

Andrii Rybak
Ostrog
andrijrybak@mail.ru

Changes in Ukrainian attitudes to European integration after the Orange Revolution

Dynamika postaw społeczeństwa ukraińskiego wobec integracji europejskiej po pomarańczowej rewolucji

Summary:

The article explores the changing attitudes of Ukrainian citizens to European integration during the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko, and sheds new light on the age, regional, linguistic and other factors that correlate with the citizens' attitudes to foreign policy directions. It proves that party politics and political demonstration affect public opinion. The author emphasizes the fact that most of the citizens do not have access to objective information about European and Euro-Atlantic structures which emphasizes the fact that information policy in this case is insufficient.

Keywords: Ukrainian foreign policy, European integration, opinion polls, the Orange Revolution.

Streszczenie:

Artykuł analizuje dynamikę postaw społeczeństwa ukraińskiego wobec integracji z Unią Europejską w oparciu o badania opinii publicznej w okresie prezydentury Wiktora Juszczenki z uwzględnieniem wieku, miejsca zamieszkania, języka respondentów oraz innych czynników skorelowanych ze stosunkiem obywateli do kierunków polityki zagranicznej. Udowadnia, że wewnętrzne procesy polityczne i stanowiska sił politycznych wywierają wpływ na opinię publiczną. Autor podkreśla fakt, że większa część obywateli nie otrzymuje wystarczająco obiektywnych informacji o strukturach europejskich i euroatlantyckich oraz że polityka informacyjna w tej sferze ma negatywny charakter.

Słowa kluczowe: ukraińska polityka zagraniczna, integracja europejska, badania opinii publicznej, pomarańczowa rewolucja

1. Introduction.

Despite numerous administrative and managerial difficulties as well as peculiarities of national interests of member countries, the European Union (hereinafter – EU) currently remains the most efficient mechanism of social and economic development in the world. In the early years of its independence Ukraine officially declared the priority of the foreign policy aimed at the integration into the EU. It has been proved by the legal and regulatory framework and repeatedly declared by presidents and government leaders as the official political course. However, despite this, the attitude of politicians and citizens of Ukraine to the “primary” direction of foreign policy is not unequivocal. A considerable part of the population shows preference to deepening relations with Russia and other post-Soviet countries. Citizens do not show enough support to the European and especially the Euro-Atlantic course (NATO) of the state.

It is known that one of the conditions of successful foreign relations is the broad support by the population, especially when it concerns the realization of the declared strategic course. Therefore, if the government really wants to conduct European integration policies, it should take into consideration the state of public opinion and how it changes towards approval of the majority of the population. Hence emerges the importance of scientific research into this problem.

In this article we will display the dynamics of Ukrainian attitudes to the EU and Ukraine’s membership prospects. We will try to give answers about what causes changes in various positions, and also we show the major policy failures of public informing on priority of the European vector of foreign policy.

The sociological research done by Ukrainian analytical services was used as the empirical basis of this article. First of all, these are materials of the National Institute of Strategic Research, Center of Economic and Political Studies of O. Razumkov, Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, Department of Sociology, and National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. The material and primary conclusions of Ukrainian sociologists and political scientists gave us the ability to trace back through the changes in public opinion, regional, gender, age features, and also factors that influence the position of population with respect to EU.

2. Dynamics of attitude of Ukrainian citizens concerning trends of foreign policy

The dynamics of public preferences of directions in the foreign policy of Ukraine since the beginning of the presidency of Victor Yushchenko till the end of 2007 are displayed in the data of survey of the Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. The first thing the attention should be paid to is that the quantity

of the respondents who supported the “East-oriented” policy (expansion of contacts within the CIS and relations with Russia) slightly decreased after 2005 (in comparison to previous years). The reason for this was the “orange revolution” and expectations for rapid process of European integration, which is associated in the minds of many citizens with the future reforms of the “Orange team” and the further high standard of life.

However, in 2006 the return to the rate of 2004 took place which can be explained by the beginning of disappointment with the government led by Viktor Yushchenko, with whom the process of integration was associated, and restrained attitude of Europe to the future of Ukraine. At the same time the number of those who felt the need for strengthening relations with Russia and Belorussia continued to decrease.

Thus, a major conclusion we can do, which will be further confirmed, is that domestic political processes and behavior of government affect people’s attitude to Ukraine’s vector of foreign policy. Table 1 shows the attitude of citizens of Ukraine to the main directions of foreign policy including Western countries (Europe, the USA) between 2004 and 2007.

