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PUBLIC OPINION IN UKRAINE PRIOR TO THE 2007 RADA ELECTIONS



August 2007 - September 2007

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TO THE 2007 RADA ELECTIONS:
FINDINGS FROM AN IFES SEPTEMBER
2007 SURVEY**

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FINDINGS FROM AN IFES SEPTEMBER
2007 SURVEY**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is the 15th public opinion poll conducted in Ukraine by IFES. This report details findings from the latest IFES survey in Ukraine and references findings from earlier surveys done in Ukraine. The fieldwork was conducted from August 28 – September 11, 2007 with 1265 respondents throughout Ukraine. This sample comprised a national sample of 1,200 respondents and an over-sample of 65 respondents in Kyiv. 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 2.75%. The fieldwork and data processing for the survey were conducted by GfK Ukraine, based in Kyiv. Funding for the survey was provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

OPINIONS ON CURRENT SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN COUNTRY

Fielded only weeks before the September 30 parliamentary election, Ukrainians were heading to the polls feeling largely dissatisfied with the current political and economic situation in their country. Survey findings indicate that Ukrainians are more likely to say there has been a decline rather than improvement in socio-political issues over the past year. With regard to political stability, a majority of Ukrainians say there has been a decline in political stability (62%). Forty-nine percent express the same opinion about the economic situation in the country, compared to only 19% who think there has been an improvement. A majority (52%) believes the fight against corruption stayed the same over the past year while 36% think there has been a decline. Thirty-one percent believe there's been a decline in the unity of Ukrainian citizens, 54% believe it stayed at same level; while 35% think there has been a decline in the respect for human rights by the authorities where 51% believe it stayed at the same level. Thirty-two percent think relations with Russia declined compared to 19% who think these relations have improved. In the case of western countries, 20% think relations improved while 13% think they have declined. Fifty-one percent

and 40%, respectively, believe relations with western countries and Russia stayed the same over the past year.

Given the perception of decline in significant issues over the past year, it is not surprising a large majority of Ukrainians are very or somewhat dissatisfied with the economic situation (83%), political situation (82%), and foreign policy (61%) in Ukraine. Dissatisfaction with the political situation and foreign policy increased since the November 2005 IFES survey in Ukraine.

More than eight in ten Ukrainians (85%) describe the current economic situation as bad or very bad. While 43% say their family's economic situation stayed the same over the past year, 37% say it got worse compared to 17% who say their family's economic situation improved. Nearly a quarter (24%) expect their family's economic situation to stay the same over the next year, while 21% expect it to get worse and 16% better.

Respondents to the survey were given a list of institutions and asked to assess the level of corruption in those institutions. In each case, a major-

ity says corruption is very or somewhat serious in these institutions: hospitals (83%), police (83%), courts (83%), universities/schools (76%), tax authorities (76%), customs authorities (75%), Verkhovna Rada (68%), Cabinet of Ministers (62%), and Presidential Administration (55%).

Ukrainians are more likely to express a lack of confidence in the country's leading institutions and individuals. Among the three leading political figures in the country, only Prime Minister Yanukovych gets a higher share of Ukrainians expressing confidence rather than a lack of conf-

idence in him. Forty-nine percent say they have confidence in Yanukovych, and 48% say they don't have confidence in him. For President Yushchenko 44% express confidence while 52% express a lack of confidence, and for Yulia Tymoshenko these percentages are 41% and 55%, respectively. Forty percent express confidence in the Rada while 56% take the opposite view. Only 33% express confidence in the Ministry of Justice, while slightly higher (44%) express confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers. A majority expressed confidence in the media (61%) and in the military (53%).

OPINIONS ON SEPTEMBER 2007 RADA ELECTION

A majority of Ukrainians (58%) agree with the decision to call for early parliamentary elections in September, while 30% disagree with the decision to call early elections. A majority of respondents in five of the six geographical regions agree with the decision to call early elections. The only exception is the Eastern region where opinions are split with 41% supporting the decision and 40% against it.

More than eight in ten Ukrainian adults say they are either very likely (58%) or somewhat likely (27%) to vote in the September election. Only nine percent say they are somewhat or very unlikely to vote. There is little difference between men and women in likelihood of voting and there is similar lack of difference among key age groups. Kyiv city is one region of the country where less than a majority (31%) says they are very likely to vote and 61% say that they are somewhat likely to vote.

According to a significant number of Ukrainians, the September elections are taking place at a time when Ukraine is on a path toward instability. Forty-seven percent say Ukraine is on a path toward instability, while 15% say it's on a path toward stability. One reason for the higher mention of instability may be due to regional and political divisions which characterize Ukraine today. Respondents were asked whether they expect these divisions to continue or whether they expect Ukrainians to work toward greater unity over the next five years. Opinions

are split as 27% think Ukrainians will work toward unity and 25% think they will stay divided. Fifteen percent say neither of these things will happen, 4% say both will and 29% do not offer an opinion.

The majority of Ukrainians also do not expect the elections to lead to political stability. Forty-nine percent say it is unlikely the September elections will lead to political stability, while 26% say it is likely the elections will lead to stability.

Ukrainians tend to be pessimistic about how free and fair the September elections are likely to be. Forty-two percent of Ukrainians are of the opinion that elections will not be very fair or fair at all. Thirty-five percent, on the other hand, believe the election will be completely or somewhat fair. Ukrainians were slightly more positive about the integrity of the election before the 2006 parliamentary elections as 39% in the IFES survey before that election said it would not be fair or fair at all, and 38% felt it would be completely or somewhat fair. When asked for the main requirements that would ensure fair elections, the following were identified: local election commission is fair (18%), monitoring of the election process by international observers (16%), the Election Commission consists of representatives from different parties (16%), the law ensures free and fair elections (11%), and the observation of the election process is done by independent Ukrainian observers (11%).

Survey respondents were asked which party they would vote for if the election took place on the following Sunday. The Party of Regions was most often mentioned (29.7%) followed by the Tymoshenko Bloc (18.9%), the Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defense Bloc (9.8%), and the Communist Party (3.1%). Other parties and blocs mentioned include the Lytvyn bloc (2.1%), the Vitrenko bloc (1.1%), and the Socialist Party (1.0%). Sixteen percent of all respondents had yet to make up their mind at the time of the survey. There is a large degree of regional variation in choice of parties. The Party of Regions is the dominant cho-

ice of voters in the Eastern (48%) and Southern (46%) regions, and it also performs fairly well in the Central region (22%) and Kyiv (18%). The Tymoshenko Bloc has negligible support in the East and South, but does well in the West (35%), Central region (30%), Kyiv (26%), and the North (24%). The Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defense Bloc's primary strength is in the West (26%) but it significantly trails the Tymoshenko bloc in the Central region and Kyiv. The percentage of undecided voters is highest in the Northern and Central regions, both areas with strong support for the Tymoshenko bloc.

OPINIONS ON AND AWARENESS OF ELECTION PROCESS

Although Ukrainians are more likely to be pessimistic about the fairness of the September elections, they still have generally positive assessments of several specific aspects of the elections process in Ukraine. Sixty-seven percent feel safe in voting freely, 60% agree they are informed about the election process, and 56% believe that their vote is kept confidential by election authorities. They also have positive impressions of the role that observers and the media can play in the election process. Close to seven in ten Ukrainians agree that the presence of independent domestic observers and political party observers has a positive impact on the integrity of elections in Ukraine. Three-quarters hold the same opinion regarding international election observers. A majority (58%) think the national media is thorough in its coverage of parties and candidates up for election, and 43% agree the media is objective in its coverage (compared to 37% who disagree the media is objective).

While Ukrainians have positive opinions on some aspects of the election process, they are dissatisfied with the administration of this process. A majority (57%) disagrees that the election process is competently administered. This might be one reason why 45% disagree that election results reflect the actual vote in Ukraine (compared to 41% who agree). In addition, few Ukrainians (26%) agree that the election system provides adequate means to challenge election violations. The combination of these opinions may be one

reason why more Ukrainians say they have little or no confidence in the Central Election Commission (49%) than the percentage who say they have a great deal or fair amount (41%).

The majority of Ukrainians had not heard of either key amendment to the election law passed by the Rada in preparation for the September 30 election. A majority (53%) are not aware that the Rada passed an amendment to the election law that states that a minimum of 50% of registered voters will have to vote in order to make the results of the election valid. Forty-seven percent say they are aware of the amendment. The second amendment passed by the Rada states that absentee voting will no longer be allowed in early elections before the term of the current Rada has expired. Only 35% are aware of this amendment, while 65% have not heard of it. Those aware of each amendment generally think that the amendments will have a positive impact on citizens' voting rights.

More than four in ten Ukrainians are not aware whether they are currently registered to vote. A slight majority (53%) says they are registered to vote, while 23% say they may be registered to vote but are not sure and another 21% do not know if they are registered to vote. Three percent definitively say they are not registered to vote.

A majority (59%) also says they have never checked the voters list to see if they are registered. Forty-one percent have checked the voters list in the past. When asked whether they intend to

check the voters list for the September election, only 36% say they intend to while a majority (54%) say they do not intend to check the voters list. Among likely voters, 40% intend to check the voters list and 50% do not.

ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND CITIZEN POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

As in previous IFES surveys, Ukrainians are likely to mention a mix of idealistic and practical conceptions of what it means to live in a democracy. Ukrainians list the protection of human rights (66%) as a top concept. They also mention practical concerns such as: everyone has work (53%), state support of pensioners (43%) and state support of unemployed (39%). Fifty percent mention no official corruption as a sign of a democracy. Other freedoms mentioned include: fair and consistent enforcement of the laws (44%), freedom of speech (42%), freedom to vote (29%) and freedom of religion (24%).

Twenty-seven percent of Ukrainians say Ukraine is a democracy, while almost half (49%) say it is not a democracy. These figures are little changed from the November 2005 IFES survey in which 26% said that Ukraine is a democracy and 50% said it was not. Two percent say Ukraine is becoming a democracy, and 23% did not offer an opinion.

Many Ukrainians believe the central government is selective in its respect of rights and freedoms. The percent that believe that the government always, sometimes, or never respects these rights and freedoms is as follows:

- Freedom of speech (10% always, 50% sometimes, 33% never)
- Freedom of religion (37% always, 37% sometimes, 18% never)
- Freedom to vote (21% always, 39% sometimes, 33% never)
- Protection of human rights (5% always, 35% sometimes, 52% never)
- Freedom of press (14% always, 48% sometimes, 28% never)
- Freedom of association (14% always, 39% sometimes, 25% never)

Interest in politics has increased slightly from 57% in the November 2005 IFES survey. Sixty-three percent of Ukrainians say they are interested in politics, while 35% say that they are not interested. Men are slightly more likely to be interested in politics than women.

Two thirds of Ukrainians (66%) disagree that ordinary people can have influence on decision-making by the government while 26% agree with this statement. Meanwhile, almost half (49%) disagree that voting gives them a chance to influence decision-making versus 40% who agree.

The majority of Ukrainians have positive assessments of the involvement of ordinary people in the political process. Sixty-eight percent agree that the use of demonstrations is a legitimate exercise of democratic rights, while 21% disagree with this. Fifty-three percent also disagree that greater involvement in political affairs by ordinary people will lead to chaos and instability in the country. Twenty-seven percent agree with this statement.

Engagement by the Ukrainian public to express their views on important issues has declined since the November 2005 survey. On this survey, 4% say they contacted or visited a public official to express their view, 3% took part in a demonstration, 2% called in to radio or TV talk shows, sent a SMS to express their opinion, or signed a petition, and 1% contacted a newspaper or magazine to express their view.

The September 30 election was called by President Yushenko after he disbanded parliament. More Ukrainians than not agree that Yushenko's actions were appropriate and meant to benefit all Ukrainians (45%), rather than inappropriate and meant to benefit only him and his supporters (33%). Nine percent do not agree with either of these sentiments and 13% do not offer an opinion. The vast majority of those who intend to vote for the Tymoshenko bloc and Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defense Bloc agree that the action was meant to benefit all Ukrainians (77% and 84%, respectively), while a slight majority of those who support the Party of Regions says that the action was meant to benefit Yushenko and his supporters (54%).

One of the issues that led to President Yushenko disbanding parliament was deputies switching parties while they were serving in parliament. When Ukrainians are asked whether parliamentary deputies elected to the Rada on one party's list should be allowed to switch to another party, a majority (53%) disagree with this while only 23% agree that this should be allowed. Twenty-four percent did not have an opinion.

LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Ukrainians are more likely to have confidence in their local officials than in national officials. A majority (51%) says they have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in their city/village council, while 40% lack confidence in these institutions. A majority (51%) also professes confidence in their mayors, while 41% say they lack confidence in these individuals. Forty-two percent have confidence in their Raion administrator (40% do not), and 40% in their Oblast governor (39% do not).

Twenty-three percent of all Ukrainians, roughly the same as in the November 2005 survey, say they have contacted local officials before to address an issue or help solve a problem. Among those who contacted local officials, 54% say they received a response from the official while 25% say they received a partial response. Nineteen percent did not receive any response, similar to the November 2005 IFES survey. Satisfaction

When Ukrainians were asked which official or institution should have the final decision in calling early elections, 35% said the President should have final authority, 22% said the Constitutional Court, 17% the Rada, and 4% the Prime Minister.

There has been recent discussion in Ukraine on the appropriate division of powers between the President and Parliament, and whether this division of powers should be changed. Survey results show that nearly half (47%) say the division of powers should be changed while 19% say this should not be done. More than a third (34%) do not have an opinion, indicating this is an issue on which information is still lacking for many Ukrainians. Among those who think there should be a change in the division of power, 44% prefer more power should be given to the President in relation to the Parliament, while 43% say more power should be given to the Parliament in relation to the President.

with the officials' responses has gone down since the November 2005 survey. In this survey 46% of those who received a response say they were satisfied with the response (59% in 2005), while 52% were not satisfied with the response (40% in 2005).

