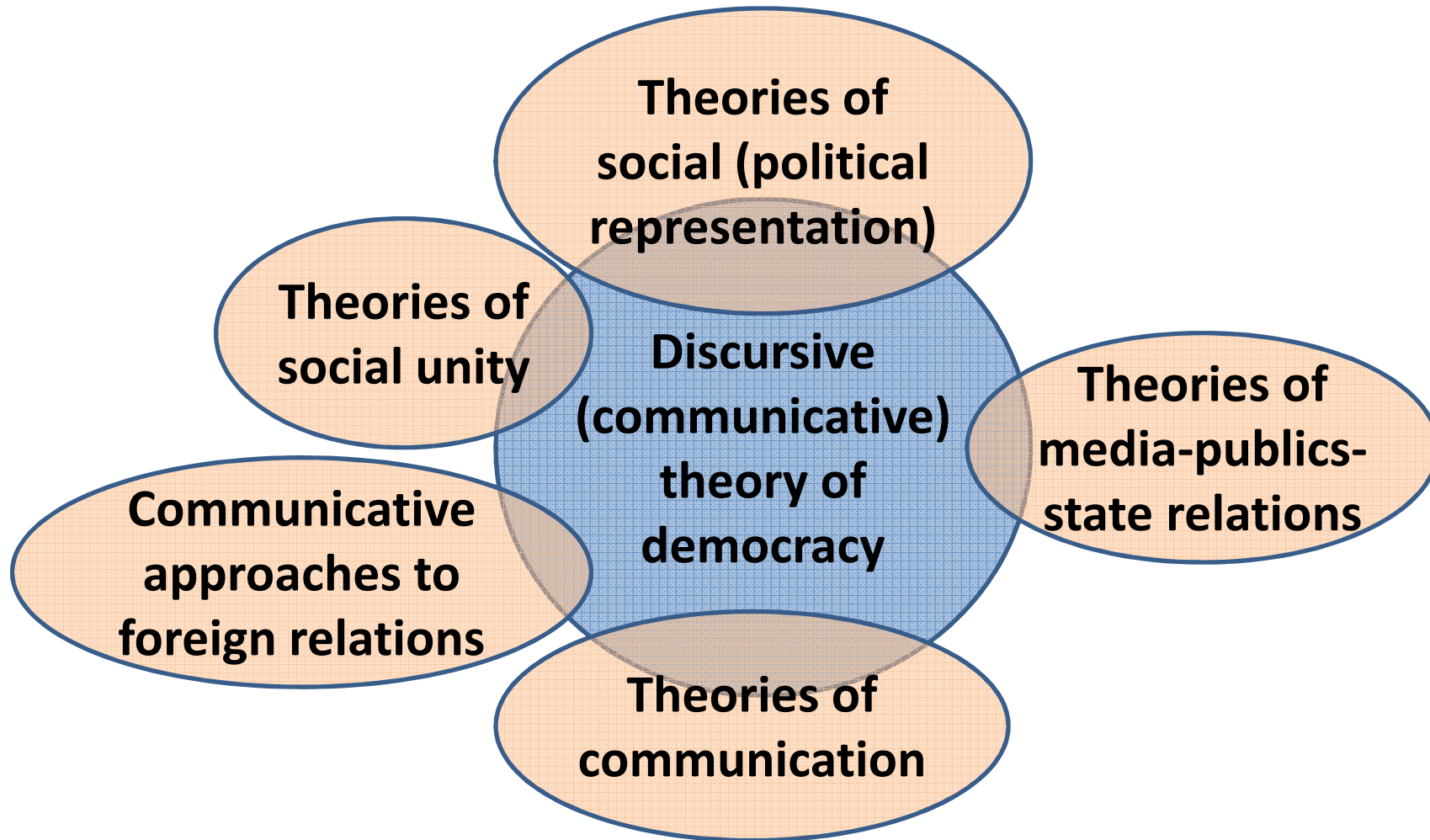


The **Re**presentation of citizens' Foreign Policy orientations

by Ukraine's Dominant Politicians:
Yushchenko, Tymoshenko and
Yanukovich.

