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***UKRAINIAN POLITICAL ISSUES
AND MEDIA FOCUS GROUPS
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS***

***PREPARED FOR THE
INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS***

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**Ukrainian Political Issues
and Media Focus Groups:
Summary of Findings**

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INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

The International Foundation for Election Systems commissioned Gary A. Ferguson, IFES Consultant and Senior Vice President of American Viewpoint, Inc., along with Socis-Gallup of Kyiv, to conduct a series of focus group discussions to examine Ukrainians' views toward a variety of issues regarding democracy, politics and the media, and the last election in 1998. The discussions also assessed their reactions to specific advertisements. A detailed moderator's agenda was prepared to guide the group discussions. All materials were designed by Gary Ferguson in conjunction with Svetlana Pototskaya of Socis-Gallup and Michael Conway, IFES Europe and Asia Program Officer.

Participants were selected on the basis of their answers to a screening questionnaire, with regard to age, voting patterns, party vote, and a variety of other factors. Our goal was to recruit a cross-section of participants for each group. Despite these efforts, it must be remembered that the findings from small samples of focus group participants cannot be projected to the population and may not represent their views.

A total of eight focus groups were conducted in Kyiv according to the following schedule:

Political and Media Issues		
Group 1	7 December 1998	Voters and Non-Voters age 36-55
Group 2	8 December	Voters and Non-Voters age 26-35
Group 3	9 December	Voters and Non-Voters age 18-25
Group 4	10 December	Voters age 18-55
Group 5	11 December	Non-Voters age 18-55
Media Testing		
Group 6	14 December	Voters age 36-55
Group 7	15 December	Voters age 18-35
Group 8	16 December	Non-Voters age 18-55

Participants were recruited using a random route method designed by Socis. Voters are defined as those who voted in 1998 and are likely to vote in the 1999 presidential elections. Non-voters did not vote in 1998 and have a low likelihood of participation in the 1999 elections. In addition, participants had not participated in another focus group within the past 12 months, were not connected to the research industry, and did not know one another.

Each session lasted approximately two hours and consisted of between 8 and 11 participants. In all groups that contained both voters and non-voters, 75 percent of the

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recruits were voters and 25 percent non-voters. All groups were moderated by Svetlana Pototskaya of Socis-Gallup. Her report provides the basis for this summary. Additional observations drawn from participants' verbatim comments and earlier survey findings are also included.

OVERVIEW

After Ukraine's eight years of independent development toward the goal of constructing a democratic society, IFES embarked on a study to assess the opinions of average citizens about the development of political processes, the process of the country's democratization, the extent and perceptibility of its progress, and the average citizen's place in this progress. IFES also asked Ukrainians to assess the role of the mass media in shaping the political culture and the political activity of citizens through different forms of propaganda, and to describe the relationship of the media to the government.

As IFES has seen in the past two national surveys conducted in Ukraine, the vast majority of Ukrainians are dissatisfied with conditions in the country because of poor economic conditions. They have little confidence in government to solve the problems facing the nation and believe economic conditions will remain static in the near term. Increasingly, they are turning away from national government and toward local government as a problem-solving entity.

IFES has documented continuing support for multiparty elections but a decline in interest in politics and no improvement in voter efficacy. The belief that political parties are necessary to democracy has declined and, in fact, as a majority say that Ukraine is not a democracy this seems to have little impact. IFES has noted the public's disillusionment with government, preoccupation with survival, and cognizance of the appeal of parties promising a return to the stability of the past.

To elicit more personal responses, IFES and Socis-Gallup conducted a series of eight focus group discussions. As Svetlana Pototskaya writes in her report on these groups, after the passage of eight years of "formerly long-awaited independence, many of those who voted for democracy and economic reforms regret it. Exultation has passed and confidence in government has been exhausted. The time when much can be done (on the basis of people's enthusiasm) to build democratic society in the country has been lost. People have become paupers, have gotten angry, and trust no one."

This paragraph sets the tone of this report and encapsulates much of the sentiment expressed both in these groups and in the IFES national surveys of 1997 and 1998. In fact, the focus groups are extremely helpful in providing us with a greater depth of understanding regarding the attitudes and opinions of the Ukrainian people and provide additional context for IFES's examination of quantitative data. Although it must be remembered that opinions expressed in focus groups with a small number of people (n = 79) cannot be projected to the population, many of the sentiments expressed by the

group participants mirror those reported in IFES's large-scale national surveys.

Regardless of their political orientation, many focus group participants accuse those in power of a variety of transgressions, including ineptitude, being interested only in satisfying party or personal ambitions, being unscrupulous in terms of policy, and ignoring the laws. They see government officials as "easily bought" and disconnected from their constituents. Not surprisingly, they have lost confidence in government. Nevertheless, those who retain faith in the democratic process see participation in the elections as "the last and only resort" to create a professional and responsible Supreme Rada and to elect a president who will be a proficient and patriotic leader.

Participants also recognize another serious problem IFES has previously identified in Ukraine and in other parts of the former Soviet Union: the fragmentation of democratic blocs. Pototskaya reports, "To their mind, extreme party pluralism doesn't simplify the electoral situation." Further, the disassociation of democratic forces essentially weakens the democratic movement and strengthens reactionary factions.

As noted in prior IFES reports, the democrats still need to learn the lessons of practical politics. If democratic reformers in the region are to be successful, they must learn the lesson that politics is more than ideology and intellectualism. It is voter turnout, coalition building, effective communications, and accountability to the electorate.

Individual candidates also face obstacles in their quest for office. In addition to the negatives outlined earlier that they associate with office-holders, participants fail to see candidates worthy of their support, and candidacy is seen primarily as a male preserve. Nevertheless, the groups indicate that some participants feel the last election showed that "not everything can be bought and candidates can't always use the public's lack of information and inability to understand and discern the large number of party and candidate platforms to cut their way to power."

Except in remote areas, however, it is not a lack of information but a lack of *quality* information that is problematic in Ukraine. The paucity of quality information is blamed on the media's "total financial and political dependence" and censorship. The 1998 IFES survey found that 58 percent of all Ukrainians believe the media showed partisan support for candidates or parties in covering the news during the 1998 elections for Supreme Rada.

This situation results in a distrust of the media in some quarters and the need to look for multiple information sources—particularly from foreign quarters. Some hold the view that the media "cannot be absolutely free," and that "such a phenomenon isn't typical only for Ukraine." Still, they believe the media must play an important role in helping to

disseminate information—particularly well-rounded analyses that prepare the people for elections.

It is interesting to note that participants see a clear distinction between “they,” or those who are in power regardless of philosophical orientation, and “we,” the average citizenry described as “puppets,” “gray mass,” and “cattle.” Young people see many political opportunities for themselves and do understand their role in the country’s future, but—as is common at this age— they are not necessarily interested in politics and government.

To narrow the chasm between those in and out of power and to foster a national identity, participants believe that school-based political socialization programs are needed so young people will be taught political culture from childhood. This is a particularly important finding given the IFES’s focus on precisely this approach.

Participants see many of the problems in the country stemming from 80 years of communism. As Pototskaya notes, people who grew up under socialism, in which all problems were solved by “somebody else, aren’t used to making independent decisions and aren’t able to make them....” Ukrainians were “thrown in the water,” into something called democracy. To their way of thinking, it is impossible to become democrats all at once. They believe that a majority of the people—and some of their leaders—do not have a clear understanding of the main principles of democracy. This, coupled with economic crisis, causes the “notion of democracy” to suffer.

Political advertising is a relatively new phenomenon in Ukraine. According to Pototskaya, the 1994 election was virtually devoid of such advertising. Further, it is difficult to assess accurately the true effectiveness of advertising in a laboratory setting such as a focus group. Still, IFES provided a wide variety of commercials and print ads for comparative purposes, and participants concluded that political advertising helps voters reach a decision and, if done correctly, can mobilize electoral activity.

It is important to remember that IFES presented rather difficult challenges to the participants in these groups, given the society’s nascent political socialization. The questions themselves are difficult (similar questions in our 1998 survey elicited high “don’t know” responses) and even the most knowledgeable participants sometimes had difficulty in giving intelligible answers.

As Pototskaya puts it, “excessive emotions and a lack of information” sometimes prevented the discussions from being effective. Nevertheless, participants were, by design, average citizens rather than experts in policy, law, communications, or the economy. To provide effective guidance in voter education, IFES must focus on understanding the knowledge levels and perspectives of average citizens rather than those of policy experts.

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The following pages provide additional detail on the discussions.

POLITICAL AND MEDIA ISSUES GROUPS

Key Findings

- ❑ The dissatisfaction with conditions in Ukraine that has been so apparent in IFES's national surveys is also the prevailing sentiment in the focus groups. In writing about these groups, Pototskaya says the participants' view is that the "present political and economic situation in the country is notable for complications and instability and is generally deemed unsatisfactory." This dissatisfaction, and the belief that the situation is unlikely to change, leads to social tensions.
- ❑ One of the central conclusions from IFES's 1997-1998 surveys is that without broad-based political and economic information, citizens cannot fully participate in a democratic society in Ukraine. They lack the information they need to assess their political and economic situation adequately and are unable to rate larger questions regarding the electoral system. They have no clear picture of how a reformed economic and political system would look or affect their lives, they lack knowledge as to why the prior system failed, and they may look favorably on communism/socialism because of the stability it represented in the past.

The focus groups confirm this problem. According to Pototskaya, "people do not elicit a clear understanding of the main characteristics of the society they live in and will yet have to live in."

- ❑ Participants believe that individual officials are violating the laws of the land, a fact that "doesn't encourage a respectful attitude toward laws or hopes for the establishment of a state based on the rule of law."
- ❑ These attributes also prompt a decline in confidence in government and government officials. As in IFES's surveys, the focus groups show a lack of confidence in the government's ability to solve the problems facing Ukraine.
- ❑ There is a huge disconnect between the role people believe government should play and the role government is perceived to be playing in Ukrainian society. Regardless of their personal political preferences, participants are "utterly dissatisfied" with both the legislative and executive branches of the country's government.

