

**IFES POLL OF THE UKRAINIAN ELECTORATE
Analysis of Preliminary Results
January 18, 1995**

This analysis is based on a nationally representative random-sample poll commissioned by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems and conducted by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology. Face-to-face interviews of adults (18 and over) were conducted in every *oblast* of Ukraine between December 13-23, 1994. The margin of error is +/- 2.2%.

Direction and Approval Attitudes

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the general situation in Ukraine today?

Very Satisfied	1.5
Somewhat satisfied	4.9
Not very satisfied	25.0
Not at all satisfied	66.7
DA/DK	1.9

MAJOR FINDINGS

- The Ukrainian public feels uninformed. While most realize the extent of Ukraine's difficult transition, information on it and other important topics is simply not flowing to them in a form they can use or understand.
- While more than 91% of the public in Ukraine is dissatisfied with conditions in the country, there is a stirring of hope and a willingness to give President Kuchma more time to carry out reforms.
- The Ukrainian public looks to the West for guidance in reform. There is general agreement on the need to continue movement to democratic practice, but free market reforms during this difficult time, get mixed reviews.

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: "My family doesn't have money to buy enough food."?

Agree strongly	59.7
Agree somewhat	18.2
Disagree somewhat	15.7
Disagree strongly	4.9
DA/DK	1.5

This is a startling and graphic finding: over two-thirds of the respondents say that there is not enough money to buy food. Despite this fact, it is interesting that Ukrainians are willing to show any patience with government and with President Kuchma. However, Kuchma has been in office only a short time. The Ukrainian parliament (most of whose members were elected in March and April of 1994) gets very low marks from voters. Only one in nine approves of its work so far.

In the following question, only about one-fifth believe that things will be worse in two or three years. Of course, it may be that Ukrainians believe that things could not possibly get worse.

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In the future (say two or three years from now), do you expect the economic and political situation in Ukraine will be:

Better than it is now	30.2
About the same as now	30.0
Worse than it is now	21.8
DA/DK	18.1

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: "President Kuchma has made progress in keeping the promises he made during the campaign, and we should give him more time to make the other changes he promised."?

Agree strongly	34.3
Agree somewhat	24.0
Disagree somewhat	9.4
Disagree strongly	12.4
DA/DK	20.0

When the two categories are collapsed and we consider only those who have an opinion, the results are:

Agree	72.8
Disagree	27.2

And what about the Supreme Rada -- Do you approve of the job they are doing so far?

Approve overall	11.8
Disapprove	64.1
DA/DK	24.1

What is your overall opinion of the present-day Communist Party of Ukraine?

Very favorable	7.4
Somewhat favorable	19.3
Somewhat unfavorable	22.5
Very unfavorable	17.6
DA/DK	33.2

After 70 years of communist rule, only about one quarter of the population has a favorable opinion of the successor Communist Party. Nearly one-third of the rest were either unable or unwilling to express an opinion. In any case, very few respondents identified with any party. Only 5.1% said that they considered themselves to be members of any party. When asked if any party even represented their views, only 21.5% of the respondents said that any party represented their interests.



Need for information and education

Across the board, the electorate expresses an intense need for more information about government, reform, and politics in general.

Have you heard or read much about the democratic processes in Ukraine?

Great deal	8.7
Fair amount	19.6
Not very much	39.3
Nothing at all	25.4
DA/DK	7.1

Nearly two-thirds (64.7%) say that they have little or no information about the democratic process.

Have you heard or read much about the so-called "free market reforms" in Ukraine?

Great deal	9.8
Fair amount	24.1
Not very much	42.9
Nothing at all	17.3
DA/DK	5.9

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: "I don't have enough information about my rights with regard to the authorities."?

Agree strongly	55.9
Agree somewhat	22.6
Disagree somewhat	10.3
Disagree strongly	3.6
DA/DK	7.6

In other words, 78.5% agree with the statement to some degree.

Do you feel that you received enough information about the candidates or parties to make a good choice between the candidates either for President or for the Supreme Rada?

A great deal	10.5
A fair amount	33.9
Not very much	39.7
Nothing at all	10.2
DA/DK	5.8



Do you feel you received enough information from election officials so that you understood the electoral process?

Enough information	42.0
Not enough information	40.4
DA/DK	17.6

This question refers specifically to the process of voting. It is likely that more people felt that they had adequate information than with other areas due to the fact that Ukraine had round after round of elections in 1994. However, it is still the case that almost half those who answered the question felt that they did not have enough voting information. This suggests that the Central Election Commission of Ukraine may need to increase efforts in disseminating information to voters prior to any new elections or referenda.

Do you feel that the elections for President of Ukraine were free and fair?

Free and Fair	39.4
Fraud Occurred	23.0
DA/DK	37.5

Do you feel that the elections for Peoples' Deputy of Ukraine to the Supreme Rada were free and fair?

Free and Fair	28.8
Fraud Occurred	31.8
DA/DK	39.4

Look to the West

Ukrainians look to Western nations to model their future development and express a desire to maintain links with Russia while developing new ties to the West.

Is there any foreign country which you think could be a model for Ukraine's development?

Top choices of those who answered: (open-ended question)

Baltic republics	4.0
Canada	8.2
France	4.1
Germany	18.4
Japan	4.3
Poland	6.5
Russia	5.8
Sweden	6.1
Switzerland	4.0
USA	18.2



Other choices of interest:

Czech Republic	2.7
Finland	2.3
Holland	1.9
China	1.8
(unclear whether mainland or Taiwan)	
USSR	0.6
Korea	0.5
(unclear whether North or South)	
Cuba	0.2

In reviewing the data, one finds that 74% of the respondents choose a nation with Western-style democratic traditions and free market economic policies. In fact, over half chose one of just four countries: Germany, USA, Canada, or Sweden.

Russia was the choice of only 5.8% even though 20% of the sample was identified as ethnic Russian. Only 3.8% chose countries that could currently be labeled authoritarian or hard-line Communist such as Cuba or China. A tiny fraction, six-tenths of 1 per cent, named the USSR as their choice for the future.

What do you think is most important for Ukraine to become a more prosperous country in the future?

Links to Russia	25.1
Links to the West	6.4
Both to Russia and to the West	60.5
DA/DK/Other response	7.9

Preference for democracy

Ukrainians express skepticism about the current state of their country, but they show a clear preference for democratic practices in the future. They believe that democracy is the way to find answers to their national problems, and they especially want reforms in the election laws.

Would you say that there is Democracy in Ukraine, or there is no democracy?

There is Democracy	17.8
There is not Democracy	55.9
DA/DK	26.3



If Ukraine becomes a democracy, will we solve our economic problems:

More quickly	44.9
Less quickly	3.8
No difference	22.5
DA/DK	28.8

Of those who have an opinion:

More quickly	63.1
Less quickly	5.3
No difference	31.6

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: "We must educate young people about the democratic process so that they can help make good decisions about our future."?

