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TRANSITION AND TREPIDATION: PUBLIC OPINION IN UKRAINE 2010



September 2010

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Transition and Trepidation: Public Opinion in Ukraine 2010
Findings from an IFES September 2010 Survey
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by Marie Frechon entitled *“Ukraine Presidential Election 2010 (Round two).” Election Day in Bila Tserkva, Kyiv Oblast, 7 February 2010.*

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SURVEY DETAILS

Survey Parameters

Sample size: 1,519 respondents representing the voting-age population in Ukraine (18 years+).

Margin of error: $\pm 2.6\%$ within a 95% confidence interval, assuming a pure random sample.

Sample area coverage: All the administrative divisions of Ukraine; 1,269 observations were allocated proportionately at the national level with an over-sample of 125 observations in Kyiv and 125 in AR Crimea.

Fieldwork dates: 8-20 September 2010.

Survey firm: IFES contracted with the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) to conduct fieldwork and data processing for the survey.

Funding: The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) provided funding for this survey.

Weights: Following data collection, the data was weighted by age, region and gender to bring the realized sample in line with target population parameters in order to be nationally representative of the adult (18+) population of Ukraine.

Charts

For charts and tables where percentages are based on filtered respondents or certain demographic groups, the appropriate unweighted sample base for each percentage is specified in the relevant chart or table (example: $n=456$). For all other charts or where not otherwise specified, the sample base is the total sample size of 1,519 ($n=1,519$).

There may be slight variation between numbers presented in the analysis and the data figures or tables due to rounding. This occurred in only a few cases and the difference was never greater than 1 percent.

SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

This report details the findings from the latest IFES survey in Ukraine. This is the 18th public opinion poll conducted in Ukraine by IFES and some findings from earlier surveys will be referenced in this report. The fieldwork for this most recent survey was conducted from 8 to 20 September 2010 with 1,519 respondents throughout Ukraine. This sample comprised a national sample of 1,269 respondents and an over-sample of 125 respondents in Kyiv and 125 respondents in Crimea. The data has been weighted by region, age, and gender to be nationally representative for the adult (18+) population of Ukraine. The margin of error for a sample of this size is plus/minus 2.6%. The fieldwork and data processing for the survey were conducted by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS), based in Kyiv. Funding for the survey was provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Opinions on Socio-Political Situation in Ukraine

- Ukrainians are slightly less pessimistic this year about the direction of the country, yet 44% of Ukrainians believe Ukraine is on a path toward instability and chaos. This is down from 74% in 2009 and 76% in 2008. Twenty-one percent believe Ukraine is on the path toward stability and prosperity and this has increased from 7% in 2009.
- As Ukraine nears its 20th anniversary of independence, 41% of Ukrainians feel the country is worse off, compared to 21% who believe it is better off, 14% who view the country as being the same, and one quarter who say they do not know (24%).
- Majorities of Ukrainians remain dissatisfied with the economic situation this year (83%), though slightly less so than 2009 (96%). Sixty percent are dissatisfied with the political situation; this has decreased from 92% who were dissatisfied in 2009. Regarding the foreign policy situation, 41% of Ukrainians say they are satisfied, 37% are dissatisfied, and 22% say they don't know. Compared to 2009, 71% were dissatisfied with the foreign policy situation.
- Inflation is now an even bigger concern for Ukrainians as it is mentioned by 75%, in contrast to 58% in 2009, as one of the most serious issues facing Ukraine. Other economic issues are major concerns as unemployment is mentioned by 56%, poverty by 51%, corruption by 37%, and general economic problems by 36%. This year, political issues are less of a concern with political bickering only being mentioned by 11%, general political instability by 7%, and problems with Russia by 3%.
- As evidenced in opinions on other questions related to the economy, half of Ukrainians (53%) view the country's economic situation as worse than one year ago, 30% see it as the same, only 10% believe it is better, and 7% do not know.
- When asked about corruption, the two most common experiences with corruption involve being asked for unofficial payments at public hospitals to receive better treatment and asking for payments to avoid penalties by traffic officers. At hospitals, 46% of respondents say they have been asked more than once and 12% once. With traffic officers, 22% have been asked more than once and 4% have been asked once.
- Respondents were also asked to assess whether there has been an improvement or decline in various issues over the past year. Not surprisingly, 55% of Ukrainians believe there has been a decline in the economic situation of the country. Over half of Ukrainians see no change, however, in other issues such as the unity of Ukrainian citizens (57%), respect for citizens' rights (54%), the fight against corruption (51%), and respect for freedom of the press (49%). Over one-third of Ukrainians feel there has been an improvement in relations with Western countries (34%) and the political stability of the country (29%). The largest perceived improvement is in relations with Russia with 65% saying they see an improvement in these relations.

- Confidence in select institutions remains under 50% for all institutions except the media, which 54% of Ukrainians have confidence in. Forty-three percent of Ukrainians have confidence in President Yanukovich, 35% have confidence in the Central Election Commission, 29% have confidence in the Verkhovna Rada, 24% have confidence in former Prime Minister Tymoshenko, and only 8% have confidence in former President Yushchenko. For Tymoshenko and Yushchenko, confidence has steadily been declining from 2008, while confidence in Yanukovich has increased from 2008.
- Respondents have mixed assessments of certain policies and decisions that the Yanukovich administration has made since it took office. Ukrainians approve of the Yanukovich administration's granting Russian language official status for legal proceedings (61%) and declaring Ukraine's maintaining of non-bloc status (52%). Forty-percent of Ukrainians disapprove of the agreement with Russia to extend the lease of the Russian fleet in Crimea, but 45% approve. Forty-percent disapprove of the administration's stopping the movement to recognize Holodomor as genocide, while 20% approve, and 40% do not know. Majorities disapprove with the administrations' denying broadcasting frequencies to some private TV channels (55%), and increasing gas tariffs by fifty percent (91%).

Opinions on Democracy and Rights

- Ukrainians are nearly equally split on their preference for democratic government. Thirty-two percent of Ukrainians say democracy is preferable to any other form of government, while 25% say in certain situations non-democratic government can be preferable, 27% say the form of government doesn't matter to people like them, and 16% say they don't know.
- More Ukrainians do not view Ukraine as a democracy than those who do view it as a democracy. Only 25% of Ukrainians believe that Ukraine is a democracy compared to 41% who do not believe it is a democracy. Still, the percentage that believes Ukraine is a democracy has increased from 15% in 2008.
- When asked to prioritize economic development or democratic rights, more Ukrainians agree with the statement *"It should be a priority for Ukraine to pursue economic development, even if it means foregoing some democratic rights"* (45%). On the other hand, 33% of Ukrainians agree that *"Ukraine's priority should be to maintain democratic rights for its citizens, even if it means the economy develops slowly,"* and 22% say they don't know.
- Nearly half of Ukrainians (47%) believe democracy as a system is not good at maintaining order, while 36% of Ukrainians disagree, and 18% don't know.
- Respondents are equally split at 37% between agreeing and disagreeing that *"It is more important that political leaders maintain order than protect democratic rights of citizens,"* and 24% are unsure.
- When considering different limitations to ensure order, majorities of Ukrainians say it is not justified to limit freedom of the media (64%), limit rights of citizens to protest (63%), or limit authority of the courts (54%). Respondents are more amenable to limiting activities of citizens' groups/unions and activities of opposition political parties with 27% and 24% of respondents saying "it depends" and 15% and 20% saying it is justified to maintain order.
- More than six months into the Yanukovich administration, over half of Ukrainians (52%) say they are concerned by some reversals or rights and freedoms (36%) or are alarmed at the sign of deterioration in respect for rights and freedoms (16%). Still, one-quarter of Ukrainians (26%) say they are pleased that the Yanukovich administration has maintained respect for rights and freedoms.

Attitudes toward Institutions

- When asked about whose interests political parties serve, 44% believe political parties only serve their own interests, 16% say they serve business interests, 16% say they serve those in power, 16% say it depends on the political party, and a mere 5% say they serve the Ukrainian people.
- Dissatisfaction with the representativeness of major political parties is also clear in responses to other questions. More than half of all Ukrainians (53%) believe only some political parties in Ukraine address issues facing the country, while 20% say no party addresses issues, 12% do not know or refused, and 15% believe most parties do.
- Regarding political party performance in periods between elections, 27% of Ukrainians believe political parties never meet critical needs in between elections, 30% say they rarely do, 19% say they sometimes do, 18% say they only help before elections, and only 3% say they always do.
- There has been a significant increase in awareness of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) over the past two years. In this survey 40% say that they are aware of active NGOs in Ukraine, compared to only 15% in the 2008 survey, and 28% in the 2009 survey. Still, 42% of respondents are not aware of any NGO in Ukraine, and 14% do not know what an NGO is.
- The percentage of Ukrainians who believe that NGOs are essential or necessary for Ukraine has also jumped significantly from 50% in 2008 to 63% in 2009 and 62% in 2010, while those who believe NGOs are not necessary stands at 22% in 2010, up slightly from 18% in 2009 and declined from 30% in 2008.
- Seven percent of Ukrainians are familiar with USAID. This is an increase from 3% in the 2008 survey and 6% in the 2009 survey. When asked how USAID can raise awareness of its programs in Ukraine, greater media presence was mentioned by 37% of respondents.

Opinions on Elections

- In 2010, 34% of Ukrainians agree that voting gives people like them a chance to influence decision-making in the country while 58% disagree. Ukrainians' belief that their vote can impact decision-making declined after the 2004 election, but has been increasing since 2008.
- Over half of Ukrainians (56%) say they are very likely to vote in the upcoming October 2011 local elections and another 26% say they are somewhat likely to vote. Residents of the West (60%), South (60%), and East (57%) are more likely to say they are very likely to vote than those in Central Ukraine (51%) and Kyiv (37%).
- Fifty-one percent of Ukrainians believe the elections will be either be completely free and fair (12%) or somewhat free and fair (39%). Fewer Ukrainians believe the elections will be not very free and fair (26%) or not at all free and fair (11%), and 11% say they don't know.
- While a majority of Ukrainians believe that elections in Ukraine are competently administered (62%), increased from 52% in 2009, a majority disagrees with the statement that the results of elections accurately reflects the way people voted in the election (52%). Concerning other aspects of the election process, majorities of Ukrainians agree international observers have a positive effect on the fairness of elections in Ukraine (72%). Ukrainians feel safe voting however they wish (72%), they believe the presence of political party observers has a positive effect on the election (66%), they feel informed about the election process in Ukraine (65%), they believe non-partisan Ukrainian civic organization observers would have a positive effect on the elections (64%), the national media provides thorough coverage of parties and candidates (63%), and their vote is kept confidential by authorities (58%). Less than half of Ukrainians agree that the national media provides objective coverage of parties and candidates.

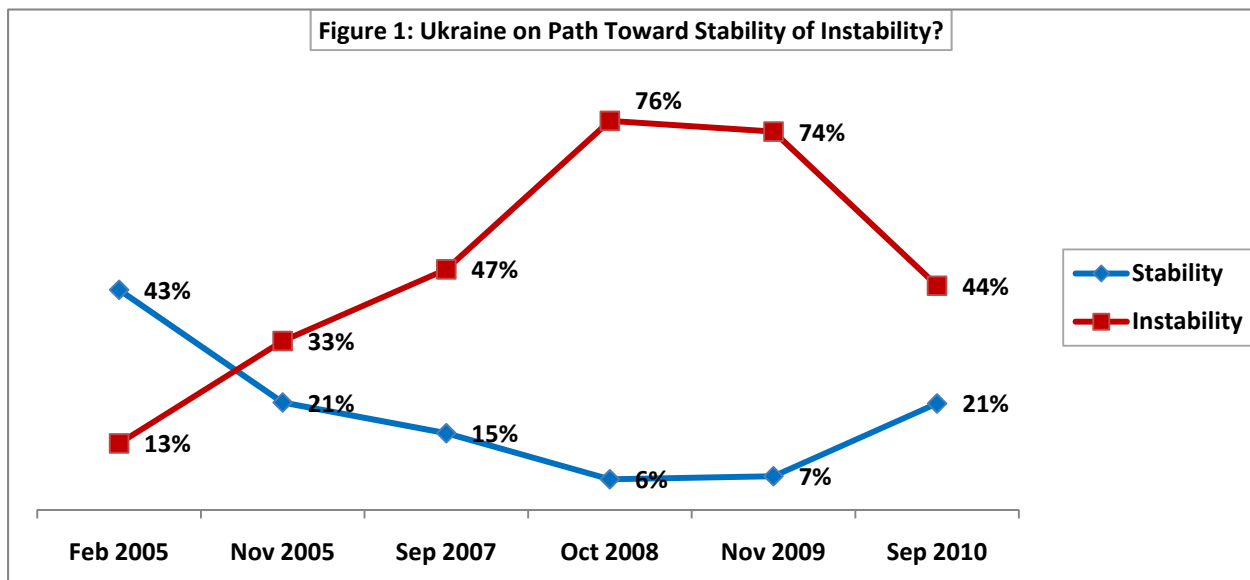
- Fifty-percent of Ukrainians support the recent change to the local election law where voters select half of local council deputies by voting for a party list and the other half by voting for candidates directly. Only 14% oppose the changed law, and 37% say they don't know.
- Over half of Ukrainians (64%) believe the best way to decide on changes to the Constitution is holding a nationwide referendum for voters to decide. Only 13% believe parliament should vote on changes, 6% believe the president should decide on changes, and 17% don't know.
- When asked to name the political party that best represents the interests of people like them, 28% name the Party of Regions, 12% say Batkivshina, 8% say Strong Ukraine, 4% say Front of Change, 3% say All-Ukrainian Union Freedom, 3% say Communist Party of Ukraine, 1% say People's Party, and 3% name other parties. Still two in 10 (22%) Ukrainians say no party represents their interests and 17% say they don't know.

OPINIONS ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN UKRAINE

Many changes have occurred in 2010 following the February elections and change of government. Some opinions on the socio-political situation are changing this year, while others remain the same. Ukrainians continue to be concerned about the economy, inflation, and corruption. Ukrainians remain overwhelmingly dissatisfied with the economic situation in the country; however, this year they are more satisfied with the foreign policy situation and political situation. More Ukrainians view the country as on the path toward instability than stability, yet the percentage has dropped significantly since the 2009 survey. In the year before Ukraine's 20th anniversary of independence, more Ukrainians believe the country is worse off now than it was before independence.

Plurality of Ukrainians View Country on Path toward Instability and Worse Off Since Independence

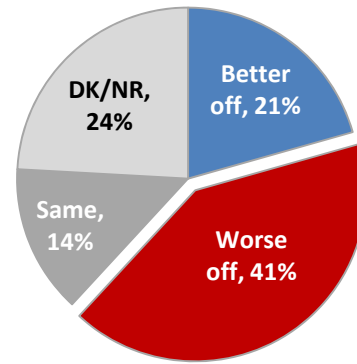
For the first time since 2005, IFES' survey documents a decrease in those viewing the country on a path toward instability and an increase in those viewing it as moving toward stability. Although more Ukrainians continue to view the country as on a path toward instability (44%) than those who see the country on a path toward stability (21%), the percentage viewing the country as moving towards stability tripled this year to 21% from 7% in 2009.¹ The percentage of Ukrainians viewing the country as moving towards instability also dropped from 75% in 2008 and 74% in 2009 to 44% in 2010 (Figure 1). In 2009, widespread perceptions of instability pointed to the many difficulties faced by Ukraine, including a world economic crisis, H1N1 flu outbreak, and political infighting in the government ahead of the elections. Six months after the 2010 Presidential elections, this data reflects cautious optimism on the part of some Ukrainians about the direction of the country.



¹ "Do you think Ukraine is on the right track toward stability and prosperity in the future, or do you think Ukraine is on a path toward instability and chaos?"

By region, the South and the East are the only regions where more people view the country on a path toward stability than instability. Opinions on the direction of the country in both these regions have reversed dramatically since the 2009 survey. In the South, 43% say Ukraine is on path toward stability compared to 25% in 2009; comparable percentage are 22% and 3%, respectively, in Eastern Ukraine. In the West a majority (59%) believes the county is on a path toward instability, while a plurality (48%) believes this in Central Ukraine.

Figure 2: Ukraine Better or Worse Off Since Independence?



While prevailing perceptions of continued instability points to short-term concerns about Ukraine’s direction, more Ukrainians than not also hold negative sentiments regarding the path Ukraine has taken since independence. On the eve of Ukraine’s 20th anniversary of independence, four in 10 Ukrainians believe the country is worse off since independence, while only 21% believe it is better off, 14% see it as the same, and 24% say they don’t know (Figure 2).² Residents of Western Ukraine are much more likely to believe the country is better off than Ukrainians in any other region. By age group, those 60 years old and older, the age group that lived most of its life when Ukraine was part of the Soviet Union, are most likely to say the country is worse off. Years of economic stagnation, political in-fighting, and pervasive corruption has left an undoubtedly negative impression on most Ukrainians in terms of evaluating the status of Ukraine over the past 20 years.

Figure 3: Why better off?

	% of Cases
Because independent	41%
Became democratic state	19%
Choose own way of development	12%
Nobody presses & humiliates us	11%
Development of culture (language/traditions)	7%
More power internationally	7%

Figure 4: Why worse off?

	% of Cases
Economic decline (became poor)	51%
Country was spoiled & ransacked	18%
High unemployment (there are no jobs)	13%
Break of relationships with Russia & other countries	10%
Poor leadership/wastefulness of power	8%
There is no development in 20 years	5%

The data also suggests there is a significant minority of Ukrainians who see positive developments in the establishment of the Ukrainian state and democratic system. They list these elements as reasons why the country is better off than at the time of independence. Of those who believe Ukraine is better off since independence, 41% say it is because the country is independent, 19% say it is because Ukraine became a democratic state, 12% cite the fact they can choose their own way of development, 11% say because nobody presses and humiliates them, 7% cite development of cultural

² “Next year Ukraine will be celebrating the 20th anniversary of its independence. Do you believe Ukraine as a country is better off, worse off, or the same as it was at the time of independence?”

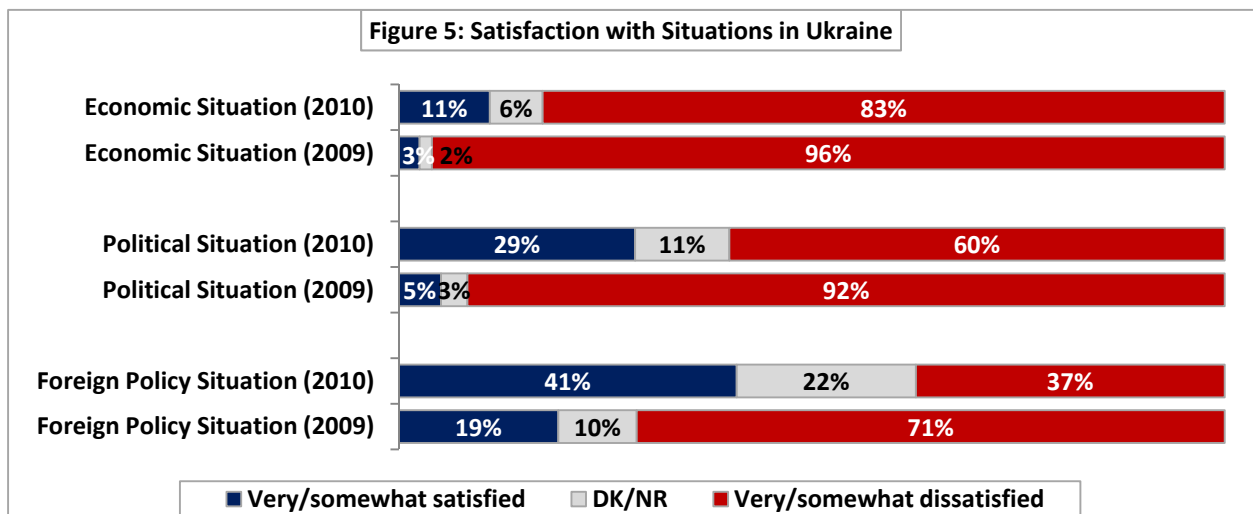
aspects such as language and traditions, and 7% mention the belief Ukraine now has more power internationally (Figure 3).

Economic issues dominate among those who think the country is worse off. Of those who believe Ukraine is worse off since independence, 51% mention the economic decline or the belief the country became poor, 18% say they believe the country was spoiled and ransacked through corruption, 13% mention the high unemployment and lack of jobs, 10% cite the breaking of relationship with Russia and other countries, 8% mention poor leadership/waste of power, and 5% believe the country is worse off because they feel there has been no development in the past 20 years (Figure 4).

Of those who believe Ukraine is in the same situation as it was at the time of independence 20 years ago, 24% say because nothing substantial has changed, 20% mention no economic development, 18% cite a dependence on poor leadership, and 7% cite corruption at high levels of power.

