

EU Public Diplomacy Effects on Ukrainian Attitudes towards the EU

Abstract

The European Union actively employs public diplomacy for enhancing visibility and promoting its positive image among the foreign audiences. There is an extensive academic debate concerning the normative and regulatory framework of the EU public diplomacy. While correct, the literature omits the observation of the influence it has on target societies. This thesis is devoted to the illumination of EU public diplomacy effects on the attitudes towards the EU among the mass public and opinion leaders of Ukraine, a state where the complicated circumstances of communication with government and political elites made public diplomacy the most reliable way to achieve foreign policy objectives. By constructing analogies between the real existing perceptions of the EU within the Ukrainian society with the official message concerning image of the EU created by the EU Delegation to Ukraine as the main diplomatic representative of the Union in the given country, the research reveals the main effects of the EU public diplomacy on Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU. The results of the research show that the EU Delegation to Ukraine successfully transfers to the Ukrainian society the vision of the EU as an attractive integration direction, reliable assistant, stable and wealthy union with strong commitment to democratic values.

Key words: European Union, public diplomacy, Ukraine, EU Delegation to Ukraine, European Integration.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Every year on the third Saturday of May the streets of big Ukrainian cities become full of European Union's flags; representatives of European Union Member States embassies and the EU Delegation to Ukraine are delivering promotional booklets about the EU, and Ukrainian citizens are participating in quizzes and quests to win souvenirs with the EU symbolic. These nationwide fairs are the celebration of the Days of Europe in Ukraine, perhaps the most explicit example of the EU public diplomacy in action.

This research will be devoted to the analysis of effects which the EU public diplomacy has on Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU as a result of intensive and multi-vector work of the EU Delegation to Ukraine.

1.1. Public Diplomacy of the European Union

The public diplomacy of the European Union is usually called 21st century public diplomacy, which implies the difference with traditional public diplomacy¹. According to Gyorgy Szondi the European Union conducts its public diplomacy in the conditions of peace; its main goal is to promote political and economic interest and to create receptive environment, as well as a positive reputation abroad. The European Union uses the strategies of building and maintaining relationships and engaging with publics. The communication is built on dialogue; the public diplomacy is based on scientific research; messages of public diplomacy carry ideas, values and collaboration; target publics are well-defined and segmented; the channels of communication are often personalized, but also include old and new media; and, finally, public diplomacy is sponsored by both public and private entities².

The official web-site of European Union external Action states that “[t]he main objectives under the Public Diplomacy part of the Industrialized Countries Instrument are to enhance the visibility of the EU as a whole, promote a better understanding of EU's actions and positions and exert a positive influence on how the EU is perceived in partner countries”³. It must be highlighted that the majority of activities related to public diplomacy of the EU are officially holding other names, such as information and communication campaigns or academic exchanges.

¹ Szondi, G. Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences. Netherlands Institute of International Relation „Clingendael”, October 2008– p. 11

² Ibid.

³ Public Diplomacy. European Union External Action. -http://eeas.europa.eu/ici/publicdiplomacy/index_en.htm

1.2. Research Question and Relevance

Nowadays effective and successful public diplomacy is particularly important in the countries, where collaboration and negotiations with government and political elites are complicated by ideological, economical and other limiting circumstances⁴. One of these countries nowadays is Ukraine. Despite the stated interest in European integration of Ukraine the current government led by the Party of Regions proved to be a difficult partner for the European Union, since the process of foreign policy decision making is not transparent and the real objectives of the Ukrainian government are not clear. Therefore, in this situation the main receiver of the diplomatic messages of the EU might become citizens, since they have a possibility to reshape the government's position.

Thus, the research question is the following:

What effects does the EU's public diplomacy have on Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU?

The research design which will be presented in the following chapters gives a possibility to show *how* the EU is understood, perceived, and evaluated by the Ukrainian mass public and leaders of public opinion (such as journalists, researchers and experts), and then to illuminate *what target group* is the most open to the messages of the EU Delegation to Ukraine.

The main objective of such research is to „de-centre“ the formulation of the EU's role on the international arena and in influencing foreign audiences, in particular in weak neighboring countries, depending on the support (financial and ideological) from the EU. The Master thesis will show how the EU is perceived and accepted by the non-European actors.

Since the Maastricht Treaty the EU is an influential regional power influencing the domestic politics of the neighboring states, changing their economic wellbeing through foreign aid as well as altering normative perceptions and ideological beliefs of people living in them. As a result, societies of the neighboring states have deep knowledge about the EU as well as quite often inflexible notion about advantages and disadvantages of the EU foreign policy behavior⁵.

One of the countries which experienced and continues to experience unprecedented impact from the EU is Ukraine. Every year it receives a substantial financial aid from both the EU Member States and the EU in general. Moreover, it was a geographical area of one of the EU civilian operations, e.g. European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM).

⁴ Mellisen Jan. (2005) 'The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice'. *The New Public Diplomacy*, ed. by Jan Melissen. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. – p. 16

⁵ Calm and Civilized Like a Dog. (2012) Series: Perception of the EU in Neighboring Partner States. *Enpi-info.eu*. p.1 - http://www.enpi-info.eu/img/language_pages/media/ukrainian/pdf_01.pdf (Спокійний і цивілізований як пес. (2012) Серія: Сприйняття ЄС в сусідніх країнах-партнерах. *Enpi-info.eu*.)

All the aforementioned facts give evidence that Ukraine is a big testing ground for the export of the EU ideas⁶.

1.3. Limitations of Existing Research

Another motivation for conducting the following analysis is the fact that existing research in public diplomacy suffers from several weaknesses. To begin with, most research is devoted to the historical description of public diplomacy, depicting public policy of the US during the Cold War^{7,8}. Moreover, the majority of research is normative in its nature^{9,10,11}, explaining and listing the rules and proposed practices which will help to build effective public diplomacy of a given state. As a result, the latter scientific findings are repeated and duplicated in manuals and instructions of various governments and public agencies; that causes the spread of similar ideas and principles. This research, in its turn, will be devoted to practical side of this issue, i.e. to the assessment of (not recommendations for) influence and effectiveness of public diplomacy, which has been conducted recently.

Little research has been conducted concerning public diplomacy of the EU. In the majority of cases the analysis is devoted to public diplomacy of separate Member States^{12,13,14}. My goal is to research public diplomacy of the EU as a whole on the case of the target society of Ukraine. Existence of the unique phenomenon of Common Foreign and Security Policy allows suggesting that public diplomacy of the EU as an international actor is also a phenomenon worth thorough research.

⁶ Zielonka Jan. (2008) 'Europe as a global actor: empire by example?' *International Affairs* 84: 3 – p. 476

⁷ Signitzer, Benno H. and Coombs Timothy. (1992) 'Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Conceptual Convergences', *Public Relations Review*, 18 (2). – pp. 137 -147

⁸ Tuch, Hans. (1990) *Communicating with the World: US public diplomacy overseas*. New York: St. Martin's.

⁹ Riordan, Shaun. (2004) 'Dialogue-based public diplomacy: A new foreign policy paradigm? In *The new public diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. – pp.180-95

¹⁰ Nye, J. S. (2008) 'Public Diplomacy and Soft Power'. *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 616, March 2008. – pp. 94-109

¹¹ Melissen, J. Wielding. (2005) 'Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy'. *Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'*, May 2005 – pp. 1-31

¹² Vickers, R. (2004) 'The new public diplomacy: Britain and Canada compared'. *British Journal of Politics and International Affairs* 6. – pp. 182-194

¹³ Ociepka B. and Ryniejska M. (2005) 'Public Diplomacy and EU Enlargement: the Case of Poland', *Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'*, Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, August 2005 – pp. 1-18

¹⁴ Batora, J. (2005) 'Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-Sized States: Norway and Canada', *Clingendael Discussion paper in Diplomacy* 97, The Hague, The Clingendael Institute. – pp. 1-26

2. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Since the Second World War public diplomacy has been gradually becoming an integral part of international relations. The edge of centuries experienced the shift from so called traditional diplomacy (government to government) to public diplomacy (government to public). Such change might be explained by the advancement of communication technology and increasing of public opinion's influence on foreign affairs¹⁵. According to Shaun Riordan the dimension of diplomacy in the twenty-first century will become public diplomacy, as far as dealing with global problems, such as crises and instability, terrorism and environmental issues requires collaboration between governments, NGOs and individuals¹⁶.

Thus, this chapter will introduce the concept of public diplomacy. It will start with the presentation of history of the concept. Then the development of definitions of public diplomacy will be traced and, as a result, the author's definition will be given in order to explain how the concept will be understood throughout the research. The latter will be followed by the observation of the objectives of public diplomacy. In order to avoid confusion in the analysis, the related concepts will be distinguished, as well as relation of public diplomacy with the concept of soft power will be discussed. Finally, the chapter will present limitations of the existing research and scientific novelty of the paper.

2.1. History of Public Diplomacy

The emergence of radio in 1920s provoked a wave of foreign-language broadcasting by many governments. In 1930s communists and fascists used radio for promotion of their ideas. During the Second World War many other states joined this trend; in particular the U.S. was successful in presenting its version of foreign affairs through Office of Wartime Information (created in 1942). Later the Cold War started and such channels of information as Voice of America and BBC became core tools of promoting "Western ideas". Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe were used as media of public diplomacy in Eastern Europe¹⁷. On the other side of Iron Curtain First Radio Moscow was spreading ideas of communism. In the world, where two superpowers carried out the global ideological struggle, it was of vital necessity to promote ideas and values in order to achieve long-term results in foreign societies. After the end of the Cold War there was a relative break in active

¹⁵ Kiel, W.P (1989). 'Public Diplomacy and Information Revolution: An American Perspective', *International Public Relations Association*, Helsinki, Finland (as cited in Signitzer, Benno H. and Coombs Timothy. (1992) 'Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Conceptual Convergences', *Public Relations Review*, 18 (2). – p. 139)

¹⁶ Riordan, Shaun. (2004) 'Dialogue-based public diplomacy: A new foreign policy paradigm?' In *The new public diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. – pp.180-95.

¹⁷ Nye, J. S. (2008) 'Public Diplomacy and Soft Power'. *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 616, March 2008. – p. 98

development of public diplomacy (with only the European Union working on this type of diplomacy)¹⁸. However, public diplomacy became extremely relevant all over the world after the terrorist attacks of 9/11.

2.2. Definitions

The understanding of the concept of public diplomacy experienced considerable transformations.

The first early group of definitions limited public diplomacy to government's influence on foreign mass public. According to R.F. Delaney, public diplomacy is "the way in which both government and private individuals and groups influence directly and indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear directly on another government's policy decisions"¹⁹. Similarly Edmund Gullion, used the term "public diplomacy" in 1960s to describe "the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies"²⁰.

Later definitions specified the actors and content of public diplomacy. Hans Tuch defined it as "a government's process of communication with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and policies"²¹. This definition was followed by one Paul Sharp who described public diplomacy as "the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests of and extend the values of these been represented"²².

However, the public diplomacy was understood not only as process, but also as instrument. Joseph Nye²³ defined public diplomacy as "an instrument of communication that governments use to mobilize [...] resources to communicate with and attract the publics of other countries, rather than merely their governments. Public diplomacy tries to attract by drawing attention to these potential resources through broadcasting, subsidizing cultural exports, arranging exchanges and so forth"²⁴.

¹⁸ Nye, J. S. (2008) 'Public Diplomacy and Soft Power'. *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 616, March 2008. – p.99

¹⁹ Delaney, R.F. 'Introduction'. In A.S. Hoffman (Ed.) *International Communication and the New Diplomacy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968 – p.3

²⁰ Szondi, G. (2008) 'Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences'. *Netherlands Institute of International Relation 'Clingendael'*, October 2008 – p. 2

²¹ Tuch, Hans. (1990) *Communicating with the World: US public diplomacy overseas*. New York: St. Martin's. – p. 3

²² Sharp, P. (2005) 'Revolutionary States, Outlaw Regimes and the Techniques of Public Diplomacy', Jan Melissen ed., *The new Public Diplomacy* (as cited in Melissen, J. Wiending. (2005) 'Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy'. *Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'*, May 2005. – p. 8)

²³ Joseph Nye believed that public diplomacy produces soft power and, thus, culture, values, and policies which it creates become attractive to the foreign public. Since the research in this thesis will be conducted as exclusively practical study, aimed at illuminating effects of the EU's public diplomacy on Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU, the further theoretical discussion on the relationship between public diplomacy and soft power will not follow.

²⁴ Nye, J. S. (2008) 'Public Diplomacy and Soft Power'. *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 616, March 2008. – p. 95

Finally, while explaining public diplomacy through the prism of EU enlargement, Beata Ociepka and Marta Ryniejska defined it as “the flow of diplomatic information via media of mass communication and non-mediated channels to the foreign countries’ mass audience in order to create a positive image of the country and its society and in consequence to make the achievement of international policy goals easier”²⁵.

In this research the public diplomacy will be understood, analyzed and interpreted as the process of government’s communication (direct and indirect) with the foreign public, aimed at constructing positive image of the country (union of countries) with the long-term goal of facilitation of international policy implementation.

2.3. Objectives of Public Diplomacy

The understanding of objectives of public diplomacy also experienced transformations over the course of time. According to Gifford D. Malone, recognized theorist of public diplomacy, its main objective is “to influence the behavior of a foreign government by influencing the attitudes of its citizens”²⁶. Such definition suggests two stages of influence: first, direct influence on public opinion and, second, pressure of the public on the relevant government.

For T. Deibel and W. Roberts the objectives of public diplomacy were more diverse: it has to “(1) explain and defend government policies to foreign audiences and [...] (2) to portray national society to foreign audiences”²⁷. Therefore, the division into political information and cultural relations was introduced. Later the former became the basis of public diplomacy, whereas the latter moved to the realm of cultural diplomacy (considered sometimes as part of public diplomacy).

The aforementioned objectives can be specified by sub-objectives listed by Hansjürgen Koschwitz in 1986: exchange of information, creation of sympathy for own foreign policy and model of society, reduction of clichés and prejudices, as well as self-portrayal and image-building²⁸.

In 1976 T. Diebel and W. Roberts conventionally divided conceptualization of public diplomacy into tough-minded and tender-minded schools. Tough-minded school argues that public diplomacy must be conducted through persuasion and propaganda, whereas tender-minded school emphasizes the importance of information and cultural programs as the means to fulfill public

²⁵ Ociepka B. and Ryniejska M. (2005) ‘Public Diplomacy and EU Enlargement: the Case of Poland’, *Netherlands Institute of International Relations ‘Clingendael’*, Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, August 2005 – p. 1

²⁶ Malone, G.D. (1988) *Political Advocacy and Cultural Communication: Organizing the Nation’s Public diplomacy*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988. – p.3

²⁷ Deibel, T. and Roberts, W. (1976) *Culture and Information: Two Foreign Policy Functions*. Newbury Park: Sage, 1976. – p. 15 (as cited in Signitzer, Benno H. and Coombs Timothy. (1992) ‘Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Conceptual Convergences’, *Public Relations Review*, 18 (2). – p. 139)

²⁸ Koschwitz, H. (1986) ‘Diplomatie and Öffentlichkeit’. *Beitrage zur Konfliktforschung*, 16 (1), pp.53-68 (as cited in Signitzer, Benno H. and Coombs Timothy. (1992) ‘Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Conceptual Convergences’, *Public Relations Review*, 18 (2). – p. 139)

diplomacy's objectives²⁹. As the overview of conceptual development shows, these ideas were used by the following generation of theorists. Later with the advancement of complexity of related theories the understanding of these objectives shifted: self-portrayal and image-building moved to nation branding concept.

Beata Ociepka and Marta Ryniejska state that public diplomacy has two major aims: to inform and to persuade³⁰. Informational part includes transferring knowledge and facts about the European Union to the Ukrainian public, whereas the persuasive one deals with forming positive attitudes and diminishing negative stereotypes.

There are numerous approaches to how the aforementioned objectives must be implemented in real life. According to Shaun Riordan, public diplomacy must be conducted through exchange programs, networking and promotion of civil society in general³¹. Therefore, public diplomacy must be dialogue-based, which means that the flow of information must be bilateral. The latter helps to avoid the rejection of the promoted ideas and values, which for certain reasons, might be not accepted by the target society.

2.4. Related Concepts

There are a number of related concepts which must be explained and distinguished. One of them is propaganda. Propaganda is often confused with public diplomacy. After the 9/11 attacks Richard Holbrooke wrote that "Call it public diplomacy, or public affairs, or psychological warfare, or – if you really want to be blunt – propaganda"³². Such perception of public diplomacy proved to be quite spread among both politicians and early theorists, but later research made a clear distinction between two concepts.

As Joseph Nye states, "good public diplomacy has to go beyond propaganda"³³. According to David Welch, propaganda is "the deliberate attempt to influence the opinions of the audience through the transmission of ideas and values for the specific purpose, consciously designed to serve the interest of the propagandists and their political masters, either directly or indirectly"³⁴. As it can be seen, propaganda is very narrow concept which simply cannot cover the whole complexity of

²⁹ Deibel, T. and Roberts, W. *Culture and Information: Two Foreign Policy Functions*. Newbury Park: Sage, 1976. (as cited in Signitzer, Benno H. and Coombs Timothy. (1992) 'Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Conceptual Convergences', *Public Relations Review*, 18 (2). – p. 139)

³⁰ Ociepka B. and Ryniejska M. (2005) 'Public Diplomacy and EU Enlargement: the Case of Poland', *Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'*, Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, August 2005 – p. 4

³¹ Riordan, S. 'Dialogue-based Public Diplomacy'. (2004) *Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'*, No. 95, November 2004. - p. 6.

³² Holbrooke, R. (2001) 'Get the message out'. *Washington Post*, October 28, p. B07. (as cited in Gylboia, E. (2008) 'Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy', *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 616, March 2008. – p. 56)

³³ Nye, J. S. (2008) 'Public Diplomacy and Soft Power'. *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 616, March 2008. – p. 101

³⁴ Welch, D. (1999) 'Powers of Persuasion', *History Today*, 49, August 1999. - pp. 24-26.

relations between the diplomats and foreign publics. The main distinction between propaganda and public diplomacy is the pattern of communication. Propaganda is one-way promotion, whereas public diplomacy is always a dialogue.

Another example of terminology confusion is the terms “the new diplomacy”, “public diplomacy”, and “media diplomacy”. Gary D. Rawnsley makes difference between public diplomacy and media diplomacy by audience, i.e. diplomats employ public diplomacy to address foreign publics, whereas media diplomacy is used to address foreign governments³⁵. It is more difficult to distinct the term of “new public diplomacy” which became widely used at the beginning of the XXI century. According to Rhiannon Vickers the new public diplomacy is a “blurring of traditional distinctions between international and domestic information activities, public and traditional diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, marketing, and news management”³⁶. Therefore, public diplomacy is more concrete term which makes it suitable for the given research.

Public diplomacy is also often confused with branding. These two terms are interrelated, but are different in their goals and outcomes: “increased goals versus foreign policy, means, and types of communication, management, language, and culture”³⁷. Branding and advertising are specific and product-related, whereas public diplomacy has to deal with broad issues, provide explanation of foreign policy decisions and manage social and political acceptance within foreign audiences. For Simon Anholt, recognized specialist in this field, “country branding occurs when public speaks to public”³⁸, Thus, the main distinction between concepts lies in the difference of major actor. If public diplomacy is always conducted by the representatives of government (diplomats), branding requires mobilization of all resources for promoting the chosen image abroad³⁹.

However, Gyorgy Szondi highlights five approaches to the relationship between public diplomacy and branding. For him they are either distinct spheres, or public diplomacy is the part of nation branding, or nation branding is the part of public diplomacy, or they are distinct but overlapping concepts, or they are the same concepts. In this thesis public diplomacy will be analyzed as distinct area, because in contrast to nation branding, public diplomacy promotes political interest (not economic one), is identity driven (not image driven), targeted at citizens (not

³⁵ Gilboa, E. (2008) ‘Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy’, *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 616, March 2008. – p. 58

³⁶ Vickers, R. (2004) ‘The new public diplomacy: Britain and Canada compared’. *British Journal of Politics and International Affairs* 6. – p. 151

³⁷ Gilboa, E. (2008) ‘Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy’, *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 616, March 2008. – p. 68

³⁸ Anholt, S. (2003) *Brand New Justice: The Upside of Global Branding*. Oxford: Butterworth –Heinemann. – p. 123.

³⁹ Melissen, J. (2005) ‘Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy’. *Netherlands Institute of International Relations ‘Clingendael’*, May 2005. – p. 22

consumers) and sender of message is always a government, more specifically diplomatic representation (not national tourist boards)⁴⁰.

