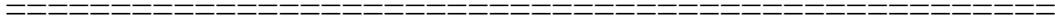




Dniepropetrovsk State University



Research Laboratory  
of Computer Technologies for Historical Researches

NATO Research Fellowships Project  
*Influence of candidate's political images on the electorate's choice:  
Computer analysis of the first elections to the Supreme Council from  
the Dniepropetrovsk region results in independent Ukraine*

Final Report

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Dniepropetrovsk, 27 June 1997

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## Introduction

**The goal** of this project is finding an answer to the question whether political images of candidates for deputies influenced the choice (behaviour) of the electorate in Dnepropetrovsk region during the first elections to the Supreme Council (Parliament) in the conditions of independent Ukraine. It was also planned to find out what image a candidate should have to become a deputy.

**The topicality** of the study can be founded on the basis of the following promises: 1) if our country is trying to become an open society, both we, its citizens, and our European neighbours have a right to know - who governs us and who adopts laws; is the legislative activity of our Parliament foreseeable and in what direction can our country move; 2) we must clearly see in what stage of transition to a democratic society our country is, and it requires understanding whether traditions and norms of organizing elections proper to democratic countries "work" in Ukraine and whether behaviour (choice) of Ukrainian electorate can be compared to the behaviour of the electorate from these countries.

**This study is done as an experimental one**, i.e., first the basic conception (hypothesis) is formulated and then, in the process of study, it is either confirmed or declined.

**The essence of the study hypothesis.** It is possible to speak about the influence of political images on electorate's choice only if the images of winners (candidates to the Parliament who became deputies) are radically different from the losers' images (those candidates who were not elected). If there are no such differences, the causes of victory should be looked for not in candidates' images but in other political realities of Ukraine, for instance, in existence of those conditions where an image does not "work" or is not necessary at all for victory.

The idea at the basis of this hypothesis may seem rather simple in content and realisation. But if we compare not the images of 3,5 or ever of all the 21 deputies from Dnepropetrovsk Region but images of all the 403 candidates who took part in the elections in all the 34 election districts of the region, this task both methodologically and technologically will prove to be not so simple.

**What were the difficulties in realizing the project?** 1. It was necessary to substantiate why the content of candidates' images may be considered as one of factorical indications (characteristics) not only of political situation (the level of democratization of society) but of socio-economic situation of society as well - and for this it was necessary to find out what could be considered as a political image in the conditions of today's Ukraine. 2. It was necessary to substantiate why studying images of deputies elected in Dnepropetrovsk Region and the analysis of election results in that region had not only local but all-Ukrainian significance. 3. It was necessary to decide and explain what materials of election campaigns (and why) were to be chosen as sources the analysis of which could contribute to reconstructing (model building) images. 4. It was necessary to collect such sources concerning all the 403 candidates in "half-open" conditions of Ukraine - that being difficult not only technically but also practically since, however strange it may seem, it was just impossible to get pre-election materials of some candidates. 5. Taking into account the considerable volume of information to be analysed, it was necessary to decide how to store it and how to reconstruct images (using what

methods and methodological concepts). In our case these tasks were solved using computer technologies, and our wish to find support in the experience of our predecessors, who gained it in solving similar problems both in Ukraine and Russia was quite natural - so, we tried to do it.

There will be answers to the majority of these 5 questions in the principal part of the work, and now we will try to demonstrate what experience of our predecessors can be used.

**Search for literature** was done, in particular, at the National Parliamentary Library (Kiev) and at the fundamental library of the Russian Institute of Social Sciences Research (Moscow). It has shown that there was very few literature of the kind we needed. We think, it can be explained by the fact that 1) it is not historians but practical politologists (from state or private image-making structures) who study pre-election campaigns both in Ukraine, and Russia now. It means that this problem in our countries is not of a historical but of a commercial nature, and it is very profitable to work at it. For instance, in Russia the cost of the project aimed at passing the 5% limit for a political party wishing to send its representatives to the Parliament is up to 4 mln. US dollars. A minute of time in the state-owned TV programme in Russia (not in prime-time) costs 20000 US dollars and in privately-owned programmes 12000 US dollars. The cost of pre-election campaign for one candidate in election district is 200-300 thous. US dollars (all the information is for 1995). According to expert appraisals, the cost of pre-election in Ukraine is roughly the same. Political marketing in Russia is dominated by such image - making giants as "The Centre of Applied Political Research", "Indem", agencies "Videointernational", "Niccolo M", "Aurora"<sup>1</sup>. That is why all the information referring to the methodology of election results analysis and to technologies of political marketing is "know-how", commercial and is practically inaccessible.

Accessible works can be provisionally divided into 3 groups:

1) *literature published in Soviet time*. Its content is eloquently described by the titles of some books: "The critique of modern bourgeois theories of leadership"<sup>2</sup>, "Image industry"<sup>3</sup>, "Stereotype and "image" in bourgeois propaganda"<sup>4</sup>. The authors of these works considered the creation of images as reproduction of bourgeois ruling ideology that substitutes changes of images for social changes, and political choice freedom for freedom of consumption<sup>5</sup>. So, it is not possible to use the experience of Soviet researchers in this work; 2) *literature published in post-Soviet period*. It can be divided into several groups: a) publications of commercial and recommendatory nature that are simplified remakes of Western publications in essence, for instance, multiple copies of the Kriebel Institute's (USA) preprints of election campaign recommendations<sup>6</sup>. Here are the titles of some of them: "How to win the elections?"<sup>7</sup>, "Elections: planning and organisation of political campaigns"<sup>8</sup>, "Road to victory: technology of an election campaign"<sup>9</sup>, b) book correctly describing the Western experience of organising elections<sup>10</sup>, c) reference books<sup>11</sup>.

The most serious works in the field of studying political realities in Ukraine are: the work by the National Institute of Strategic Studies "Elections of the Supreme Council of Ukraine. Experience and lessons" where political sympathies of the electorate are analysed, in particular, by using results of selective interviewing of 1799 Ukrainian citizens<sup>12</sup>, and a publication by the Laboratory of prospective development F-4 "Ukrainian Parliament of the 13<sup>th</sup> convocation" where using the method of multifactorial scaling results of parliamentary voting are analysed<sup>13</sup>. However for achieving the goal of our project the positive experience of these studies can be used only indirectly.

The publication of works by such Western scholars as J. Blondel, R. Taker, R. Hermann, M. Stealie, I. Freda, O. Grienstein<sup>14</sup> has had a positive educational and informational influence on post-Soviet

politologists. But it is rather difficult to "directly" apply the experience of "Western" approachers and concepts for studying political images in the CIS countries.

The following social and economic factors can be the causes of these difficulties:

1. Different social, economic, and political states of societies characteristic, on one side, of sufficiently stable democratic countries having stable social and economic systems and democratic traditions in all the spheres of social life with the basis in private property, force of law and reformation ideology, and on the other side, of extremely unstable post-Soviet countries. Such different states of different societies require developing different approaches and methods of politological analysis adequate from the point of view of political realia of every society.

2. In the conditions of post-Soviet society's marginalisation, the behaviour of certain groups of the electorate is determined not by their conscious and stable interests but by their changing and unstable moods. Thus, according to the information of the "Public Opinion" Fund half the citizens of Russia do not understand contemporary political division and, when voting, are not guided by political self-identification<sup>15</sup>. The National Institute of Strategic Studies of Ukraine is of the opinion that during 1994 elections voters who came to the polling stations "often made their choice not on the basis of convictions or political orientation but more because of external, accidental factors - sympathy to the candidate's person, recommendations and requests of their acquaintances"<sup>16</sup>. Politologist O.Valevsky calls such motivation of electorate's behaviour "visual", emphasising in that way the "theoretical" nature of parliamentary elections. According to his data, in 1994: 47,5% of voters were guided only by candidates' personal qualities in their choice, 19,5% of voters did not know what they wanted, and 24% thought of not going to the polling stations at all; 76% of the interviews believed all the politicians to be quite distant from the common people and their interests; 34% believed the same thing concerning political parties, and 20% thought parties to be organisations for doing the will of the mafia<sup>17</sup>.

A considerable part of the Ukraine's electorate made their choice following the principle "ours-alien". We will know whom the "voters considered as "ours" at the end of this work, and as to aliens", the voters believed them to be those who: a) were for the capitalist way of development (66% of interviewers), b) received support from the authorities of that time during the elections (56,3%), c) supported the policy of president L. Kravchouk (63%)<sup>18</sup>. Probably, it will be easier to understand the position of voters if it is taken into account that the growth of prices in Ukraine was: 2,100% in 1992, 10,250% in 1993, 401% in 1994 (the information of the well-known economist V. Penzenik)<sup>19</sup>.

3. The Ukrainian elections experience of 1994 made doubtful the notion that is established in Western political marketing - the more money a candidate has, the better are her/his chances of becoming a deputy. Despite the fact that practically in every second election district "new Russians" were balloted who had spent enormous sums of money, only very few of them passed into the Parliament<sup>20</sup>. The cause of defeat suffered by many of the "new Russians" was not only their behaviour during the elections that was similar to their behaviour in criminal business but also in their stupidly using money for their pre-election campaigns. For instance, in 1994 Latin American soap-operas that gathered dozen of millions of potential voters prime-time in front of their TV-sets were super-popular among Ukrainian viewers. And when an "opera" was interrupted in the most interesting place for the 3 or 4 minutes and a "new Russian" dressed in a red jacket with a green tie addressed the viewers from the screen, this "finding in publicity" worked against him much more

efficiently than the best tactical step of his opponents. It was not many of "new Russians" that could resist the temptation to show themselves on the TV screen.

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To conclude the historiographic part, it is necessary to remark that the analysis of politological literature accessible to us gives an evidence that for solving the greater part of our problems and for attaining the goals of the project we will have to count only on ourselves.

**Definition of political image.** There are no particular differences of opinions of post-Soviet politologists when they define a political image. Following the traditions of Western politology, it is believed that the political image is: a) an assembly of certain qualities associated by people with a certain person<sup>21</sup>, b) "a kind of an ideal that becomes a real force only in case when it is widely known<sup>22</sup>. Passive (corresponding to voters' expectations and not trying to change their views) and active (transforming the electorate's views in the needed direction) images are distinguished<sup>23</sup>. Different types of images, or "ideals", are also defined - "a defender of one's country", "a common man", "a new-comer" etc.<sup>24</sup> Without debating the possibility of such definitions of an image and its properties, attention should be paid to the fact that an image can be not only positive but a negative one as well.

A positive political image is an assembly of diverse characteristics of candidate's person and his/her programme introduced and fixed in the electorate's consciousness and perceived and understood by the electorate as meeting their basic ideas concerning their own interests. In the same way a negative image is a positive image reversed.

According to our empiric observations in the "near political" circles of Ukraine there is a simplified, primitive understanding of the meaning of "political image" category. On one side, the majority of the electorate sees everything concerning political images as a deception, a fake foisted on them; on the other side, home-made image-makers try to convince everyone who has money the s/he will be able to "sell" this fake. In other words, the society's political culture is such that both the greater part of both those who elect and those who are elected think in the categories of a flea market.

In reality things are not so primitively simple. In our opinion, a political image may really be a sort of an indicator, a thermometer signalling the state the society is in (whether it is ill or healthy).

In democratic societies it is an important and indispensable component part of political structure, an evidence of its openness and stability. It is necessary and it "works" only in the situation when the electorate understands that its choice determines the future of the country, and the politicians are aware that they need the support of the people. It is through taking into account this notion that we substantiate the necessity and usefulness of this project as well.

The structure of the work corresponds to the goal of the project and its separate tasks, and it may be described with the aid of the following algorithm: 1) why it is useful to study a political image? 2) what experience of our predecessors can we use? 3) in what variant (as an observation or as an experiment) should the project be implemented? 4) what meaning do we ascribe to the term "political image"? 5) why can the study of the images of candidates for deputies of the Ukrainian Parliament be informative not only on the local level but on the All-Ukrainian level as well? 6) What articles in the Election Law codify the directions and possibilities of creating images? 7) information from what sources and why can be used for reconstructing (modelling) images? 8) why is a computer (and computer technologies) needed for storing and processing this information? 9) why choose **of the**

database management system κλειω for solving the tasks of the project? 10) what theoretical and methodological notions concerning sign information structuring can serve as a basis for modelling images? 11) what methods and technologies may be used for attaining this goal? 12) how to verify the key hypothesis of the project? 13) how to interpret the content of formal quantitative image models.

The scientific novelty of this project can be seen in the fact that for the first time in Ukraine: 1) a project of this type is done independently by an academic (and not a commercial) institution - The Research Laboratory of Computer Technologies in Historical Studies at the Department of History of Dniepropetrovsk State University; 2) project authors' own developments in image modelling and their content analysis underlie its theoretical and methodological approaches; 3) all the project is done on the basis of the most up-to-date computer technologies; 4) not any kind of selection but the whole assembly of sources is used for image analysis; 5) the database management system κλειω is used for solving political tasks; 6) the algorithm of reconstructing political images with the aid of modelling has been developed and implemented, the results are reproducible; 7) the database developed by us can be used not only for verifying our own results but for solving other tasks by other researchers as well.

## **Computer in a search of political image of the candidates for deputies to Parliament of independent Ukraine (1994)**

### Preface

Beginning this study we thought whether it could be of interest (and if it could, why) to our neighbours in Europe to know the results of research concerning the influence that political images of candidates for deputies to Parliament of independent Ukraine exert on the choice of the electorate. The conclusions we have made were as follows; 1)Ukraine is a European country, we believe in European solidarity and hope that Ukraine's return to the common European home will be promoted by closer contacts, scientific contacts among them; 2)parliamentary elections is a crucial moment in the life of any country, the moment of choosing the road it decides to move farther along. The particular interest of the Ukrainian elections of 1994 is due to the fact that they were the first elections after proclaiming the independence of Ukraine. Analysing the candidates' programmes, one can understand and clearly see what was in Ukraine's past, what its present look like, and make suppositions as to its future; 3)Ukraine approximately equaling France in territory and population may become a stabilizing factor in the Eastern-European region, but to do it it should not invent what has long been known or some way of its own but to follow the common democratic road of development - the one that was, for instance, followed by Finland after gaining its independence. But we want to be understood by our neighbours. It does not mean that we want to burden them with our problems, but we hope that they will comprehend that without aid and support of the European community our road to democratic society will be much longer. We want to be understood correctly and hope that this study, written in an open style, will contribute to our country's not only being seen by our neighbours as an open society but to its really becoming an open society in the course of time.

Political image is the result of any action or lack of action on the part of a candidate for deputy or her/his team, the goal being the election of this candidate, i.e., power.

It is worthwhile to create a political image when: a)the results of election determine to whom the power will go; b)the behaviour (voting) of voters determines the results of elections (they cannot be

falsified); c)voters understand that their behaviour determines the results of elections; d)voters believe that the results of elections can "improve their life"; e)voters make their choice by voting.

If even one of these 5 components does not work, probably, there is no sense in making efforts to create a political image. As we will see further (in the course of describing and classifying the situation in central Ukraine before the elections), each of the 5 questions may be answered with a "no" with 3 or 1 probability.