Ukrainians Remain Dissatisfied with Socio-Political Situation in Country

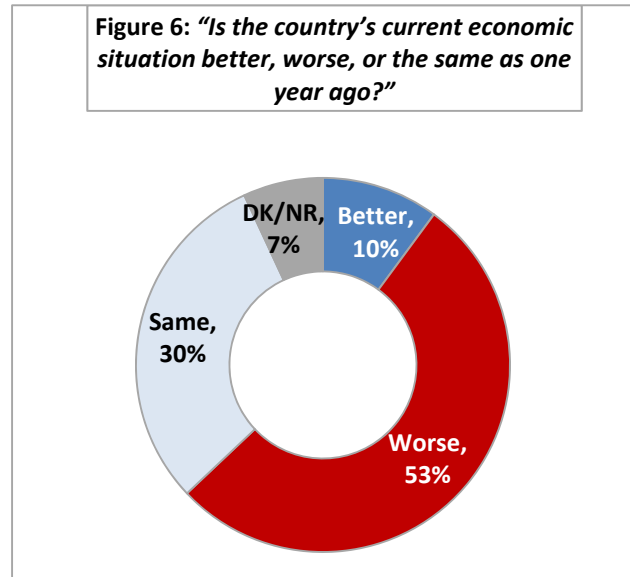
Over the past few years, respondents have been asked to assess the economic, political, and foreign policy situation in Ukraine.³ Comparison of data from this year’s survey with the 2009 survey shows that while there is still a great deal of dissatisfaction with the economic and political situation in the country, it is not as high as it was in 2009 (especially in the case of the political situation); there is actually more satisfaction than dissatisfaction with the foreign policy situation. This year, a majority of Ukrainians remains dissatisfied with the economic situation (83%), a slight decrease from 2009 (96%). Sixty percent of Ukrainians are dissatisfied with the political situation. This has decreased from 92% who were dissatisfied in 2009. Foreign policy is one area where more Ukrainians say they are satisfied (41%) than dissatisfied (37%), but 22% say they don’t know. Dissatisfaction with foreign policy declined significantly since 2009 when 71% were dissatisfied with the foreign policy situation (Figure 5). Even in the West, more people are satisfied than dissatisfied with Ukraine’s foreign policy situation. The increased satisfaction with the political and foreign policy situation no doubt has affected the increased perception of Ukraine on the path toward stability. Those who say they are satisfied with the political and foreign policy situation are much more likely to believe the country is on the path toward stability than those who are dissatisfied with these situations.



³ “Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the following?”

Economy and Economic Issues Remain Major Concern of Ukrainians

Consistent with the widespread dissatisfaction with the country's economic situation, a majority of Ukrainians say the economic situation in the country has either gotten worse or is the same as one year ago. Half of Ukrainians view the economy as being worse than one year ago (53%), one third of Ukrainians believe it is the same (30%), and only 10% believe the economy is better than one year ago (Figure 6). Inflation is the main reason given by those who believe the economy is worse (67%), with low living standards mentioned by 25%, and unemployment mentioned by 14%. The decision by the Yanukovich administration to raise gas tariffs by 50% no doubt plays a large role in inflation being cited as the main reason for worsening economic conditions.



Other data in the survey also point to dissatisfaction with the economic situation. A majority of Ukrainians see their family's economic situation as worse (50%) or the same (42%) as one year ago. Only 7% say it is better and 1% say they don't know. Compared to 2009, at the peak of the global economic crisis, 69% of Ukrainians thought their family's economic situation was worse than the previous year, 27% said it was the same, and only 3% said it was better.

Predictably, economic issues top the list of the most serious problems facing Ukraine. When respondents were asked to list the most serious problems facing the country, 75% of Ukrainians mention inflation, 56% mention unemployment, 51% mention poverty, 37% mention corruption, 36% mention general economic problems, and 14% mention external debt.⁴ Compared to 2009, inflation is now an even bigger concern for Ukrainians (75% in 2010, 58% in 2009) and political issues are less of a concern with political bickering only being mentioned by 11% (21% in 2009), general political instability by 7% (15% in 2009), and problems with Russia by 3% (15% in 2009) (Figure 7).

⁴ "What are in your view the most serious problems that Ukraine as a country faces today?"

Figure 7: Most Serious Problems Facing Ukraine, Trend

2010 Data	% of Cases		2009 Data	% of Cases
High prices/inflation	75%		High prices/inflation	58%
Unemployment	56%		General economic problems	41%
Poverty	51%		Unemployment	40%
Corruption	37%		Poverty	39%
General economic problems	36%		Corruption	37%
External debt	14%		Political bickering between leaders	21%
Political bickering between leaders	11%		Political instability/general political problems	15%
Political instability/general political problems	7%		Problems with Russia	15%
Problems with Russia	3%		External debt	9%
Prospects of Ukraine joining NATO	3%		Prospects of Ukraine joining NATO	2%

When asked their opinions on the most serious problems facing their community, unemployment is cited as the most serious problem (38%), followed by inflation/increased prices of public services (29%), and economic crisis/low living standards (19%).⁵ Infrastructure issues such as poor roads, dirty cities, and transportation problems are also mentioned as a problem facing the local communities (15%) along with problems in the housing sector and lack of preschools (11%). Less cited problems include changing ecology, such as threats of floods, soil shifts, climate changes, (4%) and corruption (4%).

Ukrainians have Mixed Views on Changes Over Past Year in Important Areas

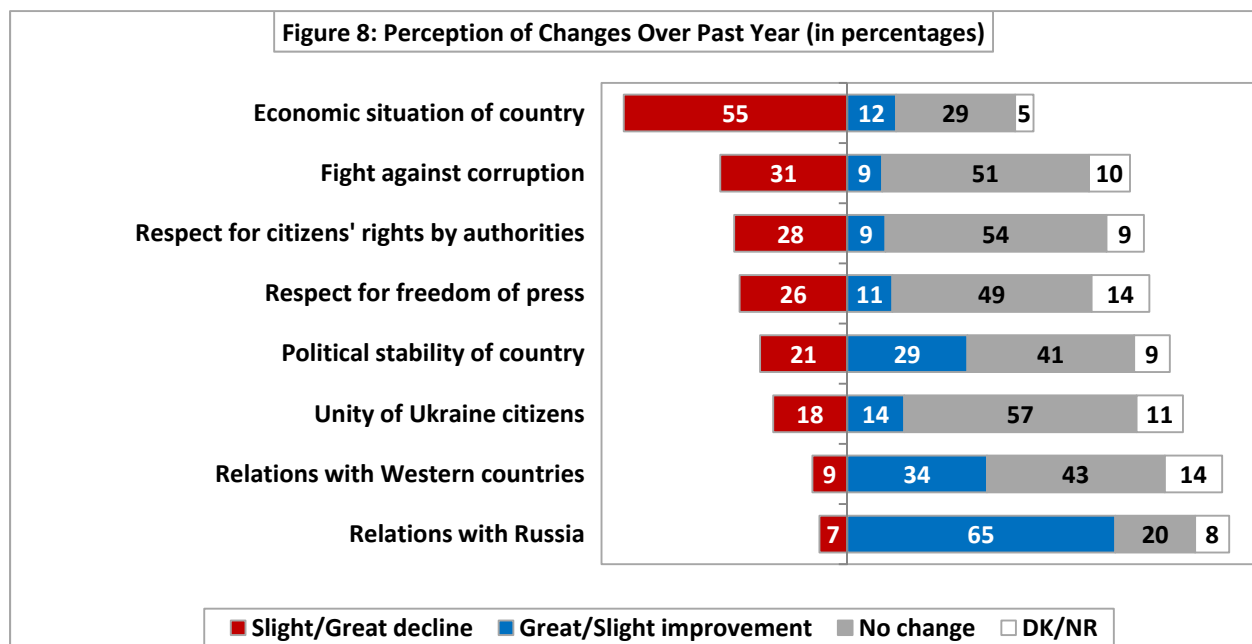
When evaluating the perceived improvement or decline in various areas of governance over the past year, most Ukrainians see no change in most situations. However, there are interesting opinions on issues ranging from the economic situation to respect for rights and relations with Russia (Figure 8). With regard to the economic situation, 55% believe the economic situation in the country has declined while only 12% say it has improved and 29% say it is the same as last year.

Around half or more than half of Ukrainians believe there has been no change in the fight against corruption (51%), the unity of Ukrainian citizens (57%), the respect for citizens' rights by authorities (54%), or the respect for freedom of the press (49%). At the same time, more Ukrainians believe there has been a decline rather than an improvement over the past year in the fight against corruption (31% versus 9%), respect for citizens' rights (28% versus 9%), and respect for rights of the media (26% versus 11%). Concern about rights is especially likely to be voiced by those in Western, Northern, and Central Ukraine.

⁵ "And what are in your view the most serious problems that your community faces today?"

There are more positive opinions on other matters. Twenty-nine percent believe political stability has improved compared to 21% who believe it has declined. Opinions on foreign policy areas tend to be the most positive of all the governance areas. Thirty-four percent of Ukrainians see an improvement in the relations with Western countries while 43% see no change in these relations. In contrast, a majority of Ukrainians unsurprisingly perceive relations with Russia to have improved (65%) (Figure 8).

Ukrainians' perceptions are less negative than they were in 2009 when more than half of Ukrainians said they saw a decline in the economic stability of the country (86%), political stability of the country (78%), relations with Russia (59%), the fight against corruption (57%), and the respect for human rights by authorities (52%). The most striking change in opinion is the change from 59% in 2009 seeing a decline in relations with Russia to 65% in 2010 seeing an improvement in relations with Russia. This could be linked to various events of the past year including the extension of the Russian fleet's lease in Crimea, the declaration of Ukraine's non-bloc status, and the generally close relationship the Yanukovich administration maintained with Russia since taking office.



Mixed Assessment of the Yanukovich Administration's Decisions and Handling of Issues

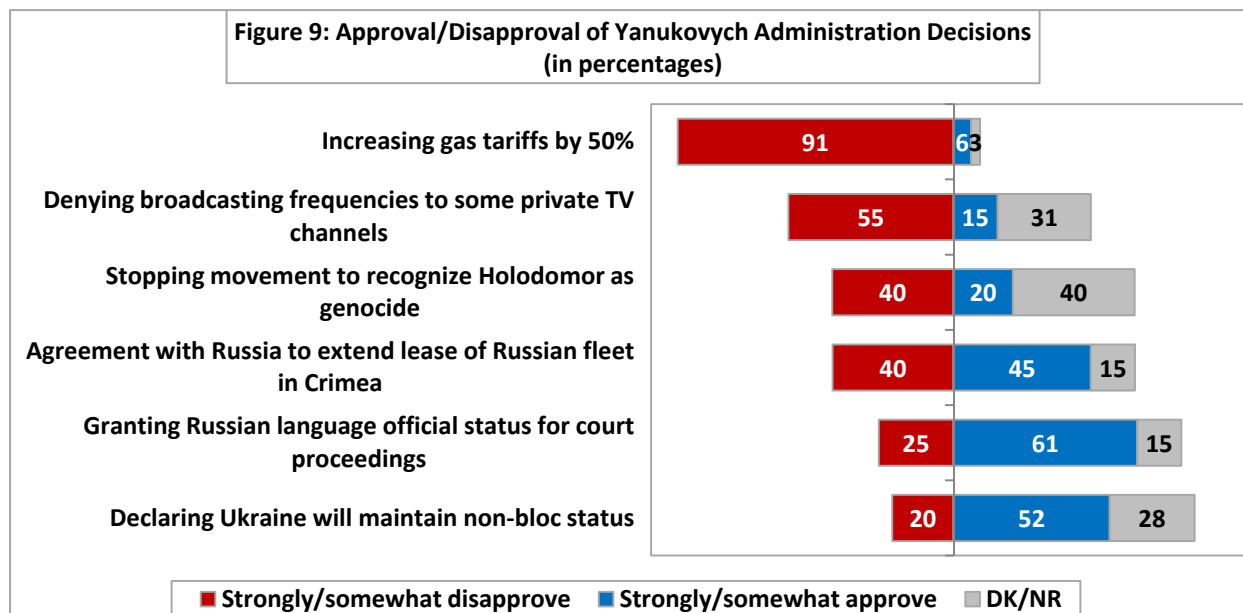
Ukrainians were asked to assess whether they approve or disapprove of various decisions and new policies the Yanukovich Administration made since taking office in February 2010.⁶ A similar pattern appeared regarding opinions on various governance areas with regard to specific decisions the Yanukovich administration made; significant disapproval for economic decisions and higher levels of approval for foreign policy decisions.

The vast majority of Ukrainians (91%) disapprove of the administration increasing gas tariffs. This opinion is shared across all regions of the country. A majority (55%) also disapproves of the administrations' decision to

⁶ "I will now read to you some specific policies and decisions that the Yanukovich administration has made since it took office. Please tell me whether you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of these policies and decisions?"

deny broadcasting frequencies to some private TV channels. Only in the South do a significant percentage of respondents approve of this decision. Disapproval is especially high in the West, North, and Center.

On the other hand, Ukrainians approve of the Yanukovich administration’s granting the Russian language official status for legal proceedings (61%) and the declaration that Ukraine will maintain non-bloc status (52%).Forty-percent of Ukrainians disapprove of the agreement to extend the lease of the Russian fleet in Crimea, but 45% approve. A majority approves of this decision in the East and South of the country, while a majority or close to a majority disapproves of the decision to extend the lease in the West, the Center, and the North. Forty-percent disapprove of the administration stopping the movement to recognize Holodomor as genocide, while 20% approve, and 40% did not give a response (Figure 9).

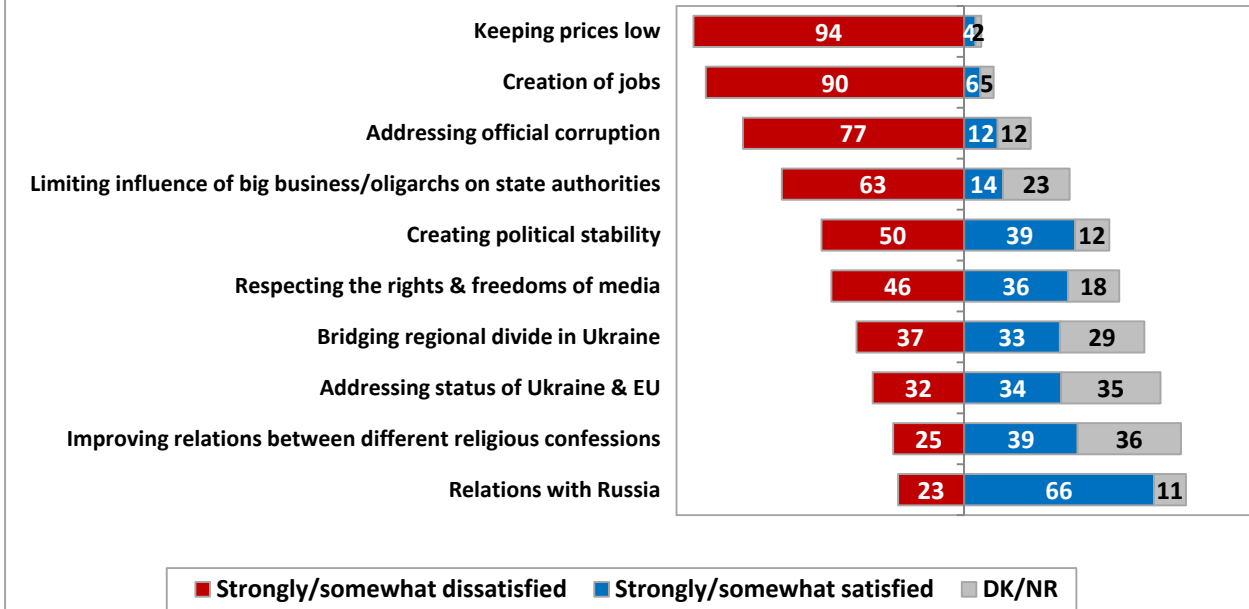


Next, respondents evaluated the Yanukovich administration’s handling of various issues facing Ukraine. As already observed in other questions, there is general dissatisfaction with handling of economic issues and corruption, general satisfaction with foreign policy, and a mixed range of opinions on other issues.⁷ The highest dissatisfaction is with keeping prices low (94%), creation of jobs (90%), addressing official corruption (77%), and limiting influence of big business/oligarchs on state authorities (63%). Respondents are split between dissatisfaction and satisfaction on the administration’s ability to create political stability, respect rights and freedoms of the media, bridge the regional divide in Ukraine, address the status of Ukraine and the EU, and improve relations between different religious confessions. There is one area where a majority of Ukrainians are satisfied and this is in the improvement of relations with Russia. Sixty-six percent of Ukrainians are strongly or somewhat satisfied (Figure 10).

Interestingly, over half of Ukrainians in the East (55%) and nearly half in the South (47%) are satisfied with the administration’s respect of the rights and freedoms of the media. In contrast, Ukrainians in the West (61%) and Kyiv (65%) are dissatisfied and residents of the North and Center are split between dissatisfaction and satisfaction.

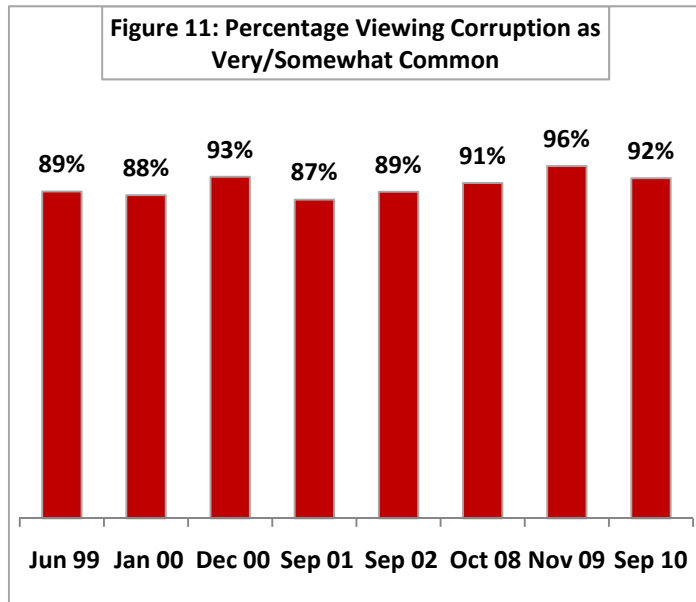
⁷“Now, please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich’s handling of the following issues.”

Figure 10: Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction with Yanukovich Administration Handling of Issues (in percentage)



Perceptions of Corruption Remain Widespread

Consistent with the aforementioned identification of corruption as one of the most serious problems facing Ukraine, corruption continues to be viewed as an endemic problem throughout the country. Ninety-two percent of Ukrainians view corruption as very (61%) or somewhat (31%) common. Over the past 11 years, IFES surveys have shown that between 87% and 96% of Ukrainians believe corruption is common in the country. This clearly continues to be a serious issue facing Ukraine (Figure 11).



The pervasiveness of corruption may also impact public acceptance of corruption. Indeed, over half of Ukrainians (55%) agree citizens of Ukraine consider corruption a fact

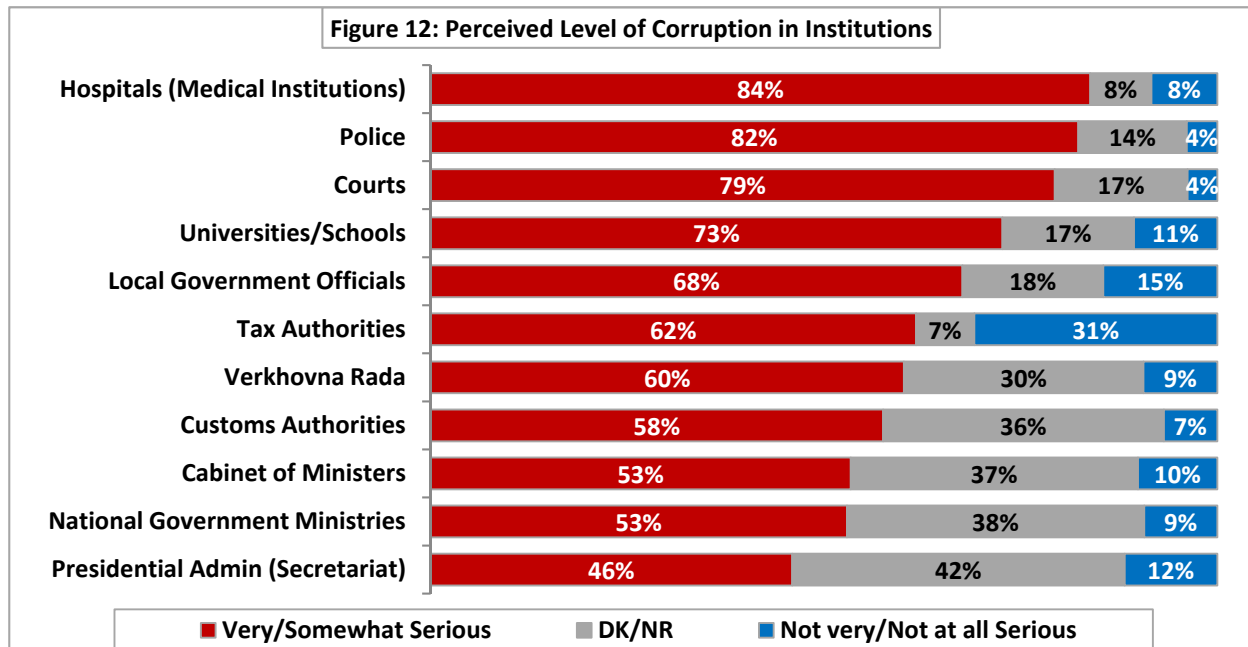
of life to some extent (33%) or to a great extent (22%).⁸ Thirty-four percent of Ukrainians agree to a very limited extent (21%) or do not agree at all with the statement (13%), “Citizens of Ukraine consider corruption a fact of life.” Eleven percent say they don’t know.