Agree strongly	67.3
Agree somewhat	17.6
Disagree somewhat	2.5
Disagree strongly	1.2
DA/DK	11.4

Need for Reform

There is a strong feeling that government is not working well and that official corruption is widespread. This is the likely underlying reason that the electorate supports reform measures. The fact that President Kuchma has made attacks on official corruption a staple of his recent rhetoric may also be a contributing factor.

How serious do you think is the problem of official corruption?

Very serious	75.3
Fairly serious	13.9
Not too serious	2.2
Not serious at all	.5
DA/DK	8.2

Only one-half of 1 per cent say that there is no problem of official corruption.

In your opinion, are our elected officials in Kiev genuinely interested in improving the quality of people's lives in Ukraine or just interested in helping themselves?

Improving quality of lives	12.1
Helping themselves	69.9
DA/DK	18.0

This perception of official corruption and lack of confidence in public officials may be a key reason that Ukrainians do not yet feel that they live in a democracy.

What is your overall opinion of the election laws of Ukraine -- does it seem to you that they work well or are they in need of reform?

Works Well	23.5
Needs reform	35.1
DA/DK	41.4

When considering only those who know enough about the system to have an opinion:

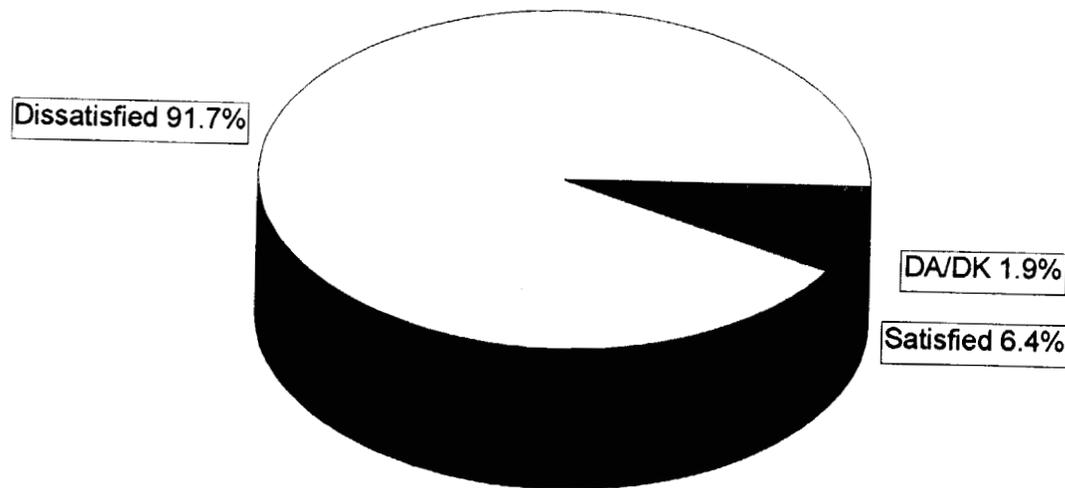
Works Well	40.0
Needs reform	60.0

Would we be better off if you only had to vote once for the candidate you supported or are you satisfied with the existing situation of multi-round elections?

Vote once	61.1
Things as they are	22.4
DA/DK	16.5

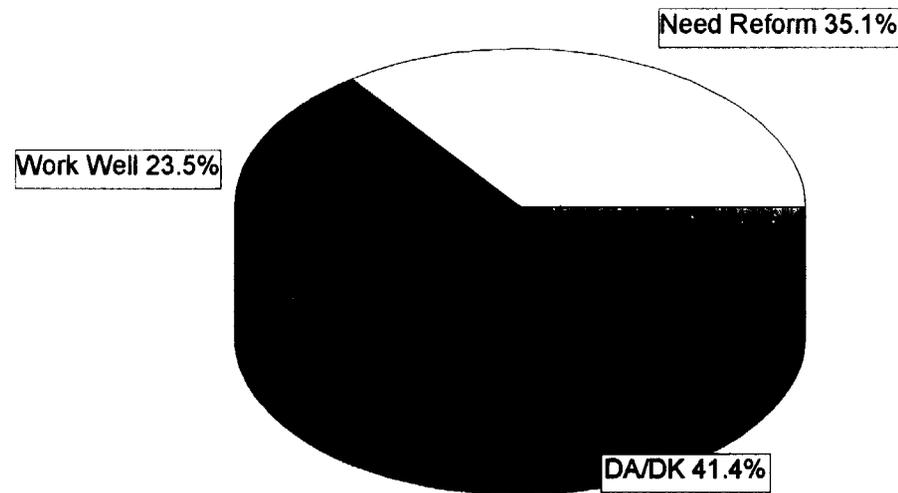
Mass Dissatisfaction in Ukraine

Almost no one is satisfied with the situation in Ukraine today.



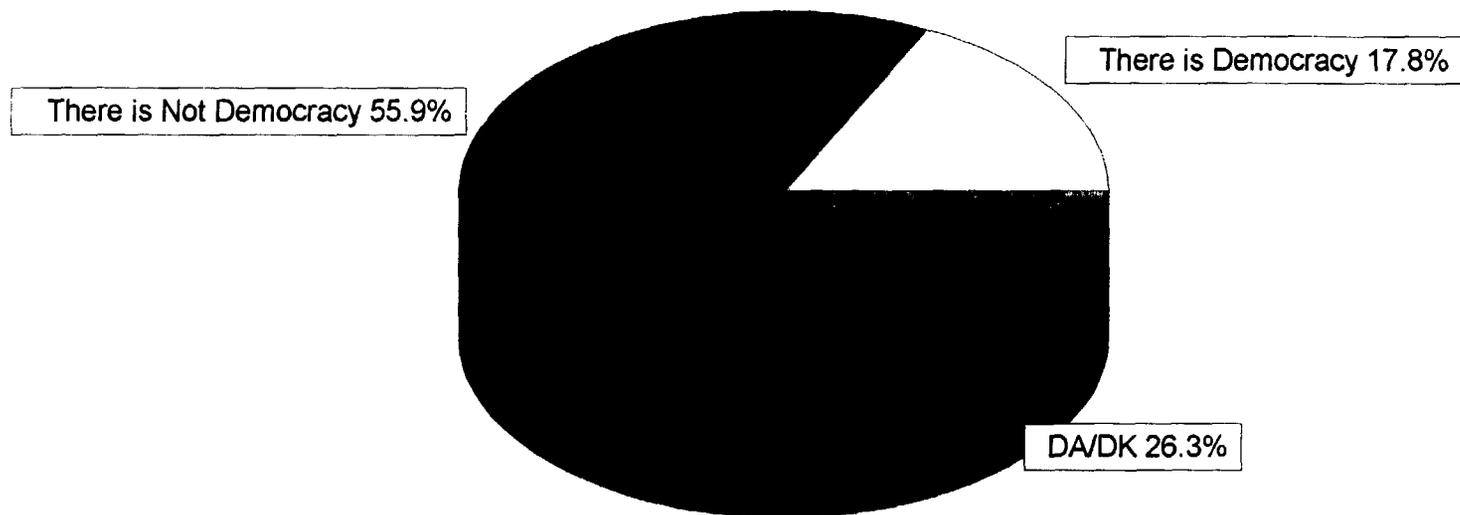
Election Law Reform Needed

Only 1 in 4 thinks the election laws of Ukraine "work well."



