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CHANGE ON THE HORIZON? PUBLIC OPINION IN UKRAINE BEFORE THE 2010 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



November 2009

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The author’s views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

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Findings from an IFES November 2009 Survey**

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FOREWORD

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is pleased to release its latest Public Opinion Survey in Ukraine: “Change on the Horizon?” The timing of this survey was especially significant, as research was carried out just sixty days prior to the 2010 presidential election. In this respect the attitudes and beliefs captured by the survey reflect the mindset of Ukrainian voters as they headed to the polls in January and again in February.

The pessimism regarding many political, economic and social conditions in the country that featured so prominently in the 2008 survey is still prevalent in this year’s report. The office of President, then occupied by Viktor Yushchenko, did not escape this sentiment: IFES’ 2009 survey measured his electoral support around 3.5%, mirroring other polls conducted at that time. His eventual fourth place showing in the first round, combined with Viktor Yanukovich’s victory over Yulia Tymoshenko, was to many observers the *dénouement* of the 2004 Orange Revolution. True, the former Orange camp was on the losing end of this contest, but to assert a reversal of the gains from the historic events of 2004 is incorrect.

First, revolution is not, and was never, the best term to depict those events. A revolution generally brings new individuals to power. Yet there were few fresh faces in the Orange team. Opposition leaders were largely drawn from the country’s existing governing stock, including a pair of former Prime Ministers (i.e., Yushchenko and Tymoshenko). Nor did Ukraine go through a transformation of state or society, as it did in the previous century at both the rise and fall of the Soviet system. Rather, Ukraine experienced an act of civil disobedience large enough to cause a regime to step backwards after having declared itself victorious amidst wide scale accusations of electoral fraud.

And despite the frustrations of citizens, there are a number of positive developments in the country in the years since the 2004 election. From their role as a voice of opposition and vanguard of the Orange protests, civic organizations are steadily becoming part of the fabric of policy-making and reform debate in Ukraine. Media remains generally free, and, according to IFES’ research, one of the country’s more trusted institutions. This year’s survey also indicated that 3 in 4 Ukrainians still intended to vote, similar to numbers seen just before the 2004 election. A desire for participatory democracy, it would appear, persists in Ukraine.

Finally there is the Yanukovich victory some five years on. That he has now become the country’s leader by playing within the rules of the electoral system is significant – even more so when we remember that this has occurred in a former Soviet republic. So in a sense, there was a failure: the loss of all the former Orange candidates at the polls. But this is little different than when any elected leaders are swept from power for not governing well. The major achievement from the events of 2004 remains: the process of contested, transparent and free elections.

As for the year ahead, Ukraine’s newly elected president must now do as his predecessor did – govern a country with significant economic problems, balance complex foreign relationships, and work with fragile political coalitions – all without a true popular mandate to do so.

Fallout from the 2010 election will likely lead to additional reshuffling of political alliances, and calls for yet more early parliamentary elections. Weaknesses in the country’s electoral system and

administration will be further stressed in these years. Somewhat alarmingly, this survey indicates that despite a consistently high voter turnout, less and less Ukrainians think that their vote actually matters. An overwhelming majority of citizens do not feel that elected officials are accountable to their constituents, nor do they believe that their vote is accurately reflected in election results. Considerable doubts remain about the competency of election officials, the secrecy of the vote, and the complaints and appeals process in electoral disputes. With a postponing of local elections seeming imminent, the year ahead may well provide a window to address many of these issues.

IFES will publish its next national public opinion poll at the end of 2010. Whether public sentiment regarding the political, social and economic health of the country will change has always depended to a great extent on the country's leadership. Not only the newly elected president, but parliamentarians, civil servants and others, will need to demonstrate to Ukrainian citizens that their country is headed on a better course than in years past. To say "change (is) on the horizon" will not be good enough. Real change will need to be seen and felt by the citizens of Ukraine. It will not be easy.

Gavin Weise
Deputy Director
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SUMMARY OF MAIN SURVEY FINDINGS

This report details the findings from the latest IFES survey in Ukraine and some of the findings from earlier surveys will be referenced in this briefing paper. The fieldwork for this most recent survey was conducted from November 21 to 30, 2009, with 1,502 respondents throughout Ukraine. This sample comprised a national sample of 1,252 respondents and an over-sample of 125 respondents in Kyiv and 125 respondents in Crimea. The data has been weighted by region, age and gender to be nationally representative for the adult (18+) population of Ukraine. The margin of error for a sample of this size is plus/minus 2.5%. Fieldwork for this survey was conducted before the presidential elections in January 2010 and the data reflects Ukrainians' opinions heading into this election. The fieldwork and data processing for the survey were conducted by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS), based in Kyiv. Funding for the survey was provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

General Perceptions of Political Situation and Economy

- Ukrainians head to the upcoming presidential elections in a pessimistic mood about the direction of the country. Nearly three-quarters of Ukrainians (74%) believe Ukraine is on a path toward instability and chaos, similar to the 76% who expressed this opinion in the 2008 survey. Only 7% believe Ukraine is on the path toward stability.
- The vast majority of Ukrainians are dissatisfied with the economic situation (96%) and political situation (92%) in Ukraine. Reflecting the dissatisfaction with the economic situation, 95% of Ukrainians describe the current economic situation as being very or somewhat bad.
- Ninety percent also express dissatisfaction with the healthcare situation in the country. Seventy-one percent are dissatisfied with the foreign policy of Ukraine. The level of dissatisfaction with the political and economic situation, and with foreign policy is little changed since the 2008 survey.
- Inflation continues to be a major concern for Ukrainians as it is mentioned by 58% as one of the most serious issues facing Ukraine. Economic issues dominate the list as general economic problems are mentioned by 40%, unemployment and poverty are each mentioned by 39% and corruption by 37%. Political issues are also mentioned by many, as political bickering is mentioned by 20%, general political instability by 15% and problems with Russia by 15%.
- Ninety-six percent of Ukrainians believe corruption is very or somewhat common in Ukraine. When asked whether corruption is a serious or not serious issue in specific institutions, a majority say corruption is a very or somewhat serious problem in the police (86%), hospitals (86%), courts (86%), universities and schools (75%), the *Rada* (75%), the Cabinet of Ministers (70%), the tax authorities (69%), the Presidential administration (67%) and the customs authorities (65%).

Opinions on the Presidential Election

- More than two-thirds of Ukrainians (67%) say they are very likely to vote in the first round of the presidential election on January 17, 2010. Another 21% say they are somewhat likely to vote, suggesting that turnout for the election will be fairly similar to the 75% turnout for the first round of the 2004 presidential election. The percentage of respondents who say they are very likely to vote goes up by age group with those in the 18-29 age group being less likely to say they are very likely to vote (61%) than those aged 60 and over (75%). There is little difference between men and women.

Residents of the West (77%), East (70%) and South (70%) are more likely to say they are very likely to vote than those in Kyiv (59%), Crimea (57%) and Central Ukraine (50%).

- The likelihood of voting in the second round is impacted by whether the candidate one votes for in the first round makes it into the second round. Among likely voters in the first round, if their candidate of choice makes it into the second round 75% say they are very likely to vote in the second round and 20% say they are somewhat likely. If their candidate of choice does not make it into the second round, 53% say they are very likely to vote in the second round and 28% are somewhat likely.
- Among all Ukrainians, Viktor Yanukovich is the most popular choice for president in the first round (31.2%) followed by Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko (19.1%). Other candidates with significant support include Serhiy Tygypko (4.8%), Arseniy Yatsenyuk (4.7%), Petro Symonenko (3.8%), President Viktor Yuschenko (3.5%) and Volodymyr Lytvyn (2.8%). If only voters who say they are very or somewhat likely to vote are considered, Yanukovich is preferred by 34.5% and Tymoshenko by 20.6%. Yanukovich's base of support is in Eastern and Southern Ukraine as well as in Crimea. Tymoshenko's base of support is in Western and Central Ukraine, while the two candidates have similar levels of support in Northern Ukraine.
- In a possible second-round matchup between Yanukovich and Tymoshenko, 42% at this time say they would support Yanukovich and 28% would vote for Tymoshenko with 18% saying they would vote against both. If Yanukovich and Yatsenyuk contested the second round, 42% would vote for Yanukovich and 22% for Yatsenyuk with 22% voting against both.
- Yanukovich is the leading presidential contender despite having a net negative rating as far as perceptions of him among Ukrainians are concerned (55% negative, 42% positive). This points to the general dissatisfaction with political elites in the country; despite these ratings, Yanukovich has the highest positive rating of all presidential candidates. The perceptions of other leading presidential contenders are as follows: Tymoshenko (67% negative, 30% positive), Yatsenyuk (56%, 32%), Tygypko (50%, 32%), Lytvyn (60%, 31%), Symonenko (69%, 22%) and Yuschenko (83%, 13%).
- In comparing those who say they will vote for Yanukovich and Tymoshenko in the first round, the Yanukovich voters are more likely to be certain of their choice. Among these voters, 78% say they will definitely vote for Yanukovich and 13% are fairly certain of voting for him. Among Tymoshenko voters, 65% say they are definitely going to vote for her while 27% are fairly certain.
- While most respondents who support a particular candidate in the first round of the presidential election say they support them because they are the best candidate, a sizable percentage also say they chose the candidate primarily because they do not like anyone else. For Yanukovich, 19% of his supporters express this opinion while it is 20% in the case of Tymoshenko, 23% in the case of Yatsenyuk, and 25% in the case of Tygypko.
- Economic concerns dominate the list of issues Ukrainians would like the winning presidential candidate to address once he or she takes office. Seventy-one percent name the creation of jobs as an important issue followed by reducing inflation (56%), reduction in corruption (48%), improvement of health care services (33%), political stability (33%) and addressing the gas delivery situation with Russia (17%).

- When asked to name the political party that best represents the interests of people like them, 26% name the Party of Regions and 16% name BYUT. This data indicates a possible shift in party support since the 2008 IFES survey. In that survey, when voters were asked to name the party they would support in a possible Rada election, 26% each named BYUT and Party of Regions.
- There are split opinions on whether the presidential election will be free and fair. Forty-six percent of Ukrainians believe the elections will either not be very free and fair or not free and fair at all, while 42% believe the election will be completely or somewhat free and fair. Pessimism about the election higher in Crimea (64% not free and fair) and in eastern Ukraine (53%) than in Kyiv (32%) and western Ukraine (30%).
- When respondents are asked for main reasons for ensuring free and fair presidential elections, 41% mention the fact that the law ensures free and fair elections and a similar percentage mentioned that the local election commission is fair. Twenty-nine percent cite the fact that the Central Election Commission consists of representatives from different political parties, 27% cite international election observation, 22% mention observation by independent domestic actors, and 14% mention monitoring of the election process by the media.
- While a majority of Ukrainians believe elections in Ukraine are competently administered (53%) and that observers have a positive effect on the fairness and legitimacy of elections, a majority disagrees with the statement that the results of elections accurately reflects the way people voted in the election (59%). Thirty-four percent agree with this statement. Skepticism about election results is a plurality or majority response in all regions of Ukraine but is especially high in Crimea (72%). A majority of Yanukovich supporters voice skepticism about election results (63%) while a majority of Tymoshenko supporters agree that election results reflect the way people voted (52%).
- Thirty-two percent express a great deal or fair amount of confidence in the Central Election Commission (CEC), while 58% have little or no confidence in the institution. Notably, the percentage with confidence in the CEC has increased from 21% in 2008.

Opinions on Voting, Key Institutions and Democracy

- While it is likely voter turnout for the January 2010 election will be fairly high, Ukrainians' belief that their vote can impact decision-making has declined significantly since the 2004 election. In this survey, only 26% agree that voting gives people like them a chance to influence decision-making in the country while 68% disagree. In the IFES survey directly before the 2004 elections, 47% each agreed and disagreed with the statement.
- The vast majority of Ukrainians also do not believe that ordinary people can have influence on governmental decision-making. Eighty-one percent disagree that people like them can influence decision-making and only 14% agree. This data is similar to that observed in the 2008 IFES survey.
- More people than not believe Ukraine is not a democracy. Only 24% of Ukrainians believe Ukraine is a democracy compared to 49% who do not believe it is a democracy. Still, the percentage that believes that Ukraine is a democracy has increased from 15% in 2008. When asked what defines a democracy, most respondents believe it means the protection of human rights (59%). Respondents also identify fair/consistent enforcement of laws (47%), everybody having work (46%), freedom of speech (36%), no official corruption (35%), state support of those unable to work (29%) and state support of pensioners (29%) as tenets of democracy. A small proportion of respondents (28%)

associate democracy with the freedom to vote, checks and balances between branches of government (22%), freedom of religion (20%) and freedom of association (12%).

- Confidence remains low in many critical institutions and individuals in Ukraine. Respondents have no or little confidence in the *Verkhovna Rada* (85%), President Viktor Yuschenko (85%), the Cabinet of Ministers (78%) and the Ministry of Justice (62%). A majority also cite a lack of confidence in the two leading presidential contenders: Viktor Yanukovich (60%) and Prime Minister Tymoshenko (73%). While lack of confidence in Yanukovich declined slightly from 2008 to 2009 (64% to 60%), it increased significantly for Tymoshenko (63% to 73%).
- In addition to the fact that the majority of Ukrainians lack confidence in several key institutions, they also tend to believe that elected officials in Ukraine are not accountable to the people they serve. Seventy percent of Ukrainians disagree that elected officials are accountable to their constituents with only 19% agreeing with this statement. There is substantial support for one measure that has been discussed inside Ukraine to make parliamentarians more accountable. When respondents are asked whether voters should be able to vote directly for parliamentary candidates rather than voting for political parties, 71% strongly or somewhat support this proposal and only 11% oppose it. A majority (54%) agrees this change in method of voting for parliament would make *Rada* deputies more accountable to the public, while 24% disagree.
- In order to gauge opinions on recently proposed legislative initiatives, respondents were also asked whether they agree with a change to the constitution that would allow the President to be elected by the *Rada* rather than Ukrainian voters. Fully 84% of Ukrainians strongly or somewhat oppose this, compared to only 6% who support this change.
- Dissatisfaction with key institutions extends to political parties. Dissatisfaction with the representativeness of major political parties is also clear. More than half of all Ukrainians (57%) believe only some political parties in Ukraine address issues facing the country, while 20% say no party addresses issues, 9% do not know or refused and only 13% believe they do. On another question, 52% say political parties only serve their own interests, 19% say they serve business interests, 11% say 'those in power' and a mere 4% say the Ukrainian people. These responses have not changed significantly since the 2008 survey.
- There has been a significant increase in awareness of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) over the past year in Ukraine. In this survey 28% say they are aware of active NGOs, compared to only 15% in the 2008 survey. Forty percent are not aware of any NGO in Ukraine but this is down from 57% in the 2008 survey. Twenty-five percent do not know what an NGO is. The percentage of Ukrainians who believe NGOs are essential or necessary for Ukraine has also jumped significantly from 50% to 63%, while those who believe NGOs are not necessary has declined to 18% from 30%.
- More Ukrainians say they would vote to join the EU (40%) than those who would vote against (29%). On the question of NATO membership, if a referendum was held on Ukraine joining NATO, most Ukrainians would vote against joining (56%) while only 15% would vote in favor of joining NATO. Eight percent are indecisive about the issue and 22% do not know enough about the issue to give a response.

Opinions on International Assistance

- Awareness of international assistance to Ukraine has increased from 34% in 2008 to 46% in this survey. Forty-six percent are not aware of this type of assistance, down from 58% in 2008. The highest level of awareness is in western Ukraine (77%), while the lowest is in eastern Ukraine (31%). Less than 40% are aware in Crimea and southern Ukraine. More than three-quarters of Ukrainians support international assistance in the health and social development sector (84%) and for economic development (77%). Only a bare majority (53%) support international assistance in the democracy and governance sector. Opposition to this type of assistance is especially pronounced in the south and east of the country. When asked how international organizations can make their assistance more effective, 35% of those aware of these efforts say that international organizations should publicize their efforts more, 27% say they should employ more international experts while 23% cite more Ukrainian experts, 22% think they should work through Ukrainian organizations while 21% cite international organizations, and 18% think they should provide funds to the Ukrainian government directly.

SURVEY DETAILS

Survey Parameters

Sample size: 1,502 respondents representing the voting-age population in Ukraine (18 years+).

Margin of error: $\pm 2.5\%$ within a 95% confidence interval, assuming a pure random sample.

Sample area coverage: All the administrative divisions of Ukraine; 1,252 observations were allocated proportionately at the national level with an over-sample of 125 observations in Kyiv and 125 in AR Crimea.

Fieldwork dates: November 21-30, 2009.

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

Funding for the survey was provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

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

Charts

For charts and tables where percentages are based on filtered respondents or certain demographic groups, the appropriate unweighted sample base for each percentage is specified in the relevant chart or table (example: $n=456$). For all other charts or where not otherwise specified, the sample base is the total sample size of 1,502 ($n=1,502$).

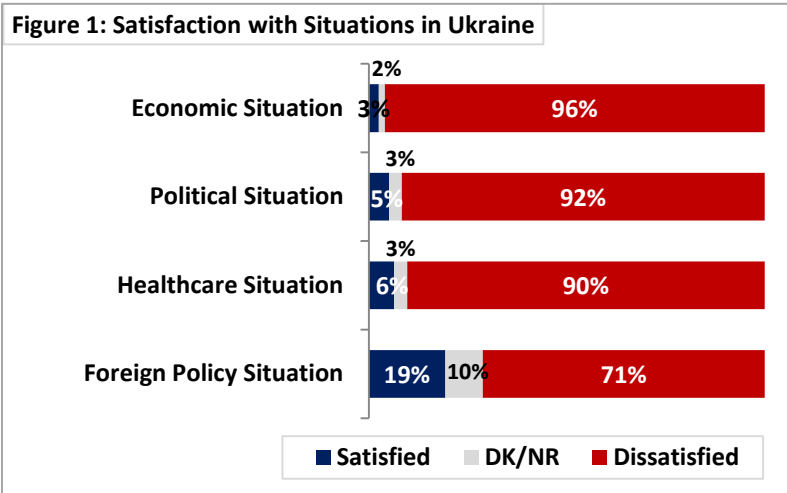
There may be slight variation between numbers presented in the analysis and the data figures or tables due to rounding. This occurred in only a few cases and the difference was never greater than 1 percent.

OPINIONS ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN UKRAINE

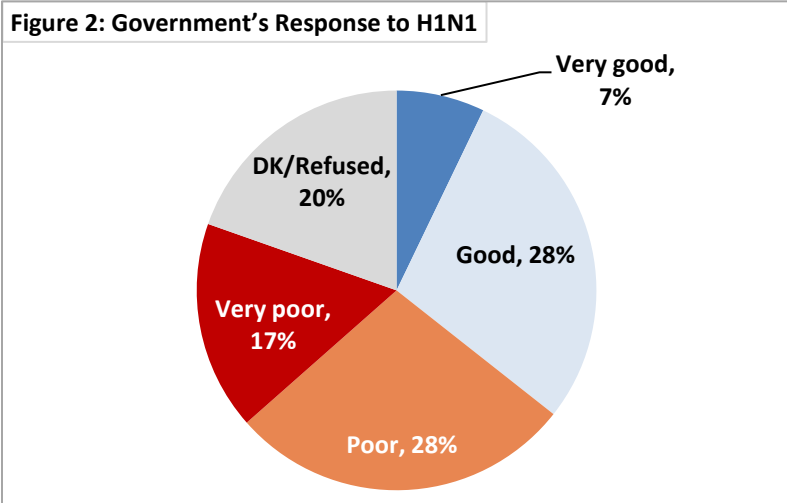
Dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the economic and political situation continue to prevail this year as the overarching feeling amongst Ukrainians. As in 2008, a majority of Ukrainians are dissatisfied with the economic, political, healthcare and foreign policy situation. The percentage of Ukrainians describing the country's economic situation as bad is the highest it has been in seven years and corruption is still seen as a serious problem across major institutions. In November 2009, Ukraine found itself in the midst of the world economic crisis, an H1N1 flu outbreak, continual political infighting in the government and hard-fought political campaigning ahead of the January 17, 2010, Presidential Elections. These factors no doubt influenced the gloomy outlook of Ukrainians across the country.

Ukrainians Remain Dissatisfied with Situation in Country

This year, Ukrainians continue to be dissatisfied with the economic, political and foreign policy situation in their country.¹ A majority of Ukrainians are dissatisfied with the economic (96%), political (92%) and foreign policy situation (71%) in Ukraine (Figure 1). Dissatisfaction with the economic and political situation jumped 10 percentage points between 2007 and 2008; however, these figures remain mostly unchanged from 2008, illustrating sustained dissatisfaction with these situations in Ukraine.