Table 1. Which way of development of Ukraine do you prefer? (%)

	2004	2005	2006	2007
First of all expand relations with the CIS	13,1	10,9	13,7	13,2
Develop relations mainly with Russia	11,4	8,3	9,9	11,4
First of all strengthen Eastern-Slavic block (Ukraine, Russia, Belorussia)	34,3	29,3	31,7	25,4
First establish connections with the developed Western countries	14,4	17,9	15,2	14,5
Rely primarily on own resources strengthening Ukraine’s independence	17,1	20,2	20,3	20,4
Regions of Ukraine must choose their own way	–	2,9	2,3	4,0
Other	1,3	1,6	0,6	0,6
It is difficult to answer	8,4	8,9	6,3	10,5

Source: Аналіз основних тенденцій громадської думки з актуальних проблем зовнішньої політики та рекомендації з формування соціальної бази підтримки зовнішньополітичного курсу; <http://www.niss.gov.ua/articles/457/> [odczyt: 12.04.2011].

According to the survey of the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine conducted in June 2007, 59,3% of interrogated people expressed a positive attitude towards the idea of joining the Union of Belarus and Russia and only 43,4% of respondents had rather positive attitude towards EU membership (compared to 17,5% of rather

negative attitude)¹.

Table 2. *What is your attitude to...? (%)*

	Ukraine Joining NATO	Ukraine joining the European Union	The idea of Ukraine joining the union of Russia and Belarus
Rather negative	58,4	17,5	20,2
It is hard to answer	28,4	39,1	20,5
Rather positive	13,2	43,4	59,3

Source: Аналіз основних тенденцій громадської думки з актуальних проблем зовнішньої політики та рекомендації з формування соціальної бази підтримки зовнішньополітичного курсу; <http://www.niss.gov.ua/articles/457/> [odczyt: 12.04.2011].

Apparently there was no progress in attitude to the foreign policy of western countries compared to 2005 despite the relatively active actions of the government towards the EU and NATO.

If we analyze the age, regional, linguistic and other factors that influence people's attitude to foreign policy, there are a number of regularities. Thus significant is that, 78,8% of Russian-speaking citizens and 78,2% of respondents who did not consider Ukraine as their homeland are adherents of Eastern Slavic orientation of Ukraine. However Ukraine's integration into the EU is supported by a half of the citizens whose native language is Ukrainian and one-third of respondents who consider Russian to be their mother tongue. The research performed by the Institute also found the connection between the age of respondents and the choice of the integration direction. Among the East-Slavic vector supporters 68,5% were older people (55 years and older). Almost 50% of the Ukrainians aged 18 to 55 years and 35,3% of elderly (over 55 years) will rather positively accept the integration into EU (See also²).

Every second person of those who consider Ukraine as their motherland and a third part of those who do not have a positive attitude to Ukraine joining the European Union. The overwhelming majority of supporters of the idea of joining the Union of Russia and Belarus live in the south and east of Ukraine. Most of the supporters of western vector of integration have secondary and higher education (every second respondent of this group was in favour), while among respondents with primary or incomplete secondary education they are only 36,3%. Most supporters of EU membership live in the West and Center of Ukraine³.

¹ *Ставлення громадян до основних напрямів зовнішньої політики України (Attitude of citizens is toward basic directions of foreign policy of Ukraine); www.niss.gov.ua/Monitor/May08/05.htm [odczyt: 29.02.2009].*

² О. Злобіна, *Європейський вибір в орієнтаціях молоді України*, у: *Соціальні виміри суспільства*. Вип. 12, Інститут соціології НАН України, Київ, 2009, с. 269.

³ *Геополитические ориентации населения и безопасность Украины. По данным социологов*, ред. О. Шульга, Киев,

Table 3. What is your attitude towards Ukraine joining the European Union (depending on the region), %?

	West	Center	South	East
Rather negative	6,1	16,3	25,5	21,9
It is hard to answer	28,4	38,4	46,1	43,3
Rather positive	65,5	45,3	28,4	34,8

Source: *Аналіз основних тенденцій громадської думки з актуальних проблем зовнішньої політики та рекомендації з формування соціальної бази підтримки зовнішньополітичного курсу*; <http://www.niss.gov.ua/articles/457/> [odczyt: 12.04.2011].