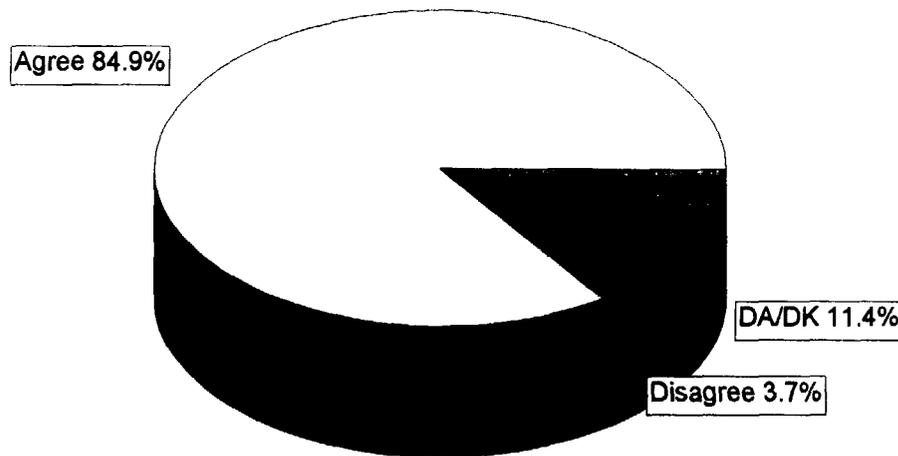
Is there Democracy in Ukraine?

Fewer than one-fifth think that there is democracy in Ukraine.



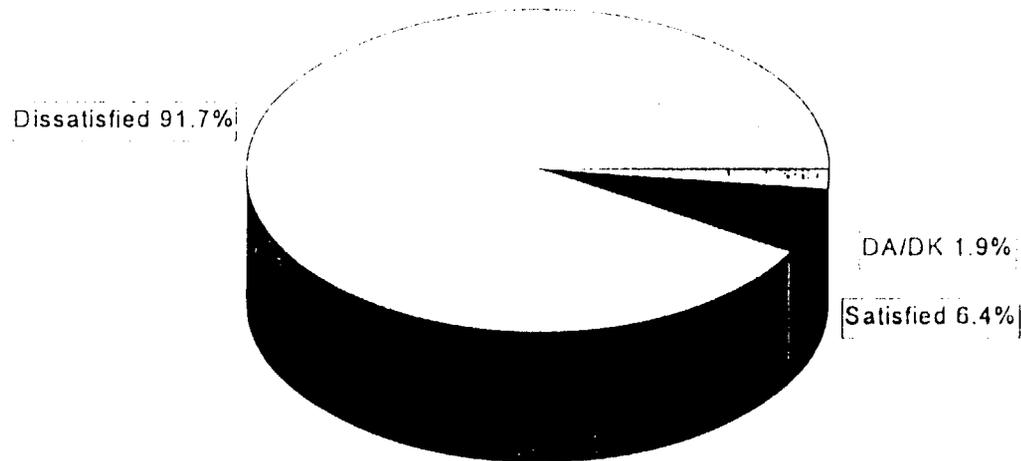
Educate Youth in Democracy

Overwhelming majority think, "We must educate young people about the democratic process so that they can help make good decisions about our future."



Mass Dissatisfaction in Ukraine

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Not Enough Money for Food

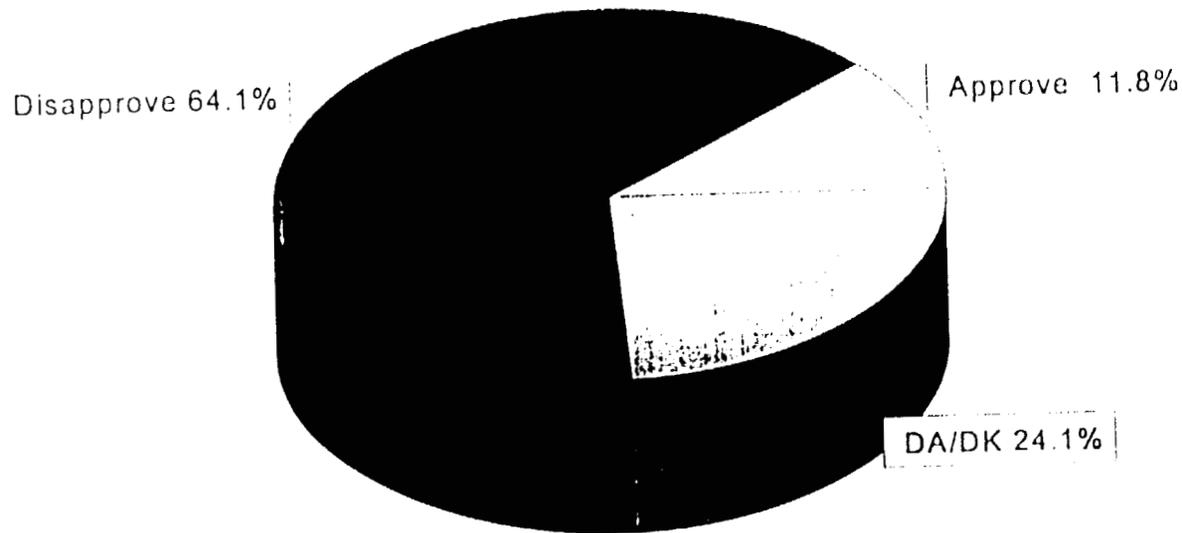
3 in 4 believe "My family doesn't have money to buy enough food."



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Disapproval of Parliament

The Supreme Rada has few friends. Only 1 in 9 approves of its work so far.

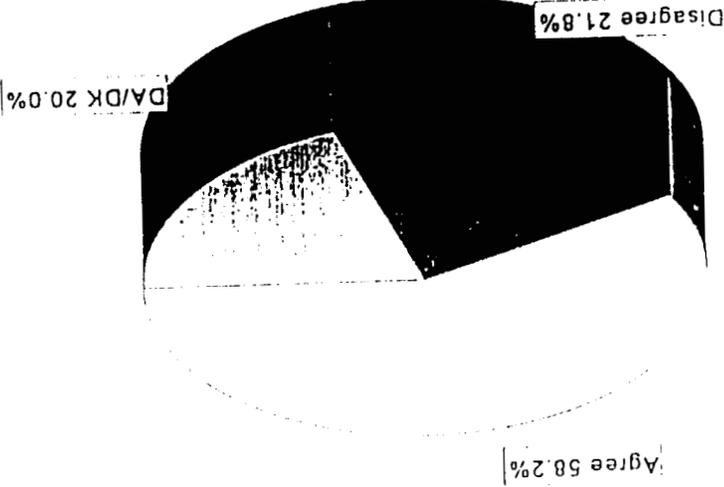


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President Kuchma's Progress

Most people agree that, "President Kuchma has made progress in keeping the promises he made" during the campaign and we should give him more time to make the other changes he promised."