The principal guarantee of elite's dependence on electorate as well as of personal freedom, is the private property and the division of society (electorate) into groups of proprietors with different economic ethnocultural, religious, regional interests. The task of a candidate who wants to become a deputy is the creation of an image corresponding to the interests of one of above-mentioned groups of electorate. In post-totalitarian states certain groups of electorate may have their regional, religious, and other interests but in fact they do not lie at the bottom of electorate's division into groups, and even if they do, the electorate is not aware of it and does not understand the essence of what is happening. The principal feature in the economy of post-totalitarian states (after they gain their independence) is hidden or open, rapid or slow, democratic or predatory redistribution of state "socialist property" that is done as a rule in favour of the former party nomenclature. Absence of "mass" private property, i.e., the absence of "middle class" in the conditions of developing state-clan capitalism means in fact full dependence of a considerable part of the electorate on the state, and if voters do not consider the issue of property redistribution of top priority for themselves but prefer candidates whose programmes emphasise other issues, such as regional, ethnocultural ones etc., it means that either these deputies, understanding what is going on, deceive those who elected them or, if they do not understand the essence of what is happening, it is not better than the former alternative. Quite of an equal significance to changing the forms of property for ensuring freedom to the citizens of Ukraine was the creation of an independent national state in 1991.

What can be the set of substitutes to private property "as an guarantee not only of electorate's independence but of its physical survival, what institutions or ideas or even errors can play the role of unifiers, become the base for unifying the electorate into "interest group", what can these interests be, what of them must the candidates "guess" to become deputies. To answer these questions the situation that emerged in central Ukraine by spring 1994, i.e., by the beginning of elections, should be classified. Our understanding of this situation is meant, those significant indications that characterised it in 1994.

These characteristics are broken down into 5 principal factorial blocks embracing the most important problems in the life of society. It should be noted that understanding the essence of those problems are personal views of the authors of the project and sublimated (compressed) results of analytically studying the situation.

1) In economic life primary accumulation of capital is taking place in the form of transition from "socialist feudalism" to state-clan capitalism. Europe passed through the period of primary accumulation in 16-17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The tragedy of Central Ukraine was and is not only the absence of middle class but absence of national bourgeoisie as well. The bourgeoisie that started to get formed after 1991 cannot be even called a compradore bourgeoisie. Its representatives have the aim of selling as quickly as possible as much of state property under their control as they can and then to move to the West. Population of cities engaged in hired labour was in fact fully dependent on directors of enterprises or institutions.

Trade unions continued to remain pocket trade-unions. In the country the situation was aggravated by the fact that during decades of Soviet power a peasant as a person capable of independently fulfilling all the cycle of agricultural works (from sowing to harvesting) was actually destroyed. And collective farms chairmen had no obstacle facing them in becoming proprietors of latifundias.

By 1994 a part of society, namely representatives of the former Party and Komsomol nomenclature, executives of Soviet power, directors of state enterprises, whole sale sellers of imported goods managed to concentrate certain means (as trading capitals) in their hands and opened banks. These people had already become conscious of themselves and their interests and got the name of "new Russians" (it should be noted that, according the logic, they could be called "new Ukrainians" but it did not happen, and it is yet another characteristics of the state of the national question in central Ukraine). At the same time in public consciousness the principles and stimuli of socialist equalising distribution system of social production continued to be artificially maintained and cultivated (a little to everybody, but equally to everybody; only those produce who work with their hands not with their head; we do not need "smart guys", we need those who can execute commands well). The sense of this manoeuvre was in distracting common people attention from what was really happening in society, that is from redistribution of state property.

2) In political life of the former USSR a transfer of power from the post-totalitarian Communist elite of the "third Rome" to the post-Communist regional-national elites took place, and formation of regional (as a rule, connected with certain administrative regions) clans started with ensuing straggle between them for power in Ukraine.

3) In the sphere of building the national state the position of Ukraine as an independent state and degree of its dependence on the former metropoly may be imagined if we compare it to the position of Slavonic states of Austro-Hungarian empire after its disintegration at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In economy: a) big production establishments with a full technological cycle of competitive products manufacturing were practically absent; b) leading research institutions engaged in designing high technology products were situated in Russia as a rule; c) power supply of Ukraine was fully dependent on import of oil, gas, and fuel for atomic power stations from Russia; d) most developed in technology and at the same time most power consuming branches of Ukrainian economy were military branches, but their production after 1991 was in fact needed by nobody; e) consumer goods were almost totally absent in the market. In other words, by spring 1994 the economy of Ukraine was as independent of Russia as electric pressing iron can consider itself independent of an electric socket.

In the public consciousness of a considerable parts of Ukrainian citizens paternalistic, servile ideas and notions concerning the role and functions of state were still dominating. On the other hand, the situation was complicated by the fact that a substantial part of intelligentsia (independently of its national origin) that had been in "internal opposition" to the totalitarian regime, Soviet power, and had considered the state apparatus from the point of view of international democratic tradition, i.e., as (and not more) an apparatus of employees serving society, doing the work they were commissioned to do and getting their salaries from taxpayers' money, was not always ready to accept and support the idea of creating a strong independent. Many intellectuals were apprehensive of the fact that it was supposed to create Ukrainian national state and its ideologists and builders often were former high-ranking officials of the Communist party nomenclature who only yesterday were partisans of internationalism.

4) "National question". By 1994 a considerable part of russified population from big industrial cities of central Ukraine did not accept independent Ukraine as "Ukrainian Ukraine", i.e., as a state of independent Ukrainian nation with all its attributes: state language, symbols, church. Only villages and a small group of intelligentsia remain the bearers of Ukrainian national traditions (the Ukrainian language first at all).

In the centre of Ukraine the idea of national independence (supported during the referendum on the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 1991 by more than 90% of the population of Ukraine regardless of national origin) was, unfortunately, understood in the following context (cultivated by mass media): a) we have everything in Ukraine; b) when we separate ourselves from the USSR we will divide everything we have among much smaller population; c) consequently we will live better than within the USSR. In other words, the idea of national independence practically excluded the Ukrainian national component.

5) "Religious question". Official atheism seemed to have died as a component of state (official) ideology. But a substantial part of electorate still did not distinguish the church as a social institution and religion as a sum of moral and ethical values. Great interest was manifested towards the external, ritual aspect of religion. The situation was complicated by the fact that the majority of Orthodox communities were under the jurisdiction of Moscow Patriarchate (actively supported by the authorities in Central Ukraine), and the Ukrainiane autocephalic church was not seen by the electorate as a component of a n independent national state.

6) Chernobil tragedy. By spring 1994 the consequences of Chernobil tragedy had been partially eliminated (a sarcophagus had been built, the great part of population had been moved from Chernobil zone). But as a whole the Chernobil problem, the solution of which is bound with closing the atomic power station itself, with rendering more effective financial, medical, and psychological (moral) aid to those who became the victims, had not been solved. Besides others, the Chernobil tragedy included moral-ethical aspects. They concern personal responsibilities of that time leaders of Soviet Ukraine (V. Shcherbitsky, V. Schevchenko and others) who knew about possible consequences of Chernobil catastrophe, but did not warn the population about it and did not cancel the mass celebrations, i.e., the first of May demonstrations. By doing it they had in fact deceived the people of Ukraine having left them under the death rays of Chernobil.

Long keeping the fact of the catastrophe in secret, no preliminary information known to the population of Ukraine as to possible consequences of catastrophes of this kind and appropriate behaviour in such situation, disinformation on the part of authorities about real events in Chernobil and the ensuing policy of the Soviet government - the result was that either in 1986 or later there were no organised and mass protects against the Administration's "Chernobil" policy.

However, by 1994 the essence and consequences of Chernobil catastrophe had been quite clear to a substantial part of citizens of Ukraine, candidates foe deputies of Parliament among them. The pro-Communist part of society either tried not to remember Chernobil or emphasised the technogenic causes of catastrophe and the necessity of eliminating its ecological consequences. The issue of personal responsibility of Ukraine's political leadership (V. Shcherbitsky, V. Schevchenko and others) was not mentioned. The social and economic changes that had taken place between 1992 and 1994 and brought about sharp drop in the living standard in Ukraine pushed Chernobil problems to the background.

These evaluations give an opportunity of formulating the main tasks to be solved in Ukraine for following the road to democratic independent open society.

- 1) In economic life it is the "creation" of middle class, i.e., open and equal redistribution of state property without permitting the clans to steal and appropriate it, developing conditions for coexistence of different forms of property, curbing monopolies introduction of hereditary possession of land in villages (in the conditions of Ukraine the introduction of private land property in 1994 would have led to land being immediately bought out and concentrated in the hands of landlords: chairmen of collective farms, directors of state farms, officers of village administration and others).
- 2) In political life it is the creation of conditions for emergence and functioning of multi-party system, democratic elections to Parliament, preparation and adopting of independent Ukraine's constitution, liquidation of the system of Soviets, depolitisation of local administration.
- 3) In the area of building an independent national state it is:
  - a) beginning of reorientation from East to West with the aim of returning to the common European home;
  - b) beginning of building the national army;
  - c) searching for compromise alternatives in economic relations with Russia and new (non-Russian) sources of power.;
  - d) freeing the majority of Ukrainian population from servile illusions concerning the paternalistic role of state.
- 4) In the area of national question:
  - a) revival of national consciousness of a substantial part of Ukrainians who live in Central, Eastern, and Southern regions of Ukraine;
  - b) legal status of Ukrainian as a state language;
  - c) revival and legal codification of national state symbols (the emblem - a trident, the flag - blue-yellow);
  - d) searching the way to "internal" compromise among citizens of Ukraine of different national origins, adopting democratic laws concerning national minorities in Ukraine regardless of their national origin, race, religion, sex etc.;
  - e) creating an economic foundation for restoring the independent Ukrainian state through economic reforms.
- 5) In the area of religious life:
  - a) searching ways of compromise and creating conditions for peaceful coexistence of different religious nominations;
  - b) genuine separation of church and state;
  - c) revival of the Ukrainian autocephalic Orthodox church independent of independent of Moscow Patriarchate (Kiev Patriarchate);
  - d) searching for compromise and mutual understanding between Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek-Catholic churches;
  - e) rejecting the state policy of militant atheism.
- 6) Chernobyl problem:
  - a) the final aim of its solution is closing the Chernobyl atomic power station and replacement of all reactors of "Chernobyl" type in the atomic power stations where they function;

- b) increase in purposeful aid to the citizens who are victims of Chernobil;
- c) stricter supervision of executives responsible for the distribution of international humanitarian aid;
- d) greater openness atomic power engineering and consolidation of international cooperation in this field;
- e) putting on trial the former Communist leaders of Ukraine guilty of terrible consequences of Chernobil tragedy.

Highlighting these 6 key (in our opinion) is necessary for: 1) describing in brief the situation of Ukraine and its citizens on the eve of 1994 elections; 2) demonstrating the most painful and acute problems the Ukrainian Parliament was to solve.

If we formulate possible answers to these 6 questions (problems) following the dichotomy principle, i.e., when one alternative answer fully excluded the other, we will: 1) model extreme (opposite) alternatives of candidates' political positions manifestations, i.e., develop images hypothetical models. In our case it will be models of the so called left candidates' images (first of all, Communists and socialists) and right candidates' images - representatives of the national democratic forces, such as the Popular Movement of Ukraine and Republicans. Variants of images of the so called "Centrist" candidates will be situated between them; 2) these simplified models can be used for identification of all the candidates' images following the "Who's who?" principle by way of comparison with extreme alternatives; 3) these extreme alternatives can be a sort of boundaries of space where all the alternatives of images can be positioned.

The simplified alternative models of centrist, left and right candidates' images developed by us could be used for answering the question "who's who" by comparing alternative answers from the programme of every candidate to each of 3 models.

But in practice everything was much more complex because: 1) in candidates' programmes one could not always find quite definite unambiguous answers to each of the six questions; 2) such answer could often be obtained by analysing rather big fragments of programmes texts or these texts in their entirety linking separate sentences, statements, slogans; 3) the content of documents turned out to be much more complex and more full of information than our simplified image models content; 4) in 3 alternative image models suggested by us candidates' biographies were practically beyond the bounds of consideration but they were of the greatest importance for candidates' images and for their understanding. The conclusion was that candidates' biographies and programmes texts had to be analysed as one text.

The idea of identification of the candidates' images with the aid of comparing each of them to simplified models of Left, Centre, and Right Wings images was fruitful, but its realisation in the form we had suggested (6 problems, 6 answers) considerably impoverished and simplified the possible image models content, and it left unused a great stock of information from the documents. So, a solution had to be found that permitted to avoid the shortcomings of suggested methodology of image identification. The problem was being solved in two directions - empirical and theoretical.

**The empirical part.** Experience has shown us that by way of documents content pilot analysis (about 100 programmes and biographies) it was necessary to define the circle of issues and questions most often met in the documents, i.e., compile their list, having expanded the number of 6 questions, such a list has been compiled (Appendix A).

The theoretical methodological part. After compiling the list, it was necessary to analyse all the mass of documents in the light of this specific questionnaire and to transform the pre-election documents of every candidate into a table of answer questions. It had been done, and after that the question arose how to identify an image now. It was not correct to compare complex accumulations of information concerning deputies' images with simplified image models of Left, Centre, and Right Wings that included only 6 positions (problems). It was also a technologically impossible task to create samples (models) of Left, Centre, and Right images on the basis of the questions from the list and then to compare with them the content of more than 500 candidates' programmes and biographies. A non-standard solution was needed.

It should be reminded that our principal idea (hypothesis) is formulated in the following way: if the images of winners (deputies) are not different from those who suffered defeat, then the electorate's behaviour (election results) do not depend of candidates' political images.

To verify this hypothesis not only winners' image models but image models of all the candidates, i.e., their pre-election documents, should be analysed. It will make possible to know: 1) what was the content of a negative image, so to say, that is the image of those who suffered defeat - finding out in this way what ideas, positions, slogans of candidates were rejected by the electorate; 2) what prospects we have lost (or vice versa, what we have avoided) by not electing those that were defeated to Parliament.

Methodologically the task of hypothesis verification could be solved not by the method of identification when every candidates' image model was supposed to be compared to a prototype - a simplified Left, Centre, and Right Wings image model, but by comparing every candidates' image model (obtained with the aid of list analysis) to image models of every other candidate.

In our case the method of image identification with the aid of a simple giving answers to 6 questions (problems) was nothing else but a variant of objects classification that was supposed to be done using a limited number of indications (6 problems), these showed that it was not correct to use classification for analysing complex information from pre-election documents with the aim of reconstructing political images. The classification idea itself is not rejected by us but to realise it more sophisticated approaches and technologies are needed.

The method that is an improvement and a more complex variant of classification is called a multi-factorial classification or typologisation. Its aim is breaking down of collections of objects not into groups of similar objects (classes) but into groups of objects of the same kind-types. As distinct from classification, typologisation: 1) is done taking into account as many indications (characteristics) of objects as possible; 2) factorial indications are determined not before but after (as a result) studying a collection of objects; 3) computers are needed for typologising; 4) as a result of typologising not only factorial indications of objects are determined but relations between them are found out.

The possibility and correctness of using typologising for building models of candidates for deputies images can be founded with the aid of the following theoretical position:

1. The peculiarity of every research studying definite phenomena and processes that happened in the past is in researcher's studying not these phenomena and processes themselves but information (data) about them fixed in information bearers, mainly as texts or statistics. This information is a kind of substitute, analogy of those phenomena and processes that really existed (took place) in the past. These analogies are called information models, and words and figures used in their building are called signs. According to that, sign models may be descriptive and quantitative, i.e., texts and statistics.

2. Sign models as a rule do not carry knowledge but information about the objects studied by us. Information and knowledge are not identical notions. Information can "become" knowledge only after it has been processed and presented by a research so that s/he can recognise it, understand its meaning, and use it for solving her/his problems.

3. Objects, events, and processes (separate people, their groups, and results of their activity) are multifactorial objects, i.e., the ones where qualitative peculiarities, properties, and differences from other objects are determined not by two or three indications but by their accumulation. Qualitative peculiarity of multifactorial objects is not a simple result of their properties (indications) addition - it appears as a result of complex interaction and mutual influence of these properties. Mutually connected and mutually influencing elements (they can be objects and their indications may be called a system).