In the participants' view, top-level deputies should be concerned with legislation rather than getting involved in the petty problems of individual electoral districts. Their current activities are seen as ineffective and dissatisfactory, and representatives are believed to lack the necessary skills, professionalism, and experience to be effective legislators and representatives. Further, the deputies' immunity from prosecution is another source of irritation because it allows them to flout the law.

- ❑ People believe the political process obfuscates the political will of the people—resulting in apathy, low voter efficacy, and low participation. They believe the composition of the parliament should, but does not, represent the political preferences of the people. This dependence is made negligible by the campaign process and leads to the consequences listed above.
- ❑ Although the 1998 IFES survey identified “hope,” “duty,” and a “desire to impact the outcome of the elections” as the primary reasons for voting, the focus groups identified another reason: a sign of protest against abject poverty rather than a sign of support for democracy.
- ❑ The fragmentation of political parties in Ukraine has a number of negative consequences. It makes voter decision-making more difficult and, of course, weakens the parties' strength in the Rada. In an environment notable for dissatisfaction with current conditions and increasing nostalgia for the socialist past, political fragmentation also enhances the electoral prospects of reactionary forces.
- ❑ According to participants, the foregoing problems eventually result in the devaluation of democratic principles and the meaningfulness of the 1991 referendum.
- ❑ The election process itself is seen in both positive and negative contexts. In comparison to analogous prior campaigns, the 1998 elections are viewed favorably in terms of technical and organizational aspects. At the same time, participants believe that election tricks (during both the campaign and the tabulation phases of the election) were numerous. Nevertheless, they view the presence of election observers and the adjudication of electoral disputes through the courts of justice as positive indicators of increasing momentum for democratic principles in the election process.
- ❑ Participants have come to expect the wide use of political propaganda and campaign materials. Although political advertising appears to be as irritating to its

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customers as other forms of advertising, a detailed study by the focus groups of specific examples of political advertising led them to the conclusion that well-done advertisements aimed at larger target audiences may prove to be very useful and effective both for voters and for subjects of electoral campaigns.

- The campaign process appears to be particularly problematic for voters. In fact, they find some campaign methods “disgraceful and amoral.” They view making promises to remedy the insufficient food supply and permanent lack of the basic necessities in the villages as a means of getting votes as a “criminal offense.” It is important to note that relatively few survey respondents in 1998 witnessed or had personal knowledge of such activities.
- Although the focus group participants believe it is feasible for democratic forces to unite behind a single presidential candidate, they see no candidate on the horizon who is worthy of such nomination. In fact, they see the upcoming presidential campaign as a fight of “compromising materials” and a “flirt with the people in the form of petty economic crumbs.”
- The discussants have a mixed view of the role of the mass media. On the one hand, during elections people are “stuffed up with information” whereas at all other times they “perennially lack it.” Group members think they are “short of analytical articles in the first place” and the mass media played an “insufficient” role in elucidating the issues in the campaign and preparing the public for the elections. At the same time, they are skeptical about the media’s ability to take on broader issues and say “attempts of the mass media to shed light on political and economic developments in a timely and qualitative fashion cannot be successful.”
- Access to information sources is another pertinent problem. The sagging economy has left information sources beyond the reach of many citizens. Rural areas are hardest hit as people do not (or cannot) subscribe to newspapers, and frequent brown-outs limit access to television news. Further, the quality of many publications “leaves much to be desired.” As IFES noted in the 1998 survey, the media are perceived to have shown bias in their political coverage. Focus group participants say the media are “not free” and, as a result, do not enjoy the full confidence of the citizens. Avid news seekers (and those who can afford it) rely on multiple information sources, including mass media from Russia and abroad.
- They believe the president must be a guarantor of free and relatively independent mass media in Ukraine.

POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

“The question is, how to change the society so that it would understand that it ought to enter into political life in order to protect itself.”

Level of Political Interest and Activity

As Pototskaya notes, the very fact that discussions about the political process have become possible serves as a relative indication of the extent of progress of democratic processes in Ukraine. Just 10 years ago, it would have been difficult to assume that research like this could have been undertaken at all.

If, indeed, this type of research had been possible, the group discussants' responses “most likely would have been rather plain, bearing no imprint of excessive emotionality, displaying a modest divergence of opinion, and featuring a substantial share of naive enthusiasm.” As mentioned earlier, these groups were emotionally charged and highly opinionated. In fact, the inclusion of proponents of an extreme range of political orientations in these groups lent a certain touch of political debate to the sessions.

Pototskaya divides the discussants into four distinct political interest groups: active participants in the political process; highly interested but not active; interested in politics as a corollary to economic and social issues, and those displaying little interest in politics. She notes that the latter group is divided between those who are disinterested by nature as well as those who once were interested but who now have lost faith in the political process.

Voter Efficacy

In her report on the groups, Pototskaya reminds us that the significance of citizens' participation in the electoral process ought to be reviewed in two aspects: (1) their attitude toward participation in Ukrainian elections, and (2) their attitude toward elections as a form of popular sovereignty.

She divides attitudes toward participation into three groups, those mostly favorable, those who are favorable but express a considerable degree of doubt, and those who are unfavorable toward voting.

Optimists

For these focus group participants, electoral participation is absolutely essential. The following comments are illustrative of their attitudes.

"...it is dangerous now, even very dangerous, not to be interested in politics. And I am astonished by those people who do not take part in the voting, do not wish to know anything, yelling that nothing depends on us. But it does depend!" (Focus Group 1)

"It is necessary to vote because the vote of each person...does mean something. And if everyone refuses to vote then things will only get worse and worse in the course of time." (Focus Group 2)

Favorable but Doubtful

These focus group participants are rather focused on the flaws in the system, but they support it nevertheless.

"Somehow when I go to the polls...it is like self-delusion. I have the impression that...I have nothing to do with it at all. But all the same I will go to the polls...." (Focus Group 3)

"...new ideas are generated not by means of making the proponents of old ideas change their minds but by means of eliminating the proponents of old convictions.... Therefore, it is very important that the youth go to the polls." (3)

"I think that although there is an element of falsification in these elections...if we all start thinking that our votes mean nothing at all then why should there be any kind of governing? ...one should make oneself believe that...we will be able to do something some day—one should accustom oneself to that idea." (3)

Pessimists

These focus group participants downgrade the impact of voting.

"Earlier on I used to be interested in politics. When perestroika began, we were all thinking that things will turn for the better, a window to Europe was opened; but now I am not interested in politics at all...some programs even irritate me. The political leaders...I lost my faith in them—that they can and will do something for the common people." (1)

"I think that our squeaking is not heard by anyone and that it is not of interest to anybody; therefore I do not go to the polls." (2)

"I do not vote. I know that this is a lottery...at our low level of awareness." (2)

"I think that here we are dealing with an illusion...that the individual takes part in governing the state." (3)

The second element, popular sovereignty, depends in Pototskaya's view on the extent of the individual's political and historical awareness, the extent to which people believe that elections work elsewhere but not in Ukraine, and the extent of the agreement with the principle that the Ukrainian state should be governed by elected authority.

The group discussions resulted in an interesting comparison of the most recent elections to earlier electoral experiences. The most revealing comment was as follows: *"In the past, it was, of course, disgusting to vote—there was no choice. When we were voting on independence there was elation, a certain euphoria, and it was pleasant. And now you go to the polls and there is no candidate to your liking and that is somewhat unpleasant. The euphoria is gone; nothing good happens." (2)*

Another participant in the same group said, *"In the Soviet Union the elections were much better. There was one candidate. I knew that he would be elected and we all made claims on this candidate. And now we are electing some unknown person....I don't know where his money comes from and whose interests he will be defending." (2)* The most damning note came from a member of Focus Group 1 who said, *"If we knew what we were voting for in the referendum of [19]91, the majority would (have) vote(d) against independence and the construction of capitalism."* Clearly, as Pototskaya notes, patience and confidence are wearing thin.

Assessment of Parties and Candidates

Once again, the shortage of information available to citizens restricts their ability to assess the activity of parties and candidates, and Pototskaya reports that focus group participants had some difficulty trying to assess this area of Ukrainian political life. Further, the depth of insight is dependent upon the extent of the respondents' level of interest and knowledge—characteristics often related to educational background.

To these participants, the political situation in Ukraine is characterized by instability and chaotic development; a lack of clear-cut prospects; a vast array of parties; party leaders' demagoguery; low levels of popular involvement; uncivilized methods for manipulating the people; and a persistently inferior standard of political culture across all strata of the population.

They ask what kind of society they are constructing. *"And what sort of society is it? No one has ever explained this. They say only one word: capitalism."* (1) *"In 1991, the Communists did not answer that question. The same is true for the Rukh."* (4) Participants indicate that the answer to this question cannot be found in either executives' speeches or legislative documents.

Most of the focus group participants referred to excessive party pluralism as a negative characteristic of the state of the country. The number of political parties is still on the rise. From the discussants' viewpoint, party programs are not much different from each other. This greatly complicates choosing between the numerous candidates and parties, results in the fragmentation of the democratically minded part of the electorate, and significantly weakens the democratic parties.

They believe there is a disconnect between elected officials and those who voted for them. The newly elected deputies become inaccessible to criticism and fail to brief their constituents regarding the performance of their duties. As a result, focus group discussants spoke in favor of abolishing parliamentary immunity to make deputies more responsive and to prevent them from violating the laws they themselves adopt.

Decision-Making Criteria in Voting

The discussion served to extract a list of the main criteria voters use in selecting a candidate—or at least a wish list of attributes.

Personal Decency and Honesty

This criterion was often mentioned spontaneously (particularly by women). According to participants, a candidate must have clean hands and be preoccupied with the welfare of the people. *“What is decency? Do not steal, do not take bribes, do not deceive people. Do not lie as Ukrainians say, that’s what decency is. And that’s precisely what we are lacking.”* (4)

A Strong Personality

Here, “strong” has been selected over Pototskaya’s adjective “real” to describe the type of personality sought by some voters. In fact, their search for someone who can establish order and/or consolidate the people brings to mind a quest for a cult of personality. Some of the leaders referenced in this discussion included Stalin, Hitler, Khrushchev, and others who were praised for establishing order and creating a powerful state. Clearly, voters want candidates who are worth choosing. *“So far, we have no personality in Ukraine who’d be good for all, who could consolidate all....We are in such a quagmire, between two evils is not worth choosing—we’ve been choosing among the worst ones so far.”* (2)

Concrete Accomplishments and Background

Naturally, the candidate’s track record—including his or her work, accomplishments, and biographical information—is an important consideration. Sometimes, what a candidate is *not* is as important as what the candidate *is*. According to Pototskaya, “many young discussants find it significant not to elect an official with a Soviet career background, for such a person is believed not to be accustomed to making decisions or shouldering responsibility.” At the same time, a young candidate may be perceived as lacking experience.