Survey respondents are more likely to judge they have seen deterioration in these services than was the case in the November 2005 IFES survey. Eleven percent have seen an improvement in their water supply over the past year, 20% have seen deterioration, and 65% have seen no change. Thirteen percent have seen an improvement in their district heating, 21% have seen a decline, and 61% have seen no change. Thirty-nine percent of those asked about their housing maintenance have seen a deterioration in this service compared to 8% who seen an improvement. Forty-four percent have seen no change.

Membership in various professional, social, cultural, and aid groups has stayed at relatively the same level as in the November 2005 survey. Thirteen percent say they are members of trade unions, 3.3% of political parties, 1.6% of religious groups, 0.7% of NGOs, and 0.4% each of artist/scientist unions and of local self-governance institutions. Eighty-one percent say they are not members of any of these types of organizations.

Twenty percent of Ukrainians say they are aware of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are active in their area. Fifty percent are not aware any NGOs active in their area, and 17% do not know what an NGO is. Among those aware

of what an NGO is, 45% believe that they are necessary or essential for Ukraine while 16% say they are not necessary. Nearly four in ten (39%) did not give a response. As would be expected, those aware of NGOs in their area are far more likely to think they are necessary than those who are not aware of any NGOs in their area (83% versus 31%).

The vast majority of Ukrainians (89%) have never done any volunteer work in the past. Three percent say they have volunteered in the past twelve months, and 5% say they have volunteered but not in the last twelve months.

ATTITUDES TOWARD POLITICAL PARTIES

Even with intense political campaigning by political parties during the time this survey was fielded, only 17% of Ukrainians say most political parties have clear proposals that address the issues facing Ukraine. Forty-seven percent say only some of the parties have clear proposals, and 22% say none do. Fifteen percent did not give a response. It is interesting to note that the percentage of those who are very likely to vote in the September 30 elections are influenced by the proportion of parties that have clear proposals. Among those who say most parties have clear proposals 74% are very likely to vote, while 65% among those who say some parties have clear proposals, and 45% among those who say none of the parties have clear proposals.

The majority of Ukrainians (54%) believe political parties primarily serve their own interests. Only 5% say that political parties in Ukraine serve the interests of the people, while 16% say parties serve business interests, and 15% the interests of those in power.

One common complaint about political parties in Ukraine is that they only pay attention to people during campaigns but then do not serve them between elections. This is evident on two separate questions on the survey. When asked how often representatives of political parties help people ad-

dress issues in the period between elections, 2% say that party representatives do this all the time, 18% say they do it some of the time, and 69% say they rarely or never do this. On another question asking how often a party representative approached citizens to get their thoughts and ideas on important issues in the period between elections, 4% say all the time, 16% sometimes, and 69% rarely or never.

Given the concern about corruption in the country, it is not surprising that 65% of Ukrainians think that political parties should definitely be required to publicly disclose their sources of funding for financing their operations. A quarter (25%) say that maybe the parties should be required to disclose their sources of funding, and only 2% say they should not be required to do this.

Similarly, 87% of Ukrainians agree that senior government officials and elected representatives should be required to publicly disclose their assets and incomes on an annual basis in order to increase openness in Ukrainian politics. Seven percent say that senior government officials and elected representatives have as much a right to privacy as anyone else and thus should not be required to publicly disclose their assets and incomes.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

Forty-two percent of Ukrainians are aware of foreign assistance being provided to Ukraine by other countries, but half of the public (50%) is not aware of this, and 8% did not know enough to respond to this question. Among those who are aware of foreign assistance, there is split as to its effectiveness with 41% saying this foreign assistance is effective and 40% saying that it is ineffective.

Most Ukrainians (83%) support the provision of foreign assistance in the area of health and social transition. Ten percent oppose foreign assistance in this sector. Close to eight in ten (79%) also support foreign assistance in economic development, while 13% oppose it. There is lower support for assistance in democracy and governance, but a majority (56%) still support this while 33% oppose assistance in this sector. A majority in Southern Ukraine (53%) opposes assistance in democracy and governance, and 43% also oppose it in Eastern Ukraine.

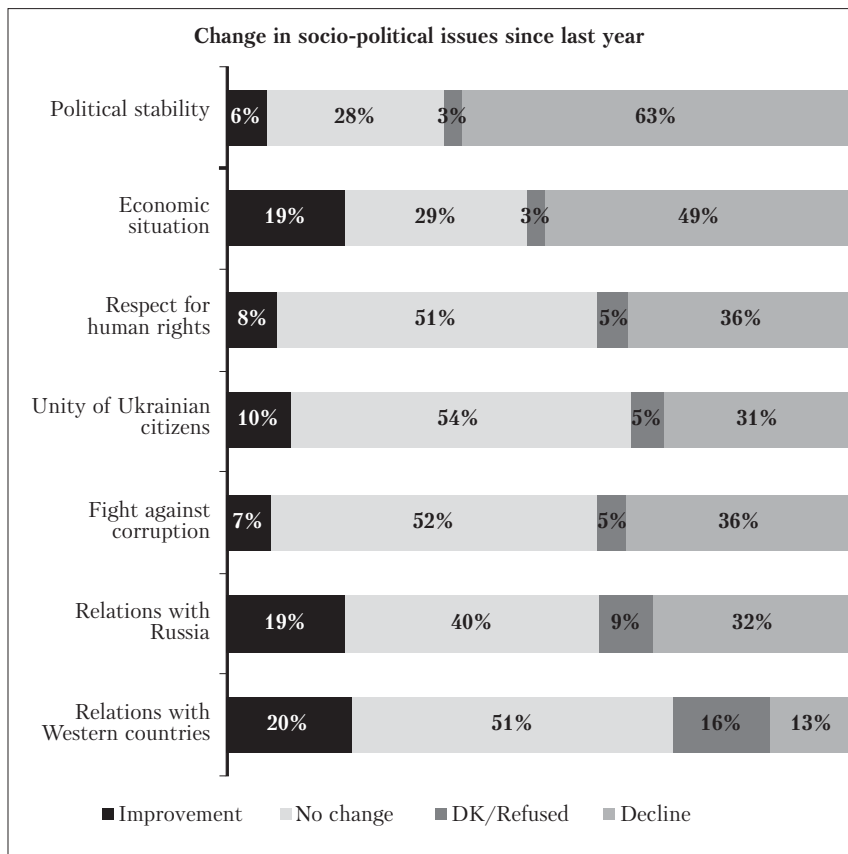
Only 7% of Ukrainians are familiar with USAID. Of those familiar with USAID, 59%

have a favorable impression while 12% have an unfavorable impression. Twenty-nine percent did not provide a response. Of those familiar with USAID, 85% support USAID assistance in health and social transition, 80% support assistance in economic development, and 64% support assistance in democracy and governance.

When asked to estimate the amount of assistance provided to Ukraine by the United States, 77% say that it is hard for them to estimate this number. Four percent say that the US provides under \$10 million dollars in assistance annually to Ukraine, 6% say \$10 million to \$50 million, 5% guess between \$50 million and \$100 million, and 8% mention over \$100 million. When informed that USAID has provided over 1.6 billion dollars in assistance to Ukraine since 1992, 42% say that this leaves them with a more favorable impression of USAID, 24% said it makes no difference in their opinion of USAID, and 6% say it leaves them with a less favorable impression of USAID. Twenty-eight percent did not provide a response. Only 3% of all Ukrainians have recently read any articles about USAID and its programs in the press.

OPINIONS ON CURRENT SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN COUNTRY

Survey findings revealed Ukrainians remain overwhelmingly dissatisfied with the current political and economic situation in their country. The ongoing political crisis between the president and parliament has done little to bolster the public's satisfaction with the political situation. Moreover, Ukrainians fail to express any hope for them or their families' economic future. Indeed, the overall opinion of life in Ukraine remains gloomy.



UKRAINIANS LARGELY DISSATISFIED WITH POLITICAL & ECONOMIC SITUATION

With only weeks before a snap parliamentary election was called on September 30, survey findings indicated most Ukrainians were unhappy with political and economic conditions in their country. The power struggle between the president and parliament that dominated the political scene over the last year left most Ukrainians fru-

strated with the political situation. As the political schism grows wider by the day, when asked to assess changes over the year, a majority of Ukrainians (63%) believe there has been a decline in political stability over the past year while 28% see no change in this area. People's assessment of the general economic situation is also gloomy: alm-

ost half the respondents (49%) believe there has been a decline compared with 29% who say there has been no change.

Negative assessments of the political and economic situations are also reflected in people's opinions of other related areas. Most Ukrainians believe there is stagnation, or even a decline, in several socio-political matters in the country and foreign policy issues. In most cases, the share of those perceiving a decline exceeds those observing an improvement. Over half of those surveyed (51%) believe there has been no change in the respect of human rights by authorities while 36% believe there has been a decline. With a long history of animosity and disunity among the Ukrainian people, 31% of respondents judge there has been a decline in the unity of Ukrainian citizens while another 54% believe there has been no change. Within the same context, half the respondents (52%) see no change in the fight against corruption and a further 36% see a decline in such efforts. As for Ukraine's relations with Russia, a plurality of respondents (40%) see no change in relations; a third (32%) perceive a decline and 19% see an improvement. On relations with the West, 20% see an improvement; 13% observe a decline while half (52%) see no change.

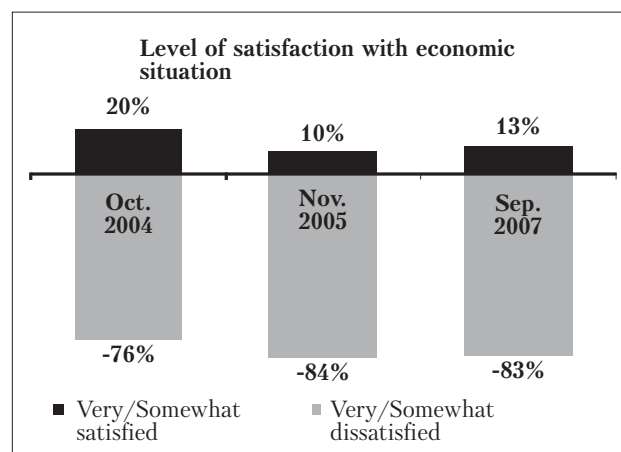
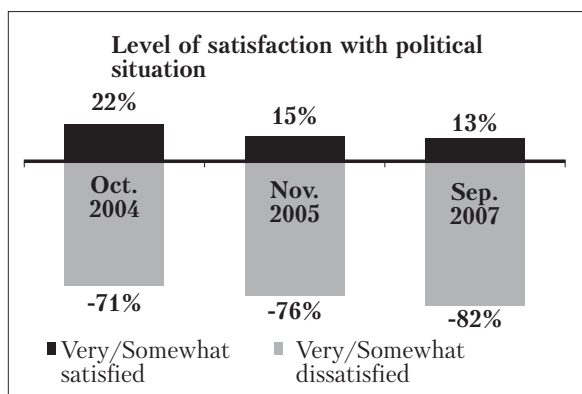
While overall assessments were negative, the breakdown of responses by region displays some interesting differences in people's evaluation of

the socio-political situation. Twice as many Ukrainians in the West (12%) than in the East (6%) are likely to cite an improvement in political stability. Similarly, the proportion of those seeing an improvement in the respect for human rights by authorities in the East (8%) are merely half the share of those in the West (16%). Moreover, residents of the West are three times more likely to see an improvement in the unity between Ukrainian people (21%) than residents of the East (7%). However, residents in the West are much more likely to have a negative assessment of the fight against corruption than those in Central or Eastern Ukraine. Indeed, almost half the Ukrainians living in the West (47%) observe a decline in the fight against corruption versus about a third in each of the Central region (32%) and the Eastern region (34%).

Not surprisingly, Ukrainians in different regions of the country have clearly different views of how relations with Russia and Western countries have changed over the year. With the East's purported close ties with Russia, some 29% of those residing in the East observe an improvement in relations with Russia compared with 12% in the North, 14% in the West, 14% in the South and 16% in the Central region. Although more people in the West see an improvement in relations with Western countries than those in the East (26% vs. 17%), this difference is not statistically significant.

POLITICAL SATISFACTION DOWN CONSISTENTLY SINCE 2004

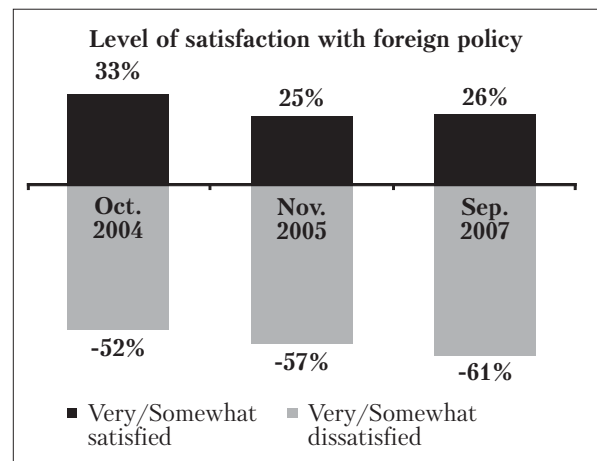
The euphoria and optimism for the future of Ukraine following the Orange Revolution has become a thing of the past. The level of satisfact-



ion with the political situation has dropped to an almost all-time low relative to previous IFES surveys conducted in Ukraine in the past few years. An overwhelming 82% of respondents are dissatisfied with the political situation in September 2007, up from 76% in November 2005 and 71% in October 2004.

Satisfaction levels with the economic situation are also subdued with 83% of respondents saying they are dissatisfied and only 13% satisfied. The two-percentage point increase since November 2005 (15%) is not statistically significant. Compared to the period before the Orange revolution—October 2004—the level of satisfaction has dropped significantly (seven percentage points).

