the lowest level of interest among age groups, but a majority still does have interest (52%).

Interest in politics goes up with an increase in negative perceptions of the current economic situation. Fifty-two percent of those who think the current economic situation is good report being interested in politics. This compares with 63% of those who feel the economic situation is somewhat bad and 61% of these who feel the economic situation is very bad. In the focus group discussion, the bleak economic situation in Ukraine was given as the major reason why Ukrainians follow politics.

In general terms, the focus groups identified three primary motivations for following politics in Ukraine:

1. Social responsibility - a seeming obligation to follow politics out of concern for one's family and future, or the wish to demonstrate an active civic position;
2. Awareness - the need to be well-informed; and
3. Communication - the need for communication.

Focus group participants report being most interested in legislative activities and the *Verkhovna Rada*, Ukraine's international affairs, current protests, elections, and general policy issues.

Nationwide, 24% report often discussing politics with their acquaintances, 34% report discussing politics sometimes, 26% rarely, and 14% never. Discussion of politics is higher among those very or somewhat interested in politics.

Political Efficacy

As was the case in previous IFES surveys in Ukraine, the data shows that there is little voter or political efficacy. Most Ukrainians do not believe that ordinary citizens can impact the political process or decision-making in Ukraine. Respondents were asked whether they agree or disagree with the following statements:

- A. Voting gives people like you a chance to influence decision-making in our country.
- B. Sometimes politics is so complicated that people like you can't understand what's really happening.
- C. People like you can have influence on the decision made by the government.

In each of these cases, a majority of respondents voice opinions inconsistent with political efficacy. Sixty-six percent of respondents disagree that voting gives people a chance to influence decision-making (26% agree). Sixty-nine percent agree that politics is too complicated (23% disagree). Seventy-seven percent disagree that people like them can influence decisions of the government (77% agree).

The majority lack of efficacy is reflected in all major sub-groups in society. An exception is those who think that Ukraine is a democracy. A plurality of these respondents (48%) agree that voting gives influence. A majority of these respondents, however, agree that politics is too complicated (62%) and feel that people like them have no influence on decision-making in Ukraine (68%).

A majority of the focus group participants expressed the same type of sentiments when asked whether they can impact the political situation in the country, and gave voice to the frustration that a majority of Ukrainians feel with democracy as practiced in their country.

"It's a game of democracy that is being played in this country; we have no democracy, as such. One can hardly say that we have a certain legal right to impact."

"Our impact consists in carrying placards...that's all of the politics in which we are allowed to participate."

"It's calculated as if it was a stage performance; we cannot do anything about it."

"Those in power have turned politics into a stage show."

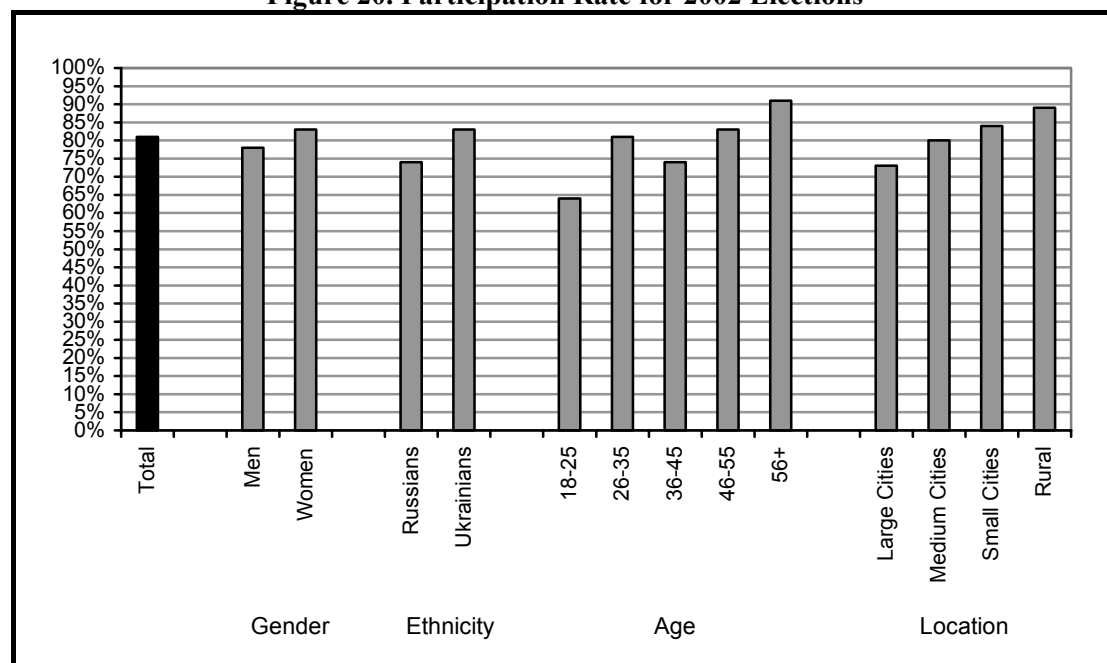
Not all participants in the focus groups expressed these sentiments. Some of the participants supported taking action to make one's opinions known. The survey also shows that there are a few Ukrainians who are willing to take positive action on behalf of their rights. All respondents were asked whether they had taken any action in the past year to ensure that their rights were respected by government officials. Ten percent of respondents say that they have taken such action in the past. Those with an interest in politics are more likely to have taken action (12%) than those have little or no interest in politics (7%). On an encouraging note, women are just as likely or more likely to have taken such action (10%) as men (9%).

While not many Ukrainians take action on behalf of their rights, the one political activity that does attract mass participation is voting.

Voting and Attitudes toward Elections

2002 Elections: Figure 20 details the percentage of respondents who report having voted in the 2002 *Rada* and local elections, as well as the participation rate among various subgroups.

Figure 20. Participation Rate for 2002 Elections



“Did you vote in the 2002 elections for Verkhovna Rada and local self-government?” (n=1200)

Eighty-one percent of respondents report having voted. Most (79%) voted for both the *Verkhovna Rada* and local offices. A few voted for either the *Rada* only or local offices only (1% each). As the figure above indicates, participation rates were higher in rural areas and smaller cities and lowest in large cities. Respondents in Kyiv (67%) and Crimea (63%) had low participation rates. Young people (18-25) are the least likely of all age groups to have voted (64%). Six percent of this age group says that they were too young to vote for this election.

Participants in the focus groups were asked why they voted or did not vote in this election. Their responses give us an idea of the motivations for participation. Those who voted cited as reasons their civic duty to vote, their hope of changes for the better, and to display support for a favored candidate or party. A few participants voted because they were afraid that if they did not vote, their unused ballot might have been used fraudulently.

Reasons cited for not voting included dissatisfaction with the choice of candidates, travel, and a lack of opportunity to get to the polling station.

Those who voted listed the following as reasons for voting for a particular party in the election:

- Political program of the party (47%);
- Character of the leader of the party (24%);
- Party was recommended (14%);
- Liked the party's representative in local area (4%); and
- Strongly encouraged to vote for party at workplace (3%).

Participants in the focus groups were also asked this question and gave similar responses. One other reason elaborated in the focus group discussions was voting for a party that was opposed to the current administration.

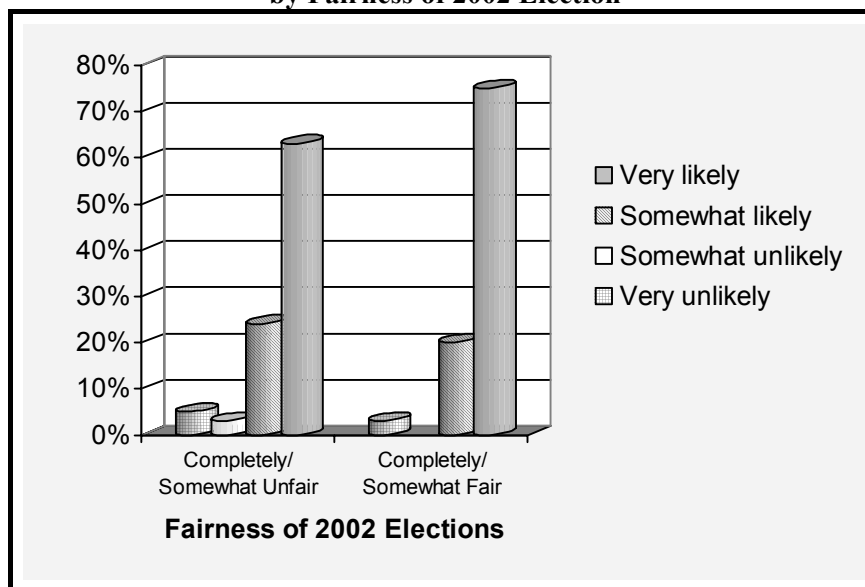
A majority of respondents (57%) think that the 2002 elections were either somewhat or completely unfair. Only 2% think they were completely fair and 23% think they were somewhat fair. In the 2001 IFES survey in Ukraine, respondents were asked whether they thought the 2002 parliamentary election would be fair. At that time, 43% thought they would be unfair while 32% thought they would be fair. Actual experience convinced a higher percentage of respondents that the elections were unfair (57% in 2002, 43% in 2001).

Those who did not vote at all were most likely to think the elections were not fair (63%). Perceptions of the fairness of the 2002 elections are also related to perceptions of Ukrainian democracy. A plurality (49%) of those who think Ukraine is a democracy also feel that the 2002 elections were somewhat or completely fair, compared to 33% who think they were not fair. In contrast, 67% of those who do not think Ukraine is a democracy feel that the elections were unfair.

All of the focus group participants stated that the elections had been unfair. They cited such violations as pressure on students and state employees to vote a certain way, availability of ballots for those who had died long ago, failure to deliver ballot boxes to homes of elderly who could not get to the polling stations, and extensive bribing by candidates. None of the participants, however, said they witnessed any of these violations. Interestingly, another frequently mentioned 'violation' is not a violation at all, but the end-product of coalition politics. Many participants felt that the election was unfair because the parties that won the most votes did not eventually form the majority in parliament. This arrangement of the parties in parliament is the result of Ukraine's mixed system of voting where half of the seats are elected out of single mandate constituencies and the other half are apportioned through a national constituency. The focus group comments may provide some indication that the particulars of this system and its possible outcomes are not well understood by many Ukrainians.

2004 Presidential Elections: Despite the majority's feeling that the 2002 elections were unfair, more than four in five respondents are likely to vote in the 2004 presidential election. Sixty-three percent of respondents are very likely to vote while 23% are somewhat likely to vote. Only 3% each are somewhat unlikely or very unlikely to vote. The perceived lack of fairness in the 2002 election does not have much effect on dampening the likelihood to vote in 2004 (Figure 21).

Figure 21. Likelihood of Participation in 2004 Election, by Fairness of 2002 Election



*“How likely is it that you will vote in the 2004 elections for the President?”
 (n=1200)*

Seventy-five percent of those who thought the 2002 elections were fair are very likely to vote in 2004. There is a slight decrease in this category among those who thought the 2002 elections were unfair, but a majority (63%) is still very likely to vote in 2004. In the end, about 4 in 5 of those who thought the 2002 elections were unfair are likely to show up at the polls in 2004.

There is likely to be a continued high rate of participation in the 2004 election despite the fact that more respondents say these elections are likely to be unfair than fair. A plurality (44%) think that it is very or somewhat unlikely that the 2004 elections will be fair, while 28% think it is very or somewhat likely that the elections will be fair. Respondents were next given possible reasons that may ensure that the elections are fair and asked to choose the most important reason why the 2004 elections might be fair. Responses are listed below:

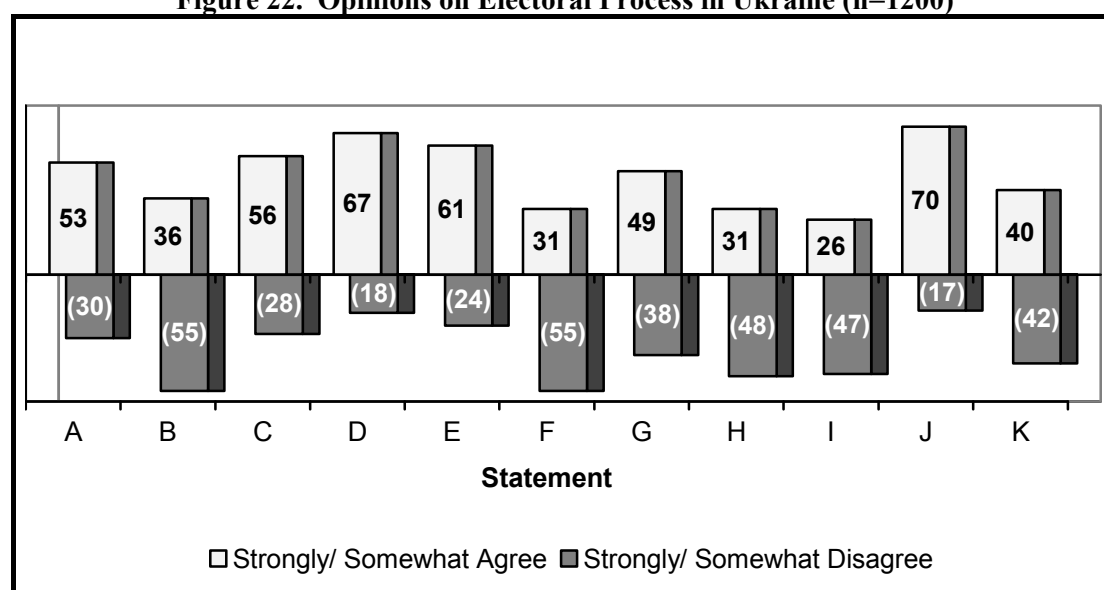
- The law ensures free and fair elections in Ukraine (21%);
- International observers will monitor the election process (16%);
- The local election commission is fair (14%);
- The Election Commissions consist of representatives of different political parties (12%);
- Independent Ukrainian observers will monitor the election process (6%); and
- Don’t know (26%).

The law is seen as the most important reason why the election may be fair. This response is more likely to be given by those who think the election will be fair (33%) than those who think it will be unfair (16%). The plurality response among those who do not think the election will be fair is “Don’t know” (25%). It is interesting to note that international observers are felt to be more likely to ensure fair elections than domestic observers. This opinion is also expressed in another question discussed below.

Attitudes toward Electoral Process in Ukraine: To gauge Ukrainians’ general attitudes toward different facets of the electoral process in Ukraine, respondents were given a series of statements and asked to agree or disagree with them. The statements are listed below in Figure 22, which presents the degree of agreement or disagreement with these statements.

Agreement is presented as a positive percentage and disagreement is presented as a negative percentage.

Figure 22. Opinions on Electoral Process in Ukraine (n=1200)



“Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

- A. *My vote is kept confidential by election authorities in Ukraine.*
- B. *The results of elections in Ukraine accurately reflect the way people voted in the election.*
- C. *The presence of non-partisan domestic observers has a positive affect on the fairness of elections in Ukraine.*
- D. *The presence of international observers has a positive affect on the fairness of elections in Ukraine.*
- E. *The presence of political party observers has a positive affect on the legitimacy of elections in Ukraine.*
- F. *Elections in Ukraine are competently administered.*
- G. *Our local media provides thorough coverage of parties and candidates up for election.*
- H. *Our local media provides objective coverage of parties and candidates up for election.*
- I. *Ukraine’s electoral system provides adequate means to challenge election violations.*
- J. *I feel safe in voting however I wish in an election.*
- K. *I am informed about the electoral process in Ukraine.”*

The majority disagreement with statement B reflects the perceived lack of fairness in the electoral process. A majority of respondents (55%) disagree that the results of elections in Ukraine accurately reflect the way people voted. A majority of those who felt the 2002 elections were fair (67%) agree with this statement, while a larger percentage of those who thought the elections were not fair (70%) disagree with the statement.

A majority of respondents also feel that elections in Ukraine are not competently administered (55%) while 31% agree that elections are competently administered. A plurality (47%) disagree that Ukraine’s electoral system provides adequate means to challenge election violations. On a positive note, a majority (55%) do agree that their votes are kept confidential and 70% agree that they feel safe when voting.

A majority of Ukrainians agree that election observers have a positive effect on the fairness of elections in Ukraine. Respondents agree that international observers would have the most positive effect on electoral fairness (67%), followed by political party observers (61%), and nonpartisan domestic observers (55%).

A plurality of respondents agree that their local media provides thorough coverage of parties and candidates up for election (49%) but an almost equal percentage disagree that this coverage is objective (48%).

There seems to be an information deficit among the public on the electoral process in Ukraine. Slightly more respondents disagree that they are informed about the electoral process in Ukraine (42%) than agree (40%). Respondents were also asked whether they get enough information to make a wise choice when voting. Only 15% say that they receive enough information, 38% say they receive barely enough, 32% receive little information, and 2% receive no information at all. This does not have an effect on voting, as more than 80% of those who received enough information, barely enough, and little information still voted in the 2002 elections.

VII. Political Parties and NGOs

As public associations primarily geared toward serving the public, political parties and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can play an important role in the development and consolidation of democracy in Ukraine. In developed democracies, political parties aid in channeling popular demands through the political system onto the state, and act to represent a specific set of interests at the national level. NGOs can provide a social support function in society as well as mobilization units to present and lobby for specific points of views on important issues in society. As we will see in this section, neither of these institutions is perceived to carry out its mission particularly well in Ukraine.

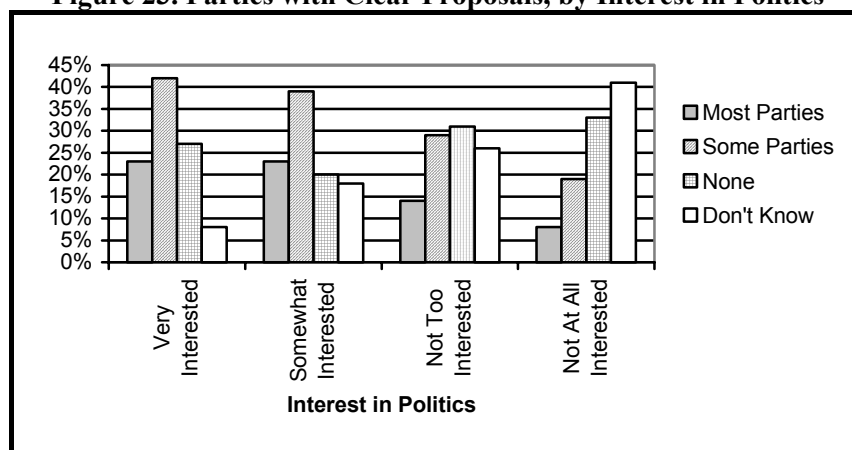
Political Parties

IFES asked a series of questions about political parties in both the survey and focus groups. Responses to the questions indicate that political parties are not held in high regard by most respondents. This report has already provided some indication that parties and their rights are not as highly rated by respondents as the rights of other individuals and groups in society. This section will provide some findings that may illustrate why these attitudes exist.

Political parties typically position themselves on the political landscape by proposing a unique set of policies and proposals on issues facing society. This platform defines the party and its character. This may be difficult in Ukraine because there are more than 30 national-level political parties and blocs which compete in narrowly-defined policy spaces to attract votes. Many respondents seem to concur with this view.

When asked whether political parties have clear proposals to address the problems facing Ukraine, 18% of respondents reply that most parties have clear proposals. Thirty-three percent of respondents believe that some parties have clear proposals, 25% believe no party has clear proposals and 23% do not know. Those who are very or somewhat interested in politics are more likely to say that most or some parties have clear proposals on national issues (Figure 23), but even among these groups a significant percentage of respondents say that no party has clear proposals.

Figure 23. Parties with Clear Proposals, by Interest in Politics



“In your opinion, do the major political parties in Ukraine have clear proposals to address the issues facing the country?” (n=1200)

Those who reply that at least some parties offer clear proposals on issues facing the country, were next asked whether there are clear differences in the programs of these parties. Among

these respondents, a majority (58%) think that most parties have clear differences in their programs while 31% believe that only some do.

Ukrainians also do not think that most political parties pay attention to local issues. Few respondents (16%) think that any political parties pay attention to issues of interest to their local communities. Forty-eight percent do not think any parties pay attention to local issues while 35% do not know. Even among those who think that some parties pay attention to local issues, 51% do not think the parties give these issues the attention they deserve. Eight percent think that parties do give a great deal of attention to local issues while 35% perceive a fair amount of attention.

The survey data points to a significant relationship between confidence in local elected officials and parties' attention to local issues. Those who have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in their either mayors or local councils are more likely to say that some parties pay attention to local issues. This relationship also exists for effectiveness of local councils and mayors. Those who think that either of these institutions is very or somewhat effective are more likely to say that some political parties address local issues.