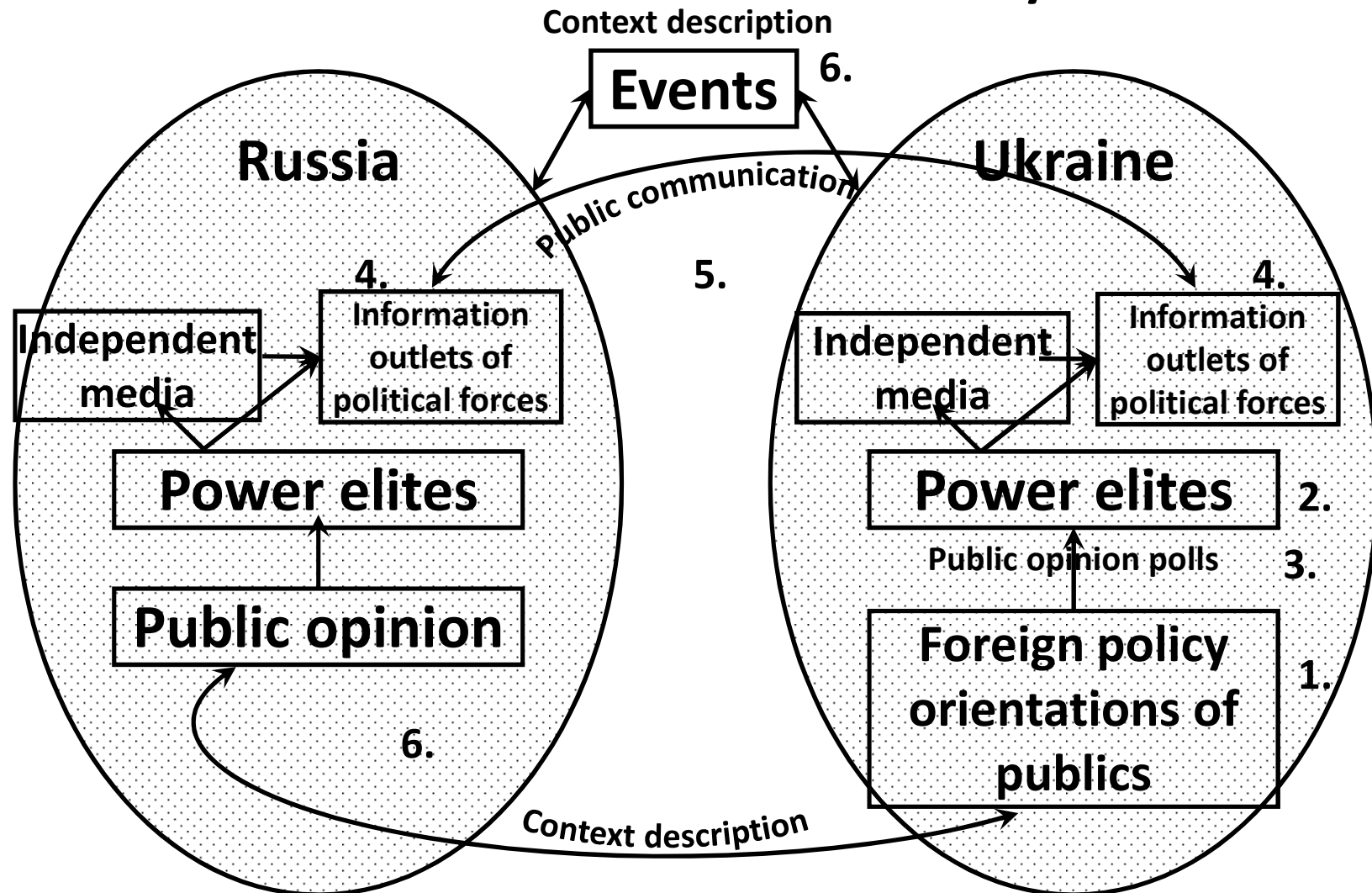
Theoretical prerequisites



Theoretical prerequisites

- There are statements about foreign policy in public discourse.
- These statements evaluated, supported or disapproved by political actors.
- The process of evaluation is pluralistic.
- There is certain set of basic values which enable rational communication and understanding.
- There is communication, i.e. production of stimuli and reactions between actors.
- Communication result in normative decisions.

Conceptual model of foreign policy communication study



Data

- Polls: August 2005 – august 2008
- Elites' messages (same period) – official web-sites.
 - comprehensive archive of important sayings
 - convenient data sorting
 - only politician influence upon direct speech selection (no independent editorial influence)
- Yushchenko, Tymoshenko, Yanukovych

Data

- 34 statements derived from polls
- Message – finite expression limited to time and space conditions. Statement – expression of approval/ disapproval/ neutrality of certain thesis.

Opinion vs messages correspondence

- Defining electorate.
- Marking out “Ukraine vs Russia” questions
- Support/ disapproval identification:

Statement X	
$+$ $\Rightarrow n(+)>n(-) \wedge p \leq 0,05 \wedge \langle\langle 0 \rangle\rangle < 50\%$	+
$-$ $\Rightarrow n(+)<n(-) \wedge p \leq 0,05 \wedge \langle\langle 0 \rangle\rangle < 50\%$	-
$+ \approx - \parallel \langle\langle 0 \rangle\rangle > 50\%$	$\equiv \parallel \langle\langle 0 \rangle\rangle$
Electorate opinion	Politician's messages

Messages coding

- Defining meaningful N-grams
- Manual coding of N-grams according to statements set

“Raw” messages data

Politician	Web-page name	URL	Date of copy	Total messages saved
Yuschenko	Офіційне представництво Президента України	http://www.president.gov.ua/ *	27.01.2010	10 084
Tymoshenko	Юлія Тимошенко. Офіційний сайт: архівна версія (відбирались лише електронні документи з розділів «Інтерв'ю», «Публікації», «Виступи»)	http://archive.tymoshenko.com.ua/ **	29.01.2010	6 285
Yanukovych	Партия регионов. Официальный информационный сервер	http://www.partyofregions.org.ua/	19.10.2010	969