Due to the H1N1 outbreak in late 2009, this year respondents were also asked to rate their level of satisfaction with the healthcare situation in Ukraine. Ninety percent of Ukrainians say they are dissatisfied with the healthcare situation in the country. Regarding the government's response to the H1N1 situation, over four in ten (45%) believe the response was poor (28%) or very poor (17%) and a third of Ukrainians (35%) believe the government's response was good (28%) or very good (7%) (Figure 2).²



When looking at responses by region, respondents in the South (57%) and Crimea (61%) are more likely to believe the response was poor and this coincides with

¹ Question text: "Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the following?"

² Question Text: "As you may know, there has been a lot of talk about the H1N1 virus in Ukraine. How would you rate the Ukrainian government's response to the H1N1 situation in Ukraine?"

the usual dissatisfaction with the national government in these areas. The mixed assessment at the national level is most likely attributed to the conflicting reports circulating during the time of the survey about the H1N1. After the outbreak was announced, schools were closed for three weeks and Ukrainians swarmed pharmacies to buy any available Tamiflu, surgical masks and other medical supplies. People were frightened and rumors were circulating, making it hard to tell truth from fiction. There was constant TV coverage, sometimes sensational, with politicians jockeying for the spotlight to trade jabs and place the blame of the crisis elsewhere. Needless to say, there was confusion about how widespread the virus was, which news stories were accurate or inflated and which politicians were telling the truth or simply using the virus for political gain.

Indeed, these views are quite pronounced among Ukrainians. Among those who believe government response to the H1N1 crisis was poor, a significant percentage mentioned a lack of preparedness of authorities and of supplies, as well as suspicions that the epidemic was used for political purposes. Of those who said the government's response to the H1N1 situation was poor,³ 25% say it is because there was a lack of supplies/medicine, 22% believe the

government/Ministry of Health was not prepared, 20% believe the epidemic was used for political purposes, 13% believe the epidemic was farfetched, 12% believe the government's response was poor because the epidemic provoked fear/panic, 10% blame growth of prices on drugs and 9% believe the epidemic was fabricated to make money.

Figure 3: Why do you think the government's response was poor? (n=668) (Percentages reflect percent of cases)

Lack supplies/medicine	25%
Government/Ministry of Health Not Ready or Prepared	22%
Used epidemic for political purposes	20%
Epidemic farfetched	13%
Provoked fear/panic	12%
Growth of prices on drugs	10%
Was fabricated to make money	9%

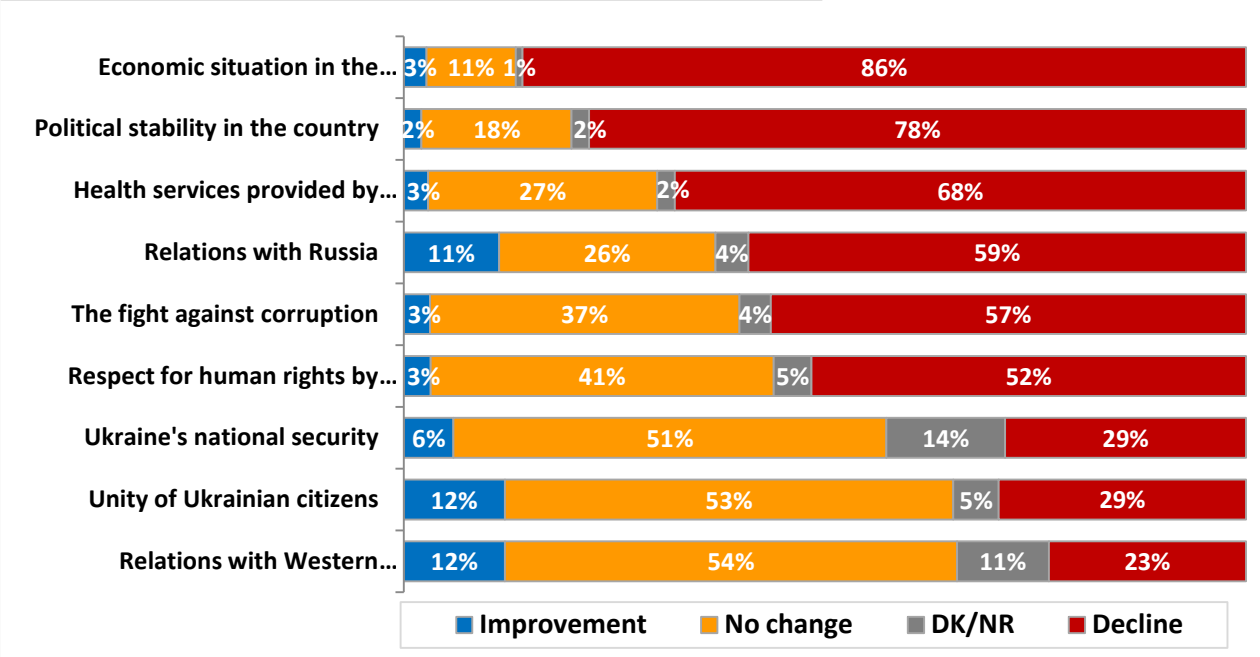
Ukrainians See Decline in Socio-Political Situation in the Country

Consistent with Ukrainians' dissatisfaction with the political, economic, healthcare and foreign policy situations in the country, Ukrainians see declines in many aspects of the socio-political situation over the past year (Figure 4). When asked if there has been an improvement, decline or no change in various socio-political issues over the past year, more than half of Ukrainians say they have seen a decline in the economic stability of the country (86%), political stability of the country (78%), health services provided by the government (68%), relations with Russia (59%), the fight against corruption (57%) and the respect for human rights by authorities (52%).⁴ Two noteworthy changes from 2008 are that fewer Ukrainians believe there was a decline in relations with Russia (69% in 2008, 59% in 2009) and more Ukrainians see a decline in the fight against corruption in 2009 (52%) compared to 2008 (46%).

³ Question Text: "[Of those who said 'poor' or 'very poor'] 'Why?'"

⁴ Question Text: "I will now read to you a list of important issues for Ukraine. Please tell me whether there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year."

Figure 4: Assessment of change in socio-political situation over past year



A positive change from 2008 is that Ukrainians are more inclined to believe that over the next five years the country will move towards being more united (37% in 2009, 21% in 2008) rather than more divided (25% in 2009, 31% in 2008).⁵ The percentage of Ukrainians who said the country would become more divided peaked last year at 31%, up from 25% in 2007 and dipped this year to 25%. The percentage of Ukrainians believing the country will become more united dipped from 27% in 2007 to 21% in 2008 and has increased up to 37% in 2009. This could be indicative of a slightly more hopeful citizenry that political and ethnic cleavages may slowly become less significant in characterizing relations amongst Ukrainians than in years past. Still, this is a somewhat surprising finding given the heightened regional cleavages on display during the election process in Ukraine.

Figure 5: (2008) Opinions on future of Ukraine's divisions over next 5 years (% of total)

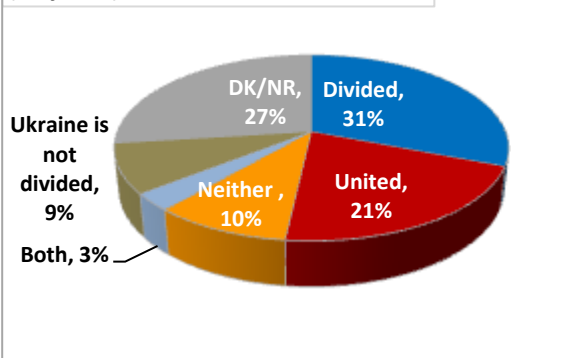
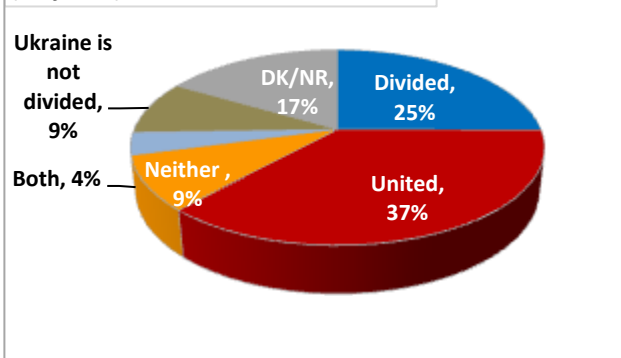


Figure 6: (2009) Opinions on future of Ukraine's divisions over next 5 years (% of total)



⁵ Question Text: "As you may know, some say that Ukraine is a country that is critically divided along regional, ethnic, and ideological basis. Looking ahead to the next 5 years in Ukraine, do you think these divisions are likely to continue to characterize the situation in Ukraine? Or do you think that Ukrainians will find a way over the next five years to downplay these differences and work toward greater unity?"

Economy and Economic Issues Are Major Concern of Ukrainians

In order to probe deeper into the issues seen as of most concern to Ukrainians, respondents were asked to list what they view as the three most serious problems facing the country and facing their daily lives.

Similar to the past few years of IFES surveys, the issues Ukrainians see as of most concern to the country mostly center on economic problems such as inflation (58%), general economic issues (41%), unemployment (40%), poverty (39%) and corruption (37%).⁶ Less-cited problems include political bickering between leaders (21%), political instability (15%), problems with Russia (15%) and external debt (9%).

When asked about serious problems facing Ukrainians in their day-to-day life, again economic concerns dominate. Inflation/high prices tops the list (64%), followed by unemployment (62%), low salaries (58%), healthcare (40%) and low pensions (35%).⁷ Less-cited issues include family welfare (18%), security/crime (11%), good education (8%) and politics (6%).

Figure 7: Serious Problems Facing Ukraine
(Percentages reflect percent of cases)

Inflation	58%
General economic problems	41%
Unemployment	40%
Poverty	39%
Corruption	37%
Political bickering between leaders	21%
Political instability/General political problems	15%
Problems with Russia	15%
External Debt	9%
Prospect of Ukraine joining NATO	2%
Problems with Western countries	1%
Other	4%

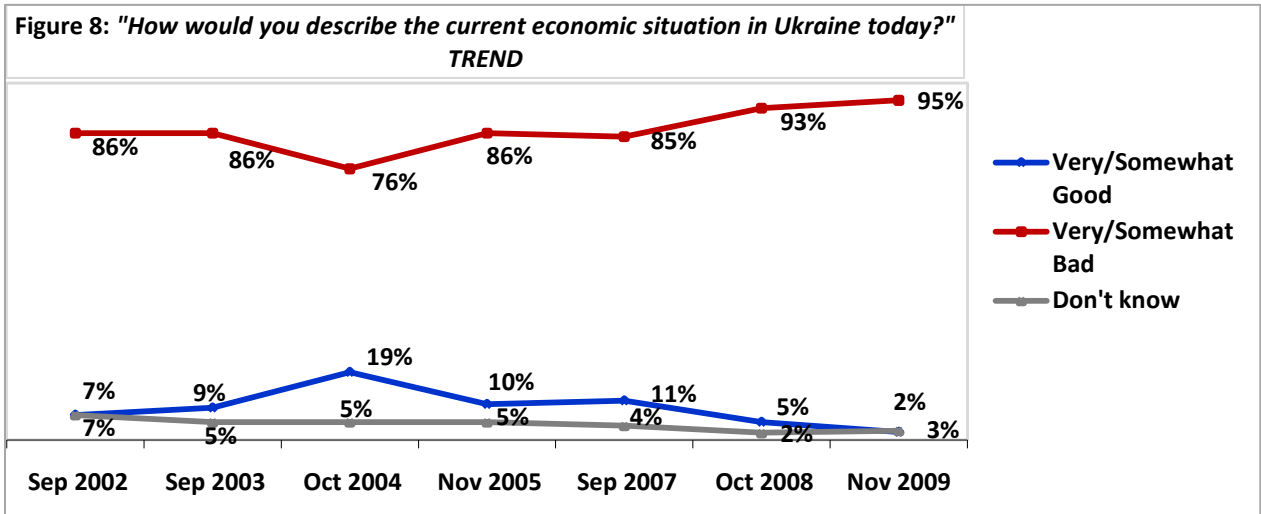
In line with the overwhelming dissatisfaction with the economic situation in Ukraine, a staggering 95% of Ukrainians also describe the economic situation as very bad (61%) or somewhat bad (35%).⁸ Only 2% describe the economic situation in the country as somewhat good and no respondents describe the economic situation as very good. As illustrated in the chart below, the percentage of Ukrainians assessing the national economic situation as very/somewhat bad has steadily crept upwards since 2002. Of note, respondents in the East and Crimea are more likely to assess the economic situation as “very bad” (68% and 74% respectively) compared to other regions of the country (Kyiv 50%, Center 53%, North 54%, West 55% and South 59%). Indeed, the industrial East has been hit especially hard by the

⁶ Question Text: “What are in your view the most serious problems that Ukraine as a country faces today?”

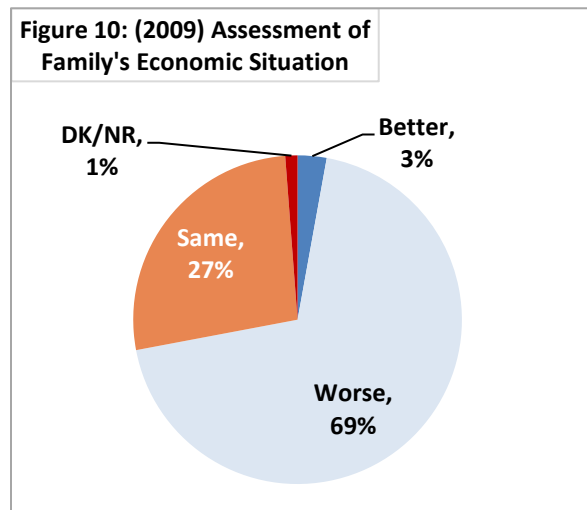
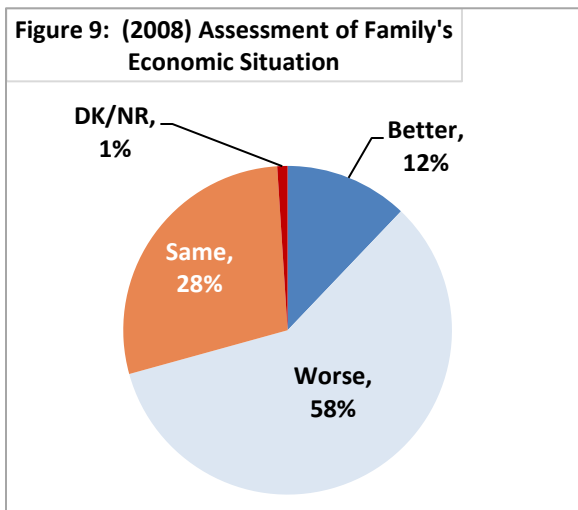
⁷ Question Text: “Now, let’s think about the problems Ukrainians face in their day-to-day life, not the problems the country as a whole faces. Thinking about ordinary Ukrainians in their day-to-day life, what are the most serious problems they face today?”

⁸ Question Text: “How would you describe the economic situation in Ukraine today? Is it ...”

economic crisis in 2009 and one of Crimea’s main industries, tourism, also reportedly shrunk by 13% in 2009 according to the Resorts and Tourism Ministry of Crimea.⁹



Coinciding with the poor assessment of the country’s economy, nearly seven in 10 (69%) Ukrainians say their family’s economic situation is worse than one year ago, 27% say it is the same and only 3% say it is better.¹⁰ More Ukrainians this year say their family’s economic situation is worse and less feel it is better. Undoubtedly, the troubled state of the national economy has trickled down and impacted many ordinary Ukrainians’ daily lives.



⁹ http://e-crimea.info/2009/10/24/30173/CHislo_otdohnuvshih_v_Kryimu_snizilos_na_13_do_48 mln_chelovek____dannye_Minkurortov.shtml

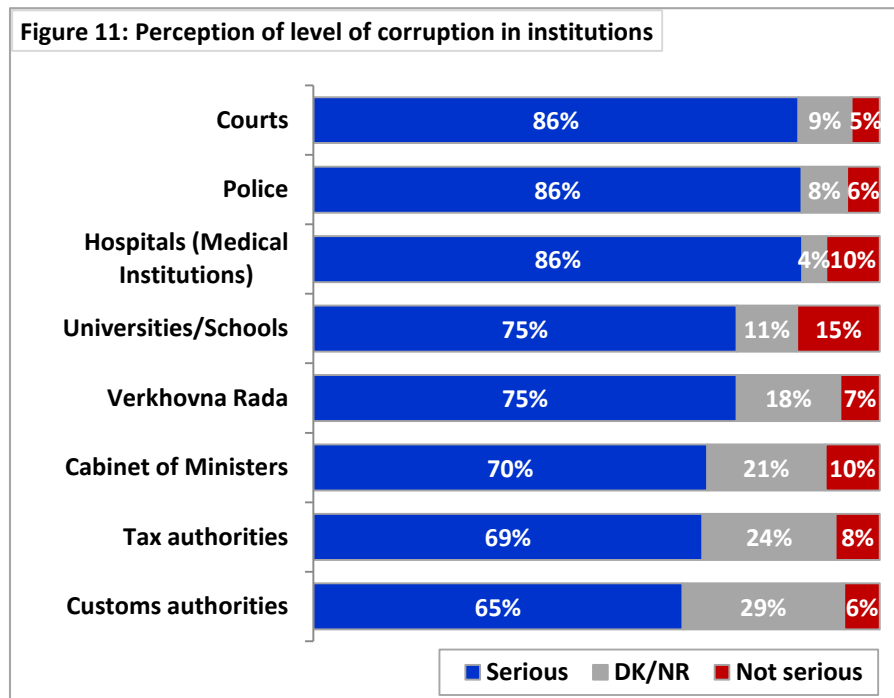
¹⁰ Question Text: "Is your family’s current economic situation better or worse than one year ago?"

Corruption Remains Widespread and Serious Problem

As previously stated, corruption continues to be cited as one of most serious and widespread problems facing Ukraine. More Ukrainians believe there has been a decline in the fight against corruption this year.

When asked specifically how common corruption is across Ukraine, 96% of Ukrainians say corruption is very common (70%) or somewhat common (25%).¹¹ Only 1% of Ukrainians see corruption as rare and 3% say they don't know.

Corruption is also seen as a serious problem across major institutions. When asked about how serious they perceive corruption in various institutions,¹² a majority of Ukrainians see corruption as very/somewhat serious in the courts (86%), police (86%), hospitals (86%), universities/schools (75%), Verkhovna Rada (75%), Cabinet of Ministers (70%), tax authorities (69%) and custom authorities (65%). The percentage of respondents saying corruption is a serious problem has increased between five and ten percentage points for each institution from 2008, indicating perceptions of corruption have risen across the board in Ukraine.

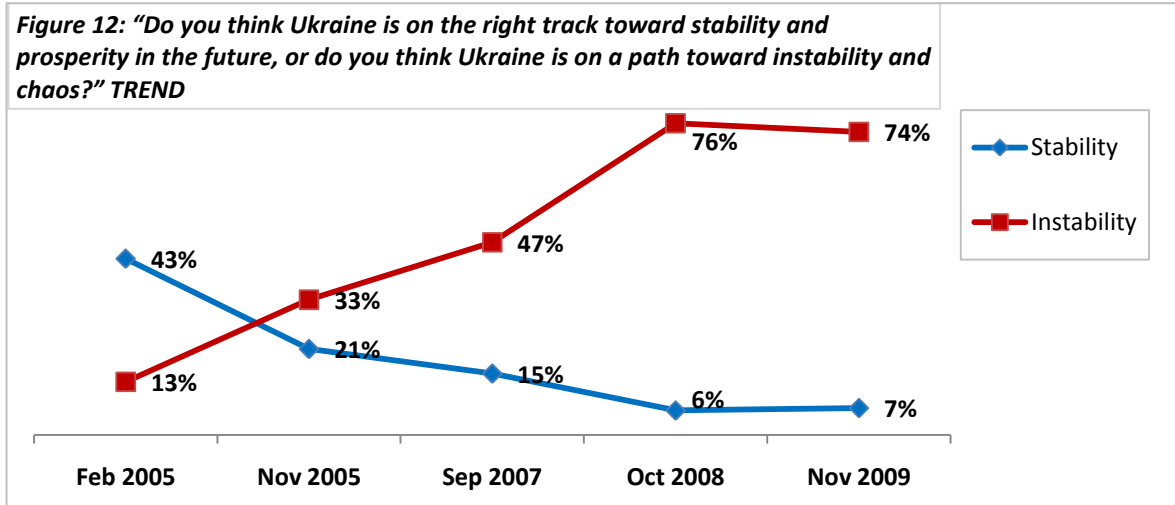


¹¹ Question Text: "In your opinion, how common or rare is corruption in Ukraine? Is it very common, somewhat common, somewhat rare, or very rare?"