Responses to the questions on party proposals and attention to local issues indicate that a majority of Ukrainians do not think that most political parties in Ukraine seriously address either local or national-level issues. In fact, only 6% of respondents say that most parties both offer clear proposals for important issues as well as address local issues. This sentiment was also evident in the focus groups. Most of the participants in the focus groups have negative perceptions of political parties and criticize several aspects of their work. The key observations from the focus groups on the subject of political parties were:

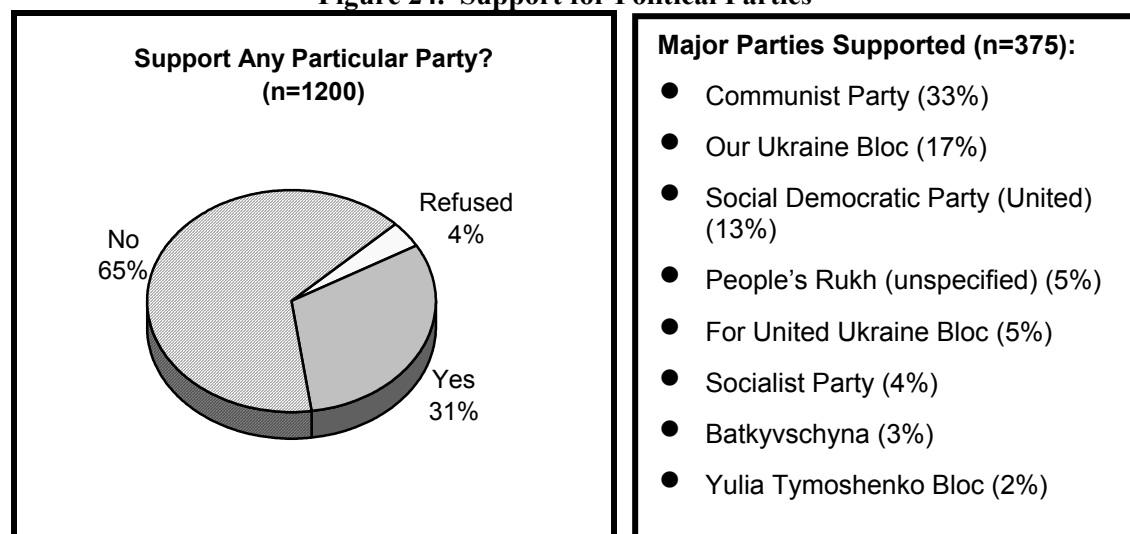
- Most parties address neither local nor national issues, only issues that affect them and their leaders;
- The large number of political parties in Ukraine leads to the constant bickering between parties and their ineffectiveness in dealing with important issues;
- Parties primarily serve their own interests or certain sections of the population, not the general population;
- There are few positive results from the activities of political parties in Ukraine;
- There is little information on most political parties in Ukraine (also reflected by the high "Don't Know" responses on questions covered in this section); and
- Few participants are willing to join political parties for reasons including a lack of belief that parties can make life better for Ukrainians, too many parties, and the difficult economic situation.

The last point about party membership is also reiterated in this and previous IFES survey data. In this survey, 2% of respondents report being members of political parties. In previous IFES surveys, this percentage has fluctuated between 2 and 4 percent.

Given that few participants reported being members of political parties in past IFES surveys, this year's survey included another question to gauge attachment to particular political parties. The survey asks respondents if they support any political party, even if they are not members of the party. It should be noted that respondents who indicate support for a particular party are likely to be 'strong' supporters of a party rather than those who may have voted for a party but otherwise have no particular attachment to the party. Hence, responses to this question may not reflect the vote breakdown for a party in the 2002 parliamentary election. This observation is further reinforced by the utilitarian nature of the party blocs that formed scant months before the parliamentary elections. These blocs were formed mostly with an eye toward electoral calculations rather than strong ideological affinities among the parties.

The responses to the party support question reveal that there is not a strong sense of attachment to specific political parties for the vast majority of Ukrainians (Figure 24).

Figure 24. Support for Political Parties



“Are you a supporter of any particular political party, even if you are not a member?
 [IF YES] Which party is that?”

Thirty-one percent of respondents are supporters of political parties, while a majority (65%) are not supporters of any party. Four percent refused to answer this question. Support for a particular party goes up with age (18-25: 22%, 26-35: 23%, 36-45: 30%, 46-55: 37%, 56+: 38%). Men are more likely to be supporters of a political party (36%) than women (27%). Ethnic Ukrainians are more likely to be supporters (33%) than ethnic Russians (26%).

The importance of clear proposals from parties is also emphasized in the data. Sixty-one percent of those who think most parties have clear proposals support a particular political party. This compares to 41% of those who think that some parties present clear proposals and 13% of those who don't think any parties present clear proposals. This point was also emphasized by several participants in the focus groups who stated that it is hard to know what party to support or become members of because they all seem to have the same proposals. As noted above, the last parliamentary election saw a move toward party blocs and our findings indicate that this may be a step in the right direction for political parties in Ukraine, at least in terms of electoral support.

Figure 24 also lists the parties that were supported by respondents. Only those who support any party were asked to name the party. Respondents were not given a list of parties from which to choose, but were asked to name the party they support. The Communist Party has the largest level of support with 33%, followed by the party bloc that won the most votes in the 2002 parliamentary elections, Our Ukraine (17%).

Cross-tabulation of specific party support with other variables shows that support for the Communists goes up with age (47% of those over 55 expressing support). Lower-educated respondents are also most likely to support the Communist party (52%). The Communists are also the first choice of ethnic Russians (55%). The Communists get most of their support in the East and Central part of the country, with virtually no support in the West. As would be expected, a large percentage of those who would like a centrally-planned economy (70%) support the Communist party.

Cross-tabulation also shows that support for Our Ukraine goes up with education and it also gets more support from younger voters (18-25, 31%). It is the preferred party among those in

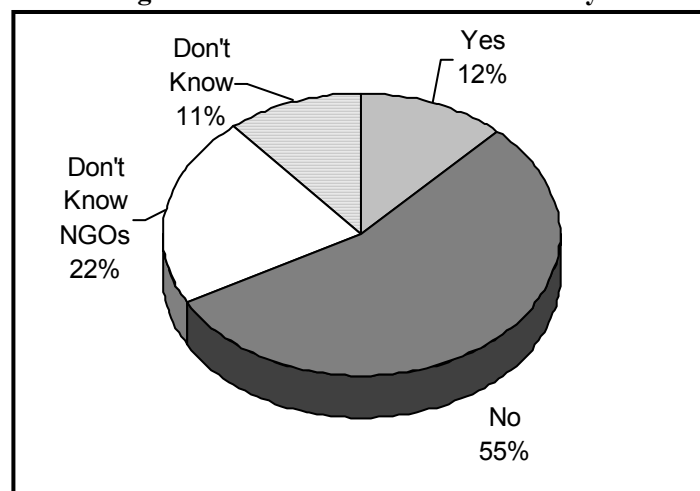
the West (41%), but has little support in the East (7%) or in Kyiv (8%). Those who support a pure market economy are most likely to support Our Ukraine (28%).

The party bloc that is currently part of the majority bloc in the *Rada*, For a United Ukraine, receives just 5% support.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

As with political parties, NGOs in Ukraine are not well known. Respondents were asked whether they knew of any NGO that was active in their community. Responses are presented in Figure 25.

Figure 25. NGOs Active in Community?



“Do you know of any non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are active in your community/city/village?” (n=1200)

Only 12% of respondents are aware of an NGO active in their community. Fifty-five definitively say that they don't know of any NGO active in their community, and 11% don't know if there are NGOs active in their community. Nearly a quarter of the respondents (22%) say that they are not familiar with the concept of NGOs. In total, close to 90% of the respondents are unaware of NGOs in their community. The fact that nearly a quarter don't even know what NGOs are further illustrates the lack of information or exposure to NGOs in Ukraine.

Focus group participants also report little information on NGOs and their activities. Some of the participants state that because NGOs and their activities are not visible to most people, it often leads to the presumption that NGOs in Ukraine are ineffective. This is despite the fact that focus group participants have generally positive remarks about the goals of NGOs: to provide social support and to protect citizens' rights and interests.

Among survey respondents, those who know of an NGO active in their community list the activities pursued by NGOs as: providing social help, environmental concerns, youth issues, care for veterans of WWII, and matters related to Chernobyl. This list of activities roughly coincides with the list of issues that focus group participants feel NGOs should address: work with young people, environmental concerns, improvements to local facilities, AIDS and drug addiction, and law and order.

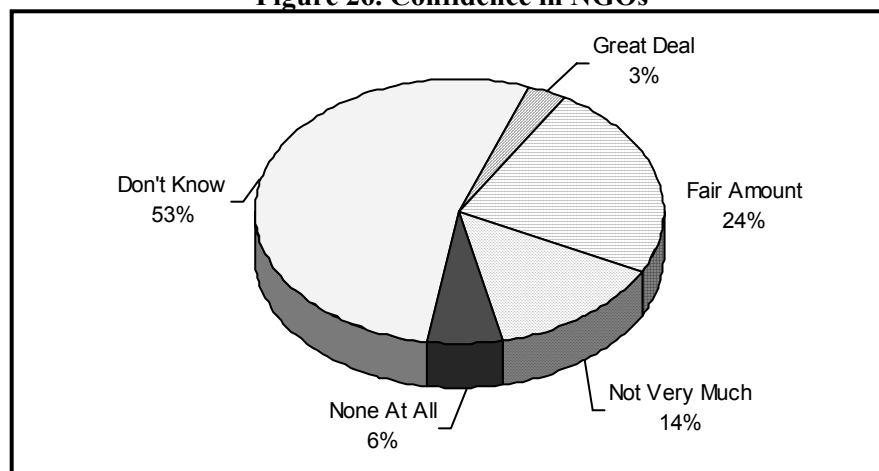
Awareness of active NGOs is more than twice as high in urban areas (15%) than rural areas (7%). Awareness is also concentrated among respondents younger than 45 (18%). Those above that age have a low level of awareness of NGOs (8%).

It is interesting that there were no democracy or rights activities listed by survey respondents or mentioned by focus group participants. Also, when asked whether they would take part in the activities of NGOs that promote democracy, most focus group participants reply they would not. Reasons include the participants' feeling that he/she did not know enough about democracy to help and the opinion that it would be useless to do democracy work because there is no democracy in Ukraine.

Those who are aware of NGOs as organizations were asked how necessary NGOs are for Ukraine. Fourteen percent of these respondents think that NGOs are essential for Ukraine, 30% think they are necessary, 17% don't think they are very necessary, 6% don't think they are necessary at all, and 33% don't know. Nearly twice as many respondents think NGOs are necessary or essential than those think that they are not very or at all necessary.

These respondents were also asked about their level of confidence in NGOs (Figure 26).

Figure 26. Confidence in NGOs



“Now, look at this list of private institutions. For each, please tell me how much confidence you have in them: Non-Governmental Organizations.” (n=933)

Twenty-seven percent of respondents have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in NGOs, while 20% do not have much or any confidence. A majority of respondents (53%) do not know whether to have confidence or not.

The high percentage of “Don't know” responses to this question and the previous question on necessity of NGOs suggests that even those who know of NGOs do not necessarily understand their functions or place in society. The data suggests that respondents have to be aware of NGOs to be able to make value judgments on these organizations. Eighty percent of those who are aware of NGOs think that they are essential or necessary for Ukraine and 57% of these respondents have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in these institutions.

The survey and focus group data indicates that in order for NGOs to be perceived as effective and necessary institutions by a large part of the Ukrainian public, they must first make citizens aware of their functions and activities. A first step might be increasing their presence in rural areas and small towns where the increased exposure could translate into greater valuation for NGOs in Ukraine.

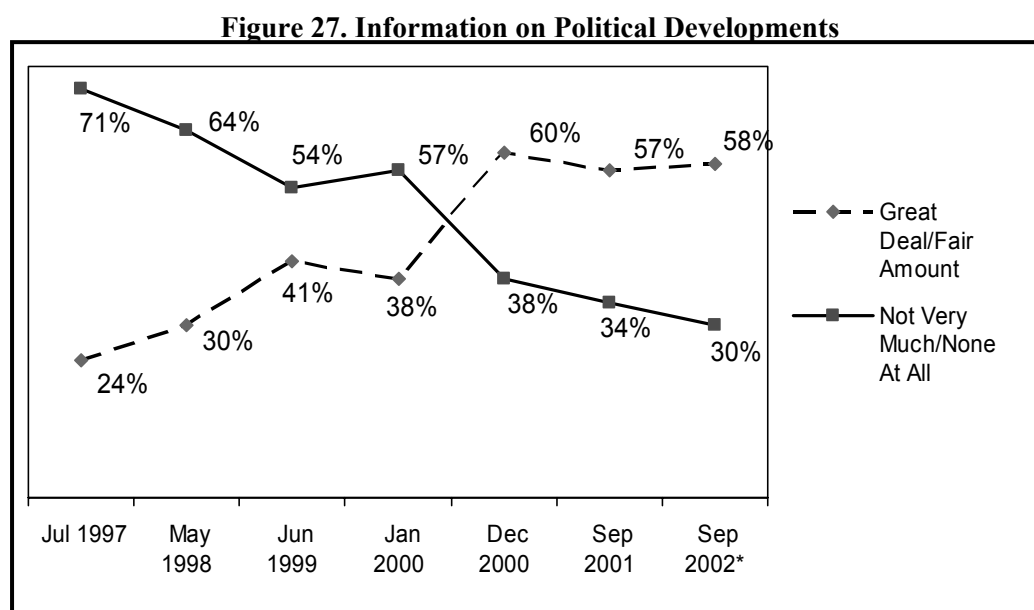
Finally, only 3% of respondents are currently active members of NGOs. Given the low levels of awareness of NGOs, this is not surprising. Few focus group participants reported being willing to volunteer for NGOs, primarily because of economic difficulties.

VIII. Information Levels and Media

The ongoing controversy over government pressure on the media and journalists over the past years has focused both international and domestic attention on the media environment in Ukraine. In the short term, this situation seems to have created general support for the media among citizens of Ukraine and have led to increased interest not only on this issue, but general political matters. This chapter will describe general and specific information levels in Ukraine, as well as the use of various media sources.

Information Levels

A majority of respondents report having a great deal or fair amount of information on political developments in Ukraine. This is in keeping with the pattern of responses observed over the last two years (Figure 27).



"How much information do you feel you have about political developments in Ukraine?" (n=1200)

Not surprisingly, information on political developments generally increases with an increase in interest in politics. Thirty-five percent of those not at all interested in politics say they have a great deal or fair amount of information on political developments. This compares with 52% for those not too interested in politics, 63% for those somewhat interested and 65% for those very interested. The lowest levels of information are professed by respondents in the northern (44%) and north-western (46%) regions of the country. A majority of respondents have a great deal or fair amount of information in the rest of the country.

Information levels increase with the level of education. Ethnic Russians (60%) and Ukrainians (57%) have roughly the same level of information on political developments.

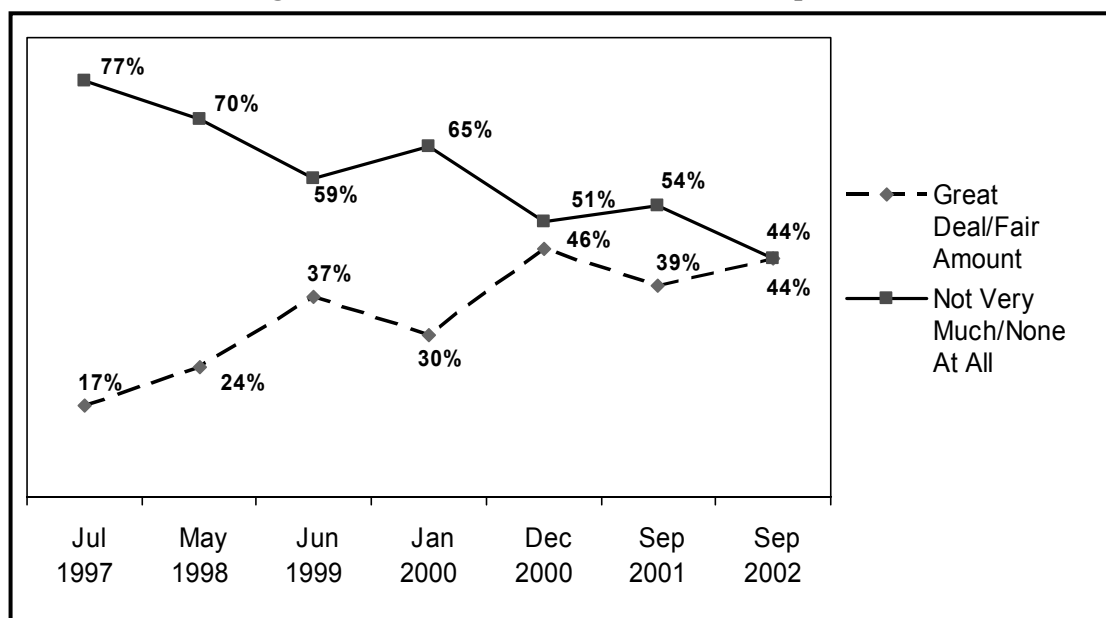
One demographic characteristic for which there is a large difference is gender. Men are significantly more likely to say that they have a great deal or fair amount of information on political developments (63%) than women (54%). This is especially the case in rural areas, where 64% of men have a great deal or fair amount of information compared to 46% of women. An even larger difference occurs for respondents with education only up to the primary level, where 63% of men are informed compared to 37% of women. Women with

secondary-level and university education have slightly less information than their male counterparts.

The level of Information on political developments correlates with opinions on many of the questions discussed earlier, particularly with respect to elections and voting. Those who have a great deal or fair amount of information are more likely to believe that voting influences decision-making than those who do not have much or any information on political developments. Those with information on political developments are more likely to have voted in the 2002 parliamentary election (82%) than those with no information at all (68%), and they are also more certain to vote in 2004 (66% versus 44% of those not informed).

There is less information on economic developments among respondents (44%) but on a positive note, this is the first IFES survey in which an equal percentage of respondents say they have a great deal or fair amount of information on economic developments as those who say they do not have much or none at all (44%, Figure 28).

Figure 28. Information on Economic Developments



“And how much information do you feel you have about economic developments in Ukraine?” (n=1200)

The gender differences observed when talking about information on political developments above also occur for this question. Men are more likely to have information on economic developments (50%) than women (40%). Less educated women and rural women are likely to have substantially less information on economic developments than their male counterparts.

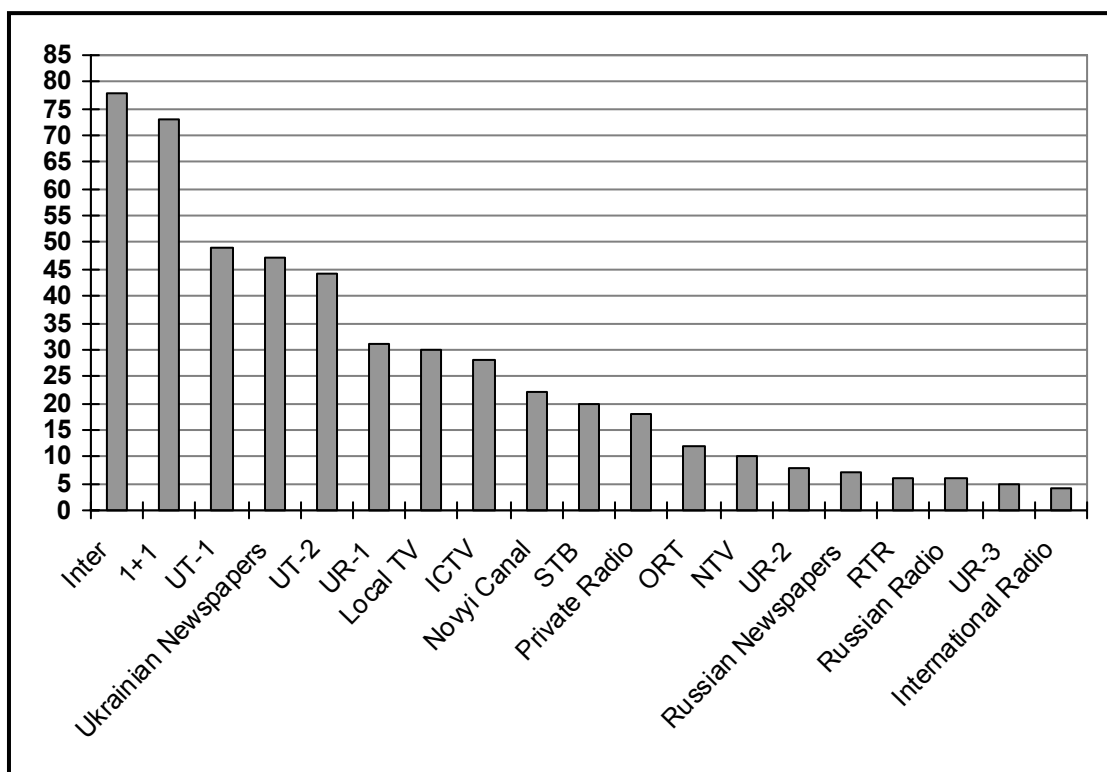
Respondents were also asked how much information their city/village local self-government provides about its budget and activities. Overall, 1% say their local self-government provides a great deal of information and 13% have a fair amount of information on the local budget and activities. Thirty-five percent of respondents do not have much information and 34% have no information at all on this subject. The lack of information is more prevalent in rural areas, where only 6% of respondents have a great deal or fair amount of information on local budgets and activities, compared to 17% in large cities, 20% in medium-sized cities, and 19% in smaller towns and cities. There are no significant gender differences, with 14% of both men and women reporting a great deal or fair amount of information.

Of those who report receiving information from their local self-government on its budget and activities, a plurality feels that this information is not too reliable (34%) or not reliable at all (10%). On the other hand, 32% of respondents feel that the information provided is somewhat reliable and only 1% feel it is very reliable. The data indicates that confidence in city/village councils and mayors increases with the amount of information provided by local self-governments and the perceptions of reliability of this information.

Sources of Information

Respondents were asked about the media sources they mainly use for political and economic news in Ukraine, as well as their primary and secondary sources of information. Television is the primary source of information for most Ukrainians (Figure 29).