2.5. Scientific Novelty of the Thesis

In the thesis the research of public diplomacy will be focused on the results of work of the Delegation of the European Union to Ukraine as the main official representative of the EU in the given country holding the status of diplomatic mission. As it was mentioned above, public diplomacy belongs to the realm of governmental activities. Since the Delegation “[acts] as the eyes, ears and mouthpiece of the European Commission vis-à-vis the authorities and population in [the] host countries”⁴¹, it was deliberately chosen to trace the performance of Delegation in conducting public diplomacy in Ukraine. Of course, the Delegation is not the only actor responsible for the aforementioned type of the EU diplomacy in Ukraine (European politicians, Member States, and NGOs are also participating in achieving public diplomacy’s goals), but such limitation was necessary in order to find causation between the concrete actions undertaken by the Delegation and reaction within the specific groups of the Ukrainian society.

Scientific novelty of this thesis lies in the fact that in contrast to other researchers who developed the normative basis of public diplomacy, the author aims to illuminate what effects public diplomacy has on Ukrainian society by looking at the results and achievements of the Delegation’s activities and comparing the latter with the same activities by the Ukrainian government. Measuring perception and attitude towards the EU in the specific target groups will show the effectiveness of work with each of them. Therefore, the research is aimed to highlight which target groups of Ukrainian society are the most accessible, understanding, reflective, and open receivers of the EU public diplomacy and, thus, in the work with which target groups the effects are the most visible. Finally, the evaluation of the Delegation’s achievements will also show the level of credibility it possesses within the Ukrainian society.

In order to separate the effects of EU public diplomacy on Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU from the effects of the Ukrainian government’s public affairs which also form public opinion concerning the relevant topic and, thus, to advance credibility of the research, the analysis will include the comparison of the analogies in Ukrainian perceptions of the EU with the official message of the EU Delegation to Ukraine and with the official message about the EU of the Ukrainian government. The latter will also help to determine the relative proportionality of

⁴⁰ Szondi, G. (2008) ‘Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences’. *Netherlands Institute of International Relation ‘Clingendael’*, October 2008 – p. 17

⁴¹ Taking Europe to the World. 50 Years of the European Commission’s External Service. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2004. – p. 6

influence and effects which the EU Delegation is capable of producing on Ukrainian public opinion in comparison to the Ukrainian government.

2.6. Limitations of the Analysis

The scope of this research does not include analysis of influence of politicians (both foreign and Ukrainian), interest groups, NGOs and other actors who might produce certain effects on Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU, which is the major shortcoming of the study. However, there are reasons for such limitation.

Firstly, politicians were not included, since the diversity of EU and Ukrainian political parties goes beyond the research design of this thesis. In addition, the constant transformation of attitudes towards the relations between the EU and Ukraine among politicians, business elites and other interest groups does not allow making credible analysis within the time framework which will be stated further. Finally, NGOs dealing with issues of European integration of Ukraine and, thus, promoting the EU, usually operate under the patronage of political parties, and, therefore, do not represent independent attitude towards the EU.

2.7. Conclusion

To sum up, in this chapter the theoretical framework for the analysis, public diplomacy, was established. The appearance of public diplomacy dates back to 1930s when the foreign public opinion for the first time became determinative factor for success of international policy goals. Since then the conceptualization of public opinion experienced considerable development and in the given research the public diplomacy is defined as the process of government's communication (direct and indirect) with the foreign public, aimed at constructing positive image of the country (union of countries) with the long-term goal of facilitation of international policy implementation.

The main objectives of public diplomacy were also highlighted in the chapter, such as explanation and defense of governmental policies to foreign audiences, influence on their attitudes, provision of information, as well as promotion of ideas and values within foreign public. Related concepts, e.g. propaganda, new diplomacy, media diplomacy and branding were also distinguished in order to clarify the further analysis.

Scientific novelty of the research lies in the fact that in comparison to previous mainly normative and theoretical researches, which describe rules and techniques of the public diplomacy, the following analysis will present practical study of the effects of public diplomacy, which it produced in the target society of Ukraine. In addition, the research will focus on the EU public diplomacy as a whole, not on separate MS. Finally, the scope of analysis will be limited to the

observation of work (and its effects) of the EU Delegation to Ukraine as the main institution of diplomatic representation in the given country.

The following chapter of this study will be devoted to the methodology of the given research.

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter will be devoted to describing and motivating the methods which will be employed in the research. It will start with the explanation of structure of research, namely the algorithm of data gathering and analysis which will be conducted within the thesis. The next sections will present two methods, i.e. content analysis and secondary analysis of survey data. Finally, the chapter will finish with short conclusion.

3.1. Research Structure

The research in this study will be conducted through the following steps. Firstly, the general description of the EU public diplomacy in Ukraine will be given, mentioning the main activities of the EU Delegation to Ukraine and illuminating the range of most popular messages and statements concerning the EU through content-analysis of statements of the EU Delegation to Ukraine, Eurobulletins, newsletters and EU cooperation news, and media statements by the Head of Delegation. Secondly, the same actions by the Ukrainian government (its public affairs with regard to the EU) will be observed; messages and statements related to attitudes to the EU will be highlighted with the help of content-analysis of mass-media statements and decrees by the President of Ukraine, orders and resolutions of government, official government news and informational bulletin.

Thirdly, the perceptions of mass public will be analyzed with the help of sociological polls. Fourthly, the attitudes of leaders of public opinion (e.g. journalists, researchers and experts⁴²) will be analyzed, using content analysis of the texts which are relevant to the research question. Finally, the analogies of the attitudes towards the EU by the mass public and the opinion leaders with the message of the EU Delegation to Ukraine and with the Ukrainian government will be constructed. Matches in promoted ideas by the EU Delegation to Ukraine and perceptions within the society will be accepted as effects, which will answer the research question. Discovered effects of Ukrainian government activities will be used to differentiate EU public diplomacy effects from effects of Ukrainian public affairs, and, thus, to make findings more reliable.

Due to the objectives of the research stated above, the author is particularly interested in the cross-section of the attitudes within the Ukrainian society. In order to preserve the relevance of the findings, this cross-section will be made using only the latest surveys and texts (for content analysis). Therefore, the research will be limited to time framework from September 1, 2012 till the

⁴² These subgroups of public opinion leaders were chosen for the analysis according to classification of public opinion leaders by Ukrainian sociologist Tanchyn I.Z. (Tanchyn I.Z. (2008) *Sociology*. 3rd Edition. Kyiv: Znannia – p. 151)

late spring 2013. The beginning of time frame is explained by the inauguration of the current EU Ambassador to Ukraine, Jan Tombinski. Appointment of this Polish diplomat at this position was associated with new structural changes in the EU diplomacy in Ukraine, both traditional and public ones. In contrast to his predecessor, Jose Manuel Pinto Teixeira, Jan Tombinski was believed to be more open-minded and flexible in understanding Ukrainian issues and processes⁴³. Therefore, it might be assumed that after this appointment the attitudes and expectations of the Ukrainian society altered, since the perceptions of the Union often depends on the Head of Representation as will be shown in the following chapter. As far as it is not the interest of this research to compare the perceptions before and after the inauguration of Jan Tombinski, only the period after September 1, 2012 will be analyzed. The end of the time frame is caused by the end of this research, which was planned for late spring, 2013.

There are two major target groups which will be analyzed in the research: opinion leaders and mass public. Opinion leaders include journalists, researchers, and experts. Mass public will be analyzed as a whole both through national-wide and regional public opinion polls. In order to observe and analyze the perceptions of both groups two main methods will be employed: analysis of sociological polls (in case of mass public) and content analysis (in case of leaders of public opinion).

By using the methods which will be described further the research will add new dimension to the study of public diplomacy, mentioned in the previous chapter, namely measuring its effects on the specific society.

3.2. Content Analysis

Content analysis is “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages”⁴⁴. This method is considered to be highly suitable for discovering the focus of social attention⁴⁵, in the case of the given research for describing attitudes towards the European Union within the Ukrainian society. The research will be conducted according to methodology of qualitative content analysis.

According to Jarol Manheim and Richard Rich⁴⁶, the content analysis can take place only when the material source of information is present. In this research these sources of information will be official statements, promotional bulletins, mass-media statements, decrees, orders and

⁴³ Siruk, M. (2012) ‘New EU ambassador to Ukraine’. *The Day*, 22 May. - <http://www.day.kiev.ua/en/article/day-after-day/new-eu-ambassador-ukraine>

⁴⁴ Holsti O.R. (1969) *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading: MA: Addison-Wesley.– p. 14

⁴⁵ Stemler S. (2001) ‘An Overview of Content Analysis’. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 7 (17). – p. 1

⁴⁶ Manheim, J. B., Rich, R. C. (1997) *Empirical Political Analysis*. Russian Edition. Moscow: Ves Mir. – p. 271

(Мангайм Дж. Б., Рич Р. Ц. (1997) *Эмпирический политический анализ*. Москва: Весь Мир)

resolutions, media articles (printed and Internet ones), academic articles, and expert comments and recommendations. Therefore, the unit of analysis will be one of the aforementioned texts. The author deliberately chose to use the texts as units, because they are large enough to be considered as a whole and small enough to convey and observe a context for the meaning unit, while analyzing⁴⁷.

The description of the unit of analysis will include type of message, as well as way, place and time of publication⁴⁸. It must be highlighted that all texts which will be selected for analysis are published on the territory of Ukraine within the stated time frame. The simple random sampling will be applied, which means that texts will be chosen from a large set of all relevant texts available and totally by chance. Nevertheless, the authors of the texts will be chosen in another way⁴⁹: in content-analysis of opinion leaders' texts in each target sub-group (journalists, researchers, experts) five most frequently met in media individuals will be chosen. Such sampling technique was adopted, because the research interest is to identify the attitudes of the leaders of the public opinion and, therefore, frequency of appearances in media will be considered as an indicator of such leadership. Then out of all texts of the author one text will be chosen by simple random sampling. In sum, 30 texts by 15 authors will be analyzed.

The meaning unit will be short phrases (4-6 words). In order to find preliminary meaning units out of the text, a word-frequency count will be applied with the help of software "TextSTAT". The assumption made here is that the words which are mentioned most of all are likely to be the words of the greatest concern⁵⁰. Then keywords will be used to capture meaning units, while reading data word by word as a narrative. In sum, meaning units and codes, as a result, will come directly from the text. According to classification of Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah Shannon, this type of qualitative content analysis is called conventional content analysis⁵¹.

Then the process of grouping meaning units under higher order headings will follow, which is aimed at simplification of further analysis of data. Firstly, meaning units will be grouped into codes. Then codes will be further gathered under categories. Category is "a group of content that shares commonality"⁵². The categories must be mutually exclusive and cover the whole body of content in the given unit of analysis. Finally, the categories will be grouped into themes, which are the

⁴⁷ Granheim, U.H., Lundman B. (2004) 'Qualitative Content Analysis in Nursing Research: Concepts, Procedures and Measures to Achieve Trustworthiness'. *Nurse Education Today*, 24. – p. 106

⁴⁸ Мангейм, Дж. Б., Рич, Р. С. (1997) *Empirical Political Analysis. Russian Edition*. Moscow: Ves Mir. – p. 271 (Мангейм Дж. Б., Рич Р. С. (1997) *Эмпирический политический анализ*. Москва: Весь Мир)

⁴⁹ Since the majority of official texts have not authorship, this selection procedure does not apply to the texts by the EU Delegation to Ukraine and the Ukrainian government.

⁵⁰ Stemler S. (2001) 'An Overview of Content Analysis'. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 7 (17). – p. 2

⁵¹ Hsieh, H.-F., Shannon, S. (2005) 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis'. *Qualitative Health Research*, Vol. 15, No. 9, November 2005. – p. 1279

⁵² Krippendorff, K., Content Analysis. (1980) *An Introduction to Its Methodology*. The Sage Commtext Series, Sage Publications Ltd., London. (as in Granheim, U.H., Lundman B. (2004) 'Qualitative Content Analysis in Nursing Research: Concepts, Procedures and Measures to Achieve Trustworthiness'. *Nurse Education Today*, 24.. – p. 107

expressions of the general context of the texts. To make the analysis more visible, two tables will be developed: table of meaning units and codes; table of codes, categories and themes (see Table 3.1.1, Table 3.1.2).

Table 3.1.1. Analysis table of meaning units and codes

Meaning Unit	Code

(Source: Granheim, U.H., Lundman B. Qualitative Content Analysis in Nursing Research: Concepts, Procedures and Measures to Achieve Trustworthiness. *Nurse Education Today*, 24, 2004. – p. 107)

Table 3.1.2. Analysis table of codes, categories and theme

Theme			
Category			
Code			

(Source: Granheim, U.H., Lundman B. Qualitative Content Analysis in Nursing Research: Concepts, Procedures and Measures to Achieve Trustworthiness. *Nurse Education Today*, 24, 2004. – p. 107)

In the end, trustworthiness of the conducted content analysis will be measured. According to U.H. Graneheim and B. Lundman, there are three components of trustworthiness: credibility, dependability and transferability⁵³. Credibility “refers to confidence in how well data and processes of analysis address the intended focus”⁵⁴. In order to increase credibility, it was deliberately decided to choose authors of texts with various experiences and backgrounds. Since the gender and age equality is not the focus of the research, these factors will be eliminated from the analysis. At the same time such features as ideological beliefs, civic engagement and language of communication (Ukrainian or Russian) will be taken into consideration during the sampling process.

Another aspect of trustworthiness, dependability “seeks means for taking into account both factors of instability and factors of phenomenal of design induced changes”⁵⁵. In order to avoid weaknesses associated with the aspect, the analysis will be conducted strictly within the stated time framework. Since the content analysis itself will be made during no longer period than a month, it is assumed that no structural changes in current situation will take place.

⁵³ Granheim, U.H., Lundman B. (2004) ‘Qualitative Content Analysis in Nursing Research: Concepts, Procedures and Measures to Achieve Trustworthiness’. *Nurse Education Today*, 24.. – p. 109

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Lincoln, Y. S., Guba, E.G. (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage Publications Inc., Newbury Park, London, New Gehl.. (as cited in Granheim, U.H., Lundman B. (2004) ‘Qualitative Content Analysis in Nursing Research: Concepts, Procedures and Measures to Achieve Trustworthiness’. *Nurse Education Today*, 24.. – p. 110).

The last aspect of trustworthiness, transferability, which indicates the extent to which the findings can be transferred to other groups and settings⁵⁶, can be easily advanced by detailed description of methodology and all steps of content analysis, which will be made in this research.

3.3. Secondary Analysis of Survey Data

According to Jarol Manheim and Richard Rich, secondary analysis of survey data is one of the most popular methods of political science research, owing to high costs of both large surveys and opinion polls⁵⁷. While some scientists argue that this method is not effective, since it doesn't produce new knowledge, Jarol Manheim and Richard Rich have shown that secondary analysis of survey data helps to economy research funding, as well as to avoid contamination of population (changes in public opinion, resulting from frequent polls)⁵⁸. Such advantages make the secondary analysis a fruitful tool in this research.

There are specific requirements for secondary analysis of survey data, which will be followed in this research. Firstly, the appropriateness of each survey for the purposes of the thesis will be defined by its relevancy to the research question⁵⁹. Thus, in the case of identifying attitudes of the Ukrainian society to the European Union, all opinion polls and surveys dealing with the topics of EU-Ukrainian relationship, attractiveness of European integration, general knowledge about the EU and emotional attitudes will be included into the scope of secondary analysis.

After determining the relevance of the given research the steps of identifying the quality of the survey will be followed. To begin with, attention will be paid to the organization which conducted the survey⁶⁰. Since the reputable sociological institutions are believed to value quality and verification of the data they collect, the preference will be given to them. In case of Ukrainian sociological institutions and centers they are: Centre Razumkova, Centre "Socis", Research & Branding Group, TNS Ukraine, Ukrainian Sociological Service, Institute of Social and Political Psychology of Ukraine, Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, National Institute of Strategy Research, Sociological group "Rating", Democratic Initiatives Foundation, and Ukrainian Sociology Service⁶¹.

⁵⁶ Granheim, U.H., Lundman B. (2004) 'Qualitative Content Analysis in Nursing Research: Concepts, Procedures and Measures to Achieve Trustworthiness'. *Nurse Education Today*, 24. – p. 110

⁵⁷ Manheim, J. B., Rich, R. C. (1997) *Empirical Political Analysis*. Russian Edition. Moscow: Ves Mir. – p. 218 (Мангайм Дж. Б., Рич Р. Ц. (1997) *Эмпирический политический анализ*. Москва: Весь Мир)

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid. – p. 219

⁶⁰ Analyzing Polls: Interpretive Analysis-Assessing Quality. (2013) Roper Centre, University of Connecticut, Public Opinion Archives. - http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/education/interpretive_analysis_quality.html

⁶¹ List of sociological organizations of Ukraine. (2012) *Voice of the Ukrainian*.- <http://holos.com.ua/perelik-sociolog-centriv/> (Список соціологічних організацій України (2010) *Голос Українця*)

Moreover, while choosing the survey for secondary analysis, emphasis will be made on the purpose of the survey conducting⁶². In particular, the author will be interested in the presence of the sponsor of the research. This issue is of special interest in the case of Ukraine, since numerous opinion polls are ordered and, thus, sponsored by various political parties before the elections, which, logically, might influence the final findings of the survey. Taking into consideration that the last parliamentary elections were held on November, 17, 2012 (period within the timeframe of the thesis), the factor of political influence on survey results has a chance of becoming relevant for this research.

In addition, the author will be interested in sampling technique. Only national public opinion polls will be included into secondary analysis, which means that regional, gender-oriented, age-oriented and other selective polls will be deliberately avoided, as far as they do not represent the whole Ukrainian society. More specifically, the research will be focused on surveys using random and probability samples as the most wide-spread and reliable⁶³.

Since the surveys are subjects to numerous sources of error, while conducting secondary analysis, errors will be also taken into consideration. Thus, the research will include surveys with minimal sampling error as stated by data producers⁶⁴. Coverage error is supposed to be avoided, since the research will deliberately not cover the Ukrainian Diaspora, as far as this is not the target group for the EU Delegation to Ukraine. Since non-response and measurement errors are not obvious and difficult to identify, they will not be taken into consideration in secondary analysis. In sum, the priority will be given to the surveys with minimal margin error.

Particular attention will be paid to questions directed to the respondents during the polls. If the questions will not be relevant to the research question, the poll will be deleted from the scope of the analysis.

As was stated above the reliability of surveys will be checked by cross-verification of findings of the number of surveys and opinion polls on the joint topics conducted by different organizations. Since non-polling sources are believed to provide general context⁶⁵, the content analysis of texts by Ukrainian political experts, researchers and journalists will be conducted as the second step of the data gathering.

⁶² Analyzing Polls: Interpretive Analysis-Assessing Quality. (2013) Roper Centre, University of Connecticut, Public Opinion Archives. - http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/education/interpretive_analysis_quality.html

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ The stated error will be compared with the recommended allowance for sampling error by Roper Centre. Fundamentals of Polling-Total Survey Error. Roper Centre, University of Connecticut, Public Opinion Archives, 2013. - http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/education/polling_fundamentals_error.html#weighting

⁶⁵ Analyzing Polls: Interpretive Analysis- Context. (2013) Roper Centre, University of Connecticut, Public Opinion Archives. - http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/education/interpretive_analysis_context.html

3.4. Conclusions

In sum, the methodology of the research of attitudes towards the European Union within the Ukrainian society includes two methods: qualitative content analysis and secondary analysis of survey data. The former will be devoted to the analysis of the official messages of the EU Delegation to Ukraine and Ukrainian government, as well as public opinion leaders' attitudes, whereas the latter to the analysis of mass public attitudes. Combined, these two methods are supposed to create the general picture of perceptions and beliefs of two aforementioned target groups of the Ukrainian society, concerning the image of the European Union.

The following two chapters will present the findings of the content analysis of official texts concerning attitude formation towards the EU produced by the EU Delegation to Ukraine and Ukrainian government.

4. PRESENTATION OF THE EU BY THE EU DELEGATION TO UKRAINE

This chapter will be devoted to the analysis of the public diplomacy message of the EU Delegation to Ukraine as the institution which fulfills ambassadorial duties at the territory of the relevant country. In particular, the objective is to illuminate what kind of attitudes the EU is trying to form within the Ukrainian society through its official representation. This section consists of two parts: (1) description of work of the EU Delegation to Ukraine as an environment of attitude forming; and (2) content-analysis of main documents produced and published by the EU Delegation of Ukraine.

The first part of the chapter is supposed to give general overview of the EU Delegation's work in Ukraine, as well as provide some information concerning specifics of role of the Head of Delegation. The second part will concentrate on content-analysis of official statements the EU Delegation to Ukraine, Eurobulletins, newsletters and co-operation news published by it, as well as mass-media statements of Jan Tombinski. This analysis will help to highlight what kind of attitudes towards the EU the Delegation is attempting to form in Ukraine. This information will be used in the following chapters as starting point for further comparison with the message of the Ukrainian government and existing approaches among the mass public and leaders of public opinion.