A candidate with business experience also faces a mixed response. Although some participants said they would favor a candidate with the business acumen to enact laws that will develop the nation’s economy, others reject candidates with business affiliations because *“no capital is made in an honest way, particularly under our conditions”* (Pototskaya).

Candidate or Party Platform

Participants are looking for concrete, well-articulated goals that match their own interests and that are attainable.

Professionalism

To many, the country's woes result from the fact that the Supreme Rada consists almost entirely of laypeople who lack the fundamental knowledge they need to do a good job. The discussants realize it takes time to form a political elite, but at the same time they say that laws are not meant to be written by plumbers.

Views on the Upcoming Presidential Campaign

Participants indicate that the campaign will be characterized by the following situations:

1. There will be surprises on the political stage and a war of discrediting materials will be unleashed.
2. President Leonid Kuchma and others can be expected to make traditional overtures to voters by paying pensions, wages, and wage arrears.
3. Nationalism will be used in an attempt to consolidate support.
4. The democrats will try to unite and nominate a single candidate. *"Otherwise, there will be a struggle between the current president and a left-wing leader" (1).*

Assessment of the 1998 Elections

*Yeltsin is approached by his press secretary, who says,
"Boris Nikolayevich, I have two pieces of news for you, a bad one and a good one."
"All right, tell me the bad one first."
"Zyuganov received 62 percent of the votes."
"Then what's the good one?"
"You received 75 percent."*

—Anecdote told by a focus group participant.

In general, voters and political activists expressed a more positive view of the overall fairness of the elections than did non-voters. In mixed groups, the response was more ambiguous, as participants had differing criteria for assessing fairness. For example, some based their assessment on events prior to the elections such as "advance purchases" of votes (the exchange of votes for money, food, or partial payment of wage/pension arrears). Others based their opinion on post-election events relating to vote counting or the perceived falsification of ballot papers.

In all groups, participants said that the term "unfair" applies more to rural areas than to urban areas. The basis for this opinion is twofold: the perception that awareness of candidates and laws is low in rural areas, and the traditional strength of the influence of local leaders in those areas.

Campaign spending appears to be the principal factor driving suspicions about the fairness of elections. The two main questions are: (1) is it lawful that certain candidates and parties spent large amounts of money on campaign-related purposes? and (2) exactly how was that money used?

The very idea of campaign spending, although viewed as normal political practice by some, is seen as undemocratic by others. As a member of Focus Group 1 puts it, *"How can we regard that election as democratic when one is going to the polls wholeheartedly and with empty pockets while another spends a million dollars?"* Skeptics also question the (possibly criminal) origin of the campaign coffers.

The minority of respondents who support campaign spending believe that without spending large amounts of money on campaigns it is impossible to "organize the propaganda process and succeed in the struggle for votes," according to Pototskaya. This process is believed to raise campaigns to a higher professional status.

Others, however, believe that use of the money “bears a remote resemblance way the lands of the American Indians were seized, the difference consisting primarily in that decorations, gunpowder, and alcohol have been replaced by a foodstuff ration, the settlement of two months’ arrears in wages, some laundry detergent, and a present of 20 hryvnias” (Pototskaya).

Despite their acknowledgment that such bribery is shameful, participants indicate that it is difficult to refuse the remuneration in times of economic hardship and that bribes may even help voters chose among the “motley crowd of candidates and parties.” Such bribery, then, admittedly has the desired effect. As a member of Focus Group 4 says: *“If I haven’t been receiving my salary and have small children, and a candidate...has paid my salary, so you will excuse me, but I will certainly vote for him—not for someone else. That’s how it will be?”* (NOTE: Survey respondents in the 1998 IFES poll reported few incidents of vote buying in their personal experience or knowledge. In all, 2 percent reported incidents of “material or financial incentives” being offered.

Young people appear to be more blasé about the use of money in the campaign process. They believe it is necessary to use electronic means to improve election procedures and vote counting. In addition, Pototskaya says that although they disapprove of the “primitive distribution of tips and other forms of exploiting voter poverty, young people regard it as perfectly natural to use money” in the struggle to attract votes and win parliamentary seats.

Impact of Information on Voters’ Opinions of Election Fairness

Again, there is a difference of opinion between activists and non-voters regarding the value of more information. Those who are interested in following elections invariably find appropriate information detailing election results, but they tend to believe that more information should be made available. Others, however, argue that such information would merely serve to confirm the beliefs of those who are certain that the elections are corrupt. Even the outcome of court cases regarding the elections would “fall short of satisfying the exasperated electorate” because of their certainty of similar corruption among the judges.

Younger focus group participants suggested that comparisons of the election results to the ballot test results in pre-election sociological surveys might serve to persuade voters that election results are accurate. Yet survey results often do not predict voting percentages accurately because of the extreme variances in results depending on turnout factors, the proximity of interviewing to election day, and a variety of other factors—including survey methodology.

Others indicated that confidence in the credibility of elections will improve only through

improvements in the election law. "If the election law is created in such a way so as to not leave any room for manipulation or mishandling, it will eventually make the people confident that elections going on in Ukraine are fair and increase their overall respect for the law. But this will happen only if all the citizens of the country abide by it" (Pototskaya). According to group participants, this is not currently the case.

Preparedness of the Population for Electoral Participation

As IFES found in the last survey and as was evident in the discussion outlined above, abstract and theoretical questions are difficult for Ukrainian voters to discuss at this time for two reasons: the absence of a longstanding political culture and the relatively young stage of electoral system development in the country.

Questions dealing with the amount of information people hold about the government's plans, programs, and policies; the adequacy of that information for voter decision-making; the trustworthiness of various sources; and the adequacy of the mass media's performance in preparing the electorate were based on the participants' own experiences rather than on broad-based or theoretical knowledge about the system.

Focus group participants tried to view the preparedness question from two perspectives: the citizens' readiness to make choices, and their organizational preparedness for behavior on election day.

Most participants believe the public was unprepared to participate in the election. As mentioned earlier, participants were particularly inclined to believe that rural people were insufficiently prepared to participate in the elections—in terms of both organizational weakness and readiness to make specific voting decisions. The participants were more divided in their opinion about the readiness of urban Ukrainians.

Variations in the assessment of electoral readiness depended on the each participant's own voting behavior, attitude toward the elections, education, political socialization, and democratic orientation. Voters tend to believe that a certain amount of self-preparation is the personal responsibility of all citizens. As a member of Focus Group 3 says, "*The scantier the people's knowledge about the electoral process, the better it is for the state, as it is then possible to fake...*" the outcome. Another voiced the view that the purpose of campaign propaganda was to trick or manipulate the voter: "*...in fact they were prepared—and in a special manner*" (1).

Participants believe that responsibility for preparing the population for elections falls on three groups. Nearly all groups said that it is the state's responsibility to prepare the population for elections. The state should act through a variety of bodies because "the

authority bears the complete and absolute responsibility for the population's preparedness." (1) In addition, parties and candidates should take a role in augmenting the electorate's preparation for elections.

Media and Campaign Propaganda

The mass media are seen as the most efficient means of disseminating information. In fact, the media are believed to have the main role in delivering information about the election laws, voting procedures, the candidates, and parties on the ballot.

Despite the negative reaction to campaign spending outlined earlier, focus group discussants say that, in general (and in degrees), campaign propaganda has played a certain positive role by providing information to those who cannot afford newspapers and enabling small parties (e.g., the Green Party) to broaden their coalition.

Youth Voting

Throughout the discussion, the importance of the youth vote was raised repeatedly. Pototskaya reports that participants expressed the idea that "[w]hether or not the democratic process...will go on (in Ukraine) depends directly on the extent of the younger generation's involvement in it." The general view of respondents, she continues, is that the "future of this country hinges on the extent of political activity and competence of Ukrainian youth, on the environment that generates the future political elite of the country, and on the quality of that upper echelon."

Most agree that voting participation is low among young people as compared to pensioners—and that it is older voters who are controlling election outcomes at this point. The reasons given for this relative indifference include a wide range of factors, including the education system, a lack of parental guidance, and mistrust of the system. Comments are as follows:

"They finish school at 17 being uninformed and unprepared."(1)

"We have neglected our youth."(1)

"The resources of the democratic forces are not enough for mass propaganda among youth."(2)

Young people see no reason to participate because *"the politicians don't take up the problems of the youth."*(3)

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"Mistrust toward authorities, toward politicians, and toward adults' actions in general." (3)

"After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the adults didn't get any benefit... They no longer trust politicians. And now that opinion has been passed on to their children." (3)

Pototskaya makes an interesting observation about the relationship in Ukraine between one's socioeconomic conditions and political orientation (as well as the orientation and advice of one's parents) and notes that not all young people are democrats. "Since for most of the people these (socioeconomic) conditions have deteriorated, it is quite natural that memories of the 'guaranteed and abundant' Soviet period fill their minds. Influenced by parents, youth have been rather actively taking up the communist/socialist idea." As one young person says, "One cannot say that all of the youth repudiate communists." (3)

Pototskaya points out that young people cannot be forced to participate in elections and suggests that the only way to accomplish this is to get them interested. Younger focus group participants believe that special information campaigns should be targeted toward young people, while older group members think such targeting is unnecessary.

For the most part, participants believe that 18-year-olds are unprepared for political participation. However, most believed that people of this age should be ready. Since the current laws offer young people the opportunity to defend their land, start a family, and make political choices, their preparation for these roles should begin well in advance of the age of majority. "At 18, they are regarded as old enough to handle a gun" (2,4) and "They can marry and have babies at 18." (2) For most, the conclusion is that the state should stop neglecting the youth and start preparing them for mature life. For democracy to be rooted in the life of the state, once and for all, the foundation for democratic views must be laid with school-age children.