Figure 29. Main Sources of Information (in percent)

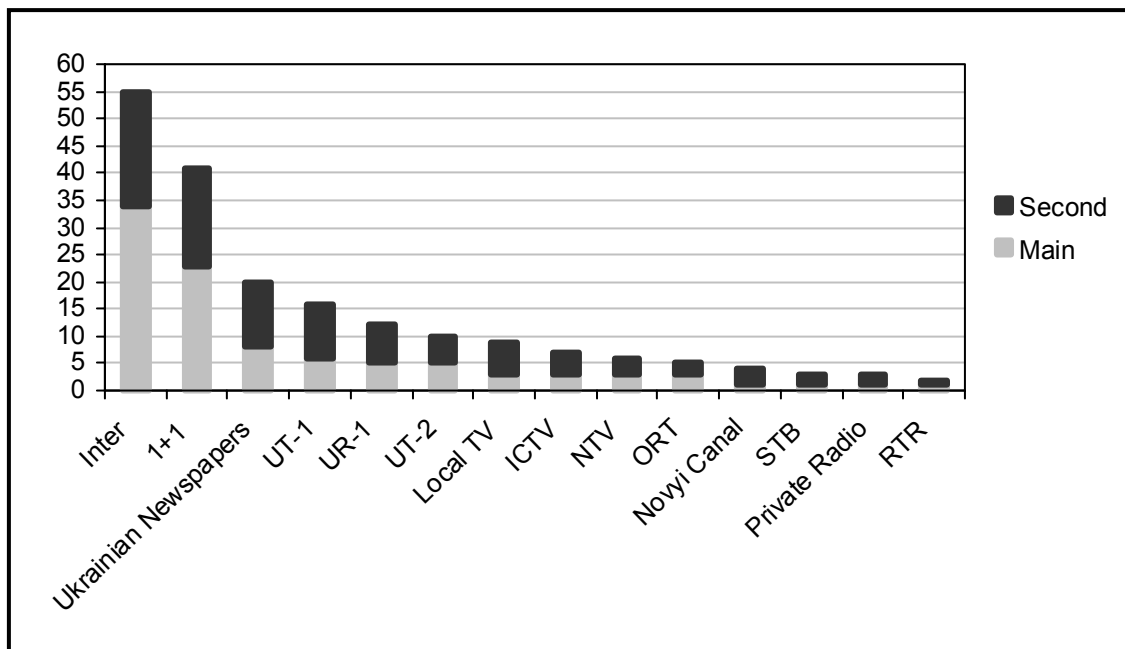


“What media are your main sources of information about political and economic events in Ukraine?”
 (n=1200)

Two private television channels, Inter and 1+1, are reported to be their main sources of information by over 70% of respondents. UT-1, a government run television station, is mentioned by (49%) of respondents. Ukrainian newspapers are mentioned by 47% followed by another government-run television station, UT-2 (44%). UR-1 is the most popular radio station (31%). The two television stations that broadcast from Russia, ORT and NTV, are listed by 12% and 10%, respectively.

As far as primary sources of information on political and economic events, Inter and 1+1 are the two leading primary sources by far in the country. Figure 30 lists the primary and second choice sources reported by respondents.

Figure 30. Primary and Second Choice Media Sources



*“Of all these you mentioned, which one do you rely on the most for political and economic news?”
 “And which one is the next most important source of political and economic news for you?”*

The figure above indicates that, although Ukrainians might use many different media sources for news and information, most gravitate toward television for their primary and second choice sources for news. Inter is the primary media source for 33% of the respondents and it is also the leading second choice among respondents (20%). 1+1 is the second leading primary choice (22%) and second choice (17%). Ukrainian newspapers are used as the primary source for news and information by 8% and a higher percentage uses them as second-choice sources (12%). Each of the official television and radio sources are used as primary and second-choice sources by 16% or less of the respondents: UT-1 (16%), UR-1 (12%), and UR-2 (10%). Television channels originating in Russia are used as primary and second-choice sources by a small percentage of respondents: NTV (6%), ORT (5%), and RTR (2%).

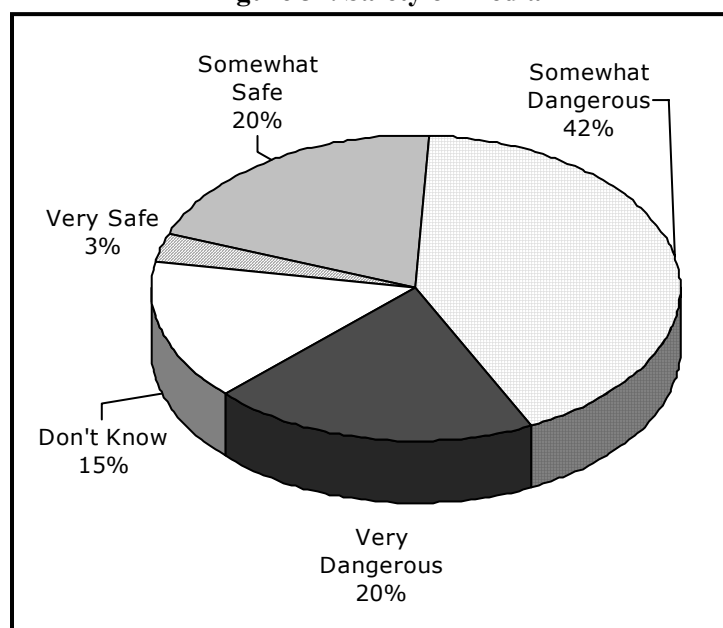
There are some key demographic differences in choice of media sources. These include:

- Respondents 56 and over are most likely to use the official government sources as primary sources, UT-1 (10%) and UR-1 (9%).
- Respondents 56 and over are also most likely to use Ukrainian newspapers as primary sources; however all other age groups are as likely to use Ukrainian newspapers as second-choice sources as the oldest age group.
- Respondents in rural areas are more likely to use UT-1 and UR-1 than those in urban areas; although rural respondents are generally as likely to use Inter as urban respondents and slightly less likely to use 1+1.
- Respondents in the youngest age group (18-25) mostly rely on television sources as their primary and second-choice sources with most of the channels being private channels; there is little use of government-operated channels by the 18-25 age group.
- As would be expected, ethnic Russians are more likely to list Russian television stations as primary and second-choice sources than ethnic Ukrainians.
- Only 2% of respondents in the West list Inter as their primary source of information for news and information. Respondents in the West also are least likely to list 1+1 as their primary or second-choice source.

For each of the media sources, a majority of the respondents who list them as their primary source think that the source is very or somewhat objective. This is understandable given the respondent's choice of that media source for news and information. These opinions, however, do not reflect the comments of the focus group participants on this issue. Most of the focus group participants report that they do not think that any one particular media source is completely objective in presenting news, even independent sources. Rather, they use a variety of ways to decide whether the news they hear is the *actual* news. Some participants in the focus group look for visual cues from the news anchors to determine accuracy, but most watch, read, or listen to multiple media sources to determine the accuracy of the news.

Doubts about the objectivity of media sources may arise because a majority of respondents feel that it is somewhat or very dangerous for the media in Ukraine to report news objectively if the news is critical of those in power (Figure 31).

Figure 31. Safety of Media



"In your opinion, how safe is it for media in Ukraine to broadcast or print news and information objectively, even if this is critical of those in power? Is it very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat dangerous, or very dangerous?" (n=1200)

The past few years have seen an increased focus on the safety of journalists in Ukraine and the pressure applied by the government on media outlets in the country. A hearing on this issue held by a parliamentary committee on December 4, 2002 revealed evidence from many journalists of pressures applied by the government to censor information published or reported by the media. The types of pressure used include official written directives from the presidential administration on editorial policy, as well as fiscal and economic pressure on media outlets.⁵

It is not surprising then, that 62% of respondents feel that it is very or somewhat dangerous for journalists to report news objectively. Attitudes toward media freedom are strongly related to attitudes toward Ukrainian democracy. Among those who think Ukraine is a democracy, 46% think that it is very or somewhat safe for journalists to report news objectively while 47% think it is dangerous. Among respondents who don't think Ukraine is a democracy, 17% think it is safe for journalists in Ukraine to report news objectively while

⁵ "Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine Report", RFE/RL, 17 Dec. 2002, Vol. 4, No. 48.

73% think it is dangerous. Media freedom seems to be an important criterion for respondents when evaluating democracy in Ukraine.

Respondents were also asked how much confidence they have in the media in general. A majority report either a great deal of confidence in the media (6%) or a fair amount of confidence (52%). Given the doubts about the safety of journalists in Ukraine in the survey findings and the strong reservations about media objectiveness in the focus group findings, it seems that confidence in the media might be more a gesture of support than a signal of approval for the quality of coverage.

IX. Conclusion

Consistent with IFES' findings in past surveys, this year's findings lead to the conclusion that the majority of the Ukrainian public possesses a bleak outlook on socio-political developments in Ukraine. The social and economic upheavals that have buffeted Ukraine since independence have left its people dispirited, and disappointment with the economic situation colors their outlook on a litany of issues. This dissatisfaction is further driven by perceptions of the practice of democracy in Ukraine, the pace of political and economic reforms, the performance of public officials and institutions, and the prevalence of corruption in the country. Recent trends in relation to all of these factors portend an uncertain and troubled future.

Nine out of ten Ukrainians rate current economic conditions as very bad or somewhat bad, and most do not think the economic situation will improve over the course of the next year. To a large extent, this pessimism fuels the dissatisfaction of Ukrainians with their leaders and institutions. This dissatisfaction might also be expected to cause Ukrainians to doubt the promise of market reforms and begin looking again to the past. In IFES surveys before 2001, a plurality of those with a negative economic outlook were indeed prone to supporting a centrally-planned economy. But in the last two years, a plurality of respondents in this group support a move to a market economy. This signals a fundamental shift in Ukrainian attitudes toward market reform and is worthy of future research to ascertain the dynamics underlying the pro-market trend. In the least, it suggests that pro-market policies and political platforms have become more palatable amongst the Ukrainian public. At best, it may reflect a broader ideological shift that supercedes day-to-day concerns. Still, other competing trends should give caution to optimists.

Demographic and other trends that may serve to explain this shift are not observable within IFES' data. In the least, it suggests that pro-market policies and political platforms have become more palatable amongst the Ukrainian public. At best, it may reflect a broader ideological shift that supercedes day-to-day concerns. Still, other competing trends should give caution to optimists.

While the shift in attitudes favoring a market economy is encouraging, official corruption may act as a driving force for an opposing, reactionary trend. While this is not yet the case, or is not yet overwhelming gains in positive orientation to market principles, corruption places support for certain elements of market reform at risk. In particular, those who think that officials benefit from privatization are much more skeptical about the benefits of market reform. Those same respondents are also much more likely to oppose privatization in key sectors. Maintaining the trend toward support for market reforms will necessarily involve convincing these skeptics that privatization is a fair and transparent enterprise. Actions on this front will likely speak louder than words.

Corruption also creates an impression that money rules politics. A significant percentage of Ukrainians believe that Ukraine is not a democracy because of widespread official corruption. Related to this is the persistent belief that ordinary citizens do not have influence on decision-making in Ukraine. Those who see corruption as a serious problem are naturally more likely to hold this view. Overall opinions on efficacy⁶ have stayed relatively stable over the past few IFES surveys. The lack of efficacy is manifest in the relatively low level of contact with public officials, as well as the lack of initiative on the part of most Ukrainians to take action to address important issues. All of these trends point to a sense of disillusionment with the current political order. Mirroring this is a three-year upward trend in those who simply do not

⁶ The belief that voting does not allow citizens to impact decision-making, that politics is too complicated, or that citizens have little influence over decision-making in Ukraine.

know if Ukraine is a democracy and a return in this year's data to all-time lows in those who think that Ukraine is categorically not a democracy.

Despite this disillusionment, Ukrainians do exhibit an exceptional rate of participation in elections. More than three-quarters of the respondents report having voted in the 2002 parliamentary elections and a higher percentage are likely to vote in the 2004 presidential elections. On the surface, these facts seem encouraging for Ukrainian democracy. Most Ukrainians, however, think that the 2002 elections were unfair and a plurality expect the 2004 election to be unfair as well. Given this lack of confidence, it is questionable how long high rates of participation can be sustained. A sense of civic duty and hope for a better future push Ukrainians to the polls at present, but continued irregularities could just as easily reverse this trend. These findings indicate that further improvements in the administration of elections must be made part of an overall package of reforms aimed at combating corruption and restoring public confidence in government institutions.

Unfair elections and corruption are two reasons why most Ukrainians do not think their country is a democracy, others include media repression and a weak judiciary. A majority of those who think that Ukraine is not a democracy also feel that it is dangerous for journalists to objectively report the news, and that the media is generally subjected to censorship. Concerns about the legal system are also a strong predictor of opinions on democracy, providing further indication of the importance of rule of law programs in Ukraine. These concerns are exacerbated by a majority perception that outside influences significantly impact judicial decisions. Accordingly, rule of law programs that emphasize the independence of the judiciary from political or other influences are likely to be most effective.

The overall effect of the grave economic situation, corruption, and the decline in the rule of law has been low confidence in most Ukrainian institutions, both governmental and non-governmental. Confidence in many government institutions is intimately linked with the public's perceptions of its ability to deliver the services it promises. This is particularly the case at the local level. At the national level, confidence in nearly all institutions is extremely low. The military, which has traditionally been the exception to this rule, suffered a marked decline in confidence this year, which may be due to two military accidents that resulted in civilian casualties. The erosion in confidence in President Kuchma, however, has been gradual and building over the last three years and is likely attributable to incidents and allegations that continue to question his commitment to rule of law and citizens' rights.

Perceptions of civil society in Ukraine paint a less bleak, yet uninspiring picture. The Church continues to elicit high levels of confidence from Ukrainians. Political parties and NGOs, however, failed to rally support from the public. In the case of political parties, the continued fragmentation of the non-Communist majority is likely the source of disillusionment. Most non-Communist parties have yet to develop reliable membership or constituent bases. Ukrainians may vote in large numbers for various political parties and blocs, but the inability of coalitions and blocs to remain intact after elections renders support for most parties tenuous. Only with better organization and differentiated messages can political parties in Ukraine start to rally meaningful public support.

In the case of NGOs, lack of organization and communication hampers recognition of these institutions as vital cogs of democratic society. Those who know about NGO activities in Ukraine generally have a positive image of these organizations. The problem is that most Ukrainians are not aware of their activities. This is particularly concerning in relation to findings elsewhere that trust in institutions of civil society is frequently linked with trust in

state institutions in Ukraine and other Eastern European countries.⁷ If Ukrainian civil society is to play a meaningful role in the country's development, both political parties and NGOs must concentrate on outreach, education, and collaboration, leveraging their collective resources and giving voters and active citizens real opportunities for participation.

The political and economic situation in Ukraine clearly fails to meet the expectations of the average Ukrainian. This is not surprising and has remained constant over time. Ukrainians still lament their economic hardships and, rightfully, blame their public officials for not taking adequate measures to improve the situation. Giving hope to pro-reform constituencies, however, is that commitment to the ideologies of market economics and participatory governance is strong. In order to capitalize on this ideological momentum, leaders of the reform movement will need to show equal commitment, as well as greater unity than is currently perceived by the public. The alternative is a persisting and widespread sense of unfulfilled promises.

⁷ "At present...most citizens do not distinguish between institutions of state and society; they judge them holistically and evaluate them skeptically." From William Mishler and Richard Rose, "Trust, Distrust and Skepticism: Popular Evaluations of Civil and Political Institutions in Post-Communist Societies," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 59, No. 2. (May, 1997), 433.

Appendix 1. Data Tables^{8 9}

Q1. How much information do you feel you have about political developments in Ukraine -- a great deal, fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

	5/98 (1200)	6/99 (1200)	1-2/00 (1200)	11-12/00 (1500)	9/01 (1500)	9/02 (1200)
Great deal	5%	5%	7%	12%	8%	11%
Fair amount	25%	36%	31%	48%	49%	47%
Not very much	52%	47%	47%	32%	31%	26%
None at all	12%	7%	10%	6%	3%	3%
Don't know	6%	4%	4%	2%	2%	2%
No answer	★	★	1%	★	7%	--
Not interested in this			--	--	--	11%
Total	100%	99% ✓	100%	100%	100%	100%

Q2. How much information do you feel you have about economic developments in Ukraine -- a great deal, fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

	5/98 (1200)	6/99 (1200)	1-2/00 (1200)	11-12/00 (1500)	9/01 (1500)	9/02 (1200)
Great deal	2%	5%	5%	7%	4%	6%
Fair amount	22%	32%	25%	39%	35%	38%
Not very much	55%	51%	51%	43%	48%	36%
None at all	15%	8%	14%	8%	6%	8%
Don't know	5%	5%	4%	3%	3%	8%
No answer	★	★	1%	★	5%	4%
Total	99% ✓	100%	100%	100%	101% ✓	100%

⁸ When applicable, the results of former surveys are included with this year's data. For the results of surveys completed before 5/1998, please contact Mr. Rakesh Sharma: Rakesh@ifes.org or (202) 828-4185.

⁹ There may be a slight variation between numbers presented in the analysis and the data tables due to rounding error (there are only a few cases, and the difference is never greater than 1 per cent).

Q3. What media are your main sources of information about political and economic events in Ukraine? MARK ALL

	9/02
	(1200)
National newspapers	47%
Russian newspapers	7%
Other international papers	1%
UT-1	50%
UT-2	44%
Inter	78%
1+1	73%
Novyi Kanal	22%
ICTV	28%
STB	20%
NTV	10%
ORT	12%
RTR	6%
Local TV	30%
Other Ukrainian TV	3%
Other Int'l TV	2%
UR-1	31%
UR-2	8%
UR-3	5%
Private radio	18%
Russian radio	6%
Other int'l radio	4%
Ukrainian internet sites	1%
Russian internet sites	1%
Other int'l internet sites	1%

Q4. Of all these you mentioned, which one do you rely on the most for political and economic news?

	9/02
	(1200)
National newspapers	8%
Russian newspapers	1%
Other int'l papers	★
UT-1	6%
UT-2	5%
Inter	34%
1+1	23%
Novyi Kanal	1%
ICTV	3%
STB	1%
NTV	3%
ORT	3%
RTR	1%
Local TV	3%
Other Ukrainian TV	★
Other Int'l TV	★
UR-1	5%
UR-2	★
UR-3	★
Private radio	1%
Russian radio	★
Other int'l radio	2%
Ukrainian internet sites	★
Russian internet sites	★
Other int'l internet sites	★
Total	99% ✓

Q5. And which one is the next most important source of political and economic news for you?

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
National newspapers	12%
Russian newspapers	1%
UT-1	10%
UT-2	5%
Inter	21%
1+1	18%
Novyi Kanal	3%
ICTV	4%
STB	2%
NTV	3%
ORT	2%
RTR	1%
Local TV	6%
Other Ukrainian TV	★
Other Int'l TV	★
UR-1	7%
UR-2	★
UR-3	★
Private radio	2%
Russian radio	★
Other int'l radio	1%
Ukrainian internet sites	★
Other int'l internet sites	★
Total	98% ✓

For each of the different sources that you mentioned, please tell me how objective each one is in your opinion. Is it very objective, somewhat objective, not too objective, or not objective at all? [Asked Only For Main Information Sources Cited]

Q6A. National newspapers

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	12%
Somewhat objective	69%
Not too objective	16%
Not at all objective	1%
Don't Know	2%
Total	100%

Q6B. Russian newspapers

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	4%
Somewhat objective	92%
Not too objective	4%
Total	100%

Q6C. Other International Newspapers

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Don't Know	100%
Total	100%

Q6D. UT-1

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	13%
Somewhat objective	58%
Not too objective	16%
Not at all objective	2%
Don't Know	11%
Total	100%

Q6E. UT-2

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	18%
Somewhat objective	66%
Not too objective	7%
Not at all objective	2%
Don't Know	6%
Total	99% ✓

Q6F. Inter

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	15%
Somewhat objective	64%
Not too objective	14%
Not at all objective	1%
Don't Know	6%
Total	100%

Q6G. 1+1

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	17%
Somewhat objective	64%
Not too objective	11%
Not at all objective	★
Don't Know	8%
Total	100%

Q6H. Novyi Kanal

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	27%
Somewhat objective	57%
Not too objective	9%
Don't Know	7%
Total	100%

Q6I. ICTV

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	9%
Somewhat objective	81%
Not too objective	4%
Don't Know	6%
Total	100%

Q6J. STB

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	17%
Somewhat objective	73%
Not too objective	6%
Don't Know	4%
Total	100%

Q6K. NTV

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	21%
Somewhat objective	64%
Not too objective	10%
Don't Know	6%
Total	101% ✓

Q6L. ORT

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	13%
Somewhat objective	78%
Not too objective	5%
Don't Know	4%
Total	100%

Q6M. RTR

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	20%
Somewhat objective	48%
Not too objective	27%
Don't Know	5%
Total	100%

Q6N. Local TV stations

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	6%
Somewhat objective	67%
Not too objective	11%
Not at all objective	4%
Don't Know	12%
Total	100%

Q6O. Other Ukrainian TV

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	24%
Somewhat objective	37%
Don't Know	40%
Total	101% ✓

Q6P. Other International TV

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Not too objective	100%
Total	100%

Q6Q. UR-1

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	13%
Somewhat objective	58%
Not too objective	17%
Not at all objective	3%
Don't Know	9%
Total	99% ✓

Q6R. UR-2

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	4%
Somewhat objective	59%
Not too objective	15%
Don't Know	22%
Total	100%

Q6S. UR-3

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	38%
Somewhat objective	52%
Not too objective	10%
Total	100%

Q6T. Private Radio Stations

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	12%
Somewhat objective	68%
Not too objective	16%
Don't Know	5%
Total	101% ✓

Q6U. Russian Radio Stations

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Somewhat objective	82%
Not too objective	18%
Total	100%

Q6V. Other International radio

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very objective	94%
Somewhat objective	3%
Don't Know	3%
Total	100%

Q6W. Ukrainian Internet Sites

	9/02
	(1200)
Very objective	22%
Somewhat objective	41%
Not too objective	37%
Total	100%

Q6X. Russian Internet Sites

	9/02
	(1200)
Not too objective	100%
Total	100%

Q6Y. Other International news sites

	9/02
	(1200)
Somewhat objective	100%
Total	100%

Q7. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the situation in Ukraine today?