Given perceptions of prevalent corruption, it is not surprising that corruption continues to be viewed as serious and widespread at various institutions.⁹ A majority of Ukrainians see corruption as very/somewhat

⁸ “Do you agree with the statement that citizens of Ukraine consider corruption as a fact of life?”

serious in hospitals (84%), the police (82%), courts (79%), universities/schools (73%), local government officials (68%), tax authorities (62%), Verkhovna Rada (60%), custom authorities (58%), Cabinet of Ministers (53%), and National Government Ministries (53%) (Figure 12).

Perceived seriousness of corruption remains mostly the same as data from 2009 with a few exceptions. The major change in opinions is the decline in perceived corruption at government institutions such as Verkhovna Rada from 75% in 2009 to 60% in 2010, the Presidential Administration/Secretariat from 67% to 46%, and the Cabinet of Ministers from 79% to 53%. This is an interesting decline given the change in government this year, and given the fact that two of these institutions represent the Yanukovich administration. The decline may reflect partisan views of these institutions from 2009 to 2010 rather than actual change in levels of corruption. Those who say they voted for Yanukovich in the first round of the election are far less likely to say there is corruption in the cabinet and Presidential administration than those who voted for other candidates. Respondents in Eastern and Southern Ukraine, strongholds of political support for President Yanukovich, are also much less likely to cite seriousness of corruption in these institutions than respondents in other parts of Ukraine.

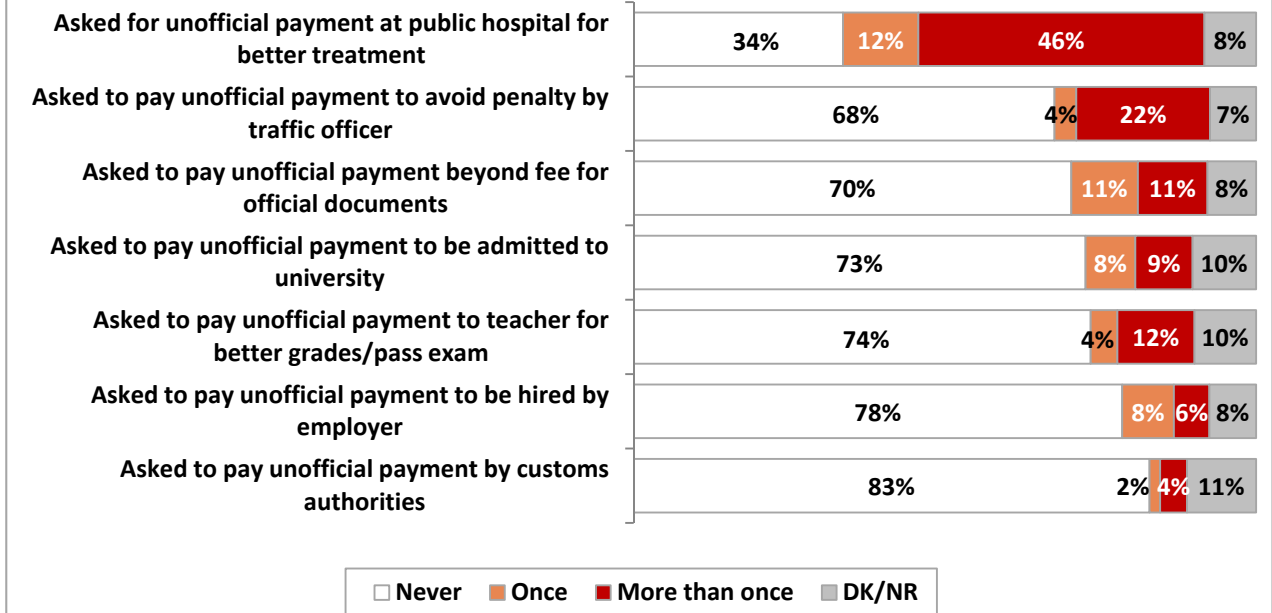


In regards to personal experiences with corruption, the two most common experiences involve being asked for unofficial payments at public hospitals to receive better treatment and asking for payments to avoid penalties by traffic officers.¹⁰ Fifty-eight percent of respondents say they have been asked for unofficial payments at hospitals more than once (46%) or once (12%). Twenty-six percent of respondents have been asked for unofficial payments to avoid penalties by traffic officers more than once (22%) or once (4%). Small percentages of respondents report being asked for unofficial payments in other arenas. Nevertheless, majorities of Ukrainians say they have never been asked to pay these unofficial payments in other situations (Figure 13).

⁹ "In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions -- is it very serious, fairly serious, not too serious, or not serious at all?"

¹⁰ "Please tell me whether you have experienced each of the following types of actions in the past."

Figure 13: Personal Experiences with Corruption

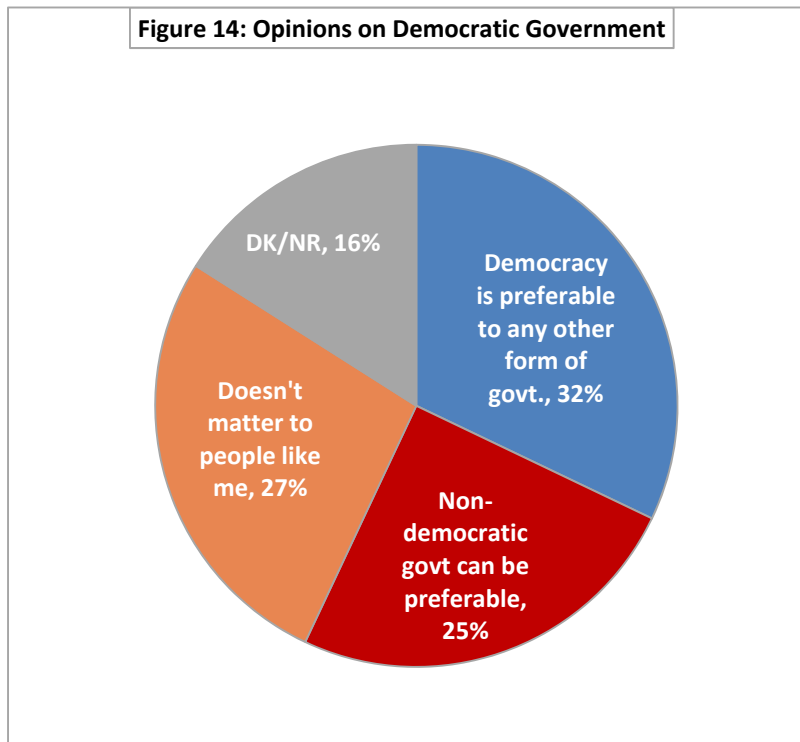


OPINIONS ON DEMOCRACY AND RIGHTS

Ukrainians are skeptical about democracy as a system of government and do not express a clear preference for democracy as a preferred form of government for Ukraine. Furthermore, there are more Ukrainians who believe Ukraine is not a democracy than is a democracy. In terms of prioritizing economic development or democratic rights, more Ukrainians believe pursuing economic development is more important than maintaining democratic rights. Additionally, almost half of respondents believe democracy is not good at maintaining order. At the same time, Ukrainians are split on whether political leaders should ensure order rather than maintain democratic rights; however, are clearly protective of certain individual rights they gained under a democratic system. A majority of Ukrainians are alarmed or concerned about the rollback of certain democratic rights under the Yanukovich administration.

Ukrainians Split on Preferring Democracy, Few Believe Ukraine is a Democracy

Ukrainians are nearly equally split on their preference for democratic government. Thirty-two percent of Ukrainians say democracy is preferable to any other form of government and 25% say in certain situations non-democratic government can be preferable. Twenty-seven percent of Ukrainians are apathetic towards the system of government saying the form of government doesn't matter to people like them, and 16% say they don't know (Figure 14).¹¹ The preference for democracy is highest in Western Ukraine (39%), followed by the Center (36%), East and North (32% each). Apathy toward the system of government is the highest in the South (39%) and in the East (32%). Support for democracy increases with an increase in household income and younger age groups (18-44) are more likely to support democracy (36%) than those aged 45+ (28%).

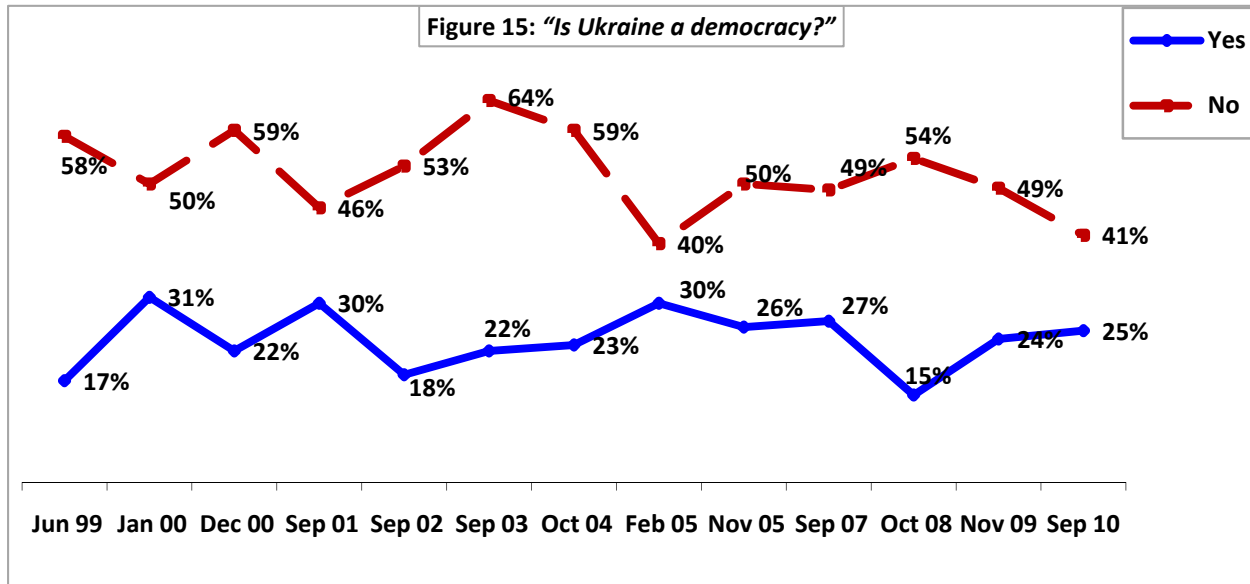


One reason why most Ukrainians do not voice an unconditional preference for democracy may be because they do not perceive Ukraine to be a democracy. Assessing whether they perceive Ukraine as democratic or non-democratic, more Ukrainians say Ukraine is not a democracy than those who do view it as a democracy. This reflects the trend observed in IFES surveys over the past 11 years.¹² Only 25% of Ukrainians believe Ukraine is a democracy compared to 41% who do not believe it is a democracy (Figure 15). Meanwhile, 13% believe Ukraine has both democratic and non-democratic tendencies and 20% say they don't know. The percentage of Ukrainians who view Ukraine as a democracy remains mostly the same as 2009, while the

¹¹ "Please tell me which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion:"

¹² "Is Ukraine a democracy?"

percentage of those saying Ukraine is not a democracy has decreased from 49% in 2009 to 41% this year. Of note, the percentage of Ukrainians saying they don't know increased from 10% in 2009 to 20% in 2010.



In each region of Ukraine, more residents believe Ukraine is not a democracy than those who believe Ukraine is a democracy; however we see some changes this year in these perceptions compared to the 2009 survey. The East and South are less negative about Ukraine's democratic status in this year's survey, while respondents in the West are slightly more negative. In the East, 41% believe Ukraine is not a democracy which declined from 61% in 2009. In the South 38% believe Ukraine is not a democracy and this declined from 57% in 2009. In the West, 41% believe Ukraine is not a democracy while 26% believe it is a democracy.

The percentage in the West viewing Ukraine as a democracy declined from 36% in 2009 to 26% in 2010. Conflicting changes in attitudes in democracy in these three regions can, in large part, be attributed to the election of President Yanukovich in the 2010 presidential elections and the partisan makeup of the electorate in these three regions of Ukraine.

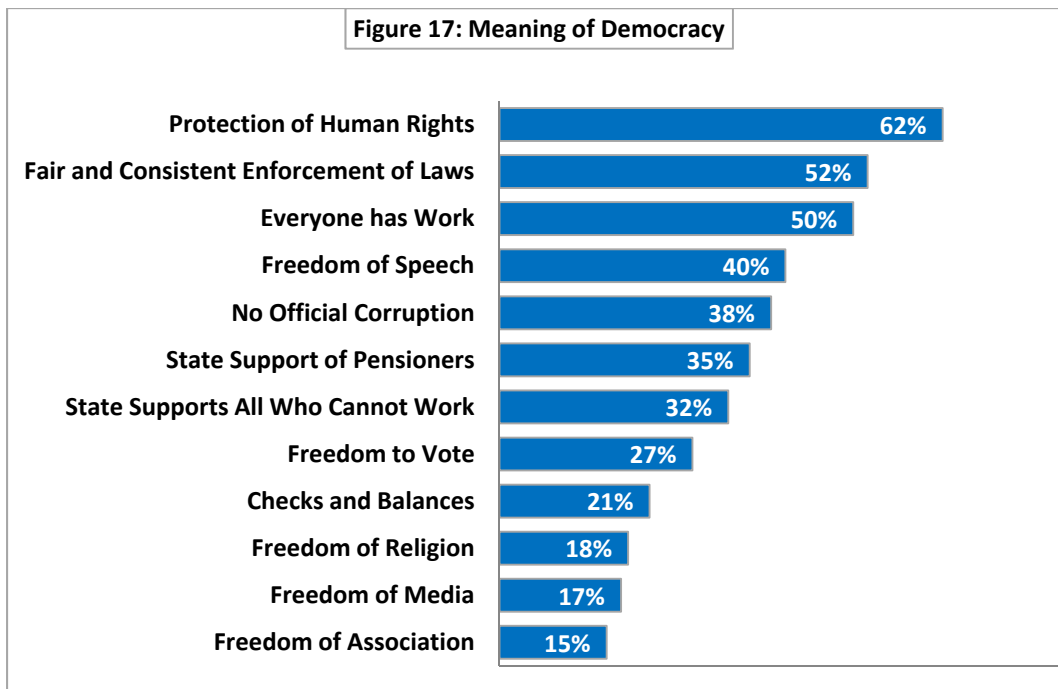
Those who believe Ukraine is not a democracy or has elements of both a democracy and non-democracy were next asked why they believe Ukraine is not a democracy. The primary responses point to dissatisfaction among many Ukrainians to what they perceive as a system where laws are not universally applied and corruption prospers. Lack of economic development is also cited as a reason for Ukraine not being a democracy. Of those who believe Ukraine is not a democracy, 25% say it is because they believe people don't observe the law, 22% say

Figure 16: "For what reasons do you believe Ukraine is not a democracy?" (n=825)

Reason	% of Cases
People don't observe law/ law injustice	25%
Corruption	22%
Violation of human rights/no defense of human rights	20%
Low level of living standards	13%
Unemployment	11%
Freedom of speech under pressure/pressure on mass media	9%
Power does not care about the people	8%
Main principles of democracy are not in use	7%
Decisions of those in power influenced by a group of oligarchs	5%
Difficult to say	11%

because of corruption, 20% say because human rights are violated or there is no defense of human rights, 13% say because there is a low level of living standards, 11% say because of unemployment, and 9% say because freedom of speech is under pressure or the mass media is under pressure (Figure 16). Respondents in western Ukraine are more likely to cite violations of human rights and freedom of speech than respondents in other parts of the country.

Next, respondents to the survey were given a list of factors that are often associated with what it means for a country to be a democracy and were asked to select five they thought best defined a country as a democracy.¹³ As in previous surveys in Ukraine, meanings of democracy are associated both with the freedoms guaranteed by democracy as well as tangible benefits many Ukrainians expect to result from a democratic system. Respect for the rule of law and economic guarantees top the list of factors associated with democracy. Most respondents select protection of human rights (62%) and fair and consistent enforcement of laws (52%) as the two meanings most-associated with democracy, followed by everybody having work (50%), freedom of speech (40%), and no official corruption (38%). These figures remain mostly unchanged from 2009 with the exception of freedom of speech. This year slightly more respondents cited freedom of speech (40%) than in 2009 (36%) (Figure 17).



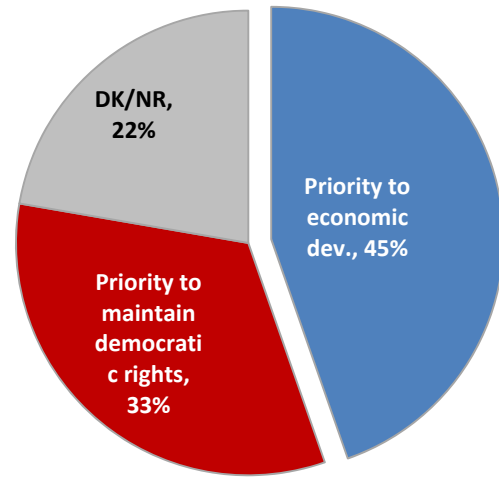
Respondents more likely to associate democracy with rights and freedoms are more inclined to believe Ukraine is a democracy. Those who associate democracy with economic guarantees are more inclined to say Ukraine is not a democracy. Ukrainians who see democracy as fair enforcement of laws, no official corruption, or protection of human rights are also more inclined to believe Ukraine is not a democracy. This trend suggests that skepticism about Ukrainian democracy may rest primarily on the perceived lack in the respect for rule of law in the country, the struggling economy and lack of tangible benefits from a democracy.

¹³ "Listed on this card are several statements. Please pick any statement or statements that you think accurately define what it means for a country to be a democracy. You can choose up to five responses."

Order and Economic Development Prioritized Over Democratic Rights

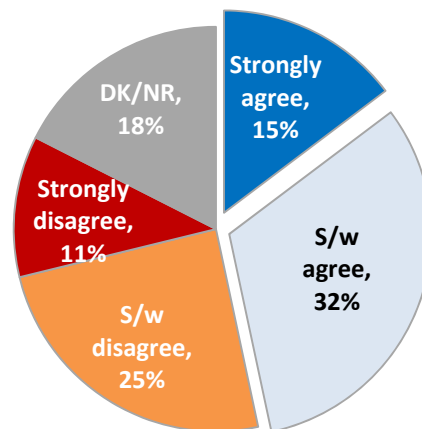
Given the economic difficulties Ukraine has faced since independence and the primacy of economic issues among Ukrainians as observed in IFES survey data, it is not surprising that more Ukrainians are more likely to value economic development over democratic rights. Respondents to the survey were asked to choose between two alternative priorities: a) pursue economic development even if it means foregoing some democratic rights, or b) maintain democratic right even if this means the economy grows slowly. Significantly more Ukrainians would prioritize economic development (45%) over maintenance of democratic rights (33%). Twenty-two percent are unsure (Figure 18).¹⁴ More residents of the East (54%), South (50%), and North (44%) believe in prioritizing economic development. Larger percentages of residents of Kyiv (44%) and the West (41%) believe in prioritizing maintenance of democratic rights. Residents of Central Ukraine are split between believing in the prioritization of economic development (47%) and maintenance of rights (44%). Those who prioritize economic development are much more likely to prefer non-democratic government (36%) or be apathetic toward democracy (36%) than those who prefer democracy (18%). Conversely, a majority of those who prioritize democratic rights prefer a democratic system of government (57%).

Figure 18: Economic Development vs. Democratic Rights



Since the election, some Ukrainians have criticized many of the Yanukovich administration's decisions as moving the country away from democracy, while others have praised the administration's decisions as bringing much-needed order and stability to governance after the instability of the Yuschenko administration. Since the Orange Revolution, the political landscape disintegrated into government in-fighting that stalled important decisions and reform. Many Ukrainians welcomed the Yanukovich administration, believing it can restore order and stability to governance. Others are afraid the desire for stability may allow for rollback of democratic rights. The survey sought to better understand preferences for order or democratic rights among Ukrainian citizens by asking several questions focused on this issue.

Figure 19: "Agree/Disagree: Democracy as a system is not good at maintaining order in the country."