4.1. Work of the EU Delegation to Ukraine

The EU Delegation to Ukraine fulfills the functions of representation of the EU interests on the territory of Ukraine. Despite the fact that the majority of its activities are directed towards the government of Ukraine, it also conducts public diplomacy, which means that among its priorities there is an objective of forming positive image of the EU within the Ukrainian society.

According to its official web-site, the predecessor of the EU Delegation to Ukraine used to be the Delegation of the European Commission to Ukraine, but since the Lisbon Treaty entered into force (1 December 2009), it was transformed into EU Delegation to Ukraine⁶⁶. As far as this institution has the status of the diplomatic mission, it possesses an official mandate, which can be conditionally divided into traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy parts. The first part includes development of political and economic cooperation with the government of Ukraine, control of the

⁶⁶ The Role of the EU Delegation. EU Delegation to Ukraine. Official web-site. As viewed on April 4, 2013-
http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/about_us/delegation_role/index_en.htm

implementation of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the EU and Ukraine⁶⁷, and conduction of European Union's assistance programs⁶⁸. Since all these actions have only indirect influence on the Ukrainian society and are not covered by the concept of the public diplomacy, they will not be analyzed in the following chapter.

The second (public diplomacy) part of The EU Delegation's mandate consists of "increasing awareness of the EU, its institutions and its programs" and "inform[ing] the public of the development of the EU, explain[ing] and defend[ing] individual EU policies"⁶⁹. The implementation of these public diplomacy objectives of the EU Delegation are conducted through the following actions:

1. Publishing Eurobulletins, Newsletters, EU Co-operation news (both electronically and in the form of printed press). These documents are often republished by Ukrainian mass-media and NGOs.
2. Publishing statements of the EU Delegation to Ukraine. Such statements usually take place as a result of crisis situations or events in which the EU has direct interest.
3. Making mass-media statements by the Head of Delegation. Since Jan Tombinski, the current Head of the EU Delegation hasn't published any official statement yet, his statements made during press-conferences are of particular interest with regard to public diplomacy.
4. Conduction of events. The EU Delegation to Ukraine arranges numerous social, educational and cultural events on the territory of Ukraine⁷⁰, aiming at promotion knowledge about the EU.

The EU Delegation to Ukraine also supports the functioning the network of centers of European information: Ukrainian public organizations, the main objective of which is to inform the population of Ukraine about the advantages of the European integration⁷¹.

4.1.1. Role of the Head of EU Delegation to Ukraine

According to Ryszarda Formuszewicz and Jakub Kumoch, the work of the EU Delegation highly depends on the personal approach of its Head⁷². To begin with, in contrast to pre-Lisbon period, when the joint position of the EU was represented by the country holding the EU

⁶⁷Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between The European Communities and their Member States, and Ukraine. Signed 14.06.1994 - http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2003/october/tradoc_111612.pdf

⁶⁸ The Role of the EU Delegation. EU Delegation to Ukraine. Official web-site. - http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/about_us/delegation_role/index_en.htm

⁶⁹ The Role of the EU Delegation. EU Delegation to Ukraine. Official web-site. - http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/about_us/delegation_role/index_en.htm

⁷⁰ This list of public diplomacy's related documents was developed by the author

⁷¹ Network of centers of European information. Official web-site. - <http://ukrcei.org/about>

⁷² Formuszewicz Ryszarda, Kumoch Jakub. (2010) The Practice of Appointing the heads of EU Delegations in the Wake of the Council Decision on European External Action Service. Report of the Polish Institute of International Affairs. Warsaw, August 2010. – p. 8

presidency, nowadays the Delegation of the European Union to the given state (for example, Ukraine) not only represents the EU externally: the representative of the Delegation also chairs the meeting where the common positions are developed. Since such meetings are usually taking place at the ambassadorial/ Head of Delegation level, this person has a considerable influence on decision making⁷³. In addition, the budget of the EU Delegation, as well as management of the various EU programs carried out in the given country, are also subjects to full control and responsibility of the Head of Delegation⁷⁴. Therefore, the Head of Delegation is not only an appointed diplomat, whose main duty is accurate reporting, but an important politician, representative of the EU position and its voice in the country where he is working.

The importance of the individual characteristics and experience of the Head of Delegation are particularly important in the case of Ukraine, where the issues of freedom of speech, rule of law, human rights and many others associated with democracy are still questionable. The previous Head of Delegation, Jose Manuel Pinto Teixeira (2008-2012) proved to be radical in his evaluation of Ukrainian political processes and legal system. He repeatedly criticized lawsuit of the former Prime-Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko, mixed election system of Ukraine, provisions of Ukrainian Criminal Code and the actions of the President of Ukraine^{75,76,77}. Such actions not only provoked conflict escalation between the EU and Ukrainian government, but also gave birth to contradictory attitudes within the Ukrainian society. As a result, during the last months of his work as a Head of EU Delegation to Ukraine, Jose Manuel Pinto Teixeira was not recognized as the official representative of the EU by the Ukrainian government⁷⁸.

Thus, the beginning of Jan Tombinski's work as the Head of the EU Delegation to Ukraine was waited for and welcomed by both the Ukrainian government and the Ukrainian society. Jan Tombinski was said to be chosen among other five contenders (mainly of the British diplomats) owing to his active support of European integration of Ukraine during the Polish Presidency in the

⁷³ Comelli Michele and Raffaello Matarazzo. (2011) 'Rehashed Commission Delegations or Real Embassies? EU Delegations Post-Lisbon'. *IAI Working Papers* 11 | 23 – July 2011. – p. 3

⁷⁴ Ibid. – p. 5

⁷⁵ Leshchenko Serhiy. (2011) 'Head of the EU Delegation to Ukraine Does Not Like Tymoshenko' Lawsuit and Electoral Law'. *RBK-Ukraine*. 28.09.2011. - <http://www.rbc.ua/ukr/top/politics/glave-predstavitelstva-es-v-ukraine-ne-nravlyatsya-delo-tymoshenko-28092011173400> (Лещенко Сергій (2010) 'Голові Представництва ЄС в Україні не подобається судова справа Тимошенко' *РБК – Україна*. 28.09.2011)

⁷⁶ Nayem Mustafa. (2011) 'Jose Manuel Pinto Teixeira: Now Is Not The Time When Meeting With Yanukovich In Brussels Could Happen'. *Ukrainska Pravda*. 18.10.2011. - <http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2011/10/18/6682311/> (Найем Мустафа. (2011) 'Жозе Мануель Пінто Тейшейра: зараз не час коли зустріч з Януковичем в Брюсселі може мати місце', *Українська Правда*. 18.10.2011)

⁷⁷ Teixeira Accuses Ukraine Of Applying Selective Justice. (2012) *NEWSru.ua*. 28.02.2012. - <http://www.newsru.ua/ukraine/28feb2012/tejszejraaa.html> (Тейшейра звинувачує Україну в застосуванні вибіркового права. (2012) *NEWSru.ua*. 28.02.2012)

⁷⁸ Svydrov Alexei. (2012) 'Until Tombinsky comes, Teixeira Will Be The Head of the EU Delegation in Ukraine'. *Uaonline.com.ua*. 20.06.2012. - http://uaonline.com.ua/novyny_22853.html (Свидров Алексей. 'Поки не прибуде Томбінський, Тейшейра буде займати посаду голови представництва ЄС в Україні'. *Uaonline.com.ua*. 20.06.2012)

second half of 2011. In addition, he has experience of working in “problematic” countries in deep crisis (Bosnia and Herzegovina) or during active implementation of European standards (Czech Republic). In 1989 he created and became the president of European Integration Association in Krakow and was an active member of famous Solidarity trade union, which also advanced his profile for Ukrainian mass public⁷⁹.

The new appointment of the Head of the EU Delegation to Ukraine made in the context of diplomatic rotation 2012 resulted in the considerable advancement of the image of the Head of EU Delegation and, logically, of the EU Delegation to Ukraine as a whole. Despite the fact that this research is limited to the timeframe of work of the current Head of the EU Delegation, it is still important to take into consideration that both social and political environment in which the EU Delegation is working in Ukraine now is more friendly and perceiving than it used to be in 2008-2012.

The following section will be devoted to the content-analysis of some of the aforementioned verbal data produced by the EU Delegation to Ukraine with the aim of illuminating what kind of vision and understanding of the EU the Delegation wants to form among the Ukrainian citizens.

4.2. Content-Analysis of Official Texts

The texts for content-analysis will be divided into the following categories:

1. Statements of the EU Delegation to Ukraine. This kind of texts is particularly important for the research, because it reflects unmediated position and messages of this diplomatic institution. Since within the timeframe of the given research only two statements of this kind were published, both of them will be included into the analysis.
2. Eurobulletins, Newsletters and EU Co-operation news. These verbal sources are supposed to hold the main informative and promotional messages. Since there is a large set of these texts, the samples for analysis will be chosen by simple random sampling⁸⁰. To make the task of content-analysis realistically manageable, the amount of samples was deliberately limited to 3 (one eurobulletin, one newsletter, one EU co-operation news article).
3. Mass-media statements of the Head of Delegation. This kind of sources is the most interesting, because it reflects the personal position of Jan Tombinski. Taking into

⁷⁹ Tregub Hanna. (2012) ‘New EU Ambassador to Ukraine Knows Much About European Integration And Has Experience In “Problematic” Countries’. *Tyzhden.ua*. 17.05.2012. - <http://tyzhden.ua/Politics/50476> (Трегуб Ганна. (2012) ‘Новий посол ЄС в Україні багато знає про європейську інтеграцію і має досвід дороби у «проблемних» країнах’. *Tyzhden.ua*. 17.05.2012.)

⁸⁰ The causes of such type of sampling were explained in Chapter 3. In order to choose samples, Online Random Number Generator will be used (www.random.org). Sampling will be done without replacements, which means that choosing the same text more than once will be deliberately avoided.

consideration his influence of the work of the EU Delegation to Ukraine, explained above, these texts might illuminate messages not mentioned in other samples. In order to equalize the amount of samples from this and the previous categories, 3 statements will be chosen by simple random sampling.

The primary analysis will be conducted separately for each of the aforementioned categories. Then the findings will be generalized for the final conclusions.

4.2.1. Statements of the EU Delegation to Ukraine

Since the beginning of work by Jan Tombinski as the Head of the EU Delegation to Ukraine, only two official statements have been published. The first was published on March 19th, 2013, and is called “Statement of the EU Delegation on Ukraine’s increase of import tariffs for passenger cars”⁸¹. The second text is “Statement of the EU Delegation to Ukraine on the personal attack of a FEMEN activist⁸² against MEP Elmar Brok”⁸³, published on March 22nd, 2013. Both statements are available at the official web-site of the EU Delegation to Ukraine.

The content-analysis tables (see Appendix I) demonstrate that the EU Delegation in its statements divides two separate areas of its perception: inappropriate actions from the Ukrainian side and criticism from the EU Delegation’s side. It could be assumed that such kind of messages demonstrate the existence of opposition between the EU and Ukrainian understandings of acceptable political and social behavior. Thus, the EU Delegation is formulating messages which are aiming to illuminate “normative” and “justified” (from the point of view of the EU) perceptions and, therefore, result in conflict attitudes. Such position could be understood as both sharing values and creating intercultural tensions.

Despite the fact that two statements cannot show the whole range of attitudes and messages produced by the EU Delegation to Ukraine, their amount itself, as well as their content give a glimpse of the existing conflict between the EU Delegation and Ukrainian society, which, thus, motivates the EU Delegation to formulate the statements within the framework of appropriateness/inappropriateness of Ukrainian social and political events and process.

⁸¹ Statement of the EU Delegation on Ukraine’s increase of import tariffs for passenger cars. (2013) *The Delegation of the European Union to Ukraine*. Official web-site. 19.03.2013. -

http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/press_corner/all_news/news/2013/2013_03_19_1_en.htm

⁸² FEMEN – famous Ukrainian feminist NGO (author’s note)

⁸³ Statement of the EU Delegation to Ukraine on the personal attack of a FEMEN activist against MEP Elmar Brok. (2013) *The Delegation of the European Union to Ukraine*. Official web-site. 22.03.2013. -

http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/press_corner/all_news/news/2013/2013_03_22_1_en.htm

4.2.2. Eurobulletins, Newsletters and EU Co-operation News

As it was mentioned above, these documents serve as the informational mediator between the EU Delegation to Ukraine and Ukrainian society. Within the timeframe between September 2012 and May 2013 the EU Delegation to Ukraine produced 4 Eurobulletins, 29 newsletters, and published 5 co-operation news⁸⁴. Despite the fact that the number of different kinds of documents is disproportional with regard to the fact that each of them will be represented only by one sample, the task here was not to describe the variety of information published by the EU Delegation, but to cover different types of documents and their main messages.

Thus, for each sub-group, the text for content-analysis was chosen with the help of online random number generator. The tables (see Appendix II) present the results of analysis of Eurobulletin # 2⁸⁵, Newsletter # 6⁸⁶ and co-operation news article # 3⁸⁷.

The content analysis showed two major messages. Firstly, the EU Delegation to Ukraine aims to represent the EU itself as Union of prosperity, democracy and justice, where economic or political problems are always solved. Even if this political unit (also called “federation of national states”) faces temporary difficulties, they are immediately removed owing to “European standards” of politics and economy. As a result, the methods of achieving such wealth are pictured as “normative”, applicable to Ukrainian realities. Secondly, these norms and experiences can be transferred to Ukraine; that will advance its “daily life” and simplify the process of European integration which is described as final objective of Ukraine⁸⁸.

4.2.3. Mass-Media Statements of the Head of Delegation

Logically, to count and to verify all mass-media statements of Jan Tombinski was challenging owing to their informality, selective media coverage and lack of reliable searching engines suitable for this task. Thus, it was decided to use the archive of UNIAN⁸⁹, the biggest and most reliable Ukrainian information agency, which covers all events and news which took place at the territory of Ukraine and which is the primarily source of information for mass media in Ukraine.

⁸⁴ Amount taken from the official web-site.

⁸⁵ Eurobulletin # 9. Continent of Peace. (2012) *The EU Delegation to Ukraine*. Official web-site. October 2012. - http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/documents/eurobulletin/eb_ua_09_2012_uk.pdf (Євробюлетень № 9. Континент миру. (2012) Представництво ЄС в Україні. Офіційний сайт. Жовтень 2012.)

⁸⁶ Newsletter. (2012) *The EU Delegation to Ukraine*. Official web-site. 29 October 2012. - http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/documents/newsletter/nl_291012_uk.pdf (Вісник. (2012) Представництво ЄС в Україні. Офіційний сайт. 29 жовтня 2012.)

⁸⁷ EU Cooperation News. #95. (2013) *The EU Delegation to Ukraine*. Official web-site. 15 January 2013. - http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/documents/eucooperationnews/2013/95_eucooperationnews_en.pdf

⁸⁸ Similar conclusions were made by Wendon B. as a result of analysis of EU social policy presentation by the Commission, which indicates that the message of the EU is not a subject of rapid change (Wendon B. (1998) The Commission as image-venue entrepreneur in EU social policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*. Volume 5, Issue 2, 339-353)

⁸⁹ Information Agency UNIAN 2001-2013. - <http://www.unian.ua/>

The archive of UNIAN showed that Jan Tombinski made 25 statements on various topics regarding Ukrainian politics and social life. In order to equalize the analysis of this kind of documents with ones mentioned in previous section, it was decided to analyze three of them. The online random number generator chose statements # 5⁹⁰, #25⁹¹, #2⁹² (for content analysis table see Appendix III).

According to Jan Tombinski, Ukraine has to fulfill numerous requirements and substantially advance its politics and policy in order to be capable of joining the EU. In order to achieve this, it has to meet so-called “European standards”, promotion of which is the major duty of the EU Delegation to Ukraine. It also must be highlighted that Jan Tombinski doesn’t avoid radical phrases, such as “to change mentality and culture”. Nevertheless, in all his statements the EU is always regarded as the assistant in the free choices of Ukrainian government and society.

4.3. Conclusion

Three different types of texts demonstrated various dimensions of EU Delegation’s message concerning the image of the European Union. Despite the fact that all of them are either produced or published by one diplomatic institution, the main idea of texts from the aforementioned groups shows that forming the attitudes towards the EU within the Ukrainian society is often made in diverse ways.

Statements of the EU Delegation to Ukraine showed the conflict environment in which this institution is working. Thus, the difference between European approach to normativity of political and social processes and Ukrainian realities resulted in generating message which obviously shows the gap between the EU and modern Ukraine, picturing the former as an example for future development of the latter.

However, texts generated regularly (not in crisis situations) present the EU as an assistant and reliable partner for Ukraine⁹³. Eurobulletins, newsletters and co-operation news depicted the EU as

⁹⁰ EU Ambassador to Ukraine: Sanctions are easy to launch but difficult to cancel. (2012) *UNIAN Information Agency*, 16.10.2012. - <http://www.unian.ua/news/530195-posol-es-v-ukrajini-sanktsiji-legko-vvesti-ale-vajko-skasuvati.html> (Посол ЄС в Україні Ж санкції легко ввести, але важко скасувати. (2012) *Інформаційне агентство УНІАН*, 16.10.2012.)

⁹¹ Jan Tombinski : Ukraine has to move from words to actions in fighting corruption. (2013) *UNIAN Information Agency*, 11.04.2013- <http://www.unian.ua/news/565222-tombinski-ukrajina-mae-pereyti-vid-sliv-do-dila-u-borotbi-z-koruptsiyu.html> (Ян Томбінські: Україна має перейти від слів до діла у боротьбі з корупцією. (2013) *Інформаційне агентство УНІАН*, 11.04.2013)

⁹² New EU representative to Ukraine hopes for the irreversibility of democratic changes (2012) *UNIAN Information Agency*, 27.09.2012. - <http://www.unian.ua/news/527158-noviy-predstavnik-es-v-ukrajini-nadietsya-na-nezvorotnist-demokraticnih-zmin.html> (Новий представник ЄС в Україні надіється на незворотність демократичних змін 2012) *Інформаційне агентство УНІАН*, 27.09.2012.)

⁹³ The vision of the EU as an assisting partner is conventionally accepted both in the EU and Ukraine. Similar findings were achieved by Julia Langbein and Kataryna Wolczuk in their analysis of the impact of the EU in Ukraine (Langbein

prosperous and wealthy “federation of national states” which could be joined by yet not developed Ukraine.

This explanation of the relationship between the EU and Ukraine is supported also by the mass-media statements of the Head of Delegation. Being an important diplomatic actor, Jan Tombinski also emphasizes the importance of the EU as normative power, which can help Ukraine to advance economically and politically.

In sum, the EU Delegation to Ukraine depicts the European Union as friendly partner, willing to and capable of helping Ukraine to improve its standards of living and, thus, in the long-term period to become its Member State.

5. ATTITUDES FORMATION TOWARDS THE EU BY THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT

The following chapter will be devoted to the analysis of the Ukrainian Government's message concerning the image of the EU. In particular, the objective is to find out what kind of attitudes towards the EU the Ukrainian government is willing to form among the Ukrainian citizens. In order to fulfill this goal this chapter will be focused on two topics: (1) description of Ukrainian government's public affairs in the sphere of EU-Ukrainian relations (responsible institutions, mechanisms and channels of communication with mass public); and (2) content-analysis of President's decrees, government's resolutions, mass-media statements and informational bulletins. The first part will give the general overview of the Ukrainian governmental institutions responsible for public affairs in Ukraine. More specifically, it will describe the functions and responsibilities in this sphere of the President of Ukraine and government.

The second part will be focused on the content analysis of President's decrees and mass media statements, orders and resolutions by Ukrainian government, official news and informational bulletins. This analysis will add to the understanding of what image of the EU the Ukrainian government is trying to form within the Ukrainian society. As a result, comparing the promoted attitudes towards the EU with the real the existing ones, will help to evaluate to what extent the Ukrainian government is capable of influencing public opinion in Ukraine and how it might affect the work of the EU Delegation to Ukraine.

5.1. Public Affairs of the Ukrainian Government

In 2004 Orange revolution⁹⁴ caused a series of democratic changes in Ukrainian politics and society, which induced its Western neighbors to start considering this country not as one of the frozen post-soviet states, but as a constructive negotiation partner and possible future MS of the European Union⁹⁵. Nevertheless, such changes lasted only for five years until the next presidential elections in Ukraine (2010), when the President of Ukraine became Viktor Yanukovich, a person

⁹⁴ The Orange revolution is the series of protests against corruption and electoral fraud which took place in Ukraine after the Presidential election from November 22, 2004 till January 15, 2005 (author's note).