Dissatisfaction with foreign policy is also increasing: 61% of Ukrainians are dissatisfied with

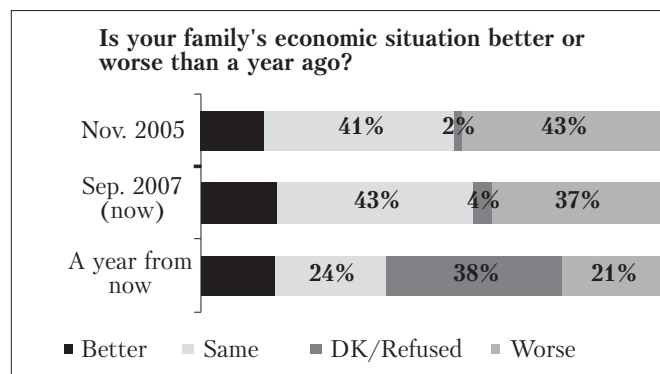


foreign policy in September 2007, up from 57% in November 2005 and 52% in the period preceding the Orange Revolution in October 2004.

MANY UKRAINIANS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THEIR FAMILIES' ECONOMIC SITUATION

While 43% of Ukrainians say their family's economic situation stayed the same over the past year, more than a third of respondents (37%) say it got worse and 17% say it improved. This assessment is slightly better than the one witnessed in the last IFES survey conducted in November 2005 when a full 43% said their family's economic situation worsened. Yet when looking at people's

expectation for the next year, very few expect an improvement in their family's economic situation: only 16% expect it would get better, 21% say it would get worse and a quarter (24%) imagine it would stay the same. A sizable 38% of respondents are uncertain, choosing not to give an opinion in one direction or another.



OPINIONS ON THE SEPTEMBER 2007 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Conducted only weeks before the election, survey results revealed many voters had already decided which political party to cast a vote for. Corresponding with actual results of the parliamentary election, the survey findings predicted that Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych's Party of Regions would receive the most votes in the election. Given the snap parliamentary election was called amid controversy, survey results revealed a majority of Ukrainians supported the decision to call for early parliamentary elections. Furthermore, not only did a plurality of Ukrainians support the president's decision to disband parliament and call for early elections, but another plurality agreed the president should be the one to have the final decision on whether or not to call early elections. Lastly, while Ukrainians expressed support of the decision to hold snap parliamentary elections, they remained pessimistic as roughly half did not believe elections will lead to stability for the country.

As you may know, President Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yanukovych have agreed that early parliamentary elections will take place on September 30. Do you agree or disagree with the decision to call for early parliamentary elections on September 30?

Completely agree	35%
Somewhat agree	23%
Somewhat disagree	10%
Completely disagree	20%
Don't know / Refused	12%

n = 1265

MAJORITY OF UKRAINIANS AGREE WITH DECISION TO CALL EARLY ELECTION

The 2007 early parliamentary elections were called following a long-running struggle between President Viktor Yushchenko and parliament that encompassed various issues. This political conflict was resolved when the President and Prime Minister Yanukovych agreed to hold early

parliamentary elections on September 30. Data from this pre-election survey indicates that a majority of Ukrainians agreed with this decision to hold early elections. Almost six in 10 (58%) agreed with the decision to call early elections for September 30, with the bulk of Ukrainians

completely agreeing rather than only somewhat agreeing (35% and 23%, respectively). Alternatively, three in 10 (30%) disagreed with the decision to call early elections, with most of these respondents saying they completely disagree (20%).

Majorities of Ukrainians in five of the six geographical regions in the country agreed with the decision to call early elections. The only exception to this pattern was the Eastern region where the population was split on the question of early elections, with 41% supporting the decision and 50% against it.

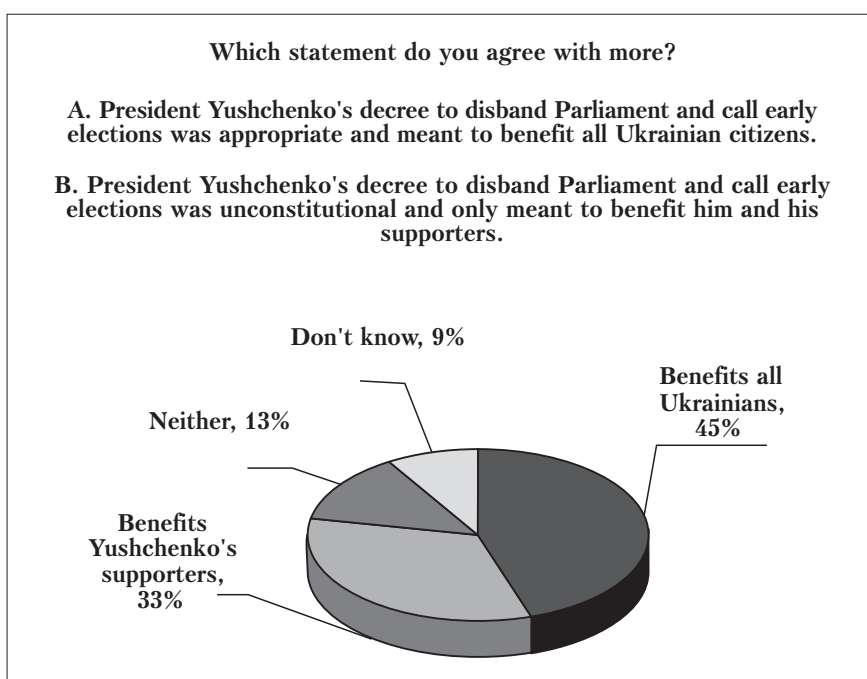
PLURALITY SUPPORT PRESIDENT’S DECISION TO DISBAND PARLIAMENT AND HOLD EARLY ELECTIONS

The question of support for holding early elections was also asked in a different manner, where respondents were asked to agree with two statements regarding President Yushchenko’s disbanding of parliament in April 2007; the first step in the process of calling early elections. Over four in 10 (45%) Ukrainians agreed that Yushchenko’s decision to dissolve parliament and hold early elections was appropriate and meant to benefit all Ukrainian citizens. Nearly a third (33%) held the opposite view and believed that the president’s decision to disband parliament was unconstitutional and only meant to benefit him and his supporters. Nine percent of Ukrainians voluntarily said they do not agree with either statement and another 13% did not offer an opinion.

here else to disagree with President Yushchenko’s decree to disband Parliament and call for early elections. A majority of Eastern residents (56%) say Yushchenko’s decree was unconstitutional and only meant to benefit him and his supporters compared to those in Kyiv (7%), North (14%), West (15%), Central (26%) and the Southern region (40%).

It is not surprising that residents in the Eastern region of Ukraine are more likely than anyw-

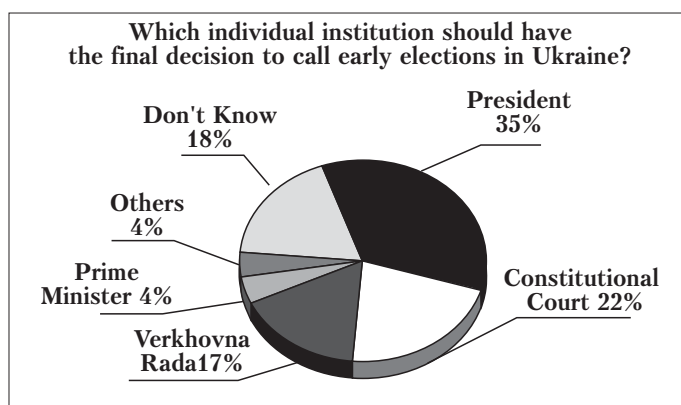
Opinions on the president’s decision also fall along partisan lines. The vast majority of those who intended to vote for the Tymoshenko bloc and Our Ukraine-People’s Self-Defense Bloc in the parliamentary election agree the actions were meant to benefit all Ukrainians (77% and 83%, respectively), while a slight majority of those who support the Party of Regions says the action was meant to benefit only Yushchenko and his supporters (54%).



PLURALITY SAY PRESIDENT SHOULD HAVE FINAL DECISION TO CALL EARLY ELECTIONS

The call for early elections raised questions as to the body that has the constitutional right to call early elections. When Ukrainians on this survey were asked which individual institution should have the final decision to call early elections, a plurality supported the president having final authority on the issue. Roughly one-third of Ukrainians (35%) believe the president should have final authority on early elections. Fewer than a

quarter (22%) say it is up to the Constitutional Court to make a decision to call for early elections, with another 17% who believe the responsibility should go to the Verkhovna Rada. Only a handful mention the Prime Minister as being the one who should have the final authority to call early elections. A sizable percentage (18%) did not know who should have the final authority to call early elections.



MOST UKRAINIANS BELIEVE RADA DEPUTIES SHOULD NOT SWITCH PARTIES

The switch of deputies in the Rada from the pro-presidential Our Ukraine and the opposition Tymoshenko Bloc to the majority Party of Regions coalition was one of the events triggering President Yushchenko's decision to disband parliament and call for early election. The survey data indicates most Ukrainians think that once deputies are elected to parliament representing a particular party or coalition, they should not be able to switch their political allegiances to another party or bloc. Fifty-three percent of Ukrainians

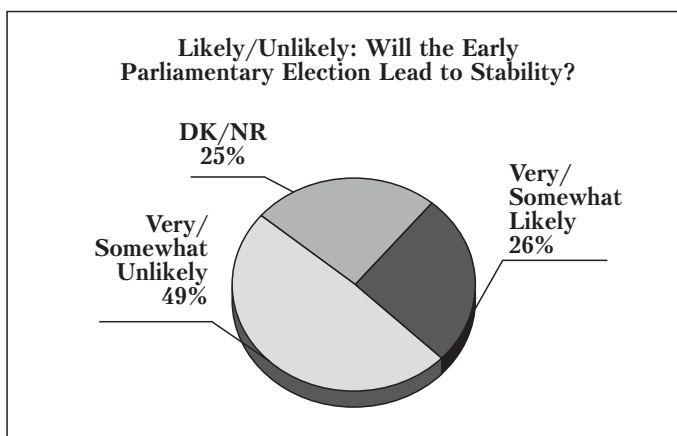
disagreed that politicians elected to the Rada on a particular party's list should be allowed to change parties once they are in the Rada. Twenty-three percent agreed deputies should be allowed to change parties once elected. However, almost a quarter (24%) of Ukrainians did not have an opinion on this issue. Across Ukraine, majorities or pluralities of Ukrainians in all regions believe that politicians elected to the Rada on a particular party's list should not be allowed to change parties once elected.

UKRAINIANS DOUBTFUL EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS WILL LEAD TO STABILITY

Since the Orange Revolution in 2005, politics in Ukraine has been characterized by a high degree of instability as changing alliances of political parties led to changes in the government over the period. One of the reasons for calling early parliamentary elections was that it would lead to pol-

itical stability in the country, but responses from the survey indicate that a large percentage of Ukrainians do not think that the elections will lead to stability. Roughly half of Ukrainians surveyed feel it is very (12%) or somewhat (37%) unlikely the election will bring greater stability to the

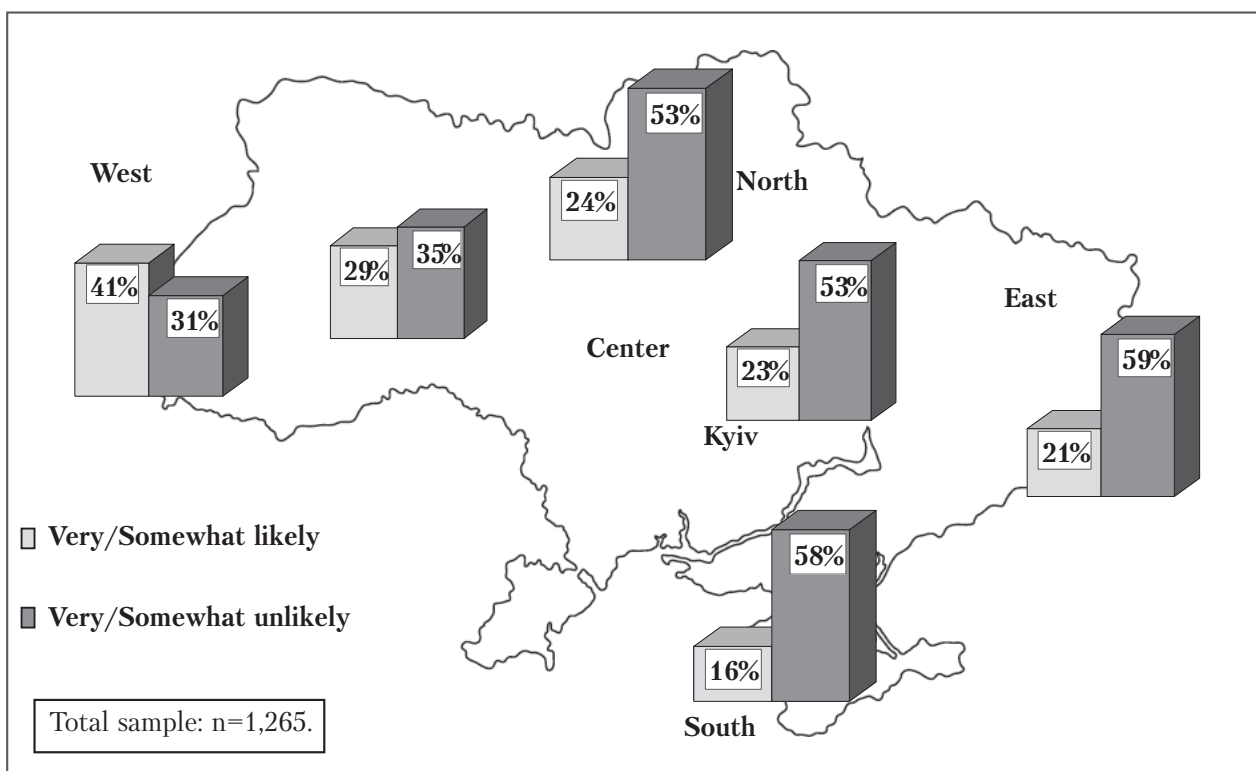
political situation. Only a little more than a quarter of all Ukrainians were optimistic and believed the election is very (5%) or somewhat (21%) likely to create a more stable political situation in the country. Twenty-six percent of respondents had no opinion on whether elections would increase or decrease political stability. These results suggest that with the euphoria from the Orange Revolution long gone, Ukrainians have little faith in their politicians' ability to resolve political differences.