Participants believe the state should adopt a well-designed program for secondary education institutions. The main objective of such a program would be to instill support for civic action based on national pride. This program must teach "the basics of legislation, sociology, and other humanitarian sciences" rather than the current "oversaturation" in technical materials," according to Pototskaya.

The program should not turn out "tiny screws for the state," but should teach young people "to think, make decisions, and defend their point of view" (5). Civics education in the United States is cited as an encouraging example: "there, the study of issues related to political science begins as early as the sixth grade. By the end of their (high) school studies, they can already debate political topics and defend their own point of view...they

are ready to make a conscious choice.” (4) Of course, one need only examine youth turnout in U.S. elections to realize that there are flaws in this model as well and that civics education does not guarantee citizen participation.

Cultivating Respect for the Election Law

Throughout this report, one sees evidence supporting Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs. As one participant puts it, *“It is difficult to cultivate someone on an empty stomach. The majority of the population is below the average level of material well-being and they could hardly care much about the essence of the election laws, the very existence of such a law, and the importance of participating in elections. They’d rather go to some small marketplace on Sunday”* (3). Others indicate that the nation’s leaders must set the example. *“Naturally, for the law to have authority, it is necessary that those in power set the example so that the population will see that there is no other way for them but to obey the law”* (3).

INFORMATION AND THE MASS MEDIA

Pototskaya reports that, for the most part, group respondents were “low on the information necessary for a fruitful discussion of availability and quality of information provided by the mass media. The general view of media information can be summed up in three words: “it’s all lies.” Content analysis of the statements indicates that the most frequently occurring word used to describe the media was “lies” (or synonyms thereof).

The absence of faith in the media is driven by the perceived lack of financial and political independence of media channels. Some believe that the media today “*are subject to even stricter censorship than in the past*” (3,4). Others say the media are controlled by foreign interests: “*few people know that half of the television channels belong to Russian or American capital*” (2). Participants repeatedly mention the names of publications or television stations that, in their opinion, are supported by one of the candidates or parties.

For the most part, people believe that the quality rather than the quantity of information about political and economic matters is the important issue in Ukraine. As one discussant says, “*it’s not just that at present we are getting insufficient information; in my opinion, it is as the same time mendacious.*” (2) Avid information seekers are believed to have been able to find adequate information to make voting decisions. Exceptions were noted for rural areas.

The majority view is that there has been no conversion of information quantity into quality. Information has not been presented in such a way as to be understandable by the common person (sometimes intentionally, sometimes not) and participants question whether anyone is interested in the average voter. Participants note the “*lack of good analytical articles.*” (4)

Some media issues appear to be universal. The pressures of work and family leave only so much time for political pursuits, except among elites. This problem is exacerbated in Ukraine by the large number of political parties and the lack of independent media. In Ukraine as elsewhere, television is the most pervasive medium, but it provides mainly top-level information and little in the way of the thoughtful, in-depth analysis that is the luxury of newspapers and radio.

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Given the foregoing discussion, it is not surprising to find that most participants have no single source of information they “trust most” to provide information on urgent political or economic matters. In fact, many rely more on foreign sources of information, which are believed to *“present detached and disinterested views,”* because no single domestic source provides enough information. *“When one compares the same information on an event, as being brought by our organs of mass media which are entirely subject to the narrow...interests of our president, and the same information as presented by ORT, RTR, or NTV, there you hear totally underlying reasons.”* (4) Many also trust Radio Liberty and the BBC. Clearly, the growth of independent national media outlets will be a critical component in Ukraine's democratic development.

MEDIA TESTING GROUPS

The 1998 campaign marked the first time political advertising and public service announcements were employed on a large scale in Ukraine. To expand and improve future public communications and improve understanding of the importance of political communications to the Ukrainian electorate, media testing groups were asked to assess the effectiveness of these communications efforts.

The media tests were conducted in three focus groups as follows:

Group 6	14 December	Voters age 35-55
Group 7	15 December	Voters age 18-34
Group 8	16 December	Non-Voters age 18-55

These groups assessed the following public service announcements and advertising materials prepared for television:

- ❖ CEC *Elections 98* program
- ❖ IFES-sponsored PSAs featuring Ukrainian television personality Alla Mazur
- ❖ Political party commercials

In addition, the following print materials were tested:

- ❖ Sample ballot
- ❖ Poster describing the voting process
- ❖ Political party posters for parties and blocs

It is important to remember that these discussions were limited by several factors already outlined in this report: the relative lack of knowledge of the participants, their attitude toward the political process, and the party orientation of group members.

In addition, participants' attitudes toward advertising in general added a certain flavor to the discussions. That is, television spots—like other forms of publicity—are characterized by the negative features typical of the genre, thus tending to irritate the viewer. The

political affiliation of the spots may serve to aggravate this problem, particularly given the widespread indifference to politics. In this context, the following paragraphs explore reactions to the specific communications tested.

Party television commercials generally received high marks, whereas printed materials were rated less favorably. The ***Elections 98*** program was mentioned as a good example of publicity both in terms of form and content. Not everyone, however, was pleased with this use of state funds. Some thought the state had spent too much money on “excessive and annoying” ads, commenting, *“it would have been better to make copybooks for the kids”* (5).

Elections 98

We know from survey research conducted last summer that the ***Elections 98*** program provided important and useful information about the electoral process to the Ukrainian electorate. However, few focus group participants could remember having seen the program before the election. After seeing the program, they offered the opinion that the program primarily drew the attention of older people. They described the intent of the program as a sort of *“official invitation to the election.”* (6) *“Most likely, the intention was not to leave people indifferent to the election.”* (7)

Voters rated the program’s content favorably. *“Such information is necessary....”* (6) *“In itself, the information is correct.”* (7) *“...The text inspires confidence.”* (6) *“Yes, you really feel you are a citizen.”* (6) Among non-voters, the reaction was less positive: *“It was just a waste of money...all of it is nothing but idle talk.”* (8)

In terms of presentation, ***Elections 98*** received mixed reviews. Although they appreciated the information and intention, some participants felt the presentation by the Central Election Committee chairman was too formal. Many participants voiced the opinion that a government official was a poor choice for a presenter; in the words of one respondent, *“Maybe the average man would find it more interesting to listen to another average man.”* (7)

Participants found the overall tone of the program “slightly depressing.” Non-voters, ostensibly the main targets of the message, rejected its central premise. The following comment illustrates the point. *“He should have said the main thing only: ‘Comrades, tomorrow we hold elections. Don’t forget it, come to the polls.’ That’s all. But the idea that something depends on me is even more repulsive, because I know that nothing depends on me.”* (8)

Others suggested it would have been better for “someone skillful” (6) to read this

information on behalf of the Central Election Committee. *"They should have put a plain TV announcer there. It would have been much better that way."* (7)

Again, non-voters expressed an extremely pessimistic view. According to them, the program was a waste of time and, more important, money. They say no resources should be spent trying to talk people into voting, because in their opinion their votes do not matter.

Alla Mazur PSAs

These public service announcements were the only material tested that received an unambiguously favorable estimate from all categories of participants. The main objective was to furnish information and to familiarize the audience with the new election law, and to prepare citizens to participate in the elections. Even the pessimists in Group 8 found the PSAs acceptable: *"I think that it was not advertising after all. In principle, it was just an explanation and that was the right thing to do."*

Pototskaya reports, "The participants accentuated the quality of the design of this advertising product: the video sequence and the music track. Some said it reminded them of the lost sensation of holiday that was characteristic of the elections of yesteryear....Particular emphasis was placed on the winning decision to engage a well-known and popular presenter, a real professional." *"The music...our flag in the hall, the blue and cloudless sky, the feeling of unity within the state—all this taken together doesn't leave you indifferent to the event."* (6)

In addition, participants said the information presented was useful and easy to understand. They added that the presence of Alla Mazur, the lack of any appeals for participation in the election, and the unobtrusiveness of the spot make the product effective. *"There is plain information coming, but somehow it gives rise to a wish to go to the polls. It influences the mind."* (7) *"It seems to me that the people perceive any information better when no algorithm of action is imposed on them, when the right to discretion remains with the individual."* (7) *"She knows how to present things. Speaks so clearly, distinctly, nicely. There is no difference in the voice."* (8)

The audience was also attracted by Mazur's neutrality (or her skill in de-emphasizing her political preferences) as well as her lack of affiliation with official state bodies—of which participants are suspicious. Further, her professional manner was very attractive to viewers. *"First, she is a popular announcer. Secondly, she doesn't belong to any party; she is not a political activist. She is no one's uncle or aunt; she is a person that we see every day."* (7)

"It seems to me that when she was saying, 'You will be doing this and that, so and so,' a little subtlety manifested itself, meaning that she was more than hopeful that we would come." (7) "This ad wins you over through the fact that you are dealing with a person wishing to help you." (7)

Pototskaya reports that the PSAs were perceived to appeal to both young and old, whose decision to go to the polls may have stemmed in part from the information they received from the spots. Clearly, this approach should be employed in subsequent editions of the public service announcements and be maintained for shorter PSAs as well.

Television Commercials from Political Parties

This exercise tested five party commercials. The spots were selected from a large number of party advertisements broadcast on television shortly before the election. There was a range in production quality, design, and style in the advertising tested.

The selection of materials was based primarily on the desire to obtain an estimate of the effectiveness of different campaign advertising types, the extent of their influence on the individual, and the strengths and weaknesses of the various methods for crafting advertising messages.

Political party commercials for the following parties and blocs were tested:

Green Party
People's Rukh
Social Democratic Party (United)
Hromada
Communist Party of Ukraine

Clearly, political preferences made the task of estimating the effectiveness of certain spots more difficult. Still, participants' statements indicated that they did manage to set aside their party preferences and assess the spots according to the criteria set forth during the course of the discussion. Group 7 respondents (voters age 18-34) were particularly creative and professional in their approach to the work at hand.

Green Party

By and large, focus group participants rated this commercial favorably. All had seen it frequently during the campaign. The party's familiar mottoes made up the core of the advertising message. Although some participants objected to the use of horrifying images, others realized that the element of horror is a tool meant to affect the conscious and subconscious thoughts of the individual viewer.