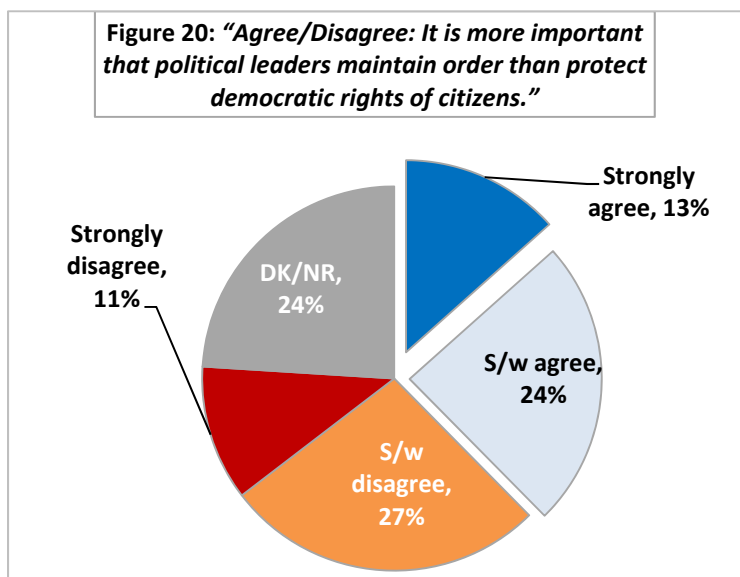


¹⁴ "I will now read you two statements. Please tell me with which you most agree: A) It should be a priority for Ukraine to pursue economic development, even if it means foregoing some democratic rights. B) Ukraine's priority should be to maintain democratic rights for its citizens, even if this means the economy develops slowly."

Respondents were first asked to evaluate whether a democratic system is good at maintaining order. When read the statement, *“Democracy as a system is not good at maintaining order,”* nearly half of Ukrainians agree (47%), while 36% disagree and 18% do not know (Figure 19, above). These opinions are not surprising taking into consideration the events of the past few years, in addition to the fact that more respondents’ view the country as going in the wrong direction and the country as worse off since independence.

Despite concerns among a plurality of Ukrainians about democracies being able to maintain order, Ukrainians are equally split on whether it is more important for political leaders to maintain order than protect democratic rights of citizens. Thirty-seven percent of Ukrainians agree that political leaders should maintain order over protecting democratic rights, while 38% disagree and 24% say they don’t know (Figure 20).

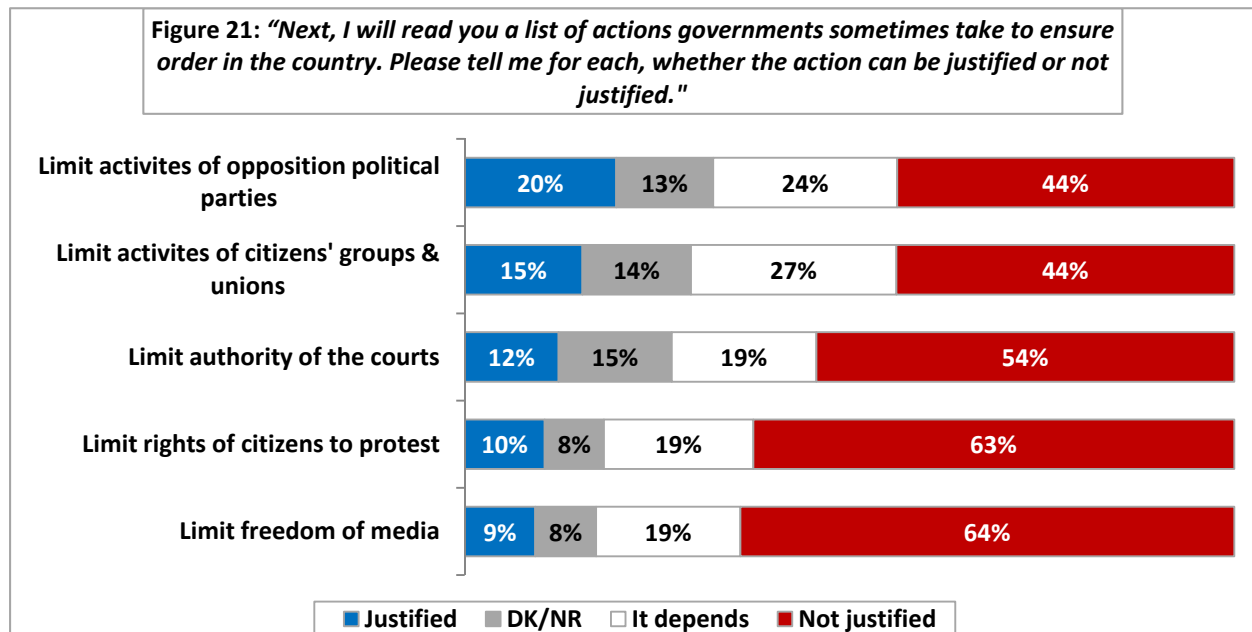
Those who agree political leaders should maintain order were asked what benefits they expect Ukraine would receive by maintaining order. The most-stated expectation is to have a rich country/high living standards (32%), followed by those saying order would bring a stable and quiet life (13%), an overall benefit to life (8%), order in everything (6%), increased trust of authorities (4%), a civilized country with operating laws (4%), everybody having jobs (4%), criminality/corruption would be diminished (4%), a democratic country (3%), and authorities would be more accountable (3%).



When defining what it means for political leaders to maintain order, respondents most frequently cite respect for the rule of law and economic development. Twenty-two percent of respondents say maintaining order means following the laws and 17% mention economic guarantees such as ensuring the prosperity of the country, high living standards, creating jobs, and controlling prices. Other definitions of order include to take care of/respect the people (6%), to fulfill duties (5%), to improve democratic order (4%), to struggle against corruption (4%), and to be honest and just (4%). Interestingly, 3% defined order as controlling all branches of power and another 3% believe it is when the affairs of the state are solved in agreement. These definitions of order reflect frustration with inadequate governance over the past few years, and a reaction against the corruption and flouting of rules that many Ukrainians believe socio-economic and political elites in the country have practiced.

While there is a split between preferring order and protecting democratic rights among Ukrainians, there are many rights and freedoms that a majority of Ukrainians do not believe should be limited. These opinions reflect the value accorded to individual rights by most Ukrainians, even those who *generally* prioritize order over rights. When considering different limitations to ensure order, majorities of Ukrainians say it is not justified to limit freedom of the media (64%), limit the rights of citizens to protest (63%), or limit authority of the courts (54%) to ensure order. Even a majority of those Ukrainians who prioritize order over democratic rights believe that it is not justified to limit these rights. Fewer Ukrainians object to limiting activities of citizens’ groups/unions (44%) and activities of opposition political parties (44%) (Figure 21). Generally, for all of the rights listed many more Ukrainians believe that limitation of these rights to ensure order is not

justified than the percentage who says that it is unequivocally justified. This data seems to indicate that while many Ukrainians may generally prefer order, they are much more likely to be protective of individual rights.



Ukrainians are not likely to have concrete ideas on how they can protect their rights. When asked to state ways citizens in Ukraine can protect their rights and freedoms from being abused by the government,¹⁵ 39% of Ukrainians were unable to state any ways to protect their rights and 24% believe there are no ways to protect their rights. Ukrainians with the lowest levels of education have the highest percentage saying they don't know. This finding points to a lack of education on forms of effective civic engagement. In contrast, the fact that 24% believe there are no ways to protect their rights indicates a lack of faith on behalf of citizens in being able to make their voice heard to prevent abuse of rights.

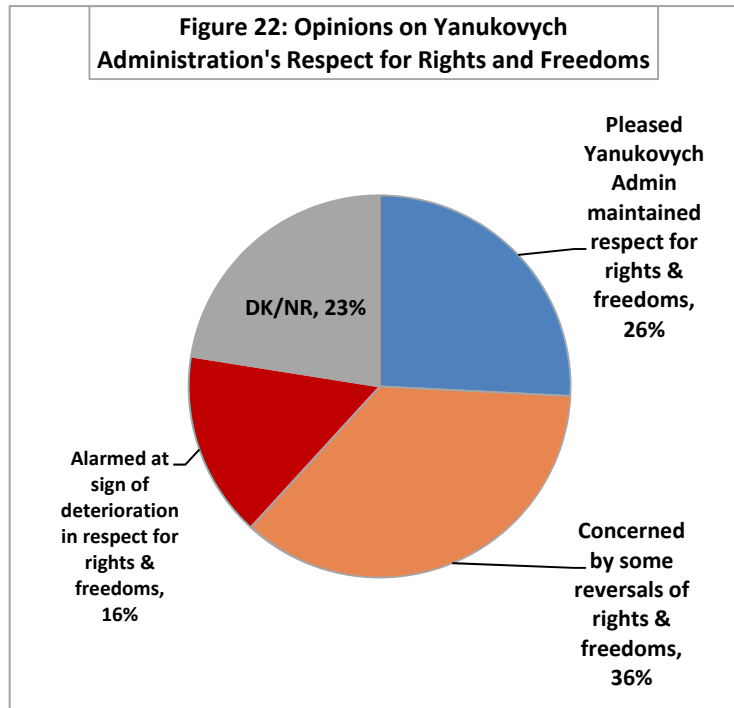
Nevertheless, other respondents were able to state ways to protect their rights. Seventeen percent mentioned strikes/mass actions of protest, 13% mentioned appealing to the courts, 3% said turning to public organizations/office or international organizations for help, 2% said appealing through the mass media, 2% said through a revolution/violence with arms, and 2% cited voting mechanisms such as voting against all or voting new people into power.

Related to these findings, Ukrainians report low levels of civic participation in civic organizations. When asked if they are a member of any of the different types of civic organizations, 85% say they are not a member of any, while 9% say they are members of trade unions, 3% say they are members of political parties, and less than 1% say they are members of religious groups, NGOs, artist/scientist unions, or local self-governance institutions.

¹⁵ "What are some ways citizens of Ukraine can protect their rights from being abused by the government?"

Opinions on Yanukovich Administration's Actions on Democratic Rights

Since the Yanukovich administration took office, there has been some criticism that some of the administration's decisions have reversed certain rights and freedoms of Ukrainian citizens. When respondents are asked whether they are concerned or not concerned about these decisions,¹⁶ over half of Ukrainians say they are either concerned by some reversals of rights and freedoms (36%) or alarmed at a sign of deterioration in respect for rights and freedoms (16%). One-quarter of Ukrainians (26%) say they are pleased the Yanukovich Administration maintained respect for rights and freedoms (Figure 22). Once again, regional divisions prevail. In the East and South, a majority of residents are either pleased with the administration's maintenance of rights and freedoms or concerned by some reversals. Whereas in the Center, North, West, and Kyiv a majority of residents are either concerned by some reversals or alarmed at the sign of deterioration in respect for rights and freedoms.



When looking at preferences for democracy by the aforementioned assessment of rights and freedoms under the Yanukovich administration, Ukrainians who prefer democracy are more likely to say they are alarmed or concerned about the signs of deterioration of rights and freedoms after the Yanukovich administration took office (60%), compared to those who say non-democratic rights can be preferable (54%), and those who say the form of government doesn't matter to them (47%).

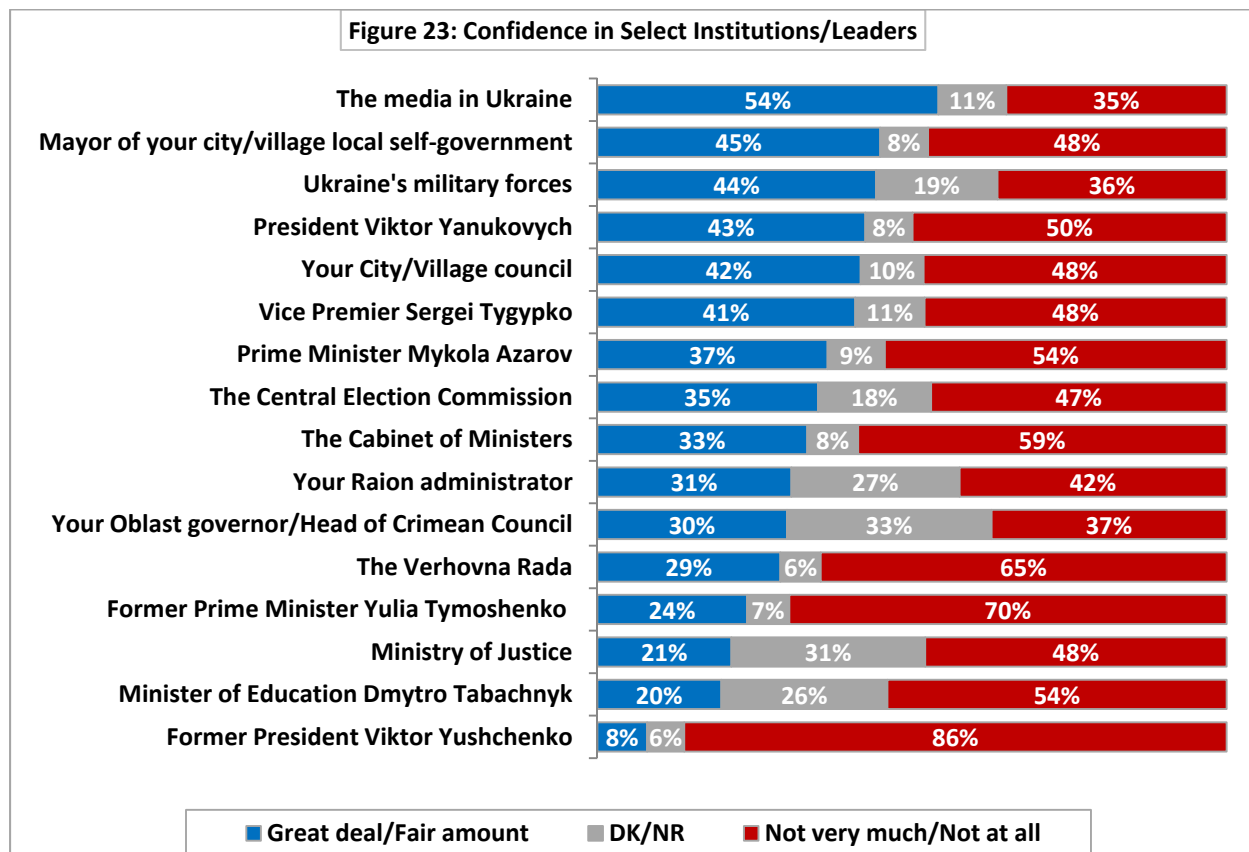
¹⁶ "As you know, the Yanukovich administration has now been in office for more than six months. Considering the administration's time in office, please tell me which of these three statements you most agree with?"

ATTITUDES TOWARD INSTITUTIONS

Confidence in almost all institutions and leaders continues to be low. More Ukrainians express a lack of confidence rather than confidence in President Yanukovich, Vice Premier Tygypko, and Prime Minister Azarov. The majority of respondents also lack trust in law enforcement and judicial institutions, but trust has increased in these institutions for the first time in three surveys. Most Ukrainians also continue to believe political parties do not serve the interests of the Ukrainian people. Awareness and perception of non-governmental organizations has greatly increased since 2008 and 2009. Almost half of Ukrainians are also aware of international assistance being provided to Ukraine.

Confidence Remains Low for Most Institutions and Leaders

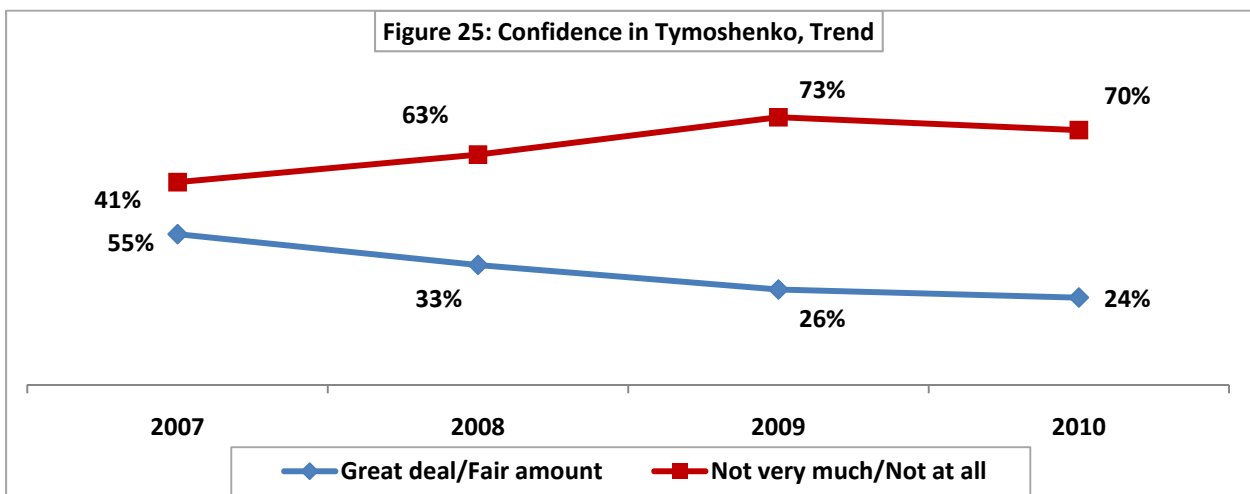
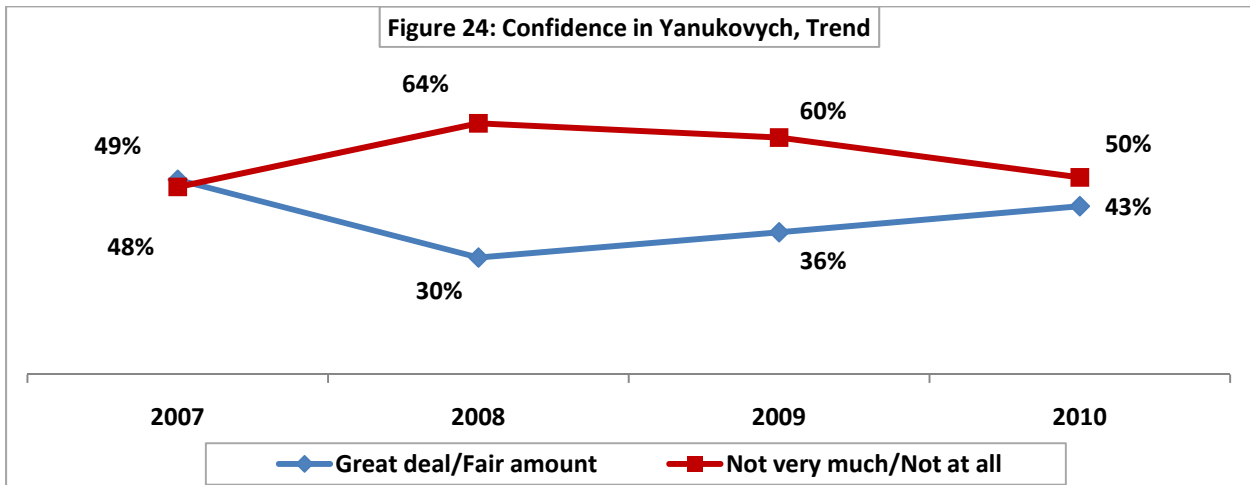
Continuing a trend observed in previous IFES surveys in Ukraine, more Ukrainians generally tend to lack confidence rather than have confidence in prominent institutions and political leaders in Ukraine. Confidence in most institutions remains under 50% for all institutions except the media, in which 54% of Ukrainians have confidence. The only other institution in which more Ukrainians say they have confidence than lack confidence is the military (44% versus 36%).¹⁷ Figure 23 documents the confidence ratings for both central and regional level institutions and leaders in Ukraine.

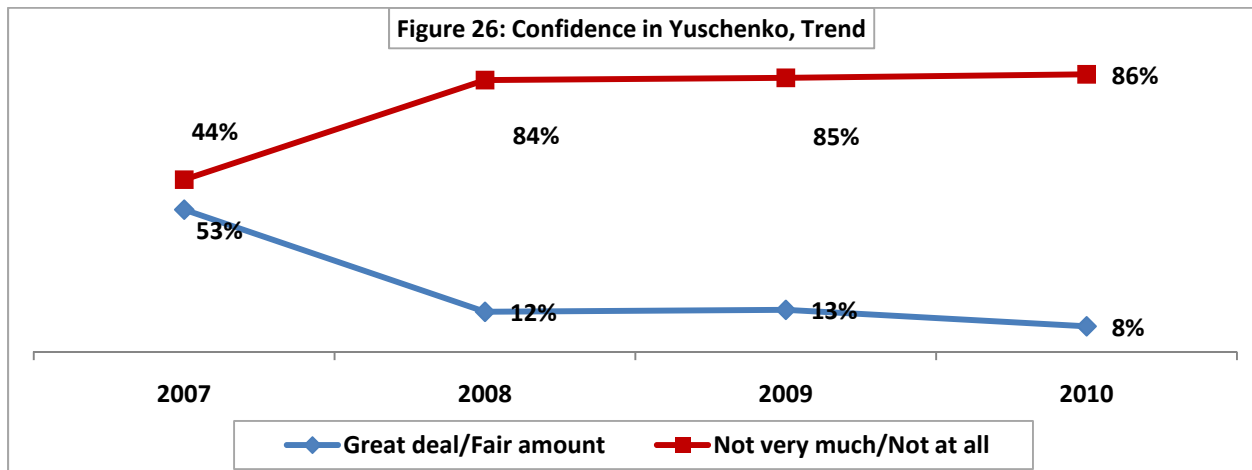


¹⁷ "I am now going to ask you about several government institutions and leaders. For each, please tell me how much confidence you have in them."