* The division of the regions in the research of the Institute of Sociology is as follows:

Center: Vinnytska, Zhytomyrska, Kirovogradska, Kyivska (including Kyiv), Poltavska, Sumska, Khmelnytska, Cherkaska, Chernigivska regions.

West: Volynska, Zakarpatska (Transcarpathian), Ivano-Frankivska, Lvivska, Rivnenska, Ternopilka, Chernivetska regions

East: Kharkivska, Donetsk, Luhanska regiona.

South: Dnepropetrovska, Zaporizka, Mykolaiivska, Odeska, Khersonska regions and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

Among the main reasons in favour of joining the EU the respondents named the following: - economic interest of the countries of the EU in cooperation with Ukraine (31,6%); - the availability of appropriate human resources in Ukraine (education, professionalism, culture, labor and business (28,7%); - security guarantees of Ukraine (27,9%).

A very important fact is that the attitude to possible integration of Ukraine into EU is not a factor of separation of Ukrainians (unlike the attitude to NATO or Russia). Thus, according to the Center of Economic and Political Studies of Razumkov, 30,5% of respondents expressed their hope that EU integration could be nationwide unifying idea, while 43,7% of them disagreed with the statement above, and 25,8% did not have their own opinion on the possibility of such influence⁴. According to the research conducted in December 2008 by the sociological service of the Center of Economic and Political Studies of O. Razumkov, 44,7% of the population supported Ukraine's integration to the EU, 35,2% did not support - and 20% were not able to answer⁵.

As we can see, the number of supporters of eurointegration almost didn't change (in comparison to the year 2007), however the number of those who were against it, increased. It can also be explained by inner political speculations around the directions of foreign policy of Ukraine, numerous anti-NATO actions during 2007 – 2008,

2009, с. 20-21.

⁴ *Ставлення громадян до основних напрямів зовнішньої політики України (Attitude of citizens is toward basic directions of foreign policy of Ukraine)*; www.niss.gov.ua/Monitor/May08/05.htm [odczyt: 29.02.2009].

⁵ *Дослідження проведене соціологічною службою Центру Разумкова з 17 по 24 грудня 2008 року (Research is conducted sociological service of Razumkov Center from 17 to 24 December 2008)*; http://www.razumkov.org.ua/ukr/poll.php?poll_id=387 [odczyt: 04.05.2010].

in conditions where for many citizens of Ukraine there is no clear difference between EU and NATO. Age, regional, language distribution of responses remained about the same as in previous years.

3. The differences in attitude of Ukrainians towards NATO and the EU

We should note that unlike the attitude to the EU, the situation is very different from the Ukrainian position towards the possible accession to NATO, which clearly does not assist to the Ukrainian integration into the EU.

Table 4. *The level of support of the accession of Ukraine to NATO (%)*

Definitely support	11 %	30,5 %
Rather support	19,5 %	
Rather do not support	21,3 %	55,9 %
Definitely do not support	34,6 %	
Cannot decide	13,6 %	

Source: <http://old.niss.gov.ua/Monitor/May08/05.htm> (Data of the research conducted during February-March 2008 by "All-Ukrainian Sociological Service").

18,5% of citizens for whom the native language is Ukrainian and 5,1% of respondents whose native language is Russian approve the membership in NATO (likewise as with EU). 14,4% of citizens who consider Ukraine as their homeland, and 7% of citizens who don't have positive attitude to the Euro-Atlantic integration of our country. There are more supporters of NATO membership in the groups whose age is up to 30 years (14,8%), between 30 and 55 years (15%), and less among the elderly people (9,1%). Most supporters of the Euro-Atlantic integration live in the Western and Central part of the country, in these same regions there is the largest part of those respondents who are undecided on this issue.

The supporters consider the main arguments in favor of joining NATO listed below:

- security guarantees for Ukraine (51,5%);
- the availability of significant economic potential in Ukraine (35,3%);
- the availability of appropriate human resources in Ukraine (education, professionalism, labor and business culture (35,4 %);
- economical interest of the countries of the EU in cooperation with Ukraine (32,5 %) ⁶.