In terms of this approach, one participant said *"it merely reflects reality...the aggressiveness need not be removed."* (7) Another held a differing view: *"The spot is good but it speaks of something unreal. They have no scheme for the resolution of environmental problems. It's enough to mention the Chernobyl plant."* (8)

Despite these differences, participants agreed that the commercial was fairly informative and some said it was, in fact, from this spot that they learned of the existence of the Green Party. *"The have shown both the environmental situation and the ailing children...meaning that they will fight."* (6) *"It is effective. I will even say that this spot did influence the subsequent choice."* (7) *"It was effective since the Greens did make it to Parliament. It affected the politically passive individuals."* (6)

While emphasizing the originality and effectiveness of the spot, group discussants also realized that there were party interests hidden behind the nonpartisan appearance of the commercial.

People's Rukh

Assessments of the Rukh commercial were more negative than positive. Groups 6 and 8 found it to be uninformative and inefficient. The exclamation “let it be (so)!”—an expression used in this and other advertising materials from the party—clearly backfired. The expression is also commonly used as a toast, and many respondents clearly interpreted it as such. *“The whole of Kyiv felt indignant about that ‘Cheers!’”* (6) *“The people didn’t understand that phrase very well. Today it is identified with drinking. Somehow, they forgot the origin of that motto. In my opinion, it caused great damage to the party.”* (6)

Their slogan, “Changes are needed,” was neither particularly meaningful nor informative as it is essentially a catch phrase any party could use but which must be accompanied by a realistic plan of action in order to be effective. Group 7 participants, however, gave a somewhat higher estimation of the spot: *“That was really cool. A serious spot...such serious music.”* *“In general, it was like a visiting card: ‘We are alive—don’t forget us—the People’s Rukh.’”* (7)

On the whole, participants agreed that the commercial offered little information and was designed primarily as a means of bolstering name awareness.

Social Democratic Party (United)

This spot was effective in getting viewers to remember the party’s number on the ballot. In general, the formula was similar to that of Rukh’s: photos of party leaders, a brief appeal, and little information. It was perceived to be targeted toward older voters rather than young people.

Participants thought the use of top party leaders in the commercial, while unambiguous, may have an undesirable effect. That is, the fact that party leaders are well-known personalities may actually diminish the popularity of the party because the reputation of the vanguard members is notorious in certain circles. *“That these people are known by many is both favorable and unfavorable. Precisely because they are known, some may vote for them but others may not....They’d have managed better if they’d thrown light on the program of the party rather than on its leaders.”* (6)

Hromada

The discussion of this commercial was affected by news of the arrest of Pavlo Lazarenko, the party leader. Nevertheless, the spot was seen as effective—primarily because of its use of targeting. There was no doubt in participants’ minds that the use of the images of

striking miners affected the population, particularly in the regions that are more supportive of Hromada. *"The striking miners are a symbol understood by many people—all those whose pension or salary is not paid."* (6) (NOTE: 57 percent reported wage or pension arrears in the July 1998 IFES Ukraine National Survey.)

Some focus group respondents believe that those with at least a minor interest in politics and who are aware of the activities of party leaders—the “politically competent”—could not be influenced by this spot. Others, however, point out the effectiveness of targeting the commercial toward a specific audience—particularly a broad target such as this, unified by a common problem that cuts across many segments of society.

Communist Party of Ukraine

Although some of the information presented and the plot of this commercial were difficult for some focus group members to understand, a number of other factors made the Communist commercial very effective. First, it used familiar symbols that many remember and “hold dear.” These include the red flag and the hammer and sickle. Perhaps more effective was the video footage contrasting the difficult life today with the good things that Ukraine gave up but could regain under Communism.

"Certainly, they are exploiting the weakness of our state, of the ruling regime...playing on emotions relating to the hardships of life. And they did achieve a favorable result (in the election). Therefore, I think that the spot was of benefit to them." (6)

Pototskaya writes that “the tools (of this commercial) are easy to see and so is the target audience that the spot is aiming at. Actually, in the case of this spot, no particular tool had to be invented. All that the authors had to do was randomly select some items from television newsreels of the Soviet period and compare them with what is being shown in television newsreels of today—and the spot is ready. Of course, that is a simplistic approach. But unfortunately, it is very hard to deny what the mirror reflects.”

"People who were generally well-off at that time, who were young and had a good life, saw it (the commercial) and found that was what they wanted." (7) *"That is, everything will be the way it used to be...and since the people tend to compare how things used to be with how they stand at present, then it is no wonder that the Communist Party received so many votes."* (8)

Clearly, however, the Communist advertising also repelled many people. It was striking that participants in the non-voter group, so critical of modern politics and dispassionate in their commentary, should be so strident in their comments about the Communists. The Communists claim *"there will be jobs and all the rest...yet nothing is written about the*

Solovki labor camp....” (8) “When I hear words like ‘communism,’ or ‘communist’ my heart gets heavy. I am ready to go on suffering, to live in the street; I’d even agree to take drugs if that would be a way to avoid living under Communist Party rule.” (8)

Sample Ballot

Few participants paid attention to the sample ballot hanging on the walls of their own polling stations. In fact, virtually none of them could remember seeing the poster in question. Nevertheless, they can see the value of providing an example of the proper way to fill out the ballot prior to an election.

Even so, they found flaws with the sample ballot prepared for 1998. First of all, the print was too small for the elderly to read. Larger print would make it more readable for those with poor vision, and would also make the poster more noticeable. Second, the poster is simply a segment of the ballot and, as such, is not accurate. That is, it does not include the entire ballot for the election in question. To increase the effectiveness of the sample ballot, participants recommended showing the entire ballot.

Election Process Poster

Participants believed that this poster, in combination with other explanatory materials, would be helpful to voters—particularly first-time voters. This poster would also be helpful to those who are reluctant to ask questions for fear of showing their lack of knowledge and understanding.

Although some objected, for the most part the participants appreciated the light-hearted tone of the poster and the humorous cartoon character approach—an unusual approach for a serious matter. Most said this approach is effective in attracting attention without demeaning the importance of the subject matter.

Political Party Posters

Participants were shown the photos of several posters used by different political parties and asked to evaluate them in their own way. Group members were familiar with some of the posters, but others were new to them. Participants evaluated the posters in terms of their visual impact and the amount of information imparted. Materials from the following parties and blocs were tested:

Green Party
People’s Rukh

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Social Democratic Party (United)
Hromada
Reforms and Order (2)
Agrarian Party
People's Democratic Party (NDPU)

The Green Party, Hromada, and People's Democratic Party posters were the most favored aesthetically (they were "pleasant looking," "quite tasteful," "not repulsive"). The People's Democratic Party (along with the party of Reforms and Order) also scored as the most informative.

The posters were seen as necessary—at least for providing a preliminary acquaintance with the parties. Posters such as these are preferred over larger displays such as billboards.

Participants' Recommendations to the Leadership

Participants in all groups were asked to pretend that they were a council advising the government on better ways to inform the public about the issues facing Ukraine, the importance of voting, and the process of voting. This task proved to be beyond the scope of many participants for a variety of reasons. Many simply continued to comment on the miserable state of affairs in the nation. Those who were able to complete the exercise can be divided into pessimists and those who support innovation and change.

The pessimists gave the following selected comments:

"There is no use in creating anything new or improving what we already have since it will only mean more spending." (2)

"This society deserves the information it gets; hence nothing should be changed. It is only necessary to provide for due functioning of what has already been created." (5)

"The state is very much unwilling to inform the citizens; therefore nothing will change in the near future." (2)

The comments of the innovators, on the other hand, actually provided some insight into the kinds of steps that need to be taken, such as the following:

"As the first step, the leadership should address the people and explicitly declare what sort of society we are building." (4)

Some participants voiced proposals to see to it that *"everyone from the top down obeys the law in accord with the society that is being created." (1)*

"First, it is necessary to achieve political and economic stabilization of society, to win the confidence of the people; only if that is done will the average citizen start trusting information being received through different channels." (2)

The most frequently expressed wish was for freedom of the press. The media must be free and independent to the maximum extent possible. The president himself must be the guarantor of that independence. Censorship should be abolished. (1,3,5)

The mass media must be made more accessible. That is, publications must be less expensive, and essential political literature (such as the Constitution and the Law on Elections) should be distributed free of charge. (4) Also, more translations of foreign

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sources of news and information should be made available. (3)

The insufficiency of information in rural areas needs to be alleviated. (Pototskaya)

Appropriate programs are needed for young people. Students at institutes of higher education need to be instructed in politics and given the required political information. Television should regularly present youth-oriented political talk shows (6,7).

It is necessary to expand the network of district newspapers. (Pototskaya) Programs broadcast by the central radio stations need to be more interesting and spirited. (7)

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

- ❑ First of all, it must be remembered that the findings of qualitative research such as focus groups cannot be projected to the population. The cells are too small to be statistically valid. Still, such groups often provide profound insight on the underlying reasons for public opinion and help us to achieve a better understanding of opinion dynamics, to get reactions to new ideas, and to test advertising. Further, in many cases, the findings dovetail nicely with national survey findings. In that context, these group discussions yield a number of important observations.
- ❑ Belief in the prospects for democratic reformation is strained. The people have observed no changes for the better in Ukraine's political or economic spheres, they resent the self-interest and corruption in "all levels of power," and they condemn the scofflaw behavior of their elected representatives. These breaches of the public trust further undermine the public's faith in democracy and seriously undermine rule of law in Ukraine.
- ❑ In the past five years, the level of confidence in the efficiency of the electoral process has diminished perceptibly. Most participants do not see any personal association with the course of the nation's political development and, instead, feel like puppets on a string.
- ❑ In short, Ukrainians are dissatisfied with the political process. They believe that the upcoming presidential campaign will be notable as a "war of discrediting materials" and voter bribery. They see no "appropriate" candidates for the presidency at this time. They still believe in the possibility of the emergence of honest and capable leaders, but they believe it is necessary to create a mechanism that stems parliamentary immunity and allows some control over parliamentarians after they are elected.
- ❑ Focus group participants believe that voter activity in the last parliamentary election was not so much a show of support for the democratic electoral process, but a protest against it and an attempt, in certain quarters, to restore socialism and the power of the Communist Party.
- ❑ The inability of the democrats to unite in viable coalitions also serves to diminish the successful transition to democracy. The plethora of parties makes voting decision-making difficult and fragments the electorate, improving the chances of the more cohesive and well-established left.