¹² Question Text: "In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions -- is it very serious, fairly serious, not too serious, or not serious at all?"

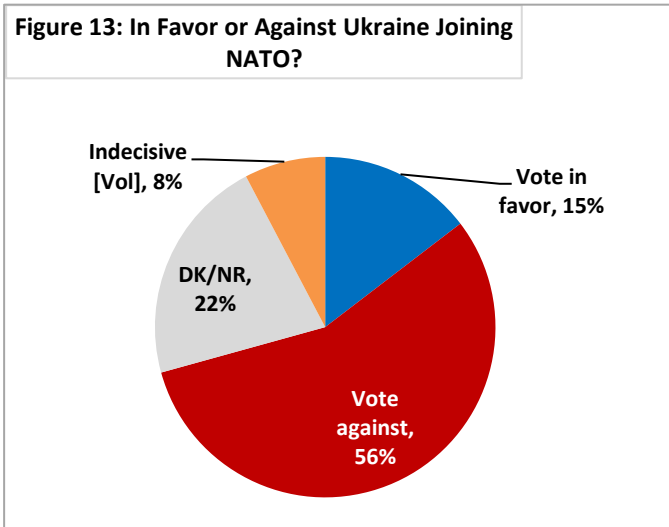
Ukrainians Continue to See Ukraine on Path Toward Instability

Given the overwhelmingly negative assessments of the economic and political situation in the country, it is not shocking that nearly three-quarters of all Ukrainians believe Ukraine is on a path toward instability; only 7% say Ukraine is on a path toward stability and 19% are unsure.¹³ This sentiment is prevalent in all sectors of Ukrainian society and is little changed from the October 2008 survey. However, opinions on Ukraine’s direction have changed significantly since the 2004 presidential election. In the February 2005 survey after the 2004 presidential election, more Ukrainians believed Ukrainians were on a path toward stability rather than instability. This sentiment has steadily eroded since then and reflects the political instability and economic difficulties that have faced Ukraine since the 2004 presidential election.



Foreign Affairs: Plurality Would Vote Against Joining NATO, For Joining the EU

Twelve years after the launch of the NATO-Ukraine Distinctive Partnership, a *Declaration to Complement the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine* was signed on August 21, 2009. This Charter was designed to follow up on the decisions taken at the Bucharest Summit in April 2008, the foreign ministers meeting in December 2008, and to give the NATO-Ukraine Commission (NUC) a vital role in deepening political dialogue and cooperation. Despite the continued evolution toward joining NATO, Russian and some European opposition to Ukraine joining NATO persists. The public attitudes on this issue also indicate Ukrainian membership in NATO is not a realistic possibility.



¹³ Question Text: “Do you think Ukraine is on the right track toward stability and prosperity in the future, or do you think Ukraine is on a path toward instability and chaos?”

As in the 2008 IFES survey, more than half of Ukrainians would vote against joining NATO if a national referendum were held today (56%), only 15% would vote in favor, 8% are indecisive and 22% do not know or did not answer.¹⁴ As expected, respondents in Crimea (77%), the East (73%) and the South (70%) have the highest percentage of those who would vote against joining NATO. When looking at support or opposition to joining NATO by second-round candidate support in the 2010 Presidential Elections, an expected pattern also emerges with Yanukovich supporters being much more likely to say they would vote against joining NATO (77%). Even Tymoshenko supporters are split with 35% saying they would vote against and 29% would vote in favor.

Of those who say they would vote against Ukraine joining NATO if a national referendum were held today,¹⁵ the most cited reasons given include: it obliges Ukraine to participate in conflicts, the belief that NATO is an aggressive military bloc and the lack of desire to have foreign troops on Ukrainian soil. Other responses include the belief that Ukraine should worry about itself, that they don't trust NATO or that Ukraine should remain neutral.

Of those who would vote in favor of joining NATO, the main reason cited is that it would provide for collective security (43%). Others say it would help modernize the army/armament (14%), bring economic support (9%), provide more confidence in the integrity of the state (7%) or it would help unite Ukraine with Europe (6%). Of those who do not favor one side or the other on the issue of joining NATO, 44% of those respondents say it is because they have a lack of information on NATO, 12% say they don't see a benefit or a need for Ukraine to join NATO and 20% say they simply just don't know.

Figure 14: Reasons for Voting Against NATO (n=843)
(Percentages reflect percent of cases)

Ukraine obliged to participate in wars	16%
NATO an aggressive military bloc	13%
Don't want foreign troops on territory	11%
Don't trust NATO	10%
Ukraine should be neutral	9%
We would lose our independence	6%
Will only use our army for profit	5%
Relations w/ Russia would worsen	5%
Should do military alliance w/ Russia	4%
Not ready to join NATO	4%
No positive side	3%
We should worry about ourselves	3%
No threats	2%
Large financial expense	2%
DK/NR	12%

¹⁴ Question Text: "Some people in Ukraine believe that Ukraine should apply to join NATO. If a national referendum was to be held today about whether Ukraine should become a member of NATO; would you vote in favor of Ukraine joining NATO or against?"

¹⁵ Question Text: "Could you tell me why would you vote against Ukraine joining NATO?"

More Ukrainians say they support Ukraine joining the EU than those who would support joining NATO, but there is still not majority support for joining the EU. A plurality of Ukrainians (40%) say they would vote in favor of Ukraine joining the EU over those against (29%), however, 31% of Ukrainians say they don't know or gave no response.¹⁶ These percentages remain virtually unchanged from 2008, despite some progress toward Ukraine joining the EU. Discussions of a Ukraine-EU Association Agenda in 2009 culminated in joint signatures of this agenda in January 2010 and both presidential candidates have pledged to work towards bringing Ukraine closer to the EU. Despite this pledge from both candidates, supporters of Yanukovich and Tymoshenko have slightly different views on whether Ukraine should join the EU. When looking at support or opposition for joining the EU by second-round candidate preference for the Presidential Elections, 40% of Yanukovich supporters say they would vote against joining the EU and 29% would vote in favor. Fifty-seven percent of Tymoshenko supporters would vote in favor of joining the EU and only 15% would vote against. Still, it is of note that nearly a third of both Yanukovich and Tymoshenko supporters are unsure of how they would vote if a referendum were held on the EU (29% and 26% respectively).

Figure 15: In Favor or Against Ukraine Joining the EU?

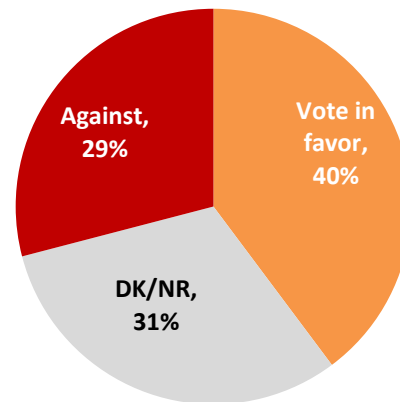


Figure 16: Reasons for Voting in Favor of Joining the EU (n=600)
(Percentages reflect percent of cases)

Improvement of living standards	38%
Toward more developed countries	15%
Development of the economy, market of goods	15%
Fulfill European laws (observe democratic principles, more rights, European values)	15%
New potential opportunities, work places, free mobility	15%
Ukraine with EU will be better	6%
International assistance & recognition	6%
Stability, reliability, security	5%
Corruption will reduce	2%
Ukraine geographically in Europe	1%
Other	2%
DK/NR	5%

Of those who would vote for joining the EU,¹⁷ 38% say they would vote in favor because of the expected improvement of living standards. Fifteen percent each say it would bring Ukraine toward more developed countries, would assist in the development of the economy/provide a market for goods, and it would help Ukraine fulfill European laws (such as observing democratic principles, etc).

Of those who would vote against Ukraine joining the EU,¹⁸ 23% say it is because the country has not yet arrived at the European level, 21% say Ukraine should be independent/build strong economy by themselves, 17% would prefer an alliance with Russia/CIS countries, 8% believe Ukraine and its products are not wanted in the EU, and

¹⁶ Question Text: "As you may know, there has been some discussion about the possibility of Ukraine joining the European Union (EU). If a national referendum was to be held today about whether Ukraine should become a member of the EU; would you vote in favor or against Ukraine joining the EU?" (n=1,502)

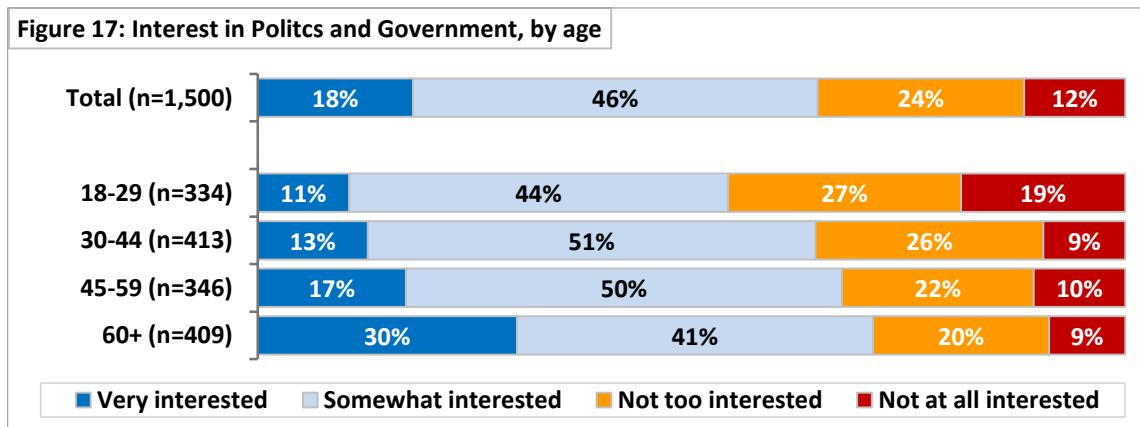
¹⁷ Question Text: "Could you tell me why you would vote in favor of Ukraine joining the EU?"

¹⁸ Question Text: "Could you tell me why you would vote against Ukraine joining the EU?"

7% would vote against joining the EU because it would exploit the Ukrainian labor force/agriculture/resources and would be a market for low quality goods.

Ukrainians Remain Interested and Informed on Political and Governmental Matters

Despite dissatisfaction with the political situation in Ukraine, as in 2008, a majority of Ukrainians (64%) continue to say they are very (18%) or somewhat (46%) interested in matters of politics and government, however a third of Ukrainians (35%) say they are not too interested (24%) or not at all interested (12%) in these matters.¹⁹ Interestingly, it seems younger Ukrainians may feel more disconnected from political and governmental matters. Younger Ukrainians ages 18-29 are more likely to say they are not interested in matters of politics and government (46%) than Ukrainians aged 30-44 (35%), aged 45-59 (32%) or aged 60 and older (29%).



Consistent with high levels of interest in matters of politics and government, Ukrainians feel they have at least a fair amount of information (63%) or a great deal of information (21%) about political developments in their country.²⁰ Only 13% of Ukrainians feel they do not have very much information (13%) or none at all (1%) on political developments in their country.

Most Ukrainians say TV is their main source of information on issues affecting Ukraine.²¹ An overwhelming 97% of Ukrainians say they get this information from TV, followed by 46% who say they get this information from relatives/friends/neighbors, 46% of respondents say from newspapers, 41% from radio, 31% from local media, 11% from their workplace, 11% from the internet, 9% from magazines/specialized publications and 2% from educational institutions.

¹⁹ Question Text: "How interested are you in matters of politics and government -- are you very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested?"

²⁰ Question Text: "And how much information do you feel you have about political developments in Ukraine -- a great deal, fair amount, not very much, or none at all?"

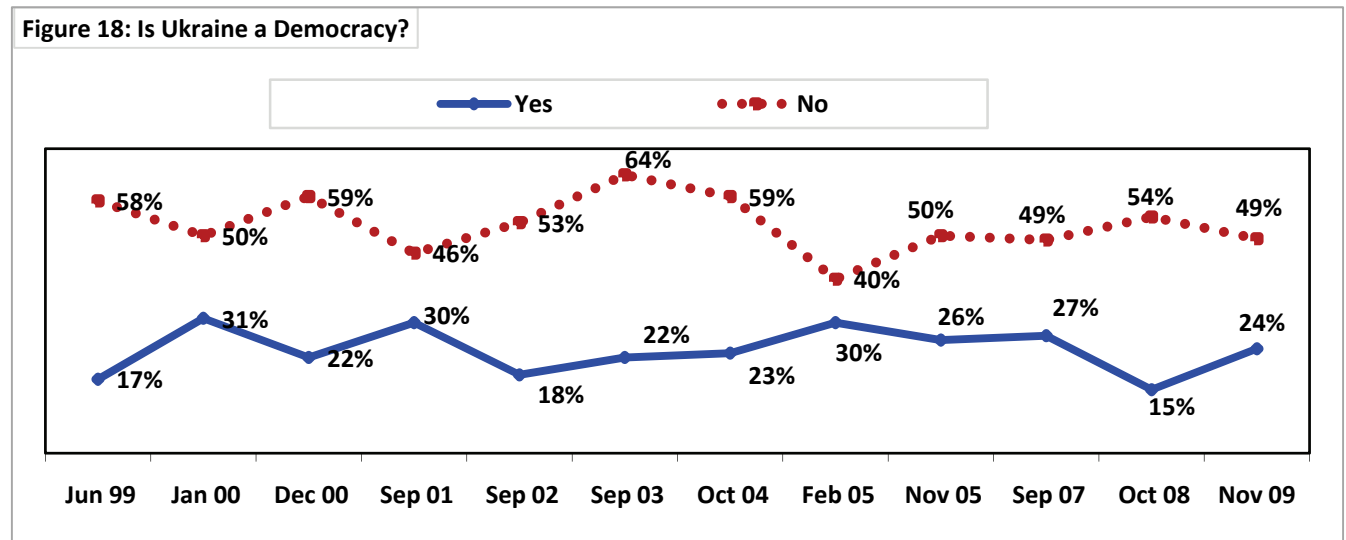
²¹ Question Text: "From which of the following sources do you get most of your information about issues affecting Ukraine?"

DEMOCRACY AND ELECTIONS

Nearly half of all Ukrainians believe Ukraine is not a democracy while only about a quarter believe it is. Opinions on Ukrainian democracy are driven by material benefits many Ukrainians expect out of a democratic system and by an expectation of equitable rule of law in the country. In addition to voting, Ukrainians tend to participate in socio-political matters through means such as contacting local officials. The majority of Ukrainians offer positive opinions on most aspects of the election process in the country but do have concerns about the validity of official election results. There is a split in Ukrainian opinions between those who believe the 2010 presidential elections will be free and fair and those who do not. Negative opinions on the election process and electoral fairness tend to be voiced with greater frequency in Eastern and Southern Ukraine than in Western and Central Ukraine.

Few Believe Ukraine is a Democracy

The trend in previous IFES surveys indicates more people in Ukraine believe Ukraine is not a democracy than the percentage that believes it is a democracy. This trend continues in this year's survey.²²



While nearly half of all Ukrainians believe Ukraine is not a democracy, only about a quarter (24%) believes it is a democracy. The percentage that believes Ukraine is a democracy is higher than in the 2008 survey, but represents the overall trend on this question in IFES surveys in Ukraine. Sixteen percent believe Ukraine is both a democracy and non-democracy.

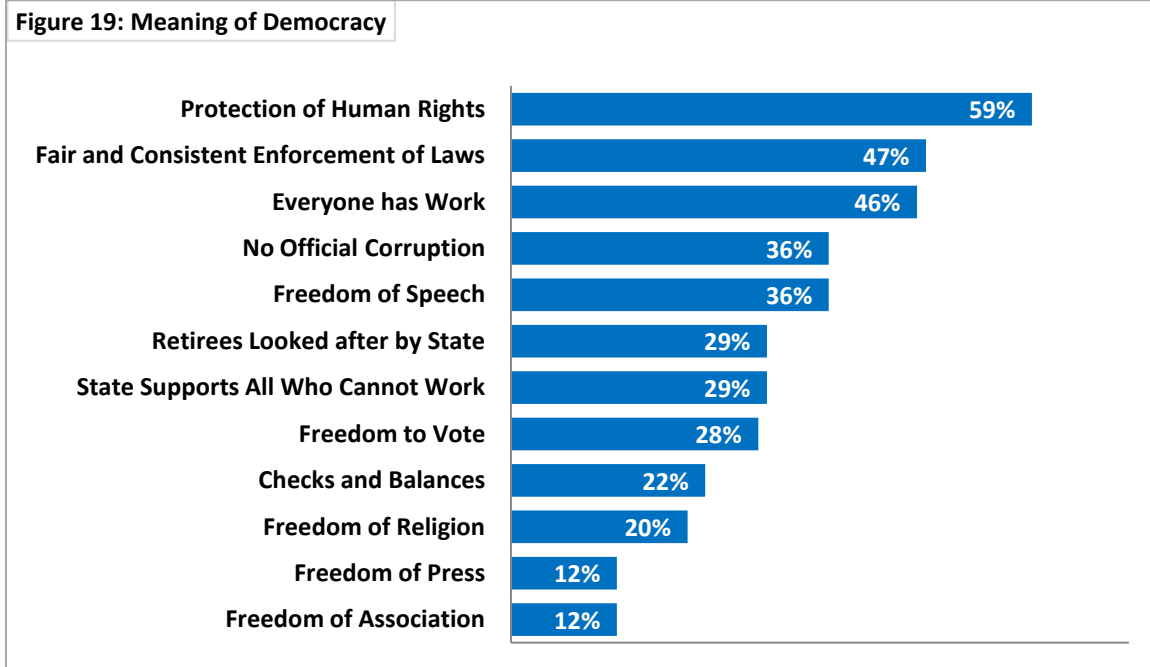
The majority (or plurality) of residents in every region of the country are likely to believe Ukraine is not a democracy. A majority in the East (61%), Crimea (60%) and the South (57%) believe Ukraine is not a democracy. In the West, 37% believe Ukraine is not a democracy while 36% believe it is a democracy.

Given the fact Ukrainians participate freely in elections and are able to exercise freedoms and rights without much interference from the government, the widespread opinion that Ukraine is not a democracy points to reasons other than freedoms and rights guaranteed by a democratic system as being crucial in explaining Ukrainian attitudes on democracy. The findings from this survey, as well as previous IFES surveys in Ukraine, indicate that the general lack of socio-economic progress for the

²² Question Text: "Is Ukraine a democracy?" (n=1,502)

country as well as concerns about corruption and the rule of law are key factors driving opinions that Ukraine is not a democracy.

Respondents to the survey were given a list of 12 factors that may or may not define what it means for a country to be a democracy, and were asked to select five they thought best defined a country as a democracy.²³ The responses indicate that freedoms and rights traditionally associated with democracies are not as likely to be mentioned by Ukrainians as signifying a democracy as are meanings that signify the supposed benefits of democracy.



Rule of law issues are seen as the most important characteristic of a democracy, since protection of human rights was mentioned by a majority of Ukrainians and fair and consistent enforcement of laws is mentioned by nearly half. Economic issues also receive prominent mention with 46% saying it is important in a democracy that everyone has work, 36% citing the absence of corruption as a signifier, and close to three out of ten mentioning state support for retirees and those who cannot work. While the freedom to vote is mentioned by 28%, other freedoms are far less likely to be mentioned.

Analysis of opinions on an Ukrainian definition of democracy indicate that those respondents who place emphasis on the freedoms available in a democracy are significantly more likely to believe Ukraine is a democracy, while the majority of those who emphasize economic benefits and legal issues believe Ukraine is not a democracy. Skepticism about Ukrainian democracy rests primarily on the perceived failure of democracy in Ukraine to deliver tangible benefits and on deficiencies in the rule of law in the country.