⁶ *Ставлення громадян до основних напрямів зовнішньої політики України (Attitude of citizens is toward basic direc-*

As we see, the data of public opinion poll shows us the low popularity in the country of the projects of the Euro-Atlantic integration (to NATO). The politicians who support such projects usually explain the situation by the lack of information of the majority of population about what those unions really are⁷. The corresponding argumentation of such explanation is formulated convincingly enough to be researched by sociologists as a pertinent hypothesis, that is worth of empirical verification.

Through the sociological survey, Ukrainian experts have tested one of the components of the hypothesis that links the attitude to the European Union and NATO, with the level of being informed about these associations. In general Ukrainians answer the question about awareness as follows: about 38% believe that they know enough about the EU to decide whether Ukraine should join it, about 47% believe that they do not know enough about this, and almost 15% can not define their knowledge of this as sufficient or insufficient, that is, in fact, also do not think they have enough knowledge⁸.

These data allowed the researchers to conclude only that at least 60% of Ukrainian population did not consider themselves sufficiently knowledgeable about the EU to decide whether our country should join this organization. Unfortunately, we do not have information on similar surveys conducted in the following years, however we believe that the situation has not significantly changed. Table 5 describes data which characterize differences in the distribution of supporters and opponents of Ukraine's accession to the EU among citizens with different self-esteem, level of awareness of this organization.

Table 5. *Opinion of Ukrainian population on its accession to the EU, depending on the awareness about it (%)*

To decide whether Ukraine should join the EU, believe that they know about it:	In case of referendum on accession of Ukraine to the EU:			
	Would vote FOR entry	Would abstain from voting	Would vote AGAINST entry	TOTAL
Enough	54	5	41	100
Undefined	16	60	24	100
Not enough	22	35	43	100

Source: <http://eu.prostir.ua/library/1148.html>

From this information we can make the conclusion that preparedness of citizens

tions of foreign policy of Ukraine); www.niss.gov.ua/Monitor/May08/05.htm [odczyt: 29.02.2009]

⁷ Т. Брежнева, *Трансформація та розширення НАТО: порядок денний та послідовність дій України*, у: «Стратегічна панорама», 2007, №2, с. 156.

⁸ This survey was conducted by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) in collaboration with the Department of Sociology, National University of Kyiv-Mohylianska Academy in December 2005.

of Ukraine to speak pro or contra its entry into the EU is significantly associated with the level of their knowledge about this organization:

- among those who consider themselves knowledgeable enough about the EU there are far more supporters of Ukraine's accession to the union than their opponents;
- vice versa, among those who do not consider themselves knowledgeable enough there are far more opponents than supporters;
- among those who can not judge enough or are not informed enough the majority are those who wouldn't vote.

The sense of being well informed about the EU is mostly spread in the Western region, among male and people with higher education; and the least - among women, the oldest age groups and among people whose level of education is not higher than secondary school.

Unlike the situation with the EU, the opponents of joining NATO are much more numerous than supporters not only among those who consider themselves knowledgeable enough about this organization, but also among those who do not consider themselves knowledgeable enough. Only among those who can not distinguish their level of being informed are aware, the majority, as in the case of the EU, are those who would not vote.

So, the biggest difference in division between the supporters and opponents of EU is divided between Central-Western and Southeastern parts of Ukraine, the same as with NATO. The balance of the supporters and opponents of NATO membership in these two parts though is not the opposite (as in attitude to the EU), but significantly different. While, in the Central-Western part of the country the difference between supporters and opponents of NATO membership is less than only 16% (opponents 23% vs. supporters 39%), in the Southeast it is 70% (supporters 7% vs. opponents 77%)⁹.

4. The influence of information about NATO and the EU on the attitude towards these organizations

According to the results of the nationwide survey conducted in April 2007 by the Center of Economic and Political Studies of O. Razumkov within the scope of the project "Public Monitoring of the Plan of Actions Ukraine – EU", mass media have the most influence on the attitude of the citizens of Ukraine to EU. The majority of respondents showed the result mentioned above (57,9%). One third (33,3%) of the

⁹ В. Хмелько, *Ставлення громадян України щодо її вступу до Євросоюзу і НАТО та їхня оцінка своєї обізнаності стосовно цих організацій* (V. Khmel'ko, *Attitude citizens of Ukraine in relation to its entering to European Union and NATO and their estimation of the knowledge in relation to these organizations*); <http://eu.prostir.ua/library/1148.html> [odczyt: 24.04.2010]

respondents' opinion is formed by the impressions of those who visited countries of EU. The goods made in the countries of EU are the main argument for 22,3% of interviewed people and for 13,1% it is the works of art by European authors that formed their attitude to EU.