The majority of Ukrainians lack confidence in prominent central-level institutions. Sixty-five percent say they lack confidence in the *Rada* and 29% say they have confidence (although this is an increase from 12% in 2009). Fifty-nine percent lack confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers and nearly half lack confidence in the Ministry of Justice (48%). Ukrainians generally have more confidence in their local institutions and leaders than in central or regional institutions. Forty-five percent express confidence in the Mayor of their city/village local self government and 42% have confidence in their city or village council, a much higher level of confidence when compared to the *Rada*.

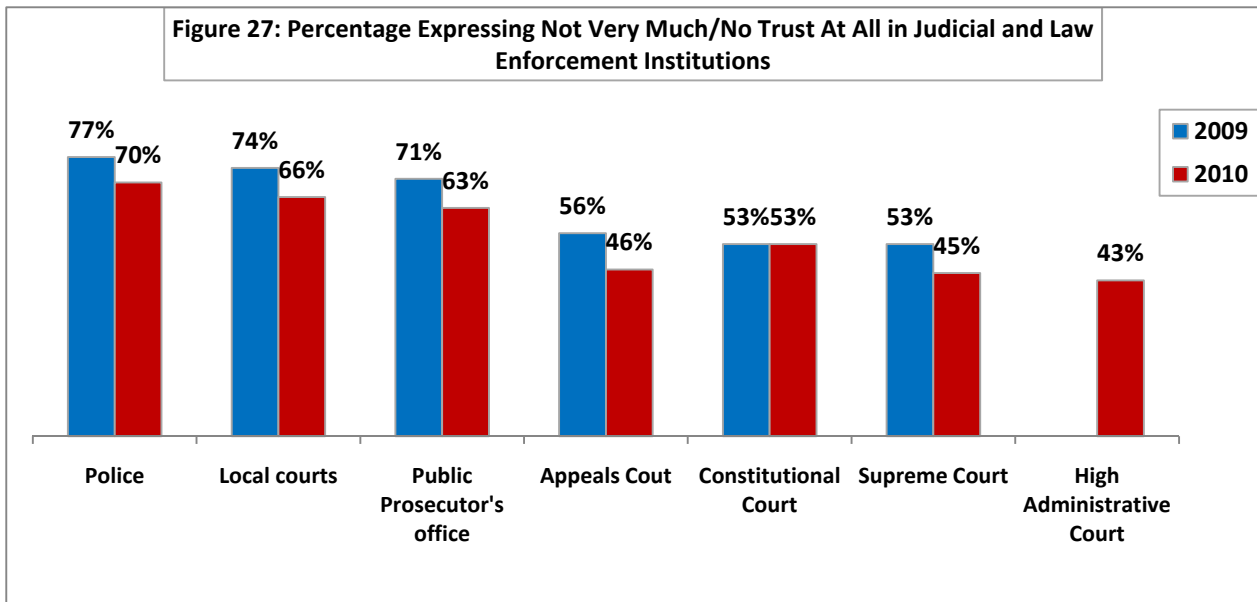
Of prominent national leaders, Ukrainians have the highest confidence in President Yanukovich (43%), followed by Vice Premier Sergei Tygypko (41%), although in both cases a greater percentage say they lack confidence in Yanukovich and Tygypko (50% and 48%, respectively). Only 37% profess confidence in Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, but this is higher than the 24% of Ukrainians who profess confidence in Former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. Only 8% have confidence in Former President Viktor Yushchenko. Confidence in Tymoshenko and Yushchenko has steadily declined since 2008, while confidence in Yanukovich has increased since 2008 (Figures 24, 25, and 26). It should be noted that several public surveys in Ukraine at the 100 day mark of the Yanukovich administration showed that a solid majority of Ukrainians had confidence in the President; confidence in him decreased significantly since then, according to this survey.





Those who have confidence in Yanukovych were next asked whether they had confidence in him because of his administration’s policies or because his administration has brought stability to government.¹⁸ Responses were split with 46% saying they have confidence in Yanukovych because of the policies pursued by the Yanukovych government and 44% say it is because of the Yanukovych government’s actions to bring stability to government. This indicates that confidence in Yanukovych does not stem primarily from his administration’s policies but is based in large part on the hope that the administration’s actions will bring stability.

Regarding judicial and law enforcement bodies, pluralities of Ukrainians lack trust in these institutions, but fewer respondents lack trust than in 2009.¹⁹ Seventy percent of Ukrainians say they have not very much or no trust at all in the police (13% have trust), 66% lack trust in local courts (16% have trust), 63% lack trust in public prosecutor’s office (16% have trust), 53% lack trust in the Constitutional Court (29%). Forty-six percent lack trust in the Appeals Court (27% have trust), 45% lack trust in Supreme Court (31% have trust), and 43% lack trust in the High Administrative Court (29% have trust) (Figure 27).

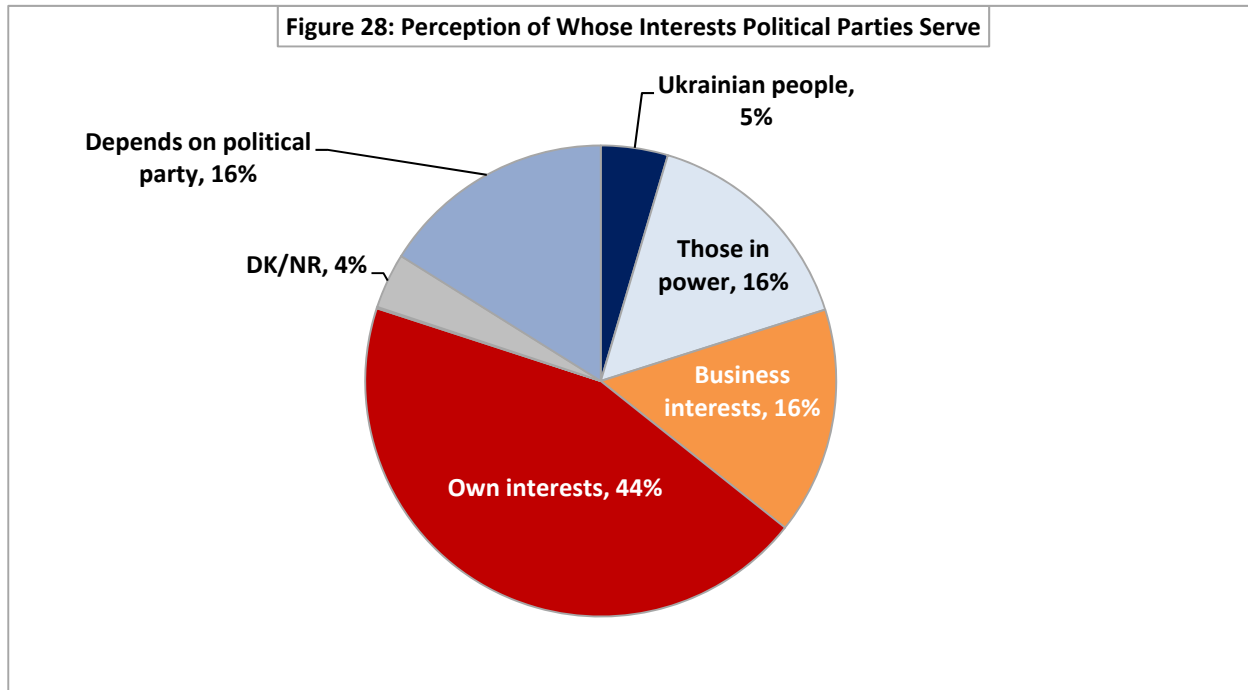


¹⁸ “Of the two reasons I will read to you, which of these is the more important reason for your confidence in President Yanukovych? A) The policies which the Yanukovych government has pursued B) The Yanukovych government’s actions to bring stability to government.”

¹⁹ Please note, this is the first year respondents were asked about the High Administrative Court, therefore no trend data exists.

Political Parties Viewed as Serving Own Interests, Only Some Addressing Major Issues

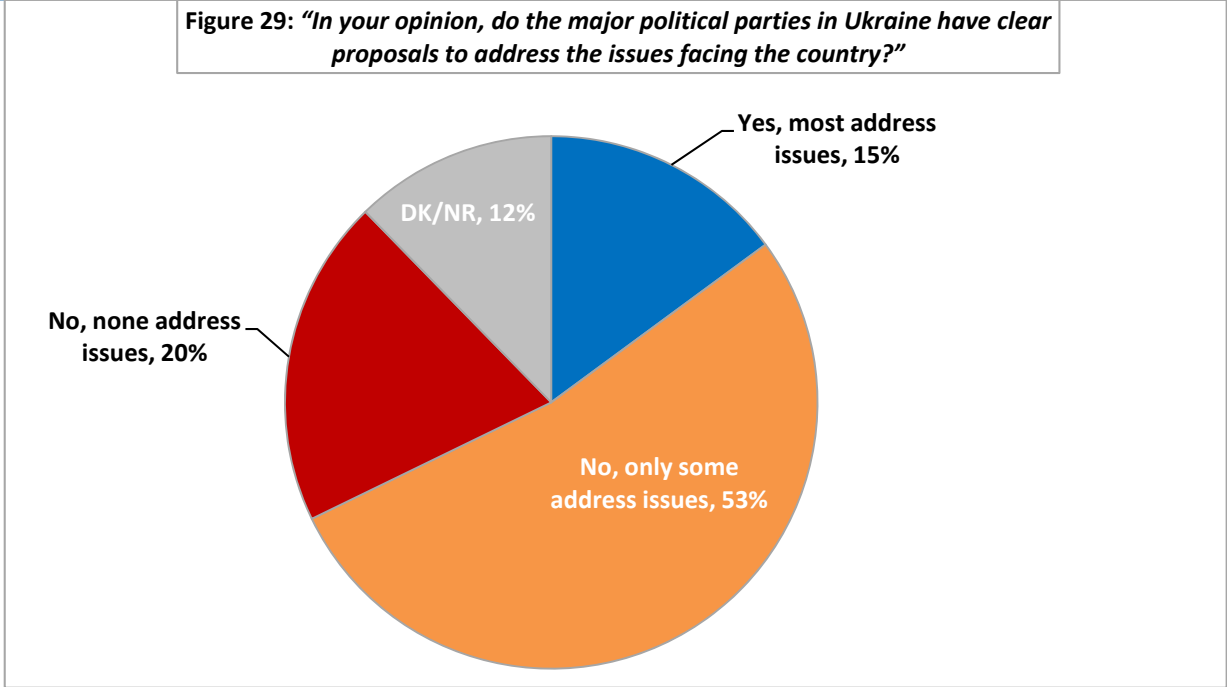
Ukrainians continue to have primarily negative opinions on political parties, perceiving political parties as self-serving and only some parties seen as having clear proposals to address the issues facing the country. As in previous IFES surveys, few Ukrainians believe Ukrainian political parties serve the interests of the Ukrainian people (5%).²⁰ A plurality (44%) of Ukrainians believe parties represent their own interests, while nearly a third of Ukrainians believe parties represent either the interests of those in power (16%) or of business interests (16%). Sixteen percent say it depends on the political party (Figure 28). This data remains mostly unchanged from previous years.



Ukrainians only have moderate faith in political parties having clear proposals to address the issues facing the country (Figure 29). While 15% of Ukrainians believe most political parties in the country have clear proposals to address issues facing the country, a majority of Ukrainians think only some of the parties have clear proposals (53%) and 20% think none of the parties address important issues. These opinions are also little changed from the 2008 and 2009 IFES survey.

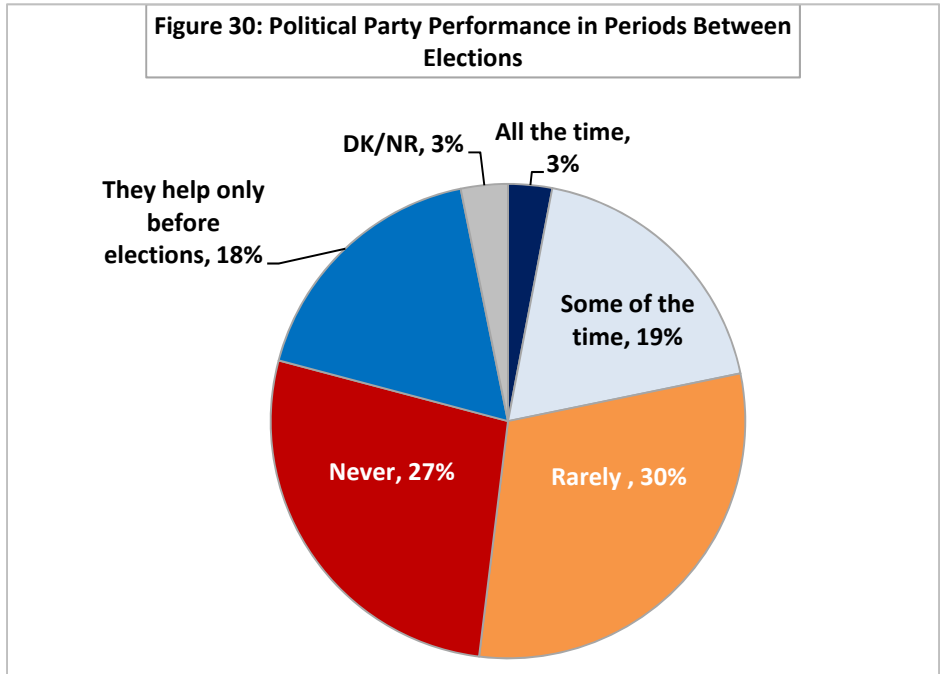
²⁰ "In your opinion, whose interests do political parties serve: the interests of the Ukrainian people, the interests of those in power, business interests, their own interests, or some other interests?"

Figure 29: “In your opinion, do the major political parties in Ukraine have clear proposals to address the issues facing the country?”



The majority of Ukrainians also do not think that parties make efforts to reach out to voters in periods between elections.²¹ Over half of Ukrainians believe parties rarely (30%) or never (27%) address citizens in periods between elections. Only 19% believe parties address citizens some of the time, 3% believe all of the time, and 18% believe they only help directly before elections (Figure 30). These perceptions are clearly problematic and no doubt feed into Ukrainians’ skepticism towards political parties.

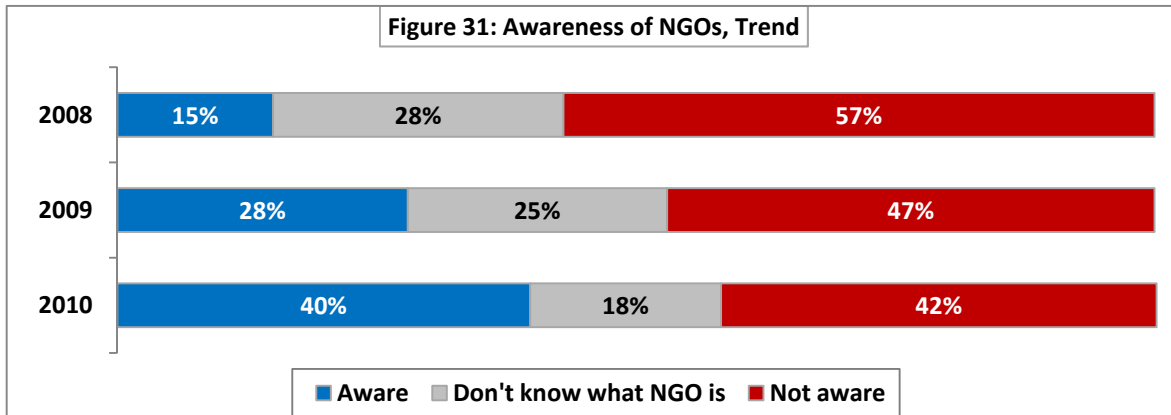
Figure 30: Political Party Performance in Periods Between Elections



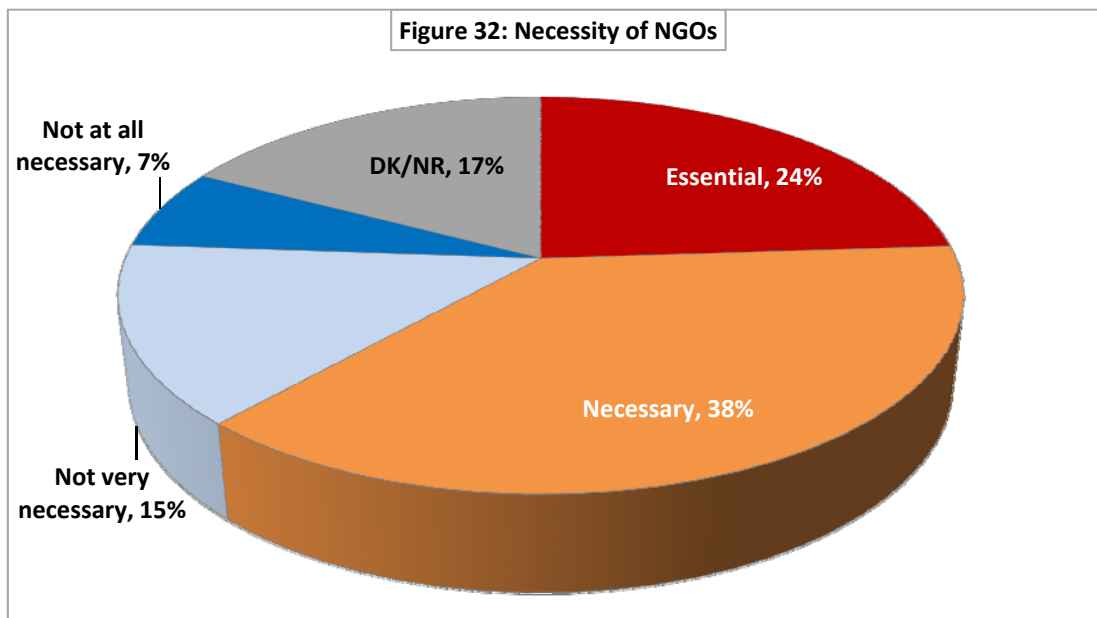
²¹ “Now, let’s think about the period between elections. In your opinion, how often do representatives of political parties in Ukraine help citizens address important issues or meet critical needs during the period between elections – all the time, some of the time, rarely, or never?”

Increased Awareness of NGOs, NGOs Seen as Essential for Democracy

Data from this year’s survey document a continuing increase, two years running, in awareness of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Ukraine.²² Forty percent of Ukrainians are aware of NGOs active in Ukraine, an increase from 15% in the 2008 survey and 28% in 2009. Forty-two percent are not aware of any active NGOs in Ukraine; a decline from 57% in the 2008 survey and 47% in 2009. Also, this year fewer Ukrainians say they are not aware of what an NGO is (18%) (Figure 31).



A majority of those aware of NGOs believe they are essential or necessary for democracy (62%), similar to the percentages in 2009 (63%) (Figure 32). Those who believe NGOs are not very or not at all necessary, however, increased slightly to 22% from 18% in 2009, but decreased from 30% in 2008.²³

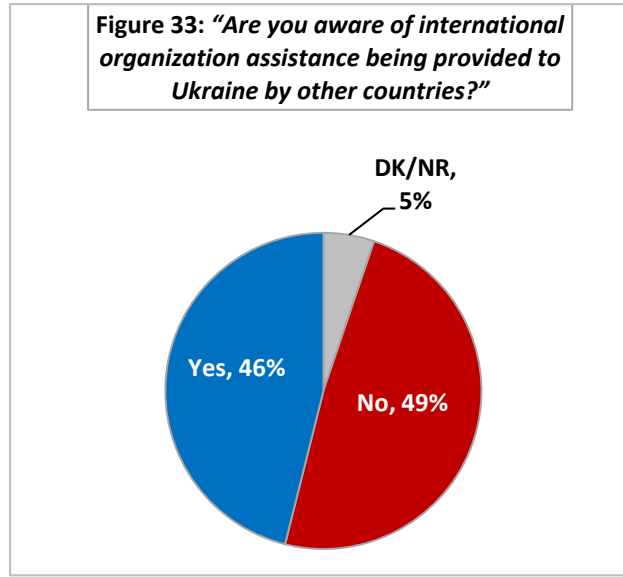


²² “Do you know of any Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are active in Ukraine?”

²³ “How necessary are non-governmental organizations, or NGOs, for Ukraine -- essential, necessary, not very necessary, or not at all necessary?”

Opinions on International Assistance to Ukraine

Awareness of international assistance to Ukraine remains the same as in 2009. Forty-six percent of Ukrainians say they are aware of international organization assistance being provided to Ukraine by other countries, but 49% are not aware of this type of assistance (Figure 33). The highest levels of awareness are in Kyiv (68%) and Western Ukraine (53%). Awareness of international assistance is lowest in the Center (39%) and the South (38%). More Ukrainians in the East are aware of international assistance this year with 44% saying they are aware compared to 31% in 2009. Of respondents aware of international assistance, more believe it is not effective (47%) than those who believe it is effective (38%).



When asked what international organizations should do to make their assistance more effective, 46% believe international organizations should better publicize their efforts, 28% say they should employ more international experts, 28% say they should learn lessons from its previous projects in Ukraine, 19% say they should work through Ukrainian organizations, 18% say they should work through international organizations only, and 15% believe they should provide funds to the government directly.