The finding that those who primarily value the freedoms available in a democracy are more likely to think that Ukraine is a democracy is not surprising considering that the majority of Ukrainians believe that the government respects important rights and freedoms. Eighty percent of Ukrainians believe the

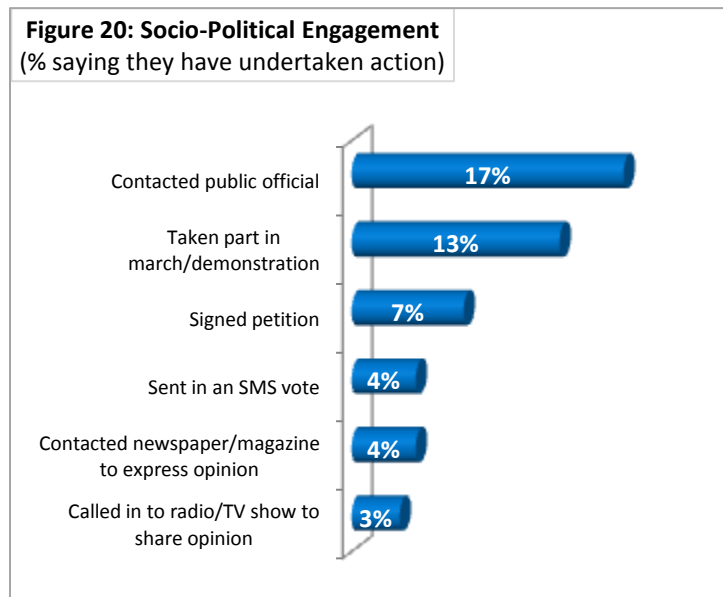
²³ Question Text: "Listed on this card are several statements. Please pick any statement or statements that you think accurately define what it means for a country to be a democracy. You can choose up to five responses."

government always or sometimes respects the freedom of religion, 68% believe the same about the right to vote, 67% for the freedom of the press, 64% for the freedom of speech and 60% for the freedom of association. The one area where there are negative perceptions is for human rights with a majority (57%) saying the government does not respect human rights. This opinion may reflect perceptions of the general decline of socio-political conditions in Ukraine rather than human rights violations as more commonly understood.

Engagement in Political Activities

An election is the defining participatory event in a democracy, a day when a large percentage of citizens take action to choose leaders for the communities and country. Participation in a democracy, however, is also possible through actions that citizens can take to express their opinions on important societal issues through exercise of their rights. The survey findings indicate that many Ukrainians do utilize other avenues available to them for expression of their views and opinions but that traditional means of participation are much more likely to be utilized than those utilizing new technologies or the media.

Figure 20: Socio-Political Engagement
(% saying they have undertaken action)



Respondents to the survey were asked whether they had undertaken several actions over the past 12 months or earlier.²⁴ Seventeen percent say they have contacted public officials in the past and 13% say they have taken part in marches or demonstrations. Seven percent have signed a written or sent an email petition. Less than five percent of Ukrainians say they have sent in SMS votes on an issue on which they wanted to voice their opinion or contacted media outlets to share their opinion on important issues. Generally, Ukrainians 30 and older are more likely to have taken part in most these activities. SMS use is slightly higher among those aged 18-29 years.

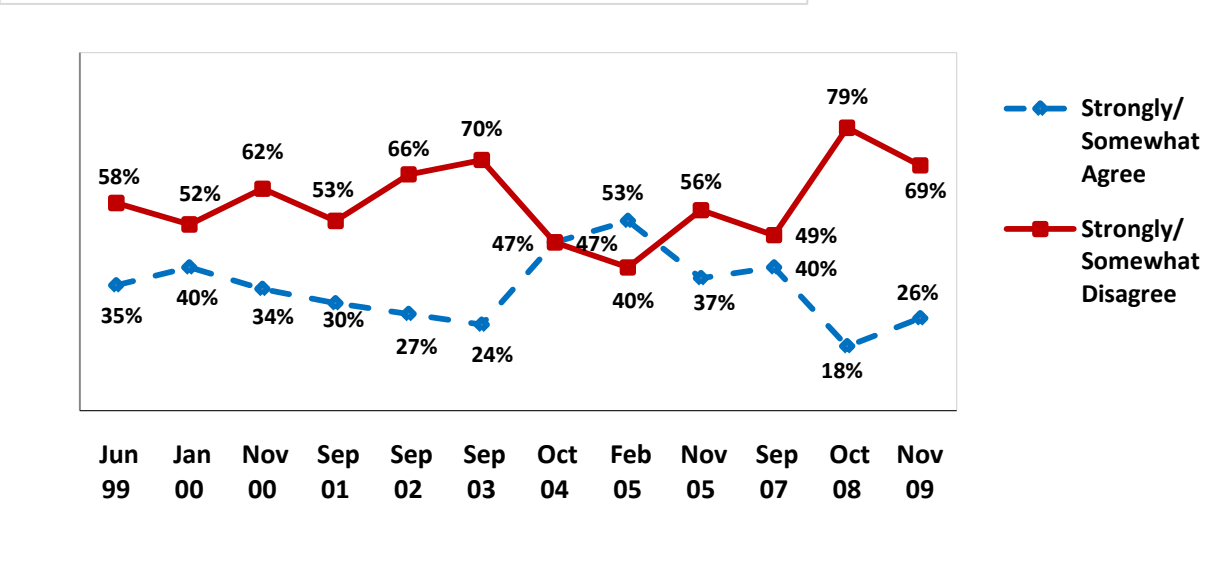
Mixed Opinions on Influence Provided by Voting

Through Ukraine's democratic history, election turnout has generally been high for both parliamentary and presidential elections and voting is the most popular mean utilized by Ukrainians to express their opinions on their leaders and governing institutions. IFES surveys indicate that participation in elections takes place despite the fact that most Ukrainians believe that voting does not allow them to influence decision-making in the country, a trend that has become more and more pronounced since the Orange revolution. Figure 21 below documents trends in opinion on this issue²⁵.

²⁴ Question Text: "Have you done any of the following to express your views?"

²⁵ Question Text: "Voting gives people like you a chance to influence decision-making in our country."

Figure 21: Agree/Disagree: Voting gives Influence over Decision-Making



Examining the trend data in Figure 21 shows that for most IFES surveys conducted in Ukraine since 1999, more Ukrainians have disagreed than agreed with the statement the voting gives people influence over decision-making in the country. This trend reversed itself around the 2004 presidential election with a majority of Ukrainians in the February 2005 survey agreeing that voting gives influence. Since that survey, however, the data has reverted to historical trends. In fact, the percentage of respondents disagreeing is near the high observed before the October 2008 survey (70% in 2003). Only 26% in this year’s survey agree that voting gives influence over decision-making. Yet, the survey data also indicates that a majority of those skeptical about the influence of voting also are likely to participate in the presidential elections. This data seems to indicate that many Ukrainians vote on election-day primarily to exercise their rights; however, do not expect their votes to hold much influence over policies.

Skepticism about the influence of voting is widespread with a majority in each region of Ukraine disagreeing that voting provides influence. There is also little difference in skepticism among different age groups with the majority in all age groups disagreeing that voting gives influence.

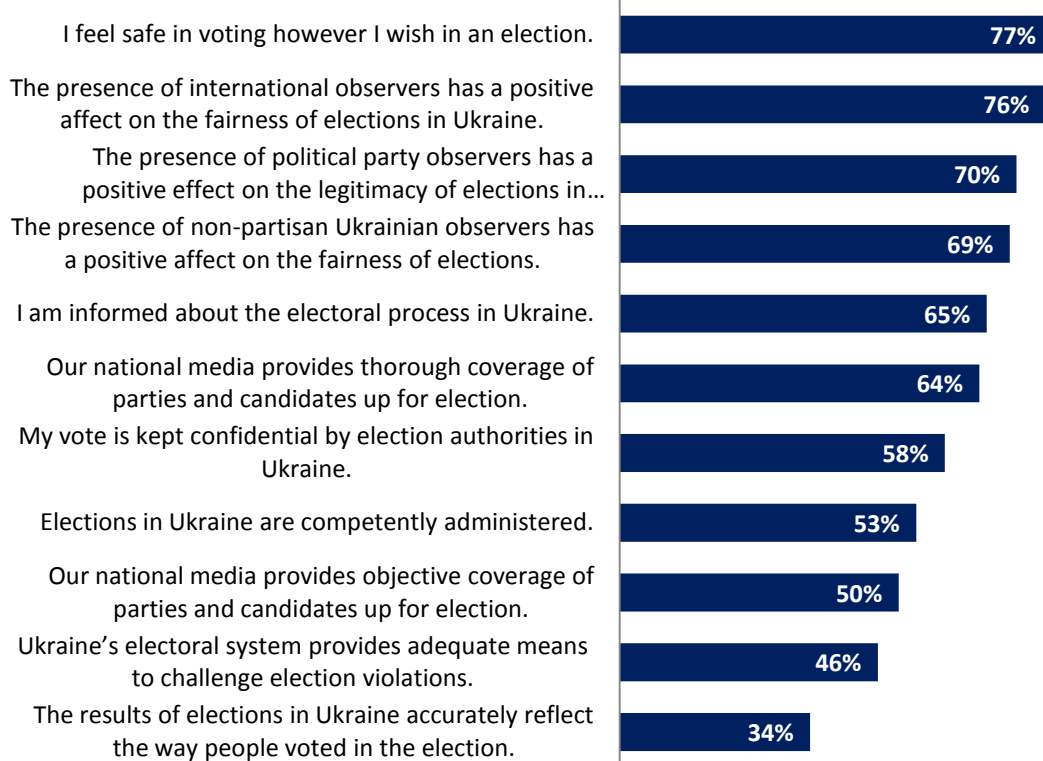
Respondents were also given another statement: “People like you can have influence on decisions made by the government.” Responses to this statement are even more negatively inclined than the statement on voting. Half of all Ukrainians (50%) strongly disagree with this statement while another 31% somewhat disagree. Only 14% strongly or somewhat agree.

Evaluations of Election Process

With interest in the January 2010 presidential elections at a high level, the survey asked respondents to evaluate several elements of the election process in Ukraine. Confidence in these areas of the election process is key to ensuring that the elections do not generate the type of turmoil that was generated following the 2004 presidential elections. Data from this survey (Figure 22) indicates that while the majority of Ukrainians have positive opinions on most elements of the election process, concerns about official election results could be a negative influence on post-electoral stability in Ukraine²⁶.

²⁶ Question Text: “Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.”

Figure 22: Opinions on Elections in Ukraine
(% who Agree with each statement)



A large majority of Ukrainians tend to be pleased with the security provided them during the election process and value the presence of various categories of observers in ensuring the fairness of the election process. Nearly two in three say they are informed about the election process in Ukraine and believe the Ukrainian media provides thorough coverage of parties and candidates up for election. Smaller majorities also believe their vote is kept confidential.

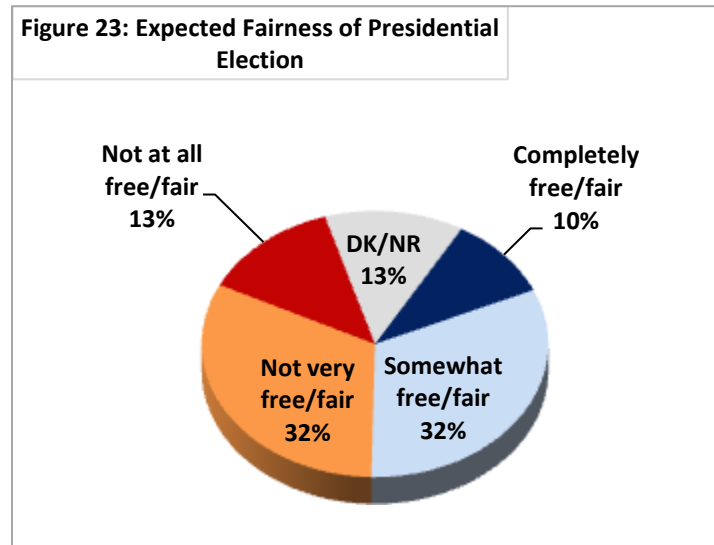
Fifty-three percent agree elections in Ukraine are competently administered. There are regional variations on this opinion. While 61% in the West and Kyiv agree that elections are competently administered, a majority in Crimea (56%) and a plurality in the East (47%) disagree with this statement.

On another issue, concerns about electoral integrity are voiced by a significant percentage of Ukrainians in all regions of the country.²⁷ Only 34% of Ukrainians agree that election results reflect the way Ukrainians voted in the election, while 59% disagree with this statement. The majority or plurality of respondents in every region voice skepticism about election results, with the most skepticism being expressed in Crimea (72%) and the East (62%). This lack of confidence in election results could lead to tensions should the outcome of the second round election be close.

²⁷ Question Text: "How free and fair do you expect the presidential election to be? Do you expect it to be completely free and fair, somewhat free and fair, not very free and fair, or not at all free and fair?"

Fairness of Elections

Ukrainians are generally split on whether the 2010 presidential elections will be free and fair. Forty-five percent believe these elections will either not be very free and fair or not free and fair at all. On the other hand, 42% believe the elections will either be completely or somewhat free and fair. Perceptions on the fairness of elections have improved compared to perceptions before the 2004 presidential election. In the October 2004 IFES survey in Ukraine, 50% believed the elections would not be fair while 36% thought they would be fair, a small gain in the percent who think the elections will be fair.



Opinions on the degree of fairness of the 2010 elections differ by region. A majority of respondents in Crimea (67%) and the East (53%) think the election will primarily not be free and fair. On the other hand, 57% of those in the West believe the elections will be free and fair. Overall, respondents in the West, Kyiv and the Center of the country are more likely to say the elections will be fair than not fair. Respondents in the East, South, North and Crimea are more likely to say the elections will not be fair rather than fair.

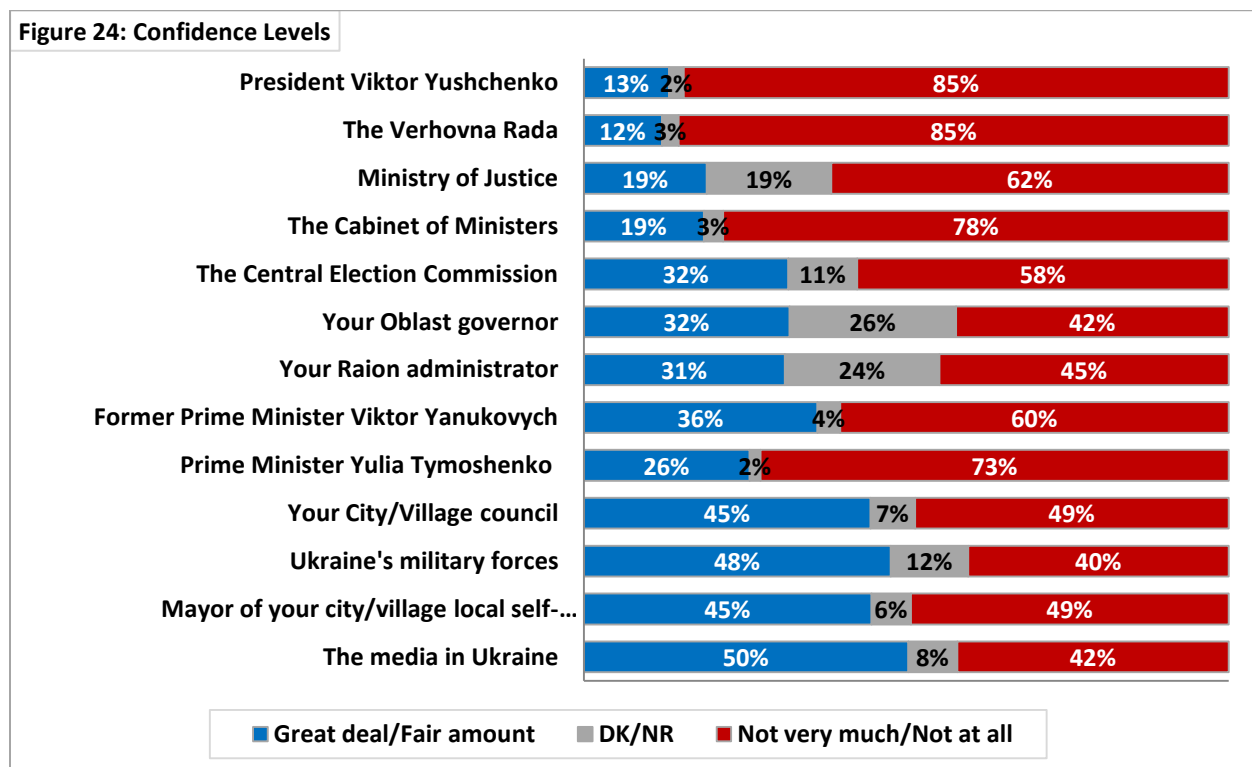
When asked to name the main reasons ensuring the elections would be free and fair, 41% say this is because the law ensures free and fair election in Ukraine or because the local election commissions acts fairly. Twenty-nine percent cited the fact that the election commission is composed of representatives from different political parties and 27% cited monitoring of the elections by international observers. Twenty-two percent also cited monitoring of the elections by independent Ukrainian observers while 14% cited the role of the media in ensuring fair elections.

ATTITUDES TOWARD INSTITUTIONS

Confidence in various central-level institutions and leaders continues to be low with a majority in most cases expressing a lack of confidence. Confidence in law enforcement and judicial institutions has also declined for the third straight survey. Most Ukrainians do not believe political parties serve the interests of the Ukrainian people and do not think that elected officials are accountable to the people they serve. A strong majority of Ukrainians would like to see the system for electing deputies to the Verkhovna Rada change to one where voters vote directly for candidates rather than parties. Awareness and perception of non-governmental organizations has increased since 2008.

Ukrainians Lack Confidence in Institutions and Leaders

Given the dissatisfaction with socio-economic conditions in Ukraine and disenchantment with democracy and political leaders, it is not surprising the vast majority of Ukrainians say they lack confidence in prominent institutions and leaders at the central level.²⁸ Figure 24 documents the confidence ratings for both central and regional level institutions and leaders in Ukraine.



Focusing first on prominent national leaders and institutions, the figure above shows that 85% say they do not have much or any confidence in President Yushchenko as well as in the *Verhovna Rada*. Large majorities also say they lack confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers and the Ministry of Justice. The Central Election Commission also receives primarily negative responses with a majority (58%) saying they have little or no confidence in it and only 32% expressing some degree of confidence.

²⁸ Question Text: "I am now going to ask you about several government institutions and leaders. For each, please tell me how much confidence you have in them."

The two leading presidential contenders, Viktor Yanukovich and Yulia Tymoshenko, also receive primarily negative responses although Yanukovich does perform better than Tymoshenko. Thirty-six percent profess confidence in Yanukovich while only 26% express the same for Tymoshenko. The trends in public confidence in these two individuals over the past two years are completely opposite of each other. Confidence in Yanukovich has grown from 30% in 2008 to 36% in 2009, while confidence in Tymoshenko has declined from 33% to 26%. A majority of residents of Eastern and Southern Ukraine express confidence in Yanukovich, while a plurality express confidence in Tymoshenko in Western Ukraine.

Ukrainians generally have more confidence in their local institutions and leaders than in central or regional institutions. Forty-five percent express confidence in their city or village council, a much higher figure than for the *Rada* (12%). Forty-five percent also express confidence in the Mayor of the self-government, a much higher percentage than that for Yuschenko or Tymoshenko. The highest confidence ratings are for the media (50%) and Ukraine's military forces (48%).

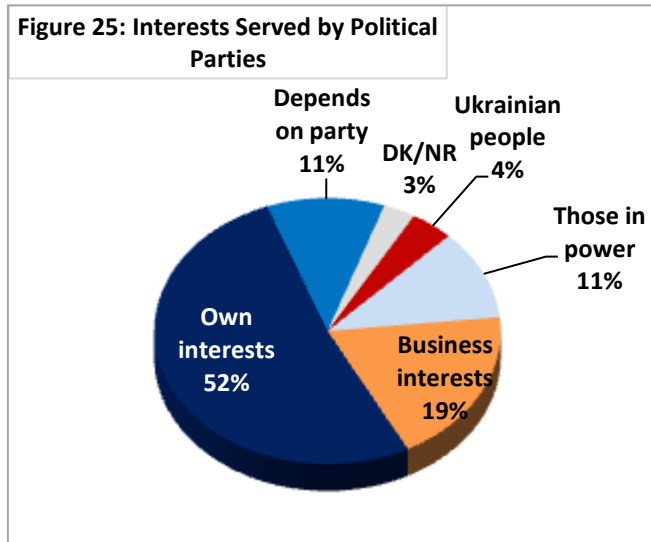
The majority of Ukrainians also lack confidence in law enforcement and judicial institutions in the country, an opinion that has grown over the past three years. Seventy-seven percent of Ukrainians say they have little or no confidence in the police 74% lack confidence in local courts, 71% lack confidence in public prosecutor's office (16%), 56% lack confidence in the Appeals Court (22%), 53% lack confidence in Constitutional Court (29%) and 53% lack confidence in Supreme Court (29%).