Nevertheless the national media that citizens consider to be the main source of information do not satisfy their informational needs about the EU. Over three quarters (77,1%) of respondents felt that this information is limited, 44,2% said that it is not complete and 32,9%, very little. Only 11,8% of respondents agreed that the Ukrainian media provide complete and detailed information about the EU.

Like the opinion of the experts from the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine, experts of Razumkov Center also believe that the knowledge about the EU determines people's attitude to European integration, and also determines the prospects of Ukrainian integration into the European community. Ukrainian government declared the priority of the European integration course at all levels, but did not fully provide its effective informational support. Citizens still feel the lack of objective information about the EU.

However, according to Razumkov Center, there is a considerable interest in the EU among the society. In December 2006 the majority (59,5%) of the citizens expressed the desire to obtain as much information about the EU as possible. In April 2007, this interest already was expressed by up to 63,3% of respondents. Moreover, the regional variation of responses in this situation can be considered as negligible¹⁰. Thus, we can see that the society has a demand for information about the EU, but the government failed to provide it. As a result, this led to the indifference of the considerable part of the population to this issue.

Table 6. *The position of Ukrainians concerning the need for information about the EU (Would you like to get more information about European Union?)*

	West	Center	South	East
Yes, I want to know as much about EU as possible	62.9	59.1	43.9	50.3
No, I am not interested in it	15.1	16.9	19.6	21.9
The available information is enough for me	14.4	17.8	26.9	19.1
It is hard to answer	7.5	6.2	9.6	8.8

Source: Дослідження проведене соціологічною службою Центру Разумкова з 17 по 24 грудня 2008 року (Research is conducted sociological service of Razumkov Center from 17 to 24 December 2008); http://www.razumkov.org.ua/ukr/poll.php?poll_id=126 [odczyt: 04.05.2010]

¹⁰ Громадяни України відчувають брак інформації про ЄС (The citizens of Ukraine feel the shortage of information about EU); http://www.razumkov.org.ua/ukr/news.php?news_id=49 [odczyt: 15.08.2007]

According to the results of the survey called “Foreign policy orientation of Ukraine’s population” conducted by the “Democratic Initiatives” and by “Ukrainian Sociology Service”, between 12 and 26 December 2009, if the referendum on EU membership took place in December 2009, there would be only 61% of Ukrainians who would take part in it, and that is a low index for Ukraine. Irina Bekeshkina, the research supervisor of the foundation “Democratic Initiatives” mentioned that the information above means that Ukrainian citizens had lost interest to foreign policy of the country. In case, if a referendum on EU membership in December 2009, the majority (51%) would be “pro” the integration to the EU, and 27% would vote against it.

On our opinion the reason of such an attitude of the citizens to the EU, was the disappointment with the government, the lost interest to the foreign policy of the country and the rise of the absenteeism level after the parliamentary elections of 2006 and 2007.

I. Bekeshkina noted that negative dynamics of public opinion is observed in comparison with December 2007 (64% had voted “for” the EU membership) and March 2008 (“yes” were 56%), but the dynamics was positive in comparison to 2005 (when “yes” was 47%). The citizens of the Western (“for” – 68,5%, against – 11%), Central and Northern-Eastern (“for” – 54%, “against” – 20,5 %) parts of the country support the EU integration of Ukraine. The support is less on the South and South–East of the country (“for” – 43% “against” – 31%). Crimea and Donbass were regions which support joining the EU the least (“for” – 39%, “against” – 50%). An interesting fact is that at the same time the majority of Ukraine’s population (58%) supported Ukraine’s accession to the Common Free Market Zone with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, and 20% of the respondents were against it¹¹.

The latest source of information about Ukrainian attitudes to the EU is the data of telephone survey conducted by the Kiev Gorshenin Institute of Management Issues (February 20-22, 2010). The results showed that there were 72,5% of respondents have a positive attitude towards obtaining the status of EU associate member. Nearly half (47,7%) of them said that their attitude is “surely positive”, and almost a quarter (24,8%) “rather positive”. 16,5% of the interviewed people have a negative attitude to obtaining the status of EU associate member. 9,4% of those answered “rather negative”, and 7,1% , “definitely negative”. 11,0% of the respondents said that they could hardly answer this question¹².