Regarding specific international organizations, over half of Ukrainians say they have heard recently about various international organizations, with the exception of UNDP. Sixty percent of Ukrainians recently heard about the European Union/European Commission, 51% recently heard about the Council of Europe, 52% recently heard about the International Renaissance Foundation (IRF), and 51% recently heard about the OSCE. One third of Ukrainians recently heard about the United Nations Development Programme (35%).

While majorities of Ukrainians support international assistance in health, economic, and democracy and governance development, support for assistance in democracy and governance is supported by a far smaller percentage than assistance in health and economic development. More than three-quarters of Ukrainians support international assistance in the health and social development sector (79%) and in economic development (75%). Fewer Ukrainians, but still a majority, support international assistance in the democracy and governance sector (55%). Support for assistance in democracy and governance is highest in western Ukraine (71%) and lowest in eastern Ukraine (45%).

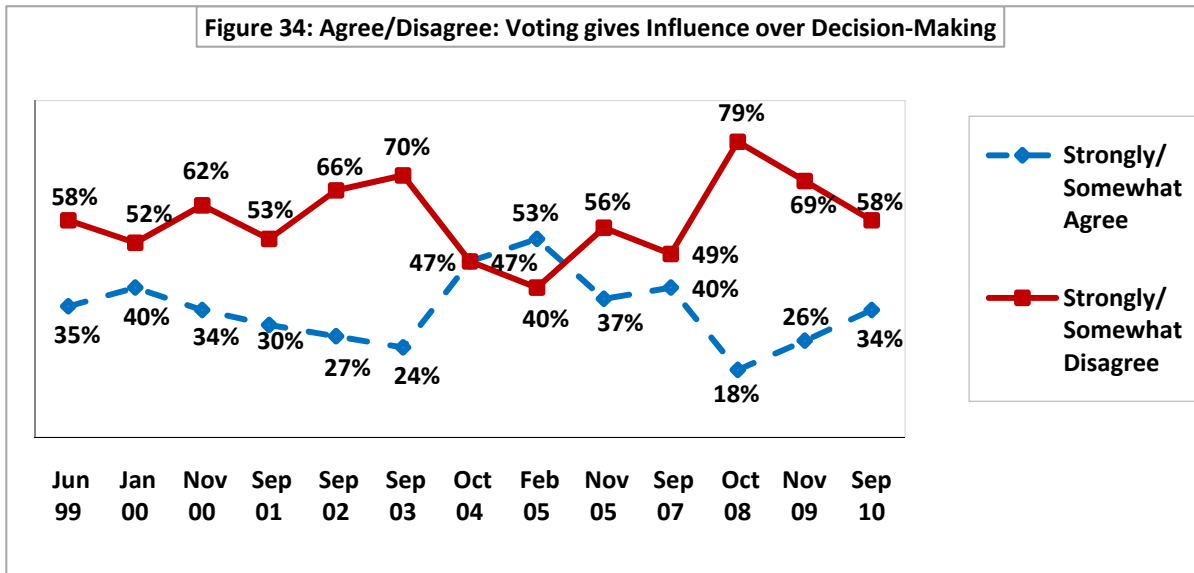
When respondents in Crimea were asked whether they support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID we see the highest support is in areas of health development. Ninety seven percent of Crimeans support assistance to fight infectious diseases like HIV and TB, 93% support assistance in maternal and infant health care, 89% support assistance in energy efficiency, 88% support making the business environment more competitive, 75% support assistance in fighting corruption, 60% support assistance in media professionalism, 53% support assistance in youth development, 49% support assistance in civil society development, 49% support assistance in improving the process of obtaining permits from local authorities, and 44% support assistance in land resources.

OPINIONS ON ELECTIONS

A majority of Ukrainians disagree that voting gives people like them influence over decision-making but the trend data shows that this percentage has declined over the last two years. While a majority expressed a likelihood of voting in the 2010 local elections, few Ukrainians believe the local elections would be completely free and fair. Lack of confidence in the official election results is a primary reason for concerns about the integrity of the election process in Ukraine. Ukrainians are generally supportive of the revised local election law that provides for a mixed system of voting for local councils, but would prefer significant changes to the Constitution to be approved through public referendum rather than legislative action.

Continued Skepticism about Influence Provided by Voting

Although turnout in elections in Ukraine since independence has generally been high, data from IFES surveys over this period indicate most Ukrainians do not believe voting provides influence on governmental decision-making to the country’s citizens. This trend continues in this year’s survey as a majority (58%) disagrees that voting provides influence to people like them, while 34% agree with this statement (Figure 34).²⁴



The trend data indicates that while the majority of Ukrainians disagree that voting gives them influence over decision-making, this percentage has been declining since the 2008 survey while the percentage who agree has been increasing. Part of the increase from the 2009 to 2010 survey is to be expected as the 2010 survey was fielded shortly before local elections, and the percentage who agree that voting gives influence generally increases in election years. The increase in agreement can also be attributed to changing attitudes in eastern and southern Ukraine where there is greater agreement than in the 2009 survey. This shift was especially pronounced in the South where 45% agreed with the statement and 46% disagreed, a large decline from the 75% who disagreed with this statement in the 2009 survey.

²⁴ Agree/Disagree: “Voting gives people like you a chance to influence decision-making in our country.”

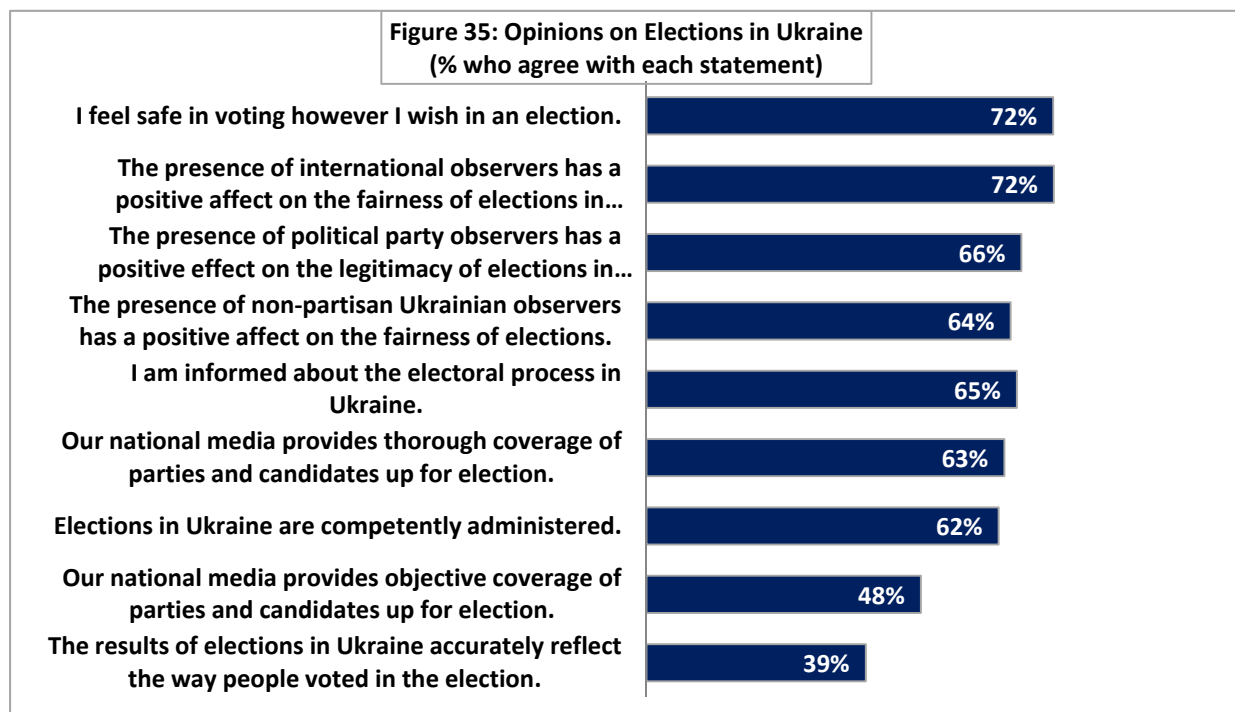
Respondents were also given another statement: “People like you can have influence on decisions made by the government.” As in previous IFES surveys, responses to this statement are even more negative than the statement on voting. Seventy-two percent disagree with this statement, while only 19% agree.

Opinions on Local Elections

When respondents were asked whether they were likely to vote in the October 2010 local elections, 56% indicated they were very likely to vote,²⁵ 26% said they were somewhat likely, and 13% said they were unlikely to vote or would definitely not vote. Likelihood of voting in the local elections was fairly evenly spread across the country and major demographic sub-groups. As would be expected, those who agree that voting gives people like them influence over decision-making expressed a greater likelihood of voting than those who disagree that voting gives influence (68% very likely versus 50%).

In general, most Ukrainians expected the local elections to be characterized by at least some irregularities. Few Ukrainians (12%) expected the local elections to be completely free and fair, while 39% expected them to be somewhat free and fair and 37% expected the elections to be either not very free and fair or not free and fair at all.²⁶ In all regions of the country except the North, less than 13% expected the elections to be completely free and fair.

While there are concerns about the overall quality of the election process, the survey data indicates that these concerns are more pronounced in specific areas of the electoral process than in others. Figure 35 reports the percentage of Ukrainians who agree with each of several statements about the electoral process in Ukraine and indicates that the legitimacy of election results is a key concern for Ukrainians, while observers are generally thought to play a positive role in the process.²⁷



²⁵ “How likely are you to vote in these elections? Are you very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely to vote?”

²⁶ “How free and fair do you expect the local elections to be?”

²⁷ “Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.”

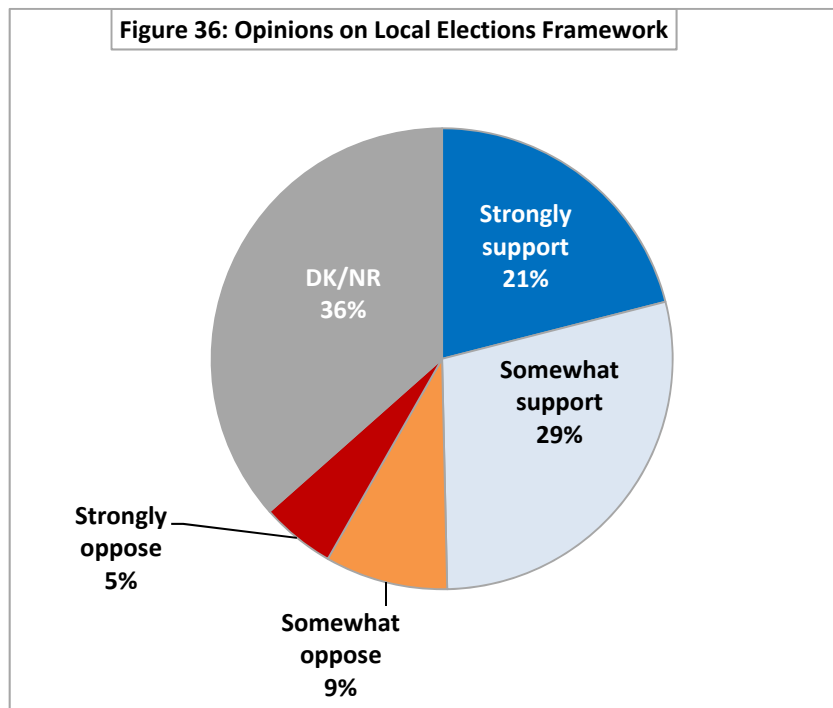
Only 39% agree that the official results of elections accurately reflect the way people actually vote in elections, while 52% disagree with this statement. A majority of respondents in all regions of the country with the exception of southern Ukraine disagree with this statement. The data also shows that those who do not believe official election results reflect actual vote are much more likely to think that the local elections would not be free and fair than those who agree that results reflect the actual vote (58% versus 11%).

The majority of Ukrainians believe the election observers, domestic and international, have a positive effect on the fairness of elections in Ukraine. A majority also has positive impressions of the thoroughness of the media coverage of the elections, but as in previous years far fewer have positive impressions of the objectivity of media coverage.

Opinions on Election Law Issues

The 2010 local elections were held under a revised electoral framework under which half the seats in local councils were selected through party list voting, and half were selected through direct voting for candidates. The survey data shows that while a significant number of Ukrainians were unaware of this change to the electoral framework, significantly more approved of this change than disapproved of it (Figure 36).²⁸ Half of all Ukrainians (50%) either strongly or somewhat support the revised electoral framework while only 14% oppose it. The strong level of support for the revised framework should not be surprising as previous IFES surveys in Ukraine have shown strong support for an electoral system with direct election of legislative deputies over an electoral system with voting for party lists.

The revised framework for local elections was adopted through passage in the Verkhovna Rada. The survey data indicates that the majority of Ukrainians do not generally support this method of passage for major legislation. Respondents to the survey were asked on the best way to decide on changes to the Constitution. Just 13% say changes to the constitution should be made through votes in the Rada. Nearly two-thirds (64%) prefer changes to the Constitution be put up for a nationwide referendum where voters would decide on the changes. Six percent think the president should decide on changes to the Constitution.



²⁸ “Recently, the local election law was changed in Ukraine to a system where voters select half of local council deputies by voting for a party list and the other half by voting for candidates directly. Do you support or oppose this change to the electoral system in Ukraine?”

Interest and Information on Politics

The majority of Ukrainians express at least some interest in politics (16% very interested, 46% somewhat interested), while more than a third (37%) say they have little or no interest in politics.²⁹ There is little difference in interest in politics between men and women, while there is greater interest in politics among Ukrainians older than 35 versus those 35 and younger (68% versus 49%). Interest in politics is fairly uniform across the country with the exception of residents of Kyiv (53% interested) who have significantly lower levels of interest. Not surprisingly, those who are interested in politics expressed a greater likelihood of voting in the local elections than those with little or no interest in politics.

A solid majority of Ukrainians also says they have either a great deal or fair amount of information on political developments in the country (82%). Few (15%) say they have little or no information on political developments.³⁰ Those interested in politics are more likely to have information on political developments than those not interested in politics. Television and newspapers are the primary types of media sources that Ukrainians utilize to learn about developments in Ukraine.³¹ Seventy-five percent watch Ukrainian-language state TV, 57% Ukrainian-language private channels, 39% Russian-language private TV, 37% Russian-language state TV, 28% Russian-language newspapers, 26% Ukrainian-language newspapers, and 22% Ukrainian-language state radio. Many Ukrainians also use informal sources for information; 44% mention relatives and acquaintances as sources of information and 16% mention their workplace.

²⁹ "How interested are you in matters of politics and government -- are you very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested?"

³⁰ "And 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?"

³¹ "From which of the following sources do you get most of your information about issues affecting Ukraine?"

DATA TABLES

National Level Data		
1. How interested are you in matters of politics and government -- are you very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested?		
		Valid Percent
	Very interested	15.7
	Somewhat interested	46.4
	Not too interested	24.9
	Not at all interested	11.6
	Don't know	1.4
	Total	100.0
2. And 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?		
		Valid Percent
	Great deal	14.0
	Fair amount	68.4
	Not very much	14.4
	None at all	0.8
	Don't know	2.4
	Refused	0.0
	Total	100.0
3. From which of the following sources do you get most of your information about issues affecting Ukraine?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Ukrainian language State TV channels	75.3
	Ukrainian language private TV channels	57.4
	Russian language private TV channels	38.6
	Russian language State TV channels	37.2
	Ukrainian language state radio	22.4
	Ukrainian language private radio	12.1
	Russian language private radio	7.4
	Russian language State radio	5.8
	Ukrainian language Newspapers	26.3
	Russian language Newspapers	27.9
	Ukrainian language magazines	3.2
	Russian language magazines	5.7
	Specialized publications	1.4
	Internet	12.4
	Local media	40.3
	Workplace	16.1
	Relatives, friends, or neighbors	43.9
	Educational institutions	1.5
	Other	0.7
	Don't know	0.2
	Refused	0.1

4. Do you think Ukraine is on the right track toward stability and prosperity in the future, or do you think Ukraine is on a path toward instability and chaos?		
		Valid Percent
	Stability	20.8
	Instability	43.8
	Neither [Volunteered]	18.4
	Don't know	15.5
	Refused	1.5
	Total	100.0
5-A. Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the following: Political situation in Ukraine today?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Satisfied	3.3
	Somewhat Satisfied	25.3
	Somewhat Dissatisfied	35.9
	Very Dissatisfied	24.1
	Don't Know	10.7
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
5-B. Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the following: Foreign policy of Ukraine?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Satisfied	4.9
	Somewhat Satisfied	35.9
	Somewhat Dissatisfied	23.2
	Very Dissatisfied	14.2
	Don't Know	20.3
	Refused	1.4
	Total	100.0
5-C. Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the following: Economic situation in Ukraine today		
		Valid Percent
	Very Satisfied	1.0
	Somewhat Satisfied	10.0
	Somewhat Dissatisfied	38.7
	Very Dissatisfied	43.9
	Don't Know	6.2
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
6. Is the country's current economic situation better, worse, or the same as one year ago?		
		Valid Percent
	Better	10.1
	Worse	52.8
	Same	30.1
	Don't know	6.5
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0

7-A. Why do you think that the country's current economic situation is better than one year ago?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Political stability (the political situation is better)	5.8
	Passed a short time period since a new government began to work (we go to the win slowly but confidently; some steps were done)	2.2
	Legislative decisions aimed to improve the economy (decisions in the Verkhovna Rada; there are many laws indicating improvement)	9.6
	Factories begin to work (new vacancies are being open)	13.2
	Currency stabilization	.4
	Life improvement, stability (it's became better notably; amount of pension has raised; some progress is noticeable)	53.6
	I trust this command (I trust Azarov and his command)	5.9
	There are no changes neither in the best nor in the worst side (because I don't see any changes)	.6
	Other	3.0
	Don't know	14.0
	Refused	3.1
7-B. Why do you think that the country's current economic situation is worse than one year ago?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	A sharp price rising (inflation)	67.0
	Unemployment (enterprises do not work; there is no workplaces)	14.4
	Low living standards (small pension; people are not living, they are surviving)	25.3
	The Economic decline (there is no improvement; there is no result; there is a need of real changes)	4.8
	Agriculture was destroyed	.7
	New taxation (taxes are being risen)	1.2
	There is no order in power (anarchy)	3.8
	Politicians pursue their interest (politicians care of themselves)	1.8
	There are no changes neither in the best nor in the worst side (because I don't see any changes)	.6
	Pension reform (the women's pension age is rising)	.2
	Violation of human rights	.1
	Corruption	.6
	Other	2.2
	Don't know	4.5
	Refused	4.2

7-C. Why do you think that the country's current economic situation is the same as one year ago?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	A sharp price rising (inflation)	67.0
	Unemployment (enterprises do not work; there is no workplaces)	14.4
	Low living standards (small pension; people are not living, they are surviving)	25.3
	The Economic decline (there is no improvement; there is no result; there is a need of real changes)	4.8
	Agriculture was destroyed	.7%
	There is no order in power (anarchy)	1.2
	Politicians pursue their interest (politicians care of themselves)	3.8
	Passed a short time period since a new government began to work (we go to the win slowly but confidently; some steps were done)	1.8
	Legislative decisions aimed to improve the economy (decisions in the Verkhovna Rada; there are many laws indicating improvement)	.6
	There are no changes neither in the best nor in the worst side (because I don't see any changes)	.2
	Pension reform (the women's pension age is rising)	.1
	Violation of human rights	.6
	Corruption	2.2
	Other	4.5
	Don't know	4.2
	Refused	1.6
8. Is your family's current economic situation better, worse, or the same as one year ago?		
		Valid Percent
	Better	7.0
	Worse	49.9
	Same	42.0
	Don't know	0.9
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
9. What are in your view the most serious problems that Ukraine as a country faces today?		
		Percent of Cases
	Corruption	36.7
	General economic problems	35.9
	High prices/ inflation	74.7
	External debt	14.1
	Political bickering between leaders	10.9
	Political instability/ general political problems	7.5
	Poverty	51.3
	Problems with Russia	3.1

	Problems with Western countries	.9
	Prospects of Ukraine joining NATO	3.2
	Unemployment	56.0
	Other	6.8
	Don't know	1.4
	Refused	.4
10. And what in your view are the most serious problems that your community faces today?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	No problems	1.5
	Price rising (increase inflation; prices of public services and foods)	28.9
	Economic crisis (the low level of life; poor people faced a problem to survive; small pensions)	18.7
	Problems in the sector of housing and communal services (poor job of housing and communal services; communications of city are in a distressful situation)	9.1
	Bad roads	10.3
	Unemployment (restoration of enterprises; employment)	37.9
	Corruption (corruption in governmental establishments)	3.6
	Put city in order (clean a city; dirt, fully destroyed Kyiv)	3.5
	Authorities' inaction (to make elected authorities to work better)	2.7
	Low cultural level (to promote the culture of people)	1.4
	Social privileges (registration of subsidies; benefits for poor)	2.2
	Maintenance of democracy (elections, voting, the president appoints the mayor; honest elections)	.5
	Raise of agrarian sector (agriculture is in decline)	1.7
	Shortage of child preschool establishments	1.7
	Usurpation by somebody of public land	.2
	Food of poor quality	.3
	Transport (electric transport; small number of fixed-run taxi)	1.2
	Ecology (threat of flood; climate – rain, soil shift)	4.4
	Laws are not in function condition (judicial injustice)	.3
	Development of business (help in tourism development, business advertising)	1.1
	Medicine	2.5
	Criminality	.3
	Absence or poor quality of drinking-water (drinking-water is absent)	3.9
	Alcoholism, drug addiction (drunkenness; struggle against drug addiction)	2.0
	Homeless animals	.4

