

«Defense strategy of the state through the eyes of Ukrainians»

The results of the Ukrainian social research in within the framework of annual social research program-2008 «PROJECT OF THE COUNTRY»

Within the framework of annual social research program-2008 «PROJECT OF THE COUNTRY» the Gorshenin Institute has completed the FIRST national research conducted Feb. 7 to Feb. 18, 2008 in 129 localities of Ukraine.

In total, according to the route sampling with account of basic socio-demographic breakdown of the population of Ukraine, there were 2007 respondents interviewed, which represent adult population, aged from 18 years. The quotes of sample were the following: age, gender, education, a type of locality the respondent lives. General amount of poll points are 129 (63 towns and 66 rural settlements). Statistical error does not exceed +/- 2,2%.

The questionnaires of all the polls within annual program are worked out by sociologists involving social psychology experts, which enables investigation of completely new scope of public opinion.

According to the results of the eighth public opinion poll, experts of the Institute have drawn the following conclusions:

- The results of research indicate the political maturity and healthy economic pragmatism of Ukrainians. Basic priorities of the questioned. At the same time in the issues of the possible participation of Ukraine in military and political alliances and blocks the respondents demonstrate prudence.
- The tendency is obvious that the number of supporters who connect perspectives of Ukrainian development with Russia is decreasing and the number of supporters of Ukrainian integration with European Union is increasing. At present 28,6% of Ukrainians connect the perspectives of development with EC (18,9% - in October of 2006) and 28,1% with Russia (33,5% - in October of 2006). This tendency in particular could be explained by the fact that against the background of positive expectations from the policy of European Union concerning Ukraine (joining WTO, simplifying of visa regulations), it could be seen negative expectations of economic threat from Russia (gas prices, «trade wars», economic sanctions).
- Among all possible external threats the most probable (realistic) according to the thought of Ukrainians are economic conflicts between Ukraine and other countries (46,6% of respondents).

- Most of the respondents vote for saving of the neutral status by Ukraine. In addition, two thirds of respondents oppose placement of the foreign military bases at the territory of the country. At the same time the citizens of Ukraine do not consider placement of the Russian military personnel at the territory of the country as military presence. 36,1% of Ukrainian are loyal concerning presence of Russian Black sea navy at the territory of Crimea.
- Ukrainians are skeptic concerning defensive ability of the country and support transmission of the army to the professional basis. Only 13,5% of respondents think that the army should consist of conscripts on the basis of obligatory military service.
- Ukrainians acknowledge admit their being low on information concerning activity of NATO. More than a half thinks that they are poorly informed and each fifth respondent finds it difficult to answer the question. At the same time in case of holding of the referendum the majority of Ukrainians (43,6%) would vote against joining NATO by Ukraine.

APPENDIX

1. What you connect the perspectives of economic development of Ukraine with?

- 1 - With independent development of Ukraine in collaboration with Russia and other countries – 31,4%
- 2 - With joining of the Economic Union – 28,6%
- 3 - With integration of Ukraine with Russia – 28,1%
- 4 - Other – 1,2%
- 5 - Difficult to answer – 10,7%

2. Do you think there is a real threat for Ukraine by hidden or open territory claims of political or economic pressure from the other states?

- 1 - There is – 45,7%
- 2 - There isn't – 35,8%
- 3 - Difficult to answer – 18,5%

3. According to your opinion, what dangers could first of all threaten Ukraine in the nearest future? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - Economic conflicts of Ukraine with other countries – 46,6%
- 2 - Collapse of the state – 22,1%
- 3 - Man-caused disasters – 20,8%
- 4 - Act of terrorism – 14,7%
- 5 - Local military conflicts at the territory of Ukraine – 9,5%
- 6 - Military intervention of the other countries – 8,8%
- 7 - World war - 3,3%
- 8 - Other – 0,4%
- 9 - I do not see any dangers – 11,3%
- 10 - Difficult to answer – 7,7%

4. According to your opinion, how is it better to resist social threats of security of Ukraine? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - To strengthen economic positions – 55,2%
- 2 - To use diplomacy actively – 40,1%
- 3 - To strengthen army of the country – 39,8%
- 4 - To join the military alliance with the other countries for guarantee of the own interests' defense – 18,6%
- 5 - To use the influence of the international organizations (UNO, PACE etc.) – 8,9%
- 6 - To compromise – 6,2%
- 7 - Other – 0,5%
- 8 - Difficult to answer – 5,0%