4. Two of several systems may be composed of the same elements but if their interconnections are different, different systems may be created of the same elements.

5. Not all the system elements are, as a rule, responsible for its qualitative peculiarity - it is only a part of the elements called the system structure.

6. Sources of information ("information system") will tell what the past systems were like when they are able to reflect and fix the functions and structure of these systems in information.

7. To understand the meaning of a system and its functions, it needs to be structured, i.e., its structure should be extracted from its elements and compared to structures of other systems.

8. The process of structuring information from texts and statistics is a process of information analogues creation - sign models of systems to be studied (in our case, candidates' images).

It follows from what was said that: a) the object of this study is the information concerning candidates' images as systems fixed in sign models - candidates' biographies and programmes; b) these texts are considered by us as information system, as sign models subjected to principles of system, model, and sign methodologies described above. Signs (words and figures) are elements of these systems; c) the semantic structure of these texts is an accumulation of signs (words) and interrelations between them that, interacting, "create" their qualitative peculiarity, i.e., the meaning of texts and their content different from the meaning and content of the other texts; d) the text gets its meaning if interrelations between the elements (words) can be found, i.e., its structure can be determined; e) if a text is a sign system, finding its structure may be metaphorically represented as a process of searching and reproducing the meaning of a letter in a short telegram; f) the models of candidates' images that we want to built may be defined as counter-factual models, i.e., the models modelling what has never existed in reality. Candidates could: 1) correct or keep silent about some facts from their past lives; 2) inadequately understand and evaluate the meaning of processes that happened in the past or are happening now; 3) suggest and promise to electorate wonderful future existing only in their imagination and often being nothing else but reanimated past<sup>25</sup>.

## **What is Dniepropetrovsk region in social and economic respects and why political images of the candidates may be of interest to researchers?**

Dniepropetrovsk region is situated practically in the central part of Ukraine (with some shift to the South-East) in the basin of the middle and lower flow of the Dniepr. In the east it borders on Donetsk region, in the South on Zaporozhye and Kherson regions, in the West on Nikolaev and Kirovograd region, in the North on Poltava and Kharkov regions of Ukraine. The territory of the region occupies 31.900 km<sup>2</sup> that makes about 5.3% of the territory of the state. It is the second largest region in Ukraine as to its territory (after Odessa region). In its geographical parameters it is even somewhat larger than such European states as Albania or Belgium where the territories correspondingly occupy 28.7 and 30.5 thousand km<sup>2</sup>.

On the first of January 1992 the population living in the boundaries of Dniepropetrovsk region was 3918.6 thousand. It was about 7.5% of the total population of Ukraine at that time. The average density of population is 122.8 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. Just like with its territory, Dniepropetrovsk region is in the second place among all the Ukrainian regions (after Donetsk region) as to population. According to this index the region practically equals such a European state as Ireland. The majority of population in Dniepropetrovsk region lives in towns and cities (about 84% according to 1991 data).

Administratively Dniepropetrovsk region is divided into districts. On the 1st of January 1992 there were 22 country district and 18 districts in towns and cities. In 1992 from some parts of Dniepropetrovsky and Tsaritchansky districts a new district has been organized - Petrikovsky district; in 1996 some towns and villages that had been included before in Sinelnikovsky and Pavlogradsky districts were put under the administrative authority of a new district centre - that of the urban settlement of Yurievka in the restoration and improvement of which practically all the districts of the region had taken part. In this way, there were 24 country districts in Dniepropetrovsk region by 1997. Some of them (for instance, Dnieprodzerzhinsky, Krivorozhsky, Nikopolsky, Novomoskovsky, Pavlogradsky and Dniepropetrovsky districts) have a rather high industrial potential while their agricultural sector mainly caters of the needs of urban infrastructures. There are also districts in the region specialized in growing grain and industrial crops, as well as in cattle-breeding for getting meat and dairy products. Magdalinovsky, Mezhevskoy, Petrikovsky, Petropavlovsky, Krinitchansky, Solonyansky, Tsaritchansky districts and other are among them.

19 settlements in Dniepropetrovsk region enjoy the town or city status; there are 54 urban settlements and 265 village councils (all in all, there are about 1500 village). Dniepropetrovsk, the regional centre, has the population of 1190.000 according to the data on the 1st January 1992. It is the third city in Ukraine as to its population (after Kiev and Kharkov). In other 7 towns of the region the population exceeds 50.000: Dnieprodzerzhinsk (286.000), Krivoy Rog (729.000), Marganets (55.000), Novomoskovsk (77.000), Pavlograd (136.000), Nikopol (160.000), Zheltye Vody (64.000).

Dniepropetrovsk region is one of the most industrially developed among regions of Ukraine. Almost all the sectors of economy are represented here. This is why it is possible to say that this region is a small model of Ukraine as a whole from the point of view of its industrial development. The greatest role is played by branches of mining industry, metallurgy, agricultural machinery production. At the same time enterprises processing products of agriculture, manufacturing consumer goods (light industry included) also work here.

In 1991 Dnipropetrovsk region produced consumer goods, in prices, of that period, for the sum of 9645.6 mln. Karbovanetz (Krb.) among them food stuffs for 4405 mln. krb., non-food stuffs for 4674.4 mln. krb., products of light industry for 1806.2 mln. krb. This index is greater only in Donetsk, Kiev, and Lvov regions. It constitutes 2.320 krb. per capita consumer goods production (among them food stuffs for the sum of 1.126 krb., non-food stuffs for 1.194 krb., products of light industry for 462 krb.) in prices of that year. It is a little bit lower than average figures for Ukraine.

At the same time Dnipropetrovsk region occupies one of the leading places in the agricultural sector of Ukraine.

On the 1st of January 1992 about 2.604 thous. hectares of land in the region were used for agriculture, 2.604 thous. hectares being used for harvesting. It is the highest indicator for regions of Ukraine. Out of 1.957 thous. hectares of land used for sowing under industrial crops, 91 thous. hectares under potatoes, vegetables and water-melon plantations, and 700 thous. hectares of land used for sowing 942 thous. hectares are under grain crops, 224 thous. hectares under industrial crops, 91 thous. hectares under potatoes, vegetables and water-melon plantations, and 700 thous. hectares are under crops used for feeding cattle. It is the total area of land used for sowing Dnipropetrovsk region is only behind Odessa region. But in net grain harvests Dnipropetrovsk region is in front of all the regions of Ukraine (2.662 thous.t. in weight after processing in all kinds of farming establishments).

In social aspect Dnipropetrovsk region also represents practically all the spectrum of components that can be met in Ukraine. Almost all the nations that live in the state live in the territory of the region. It should be remarked that the region was always distinguished by an element of compromise in solving all the vital problems facing the state. At the same time the population is characterized by a certain political passivity (inertia) that was demonstrated not only during all the latest elections but also during the All-Ukrainian protest actions against the government's policy, these actions finding almost no support in the region. On the other hand, the political passivity (inertia) may be considered as a manifestation of one of the factorial components of Ukrainian national mentality including: pragmatism, balanced approaches, individualism, orientation at finding resources in one's own forces and efforts, solving one's problems independently of external conditions and situations.

But, certainly, the most interesting phenomenon in this respect is the fact that both during the times of the former USSR and in the independent Ukrainian state it was just from Dnipropetrovsk region that a great number of representatives of Party and, later, state leadership, commanding persons of different levels and in different fields originated. Probably, it may be considered as an evidence of the fact that these persons somehow suited both Eastern and Western regions of Ukraine, i.e., they were some kind of compromise, "average" alternatives for leaders. It makes possible speaking now about a peculiar "Dnipropetrovsk clan" in the structure of today's administration in Ukraine. The fact that it (this clan) always manages not only to maintain but even to reinforce its positions, once more turns our attention to this issue.

In the Soviet time there was a joke that the USSR history could be divided into 3 periods: pre-petrovsky (before Tsar Peter I), petrovsky (after Peter I) and Dnipropetrovsky period. When these lines are being written, Dnipropetrovsk region is represented in the Ukrainian ruling elite by the President of Ukraine L. Koutchma, the Prime-Minister P. Lazarenko, the General Prosecutor of Ukraine G. Vorsinov, the Minister of the Cabinet of Ministers V. Poustovoitenko, the First Vice-Premier S. Tighipko, the Secretary of the Council of National Security Gorbulin and others. The history seems to repeat itself...

That is why, as we think, it is just Dnipropetrovsk region that can serve as a micromodel of Ukraine in its political, social, and economic aspects. It gives one more indirect confirmation of rationality of considering (using the data from this region) the images of candidates for deputies of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, as well as those of their personal and public characteristics that could made it possible for them to win in the elections.

### **What must the candidate for people's deputy of Ukraine be according to the requirements of the election law and who and how could become this candidate**

The peculiar image of and "ideal" (normal) candidate for election to the Supreme Council of Ukraine from the point of view of existing legislation was given in the Law "About elections of people's deputies of Ukraine"<sup>26</sup>. In a number of its articles requirements are set as to candidates' conformity to the existing legislative norms, political traditions in the country etc.

In article 2, part 2 the age limit and permanent residence limit are set for persons who can be nominated for people's deputies of Ukraine, "a deputy can be elected from citizens of Ukraine having a right to vote, not younger than 25 years of age on the day of elections, and permanently residing in the territory of Ukraine during not less than the last two years". In part 3 of this article it is pointed out that any direct or indirect restrictions depending on origin, social or property status, racial or national extraction, sex, education, language, religion, political convictions, nature of employment are prohibited.

Part 5 of article 2 prohibits electing for deputies those citizens of Ukraine who on the day of election were doing their mandatory military or alternative (non-military) service, as well as representatives of the President of Ukraine in regions, Judges and public prosecutors. They can be registered as applicants for candidacy only after they submit to the election commission their written agreement to be relieved from the post they occupy in case they are elected as people's deputies of Ukraine, as well as an application to temporarily suspend their authority ensuing from the position occupied during the whole period of election campaign. In accordance with part 6 of the same article a people's deputy of Ukraine cannot at the same time be a deputy of any other representative organ of state power or any organ of local or regional self-government.

All citizens of Ukraine having a right to vote can nominate candidates for deputies, and this right is to be realised both directly and through political parties and their election blocs, as well as through working collectives.

Part 1 of article 19 of the Law "About elections of people's deputies of Ukraine" indicates that a candidate for deputies of his/her trusted persons cannot at the same time be members of an election commission.

A whole number of requirements to candidates for deputies is set in article 25 of the election law. In its very first part it is indicated that a candidate for deputies is to be nominated during 30 days (beginning from 90 days and ending with 30 days before elections), while parties and election blocs have a right to nominate only one candidate in every election district through their regional (local) organisations. In part 2 of this article it is once more emphasised that a candidate for deputies should conform to the requirements of article 2 of this Law.

For elector's nominating a candidate for deputy not less than 10 electors are to sign a corresponding statement. If a candidate is also nominated by a party or election bloc, an extract from the proceeding of the meeting (conference) of the regional organisation of this party (election bloc) as well as a list of members of this party (this first 100 members) is to be added to this statement (article 23, part 4 and 5). An applicant can be registered as a candidate for deputy if s/he is supported by signatures of not less than 300 voters of a given election district. Besides, during registration s/he is required to make a deposit of not less than 5 minimum salaries (wages) that are reimbursed only if s/he wins during elections not less than five per cent of votes from those voters who took part in the elections (article 23, parts 9, 11).

The list of voters supporting an applicant for candidacy is submitted to the district election commission not later than 45 days before elections (article 24, part 1). The election commission is obliged to register a candidate for deputies not later than 5 days after submitting all the documents necessary for registration and making a money deposit (article 25, part 1). The decision about registering is taken if the following documents are submitted: an application signed by a leading person of the regional party organisation or an application signed by a person authorised by electors (voters), a list of voters who support the applicant, a statement of a candidate for deputies with his/her obligation to leave the former place of work in case of being elected a deputy, a document confirming making the money deposit, a candidate's programme a statement about temporary suspension of professional activity and declaration about income during the past year (article 25, part 2).

Some requirements are made to candidates for people's deputies concerning the ways they organise their election campaigns. First, a candidate should have not more than five trusted persons who help him/her in organising the election campaign, doing agitation represent his/her interests in relations with state authorities and associations of citizens, with local and regional organs of self-government, election commissions, voters (article 31, part 2). Second, for printing pre-election posters a candidate is obliged (not later than 35 days before the elections) to submit to the district election commission his/her photo, pre-election programme of two double-spaced type-written pages, as well as his/her biography (of the same size) with the most important information concerning professional activities if it is not a state secret specified by law. Such poster must contain information that is not true to fact or commercial advertisements (article 38, part 2). Finally, third, the law specifies that the election campaign may be financed with money given by the state, political parties, their election blocs, candidates for deputies, with offerings given by persons or organisations. But a condition is set that the size of the candidate's personal election fund cannot exceed 100 minimum salaries or wages (article 36, parts 1,4).

There are peculiar restrictions as to being a candidate for the second time. In part 4 of article 48 of the election law it is written, "Candidates who cancelled their candidacy or who had not got a required number of votes and were not elected during the elections that took place and were not recognised invalid, cannot be balloted for the second time during the repeated elections".

Such in general are the required conditions for being nominated a candidate for people's deputy of Ukraine from the point of view of existing state legislation and such is to be an image of an ideal (normal) applicant for this position - those official requirements that are made to any applicant.

## **The base of sources**

During the pre-election campaign the basic sources where data concerning the political images of candidates for deputies could be fixed were as follows:

- a) agitation posters;
- b) publications in press;
- c) speaking through mass media (radio and TV);
- d) materials prepared for meeting with voters in voting districts.

According to the law of Ukraine on electing people's deputies of Ukraine (the Law farther on) pre-election agitation (propaganda) can be done in any forms and by any means not contrary to the Constitution and laws of Ukraine (Art. 32, § 3).

Pre-election agitation was financed with money received from the state, political parties, their election blocs, candidates for deputies, offerings from persons and organisations (Art. 36, § 1).

District election commissions, from the money allocated for elections paid for time at state-owned radio and TV, printing posters, and also for publishing pre-election programmes in state-owned and local authorities-owned newspapers (Art. 36, § 2).

Together with state financing of pre-election agitation a candidate for deputies could use money from her/his personal election fund (Art. 36, § 3) - this fund created out of personal finances, finances of political parties, offerings from citizens of Ukraine, organisations registered in Ukraine, except those with foreign investments. The candidate's personal election fund could not be greater than 100 minimum salaries (Art. 36, § 4).

The personal election fund was being formed as a bank account under the title "Election fund", this account done to the name of fund distributor in one of the Ukraine Saving bank's divisions located where the election district was located (Art. 36, § 5). The fund distributor got a separate cheque book for all the sum of the election fund (Art. 36, § 6). The district election commission had a right of checking how they money from the personal election fund was used (Art. 36, § 7). Reports about sources of money from personal election funds and their use had to be published during 20 days after the elections (Art. 36, § 8) - but it has not been done.

The principal means of agitation, as it will be shown, in candidates' pre-election struggle that formally equalised all the pretenders due to the standard established by the Law were agitation posters. According to the Law (Art. 33, § 1) the posters could be issued in not more than 2000 copies for every candidate. The size of the agitation poster (A3) was determined by the fact that every candidate was obliged to submit to the election commission her/his photo of a regulated size (6x8 sm.), pre-election programme of 2 type-written double-spaced pages (A4 format), and biography of the same volume 35 days before the election day. The biography and programme were compiled by the candidate or the support group. The principal requirement to the biography text was the prohibition to disclose information that was classified according to the law in force (Art. 33, § 2) when the results of candidates' work were described.