Political Parties and Elected Officials Generally Seen as Being Non-Responsive

The lack of confidence in official institutions carries over to other institutions, including political parties. As in previous IFES surveys in Ukraine, few Ukrainians believe Ukrainian political parties serve the interests of the Ukrainian people.²⁹ Only 4% believe political parties in Ukraine represent the interests of the Ukrainian people. A majority believes the parties represent their own interests, and three in ten Ukrainians believe parties represent either the interests of those in power or of business groups. This data has remained little changed over the past few years of the IFES survey.

Ukrainians also do not believe that most political parties offer solutions to the problems facing the country. Only 13% of Ukrainians believe most political parties in the country have a clear proposal to address issues facing the country. A majority of Ukrainians think only some of the parties have clear proposals and 20% think none of the parties address important issues. These opinions are also little changed from the 2008 IFES survey.

The perceived non-responsiveness of political parties also goes hand-in-hand with Ukrainians' opinions on the responsiveness of elected officials in the country. The majority of Ukrainians do not think elected officials are responsive to their constituents. When given this statement: "Elected officials in Ukraine are accountable to the people they serve", 40% strongly disagree with the statement and 30% disagree with it somewhat. Only 19% strongly or somewhat agree with this statement. Given the data presented



²⁹ Question Text: "In your opinion, whose interests do political parties serve: the interests of the Ukrainian people, the interests of those in power, business interests, their own interests, or some other interests?"

earlier on Ukrainians' general skepticism that voting gives them influence over decision-making, it is not surprising the opinions on these two issues are co-related with those especially likely to strongly disagree that elected officials are accountable (Figure 26).

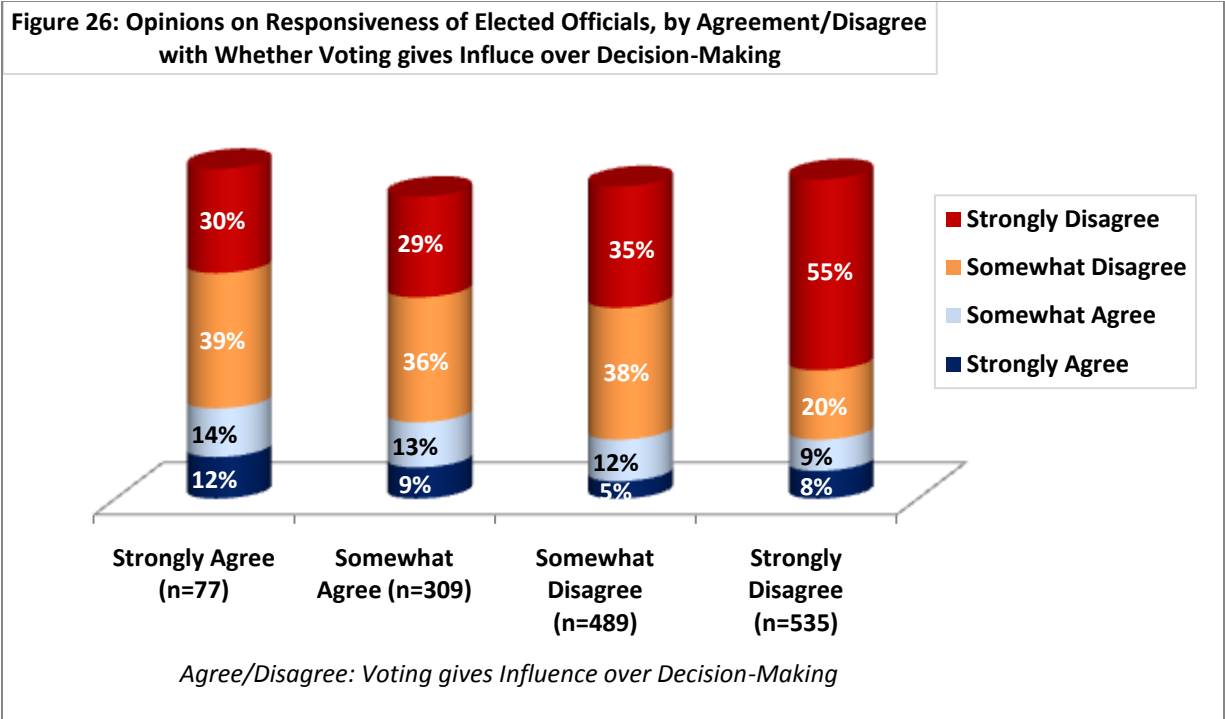


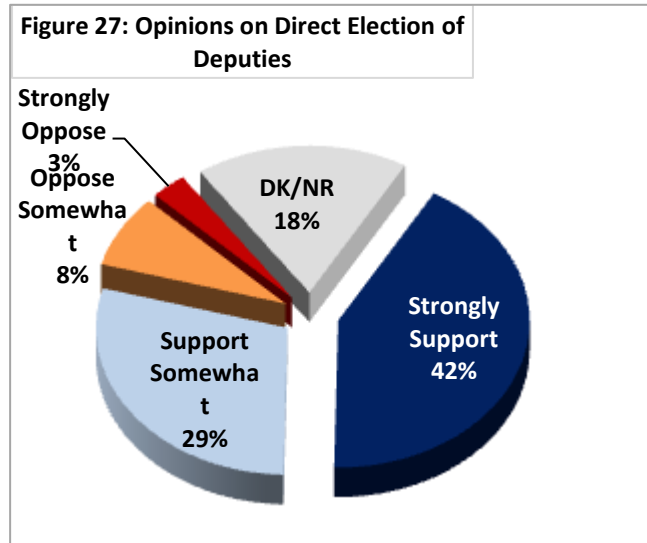
Figure 26 shows that no matter what the opinion on whether voting gives influence over decision-making, the large majority of respondents in each group either strongly or somewhat disagree that elected officials are accountable to the people they represent. However, one trend that is evident is that the percentage of respondents who strongly disagree that elected officials are accountable is much higher among those who strongly disagree that voting gives influence (55%). This finding seems to indicate that Ukrainians are cognizant of the fact that the lack of responsiveness and accountability on the part of their elected leaders results in the loss of influence of the Ukrainian over decision-making in the country.

Ukrainians Strongly Support Move to Direct Election of Parliamentary Deputies

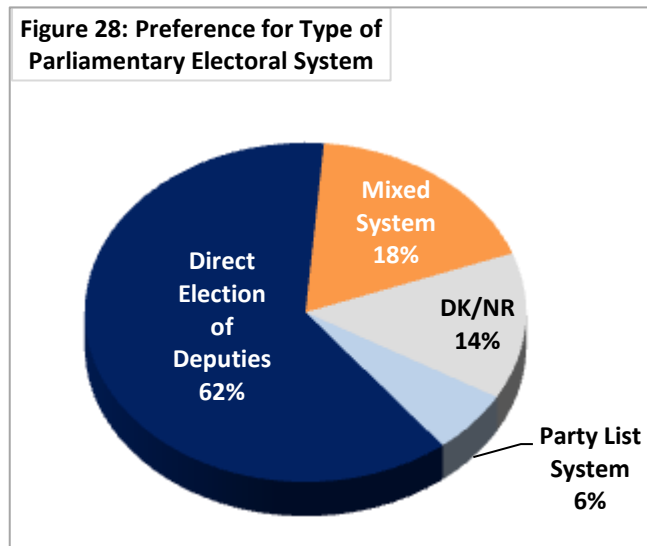
One reason elected officials in Ukraine at the parliamentary level are thought not to be accountable to their constituents is because of the way deputies are elected to parliament. In Ukraine, voters vote only for parties in parliamentary elections and have little choice in the deputies that political parties then name to the parliamentary body. In recent years, there has been some discussion of changing the electoral system to one where voters would directly vote for all parliamentary deputies or a mixed system where a specific portion of parliamentary seats would be filled through direct elections. Respondents to the survey were asked about their support for the direct election of deputies, and the responses indicate that the majority of Ukrainians would support a move to direct voting for

parliamentary bodies. Figure 27 below reports on the level of support or opposition to proposals to move to a system of direct election of deputies³⁰.

The data in figure 27 shows that almost three in four Ukrainians either strongly or somewhat support a move to a system where parliamentary deputies are voted directly by the people.³¹ Only 11% are opposed to such a move. Majority support for this move is found in all regions of the country and among supporters of all the major political parties in the country. On a follow-up question, respondents were asked whether such a change would make *Rada* deputies more accountable to the public. A majority (54%) think this change would make deputies more accountable while 24% do not think it would make deputies more accountable and a sizable percentage (20%) is unsure of the impact of the change.



The issue of a change to the way *Rada* deputies are elected was also posed in a different way on another question. Respondents were given three scenarios for voting for deputies, a party list system, direct election or a mixed system with some seats elected via party list and some via direct election; respondents were then asked to name the system they prefer.³² Sixty-two percent prefer a system of direct election of deputies and 18% prefer a mixed system where some of the deputies are elected directly by the people. Only 6% of Ukrainians prefer a system where voters vote for parties rather than deputies. This data further illustrates Ukrainians' preference for choosing their leaders directly than through the mediation of political parties.



Another indication of Ukrainians' preference for direct election of their leaders is found through analysis of opinions on the election of the president. When asked whether they would support a system where the *Rada* elects the president rather than voters, only 6% express support for such a system while 84% oppose this type of system for choosing the president.

³⁰ Question Text: "As you probably know, in parliamentary elections Ukrainian voters select a party and do not vote for candidates directly. There have been some proposals to change this system so that voters select candidates directly. Do you support or oppose such a change to a system where voters vote for candidates and not parties?"

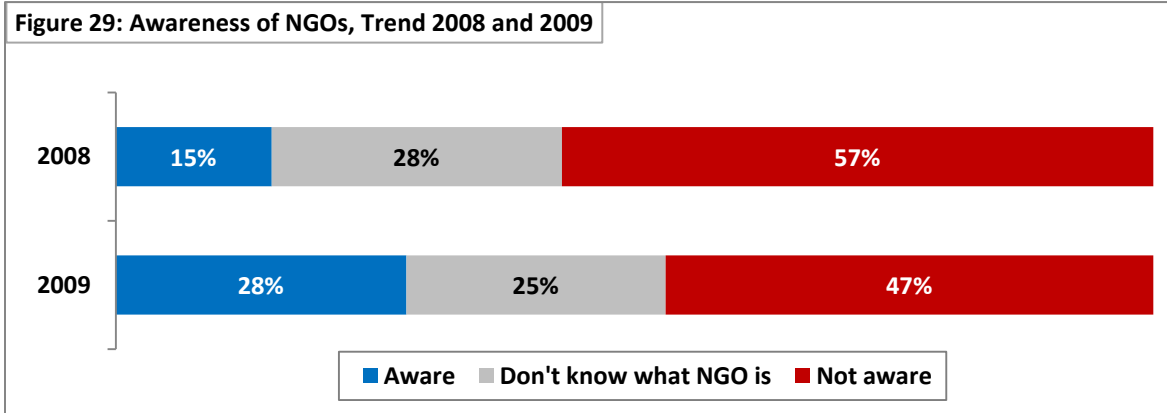
³¹ Question text: "As you probably know, in parliamentary elections Ukrainian voters select a party and do not vote for candidates directly. There have been some proposals to change this system so that voters select candidates directly. Do you support or oppose such a change to a system where voters vote for candidates and not parties?"

³² Question text: "In your opinion, what would be the best way for Ukrainians to vote for parliament in Ukraine?"

Increase in Awareness of Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs)

While most national institutions have suffered a decline in public perceptions over the past year, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have registered a significant increase in awareness and perceptions among the Ukrainian population over the past year (Figure 29).³³ Twenty-eight percent of Ukrainians are aware of a NGO that is active in Ukraine, an increase from 15% in the 2008 survey. Forty-seven percent are not aware of any active NGOs in Ukraine, but this is a decline from 57% in the 2008 survey.

In addition, the percentage of Ukrainians who believe NGOs are essential or necessary for Ukraine has also jumped significantly from 50% to 63%, while those who believe NGOs are not necessary has declined to 18% from 30%.³⁴



³³ Question text: "Do you know of any Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are active in Ukraine?"

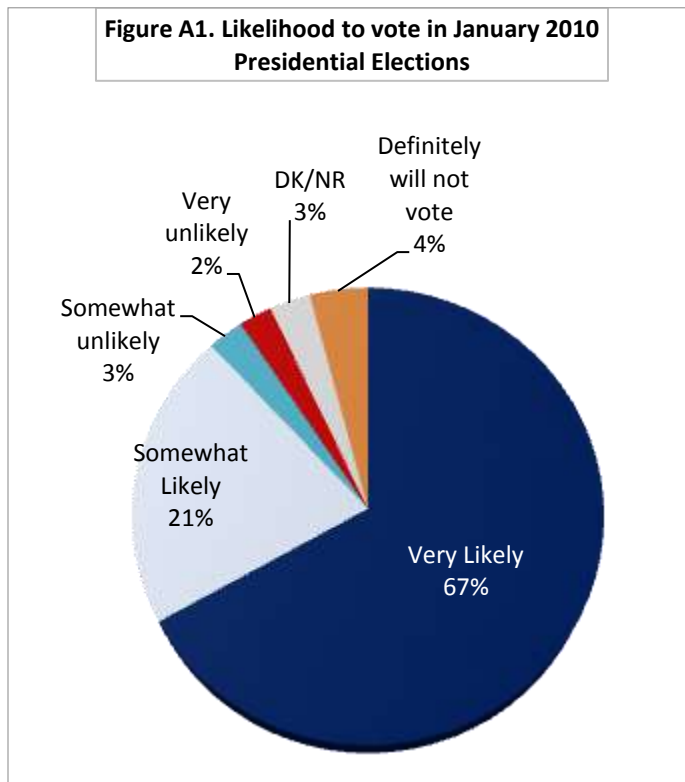
³⁴ Question text: "How necessary are non-governmental organizations, or NGOs, for Ukraine -- essential, necessary, not very necessary, or not at all necessary?"

APPENDIX I: OPINIONS ON 2009 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Note: IFES asked several questions about the 2010 Presidential elections, including on candidate choice. Given the timing of this report and the fact the presidential election has already taken place, this data is being presented as an appendix based on opinions at the time the survey was fielded.

At the time of the survey, a solid majority of Ukrainians expressed a likelihood of voting in the first round election. The survey also found that opinions on presidential candidates were highly polarized with all candidates suffering from negative perceptions. Viktor Yanukovych was the clear favorite in the first round of the election, with support for candidates falling significantly along regional lines.

Solid Majority Likely to Participate in First-Round Presidential Election



The turnout for the 2010 first round of the presidential election is likely to come fairly close to the turnout levels established in the first round of the 2004 presidential election (Figure A1).³⁵ Sixty-seven percent of Ukrainians say that they are very likely to vote and another 21% say they are somewhat likely to vote.³⁶ Nine percent say that they are either unlikely to vote or definitely will not vote. Given the percentage saying they are likely to vote, it appears that around two in three adult Ukrainians or more may vote in the January 17 first round election.

There is little difference between men and women in terms of their likelihood to vote in the first round of the presidential election. The percentage saying they are 'very likely' to vote goes up with age from 61% among those aged 18-29 to 75% among those aged 60 and above.

Turnout is also likely to differ by region. The percentage of respondents who say they are very likely to vote in the January 17 presidential election is significantly higher in Western (77%), Eastern (70%), Southern (70%) and Northern Ukraine (67%) than in Kyiv (59%), Central Ukraine (50%) and Crimea (57%).

Among those who say they are unlikely to vote or definitely will not vote, the principal reasons are because the voter does not like any of the candidates or because they believe that the elections will not change the socio-political situation in Ukraine.

Respondents were also asked to assess their likelihood of voting the in second round of the presidential elections should no candidate win the election outright in the first round. Those not likely to participate in the first round were asked whether their likelihood of voting if a second round took place. Only 6% of

³⁵Question Text: "Now, let's turn our attention to the upcoming presidential elections on January 17, 2010. How likely are you to vote in these elections? Are you very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely to vote?" (n=1,502)

³⁶It is interesting to note that the official turnout for the first-round election was 67%, equivalent to the percentage saying they are 'Very Likely' to vote in the survey.

these respondents say they are very or somewhat likely to vote if a second round election takes place, reinforcing the finding that these respondents have little intention of taking part in the electoral process for the 2010 presidential election.

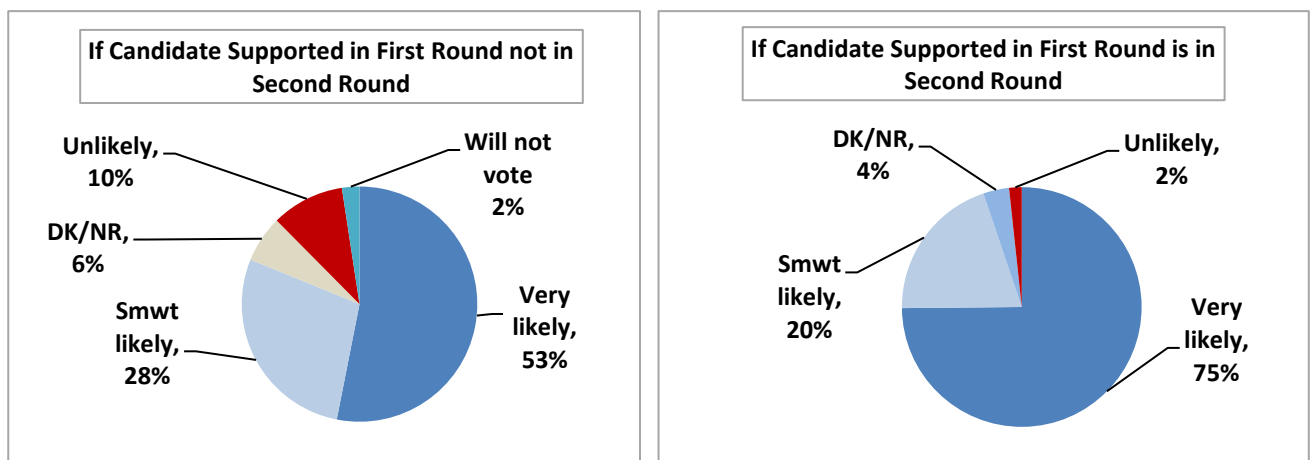
Respondents who indicated they were very or somewhat likely to vote in the first round of the election were given two scenarios and asked their likelihood of voting in each of these scenarios. The two scenarios were:

- The person you support in the first round does not make it to the second round.
- The person you support in the first round makes it to the second round.

The findings indicate that Ukrainians are much more motivated to vote in the second round if the candidate they supported makes it to the second round, than if that candidate does not make it to the second round (Figure A2).

The data in Figure A2 shows that the level of turnout for specific groups of voters will depend to a large degree on whether the candidate they support makes it to the second round. In that case 74% say they are very likely to vote, a figure higher than that for the first round. But if their candidate does not make it to the second round then 53% say they are very likely to vote in the second round, a much lower figure than for the first round. As for supporters of the two primary contenders for the presidency, 80% of Viktor Yanukovich's supporters and 79% of Yulia Tymoshenko's supporters are very likely to vote in the second round if their candidate makes it that far.