⁹⁵ Gromadzki Grzegorz, Sushko Oleksandr, Vahl Marius, Wolczuk Kataryna, Wolczuk Roman. (2004) 'Ukraine and the EU after the Orange Revolution', *Stefan Batory Foundation*, December 2004. – p. 3

who used to be an “enemy” of Orange revolution and was believed to become one of the most pro-Russian politicians in Ukrainian history⁹⁶.

Such image of the head of state was immediately transferred to the whole country⁹⁷, causing the change of attitudes both from the international community in general and from the EU in particular. Still new President didn't stop negotiations on Ukraine's accession to the European Union (the latter, however, was made in line with considerable progress in pro-Russian direction, in particular in negotiations of joining the Custom Union with Russia)⁹⁸. Coexistence of pro-European and pro-Russian vectors of Ukrainian foreign policy had its reflection in public affairs of the Ukrainian government, the major message of which was not unambiguous anymore.

As was mentioned above, there are two main actors having considerable influence on the public opinion in Ukraine. They are President and government (Cabinet of Ministers). Since Ukraine is semi-presidential republic⁹⁹, the President possesses a wide range of instruments of influence on Ukrainian society. More specifically President of Ukraine is capable of forming the citizens' attitudes towards the European Union (and concerning any other political issues) in the following ways:

1. Mass-media statements. Archive search at the official web-site of the President of Ukraine¹⁰⁰ showed that media statements are most often used with reference to the questions of EU-Ukrainian relations and the European integration of Ukraine.
2. Decrees of President. Publication of such documents serves not only as official confirmation of certain diplomatic actions, but also can be argued to have a considerable influence on society, since it gives evidence that proclaimed European integration is part of the President's agenda.

It has to be mentioned that this list of communication channels is not complete, but these are the main ways in which mass public usually receives messages from the President.

The second institution, which participates actively in forming public attitudes towards the EU, is government of Ukraine, officially called Cabinet of Ministers. According to Article 106 (9,10) of

⁹⁶ Kusio Taras. (2010) Yanukovich is more pro-Russian Politian than Lukashenko. *Ukrainska Pravda*. 18.11.2010. - <http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/ukr/authors/kuzyo/4ce59418acd90/> (Кусьо Тарас. (2010) Янукович більш проросійський політик, ніж Лукашенко. *Українська Правда*. 18.11. 2010)

⁹⁷ Experts: Yanukovich Transferred His Pro-Russian Image To The Whole Society. (2010) *Ukrnews*. 19.06.2010. - <http://ukranews.com/uk/news/ukraine/2010/06/19/21090> (Експерти: свій проросійський імідж Янукович переніс на всю країну. 2010) *Ukrnews*. 19.06.2010.)

⁹⁸ Perelytsia Grygoriy. (2010) 'Foreign Politics Conclusions of 2010'. *LB. ua*, 29. 12. 2010. - http://world.lb.ua/news/2010/12/29/79292_vneshnyaya_politika_itogi_2010_god.html (Перепелиця Григорій. (2010) 'Зовнішньополітичні підсумки 2010', *LB. ua*, 29. 12. 2010)

⁹⁹ Kusma Tetiana. (2009) 'Forms of Governance in Ukraine: Problematic Questions and Ways of Solution'. *Grani*. #4 (66), July-August 2009. – p. 136 (Кусма Тетяна. (2009) 'Форми врядування в Україні: проблемні питання та шляхи вирішення'. *Грані № 4* (66), липень-серпень 2009)

¹⁰⁰ President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich. Official web-site. - <http://www.prezident.gov.ua/>

the Constitution of Ukraine, Prime-Minister and all ministers are appointed by the President with the consent of the Parliament of Ukraine¹⁰¹. Thus, it might be assumed that this institution of executive power is highly dependent on President.

European integration belongs to key governmental activities. Prime-Minister is the head of Ukrainian part of the Cooperation Council between the EU and Ukraine and Coordinating Council for Adaptation of Ukraine to EU legislation. Cabinet of Ministers is responsible for informing the population of Ukraine¹⁰² about the legislative basis of the EU-Ukrainian cooperation, controlling public organizations responsible for European integration of Ukraine, cooperation with NGOs, as well as publishing education literature and informational bulletins. Government of Ukraine conducts public affairs in the sphere of European integration of Ukraine using the following methods:

1. Publication of orders and resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. These documents form the official legal basis for governmental activities related to European integration of Ukraine.
2. Popularization of agreements between the EU and Ukraine¹⁰³. Since such documents are result of negotiation process, for this research they are relevant only owing to their role in promoting the European integration by the government.
3. Creation of the network of centers of European information¹⁰⁴. These centers are located in all 25 regions of Ukraine and their main task is to inform the population of Ukraine about the European integration.
4. Creation of the network of Euroclubs¹⁰⁵. Euroclubs are youth organizations, the main objective of which is to promote the development of civil society and European integration.
5. Organization of Day of Europe. This is an annual holiday in Ukraine, which takes place on the third Sunday of May since 2003. During this holiday embassies of the EU MS and EU Delegation to Ukraine usually represent their countries/ the EU as a whole in the form of fairs in the big cities of Ukraine¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰¹ Constitution of Ukraine. Chapter 5. Official web-site of the President of Ukraine. - <http://www.president.gov.ua/content/chapter05.html> (Конституція України. Розділ 5. Офіційний сайт Президента України)

¹⁰² Informing of Mass Public. Governmental Portal. - http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article%3fart_id=224150622&cat_id=223561076 (Інформування громадськості. Урядовий портал)

⁹³ European Integration. Governmental Portal. - http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=246229639&cat_id=223223535 (Європейська інтеграція. Урядовий портал)

¹⁰⁴ Network of centers of European information. Official web-site. - <http://ukrcei.org/about>

¹⁰⁵ Euroclubs in Ukraine. Official web-site. - <http://www.euroclubs.org.ua/p/blog-page.html>

¹⁰⁶ Day of Europe in Ukraine. Governmental portal. -

http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?showHidden=1&art_id=223561792&cat_id=223561076 (День Європи в Україні. Урядовий портал)

6. Publication of educational materials¹⁰⁷. Ukrainian government sponsors publication of academic articles and manuals on relevant topics.
7. Publication of related news at the official web-site and governmental press.
8. Publication of informational bulletin “On the way of Ukraine’s integration into the EU”¹⁰⁸.

Thus, the Cabinet of Ministers can be regarded as one of the most influential actors affecting the Ukrainian public opinion with regard to the image of the EU. The following section will be devoted to the content-analysis of the messages concerning the EU of these two public affairs actors.

5.2. Content-Analysis of Official Texts by Ukrainian Government

5.2.1. Decrees and Mass-Media Statements of the President of Ukraine

As it was mentioned above, the activities of President in forming the public attitudes towards the EU are limited to mass-media statements and decrees. The archive at the official web-site of the President of Ukraine contains 17 mass-media statements on topics related to the EU and only two decrees¹⁰⁹. Therefore, in this section both decrees will be analyzed, as well as 2 mass-media statements, selected by simple random sampling¹¹⁰.

Within the time framework of the research Viktor Yanukovich published the following decrees relevant to the EU issues: (1) Decree of the President of Ukraine # 201/2013 “On defense strategy and integration Roma national minority into Ukrainian society till 2020”¹¹¹; (2) Decree of the President of Ukraine # 127/2013 “On Decision of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine of 12 March 2013 "On Urgent Measures for the European Integration of Ukraine””¹¹².

¹⁰⁷ Virtual Library. *Governmental portal*. -

http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article%3fshowHidden=1&art_id=243708369&cat_id=243708237
(Віртуальна бібліотека. Урядовий портал)

¹⁰⁸ Informational bulletin “On the way of Ukraine’s integration into the EU”. (2013) *Governmental portal*. -

http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=246220295&cat_id=246217905 (Інформаційний бюлетень «На шляху до євроінтеграції України», (2013) *Урядовий портал*)

¹⁰⁹ The search was limited to the official web-site of the President of Ukraine, as far as the main interest of this research is the personal message of the President himself, which is fully represented on his personal web-page.

¹¹⁰ The number of mass-media statements to be analyzed was chosen deliberately to equalize it with the number of existing decrees.

¹¹¹ Decree of the President of Ukraine # 201/2013 “On defense strategy and integration into Ukrainian society Roma national minority till 2020”. (2013) *President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich. Official web-site*. -

<http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/15628.html> («Про Стратегію захисту та інтеграції в українське суспільство ромської національної меншини на період до 2020 року». (2013) Президент України Віктор Янукович. Офіційний сайт)

¹¹² Decree of the President of Ukraine # 127/2013 “On Decision of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine of 12 March 2013 "On Urgent Measures for the European Integration of Ukraine””. (2013) *President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich. Official web-site*. - <http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/15520.html> (Про рішення Ради національної безпеки і оборони України від 12 березня 2013 року «Про невідкладні заходи щодо європейської інтеграції України» (2013) Президент України Віктор Янукович. Офіційний сайт)

The content-analysis (for content analysis tables see Appendix IV) showed that in the official decrees of the President of Ukraine the image of the EU is similar to the one constructed by the EU Delegation to Ukraine. Thus, the EU is a promoter of the democratic values, which is the necessity for Ukraine to become a potential member of the European Union.

The different dimension of the EU image might be found in the mass-media statements, which were identified by the random number generator: # 13 “Viktor Yanukovich: Summit in Brussels was an important milestone in bilateral relations between Ukraine and the EU”¹¹³ and # 2 “President: Ukraine is set to soon sign an Association Agreement with the EU”¹¹⁴ (for content analysis tables see Appendix V).

The main distinction in the mass-media statements of the President from all other documents which were mentioned before is the fact that the EU and Ukraine are described as equal partners both of which are able to contribute and add new dimensions to cooperation. Thus, the hierarchical relationship between the EU and Ukraine, where the EU is a giver of financial assistance and promoter of democratic values, whereas Ukraine is only the receiver, is completely demolished here. However, mentioning of traditional roles of these international actors (EU’s assistance and Ukraine’s fulfillment of requirements) is still present.

5.2.2. Orders, Resolutions and Bulletin of Cabinet of Ministers

Cabinet of Ministers is conducting various activities on formulating the image of the EU in Ukraine. In this section the following documents will be analyzed: (1) orders and resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers; (2) related news about the EU; (3) informational bulletin. Within the time framework Ukrainian government has published 11 orders and resolutions on related topic, 60 related news articles and one informational bulletin. It was deliberately chosen to analyze two orders and/or resolutions, two articles with related news and single Eurobulletin. Educational materials mentioned above will be not analyzed, since they do not fit the time frame.

Random number generator chose the resolutions # 11 “Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine № 73-p “Approving the plan of priority measures for the integration of Ukraine into the European Union in 2013””¹¹⁵ and #3 “Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine № 767-

¹¹³ Viktor Yanukovich: Summit in Brussels was an important milestone in bilateral relations between Ukraine and the EU. (2013) *President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich. Official web-site*. 25.02.2013- <http://www.prezident.gov.ua/news/26965.html> (Віктор Янукович: Саміт в Брюсселі був важливим кроком в двосторонніх стосунках між Україною та ЄС. (2013) Президент України Віктор Янукович. Офіційний сайт. 25.02.2013)

¹¹⁴ President: Ukraine is set to soon sign an Association Agreement with the EU. (2012) *President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich. Official web-site*. 09.11.2012- <http://www.prezident.gov.ua/news/26040.html> (Президент: Україна скоро підпише Договір про асоціацію з ЄС. (2012) Президент України Віктор Янукович. Офіційний сайт. 09.11.2012)

¹¹⁵ Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine № 73-p “Approving the plan of priority measures for the integration of Ukraine into the European Union in 2013”. (2013) *Verhovna Rada. Official web-site*. 13.02.2013. -

p “Some issues of institutional reforms in the implementation of the future Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union”¹¹⁶.

Content-analysis of governmental resolutions (for analysis tables see Appendix VI) has showed that the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine is much more concentrated on presenting efficiency of its own work than forming attitudes towards the EU within the Ukrainian society. The European Union is only mentioned as normative benchmark for Ukraine’s development.

Among the related news by simple random sampling articles # 25 “Mykola Azarov: We need to find compromises of cooperation between Ukraine and the EU and CU”¹¹⁷ and # 48 “Ukraine got the right to export poultry products to the EU”¹¹⁸ were chosen for analysis.

Analysis of the related news illuminated an important feature of the Ukrainian foreign policy: the direction of the Ukrainian integration still remains questionable (for content analysis tables see Appendix VII). Whereas this issue is usually kept in shadow in such official documents as decrees and declarations, the news articles, which contain statements of different representatives of Ukrainian Parliament, showed that Ukrainian government wants to develop both pro-Russian and pro-European vectors of its foreign policy, and, thus, is looking for compatibility between them¹¹⁹.

Finally, informational bulletin “On the way of Ukraine’s integration to the EU” # 1 (January-March 2013), consisting of 36 pages of latest achievements in EU-Ukrainian cooperation will be analyzed as a whole.

The content-analysis of the bulletin showed similar results to the previous types of governmental documents (for content analysis tables see Appendix VIII). In its messages Cabinet of Ministers is concentrated on its own image and foreign policy orientation, whereas the cooperation with the European Union is described as top priority, but not the only option. The EU is characterized only from positive side (we can see no criticism from Ukrainian government), which

<http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/73-2013-%D1%80> (Розпорядження Кабінету міністрів України № 73-р «Про затвердження першочергових заходів щодо інтеграції України до Європейського Союзу на 2013 рік» (2013) *Верховна Рада*. 13.02.2013)

¹¹⁶ Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine № 767-р “Some issues of institutional reforms in the implementation of the future Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union”. (2012) *Verhovna Rada*. Official web-site. 10.10. 2012. - <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/767-2012-%D1%80> (Розпорядження Кабінету міністрів України № 767-р «Деякі питання проведення інституційної реформи у сфері виконання майбутньої Угоди про асоціацію з між Україною та Європейським Союзом», (2012) *Верховна Рада*. Офіційний сайт. 10.10. 2012)

¹¹⁷ Mykola Azarov: We need to find compromises in cooperation between Ukraine and the EU and CU. (2012) *Governmental Portal*. 24.12. 2012. - http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=245905012 (Микола Азаров: Необхідно знайти компроміси взаємодії України з ЄС та МС. (2012) *Урядовий портал*, 24.12. 2012)

¹¹⁸ Ukraine got the right to export poultry products to the EU. (2013) *Governmental Portal*. 21.02.2013. - http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=246080561 (Україна отримала право поставляти продукцію птахівництва до Євросоюзу. (2013) *Урядовий портал*. 21.02.2013)

¹¹⁹ ‘Russian factor’ is conventionally believed to raise the costs of European integration for Ukrainian government and, thus, is always present in relevant discussions (Reinhard Janine. EU Democracy Promotion Trough Conditionality in its Neighborhood: the Temptation of Membership Perspective or Flexible Integration? *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 4 (3) – Summer 2010. – p. 209)

was unexpected finding taking into consideration aforementioned pro-Russian character of the Ukrainian government.

5.3. Conclusion

President of Ukraine and its government proved to perform the European Union as an effective partner for cooperation and an international organization, in which membership is the main priority for Ukraine. However, content-analysis has illuminated the differences between the messages of the Ukrainian government and the EU Delegation to Ukraine: whereas the latter defines the EU as normative benchmark, which, nonetheless, is open for help and assistance, for the former the EU is, first of all, an equal partner, the help of which is, of course, welcomed in Ukraine. This alterations in the understanding of normative and cooperation hierarchy is complemented with constant mentioning of Ukraine's "second option", Russia. In sum, the positions of the Ukrainian President and Ukrainian government are very similar: both of them depict the EU as attractive, but equal and not unique partner of Ukraine.

6. UKRAINIAN MASS PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE EU

This paragraph will be focused on the analysis of public opinion polls, using the method of secondary analysis of survey data, which was described in Section 3.2. The main objective of such research is to highlight the attitudes towards the EU, which exist in the Ukrainian society as a whole. Since the reliability of the public opinion polls is a sensitive issue, in this chapter three public polls conducted by the Sociological Group “Rating”, Fond “Democratic Initiatives” and Center of Razumkov will be analyzed. Such approach will help to cross-verify the results of the various surveys and, therefore, to formulate what kind of attitudes towards the EU is applicable for the mass public in Ukraine.

As was mentioned in Chapter 3 the reliability of each poll will be verified according to the following algorithm: firstly, the relevancy of the poll to the research question will be checked, secondly, the origin and quality of the poll will be identified, and thirdly, the sampling technique and errors of each opinion poll will be discussed. After the aforementioned appropriateness check the findings of opinion polls will be analyzed and combined (where applicable) for general conclusions.

6.1. Opinion Poll by Democratic Initiatives Foundation and Center of Razumkov

The first opinion poll to be analyzed was conducted by Democratic Initiatives Foundation and Center of Razumkov, two most respectable sociologic institutions of Ukraine (mentioned in Chapter 3). The poll took place on January 21 till 24, 2014 and covered 2009 respondents aged more than 18 years in all regions (oblasts) of Ukraine, Kyiv city and AR Crimea according to the sampling which represents adult population of Ukraine with regard to major social and demographic indicators. Theoretical sampling error (without design effect) did not exceed 2.3% with a probability of 0.95120. The opinion poll was sponsored by the UNITER project (Ukraine National Initiatives to Enhance Reforms), subsidiary program of USAID¹²¹. Therefore, the aforementioned information represents merits to consider this opinion poll reliable and suitable for the given research.

The opinion poll covered attitudes of the Ukrainian society towards the EU, NATO, Customs Union and other international organizations. These attitudes will be mentioned, however, in the

¹²⁰ The EU or Customs Union? What do the citizens want? (2013) *National Opinion Poll. Democratic Initiatives Foundation*. Official web-site. January 10, 2013. - http://dif.org.ua/ua/polls/2013-year/es-chi-mitnii-soyuz_-kudi-hochut-iti-gromadjani_---zagalnonacionalne-opituvannja-.htm (ЄС чи Митний союз? Куди хочуть іти громадяни? - загальнонаціональне опитування (2013) Фонд «Демократичні ініціативи». Офіційний сайт. 10 січня 2013)

¹²¹ UNITER. Official web-site. - <http://uniter.org.ua/en/index.html>

following analysis only perceptions of the EU will be allocated, as far as only this question is relevant for the research.

The poll has showed that the biggest part of the Ukrainian population appeared to be EU-oriented, however, the support for the Eastern direction of accession is also considerable (for opinion poll figures see Appendix IX). Division by regions illuminated even more diverse attitudes.

According to the poll findings, less than a half of Ukrainian population supports the idea of Ukraine's European integration¹²². The difference between the percentage of the population supporting the EU and the Customs Union is only 8%, which illuminates the existence of gap within the Ukrainian society between the pro-European and pro-Russian orientations. Especially visible this division becomes in case of regional preferences: whereas Western and Central Ukraine remains traditionally supportive for European integration, Eastern and Southern regions are oriented at integration with Russia. These particularities of foreign policy preferences of Ukrainian population reflect the position of the Ukrainian government, mentioned in the previous chapter. A government's ambition of balancing between two influential international actors (the EU and Russia) results in the almost equal division within the society. Worth noticing that within public diplomacy in Ukraine the existence of this problem is almost never mentioned (except for rare press statements of the Head of Delegation).

On the other hand, while identifying the major steps of European integration Ukrainians tend to express the ideas, which are often mentioned by the EU Delegation to Ukraine. They are electoral legislation, selective judiciary and other problems related to politically motivated suitcases in Ukraine. Therefore, it might be assumed that Ukrainians associate with the European Union such values as fair and equitable judicial system, as well as with transparent elections.

With regard to the information stated above, it must be, however, stated that a considerable proportion of Ukrainian society has not distinct opinion on the EU (22,4%) which indicates not only the low level of political participation of the mass public, but also limited influence on the society by all interested parties in general.

¹²² Such modest support of European integration is not a new trend. It was already noticed by Vanderhill Rachel in 2008 (Vanderhill Rachel (2008) The EU and Non-accession States: the Cases of Belarus and Ukraine. International Studies Association Annual Meeting. Conference Paper. March 2008. – p.18)

6.2. Opinion Poll of Sociologic Group “Rating”

The second opinion poll to be analyzed was conducted by the sociologic group “Rating” in October, 1-14, 2012, and March, 15-28, 2013¹²³. Since the methodology in both cases was the same, the following section will include comparison of two time periods and trace the development of attitudes within the Ukrainian society. These opinion polls are of particular value for the given research since its time frame is close to one of the thesis.

Both times the opinion polls covered 2000 respondents, who belong to the Ukrainian population aged 18 and more; as a method of collecting data the personal formalized interview according to questionnaire (face to face) was employed. Error of representativeness doesn't exceed 2,2% (with the probability of 0,95).