There are regional differences of opinion on this issue. Rough majorities in the Eastern (59%), Southern (58%), Northern (53%) regions and Kyiv (53%) believe that the parliamentary election is unlikely to produce greater stability in the political situation. In comparison, far fewer re-

sidents in the Central region (35%) say that the election will not lead to greater stability for the political realm. Unlike the rest of the country, a plurality of residents in the West believes that the election is likely to have a stabilizing affect on the political situation.

OPINIONS ON LIKELIHOOD OF POLITICAL STABILITY DUE TO ELECTION, BY REGIO



OPINION SPLIT ON PERCEPTIONS OF DIVISIONS IN UKRAINE

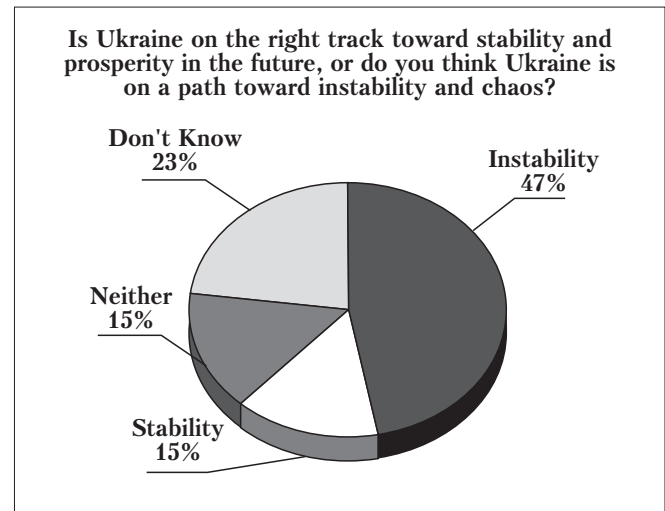
Along with concerns about political stability, there have also been concerns about general stability in the Ukraine as linguistic and ethnic schisms in the country have served to drive political instability. Most observers believe the amelioration of these underlying divisions can aid in the resolution of political instability. When respondents to the survey were asked whether these divisions will continue to characterize Ukraine, or whether Ukrainians will work toward greater unity over the next five years, they are split in their opinions. Twenty-seven percent of Ukrainians believe over the next five years Ukrainians will work towards greater unity, but nearly as many (25%) also say these divisions will continue to characterize the situation in Ukraine. Slightly fewer (15%) volunteer that neither of these things will happen and 4% volunteered that both of these things will happen. Almost three in 10 (29%) did not offer an opinion.

Ukraine is often characterized by an “east vs. west” mentality. The Eastern region of Ukraine, made up of predominantly Russian speakers, is often depicted as leaning more towards Russia as opposed to the Ukrainian-speaking, Europe-supporting residents in the west of Ukraine. Therefore, it is not surprising to see slight differences of opinion when respondents were asked about their perceptions of the divisions in the country. Indeed, respondents in the Eastern region of Ukraine are slightly more likely to say the country’s divisions will not dissipate in the next five years than respondents in other regions. Over one-third (36%) of respondents in the Eastern region say Ukraine’s divisions will continue to characterize Ukraine compared to respondents in Kyiv (10%), the Central region (18%), the Northern region (20%), the Western region (20%), or the Southern region (26%).

DOUBTS ABOUT WHETHER UKRAINE IS ON THE RIGHT TRACK

Given the pessimism about elections leading to political stability and the lack of optimism on unity in the country, it is not surprising that more Ukrainians, than not, believe Ukraine is on the wrong path. Nearly half (47%) of Ukrainians believe the country is on a path towards instability and chaos. In comparison, only a few Ukrainians are optimistic. Fewer than two in 10 (15%) believe that Ukraine is on the right track towards stability and prosperity. Roughly as many (15%) volunteer that Ukraine is neither on a path toward stability or instability, while 23% did not offer an opinion.

The opinion that Ukraine is on the wrong track is widespread as pluralities or majorities of Ukrainians throughout all six regions believe



Ukraine is on a path towards instability and chaos.

MOST UKRAINIANS PLANNED TO VOTE IN THE EARLY ELECTIONS¹

When this survey was fielded, a majority of Ukrainians reported that they intended to cast a vote in the September 30 parliamentary election. More than eight in 10 Ukrainian voting-age adults said they are either very likely (58%) or somewhat likely (27%) to vote in the September election. Only a handful of Ukrainians said they

are somewhat (4%) or very (5%) unlikely to vote in the parliamentary elections. The actual turnout for the election was 60% of registered voters. It is not uncommon for a higher percentage in a survey to say that they are likely to vote than actually turns out to be the case.

MORE UKRAINIANS PESSIMISTIC ON FAIRNESS OF ELECTION

In the weeks preceding the early election, roughly four in 10 (42%) of Ukrainians expected the parliamentary election to be not very (31%) or not at all (11%) free and fair. Slightly more than a third of Ukrainians expected the election to be completely (6%) or somewhat (30%) free and fair. In comparison, Ukrainians were slightly more positive in an IFES survey before the March 2006 election as 39% believed those elections would not be very or at all fair, while 38% felt those elections would be completely or somewhat fair.

When Ukrainians were further probed as to what would be the main reason for ensuring free and fair elections, no single dominant reason emerges. Almost two in 10 (18%) felt that the

fairness of the local election commission would help to ensure a free and fair election. Only slightly fewer (16%) say that the representation of different political parties on the Election Commission ensured the free and fairness of the elections. Other Ukrainians believe it would be the monitoring of the election process by international observers (16%) or monitoring by independent Ukrainian observers (11%).

It should be noted that the September 30 elections were generally assessed to be free and fair and in general accordance with international standards, thus invalidating the fears expressed by many Ukrainians before the election.

PARTY OF REGIONS HAS THE MOST SUPPORTERS

Prior to the election, respondents were asked who they would vote for if the election was held the following Sunday. While the survey was not intended to accurately predict the election results, the survey findings predicted that the Party of Regions would garner the most support from voters. Indeed, confirming the survey results, in the parliamentary election the Party of Regions received the most support from voters.

When looking at the opinions of those who said they were very or somewhat likely to vote in the election, the survey identified the

Party of Regions as topping the list for voters (32.4%), followed by Yulia Tymoshenko's Bloc (20.9%), the Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defense Bloc (10.6%), the Communist Party (3.2%) and the Lytvyn Bloc (2.3%). Sixteen percent were undecided. The official results for the September 30 parliamentary election showed the Party of Regions receiving 34.37% of the votes, followed by the Tymoshenko Bloc (30.71%), Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defense Bloc (14.15%), the Communist Party (5.39%) and the Lytvyn Bloc (3.96%). Comparison of the survey and official results suggest the Tymoshenko bloc may have

¹ Note that it is commonly known that slightly more report that they will vote in an election than actually will participate. This phenomenon is also true for many behaviors that are seen to be socially desirable.

been the primary, and disproportionate, recipient of the votes of undecided voters at the time of the survey and made their final decision close to election-day.

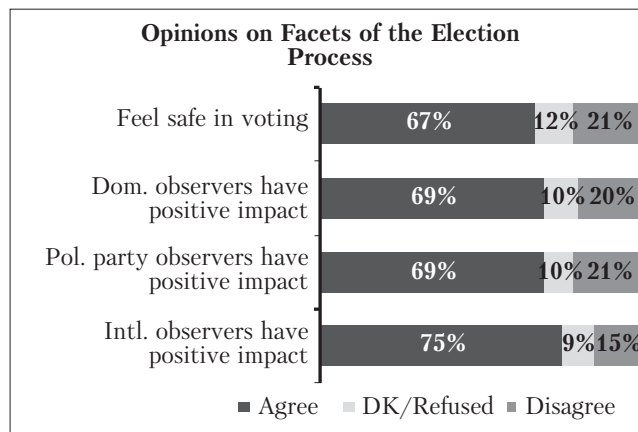
If the elections to the Verkhovna Rada took place on this Sunday and the voting list included the following political parties [showcard], which one of them would you vote for?		
	2007 Survey (n = 1067*)	2007 Parliamentary Election Results
Party of Regions	32.4%	34.37%
Yulia Tymoshenko's Bloc	20.9%	30.71%
Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defense Bloc	10.6%	14.15%
Communist Party	3.2%	5.39%
Lytvyn Bloc	2.3%	3.96%

Interviews for the survey were conducted from August 30 to September 11, 2007.

**Based on those who say they were very or somewhat likely to vote in the September 30 election.*

OPINIONS ON AND AWARENESS OF ELECTION PROCESS

Prior to the September 30 parliamentary election, Ukrainians were generally dissatisfied with the administration of elections in their country. While most perceived a positive impact of the use of domestic and international election monitors on the election process, Ukrainians cast doubt on the election process as a whole. Despite these concerns, Ukrainians still consider the act of voting to be the foremost way citizens have to influence decision-making by the government. Indicating further cracks in the election process, with only weeks before the election, only roughly half of Ukrainians could confirm they were registered to vote.



UKRAINIANS POSITIVE ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF ELECTION PROCESS

The long-lasting political crisis leading up to early elections left many Ukrainians in a pessimistic mood regarding the fairness of the elections. However, in the pre-election period Ukrainians generally expressed favorable assessments of specific aspects of the election process. Two-thirds of Ukrainians say they feel safe in voting however they wish. This feeling is

perhaps bolstered by the confidence Ukrainians have in election observers. Notably, three-quarters of respondents say the presence of international observers has a positive effect on the integrity of elections in Ukraine. The share of people having confidence in domestic observers (both partisan and non-partisan) also stands at a sizable 69%.

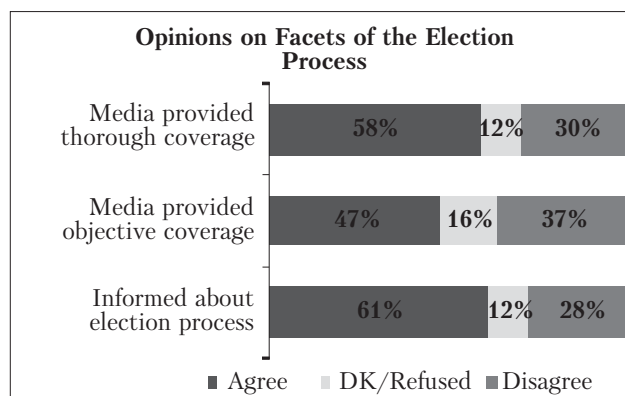
UKRAINIANS HOLD MIXED VIEWS ON MEDIA COVERAGE

While a majority of Ukrainians (58%) believe national media provides thorough coverage of parties and candidates running for

elections, there are some concerns about the objectivity of media coverage. Indeed, almost four in 10 respondents (37%) disagree with

the statement that national media provides objective coverage of the elections. Meanwhile, slightly less than half of those surveyed (47%) believe media coverage of the elections is objective. It might be that the deep political divisions in Ukraine have had an impact on the perceived objectivity of the media's election coverage and the majority either does not think media coverage is objective or do not know whether media coverage is objective or not.

In particular, people residing in the Russian-speaking Eastern part of Ukraine are less likely to agree that national media provides objective coverage (44%) as compared with a higher agreement level (59%) among Western Ukraine residents.

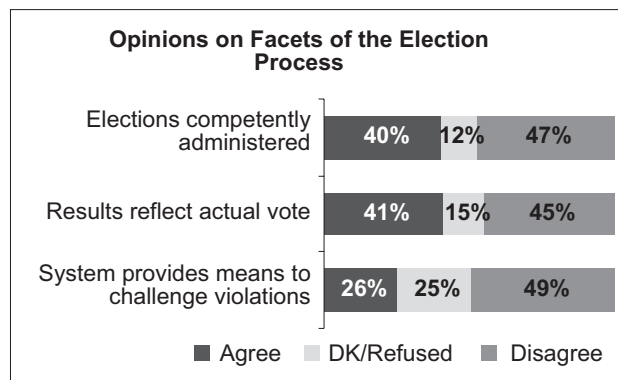


Still, the share of Ukrainians who believe they are informed about the election process stands at 61% versus 28% who disagree with this statement.

UKRAINIANS UNHAPPY WITH ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

Although Ukrainians are satisfied with certain aspects of the election process, they are essentially unhappy with how elections are administered. Almost half the respondents (47%) disagree with the statement that elections are competently administered. This helps explain why a plurality of Ukrainians (45%) do not believe election results reflect the actual vote versus a smaller share (41%) who do. Within the same context, only a quarter of respondents believe that Ukraine's electoral system provides adequate means to challenge election violations. Yet it must be noted that a similar share of people either don't know or refused to answer the question. As such, the share of those who disagree that the system adequately challenges election violations stands at 49%. The

combination of these opinions helps explain why more Ukrainians say they have little or no confidence in the Central Election Commission than the percentage who say they have a great deal or fair amount (49% versus 26%).