	5/98	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Generally satisfied	★	★	★	1%	2%	2%
Somewhat satisfied	3%	2%	5%	4%	9%	9%
Somewhat dissatisfied	28%	29%	36%	33%	39%	41%
Generally dissatisfied	68%	65%	56%	59%	46%	44%
Don't know	1%	2%	2%	2%	4%	5%
No answer	★	★	★	1%	--	--
Total	100%	98% ✓	99% ✓	100%	100%	101% ✓

Q8. How would you describe the economic situation in Ukraine today? Is it?

	9/02
	(1200)
Very good	★
Somewhat good	7%
Somewhat bad	43%
Very bad	43%
Don't know	7%
Total	100%

Q9. And in your opinion, will the economic situation in Ukraine in a year be better than it is now, remain the same, or get worse?

	5/98	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Better than now	10%	7%	16%	13%	27%	13%
Remain the same	38%	35%	35%	35%	46%	44%
Get worse	40%	44%	36%	41%	11%	22%
Don't know	11%	14%	13%	12%	15%	21%
No answer	★	★	★	★	--	--
Total	99% ✓	100%	100%	101% ✓	99% ✓	100%

Q10. Here you see a picture with a scale of one to five where one means a pure market economy and five means an economy that is completely centrally planned by the state. Where on that scale should Ukraine be located in the future?

	5/98	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
1 (Pure market economy)	9%	9%	9%	14%	14%	10%
2	10%	11%	19%	18%	18%	26%
3	23%	26%	33%	32%	30%	28%
4	12%	15%	12%	13%	12%	11%
5 (Centrally planned)	26%	22%	14%	14%	14%	6%
Don't know	18%	16%	13%	10%	14%	19%
No answer	2%	1%	1%	★	--	--
Total	100%	100%	101% ✓	101% ✓	102% ✓	100%

Q11. In general, would you say that economic reforms in Ukraine are occurring too quickly, too slowly, or at the right pace?

	5/98	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Too quickly	13%	5%	6%	6%	3%	1%
Too slowly	45%	43%	38%	52%	50%	47%
At the right pace	8%	6%	9%	5%	10%	9%
Reforms not happening	★	26%	21%	20%	19%	26%
Reforms are late	--	--	3%	--	--	--
Don't know	31%	19%	22%	16%	18%	17%
No answer	4%	2%	1%	1%	--	--
Total	101% ✓	101% ✓	100%	100%	100%	101% ✓

Q12. Can you tell me how interested you are in matters of politics and government – are you very interested, not too interested, or not at all interested

	5/98	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Very interested	14%	13%	15%	18%	15%	12%
Somewhat interested	36%	30%	35%	47%	47%	48%
Not too interested	23%	35%	30%	23%	23%	24%
Not at all interested	25%	21%	18%	11%	11%	11%
Don't know	2%	1%	1%	1%	4%	5%
No answer	★	★	★	★	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Q13. How often do you talk about politics when you converse with your friends? Do you talk about politics – often, sometimes, rarely or never?

	9/02
	(1200)
Often	24%
Sometimes	34%
Rarely	26%
Never	14%
Don't know	2
Total	100%

I will now read you several statements. For each statement, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the statement.

Q14A. Voting gives people like you a chance to influence decision-making in our country.

	5/98	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Strongly agree	5%	11%	17%	13%	9%	8%
Somewhat agree	20%	24%	23%	21%	21%	19%
Somewhat disagree	26%	29%	25%	29%	31%	28%
Strongly disagree	33%	29%	27%	33%	32%	38%
Neither Agree nor disagree	9%	2%	1%	--	--	--
Don't know	6%	5%	6%	4%	8%	8%
No answer	1%	★	1%	★	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	101% ✓	100%

Q14B. Sometimes politics is so complicated that people like you can't understand what's really happening.

	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Strongly agree	34%	36%	44%	37%	35%
Somewhat agree	29%	34%	32%	36%	35%
Somewhat disagree	19%	15%	14%	16%	15%
Strongly disagree	11%	8%	6%	6%	9%
Neither agree nor disagree	1%	1%	--	--	--
Don't know	4%	5%	4%	7%	8%
No answer	1%	1%	1%	--	--
Total	99% ✓	100%	101% ✓	102% ✓	102% ✓

Q14C. People like you can have influence on the decision made by the government.

	9/02
	(1200)
Strongly agree	4%
Somewhat agree	10%
Somewhat disagree	23%
Strongly disagree	54%
Don't know	9%
Total	100%

Q15. Is Ukraine a Democracy?

	5/98	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Yes	19%	17%	31%	22%	30%	18%
No	55%	58%	50%	59%	46%	53%
Other	9%	10%	6%	2%	3%	2%
Don't know	15%	14%	12%	16%	20%	27%
No answer	1%	1%	★	1%	--	--
Total	99% ✓	100%	99% ✓	100%	99% ✓	100%

Q16A. Why do you think that Ukraine is a democracy [Open ended; multiple responses accepted]

	9/02
	(210)
Public liberties exist	39%
Market transformation is being conducted	4%
Independence of Ukraine	7%
Free elections	3%
Ukraine is a democratic state	6%
Other	2%
Don't know	44%

Q16B. Why do you think that Ukraine is not a democracy [Open ended; multiple responses accepted]

	9/02
	<u>(640)</u>
Laws are not implemented	8%
Democracy in name only	5%
Corruption and mafia among authorities	10%
State doesn't care about people	6%
People do not have influence	6%
Increase in Crime	2%
Dictatorship, Authoritarianism	5%
Differences in standards of living	10%
No order	2%
Violation of human rights	9%
Anarchy, chaos	3%
There isn't equality	2%
Dishonest elections	3%
Oligarchical government	1%
Free elections	1%
Murder of journalists	2%
Money decides problems	2%
Violations of freedom of speech	4%
Other	3%
Don't know	30%

Q17. Is Ukraine moving toward becoming a democracy or not? [If 2 to Q15]

	5/98	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>	<u>(993)</u>	<u>(822)</u>	<u>(1174)</u>	<u>(1046)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Moving toward becoming a democracy	22%	20%	35%	23%	39%	23%
Not moving toward becoming a democracy	36%	38%	38%	51%	32%	59%
Don't know	22%	25%	26%	25%	29%	19%
No answer	1%	1%	1%	1%	--	--
Total	100%	101% ✓	100%	100%	100%	101% ✓

Please take a look at the list of rights on this card. How important is it to you that each of the following rights is respected in Ukraine? Is it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all?

Q18A. Once can choose from several parties and candidates when voting

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very important	37%
Somewhat important	37%
Not very important	15%
Not at all important	4%
Don't know	8%
Total	101% ✓

Q18B. Elections are free and fair.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very important	66%
Somewhat important	25%
Not very important	4%
Not at all important	2%
Don't know	4%
Total	101% ✓

Q18C. The rights of women are protected equally under the law.

	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Very important	58%	52%
Somewhat important	32%	33%
Not very important	4%	7%
Not at all important	2%	2%
Don't know	5%	6%
Total	101% ✓	100%

Q18D. The rights of minority ethnic groups are protected.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very important	36%
Somewhat important	35%
Not very important	15%
Not at all important	5%
Don't know	9%
Total	100%

Q18E. The private property of individuals is protected by law.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very important	53%
Somewhat important	30%
Not very important	6%
Not at all important	2%
Don't know	9%
Total	100%

Q18F. Citizens have the right to form political parties.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very important	23%
Somewhat important	30%
Not very important	23%
Not at all important	14%
Don't know	10%
Total	100%

Q18G. The right to criticize high public officials is protected.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very important	42%
Somewhat important	34%
Not very important	11%
Not at all important	4%
Don't know	9%
Total	100%

Q18H. All can freely practice the religion of one's choice.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very important	46%
Somewhat important	34%
Not very important	10%
Not at all important	3%
Don't know	7%
Total	100%

Q18I. All can form associations or unions without any government involvement.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very important	22%
Somewhat important	34%
Not very important	18%
Not at all important	10%
Don't know	16%
Total	100%

Q19. Next, I will read you a list of actions governments sometimes take to ensure order. Please tell me for each, whether the action can always be justified, sometimes be justified, or never be justified. The answers are listed on your card.

Q19A. Limit the activities of certain political parties

	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	17%	12%
Sometimes be justified	48%	47%
Never be justified	20%	23%
Don't know	16%	19%
Total	101% ✓	101% ✓

Q19B. Limit the rights of citizens to protest

	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	7%	7%
Sometimes be justified	35%	35%
Never be justified	45%	45%
Don't know	13%	14%
Total	100%	101% ✓

Q19C. Limit freedom of the press

	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	5%	6%
Sometimes be justified	31%	30%
Never be justified	51%	51%
Don't know	12%	14%
Total	99% ✓	101% ✓

Q19D. Limit the authority of the courts

	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	5%	8%
Sometimes be justified	22%	27%
Never be justified	52%	41%
Don't know	21%	25%
Total	100%	101% ✓

Q19E. Limit the activities of citizens' groups and unions

	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	10%	8%
Sometimes be justified	40%	40%
Never be justified	29%	27%
Don't know	21%	26%
Total	100%	101% ✓

Q20. Have you ever contacted an official in your city/village local self-government before to help solve a problem?

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Yes	24%	22%	30%
No	75%	76%	67%
Don't know	★	2%	3%
No answer	2%	--	--
Total	101% ✓	100%	100%

Q21. [IF NO TO Q20] Why haven't you ever contacted these officials before? [Multiple answers allowed]

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1125)</u>	<u>(1144)</u>	<u>(807)</u>
Difficult to arrange an appointment	2%	2%	2%
Not necessary	27%	--	33%
Don't believe they will help/hopeless	32%	23%	32%
Effort/cost greater than benefit	18%	36%	--
Work out my problems unassisted	10%	26%	26%
Don't trust them	--	8%	12%
Other	1%	2%	2%
Don't know	8%	2%	★
No answer	2%	--	--

Q22. [If yes to Q20] Did the elected official respond to you?

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(352)</u>	<u>(328)</u>	<u>(357)</u>
Yes	73%	65%	57%
No	15%	19%	16%
Partially	12%	16%	26%
Don't know	★	★	1%
No answer	★	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%

Q23. [If yes to Q22] How satisfied were you with the response of this official?

	9/02
	<u>(298)</u>
Completely dissatisfied	21%
Somewhat dissatisfied	28%
Somewhat satisfied	34%
Completely satisfied	14%
Don't know	2%
No answer	★
Total	99% ✓

Q24. How much information does your city/village local self-government provide about its budget and activities? Would you say it provides a great deal of information, a fair amount, not very much, or no information at all?

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Great deal	1%
Fair amount	13%
Not very much	35%
None at all	34%
Not interested in this	10%
Don't know	6%
Total	99% ✓

- Q25. How reliable and trustworthy is the information you receive from your local self-government. It is very reliable, somewhat reliable, not too reliable, or not reliable at all?

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very reliable	1%
Somewhat reliable	32%
Not too reliable	34%
Not reliable at all	10%
Don't get any information from local self-government	3%
Don't know	19%
Total	99% ✓

- Q26. In general, what is your main source of information about the activities of your city/village local self-government? [Only One Answer Allowed]

	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
National newspapers	1%	6%
Local newspapers	20%	36%
National radio	1%	5%
Local radio	8%	20%
National television	8%	13%
Local television	16%	32%
Local Officials	2%	8%
Friends/Acquaintances	22%	40%
Other	1%	1%
No information available	15%	14%
Not interested in local government	3%	5%
Don't Know	3%	2%

- Q27. I will now provide you with a list of services provided by your city/village local government. Please tell me if you have noticed improvement in these services over the past year, whether you have not noticed any change, or whether there has been deterioration in these services over the past

- Q27A. Water Supply

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Improvement	10%
No change	53%
Deterioration	23%
Don't know/No answer	14%
Total	100%

- Q27B. District Heating

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Improvement	7%
No change	54%
Deterioration	18%
Don't know/No answer	21%
Total	100%

Q27C. Housing Maintenance (Only for those in the urban areas)

	9/02
	(1200)
Improvement	4%
No change	40%
Deterioration	21%
Don't know/No answer	35%
Total	100%

Q28. Does your city/village local self-government have any citizen advisory boards?

	9/02
	(1200)
Yes	39%
No	8%
Don't know/No answer	53%
Total	100%

Q29. [If 1 to Q28] How effective are the citizen advisory boards in influencing the decisions of your city/village self-government?

	9/01
	(1200)
Very effective	5%
Somewhat effective	23%
Not very effective	29%
Not at all effective	9%
Don't know	35%
Total	101% ✓

For questions 30 and 31, respondents were shown a card listing possible answers and asked to rate their confidence in the institutions and individuals shown below utilizing the possible answers presented them.

Q30A. The Verkhovna Rada

	7/97	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
A great deal	2%	3%	4%	3%	4%	2%
Fair amount	14%	18%	18%	18%	27%	20%
Not very much	36%	39%	36%	40%	35%	38%
None at all	43%	32%	31%	33%	24%	28%
Don't know	5%	7%	10%	6%	10%	11%
No answer	★	1%	1%	1%	--	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	101% ✓	100%	101% ✓

Q30B. Cabinet of Ministers

	<u>7/97</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>6/99</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>1-2/00</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>11-12/00</u> <u>(1500)</u>	<u>9/01</u> <u>(1500)</u>	<u>9/02</u> <u>(1200)</u>
A great deal	2%	2%	7%	4%	4%	2%
Fair amount	14%	18%	30%	22%	30%	23%
Not very much	36%	38%	30%	35%	32%	36%
None at all	43%	31%	20%	31%	22%	25%
Don't know	5%	10%	12%	7%	13%	12%
No answer	★	1%	1%	1%	--	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	101% ✓	100%

Q30C. The President of Ukraine -- Leonid Kuchma

	<u>6/99</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>1-2/00</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>11-12/00</u> <u>(1500)</u>	<u>9/01</u> <u>(1500)</u>	<u>9/02</u> <u>(1200)</u>
A great deal	2%	20%	8%	7%	3%
Fair amount	13%	29%	21%	23%	18%
Not very much	32%	19%	28%	25%	29%
None at all	32%	21%	37%	35%	40%
Don't know	20%	9%	6%	10%	8%
No answer	2%	2%	1%	--	2%
Total	101% ✓	100%	101% ✓	100%	100%

Q30D. Ukraine's military forces

	<u>7/97</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>6/99</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>1-2/00</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>11-12/00</u> <u>(1500)</u>	<u>9/01</u> <u>(1500)</u>	<u>9/02</u> <u>(1200)</u>
A great deal	21%	17%	28%	24%	24%	9%
Fair amount	35%	42%	40%	43%	46%	39%
Not very much	22%	15%	9%	12%	11%	22%
None at all	14%	12%	7%	12%	8%	15%
Don't know	8%	12%	14%	9%	10%	12%
No answer	★	1%	2%	1%	--	2%
Total	100%	99% ✓	100%	101% ✓	99% ✓	99% ✓

Q30E. Your City/Village council

	<u>9/02</u> <u>(1200)</u>
A great deal	4%
Fair amount	33%
Not very much	30%
None at all	18%
Don't know	13%
No answer	3%
Total	101% ✓

Q30F. Mayor of your city/village local self-government

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
A great deal	7%
Fair amount	35%
Not very much	24%
None at all	17%
Don't know	14%
No answer	3%
Total	100%

Q30G. Your Raion administrator

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
A great deal	4%
Fair amount	23%
Not very much	22%
None at all	16%
Don't know	30%
No answer	5%
Total	100%

Q30H. Your Oblast governor

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
A great deal	4%
Fair amount	26%
Not very much	22%
None at all	16%
Don't know	27%
No answer	5%
Total	100%

And how much confidence do you have in each of the following branches of the legal system to treat people with fairness and justice when making their decisions?

Q31A. Constitutional Court

	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
A great deal	8%	15%	11%	13%	7%
Fair amount	27%	28%	29%	32%	34%
Not very much	20%	17%	22%	14%	17%
None at all	16%	12%	18%	15%	10%
Don't know	26%	26%	19%	27%	33%
No answer	2%	2%	1%	--	--
Total	99% ✓	100%	100%	101% ✓	101% ✓

Q31B. Supreme Court

	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1200)
A great deal	11%	6%
Fair amount	33%	33%
Not very much	15%	19%
None at all	16%	10%
Don't know	25%	32%
No answer	--	--
Total	100%	100%

Q31C. Appeals Court

	9/02
	(1200)
A great deal	5%
Fair amount	28%
Not very much	18%
None at all	10%
Don't know	39%
Total	100%

Q31D. Local Courts

	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1200)
A great deal	5%	3%
Fair amount	22%	23%
Not very much	29%	31%
None at all	27%	20%
Don't know	17%	24%
Total	100%	100%

Q31E. Public Prosecutors

	7/97	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
A great deal	5%	6%	8%	7%	7%	3%
Fair amount	24%	31%	28%	25%	25%	28%
Not very much	34%	25%	25%	28%	25%	26%
None at all	28%	22%	21%	29%	24%	19%
Don't know	8%	15%	16%	12%	19%	24%
No answer	★	1%	2%	1%	--	--
Total	99% ✓	100%	100%	102% ✓	100%	97% ✓

Q31F. The Police

	<u>7/97</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>6/99</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>1-2/00</u> <u>(1200)</u>	<u>11-12/00</u> <u>(1500)</u>	<u>9/01</u> <u>(1500)</u>	<u>9/02</u> <u>(1200)</u>
A great deal	4%	4%	7%	6%	6%	3%
Fair amount	17%	18%	19%	16%	20%	22%
Not very much	32%	31%	27%	32%	27%	30%
None at all	42%	36%	34%	40%	35%	30%
Don't know	5%	10%	11%	7%	13%	15%
No answer	★	1%	2%	1%	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%	102% ✓	101% ✓	100%

As you may know, some people in Ukraine say that the courts are influenced by outside interests, such as politicians, businessmen, etc. Others say that this is not the case. For the four courts listed below, can you tell me how much influence you think outside interests have on the court's decision-making?

Q32A. Constitutional Court

	<u>9/01</u> <u>(1500)</u>	<u>9/02</u> <u>(1200)</u>
No influence	14%	13%
Some influence	35%	34%
Great influence	19%	18%
Don't know	32%	35%
Total	100%	100%

Q32B. Supreme Court

	<u>9/01</u> <u>(1500)</u>	<u>9/02</u> <u>(1200)</u>
No influence	11%	9%
Some influence	37%	35%
Great influence	22%	21%
Don't know	31%	35%
Total	101% ✓	100%

Q32C. Appeals Court

	<u>9/02</u> <u>(1200)</u>
No influence	7%
Some influence	34%
Great influence	20%
Don't know	40%
Total	101% ✓

Q32D. Local Courts

	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1200)
No influence	6%	2%
Some influence	26%	31%
Great influence	44%	42%
Don't know	25%	25%
Total	101% ✓	100%

Q33. If I were wrongly accused of a crime, I am sure that our judicial system would acquit me.

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Strongly agree	4%	4%	4%
Somewhat agree	17%	19%	19%
Somewhat disagree	33%	33%	34%
Strongly disagree	34%	26%	21%
Don't know	12%	18%	22%
No answer	★	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%

Q34. Did you vote in the 2002 elections for Verhovna Rada and local self-government?

	9/02
	(1200)
Voted for both offices	79%
Voted only for Verhovna Rada	1%
Voted only for local self-government	1%
No, I was too young	1%
No, I could vote, but did not	16%
Other	★
Don't know	2%
Total	100%

Q35. [If 1 or 2 in Q34] Here is a card with a list of possible reasons for choosing a party when voting. Please use this list in considering your answer. What was your main reason to vote for the party you chose in the 2002 election for Verhovna Rada? [Only one answer allowed]

	9/02
	(1200)
I supported the political programs of this party	47%
I liked the character of the leader	24%
I liked the party's representatives in this area	4%
This party was recommended to me by people whose opinion I valued	14%
I was strongly encouraged to at my workplace	3%
Other	3%
Don't know	6%
Total	101% ✓

Q36. In your opinion, how fair were the 2002 elections?

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Completely fair	2%
Somewhat fair	23%
Somewhat unfair	35%
Completely unfair	22%
Don't know	19%
Total	101% ✓

Q37. How likely is it that you will vote in the 2004 elections for the President? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely that you will vote in the next elections?

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very likely	63%
Somewhat likely	23%
Somewhat unlikely	3%
Very unlikely	3%
Don't know	8%
Total	100%

Q38. [If 3 or 4 to Q37] What is (are) the reason(s) you [are unlikely to vote/don't know if you will vote in the 2004 elections for President?

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
I don't believe anybody	3%
Don't believe that my vote can change anything	6%
I don't trust elections	18%
Bad health	12%
There aren't worthy candidates	8%
Uncertainty in the future	8%
Other	11%
Don't know	35%
Total	101% ✓

Q39. In your opinion, how likely is it that the 2004 elections for President will be free and fair: very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not likely at all?