Figure A2. Likelihood of Voting in Second Round



Important Issues for Presidential Focus

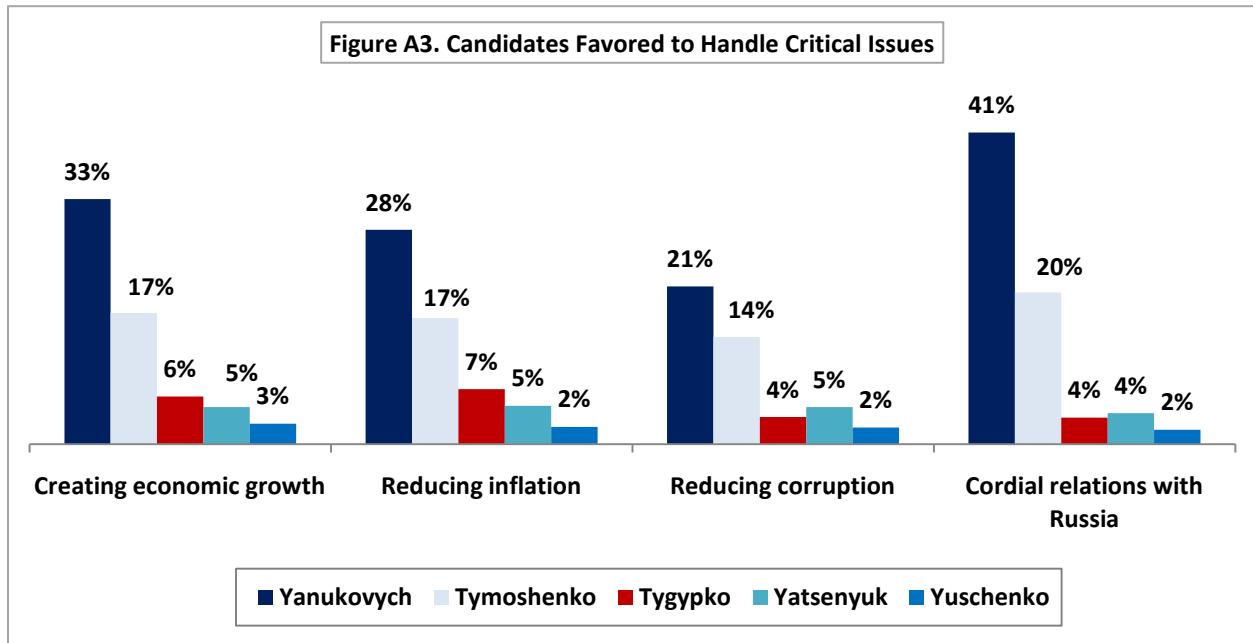
Respondents to the survey were asked to name the issues on which they would like the newly elected president to focus once they get into office following the presidential elections. The responses reflect the economic uncertainties that have buffeted Ukrainians for the past few years, as well as their disenchantment with the political instability that has characterized Ukraine over the same period. The issues most prominently mentioned were as follows:

- Creating jobs (71%)
- Keeping prices low/tackling inflation (56%)
- Reducing corruption (48%)
- Creating political stability (33%)

- Improving health care services (33%)
- Addressing the gas situation with Russia (17%)
- Improving quality of education (9%)
- Status of the Russian language (9%)
- Improving security (8%)
- Reform of electoral code (6%)
- Status of Ukraine and EU/NATO (4%)

Improvement of healthcare services receives prominent mention with the recent H1N1 crisis in western Ukraine a likely catalyst for this issue. Foreign policy issues get little notice with the exception of the resolution of the gas disputes with Russia.

In order to gauge Ukrainians’ opinions on which candidates for the presidency are perceived to be best positioned to address the major issues facing Ukraine, these issues were presented to respondents on a separate question and they were then asked to name the presidential candidate they thought would best address the issue. The findings in Figure A3 indicate that Yanukovych tends to be seen as being best able to address four major issues than Tymoshenko and the other candidates.³⁷

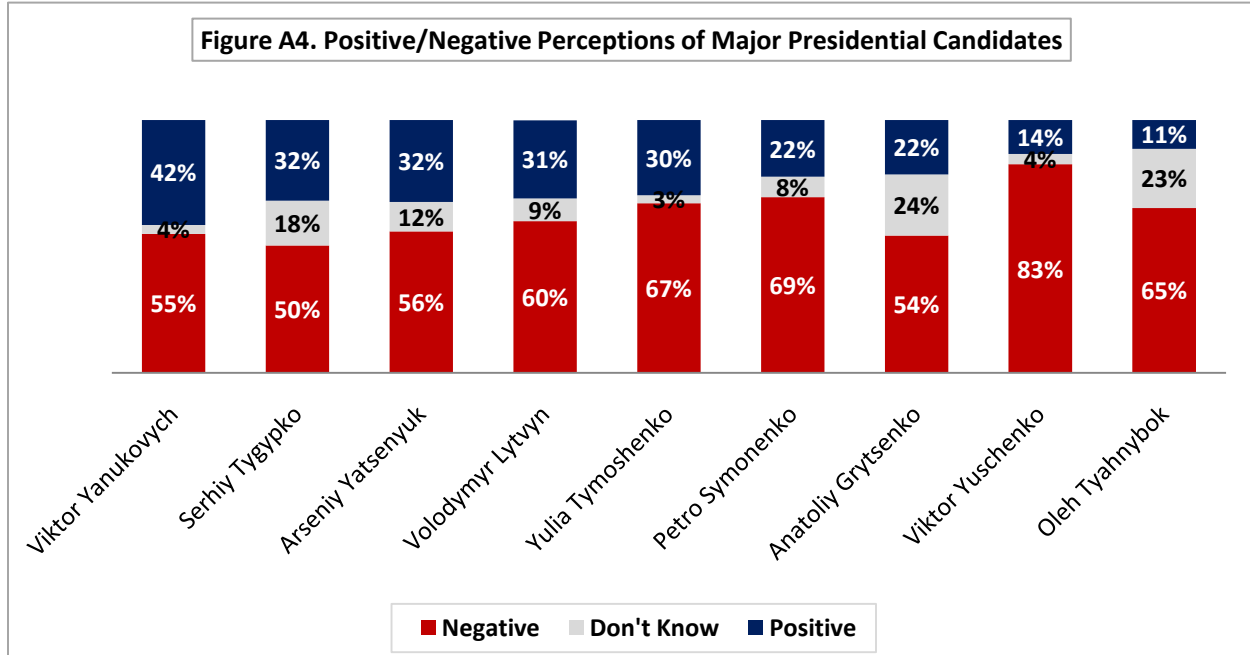


On the issue that is of most concern to Ukrainians, creation of economic growth, 33% believe Yanukovych is the best suited to address this issue compared to 17% who name Tymoshenko and around 6% who name Tygytko and Yatsenyuk. On reducing inflation, Yanukovych is favored over Tymoshenko 28% to 17%. Yanukovych is more narrowly preferred in being suited to deal with corruption, and the low number of mentions for any candidate reflects Ukrainians’ skepticism that political leaders can fight corruption. Yanukovych is much more widely preferred in maintaining cordial relations with Russia, understandable given his policy orientation toward Russia when compared to Tymoshenko.

³⁷Question Text: “On this card are listed the names of several politicians who have been mentioned as potential candidates for the Presidency. I will now read out several important challenges facing Ukraine. For each, please tell me which of the candidates is best suited to address the issue.”

Perceptions of Presidential Candidates

Ukrainians go to the 2010 presidential elections with a choice of a multitude of candidates. The survey data shows, however, that not one of these candidates is more likely to be viewed positively rather than negatively by Ukrainians (Figure A4).³⁸ The highly polarized nature of Ukrainian politics seems to have resulted in a situation where no one candidate can play a unifying role.



For all candidates with the exception of Serhiy Tygytko, a majority of Ukrainians say they have negative perceptions of the candidate. Even in the case of Tygytko, many more Ukrainians say they have a negative perception of him than those who say they have a positive perception. Comparing the two leading contenders for the presidency, Viktor Yanukovich has a higher net perception rating than Yulia Tymoshenko, a key factor in determining likely support for either candidate in the presidential race. While 55% have a negative opinion of Yanukovich and 42% have a positive opinion (net perception rating of -13), these percentages are 67% and 30% for Tymoshenko (net perception rating of -37). While the vast majority of those who say they will vote for either candidate have positive perceptions of these two candidates, they generally suffer from negative perceptions from those who do not support them. There is also a powerful regional dynamic play with a majority of those in Eastern and Southern Ukraine having a positive perception of Yanukovich, while a majority in Western Ukraine has a positive perception of Tymoshenko. It is also interesting to note that the majority of supporters of other Orange-leaning candidates such as Yuschenko and Yatsenyuk have a negative perception of Tymoshenko.

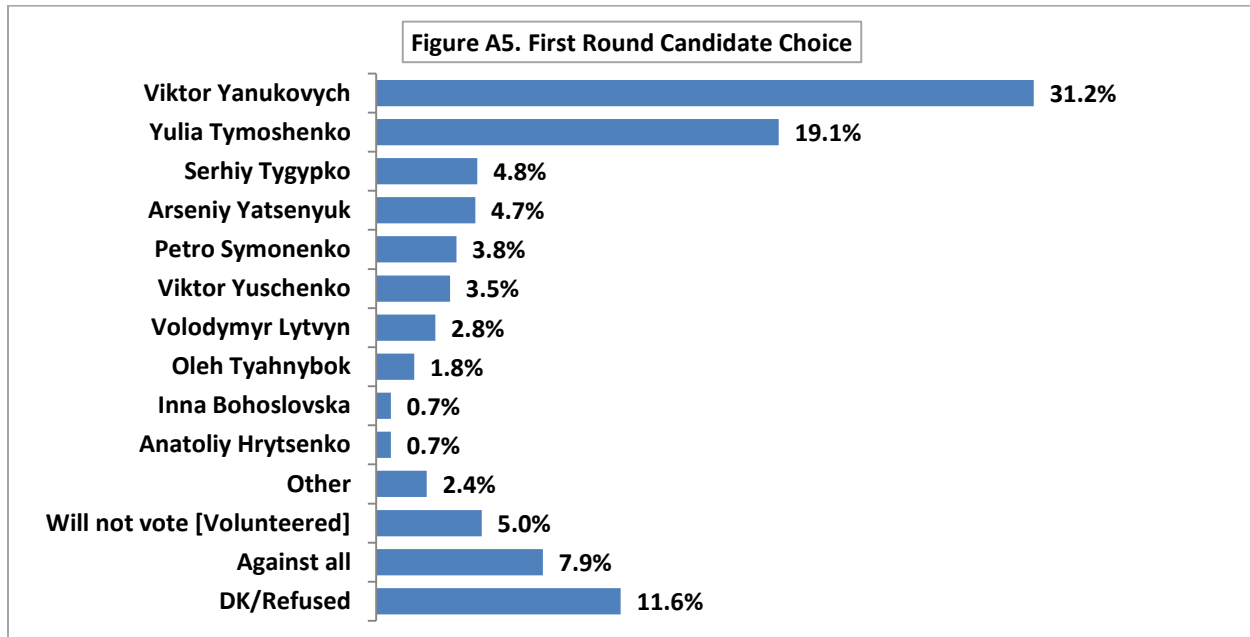
The implications of these negative ratings for prominent politicians lay in the fact that a significant percentage of Ukrainians are likely to vote for a particular candidate based not on their positive aspirations for the candidate, but based on their dislike for all other candidates. When asked whether they support their candidate of choice because he/she has the best ideas or whether they dislike all

³⁸ Question Text: "I will now name several prominent politicians. For each of these, please tell me whether you have very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impressions of the politician?"

other candidates, between 19% and 25% of supporters of Yanukovych, Tymoshenko, Tygypko and Yatsenyuk say they support the candidates because they dislike all other candidates.

Yanukovych is Leading Choice for First Round Election

Respondents to the survey were asked to name the candidate for whom they would vote in the first round of the election. The results show that Yanukovych is the clear favorite to win the first round vote, although he would fall far short of winning the majority of votes needed to win the election outright.³⁹



Along with Yanukovych, Tymoshenko is the other clear favorite to move to the second round of the election. After these two candidates, there is a group of candidates who garner between three and five percentage point support from voters. Among this group it is notable that Arseniy Yatsenyuk's support is at 5%, far lower than the 10% and higher support he was garnering during the summer of 2009 when he seemed to be a viable threat to Tymoshenko's standing as one of the top two candidates.⁴⁰

Yanukovych and Tymoshenko's standing as the top two candidates likely to move onto the second round is further confirmed by examining candidate choice when only likely voters are the population of analysis. Among likely voters, 35% say they would support Yanukovych, 21% Tymoshenko, and between four and five percent for Tygypko, Yatsenyuk, and Yuschenko.

There are some notable patterns of candidate support by age. Support for Yanukovych goes up by age with 27% support for him among those 18-29 going up to 37% among those 60 and over. By contrast, Tymoshenko's level of support is constant across major age groups. Yatsenyuk is more likely to gain support among younger voters than among older voters. Symonenko's support lies disproportionately among voters 45 and over.

³⁹Question Text: "Please continue to look at this list of possible candidates. If the Presidential Elections took place next Sunday and the voting list included the following candidates, which of the candidates would you vote for?"

⁴⁰ When looking at the official first round turnout percentages, we see that Yanukovych received 36.75% of the vote, Tymoshenko received 26.06%, Yuschenko received 5.69%, and Tygypko received 13.58%. This seems to confirm generally reported observations during the election process that Tygypko gained significant backing as an acceptable alternative to Yanukovych and Tymoshenko over the last weeks before the election.

Gender and education levels are also important for some candidates. Tymoshenko has higher support among women (22%) than among men (16%). Yatsenyuk tends to have more support among men (6%) than women (3%), although with his low level of support this difference is not statistically significant. Yatsenyuk and Tygypko are also two candidates characterized by the fact that the vast majority of their support comes from voters with higher than a secondary education. This is especially the case for Yatsenyuk.

Given the regional polarization evident in Ukraine on many important socio-political issues, it is not surprising that support for the major candidates is defined significantly by geographic region. Yanukovych enjoys significant advantage over Tymoshenko in Eastern and Southern Ukraine while Tymoshenko enjoys advantage over Yanukovych in Western and Central Ukraine. Tygypko and Yatsenyuk's support tends to be distributed over the entire country. The percentage support for these candidates as well as Viktor Yushchenko is described in the figure below.

Figure A6. Regional Levels of Support for Major Candidates (in %)

	West	North	Kyiv	Center	Crimea	South	East
Viktor Yanukovych	8.2	20.6	15.9	17.3	44.6	51.6	49.8
Yulia Tymoshenko	36.2	22.8	22.1	33.5	7.0	5.3	6.2
Serhiy Tygypko	3.6	2.8	10.3	3.2	7.0	5.3	5.4
Arseniy Yatsenyuk	5.5	6.1	7.2	4.9	0.5	3.2	4.4
Viktor Yushchenko	12.5	1.1	2.1	3.8	1.1	1.1	0.0

If the net differential between Yanukovych and Tymoshenko in each region is analyzed, it becomes fairly clear that the reason Yanukovych has a commanding position for the first round is because he is able to gain greater comparative advantage over Tymoshenko in his regions of superiority than Tymoshenko is in her regions. In the South, the net differential in support between Yanukovych and Tymoshenko is 46.3 point while in the East it is 43.6. By contrast, the differential in support between Tymoshenko and Yanukovych in the West is 24.0 and in the Center it is 16.2.

Another point of interest is that while Yushchenko does poorly all across the country he is able to garner significant support in the West, most likely cutting into Tymoshenko's support in this region.

DATA TABLES

Frequency Tables		
Q1. How interested are you in matters of politics and government -- are you very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested?		
		Valid Percent
	Very interested	17.8
	Somewhat interested	46.3
	Not too interested	23.6
	Not at all interested	11.5
	Don't know	0.5
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q2. And how much information do you feel you have about political developments in Ukraine -- a great deal, fair amount, not very much, or none at all?		
		Valid Percent
	Great deal	21.3
	Fair amount	63.1
	Not very much	12.9
	None at all	1.0
	Don't know	1.6
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
Q3. From which of the following sources do you get most of your information about issues affecting Ukraine? (Multiple Response)		
		Percent of Cases
	National TV	97.0%
	National Radio	40.8%
	National Newspapers	46.7%
	National Magazines	5.4%
	Specialized publications	4.0%
	Internet	10.9%
	Local media	31.0%
	Workplace	10.9%
	Relatives, friends, or neighbors	46.1%
	Educational institutions	1.5%
	Other	.1%
	Don't know	.3%

Q4-A. How satisfied or dissatisfied you are with: Political situation in Ukraine today?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Satisfied	0.2
	Somewhat Satisfied	4.9
	Somewhat Dissatisfied	40.0
	Very Dissatisfied	51.7
	Don't Know	3.1
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q4-B. How satisfied or dissatisfied you are with: Foreign policy of Ukraine?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Satisfied	0.8
	Somewhat Satisfied	18.5
	Somewhat Dissatisfied	37.9
	Very Dissatisfied	33.3
	Don't Know	9.4
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q4-C. How satisfied or dissatisfied you are with: Economic situation in Ukraine today?		
		Valid Percent
Valid	Very Satisfied	0.1
	Somewhat Satisfied	2.4
	Somewhat Dissatisfied	28.6
	Very Dissatisfied	67.4
	Don't Know	1.5
	Total	100.0
Q4-D. How satisfied or dissatisfied you are with: Health care situation in Ukraine?		
		Valid Percent
	Very Satisfied	0.2
	Somewhat Satisfied	6.2
	Somewhat Dissatisfied	33.3
	Very Dissatisfied	57.0
	Don't Know	3.3
	Total	100.0
Q5. How would you describe the economic situation in Ukraine today?		
		Valid Percent
	Somewhat good	2.2
	Somewhat bad	34.5
	Very bad	60.7
	Don't know	2.3
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0

Q6. Is your family's current economic situation better or worse than one year ago?		
		Valid Percent
	Better	2.8
	Worse	69.2
	Same	26.8
	Don't know	0.8
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
Q7a. What are in your view the most serious problems that Ukraine as a country faces today? (Multiple Response)		
		Percent of Cases
	Corruption	37.4%
	General economic problems	40.9%
	High prices/ inflation	58.4%
	External debt	9.4%
	Political bickering between leaders	20.5%
	Political instability/ general political problems	15.3%
	Poverty	38.8%
	Problems with Russia	15.4%
	Problems with Western countries	1.4%
	Prospects of Ukraine joining NATO	2.0%
	Unemployment	39.5%
	Other	3.5%
	Don't know	1.4%
	Refused	.1%
Q7b. Now, let's think about the problems Ukrainians face in their day-to-day life, not the problems the country as a whole faces. Thinking about ordinary Ukrainians in their day-to-day life, what are the most serious problems they face today? (Multiple Response)		
		Percent of Cases
	Employment/Unemployment	61.5%
	Low salaries	58.1%
	Healthcare	40.1%
	Good education	8.4%
	Family welfare	18.1%
	Politics	5.9%
	Security/Crime	10.6%
	Low pensions	35.0%
	High prices	64.1%
	Other	2.6%
	Don't know	1.3%

Q8. Do you think Ukraine is on the right track toward stability and prosperity in the future, or do you think Ukraine is on a path toward instability and chaos?		
	Stability	6.6
	Instability	73.9
	Neither [Volunteered]	9.4
	Don't know	10.0
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q9. Listed on this card are several statements. Please pick any statement or statements that you think accurately define what it means for a country to be a democracy. You can choose up to five responses.		
		Percent of Cases
	Freedom of association	12.1%
	Freedom of religion	19.7%
	Freedom to vote	27.5%
	Everyone has work	45.5%
	Freedom of speech	36.5%
	Protection of human rights	59.4%
	State support of those unable to work	29.0%
	State support of pensioners	29.0%
	System of checks and balances between executive, legislative	22.2%
	No official corruption (in administrative bodies/people in	35.5%
	Freedom of press	11.8%
	Fair and consistent enforcement of laws	47.2%
	Don't know	5.6%
	Refused	.2%
Q10. Is Ukraine a democracy?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	24.0
	No	49.3
	Both [Volunteered]	16.5
	Don't know	10.1
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q11-A. In your opinion, does the central government respect the following rights and freedoms: Freedom of speech		
		Valid Percent
	Always	14.3
	Sometimes	49.5
	Does not respect	28.9
	Don't Know	6.8
	Refused	0.5

	Total	100.0
Q11-B. In your opinion, does the central government respect the following rights and freedoms: Freedom of religion		
		Valid Percent
	Always	45.1
	Sometimes	34.8
	Does not respect	12.9
	Don't Know	6.9
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
Q11-C. In your opinion, does the central government respect the following rights and freedoms: Freedom to vote		
		Valid Percent
	Always	29.9
	Sometimes	37.8
	Does not respect	26.1
	Don't Know	5.9
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
Q11-D. In your opinion, does the central government respect the following rights and freedoms: Human rights		
		Valid Percent
	Always	6.2
	Sometimes	31.3
	Does not respect	56.9
	Don't Know	5.2
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
Q11-E. In your opinion, does the central government respect the following rights and freedoms: Freedom of press		
		Valid Percent
	Always	15.8
	Sometimes	51.1
	Does not respect	23.6
	Don't Know	9.0
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
Q11-F. In your opinion, does the central government respect the following rights and freedoms: Freedom of association		
		Valid Percent
	Always	18.0
	Sometimes	42.2
	Does not respect	19.4
	Don't Know	19.3
	Refused	1.1

	Total	100.0
Q12-A. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: The Verhovna Rada		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	0.5
	Fair Amount	11.6
	Not Very Much	38.9
	None At All	46.4
	Don't Know	2.6
	Total	100.0
Q12-B. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: The Cabinet of Ministers		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	2.4
	Fair Amount	16.2
	Not Very Much	35.4
	None At All	43.0
	Don't Know	3.0
	Total	100.0
Q12-C. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: President Viktor Yushchenko		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	1.2
	Fair Amount	12.0
	Not Very Much	25.8
	None At All	58.8
	Don't Know	2.2
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q12-D. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	8.5
	Fair Amount	17.1
	Not Very Much	23.9
	None At All	48.7
	Don't Know	1.7
	Total	100.0
Q12-E. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: Former Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	12.6
	Fair Amount	23.6
	Not Very Much	24.6
	None At All	35.6