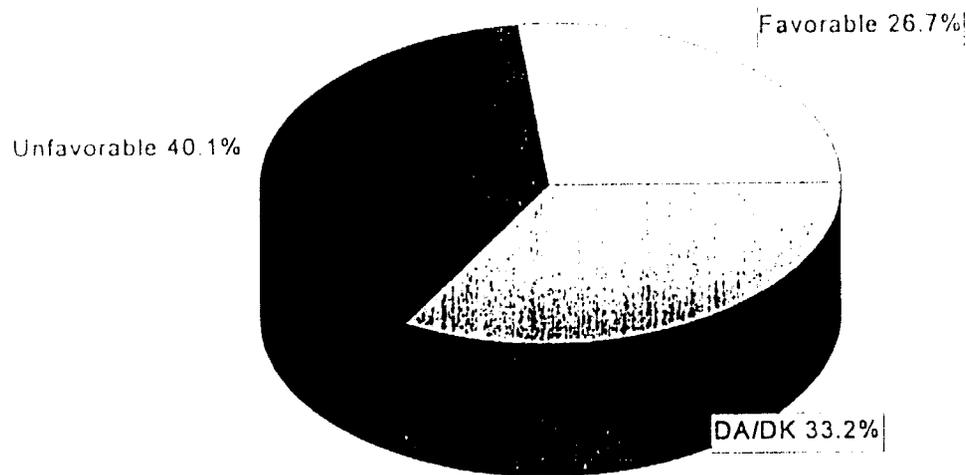


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Communist Party is Weak

Only 1 in 4 has a favorable opinion of the present-day Communist Party.



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Few Know of Democratic Process

Only 1 in 4 have a "great deal" or a "fair amount" of information about the Democratic process.



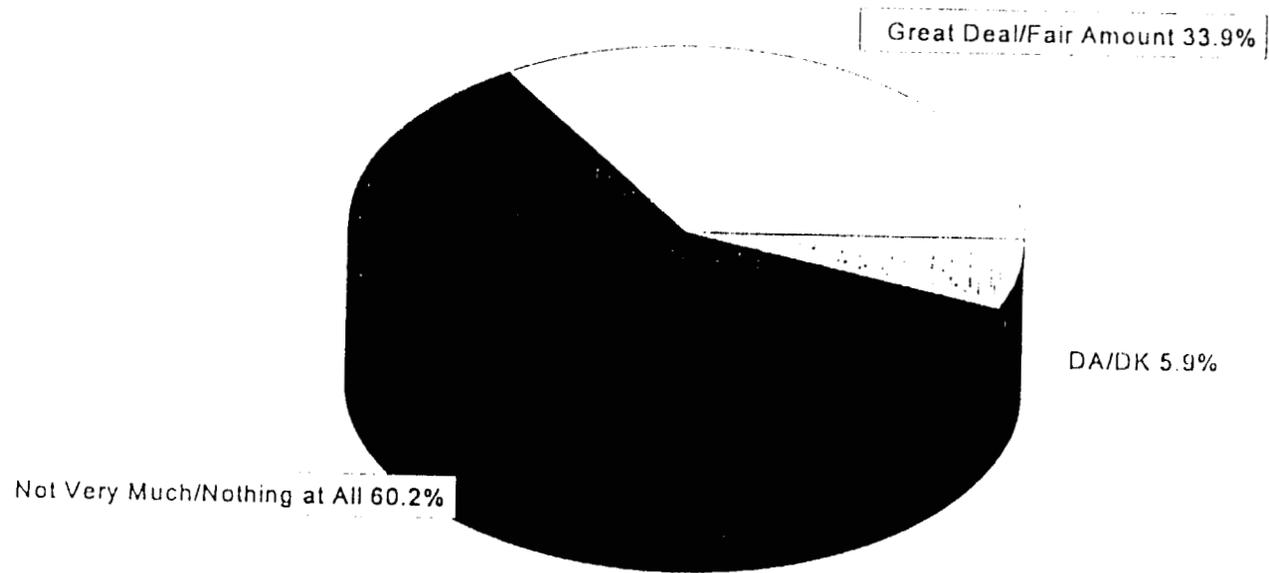
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Few Know of Market Reforms

Only 1 in 3 has a "great deal" or a "fair amount" of information about "free market reforms."



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Less than Half Want Mostly State Economy

Attitudes are mixed on whether Ukraine should "continue process of reducing the state's role in the economy" or "return to a system where the state controls much of the economy."



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Few Know Their Rights

3 in 4 believe, "I don't have enough information about my rights with regard to the authorities."



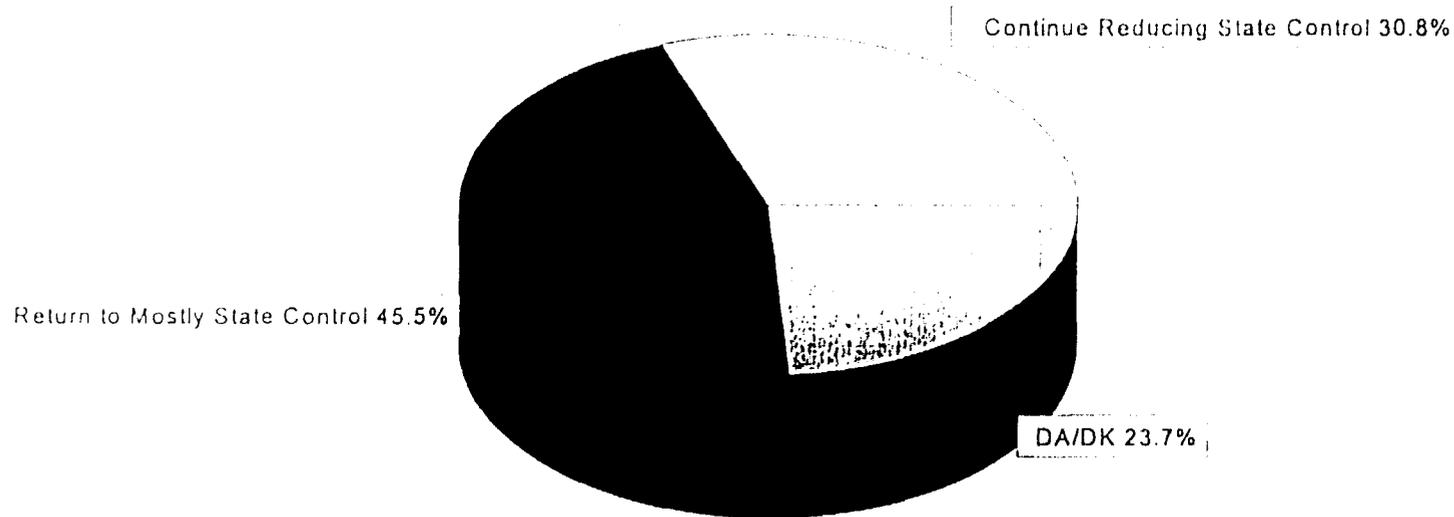
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Less than Half Want Mostly State Economy