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very likely	6%
Somewhat likely	23%
Somewhat unlikely	26%
Very unlikely	19%
Don't know	27%
Total	101% ✓

Q40. What will be the most important reason that ensures the next Presidential elections are free and fair? Will it be because: [Only One Answer Allowed]

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
The law ensures free and fair elections in Ukraine	21%
International observers will monitor the election process	16%
Independent Ukrainian observers will monitor the election process	6%
The Election Commissions consist of representatives of different political parties	12%
The local election commission is fair	14%
Other	5%
Don't know	26%
Total	100%

Q41. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Q41A. My vote is kept confidential by election authorities in Ukraine.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	19%
Somewhat agree	34%
Somewhat disagree	23%
Strongly disagree	7%
Don't know	18%
Total	101% ✓

Q41B. The results of elections in Ukraine accurately reflect the way people voted in the election.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	12%
Somewhat agree	24%
Somewhat disagree	34%
Strongly disagree	21%
Don't know	9%
Total	100%

Q41C. The presence of non-partisan domestic observers has a positive affect on the fairness of elections Ukraine.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	16%
Somewhat agree	40%
Somewhat disagree	21%
Strongly disagree	7%
Don't know	16%
Total	100%

Q41D. The presence of international observers has a positive affect on the fairness of elections in Ukraine.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	22%
Somewhat agree	45%
Somewhat disagree	13%
Strongly disagree	5%
Don't know	16%
Total	101% ✓

Q41E. The presence of political party observers has a positive affect on the legitimacy of elections in Ukraine.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	18%
Somewhat agree	43%
Somewhat disagree	16%
Strongly disagree	8%
Don't know	15%
Total	100%

Q41F. Elections in Ukraine are competently administered.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	8%
Somewhat agree	24%
Somewhat disagree	32%
Strongly disagree	23%
Don't know	14%
Total	101% ✓

Q41G. Our local media provides thorough coverage of parties and candidates up for election.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	12%
Somewhat agree	37%
Somewhat disagree	27%
Strongly disagree	12%
Don't know	13%
Total	101% ✓

Q41H. Our local media provides objective coverage of parties and candidates up for election.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	8%
Somewhat agree	23%
Somewhat disagree	31%
Strongly disagree	17%
Don't know	21%
Total	100%

Q41I. Ukraine's electoral system provides adequate means to challenge election violations.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	7%
Somewhat agree	19%
Somewhat disagree	30%
Strongly disagree	17%
Don't know	27%
Total	100%

Q41J. I feel safe voting however I wish in an election.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	30%
Somewhat agree	40%
Somewhat disagree	12%
Strongly disagree	5%
Don't know	14%
Total	101% ✓

Q41K. I am informed about the electoral process in Ukraine.

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Strongly agree	11%
Somewhat agree	29%
Somewhat disagree	25%
Strongly disagree	16%
Don't know	19%
Total	100%

Q42. In your opinion, do you receive enough information about political developments in our country to make wise choices when it is time to vote in the elections? Do you receive enough information, barely enough, very little, or no information at all?

	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1200)
Enough information	28%	15%
Barely enough	27%	38%
Very little	28%	32%
None at all	7%	2%
Don't know	4%	6%
No answer	7%	--
Not interested in this	--	7%
Total	101% ✓	100%

Q43. [If 1, 2, 3, 4 in Q42] And what sources of information do you use to receive information about the elections? [Multiple choices accepted]

	9/01
	(1500)
Ukrainian national newspapers	35%
Local newspapers	39%
Ukrainian state television	42%
Ukrainian private television stations (e.g. 1+1, ICTV, Inter, etc.)	67%
Local private television stations	16%
Ukrainian state radio	22%
Private radio	8%
Local government-owned radio stations	7%
Local private radio stations	5%
Ukrainian internet sites	1%
Other	4%
Don't know	2%

Q44A. Are you a supporter of any political party, even if you are not a member?

	9/01	9/02
	(1470)	(1153)
Yes	32%	31%
No	68%	65%
Refused	--	4%
Total	100%	100%

Q44B. [IF YES TO QUESTION 44A] Which party is that?

	9/01	9/02
	(466)	(375)
Agrarian Party of Ukraine	2%	★
All-Ukrainian Association "Batkivstchyna"	5%	3%
Communist Party of Ukraine	37%	34%
Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists	1%	--
People's Rukh Party (Udoenko)	10%	5%
People's Democratic Party	3%	1%
Party "Democratic Union"	1%	--
Green Party	10%	2%
Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs	2%	--
Party of Regions of Ukraine	2%	--
Party of Reforms and Order	2%	--
"Young Ukraine" Party	1%	--
Labor Ukraine	★	--
Progressive Socialist Party	5%	1%
Selyanska Party	★	★
Social Democratic Party (United)	9%	13%
Socialist Party	4%	4%
People's Rukh Party (Kostenko)	2%	--
Christian Democratic Party	1%	--
"New Generation of Ukraine" Party	1%	--
All-Ukrainian Association "Hromada"	★	--
Ukrainian National Assembly	★	★
Yabluko Party	1%	1%
"Our Ukraine" Bloc	1%	17%
Women for the Future of Ukraine	1%	★
Bloc "For United Ukraine"	--	5%
Other	1%	2%
Total	102% ✓	96% ✓

Q45. In your opinion, do the major political parties in Ukraine have clear proposals to address the issues facing the country?

	9/02
	(1200)
Yes, most address issues	18%
No, only some address issues	34%
No, none address issues [Volunteered]	25%
Don't know	23%
Total	100%

Q46. And to what extent do these parties have clear differences in their programs?

	9/02
	(1200)
Most have clear differences	58%
Only some have clear differences	31%
Don't know	11%
Total	100%

Q47. Are there any political parties that pay attention to the issues of major concern in the local area where you live?

	9/02
	(1200)
Yes	16%
No	48%
Don't know	35%
Total	99% ✓

Q48. [If 1 to Q47] And how much attention do these parties give to issues of major concern in your local area?

	9/02
	(1200)
Great deal of attention	8%
Fair amount of attention	35%
Not as much attention as issue deserves	51%
Don't know	7%
Total	101% ✓

Q49. Do you know of any Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are active in your community city/village

	9/02
	(1200)
Yes	12%
No	55%
Don't know what NGO is	22%
Don't know	11%
Total	100%

Q50. [If 1 to Q49] What are these NGOs working on in your community? [Open Ended; Multiple Responses Allowed]

	9/02
	(148)
Care for veterans of WWII	5%
Care for veterans of Afghanistan War	1%
Work on Chernobyl matter	3%
Providing social help	20%
Protection of rights	1%
Conservancy, ecology	11%
Help for women	3%
Philanthropy	2%
Help for schools	3%
Work with youth	6%
Don't know	51%

Q51. How necessary are these non-governmental organizations, or NGOs-- essential, very necessary, not very necessary, or not at all necessary?

	7/97	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Essential	9%	12%	8%	13%	19%	14%
Necessary	--	--	--	--	--	30%
Very necessary	23%	11%	13%	22%	43%	--
Not very necessary	33%	39%	26%	34%	18%	17%
Not at all necessary	12%	11%	16%	9%	4%	6%
Depends	8%	3%	9%	--	--	--
Don't know	14%	21%	26%	22%	16%	32%
No answer	1%	2%	2%	1%	--	--
Total	100%	99% ✓	100%	101% ✓	100%	99% ✓

Q52. Are you currently active in any NGO group?

	9/02
	(1200)
Yes	3%
No	98%
Total	101% ✓

Q53. [If 1 to 52] What is this NGO group occupied with?

	9/02
	(24)
Care for WWII veterans	8%
Work on Chernobyl matter	★
Providing social help	8%
Philanthropy	4%
Help schools	4%
Work with children and youth	8%
Other	13%
Don't know	54%
Total	99% ✓

Q54A. Are you a member of any political party?

	6/99 (1200)	1-2/00 (--)	11-12/00 (1500)	9/01 (1500)	9/02 (1200)
Yes	1%	--	2%	2%	2%
No	98%	--	96%	98%	95%
Don't know	1%	--	★	--	--
No answer	★	--	2%	--	3%
Total	100%	--	100%	100%	100%

Q54B. [IF YES TO QUESTION 54A] Which party is that?

	9/01 (30)	9/02 (26)
Communist Party of Ukraine	9%	12%
Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists	7%	--
People's Rukh Party	19%	23%
People's Democratic Party	2%	--
Green Party	3%	--
Party of Regions of Ukraine	21%	8%
Social Democratic Party (United)	10%	4%
Socialist Party of Ukraine	--	4%
Ukrainian National Assembly	3%	--
Other	4%	8%
Refused/NA	24%	38%
Total	102% ✓	98% ✓

Q55. In the past year, have you made efforts to ensure that your rights/interests as a citizen respected by government officials?

	9/02 (1200)
Yes	10%
No	90%
Total	100%

Q56. In general, would you say that democratic change in Ukraine is occurring too quickly, too slowly, or at the right pace?

	9/02 (1200)
Too quickly	1%
Too slowly	46%
At the right pace	9%
Change not occurring [volunteered]	28%
Don't know	16%
Total	100% ✓

Q57. Which one of these government institutions do you think is most likely to institute reforms in its spheres of influence? [Only one response Allowed]

	9/02
	(1200)
Central Government	23%
Oblast/reion state administration	6%
City/Village local self-government	7%
None of these [volonteered]	30%
Don't know	35%
Total	101% ✓

In the last few years the government has begun the process to sell state owned enterprises. Please tell me to what degree you support privatization efforts in the following sectors?

Q58A. Electricity

	9/02
	(1200)
Totally support	3%
Somewhat support	9%
Reluctant to support	23%
Do not support at all	54%
Don't know	11%
Total	100%

Q58B. Coal

	9/02
	(1200)
Totally support	4%
Somewhat support	12%
Reluctant to support	22%
Do not support at all	49%
Don't know	12%
Total	99% ✓

Q58C. Telecommunications

	9/02
	(1200)
Totally support	8%
Somewhat support	22%
Reluctant to support	18%
Do not support at all	39%
Don't know	14%
Total	101% ✓

Q58D. Collective farms

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Totally support	10%
Somewhat support	24%
Reluctant to support	16%
Do not support at all	36%
Don't know	14%
Total	100%

[Show card] Now look at this list of private institutions. For each, please tell me how much confidence you have in them

Q59A. [Only for those who know what NGO is] Civic Organizations/NGOs

	9/02
	<u>(933)</u>
A great deal	3%
Fair amount	24%
Not very much	14%
None at all	6%
Don't know	53%
Total	100%

Q59B. Private/Commercial Banks

	9/02
	<u>(933)</u>
A great deal	2%
Fair amount	14%
Not very much	31%
None at all	35%
Don't know	19%
Total	101% ✓

Q59C. The Church

	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
A great deal	34%	32%	31%	24%
Fair amount	30%	30%	35%	40%
Not very much	9%	11%	11%	13%
None at all	9%	15%	11%	7%
Don't know	17%	11%	12%	16%
No answer	1%	1%	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Q59D The Media

	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1200)
A great deal	9%	6%
Fair amount	52%	52%
Not very much	21%	22%
None at all	9%	6%
Don't know	10%	15%
No answer	--	--
Total	101% ✓	101% ✓

Q60. In your opinion, how safe is it for media in Ukraine to broadcast or print news and information objectively, even if this is critical of the government? Is it very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat dangerous, or very dangerous?

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Very safe	3%	3%	3%
Somewhat safe	17%	26%	20%
Somewhat dangerous	42%	33%	42%
Very dangerous	24%	14%	20%
I don't care about this [Volunteered]	6%	--	--
Don't know	8%	23%	15%
No answer	★	--	--
Total	100%	99% ✓	100%

Q61. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement: It is more important that leaders maintain order than protect freedoms.

	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1200)
Strongly agree	19%	21%
Somewhat agree	29%	25%
Somewhat disagree	22%	19%
Strongly disagree	11%	7%
Don't know	20%	27%
Total	101% ✓	99% ✓

Please look at the following list of institutions and leaders. In your opinion, how effective are they in carrying out the duties that are their responsibility?

Q62A. The President

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very effective	2%
Somewhat effective	19%
Not very effective	36%
Not at all effective	32%
Don't know	10%
Total	99% ✓

Q62B. The Verhovna Rada

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very effective	1%
Somewhat effective	17%
Not very effective	44%
Not at all effective	25%
Don't know	12%
Total	99% ✓

Q62C. Your oblast governor

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very effective	2%
Somewhat effective	26%
Not very effective	32%
Not at all effective	18%
Don't know	22%
Total	100%

Q62D. The mayor of your city/village local self-government

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very effective	2%
Somewhat effective	27%
Not very effective	30%
Not at all effective	16%
Don't know	25%
Total	100%

Q62E. Your city/village council

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very effective	5%
Somewhat effective	36%
Not very effective	26%
Not at all effective	17%
Don't know	17%
Total	101% ✓

Q62F. Local courts

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very effective	1%
Somewhat effective	18%
Not very effective	28%
Not at all effective	17%
Don't know	36%
Total	100%

Q62G. Supreme Court

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Very effective	1%
Somewhat effective	23%
Not very effective	22%
Not at all effective	12%
Don't know	42%
Total	100%

Q63. In your opinion, how widespread is the problem of official corruption?¹⁰

	5/98	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Very widespread	62%	62%	75%	67%	55%	57%
Somewhat widespread	26%	26%	18%	22%	31%	32%
Somewhat rare	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Very rare	★	★	★	★	1%	★
Don't know	8%	9%	5%	8%	11%	9%
No Answer	1%	1%	1%	★	--	--
Total	99% ✓	100%	101% ✓	99% ✓	100%	100%

¹⁰ In the previous surveys (until 9/01) the respondents were asked to rate their perception of official corruption as "very common, somewhat common, not very common, and not common at all".

Q64. And how serious is the problem of official corruption – is it very serious, fairly serious, not too serious, or not serious at all?

	5/98	6/99	1-2/00	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1200)	(1200)	(1200)	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Very serious	69%	67%	81%	72%	60%	62%
Somewhat serious	21%	23%	15%	18%	27%	25%
Not too serious	2%	1%	1%	1%	3%	2%
Not serious at all	★	★	★	1%	★	★
Don't know	7%	8%	3%	8%	10%	10%
No answer	1%	1%	★	★	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	99% ✓

Q65. How likely do you think is that the problem of official corruption can be countered in Ukraine?

	9/02
	(1200)
Very likely	8%
Somewhat likely	19%
Somewhat unlikely	37%
Very unlikely	19%
Don't know	18%
Total	101% ✓

Next, I will read you a list of actions people sometimes do. For each, tell me if this activity occurs often here in Ukraine. Please use the answers listed on your card. Does this happen very often, sometimes, not very often, or never at all.

Q66A. Claiming government benefits which you are not entitled to

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Happen very often	50%	46%	34%
Sometimes	27%	29%	36%
Not very often	9%	8%	11%
Never at all	3%	2%	5%
Don't know	10%	15%	14%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%

Q66B. Cheating on tax if you had the chance

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Happen very often	63%	60%	56%
Sometimes	24%	25%	26%
Not very often	5%	4%	5%
Never at all	2%	2%	2%
Don't know	6%	10%	12%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	101% ✓	101% ✓	101% ✓

Q66C. Someone taking a bribe in the course of their duties

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Happen very often	77%	71%	66%
Sometimes	14%	16%	21%
Not very often	3%	3%	3%
Never at all	1%	2%	2%
Don't know	4%	8%	8%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%

Q66D. Accepting money to vote for a politician or political party

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Happen very often	46%	48%	39%
Sometimes	26%	24%	30%
Not very often	10%	8%	9%
Never at all	2%	3%	2%
Don't know	17%	18%	20%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	102% ✓	101% ✓	100%

Q66E. Officials taking money from entrepreneurs to approve businesses quickly

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Happen very often	64%	60%	57%
Sometimes	20%	18%	22%
Not very often	4%	4%	4%
Never at all	1%	2%	2%
Don't know	11%	16%	16%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	101% ✓	100%	101% ✓

Q66F. High officials benefiting from the privatization of Ukrainian public industries

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	(1500)	(1500)	(1200)
Happen very often	71%	67%	61%
Sometimes	15%	16%	21%
Not very often	3%	3%	2%
Never at all	★	2%	2%
Don't know	10%	12%	14%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%

Q66G. High officials helping their associates in private business

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Happen very often	72%	64%	59%
Sometimes	16%	18%	23%
Not very often	2%	3%	3%
Never at all	★	2%	1%
Don't know	8%	12%	13%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	99% ✓	99% ✓	99% ✓

Q66H. The use of public funds for the personal benefit of officials

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Happen very often	78%	70%	61%
Sometimes	13%	17%	23%
Not very often	3%	2%	3%
Never at all	★	2%	2%
Don't know	5%	9%	12%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	100%	100%	101% ✓

Q66I. Offering gifts or money to teachers/professors to improve one's grade or that of one's child

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Happen very often	44%
Sometimes	28%
Not very often	9%
Never at all	4%
Don't know	16%
No answer	--
Total	101% ✓

Now, I will read the list to you again. For each, tell me if this activity occurs often here in Ukraine. Please use the answers listed on your card. Does [READ FROM LIST] happen very often, sometimes, not very often, or never at all.

Q67A. Claiming government benefits which you are not entitled to

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	6%	4%	3%
Sometimes be justified	27%	22%	35%
Never be justified	60%	66%	51%
Don't know	6%	9%	12%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	100%	101% ✓	101% ✓

Q67B. Cheating on tax if you had the chance

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	8%	5%	5%
Sometimes be justified	38%	32%	35%
Never be justified	48%	56%	47%
Don't know	6%	8%	13%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	101% ✓	101% ✓	100%

Q67C. Someone taking a bribe in the course of their duties

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	4%	3%	1%
Sometimes be justified	12%	9%	11%
Never be justified	79%	84%	78%
Don't know	4%	5%	10%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	100%	101% ✓	100%

Q67D. Accepting money to voter for a politician or political party

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	3%	2%	2%
Sometimes be justified	9%	10%	14%
Never be justified	80%	80%	73%
Don't know	6%	8%	11%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	99% ✓	100%	100%

Q67E. Officials taking money from entrepreneurs to approve businesses quickly

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	4%	3%	2%
Sometimes be justified	13%	13%	15%
Never be justified	74%	76%	71%
Don't know	8%	8%	13%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	100%	100%	101% ✓

Q67F. High officials benefiting from the privatization of Ukrainian public industries

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	3%	2%	1%
Sometimes be justified	5%	6%	5%
Never be justified	86%	86%	85%
Don't know	5%	6%	9%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%

Q67G. High officials helping their associates in private business

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	4%	4%	3%
Sometimes be justified	16%	18%	22%
Never be justified	72%	70%	63%
Don't know	7%	9%	12%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	100%	101% ✓	100%

Q67H. The use of public funds for the personal benefit of officials

	11-12/00	9/01	9/02
	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1500)</u>	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	3%	3%	2%
Sometimes be justified	4%	4%	5%
Never be justified	89%	89%	85%
Don't know	3%	5%	9%
No answer	1%	--	--
Total	100%	101% ✓	101% ✓

Q67I. Offering gifts or money to teachers/professors to improve one's grade or that of one's child

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Always be justified	5%
Sometimes be justified	30%
Never be justified	52%
Don't know	13%
No answer	--
Total	100%

Q68. [If 1, 2, OR 3 In Q 66] Do you know of someone who gave a gift or money to a teacher/professor or the head of a college or university during the year's entrance examinations to colleges/universities?

	9/02
	<u>(1200)</u>
Yes	37%
No	42%
Don't know	22%
Total	101% ✓

Respondents' Background

Q69. Gender

Male	45%
Female	55%
Total	100%

Q70. Age

18-25	15%
26-35	17%
36-45	18%
46-55	18%
56+	32%
Total	100%

Q71. What is the highest level of education you received?

Elementary/Partial secondary	18%
Complete/Special secondary	60%
Higher Education	23%
Total	101% ✓

Q72. What is your employment situation?

Full-time, one job	42%
Part-time, one job	6%
Part-time, multiple jobs	1%
Student	3%
Pensioner	32%
Unemployed	11%
Homemaker	6%
Other	★
Refused/NA	★
Total	101% ✓

Q73. What is (was for pensioners) your field of employment?

“Intellectual” Worker-Teacher, Journalist, Writer	6%
Executive or Professional at Senior- level (Government or Private)	10%
Executive or Professional at Mid-level (Government or Private)	18%
Skilled Laborer	38%
Unskilled Laborer	14%
Soldier, in Military Service	2%
Farmer	5%
Student	1%
Other	2%
Don't know	5%
Total	101% ✓

Q74. [Do not ask if 4, 7, 8, or 9 on Q72] Are you currently owed any back wages or pension payments from your employer of the government?

Yes	12%
No	72%
Does not apply to me	13%
Don't know	2%
Total	99% ✓

Q75. [IF Q74 = YES] For how long a period are you owed back payments?

One month or less	36%
Two months	28%
Three months	11%
Four months	3%
Five months	1%
Six months	3%
More than six months	14%
Don't know	4%
Total	100%

Q76. What is your marital status?

Married	61%
Single/Never Married	16%
Divorced/Separated	8%
Widowed	15%
Total	100%

Q77. How many people are in your family, who live with you and keep one household (including you)?

1	18%
2	29%
3	27%
4	18%
5	5%
6	2%
7	★
8	★
9+	★
Total	99% ✓

Q78. What is your nationality? Please pick the appropriate category from this list.

Ukrainian	78%
Russian	19%
Ukrainian and Russian	2%
Crimean Tatar	★
Polish	★
Hungarian	★
Gipsy	★
Jewish	★
Byelorussian	★
Moldovan	★
Other	1%
Refused/NA	★
Total	100%

Q79. What is the main language you speak in your home?