	Other	2.5
	Don't know	5.9
	Refused	1.0
11- A. Economic situation in the country: Please tell me whether you believe there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.6
	Slight Improvement	11.2
	No Change	29.1
	Slight Decline	37.2
	Great Decline	17.4
	DK	4.4
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
11- B. Political stability in the country: Please tell me whether you believe there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	3.1
	Slight Improvement	26.2
	No Change	40.7
	Slight Decline	15.5
	Great Decline	5.8
	DK	8.3
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
11- C. Respect for freedom of the press: Please tell me whether you believe there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.9
	Slight Improvement	10.1
	No Change	48.6
	Slight Decline	20.1
	Great Decline	6.2
	DK	13.8
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
11- D. Respect for citizens' rights by the authorities: Please tell me whether you believe there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.6
	Slight Improvement	8.7
	No Change	53.9
	Slight Decline	18.0
	Great Decline	9.6
	DK	8.8
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0

11- E. Unity of Ukrainian citizens: Please tell me whether you believe there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.9
	Slight Improvement	13.0
	No Change	56.7
	Slight Decline	14.1
	Great Decline	4.0
	DK	11.0
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
11- F. The fight against corruption: Please tell me whether you believe there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.2
	Slight Improvement	8.4
	No Change	50.5
	Slight Decline	20.2
	Great Decline	10.8
	DK	9.7
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
11- G. Relations with Russia: Please tell me whether you believe there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	14.4
	Slight Improvement	51.0
	No Change	19.5
	Slight Decline	4.9
	Great Decline	1.9
	DK	8.0
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
11- H. Relations with Western countries: Please tell me whether you believe there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	3.6
	Slight Improvement	30.5
	No Change	43.4
	Slight Decline	6.3
	Great Decline	2.2
	DK	13.5
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
11- I. Defending: Please tell me whether you believe there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	1.8
	Slight Improvement	14.0

	No Change	52.9
	Slight Decline	9.9
	Great Decline	3.0
	DK	17.2
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0
12. Please tell me which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion:		
		Valid Percent
	Democracy is preferable to any other form of government.	32.1
	In certain situations, a non-democratic government can be preferable	24.9
	To people like me, it doesn't matter what form of government we have	27.0
	Don't know	15.1
	Refused	0.9
	Total	100.0
13. Listed on this card are several statements. Please pick any statement or statements that you think accurately define what it means for a country to be a democracy.		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Freedom of association	15.3
	Freedom of religion	18.2
	Freedom to vote	27.0
	Everyone has work	49.5
	Freedom of speech	40.4
	Protection of human rights	61.9
	State support of those unable to work	32.1
	State support of pensioners	34.9
	System of checks and balances between executive, legislative, and judicial branches	20.9
	No official corruption (in administrative bodies/people in power)	37.7
	Freedom of Media	17.4
	Fair and consistent enforcement of laws	51.5
	Don't know	3.3
	Refused	.3
14. Is Ukraine a democracy?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	25.4
	No	41.4
	Both	13.0
	Don't know	19.4
	Refused	0.8
	Total	100.0
15. For what reasons do you believe Ukraine is not a democracy?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)

	There is no freedom (And what freedom do we have - it is not present!)	1.1
	Violation of human rights (there is no defense of human rights)	20.3
	Unemployment (there are no jobs)	11.0
	There's no justice (no justice, no truth)	1.9
	There is no freedom of choice (there is no free expression of people's will)	1.4
	The power has large plenary permissions (clan management, a group of oligarchs decides everything)	5.2
	Corruption (we depend on material providing; widespread corruption)	22.2
	There is a low level of living standards (in a democratic country people live, but we survive, exist; people are social vulnerable)	11.3
	Freedom of speech is under pressure (putting pressure on mass media, censure)	4.8
	A short period of time passed (Ukraine has just begun to make its first steps)	13.2
	People are not ready for democracy (democracy is not the main issue)	8.5
	People don't keep the law (injustice in law)	2.3
	There is no balance and control between legislative, executive and judicial branches of power	2.1
	The main principles of democracy are not in use (because it doesn't exist; due to returning to Soviet, totalitarian system; there's a plenty of things we need to change)	24.8
	Power does not care of people (democracy is when the government lives with people, and in our country it lives separately of people)	1.3
	Other	7.0
	Difficult to say	8.1
	There is no answer / Refuse	1.8
16. I will now read you two statements. Please tell me with which you most agree:		
		Valid Percent
	It should be a priority for Ukraine to pursue economic development, even if it means foregoing some democratic rights.	44.7
	Ukraine's priority should be to maintain democratic rights for its citizens, even if this means the economy develops slowly.	33.1
	DK	21.1
	Refused	1.2
	Total	100.0
17- A. Please tell me do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements: Democracy as a system is not good at maintaining order in the country.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly agree	14.7

	Somewhat agree	31.9
	Somewhat disagree	24.5
	Strongly disagree	11.3
	DK	16.0
	Refused	1.5
	Total	100.0
17- B. Please tell me do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements: It is more important that political leaders maintain order than protect democratic rights of citizens.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly agree	13.4
	Somewhat agree	24.2
	Somewhat disagree	27.0
	Strongly disagree	11.4
	DK	22.1
	Refused	1.9
	Total	100.0
18. To you, what does it mean for political leaders to maintain order in the country?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Nothing	.2
	To be honest and just (it is necessary to be honest and just before people; not to steal and not to let others to do this, it is necessary to destroy corruption)	3.8
	Trust of all population strata (absolute trust of all population strata)	.5
	To control prices (to control prices of everything)	1.5
	To respect people, to take care of them	5.5
	For some politicians the order is when they freely manage their dirty businesses (to do so that everything work for the good of their aims; to fill their pockets and to live like in a paradise)	2.2
	Prosperity of country (to put all the spheres of agriculture, education and culture in order, stability)	6.0
	To create jobs	5.0
	Follow the laws (follow the guidelines)	21.8
	To control all the branches of power	3.0
	Verkhovna Rada must work (deputies have to work and not to block the Verkhovna Rada)	1.0
	The high level of living standards	4.2
	To unite Ukraine	.2
	To discharge the duties	4.7
	To bang the bandits up	.9
	To guarantee free elections	.1
	It is when the affairs of state are solving in agreement (to find a compromise between parties and opposition)	3.3
	Dictatorial basis of government	2.1
	To have a master (good manager) in the country	.3

	Democracy (to improve democracy order)	3.9
	Struggle against corruption (it is necessary to destroy corruption)	3.5
	Professionalism of country's leaders	1.0
	Other	2.3
	Don't know	29.8
	Refused	6.8
19. What benefits do you expect that Ukraine will receive by maintaining order in the country?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Order in everything (there will be order in everything in the country; country will win only)	6.1
	A rich country, high population's living standards (people will not starve; clean, flowering and rich)	31.6
	Stable and quiet life	13.1
	Criminality will be diminished (there won't be stealing and robbery)	2.2
	A culture will become better	.9
	A corruption will be diminished	2.1
	A civilized country (operating laws)	4.1
	Improvement of international relations (improvement of diplomatic relations)	.9
	Democratic country (order, this is democracy)	2.5
	Discipline	1.9
	Authorities will be more accountable (There will be opportunity to ask for their action)	2.0
	A large benefit (the enormous benefit)	7.6
	Trust to authorities (some trust to authorities will arise)	4.2
	Control over actions of the power (it is easy to control power)	.8
	There are jobs (everybody we'll have a job)	3.7
	Other	2.1
	Don't know	20.1
	Refused	4.9
20- A. Limit the activities of opposition political parties: Please tell me for each, whether the action can be justified or not justified.		
		Valid Percent
	Justified	19.7
	Not Justified	43.8
	It depends	23.9
	Don't know	12.0
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
20- B. Limit the rights of citizens to protest: Please tell me for each, whether the action can be justified or not justified.		
		Valid Percent
	Justified	10.4
	Not Justified	62.5

	It depends	19.4
	Don't know	7.1
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
20- C. Limit freedom of the media: Please tell me for each, whether the action can be justified or not justified.		
		Valid Percent
	Justified	9.2
	Not Justified	64.3
	It depends	18.8
	Don't know	7.2
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
20- D. Limit the authority of the courts: Please tell me for each, whether the action can be justified or not justified.		
		Valid Percent
	Justified	12.2
	Not Justified	54.3
	It depends	18.8
	Don't know	13.9
	Refused	0.8
	Total	100.0
20- E. Limit the activities of citizens' groups and unions: Please tell me for each, whether the action can be justified or not justified.		
		Valid Percent
	Justified	15.3
	Not Justified	43.9
	It depends	26.7
	Don't know	13.2
	Refused	0.9
	Total	100.0
21. What are some ways citizens of Ukraine can protect their rights from being abused by the government?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	No ways	23.7
	Appeal to the judicial order (by means of court; through a court, through an advocate)	12.5
	Strikes, mass meeting, actions of protest	17.2
	By means of international court (appeal to international courts)	.7
	Not to go to elections or vote against all (unite and no to go to elections or vote against all)	.1
	Appeal through the press, mass media (through open letters in the press)	1.6
	To look for support of parties that you trust in (to apply to public offices of parties that you trust in)	.6
	New personalities in power (to change the power from head to toe)	1.5
	To ask for help from special associations, public organizations (by appeal to public offices)	1.4

	Appeal to international organizations	.2
	Uniting for struggle in public organizations (uniting with each other)	.9
	Revolution (Romania's example, violence, with arm)	1.9
	Other	2.8
	Don't know	31.1
	Refused	7.6
22- A. The Verkhovna Rada: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	3.3
	Fair Amount	25.8
	Not Very Much	31.6
	None At All	32.9
	Don't Know	6.0
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
22- B. The Cabinet of Ministers: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	4.7
	Fair Amount	28.7
	Not Very Much	29.9
	None At All	28.7
	Don't Know	7.4
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
22- C. President Viktor Yanukovich: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	12.3
	Fair Amount	30.2
	Not Very Much	23.2
	None At All	26.7
	Don't Know	6.8
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
22- D. Prime Minister Mykola Azarov: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	10.0
	Fair Amount	26.5
	Not Very Much	24.3
	None At All	30.0
	Don't Know	8.4
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
22- E. Vice Premier Sergei Tygypko: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	8.8
	Fair Amount	31.8
	Not Very Much	24.1

	None At All	23.8
	Don't Know	10.8
	Refused	0.8
	Total	100.0
22- D1. Former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	6.1
	Fair Amount	17.7
	Not Very Much	21.8
	None At All	47.7
	Don't Know	6.2
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
22- E1. Former President Viktor Yushchenko: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	1.2
	Fair Amount	6.7
	Not Very Much	23.2
	None At All	62.9
	Don't Know	5.3
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
22- F. Minister of Education Dmytro Tabachnyk: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	4.0
	Fair Amount	15.6
	Not Very Much	23.1
	None At All	30.8
	Don't Know	25.3
	Refused	1.1
	Total	100.0
22- F1. Ministry of Justice: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	2.0
	Fair Amount	19.3
	Not Very Much	21.3
	None At All	26.6
	Don't Know	30.0
	Refused	0.8
	Total	100.0
22- G. Ukraine's military forces: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	7.7
	Fair Amount	36.6
	Not Very Much	17.8
	None At All	18.6
	Don't Know	18.0
	Refused	1.3

	Total	100.0
22- H. The Central Election Commission: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	4.1
	Fair Amount	31.0
	Not Very Much	22.0
	None At All	25.0
	Don't Know	17.1
	Refused	0.9
	Total	100.0
22- I. Your City/Village council: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	7.9
	Fair Amount	34.0
	Not Very Much	22.8
	None At All	25.3
	Don't Know	9.3
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
22- J. Mayor of your city/village local self-government: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	11.1
	Fair Amount	33.8
	Not Very Much	20.4
	None At All	27.1
	Don't Know	6.9
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
22- K. Your Raion administrator: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	5.9
	Fair Amount	24.9
	Not Very Much	21.0
	None At All	21.4
	Don't Know	24.1
	Refused	2.6
	Total	100.0
22- L. Your Oblast governor / Head of Crimean Council of Ministers: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	5.1
	Fair Amount	25.0
	Not Very Much	18.9
	None At All	18.4
	Don't Know	31.4
	Refused	1.1
	Total	100.0

22- M. Patriarch Filaret: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	11.6
	Fair Amount	27.7
	Not Very Much	6.8
	None At All	14.5
	Don't Know	36.5
	Refused	2.9
	Total	100.0
22- N. Patriarch Kirill: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	15.2
	Fair Amount	30.5
	Not Very Much	8.5
	None At All	12.2
	Don't Know	31.0
	Refused	2.6
	Total	100.0
22- O. The media in Ukraine: please tell me how much confidence you have in them?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	5.3
	Fair Amount	48.9
	Not Very Much	20.3
	None At All	14.7
	Don't Know	9.3
	Refused	1.5
	Total	100.0
23. Of the two reasons I will read to you, which of these is the more important reason for your confidence in President Yanukovich?		
		Valid Percent
	The policies which the Yanukovich government has pursued	44.4
	The Yanukovich government's actions to bring stability to government	45.8
	Don't know	9.1
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
24- A. Increasing gas tariffs by 50%: Please tell me whether you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of these policies and decisions?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Approve	0.9
	Somewhat Approve	4.9
	Somewhat Disapprove	14.3
	Strongly Disapprove	76.9
	Don't know	3.0
	Refused	0.0
	Total	100.0

24- B. Coming to agreement with Russia to extend lease for the Russian fleet in Crimea: Please tell me whether you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of these policies and decisions?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Approve	24.6
	Somewhat Approve	20.8
	Somewhat Disapprove	14.8
	Strongly Disapprove	25.2
	Don't know	14.4
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
24- C. Stopping the movement to recognize Holodomor as genocide: Please tell me whether you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of these policies and decisions?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Approve	21.4
	Somewhat Approve	18.9
	Somewhat Disapprove	16.4
	Strongly Disapprove	23.7
	Don't know	18.5
	Refused	1.1
	Total	100.0
24- D. Denying broadcasting frequencies to some privately run television channels such as TVi and 5 Kanal: Please tell me whether you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of these policies and decisions?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Approve	6.6
	Somewhat Approve	7.9
	Somewhat Disapprove	25.8
	Strongly Disapprove	28.8
	Don't know	29.5
	Refused	1.3
	Total	100.0
24- E. Declaring that Ukraine will maintain a non-bloc status: Please tell me whether you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of these policies and decisions?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Approve	22.6
	Somewhat Approve	29.1
	Somewhat Disapprove	12.2
	Strongly Disapprove	8.1
	Don't know	26.7
	Refused	1.4
	Total	100.0
24- F. Granting the Russian language official status for court proceedings: Please tell me whether you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of these policies and decisions?		
		Valid Percent

	Strongly Approve	33.2
	Somewhat Approve	27.6
	Somewhat Disapprove	9.9
	Strongly Disapprove	14.8
	Don't know	13.6
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0
25- A. Addressing official corruption: please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich's handling of the following issues?		
		Valid Percent
	Very satisfied	1.7
	Somewhat satisfied	9.8
	Somewhat dissatisfied	41.1
	Very dissatisfied	35.9
	Don't know	10.9
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
25- B. Creating political stability: please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich's handling of the following issues?		
		Valid Percent
	Very satisfied	5.0
	Somewhat satisfied	33.6
	Somewhat dissatisfied	29.8
	Very dissatisfied	19.8
	Don't know	11.5
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
25- C. Keeping prices low: please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich's handling of the following issues?		
		Valid Percent
	Very satisfied	0.5
	Somewhat satisfied	3.4
	Somewhat dissatisfied	27.8
	Very dissatisfied	66.3
	Don't know	1.9
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
25- d. Creation of Jobs: please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich's handling of the following issues?		
		Valid Percent
	Very satisfied	0.4
	Somewhat satisfied	5.2
	Somewhat dissatisfied	29.7
	Very dissatisfied	60.1
	Don't know	4.5

	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
25- E. Addressing status of Ukraine and the EU: please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich's handling of the following issues?		
		Valid Percent
	Very satisfied	3.3
	Somewhat satisfied	30.4
	Somewhat dissatisfied	19.7
	Very dissatisfied	12.1
	Don't know	33.7
	Refused	0.8
	Total	100.0
25- F Relations with Russia: please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich's handling of the following issues?		
		Valid Percent
	Very satisfied	17.0
	Somewhat satisfied	48.9
	Somewhat dissatisfied	16.1
	Very dissatisfied	6.9
	Don't know	10.6
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
25- G. Respecting the rights and freedoms of the media: please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich's handling of the following issues?		
		Valid Percent
	Very satisfied	3.0
	Somewhat satisfied	33.0
	Somewhat dissatisfied	32.1
	Very dissatisfied	14.1
	Don't know	17.2
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
25- H. Improving relations between different religious confessions: please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich's handling of the following issues?		
		Valid Percent
	Very satisfied	5.0
	Somewhat satisfied	34.4
	Somewhat dissatisfied	16.9
	Very dissatisfied	7.8
	Don't know	35.0
	Refused	0.9
	Total	100.0

25- I. Bridging the regional divide in Ukraine: please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich's handling of the following issues?		
		Valid Percent
	Very satisfied	3.3
	Somewhat satisfied	30.0
	Somewhat dissatisfied	27.7
	Very dissatisfied	9.6
	Don't know	28.1
	Refused	1.2
	Total	100.0
25- J. Limiting the influence of big business/oligarchs on state authorities: please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with President Yanukovich's handling of the following issues?		
		Valid Percent
	Very satisfied	1.6
	Somewhat satisfied	11.9
	Somewhat dissatisfied	30.7
	Very dissatisfied	32.7
	Don't know	21.6
	Refused	1.5
	Total	100.0
26. As you know, the Yanukovich administration has now been in office for more than six months. Considering the administration's time in office, please tell me which of these three statements you most agree with?		
		Valid Percent
	I am pleased that the Yanukovich administration has maintained respect for the rights and freedoms we gained over the past few years	25.8
	I am concerned by some reversals in respect for right and freedoms by the Yanukovich administration and I think Ukrainians should monitor this closely	36.0
	I am alarmed by the significant deterioration in respect for rights and freedoms by the Yanukovich administration and I think Ukrainians should be ready to take action to protest this	15.7
	Don't know	20.6
	Refused	1.9
	Total	100.0
27. Can you tell me whether you are a member of any of the different types of civic organizations listed on this card?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Trade unions	9.5
	Political parties	2.5
	Religious groups	.9
	NGOs	.3

	Artist unions/Scientist Unions	.1
	Local self-governance institutions	.5
	Other, specify	.4
	None of these	85.9
	Don't know	.6
	Refused	.2
28. Do you know of any Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are active in Ukraine?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	39.8
	No	42.0
	Don't know what NGO is	13.7
	Don't know	4.2
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
29. How necessary are non-governmental organizations, or NGOs, for Ukraine -- essential, necessary, not very necessary, or not at all necessary?		
		Valid Percent
	Essential	24.0
	Necessary	37.7
	Not very necessary	14.5
	Not at all necessary	6.6
	Don't know	16.8
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
30. Now, let's turn our attention to the upcoming local elections on October 31, 2010. How likely are you to vote in these elections? Are you very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely to vote?		
		Valid Percent
	Very likely	55.7
	Somewhat likely	25.9
	Somewhat unlikely	4.9
	Very unlikely	3.8
	Definitely will not vote	4.1
	Don't know	5.0
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
31. Why are you not likely to vote in the local elections?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Registration in other settlement (registration is not in Mykolaiv, there is no possibility to go to elections at the place of registration)	9.9
	There are no changes to the best side (every power makes the life worse)	12.5
	There is no deserving candidate (I do not see a deserving candidate, none of them causes a trust; I trust nobody)	27.0

	I don't believe in honesty of elections conduction (there will be a winner who has more money than others)	19.0
	Elections were abolished (there are no elections in Kyiv)	3.9
	There is no time (I engage in education of children)	1.7
	My voice will not affect results of the elections	9.3
	Health problems (defective eyesight)	2.1
	I'm absent on the electors' list (invitations are not coming, there is no electors' list)	1.1
	I can vote only at home (to deliver bulletins at home is improbable)	.7
	I don't want (I never vote)	4.9
	Other	1.7
	Don't know	7.5
	Refused	2.8
32. How free and fair do you expect the local elections to be? Do you expect them to be completely free and fair, somewhat free and fair, not very free and fair, not at all free and fair?		
		Valid Percent
	Completely free and fair	11.7
	Somewhat free and fair	38.9
	Not very free and fair	26.4
	Not at all free and fair	10.5
	Don't know	12.1
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
33. A. Voting gives people like you a chance to influence decision-making in our country: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	6.2
	Somewhat Agree	27.3
	Somewhat Disagree	30.8
	Strongly Disagree	26.9
	Don't Know	8.1
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
33. B. People like you can have influence on decisions made by the government: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	4.8
	Somewhat Agree	14.6
	Somewhat Disagree	33.8
	Strongly Disagree	37.9
	Don't Know	7.9
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0