Russia-related “raw” messages data

Politician	Total messages selected
Yuschenko	1 106
Tymoshenko	446
Yanukovich	478

Total coded statements

- 754

Data matrix

- Date of statement
- Correspondent statement from the set (34)
- Modus
- Addressee (Eastern-Southern, Central-Western regions of Ukraine, Ukraine in general, West, Russia-East)

Analysis

- Aggregated data comparison
- Period-by-period comparison
- Correlations
- Time series analysis (causality test)

Aggregated data: Addressees

Addressee	Coded statements
Tymoshenko	
Central-Western	36
Ukraine in general	36
West	71
Russia-East	18
Eastern-Southern	25
Yushchenko	
Eastern-Southern	15
Central-Western	37
Ukraine in general	226
West	165
Russia-East	30
Yanukovych	
Ukraine in general	53
West	46
Eastern-Southern	0
Russia-East	20

Orientations factors

“Blue-white” (Yanukovych electorate) orientations:

- Russian should be state language;
- The problem of the language is real;
- Ukraine should join with Russia in economic union (ЕЭП);
- Good relations with Russia are among the top priorities for state authorities;
- In Georgia-Russia conflict Russia should be supported;
- Integration with Russia and CIS should be among priorities;
- For cheaper gas national interests can be partly sacrificed;
- We can trust president of Russia;
- Ukraine should join the geopolitical union of Russia and Belarus.

Orientations factors

“Orange” (Yushchenko and Tymoshenko electorate) orientations:

- Gas tariffs grow because of RosUkrEnergo activity;
- Russia intervene Ukrainian internal affairs.

Orientations factors

All-Ukraine orientations:

- Ukraine-Russia relations will improve after top-level visits interchange;
- With his visit to Ukraine Putin support Yanukovych.
- Improvement of Ukraine-Russia relations means stabilization of gas price.

Aggregated data comparison: Yanukovych (1)

- **There is a threat to sovereignty of Ukraine from Russia.**
- Russian language should be state language.
- **The problem of language is real.**
- Ukraine should join with Russia in economic union (ЕЭП).
- **Good relations with Russia are among the top priorities for state authorities.**
- **Improvement of relations with Russia will make gas cheaper.**
- NATO membership will reduce Ukraine's dependence upon Russia.
- **NATO membership will worsen relations with Russia.**
- **Gas tariffs grow because of RosUkrEnergo activity.**
- **In Georgia-Russia conflict Russia should be supported.**
- Integration with Russia and CIS should be among priorities.
- For cheaper gas national interests can be partly sacrificed.
- **Current gas price indicate good relations with Russia.**
- **Recognition Holodomor as genocide will worsen relations with Russia.**

Aggregated data comparison: Yanukovych (2)

- We can trust president of Russia.
- **Russia worsens relations between countries.**
- **Ukraine-Russia relations will improve after top-level visits interchange.**
- With his visit to Ukraine Putin support Yanukovych.
- Improvement of Ukraine-Russia relations means stabilization of gas price.
- **Improvement of Ukraine-Russia relations means no borders check.**
- Improvement of Ukraine-Russia relations means equal conditions for work in Russia.
- **Improvement of Ukraine-Russia relations means new projects in business, science and culture.**
- Improvement of Ukraine-Russia relations means protection of Russian language in Ukraine.

Aggregated data comparison: Yanukovych (3)

- Improvement of Ukraine-Russia relations means protection of Ukrainian language in Russia.
- Improvement of Ukraine-Russia relations means simultaneous entrance to WTO.
- Improvement of Ukraine-Russia relations means no trade restrictions from Russia.
- **Russia will rise price of gas for Ukraine.**
- **Ukraine should join the geopolitical union of Russia and Belarus.**
- Ukrainian Orthodox church should be under Moscow patriarchy.
- Ukraine should give her gas transporting system under Russia control for cheaper gas.

Aggregated data comparison: Yushchenko (1)

- **There is a threat to sovereignty of Ukraine from Russia.**
- **Russian language should be state language.**
- **The problem of language is real.**
- Ukraine should join with Russia in economic union (ЕЭП).
- **Good relations with Russia are among the top priorities for state authorities.**
- Improvement of relations with Russia will make gas cheaper.
- **NATO membership will reduce Ukraine's dependence upon Russia.**
- **NATO membership will worsen relations with Russia.**
- **Gas tariffs grow because of RosUkrEnergo activity.**
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- **Ukrainian Orthodox church should be under Moscow patriarchy.**
- Ukraine should give her gas transporting system under Russia control for cheaper gas.