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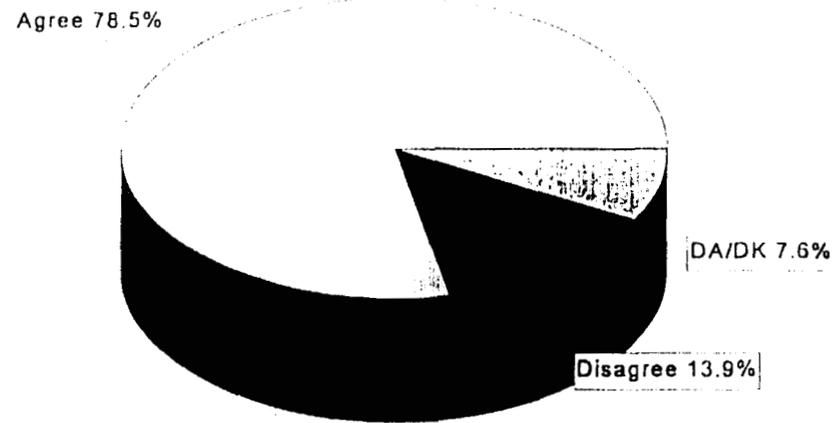


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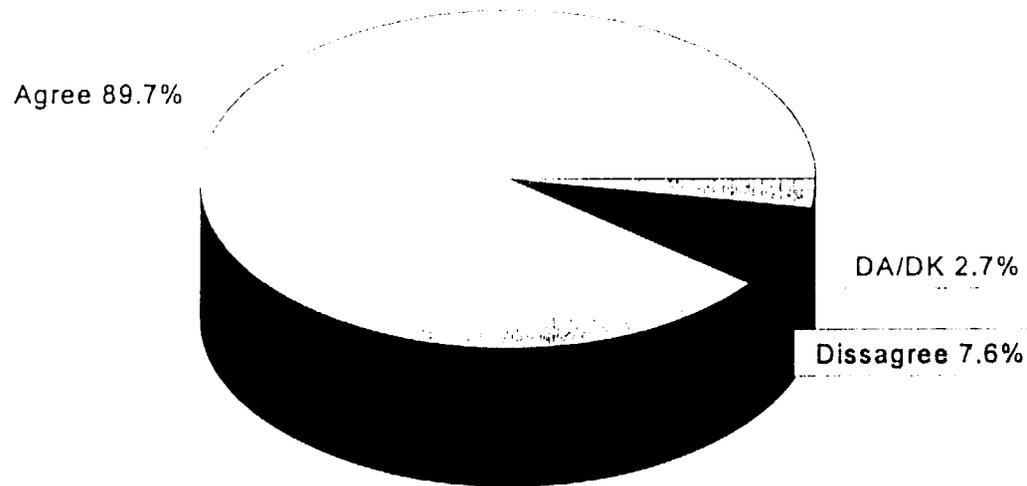
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Right to a Job

Majority agree that, "It is the duty of government to guarantee that I have a job."

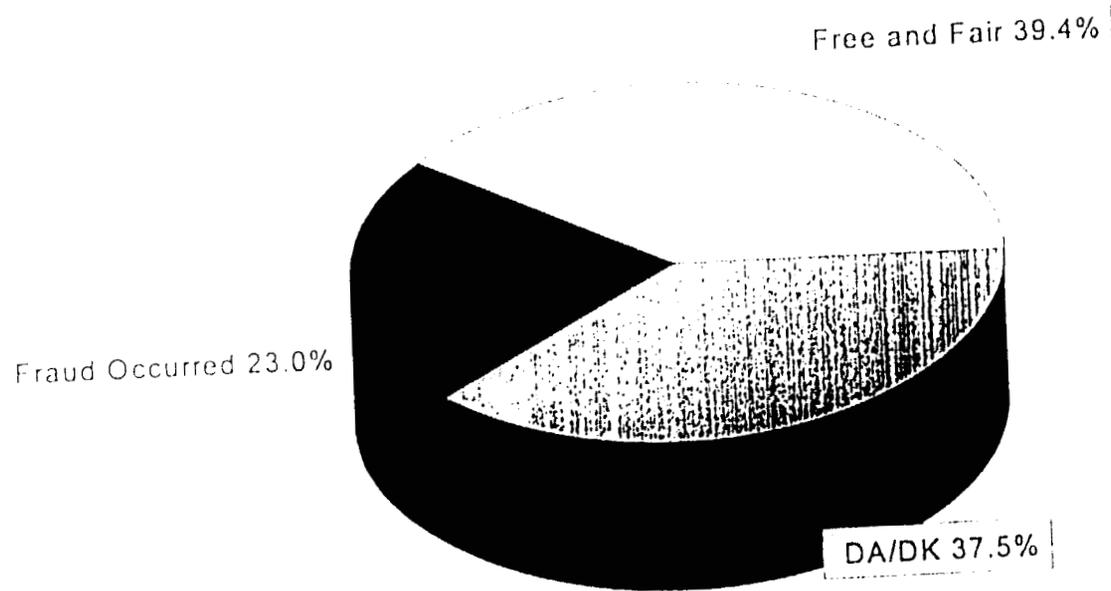


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Fraud in Presidential Elections

1 in 4 thinks that at least some fraud occurred during the presidential elections.