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- ❑ Television continues to be the main source of information about political and economic developments. Yet because of the assumed financial and political dependence of the Ukrainian media, reports are viewed with a certain skepticism and focus group members tend to look to foreign news sources where possible.
- ❑ Group members perceive a gap between the levels of information available to urban and rural residents. Commentary indicates that rural residents receive little in the way of print news and even their television reception is discontinuous because of frequent power shortages.
- ❑ On the whole, however, active seekers of information on politics and economics can find plenty of sources. The problems lie in the quality of that information and the dearth of readily available, accurate information for mass consumption. Participants report a consistent shortage of good, analytical reports that prepare citizens for civic participation.
- ❑ The need for reliable, independent, domestic information sources that reach the entire nation is critical. Freedom of the press is seen as essential.
- ❑ Although the more sophisticated discussant realizes that campaign commercials are a normal and necessary part of the competitive political process, many participants—particularly non-activists—resent the expenditures and question the origin of the funds used to pay for media campaigns. Still, participants concluded that political advertising helps voters make decisions and can mobilize electoral activity.
- ❑ Young people are seen as the key to Ukraine's political development. Participants believe that young people do not display adequate levels of political activity and that the state and democratically oriented groups must do all they can to prepare the young generation for participation in the country's political life and the development of a professional political elite. Programs need to begin for school-age children so young people can learn democratic principles and realize their responsibility for the success of democracy.
- ❑ For democracy to be rooted in the life of the state, participants believe a well-designed civics program for secondary schools is needed. This program must emphasize the basics of legislation, sociology, and other social sciences, rather than the technical fundamentals of voting. The elementary school curriculum should also provide exercises for the development of critical reasoning skills at an early age.

- Improvements should also be made to the successor to *Elections 98*. A shift to professional announcers and production will broaden the reach of the program and increase voter interest. Elements of the IFES PSAs should be incorporated to help create excitement about the elections.

Appendix A: Master Screening Questionnaire

Appendix A Master Screening Questionnaire

IFES UKRAINE FOCUS GROUPS
Master Screening Questionnaire
24 November 1998

STANDARD SOCIS INTRODUCTION

1. What is your age? RECRUIT AS APPROPRIATE/ DIVIDE EVENLY BETWEEN SUBCATEGORIES (E.G. for 18-25 group, half should be 18-21 and half 22-25).
 - 1 18-21
 - 2 22-25
 - 3 26-30
 - 4 31-35
 - 5 36-39
 - 6 40-44
 - 7 45-49
 - 8 50-54
 - 9 55-59
 - 10 60-64
 - 11 65-69
 - 12 70+
 - 13 REFUSED THANK AND TERMINATE

2. SEX OF RESPONDENT 50-50 Split
 - 1 Male
 - 2 Female

3. Did you vote in the March 1998 elections? For all except voting population and non-voting population groups, recruit 75% voters and 25% non-voters.
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 9 DK/REFUSED THANK AND TERMINATE

4. How likely are you to vote in the 1999 election for President? FOR NON-VOTER GROUP(S) DO NOT SCREEN ON THIS QUESTION— COLLECT INFORMATION ONLY

Appendix A Master Screening Questionnaire

- | | | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | Certain to vote | |
| 2 | Very likely to vote | |
| 3 | Somewhat likely | |
| 4 | Not very likely | THANK AND TERMINATE |
| 5 | Not at all likely | THANK AND TERMINATE |
| 9 | DK/Refused | THANK AND TERMINATE |
5. How often do you watch the news on television, read newspapers, or listen to the news on the radio? FOR NON-VOTER GROUP(S) DO NOT SCREEN ON THIS QUESTION— COLLECT INFORMATION ONLY
- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | Daily | |
| 2 | Several times each week | |
| 3 | Once a week or less | THANK AND TERMINATE |
| 9 | DK/REFUSED | THANK AND TERMINATE |
6. Location (By Observation) RECRUIT 90% URBAN/10% RURAL (outside Kyiv)
- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 1 | Urban | |
| 2 | Rural | |
7. What is your employment situation? Recruit a range as appropriate to age groups
- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Employed full-time at one job | |
| 2 | Employed part-time at one job | |
| 3 | Employed part-time at multiple jobs | |
| 4 | Student | NOT MORE THAN TWO IN ANY GROUP |
| 5 | Pensioner | No more than one |
| 6 | Not employed | No more than one |
| 7 | Homemaker/child care | |
| 8 | Other | |
| 9 | DK/Refused | THANK AND TERMINATE |
8. What is your nationality?
- | | | |
|---|-----------|---------------------|
| 1 | Ukrainian | 75% |
| 2 | Russian | 25% |
| 9 | DK/REF | THANK AND TERMINATE |
9. How interested are you in matters of politics and government? Are you
FOR NON-VOTER GROUP(S) DO NOT SCREEN ON THIS QUESTION— COLLECT

Appendix A Master Screening Questionnaire

INFORMATION ONLY

- 1 Very Interested
- 2 Somewhat Interested
- 3 Not Too Interested THANK AND TERMINATE
- 4 Not At All Interested THANK AND TERMINATE
- 9 DK/Refused THANK AND TERMINATE

10. When thinking about our economic future, should our country develop a market economy or a centrally-planned economy?

- 1 Market economy (ca. 30%)
- 2 Centrally Planned (ca. 40%)
- 3 Both in conjunction (VOLUNTEERED) probably 30%/otherwise allocate to 1 and 2 proportionately
- 9 DK/REF THANK AND TERMINATE

11. Are you currently owed any back wages or pension payments from your employer or the government?

- 1 Yes (ca. 60%)
- 2 No (ca. 40%)
- 9 DK/REF THANK AND TERMINATE

12. What was your main source of information regarding the process of voting for the March 1998 elections?

- 1 Television program Elections 98 (ca. 25%) DESCRIBE PER OUR DISCUSSION
- 2 Television advertising (ca. 10%)
- 3 Television news (ca 25%)
- 4 Radio (ca 10%)
- 5 Newspaper (ca 10%)
- 6 Other (ca 20%)
- 9 DK/REF THANK AND TERMINATE

13. During the month before the 1998 elections, do you recall seeing or hearing any public service announcements on television that were hosted by Alla Mazur, the newscaster for TSN news on Studio 1+1 that provided voters with instructions about the voting process?

- 1 Yes (ca 40%)
- 2 No (ca. 60%)

Appendix A Master Screening Questionnaire

9 DK/REF THANK AND TERMINATE

STANDARD SOCIS INVITATION AND CONFIRMATION PROCEDURES

Appendix B: Registration Questionnaire

Appendix B Registration Questionnaire

REGISTRATION QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER

1. What is your age?

- 1 18-21
- 2 22-25
- 3 26-30
- 4 31-35
- 5 36-39
- 6 40-44
- 7 45-49
- 8 50-54
- 9 55-59
- 10 60-64
- 11 65-69
- 12 70+

2. Sex

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

3. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in our country?

- 1 Agree Completely
- 2 Agree Somewhat
- 3 Disagree Somewhat
- 4 Disagree Completely

4. How interested are you in matters of politics and government? Are you

- 1 Very Interested
- 2 Somewhat Interested

Appendix B Registration Questionnaire

- 3 Not Too Interested
4 Not At All Interested
5. Did you vote in the March 1998 elections?
- 1 Yes
2 No
6. IF VOTED: As you may recall, there were two ballots in the March 1998 election for the Verkhovna Rada, a party list ballot in which you voted for a political party, and a candidate ballot in which you selected an individual candidate. Thinking only about the party list ballot for a moment, for which party did you vote?
- 1 Communist Party of Ukraine
2 People's Rukh
3 Green Party
4 All Ukrainian Association Gromada
5 People's Democratic Party (NDPU)
6 Progressive Socialists
7 Socialist and Peasants Bloc "For Truth"
8 Bloc "Labor Ukraine"
9 Social Democratic Party (United)
10 Agrarian Party of Ukraine
11 Reforms and Order
12 Social Democratic Party
13 Other [PLEASE SPECIFY _____]
14 NONE
7. Do you feel that you received enough information about the candidates or parties to make an informed choice for the 1998 Supreme Rada elections?
- 1 Yes Candidates and Parties
2 Yes Candidates, Not Parties
3 Yes Parties, Not Candidates
4 No, Neither
8. How likely are you to vote in the 1999 election for President?
- 1 Certain to vote
2 Very likely to vote
3 Somewhat likely

Appendix B Registration Questionnaire

- 4 Not very likely
- 5 Not at all likely

9. What was your main source of information regarding the process of voting for the March 1998 elections?

- 1 Television program Elections 98
- 2 Television advertising
- 3 Television news
- 4 Radio
- 5 Newspaper
- 6 Other

10. During the month before the 1998 elections, do you recall seeing or hearing any public service announcements on television that were hosted by Alla Mazur, the newscaster for TSN news on Studio 1+1 that provided voters with instructions about the voting process?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

11. 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?