Aggregated data comparison: Tymoshenko (1)

- **There is a threat to sovereignty of Ukraine from Russia.**
- **Russian language should be state language.**
- The problem of language is real.
- Ukraine should join with Russia in economic union (ЕЭП).
- **Good relations with Russia are among the top priorities for state authorities.**
- Improvement of relations with Russia will make gas cheaper.
- **NATO membership will reduce Ukraine's dependence upon Russia.**
- **NATO membership will worsen relations with Russia.**
- **Gas tariffs grow because of RosUkrEnergo activity.**
- **In Georgia-Russia conflict Russia should be supported.**
- **Integration with Russia and CIS should be among priorities.**
- **For cheaper gas national interests can be partly sacrificed.**
- **Current gas price indicate good relations with Russia.**
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Aggregated data comparison: Tymoshenko (2)

- We can trust president of Russia.
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Aggregated data comparison:

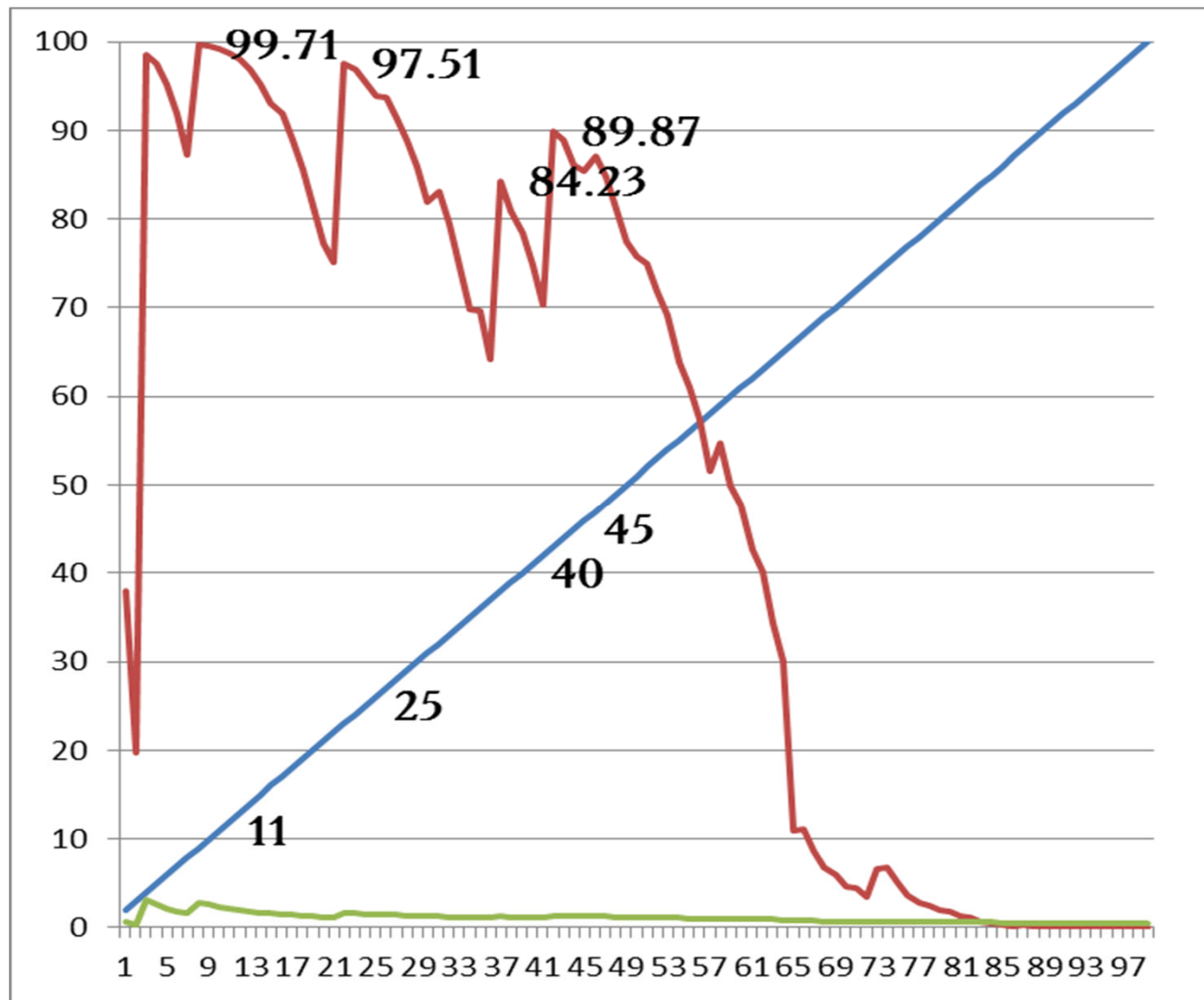
Tymoshenko (3)