The overall analysis shows that more than half of the Ukrainian population prefers European integration, in particular, in comparison with other options, namely NATO and Customs Union (for opinion poll figures see Appendix X). These statistics only differ from the opinion poll which was analyzed previously by 2-3% in different sections. With regard to the stated error of 2.3% and 2.2%, both of them can be considered reliable, as far as their findings verify each other. In sum, it might be concluded that approximately 50% of Ukrainians support the EU integration of Ukraine, 33 % oppose it and 13-14% have no opinion about the accession.

Since the opinion polls were conducted by the sociological group “Rating” one month after the beginning of the time frame of the given research and one month before its end, it, in fact, represents the attitude changes which took place within the Ukrainian society during the first eight months of work of Jan Tombinski as the Head of the EU Delegation to Ukraine. Despite the fact that the existence of the influence of the EU Delegation on the Ukrainian population has not been proved yet, it is possible to trace the altering within this timeframe.

The total amount of people supporting the EU integration decreased by 2%, whereas the proportion of those, who oppose Ukraine's accession to the EU, grew by 3%. Therefore, there is a slide decline of pro-European orientation, which is a sign of both a temporary fluctuation and a real deterioration of attitudes of Ukrainian citizens towards the EU.

The bar charts signal that more Ukrainians consider European integration to be more profitable than integration in the Customs Union. It is also worth mentioning that the amount of people with no distinct opinion on the topic experienced sharp decrease, which might be the result

¹²³At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group “Rating”*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf (На роздоріжжі або інтеграційні ребуси. (2013) *Соціологічна група «Рейтинг»*, квітень 2013)

of the active promotional work of both the EU Delegation to Ukraine and the Ukrainian government.

The report on the opinion poll states that every fifth Ukrainian who supports the EU accession of Ukraine also supports Ukraine's joining of the Customs Union. The latter might be reason behind the high percentage of those who think of the Customs Union as about the profitable integration direction for Ukraine.

The regional division replicates the information from the previous opinion poll: the West of Ukraine is traditionally pro-European, whereas the East is pro-Russian. The gap between foreign policy orientations is larger than in the previous opinion poll: from 72% of the population supporting Association Agreement in the West to 17% in the South. It might be assumed that this is not only the result of closeness to the respective borders, but also of the level of influence the Ukrainian government and the EU Delegation to Ukraine have in these regions. Despite the fact that neither of them mentions any regional priority in official statements and other materials which were analyzed in previous chapters, it must be highlighted that the absence of special programs conducted in these regions limits the potential possibilities.

As the opinion poll showed, Ukrainians consider joining the EU as the possibility to advance their own economic well-being, improve democracy in the country and gain educational and travelling benefits. Thus, the attitudes of Ukrainians resemble the ones promoted by the EU Delegation to Ukraine. In contrast to the message of the Ukrainian government there is no mentioning of the possibilities of equal partnership or of balancing with the Customs Union.

The opinion poll conducted by the sociological group "Rating" also included information on the attitudes of the Ukrainian population towards the future and the main characteristics of the EU. A significant proportion of Ukrainians believes in the stability and slow enlargement of the EU (27%). Almost the same part of Ukrainian population has no opinion on this topic, which again identifies lack of information. The amount of euro-skeptics, who do not believe in the future development of the EU at all, is relatively high, 9%

Almost quarter of Ukrainian citizens are convinced that Ukraine will never join the EU and another quarter that accession will not take place in long time. Thus, the statements of the Ukrainian government that Ukraine has all chances to integrate into the EU are limitedly received by the society.

The characteristics of the EU given by the Ukrainians coincide with the ones promoted by the EU. They are economic stability, respect to human rights, democratic values, state's security and economic development. On the other hand Ukrainians are conscious of economic crises and active

immigration, the facts omitted both by the Ukrainian government and the EU Delegation to Ukraine.

Apparently the largest proportion of Ukrainian population does not want to live in the EU as immigrants. However, the latter might be motivated not by the unattractiveness of the living conditions in the EU, but also by patriotism and right ideology (nationalism, for example) which are popular in Ukraine. One fifth of Ukrainians want to live in the EU and, thus, it might be concluded that in general positive opinion about the EU is present.

6.3. Conclusion

The aforementioned secondary analysis of the opinion polls allows to conclude that the Ukrainian society prefers the route of EU integration to any other, however, there is no overwhelming majority. Within the timeframe of the given research there was a slight decline in pro-European orientation (between October 2012 and March 2013), which shows that Euroscepticism tend to gain slight popularity among the Ukrainian population. In addition, the list of the EU characteristics showed that Ukrainians have the same views about the main features of the EU as offered in the message of the EU Delegation to Ukraine, and at the same time there are no mentionings about the equality and effective partnership between the EU and Ukraine, as offered by the Ukrainian government.

7. UKRAINIAN PUBLIC OPINION LEADERS' VIEWS OF THE EU

This chapter will be devoted to the content analysis of texts produced by the leaders of the public opinion in Ukraine. The main objective of the chapter is to identify what kinds of attitudes towards the European Union exist among three main sub-groups of the Ukrainian public opinion leaders (as was mentioned in Chapter 3), i.e. journalists, political scientists and political experts in the relevant field. After illuminating their vision of the EU, it will be possible to compare these findings with the messages concerning the EU produced by the EU Delegation to Ukraine and Ukrainian government and make conclusions about the existing effects of EU public diplomacy.

Each sub-group will be represented by the five individuals chosen deliberately on the basis of their background, diversity of ideological beliefs and relevance of their work to the purposes of the research. In the following analysis the author will consider the representativeness of their attitudes to be directly proportional to the frequency of author's appearances in mass-media. In the case of each author one text will be analyzed. This text will be chosen on the basis of simple random sampling conducted according to the full list of the author's publications available online and in printed format.

7.1. Journalists

Ukrainian journalists whose articles cover EU-related questions proved to have considerable influence on the public opinion in Ukraine¹²⁴. Therefore, the message produced by the journalists is essential element of public opinion construction. The following section is representing the findings of the content-analysis of the articles written from September 2012 till May 2013 by five influential Ukrainian journalists. After the revision of the Ukrainian magazines and newspapers (i.e. Focus¹²⁵, Komentari¹²⁶, Ukrainian Week¹²⁷, Day¹²⁸, Ukrainska Pravda¹²⁹, Dzerkalo Tyzhnia¹³⁰) the following journalists were chosen:

1. Oleksandr Savytsky. The articles of this journalist are mainly devoted to the overview and analysis of European Integration of Ukraine. During the research time frame he wrote 79

¹²⁴ Mykytiv Olga. (2010) Manipulative Influence of Mass Media on Individual Culture and Consciousness. Advertisement and PR. Vol.40, July-September 2010. – p. 174 (Микитів Ольга. (2010) Маніпулятивний вплив мас-медіа на індивідуальну культуру та свідомість. Реклама та ПР. Т. 40, липень-вересень 2010)

¹²⁵ "Focus" Magazine, 2008-2013. - <http://focus.ua/>

¹²⁶ "Komentari" Magazine, 2013 - <http://comments.ua/>

¹²⁷ "Ukrainian Week" Newspaper, 2007 – 2013. - <http://tyzhden.ua/>

¹²⁸ "Day" Newspaper, 1997 – 2013. - <http://www.day.kiev.ua>

¹²⁹ "Ukrainska Pravda" Newspaper, 2000 – 2013. - <http://www.pravda.com.ua>

¹³⁰ "Dzerkalo Tyzhnia", Newspaper, 1994 – 2013. - <http://dt.ua/>

articles on the topics related to the European Union¹³¹. Random Number Generator chose article #51 “Laws under Pressure of Association Agreement - Imitation of European Integration?”¹³², published on April 29, 2013 by the “Civil Space”.

2. Tetiana Nebesko. This author writes mainly about economics and migration both in the EU and Ukraine. Within the time framework of this research she published 105 articles on the topics related to the EU¹³³. By simple random sampling article # 82 “European approach: “Why doesn’t Ukraine use immigration for economic and cultural enrichment?”¹³⁴, published on 9 March 2013 by the Day Newspaper.
3. Evgen Solonyna. The articles of Evgen Solonyna are mostly devoted to the conflict between the citizens and government of Ukraine. Within the research time framework the number of his articles with regard to the EU accounted to 65¹³⁵. The Random Number Generator chose article # 12 for the content-analysis: “Ukrainians want to join the EU, the government only declares it”¹³⁶, published on 16 December 2012 by the Dzerkalo Tyzhnia Newspaper.
4. Olena Perepadia. The majority of articles of this author are based on the Eurosceptic approach to the European integration of Ukraine. During the time framework of this research she published 89 articles¹³⁷. By simple random sampling it was chosen to analyze article # 80: “Crisis spreads the virus of euroscepticism”¹³⁸, published on April 29, 2013 by the Ukrainska Pravda.
5. Kostiantyn Eleseev. The articles by Kostiantyn Eleseev deal with various dimensions of the EU-Ukraine relationship, covering politics, economics, migration and culture. During the research time framework this author wrote 92 articles on the relevant topic. The article #48 to be analyzed in this chapter was chosen by Random Number Generator: “Seven myths

¹³¹ As counted by State archive search engine on 09.05.2013

¹³² Savytsky Oleksandr. (2013) ‘Laws under Pressure of Association Agreement - Imitation of European Integration?’. *Civil Space*. 29.04.2013. - <http://eu.prostir.ua/news/257462.html> (Савицький Олександр. (2013) ‘Законои під тиском угоди про асоціацію - імітація євроінтеграції?’, *Громадський простір*. 29.04.2013)

¹³³ As counted by State archive search engine on 09.05.2013

¹³⁴ Nebesko Tetiana. (2013) ‘European Approach: Why Doesn’t Ukraine Use Immigration For Economic And Cultural Enrichment?’, *Day Newspaper*, 09.03.2013. – p. 4 (Небеско Тетяна. (2013) ‘Європейський підхід: Чому Україна не використовує імміграцію для економічного і культурного збагачення?’, *Газета «День»*, 09.03.2013)

¹³⁵ As counted by State archive search engine on 09.05.2013

¹³⁶ Solonyna Evgen. (2012) ‘Ukrainians Want To Join The EU, the Government Only Declares It’. *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia*, 16.12.2012. – p.15 (Солонина Євген. (2012) ‘Українці хочуть приєднатися до ЄС, уряд тільки проголошує це’, *Дзеркало тижня*. 16.12.2012)

¹³⁷ As counted by State archive search engine on 09.05.2013

¹³⁸ Perepadia Olena. (2013) ‘Crisis Spreads The Virus Of Euroscepticism’, *Ukrainska Pravda*, 29.04.2013. - <http://www.pravda.com.ua/inozmi/deutsche-welle/2013/04/29/6989143/> (Перепадя Олена. (2013) ‘Криза поширює вірус євроскептицизму’, *Українська правда*, 29.04.2013)

about the Association agreement between the EU and Ukraine”¹³⁹, published on January 9, 2013 by the Ukrainian Week.

Out of five articles which were analyzed two hold pro-European attitudes, two were neutral and one was eurosceptic (for content analysis see Appendix XI). If to take into consideration the findings of the public opinion polls, the articles proved to be representative for the society in which the attitudes towards the EU are almost equally positive and negative, whereas one fifth of the population has no distinct opinion on the topic.

In general the content analysis showed that some journalists represent belief in the welfare, stability and active further development of the EU, both political and economic. They find numerous reasons for Ukraine to become MS, as well as to sign the Association Agreement. In addition there are strong statements in support for joining the EU without further argumentation.

On the other hand, Euroscepticists admit that EU economic prosperity still remains questionable, especially with regard to the crisis. Moreover, they note that Ukraine has numerous domestic economic, political and legal problems which might harm the smooth accession. Thus, journalists clearly reflect the views of the part of the society, who oppose the European integration of Ukraine.

In sum, content analysis of the articles by various Ukrainian journalists illuminated the existence of debate between the representatives of pro-European and Eurosceptic views. This gap highlights the presence of discourse which is never mentioned by both the EU Delegation to Ukraine and the Ukrainian government, i.e. Euroscepticism. Thus, it is possible to assume that the attitudes towards the European Union within the Ukrainian public opinion leaders is formed not only by these two institutions.

7.2. Researchers

Researchers do not have direct impact on the society as a whole. However, they can influence the EU Delegation to Ukraine and the Ukrainian government¹⁴⁰. Since the research interest of the thesis is to illuminate the effects of the aforementioned influence, there is a need for the content analysis of the academic materials produced by various scientists on the territory of Ukraine within the framework of the given research.

After the search through the academic journals which are produced and published at the territory of Ukraine, the following authors were deliberately chosen from the wide range of

¹³⁹ Eliseev Kostiantyn. (2013) ‘Seven Myths About The Association Agreement Between The EU And Ukraine’, *Ukrainian Week*, 09.01.2013. – p. 26 (Слесеев Костянтин (2013) ‘Сім міфів про Угоду про Асоціацію між Україною та ЄС’, *Український тиждень*, 09.01.2013)

¹⁴⁰ Rudych Feliks. (2003) ‘Political Science in Ukraine: Condition and Perspectives’. *Politychny menedzhment*, #1. – p. 15 (Рудич Фелікс. (2003) ‘Політична наука в Україні: Стан і перспективи’. *Політичний менеджмент*, № 1)

scientists working on the research related to the EU Studies on the basis of the relevance of their academic work to the purposes of the research:

1. Dmytro Pokryshka, PhD in Economics, the Head of the Department of Economic Strategy Studies of the President's National University of Strategy Research; research interests of the given researcher are concentrated on the state security and economic strategy, in particular within the framework of EU-Ukraine cooperation¹⁴¹. From September 2012 till May 2013 he published 4 articles on the relevant topic. Article # 2 was randomly chosen for the analysis: "Trade relations Ukraine with the EU under global uncertainty", published on November 27, 2012 in *Strategichni Priorityty*¹⁴².
2. Iulia Mysliuk, PhD in Political Science, Stephanyk National University. The research interest of this author is devoted to the integration processes in the EU and regionalization. Within the stated time framework she published 3 articles. Article # 1 was chosen by Random Number Generator: "Model of Integration in the European Union", published on December 10, 2012 in the *Politychny Menedzhment*¹⁴³.
3. Leonid Melnyk. PhD in Political Science, Professor, Head of the Department of Political Science of Sumy National University. This researcher works in the sphere of European integration processes on the territory of CIS, in particular in such political sectors as legislation adaptation, environmental and sustainability policy, as well as innovational administrative mechanisms. During the research time framework he published two articles, the first of which was chosen by simple random sampling: "Experience of the EU in Forming of Sustainability Innovation Strategy", published on September 3, 2012 in *Marketyngh and Menedzhment Innovatsiy*¹⁴⁴.
4. Tetiana Sydoruk, PhD in History, Associate professor, National University of "Ostrozka Akademiya". The academic interest of this researcher is devoted to negotiation theory, European integration of Ukraine and Comparative Political Studies. Within the time frame of this research she wrote five articles; in the following content analysis article #3 will be used: "An in-depth analysis of negotiations for a New Based Agreement between the

¹⁴¹ Department of Economic Strategy Studies, *President's National University of Strategy Research*. - http://www.niss.gov.ua/economic_strategy.html (Кафедра економічних стратегічних досліджень, Національний університет стратегічних досліджень при Президенті України)

¹⁴² Pokryshka Dmytro. (2012) 'Trade Relations Of Ukraine With The EU Under Global Uncertainty', *Strategichni Priorityty*, №5 (27), November 2012. – pp. 18-31 (Покришка Дмитро. (2012) 'Торгові відносини між Україною та ЄС в умовах глобальної нестабільності', *Стратегічні пріоритети*, № 5 (27), листопад 2012)

¹⁴³ Mysliuk Iulia. (2012) 'Model Of Integration In The European Union', *Politychny Menedzhment*, № 6 (9), 2012. – pp. 104-131 (Мислюк Юлія. (2012) 'Модель інтеграції в Європейському Союзі', *Політичний менеджмент*, № 6 (9), 2012)

¹⁴⁴ Melnyk Leonid. (2012) 'Experience of the EU in Forming of Sustainability Innovation Strategy'. *Marketyngh and Menedzhment Innovatsiy*, № 9, September 2012. – pp. 190-200 (Мельник Леонід. (2012) 'Досвід ЄС у формуванні інноваційної стратегії сталого розвитку', *Маркетинг і менеджмент інновацій*, № 9, вересень 2012)

European Union and Ukraine”, published on April 15, 2013 in *Naukovy Visnyk Ostrozkoyi Akademiyi*¹⁴⁵.

5. Roman Petrov, PhD in Law, Associate Professor, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. The research interest of Roman Petrov mainly covers such topics as decision making processes, principles and legal standards of the European law. During the stated time framework he published three articles, the third of which will be analyzed: ”Participation of Third Countries in Decision Making Process in the EU”, published on March 11, 2013 in *Naukovi Zapyski of Institute of Legislature of Verhovna Rada of Ukraine*¹⁴⁶.

The content analysis showed that in academic debate within Ukraine the attitudes and judgments concerning the EU vary considerably and the question of the necessity of European integration of Ukraine still remains open (for content analysis tables Appendix XII). There is no united message or type of attitude towards the EU among the researchers.

The discussion of the level of stability of the EU politics and economics is also present, indicating the existence of Eurosceptic views among the Ukrainian researchers. However, the majority of articles (four out of five) proved to be pro-European, describing various benefits from the European integration for Ukraine. In addition, no mentioning of the political and economic crises or difficulties in the EU requirements implementation by Ukraine was found in the aforementioned texts. Thus, the Ukrainian researchers appeared to be optimistic about political and economic improvement in Ukraine, similarly to Ukrainian government. The normative discourse, based on values and ideologies mentioning, was also met in the academic articles, which constructs a link between them and relevant messages produced by the EU Delegation to Ukraine.

Worth noticing, that the concepts of mutual cooperation and European integration are not conflicting with each other, since they might be met in the same article. It can be assumed that they are perceived as complementary forms of communication between the EU and Ukraine. The latter is the idea which is not met neither in the messages of the EU Delegation to Ukraine, nor in the messages of the Ukrainian government.

In general the content analysis showed that the Ukrainian researchers are almost equally affected by two aforementioned institutions. Their attitudes towards the EU hold the normative

¹⁴⁵ Sydoruk Tetiana. (2013) ‘An in-depth analysis of negotiations for a New Based Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine’. *Naukovy Visnyk Ostrozkoyi Akademiyi*, №3 (15), April 2013. – pp. 35-46 (Сидорук Тетяна (2013) ‘Глибинний аналіз переговорів щодо Нового Базового договору між Європейським Союзом та Україною’, *Науковий вісник Острозькою академії* №3 (15), квітень 2013)

¹⁴⁶ Petrov Roman. (2013) ‘Participation of Third Countries in Decision Making Process in the EU’, *Naukovi Zapyski of Institute of Legislature of Verhovna Rada of Ukraine*, № 2 (9), March 2013. – pp. 167-177 (Петров Роман. (2013) ‘Участь третіх країн в процесі прийняття рішень в ЄС’, *Наукові записки Інституту законодавства Верховної Ради України*, № 2 (9), березень 2013)

approach and contain statements about the welfare in the EU, which are also mentioned in the messages by the EU Delegation to Ukraine. In the same time, the emphasis on mutual cooperation rather than on integration, as well as on rapid political and economic development of Ukraine indicates the difference in views with the aforementioned institution.

7.3. Experts

The level of expert influence always remains high owing to the fact that they have access to various political institutions, starting from government and ending with specifically oriented NGOs¹⁴⁷. The attitude towards the EU by the political experts has particular importance within the Ukrainian society, since they have direct influence on both mass public of Ukraine (through mass media) and the Ukrainian government (through consultations and expert advice). Therefore, in order to describe the perceptions towards the EU by the public opinion leaders in Ukraine, this sub-group must be analyzed.

The selection of experts for the content analysis was conducted on the basis of the rating of Ukrainian political experts, designed by the Fond of “Democratic Initiatives”¹⁴⁸, with regard to the relevancy of topics which they cover in their articles and comments. The following list was formed:

1. Vadym Karasiov, PhD in Political Science, political strategist and analyst, director of the Institute of Global Strategies. Vadym Karasiov is mainly working in the sphere of international relations, electoral politics and policy and institutional design¹⁴⁹. Within the time framework of this research he produced 105 comments and articles on the relevant topic¹⁵⁰. Random Number Generator chose comment # 99, which was given orally on April 26, 2013 at the famous Ukrainian TV show “Shuster Live”¹⁵¹.
2. Valeriy Chalyy, PhD in International Relations, Deputy Director General for International Affairs at Center Razumkova. In his comments and articles Valeriy Chalyy covers the topics of EU politics, Association agreement, democratic development and visa policy¹⁵².