	Don't Know	3.3
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q12-F. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: Ministry of Justice		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	0.6
	Fair Amount	18.5
	Not Very Much	31.1
	None At All	30.6
	Don't Know	18.7
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
Q12-G. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: Ukraine's military forces		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	8.7
	Fair Amount	38.9
	Not Very Much	21.0
	None At All	19.4
	Don't Know	11.7
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
Q12-H. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: The Central Election Commission		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	3.4
	Fair Amount	28.3
	Not Very Much	31.9
	None At All	25.7
	Don't Know	10.5
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q12-I. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: You City/Village council		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	9.4
	Fair Amount	35.0
	Not Very Much	27.1
	None At All	21.6
	Don't Know	5.9
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0
Q12-J. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: Mayor of your city/village local self-government		

		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	12.4
	Fair Amount	32.2
	Not Very Much	26.4
	None At All	22.9
	Don't Know	5.7
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
Q12-K. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: Your Raion administrator		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	5.1
	Fair Amount	26.1
	Not Very Much	24.5
	None At All	20.4
	Don't Know	20.0
	Refused	4.0
	Total	100.0
Q12-L. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: Your Oblast governor/Head of Crimean Council of Ministers		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	3.2
	Fair Amount	28.7
	Not Very Much	24.6
	None At All	17.7
	Don't Know	24.8
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0
Q12-M. Please tell me how much confidence you have in: The media in Ukraine		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	4.4
	Fair Amount	45.9
	Not Very Much	27.2
	None At All	14.9
	Don't Know	7.4
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q13. Can you tell me whether you are a member of any of the different types of civic organizations listed on this card? (Multiple Response)		
		Percent of Cases
q13 ^a	Trade unions	11.7%
	Political parties	3.8%

	Religious groups	1.6%
	NGOs	.3%
	Artist unions/Scientist Unions	.5%
	Local self-governance institutions	.6%
	Other	.5%
	None of these [Volunteered]	81.8%
	Don't know	.9%
	Refused	.5%
Q14. Do you know of any Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are active in Ukraine?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	27.6
	No	39.7
	Don't know what NGO is [Volunteered]	24.7
	Don't know	7.4
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
Q15. How necessary are non-governmental organizations, or NGOs, for Ukraine -- essential, necessary, not very necessary, or not at all necessary?		
		Valid Percent
	Essential	16.7
	Necessary	46.0
	Not very necessary	14.6
	Not at all necessary	3.1
	Don't know	19.2
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
Q16-A. Did you vote in the following elections: Parliamentary elections on March 26, 2006		
		Valid Percent
	Voted	83.4
	Did Not Vote	12.8
	Too Young (Volunteered)	3.0
	Don't Know	0.8
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q16-B. Did you vote in the following elections: Parliamentary elections on Sep. 30, 2007		
		Valid Percent
	Voted	83.5
	Did Not Vote	13.8
	Too Young (Volunteered)	2.4
	Don't Know	0.3
	Refused	0.0

	Total	100.0
Q16-C. Did you vote in the following elections: Mayoral and City Council Elections on May 25, 2008		
		Valid Percent
	Not Applicable	94.4
	Voted	5.0
	Did Not Vote	0.5
	Too Young (Volunteered)	0.0
	Don't Know	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q17-A. In your opinion, how fair were each of the following elections: Parliamentary elections on March 26, 2006		
		Valid Percent
	Completely Fair	8.1
	Somewhat Fair	30.3
	Somewhat Unfair	27.4
	Completely Unfair	19.2
	DK	14.7
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q17-B. In your opinion, how fair were each of the following elections: Parliamentary elections on Sep. 30, 2007		
		Valid Percent
	Completely Fair	7.8
	Somewhat Fair	28.7
	Somewhat Unfair	28.0
	Completely Unfair	20.9
	DK	14.5
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q17-C. In your opinion, how fair were each of the following elections: Mayoral and City Council Elections on May 25, 2008		
		Valid Percent
	Not Applicable	94.5
	Completely Fair	0.3
	Somewhat Fair	2.0
	Somewhat Unfair	1.6
	Completely Unfair	0.8
	DK	0.8
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q18-A. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements: Voting gives people like you a chance to influence decision-making in our country		
		Valid Percent

	Strongly Agree	5.1
	Somewhat Agree	20.7
	Somewhat Disagree	32.6
	Strongly Disagree	35.9
	Don't Know	5.6
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q18-B. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements: People like you can have influence on decisions made by the government		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	1.6
	Somewhat Agree	12.6
	Somewhat Disagree	31.0
	Strongly Disagree	50.1
	Don't Know	4.5
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q19-A. Have you done any of the following to express your views: Contacted or visited a public official - at any level of government - to express your opinion?		
		Valid Percent
	Over past 12 months	6.3
	Earlier	10.5
	No	82.7
	DK	0.5
	Total	100.0
Q19-B. Have you done any of the following to express your views: Called in to a radio or television talk show to express your opinion on a political or social issue, even if you did not get on the air?		
		Valid Percent
	Over past 12 months	1.0
	Earlier	2.3
	No	96.2
	DK	0.4
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q19-C. Have you done any of the following to express your views: Contacted a newspaper or magazine to express your opinion on an issue?		
		Valid Percent
	Over past 12 months	1.1
	Earlier	2.8
	No	95.5
	DK	0.5
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0

Q19-D. Have you done any of the following to express your views: Sent in an SMS vote to express your opinion on a political or social issue?		
		Valid Percent
	Over past 12 months	2.0
	Earlier	2.4
	No	95.0
	DK	0.6
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q19-E. Have you done any of the following to express your views: Signed a written or email petition		
		Valid Percent
	Over past 12 months	2.6
	Earlier	4.6
	No	92.0
	DK	0.6
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q19-F. Have you done any of the following to express your views: Taken part in a protest, march, or demonstration?		
		Valid Percent
	Over past 12 months	2.1
	Earlier	10.6
	No	86.7
	DK	0.6
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q19-G. Have you done any of the following to express your views: Written on a blog or internet site to express your opinion on a political or social issue?		
		Valid Percent
	Over past 12 months	0.9
	Earlier	1.0
	No	97.4
	DK	0.6
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q20. Please look at this list of political parties and blocs and tell me which of these parties and blocs best represents the interests of people like you?		
		Valid Percent
	Block of Anatolii Hrytsenko «Civil Position»	0.6
	Block of Arseniy Yatsenyuk «Front of Changes»	4.4
	Block of Vitaliy Klichko	0.8
	Block of Volodymyr Lytvyn	3.0
	People Self-Defense» Block (Yu. Lutsenko)	0.1

	Block of Yuliya Tymoshenko	15.6
	All-Ukrainian Union «Freedom» (O.Tyahnybok)	2.3
	Communist Party of Ukraine (P.Symonenko)	5.0
	People's Movement of Ukraine (Narodnyi Rukh) (B.Tarasyuk)	0.2
	Party of Regions (V.Yanukovich)	26.3
	Party United Center» (I. Kryl-V.Baloha)	0.2
	Party Our Ukraine» (V.Yuschenko)	2.1
	Party Labour Ukraine» (S.Tygytko)	3.3
	Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine (N.Vitrenko)	0.8
	Socialist Party of Ukraine (A.Moroz)	0.1
	Ukrainian People's Party (Yu.Kostenko)	0.1
	Other party, block	0.2
	NONE OF THE LISTED [Volunteered]	26.1
	DK/DS [Volunteered]	8.0
	REFUSAL [Volunteered]	0.9
	Total	100.0
Q21. In your opinion, do the major political parties in Ukraine have clear proposals to address the issues facing the country?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes, most do address issues	12.9
	No, only some address issues	57.4
	No, none address issues [Volunteered]	20.3
	Don't know	8.8
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
Q22. In your opinion, whose interests do political parties serve: the interests of the Ukrainian people, the interests of those in power, business interests, their own interests, or some other interests?		
		Valid Percent
	Ukrainian people	3.7
	Those in power	11.1
	Business interests	18.9
	Own interests	52.2
	Depends on the political party [Volunteered]	10.6
	Other	0.1
	Don't know	2.9
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
Q23. In your opinion, how common or rare is corruption in Ukraine? Is it very common, somewhat common, somewhat rare, or very rare?		
		Valid Percent
	Very common	70.1
	Somewhat common	25.4
	Somewhat rare	0.9
	Very rare	0.2

	Don't know	3.3
	Refused	0.0
	Total	100.0
Q24-A. In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions: Universities/Schools		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	29.8
	Somewhat Serious	44.9
	Not Very Serious	12.7
	Not At All Serious	1.8
	Don't Know	10.4
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
Q24-B. In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions: Hospitals (Medical Institutions)		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	45.2
	Somewhat Serious	41.2
	Not Very Serious	8.4
	Not At All Serious	1.1
	Don't Know	3.8
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
Q24-C. In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions: Police		
		Valid Percent
Valid	Very Serious	50.8
	Somewhat Serious	35.3
	Not Very Serious	5.5
	Not At All Serious	0.3
	Don't Know	7.5
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
Q24-D. In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions: Courts		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	50.5
	Somewhat Serious	35.0
	Not Very Serious	4.6
	Not At All Serious	0.4
	Don't Know	9.1
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0

Q24-E. In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions: Customs authorities		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	34.0
	Somewhat Serious	31.1
	Not Very Serious	5.8
	Not At All Serious	0.5
	Don't Know	27.9
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
Q24-F. In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions: Tax authorities		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	37.0
	Somewhat Serious	31.6
	Not Very Serious	6.8
	Not At All Serious	1.0
	Don't Know	22.9
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
Q24-G. In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions: Verkhovna Rada		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	42.6
	Somewhat Serious	32.2
	Not Very Serious	5.7
	Not At All Serious	1.3
	Don't Know	17.3
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0
Q24-H. In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions: Cabinet of Ministers		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	39.9
	Somewhat Serious	29.6
	Not Very Serious	7.9
	Not At All Serious	1.6
	Don't Know	19.9
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0
Q24-I. In your opinion, how serious is the problem of corruption at each of the following institutions: Presidential administration (secretariat)		
		Valid Percent
	Very Serious	38.4
	Somewhat Serious	28.8

	Not Very Serious	6.7
	Not At All Serious	1.9
	Don't Know	23.0
	Refused	1.2
	Total	100.0
Q25-A. How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies: Constitutional Court		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	3.7
	Fair Amount	25.2
	Not Very Much	26.8
	None At All	26.2
	Don't Know	16.3
	Refused	1.8
	Total	100.0
Q25-B. How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies: Supreme Court		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	4.1
	Fair Amount	24.4
	Not Very Much	26.7
	None At All	26.1
	Don't Know	17.0
	Refused	1.8
	Total	100.0
Q25-C. How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies: Appeals Court		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	3.2
	Fair Amount	18.8
	Not Very Much	29.5
	None At All	26.9
	Don't Know	19.6
	Refused	1.9
	Total	100.0
Q25-D. How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies: Local Courts		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	1.9
	Fair Amount	13.5
	Not Very Much	36.4
	None At All	37.5
	Don't Know	10.2
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0

Q25-E. How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies: The public prosecutors' Office		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	1.8
	Fair Amount	14.4
	Not Very Much	34.9
	None At All	36.4
	Don't Know	11.9
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
Q25-F. How much do you trust each of the following judiciary and law enforcement bodies: The police		
		Valid Percent
	Great Deal	2.0
	Fair Amount	12.7
	Not Very Much	34.1
	None At All	42.7
	Don't Know	7.9
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
Q26-A. Please tell me whether there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year: Economic situation in the country.		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.1
	Slight Improvement	2.6
	No Change	10.6
	Slight Decline	32.2
	Great Decline	53.7
	DK	0.8
	Total	100.0
Q26-B. Please tell me whether there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year: Political stability in the country.		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.2
	Slight Improvement	1.9
	No Change	17.8
	Slight Decline	38.0
	Great Decline	40.0
	DK	2.1
	Total	100.0
Q26-C. Please tell me whether there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year: Health services provided by Ukrainian government		

		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.1
	Slight Improvement	2.8
	No Change	27.2
	Slight Decline	32.2
	Great Decline	35.8
	DK	2.1
	Total	100.0
Q26-D. Please tell me whether there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year: Respect for human rights by the authorities		
		Valid Percent
	Slight Improvement	3.2
	No Change	40.7
	Slight Decline	28.4
	Great Decline	23.2
	DK	4.5
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q26-E. Please tell me whether there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year: Unity of Ukrainian citizens		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.9
	Slight Improvement	11.1
	No Change	53.3
	Slight Decline	18.2
	Great Decline	11.2
	DK	5.2
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q26-F. Please tell me whether there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year: The fight against corruption		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.1
	Slight Improvement	3.0
	No Change	36.8
	Slight Decline	24.3
	Great Decline	32.2
	DK	3.7
	Total	100.0
Q26-G. Please tell me whether there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year: Relations with Russia		
		Valid Percent

	Great Improvement	0.6
	Slight Improvement	10.8
	No Change	25.7
	Slight Decline	39.6
	Great Decline	19.6
	DK	3.9
	Total	100.0
Q26-H. Please tell me whether there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year: Relations with Western countries		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.4
	Slight Improvement	11.7
	No Change	53.6
	Slight Decline	16.9
	Great Decline	6.5
	DK	10.8
	Refused	0.1
	Total	100.0
Q26-I. Please tell me whether there has been an improvement, decline, or no change in each of these issues over the past year: Ukraine's national security		
		Valid Percent
	Great Improvement	0.5
	Slight Improvement	5.4
	No Change	51.4
	Slight Decline	17.4
	Great Decline	11.2
	DK	14.1
	Refused	0.0
	Total	100.0
Q27. Some say that Ukraine is a country that is critically divided along regional, ethnic, and ideological basis. Looking ahead to the next 5 years in Ukraine, do you think these divisions are likely to continue to characterize the situation in		
		Valid Percent
	Divided	25.1
	Unity	36.7
	Neither [Volunteered]	9.0
	Both [Volunteered]	3.8
	Ukraine is not divided [Volunteered]	8.9
	Don't know	15.6
	Refused	1.1
	Total	100.0

Q28. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement: 'Elected officials in Ukraine are accountable to the people they serve.'		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly agree	7.3
	Somewhat agree	11.5
	Somewhat disagree	30.5
	Strongly disagree	39.8
	Don't know	10.5
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
Q29. There have been some proposals to change this system so that voters select candidates directly. Do you support or oppose such a change to a system where voters vote for candidates and not parties?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	42.1
	Somewhat support	28.7
	Somewhat oppose	7.9
	Strongly oppose	3.3
	Don't know	17.4
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
Q30. If this change took place, do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree that this change would make Rada deputies more accountable to the public?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly agree	19.1
	Somewhat agree	35.1
	Somewhat disagree	16.6
	Strongly disagree	7.8
	Don't know [Volunteered]	20.5
	Refused [Volunteered]	0.8
	Total	100.0
Q31. If a national referendum were to be held today about whether Ukraine should become a member of the EU; would you vote in favor or against Ukraine joining the EU?		
		Valid Percent
	Would vote in favor	39.7
	Would vote against	29.0
	Don't know	29.8
	Refused	1.5
	Total	100.0
Q32.1 Could you tell me why you would vote in favor of Ukraine joining the EU? (Open-end, Multiple Response)		

	Percent of Cases
Other	2.8%
Ukr geographically in Europe	1.4%
Corruption will reduce	1.5%
Stability, reliability, security	5.5%
International assist. & recogn	6.1%
Ukr. with EU will be better	6.2%
New potential opps, work places, free mobility	14.7%
Fulfill European laws (observe democratic principles, more rights, European values)	14.7%
Development of the economy, market of goods	14.2%
Toward more developed countries, civilized life	16.0%
Improvement of living standards	37.5%
DK	3.2%
NR	1.4%
Q32.2 Could you tell me why you would vote against Ukraine joining the EU? (Open-end, Multiple Response)	
	Percent of Cases
I don't trust the EU	2.4%
Country has not came up to the European level yet	23.2%
For an alliance with Russia, the CIS'	17.3%
It would be unemployment	4.2%
There is another way of life in Europe	1.5%
Prices would increase to European	2.8%
We dont need the EU	4.2%
We are not wanted there, products not wanted there	7.7%
Ukraine should be independent, build strong economy by ourselves	20.5%
Would not be better	6.3%
Exploitation of labor force, resources, agriculture, be market for low-quality goods	7.1%
Would represent EU interests, not ours	3.9%
Other	2.0%
DO NOT KNOW	8.6%
REFUSED	3.6%
Q33. If a national referendum were to be held today about whether Ukraine should become a member of NATO; would you vote in favor of Ukraine joining NATO or against Ukraine joining NATO?	
	Valid Percent
Would vote in favor	14.6
Would vote against	56.1
I am indecisive [Volunteered]	7.7

	Don't know	20.0
	Refused	1.6
	Total	100.0
Q34 Could you tell me why you would vote in favor of Ukraine joining NATO?		
[Open-ended; Multiple response]		
		Percent of Cases
	Help to our country	5.0%
	We need to unite - almost all Western countries are in NATO	5.5%
	European legislation	.9%
	Collective security	43.0%
	Economic support	9.3%
	The problem of the Black Sea Navy will be decided	.8%
	Preservation of peace	2.5%
	More confidence in the integrity of the state	6.6%
	Promising	1.8%
	Creation of a modern army and armament	14.3%
	Control of the Government of Ukraine	1.7%
	The political support	4.6%
	This is respect (prestige) of Ukraine as a country	3.5%
	Increasing prestige of military profession	.4%
	Other	5.3%
	DO NOT KNOW	10.7%
	REFUSED	.6%
Q35 Could you tell me why you would vote against Ukraine joining NATO?		
[Open-ended; Multiple response accepted]		
		Percent of Cases
	Aggressiveness of NATO	12.7%
	Don't trust NATO	9.9%
	No threats	1.9%
	Ukraine obliged to participate in wars	16.3%
	Ukraine should be neutral	9.2%
	We would lose our independence	6.0%
	Not ready to join NATO	4.1%
	Relations with Russia would worsen	4.9%
	Should do military alliance w/ Russia	4.2%
	Large financial expense	1.6%
	No positive side	3.1%
	Other	4.3%
	Will only use our army for profit	5.1%
	We should worry about ourselves, need own army	10.2%

	Don't want foreign troops, bases on territory	10.9%
	NR	8.3%
	DK	3.8%
Q36. Could you tell me why you do not favor one side or the other? (NATO) [Open-ended; Multiple Response]		
		Percent of Cases
	Little information about NATO	44.0%
	Information from various politicians contradictory	2.3%
	The pressure from NATO on Ukraine	3.2%
	They can deprive us of independence	2.8%
	We would be forced to fight all over the world	4.5%
	Breach of relations with Russia	.6%
	We would lose the support of NATO	3.2%
	Weak opportunities to influence on decision-making	2.8%
	The lack of benefit for Ukraine	5.5%
	Ukraine should have a neutral status	2.2%
	We should seek support from the Slavic peoples	.9%
	There will be good governance	.9%
	Don't certain that there is a need to join NATO	5.8%
	Ukraine doesn't ready	.3%
	Lack of funds	1.0%
	Against location of missiles and weapons in Ukraine	1.7%
	Combat readiness of Ukrainian army will increase	.7%
	Other	1.5%
	DO NOT KNOW	19.7%
	REFUSED	2.0%
Q37. In your opinion, what would be the best way for Ukrainians to vote for parliament in Ukraine:		
		Valid Percent
	A system where voters vote only for political parties to fill all seats in parliament	6.3
	A system where voters vote directly for candidates who will represent them in parliament	62.1
	A mixed system where half of the seats in parliament are filled through voting for parties, and half are filled by direct voting of candidates	18.3
	Don't know	12.8
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0