Every candidate was obliged to submit to the district election commission samples of pre-election agitation materials signed by him/her and produced with her/his consent (Art. 33, §5). The biography of every candidate on her/his agitation poster was signed by the district election commission. Those commissions were prohibited to make corrections in the content of biographies and political programmes of candidates (Art. 33, § 2). The evidence is the fact that there were frequent grammatical and orthographic errors, obscure sentences, alogisms and such like in the texts. But they

could give consent to certain things that were foreseen by the law in force. Thus, it was prohibited to insert commercial advertisements or false information into the text of political programmes or biographies (Art. 33, § 2).

Pre-election posters were to be issued not later than 20 days before the election day. The date and place of publishing was also indicated by the printing house on the agitation poster itself. The district election commissions and local authorities had to provide places and specially equipped stands, information boards in public places for candidates and citizens to display materials of pre-election agitation, they had to provide materials for pre-election agitation issuing of which was the responsibility of district election commissions (Art. 33, § 4).

### **Publication in press**

The law gave candidates for deputies, the right to publish free the text of their pre-election programmes (of not more than 2 A4 type-written double-spaced pages) in identical polygraphy in printed mass-media (newspapers) founded by state executive power bodies, bodies of local and regional authorities that are spread in the district where the candidate for deputies was balloted (except all-state media) (Art. 34, § 2). The content of candidates' political programmes are practically identical to agitation posters.

The agitation in privately-owned printed mass-media (newspapers) was limited only by the size of candidate's personal election fund while the charges were identical for all the candidates (Art. 34, § 3).

Usually district election commissions determined what newspaper was to publish candidates' programmes free. Such newspapers were those that belonged to executive committees of city or district Councils of People's Deputies: "Our city" (Dniepropetrovsk), "Dzerzhinets" (Dnieprodzerzhinsk), "Novomoskovsk Truth" (Novomoskovsk), "Pridniprovsk communar" (Verhnedneprovsky Region); "The red star" (Mezhevskoy district) and others.

Newspaper publications had a serious shortcoming - they did not give biographies of candidates for deputies. Though in some districts even candidates' photos were displayed in programmes publications. One more fact should be added - the cost of periodic publications because of economic instability grew catastrophically. It led, on one hand, to sharp decrease in their drawing (it specially concerns the local press where information about candidates was published) and, on the other hand, people practically stopped to use the form of acquiring periodic publications traditional for the Soviet period - meaning preliminary subscription (for three months, half a year, or a whole year). It is characteristic that at that time, at least in Dniepropetrovsk, it was easier to buy a newspaper published in Russia ("Izvestia", "Komsomolskaya Pravda", "Argumenty i Fauty") than Ukrainian newspapers. Certainly, it could not but play its role as to periodic publications' influence (or we would better say, weak influence) on forming the political choice of the electorate.

Press was actively used by political parties and organizations of citizens for agitation in favour of their representatives. Usually a political party published a short substantiation of its position, deriving from its own political programme, as well as lists of candidates and their districts calling upon voters to vote for these candidates.

### **Speaking over the radio and TV**

According to the Law candidates for deputies had the right of using state-owned mass media free in the conditions of getting equal in value and volume broadcasting time (Art. 34, § 1).

The exact volume and time of radio and TV broadcasts for pre-election agitation were determined by district election commissions after arranging them with superiors of mass-media (Art. 34, § 1).

Agitation in private mass-media was limited by the size of personal election fund with equal charges for all the candidates (Art. 34, § 3).

A week before election day mass media were obliged by the Law not to publish or broadcast non-verified materials that could a candidate for deputies, a political party or its election block. When materials about a candidate, political party (election bloc) were published or broadcast by mass-media, they had to give them an opportunity for refutation during one week, but not later than one day before elections (Art. 35, § 4).

An ordinary form of radio or TV agitation was roundtable discussions where every candidate could see down his/her views and programmes, as well as answer the questions of the host and electors who could use the hot telephone line. The hosts of such radio and TV programmes were responsible for not allowing personal attacks of pretenders against one another and agitation against some rival candidates. It was not possible to obtain phono or videorecordings of these programmes. Besides, as our analysis has demonstrated, they did not add anything to the images beyond what was set down in candidates' programmes. It was the consequence of absence of any tradition or experience of influencing the voters choice through using the fifth power.

### **Materials of meetings with voters in districts**

According to the Law one of the forms of agitation was meetings of candidates with their electors in districts. At these meetings people living in a certain district could directly , meet and speak (ask questions) to a pretender for a deputy's mandate (Art. 32, § 2).

For such meetings candidates prepared not only official (foreseen by the Law) agitation materials but also additional means (dependings on the possibilities of the personal election fund, political party backing them, non-standard thinking of candidates themselves and their support groups etc.). Such additional means of agitation included calendars, business cards, booklets and leaflets.

A calendar, besides its ordinary content could reflect either a visual (photo) image of the candidate himself/herself (for instance, Sergey Sanzhapov, a candidate from Zhovtnevy election district <sup>1</sup> 76, issued a calendar with a colourful height photo of himself and an inscription "We will change your life") or a visual image of the programme (for instance, Sergey Choukmasov, a candidate from Petrovsky election district <sup>1</sup> 81, issued a calendar with a colourful picture of a happy young family - young parents, their daughter and son - agitating to vote for their future - S. Choukmasov).

Business cards, having as their purpose giving respondents information about profession and place of work (as well as the place of residence) and ways of contacting some physical person, were used by some candidates as a means of agitation too. Such business cards, besides the aforesaid information, also contained short poems (usually of four lines) usually either simply appealing to vote for this candidate or speaking about her/his most important advantages, prominent features that could interest voters, according to candidate's opinion. A good example of this form of agitation is the business card of Nickolay Bessarab, a candidate from Kirovsky election district <sup>1</sup> 78 who was the

Head of State Legal Department at the Representative's of the President Office in Dnepropetrovsky Region. This card had a poem printed on it:

Voter! Think! To-day you are a slave!  
 Of your habit to be as silent as a fish...  
 Remember: lawyer Nickolay Bessarab  
 Is your chance and your correct choice!

Booklets as a form of agitation were very different in their size and poligraphic quality. They were manufactured (copied) both with the aid of Xerox type equipment and printed typographically (rotaprint, risograph, linotype etc.). Booklets were prepared by candidates themselves and political forces supporting them. In the first case more attention was paid to the candidate's political programme, in the second case to his/her biography. Booklets also contained additional information that was not directly referring to this candidate or elections in general: calendars (N.V. Terentiev, G.K. Balakhonov, A.A. Pashko, V.S. Simonov, R.P. Kartashov and others), schedule of local trains (G. Balashov) etc.

Leflets may be provisionally divided into several categories:

- a) appeals of political parties to vote for their candidate;
- b) appeals of political forces to vote against certain candidates, especially in the districts where their candidates were defeated in the first round of voting;
- c) appeals (reminders) of candidates to voters to vote on the election day;
- d) different information (additional) about a certain candidate reflecting his/her advantages or disadvantages as compared with other pretenders. It was usually devoted to candidate's personal characteristics, and it was not always truthful and correct.

As we see, the principal (concentrated), most full and truthful bearer of the main features of candidate's political image was an election poster that, despite all the diversity of information in different posters, had an identical structure of rendering information. This structure to a certain degree has formed the structure of the database.

To this substantiation of choosing agitation posters as a source of modelling candidate's political images some additional judgements can be supplied.

a) Elections to the Parliament of independent Ukraine in many respects were held similarly to the Soviet period elections. Voters could not as yet change to both a new type of behaviour and to a new type of seeing elections as a system of measures where several candidates complete (in the former USSR only one candidate was balloted in every election district).

b) In Soviet times acquaintance with a candidate as a rule took place in the polling station on the election day itself by reading a biography and pre-election programme of a candidate that were printed as an agitation poster in no way different from a leflet in appearance and structure. So, the choice of candidates by voters was often done in a way habitual to them - by reading agitation posters. Let's add that the most active part of voters, i.e., those who actually voted were people of an older age (older than 50) and pensioners (who were more than half of those who voted). It reinforces our arguments in favour of choosing agitation posters as the principal (habitual, familiar) means of information about a candidate, and consequently, about her/his image. Our judgement is also confirmed by the Soviet tradition of trusting the printed word that remained rather stable (especially as regards official but not commercial publications) in 1994.

c) Taking into account what was said above the position of Russian researchers is unexpected (insufficiently reinforced with arguments) from our point of view when they say that in the "country

of total literacy',<sup>27</sup> the programme texts of parties, blocs, and individual candidates were practically inaccessible to a common voter. That is why we will not analyse the content and graphics of pre-election programmes from the point of view of observing the laws of political marketing because the mainly remained a "thing in itself" and did not reach a common voter<sup>28</sup>. It is true that communication channels through which the information about candidates reaches voters may be different in different countries. Advantages of some channels over the others depend on national traditions (mentality) and on the level of mass media development in different countries. But in the post-Soviet space these peculiarities could hardly become distinct after 2 or 3 years after the former USSR Republics had gained independence. It should be added that in the European countries voters gathering information about candidates by way of reading programmes and promotion materials leaflets and posters is the principal source for 36% of voters in France, for 33% in Great Britain, for 25% in Denmark. It means that despite the developed radio and TV networks, the printed word remains an important means of influencing the electorate<sup>29</sup>.

### **Conceptual infological model**

The principal goal of our study is the reconstruction of candidate's for deputy of the Supreme Council of Ukraine political image that was formed by different means of agitation in accordance with the laws of Ukraine that are in force, the Law of Ukraine about the election of people's deputy of Ukraine, the Constitution of Ukraine. As we have demonstrated before, the principal source of our study were the agitation posters that embodied such images. These sources determine the conceptual, information logical (infological) model of the subject area represented as a database. From the point of view of agitation poster the candidate's image consists of three main components: the photo, the biography, and the political programme.

*The photo* gives the candidate's visual image. The standard photo size in posters varied from 5x6 cm. It is to be believed that the agitation poster as a whole and the photo in it are called upon to attract voters to the personality of the candidate. Depending on how this thesis was understood and whether it was accepted by candidates, i.e., how serious they were in that respect, the photos could be more or less individualized in rendering the image. Not indulging ourselves in the details of physiognomistics, let us only pay attention to the fact that few candidates were not quite formal in rendering their images, i.e., not just gave an ordinary photo for some document (sitting upright looking, straight at the camera, official clothes etc.) but an artistic photoportrait that included some peculiarities of the interior (working place, nature) certain to attracts readers' attention. Visual images analysis is rather difficult that is why in this study photos will play only a registrational role.

The biography covers everything most important from the point of view of the candidate himself/herself, the events of her/his life: date and place of birth, social origin, national origin, citizenship, religious belief, beginning of work (year, place of work, position or profession, education), education (educational institution, years and form of study, speciality), continuation of work (period, name of the organization or institution, position or profession), military service (period, locations, military rank, military education and military speciality, military educational institution, period), participation in combat (period and place of participation in combat), wounds and contusions suffered (period and place of being wounded), rewards for military service (date, name of the reward what deserts had been rewarded for), scholarly activity (scholarly degree and title, branch of science, publications, inventions discoveries), marital status, number of children, experience of party - political activities (whether the candidate had ever before worked in party or/and administrative bodies, in which of them and when, whether s/he had been a member of the CPSU (Komsomol), member of what party s/he was at the time of elections and from what time),

charitable activities (participation in charity actions, funds, and organization; nature of activity; participation in donorship; participation in elimination of technogenic and natural catastrophes' effects), rewards and distinctions of honour, by whom (by what organization) was the candidate nominated as a candidate for deputy.

*In the pre-election programme* different candidates could group separate items in certain units reflecting definite aspects of their future activities (foreign policy, domestic policy, economy, social life, culture, national-ethnic part of the programme). The programme could be of no definite structure. Despite all the variety in materials organization in pre-election programmes, some groups of issues can be distinguished - these issues being the key ones for transforming the source into database.

The foreign policy programme covers the issues relating to determining Ukraine's role and place in the world community, as well as in interstate relations where Ukraine had (has) its interests, position; or tried to rehabilitate its rights:

- a) the status of Ukraine as a state (the issue of national independence of Ukraine);
- b) the role of Ukraine in the world community (participation in solving international conflicts, support of the UN, interrelationships with NATO, Council of Europe etc.);
- c) attitude to the CIS (evaluation of the Commonwealth, place and role of Ukraine in the CIS);
- d) attitude of Russia (evaluation of relations with Russia whose economic, political, military, religious, cultural vassal Ukraine has been for some centuries);
- e) relations with other states and peoples of the former USSR;
- f) the problem of dividing the Black Sea Navy between Russia and Ukraine (the destiny of the Black Sea Navy after the disintegration of the USSR, the issue of the status of the city of Sevastopol - the naval base of the Black Sea Navy, creating by Ukraine of its own navy in the Black and Azov seas etc.);
- g) Ukraine's succeeding to liabilities of the former USSR as to its external debts and other liabilities in relation to other countries of the world, as well as its succeeding to the former USSR's national wealth gold and diamond store, cultural assets etc.

Among the issues of the domestic policy programme that were set by candidates for deputies of Ukraine the following ones from agitation posters should be mentioned:

- a) the political structure of the state of Ukraine (unitarity or federal structure, presidential-parliamentary or parliamentary republic etc.);
- b) what is of priority in a candidate's programme: a person (a human being, a citizen), society or the state?
- c) reforming and the level of responsibilities of local authorities;
- d) reforming and the level of responsibilities of supreme authorities;
- e) requirements to the personnel of governing bodies (professional parliament, testing (accreditation) of governing bodies personnel in their professional qualities to determine adequacy as to positions held etc.);
- f) the status of the Crimea (autonomous region; autonomous republic; free economic area etc.);
- g) ways of ensuring national security (creation of a professional army; changing the terms of service in the existing army; reduction of the army; elimination of nuclear weapons; military conversion of economy etc.);
- h) adoption of the Basic Law (Constitution) of Ukraine as the necessary guarantee of Ukrainian citizens' rights and freedom, economic reforms and social programmes;

The economic programme included issues most relevant for every voter, and in this way, for every candidate:

- a) appraisal of the economic situation in Ukraine;
- b) by what methods (economic and legislative or political) are the economic problems supposed to be solved;
- c) candidate's attitude to market economy and his/her suggestions as to its reforming;
- d) candidate's attitude to privatization and private property;
- e) way of reforming the agrarian sector of economy (privatization of land; cooperating of farmers; preservation of state ownership of land with leasing it etc.);
- f) reforming of tax system (changing the structure of imposing taxes; decreasing or increasing taxes; controlling of incoming taxes by state bodies etc.);
- g) reforming the Ukraine's credit and financial systems (currency regulation; controlling export-import operations; investments in developing national production etc.);
- h) reforming the banking system (nationalization of commercial banks; reinforcing state control of commercial banks activities; creating the legislative basis for banking system functioning and others);
- i) reforming the money system (introduction of national currency; establishing currencies rates as a result of interbank currency exchange operations etc.);
- j) reforming the price system (anti-inflational measures; regulating prices; liquidation of market prices and introduction of rigid state-regulated prices for all kinds of products and goods etc.);
- k) controlling by the state of commercial structures' activities;
- l) priority directions in developing economy of the country (free economic area; economic freedom of regions etc.);
- m) priority branches of economy (agriculture, fuel and power complex, science and culture etc.);
- n) the nature of economic development (market, socialist, transitional etc.);
- o) reforming the customs policy.