¹⁴⁷ Lindvall Johannes. (2009) ‘The Real But Limited Influence of Expert Ideas’. *World Politics*. October 2009, Vol. 61, Issue 4 – p. 726

¹⁴⁸ Rating of Political Experts of Ukraine. (2013) *Fond of “Democratic Initiatives”*. March, 17. - http://dif.org.ua/ua/commentaries/expert_opinion/ (Рейтинг політичних експертів України. (2003) *Фонд «Демократичні Ініціативи»*, березень 17)

¹⁴⁹ Karasiov Vadym. Biography. (2013) *Platforma*. - <http://platfor.ma/lecturers/4e0c2f4bc4874/> (Карасьов Вадим. Біографія (2013) *Платформа*)

¹⁵⁰ As counted by State archive search engine on 09.05.2013

¹⁵¹ Karasiov Vadym. (2013) ‘Ukraine is not allowed to join the EU’. *Zahid.net*. 26.04.2013. - http://zahid.net/home/showSingleNews.do?ukrayini_ne_dayut_vstupiti_v_yes_ekspert&objectId=1283995 (Карасьов Вадим. (2013) ‘Україні не дають приєднатися до ЄС’. *Zahid.net*. 26.04.2013)

¹⁵² Chalyy Valeriy. Biography. (2013) *Centre Razumkova*. - http://www.razumkov.org.ua/ukr/show_exp.php?ex=22 (Чалий Валерій. Біографія (2013) Центр Разумкова)

From September 2012 till May 2013 he produced 88 texts relevant for this research¹⁵³. It was chosen to analyze the public lecture (text # 87) which was given on April 13, 2013 within EU Study Days (educational project in EU Studies)¹⁵⁴.

3. Oleksandr Sushko, PhD in Political Science, director of the Institute of Euro-Atlantic Cooperation. Professional interests of the expert are analysis of European integration, EU-Ukraine relations, NATO-Ukraine relations, external, internal and security policy of Ukraine¹⁵⁵. During the research time framework he produced 76 texts available for the content analysis¹⁵⁶. By simple random sampling the text # 24 was chosen: “Will the vector of Ukraine's integration change?”, this video comment was given on December 14, 2012 for Glavkom¹⁵⁷.
4. Volodymyr Fesenko, PhD in Philosophy, Head of the Center of Applied Political Studies "Penta". His sphere of interest covers European integration of Ukraine, legislature procedures in Ukraine and foreign policy of Ukraine¹⁵⁸. Over the stated time framework he wrote 40 texts relevant for this analysis¹⁵⁹. The text # 22 will be analyzed: “Ukraine's relations with the EU come out of the crisis”, published on February 27, 2013 by Center of Applied Political Studies "Penta"¹⁶⁰.
5. Oleksiy Garan, PhD in History, Scientific Director of the School of Political Analysis. As an expert he is interested in politics of CIS, EU-Ukrainian relations and energy politics¹⁶¹. During the time framework of this research he produced 91 texts available for content analysis¹⁶². The text # 12 “Customs Union will create pressure on Ukraine, but it will not close European prospect”, published on October 17, 2012 by Ukrinform¹⁶³.

¹⁵³ As counted by State archive search engine on 09.05.2013

¹⁵⁴ Chalyy Valeriy. (2013) ‘Political Aspects of European Integration’. *EU Study days in Ukraine*. 22.04.2013. - <http://eustudydays.com/2013/04/22/chalyi-2/> (Чалий Валерій. (2013) ‘Політичні аспекти європейської інтеграції’, *EU Study days in Ukraine*. 22.04.2013)

¹⁵⁵ Sushko Oleksandr. Biography. (2013) *Novyy Gromadianyn*. - <http://newcitizen.org.ua/content/%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BA%D1%81%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B4%D1%80-%D1%81%D1%83%D1%88%D0%BA%D0%BE> (Сушко Олександр. Біографія. (2013) *Новий громадянин*)

¹⁵⁶ As counted by State archive search engine on 09.05.2013

¹⁵⁷ Sushko Oleksandr. (2012) ‘Will the vector of Ukraine's integration change?’, *Glavkom*, 14.12.2012. - <http://glavcom.ua/vblog/3674.html> (Сушко Олександр. (2012) ‘Чи зміниться вектор української інтеграції?’, *Главком*, 14.12.2012)

¹⁵⁸ Fesenko Volodymyr. Biography. (2013) *Liga Information Agency*. - <http://file.liga.net/person/902-vladimir-fesenko.html> (Фесенко Володимир. Біографія (2013) Інформаційне агентство «Ліга»)

¹⁵⁹ As counted by State archive search engine on 09.05.2013

¹⁶⁰ Fesenko Volodymyr. (2013) ‘Ukraine's relations with the EU come out of the crisis’, *Center of Applied Political Studies "Penta"*, 27.02.2013. - http://penta.org.ua/expert_comments/820/ (Фесенко Володимир. (2013) ‘Українські стосунки з ЄС виходять з кризи’, Центр прикладних політичних досліджень «Пента», 27.02.2013)

¹⁶¹ Garan Oleksiy. Biography. (2013) *School of Political Analysis*. - <http://www.spa.ukma.kiev.ua/staticpages/index.php?page=20090202162337199> (Гарань Олексій. Біографія (2013) *Школа політичної аналітики*)

¹⁶² As counted by State archive search engine on 09.05.2013

¹⁶³ Garan Oleksiy. (2012) ‘Customs Union will create pressure on Ukraine, but it will not close European prospect’, *Fond “Demokratychni Initsiatyvy”*, 17.10.2012. - http://dif.org.ua/ua/commentaries/expert_opinion/oleksii-garan/na-

The content analysis showed that the main topic which is situated in the focus of interest of Ukrainian political experts is the question of the possibilities of signing the Association Agreement (for content analysis tables see Appendix XIII). In fact, in contrast to all previous sub-groups of opinion leaders, the experts discuss the prospects and challenges of the European integration of Ukraine within the aforementioned theme. The latter, logically, defines their attitude to the EU in general.

Thus, according to the findings of the content analysis, the experts hold pro-European views: they acknowledge the necessity of rapid European integration, which will result in modernization of Ukraine, development of democracy and the rule of law and which corresponds with the interests of political and economic elites of Ukraine.

In contrast to Ukrainian government, which emphasizes on the possibility of balancing between the EU and the Customs Union, experts believe that Ukraine has to choose single integration direction, the EU. Such position resembles one of the EU Delegation to Ukraine.

Similarly to the researchers' sub-group the experts do not mention about the defects of Ukrainian political, economic and legal systems, but rather are very optimistic about the current achievements in meeting the EU requirements. Nevertheless, they are mentioning about "mutual mistakes" of both parties (Ukraine and the EU), which shows that the attitudes towards the European integration is not purely optimistic.

In sum, Ukrainian experts consider the EU to be attractive integration vector, which is highly beneficial for Ukrainian government, business and mass public, and which can guarantee political independence and sufficient live standards.

7.4. Conclusion

The public opinion leaders of Ukraine showed overwhelmingly positive attitudes towards the European Union. In particular, they emphasized on the economic and political stability, welfare and high development of democratic institutions. Researchers highlighted the importance of EU values and standards, similarly to the EU Delegation to Ukraine. However, the views of the part of journalists proved to be Eurosceptic, which indicates the existence of diversity of EU perceptions in Ukraine. For public opinion leaders Ukraine has made considerable achievements in fulfilling Association requirements, and, thus, there is a high chance of signing the Association agreement. Since the EU is the only integration direction which is discussed by the public opinion leaders, the possible accession is also regarded as positive improvement.

8. EFFECTS OF THE EU PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON UKRAINIAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE EU

Four previous chapters showed how the European Union is presented and promoted by the EU Delegation to Ukraine and Ukrainian government, as well as how it is viewed by Ukrainian mass public and opinion leaders. The naked eye can see that the aforementioned visions of the EU overlap each other in many cases. The latter definitely indicates the existence of links between the EU Delegation's work within the framework of public diplomacy and the existing attitudes towards the EU in the Ukrainian society, in other words, the effects the EU Representation has on the EU perceptions forming in the target foreign audience of Ukraine.

This chapter will be devoted to the illumination of analogies between the message of the EU Delegation to Ukraine concerning the image of the EU and the existing views on the EU within Ukrainian mass public and public opinion leaders. Each analogy is supposed to give evidence that EU has a definite influence on the constructing Ukrainian vision of the EU.

The aforementioned message of the Ukrainian government concerning the EU image will be used in the analysis for distinguishing exclusive effects of the EU public diplomacy from those, construction of which might have different, namely inner Ukrainian reasons.

The following illumination of effects will be conducted within four areas of Ukrainian perceptions of the EU, which were repeatedly mentioned throughout the research: (1) the EU as integration vector; (2) Welfare and stability in the EU; (3) EU – assistant; (4) Values and standards of the EU.

8.1. The EU As Integration Vector

Since Ukraine is situated on the Eastern border of the EU and negotiations about the possible accession have a long history¹⁶⁴, the EU proved to be regarded by the Ukrainians mainly as the integration direction. Logically, nationwide support of such foreign policy orientation indicates the existence of strong positive attitude towards the EU. Analysis in Chapter 4 gave explicit evidence of the fact that promotion of the benefits of European integration is the priority dimension of the EU Delegation's work within the framework of public diplomacy. Thus, the following section will be devoted to tracing the connections between the EU Delegation's official message concerning the European integration and Ukrainian perception of this topic.

¹⁶⁴ Osadcha N.V. (2011) 'Characteristics of the Process of Integration of Ukraine to the European Union', *Ekonomichnyy Visnyk Donbasu*, №3 (25). – p. 71

The EU Delegation's public diplomacy is aimed at promoting European integration as the only possible foreign policy direction for Ukraine, which is capable of bringing numerous benefits, such as "strengthening the legal system", "country modernization", "knowledge and innovation"¹⁶⁵, etc. As a result strong positive image of the EU integration is formed, within which the EU is regarded as the giver of the aforementioned advantages and Ukraine (in case of accession) is the receiver of them¹⁶⁶.

Such vision of the purposes and characteristics of the European integration is widely accepted by Ukrainian population. Thus, all opinion polls show that the biggest proportion of Ukrainian citizens support the European integration as such and associate with it economic and political development, personal benefits and wealth¹⁶⁷. The situation is slightly different among leaders of the public opinion, among which the Eurosceptic views proved to exist. Thus, they often refer to the economic and political crisis in the EU and express doubts concerning the future integration of Ukraine. However, among them there are journalists and researchers who claim that "European integration is the main direction of development of the continent", who call to pursue the goal of "Europeanization", and for whom "European integration means modernization"¹⁶⁸ too¹⁶⁹.

Since the Ukrainian government is constantly emphasizing the existence of the equal partnership between the EU and Ukraine, vision of the European integration as the source of numerous advantages constitutes a clear analogy with the official message of the EU Delegation to Ukraine and might be indicated as its effect on Ukrainian attitudes.

It must be emphasized that the European integration in Ukrainian is divided into two stages (or themes) which are usually discussed separately from each other: the association of Ukraine with the EU and accession to the EU. Within the time framework of the research the former was regarded by the EU Delegation to Ukraine as close perspective, whereas the latter as quite theoretical possibility (see Sections 4.2.1. and 4.2.2).

The same approach to these two steps of European integration can also be seen in the answers of mass public in the polls which were analyzed in Chapter 6. Thus, 46% of Ukrainian population

¹⁶⁵ These are the citations of content analysis meaning units from Chapter 4

¹⁶⁶ The EU policy of integration's promotion is sometimes considered to be a tool to inspire democratic change in the target country (as mentioned in Reinhard Janine. EU Democracy Promotion Through Conditionality in its Neighborhood: the Temptation of Membership Perspective or Flexible Integration? *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 4 (3) – Summer 2010. – p. 205 and Gawrich Andrea, Melnykovska Inna, Schweickert Rainer. (2010) 'Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP: The Case of Ukraine', *JCMS* 2010 Volume 48. Number 5. – p. 1212) Taking into consideration the level of spread of democratic values within the Ukrainian society and relatively low support of complete integration even if such intentions of EU public diplomacy existed they appeared to be unsuccessful.

¹⁶⁷ For more details see Chapter 6

¹⁶⁸ These are the citations of the content meaning units from Chapter 7

¹⁶⁹ Ukrainian positive approach to the EU integration and the existence of hopes for future membership were highlighted also by other researchers, for example by Rikard Bengtsson (Rikard Bengtsson. (2008) *Constructing Interfaces: the Neighbourhood Discourse in EU External Policy*, *Journal of European Integration*, 30:5. – p. 601)

believe that EU accession will become possible only in long-term perspective¹⁷⁰, whereas the close signing of the Association agreement and the fulfillment of the relevant requirements is supported by more than 70%¹⁷¹. Similar situation is observed among the public opinion leaders. By constant stressing on the importance of signing the Association agreement, they avoid the topic of accession. Worth mentioning that the aforementioned division of European integration process is absent in the official documents and statements of the Ukrainian government, so this effect might be interpreted as one exclusively produced by the EU Delegation to Ukraine.

In sum, the described above EU Delegation's public diplomacy effect produced on the Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU is the belief that the EU integration is highly beneficial process, important step of which will become the signing of the Association agreement with the long-term perspective of EU membership.

8.2. Welfare and Stability in the EU

“Flourishing of the EU states”, “leading world player”, and “stability of European mechanism”¹⁷² are the words which the EU Delegation to Ukraine use to describe the political and economic prosperity of the European Union. The latter is described in official documents and statements as the place of constant economic development and wealth. The EU is described as responsible for strengthening the security of the European continent, protecting citizens' right and freedoms, as well as maintaining order in soft way. Despite the obvious purely promotional character of this EU description, such image of the EU was smoothly transferred to and accepted by the Ukrainian audience with only minor modifications.

The first target group, namely the mass public of Ukraine showed almost identical attitudes towards the wealth and stability in the EU. 61 % of Ukrainian population associates the EU with developed economy, 56% with welfare, 52% with confidence in the future (stability), etc¹⁷³. Thus, one can see the duplication of what the EU Delegation says about the aforementioned issues itself. However, in contrast to the EU official message, Ukrainians are also conscious of such problems as difficult immigration situation and economic crisis, which indicates, that the opinion concerning wealth and stability in the EU is not formed exclusively by the EU.

¹⁷⁰ At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group “Rating”*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

¹⁷¹ The EU or Customs Union? What do the citizens want? (2013) *National Opinion Poll. Fond “Democratic Initiatives”*. Official web-site. January 10, 2013. - http://dif.org.ua/ua/polls/2013-year/es-chi-mitnii-soyuz_-kudi-hochut-iti-gromadjani_---zagalnonacionalne-opituvannja-.html

¹⁷² These are the citations of content analysis meaning units from Chapter 4

¹⁷³ At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group “Rating”*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

The public opinion leaders also mentioned this topic, stating that the EU is now “experiencing its peak of economic welfare”, “guarantees sovereignty”, and is characterized by “rapid economic development of the EU MS”¹⁷⁴. Thus, persuasion of this target group in the aforementioned features of the EU is also successful. However, certain level of Euroscepticism is present here to, since such problems as negative effects of regionalization, decrease of economic activities and economic crisis are also mentioned. The latter, logically, conflicts with the EU Delegation’s message.

It must be highlighted that Ukrainian government proved to show no interest in the aforementioned topic and thus its influence on Ukrainian attitude towards the EU in this case is absent.

To sum up, the EU Delegation was successful in influencing Ukrainian public opinion concerning the level of stability and welfare in the EU, even though some criticism is still present. In contrast to the previous area (European integration), where the mass public appeared to be more open and receiving with regard to EU Delegation’s messages, in this case the effect of EU public diplomacy is visible in both target groups.

8.3. EU – Assistant

Chapter 4 made it obvious that assurance in help and possible assistance is the key strategy of the EU Delegation to Ukraine in constructing positive image of the EU within Ukrainian society. The direct message “the EU is helping Ukraine”¹⁷⁵ is not ambiguous: the EU Delegation is attempting to describe the EU as an assistant and reliable partner of Ukraine. This statement is also complemented by “bringing wealth to rural areas”, “better quality of life”, “easier travel to the EU”, and “assistance to civil society”¹⁷⁶ and many others. Thus, the EU is striving to show that cooperation between the EU and Ukraine is based on the principle of constant, mainly financial, help from the EU to Ukraine.

According to opinion polls, mass public often repeats these statements almost word by word: “possibility for citizens to travel more”, “poverty reduction”, and “investment increase” are on the list of Ukrainians’ expectations from the EU. Thus, the role of the EU as economic helper is perfectly accepted by broad audience. Worth mentioning that public opinion leaders do not mention this area of EU presentation at all, this indicates the absence of effect on this target group in the given case.

¹⁷⁴ These are the citations of content analysis meaning units from Chapter 7

¹⁷⁵ Meaning unit from content analysis of eurobulletins, newsletter and co-operation news in Chapter 4

¹⁷⁶ These are the citations of content analysis meaning units from Chapter 4

The Ukrainian government also mentions the assistance programs of the EU and, therefore, the presence of multiple actors of influence with respect to this question might be assumed.

In conclusion, the EU Delegation to Ukraine influenced the opinion of mass public concerning its persuasion in the role of the EU as assistant, however this effect cannot be called exclusively Delegation's one, since the Ukrainian government is also actively participating in creating this kind of image.

8.4. Values and Standards of the EU

The EU has a considerable experience in exporting norms beyond its borders¹⁷⁷. Therefore, this function of the EU Delegation to Ukraine logically fits its public policy objectives. The word "European" is often used as synonym to "normative" or "exemplary" throughout EU official documents with no further explanation of the concept's content¹⁷⁸: "European way", "European experience", "European methods of politics". "Standards of the European Union" is described as universal starting point for any sphere of public life. In the case of Ukraine the most popular values for promotion are democracy, rule of law, citizens' inclusion and participation, rights and freedoms, fighting corruption and judicial injustice¹⁷⁹.

For the mass public in Ukraine the most often mentioned values are democracy, freedom of speech, honesty of judicial system and corruption reduction¹⁸⁰. Even though there are certain differences in exact wording, the main idea remains the same as one of the EU Delegation to Ukraine: all of the aforementioned values are associated with democracy^{181,182}.

Leaders of the public opinion in Ukraine referred to the system of European standards and values, democratic development and rule of law. In general the attention of this target group to normative dimension of the problem was much more limited as one of the mass public.

¹⁷⁷ Schmidt Diana, Wiener Antje. (2005) 'Democracy for Export? Revising the Europeanization Approach', *Conference Papers - International Studies Association*, August 24, 2005 – pp. 1-40

¹⁷⁸ For more details see Chapter 4.

¹⁷⁹ At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group "Rating"*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

¹⁸⁰ For more details see Chapter 6.

¹⁸¹ Normative-based approach in communication with non-accession states (Ukraine in this case) was also highlighted by Rachel Vanderhill, though she was more concentrated on government-to-government diplomacy (Vanderhill Rachel (2008) *The EU and Non-accession States: the Cases of Belarus and Ukraine*. International Studies Association Annual Meeting. Conference Paper. March 2008. – p.3)

¹⁸² The support of democracy promotion and development among Ukrainian society was also noticed by Gawrich Andrea, Melnykovska Inna, Schweickert Rainer. (Gawrich Andrea, Melnykovska Inna, Schweickert Rainer. (2010) 'Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP: The Case of Ukraine', *JCMS 2010 Volume 48. Number 5.* – p. 1221)

The Ukrainian government also often mentions the EU standards and values with reference to their implementation in Ukraine¹⁸³. Since the EU Delegation is not the only institution which mentions this part of EU image, its influence in this area is not exclusive.

To sum up, the EU Delegation to Ukraine has an effect on the positive Ukrainian attitudes towards the adoption of European values and standards. This effect is shared with other sources of influence (such as the Ukrainian government) and is much more visible in the views of mass public, than among public opinion leaders.

8.5. Conclusion

The analytical chapter was devoted to the analysis of four areas of public diplomacy influence, i.e. the EU as integration direction, welfare and stability in the EU, EU assistance, and EU values and standards. The research has illuminated various levels of persuasion and different effects on mass public's and opinion leaders' attitudes towards the EU in each area.

The strongest effect was found in the Ukrainians' attitudes towards European integration. This foreign policy orientation is associated with advantages for both Ukrainian citizens and state as a whole, which allows to conclude that the EU is viewed as attractive international partner for association and vector for future accession. The influence in this sphere proved to be exclusive with no difference in attitudes of mass public and opinion leaders.

Statements about the welfare and stability are also welcomed within the Ukrainian society, but with a low level of Euroscepticism attached to these issues. The mass public appeared to be more open to EU public diplomacy promotional ideas than public opinion leaders. The latter gives evidence that the effect on the Ukrainian attitudes is stronger in the former target group and that more work in promoting the EU as place of welfare and stability must be conducted with regard to opinion leaders.