Ukrainian	45%
Russian	42%
Ukrainian and Russian	14%
Other	★
Total	101% ✓

Q80. With which church or religious group do you identify yourself?

Ukrainian Orthodox	24%
Other Ukrainian Orthodox (Autocephalna)	2%
Russian Orthodox	11%
Orthodox Christianity	32%
Roman Catholic	1%
Greek Catholic	8%
Protestant	★
Muslim	1%
Jewish	★
Other	1%
None	21%
Total	99% ✓

Q81. How often do you attend religious services?

Daily	★
Multiple times weekly	2%
Weekly	7%
A few times a month	10%
A few times each year	32%
Once a year or less	14%
Depends	20%
Don't attend	15%
Don't know	1%
Refused/NA	★
Total	101% ✓

Q82. What best describes the current financial situation of you and your family living there with you?

Very poor, we do not have enough money for our most basic needs	14%
Poor, we barely have enough money to buy food, we rarely buy clothes	25%
Modest, we have enough to eat, we occasionally buy clothes, but we have nothing left over to save	42%
Moderate, we have some savings	20%
Above average, we have savings, and can afford a lot	★
Total	101% ✓

Appendix 2. Details of the Sample and Fieldwork¹¹

Survey

The 2002 IFES Survey of Public Opinion Ukraine was fielded between September 13 and 23, 2002. IFES utilized the services of Taylor Nelson Sofres Ukraine (TNS) to conduct the fieldwork and data processing for the survey. A total of 1,265 respondents were interviewed during the survey. The total number of interviews comprised a nationally-representative sample of 1,200 interviews as well as an oversample of 65 interviews in Kyiv. The total of 130 interviews was weighted down by 50% in order to reflect the proper allocation of 65 interviews in Kyiv for the national sample. The breakdown of the interviews by region in the weighted sample are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Regional Breakdown of Weighted Sample

Region	Total # of urban respondents	Total # of rural respondents	Total for region
Kyiv	65	-	65
North	63	47	110
Center	81	67	148
North-East	80	27	107
East	167	21	188
South-East	114	26	140
North-West	44	42	86
West	66	59	125
South-West	21	30	51
South	79	41	120
Crimea	41	19	60
TOTAL	821	379	1200

The national-level percentages cited in this report are based on the weighted data. Besides the adjustment for Kyiv interviews, the final weighted data also contained adjustments for education and age distribution. Table 1 provides information on the before weighting and after weighting age and education distribution in the sample.

Table 2. Age and Education Distribution in Unweighted and Weighted Sample

	Universe	Before weighting	After weighting
Sex:			
Male	45,1%	36%	45%
Female	54,9%	64%	55%
Age:			
18-34	31%	22%	31%
35-54	36%	36%	36%
55+	33%	42%	33%

Respondents for the survey were chosen through a multi-state stratification design. In the first stage, oblasts in Ukraine were grouped into 10 regions by TNS with respect to more than 150 social, economic, and cultural factors. At the second stage, urban and rural settlements within each region were selected. At the third state, streets, houses, and apartments were selected. At the final stage, the appropriate respondent 18 or over was selected based on the next birthday method.

¹¹ This methodological section is based upon the report provided by TNS-Ukraine.

The average length of interviews was 42 minutes. 60% of the interviews were conducted in Russian and 40% in Ukrainian. The response rate for the survey was 30%. The main reasons for not being willing to be interviewed were a lack of time and a general unwillingness to be interviewed.

TNS conducted quality control on 15% of completed interviews. The quality control procedures checked whether an interview had been completed, whether the respondent had been selected using proper procedures, and a check on the responses to some of the questions on the interview. There were no significant problems discovered during the quality control process.

In addition to TNS conducting quality control for the survey, IFES also instituted random checks of the fieldwork to ensure that proper procedures were being followed. An IFES representative traveled with TNS interviewers to observe interviews on these occasions. To check data processing procedures, IFES randomly selected several completed questionnaires and asked for a second verification on the data entry for these questionnaires. No significant problems were discovered. At the data analysis stage, skip patterns and individual respondent response patterns were checked to ensure accuracy of the data file. In addition, trends from past data on IFES surveys also served as a check on the legitimacy of the data. No particularly noteworthy deviations from trend were observed in the data.

Focus Groups

Eight focus groups in total were held in Kyiv, Lviv, and Kharkiv. The location of the groups, the number of participants, and the language used are detailed in Table 3.

Table 3. Focus Group Breakdown

Group No.	Location	Language	# of Participants
1	Kyiv	Ukrainian	8 (4 Men, 4 Women)
2	Kyiv	Ukrainian	8 (3 M, 4 W)
3	Kyiv	Russian	8 (4 M, 4 W)
4	Kyiv	Russian	8 (4 M, 4 W)
5	Lviv	Ukrainian	8 (4 M, 4 W)
6	Lviv	Ukrainian	8 (4 M, 4 W)
7	Kharkiv	Russian	8 (4 M, 4 W)
8	Kharkiv	Russian	8 (4 M, 4 W)

The discussions took close to an average of 1 hour and 45 minutes. All sessions were video-taped.

Participants for the focus groups were recruited on the basis of gender, age, education, language, and interest in politics. Only those at least somewhat interested in politics were invited to be participants. For all sessions, 11 participants were invited but only 8 actually took part in the discussion.

Appendix 3. Regional Classifications

Regional classifications are provided by TNS based upon their own research. The following classifications are used in this report:

1. The NORTHERN Region: Kyivs'ka Zhytomyrs'ka and Chernigivs'ka oblasts;
2. The CENTRAL Region: Vinnits'ka, Kirovograds'ka, Poltavs'ka and Cherkas'ka oblasts;
3. The NORTHWESTERN Region: Volyns'ka, Rivens'ka and Khmel'nits'ka oblasts;
4. The SOUTHWESTERN Region: Zakarpats'ka and Chernivets'ka oblasts;
5. The WESTERN Region: Lvivs'ka, Ivano-Frankivs'ka and Ternopil'ska oblasts;
6. The NORTHEASTERN Region: Kharkivs'ka and Sums'ka oblasts;
7. The EASTERN Region: Dnipropetrivs'ka and Zaporiz'ka oblasts;
8. The SOUTHEASTERN Region: Donets'ka and Lugans'ka oblasts;
9. The SOUTHERN Region: Odes'ka, Mykolajivs'ka and Khersons'ka oblasts;
10. Autonomous Republic of the Crimea.

These regions were furthered classified into three divisions: 1) west Ukraine, 2) east Ukraine and 3) an intermediate area in-between the east and west. This division was based mainly on geographic criteria, along the Dniepr river. Regrouping the TNS regions provides the following:

Regional Classifications*

Region	Total
Kyiv	65
Northern	111
Central	148
Northeastern	106
Northwestern	86
Southeastern	140
Western	125
Southwestern	50
Southern	120
Crimea	60
Eastern	188
Total	1200

*Weighted counts.

Appendix 4. Focus Groups Final Report

<i>Method:</i>	Focus groups
<i>Number of interviews:</i>	9 (including a pre-test group)
<i>Time:</i>	October 14–20, 2002
<i>Location:</i>	Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv
<i>Language:</i>	Four discussions were held in Ukrainian and five in Russian.
<i>Average group duration:</i>	2 hours

The procedure was based on the snowball method. Respondents for the focus-group discussions were selected with the help of a screening questionnaire that included questions meant to determine whether or not the candidate satisfied the preset criteria. These criteria were as follows:

- 1) interest in politics;
- 2) age;
- 3) settlement;
- 4) language spoken at home; and
- 5) level of education.

For each group, 11 participants were invited. Of these, 8 were basic respondents and 3 were held in reserve. Thus, there were 8 respondents taking part in each of the groups.

Composition of the groups:

No.	Date	Respondents' profile	City	Time	Size of group
1	October 14, 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 4 men, 4 women ✓ Age: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 person aged 18–25; 2 persons aged 26–35; 2 persons aged 36–45; 2 persons aged 46–54; 1 person aged 55 or more ✓ Of the respondents, 5 had secondary education, 2 had specialized secondary education, and 1 belonged to the higher /unfinished higher education ✓ 2 respondents were rural area residents ✓ Communication language: Russian 	Kyiv	18.30	8
2	October 17, 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 4 men, 4 women ✓ Age: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 person aged 18–25; 2 persons aged 26–35; 2 persons aged 36–45; 2 persons aged 46–54; 1 person aged 55 or more ✓ Of the respondents, 5 had secondary education, 2 had specialized secondary, and 1 belonged to the higher /unfinished higher education ✓ 2 respondents were rural area residents ✓ Communication language: Ukrainian 	Kyiv	14.00	8

3	October 17, 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 4 men, 4 women ✓ Age: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 person aged 18–25; 2 persons aged 26–35; 2 persons aged 36–45; 2 persons aged 46–54; 1 person aged 55 or more ✓ Of the respondents, 5 had secondary education, 2 had specialized secondary education, and 1 belonged to the higher /unfinished higher education ✓ 2 respondents were rural area residents ✓ Communication language: Ukrainian 	Kyiv	18.00	8
4	October 18, 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 4 men, 4 women ✓ Age: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 person aged 18–25; 2 persons aged 26–35; 2 persons aged 36–45; 2 persons aged 46–54; 1 person aged 55 or more ✓ Of the respondents, 5 had secondary education, 2 had specialized secondary education, and 1 belonged to the higher / unfinished higher education category ✓ 2 respondents were rural area residents ✓ Communication language: Russian 	Kyiv	14.00	8
5	October 18, 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 4 men, 4 women ✓ Age: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 person aged 18–25; 2 persons aged 26–35; 2 persons aged 36–45; 2 persons aged 46–54; 1 person aged 55 or more ✓ Of the respondents, 5 had secondary education, 2 had specialized secondary education, and 1 belonged to the higher / unfinished higher education category ✓ 2 respondents were rural area residents ✓ Communication language: Russian 	Kyiv	18.00	8
6	20.10.02	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 4 men, 4 women ✓ Age: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 person aged 18–25; 2 persons aged 26–35; 2 persons aged 36–45; 2 persons aged 46–54; 1 person aged 55 or more ✓ Of the respondents, 5 had secondary education, 2 had specialized secondary education, and 1 belonged to the higher / unfinished higher education category ✓ 2 respondents were rural area residents ✓ Communication language: Ukrainian 	Lviv	12.00	8

7	October 20, 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 4 men, 4 women ✓ Age: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 person aged 18–25; 2 persons aged 26–35; 2 persons aged 36–45; 2 persons aged 46–54; 1 person aged 55 or more ✓ Of the respondents, 5 had secondary education, 2 had specialized secondary education, and 1 belonged to the higher / unfinished higher education category ✓ 2 respondents were rural area residents ✓ Communication language: Ukrainian 	Lviv	12.00	8
8	October 20, 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 4 men, 4 women ✓ Age: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 person aged 18–25; 2 persons aged 26–35; 2 persons aged 36–45; 2 persons aged 46–54; 1 person aged 55 or more ✓ Of the respondents, 5 had secondary education, 2 had specialized secondary education, and 1 belonged to the higher / unfinished higher education category ✓ 2 respondents were rural area residents ✓ Communication language: Russian 	Kharkiv	15.00	8
9	October 20, 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 4 men, 4 women ✓ Age: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 person aged 18–25; 2 persons aged 26–35; 2 persons aged 36–45; 2 persons aged 46–54; 1 person aged 55 or more ✓ Of the respondents, 5 had secondary education, 2 had specialized secondary education, and 1 belonged to the higher / unfinished higher education category ✓ 2 respondents were rural area residents ✓ Communication language: Russian 	Kharkiv	15.00	8

Main Findings

Interest in politics

- The current unfavorable economic situation and the resulting low standard of living of the majority of Ukrainian citizens are the main prerequisites for their interest in political events in the country and abroad. The extent of interest in political events depends on a number of factors. In particular, socio-demographic and cultural differences among people influence their motives.
- Interest in political events proceeds primarily from these motives:
 - *The wish to take an active civic position*
 - *The wish to be informed*
 - *Need for communication*
- Respondents are most interested in the following:
 - *Legislative activities*
 - *Ukraine's image and place on the international scene*
 - *The country's internal policy, the state of affairs in Ukraine*
 - *Issues of international politics*
 - *Appointments to central government bodies*
 - *Work of the Verkhovna Rada*
 - *Current protests*
 - *The language problem and the making of the Ukrainian nation*
 - *Elections in Ukraine*
 - *Social stratification of society*
 - *History, historical facts*
 - *Unfair distribution of politicians' attention to various sectors of life*
- Most frequently, interest in international politics, domestic politics and the state of affairs in Ukraine, Ukraine's image and place on the international scene, and domestic legislative activities were mentioned by the participants.
- Many respondents see no opportunities to impact the political situation in the country, saying that this is so because –
 - *Elections, as the only way in which people can take part in the process of state governing, have been discredited by the existing authorities*
 - *There is no democracy in Ukraine*
 - *Public opinion does not impact any decisions; no one at the top listens to it*
 - *The opportunity to impact politics requires having quite a lot of money*

- A part of the respondents believe that they can impact the political life in the country by way of:
 - *Supporting the opposition, attending protests or rallies, or even participating in armed rebellion*
 - *Voting in elections*
 - *Communicating with friends, colleagues, and acquaintances (i.e. indirectly)*

- Many focus-group members think that essential changes can only be achieved by the means of massive participation in protests and other similar actions.

Information sources

- The main sources of information are TV, radio, newspapers, verbal communication, and the Internet. The most powerful means of exerting informational influence (as well as the most accessible one) is television. The runner-up in terms of popularity is newspapers, with radio in the third place.

- Focus-group members express complete or partial distrust of various media sources, believing that there are biases in the information presented by the media, which reflects the viewpoints of the authorities or the mediums' owners. When choosing suitable media, respondents pay attention to whether information is presented in a brief and terse way, to its objectivity (facts being cited without extensive journalistic comment), and to presenters' competence and appearance.

- The criteria for determining the accuracy / correctness of incoming news are as follows:
 - *Recurrence of topics or facts coming from different sources (foreign as well as domestic)*
 - *Reporting promptness*
 - *Behavior of announcers presenting the information*
 - *Criticism on the part of mass media*
 - *Awareness of the bias of the source in question (knowledge of who is the owner of the medium)*

- Most of the respondents note that they obtain more information on national problems and issues than on local matters. Nevertheless, information of any sort is regarded as being insufficient; there is a need for more. But above all the participants emphasize their wish for truthful information. Information on local developments and events is considered to be more reliable, for "it can be easily verified."

Parliamentary elections of 2002

- Most of the focus-group members (with but a few exceptions) voted in the 2002 parliamentary election.
- Reasons why respondents did not vote in the election:
 - *No opportunity to come to the polling station (in view of being away from the country)*
 - *Ineligibility for voting on account of being too young*
 - *No passport registration at the time of the election*
 - *Absence of deserving candidates*
- Main reasons for voting:
 - *Display of the voter's active position: intention to support a particular candidate or to express disapproval of a particular candidate / candidates*
 - *Hope of changes for the better, of the possibility of transformation*
 - *Apprehension that the voter's unused ballot might be used in the election fraud scheme*
 - *Performance of civic duty*
- The main criteria for choosing the party / alliance to vote for were as follows:
 - *Party / alliance program and work record*
 - *Party's alliance's opposition to the current authorities*
 - *Personality of the leader of the party / alliance*
- The main criteria for choosing a candidate to vote for in the parliamentary election were as follows:
 - *Membership in a particular party / alliance*
 - *Sympathy for the candidate, availability of information about him / her*
 - *The candidate's election program*
- The main criteria for choosing a candidate to vote for in the local election were as follows:
 - *Fulfillment of previous promises*
 - *Availability of information on the candidate (as a rule, voters know a lot about the chosen candidate for the local office and about the results of his work in the locality)*
 - *Membership in a particular party / alliance*
- During the election campaign, many meetings were organized between voters and candidates running for parliamentary seats or local offices. Only a small part of focus-group participants attended such events. However, nearly all of the respondents are of the opinion that such meetings have a considerable impact on the decision of people attending them to vote / not to vote for a particular candidate or a party (i.e. someone votes for the candidate or party / alliance in question while someone else is disillusioned).

- Nearly all of the respondents are of the opinion that that the elections were unfair. According to the participants, that was mainly due to various violations, such as mass voting in off-home constituencies; long queues at polling stations, which “scared off” many voters; extensive “bribing” of candidates; pressuring cadets and students to vote for certain candidates; rewriting the election protocols; casting votes on behalf of people who had already passed away; failing to deliver ballot-boxes to the homes of old people who could not come to the polling station. Secondly, the fact that the majority in the parliament was eventually formed by forces other than the ones who received the highest percentage of votes and who were regarded by the general public as the winners because of the structure of the parliamentary election system in Ukraine had a negative effect on the perception of the fairness of elections.

- Some respondents were aware that they could report election violations by making a hotline telephone call or by contacting the chairperson of the election committee, mass media, or certain deputies. However, none of the respondents actually did this, as none of them witnessed any violations that could be proven. A part of the respondents said that the elections had been fair up to a particular point (in the main this idea was expressed by respondents who had acted as observers at polling stations); according to them, there had been no violations directly at their stations; however, they admitted that frauds and violations could have been possible at other election stages.

Attitude to different political actions

- Respondents approve of actions in which people express their civic position; however, they think that protest is the only efficient form of such actions, and no other alternative can lead to any conspicuous results. Nevertheless, they believe that all types of political actions have a right to exist as forms in which public opinion is expressed.

- Signing a petition or writing a letter is considered to be useless by a majority of focus-group members. There are doubts as to whether the letter will actually reach its destination, whether it will be handed over to the right official, whether that official will read it, and whether he/she will want to undertake something in its connection.

- As to cooperating with a civic group or public organization on democratic rights or legal aid the attitude to this action type is quite ambiguous: On the one hand, respondents are not particularly knowledgeable about the essence of public organizations and their functions; on the other hand, there is pronounced confidence that these organizations wield certain power and can be helpful.

- Contacting government officials (local or national) is not supported by a majority of the respondents, because officials very often do not pay due attention to their visitors, sending them instead on a bureaucratic “relay race” which is tantamount to deliberate humiliation.

- People do not take part in political actions because they:
 - *do not believe that these actions can be efficient: “If I knew that this would yield a result, I would go there [to a rally]”;*
 - *fear for their lives;*
 - *are politically passive; they will participate in political actions only if their interests have been infringed upon; so far, however, “there has been no need to do that.”*

- Leaders do not pay attention to such actions, with the exception of extensive rallies and election–time demonstrations. The authorities’ disregard for the protesters discourages many people from participating in any actions of this sort.

- Respondents’ attitude to the September protest against President Kuchma is mostly favorable, although they believe that those who organized the protest did so in pursuit of personal goals. Either way, focus-group members feel that the protest will not achieve any favorable result.

Membership in and attitude to political parties

- Among the respondents, non-party people are a vast majority.

- The following reasons can make a person join a party:
 - *Personal convictions*
 - *The party’s active civic position*
 - *Faith in the leader of the party*
 - *The availability of a “strong party”*
 - *Material considerations*

- People do not join any party for the following reasons:
 - *Personal passiveness*
 - *Unpleasant reminiscences about membership in the CPSU*
 - *Disbelief in the ability of parties to make life better*
 - *The large number of parties*
 - *The present-day difficult economic situation*
 - *Apprehension for oneself, for one’s children; fear of reprisals*
 - *Unwillingness to pay membership dues*
 - *Limitations on one’s freedom, feeling of being dependent on the party*
 - *“People do not know what benefit they can derive from being a party member”*

- It should be noted that not nearly all of the participants had any idea of why parties are created for and what they do. One possible explanation for this situation consists in that people watch representatives of numerous parties very frequently clash over a variety of issues, while there are no favorable results of parties’ activities to be seen. Therefore, quite often respondents did not go beyond the mere statement of the parties’ negative role in the life of Ukrainian society. At the level of everyday requirements, the role of parties consists of making something good and useful to the common people.

- Positive aspects of political parties' activities:
 - *Parties are an integral attribute of the state*
 - *The numerousness of parties is indicative of pluralism of political views in society*
 - *Parties defend the interests of people, of certain social groups*
 - *Parties rescue people from local authorities' arbitrary decisions*

- Negative aspects of political parties' activities:
 - *The number of parties is too large, which makes it more difficult for voters to make their electoral choices, and also adversely affects the efficiency of party work*
 - *Inner party struggles, disagreements among parties, lack of leaders capable of guiding the people*
 - *Failure to keep pre-election promises, passiveness of most of the parties, and lack of wish to do anything essential for the people*
 - *Insufficient information on parties' activities*
 - *Parties are too far away from the people*

- Respondents do not believe there are any parties capable of resolving Ukraine's problems; mention was made of just a few parties / alliances that enjoy considerable confidence. These are the Rukh, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Ukraine, and BUTY (Yulia Tymoshenko's alliance); confidence in these parties prompted the respective respondents to vote for them in the parliamentary election.

- Thus, the attitude of the focus-group members to the current party system in Ukraine is characterized by the prevalence of negative emotions. This mind-set is due primarily to the existence of a multitude of parties, a vast majority of which are seen similar to each other. Voters do not see any positive results of parties' activities: The life of the common people, by and large, does not get better.

Appointed and elected officials

- When wishing to resolve particular problems, respondents prefer going to their Raion state administration first, rather than to their elected mayor, respecting the established bureaucratic "order of subordination." However, elective officials are regarded as being more trustworthy, inasmuch as they ought to be answerable to the people.