*The social programme* covers the body of issues relating to financial support and/or state (legislative) protection of certain strata of population:

- a) what strata of population should the financial support of the state be aimed at?
- b) what strata of population should the legislative protection of the state be aimed at?
- c) financing of education;
- d) financing of health service;
- e) development of organs and institutions for health protection, health improvement, rehabilitation, and rest of the population;
- f) ecological protection of the population and the country;
- g) solving the unemployment problem;
- h) fair remuneration of labour, timely paying of pensions and stipends etc.;
- i) return and compensation of money savings of the population in the Saving Bank and State Insurance of Ukraine, in commercial structures (commercial banks, trust societies insurance companies) - those savings that were devalued due to inflation;
- j) ensuring and protection of social order and suggested measures in fighting crime in Ukraine.

*The cultural programme* contains issues that, in our opinion are indicative for candidates - representatives of certain political forces:

- a) is anything said in the candidate's programme about restoring the Ukrainian national culture?
- b) what ways of restoring the Ukrainian national culture are suggested by the candidate?
- c) on what basis is it suggested to cultivate the spirit and morality of peoples and citizens of Ukraine?
- d) appraisal of situation in the Ukraine's informational space (information blockade, information expansion (intervention) of other states in Ukraine etc.);
- e) attitude and means of fighting against the propaganda of violence, pornography etc. in mass media;
- f) ways of developing physical culture of the population and sports in Ukraine;
- g) what areas of culture are suggested to be primarily developed?

*The national-ethnic programme* concerns the issues that, in our opinion are the key ones in normal solving of national and religious principles of building the state of Ukraine that could ensure its definite internal political stability:

- a) the issue of citizenship (only Ukrainian, dual with Russia, dual with the CIS states, dual with Israel, dual with other states of the world);
- b) the issue of state language (state language Ukrainian; two state languages, Ukrainian and Russian, state language Ukrainian and official language Russian; state language Ukrainian and the language of international communication Russian, state language Ukrainian, in districts compactly inhabited by national minorities the languages of these minorities are admitted as acting ones - Russian, Bielorussian, Crimean - Tartar, Greek, German, Bulgarian, Polish, Rumanian, Hungarian, Armenian etc.);
- c) settlement of interreligious relations and conflicts;
- d) solving of regional (local) problems;
- e) are in the candidate's programme as a whole the experience of national history and cultural traditions of the Ukrainian people used as an argument for suggested reforms, different suggestions (alternatives) for getting out of the crisis situation? (the issue of the state of Ukraine national roots).

### **The choice of the database management system**

The construction of an infological model of the subject area (source) sets as one of its tasks ensuring the storage of maximum information about the subject area with its minimum distortion and doubling. Our complex of sources (mass source), having as a whole a definite structure represented in the infological model, describes the subject area in a rather free verbal form of natural language. Very important for our study is rendering (representing) in the database (further called DB) the source content as precisely and fully as possible. This requirement presupposes storing in the DB of meaningful units of rather a big size (length) - from a few words to several paragraphs of the text. Such storing of the source in the DB will permit automating the process of coding needed by the researcher and the following statistical processing of information. Ordinary relative the database management system limit the above possibilities:

First, the length of text attribute of the text type is limited by size of the margin of 256 symbols, while teto-fields that allow storing lengthy recording (up to...symbols) do not allow processing of these fields;

Second, it is impossible to place several recordings (alternatives of attributes meanings) in one attribute field;

Third, when during working on the source there is a need of introducing a new attribute or removing an old one (thereby changing the DB structure), the content of the entire DB has to be changed;

Fourth; the attributes fields marked out in a relative DB require as much storage space, when the DB is stored, as a user requires for every attribute field even if there is no information in it.

All these shortcomings were the cause of our choosing the source-oriented system of controlling data bank κλειω developed at Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte (Göttingen, Deutschland) under the guidance of Doctor Manfred Thaller. The source - oriented approach is characterized by an attempt of creating an information system storing the full text of the original (source). The source - oriented data processing is an attempt of modelling in computer information system all the multitude of information that the source holds with the aim of giving the user an opportunity of operating sources for solving as a great range of tasks as possible. Supplying tools for different methods of analysis, κλειω does not make the scholar take a decision on what methods of future processing should the DB being created be oriented at the very early stage of its creation.

In its ideology of the database management system κλειω is aimed at working on unstructured or poorly structured texts. κλειω has 3 principles of approaching the source:

- context sensitivity (taking context into account);
- vagueness (lack of precision) of data;
- multidimensional links of source elements.

The notion of *elementary information* (element) is used in κλειω as a basic unit of storing and organizing data. Elementary informations (EI further in the text) are contained in structures that are rather irregular and may often be presented in hierarchy:

- EI may be combined into information groups (IG further); every IG may contain both other IGs and, together with them, elementary informations;
- information groups and elementary informations may be combined into a document;
- several documents constitute a database.

For every type of EI the system gives the following possibilities:

- a) linking recordings if an EI is to have several of them;
- b) every EI begins in the aspect basic information. Besides it, the system permits to create such aspects of EI recording as commentaries and original text (quotation);
- c) every recording can get the status of unexpected (!) or doubtful (?) information;
- d) every EI may get the condition of reliability evaluated in the interval from 0 to 1.

The following types of data may be considered as EI of the database management system κλειω:

- a) texts - the basic information of this type may consist of any unreserved symbols. The maximum length of one information unit of this type depends on development (version) of the database management system κλειω. The standard length is 4095 symbols. The practical length of such a field may vary in the range from 1 to 2000000 symbols;
- b) dates - the basic information of this type needs to be transformed into calendar data. A unit of this type of information may be presented in any of the following types: numbers, western, islam, revolution, byzantine, moses, latin, saints. Counting the beginning of the year may be defined as circumcision (1<sup>st</sup> January), roman (1<sup>st</sup> March), annunciation (25<sup>th</sup> March), easter (the first day of Easter), byzantine (1<sup>st</sup> September), nativity (25<sup>th</sup> December). Data can be determined following the Julian or Gregorian calendars independently of whether it refers to the time before or after the introduction of the

Gregorian calendar in a certain locality. Very important for us is the ability of κλειω to store open or closed chronological intervals, as well as recordings of incomplete dates (i.e., the dates with no date of the month or the month of the year).

- c) numbers - the basic information of this type must be transformed into numbers standard data of this type are transformed into decimal numbers. Any arithmetic or logical expression can be recorded as meaning of such data. The system allows processing numbers consisting of two (doublet) or three (triplet) parts separated by identical signs. Every one of these parts is processed independently of the others, and after that they are summed up.
- d) categories - the basic information of this type of data consists of separate symbols (maximum 32) that are processed independently of one another, and their sequence (order of appearance) is of no importance (is not stipulated by the user). This type of data is used for forming categories, short forms of complex names etc.
- e) relations - the basic information of this type of data must be transformed into “network identifiers”, i.e., determine the method of processing hierarchic relations, transforming of text inside the DB into the relation type data.
- f) image - serves for determining measures to be taken to set the link of the DB with separately stored image. The DB contains only a symbolic name for an image.
- g) maps - serves for determining and changing the lists of topographic coordinates or for giving geographic objects graphic attributes necessary for graphic drawing of maps.

The process of creating the DB in the κλειω proceeds in roughly the following way: a researcher studies the source, then translates its small fragment using the syntax understood by the system and creating the vocabulary (lists of objects and attributes - elements). When a sufficient vocabulary is collected, the system will be able to read the part of the text, that the researcher translated for it. To modify the structure of the data in κλειω is possible in the process of creating the DB itself as additional elements can be included directly during the data input without distinct changing of DB description<sup>30</sup>.

### Conceptual datalogical model

The description of the DB in κλειω consists of the following parts:

- a) a mandatory initial instruction database describing the general feature of the DB being created;
- b) a random number, but not less than one, of directive (instruction) part that determines the properties of one or several IGs and especially their interrelations; the only IG that is contained in the DB as it is, i.e., cannot enter any other IG is called the document;
- c) a random number of directives element that determine the properties of EI that are different from the standard set by not mentioning;
- d) a mandatory directive exit informing that the end of describing the DB structure has been reached.

In accordance with these requirements of the κλειω, as well as in the process of preliminary analysis of the structure of the source described above, we developed the database CanDep with the document “candidate”.

The following IGs can be distinguished in the document "candidate" structure:

- a) biography
- b) political programme

## c) voting results

The *biography* includes the following IGs:

- a) election district consisting of EI: name, number, type;
- b) birth: data, name of birthplace, type of birthplace, district, region, state (country);
- c) social information: nation of origin, social origin, party membership, membership in the CPSU in the Soviet period, period of party membership, political imprisonments, criminal record, marital status, children.
- d) education: level of education, educational institution, form of training, speciality received (qualification), years of study or the year of graduation;
- e) professional situation consists of:
  - three IG:
    1. start of work: age, place of work; profession or position, level of education, speciality;
    2. scholarly position: scientific degree, title, branch of science, publication;
    3. rewards: awards, bonuses, honorary titles;
  - three EI: place of work, position (profession), year when the work in this position started;
- f) political and party activities: experience of work in party and/or governmental structures; year from which s/he worked there; a party or governmental body where s/he worked; position there; elections to elective positions in party or governmental structures; organization that nominated him/her as a candidate for deputy;
- g) military service: years of service; military speciality; military education, rank; wounds and contusions, military rewards; participation in combat;
- h) social work and charitable activities consist of IG:

Chernobil atomic power station, catastrophe: place of work, position, years of work; also EI: place of work, position, years of work, donorship. Besides the IG named above, some other EI are included into the IG ‘‘Biography’’: last name, first name, patronimic, sex, photo.

The IG ‘‘Programme’’ includes the EI ‘‘candidate’s slogan’’ and the following IG:

- a) foreign policy consisting of the following EI: the state status of Ukraine; the international role of Ukraine in the world community; relations with the CIS; relations with Russia; nature of relations with the peoples of the former USSR; an ally of Ukraine; the form of alliance; Black Sea Navy; the heritage of the USSR;
- b) domestic policy: political structure of the state of Ukraine; the power of the local authorities; reforming local governing organs; reforming supreme governing organs; personal changes in state power; human priority; priority of society and state; the Crimean issue; ensuring national security; adopting the constitution;
- c) economic policy: appraisal of the economic situation; methods of solving economic problems; attitude to the market; attitude to privatisation and private property; reforming land relations and the agrarian sector; reforming the credit and financial system; reforming the banking system; price forming system, development, state control of the financial structures activities; priority directions in economy development; nature of economic development; reforming the customs system;
- d) social policy: fields of financial support on the part of the state; legislative (state protection of certain strata of population; measures of fighting unemployment; ecological protection of the population; reimbursing and indexing the population’s money saving that were devalued as a result of inflation; keeping law and order and fighting crime; organising medical aid and profilaxis for the population; financing education;

- e) cultural policy: appraising the situation in culture; ways of revival of Ukrainian national culture; information space in Ukraine; fighting the propaganda of violence, pornography, amorality; developing physical culture and sports; directions of cultural development in Ukraine;
- f) national-ethnic policy: the issue of citizenship in Ukraine; the issue of state language; interreligious conflicts and alternatives of settling them; solving vital regional problems; substantiating the suggested changes through citing the historic national experience.

The information group "Vote" (voting results) is formed on the basis of the district election commission's data published in newspapers after the elections, and it consists of such elementary informations:

- number of voters;
- % of voters who voted;
- number of invalid bulletins;
- % of those who voted for the candidate;
- voting result

In κλειώ the DB CanDep structure can be recorded in the following way (Appendix B).

### **Algorithm of solving the problem**

Let us use the method of "the nearest neighbour" (minimal connection) from cluster analysis for multifactorial hierarchic classification of candidates' programmes for finding out whether candidates' programmes and biographic influenced the elctorates' choice, i.e. whether the political image of a deputy to Parliament was formed only on the basis of these components. Calculations on the basis of 21 district data have given as a dendrogram (see Fig. Tree Diagram for 244 Cases) where it can be clearly seen that deputies programmes were not different in principal from the programmes of 223 candidates, so they are mixed with them (Appendix C). Taking into account biographical data in classification of candidates gives a similar picture. Therefore, cluster analysis may allow us to define the types of candidates or the type of pre-election programmes but it does not allow us to distinguish deputies' programmes from the totality of programmes.

That is why we will solve the programme in a different way. First, we will give the general picture of candidates using the methods of descriptive statistics. After we will make the comparative analysis of candidates' and deputies' programmes on key issues: a) adopting the new Constitution of Ukraine; b) attitude to reforming economy in the direction of market relations and privatization; c) determining the political status of Ukraine as a unitarian centralized state.

## Statistic image of candidates

2867.802 registered voters and 403 candidates for deputies in 34 election districts of Dnipropetrovsk region took part in the elections of people's deputies to the Supreme Council of Ukraine on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1994. The elections were realized in 21 election district.

The number of candidates in districts was unequally distributed: from two in the 99<sup>th</sup> Vasilkovsky election district to 25 in the 92<sup>nd</sup> Central-urban election district of Krivoy Rog. All the districts of the region can be provisionally divided into urban-industrial (when an election district coincided with an administrative district or with the town or city proper) and rural - agrarian (when an election district covered administrative district of the region). This division was reflected in the number of candidates registered in these types of districts. If in industrial districts the number of candidates for a deputy's mandate was in the interval from 6 (Amur-Nizhnedneprovsky district <sup>1</sup> 73, Dnipropetrovsk) to 25 (district <sup>1</sup> 92), i.e. 15 candidates per one district on the average, in agrarian districts the number of candidates was much less - from 2 (district <sup>1</sup> 99) to 17 (district <sup>1</sup> 97), i.e. an average of 7 candidates per district. Probably, it determined the outcome of elections in corresponding types of districts. Smaller number of candidates in agrarian districts determined the higher percentage of "deputies' electability": of 10 election districts only in 3 the elections were not realized (33%). Quite a different situation could be observed in industrial districts where the elections were not realized in 41.7% of districts, i.e. in 10 districts out of 24. Apparently, these figures are an indicator of considerable social division of urban population and social homogeneity of rural population.

There were 37 women (9.18 %) among 403 registered candidates but 366 men (90.82 %). That cannot be an indicator of democracy in Ukrainian society. It was confirmed by election results - in 34 districts only men were elected as candidates.

We could make interesting observations analyzing the names of candidates - those names attesting to their wish for leadership. Among 366 men 47 had the name of Vladimir, 12.84%; 40 - the name of Nickolay (Greek - Victor of peoples), 10.93 %; 31 - the name of Alexander (Greek - Protector of people), 8.47 %; 28 - the name of Victor, 7.65%, i.e. 146 (39.89 %) men registered as candidates for deputies had the name, so to say, of a victor.

We cannot make similar conclusions concerning women candidates as their names speak about quite opposite thing, about femininity. For instance, Valentina (Latin: Healthy, Strong) - 6 names (16.22%); Lidiya (Greek: Living in Lidya, literally, small feminine) - 3 names (8.11%); Galina (Greek: quiet, Mildness) - 2 names (5.41%). Almost  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a women candidates had names that did not say anything about a wish for leadership. This wish could find confirmation in such names as Alexandra (Greek: Protectress of people), Vasilisa (Old Greek: Queen), Victoria, Daria (Victress), Kira (Lady), Tatyana (organizer, Foundress).

The age of candidates who were registered and participated in pre-election struggle wavered from 25 (the age at which, according to the Law, a citizen could be nominated a candidate for a deputy) to 70 years of age. The modal age of candidates was 47 years of age (year of birth - 1947) - 27 persons (6.67%). The median age is also close to it - about 46 (year of birth - 1948). The most active age for candidates wavers between 38 (year of birth - 1956) and 57 (year of birth - 1937). In this age interval? Except those who were born in 1942/1943, there are not less than 12 candidates of every age.