- 5. On your opinion, is our army able to defend Ukraine now in case of real military threat from other countries?**
- 1 - Definitely positive – 5,6%
 - 2 - Rather positive – 24,6%
 - 3 - Rather negative – 37,4%
 - 4 - Definitely negative – 19,0%
 - 5 - Difficult to answer – 13,4%
- 6. On your opinion, what is necessary to ensure military ability of the Ukrainian army? (you can choose several variants of answer)**
- 1 - To form professional army on the contract basis – 49,5%
 - 2 - To improve training of the military personnel – 48,1%
 - 3 - To provide high salary of the military personnel – 38,9%
 - 4 - To modernize army – 26,7%
 - 5 - To hold joint military training with other armies – 17,5%
 - 6 - To obtain military experience in military actions – 7,2%
 - 7 - Other – 0,7%
 - 8 - Difficult to answer – 3,1%
- 7. On your opinion, what should Ukrainian army look like?**
- 1 - Completely professional army consisting of the contract military personnel – 49,2%
 - 2 - Army partially consisting of conscripts and partially of the contract personnel – 32,0%
 - 3 - Army consisting of conscripts (on the basis of obligatory military service) – 13,5%
 - 4 - Other – 1,1%
 - 5 - Difficult to answer – 4,1%
- 8. On your opinion, what does Ukraine need its own army for? (you can choose several variants of answer)**
- 1 - For defense from interventions at the territory of Ukraine – 63,8%
 - 2 - For guarding of the boarder territories during the conflict situations – 49,5%
 - 3 - For support of the internal order in the country – 30,7%
 - 4 - For participation in liquidation of the results of the force majeure, catastrophes at the territory of Ukraine – 26,8%
 - 5 - For participation in the international peacemaking missions – 10,0%
 - 6 - Other – 0,2%
 - 7 - Ukraine doesn't need army – 1,0%
 - 8 - Difficult to answer – 1,8%
- 9. Are you pro or contra the placement of the foreign military bases at the territory of Ukraine?**
- 1 - Pro – 9,3%
 - 2 - Contra – 79,1%
 - 3 - Difficult to answer – 11,6%
- 10. On your opinion, was Ukraine right about renouncing the nuclear weapons option in 1993?**

- 1 - Right – 46,0%
- 2 - Wrong – 36,3%
- 3 - Other – 1,3%
- 4 - Difficult to answer – 16,4%

11. Should Ukraine restore the status of nuclear state?

- 1 - Yes – 31,2%
- 2 - No – 49,7%
- 3 - Difficult to answer – 19,0%

12. What of the listed consequences of entering of Ukraine to the military alliance with Western European countries you consider as the most important? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - Worsening of relationships with Russia – 33,2%
- 2 - Guaranteed defense from military aggression – 24,3%
- 3 - Possibility of fast joining the European Community – 22,4%
- 4 - Increase of the military ability of Ukrainian army – 17,4%
- 5 - Fast establishment of professional army – 17,3%
- 6 - Modernization of military technique – 15,6%
- 7 - Increase of the military professions prestige – 9,5%
- 8 - Participation in the military actions – 7,6%
- 9 - Other – 0,5%
- 10 - Difficult to answer – 15,7%

13. What countries could be a source of military threat for Ukraine? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - The USA – 28,3%
- 2 - Russia – 14,9%
- 3 - Arabic countries – 9,5%
- 4 - China – 3,4%
- 5 - Countries of the European Union – 2,9%
- 6 - Turkey – 2,4%
- 7 - Romania – 2,0%
- 8 - Byelorussia – 1,7%
- 9 - Moldova – 1,5%
- 10 - Poland – 1,5%
- 11 - Other – 0,6%
- 12 - Neither country could threaten Ukraine – 19,8%
- 13 - Difficult to answer – 30,0%

14. What countries could be a source of economic threat for Ukraine? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - Russia – 37,3%
- 2 - The USA – 33,0%
- 3 - China – 9,9%
- 4 - Countries of the European Union – 8,8%
- 5 - Arabic countries – 3,4%

- 6 - Byelorussia – 3,1%
- 7 - Other – 0,4%
- 8 - None of the countries could be a threat – 10,6%
- 9 - Difficult to answer – 20,1%