The results of this survey also show that the tendency of the year 2009 is remained, that is, the significant rate of public support of Ukraine’s economic integration with Russia. According to the survey, the majority of Ukrainians (81,4%) have a positive attitude towards entering the Customs Union with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. The results were: 61,2% answered definitely positively and 20,2% of respondents an-

¹¹ Громадяни України хочуть і в ЄС, і в ЄП (The citizens of Ukraine want and in EU, and in EEA); <http://www.unian.net/ukr/news/news-365547.html> [odczyt: 03.03.2010]

¹² Українці виступають за членство України в ЄС та спрощення візового режиму (Ukrainians come forward for membership of Ukraine in EU and simplification of the visa mode); <http://westua.net/news.php?id=624> [odczyt: 24.02.2010]

swered rather positive. A negative signal is that 48,2% of the citizens consider that Ukraine needs a Customs Union with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan even though it would affect the future possibility of getting a status of the associate member of the European Union and will make it impossible to advance towards the further integration into European structures¹³.

5. Conclusions.

Thus, according to the surveys conducted by various centers between 2005 and 2010, we know that people's attitude towards European and Euro-Atlantic course of Ukraine are quite ambiguous. In our opinion, the problem is not only and not so much the lack of support of citizens, but the causes which lead to this attitude. The public opinion is formed in the context of the phenomena that is inherent in the Ukrainian society. The negative or ambivalent attitude towards Ukraine's integration into EU and NATO could be explained by the existence of stereotypes and myths that had been created in the time of the USSR and the period of independence. The majority of the population of Ukraine were the citizens of the Soviet Union and grew up among the ideology of "aggressive NATO bloc" and "capitalist bourgeois Europe".

On the other hand, during the period of independence since 1999, political forces began to actively implement the manipulative technology of contrasting values of East and West of Ukraine. Politicians began to ascribe to the residents of these regions opposite views developing versions of the potential threats, etc. Thus, the West, with its pro-European attitude of the population opposed the East of Ukraine, to whom the violent pattern of forced Ukrainization was pictured, and the only thing that can save them is friendly relations with Russia, but in no case EU and NATO¹⁴.

The other problem is that the alliance discredited itself by hostilities in Yugoslavia and by war of the USA in Iraq and Afghanistan. This situation raises a double problem: the first is that Ukrainians have negative attitude to any strongarm policy, that is why wars of NATO can not be accepted positively; the second is the lack of information about EU and NATO that makes the population believe that those organizations are the same thing. Thus, the negative attitude towards the North Atlantic Alliance makes people think bad about EU.

Another reason that does not contribute to the positive attitude towards the European Union is the fact of discrediting the democratic way of government in Ukraine. Ukrainians do not consider the democracy (the inalienable norm of functioning of the European community) as the perfect thing because the idea of the democracy of

¹³ *Українці хочуть і членства України в ЄС, і Митного союзу з РФ, Казахстаном і Білоруссю (Research: Ukrainians want and memberships of Ukraine at EU, and Customs union, with RF, Kazakhstan and Belorussia);* <http://novynar.com.ua/business/104675> [odczyt: 24.02.2010]

¹⁴ В. Хмелько, *Через що політикам вдається розколювати українцi;* <http://dt.ua/articles/47092> [odczyt: 25.06.2006]

Ukraine during the independence was discredited very much. Ukrainians are eager to get the order in their country, which can be reached only with a strong leader, despite the methods that can be not really democratic. Hence many Ukrainians have a friendly attitude to authoritarian Russia and Belarus, which somewhat contradicts to a positive attitude to the EU.

The factor which is a barrier for the formation of understanding the need for Euro and Euro-Atlantic integration by the common public is that the discussion about it is often held among narrow range of experts (scientists, politicians, journalists and political scientists), but does not become an object of attention of wider audience or it remains not interesting to other people. This leads to the fact that a significant part of the population does not receive reliable and opportune information about the EU, its logic of the organization, objectives, tasks which it sets.

Furthermore it should be noted that the effect of spreading information among the population of regions bordering the EU member states and Russia is very important. The most of the population of border regions has relatives abroad or leaves the country for a temporary work. Thus, after their return they are conscious or unconscious bearers of “positive” information. As we see the main problem of rejection of the European prospects by a large part of Ukraine’s population is not produced by objective assessment but by subjective perception as a response to the dominant phenomena in the communication environment. The main actors of the information space in Ukraine are the media, public organizations, political parties, Embassies and representative offices of the EU, NATO and the Russian Federation in Ukraine as well as the Government.