As to place of birth, the candidates were distributed so that almost one half were those who were born in the city - 205 persons (50.87); 156 (38.71%) were born in villages and farms. The overwhelming majority of candidates were born in Ukraine (79.16 %), only every tenth person in Russia (10.67 %); 3.969 % (16 persons) were born on other Republics of the former USSR (2 in Azerbaijan, 4 in Bielorus, 1 in Georgia, 3 in Kazakhstan, 1 in Latvia, 2 in Turkmenia) or in the countries of Europe (1 in Germany? 1 in Poland, 1 in Rumania). It should also be noted that the majority were born in Dniepropetrovsk region. Their number (101) should be increased by 49 persons (12.16 %) who were born in Dniepropetrovsk - the center of the region. 135 other persons (33.49 %) were born in other regions of Ukraine, about half of them (68 persons, 16.87%) in regions neighbouring on Dniepropetrovsk region. It should be taken into account because since 1923 the borders of Dniepropetrovsk region have changed, largely covering neighbouring territories. Those born in Dniepropetrovsk region were practically evenly distributed in its administrative regions - so, we cannot speak about domination of representatives from any one of them.

The overwhelming majority of candidates (71.71% - 289 persons) called themselves Ukrainians, every fifth (22.08% - 89 persons) called himself/herself a Russian, only 8 persons were representatives of other nations (4 Bielorrussians, 2 Jews, 1 Azerbaijanian, 1 Latvian), 17 persons did not think it necessary to indicate their national origin.

Of 294 persons who indicated their social origin 122 candidates (i.e. 41.5%) were born and grew up in working class families, 76 persons (every fourth - 25.85%) in peasants families, 38 (12.93 %) in families of employees, 24 (8.16%) in families of military servicemen, 12 (4.08%) in teachers' families, 9 (3.06%) in families of intellectuals, 8 (2.72%) in families with many children.

Other forms of social origin should be mentioned (namely, of Cossack origin - 2, students' family - 1, brought up in an orphanage - 1, a Ukrainian family - 1, as they were indicated by candidates themselves.

The majority (320) of candidates (79.40 %) were married, 63 persons (15.63 %) did not mentioned their marital status, 11 persons (2.72 %) had never been married before, only a few were widowed (5 persons - 1.24 %) or divorced (4 persons - 0.99%). Almost half candidates were parents of two children (194 persons - 48.14%), almost two times smaller number of candidates were parents of one child (94 - 23.33%), only 5.96 % (24 persons) had 3 children, and 6 persons (1.49%) were parents of 4 children. There also was one lady candidate with 14 children. 83 persons (20.59%) out of 403 candidates did not mentioned their parental functions.

Only several candidates indicated in their biographies that they had had some criminal record in the past or had been persecuted because of political reasons.

Almost  $\frac{3}{4}$  of candidates (74.68% - 301 person) speaking about their party affiliation declared themselves to be non-party every fifth candidate (18.86 %) declared her/his party membership, whatever the party. The majority out of 76 persons belonging to the latter category were members of the Communist Party of Ukraine (19 persons) and the Socialist Party of Ukraine (14 persons). The members of the Labour Party (5 persons), Labour Congress of Ukraine (4 persons), Party of Communists (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine (1), Party of Solidarity Social Justice (1) and Peasant Party of Ukraine (6 persons) should also be included into the number of representatives of this political wing. Therefore, all in all there were 50 representatives of Left -Wing parties, i.e. 65.79% of the total member of party candidates. The representatives of Right- Wing political parties (26 persons) were

distributed in the following manner: The Popular movement of Ukraine - 9 persons (2.23%), Ukrainian Republican Party - 8 persons (1.99%); Liberal Party of Ukraine - 3 (0.74%), Democratic Party of Ukraine - 2 (0.49%), Party of Democratic Renaissance of Ukraine - 2 (0.49%), State Sovereignty of Ukraine - 1 (0.25%), Party of National Renaissance of Ukraine - 1 (0.25%).

More than half candidates (236 persons - 58.56%) were nominated by electors of her/his election district, 97 persons (i.e. every fourth one - 24.07%) were candidates of work collective, and only 24 persons (5.96%), despite the fact that 76 were members of different political parties, were candidates nominated by parties. Besides, every tenth candidate (11.41%) did not indicate who nominated her/him.

It is important to point out that only 16 candidates (3.97%) mentioned their membership in the former CPSU. Only 3 candidates (0.74%) directly pointed out that they had not been members of the CPSU before and 8 other persons (1.99%) said that they have never been members of any parties. The overwhelming majority of candidates (376 persons - 93.29%) preferred not to mention their affiliation to the CPSU, 2 of them (0.50%), though admitting the fact of their former membership in the Communist Party (as they had worked before in the CPSU bodies), did not point it out.

A significant component of a candidate's biography and correspondingly, of his/her political image is, in our opinion, the beginning of professional activities (work). Despite that, about half candidates (51.12%) did not emphasize this feature and did not say where they had started their work biography. The second half of candidates earned their living primarily in the area of production: industrial enterprises (69 persons), enterprises of mining industry (20 persons), construction (19 persons), transport (15 persons), agriculture (10 persons). Thus, 133 persons, i.e. 33.0% of the total number of candidates, had started their professional activities (work) in the area of material production and transport. The following group of 27 candidates also can be distinguished since the beginning of their professional activities was bound with educational institutions (10 persons), medical institutions (9 persons), research and design institutions (8 persons), i.e. they were representatives of the intellectual area of activities.

Apparently, the area where candidates started the professional activities is bound to a certain degree with their level of education. Just like in the case of the place where work had been started, in the case of the basic education more than half candidates (57.82%) did not pay any attention to these facts of their biographies. The majority of candidates who indicated the level of education at the moment of starting their professional activities had secondary education (usually, secondary school) - 67 persons (16.63%). Almost as many had higher education - 58 persons (14.39%). 37 candidates (9.18%) had a technical speciality in the framework of their secondary education.

Professionally almost every fifth candidate started his/her work as an industrial worker. It was much more seldom that a candidate defined his professional activity as an electrician (14 persons - 3.47%); engineer, technologist, metrologist (14 persons - 3.47%); shop supervisor or senior specialist (senior economist, chief accountant, senior police inspector, senior engineer etc.) - 12 persons (2.98%); driver, locomotive driver, operator - 11 persons (2.73 %); teacher, associate professor, instructor - 10 persons (2.48 %).

As distinct from the issue of starting the professional activities, the candidates paid much attention to describing their latest place of employment. Thus, only 43 candidates (10.67%) do not indicate their place of employment. The majority of candidates (14.39% - 58 persons) worked in educational institutions (schools, universities etc.). Approximately the same number of candidates (50-12.41 %)

were representatives of industrial enterprises. Two times smaller number of candidates worked in executive committees and state administration of the local level (25 persons - 6/20%). An approximately equal representation of candidates was from different commercial enterprises and joint ventures (22 persons - 5.46%), mining enterprises (21 person - 3.97%), research and design institutions (21 persons - 3.97%). The picture of candidates' place of employment can be supplemented with their professional responsibilities. Only 65 persons (16.13%) did not name their profession. Every fifth candidate (19.60% - 79 persons) held the position of head of an enterprise (director, general director, chairman of the board, president). One of the candidates (52 - 12.90 %) headed some division of an enterprise (heads of divisions, departments, laboratories, shops, deans, military officers, chief of shops at factories etc.). There was an approximately equal number of educators (teachers, instructors, associate professors, full professors) - 28 persons (6.95%) and deputy heads of enterprises (deputy director, vice-rector, deputy general director, deputy chairman of the board, vice president etc.). One on 20 candidates (5.21% - 21 persons) held the position of a chief specialist (chief designer, chief engineer, chief mechanic, head doctor, chief editor, research associate etc.). Approximately as many had responsibilities of deputy heads of different divisions at enterprises and institutions (deputy head of a department, deputy shop supervisor etc.). 15 other persons (3.72%) worked as Business managers, executive directors, while 13 candidates (3.23%) were senior specialists (senior economist, assistant professor, senior research associate, senior accountant, senior engineer etc.). Therefore, 225 candidates (55.83%) had responsibilities of superiors of different ranks.

As to their level of education, 86.10% (347 persons) of candidates had higher education, two of them had higher military education, one higher education in law, one in pedagogy, and higher Communist Party education. Only one of 10 candidates (49 persons - 12.16%) had secondary education, the greater part of whom had secondary technical education.

The principal types of higher educational institutions that the majority of candidates had graduated from were institutes (236 persons - 58.56%) and universities (90 persons - 22.33%). The other 19 candidates with higher education were graduates of the Higher School of the Ministry of Interior (2 persons), the Higher School of Trade-Unions (1 person), the Higher Party School (1 person), the Higher Military School (7 persons) and Academy (11 persons - 2.72%). Candidates having secondary education were as a rule graduates of technical schools (25 persons - 6.20%), vocational technical schools (8 persons - 1/99%) or secondary technical schools (3 persons - 0.74%). As to the form of studying, 79.9% of candidates gave no information about it. Out of those who did 12.9% were those whose election was extra-mural.

It is also important to consider the candidates' specialities as a professional Parliament, in our opinion, should be made up of specialists in the fields of economy, law and state administration. But in reality there was a minority of candidates with such education: economy and management - 8 persons (6.95%), law - 18 persons (4.47%), history, politology and social sciences - 17 persons (4.22%). It is all in all not more than 63 persons (15.65%) - half of 113 (28.04%) representatives of technical specialities (technical physics, railway, mining, metallurgy, chemistry, electronics, automated control system, construction).

There was 32 Candidates of sciences (7.94%), 6 Doctors of sciences (1.49%), 17 Associate Professors (4.22%), 7 Full Professors (1.73%).

An important aspect of candidate's for people's deputies biography is their experience of work in in authorities. It turned out that 249 candidates (61.79%) had not had such experience at all as they did

not mention it in their biographies. Among other candidates 106 persons (26.30%) had worked in legislative and executive bodies of district, city, region, or Republic authorities. 34 persons (8.44%) had worked in administrative bodies (from the enterprise committee to the Central Committee) of the Communist Party of Ukraine and CPSU, Komsomol and trade-unions.

Only 2.48% (10 persons) headed such organizations (structures), 7.69% (31 persons) were members of these structures, 1.24% (5 persons) were deputies of those who headed these structures, 0.73% more (3 persons) were instructors, counsellors, or coordinators. At the moment of elections only 36 candidates (8.93%) worked in legislative bodies of city (2), district (8), region (11) and Republic (5) levels. 13 more persons worked in the bodies of different parties, executive committees and state administration.

We will not consider the other features of biographies as the minority of candidates (< 20%) demonstrated them and they probably did not influence voters' decision.

### **Statistical analysis of programmes**

The essence of his/her programme approximately every fifth candidate (20.85%) formulated as a key slogan. 21 candidate out of 85 formulated the goal of their future activity in Parliament something like, - "Person (family) is the basis of state", 11 persons had a slogan of - "Solidarity of citizens (people) in solving problems", 9 persons - "For social progress (guarantees, protection)", 9 others - "Order (discipline, law) is the basis of power". Only 5 of them put economic reforms, as a way of solving problems in society and improving citizens' life, at the hand of their activities.

As to the issue of state status of Ukraine, a little less than a third of candidates (29.53 %), i.e. 120 persons, believed it was necessary to speak about it in their programmes; 95 of them (23.57% out of the total number of candidates) saw Ukraine as a free, independent, sovereign state. 11 other persons defined its status as a unitarian (unified, indivisible) state.

Only 47 candidates (11.67%) mentioned in their programmes the issue of defining the international role of Ukraine. A little more than half of them (26 persons) admitted the necessity of resuming Ukraine's ties (relations, cooperation) with other countries. Only 8 candidates were worried about the necessity of raising the prestige (influence) of Ukraine in the world community and 6 other persons about the necessity of Ukraine's entering into interstate alliances (organizations, blocks) and about Ukraine's representational function in these alliances.

In relations with the CIS countries, and in particular with Russia, the majority of candidates who paid attention to this issue saw the future destiny of Ukraine in connection with restoration of the USSR or consolidation of the CIS as a new form of the Union. Thus, out of 170 candidates (42.18%) who spoke about relations with the CIS countries, 119 persons (i.e. 29.53 % of the total number of candidates) planned to direct their parliamentary activities at restoration of the USSR. Only 34 candidates (8.43%) saw the development of further relations with the countries of the former USSR in establishing or in restoring mutually advantageous economic ties.

As to Ukraine's relations with other states in general, almost half the candidates (41.89%) discussed it in their programmes. First of all (21.34%), mutually advantageous economic ties (cooperation, alliance) with the CIS countries were named. Every tenth candidate saw the solution to problems of Ukraine in restoring the ties that were broken. 25 candidates (6.20%) spoke about the necessity of developing friendly (brotherly, equal partner-like) ties with countries of the world. Almost as many

candidates (22 - 5.46%) promised to contribute to establishing mutually advantageous ties (relations, cooperation) with countries of the world.

For Ukraine that had gained its national independence in 1991, consolidation of basic principles of state building in the Basic Law (Constitution) was the most important task. The Parliament that worked before 1994 did put this task for itself. So, it was quite logical to expect the discussion of this issue in the programmes of candidates to new Parliament. In reality it turned out that  $\frac{4}{5}$  of candidates (79.65% - 321 person) did not think the adoption of new Constitution of Ukraine to be a corners tone issue as they did not mention it at all. Among the other candidates only 33 persons (8.19%) considered the adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine as a problem to be solved without delay. 15 other persons (3.72%) spoke about the necessity of adopting a new democratic constitution that would provide for social guarantees for the citizens of Ukraine. About 1.5% of candidates spoke about the necessity of adopting the Constitution of Ukraine through the national referendum. At the same time there were candidates (1.74% - 7 persons) who wanted the new Constitution to ensure the same guarantees as the Soviet Constitution.

Ideally quite a special place in pre-election programmes was to be given to solving economic problems, to economic reforms. In reality not less than  $\frac{2}{3}$  of candidates did not say anything exact on this issue. Thus, only 27.79% of candidates gave their estimation of the economic situation in the Ukraine. The principal meaning of these estimations is negative - for instance, economic crisis (12.90%), disintegration of economy (4.71%), poverty (1.99%), economic downfall, agony (1.49%), economic catastrophe (0.99%), economic danger (0.99%).

Such estimations presuppose availability of possible methods for solving the problems. However 85.86% (346 candidates) preferred to be silent about the methods of going out of the hard economic situation. Other candidates in their totality thought that the solution of economic problems were possible only by using economic and legislative methods (7.69%), by economic reforming (2.93%), as well as by way of creating the legislative basis of rigid control over the economic activity and the law-abiding discipline of subjects of economy - independently of the form of property (1.74%). Yet, some deputies (1.24%) proposed political (state-administrative) methods of solution as well.

Reforms in administrative personnel were also suggested by candidates as one of the ways of solving economic problems. Mainly it concerns the necessity of increasing professionalism and efficiency of deputies and state employees (8.44%), personal responsibility before law of officials, deputies etc. (6.45%), compulsory attestation of superiors and accountability of deputies to their voters (5.21%), as well as reduction of administrative personnel (4.71%) and electiveness of bodies of authority (3.28%).