34- A. The results of elections in Ukraine accurately reflect the way people voted in the election: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	6.2
	Somewhat Agree	32.4
	Somewhat Disagree	35.8
	Strongly Disagree	16.3
	Don't Know	9.4
	Total	100.0
34- B. The presence of non-partisan Ukrainian civic organization observers would have a positive effect on the fairness of elections in Ukraine: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	18.2
	Somewhat Agree	45.9
	Somewhat Disagree	21.6
	Strongly Disagree	5.9
	Don't Know	8.3
	Total	100.0
34- C. The presence of international observers has a positive effect on the fairness of elections in Ukraine: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	22.6
	Somewhat Agree	49.1
	Somewhat Disagree	15.5
	Strongly Disagree	5.6
	Don't Know	7.2
	Total	100.0
34- D. The presence of political party observers has a positive effect on the legitimacy of elections in Ukraine: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	19.9
	Somewhat Agree	46.0
	Somewhat Disagree	19.6
	Strongly Disagree	5.6
	Don't Know	8.9
	Total	100.0
34- E. Elections in Ukraine are competently administered: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	17.6
	Somewhat Agree	44.4
	Somewhat Disagree	21.9
	Strongly Disagree	7.1
	Don't Know	8.9
	Total	100.0

34- F. Our national media provides thorough coverage of parties and candidates up for election: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	16.8
	Somewhat Agree	46.3
	Somewhat Disagree	23.5
	Strongly Disagree	5.7
	Don't Know	7.8
	Total	100.0
34- G. Our national media provides objective coverage of parties and candidates up for election: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	10.9
	Somewhat Agree	37.4
	Somewhat Disagree	30.1
	Strongly Disagree	9.2
	Don't Know	12.4
	Total	100.0
34- H. I feel safe in voting however I wish in an election: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	29.6
	Somewhat Agree	42.0
	Somewhat Disagree	14.1
	Strongly Disagree	4.0
	Don't Know	10.3
	Total	100.0
34- I. I am informed about the electoral process in Ukraine: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	18.8
	Somewhat Agree	46.3
	Somewhat Disagree	22.6
	Strongly Disagree	4.8
	Don't Know	7.4
	Total	100.0
35. Recently, the local election law was changed in Ukraine. Do you support or oppose this change to the electoral system in Ukraine?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	21.0
	Somewhat support	28.7
	Somewhat oppose	8.6
	Strongly oppose	5.2
	Don't Know about this law [Volunteered]	34.3
	Refused/NA	2.2
	Total	100.0

36. Turning to another topic, please look at this list of political parties and tell me which of these parties best represents the interests of people like you?		
		Valid Percent
	People's party (V. Lytvyn)	1.1
	Christian-liberal party (L. Chernovetsky)	0.2
	UDAR (V. Klichko)	1.1
	Batkivshina (Y. Tymoshenko)	12.0
	Party of Regions (V. Yanukovich)	27.8
	Front of Change (A. Yatseniuk)	3.7
	Strong Ukraine (S.Tygytko)	8.0
	'Citizenship' (A. Gritsenko)	0.7
	All-Ukrainian Union 'Freedom' (O. Tyahnybok)	2.7
	Communist Party of Ukraine (P.Symonenko)	2.5
	People's Movement of Ukraine (Narodnyi Rukh) (B.Tarasjuk)	0.0
	Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine (N.Vitrenko)	0.5
	Socialist Party of Ukraine (V.Tsushko)	0.1
	Party 'Our Ukraine' (V. Ulyanchenko)	0.4
	Other party	0.3
	NONE OF THE LISTED [Volunteered]	22.0
	DK/DS	14.9
	REFUSAL	2.2
	Total	100.0
37. In your opinion, do the major political parties in Ukraine have clear proposals to address the issues facing the country?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes, most do address issues	14.9
	No, only some address issues	52.9
	No, none address issues [Volunteered]	19.9
	Don't know	11.6
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
38. In your opinion, whose interests do political parties serve: the interests of the Ukrainian people, the interests of those in power, business interests, their own interests, or some other interests?		
		Valid Percent
	Ukrainian people	4.6
	Those in power	15.5
	Business interests	15.6
	Own interests	44.3
	Depends on the political party [Volunteered]	16.1
	Other	0.1
	Don't know	3.7
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
39. In your opinion, how often do representatives of political parties in Ukraine help citizens address important issues or meet critical needs during the period between elections - all the time, some of the time, rarely, or never?		

		Valid Percent
	All the time	3.0
	Some of the time	18.8
	Rarely	30.2
	Never	27.2
	They help only before elections [VOLUNTEERED]	17.7
	Don't know	3.1
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
40. Do you think that candidates not affiliated with a party should be able to run in the local elections?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	58.5
	No	13.1
	Maybe [VOLUNTEERED]	5.5
	Don't know	21.4
	Refused	1.6
	Total	100.0
41. In your opinion, what is the best way to decide on changes to the Constitution?		
		Valid Percent
	Hold a nationwide referendum on the changes where voters decide on constitutional changes	64.0
	Parliament votes on the changes	13.3
	President decides on the changes	5.6
	Don't know	16.6
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
42. In your opinion, how common or rare is corruption in Ukraine? Is it very common, somewhat common, somewhat rare, or very rare?		
		Valid Percent
	Very common	61.0
	Somewhat common	31.3
	Somewhat rare	1.4
	Very rare	0.1
	Don't know	5.8
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
43- A. Universities/Schools: how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	29.9
	Somewhat Serious	42.8
	Not Very Serious	9.2
	Not At All Serious	1.4
	Don't Know	16.6
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0

43- B. Hospitals (Medical Institutions): how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	41.7
	Somewhat Serious	42.4
	Not Very Serious	7.7
	Not At All Serious	0.7
	Don't Know	7.4
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
43- C. Police: how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	44.5
	Somewhat Serious	37.9
	Not Very Serious	3.4
	Not At All Serious	0.5
	Don't Know	13.7
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
43- D. Courts: how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	43.5
	Somewhat Serious	35.9
	Not Very Serious	3.2
	Not At All Serious	0.6
	Don't Know	16.5
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
43- E. Customs authorities: how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	30.1
	Somewhat Serious	27.4
	Not Very Serious	5.9
	Not At All Serious	0.9
	Don't Know	35.1
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
43- F. Tax authorities: how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	31.7
	Somewhat Serious	30.0
	Not Very Serious	6.8
	Not At All Serious	0.6
	Don't Know	30.4
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0

43- G. Verkhovna Rada: how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	31.6
	Somewhat Serious	28.6
	Not Very Serious	8.0
	Not At All Serious	1.4
	Don't Know	29.7
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
43- H. Cabinet of Ministers: how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	26.2
	Somewhat Serious	27.2
	Not Very Serious	8.5
	Not At All Serious	1.6
	Don't Know	35.4
	Refused	1.1
	Total	100.0
43- I. Presidential administration (secretariat): how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	23.1
	Somewhat Serious	22.9
	Not Very Serious	8.8
	Not At All Serious	3.0
	Don't Know	40.6
	Refused	1.7
	Total	100.0
43- J. National Government Ministries: how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	25.5
	Somewhat Serious	27.4
	Not Very Serious	7.2
	Not At All Serious	2.1
	Don't Know	36.5
	Refused	1.3
	Total	100.0
43- K. Local Government Officials: how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	32.3
	Somewhat Serious	35.3
	Not Very Serious	11.8
	Not At All Serious	2.7
	Don't Know	16.5
	Refused	1.4

	Total	100.0
44- A. Asked to pay an unofficial payment to avoid a penalty by a traffic officer: Please tell me whether you have experienced each of the following types of actions in the past?		
		Valid Percent
	Once	3.5
	More than once	21.5
	Never	67.6
	Don't know	4.3
	Refused	3.1
	Total	100.0
44- B. Asked for an unofficial payment during treatment at a public hospital for better services, even though they are supposed to be free of charge: Please tell me whether you have experienced each of the following types of actions in the past?		
		Valid Percent
	Once	12.1
	More than once	45.9
	Never	33.6
	Don't know	4.9
	Refused	3.4
	Total	100.0
44- C. Asked to pay an unofficial payment to your/your child's teacher in order to get a better grade/to pass an exam: Please tell me whether you have experienced each of the following types of actions in the past?		
		Valid Percent
	Once	4.3
	More than once	12.4
	Never	73.5
	Don't know	5.9
	Refused	4.0
	Total	100.0
44- D. Asked to pay an unofficial payment in order to you/your child to be admitted to university: Please tell me whether you have experienced each of the following types of actions in the past?		
		Valid Percent
	Once	8.0
	More than once	9.2
	Never	72.6
	Don't know	6.2
	Refused	4.0
	Total	100.0
44- E. Asked to pay an unofficial payment beyond the fee set for a obtaining official documents such as an ID, passport, land permit, etc.: Please tell me whether you have experienced each of the following types of actions in the past?		
		Valid Percent
	Once	10.7
	More than once	11.2
	Never	70.3
	Don't know	4.4

	Refused	3.4
	Total	100.0
44- F. Asked to pay an unofficial payment in order to be hired by an employer: Please tell me whether you have experienced each of the following types of actions in the past?		
		Valid Percent
	Once	8.3
	More than once	5.7
	Never	78.4
	Don't know	4.4
	Refused	3.1
	Total	100.0
44- G. Asked to pay an unofficial payment by customs authorities: Please tell me whether you have experienced each of the following types of actions in the past?		
		Valid Percent
	Once	1.7
	More than once	4.3
	Never	82.8
	Don't know	8.2
	Refused	2.9
	Total	100.0
45. Do you agree with the statement that citizens of Ukraine consider corruption as a fact of life?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes, to a great extent	22.5
	Yes, to some extent	32.5
	No, to a very limited extent	20.6
	No, not at all	13.4
	Don't know	10.0
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0
46- A. Constitutional Court: How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	4.5
	Fair Amount	25.2
	Not Very Much	24.5
	None At All	21.7
	Don't Know	22.3
	Refused	1.8
	Total	100.0
46- B. Supreme Court: How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	4.7
	Fair Amount	25.8
	Not Very Much	22.9
	None At All	21.6
	Don't Know	23.2
	Refused	1.9

	Total	100.0
46- C. High Administrative Court: How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	4.9
	Fair Amount	24.1
	Not Very Much	21.4
	None At All	21.8
	Don't Know	26.0
	Refused	1.9
	Total	100.0
46- D. Appeals Court: How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	4.9
	Fair Amount	21.9
	Not Very Much	23.1
	None At All	22.8
	Don't Know	25.4
	Refused	1.9
	Total	100.0
46- E. Local Courts: How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	2.5
	Fair Amount	13.0
	Not Very Much	35.2
	None At All	30.9
	Don't Know	16.6
	Refused	1.8
	Total	100.0
46- F. The public prosecutors' Office: How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	2.5
	Fair Amount	13.1
	Not Very Much	31.9
	None At All	30.8
	Don't Know	19.8
	Refused	2.0
	Total	100.0
46- G. The police: How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies?		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	2.3
	Fair Amount	10.5
	Not Very Much	34.1
	None At All	36.2
	Don't Know	14.9

	Refused	2.0
	Total	100.0
47. Next year Ukraine will be celebrating the 20th anniversary of its independence. Do you believe Ukraine as a country is better off, worse off, or the same as it was at the time of independence?		
		Valid Percent
	Better off	20.6
	Worse off	41.2
	Same	14.0
	Don't know	21.9
	Refused	2.2
	Total	100.0
48. A) Why better off?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Became independent, independent development (self-state, politically independent)	40.8
	Nobody presses and humiliates us (we are not slaves)	11.2
	Became the democratic state (there's no place where we can feel so free; people are not afraid of telling a truth about the power; free move of citizens appeared)	18.9
	Development of the society	3.0
	Development of culture (language, traditions)	7.0
	We have an international confession (more power in international politics)	6.5
	We choose own way of development (we decide what kind of Ukraine to be)	12.4
	More possibilities	3.5
	European values (chummed in with Europe)	2.2
	Possibility of doing business	2.2
	Military service on the territory of Ukraine (Our guys do not serve in the army abroad and in Russia)	1.1
	The wishes of Ukrainian people came true	1.8
	Other	2.1
	Don't know	12.9
	Refused	1.4
48.B) Why worse off?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Economic decline (became poor, full disintegration, life became worse)	51.4
	There is not defense (no protection)	3.6
	Bad power, there is no leader (wastefulness of power; there are unconscientious leaders)	7.8
	Our county was spoiled and ransacked	17.7
	Did not find its place	1.1
	Was not able to become the democratic state (violation of human rights at every step)	.9

Corruption	2.8
Break of all relationships with Russia and other countries of the former USSR	9.5
A weak resource base (before we had better raw material, resource base)	2.5
There is no stability (before person was sure in tomorrow)	4.2
Dependence on other countries (we are however dependency upon someone)	4.2
There is no social defense (people became unprotected socially, became slaves)	2.7
Disconnection of Ukraine (complete dissidence of country on west and east)	2.2
Problems with medicine (expensive services, medicine became inaccessible)	2.1
The high unemployment rate (there is not jobs)	13.1
There is no development (years passed, and there is no development)	5.3
Disintegration of the army	.6
Ukrainians drive out to foreign countries	1.1
Reduction of population (population dies out)	.9
Borders appeared (customs supervision)	1.5
Large country – it's always better (It was a proud of USSR, if we were together, we would be stronger)	6.4
Family connections were broken (connection was broken with relatives from Russia)	1.6
Slavs need to stick together (Slavic states must be together, it is easy way to surmount obstacles)	1.3
Other	2.7
Don't know	4.8
Refused	1.6
48.C) Why the same?	
	Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
There are positive, as well as negative sides	3.3
Break of all connections with Russia (the closed borders with Russia)	1.6
Nothing has changed (nothing substantial has happened)	23.7
Corruption (corruption on high levels of the power)	6.5
Freedom of speech	.4
Officials was not changed	3.4
We are perceived as part of Russia	.9
Dependences on the international credits	2.8
Dependence on power (on deputies; bad leadership)	17.7
Entered into a deep crisis	3.1
Development depends on the internal aims of the state	1.4
There is no economic development	19.8

	It's bad in Russia, as well as in our country (Russia has the same lawlessness in life)	.4
	Other	3.5
	Don't know	21.8
	Refused	4.0
49. Please tell me who you voted for in the first round of the presidential election in January 2010?		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovych	38.8
	Yulia Tymoshenko	21.8
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	3.6
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	0.7
	Oleh Tyahnybok	1.0
	Serhiy Tygypko	7.8
	Inna Bohoslovka	0.1
	Viktor Yuschenko	3.7
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	1.4
	Petro Symonenko	2.2
	Yurij Kostenko	0.1
	Other	0.6
	Against all	3.3
	Did not vote	10.4
	Don't know	0.9
	Refused	3.7
	Total	100.0
50. And which candidate did you vote for in the Second Round of the Presidential Elections in February 2010?		
		Valid Percent
	Yanukovych	48.2
	Tymoshenko	28.4
	Against both	7.8
	Did not vote	11.4
	DK	0.9
	Refused	3.3
	Total	100.0
51. Are you aware of international organization assistance being provided to Ukraine by other countries?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	46.1
	No	48.7
	Don't know	5.2
	Refused	0.0
	Total	100.0
52. In your opinion, how effective is this international organization assistance?		
		Valid Percent
	Very effective	8.1
	Somewhat effective	30.0
	Not very effective	29.3
	No effective at all	17.5

	Don't know	14.2
	Refused	0.9
	Total	100.0
53. What actions should international organizations undertake to make their assistance more effective for Ukraine?		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Provide funds to government directly	14.8
	Work through Ukrainian organizations	18.5
	Work through international organizations	17.9
	Employ more Ukrainian experts	17.9
	Employ more international experts	27.8
	Learn lessons from its previous projects in Ukraine and internationally	27.6
	Publicize their efforts better	46.2
	Other	4.9
	Don't know	16.1
54-A. Would you say you support or oppose Ukraine receiving assistance from international organizations in the following areas: Democracy and governance?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	25.3
	Somewhat support	30.0
	Somewhat Oppose	12.0
	Strongly oppose	17.4
	Don't Know	14.8
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
54-B. Would you say you support or oppose Ukraine receiving assistance from international organizations in the following areas: Economic development?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	45.3
	Somewhat support	29.7
	Somewhat Oppose	7.2
	Strongly oppose	7.3
	Don't Know	9.7
	Refused	0.8
	Total	100.0
54-C. Would you say you support or oppose Ukraine receiving assistance from international organizations in the following areas: Health and social development?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	53.0
	Somewhat support	26.2
	Somewhat Oppose	4.7
	Strongly oppose	6.7
	Don't Know	8.9
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
55. Are you familiar with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)?		

		Valid Percent
	Yes	6.5
	No	90.4
	Don't know	3.1
	Total	100.0
56-A. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Civil Society?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	23.8
	Somewhat support	24.1
	Somewhat Oppose	25.5
	Strongly oppose	15.4
	Don't Know	11.2
	Total	100.0
56-B. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Fighting Corruption		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	38.2
	Somewhat support	36.8
	Somewhat Oppose	14.7
	Strongly oppose	6.5
	Don't Know	3.8
	Total	100.0
56-C. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Improved Media Professionalism		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	30.0
	Somewhat support	28.1
	Somewhat Oppose	25.0
	Strongly oppose	12.3
	Don't Know	4.5
	Total	100.0
56-D. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Youth Development		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	35.8
	Somewhat support	16.5
	Somewhat Oppose	17.6
	Strongly oppose	22.7
	Don't Know	7.5
	Total	100.0
56-E. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Energy Efficiency		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	53.3
	Somewhat support	34.7
	Somewhat Oppose	5.8
	Strongly oppose	3.8
	Don't Know	2.4

	Total	100.0
56-F. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Improving the process of obtaining permits from local authorities		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	23.4
	Somewhat support	24.4
	Somewhat Oppose	19.8
	Strongly oppose	13.4
	Don't Know	18.9
	Total	100.0
56-G. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Land Resources		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	25.3
	Somewhat support	17.4
	Somewhat Oppose	18.2
	Strongly oppose	27.7
	Don't Know	11.5
	Total	100.0
56-H. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Making business environment more competitive		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	52.5
	Somewhat support	35.3
	Somewhat Oppose	1.3
	Strongly oppose	6.9
	Don't Know	4.0
	Total	100.0
56-I. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Maternal and Infant Health Care		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	64.4
	Somewhat support	28.1
	Somewhat Oppose	3.5
	Strongly oppose	1.0
	Don't Know	3.1
	Total	100.0
56-J. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Fight infectious diseases like HIV and TB		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	70.2
	Somewhat support	26.8
	Somewhat Oppose	1.7
	Don't Know	1.3
	Total	100.0
56-K. Do you support or oppose Crimea receiving assistance from USAID in the following areas: Other		
		Valid Percent

	Strongly support	27.4
	Somewhat support	24.0
	Somewhat Oppose	9.3
	Strongly oppose	1.0
	Don't Know	38.3
	Total	100.0
57-A. Do you recall recently hearing anything about the following organizations or their programs: US Agency for International Development (USAID)?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	5.7
	No	88.9
	Don't know	5.1
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
57-B. Do you recall recently hearing anything about the following organizations or their programs: United Nations Development Project (UNDP)?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	35.4
	No	57.9
	Don't know	6.4
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
57-C. Do you recall recently hearing anything about the following organizations or their programs: European Union/European Commission?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	59.8
	No	35.6
	Don't know	4.2
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
57-D. Do you recall recently hearing anything about the following organizations or their programs: Council of Europe?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	50.5
	No	43.9
	Don't know	5.2
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
57-E. Do you recall recently hearing anything about the following organizations or their programs: International Renaissance Foundation (IRF)?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	52.2
	No	41.8
	Don't know	5.7
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
57-F. Do you recall recently hearing anything about the following organizations or their programs: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)?		

		Valid Percent
	Yes	50.7
	No	43.3
	Don't know	5.7
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
57-G. Do you recall recently hearing anything about the following organizations or their programs: Other?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	1.7
	No	66.8
	Don't know	30.7
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
58. In your opinion, what should USAID do to raise awareness of its programs? (Multiple Response)		
		Percent of Cases (Multiple Response)
	Nothing	.9
	Information about its work in mass media (to inform people through mass media)	36.5
	To control accounting (there should be a control in everything)	6.4
	To advertise the activity	5.8
	To involve in work ordinary citizens, public organizations	.8
	To help people (everybody needs a real help; to help effectively and unselfishly)	4.4
	To punish for misuse of currencies (to judge, to punish)	.2
	Other	3.5
	Don't know	40.6
	Refused	5.9



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