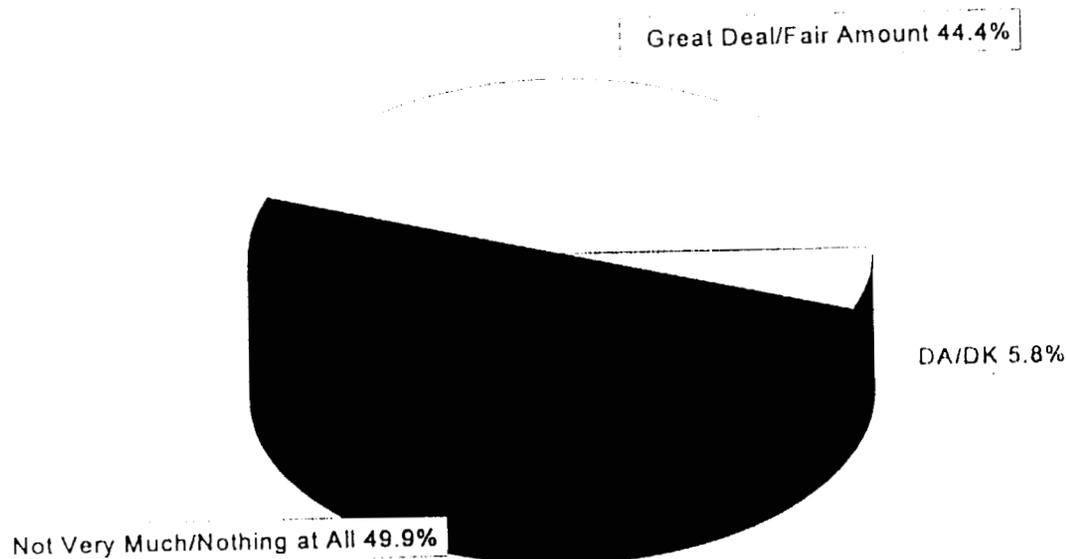


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Half Make Uninformed Choice

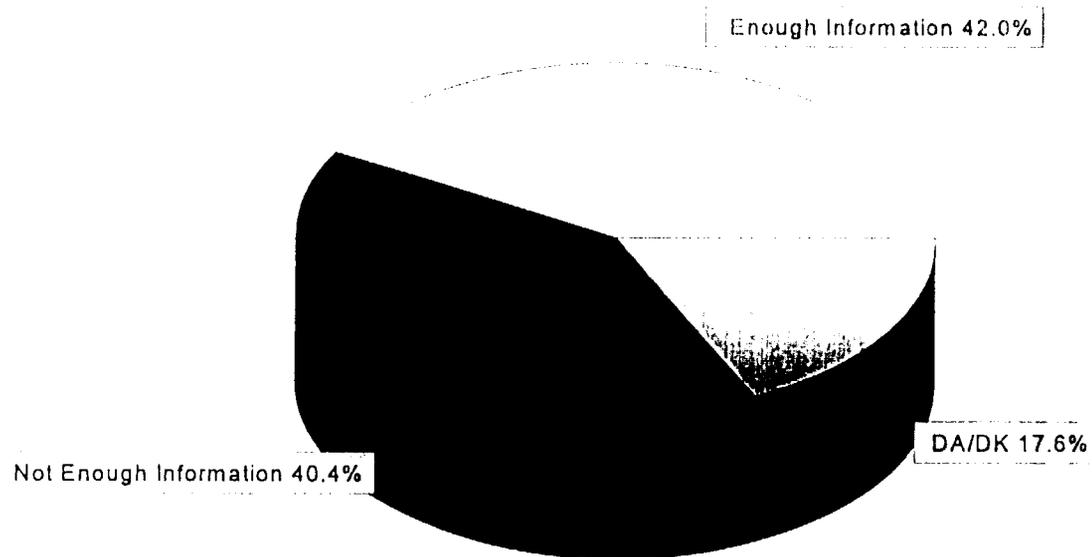
Half had insufficient information to make a "good choice" between the candidates or parties for President or Parliament.



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Information from Election Officials

Less than half think that they "received enough information from election officials so that they understood the electoral process."

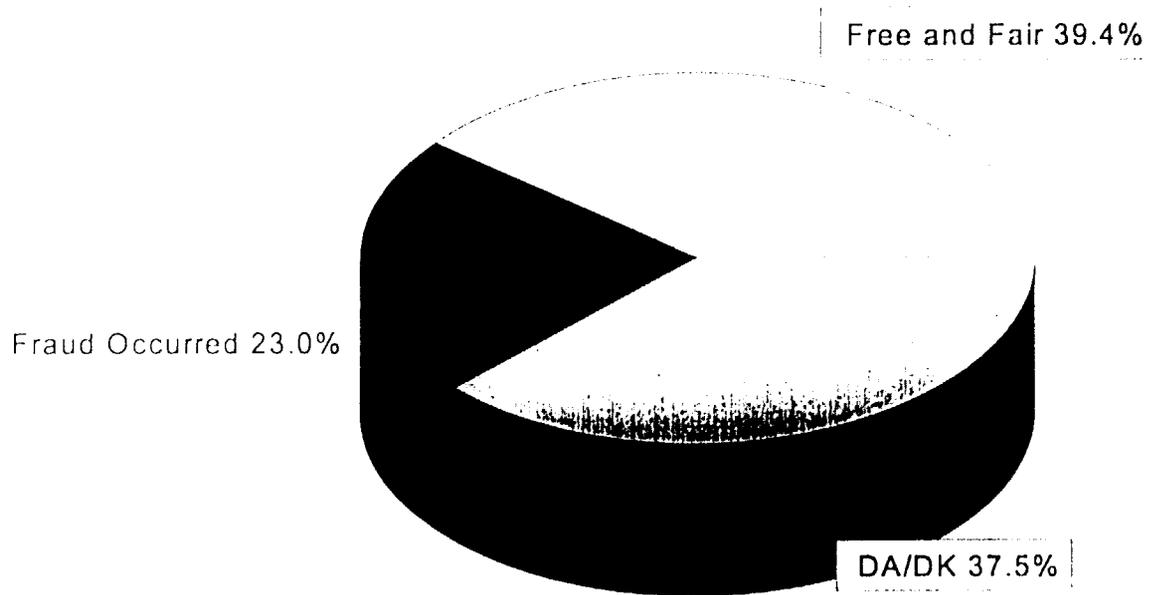


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Fraud in Presidential Elections

1 in 4 thinks that at least some fraud occurred during the presidential elections.



Fraud in Parliamentary Elections

1 in 3 thinks that at least some fraud occurred during the parliamentary elections.