- Improvement of Ukraine-Russia relations means protection of Ukrainian language in Russia.
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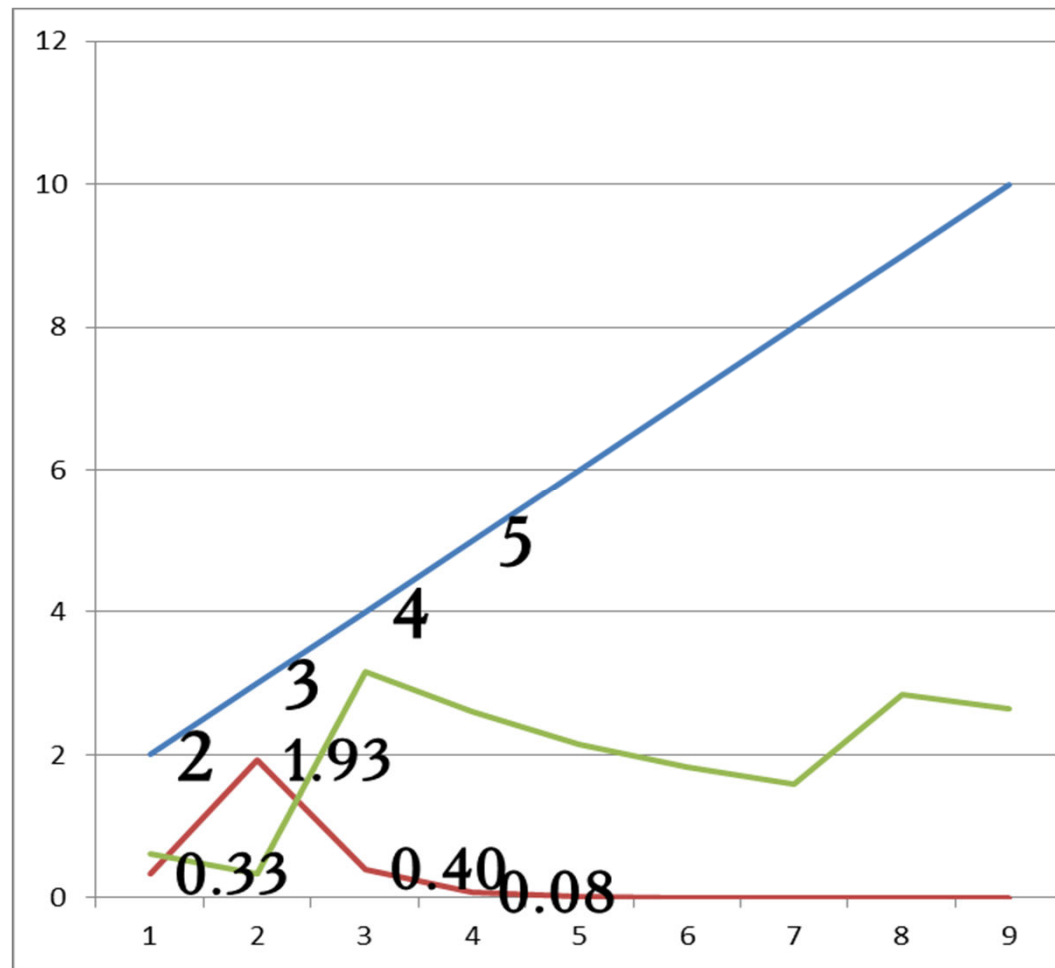
Orientations within factors: correlations

	Tymoshenko	
Tymoshenko's electorate	Spearman's ρ	Sig. (two-tailed, p)
	Within "orange" factor	
	-0,21	,682
	Within "blue-white" factor	
	0,126	,008
	Yuschenko	
Yuschenko's electorate	Within "orange" factor	
	0,159	,002
	Within "blue-white" factor	
	-0,064	,220
	Yanukovych	
Yanukovych's electorate	Within "orange" factor	
	0,000	1,000
	Within "blue-white" factor	
	0,017	,725