Q38. Do you support or oppose this proposal to have the parliament elect the President?		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	2.2
	Somewhat support	3.7
	Somewhat oppose	24.1
	Strongly oppose	59.8
	Don't know	9.9
	Refused	0.3
	Total	100.0
Q39. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about your participation in presidential elections. In general when voting in presidential elections, which of the following are the most important factors that influence your choice? You can select up to three.		
		Percent of Cases
	Candidates' personality/ charisma	52.6%
	Candidates' platform	38.2%
	Candidates' earlier performance	52.3%
	Region of country candidate represents	10.7%
	Services candidate provide to our area (area where you live)	19.1%
	My family or friends always vote for/like these candidates	9.5%
	Candidates stance on Ukraine joining the EU	4.1%
	Candidates stance on Ukraine joining NATO	4.4%
	Candidate who displays honesty and integrity	36.9%
	Candidate who is knowledgeable about important issues	16.6%
	Other	.5%
	Don't know	2.9%
	Refused	1.1%
Q40. Now, let's turn our attention to the upcoming presidential elections on January 17, 2010. How likely are you to vote in these elections? Are you very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely to vote?		
		Valid Percent
	Very likely	66.9
	Somewhat likely	21.2
	Somewhat unlikely	2.6
	Very unlikely	2.4
	Definitely will not vote (Volunteered)	4.1
	Don't know	2.9
	Total	100.0
Q41. Why are you not likely to vote in the presidential elections? (Open-ended, Multiple Response)		
		Percent of

		Cases
	I think that my vote doesn't decide anything	10.9%
	I have never vote	3.7%
	I don't think it is necessary to vote	4.3%
	I'm not registered, have no citizenship	8.0%
	Not sure in the victory of my candidate	.6%
	I don't believe in honest and fair elections	19.3%
	I don't trust any candidate	43.1%
	There is no candidate in the list, whom I'm ready to vote for	1.5%
	Elections wouldn't change anything	8.8%
	DO NOT KNOW	1.9%
	REFUSED	4.7%
Q42. How free and fair do you expect the presidential election to be? Do you expect it to be completely free and fair, somewhat free and fair, not very free and fair, not at all free and fair?		
		Valid Percent
	Completely free and fair	9.7
	Somewhat free and fair	32.0
	Not very free and fair	32.6
	Not at all free and fair	13.0
	Don't know	12.7
	Refused	0.0
	Total	100.0
Q43. What, in your opinion, will be the main reason for ensuring fair and free presidential elections? (Multiple Response)		
		Percent of Cases
	The law ensures free and fair elections in Ukraine	40.8%
	Monitoring of the election process by international observe	26.7%
	Monitoring of the election process by independent Ukrainian	22.2%
	Monitoring of the election process by the media	14.4%
	The Election Commissions consist of representatives of diff	28.8%
	The local election commission is fair	40.7%
	Other	1.7%
	Don't know	11.2%
	Refused	.8%
Q44-A. My vote is kept confidential by election authorities in Ukraine.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	19.4
	Somewhat Agree	38.3
	Somewhat Disagree	24.0

	Strongly Disagree	7.6
	Don't Know	10.7
	Total	100.0
Q44-B. The results of elections in Ukraine accurately reflect the way people voted in the election.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	8.4
	Somewhat Agree	25.5
	Somewhat Disagree	40.6
	Strongly Disagree	18.1
	Don't Know	7.5
	Total	100.0
Q44-C. The presence of non-partisan Ukrainian civic organization observers would have a positive effect on the fairness of elections in Ukraine.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	23.9
	Somewhat Agree	45.3
	Somewhat Disagree	18.8
	Strongly Disagree	6.7
	Don't Know	5.2
	Total	100.0
Q44-D. The presence of international observers has a positive effect on the fairness of elections in Ukraine.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	26.1
	Somewhat Agree	49.5
	Somewhat Disagree	12.9
	Strongly Disagree	6.2
	Don't Know	5.3
	Total	100.0
Q44-E. The presence of political party observers has a positive effect on the legitimacy of elections in Ukraine.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	24.1
	Somewhat Agree	46.3
	Somewhat Disagree	16.9
	Strongly Disagree	6.6
	Don't Know	6.2
	Total	100.0
Q44-F. Elections in Ukraine are competently administered.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	15.1
	Somewhat Agree	37.5

	Somewhat Disagree	31.1
	Strongly Disagree	10.5
	Don't Know	5.8
	Total	100.0
Q44-G. Our national media provides thorough coverage of parties and candidates up for election.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	15.9
	Somewhat Agree	47.9
	Somewhat Disagree	24.5
	Strongly Disagree	6.3
	Don't Know	5.4
	Total	100.0
Q44-H. Our national media provides objective coverage of parties and candidates up for election.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	12.0
	Somewhat Agree	37.5
	Somewhat Disagree	34.3
	Strongly Disagree	8.1
	Don't Know	8.1
	Total	100.0
Q44-I. I feel safe in voting however I wish in an election.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	37.3
	Somewhat Agree	39.5
	Somewhat Disagree	12.8
	Strongly Disagree	4.9
	Don't Know	5.5
	Total	100.0
Q44-J. I am informed about the electoral process in Ukraine.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	19.0
	Somewhat Agree	46.2
	Somewhat Disagree	23.9
	Strongly Disagree	6.1
	Don't Know	4.9
	Total	100.0
Q44-K. Ukraine's electoral system provides adequate means to challenge election violations.		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly Agree	10.9
	Somewhat Agree	34.9
	Somewhat Disagree	24.8
	Strongly Disagree	12.3

	Don't Know	17.0
	Total	100.0
Q45-A1. Please tell me your likelihood of voting in the second round if: The person you support in the first round does not make it to the second round.		
		Valid Percent
	Very Likely	53.2
	Somewhat Likely	28.0
	Somewhat Unlikely	5.1
	Very Unlikely	4.9
	Definitely will not vote (Volunteered)	2.4
	DK	6.0
	NR	0.4
	Total	100.0
Q45-A2. Please tell me your likelihood of voting in the second round if: The person you support in the first round makes it to the second round.		
		Valid Percent
	Very Likely	74.6
	Somewhat Likely	19.9
	Somewhat Unlikely	0.9
	Very Unlikely	0.8
	Definitely will not vote (Volunteered)	0.3
	DK	3.1
	NR	0.4
	Total	100.0
Q45-B Please tell me your likelihood of voting in this second round election.		
		Valid Percent
	Very Likely	1.8
	Somewhat Likely	4.5
	Somewhat Unlikely	16.5
	Very Unlikely	23.9
	Definitely will not vote (Volunteered)	33.7
	DK	19.6
	Total	100.0
Q46-A. For each of these, please tell me whether you have very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impressions of the politician: Viktor Yuschenko		
		Valid Percent
	Very positive	2.8
	Somewhat positive	10.6
	Somewhat negative	30.1
	Very negative	52.4
	DK	4.0
	Total	100.0

Q46-B. For each of these, please tell me whether you have very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impressions of the politician: Viktor Yanukovich		
		Valid Percent
	Very positive	16.3
	Somewhat positive	25.2
	Somewhat negative	26.3
	Very negative	28.6
	DK	3.6
	Total	100.0
Q46-C. For each of these, please tell me whether you have very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impressions of the politician: Yulia Tymoshenko		
		Valid Percent
	Very positive	11.7
	Somewhat positive	18.0
	Somewhat negative	26.7
	Very negative	40.3
	DK	3.2
	Total	100.0
Q46-D. For each of these, please tell me whether you have very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impressions of the politician: Arseniy Yatsenyuk		
		Valid Percent
	Very positive	6.2
	Somewhat positive	26.2
	Somewhat negative	30.2
	Very negative	25.7
	DK	11.7
	Total	100.0
Q46-E. For each of these, please tell me whether you have very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impressions of the politician: Volodymyr Lytvyn		
		Valid Percent
	Very positive	4.0
	Somewhat positive	26.8
	Somewhat negative	38.6
	Very negative	21.6
	DK	9.0
	Total	100.0
Q46-F. For each of these, please tell me whether you have very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impressions of the politician: Serhiy Tygypko		
		Valid Percent
	Very positive	4.3
	Somewhat positive	27.6

	Somewhat negative	30.6
	Very negative	19.8
	DK	17.7
	Total	100.0
Q46-G. For each of these, please tell me whether you have very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impressions of the politician: Anatoliy Hrytsenko		
		Valid Percent
	Very positive	1.9
	Somewhat positive	19.7
	Somewhat negative	29.7
	Very negative	24.5
	DK	24.3
	Total	100.0
Q46-H. For each of these, please tell me whether you have very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impressions of the politician: Oleh Tyahnybok		
		Valid Percent
	Very positive	2.7
	Somewhat positive	8.8
	Somewhat negative	28.3
	Very negative	36.9
	DK	23.4
	Total	100.0
Q46-I. For each of these, please tell me whether you have very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impressions of the politician: Petro Symonenko		
		Valid Percent
	Very positive	4.6
	Somewhat positive	17.8
	Somewhat negative	33.1
	Very negative	36.3
	DK	8.1
	Total	100.0
Q47. To you, which three issues are most important for the winning presidential candidate to address as soon as they take office? (Multiple Response)		
		Percent of Cases
	Reducing Corruption	48.0%
	Creating Jobs	70.8%
	Keeping prices low	55.7%
	Creating political stability	33.0%
	The status of Russian language	8.6%

	Improving security	7.7%
	Improving health care services	32.8%
	Improving quality of education	8.5%
	Addressing the gas situation with Russia	16.9%
	Reform of the electoral code to elect candidates, not parties	5.5%
	Change from unicameral to bicameral parliament	.2%
	The status of Ukraine and the EU	2.8%
	The status of Ukraine and NATO	1.4%
	Creation of Grand Coalition between Party of Regions and BYU	.4%
	Don't know	5.9%
	Refused	1.4%
Q48-A. For each, please tell me which of the candidates is best suited to address the issue: Creating economic growth		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovich	32.5
	Yulia Tymoshenko	17.4
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	4.9
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	0.6
	Oleh Tyahnybok	0.9
	Serhiy Tygypko	6.3
	Inna Bohoslovska	0.4
	Viktor Yuschenko	2.7
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	2.7
	Petro Symonenko	2.9
	Yurij Kostenko	0.1
	Other	1.7
	None [Volunteered]	16.9
	Don't Know	8.5
	Refused	1.4
	Total	100.0
Q48-B. For each, please tell me which of the candidates is best suited to address the issue: Maintaining cordial relations with Russia		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovich	41.3
	Yulia Tymoshenko	20.1
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	4.1
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	0.7
	Oleh Tyahnybok	0.6
	Serhiy Tygypko	3.5
	Inna Bohoslovska	0.4
	Viktor Yuschenko	1.9
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	2.0
	Petro Symonenko	3.4

	Yurij Kostenko	0.0
	Other	3.1
	None [Volunteered]	11.3
	Don't Know	6.6
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0
Q48-C. For each, please tell me which of the candidates is best suited to address the issue: Maintaining cordial relations with Europe		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovich	26.8
	Yulia Tymoshenko	20.2
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	8.7
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	0.9
	Oleh Tyahnybok	0.7
	Serhiy Tygypko	3.9
	Inna Bohoslovskaya	0.6
	Viktor Yuschenko	6.9
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	2.6
	Petro Symonenko	2.8
	Other	1.9
	None [Volunteered]	11.9
	Don't Know	10.7
	Refused	1.5
	Total	100.0
Q48-D. For each, please tell me which of the candidates is best suited to address the issue: Maintaining cordial relations with United States		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovich	18.6
	Yulia Tymoshenko	16.4
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	5.3
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	0.6
	Oleh Tyahnybok	0.7
	Serhiy Tygypko	3.1
	Inna Bohoslovskaya	0.8
	Viktor Yuschenko	21.2
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	1.6
	Petro Symonenko	1.9
	Other	1.5
	None [Volunteered]	12.9
	Don't Know	13.9
	Refused	1.5
	Total	100.0
Q48-E. For each, please tell me which of the candidates is best suited to address the issue: Fighting corruption		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovich	20.9
	Yulia Tymoshenko	14.2
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	4.9
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	2.0

	Oleh Tyahnybok	1.5
	Serhiy Tygypko	3.6
	Inna Bohoslovska	1.2
	Viktor Yuschenko	2.2
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	2.5
	Petro Symonenko	3.3
	Yurij Kostenko	0.1
	Other	2.0
	None [Volunteered]	29.2
	Don't Know	11.2
	Refused	1.3
	Total	100.0
Q48-F. For each, please tell me which of the candidates is best suited to address the issue: Handling inflation		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovych	28.4
	Yulia Tymoshenko	16.7
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	5.1
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	0.6
	Oleh Tyahnybok	0.8
	Serhiy Tygypko	7.3
	Inna Bohoslovska	0.4
	Viktor Yuschenko	2.3
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	2.7
	Petro Symonenko	3.2
	Yurij Kostenko	0.1
	Other	1.4
	None [Volunteered]	19.2
	Don't Know	10.7
	Refused	1.2
	Total	100.0
Q48-G. For each, please tell me which of the candidates is best suited to address the issue: Preserving Ukraine's sovereignty		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovych	30.0
	Yulia Tymoshenko	16.1
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	5.1
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	0.9
	Oleh Tyahnybok	1.4
	Serhiy Tygypko	3.5
	Inna Bohoslovska	0.5
	Viktor Yuschenko	6.8
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	3.3
	Petro Symonenko	3.4
	Yurij Kostenko	0.2
	Valentyna Semenyuk-Samsonenko	0.0
	Other	2.0
	None [Volunteered]	13.1
	Don't Know	12.3

	Refused	1.4
	Total	100.0
Q48-H. For each, please tell me which of the candidates is best suited to address the issue: Reducing influence of oligarchs		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovich	18.4
	Yulia Tymoshenko	13.2
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	4.4
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	1.3
	Oleh Tyahnybok	1.3
	Serhiy Tygypko	3.2
	Inna Bohoslovka	1.0
	Viktor Yuschenko	1.8
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	2.2
	Petro Symonenko	4.4
	Valentyna Semenyuk-Samsonenko	0.1
	Other	2.6
	None [Volunteered]	30.5
	Don't Know	14.3
	Refused	1.3
	Total	100.0
Q48-I. For each, please tell me which of the candidates is best suited to address the issue: Defending Ukraine's territorial integrity		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovich	29.3
	Yulia Tymoshenko	15.9
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	4.8
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	2.3
	Oleh Tyahnybok	1.4
	Serhiy Tygypko	3.3
	Inna Bohoslovka	0.6
	Viktor Yuschenko	5.5
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	2.7
	Petro Symonenko	3.5
	Yurij Kostenko	0.1
	Other	2.4
	None [Volunteered]	13.5
	Don't Know	13.4
	Refused	1.3
	Total	100.0
Q49. If the Presidential Elections took place next Sunday and the voting list included the following candidates, which of the candidates would you vote for?		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovich	31.2
	Yulia Tymoshenko	19.1

	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	4.7
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	0.7
	Oleh Tyahnybok	1.8
	Serhiy Tygypko	4.8
	Inna Bohoslovska	0.7
	Viktor Yuschenko	3.5
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	2.8
	Petro Symonenko	3.8
	Yurij Kostenko	0.1
	Other,[Volunteered]	2.3
	Against all	7.9
	Will not vote [Volunteered]	5.0
	Don't Know	10.1
	Refused	1.5
	Total	100.0
Q50. How would you characterize your decision to vote for this person among these three choices		
		Valid Percent
	I will definitely vote for _____,	69.3
	I am fairly certain to vote for _____ but could ch	21.6
	_____ seems like the best choice right now but I am open to changing my mind once the campaign starts	8.1
	Don't know	0.9
	Refused	0.2
	Total	100.0
Q51. With respect to your choice of ____ as the person you would vote for in the January 17 election, please tell me which of these two statements more accurately describes the reason you made this choice.		
		Valid Percent
	I chose _____ because I believe he/she is the best candidate to address the challenges facing Ukraine.	76.4
	I chose _____ because I do not like any of the other candidates running in the election.	21.2
	Don't know	1.4
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0
Q52.1. I will show you a list of possible candidates that may face each other in the run-off election. For each pair of potential candidates, please tell me which one of them would you vote for: Yanukovych and Yatsenyuk		
		Valid Percent
	Yanukovych	42.3
	Yatsenyuk	22.5
	Against both	21.6
	Do not intend to vote	5.7

	DK	7.2
	Refused	0.7
	Total	100.0
Q52.2. I will show you a list of possible candidates that may face each other in the run-off election. For each pair of potential candidates, please tell me which one of them would you vote for: Yanukovych and Tymoshenko		
		Valid Percent
	Yanukovych	42.3
	Tymoshenko	27.7
	Against both	18.3
	Do not intend to vote	5.2
	DK	5.9
	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
Q52.3. I will show you a list of possible candidates that may face each other in the run-off election. For each pair of potential candidates, please tell me which one of them would you vote for: Yatsenyuk and Tymoshenko		
		Valid Percent
	Yatsenyuk	23.8
	Tymoshenko	25.6
	Against both	34.4
	Do not intend to vote	7.3
	DK	7.9
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0
Q52.4. I will show you a list of possible candidates that may face each other in the run-off election. For each pair of potential candidates, please tell me which one of them would you vote for?: Yanukovych and Lytvyn		
		Valid Percent
	Yanukovych	42.4
	Lytvyn	19.7
	Against both	23.5
	Do not intend to vote	5.6
	DK	7.9
	Refused	0.9
	Total	100.0
Q52.5. I will show you a list of possible candidates that may face each other in the run-off election. For each pair of potential candidates, please tell me which one of them would you vote for: Yanukovych and Yuschenko		
		Valid Percent
	Yanukovych	46.2
	Yuschenko	13.0
	Against both	27.8
	Do not intend to vote	6.2
	DK	6.3

	Refused	0.6
	Total	100.0
Q53. Of the list of candidates I showed you for the first round of the election, is there any candidate that you would absolutely not vote for no matter what the situation?		
		Valid Percent
	Viktor Yanukovich	16.0
	Yulia Tymoshenko	17.4
	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	2.0
	Anatoliy Hrytsenko	0.2
	Oleh Tyahnybok	2.6
	Serhiy Tygypko	0.5
	Inna Bohoslovska	0.8
	Viktor Yuschenko	30.5
	Volodymyr Lytvyn	0.4
	Petro Symonenko	3.4
	Yurij Kostenko	0.2
	Other	6.0
	No	8.5
	No response	11.4
	Total	100.0
Q54-A. As you may know, there has been a lot of talk about the H1N1 virus in Ukraine. How would you rate the Ukrainian government's response to the H1N1 situation in Ukraine?		
		Valid Percent
	Very good	7.1
	Good	28.5
	Poor	27.9
	Very poor	16.9
	Don't know	17.8
	Refused	1.8
	Total	100.0
Q54-B. Why?		
		Percent of Cases
	Growth of prices on drugs	10.2%
	Panic, provoking of fear	12.3%
	Corruption at pharmacies	2.7%
	There were no specific actions, programs	7.9%
	Was fabricated to make money/divert attention from pressing problems	36.0%
	Used epidemic for political purposes	21.6%
	Lack supplies, lack necessary medicine, poor medical performance	26.9%
	Other	5.6%
	Don't know	3.6%

	Refused	9.3%
Q55. Are you aware of international organization assistance being provided to Ukraine by other countries?		
		Valid Percent
	Yes	45.6
	No	46.2
	Don't know	7.8
	Refused	0.4
	Total	100.0
Q56. In your opinion, how effective is this international organization assistance?		
		Valid Percent
	Very effective	7.6
	Somewhat effective	42.5
	Not very effective	24.8
	No effective at all	12.0
	Don't know	13.1
	Total	100.0
Q57. What actions should international organizations undertake to make their assistance more effective for Ukraine? [Multiple Response]		
		Percent of Cases
	Provide funds to government directly	18.9%
	Work through Ukrainian organizations	22.3%
	Work through international organizations	21.6%
	Employ more Ukrainian experts	23.8%
	Employ more international experts	26.6%
	Learn lessons from its previous projects in Ukraine and internationally	22.2%
	Publicize their efforts better	35.7%
	Other	3.6%
	Don't know	14.2%
Q58-A. Would you say you support or oppose Ukraine receiving assistance from international organizations in the following areas: Democracy and governance		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	21.3
	Somewhat support	31.2
	Somewhat oppose	13.6
	Strongly oppose	21.5
	Don't know	11.4
	Refused	1.0
	Total	100.0

Q58-B. Would you say you support or oppose Ukraine receiving assistance from international organizations in the following areas: Economic development		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	43.2
	Somewhat support	33.3
	Somewhat oppose	8.5
	Strongly oppose	7.2
	Don't know	7.2
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0
Q58-C. Would you say you support or oppose Ukraine receiving assistance from international organizations in the following areas: Health and social development		
		Valid Percent
	Strongly support	52.4
	Somewhat support	31.2
	Somewhat oppose	4.9
	Strongly oppose	4.5
	Don't know	6.6
	Refused	0.5
	Total	100.0



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