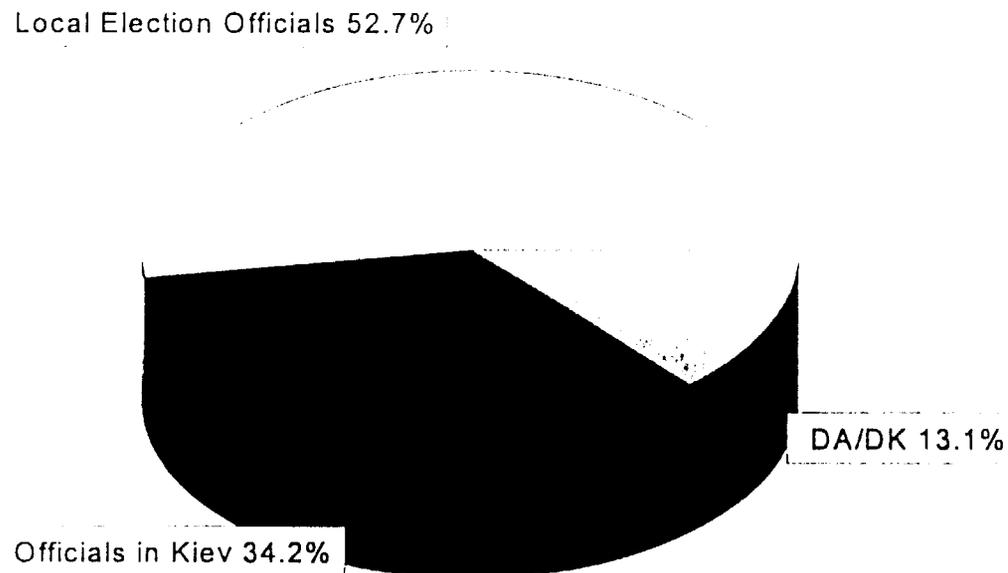
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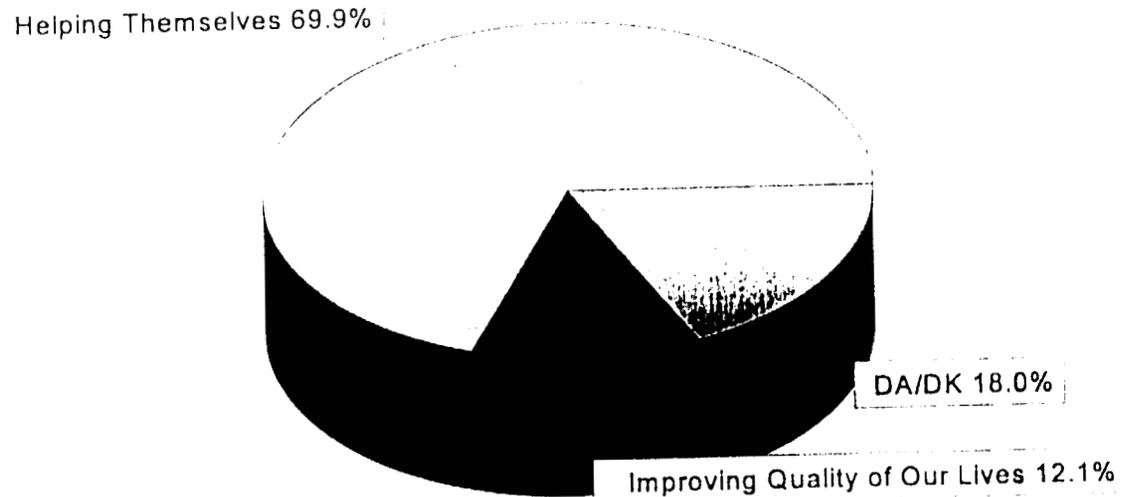
Who Committed Election Fraud?

Of those who felt that fraud had occurred, most blamed local election officials.



What Interests Officials in Kiev?

More than two-thirds are cynical about the intentions of their national elected officials.

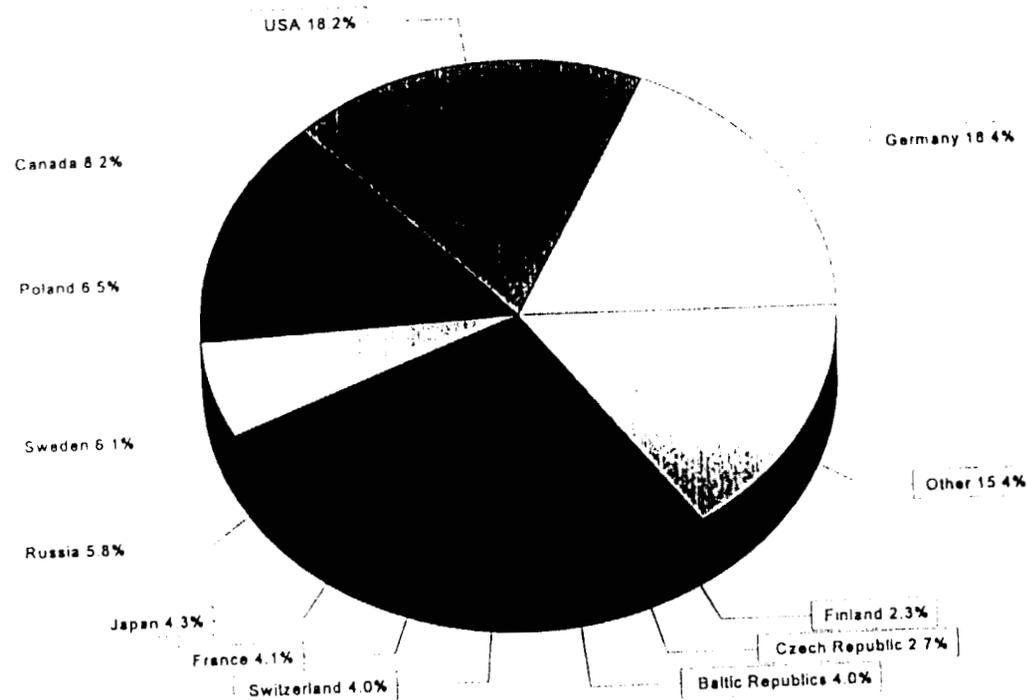


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Most Choose Democratic Development

Of those who answered on which country Ukraine should model itself, 3 in 4 chose a nation with Western democratic and free market traditions.



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Links to Russia and the West

2 in 3 think that links to the West are important for Ukraine to become a more prosperous nation.

Links to Russia and the West 60.6%

Links to the West 6.4%

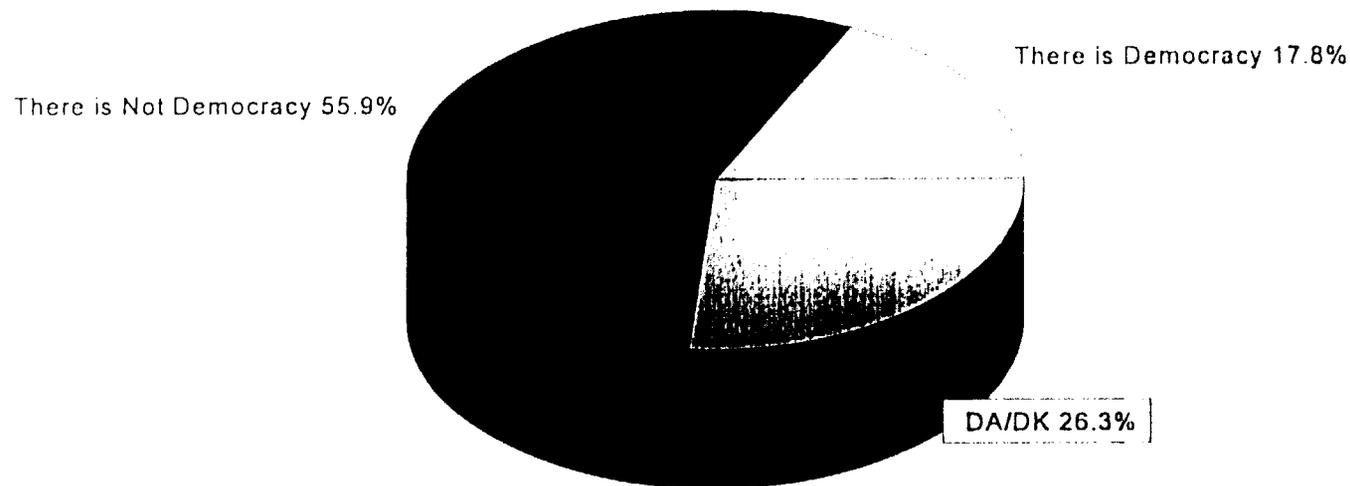
Links to Russia 25.1%

DA/DK/Other Response 7.9%

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Is there Democracy in Ukraine?