Awareness of and attitude to nongovernmental organizations

- Respondents are aware of the following nongovernmental NGOs:
 - *Trade unions*
 - *Society for the Protection of Consumer's Rights*
 - *Society for the Protection of Animals*
 - *The Red Cross*
 - *The Foundation of Soldiers' Mothers*
 - *[Society for the] Protection of the Interests of Afghan War Veterans*
 - *Amnesty International*
 - *The Peace Committee*
 - *The Order of Malta*
 - *Organization for Struggle against AIDS*
 - *The Women of Ukraine*

- *The Ukrainian Cossacks*
 - *Society of the Disabled*
 - *Kholmshchyna*
 - *Nadsiyannya*
 - *Hutsulshchyna*
 - *TACIS*
- NGOs can be particularly effective in the following sectors: work with young people; sports; sociological surveys; creation of mutual aid funds; improvements to local facilities and territory; protection of law and order; cultivation of morality; support for culture; environmental issues; struggle against bad habits; psychological assistance; and struggle against AIDS and drug addiction.
- In focus-group members' opinion, NGOs are created with these purposes:
- *To protect citizens' rights and interests*
 - *To bring to fruition its own interests (to make money)*
 - *To address social problems*
 - *To seek grants*
- Disadvantages of NGOs:
- *There is little information on them; people hardly know anything about them; no activity is to be seen*
 - *Lack of financial support*
 - *NGOs' small number and lack of any considerable influence*
 - *Lack of professionals working for NGOs*
 - *NGOs "restrict themselves" to narrow circles*
- According to those respondents who said they could volunteer for an NGO, they would do so in order to be useful and necessary to people. Some noted that working for an NGO requires being better off than these respondents are at present and having enough time for the job.
- Overall, focus-group members have rather vague ideas of the nature of NGOs' activities and functions; apparently, that is why their attitude to NGOs is so ambiguous and doubtful.

Detailed Description of Research Results

Interest in politics

The current unfavorable economic situation and the resulting low standard of living of a majority of Ukraine's citizens are the main prerequisites for their interest in political events. The focus groups included representatives of various categories of the population, ranging from unemployed and pensioners to businesspeople, but one thing was common to all of them: Dissatisfaction with their personal standard of living.

"Politics comes into contact with the life of every person. Politics and economics are inseparably related with each other. We feel our government's decisions by our own experience" (gr. 1)

“It’s because our life is bad [...] in European countries, people don’t think so much about politics, because they have a piece of bread” (gr. 2)

“I am interested because I want life to get better, and I want some changes for myself” (gr. 3)

“It’s impossible for the economic sector to straighten out unless order has been introduced into politics” (gr. 4)

“In Italy, parties replace one another very quickly, almost once every half a year; and the people do not care about it. It’s because their standard of living [...] has no impact at all. And since we are shaken, everything keeps changing here – the dollar rate [...] prices, rents, paid education [...] – we are interested in all of that, because we live here [...] and we would like to have a better life” (gr. 5)

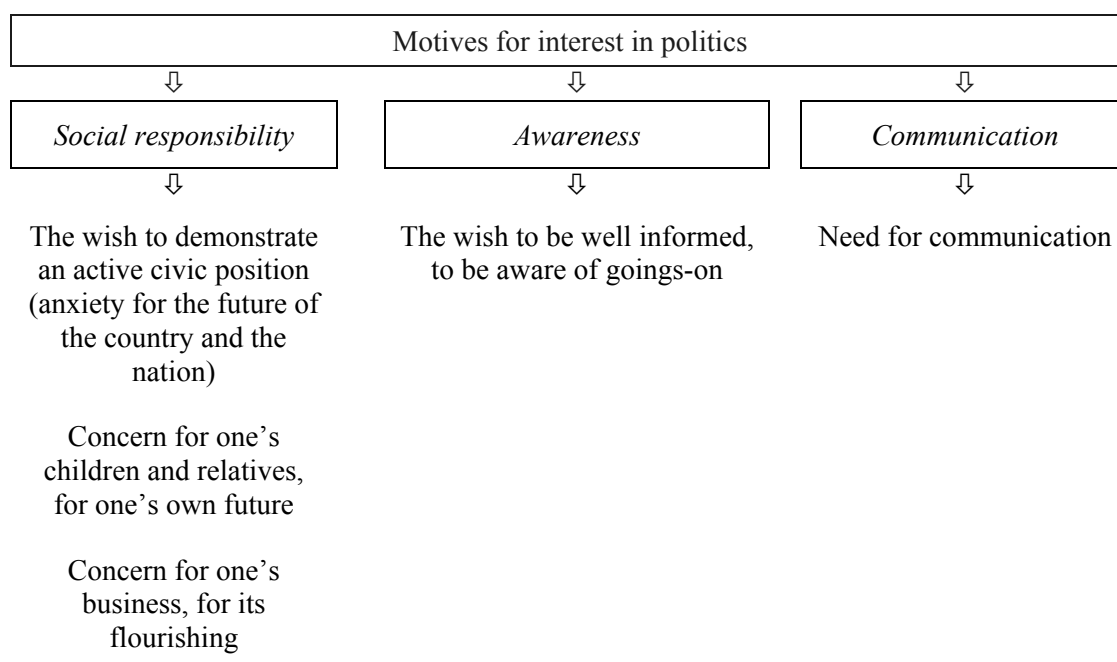
Not all of the respondents could explain why they are interested in politics. All attempts at explanation amounted to the mere statement of the fact that politics plays an important role in the life of man. One of the reasons behind this phenomenon consists in ambiguous perception of the word ‘politics’ and its background; that is why these respondents were unable to explicate the impact of politics on life and their interest in politics. Some focus-group members compared politics to business; some others, to religion.

The word ‘politics’ is often identified with the word ‘economy’ / ‘economics’, and so as often as not respondents “lapse” into discussing household and personal problems. However, as mentioned above, the current economic situation is a prerequisite for citizens’ interest in politics – so to speak, an objective externality. By the way, there are also a few other prerequisites of an objective nature; those are socio-demographic characteristics (sex, age, level of education, pursuit and employment, children, financial status, etc.) which have an impact on the extent of interest of some or other population categories in politics. However, inasmuch as not all people facing similar economic conditions (or not all people belonging to the same generation, or not all women, etc.) are similarly interested in politics, there must be some other factors (pertaining to the sphere of human motivation) that underlie this interest.

Why, then, are people interested in politics after all?

According to the results of the focus-group discussions conducted within the framework of this research, at least three major groups of motivational factors may be considered as possible explanation of the high interest in politics:

- ⇒ Social responsibility
- ⇒ Awareness
- ⇒ Communication



As follows, below are the corresponding statements by the focus-group participants in regards to each of the categories.

Social responsibility:

- ✓ Concern for one's children and relatives, for one's own future (gr. 1, gr. 2, gr. 3, gr. 5, gr. 7)

"Anyway, this concerns my life and the lives of my family members. And there is one more reason: I want to have a baby, but I am afraid of having a baby in this country" (gr. 1)

"We have children and we are anxious about their future; we are nervous and bothered" (gr. 4)

- ✓ Concern for one's business, for its flourishing (gr. 1)

"Politics infringes commercial interests; changes in laws [...] changes in taxes impact businessmen at once" (gr. 1)

- ✓ Anxiety for the future of the country and the nation (gr. 2, gr. 5, gr. 6)

"I am interested in the future of the country; I am to live and work in this country" (gr. 5)

"I feel ashamed because every day I turn on my TV and what I see is an insult to me. I am not satisfied with seeing old women raking through scrap-heaps [...] elders begging for kopecks in the streets. I don't like this; I think that we can live in a more dignified way. [...] I want to change something" (gr. 6)

Awareness:

"For myself, for my own development" (gr. 3)

"I am interested because I am not an indifferent person. I want to be well posted on everything" (gr. 3)

"To have some information on political processes, to get my bearings..." (gr. 7)

"For me, it is important to know everything" (gr. 9)

Communication:

"It's an interesting topic for conversations" (gr. 8)

Respondents are most interested in the following:

- ✓ Legislative activities: *"Rulings, acts of some sort" (gr. 9); "what benefit was derived from laws, what is the level of our taxes" (gr. 8); "I am interested in laws being adopted, in how they influence the state of mankind" (gr. 5); "I am interested to know what sort of new laws are adopted there" (gr. 3); "laws being adopted" (gr. 1)*
- ✓ Ukraine's image and place on the international scene: *"In Ukraine's entry into Europe, in Ukraine's admission" (gr. 4); "I am primarily interested in our relations with different countries" (gr. 4); "what Russians or Americans say about Ukraine – it's all interesting to me" (gr. 3); "for example, what is NATO's attitude to us" (gr. 3); "I am interested in Ukraine's image on the world scale" (gr. 1)*
- ✓ The country's internal policy, the state of affairs in Ukraine: *"I am interested in internal policies ... It is necessary first to decide on policies that should be pursued inside the country and then to construct external policies, relations with the neighbors" (gr. 7); "I am interested in the situation in the country. Our standard of living depends on that" (gr. 6); "the influence of politics on the economy" (gr. 6), "the impact on our everyday life ... family, household, studies" (gr. 5); "events going on in the country" (gr. 2)*
- ✓ Issues of international politics: *"For example the gift to Russia, in the form of a part of the Ukrainian gas pipeline" (gr. 8); "our politics ... is petty intrigues in comparison with what is going on in the world. I am interested in foreign politics" (gr. 7); "world events: this influences our country ... The Middle East: aren't they sick of making war there? ... Russia should grant independence to Chechnya" (gr. 6), "the policies of America, the EEC, European countries, the way relations are designed" (gr. 2)*
- ✓ Appointments to central government bodies: *"Changes among top-ranking officials – that is a very interesting point, because our life depends on who is in power in this world" (gr. 4), "I am interested in the distribution of their portfolios" (gr. 2)*
- ✓ Work of the Verkhovna Rada: *"I am interested in events taking place in the Verkhovna Rada" (gr. 2)*
- ✓ Current protests: *"Also of interest are all sorts of protests being organized, all sorts of actions" (gr. 8); "I look at those old men and women. They go out and they hold protest rallies" (gr. 5)*
- ✓ The language problem and the making of the Ukrainian nation: *"I am more interested in ... the issue of morality in society. That immorality, that attitude to the native language indicates that ... it is necessary to preserve this language, because if there is no language,*

- there is no nation”*(gr. 2), *“bilingualism is of interest; I am for the Ukrainian language ... for nationalism”* (gr. 8)
- ✓ Elections in Ukraine: *“I pay special attention to the issue of elections, because I believe that those who come to power determine the political and economic life in the country”* (gr. 8)
 - ✓ Social stratification of society: *“When will they [politicians, authorities] divide everything at last and start doing something so that people will live [well]?”* (gr. 9)
 - ✓ History, historical facts: *“History, the way politicians make history”* (gr. 9)
 - ✓ Unfair distribution of politicians’ attention to various sectors of life: *“I am distressed by issues of injustice in relation to different sectors ... during the past debate, not a word was said about culture”* (gr. 6); *“I am interested in problems related to finance”* (gr. 3)

Issues in international politics, domestic politics and legislative activities, and the state of affairs in the country, Ukraine’s image and place on the international scene seem to draw the greatest interest from the focus-group participants.

Many respondents see no opportunities for them to impact the political situation in the country, saying that this is so because:

- *Elections, as the only way in which people can take part in the process of state governing, have been discredited by the existing authorities*

“We can express our opinion only when elections are under way. We are needed at that time, even if to a very small extent” (gr. 9)

“It’s calculated as if it was a stage performance; we cannot do anything about it” (gr. 9)

“I always vote, I express my opinion; but somehow something isn’t quite the way it should be... As a matter of fact, the outcome is very far from what it should be like” (gr. 8)

“The average citizen has no influence on politics; even in elections, it’s about 50 per cent ... there is awful fraud taking place there” (gr. 7)

- *There is no democracy in Ukraine*

“Those in power have turned politics into a stage show” (gr. 8)

“Although there is talk of democracy and openness, the people cannot do anything anyway” (gr. 3)

“It’s a game of democracy that is being played in this country; we have no democracy, as such. One can hardly say that we have a certain legal right to impact” (gr. 2)

“We can attend rallies, but those at the top make a decision to ban them. You can shout for as long as you please, but the decision is made at the top and they don’t listen to the people” (gr. 1)

- *Public opinion does not impact any decisions; no one at the top listens to it*

“Our impact consists in carrying placards ... that’s all of the politics in which we are allowed to participate. What can we do?” (gr. 8)

“We don’t belong among decision-makers” (gr. 6)

“At present, we are so unprotected socially that our opinion will hardly play any role” (gr. 4)

- The opportunity to impact politics requires having quite a lot of money

“It is necessary to have some primary capital so as to start doing something – a certain preparation ... for guiding the people” (gr. 6)

However, some respondents do believe that ordinary people can have an impact on the developments in Ukraine by doing the following:

- Supporting the opposition, attending protests or rallies, or even participating in armed rebellion

“Under urgent political conditions, truly radical changes can be achieved only by way of revolution, but at present they are actually impossible. To a certain extent, that is alien to the Ukrainian mentality” (gr. 7)

“We cannot [impact the political situation] unless we take up arms. Some concrete actions should be taken” (gr. 5)

“Maybe by participating in demonstrations ... there is no other way” (gr. 5)

“Well, we did a couple of strikes, a couple of pickets in front of [the house of] the administration. I don’t know – maybe it was our impact, maybe those were entirely different political decisions; but the raising of fares was immediately postponed. And I think that I did have some impact, contributing a certain droplet to the sea” (gr. 1)

- Voting in elections

“Each one of us should express our personal opinions. Everything begins with the first step, and even if all doesn’t come at once, your opinion will impact something anyway” (gr. 8)

- Communicating with friends, colleagues, and acquaintances (i.e. indirectly)

“I cannot speak to the Verkhovna Rada, make a statement on TV and so on. However, in society, talking to my colleagues, even in the house yard, in the family circle – I also spread my opinion there, and that opinion will find a way sooner or later” (gr. 2)

Information sources

The main sources of information on political events are as follows:

- Television (Inter, UT-2, “1+1,” UT-1, Kyiv, ICTV, Novy Kanal, and STB). As to other channels (in particular, Russian channels such as ORT and NTV and Russian-language channels by EuroNews and CNN) they are available only to cable TV customers or satellite dish owners.
- Radio (Radio Liberty, the BBC, the Voice of America, Lux).
- Periodicals (newspapers *Fakty, Den, Segodnya, Kievskiye Vedomosti, Argumenty i Fakty, Vecherniye Vesti, Zerkalo Nedeli, Kyivsky Rehion, Holos Ukrainy, Vysoky Zamok, Silski Visti, Za Vilnu Ukrainu, Postup, Ekspres, Komsomolskaya Pravda, and Vecherniy Kharkov*)

- Verbal communication (with colleagues, relatives, friends, acquaintances, neighbors; conversation in public places such as shops, public transportation vehicles, etc.)
- The Internet

Sources of information most accessible to a lot of people are television (number 1 source) and radio. One more highly important source of information is interpersonal communication:

“I make comparisons among everything that I heard in news bulletins, from my friends, from people older than me, from people younger than me” (gr. 1)

As a rule, when people talk about television as a source of information, they primarily refer to news bulletins on some or other channels. Furthermore, information is derived from special TV programs; in particular mention was made of programs presented by Kiselev and Pikhovshek. During election campaigns, future voters take an interest in TV debates; this form of acquaintance with candidates creates an illusion of personal communication (“*it is clear who is keen on what*”).

Thus, television, radio, and newspapers rank among the main sources of information.

Focus-group members expressed complete or partial distrust of various mass media, believing that the presented information is biased and reflects the viewpoint of the authorities or of the medium’s owner. When choosing suitable media, respondents pay attention to whether information is presented in a brief and terse way, to its objectivity (facts being cited without extensive journalistic comment), and to presenters’ competence and appearance.

In view of these reasons, many prefer to obtain information from several sources rather than a single one, make comparisons, and then draw personal conclusions.

“I obtain information ...and after that I analyze it” (gr. 1)

“You pay attention to the source from which you get information, to where it comes from. For example, the States show a slight bias in favor of itself and Russia acts analogously ... and so you introduce a correction. In this way, you gradually form an own opinion ... then you make comparisons with ours [our sources of information] ... you estimate how accurate they are. History introduces its correction, showing to what extent you were right” (gr. 1)

“I take into account the bare facts only and I try to disengage myself from the estimate being presented to me. Before I can draw some conclusions, before I can take an attitude to what has happened, I have to listen to many sources and make an analysis” (gr. 1)

Respondents observed that it is not always possible to immediately determine whether or not mass media are reporting true facts; the real picture will only be formed after a while.

The criteria for determining the accuracy / correctness of incoming news are as follows:

- Recurrence of topics or facts coming from different sources (foreign as well as domestic)

“If a topic is repeated many times in the same way, this means that you can believe it” (gr. 1)

“If it was shown in the program TSN and if it was published in the newspaper; I just make comparisons between these events” (gr. 2)

“If two or three sources say the same thing, then that’s enough to trust it” (gr. 5)

- Reporting promptness

“I trust information which is presented at once, right after the event in question, promptly. If it was late, then there must have been some falsified points and so it is possible [...] to present the information from any angle” (gr. 2)

- Behavior of announcers presenting the information

“They speak in such a way, with such an expression on the face that you perceive that there is something lying underneath, that there may be some things that they have been forbidden to say” (gr. 4)

- Criticism on the part of mass media

“I have more trust in those who are not afraid to express criticism – where there is freedom of speech” (gr. 5)

- Awareness of the bias of the source in question (knowledge of who is the owner of the medium)

“If I know that there is such a trend on the channel Inter that ... the Social Democrats are the best people in the world ... the most honest people in the world ... then I know what I can expect in the future” (gr. 6)

“It’s the work of intuition and the awareness of who the channel belongs to. If it’s information on ... Bin Laden ... then, in the strict sense, no channel in the world is objective ... because, one way or another, it is under America’s pressure” (gr. 6)

Most of the respondents said that they obtain more information on national, all-Ukrainian problems and issues than on local matters. Nevertheless, information of any sort is regarded as being insufficient; there is a need for more. Participants emphasized that, above all, they would like to get truthful information. Information on local developments and events is considered to be more reliable, for *“it can be easily verified”*:

“You look at the happenings, at what square or railway station has been built, and so you see it” (gr. 1)

“We know many of those people, and when we read an item we can see if it’s truthful or lying” (gr. 4)

Furthermore, some respondents believe in the predominant truthfulness of information on international events unrelated to Ukraine:

“If there is talk of international events, that is more truthful, because that is simply not ours; they simply inform the people about it... News from abroad are truthful” (gr. 3)

International-scale events in Ukraine are not much distorted either:

“They are covered not only by our Ukrainian channels but by other channels as well. Therefore ... to tell a lie or to twist some facts – of course this can be done, but in small quantities. It’s just that there are very many commentators and foreign journalists following all of that” (gr. 9)

Recently, Ukrainian mass media have undergone certain changes: On the one hand, there has been a rise in the standard of employers' professionalism, but on the other hand, authorities have stepped up pressure on journalists and correspondents, bringing about a decrease in the extent of respondents' trust in Ukrainian mass media.

"In the past, when channels were based on sheer enthusiasm, they tried to present information more truthfully. And so, when it came to making money, a wish was born to earn more and avoid dismissing anyone... Then began the publication of things advantageous to someone" (gr. 1)

Parliamentary elections of 2002

Most of the focus-group members (with a few exceptions) voted in the 2002 parliamentary election. A part of the respondents acted as observers at polling stations.

Reasons why respondents did not vote in the election:

- No opportunity to come to the polling station (in view of being away from the country)
- Ineligibility for voting on account of being too young
- No passport registration at the time of the election
- Absence of deserving candidates

"I did not vote because I think that politics requires decent people with clean hands. But they won't get there [...] Therefore, there was no one to vote for" (gr. 9)

Main reasons for voting:

- Display of the voter's active position: intention to support a particular candidate or to express disapproval of a particular candidate / candidates

"I decided to vote in order to uphold my own position. It seems to me that it is necessary to elect someone who is a patriot of our country, who can impact something and improve our situation" (gr. 8)

- Hope of changes for the better, of the possibility of transformation

"It's because I am interested in the life of our Ukraine. I was wishing that people would come to the Verkhovna Rada who would rally be able to change our life for the better" (gr. 6)

"I wanted life to get better. Hoping that there may come people who are more competent, more interested" (gr. 5)

- Apprehension that the voter's unused ballot might be used in the election fraud scheme

"I voted – for no one, just to vote, because if I had not voted, my ballot would have simply been misused" (gr. 9)

- Performance of civic duty

"First of all, I am a citizen. I voted in the past, I continue to vote, and I will vote in the future. It's my duty. I am not afraid to say that word" (gr. 2)

"I wanted ... to perform my civic duty, because it is required of me that I should vote" (gr. 1)

The main criteria for choosing the party / alliance to vote for were as follows:

- Party / alliance program and work record

"There are certain results of the activities of all parties ... and so this makes it possible to say [...] which party can really take on the responsibility and start leading the country out of the crisis" (gr. 8)

- Party's / alliance's opposition to the current authorities

"I have a simple principle: I don't like the existent ruling clique; therefore, I voted for Tymoshenko, who does not like the current clique either" (gr. 9)

"I was guided by the criterion of whether some or other specific structure was in opposition to the authorities" (gr. 7)

- Personality of the leader of the party / alliance

"I was guided by the personality of the political leader" (gr. 7)

"The leader is a party's face. And if you trust him, this means that you also trust its members" (gr. 4)

The main criteria for choosing a candidate to vote for in the parliamentary election were as follows:

- Membership in a particular party / alliance

"If you vote for a particular party, then, accordingly, you support that party's candidate" (gr. 9)

"I was guided by the candidate's membership in a particular election alliance" (gr. 7)

- Sympathy for the candidate, availability of information about him / her

"To me, the primary choice was that of the candidate, of his personality. His actions, his preliminary work, the way he has shown himself" (gr. 8)

- The candidate's election program

"I read what I found in my mailbox, what someone brought to our workplace" (gr. 5)

The main criteria for choosing a candidate to vote for in the local election were as follows:

- Fulfillment of previous promises
- Availability of information on the candidate (as a rule, voters know a lot about the chosen candidate for the local office and about the results of his work in the locality)
- Membership in a particular party / alliance

During the election campaign, many meetings were organized between voters and candidates running for parliamentary seats or local offices. Only a small part of focus-group participants attended these events. However, nearly all of the respondents think that such meetings have a considerable impact on the decision of people attending them to vote / not to vote for a particular candidate or a party (i.e. someone votes for the candidate or party / alliance in question while someone else is disillusioned).