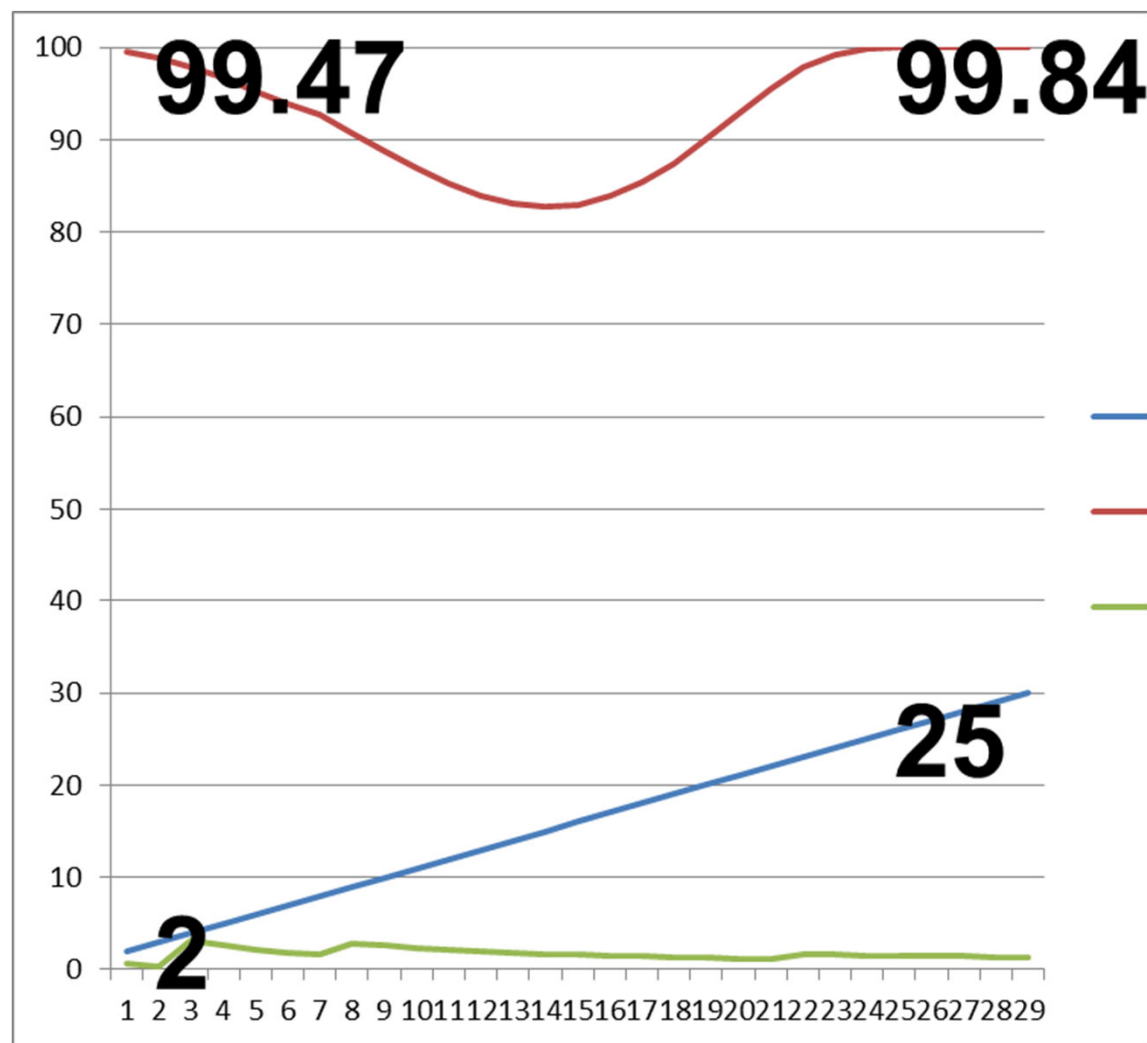
Time series analysis: Tymoshenko ("blue-white" vector)



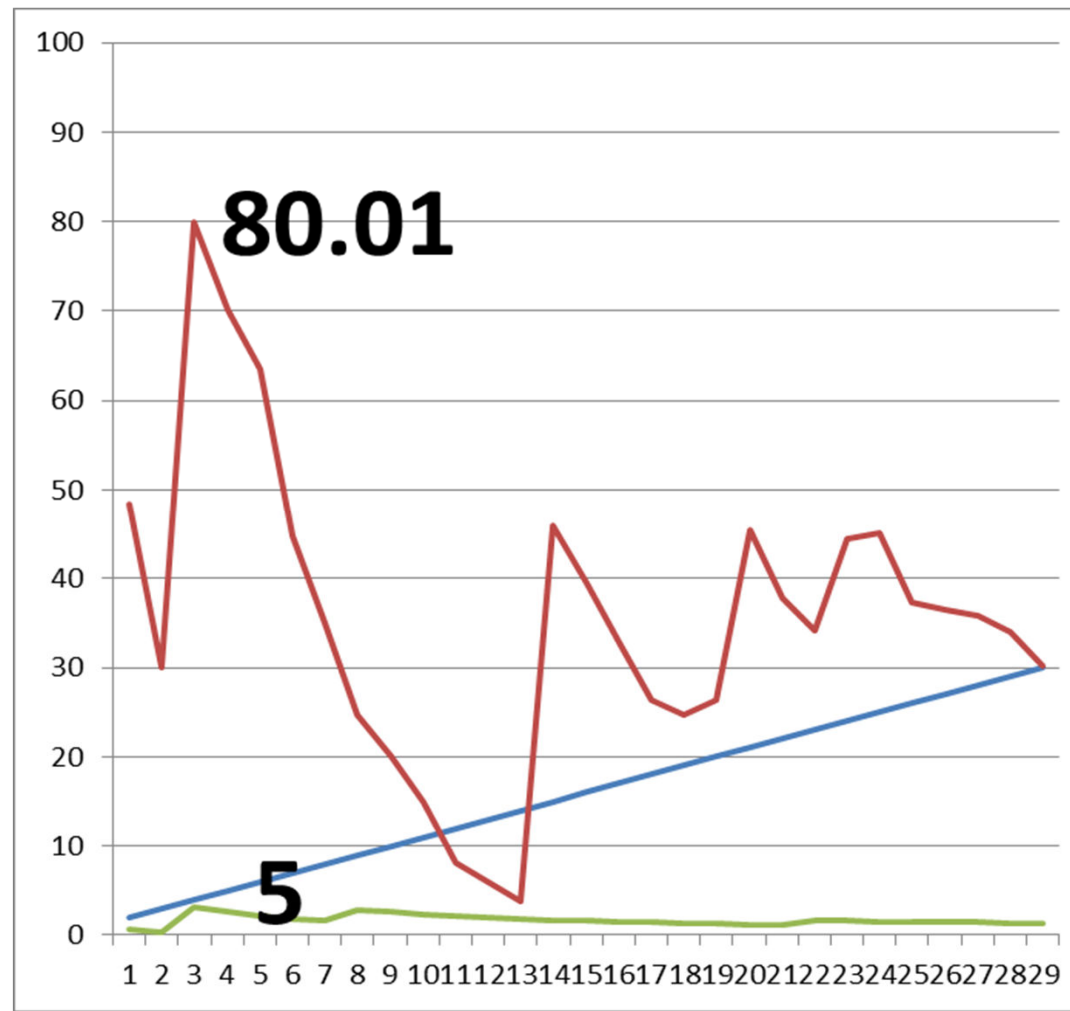
Time series analysis: Tymoshenko ("orange" vector)