The vision of EU as assisting partner, capable of helping financially and politically is typical for EU mass audience, opinion leaders and even Ukrainian government. Therefore, even though the effects are not exclusively produced by the EU Delegation, their presence in all groups of Ukrainian society is obvious and meets no resistance.

Values and standards of the EU, one of the key areas of EU public diplomacy in general, proved to be vastly shared by mass audiences of Ukraine and in slightly more limited form by the public opinion leaders. The mentioning of these issues is also met in statements by the Ukrainian

¹⁸³ According to Rachel Vanderhill, the Ukrainian political elites present high level of receptivity, which in its turn explains why the Ukrainian government tends to agree with the EU on many points. (Vanderhill Rachel (2008) The EU and Non-accession States: the Cases of Belarus and Ukraine. International Studies Association Annual Meeting. Conference Paper. March 2008. – p.17)

government, so it can be assumed that the persuasion on Ukrainian society concerning EU values and standards is conducted by several actors.

Concluding, it must be stated that the EU should advance its influence on the public opinion leaders of Ukraine, since this group appeared to be less perceiving than the mass public in the half of areas. In general, the effects of public diplomacy on the Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU are the following: the EU is regarded as wealthy and stable Union, reliable international assistant, perspective and attractive integration direction, values and standards of which are shared and aimed to be followed in Ukraine.

9. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research was to illuminate the existing effects of the EU public diplomacy on the Ukrainian attitudes towards the European Union. In order to find out the aforementioned influence it was necessary to analyze the official message of the EU Delegation to Ukraine, as the main representative body of the EU, concerning the EU image, as well as EU vision promoted by the Ukrainian government. Then the relevant attitudes of the Ukrainian mass public and public opinion leaders' were researched. As a result, on the basis of the empirical findings the analogies between the present attitudes within the Ukrainian society and the EU Delegation to Ukraine were constructed; the latter allowed finding out the effects of the EU public diplomacy on the public opinion in Ukraine.

The final chapter of the thesis will sum up the findings of the research and show the effects of EU public diplomacy in Ukraine. Then the suggestions for the future research will be made.

9.1. Effects of EU Public Diplomacy on Ukrainian Vision of the EU

The public diplomacy experienced a long history of establishment. As a phenomenon it appeared before the Second World War when the opinion of general public became a decisive factor for the successful achievement of international politics goals. At first public diplomacy was interpreted merely as the governmental influence on foreign audiences, but then the definition of the concept became much more complex, reflecting complicated process of communication between the governmental bodies and the representatives of foreign societies. By pursuing the objective of forming specific attitudes, sharing information, and persuading, the public diplomacy differs considerably from related concepts, such as propaganda, new diplomacy, media diplomacy, and nation branding.

Since the scientific novelty of this research was formulated as adding new dimension to the existing research of the public diplomacy, namely practical study of its effects on the target society, the research design gained a form of empirical investigation of the influence of the EU public diplomacy on the Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU. In order to answer this question the EU image proclaimed by the EU Delegation to Ukraine was described with the help of content-analysis of official documents and statements of this diplomatic representation. The research showed that the EU Delegation to Ukraine is striving to represent the EU as a stable and reliable partner for cooperation and possible future accession, open to the signing of Association agreement. The EU is also described as economically and politically prosperous, capable of helping the neighboring state of Ukraine.

The next step was to analyze the vision of the EU promoted by the Ukrainian government as a reference point for further analysis. Naturally, President and the Cabinet of Ministers proved to be more concentrated on the achievements of Ukraine itself within the fulfillment of European integration requirements. However, the EU is described as equal partner for Ukraine, assistance of which is welcomed and the values of which are shared by the Ukrainian government.

Then the Ukrainian mass public's existing attitudes towards the EU were analyzed with the help of the secondary analysis of survey data, collected by the Ukrainian nationwide opinion polls. The results of the analysis showed that in general Ukrainians have strong positive attitudes towards the EU, associate it with the values of democracy, rule of law and citizens' rights and freedoms, economic welfare and political stability. Even though less than half of Ukrainian population supports the idea of EU accession, in comparison to other integration directions the EU has the most considerable support from Ukrainian population.

The group of public opinion leaders (journalists, researchers and experts) appeared to be more Eurosceptic. Despite the fact that among them the positive attitude towards the EU also proved to be widespread, the mentioning of economic problems of the EU was often met (according to the findings of the content analysis). However, many opinion leaders appeared to be highly interested in the benefits of Association agreement and the prospects of its signing, as well as in Ukraine's achievements in fulfilling Association requirements.

Finally, the effects of the EU public diplomacy on the Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU were illuminated by building analogies between the EU promotional image of the EU and real existing perceptions of it among the Ukrainian citizens. As a result, the research showed that there are four main effects the EU public diplomacy has on Ukrainian population's vision of the EU. The EU Delegation to Ukraine succeeded to effectively promote the image of the EU as (1) attractive integration direction; (2) union of welfare and stability; (3) reliable assistant; and (4) values benchmark.

In such a way the research has showed that within the framework of public policy conduction the EU Delegation to Ukraine managed to create strong positive image of the EU among the Ukrainian citizens. In particular this image contains the belief in the existence of numerous advantages of European integration, in active current assistance from the EU to Ukraine, economic stability and welfare, as well as EU's commitment to major democratic values. In two out of four illuminated effects the EU influence was assumed to be exclusive without external influence of other actors.

Worth noticing, that the EU public diplomacy effects took place in more explicit form in the case of the mass public, whereas the influence on the public opinion leaders appeared to be more

limited. This conclusion was made on the basis of the fact that journalists, researchers and experts expressed ideas which were not mentioned in (were opposite to) those of official documents and statements of the EU Delegation to Ukraine.

9.2. Perspectives of Further Research

Logically, the findings of this research give ground for further investigation of the practical effects of the EU public diplomacy. It must be highlighted that more research must be conducted taking into account other actors of public opinion formation, such as other international organizations, separate states, NGOs, political parties, individual politicians, and interest groups. The thorough examination of the effects their work has on the Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU will help to make more reliable conclusions concerning the exclusive effects of the EU itself.

In addition, the possible upcoming signing of the Association Agreement between the EU and Ukraine which is supposed to take place in the end of 2013¹⁸⁴, has a chance of changing the Ukrainian attitudes towards the EU. Thus, the future altering in the Ukrainian perceptions of the EU and the effects the EU Delegation has on them are the subject for constant monitoring. If the Association agreement will be signed, the EU public diplomacy in Ukraine might gain new features with regard to new discourses of European integration which will appear in Ukrainian society.

Finally, on the basis of this research the new mechanisms and tools of public diplomacy might be developed, which will advance the work of the diplomatic representation abroad, economy resources and augment the effectiveness. Whereas this research was aimed at illuminating the effects in general, the investigation in the field of practical recommendations will help to create new algorithm and principles of the EU public diplomacy conduction.

¹⁸⁴ The Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU: Prospects for the Signing and Provisional Application Possibilities. Policy Brief. (2012) *Department of Foreign Policy. National President's Institute of Strategic Research*. 14.05.2012. - <http://www.niss.gov.ua/articles/911/>

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Appendix I

Table 1. Analysis table of meaning units and codes of statements of the EU Delegation to Ukraine

Meaning Unit ¹⁸⁵	Code ¹⁸⁶
Personal attack against MEP	Aggression against MEP
Topless attack against the European deputy	
Unprecedented personal attack on MEP	
Allegations are false	Refuting of information
EU Delegation to Ukraine strongly condemns	Strong censure by the EU Delegation to Ukraine
EU expressed its strong concerns	
Extremely damaging	Negative description of Ukrainian policy
New trade barrier	
No proper legal justification	
Negative economic impact	

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 2. Analysis table of codes, categories and theme of statements of the EU Delegation to Ukraine

Theme ¹⁸⁷	Conflict between the EU Delegation to Ukraine and society/government of Ukraine			
Category ¹⁸⁸	Not appropriate actions of Ukrainian citizens/ Ukrainian government	Criticism by the EU Delegation to Ukraine		
Codes	Aggression against MEP	Negative description of Ukrainian policy	Refuting of information	Strong censure by the EU Delegation to Ukraine

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

¹⁸⁵ Meaning units are words or sentences which relate to the main contextual meaning.

¹⁸⁶ Codes are tools for labeling the meaning units for simplification of further analysis.

¹⁸⁷ Theme is the central topic of the text, aimed at illuminating its latent content.

¹⁸⁸ Category is an exclusive (not overlapping) group of similar content.

Appendix II

Table 3. Analysis table of meaning units and codes of Eurobulletins, newsletters and co-operation news

Meaning Unit	Code	
Positive EU membership	European integration as positive improvement	
Effective instrument for country modernization		
Strengthening the legal system		
Common space of knowledge and innovation		
European perspectives		
Democratic values and norms	"European" means "normative"	
Real European public space		
In accordance with European standards		
European experience		
European methods of politics		
Close relationship with civil society		Benefits for Ukrainian society and state from the EU
The EU is our major partner		
Protecting citizen rights and freedoms		
Maintain order in soft way		
Change thinking of people		
[The EU] improves communication with society		
The EU is helping Ukraine		
To bring wealth to rural areas		
Eastern partnership improves daily life		
Better quality of life, better business environment, easier travel to the EU		
We help local communities		
Motivating cultural policy reforms		
Assistance to civil society		
Positive cultural contributions to ... social inclusion		
Fighting corruption		
Strengthening of security on the continent	Wealth and stability in the EU	

Continuation of Table 3.

Flourishing of the EU states	
Federation of national states	
Europe has soul	
European mechanism of stability works	
Leading world player	
European year of citizens	
Stable level of inflation in the EU	

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 4. Analysis table of codes, categories and theme of Eurobulletins, newsletters and co-operation news.

Theme	The European Union as place of welfare, aiming to integrate Ukraine			
Category	The model prosperous European Union	Positive Ukraine's gains and perspectives within European integration		
Codes	"European" means "normative"	Wealth and stability in the EU	European integration as positive improvement	Benefits for Ukrainian society and state from the EU

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Appendix III

Table 5. Analysis table of meaning units and codes of mass-media statements by Jan Tombinski

Meaning Unit	Code
Standards of the European Union	The EU as an example for Ukraine
European way	
European integration is effective instrument	
Necessity of fighting corruption in Ukraine	Goals for Ukraine
Change mentality and culture	
Irreversibility of democratic changes in Ukraine	
Get closer to European standards and laws	
Ukraine has to fulfill all requirements	
Potential benefits of European Neighborhood Policy	EU's assistance
The EU and its MS can help Ukrainian institutions	
Deepening relationship between the EU and Ukraine	EU Delegation's role
Modernization of the country	
Removing barriers and stereotypes	

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 6. Analysis table of codes, categories and theme of mass-media statements by Jan Tombinski

Theme	Improvement of Ukrainian politics with the help of the EU			
Category	Ukraine's objectives based on EU example		EU Delegation's help	
Codes	The EU as an example for Ukraine	Goals for Ukraine	EU Delegation's role	EU's assistance

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Appendix IV

Table 7. Content analysis table of meaning units and codes of decrees by Viktor Yanukovich

Meaning Unit	Code
Ukraine, fulfilling requirements	Ukraine as a reliable and responsible partner
Improvement of elections law	
Preventive mechanism against tortures and cruel punishment	
Draft law "For democracy through law"	
Practical assistance for monitoring mission of the EU	Help from the EU
Assistance involvement of the EU	
Protection of the rights and freedoms of national minorities	Democratic norms and values, associated with the EU
Ensuring equal rights and opportunities	
Non-discrimination and tolerance	
Realization of social policy	
Ensuring the preservation and development of Roma cultural identity	
Discrimination against Roma	
Integration weakening and marginalization	
Low level of education	
High level of unemployment	

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 8. Content analysis table of codes, categories and themes of decrees by Viktor Yanukovich

Theme	Cooperation between the EU and Ukraine with the aim of development of the latter			
Category	Ukraine as developing, but open to reforms country		EU as influential democracy, capable of providing assistance	
Code	Existing Problems of the Ukrainian society	Ukraine as a reliable and responsible partner	Democratic norms and values, associated with the EU	Help from the EU

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Appendix V

Table 9. Content analysis table of meaning units and codes of mass-media statements by Viktor Yanukovich

Meaning Unit	Code
Positive results of Summit Ukraine - EU	Positive results of negotiations
There are grounds for optimism	
Frank and constructive discussion	
All requirements will be met effectively and timely	Ukraine as open and reliable negotiator
Ukraine's openness to discussion	
Responsible step by the EU	EU's assistance and responsibility
Macro financial assistance of the EU	
Joint aims	EU and Ukraine as an equal partners
Colleagues confirmed joint readiness	
European partners	
Perspectives of cooperation between Ukraine and the EU	
Joint challenges	

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 10. Analysis table of codes, categories and theme of mass-media statements by Viktor Yanukovich

Theme	Negotiations and cooperation based on equality and openness			
Category	Equal effective cooperation		Willingness to cooperate from both sides	
Codes	Positive results of negotiations	EU and Ukraine as an equal partners	EU's assistance and responsibility	Ukraine as open and reliable negotiator

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Appendix VI

Table 11. Analysis table of meaning units and codes of resolutions of the Ukrainian government

Meaning Unit	Code
Ensuring integration of Ukraine	Ukraine's objectives of European integration
Aim of political association and economic integration	
Ukraine's ambition of becoming EU MS	
Values and standards of the EU	EU as assistant and example for following
Expert assistance and technical capacity of the EU	
Participation in EU peacekeeping missions	Inclusiveness into EU affairs
Informal dialogue on reforms	
Modernization of energy systems	
Fighting smuggling	
Informing the mass public	Public affairs of Ukrainian government
Raising public awareness on the European integration	
Interaction with the public on European integration	

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 12. Analysis table of codes, categories and themes of resolutions of the Ukrainian government

Theme	Ukrainian government is working on ensuring the European integration			
Category	Pro-European activities of Ukrainian government		Participation in and following of EU policy and politics	
Codes	Ukraine's objectives of European integration	Public affairs of Ukrainian government	EU as assistant and example for following	Inclusiveness into EU affairs

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Appendix VII

Table 13. Analysis table of meaning units and codes of related news of the Ukrainian government

Meaning Unit	Code
Compromises of Ukraine's cooperation with the EU and CU	Compromise between pro-European and pro-Russian choices
Ukraine can find ways of cooperation with the EU and CU	
Customs Union and the EU are based on WTO	Similarities between the EU and CU
Compatibility of the EU and CU depends on level of customs protection	
Organizations' compatibility is hard question	Ukraine's choices of foreign policy orientations
Search for compromises is possible	
Success in opening the European market	Ukraine's access to European markets
Joint efforts of Ukrainian government and business	

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 14. Analysis table of codes, categories and themes of related news of the Ukrainian government

Theme	Multi-vector foreign policy of Ukraine			
Category	Activities of the Ukrainian government on European integration		Pro-Russian/ pro-European options of Ukraine	
Codes	Ukraine's access to European markets	Ukraine's choices of foreign policy orientations	Similarities between the EU and CU	Compromise between pro-European and pro-Russian choices

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Appendix VIII

Table 15. Analysis table of meaning units and codes of informational bulletin of Ukrainian government

Meaning Unit	Code
Recommendation of the European Commission are taken into consideration	Ukraine's orientation towards European Integration
Objective of becoming EU MS	
Immediate actions on European integration of Ukraine	
Adaptation of Ukrainian legislation to the EU legislation	
Promotion of European values	
Improvement of democratic institutions	
Improvement of electoral legislation of Ukraine	
Fulfillment of anti-corruption recommendations	
Ukraine joins the EU statements	
Diversification of energy supply	
Maintaining good relations and strategic partnership with Russia	
Integration to the EU is the main priority	Constant cooperation with the EU
Maintaining a continuous dialogue with European colleagues	
Visa facilitation	
Opening of EU market for Ukrainian products	
Independent civil monitoring	Public affairs of the Ukrainian government
Broad and perceived support for European integration policy of the Ukrainian population	
Informing mass public about European integration	

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 16. Analysis table of codes, categories and theme of informational bulletin of Ukrainian government

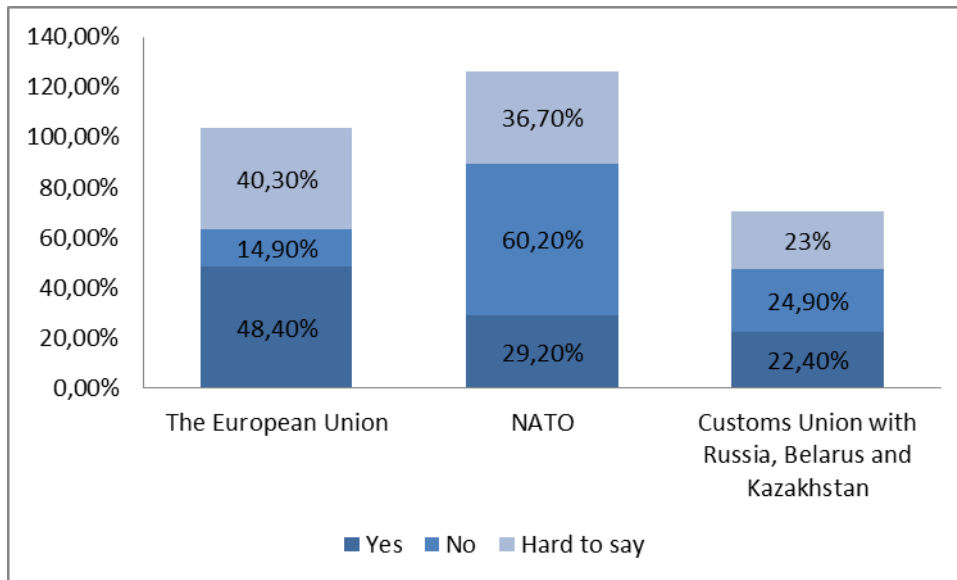
Theme	Effective work of Ukrainian government in accordance with public and political actors			
Category	Diplomatic and public work of Ukrainian government		Choices of foreign policy vectors	
Codes	Public affairs of the Ukrainian government	Constant cooperation with the EU	Pro-Russian or Pro-European choice of Ukraine	Ukraine's orientation towards European Integration

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Appendix IX

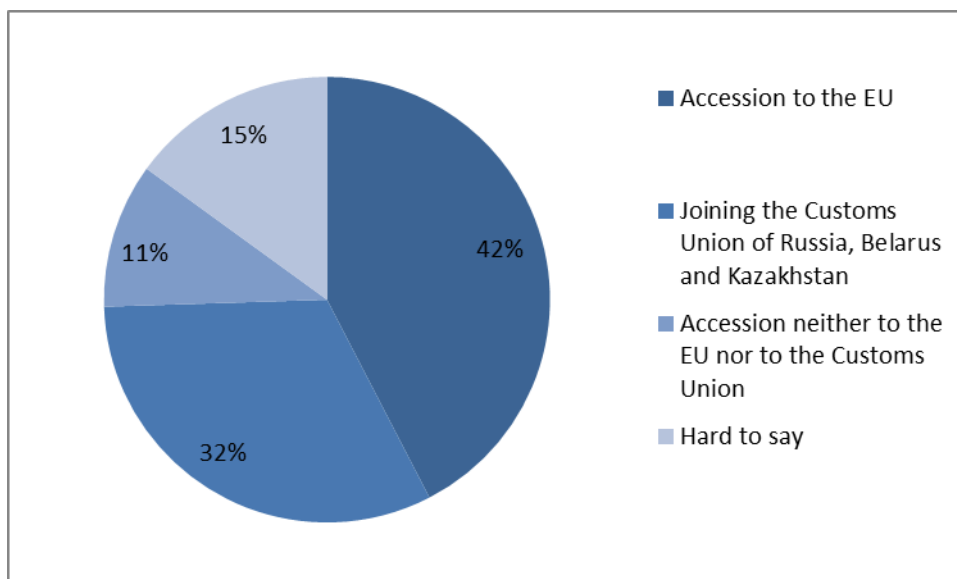
Results of the Opinion Poll “The EU or Customs Union? What do Citizens Want?” of Fond “Democratic Initiatives”

Figure 1. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “What international organization Ukraine should join?”