Russia-oriented and directly Russian mass media depict all processes connected with European and Euro Atlantic integration of Ukraine mainly critically. It concerns both printed media and electronic one. Mainly such information has a propagandistic character and often it does not reflect the real situation. At the same time, there is virtually no mass media with Euro Atlantic orientation. Only a few Ukrainian editions can be mentioned as those giving more or less objective information and contributing to positive attitude of Ukrainians.

There is a great variety of organizations in Ukraine that can be divided into pro-European and Euro Atlantic and those are “anti-“, according to that or another characteristic. Anti-NATO organizations have mainly a radical character, which is marked by active actions. Some of them are “Russian bloc”, “Union of Eurasian Youth”, “antiNATO” and others. Moreover, their actions are considerably more active and are reflected in the informational sphere on a larger scale than the activity of Euro-oriented NGOs. Pro-EuroAtlantic NGOs are working in the mode of provision of information that is aimed at informing people and can be regarded as a recommendation. The main mechanisms of informing are: holding public gatherings (conferences, round tables, etc) publications on NATO distributed in printed and electronic (Internet) form, the competitions among youth on the mentioned topics, etc. However, those actions are

not very popular in the East and South, they are mostly held in western and central regions of Ukraine¹⁵.

Talking about integration into NATO it is very important that every citizen shouldn't think over abstract issues and stereotypes of the past which are raised during the election by political strategists, but get a very specific explanation of what it means for his or her personal safety, what this means for his "wallet". And therefore it is extremely important to explain clearly the benefits of membership to people giving specific examples, not only providing information that describes the organization.

It should be noted that during V. Yushchenko's presidency, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence were the most active and efficient in the Euro-Atlantic integration that were really carrying out their internal plans to inform and actively interact with non-governmental organizations and were trying to find funds to implement the goals. Today, however, it is hardly possible to achieve measurable results in the process of informational campaign involving only governmental recourses.

Non-Governmental organizations that support goals of the European and Euro-Atlantic integration, are using extrabudgetary financing for their activity. Thus, in many cases they operate more efficiently than government agencies. But there are a lot of examples where NGOs receiving grant funds didn't achieve expected results and those results were not visible¹⁶.

Sociological surveys reflecting the dynamics of the attitude to the EU and NATO from 2002 to 2008 show that the "State program of informing the public about Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine during 2004 – 2007"¹⁷ did not have positive results. The number of supporters of this vector of foreign policy of Ukraine was not increased, on the contrary, even decreased. Thus, the agitation and informational campaign needs to be improved. The improvement should be among the subjects of information and in methods of informing the publicity about advantages of Ukraine's membership in EU and NATO. Besides that the success cannot be reached without mass media especially without national electronic media, which have the most influence on people and which are the first source of information. If the quality television product won't appear in a nearest future, the situation would be unchangeable. So that is the way that should become of primary importance in realization of programs of informing citizens¹⁸.

One of the key points of the future foreign policy is to achieve a consensus within the country, as today the struggle between political forces is going on, and makes the

¹⁵ О. Макобрій, *Європейська та євроатлантична інтеграція України крізь призму громадської думки* (О. Макобрій. *European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine through the prism of public opinion*); http://www.ieac.org.ua/index.php?id=7&ch_id=10&ar_id=4913&as=0 [odczyt: 12.08.2009]

¹⁶ *Більш ніж сусіди: Розширений Європейський Союз та Україна – нові відносини. Заключний звіт*, Варшава, Київ, 2004, с. 46.

¹⁷ *Про схвалення Концепції Державної цільової програми інформування громадськості з питань європейської інтеграції України на 2008-2011 роки*; <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=569-2007-%F0> [odczyt: 25.06.2008]

¹⁸ *Як розповісти українцям про НАТО (How to tell Ukrainians about NATO)*; http://www.razumkov.org.ua/ukr/article.php?news_id=561 [odczyt: 12.04.2008]

foreign interests of the country its hostage. Foreign policy is used as a political arena of getting square in politics, which affects the reputation of the state, the character of bilateral relations, and it confuses foreign partners very much. Therefore, consensus within the country will also be one of the most important conditions for effective pro-European foreign policy of Ukraine.