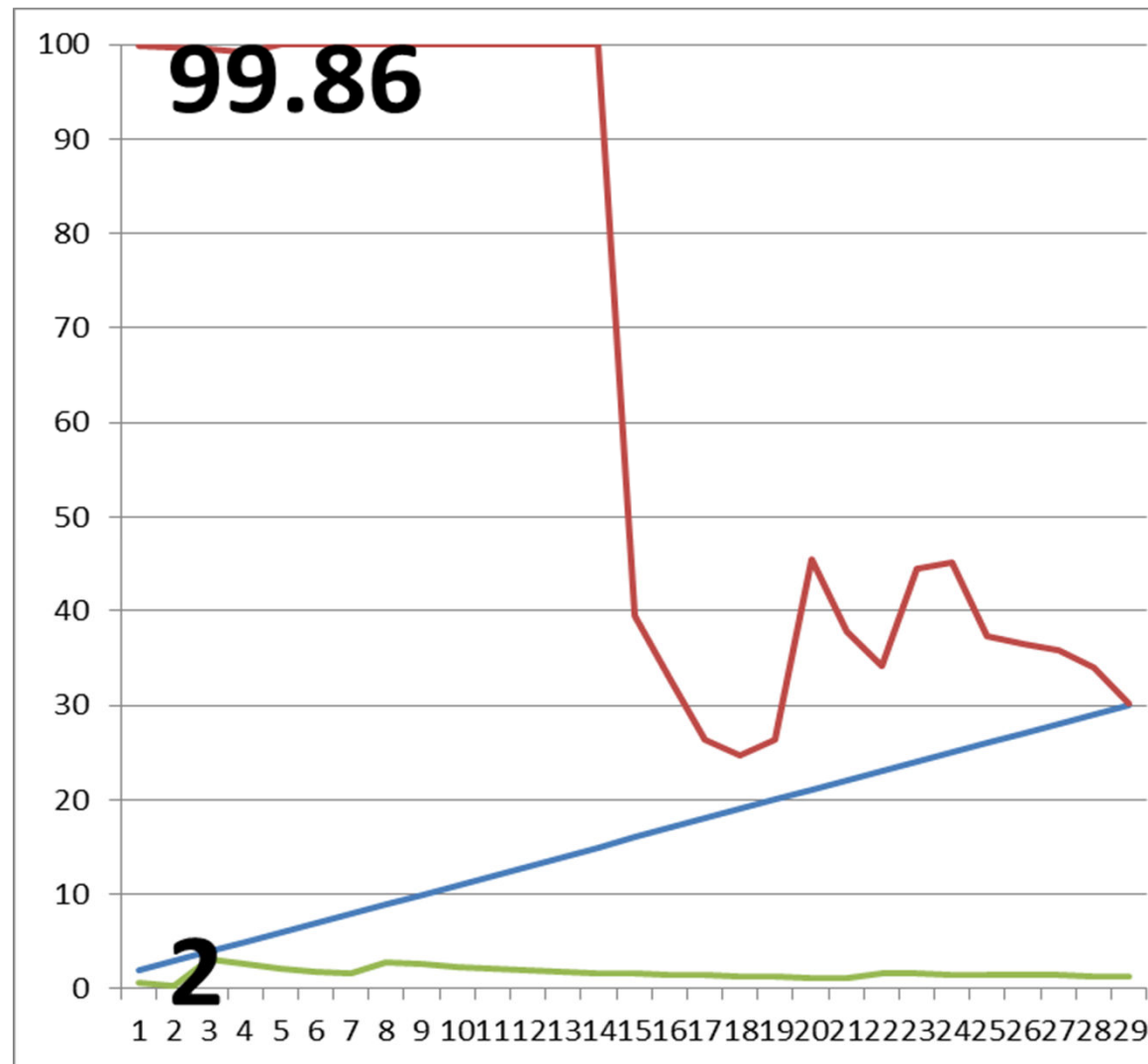
Time series analysis: Tymoshenko ("all-Ukraine" vector)