- 1 Great Deal
- 2 Fair Amount
- 3 Not Very Much
- 4 None At All

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

- 1 Great Deal
- 2 Fair Amount
- 3 Not Very Much
- 4 None At All

13. How often do you watch the news on television, read newspapers, or listen to the news on the radio?

- 1 Daily
- 2 Several times each week

Appendix B Registration Questionnaire

- 3 Once a week or less
14. When thinking about our economic future, should our country develop a market economy or a centrally-planned economy?
- 1 Market economy
2 Centrally Planned
3 Both in conjunction
15. In your opinion will the economic situation in Ukraine in a year be better than it is now, remain the same, or get worse?
- 1 Better
2 Same
3 Worse
16. Do you live in an urban or rural location?
- 1 Urban
2 Rural
17. What is your employment situation?
- 1 Employed full-time at one job
2 Employed part-time at one job
3 Employed part-time at multiple jobs
4 Student
5 Pensioner
6 Not employed
7 Homemaker/child care
8 Other
18. What is the highest level of education you received?
- 1 Primary
2 Secondary Incomplete
3 Secondary Complete
4 Less than three years of University
5 More than three years of University
6 Advanced Degree

Appendix B Registration Questionnaire

19. What is your nationality?

- 1 Ukrainian
- 2 Russian
- 3 Other

20. How would you describe the income level of your household -- high, moderate, lower than moderate, low?

- 1 High
- 2 Moderate
- 3 Lower than moderate
- 4 Low

21. Are you currently owed any back wages or pension payments from your employer or the government?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Appendix C: Media Testing Moderator's Guide

Appendix C Media Testing Moderator's Guide

IFES Ukraine Focus Groups Media Testing Moderator's Guide

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Moderator's introduction and thank you for respondents' attendance.
2. Statement of purpose of groups.
3. Goals of discussion/Role of respondents -- open and frank - polite disagreement - no right or wrong answers.
4. Disclosures - taping, etc.
5. Respondent introduction. Name, occupation, residence, family, etc.

II. GENERAL DISCUSSION

1. How interested are you in matters relating to politics and government? Discuss.
2. Efficacy of voting. How important is it that you vote during elections? Agree/Disagree: Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in our country? Discuss.
3. What will be the most important issues in the next Presidential campaign?
4. What is your main source of information about political and economic matters?
5. How do you make decisions about which candidates or parties to support? Discuss.
6. Do you feel you have adequate information to make decisions about parties and candidates? Discuss. Do the media provide the kind of information you need in this regard?
7. Do parties and candidates provide clear differences in approaches to problem solving in Ukraine? Discuss. Do candidates/parties adequately focus on issues? Discuss.

Appendix C Media Testing Moderator's Guide

8. How effective are efforts to get people to participate in the electoral process? In the last election did you see any advertisements that encouraged citizens to participate in the elections or explained the process of voting? What did you think of them?

III. MEDIA TESTING

Now we are going to do something a little different. I'm going to show you several advertisements that were used in the last election and have you rate each one of them.

1. SHOW ELECTIONS 98 PROGRAM

1. Do you recall seeing this program in the weeks before the election? Where?
2. What do you think of it? Discuss. What do you like best about it? What else? What do you like least? Discuss.
3. Do you feel like it was targeted toward people like yourself? Discuss.
4. How effective is it? Does it motivate you to vote? Would it motivate others? Does it provide adequate information? Discuss.
5. How credible was it? Was the source of information credible? Discuss.
6. Do you feel it provided adequate information? What information would you want that is not included? Discuss.
7. Is it difficult for people to understand? Discuss.
8. How could it be improved? Discuss.

2. SHOW MAZUR PSA (#3 Proportional Representation)

1. Do you recall seeing this program in the weeks before the election? Where?
2. What do you think of it? Discuss. What do you like best about it? What else? What do you like least? Discuss.
3. Do you feel like it was targeted toward people like yourself? Discuss.
4. How effective is it? Does it motivate you to vote? Would it motivate others?

Appendix C Media Testing Moderator's Guide

Does it provide adequate information? Discuss.

5. How credible was it? Was the source of information credible? Discuss.
6. Do you feel it provided adequate information? What information would you want that is not included? Discuss.
7. Is it difficult for people to understand? Discuss.
8. How could it be improved? Discuss.

3. SHOW POLITICAL PARTY COMMERCIAL I (SDPU)

1. Do you recall seeing this commercial in the weeks before the election? Where?
2. What do you think of it? Discuss. What do you like best about it? What else? What do you like least? Discuss.
3. Do you feel like it was targeted toward people like yourself? Discuss.
4. How effective is it? Does it motivate you to vote? Would it motivate others? Does it provide adequate information? Discuss.
5. How credible was it? Was the source of information credible? Discuss.
6. Do you feel it provided adequate information? What information would you want that is not included? Discuss.
7. Is it difficult for people to understand? Discuss.
8. How could it be improved? Discuss.

4. SHOW POLITICAL PARTY COMMERCIAL II (RUKH)

1. Do you recall seeing this commercial in the weeks before the election? Where?
2. What do you think of it? Discuss. What do you like best about it? What else? What do you like least? Discuss.
3. Do you feel like it was targeted toward people like yourself? Discuss.

Appendix C Media Testing Moderator's Guide

4. How effective is it? Does it motivate you to vote? Would it motivate others? Does it provide adequate information? Discuss.
 5. How credible was it? Was the source of information credible? Discuss.
 6. Do you feel it provided adequate information? What information would you want that is not included? Discuss.
 7. Is it difficult for people to understand? Discuss.
 8. How could it be improved? Discuss.
5. **SHOW POLITICAL PARTY COMMERCIAL III (Gromada)**
1. Do you recall seeing this commercial in the weeks before the election? Where?
 2. What do you think of it? Discuss. What do you like best about it? What else? What do you like least? Discuss.
 3. Do you feel like it was targeted toward people like yourself? Discuss.
 4. How effective is it? Does it motivate you to vote? Would it motivate others? Does it provide adequate information? Discuss.
 5. How credible was it? Was the source of information credible? Discuss.
 6. Do you feel it provided adequate information? What information would you want that is not included? Discuss.
 7. Is it difficult for people to understand? Discuss.
 8. How could it be improved? Discuss.
6. **SHOW POLITICAL PARTY COMMERCIAL IV (Green)**
1. Do you recall seeing this commercial in the weeks before the election? Where?
 2. What do you think of it? Discuss. What do you like best about it? What else? What do you like least? Discuss.

Appendix C Media Testing Moderator's Guide

3. Do you feel like it was targeted toward people like yourself? Discuss.
4. How effective is it? Does it motivate you to vote? Would it motivate others? Does it provide adequate information? Discuss.
5. How credible was it? Was the source of information credible? Discuss.
6. Do you feel it provided adequate information? What information would you want that is not included? Discuss.
7. Is it difficult for people to understand? Discuss.
8. How could it be improved? Discuss.

7. SHOW PROCESS POSTER

1. Do you recall seeing this poster in the weeks before the election? Where?
2. What do you think of it? Discuss. What do you like best about it? What else? What do you like least? Discuss.
3. Do you feel like it was targeted toward people like yourself? Discuss.
4. How effective is it? Does it motivate you to vote? Would it motivate others? Does it provide adequate information? Discuss.
5. How credible was it? Was the source of information credible? Discuss.
6. Do you feel it provided adequate information? What information would you want that is not included? Discuss.
7. Is it difficult for people to understand? Discuss.
8. How could it be improved? Discuss.

8. SHOW SAMPLE BALLOT

1. Do you recall seeing this poster in the weeks before the election? Where?
2. What do you think of it? Discuss. What do you like best about it? What else? What do you like least? Discuss.

Appendix C Media Testing Moderator's Guide

3. Do you feel like it was targeted toward people like yourself? Discuss.
 4. How effective is it? Does it motivate you to vote? Would it motivate others? Does it provide adequate information? Discuss.
 5. How credible was it? Was the source of information credible? Discuss.
 6. Do you feel it provided adequate information? What information would you want that is not included? Discuss.
 7. Is it difficult for people to understand? Discuss.
 8. How could it be improved? Discuss.
9. **SHOW PARTY POSTERS -One from each of the top eight parties DISCUSS EACH AS APPROPRIATE**
1. Do you recall seeing any of these posters in the weeks before the election? Where?
 2. What do you think of them? Discuss. Which one do you like best? Why? Which do you like least? Discuss.
 3. Do you feel like they were targeted toward people like yourself? Discuss.
 4. How effective were they? Did any motivate you to vote? Would they motivate others? Do they provide adequate information? Discuss.
 5. How credible are they? Are the sources of information credible? Discuss.
 6. Do you feel they provided adequate information? What information would you want that is not included? Discuss.
 7. Are they difficult for people to understand? Discuss.
 8. How could they be improved? Discuss.

Appendix C Media Testing Moderator's Guide

IV. YOUTH VOTING

1. Do you think that people are adequately prepared to participate in elections at 18 years of age? Why/Why Not? Discuss. What was your age and experience and the circumstances surrounding your first time at the polls? Was it a positive or negative experience? FOR NON-FIRST TIME VOTERS: Is the experience more or less positive now?
2. What types of information are provided to the youth of Ukraine to encourage their participation in the electoral process? Discuss. Do you think the government should target advertising specifically at young people to explain the importance and procedures of voting? Should there be programs in the schools that undertake this effort?
3. Does a lack of information about what the voting process entails discourage young people from participating in the election process? Discuss.
4. Why don't young people participate in the elections in larger numbers? Are there any legal impediments to youth participation in elections? Discuss.

V. WRAP-UP

1. Pretend that you are a council advising the government on better ways to inform the public about the issues facing Ukraine, the importance of voting, and the process of voting. What advice would you give them? Discuss.
2. What would you advise the government to do in order to increase voting among young people? Discuss.
3. Thank you for your participation.

Appendix D: Political Issues and Role of Media Moderator's Guide

Appendix D Political Issues and Role of Media Moderator's Guide

IFES Ukraine Focus Groups Political Issues and Role of Media Moderator's Guide

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Moderator's introduction and thank you for respondents' attendance.
2. Statement of purpose of groups.
3. Goals of discussion/Role of respondents -- open and frank - polite disagreement - no right or wrong answers.
4. Disclosures - taping, etc.
5. Respondent introduction. Name, occupation, residence, family, etc.

II. GENERAL DISCUSSION

1. How interested are you in matters relating to politics and government? Discuss.
2. Efficacy of voting. How important is it that you vote during elections? Agree/Disagree: Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in our country? Discuss.
3. What will be the most important issues in the next presidential campaign?

View of Political Parties

4. How do you make decisions about which candidates or parties to support? Discuss.
5. Do parties and candidates provide clear differences in approaches to problem solving in Ukraine? Discuss.
6. Do candidates/parties adequately focus on issues? Discuss.
7. Do elected officials/parties adequately inform constituents about progress toward goals and objectives? Discuss. How can they be held accountable? Discuss.

Appendix D Political Issues and Role of Media Moderator's Guide

8. Do you have enough information to recognize a sound approach to problems in Ukraine when you hear proposals from government/parties/candidates?