Fewer than one-fifth think that there is Democracy in Ukraine.

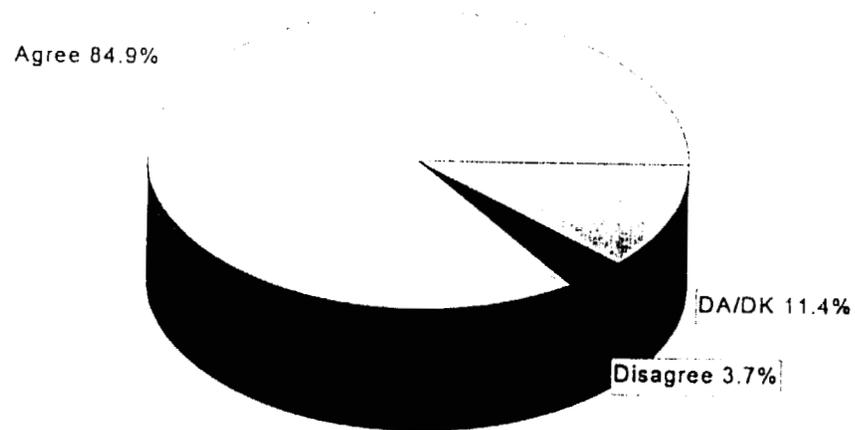


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Educate Youth in Democracy

Overwhelming majority think, "We must educate young people about the democratic process so that they can help make good decisions about our future."

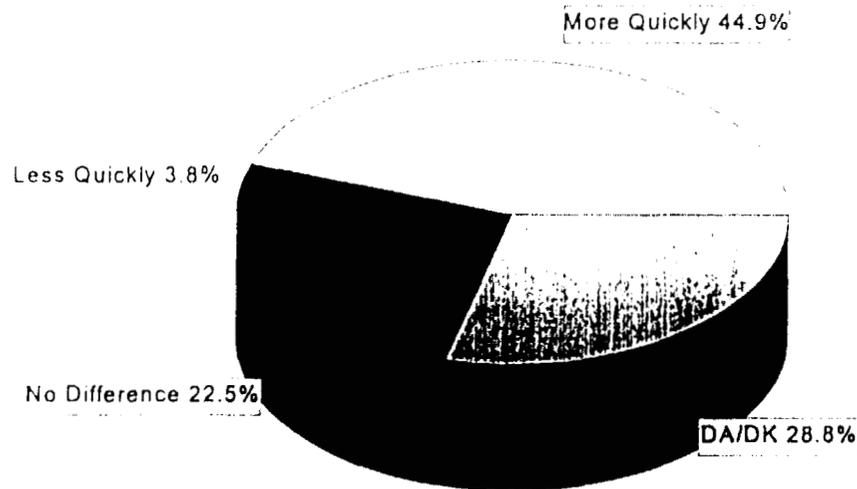


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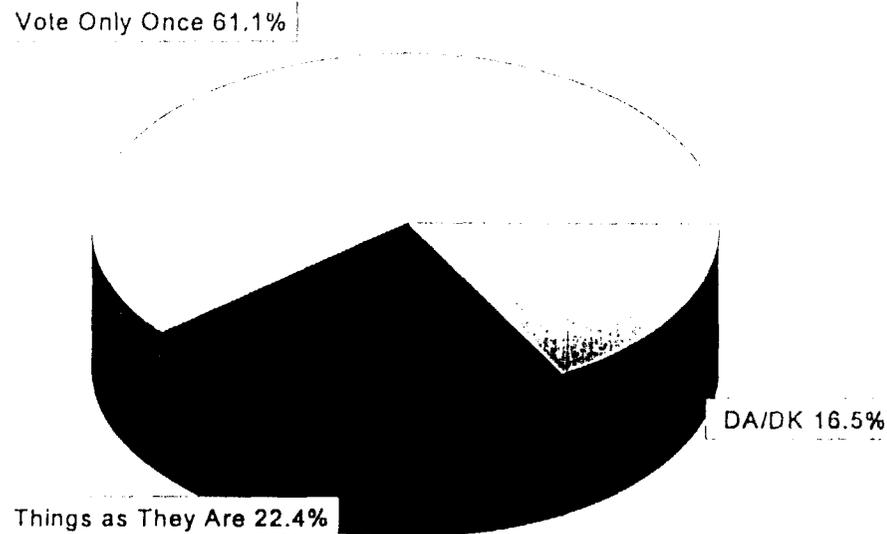
Democracy Means Economic Progress

Only a few think economic problems will be solved "less quickly" if Ukraine "becomes a Democracy."



Election Law Reform

Most believe, "we would be better off" if "we had to vote only once for a candidate" rather than in multiple rounds as is currently the case.

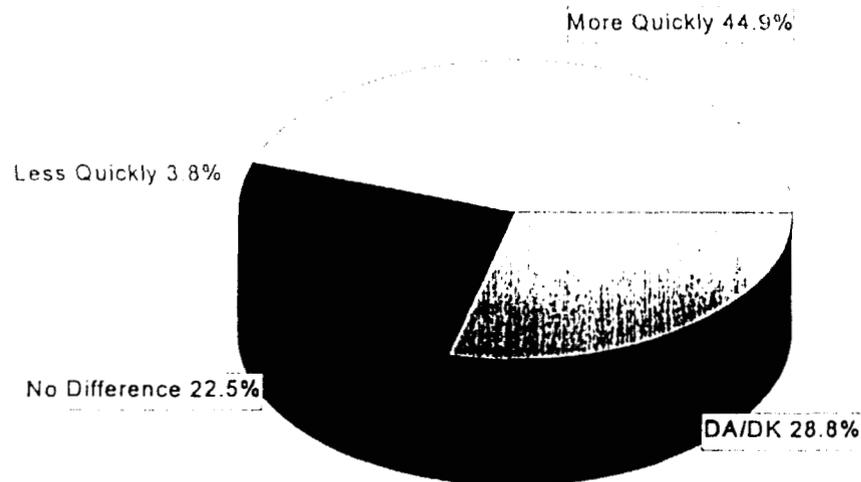


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Democracy Means Economic Progress

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