MINOR CHANGE IN ASSESSMENTS OF ELECTION PROCESS SINCE NOVEMBER 2005

People's opinions of the election process in September 2007 did not exhibit important changes since the last IFES survey conducted in November 2005. There have been slight improvement two areas: people's confidence in international observers is higher and perception of their information about the election process is enhanced. Yet these remain much lower than the favorable assessments reported in February 2005, amid the euphoria of the Orange Revolution

when expectations for positive change ran high. In September 2007, three-quarters of respondents say the presence of international observers has a positive impact on the fairness of elections, up from 66% in November 2005 but lower than the February 2005 level (79%). Sixty percent of Ukrainians say they feel informed about the election process compared with 56% in November 2005 and 87% in February 2005. Meanwhile, the most recent survey finds slightly fewer people

(56%) who say their vote is kept confidential by election authorities than in November 2005 (60%). Similarly, the proportion of respondents who believe elections are competently administered (40%) is notably lower than its corresponding level in November 2005 (47%) and February 2005 (70%). This indicates there has been a

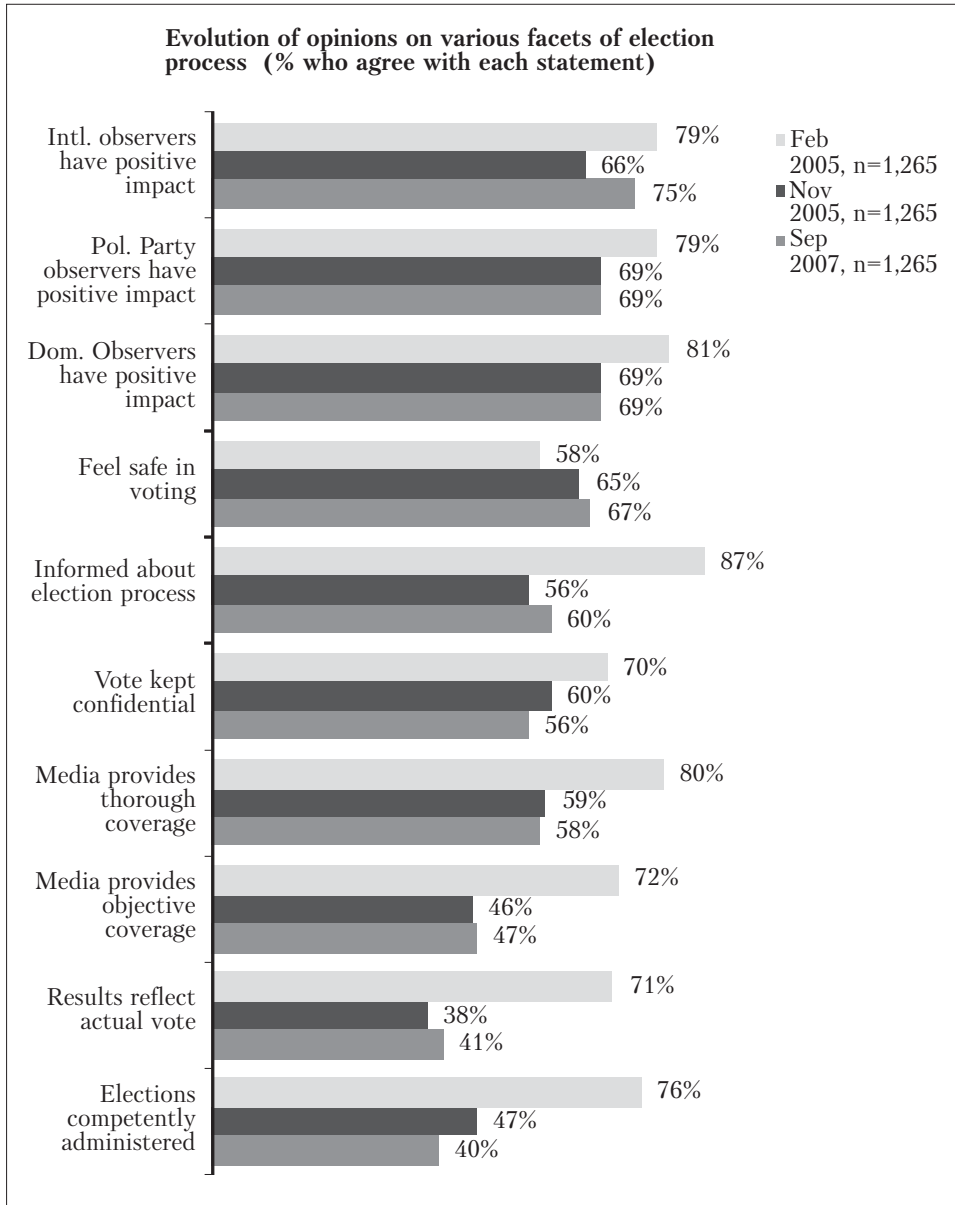
steady decline in people's approval of the way elections are administered over the past two years. Satisfaction levels with other aspects of the election process either remain at the same level as the November 2005 survey or depict statistically insignificant changes.

UKRAINIANS QUESTION PUBLIC'S ABILITY TO INFLUENCE DECISION-MAKING BY THE GOVERNMENT

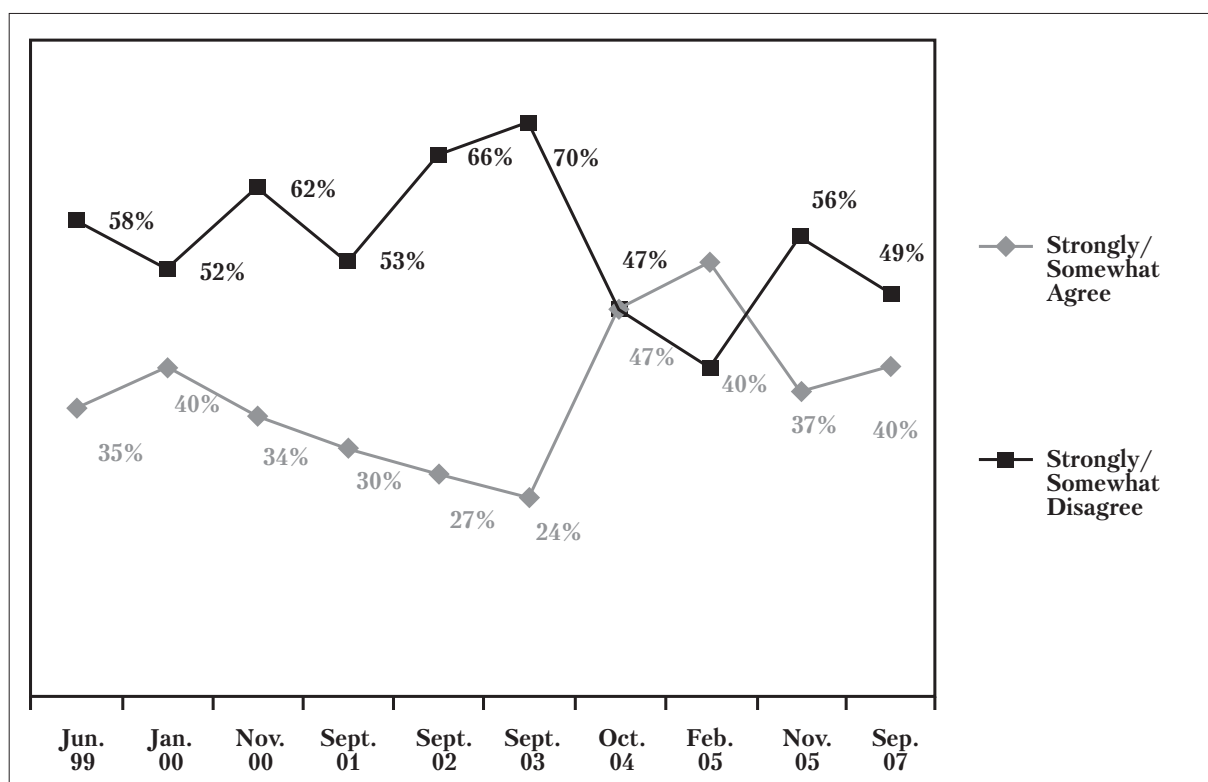
Events in the political realm in Ukraine have left the public feeling as if they have little control over decisions made by the government. In fact, a majority (66%) of Ukrainians think ordinary people do not have influence on the decisions made by the government. Only a quarter (26%) think ordinary people can have influence on decision-making by the government. However, when it comes to the specific act of voting, Ukrainians are slightly more positive.

While Ukrainians are slightly more confident in the act of voting as a way to influence decision-

making, most Ukrainians think that voting does not give ordinary people a chance to influence decision-making. Consistent with previous results, only four in ten Ukrainians (40%) agree voting gives them a chance to influence decision-making in the country, (37% in November 2005). On a more positive note, the percentage who believe voting does not give them a chance to influence decision-making has dropped slightly since 2005. Roughly half (49%) believe voting does not give them a chance to influence decision-making; this is down from a majority (56%) in 2005.



Agree/Disagree: “Voting gives people like you a chance to influence decision-making in our country.” n=1,265



LITTLE AWARENESS OF ELECTION LAW AMENDMENTS

Survey findings indicate most Ukrainians are not aware of two key election law amendments introduced by the Rada in preparation for the September 30 elections. When asked if they heard of the amendment that states that a minimum of 50% of registered voters will have to vote in order to make the results of the election valid, the majority of respondents—53%—said they are unaware of this amendment compared with 47% who heard of it. Of those aware of the amendment, the majority (58%) think it would have a positive

impact on citizens’ voting rights. As for the second amendment passed by the Rada which stipulates that absentee voting will no longer be allowed in early elections before the term of the current Rada has expired, only 35% of respondents said they were aware of this amendment. Of these, a plurality (46%) expect it will have a positive impact on citizens’ voting rights versus 24% who think its impact will be negative and 16% who say it will have no impact at all.

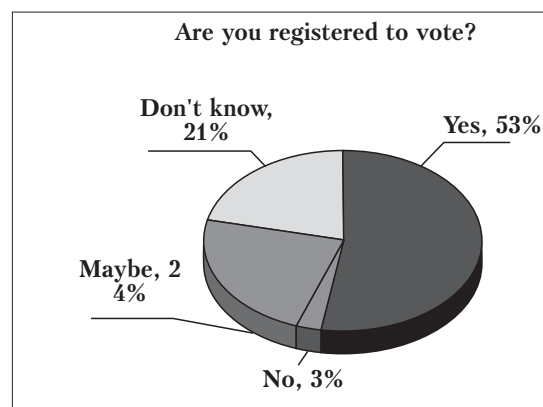
	Awareness*		Perceived Impact**			
	Heard	Not Heard	Positive	Negative	No Impact	DK
A minimum of 50% of registered voters will have to vote in order to make the results of the election valid.	47%	53%	58%	14%	15%	14%
Absentee voting will no longer be allowed in early elections before the term of the current Rada has expired, such as the election on September 30.	35%	65%	46%	24%	16%	15%

*Awareness results are based on total sample size n=1,265
 **Impact results are based on those who have heard of the amendments.
 Heard of amendment 1: n=597; Heard of amendment 2: n=439

MANY UKRAINIANS UNAWARE OF THEIR VOTER REGISTRATION STATUS

Not only is familiarity with new election laws quite limited, many Ukrainians are also unaware of their voter registration status. More than four in ten Ukrainians in the pre-election survey are not aware of their registration status. A slight majority (53%) says they are registered to vote, while 23% say they may be registered to vote but are not sure and another 21% do not know if they are registered to vote. Three percent definitively say they are not registered to vote. Lack of awareness of registration status is a special concern among younger Ukrainians. Indeed, as high as 56% of those 18-24 are not aware whether they are registered. Moreover, almost half of respondents aged 25-34 are also unaware of their voter registration status.

Almost six in ten respondents also say they have never checked the voters list to see if they are registered. Forty-one percent have checked the voters list in the past. When asked whether they intended to check the voters list for the Sep-

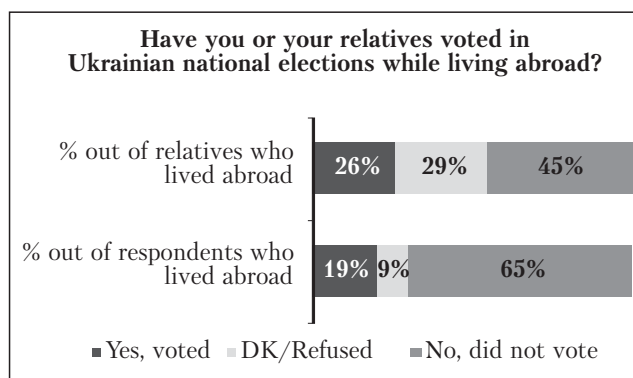


tember election, only 36% said that they intended to while a majority (54%) say they did not intend to check the voters list. Among likely voters (those “very” or “somewhat” likely to vote), 45% have checked their names on voters lists in the past. Meanwhile, 40% intended to check the voters list for the September 30 elections and 50% did not intend to do so with the remaining 10% still unsure whether or not they will check the voters list at the time of the survey.

EXPATRIATE VOTING SOMEWHAT LIMITED

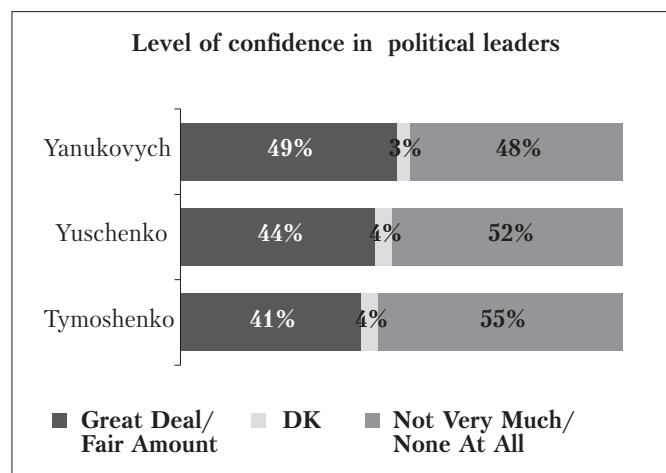
While a large majority of respondents are aware that Ukrainians living abroad can vote in the elections, relatively few Ukrainians seem to be exercising this option. Indeed, a substantial 85% of respondents are aware that Ukrainian citizens working or living out of the country are allowed to vote in national elections. However, among those who lived or worked abroad or who have relatives abroad, expatriate voting is somewhat limited. Out of the handful of respondents who lived or

worked abroad in the past year (3%), a narrow 19% have voted in Ukrainian national elections while living abroad. Meanwhile, a little more than a quarter (26%) of those who have relatives working or living abroad say their relatives have previously voted in national elections. This compares to two-thirds (65%) who have never voted in national elections while living abroad and 45% whose relatives never voted.