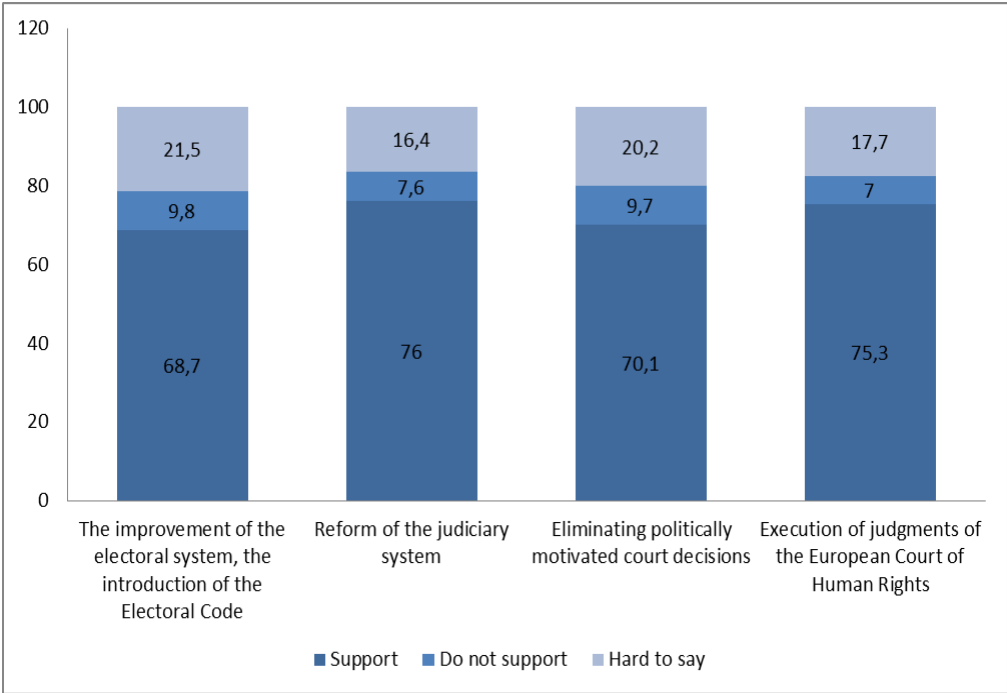
SOURCE: The EU or Customs Union? What do the citizens want? (2013) *National Opinion Poll. Fond “Democratic Initiatives”*. Official web-site. January 10, 2013. - http://dif.org.ua/ua/polls/2013-year/es-chi-mitnii-soyuz_-kudi-hochut-iti-gromadjani_---zagalnonacionalne-opituvannja-.htm

Figure 2. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “What integration direction Ukraine must choose? (Give only one answer)”



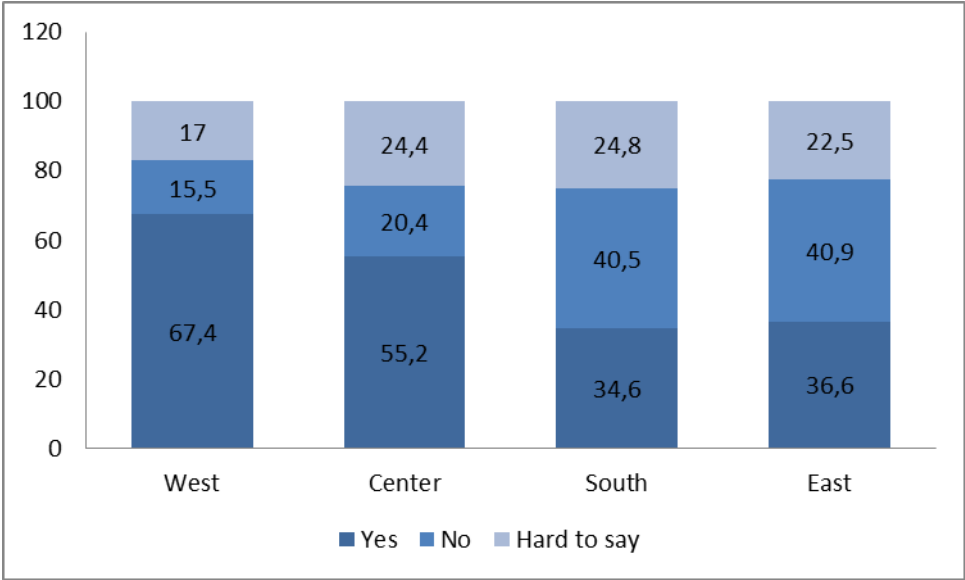
SOURCE: The EU or Customs Union? What do the citizens want? (2013) *National Opinion Poll. Fond “Democratic Initiatives”*. Official web-site. January 10, 2013. - http://dif.org.ua/ua/polls/2013-year/es-chi-mitnii-soyuz_-kudi-hochut-iti-gromadjani_---zagalnonacionalne-opituvannja-.htm

Figure 3. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “To sign an Association Agreement with the European Union, Ukraine must fulfill certain conditions. How do you feel about these conditions?”



SOURCE: The EU or Customs Union? What do the citizens want? (2013) *National Opinion Poll. Fond “Democratic Initiatives”*. Official web-site. January 10, 2013. - [http://dif.org.ua/ua/polls/2013-year/es-chi-mitnii-soyuz.-kudi-hochut-iti-gromadjani ---zagalnonacionalne-opituvannja-.htm](http://dif.org.ua/ua/polls/2013-year/es-chi-mitnii-soyuz.-kudi-hochut-iti-gromadjani---zagalnonacionalne-opituvannja-.htm)

Figure 4. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “Do you think Ukraine should join the European Union?”

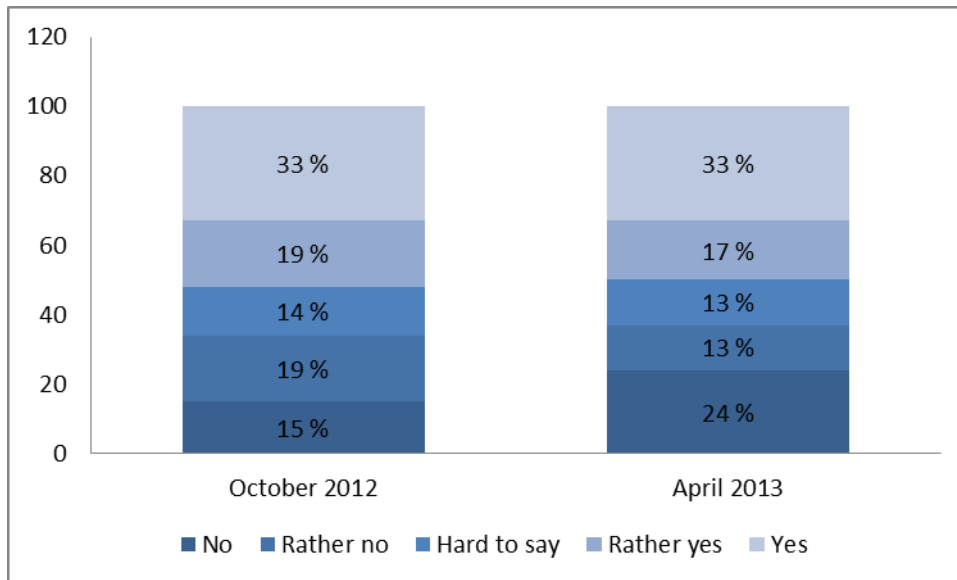


SOURCE: The EU or Customs Union? What do the citizens want? (2013) *National Opinion Poll. Fond “Democratic Initiatives”*. Official web-site. January 10, 2013. - [http://dif.org.ua/ua/polls/2013-year/es-chi-mitnii-soyuz.-kudi-hochut-iti-gromadjani ---zagalnonacionalne-opituvannja-.html](http://dif.org.ua/ua/polls/2013-year/es-chi-mitnii-soyuz.-kudi-hochut-iti-gromadjani---zagalnonacionalne-opituvannja-.html)

Appendix X

Results of Opinion Poll “At the Crossroad of Integration Puzzles” of Sociological Group “Rating”

Figure 5. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “Do you support Ukraine’s accession to the European Union?”



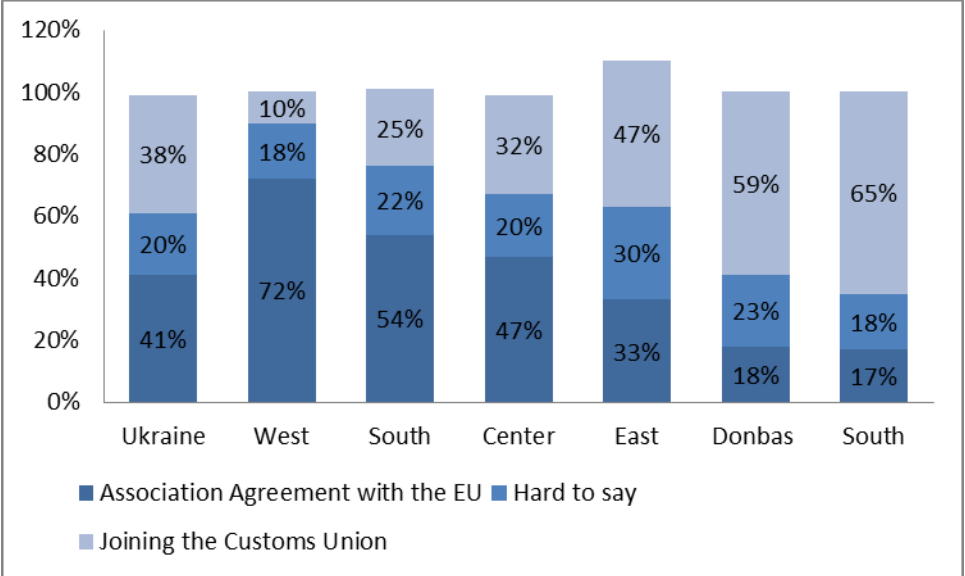
SOURCE: At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group “Rating”*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

Figure 6. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “What integration direction is more profitable for Ukraine?”



SOURCE: At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group “Rating”*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

Figure 7. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “What integration direction do you support? (division in regions in April 2013)”



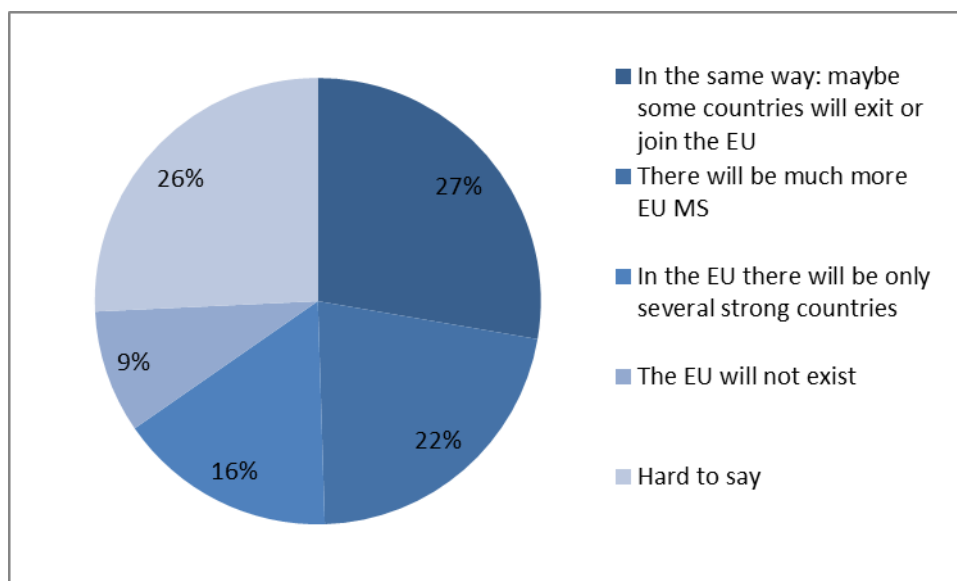
SOURCE: At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group “Rating”*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

Table 17. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “What major benefits will Ukraine get after joining the EU? (several answers possible)”

Possibility for citizens to travel more	55%
Better employment	53%
Investment increase	51%
Development of democracy	41%
Better educational possibilities	41%
Poverty reduction	39%
Corruption reduction	39%
Hard to say	7%
There will be no benefits	14%

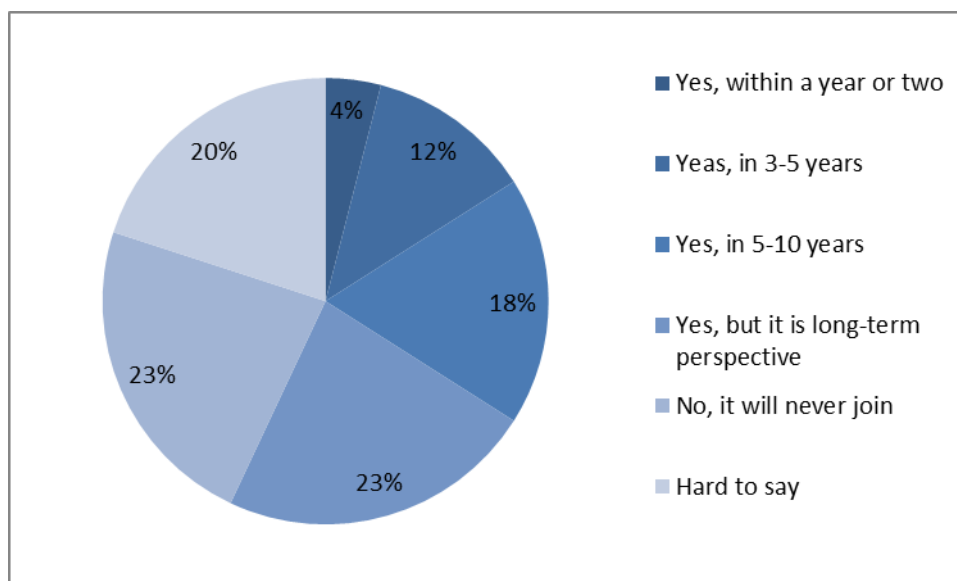
SOURCE: At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group “Rating”*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

Figure 8. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “How will the EU look within 5-10 years?”



SOURCE: At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group "Rating"*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

Figure 9. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “Do you believe that Ukraine will become the part of Ukraine and if yes, when will it happen?”



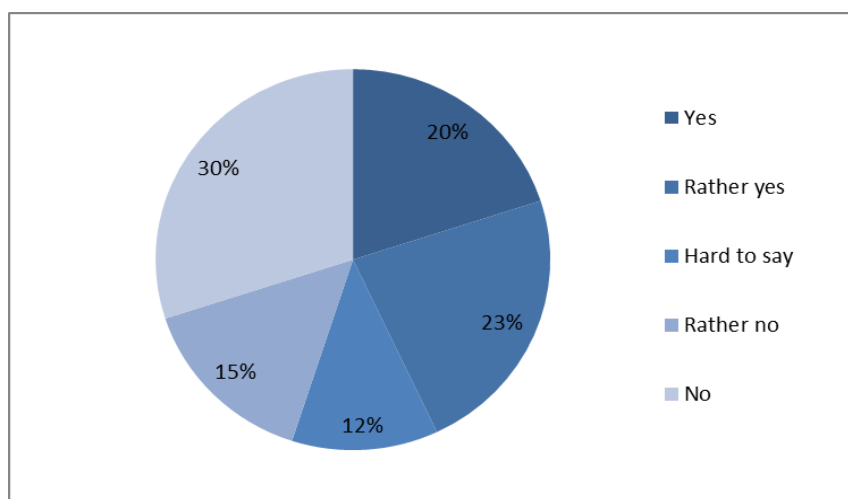
SOURCE: At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group "Rating"*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

Table 18. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “Which statement corresponds with your opinion about the EU in the best way? (several answers possible)”

Developed economy	61%
Large amount of immigrants	59%
High level of education	58%
Welfare	56%
Citizens' participation in protecting their rights	54%
New technologies	54%
Confidence in the future	52%
Honest judges	52%
Safety of life	52%
Developed democracy	51%
Law abiding citizens	49%
Freedom of speech	48%
Stability	46%
Gender equality	45%
Good conditions for business development	45%
Affordable medicine	37%
Economic crisis	32%
Strong governance	25%
Strong army	25%

SOURCE: At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group “Rating”*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

Figure 10. Number of opinion poll responses to the question: “Do you want to live in the EU?”



SOURCE: At the Crossroad or Integration Puzzles. (2013) *Sociological Group “Rating”*, April 2013. - http://ratinggroup.com.ua/upload/files/RG_Ukraine_Vektor_042013_pres.pdf

Appendix XI

Table 19. Analysis table of meaning units and codes of Ukrainian journalists' articles

Meaning Unit	Code	
Association Agreement is unprecedentedly ambitious	Pro-European statements	
European integration means modernization		
Association with EU must exist		
Youth wants to join the EU		
Modernization of state According to European example	Benefits for Ukraine from the Association Agreement	
European identity of Ukraine		
Spirit of unity		
Enhancement of living standards		
Considerable investment potential		
Association will enhance investment attractiveness		
Increase of confidence in Ukraine		
Gradual increase of quality and competitiveness of Ukrainian goods		
Civilization choice		
European integration unites government and opposition		
EU is the most successful economic and political project		Stable and Wealthy EU
The EU guarantees sovereignty		
Europe is experiencing its peak of economic welfare		
Looking for compromise between European and Russian integration	Political and economic problems of Ukraine	
Accession requirements are met partly		
Imitation of Ukrainian legal adaptation		
Europe is guilty in crisis	Political and economic problems of the EU	
Europe is losing citizens		
Idea of European solidarity is collapsing		
Europe is losing confidence		

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 20. Analysis table of codes, categories and theme of informational bulletin of Ukrainian government

Theme	Debate between EU integration supporters and opponents				
Category	Obstacles to European Integration of Ukraine		Pro-European approach to Ukraine's integration directions		
Codes	Political and economic problems of the EU	Political and economic problems of Ukraine	Stable and Wealthy EU	Benefits for Ukraine from the Association Agreement	Pro-European statements

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Appendix XII

Table 21. Analysis table of meaning units and codes of researcher's articles

Meaning Unit	Code
Dynamism of bilateral relations	Need for mutual cooperation between the EU and Ukraine
Deep relationship with the EU	
Privileged relationship with the EU	
Cooperation with the EU is Ukraine's strategic priority	
Need for closer economic cooperation with Ukraine	
The goal of Europeanization	Necessity of European integration of Ukraine
Institutional joining to the EU	
European perspectives of Ukraine	
European identity of Ukraine	
European integration is the main direction of development of the continent	
European federation	Negatives aspects of economics and politics in the EU
Economic crisis covered Europe	
Negative consequences of regionalization	
Decrease of economic activities in the EU after the crisis	
Decrease of GDP of the EU	
EU regulatory mechanisms can really protect	Positive characteristics of the EU
Powerful agencies of the EU	
The EU is an initiator of innovations	
Core of the system of European values and standards	
Model of the EU is unique	
Close cultural unity of European states	
Rapid economic development of the EU MS	
Markets of the EU are potentially attractive	
Progress of Ukraine in democracy development	Political and economic improvements in Ukraine
Enhancement of values of democracy	

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 22. Analysis table of codes, categories and theme of researcher's articles

Theme	Expediency of integration to/ cooperation with stable /unstable Europe for Ukraine				
Category	Debate around positive and negative features of the EU		EU cooperation and EU integration of the economically and politically improved Ukraine		
Code	Positive characteristics of the EU	Negatives aspects of economics and politics in the EU	Political and economic improvements in Ukraine	Need for mutual cooperation between the EU and Ukraine	Necessity of European integration of Ukraine

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Appendix XIII

Table 23. Analysis table of meaning units and codes of experts' comments

Meaning Unit	Code
New EU MS aren't heaven	Problems of signing the Association Agreement
Mistakes of both parties	
Ukraine's foreign policy is in a state of uncertainty	
Multivectorness doesn't exist	
Ukraine's accession to the EU is out of agenda	
Democratic development and rule of law needed	
EU means Economic and political independence	
Market of the EU is profitable for Ukraine	
Europe gives normal life	
Mutual profitability of the European integration	
Association agreement is unprecedentedly deep document	
Association doesn't polarize Ukrainian population	
Modernization according to the EU standards	Existing basis for Association Agreement (current achievements)
Kyiv proved seriousness of its European intentions	
Ukraine is a part of European space	
Summit Ukraine-EU gives grounds for optimism	
Ukraine's relations with the EU come out of crisis	
Both parties are interested in Association	
Ukrainian business wants to integrate to the EU	
Ukraine needs integration	
Ukraine cannot balance	
European integration is urgent issue	
Chance of signing Association Agreement is high	
Association agreement can be signed	
Agreement is strategic event for Ukraine	

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety

Table 24. Analysis table of codes, categories and themes of experts' comments

Theme	Conditions of signing the Association Agreement between the EU and Ukraine			
Category	Advantages and challenges in signing the Association agreement		Fulfilled requirement as a basis for signing needed Association Agreement	
Code	Problems of signing the Association Agreement	Benefits of the EU integration for Ukraine	Necessity of Association Agreement	Existing basis for Association Agreement (current achievements)

NOTE: The data in the table was collected and analyzed by the author of the research in its entirety