15. Who is presently responsible for destabilization of the situation in the world? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - The USA – 44,1%
- 2 - Islamic extremists – 23,3%
- 3 - Right and left-radical terrorist organizations – 19,8%
- 4 - Iraq – 14,7%
- 5 - Russia – 11,5%
- 6 - NATO – 8,2%
- 7 - certain Arabic countries – 8,1%
- 8 - Iran – 7,5%
- 9 - Israel – 5,9%
- 10 - Countries of former Yugoslavia – 2,2%
- 11 - China – 1,8%
- 12 - Venezuela – 1,2%
- 13 - Byelorussia – 1,1%
- 14 - Other – 0,1%
- 15 - Difficult to answer – 19,0%

16. What countries should Ukraine develop military collaboration with? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - Russia – 48,8%
- 2 - The USA – 19,0%
- 3 - Byelorussia – 17,8%
- 4 - Germany – 12,6%
- 5 - Poland – 10,8%
- 6 - Great Britain – 8,2%
- 7 - France – 7,4%
- 8 - Other countries of European Union – 18,5%
- 9 - China – 6,7%
- 10 - Turkey – 2,3%
- 11 - Other country – 0,8%
- 12 - No country – 8,9%
- 13 - Difficult to answer – 15,7%

17. What countries should Ukraine develop economic collaboration with? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - Russia – 61,6%
- 2 - Byelorussia – 27,3%
- 3 - Germany – 21,4%
- 4 - Poland – 19,9%
- 5 - The USA – 18,2%
- 6 - France – 14,1%

- 7 - Great Britain – 13,5%
- 8 - Other countries of European Union – 23,9%
- 9 - China – 13,0%
- 10 - Turkey – 6,5%
- 11 - Other country – 1,1%
- 12 - Difficult to answer – 10,5%

18. With what neighboring states Ukraine may have conflict situations concerning borders and territories?

- 1 - Russia – 32,2%
- 2 - Poland – 11,2%
- 3 - Romania – 8,9%
- 4 - Moldova – 4,8%
- 5 - Byelorussia – 4,1%
- 6 - Slovakia – 2,6%
- 7 - Hungary – 2,3%
- 8 - None of listed countries – 33,1%
- 9 - Difficult to answer – 20,9%

19. If today they hold a referendum concerning state neutrality of Ukraine (non-joining the military blocks) how would you vote?

- 1 - For neutrality – 46,4%
- 2 - Against neutrality – 18,9%
- 3 - I wouldn't vote – 16,7%
- 4 - Difficult to answer – 18,0%

20. On your opinion, why neutral status is reasonable for Ukraine? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - Possibility of politic and economic collaboration with the country-members of different military and political blocks – 28,8%
- 2 - Political independence from other countries – 27,2%
- 3 - Increase of international authority of the country – 18,1%
- 4 - Favorable investment climate – 18,0%
- 5 - Guarantee of territorial security – 13,1%
- 6 - Low expenses on defense – 9,8%
- 7 - Other – 0,6%
- 8 - I do not see any advantages of neutral status – 18,2%
- 9 - Difficult to answer – 17,4%

21. What kind of military collaboration with Western European countries is reasonable for Ukraine? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - Joint training of military subdivisions – 30,9%
- 2 - Modernization of the military forces according to the western standards – 28,2%
- 3 - Joint participation in the peacemaking actions – 17,5%
- 4 - Joining of the military alliance – 11,4%
- 5 - Organization of joint military subdivisions – 9,9%
- 6 - Joint participation in military actions – 4,6%

- 7 - Other – 0,9%
- 8 - Military collaboration with Western Europe is not reasonable – 18,5%
- 9 - Difficult to answer – 16,7%

22. What kind of military collaboration with Russia and CIS countries is reasonable for Ukraine?

- 1 - Joint training of military subdivisions – 29,6%
- 2 - Joint participation in the peacemaking actions – 13,5%
- 3 - Joining of the military alliance – 9,2%
- 4 - Organization of joint military subdivisions – 8,3%
- 5 - Joint participation in military actions – 5,5%
- 6 - Other – 0,7%
- 7 - Military collaboration with Russia and countries of CIS is not reasonable – 17,9%
- 8 - Difficult to answer – 15,2%

23. What decision concerning stay of navy bases of Russian Black sea navy in Crimea you consider the most reasonable?

- 1 - To keep the bases of Russian Black sea navy in Crimea up to termination of the contract with Russia in 2017 году – 42,6%
- 2 - To break the contract with Russia about stay of navy bases of Russian Black sea navy in Crimea before the appointed time – 21,8%
- 3 - To prolong the contract about basing of Russian Black sea navy in Crimea after 2017 – 17,0%
- 4 - Other – 0,9%
- 5 - Difficult to answer – 18,2%