OPINIONS ON LEADERS AND INSTITUTIONS

Given the ongoing political crisis gripping the country over the past year, it is not surprising the survey results reveal that Ukrainians confidence in their leaders and institutions was waning in the period before the parliament election. Also eroding the confidence in Ukraine's institutions and leaders is the perceived seriousness of corruption throughout the country. Although overall confidence is low, trust in Prime Minister Yanukovych surpasses the president and former Prime Minister Tymoshenko.

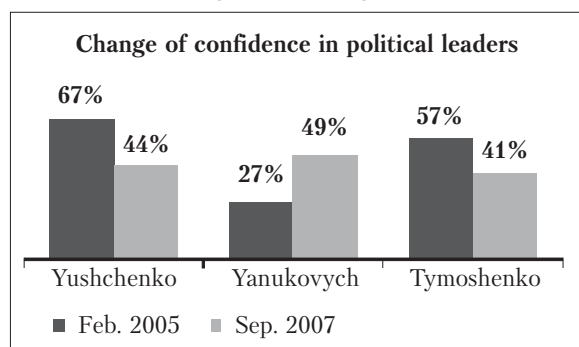


CONFIDENCE IN YANUKOVYCH SLIGHTLY HIGHER THAN RIVALS

Asked about confidence in the country's leading political figures, Ukrainians seemed to be essentially split in their views. Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych earned the highest level of confidence when compared with his political rivals President Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko (49% vs. 44% and 41% respectively). Those who have little or no confidence in Yanukovych are in almost equal proportion to those who trust him (48%), which reflects the intense polarization of opinions. Moreover, when respondents' views are broken down by region, the East-West divide emerges strongly: residents of the Eastern and Southern regions of Ukraine are much more likely to express confidence in Yanukovych (69% and 66% respectively) compared with drastically lower confidence levels among residents of Western and Northern regions (20% and 36% respectively). For Yushchenko and

Tymoshenko, the opposite pattern prevails: 62% of Western region residents expressed confidence in Yushchenko versus only a quarter in East Ukraine. Meanwhile, two-thirds of residents of Western Ukraine say they have confidence in Tymoshenko compared with a narrow 15% in Eastern Ukraine.

When tracing the change of confidence in



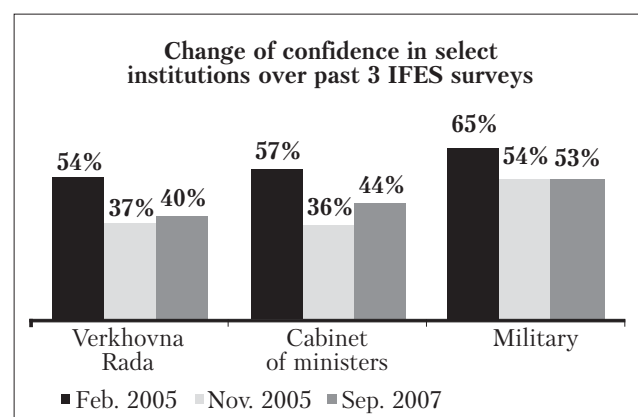
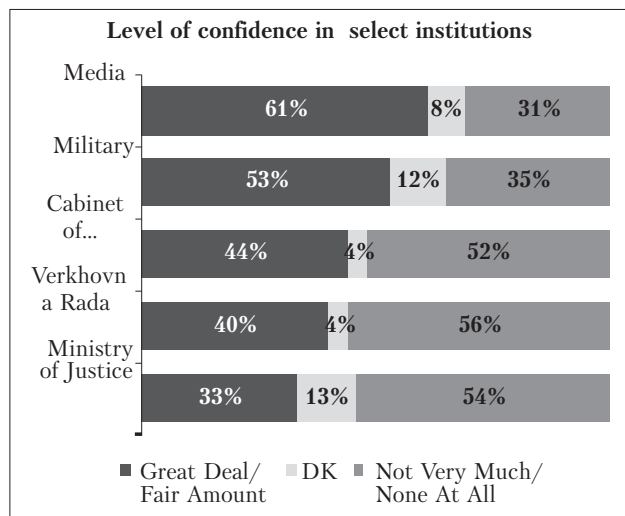
these three leaders between February 2005—at the peak of the Orange Revolution—and September 2007—just before the early parliamentary elections—we captured a sharp drop in the levels of confidence in Yuschenko and Tymoshenko versus a surge in the proportion of Ukrainians expressing confidence in Yanukovych. In February

2005, Yuschenko earned the confidence of two-thirds of Ukrainians and Tymoshenko garnering 57%. In September 2007, confidence levels dropped to 44% and 41% respectively. Meanwhile, Yanukovych made a strong comeback, moving from a confidence level of barely 27% to 49%.

POOR CONFIDENCE IN VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Asked about their confidence in select Ukrainian institutions, respondents who expressed a lack of confidence in political institutions outnumber those who trust them. Slightly more than half the respondents (52%) say they have little or no confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers and 56% have little or no confidence in the Verkhovna Rada with those who have confidence in them reaching 44% and 40% respectively. People’s trust in the Ministry of Justice is even lower with only one-third of respondents saying they have a great deal or a

lower than the levels reported in February 2005. Indeed, the disappointing post-Orange Revolution developments compounded with the grim economic outlook seemed to have negatively influenced confidence levels. While a majority (54%) expressed confidence in the Verkhovna Rada in February 2005, confidence levels dropped to just 37% in November 2005 then rose slightly to 40% in September 2007. The evolution of confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers followed a similar pattern: confidence dropped from 57% in February 2005 to 36% in November 2005 then



fair amount of confidence. However, the level of confidence in the military is higher at 53%. As for the media, despite people’s doubts about its objectivity in covering the elections, a majority—61%—maintain they have a fair amount or a great deal of confidence in the media.

rose to 44% in September 2007. The trend for the military was slightly different: confidence levels did not recoup in September 2007. Yet, the drop in confidence between February 2005 and November 2005—from 65% to 54%—was less pronounced than the fall in confidence observed for the other mentioned institutions. Moreover, confidence levels in the Military stayed above the 50% threshold in the past three IFES surveys whereas both the Verkhovna Rada and the Cabinet of Ministers have seen perceptions of confidence dip well below this level.

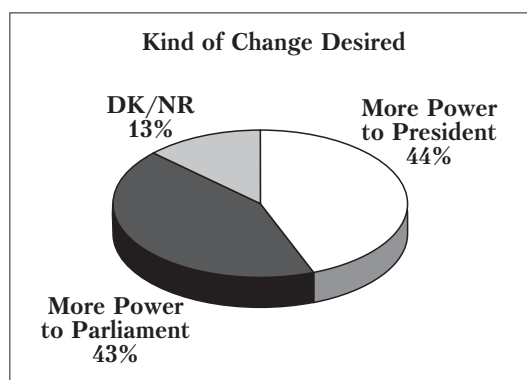
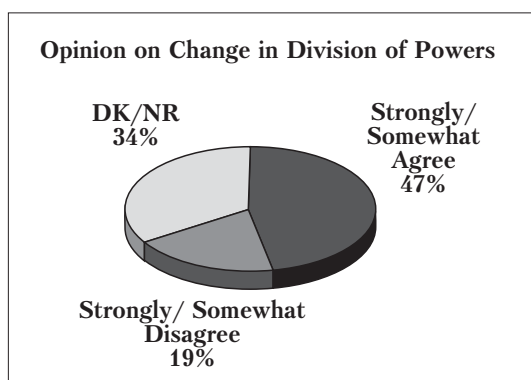
While confidence levels in principal institutions improved slightly in September 2007 relative to November 2005 when the political deadlock was at its highest, they are still much

PLURALITY AGREES WITH CHANGE IN DIVISION OF POWERS BETWEEN PRESIDENT AND PARLIAMENT

The struggle between President Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yanukovich ignited recent discussions in Ukraine on the appropriate division of powers between the president and parliament. When Ukrainians were asked if there should be a change in the division of powers between the president and parliament, nearly half strongly (26%) or somewhat (21%) agree there should be a change in the division of powers. Other Ukrainians do not see a need for change in the division of powers between the president and

parliament. Roughly two in 10 somewhat (11%) or strongly (8%) disagree that there should be a change in the division of powers. Signifying a lack of information on this issue, more than one-third (34%) did not have an opinion.

Among those who believe there should be a change in the division of powers between the president and parliament, roughly equal percentages say that there should be an increase in powers of the President in relation to the



Parliament as say that there should be an increase in the powers of the Parliament in relation to the President (44% and 43% respectively).

With much support for Yanukovich and his Party of Regions generated from residents in the East and South of Ukraine, it is not surprising that these residents are more likely to say that

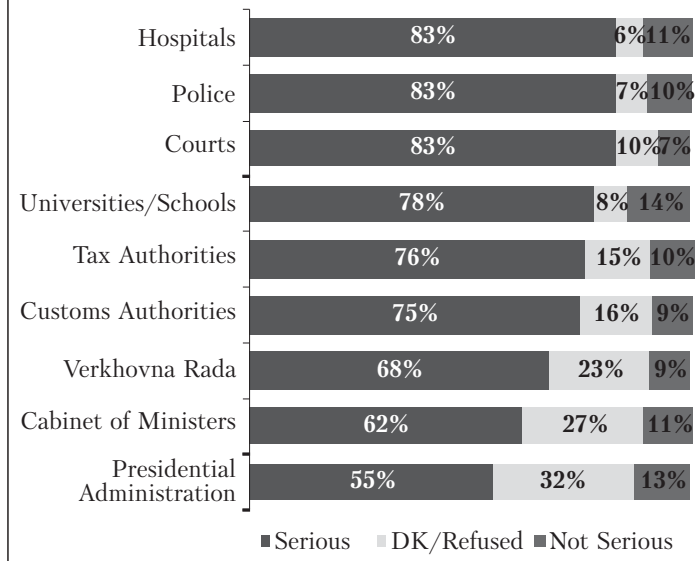
there should be an increase in the powers of the Parliament in relation to the President than anywhere else in Ukraine. Strong majorities in the East (78%) and South (62%) support an increase in the powers of the Parliament, compared to those in Kyiv (41%), Central (28%), North (18%), and the West (13%).

HIGH LEVELS OF PERCEIVED CORRUPTION IN MOST UKRAINIANS INSTITUTIONS

Survey respondents were given a list of institutions and asked to assess how serious corruption is in each one. In each case, a majority says corruption is very or somewhat serious in the following institutions: hospitals (83%), police (83%), courts (83%), universities/ schools (76%), tax authorities (76%), customs authorities (75%), Verkhovna Rada (68%), Cabinet of Ministers

(62%), and Presidential Administration (55%). The percent that assessed corruption to be serious in the last three cases is relatively low because a large percentage did not offer an opinion on them, rather than saying corruption is not serious.

Seriousness of corruption in select institutions



ATTITUDES TOWARD POLITICAL PARTIES

In the pre-election period, opinion of political parties does not rank high with the public as few say most political parties have clear proposals which address issues facing Ukraine. Ukrainians also exhibit doubt as to whether political parties serve the interests of the public since a majority believe they serve their own interests. As a result of high level of corruption in Ukraine and effort to keep political parties in check, survey results revealed Ukrainians are in favor of requiring political parties to publicly disclose their sources of funding.

MOST UKRAINIANS SKEPTICAL ABOUT POLITICAL PARTIES' MOTIVES

Do the major political parties in Ukraine have clear proposals to address the issues facing the country?							
	Total	Kyiv	Northern	Western	Central	Southern	Eastern
Yes, most do address issues	17%	4%	11%	16%	23%	26%	15%
No, only some address issues	47%	47%	55%	49%	37%	44%	46%
No, none address issues	22%	29%	11%	25%	18%	19%	25%
DK	15%	20%	22%	10%	22%	11%	13%
n= 1,265							

Even with intense political campaigning by political parties during the time this survey was fielded, only 17% of Ukrainians say most political parties have clear proposals that address issues facing Ukraine. Almost half the Ukrainians (47%) say only some of the parties have clear proposals, and 22% say none do. Fifteen percent did not give a response. When examining responses by age profile, we do not capture statistically significant differences in opinions except for one age group. Respondents aged 55 to 64 are the most likely to express positive views towards political parties: 24% of them say most political parties have clear proposals to address issues. This is double the share among those aged 35-44 (12%).

The breakdown of responses by geographic location reveals some interesting findings: respondents in Kyiv are the least likely to be

optimistic about political parties' proposals: almost three in 10 respondents in Kyiv (29.3%) say none of the political parties have clear proposals to address issues versus only 4% who say most parties have clear proposals and 47% who say only some political parties do. Residents of East and West Ukraine seem to share the skepticism in political parties despite their opposed political views. A quarter of respondents in each of these regions believe that none of the political parties have clear proposals that can help address problems versus 11% of respondents in the North. Interestingly the percentage of those who are very likely to vote in the September 30 election is impacted by their opinions on the proportion of parties that have clear proposals. Among those who say most parties have clear proposals, 74% are very likely to vote, while this percentage is 65% among those who say some parties have

clear proposals, and 45% among those who say none of the parties have clear proposals.