Almost  $\frac{3}{4}$  of deputies (73.69%) do not see the necessity of speaking in their programmes about their attitude to market economy. Every tenth candidate (9/68%) was for civilized economic reforms and forming a civilized market, four per cent of others were for socially oriented market relations; 2.5% of candidates saw guarantees of going out of the crisis in development of market economy and in introduction of anti-monopolistic laws that contribute to development of sound competition; about 2% made appeals as to development of multi-structural economy. Only one candidate expressed his negative opinion to market economy.

Solving economic problems is impossible with setting the issue of land property. In this case candidates were explicit in expressing their opinions. A little more than half of them did not touch this questions at all (52.61%). Every tenth candidate (10.67%) was for giving a right of private land

property to every citizen of Ukraine, every tenth was also for free transfer of land to those who work on it (peasants, farmers etc.) when the land is taken for working on it. About 4% of candidates spoke about the necessity of more active land reforms and of a law norm admitting the right of private land property (3.97%).

So, we see that the majority of candidates had an indeterminate (loyal) attitude to market reforms. The other part mainly proposed different alternatives of economic reforming that generally could be called progressive.

Below we are giving in a table comparative indicators of candidates' and deputies' political images (Appendixes D & E).

The comparative analysis for candidates or deputies permits making the following conclusions:

- a) Almost on all the issues of political programmes in their mass candidates' or deputies' statement are either indeterminate or passive.
- b) statements of the other part of candidates or deputies on every issue of programmes coincide in principle.

It is possible to verify how well the behaviour (voting) and position of parliamentary deputies matched or did not match their pre-election promises (programmes) that to a great extent determined and formed candidates' political images (in other words, to verify how well their images matched the reality) by comparing their pre-election promises as to three most important questions: 1) the need to adopt the Constitution of independent Ukraine; 2) attitude towards centralism; 3) attitude towards capitalism to the results of these deputies' voting on every issue.

For doing this operation we used the data concerning the results of voting of 31 deputies from Dnipropetrovsk region on the issue of adopting the Constitution of Ukraine - those data had been published in the newspaper "Ukrainske Slovo" 4 July 1996. The data concerning deputies' attitudes towards centralism and capitalism were taken by us from the information bulletin "The Ukrainian Parliament of the 13<sup>th</sup> convocation", page 36 - this bulletin being prepared by F-4 laboratory and already quoted by us. These data concern only 21 deputies from Dnipropetrovsk region elected to the Parliament in the first tour of elections.

F-4 laboratory has presented the results of analysing voting on issues of attitudes towards centralism and capitalism in the following way - if the index of "capitalisticness" equalled 100%, it meant that the given deputy stood for the values of capitalism (private property, transition to market economy, privatisation) and, vice versa, "the lower this figure was the more non-capitalistic" was the position of the deputy. The same concerns the centralism index. The closer was its value to 100%, the greater partisan of Ukraine's existence as an integral centralised state was the deputy; the lower was its value the closer was the deputy's position to federalism and to independence (and not only the economic one) of regions.

To provide opportunities for comparing these results with the content of deputies' pre-election programmes (we cannot calculate in per cent their attitudes to centralism or capitalism) let us re-standardise the results of F-4 laboratory and present them as follows: if the percentage of positive voting on the given issues was more than 60% for a given deputy, we will mark it with a "+" and consider it as an evidence of his/her positive attitude to these issues; if it was close to 50% (in the interval of  $\pm 10$ ), we will mark it with a "Ø" and consider it as neutral (not exactly indicated); if the

results of voting were less than 40%, we will mark it with a "—" and will consider it more negative than positive attitude of the given deputy to the issues of centralism, capitalism, and adoption of the constitution. AS to deputies' attitudes to these issues that had been possibly reflected in their pre-election programmes, we found them out by way of expert evaluation of their contents.

The results of this analysis are shown in Appendix F. They demonstrate that the candidates' political image before the elections and their real political position as deputies in what concerns the three key issues coincided in voting (were compatible) with 13 deputies out of 21 of those who were elected in the first tour of elections in the following election districts - 75, 77, 78, 81, 85, 87, 88, 89, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 106.

The change of position (as compared to the pre-election one) to the negative attitude was observed in 6 deputies (election districts <sup>1</sup> 82, 84, 90, 91, 103) while 3 of them - Shibko V.Y., Gurov V.M., and Kharlamov are representative of left-wing parties, i.e., Socialist, Labour party, and Peasants' party, and the other three are non-party.

One deputy changed his position to the positive one (district <sup>1</sup> 76).

It is impossible to use the voting results on the issue of adopting the Constitution for determining possible changes that took place in candidates' political positions after their becoming deputies since none of the deputies from Dniepropetrovsk region voted against its adoption. But two deputies - Communist Koropenko A.A. and non-party Khudomaka V.P. (fraction "Unity") were present in Parliament without taking part in voting. V.P. Khudomaka was the only representative of the fraction "Unity" who displayed such an attitude, all the others voted for adopting the Constitution. Dispute the fact that the results of voting on the issue of Constitution taken separately do not give much information, yet taken together with two other issues, they permit to have a clear enough idea how political images of candidates were different (or not) from real deputies' positions on these key issues for the destiny of Ukraine.

The objectivity of conclusions is also guaranteed by the fact that the totality of 21 deputies out of 31, i.e. those who were elected in the first tour of elections, can be considered as a natural representative selection formed during the elections by voters themselves and not by the authors of this study. Consequently, the result obtained after analysing the positions of 21 deputies can be extrapolated to the other 11 deputies.

An interesting addition characterising the political position of the majority (25 out of 32) of deputies elected from Dniepropetrovsk region is the fact that they (who were the representatives of the fraction "Unity") joined the alliance "Ukraine out of NATO". It happened, according to radio "Liberty", on 7 May 1997 during the General secretary of NATO Xavier Solano's visit to Kiev.

Finishing the above, it may be said that for the majority of 21 deputies elected in the first tour of elections in Dniepropetrovsk region the pre-election images coincided (on 3 key issues) with their real actions and positions in Parliament, and consequently (with a great probability), just such could be the views and positions of the greater part of electorate in Dniepropetrovsk region who elected them to the Parliament.

So, the conclusion confirming the results of cluster analysis can be made. It was not biographies or political programmes the determined the election of deputies by voters. However, the given source

(database) has the value of a source for studying the possible alternatives of Ukraine's development. But it was not the goal of our study.

As the result of verifying the hypothesis of this study it has been found that biographical data and content of programmes of candidates for deputies to Parliament are not in principle different from biographical data that deputies of Parliament give and from the content of their political programmes.

This information (in the situation of to-day's Ukraine) is the principal part of the political image of both candidates and deputies from Dnipropetrovsk region. It testifies to the fact that political image was not a factorial feature (cause) that had determined the behaviour (choice) of the electorate.

This situation can be explained by a number of reasons: 1) absence of democratic traditions in the Ukrainian society; 2) lack of political constructivism in this society; 3) voters' social apathy; 4) domination of Soviet stereotype in electorate's election behaviour; 4) prevalence of mercantile criteria in taking electoral decisions.

Taking into account the fact that the majority of people voting during elections are pensioners and people of an elderly age, as well as the fact that the economic situation in Ukraine will hardly improve until 1998 (the time of new elections to the Parliament), it is possible to assume with a great degree of probability that paternalistic attitudes of the considerable part of electorate may well be transformed into servile ones, and this can lead to a serious political crisis in the region.

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25. For greater details concerning the problems of this research's methodology see: Pidgajetzk'y Vitaly Social Structure as a Sculpture for the Blind (Modelling of Dynamics, the Visualising of the Results). Association for History and Computing. 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting: Visions of History. Montreal. 1995. P. 58-59.; Pidgajetzk'y Vitaly Political image as model of bandwagon: conception and modeling technology (NATIP program researches for democratic institutions). XI International Conference of the Association for History and Computing: Data modelling history. Abstracts. Moscow. 1996. P. 45-46.; Īīāāāāōēēē Ā.Ā. Èēēīāōđēēā: Axiomata minora (Āāđñēy 3. Īđāāīāōīā īđīñđōāīñōāī)/Êđōā ēāāē: đāçāēōēā ēñōīđē÷āñēīē ēīōīđīāōēēē. Īñēāā. 1995. Ñ. 470-482.; Īīāāāāōēēē Ā.Ā. Ńīōēāēūīāy ñđōēōđōđā ēāē ñēōēūīōđōđā āēy ñēāīūō. Āāđñēy 3. Summary/Êđōā ēāāē: īīāāēē ē òāōīēīāēē ēñōīđē÷āñēīē ēīōīđīāōēēē. Īñēāā. 1996. Ñ. 28-41.; Īīāāāāōēēē Ā.Ā. ×ēñēā ē īūñēē ēēē óōñēy? Āēāāēōēēā, òāīđēy ē īāōīāīēīāēy ēēēñāōđēēē./Êđōā ēāāē: òđāāēōēē ē òāīāāīōēē ēñōīđē÷āñēīē ēīōīđīāōēēē. Īñēāā. 1997. Ñ. 13-30.; Īīāāāāōēēē Ā.Ā. Āīāēīāēē, ñōīāñōāā, īđōāēāīēy ē īççāōēē ēēē óēūāēā āāç ēīōā (ī òī÷īūō ē íā òī÷īūō íāóēāō ē ī āēīñīōēāēūīē īđēđīāā īīāāēēđīāāīēy./Èīōīđīāōēēīīūē āīēēāōāíú Āññīōēāōēē "Èñōīđēy ē ēñīūþōāđ". Īēīñē. 1997. Ñ. 175-176.; Īāāāōūēēē Ā.Ā. Ōāīđ<sup>3</sup>y<sup>3</sup> īāōīāīēīā<sup>3</sup>y<sup>3</sup> āēāđāēīçīāāñōāā ç<sup>3</sup>ñōīđ<sup>3</sup>; Óēđāçīē XX ñōīē<sup>3</sup>ōōy. Āī<sup>3</sup>đñīāōđīāñūē. ĀĀÓ. 1996. 75 ñ.
26. The law of Ukraine about elections of people's deputies of Ukraine: Adopted at the eighth session of the Supreme Council of Ukraine of the twelfth convocation 18 November 1993. - È.: Óēđā<sup>3</sup>ñūēā Īđāāīē÷ā Ōōīāāō<sup>3</sup>y. Āēāāāīēōōāī "Īđāāī", 1993.
27. It concerns Russia.
28. Ōāāāđāēūīā ñīāđāīēā Đīññēē: īūō īāđāūō āúāíđīā: Ńā. ñōāōāē. Ì.,1994.
29. Êīāēāđ Ā.È. Óēāç. ñī÷. Ñ.100-101.
30. Ōāēēāđ Ì. Κλειω 4. Ńēñōāīā óīđāāēāīēy āāīēñ āāīíūō. Ì.,1995; Thaller M. Κλειω. A Database System. St.Katharinen,1993; Thaller M. Κλειω 4. Ein Datenbanksystem. St.Katharinen, 1992; Woollard M., Denley P. (Eds.) The Sorcerer's Apprentice: Κλειω Case Studies. St.Katharinen, 1996.

## Appendix A

| 1 | Left: Communists<br>Socialists  | Centre   | Right: Popular movement of<br>Ukraine, Republicans  |
|---|---|--|---|
| 1 | Elimination of private property, restoration of the USSR economy  | Different forms of property, economic alliance with Russia and CIS | Building national economy on the basis of private property  |
| 2 | Restoration of CPSU's monopoly  | 1)"Non-party politics"<br>2)"Apolitism"                            | 1)Prohibition of the CPSU<br>2)Setting up national-democratic parties<br>3)multi-party system   |
| 3 | Restoration of the USSR   | Integration within the CIS framework                               | Creation of a national independent state  |
| 4 | 1)Official Russian-Ukrainian bilingualism<br>2)Preservation of Soviet symbols<br>3)"Internationalism"<br>4)Introduction of dual Russian-Ukrainian citizenship | "Internationalism"<br>Apolitism<br>Populism                        | 1)National revival<br>2)Ukrainian language enjoying the status of state language<br>3)Restoration of national symbols (anthem, flag, national emblem)                             |
| 5 | 1)Atheism<br>2)Hidden support of the Orthodox church of Moscow Patriarchate<br>3)The slogan of "freedom of conscience" as a variant of atheism                | Support of Moscow Patriarchate                                     | 1)Religious peace and equality of all the religious belief<br>2)Restoration and reinforcement of Kiev Patriarchate (i.e., autocephalic church independent of Moscow Patriarchate) |
| 6 | Liquidation of ecological consequences of Chernobyl tragedy   | Localism   | 1)Putting on trial the former leaders of the Ukrainian SSR<br>2)Active help to the victims of Chernobyl   |

## Appendix B

date name=ääòè, max=1.1.1996

item name=ääòè  
 usage=date  
 type name=numbers  
 exit name=ääòè

item name=òåêñò  
 usage=text  
 sings part="!.?!:"  
 without=no  
 exit name=òåêñò

database name=CanDep;  
 first=êàíäèääò

part name=êàíäèääò;  
 part=áíîãðàôiÿ,îðîãðàìà,ãîêîñ

part name=áíîãðàôiÿ;  
 position=îðîçâèùå,ì'ÿ,îî-áàòüêîí,ñòàòü,ñòàòü;  
 part=îêðóã,íàðíäæáíÿ,ñîäàí,îñâìòà,îðîñòàí,îñèòàíÿ,àðíÿ,áèäâíÿ

part name=îêðóã;  
 position=íàçâà,îîãð,òè

part name=íàðíäæáíÿ;  
 position=ääòà,íàçâà,òè,ðàéí,íàèàñòü,êðà; íà  
 element name=ääòà; type=d

part name=ñîäàí; write="ñî³æüí³ äà³";  
 position=íàòííäèüíñòü,ñîñîñ,íàðòííñòü,ÊÏÑ,òàðíí\_ÊÏÑ,ñèòóá'ÿç,  
 êàð\_ñóã, ñîñòàí,äèòè

part name=îñâìòà;  
 position=ðíâáíü,íàâ÷\_çàèèää,òèðà,ñîã³æüí³ñòü  
 also=ðíè  
 element name=ðíè; type=d

part name=iđiõñòàí; write="iđiõãñ³éíèé ñòàí";  
position=iĩñòãđíá,iĩñàää,đíé  
part=iĩ÷đíá,iáóéñòàí,iáãíđíàè

part name=iĩ÷đíá; write="iĩ÷àòíê òđóáíâî¿ ä³yëüíñò³";  
position=áié,iĩñòãđíá,iĩñàää,đíááíüíñâíðè,ñĩãöíàèüíñòü

part name=iáóéñòàí; write="iáóéíâèé ñòàí";  
position=iáóéñòóííü,ãàèóçüíáóèè,â÷áíçâáííý,ióáéíèàöí¿

part name=iáãíđíàè;  
position=iáãíđíàè,iđãí¿,iĩ÷\_çâáíý

part name=iĩèíòáíýë; write="ãñã³ä iãðò³éí-iĩè³ðè÷í¿ ä³yëüíñò³";  
position=đíááèñò,đíé,âéíđãáí,iĩñàää,÷èñéñáđáíý,òãđíí,âèñóááíáöü  
element name=đíé; type=d  
element name=òãđíí; type=n

part name=ãđííý; write="ñéóæáà â àđí³¿";  
position=đíèè,iĩñòã,áiéñüè\_ñĩãö,đíááíü\_íñâíðè,áiéñüè\_çâáíý,iĩđáíáíý,  
áiéñüè\_iáãíđíàè,áié\_äí¿  
element name=đíèè; type=d  
element name=ñòàæ; type=n

part name=áèàãíáíýë; write="ãđñíããñüèà đíáíðà òà áèããíã³éíèöüèà ä³yëüí³ñòü";  
position=iĩñòãđíá,iĩñàää,đíèè,ãííđñòâí  
part=×ÀÃÑ, ñòèöèèöí  
element name=đíèè; type=d