III. INFORMATION

1. How much information do you have about the government's plans, programs, and policies? Do you feel you have enough information to understand government plans/actions or not? Discuss.
2. Do you feel you have adequate information to make decisions about parties and candidates? Discuss.
3. What is your main source of information about political and economic matters? Do certain media need to be used to provide non-political process information or are these messages easily distinguishable from political rhetoric? Discuss.
4. Which sources of information are most trustworthy regarding issues facing the nation? **PROBE IF NECESSARY** The government? The political parties? The media? Who?
5. Do the media do an adequate job of explaining government policies and programs? What should they do differently? What kind of information should they provide? Do the media focus adequately on the issues facing the nation? Discuss.
6. Do the media do an adequate job of explaining the differences between parties and candidates? What should they do differently?
7. Are the media independent? Discuss. What do you know/think about Horbulin's plan to require media to disclose their funding sources? Discuss.
8. How important is it for the media to provide information that helps the public understand domestic political and economic issues? Discuss. Do you think the media provides enough background information in its coverage of domestic and economic issues? Discuss. **PROBE IF NECESSARY:** That is, do the media make false assumptions about the amount of background information the public has in these areas? Do they do an adequate job of explaining the different proposals for dealing with the problems facing Ukraine? Is the role of the media in providing information different than the role of the government in providing public information? Discuss.
9. How confident are you in the integrity of the electoral process? Discuss. What kinds of information would increase your confidence? Discuss.

Appendix D Political Issues and Role of Media Moderator's Guide

10. Considering the extent of the changes that were made in the parliamentary election process, did the government do an adequate job of preparing citizens for the process of voting on election day? IF YES: How so? IF NO: What should they have done differently?
11. Is it the government's responsibility to instruct the public about processes such as elections? Discuss. Do you think that government efforts to instruct citizens about laws and legally regulated processes would lead to more respect for laws and processes by citizens and more rule of law? Discuss.
12. How effective are efforts to get people to participate in the electoral process? In the last election did you see any advertisements that encouraged citizens to participate in the elections? What did you think of them?

IV. YOUTH VOTING

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4. Why don't young people participate in the elections in larger numbers? Are there any legal impediments to youth participation in elections? Discuss.

V. WRAP-UP

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2. What would you advise the government to do in order to increase voting among young

Appendix D Political Issues and Role of Media Moderator's Guide

people? Discuss.

3. Thank you for your participation.

Appendix E: Campaign Posters

Appendix E Campaign Posters



ЧЛЕНИ	ІНШІ	ДИПЛОМАТИ	КОМУНІСТИ	ПАРТІЯ	НАПРЯМ
1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7
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9	9	9	9	9	9
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12	12	12	12	12	12
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49	49	49	49	49	49
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51	51	51	51	51	51
52	52	52	52	52	52
53	53	53	53	53	53
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72	72	72	72	72	72
73	73	73	73	73	73
74	74	74	74	74	74
75	75	75	75	75	75
76	76	76	76	76	76
77	77	77	77	77	77
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84	84	84	84	84	84
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90	90	90	90	90	90
91	91	91	91	91	91
92	92	92	92	92	92
93	93	93	93	93	93
94	94	94	94	94	94
95	95	95	95	95	95
96	96	96	96	96	96
97	97	97	97	97	97
98	98	98	98	98	98
99	99	99	99	99	99
100	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 1: Agrarian Party of Ukraine
Translation: Let's sow a cornfield with bread and goodness!
 The Agrarian Party of Ukraine.

Posters are presented in alphabetical order by the name of the political party. The presentation of campaign posters does not constitute an endorsement of a particular political party or platform by IFES.

Posters are presented in black and white to defer printing costs. To view these posters in color please visit our website at www.ifes-ukraine.org.



Figure 2: Green Party
Translation: Ecology-Economy
The Green Party

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Appendix E Campaign Posters



Figure 3: Hromada

Translation: Become yourself Ukraine!

Party Hromada

All-Ukrainian Association Hromada

March 28, Elections of People's Deputies of Ukraine

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Appendix E Campaign Posters

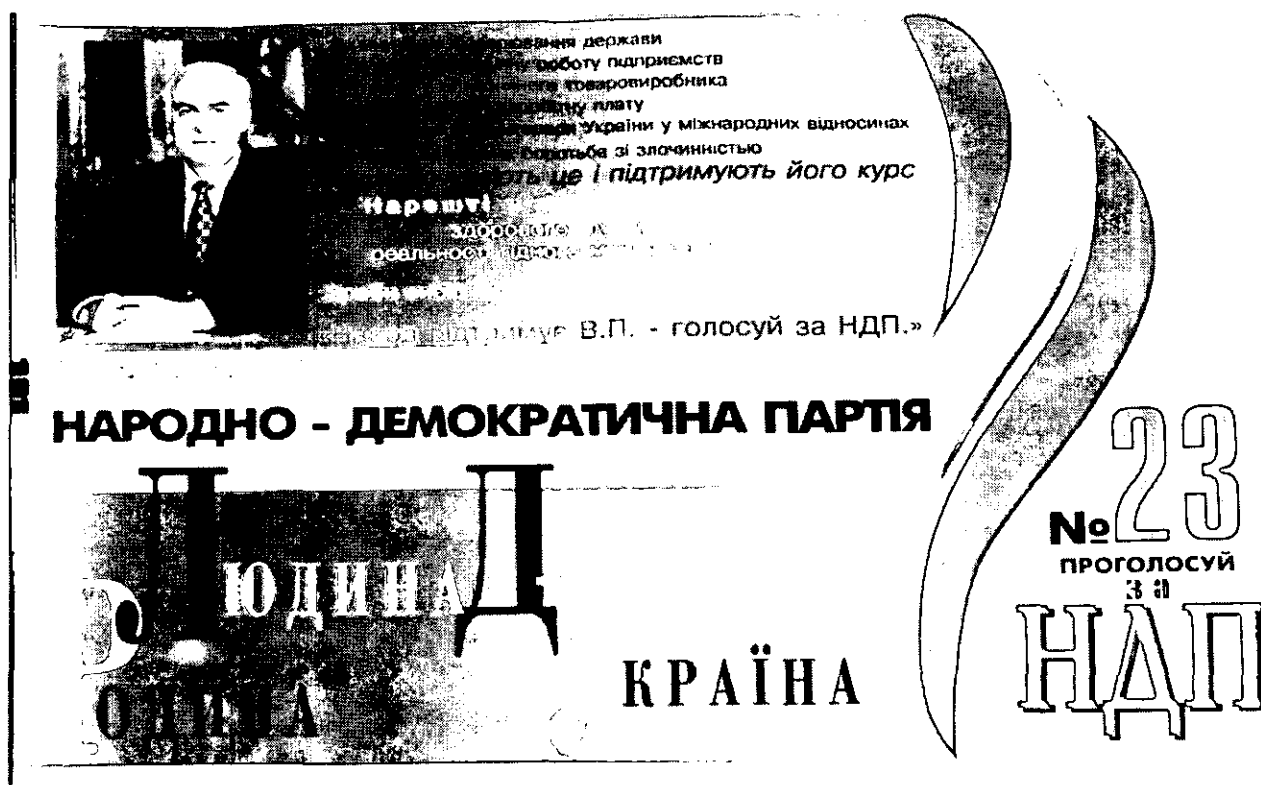


Figure 4: People's Democratic Party

Translation: Stop the squandering of the state; Renew the full-bodied work of our enterprises; Support domestic production; Work and wages to the people; Strongly protect the interests of Ukraine in international relations; Actively and concretely fight crime.

Pustovoitenko, Valerii Pavlovich, Prime Minister of Ukraine [*photo caption*]

People feel and support his course

Finally, we have a choice: of sound mind; of a reality deserving of a future

Make your choice for you and your state

People support V.P. – vote for the PDP

The People's Democratic Party

The individual, well-being, family, Ukraine

No. 23 Vote for the PDP

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Appendix E Campaign Posters

ПАТРІОТИЗМ • ДОВІРА • СПРАВЕДЛИВІСТЬ

АНАТОЛІЙ
Андрієвський



Народний Рух України

Наш кандидат до КИЇВРАДИ



Figure 5: People's Movement (Rukh)

Patriotism; Trust; Justice

Anatolyiy Andryievskiy

People's Movement of Ukraine

Our Candidate for the Kyiv Rada

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Figure 6: Party of Reform and Order

Translation: Party of Reform and Order, Ukraine and Europe Together Forever

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Appendix E Campaign Posters

**РЕФОРМИ І ПОРЯДОК-
ДЛЯ УКРАЇНИ**

Ми забезпечимо:

- швидке економічне піднесення;
- низькі, стабільні і прості податки;
- допомогу пенсіонерам, студентам і безробітним;
- добробут кожної родини в багатій Україні;
- гідне місце України у співдружності європейських держав;
- порядок у суспільстві. Безпечу громадян.

П Р П 28. ПАРТІЯ «РЕФОРМИ І ПОРЯДОК»

Пинзенник В.М., Соболев С.В., Лопата А.В., Поживанов М.О., Терьохін С.А.

Figure 7: Party of Reform and Order

Translation: Reforms and Order for Ukraine

We will ensure: Rapid economic upswing; low, stable, and simple taxes; assistance to pensioners, students, and the unemployed; the well-being of each family in a prosperous Ukraine; a merited place for Ukraine in the Commonwealth of European States; order in society, security for the people.

28. Party “Reform and Order”

Pinseniuk V.M., Sobolev S.V., Lopata A.V., Pozhivanov M.O., Terokhin S.A.

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Appendix E Campaign Posters

1+9+9+8 = 27



Л.Кравчук Є. Марчук В.Онопенко В. Медведчук Г. Суркіс

27. СОЦІАЛ-ДЕМОКРАТИЧНА ПАРТІЯ УКРАЇНИ (ОБ'ЄДНАНА) 

Л. Кравчук, Є. Марчук, В. Онопенко, В. Медведчук, Г. Суркіс

Об'єднуйтеся з нами!

Figure 8: Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (United)

Translation: L. Kravchuk, Ye. Marchuk, V. Onopenko, V. Medvedchuk, G. Surkis
Unite with us!

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