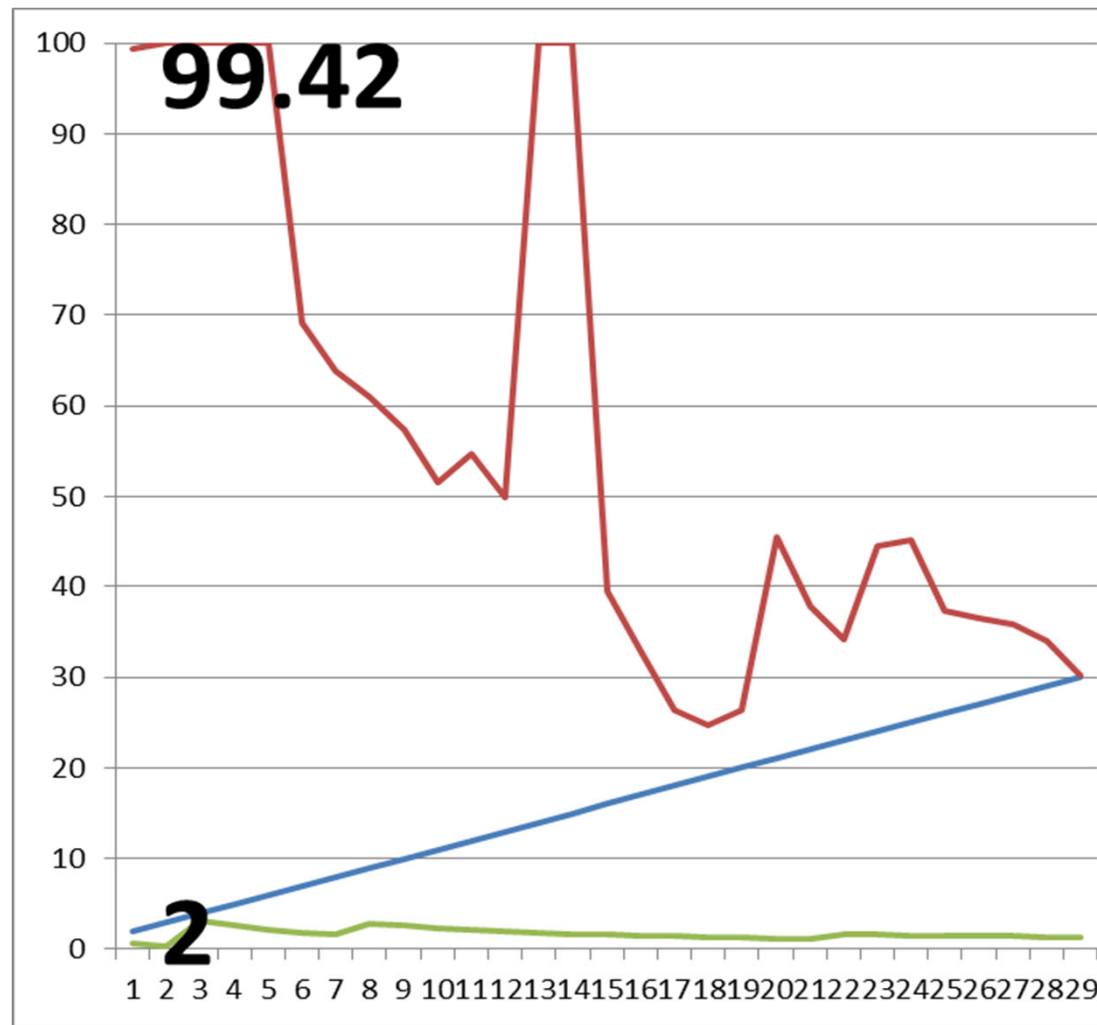
Time series analysis: Yuschenko ("blue-white" vector)



Time series analysis: Yuschenko ("orange" vector)



Time series analysis: Yuschenko ("all-Ukraine" vector)



Conclusions

- Ukrainian political leaders only partly represent citizens in the domain of foreign policy;
- There is quite stable consensus amongst the elites about Ukrainian state and economic sovereignty, but not amongst their electorate;
- There are sharp disagreements about geopolitical vectors
- Yanukovych, Yushchenko and Tymoshenko use three different types of communicative strategies:
 - Hidden orientation towards his electorate, vague statements about problematic issues (Yanukovych)
 - Hard orientation towards her electorate, while emphasizing disagreement with opponents (Tymoshenko);
 - Soft orientation towards his electorate, while emphasizing several strategic values including language and western geopolitical orientation (Yushchenko).

Foreign policy remains factor of instability in Ukraine.