"I attended a meeting held by Vitrenko, by their party ... I won't ever go there again, I won't listen to them ... She is rude; she has no respect for her voters; she isn't a good speaker; and she doesn't behave well" (gr. 9)

"In order to decide on my position, I attended meetings held by several parties" (gr. 8)

"I think that it is not just useful to attend such meetings – it is simply necessary to do so" (gr. 4)

The most frequently mentioned reason for not attending such meetings is lack of free time. At such meetings, candidates always tell about their past work and make promises to make many other good things if elected: *"somehow those whom we elect do very many good things precisely during election campaigns"*. All meetings are alike; therefore, a part of the respondents are distrustful of such actions.

Campaigning for candidates and parties / alliances also featured the use of propagandistic materials such as leaflets, programs of parties, brochures with information on candidates, or small calendars; mini-reports on past work were hung in public places. In some places, money or foodstuffs were handed out in an effort to "purchase" votes.

Fairness of the elections

Nearly all of the respondents are of the opinion that that the elections were unfair, because, firstly, there were lots of violations (such as mass voting in off-home constituencies; long queues at polling stations, which "scared off" many voters; extensive "bribing" of candidates; pressuring cadets and students to vote for certain candidates; rewriting of election protocols; availability of ballots for people who had died long ago; failure to deliver ballot-boxes to the homes of old people who could not come to the polling station, or who had to return home, unable to wait in the queue for their turn to come), and secondly, the majority in the parliament was eventually formed by forces other than the ones who received the highest percentage of votes and who were regarded by the general public as the winners.

"The secretary of our election committee said to me afterwards, 'You know, we drew up those protocols incorrectly; I had to rewrite them.' They were unsigned; she signed them instead of all others. All the necessary conditions were created there; they signed all protocols and faked absolutely all of the signatures" (gr. 8)

“For example, they talked with clergymen in villages ... promising them to repair the churches” (gr. 6)

Respondents also cited examples of direct pressure on businessmen, schoolchildren, and employees of state-run organizations.

“An acquaintance of mine was told, ‘Either vote like this, or you will lose your job’ (gr. 5)

However, the unfairness of the elections (pressure, fraud) does not discourage most of the voters from participating in any future elections; on the contrary, it prompts them to more actively defend their civil rights.

“If we always vote, if we always make our choice and do not change our point of view, then at some moment ... we will let our opinion break through” (gr. 9)

“It is necessary to restrain these disgraceful goings-on somehow. At least, I if cross out all names, there is hope that my ballot won’t be misused in some way” (gr. 8)

Some respondents were aware that they could report election violations by making a hotline telephone call or by contacting the chairperson of the election committee, mass media, or certain deputies. However, none of the respondents actually did this, as none of them witnessed any violations that could be proven.

“When I acted as a party observer ... I was given a telephone number. In case of some violations I could give a call ... Thank God, I did not use it; there was no need for that” (gr. 9)

“As to frauds I know a lot about them, but ... I did not feel any particularly apparent ones ... I cannot take someone by the hand, catching him red-handed” (gr. 8)

Furthermore, opinions were voiced that people are afraid to report election violations because *“that is not anonymous; it is necessary to provide accurate data,”* or because of indifference: *“if it’s a small village ... 20 may have voted wrongly, but what will it matter on the nationwide scale? That’s what someone [who is ready to complain] will think...”; “it’s just that no one wants any extra problems.”*

A part of the respondents said that the elections had been fair up to a particular point (in the main this idea was expressed by respondents who had acted as observers at polling stations); according to them, there had been no violations directly at their stations; however, they admitted that frauds and violations could have been possible at other election stages.

“At the polling-station level, the elections were fair” (gr. 9)

“I was an observer in the 82nd constituency, the scandalous one; there was talk of it even on the national channels, to the effect that there were frauds there ... Yet there wasn’t anything of that sort there” (gr. 8)

“Fraud is perpetrated specifically at the higher level” (gr. 7)

Some respondents are of the opinion that Ukraine has not just halted on the road to democracy; they maintain that the country has in fact started moving backward, towards

dictatorship. In contrast, the opponents of this view hold that free elections in Ukraine and openness (“glasnost”) are signs of democracy.

Attitude toward various political actions

Respondents approve of actions in which people express their civic position; however, they believe that the only efficient form is protest and that no other alternative can lead to any conspicuous results.

Attending a political rally or protest is approved of by a majority of the respondents; they regard it as a form in which the public expresses its opinion.

“This is a sign of democracy” (gr. 1, gr. 6)

“This is an opportunity to express one’s opinion” (gr. 1)

“If people don’t go out to demonstrate, this means that they are satisfied with everything; in this case [in case of protest], however, all will see that the people have some problem” (gr. 2)

“They [rallies] have a right to exist... If they are peaceful and organized, then they make sense. This means that we exist and we express an opinion” (gr. 5)

Respondents quite frequently see various rallies on TV, and their attitude to rallies is favorable – provided that these are “fair” rallies, for there is suspicion that very frequently a large part of participants in such actions are people who have been “bought,” i.e. paid participants.

Signing a petition or writing a letter is considered to be useless by a majority of focus-group members; there are doubts, they say, as to whether the letter will actually reach its destination, whether it will be handed over to the right official, whether that official will read it, and whether he/she will want to undertake something in its connection.

“A voice in the wilderness” (gr. 2)

“This option is even worse than rallies. In the latter case, one can at least see that people have come out ... thumping, noise, roaring – and a certain response; and as to letters they are useless” (gr. 8)

However, a part of the focus-group members think that this type of action should also exist as a form of public opinion expression.

A letter / petition can be helpful if it is an addition to a protest / rally.

As to cooperating with a civic group or public organization on democratic rights or legal aid the attitude to this action type is quite ambiguous: On the one hand, respondents are not particularly knowledgeable about the essence of public organizations and their functions; on the other hand, there is pronounced confidence that these organizations wield certain power and can be helpful.

“A public organization can do more than a governmental one, because it has a voice, it has power, it is independent; it can even be admitted to the president and the Verkhovna Rada” (gr. 2)

A part of the respondents wrote letters or contacted officials in the past; in most cases, that experience was negative:

“We, several persons, got together and decided ... to write a letter to the newspaper Trud. As a result, I was fired” (gr. 2)

“We wrote a letter to the Cabinet of Ministers. A response came to the effect that the question cannot be resolved at present. ‘That’s all; relax and don’t write any more’” (gr. 3)

However, four respondents did have some positive experiences. Thus, one respondent contacted a deputy, another got in touch with a public organization; as a result, overdue salary was paid and a fine unjustifiably imposed by a transport inspector was paid back.

People do not take part in political actions because they –

- do not believe that these actions can be efficient: *“If I knew that this would yield a result, I would go there [to a rally]” (gr. 1);*
- fear for their lives;
- are politically passive; they will participate in political actions only if their interests have been infringed upon; so far, however, *“there has been no need to do that.”*

Leaders do not pay attention to such actions, with the exception of extensive rallies and rallies held during an election campaign:

“Especially if those actions are extensive, they [leaders] cannot help paying attention to them. It’s sort of image; and if they don’t pay attention today, tomorrow it will get worse” (gr. 1)

“This happens indirectly, by way of mass media coverage. But if some information is not for the press, then they don’t [pay attention to the action]” (gr. 7)

“During an election campaign they probably pay attention” (gr. 7)

The authorities’ disregard for the protesters discourages many people from participating in any actions of this sort.

Respondents’ attitude to the September protest against President Kuchma is mostly favorable, although they believe that those who organized the protest did so in pursuit of personal goals. Still, focus-group members feel that the protest will not achieve any favorable result.

“People express their opinion about the government and the president, about the state of affairs in our country; they express their opinion about everything. I respect such people” (gr. 1)

“I don’t believe anyone of those protesters ... During those years that they’ve been holding those deputy seats, I haven’t seen any help coming to us from them” (gr. 2)

“It’s all related to struggle for power” (gr. 7)

Membership in and attitude to political parties

Among the respondents, non-party people are a vast majority. In fact only seven participants are members of a party. Of these, six joined their parties believing in the party cause, and one woman said that she joined her party “under constraint” on the part of the organization employing her.

The following reasons can make a person join a party:

- Personal convictions: *“There have to be some ideological convictions, because someone joining a party has an own opinion on one or other matter” (gr. 3)*
- The party’s active civic position
- Faith in the leader of the party
- The availability of a “strong party”: *“This could be some strong party whose views are shared by many people. I would hardly ever join an opposition party” (gr. 8)*
- Material considerations

A part of the respondents said that nothing can make them join a party.

People do not join any party for the following reasons:

- Personal passiveness – *“It’s much easier to sit quietly, without touching anyone or being touched by anyone” (gr. 8); “if you want to join a party, you must become a political activist, obtain an education; otherwise it’s not serious” (gr. 7); “I don’t join a party because I haven’t received any proposals of that sort” (gr. 4)*
- Unpleasant reminiscences about membership in the CPSU
- Disbelief in the ability of parties to make life better: *“The main part of the Ukrainian parties ... has no ideology” (gr. 7); “parties do not come up to people’s expectations” (gr. 6)*
- The large number of parties: *“There are too many of them for normal society. We have a host of parties advocating the same ideals. And the ambitions of their leaders do not allow them to unite. Well, if they got together to form some powerful movement ... people would start coming to them” (gr. 8); “It is hard to find one’s bearings. All of their programs are similar to each other” (gr. 5)*
- The present-day difficult economic situation: *“People do not think about parties; their problem is how to get a piece of bread”; “the children are hungry; how can one think of a party?”; “Life is so hard; people are so much occupied with their vital problems” [gr. 5]; that is, joining a party is perceived as a possibility to satisfy requirements other than physiological.*
- Apprehension for oneself, for one’s children; fear of reprisals: *“I joined the wrong party; the party got out of favor. When it’s out of favor, reprisals are bound to begin” (gr. 8)*
- Unwillingness to pay membership dues: *“Since it also requires paying money – the party resource; and the people’s objective is to earn and no one has any spare money” (gr. 9)*
- Limitations on one’s freedom, feeling of being dependent on the party: *“One’s party is one’s way of life ... I don’t like this; I don’t want to carry out assignments given by someone, to abide by the party constitutions. I will have to do it sort of under constraint; I don’t want this” (gr. 6); “I don’t want to be obliged to anyone; I don’t want to be under some pressure: ‘See that we don’t expel you from the party’” (gr. 1)*
- “People do not know what benefit they can derive from being a party member”

In respondents' opinion, parties are created with the following purposes:

- To come to power
"They have money and they want power" (gr. 6)
"Every party strives for power for its own sake" (gr. 1)
- To achieve its own selfish ends (e.g. personal enrichment or money laundering)
"Everyone simply strives for making money" (gr. 8)
"A political party is a specific type of big business; money is invested in it" (gr. 7)
- To express its own interests or the interest of certain sections of the population
"People join a party when they are in need of something. When one has collected one million, he needs to have a second one, he needs support" (gr. 6)
- To put into practice the party's own ideas of a better model for society
- To inform people about the existing situation
"I think that political parties exist, in the first place, to inform people of the political situation that we have" (gr. 2)

In the opinion of some focus-group members, parties only play a role in their legislative work and influence on politics, in particular on economic policies of the government. Mention was also made of the ideological function of parties, i.e. the spreading of certain views and ideas in society.

At the level of everyday requirements, the role of parties consists in making something good, something useful to the common people.

Some respondents expressed the assumption that parties either do nothing at all or engage in "talking"; some others said that parties' activities were aimed at "covering up" certain wrongdoings on the part of individual groups of people.

It should be noted that, when answering the question about political parties' activities, respondents hardly ever confirmed their statements by any examples from their personal experience. They only made assumptions as to what parties should do, instead of stating what they really do. This may indicate, firstly, that the extent of public awareness of parties' activities is small and the level of common people's involvement in political affairs is low; and secondly, that Ukrainian citizens are, for the most part, apolitical, i.e. unconcerned about obtaining information of this sort and unwilling to engage in political activities.

Positive aspects of political parties' activities

- Parties are an integral attribute of the state
"By the fact of their existence parties assert the state ... creating an independent political space. And thus they make us similar to normal states" (gr. 6)
- The numerousness of parties is indicative of pluralism of political views in society
"They represent various layers of the population" (gr. 7)

"It is good that there are parties ... the struggle among them ... people start thinking and pondering on what we are to do, which party we should support" (gr. 6)

"If there was just one party, this could result in totalitarianism" (gr. 3)

- Parties defend the interests of people, of certain social groups

"A party is a political structure promoting the interests of a particular social group and having a certain ideological foundation... In our country, party status implies political lobbying for business in certain authoritative structures" (gr. 7)

- Parties rescue people from local authorities' arbitrary decisions

"Today, the Rukh ... opens the peasants' eyes, and does not allow those local princelings to steal everything" (gr. 2)

Negative aspects of political parties' activities

According to respondents, there are too many parties in Ukraine and none of them does anything useful for the people. They only work for their own benefit. And they address neither national problems nor local issues; they only address their own specific problems, in particular their leaders' personal problems. In respondents' view parties strive for power and political significance; they are also eager to resolve certain national problems, as that would make them more respectable before the electorate.

"At first they address interparty problems" (gr. 6)

"I wish they addressed at least some issues; if there is a tangible result, be it a local one or at the level of the country, then in my opinion it can prompt one to vote for that party or to join its ranks" (gr. 5)

"They all want to address certain all-Ukrainian matters" (gr. 4)

"Yes, [parties address] primarily national [matters]; but in fact ... parties address problems of their own and for their own sake" (gr. 1)

- The number of parties is too large, which fact, firstly, makes it essentially more difficult for voters to make their electoral choices, and secondly, adversely affects the efficiency of party work

"There should remain just a couple of basic parties, basic approaches. World experience shows that, if there are too many parties, this is a reason for permanent political crisis" (gr. 7)

"It seems to me that there are too many of them" (gr. 4)

- Inner-party struggles, disagreements among parties, lack of a leaders capable of guiding the people

"It seems to me that they just fight among themselves" (gr. 5)

- Failure to keep pre-election promises, passiveness of most of the parties, and lack of wish to do anything essential for the people

"The main thing is to make promises" (gr. 9)

- Insufficiency of information on parties' activities

- Parties are too far away from the people

“They spend such enormous amounts of money; they had better give that money to children and poor people, or open some schools” (gr. 5)

Respondents are unaware of any parties capable of resolving Ukraine’s problems; mention was made of just a few parties / alliances that enjoy considerable confidence. These are the Rukh, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Ukraine, and BUTY (Yulia Tymoshenko’s alliance); confidence in these parties prompted the respective respondents to vote for them in the parliamentary election.

“It seems to me that the Rukh was making some proposals at first. But the leader was replaced there and everything remained as it was” (gr. 8)
“I still believe in Moroz, in the Socialist Party” (gr. 5)
“I trust Yulia Tymoshenko; she has a clear-cut program” (gr. 4)
“Two such parties have a [clear-cut] program; it’s the Rukh and, on the left, the Communist Party” (gr. 2)

The attitude to the existence of parties addressing problems of the local community was fairly ambiguous. On the one hand, it would be fine to have such a party; on the other hand, however, respondents do not believe that there can be such a party in Ukraine. During election campaigns, all parties make promises, often specific ones, but very few of those promises are transformed into actions, hence the observed lack of trust in what parties promise.

Appointed and elected officials

When wishing to resolve some or other problems, respondents prefer going to their Raion state administration first, rather than to their elected mayor, as that is in line with the established bureaucratic “order of subordination.” However, elective officials are regarded as being more trustworthy, inasmuch as they ought to be answerable to the people; indeed, these people tried hard to be elected, which means that it is quite probably that they will do something for the voters.

“That person is after something definite; he wants something and he will work” (gr. 9)

“There is more trust in those whom we elect; there is hope that the person has certain merits” (gr. 5)

However, several respondents gave preference to contacting appointive officials on account of their presumably considerable potential for helping local residents:

“Anyway, someone holding an [appointive] office can do more than someone I elected” (gr. 7)

“It’s an appointed official; he is specifically in charge of that question. And a deputy can provide help only in a spontaneous fashion” (gr. 6)

One way or another, the most important thing is that the official being contacted should have the powers needed to resolve the visitors’ problem and be willing to do so.

Awareness of and attitude to nongovernmental organizations

Respondents are aware of the following nongovernmental organizations:

- Trade unions
- Society for the Protection of Consumer's Rights
- Society for the Protection of Animals
- The Red Cross
- The Foundation of Soldiers' Mothers
- [Society for the] Protection of the Interests of Afghan War Veterans
- Amnesty International
- The Peace Committee
- The Order of Malta
- Organization for Struggle against AIDS
- The Women of Ukraine
- The Ukrainian Cossacks
- Society of the Disabled
- Kholmshchyna
- Nadiyannya
- Hutsulshchyna
- TACIS

A small number of respondents have ever contacted NGOs; what is more, while considering NGOs to be useful to our society, virtually all of the participants know very little about the activities of these organizations in Ukraine.

"The Red Cross responded to our invitation ... they organized a wonderful lecture for children, with gifts" (gr. 3)

"I am working for a social service for young people ... I just want to help those people who feel bad, who need psychological assistance ... just to [help them] achieve self-fulfillment in life" (gr. 8)

In focus-group members' opinion, NGOs are created with these purposes:

- To protect citizens' rights and interests

"Depending on the tasks that this organization sets itself ... the requester contacts it and goes to a meeting and the people there protect his right and interests" (gr. 1)

"They are not just active; they are concerned, in the first place, not with their material wealth, not with their salaries, but with saving the public, with rendering some help to the people, to the children" (gr. 3)

- To bring to fruition its own interests (to make money)

"The making of money" (gr. 1)

- To address social problems

"In our village there is ... no place for children to go to ... drug addicts; drinking and smoking ... But if there was some public organization doing something there..." (gr. 4)

- To seek grants

“Nowadays, newspapers write a lot to the effect that public organizations are formed with the purpose of obtaining grants” (gr. 7)

Disadvantages of NGOs:

There is little information on them; people hardly know anything about them; no activity is to be seen

“They are ineffective; I don’t feel them” (gr. 1)

“People should know where they [NGOs] are, where to find them” (gr. 6)

Lack of financial support

“To support such an organization, there has to be a sponsor ... some person of high standing” (gr. 3)

“They are unprovided for ... probably that is why we don’t know much about them – because when it comes to being mentioned by mass media, one has to pay an enormous amount for that” (gr. 4)

NGOs’ small number and lack of any considerable influence

“It is good that there are such organizations, that they take up certain problems, but they are few indeed, and [...] they don’t have much strength or influence” (gr. 2)

“It’s a new phenomenon, and such organizations are very few” (gr. 3)

Lack of professionals working for NGOs

“Their work is inefficient, because there are no ... professionals there” (gr. 4)

NGOs “restrict themselves” to narrow circles

“Very often they restrict themselves to the circle of their acquaintances” (gr. 4)

From respondents’ viewpoint, NGOs protect the interests of:

- The public: *“No one pays them any money ... it’s all on a voluntary basis”*
- The authorities: *“For example, Women of Ukraine protect the interests of Kuchma” (gr. 2)*
- Themselves and their leader: *“The interests often converge on the person in charge, on the leader” (gr. 4)*
- Political parties: *“They are a cell of a political party” (gr. 3)*
- Sponsors

Some respondents think that it is hard to be admitted to such organizations, that profitable connections are needed to get there (as they represent the interests of small groups of people). One of the explanations for this view consists in the insufficiency of information on these structures.

If an NGO was addressing issues of democracy and human rights, few of the respondents would join it, as focus-group members do not feel being sufficiently adept in this area; moreover, some participants said that there is no democracy in Ukraine at all.

“I could join one, but there wouldn’t be much use in that, because some legal grounding is needed” (gr. 1)

Not all of the respondents said they would ever consider volunteering for such NGOs; not all are ready to work for them without pay:

“I am a young person after all; I need money” (gr. 1)

“Life is so hard nowadays that it’s impossible to work without pay” (gr. 2)

According to those respondents who said they could volunteer for an NGO, they would do so in order to be useful and necessary to people. Some noted that working for an NGO requires being better off than these respondents are at present and having enough time for the job.

The focus-group members have rather vague ideas of the nature of NGOs’ activities and functions; apparently, that is why their attitude to NGOs is so ambiguous: On the one hand, it is acknowledged that NGOs are useful because they provide help and social protection to citizens; on the other hand, misunderstanding of the guiding principles and financial status of NGOs raises doubts in respondents’ minds as to whether these organizations really protect public interests.