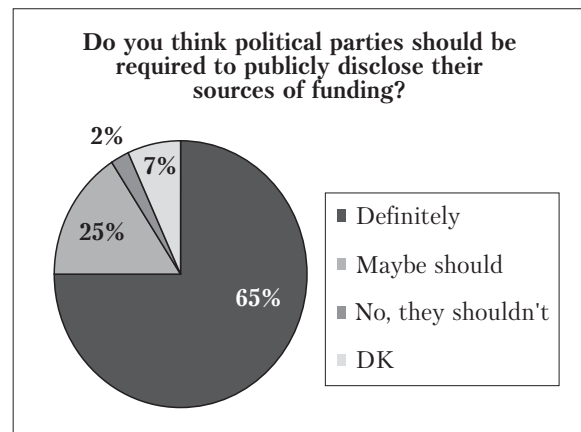
The majority of Ukrainians are also skeptical of the integrity of political parties. Fifty-four percent of respondents believe political parties primarily serve their own interests. Only 5% say political parties in Ukraine serve the interests of the people, while 16% say parties serve business interests and 15% the interests of those in power. One common complaint about political parties in Ukraine is they only pay attention to the people during campaigns but then do not serve them between elections. This is borne out by data on two separate questions on the survey. When asked how often representatives of political parties help people address issues in the period between elections, 2% say that party representatives do this all the time, 18% say they do it some of the time, and 69% say they rarely or never do this. On another question asking how often a party representative approaches citizens to get their thoughts and ideas on important issues in the period between elections, 4% say all the time, 16% sometimes, and 69% rarely or never.

Whose interests do political parties serve?	
Own interests	54%
Business interests	16%
Those in power	15%
Ukrainian people	5%
Other	1%
DK	9%
n = 1,265	

Given deep concerns about corruption in the country following government corruption scandals in late 2005, it is not surprising that 65% of Ukrainians think political parties should

definitely be required to publicly disclose their sources of funding used to finance operations. A quarter say maybe the parties should be required to disclose their sources of funding, and only 2% say they should not be required to do this.

A question on asset disclosure was also asked in a slightly different way for senior government officials and elected representatives. Eighty-seven percent strongly or somewhat agree that these officials should be required to publicly disclose their assets and incomes on an annual basis in



order to increase openness in Ukrainian politics. A thin seven percent, on the other hand, say senior government officials and elected representatives have as much a right to privacy as anyone else and thus should not be required to publicly disclose their assets and incomes.

ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY

Ukrainians' perception of democracy remains low as they prepared to head to the polls to cast a vote in the parliamentary election. Associating democracy with economic prosperity, the results indicated the prevailing dissatisfaction with the economic situation had a negative impact on Ukraine's image "democracy." Coupled with the low perception of Ukraine as a democracy, there is a growing belief that involvement by citizens in politics may lead to instability and chaos. Despite this sense of hopelessness, the public still supports the use of demonstrations as an exercise of rights.

UKRAINIANS DEFINE DEMOCRACY THROUGH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LENS

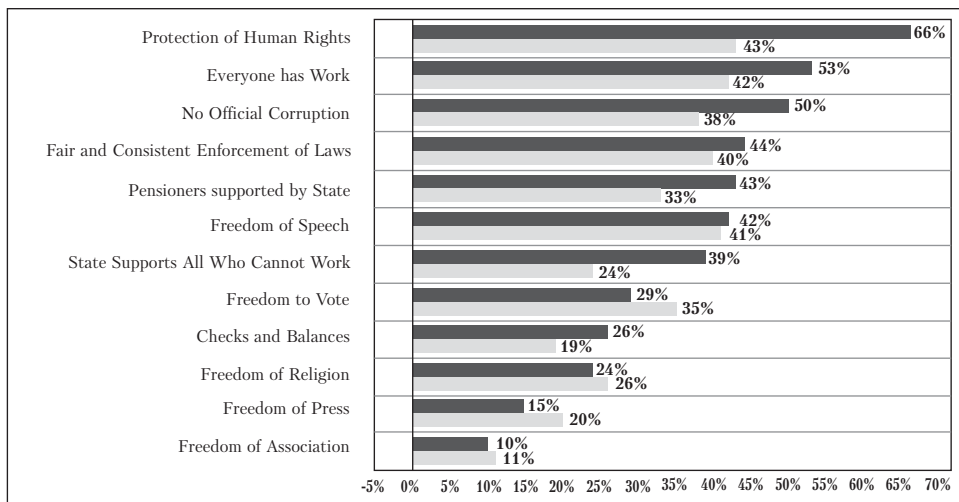
Ukrainians were given a series of 12 possible meanings of democracy and asked to pick up to five they thought most signified what it means to live in a democracy. When presented with this list of definitions, Ukrainians are most likely to say living in a democracy means the protection of human rights (66%). Associating the advent of democracy with economic prosperity, Ukrainians believe living in a democracy means everyone has work (53%).

With the problem of corruption in Ukraine weighing heavily on the minds of respondents, it is not surprising that the next most cited

definition of democracy is no official corruption (50%). Following corruption, Ukrainians define democracy as the fair and consistent enforcement of laws (44%). Other Ukrainians view democracy in terms of a "welfare state," as signs of democracy include state support for pensioners (42%) or state support for those who cannot work (39%).

Fewer Ukrainians define democracy according to some of the rights considered to be at the political system's core. Freedoms cited by Ukrainians include freedom of speech (42%), freedom to vote (29%), freedom of religion (24%), freedom of the press (15%), and freedom of association (10%).

MEANINGS ATTACHED TO DEMOCRACY



PERCEPTION THAT UKRAINE IS DEMOCRACY REMAINS LOW

Three years have passed since the Orange Revolution, and the optimism spawned by it have dissipated. In its place, Ukrainians remain frustrated with the political and economic situation in the country. For this reason, it is not surprising that few Ukrainians consider the country to be democratic. Consistent with results in November 2005, only roughly a quarter (27%) of Ukrainians say that Ukraine is a democracy, while more than twice as many say that Ukraine is not a democracy (49%). Another 22% do not have an opinion, and only a handful of Ukrainians (2%) believe that Ukraine is becoming democracy.

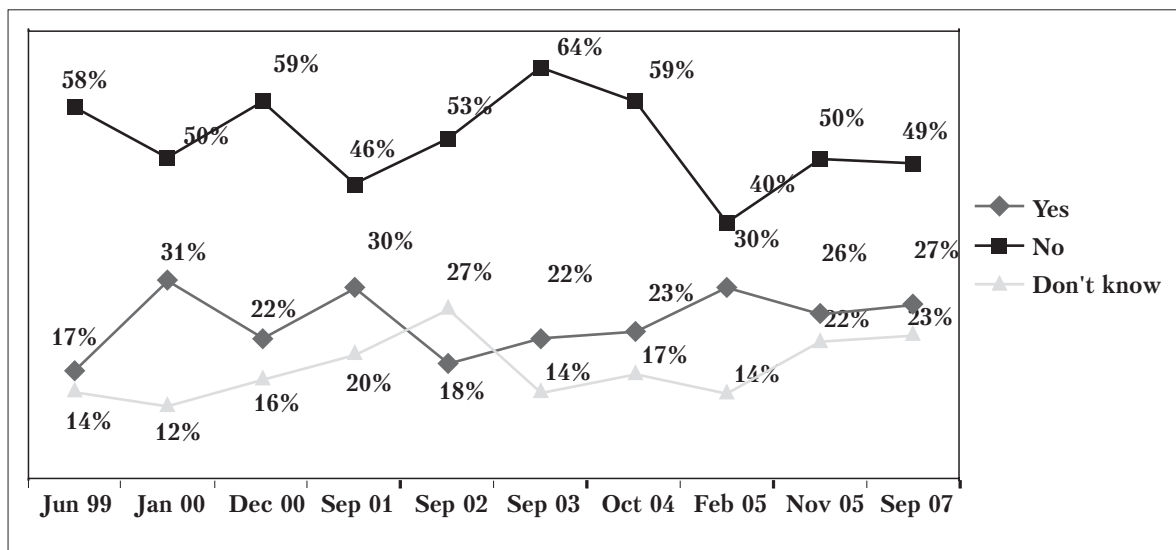
There are regional differences of opinion on this issue. Residents in the East, Kyiv and the South are more likely to perceive Ukraine as lacking democracy than anywhere else in the country. Majorities in both the East (61%) and in Kyiv (54%) and roughly half in the South (48%) believe that Ukraine is not a democracy. In contrast, fewer in the remainder of the country think that Ukraine is not a democracy (Northern 41%; West 39%; Central 38%).

Similar to November 2005, supporters of Yanukovich’s Party of Regions are more likely to say that Ukraine is not a democracy than those

who support either of the two former Orange Revolution parties. Roughly 57% of those who planned to vote for the Party of Regions say that Ukraine is not a democracy, compared to those who planned to vote for the Tymoshenko Bloc (41%) or Our Ukraine-People’s Self-Defense Bloc (39%). However, signifying a frustration in Ukraine’s frail democracy, of Ukrainians who planned to vote for either of the former Orange Revolution parties-- the Tymoshenko Bloc or Our Ukraine, more say that Ukraine is not a democracy than say it is a democracy.

As seen in previous IFES surveys, the likelihood of saying Ukraine is not a democracy is correlated with dissatisfaction with the current economic situation in the country. Ukrainians that consider the current economic situation to be somewhat or very bad are much more likely to say that the country is not a democracy than those with a more positive view of the economy (51% vs. 34%). These results are a further demonstration of how economic instability in a country can erode the public’s support for democracy. Moreover, it is proof of the importance of economic development to a burgeoning democracy.

IS UKRAINE A DEMOCRACY? OPINIONS ON DEMOCRACY, TREND

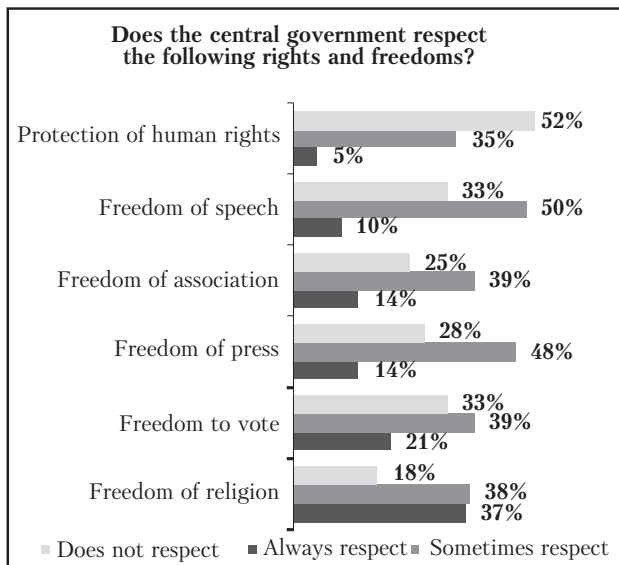


UKRAINIANS DOUBT CENTRAL GOVERNMENT RESPECTS CERTAIN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

A democratic government guarantees certain rights and freedoms to its citizens, such as rule of law and basic human rights. But more and more, the erosion of democracy translates into lost freedoms and liberties. Indeed, what further contributes to the loss of optimism for Ukraine's future as a democracy is the perceived lack of respect by the central government of certain freedoms and rights.

When Ukrainians are asked about how much the central government respects various rights and freedoms, there is no freedom listed that a majority of Ukrainians think is always respected by the central government. Instead, Ukrainians paint a picture of a central government that is much more selective of its enforcement of rights.

The most often cited freedom perceived to be always respected by the central government



is the freedom of religion. More than one-third of Ukrainians (37%) believe that the central government always respects their right to religious freedom, but a roughly equal percentage also say that the central government only respects this right somewhat.

Only weeks before the election, survey results indicated that Ukrainians were skeptical as to how much their right to vote will be respected by the central government. Coupled with sizeable percentages of Ukrainians who think the central government does not respect their freedom of speech (33%) or freedom of press (28%), doubts were looming as to the likelihood of a free and fair election.

It has only been a few years since the political protests and events of the Orange Revolution, but today the government's perceived lack of respect for the right of association indicates the revolutions' sit-ins or protests could not be possible today. Considering this past history of using demonstrations to invoke change in Ukraine, today few Ukrainians believe the central government still supports this right as only 14% say the government always respects their freedom of association.

Lastly, when it comes to basic human rights, to many Ukrainians the protection of human rights by the central government has taken a backseat. Roughly half (52%) of Ukrainians believe the central government does not protect human rights.

UKRAINIANS REMAIN INTERESTED IN POLITICS

Despite the ongoing political squabbling and infighting that engulfed the political realm over the past year; Ukrainians remain interested in politics and government. In fact, interest in politics and government has increased since November 2005. In 2007, a majority of Ukrainians (63%) say they are interested in matters of politics and government, with the bulk of respondents saying they are only somewhat (47%) rather than very (16%) interested. Comparing these

results to November 2005, there has been a slight increase in the percentage of those who say they are interested in politics and government (57% vs. 63%).

Across the country, majorities in all regions demonstrate interest in politics and government. Young people ages 18 to 19 are the least likely to say they are interested in matters of politics and government compared to other age groups.

DEMONSTRATIONS CONSIDERED LEGITIMATE EXERCISE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

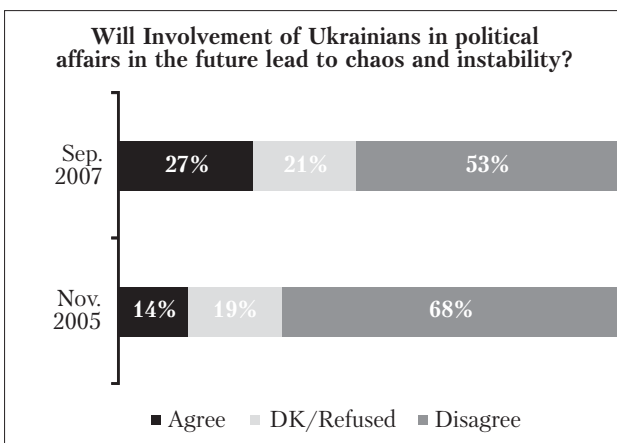
The peaceful protests that occurred following the presidential run-off election in 2004 demonstrated the determination by so many ordinary Ukrainians in their refusal to accept a rigged election. Despite the dissipation of the Orange Revolution “euphoria,” this spirit and belief in the legitimacy and ability of ordinary Ukrainians to affect the political process is still clearly evident. Consistent with results in 2005, almost seven in 10 (68%) Ukrainians think the use of demonstrations is a legitimate exercise of democratic rights by those organizing and participating in the demonstrations (70% in 2005). Only two in 10 (21%) disagree.