24. On your opinion, what principal functions NATO presently performs? (you can choose several variants of answer)

- 1 - Fight against international terrorism – 35,4%
- 2 - Defense of the countries-participants of the block from military attack – 33,3%
- 3 - Peacemaking actions – 27,8%
- 4 - Defense of economic interests of the countries-participants of the block – 21,5%
- 5 - Other – 2,3%
- 6 - Difficult to answer – 25,3%

25. On your opinion, what consequences will prevail in case Ukraine joins the European Union?

- 1 - Positive – 25,0%
- 2 - Equally positive and negative – 38,2%
- 3 - Negative – 19,4%
- 4 - Other - 0,7%
- 5 - Difficult to answer – 16,7%

26. If today they held a referendum about Ukraine's joining of European Community how would you vote?

- 1 - For joining – 39,7%
- 2 - Against joining – 22,5%

- 3 - I would not vote – 19,1%
- 4 - Difficult to answer – 18,7%

27. If in the nearest future they held a referendum about expediency of stay of the Russian Black sea navy in the territory of Crimea how would you vote?

- 1 - For further stay of Russian Black sea navy in the territory of Ukraine – 36,1%
- 2 - Against further stay of Russian Black sea navy in the territory of Ukraine – 39,8%
- 3 - Difficult to answer – 24,2%

28. How well are you informed about activity of NATO?

- 1 - Enough informed – 25,2%
- 2 - Non-enough informed – 54,7%
- 3 - Difficult to answer – 20,1%

29. If today they held a referendum about Ukraine's joining NATO how would you vote?

- 1 - For joining – 19,2%
- 2 - Against joining – 43,6%
- 3 - I would not vote – 18,3%
- 4 - Difficult to answer – 18,9%

30. If today they held a referendum about Ukraine's joining of the military alliance with Russia how would you vote?

- 1 - For joining – 34,1%
- 2 - Against joining – 30,4%
- 3 - I would not vote – 16,1%
- 4 - Difficult to answer – 19,4%

31. If the parliamentary elections took place today what party or block would you support?

- 1 - "Block of Yulia Tymoshenko" – 25,3%
- 2 - Party of regions – 23,8%
- 3 - Block "Our Ukraine – People's defense" – 9,3%
- 4 - Communist party of Ukraine – 8,5%
- 5 - "Block of Litvin" – 6,3%
- 6 - Socialist party of Ukraine – 2,0%
- 7 - Progressive socialist party of Ukraine – 1,0%
- 8 - For other party or block – 1,2%
- 9 - I would vote against all – 7,7%
- 10 - I would not participate elections – 8,8%
- 11 - Difficult to answer – 6,2%

32. If new presidential elections took place today who would you vote for?

- 1 - Yulia Tymoshenko – 23,2%
- 2 - Victor Yanukovich – 22,1%
- 3 - Victor Yushenko – 8,9%
- 4 - Petr Simonenko – 7,9%
- 5 - Vladimir Litvin – 6,1%

- 6 - Arseniy Yatsenyuk – 2,5%
- 7 - Aleksandr Moroz – 1,8%
- 8 - Natalia Vitrenko – 1,4%
- 9 - Yuriy Lutsenko – 0,9%
- 10 - Anatoliy Grytsenko – 0,2%
- 11 - Other – 1,0%
- 12 - I would vote against all – 7,0%
- 13 - I would not vote – 8,1%
- 14 - Difficult to answer – 8,8%

Do you trust?

	Trust	Do not trust	Find difficult to answer	I do not know such	Index of trust
33. Victor Yuschenko	20,1%	52,1%	27,0%	0,6%	-0,32
34. Yulia Tymoshenko	33,2%	44,9%	21,4%	0,5%	-0,12
35. Arseniy Yatsenyuk	22,9%	40,7%	31,1%	5,3%	-0,18
36. Victor Yanukovich	27,6%	49,5%	22,2%	0,6%	-0,22

37. How do you evaluate financial status of your family?

- 1 - Hardly make both ends meet, sometimes we do not have enough money for food – 16,3%
- 2 - We have enough money for food but it is a problem to buy clothes and shoes – 32,5%
- 3 - In generally we have enough money for living but it is a problem to buy expensive things (furniture, refrigerator etc.) – 36,2%
- 4 - We have no financial problems except the most expensive purchases (lodging, expensive car etc.)– 13,4%
- 5 - We have no financial problems – 1,7%