part name=×ÀÃÑ,ñòèöèèöí; write="ó÷ãñòü ó ë³êã³ääò³¿ íãñ³ãè³â àãàð³¿ íà ×ÀÃÑ,  
òãðííãáíéõ òà íðèđíáíéõ êàòãñòđíò";  
position=iĩñòãđíá,iĩñàää,đíèè  
element name=đíèè; type=d

part name=iđíãđàìà;  
position=ããñéí  
part=çããðãð,çíáí,áíóðð,âéíí,ñíö,éóéüð,iáö

part name=çíáí; write="Çíáí³øíüí-iĩèèò³÷íà iđíãđàìà";  
position=ããðãñòàðÓèð,i³æíđíèüÓèð,ÑÍA,Đíñíý,òãđãçà°í,ñíþç,ñíþçíèè,òéíð,  
ñíàãíè

part name=áíóòð; write="Áíóòð³øíúî-îë³ðè÷îà ìðîãðàîà";

position=îëóñòðíé,îîñöîíáíîàæ,ðåòîîñóíðååäå,ðåóåè,éåääðè,îðíðèèòåò,Éðè, áåçíåè,Éíñòèèóöîÿ

part name=âêîí; write="Âêîí³÷îà ìðîãðàîà";

position=îóíéè,ìåðíèè,ðèíè,îðèèè,çåíè,îíèè,áåíè, ãðíè, öíè, êíñòèèððèè, îðíðíèððèèèè, îðíðåèóçü,ðåððíçå,èè

part name=ñîö; write="Ñîö³æüîà ìðîãðàîà";

position=åèèè,çèèè,åçðíèè,âèèè,çèèèæíè, ñè\_ðèè,ãðíèððèèè,ìåèííè,îíèè

part name=éóëüò; write="Éóëüòðîà ìðîãðàîà";

position=áíðíèè,øèèè,çèèèèèèè,ííèèèè,íèèèèè, ñíðè,éóëüòðíçå

part name=íàö; write="Íàö³íèèè-åð³÷îà ìðîãðàîà";

position=ãðíèèèèè,åðèèè,êííè,ðåèèèè,ðåèèèè

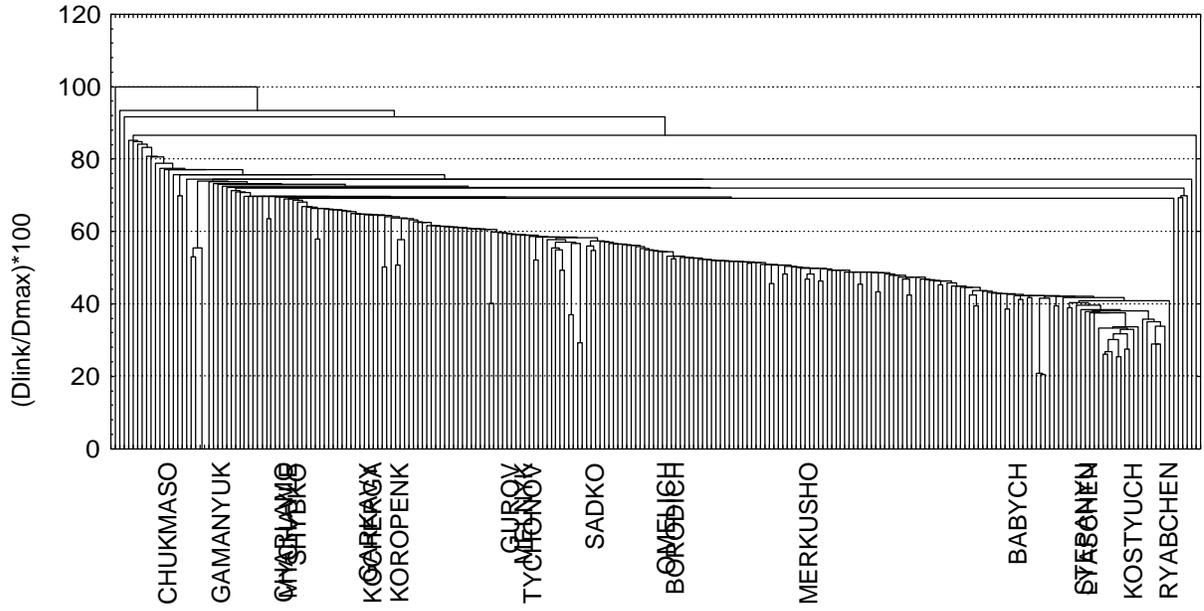
part name=ãëîñ; write="Íàñ³æè ãèñíèèè";

position=è³ëüè\_âè, ÷èè\_èè, è³ëüè\_íè\_èè, ÷èè\_çè, íàñ³èè

exit name=CanDep

# Appendix C

Tree Diagram for 244 Cases  
Single Linkage  
Euclidean distances



## Appendix D

Comparison of the biographic data candidates and deputies.

| Biographic data                                    | The candidates | The deputies |
|--|----------------|--------------|
| 1. The representatives of industrial districts(%)  | 84,86          | 80,00        |
| 2. The representatives of agrarian districts(%)    | 15,14          | 20,00        |
| 3. Median age (years)                              | 47             | 47           |
| 4. Age interval (Years)                            | 1924-1969      | 1924-1962    |
| 5. born in city (%)                                | 50,87          | 45,00        |
| 6. born in a village, farm(%)                      | 38,70          | 45,00        |
| 7. born in Dnepropetrovsk area(%)                  | 25,06          | 35,00        |
| 8. born in the next areas(%)                       | 16,87          | 20,00        |
| 9. born in other areas of Ukraine (%)              | 16,63          | 25,00        |
| 10. born outside of Ukraine(%)                     | 13,40          | 0,00         |
| 11. born in Ukraine (%)                            | 79,16          | 85,00        |
| 12. born in Russia(%)                              | 10,67          | 10,00        |
| 13. Ukrainian nationality (%)                      | 71,71          | 85,00        |
| 14. Russian nationality(%)                         | 22,08          | 10,00        |
| 15. born in working family(%)                      | 30,27          | 25,00        |
| 16. born in family of military men (%)             | 5,96           | 15,00        |
| 17. born in family of clerk (%)                    | 0,43           | 10,00        |
| 18. Non-party(%)                                   | 74,69          | 70,00        |
| 19. The members Kommunist Party of Ukraine(%)      | 4,71           | 5,00         |
| 20. The members of a Socialist Party of Ukraine(%) | 3,47           | 5,00         |
| 21. Family, married,(%)                            | 79,40          | 90,00        |
| 22. widow (%)                                      | 1,24           | 5,00         |
| 23. Modal amount of children(%)                    | 2,00           | 2,00         |
| 24. Modal educational level                        | higher         | higher       |
| 25. Have ended institute(%)                        | 58.56          | 55,00        |
| 26. Have ended university(%)                       | 22.33          | 20,00        |
| 27. Have ended a technical school(%)               | 6.20           | 10,00        |
| 28. Modal meaning of a place of                    | educational    | educational  |

| work  | institutes | institutes |
|---|------------|------------|
| 29.Work on a post of the main expert(%)   | 5.21       | 20,00      |
| 30.Work on a post managing (chief, dean)(%)                                       |            | 10         |
| 31.The places of a beginning of labour have not specified(%)                      | 51,12      | 55,00      |
| 32.Began labour activity at the industrial enterprises(%)                         | 17,12      | 15,00      |
| 33.The trades (post) which on began labour activity have not specified(%)         | 60,05      | 60,00      |
| 34.Began labour activity working(%)   | 18,61      | 20,00      |
| 35.Have not specified an educational level to the beginning of labour activity(%) | 57,82      | 65,00      |
| 36.Had average formation(training) to the beginning of labour activity(%)         | 16,63      | 20,00      |
| 37.Are put forward by the voters of a district(%)                                 | 58,56      | 70,00      |
| 38.Are put forward by labour collectives(%)                                       | 24,07      | 15,00      |
| 39.Are put forward by assemblies (conferences) of political parties (%)           | 59,95      | 5,00       |

## Appendix E

Comparison of the programs of the candidates and deputies.

| Items of the program of the candidates   | The candidates. (%) | The deputies. (%) |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Do not result the slogan in the program.  | 79,16               | 75,00             |
| 2. Give in the program the slogan of a type « the Person (family) - basis of the state »   | 5,21                | 10,00             |
| 3. Do not speak the rather state status of Ukraine   | 70,47               | 90,00             |
| 4. Define the state status of Ukraine as free (independent, sovereign) state   | 23,57               | 10,00             |
| 5. Do not speak about an international role of Ukraine   | 88,34               | 85,00             |
| 6. Speak about necessity of restoration of cooperation (relations, connections) with others states   | 6,45                | 5,00              |
| 7. Speak about necessity of rise of influence of Ukraine   | 1,99                | 5,00              |
| 8. Speak about necessity of restoration USSR or strenghtening (integration) of a CIS   | 29,53               | 50,00             |
| 9. Do not mention the attitude to a CIS in the program   | 57,82               | 45,00             |
| 10. Do not speak about character of mutual relation of Ukraine with the states of the world  | 52,11               | 45,00             |
| 11. Speak about necessity of an establishment of mutually advantageous economic communications (cooperation, union) with the states of a CIS | 21,34               | 20,00             |
| 12. Speak about necessity of development of union with the countries of near and distant foreign countries, European Economic Union          | 6,20                | 10,00             |
| 13. Do not speak about necessity of personnel changes for state management   | 63,28               | 60,00             |
| 14. Speak about legislative support personal responsible of the chiefs, deputies etc.  | 6,45                | 20,00             |
| 15. Speak about necessity of the chiefs of certification, obligatory   | 5,21                | 5,00              |

|  |       |       |
|--|-------|-------|
| reporting of the deputies before the voters  |       |       |
| 16.Speak about necessity of the statement of personal structure of government, constitutional and Supreme Court and other. by the Supreme Parliament | 1,49  | 5,00  |
| 17.Speak about necessity of reduction of the state-administrative device   | 4,71  | 5,00  |
| 18.Speak about necessity of change of system of training, as bases of formation of the professional staff.   | 1,49  | 5,00  |
| 19.Do not speak about necessity of acceptance of the constitution of Ukraine   | 79,65 | 60,00 |
| 20.Speak about adortion of the new Constitution of Ukraine is a urgent problem   | 8,19  | 10,00 |
| 21.Speak about necessity of acceptance of the new Constitution of Ukraines, ensuring social guarantees of the citizens                               | 3,72  | 10,00 |

## Appendix F

Information as to compatibility of political images content with deputies' real positions  
(according to voting results)

| №  | Number of election district | Name and initials  | Party                                      | Fraction                       | Constitution          |                   | Centralism            |                   | Capitalism            |                   |
|----|-----------------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
|    |                             |                    |  |                                | position in programme | results of voting | position in programme | results of voting | position in programme | results of voting |
| 1  | 75                          | Ryabtchenko O.V.   | non-party                                  | Unity                          | 0                     | +                 | 0                     | +                 | +                     | +                 |
| 2  | 76                          | Mikchilenko S.M.   | Party of Democratic Renaissance of Ukraine | Unity                          | 0                     | absent            | --                    | +                 | ∅                     | +                 |
| 3  | 77                          | Kostyutchenko L.M. | non-party                                  | Unity                          | +                     | +                 | ∅                     | ∅                 | +                     | +                 |
| 4  | 78                          | Merkushov V.T.     | non-party                                  | Unity                          | ∅                     | +                 | ∅                     | ∅                 | ∅                     | +                 |
| 5  | 79                          | Litvin V.V.        | non-party                                  | Social-market choice           | ∅                     | +                 | 0                     |                   | +                     |                   |
| 6  | 80                          | Savtchenko V.G.    | non-party                                  | Unity                          | 0                     | +                 | +                     |                   | +                     |                   |
| 7  | 81                          | Tchukmasov S.O.    | non-party                                  | Reforms                        | 0                     | +                 | 0                     | +                 | +                     | +                 |
| 8  | 82                          | Shibko B.I.        | Socialist party                            | Socialists                     | +                     | +                 | --                    | --                | +                     | --                |
| 9  | 83                          | Bairak M.V.        | non-party                                  | Unity                          | +                     | +                 | ∅                     |                   | +                     |                   |
| 10 | 84                          | Gamanyuk L.Y.      | non-party                                  | Unity                          | 0                     | +                 | --                    | --                | +                     | --                |
| 11 | 85                          | Koropenko A.A.     | Communist Party of Ukraine                 | Communists                     | ∅                     | did not vote      | ∅                     | --                | --                    | --                |
| 12 | 86                          | Seliphont'ev S.I.  | non-party                                  | Unity                          | ∅                     | +                 | ∅                     | --                | +                     |                   |
| 13 | 87                          | Stepanyuk D.P.     | non-party                                  | Unity                          | +                     | +                 | +                     | +                 | +                     | ∅                 |
| 14 | 88                          | Kotcherga V.P.     | non-party                                  | Social-market choice           | ∅                     | +                 | ∅                     | ∅                 | +                     | +                 |
| 15 | 89                          | Mel'nik V.S.       | non-party                                  | Unity                          | ∅                     | +                 | ∅                     | ∅                 | ∅                     | +                 |
| 16 | 90                          | Gurov V.M.         | Labour Party                               | Inter-regional deputies' group | ∅                     | +                 | +                     | --                | ∅                     | +                 |
| 17 | 91                          | Boroditch L.V.     | non-party                                  | Unity                          | 0                     | +                 | 0                     | --                | +                     | --                |
| 18 | 92                          | Gladush V.D.       | not indicated                              | Unity                          | +                     | +                 | ∅                     |                   | ∅                     |                   |

|    |     |                 |                 |                      |   |              |    |    |    |    |
|----|-----|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|---|--------------|----|----|----|----|
| 19 | 93  | Zhir O.O.       | non-party       | Unity                | 0 | +            | 0  |    | +  |    |
| 20 | 94  | Liaschenko K.D. | non-party       | Unity                | 0 | +            | +  | -- | +  | +  |
| 21 | 95  | Kchudomaka V.P. | non-party       | Unity                | + | did not vote | -- |    | +  |    |
| 22 | 96  | Kirilenko I.G.  | not indicated   | Unity                |   | +            |    |    |    |    |
| 23 | 97  | Babitch V.G.    | non-party       | Unity                | 0 | +            | ∅  | ∅  | +  | ∅  |
| 24 | 98  | Magda I.I.      | non-party       | Unity                | ∅ | +            | ∅  |    | +  |    |
| 25 | 99  | Tchulakov E.P.  | Peasants' Party | Peasants'            | ∅ | +            | ∅  | -- | -- | -- |
| 26 | 100 | Omelitch        | non-party       | Unity                | 0 | +            | 0  | -- | 0  | -- |
| 27 | 101 | Tikchonov Y.T.  | non-party       | Social-market choice | + | +            |    | -- |    | +  |
| 28 | 102 | Sad'ko V.G.     | Peasants' Party | Unity                | 0 | +            | -- | -- | ∅  | +  |
| 29 | 103 | Kcharlamov V.G. | Peasants' Party | Unity                | 0 | +            | 0  | ∅  | +  | -- |
| 30 | 104 | Moskalenko A.I. | non-party       | Unity                | + | +            | +  |    | +  |    |
| 31 | 105 | Lazarenko P.I.  | not indicated   | Unity                | ∅ | absent       | ∅  |    | ∅  |    |
| 32 | 106 | Gar'kaviy V.I.  | non-party       | Unity                | ∅ | +            | ∅  | -- | ∅  | -- |