Across the country, majorities of Ukrainians in all regions agree in the legitimate use of demonstrations. However, residents in what was the hub of the Orange Revolution demonstrations, Kyiv, share a slightly more negative perception of the use of demonstrations. Respondents in Kyiv compared to anywhere else are slightly more likely to disagree that the use of demonstrations is a legitimate exercise of democratic rights by those organizing and participating in them. This opinion may result from being in close proximity to the Orange Revolution demonstrations and also a growing frustration with the lack of economic or democratic benefits following the events.

MORE UKRAINIANS THINK CITIZENS’ INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS LINKED TO INSTABILITY

As Ukrainians continue to feel ostracized from the government’s decision-making process, there has been an increase in the percentage of Ukrainians who believe greater citizen involvement in the political realm may have a negative effect on the country. Only around half (53%) do not think that greater involvement in political affairs by Ukrainian citizens in the future will lead to chaos and instability in the country, compared to 68% in 2005.

Alternatively, upwards of a quarter (27%) agree greater involvement by citizens in politics will lead to instability and chaos. In 2005, fewer (14%) agreed that greater involvement by citizens in politics will lead to instability and chaos. Twenty-one percent did not have an opinion (19% in 2005).



CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Since the previous IFES survey in November 2005, the level of civic engagement by Ukrainians has declined. Indeed, the excitement generated by the Orange Revolution for an increase in civic involvement has since dissipated.

UKRAINIANS EXHIBIT LOW LEVELS OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

In the immediate period after the Orange Revolution, the events generated respondents to take action to represent their interests. However, since the previous IFES survey in November 2005, there has been a decline in the reported level of civic engagement by Ukrainians. When provided with a list of different types of civic engagement activities and asked if they had taken part in the activity over the past 12 months to express their opinion; few Ukrainians reported any civic participation. Only a handful of Ukrainians (4%) reported contacting or visiting a public official to express their opinion, 3% participated in a demonstration, 2% called in to a radio or TV talk show, 2% sent an SMS to express their opinion, 2% signed a petition, and/or 1% contacted a newspaper or magazine to express an opinion.

are members of trade unions, 3.3% of political parties, 1.6% of religious groups, 0.7% of NGOs, and 0.4% for each of artist/scientist unions and local self-governance institutions. A significant proportion of respondents (81%) say they are not members of any of these types of organizations.

Twenty percent of Ukrainians say they are aware of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are active in their area. Fifty percent are not aware of any NGOs that are active in their area, and 17% do not know what an NGO is. Among those aware of what an NGO is, 45% believe they are necessary or essential for Ukraine while 16% say they are not necessary. Nearly four in ten (39%) did not give a response. As would be expected, those aware of NGOs in their area are far more likely to think they are necessary than those who are not aware of any NGOs in their area (83% versus 31%).

In regards to volunteer work, the vast majority of Ukrainians (89%) have never done any volunteer work in the past. Three percent say they have volunteered in the past twelve months, and 5% say they have volunteered but not in the last twelve months.

Members of different civic organizations	
Trade unions	13.7%
Political parties	3.3%
Religious groups	1.6%
NGOs	0.7%
Artist/Science union	0.4%
Local self-governance institutions	0.4%
Other	0.3%
None of these	80.9%
n = 1265	

Overall, the level of civic engagement in Ukraine is somewhat low as evidenced by general of involvement of Ukrainians in various civic organizations. Membership in various professional, social, cultural, and aid groups stayed at relatively the same level as in the November 2005 survey. Thirteen percent say they

LOCAL GOVERNANCE

Unlike the low confidence level in the national government, the level of confidence in local government leaders and institutions is slightly higher. However, satisfaction with local government responsiveness and services remains low. In fact, Ukrainians report deterioration in some of the services provided by their local government.

MIXED PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS & OFFICIALS

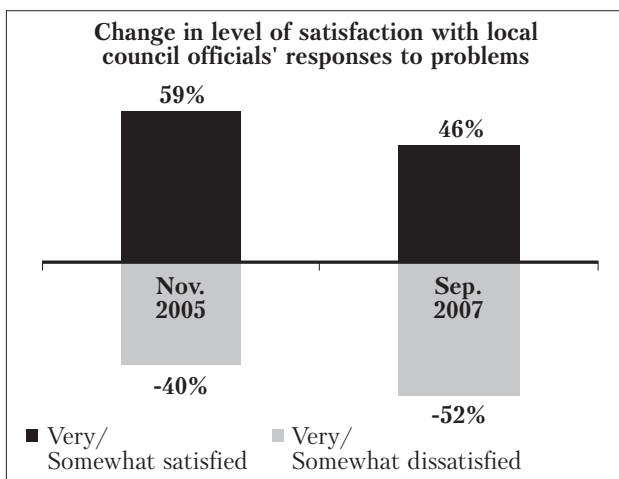
The level of trust in certain local government institutions and officials exceeds confidence levels Ukrainians attribute to central government institutions. While some four in 10 Ukrainians express a fair or a great deal of confidence in either the Verkhovna Rada or the Cabinet of Ministers, a higher proportion, amounting to half the respondents (51%), say they have a great deal or a fair amount of confidence in their city/

village council versus 40% who lack confidence in these institutions. Similarly, 51% of respondents say they have confidence in their mayors versus 41% who lack confidence in them. Meanwhile, respondents are divided in their opinions of their Raion administrators and Oblast governors. Forty-two percent have confidence in their Raion administrator (40% do not), and 40% in their Oblast governor (39% do not).

LESS UKRAINIANS SATISFIED WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS & SERVICES

In order to evaluate the responsiveness of local city or village council officials, respondents were asked if they ever contacted their local officials to address an issue or help solve a problem. Twenty-three percent of all Ukrainians, roughly the same as in the November 2005 survey, say they have contacted local officials before to address an issue or help solve a problem.

Among those who contacted local officials, 54% say they received a response from the official while 25% say they received a partial response. Nineteen percent did not receive any response, which is a similar percentage as on the November 2005 IFES survey. Satisfaction with the officials' responses has gone down since the November 2005 survey.



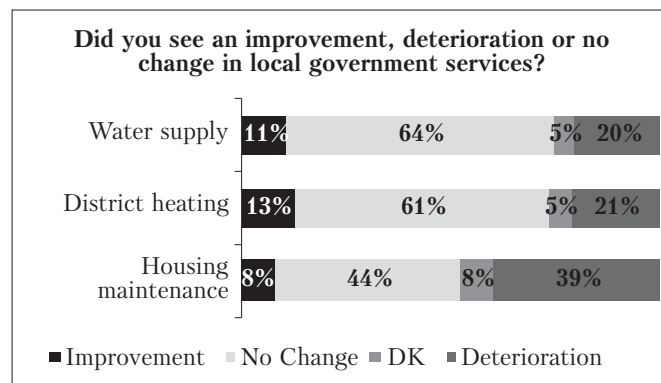
In this survey 46% of those who received a response say they were satisfied with the response (59% in 2005), while 52% were not satisfied with the response (40% in 2005). Those who never contacted local officials before were asked why they have never done so. A third of respondents say the problems they had were not important enough and did not require contacting local officials. About a quarter of respondents (24%) say they usually resolve their problems themselves. Twenty-one percent assumed contacting local officials will not result in anything as “they have

no power.” Some 13% percent say they have never contacted local officials before because they do not trust them.

Survey respondents were asked whether they had seen an improvement, deterioration, or no change to three services provided by local governments. Respondents observing deterioration in the water supply service outnumber those who observe an improvement (20% vs. 11%). Similarly, 21% saw deterioration in the district heating service compared with 13% who observed an improvement. Moreover,

respondents to this survey are more likely to say they have seen deterioration in these services than in the November 2005 IFES survey.

However, solid majorities (64% and 61%) perceive that there has been no change in water supply and district heating services. Residents in urban or semi-urban areas were asked about the housing maintenance service. Thirty-nine percent have seen deterioration in this service compared to 8% who have seen an improvement. Forty-four percent have seen no change.



FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

Awareness of foreign assistance to Ukraine remains relatively low, both in general and when asked specifically about the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Ukrainians support foreign assistance programs in the areas of health, economic development and democracy and governance. On a positive note, when Ukrainians were told the organization provided over 1.6 billion dollars of support to Ukraine since 1992, a plurality said that knowing this gives them a more favorable opinion the organization. The results indicate more intensive public information campaigns on the foreign assistance given to Ukraine may be received positively by the public.

HALF OF UKRAINIANS UNAWARE OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

Roughly half (50%) of Ukrainians were not aware of any foreign assistance being provided to Ukraine by other countries. Alternatively, a sizeable percentage (42%) was aware of foreign assistance being provided to Ukraine. Eight percent did not have enough information to provide an opinion.

Are you aware of foreign assistance being provided to Ukraine by other countries?	
Yes	42%
No	50%
Don't know / Refused	8%
n = 1265	

Among Ukrainians aware of any foreign assistance, respondents remain split as to how effective or ineffective this foreign assistance is to their country. Roughly as many who say it is very or somewhat effective (41%) also say it is somewhat or very ineffective (40%). Nineteen percent did not have an opinion on the effectiveness of foreign assistance.

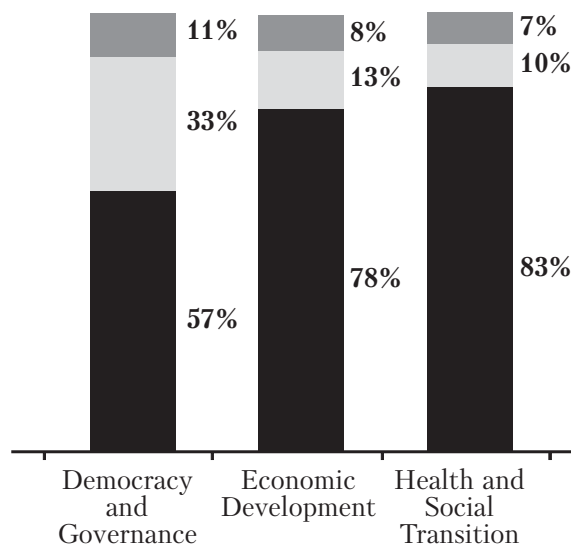
UKRAINIANS SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR HEALTH AND SOCIAL TRANSITION

When Ukrainians were asked whether they support or oppose international assistance in a variety of areas, support for health and social transition projects surpasses all other areas. While majorities support receiving international assistance in all three areas, most Ukrainians (83%) support receiving international assistance for health and social transition, with the bulk of these saying they strongly (52%) rather than only somewhat (31%) support this activity. Closely

following support for assistance in the area of health and social transition, a strong majority of Ukrainians (78%) support international assistance for economic development. Receiving the least support of the three is foreign assistance in the area of democracy and governance.

Although the level of support for foreign assistance in the area of democracy and governance is much lower than support for assistance in other areas, still, a solid majority of respondents

(57%) support receiving foreign assistance in the area of democracy and governance. Meanwhile, one third of Ukrainians (33%) oppose receiving foreign assistance in democracy and governance.



MOST UKRAINIANS UNFAMILIAR WITH USAID

Are you familiar with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)?	
Yes	7%
No	87%
Don't know / Refused	6%
n = 1265	

Few Ukrainians (7%) report being familiar with USAID, as nearly nine in 10 (87%) say that they are not familiar with USAID.

Of the small percentage of Ukrainians aware of USAID, roughly six in 10 (59%) have a favorable opinion of the organization. Alternatively, only one in 10 (12%) have an unfavorable opinion of USAID. Another 29% did not provide a response.

Ukrainians aware of USAID were further probed about several particular areas that USAID funds; including democracy and governance, economic development and health and social transition. Similarly to the overall population's support for general foreign assistance, most of those aware of USAID, support assistance to areas

of health and social transition (85%), as well as economic development (80%). Slightly fewer but still a majority (64%) support USAID's assistance for the area of democracy and governance.

When Ukrainians were asked to estimate how much the United States spends annually to support its programs in their country, most (77%) say it is hard for them to estimate. Only a quarter of Ukrainians can provide estimations, with 4% who think the US provides less than 10 million dollars of support annually, 6% say between \$10 and \$50 million, 5% guess between \$50 to \$100 million and 8% think the amount spent annually is over 100 million dollars.

How much do you think the United States spends annually to support its programs here?	
\$0 to under \$10 million	4%
\$10 to under \$50 million	6%
\$50 to under \$100 million	5%
Over \$100 million	8%
Don't know/Refused	77%
n = 1265	

When Ukrainians were informed USAID has provided over 1.6 billion dollars in assistance to Ukraine for things like economic and business development; including agriculture, media, civil society and local governance; improved health care and energy and environment, roughly four in 10 (42%) say this leaves them with a more favorable opinion of the organization. In contrast, only a handful of Ukrainians (6%) have a less favorable opinion of USAID. However, for 24% of Ukrainians, this information makes no difference

in their opinion of USAID. Upwards of three in 10 (28%) did not have an opinion on this issue.

The survey also asked if Ukrainians recall reading any recent articles in the local press about USAID and its programs. Only 3% of Ukrainians say they have recently read articles about USAID and its programs, while most Ukrainians (91%) have not. Six percent were not able to provide an answer.

