

**A blueprint for enhancing understanding of
and support for the EU-Ukraine Association
Agreement including DCFTA in Ukraine**

Key Communications

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1. Executive Summary

The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement (AA) will be signed in November 2013 if Ukraine takes concrete steps to address EU concerns as set out in the FAC conclusions of December 2012.

Despite the many benefits that the AA will bring to Ukraine and the generally positive connotations "Europe" enjoys, **support for the AA is not overwhelming amongst the population at large**. There is no strong pro-AA lobby in Ukraine. Meanwhile, **proponents of the Customs Union are running a proactive communications campaign** and have managed to stimulate public discussion of which foreign policy vector Ukraine should choose, despite Ukraine's officially declared foreign policy in support of European integration. Widely-believed "myths" portray the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement negatively and contrast the "threats" of rapprochement with the EU to the "bright future" with Russia.

The Delegation and many MS Embassies actively seek to discuss and promote the AA publicly. But the research carried out in the framework of this project shows that these efforts have not been successful:

- the level of awareness of different target audiences regarding European integration in general and the AA in particular is very low;
- Ukrainians tend to perceive Ukraine's closer European integration and the AA in particular as issues of "big politics" with little relevance to the life of every citizen at least in the foreseeable future;
- as a result, for the ordinary citizen it is difficult to have an opinion on closer integration with Europe;
- this creates room for manipulation by politicians and for other strategic choices to be promoted.

To rectify this situation and to create a genuine upswing in support for the AA (necessary if reforms are to be introduced and implemented), **a national public awareness "Campaign of Arguments", using integrated communications methods, is needed in Ukraine**. "Business as usual" will not win the debate!

Such a campaign should:

- raise awareness about the EU and AA by presenting the public with **objective information** about European integration and its specific benefits, thus allowing the public to make an informed choice about EU or CU integration;
- **debunk widely believed "myths"** on the basis of facts and clearly defined arguments.

The campaign should be aimed at the **general public as its primary target audience** (TA). Secondary TAs, such as journalists and civil society, can act as "change agents". Studies have shown that the ratio of Euro-optimists and Euro-sceptics is approximately equal and stable (with minor variations). The main target audience of the campaign should be the **30% of the population who are undecided**. They are spread across different age, social, professional, and regional groups.

The campaign should appeal to both the rational (the advantages and benefits of AA) and emotional. It should also include highly visual elements. Each target audience should have specific targeted messages delivered via the best channel of communication.

Proposed campaign activities include: training for journalists, press tours, features and talk shows on TV, road shows, proactive engagement with Ukrainian businesses, advertising, on-line engagement through social media and print materials.

Over a two year period, suggested activities would cost in the region of **Euro 2.3 million** (see Annex A 'Action plan and budget' for more detail).

2. Background

The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement including DCFTA is a large-scale economic and political project, which was started by the EU and Ukraine in 2007. The logical conclusion of its first phase could be the signing of the document in November 2013 at the Eastern Partnership summit in Vilnius, providing that Ukraine will demonstrate progress on a number of criteria announced by the EU. This will have political importance, because it will demonstrate a real and informed choice of the Ukrainian authorities in favour of reforming the country in the framework of the European civilization model.

The AA including DCFTA will be the most ambitious agreement that the EU has ever concluded with countries outside the community. As Commissioner Štefan Füle said, the AA provides a historic opportunity to transform the former Soviet Union in Eastern Europe.

The AA should become the "engine for reforms", encouraging the modernisation of Ukraine in more than 30 areas: economic, political, social, legal, scientific, cultural, good governance, role of civil society on the basis of gradual approximation to EU standards.

The AA will entrench common values, democratic standards, real guarantees of rights and opportunities that have become the norm in the European Union, and from which Ukrainians will benefit if the AA is successfully implemented.

As for encouraging economic reform and growth, the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area will go further than classic free trade areas. The introduction of the DCFTA will lead to a restructuring of the Ukrainian market, growth of investments as a result of the introduction of EU standards, as well as legal and administrative support for this process. The European Union will fund technical assistance programmes. But only efforts by the Ukrainian side will guarantee the actual implementation of European standards in practice, as well as the increased competitiveness of domestic business in local and EU markets.

We must be honest. Such changes will be a challenge for Ukrainian business, a test of its viability, and whilst some losses in the short term are inevitable, the DCFTA will ensure in the medium and long term the increased welfare of Ukrainians of between 4.3% and at 11.6% (according to independent studies).

3. Research

3.1. Methodology

Goals and objectives:

- study the opinions of the most active stakeholders including EU embassies, experts, public officials responsible for European integration and journalists about the level of awareness among the target audiences on the AA and the DCFTA and assess the relevance of a communication campaign on the AA and the DCFTA during 2013-2015;
- assess media coverage in terms of promoting AA and the DCFTA;
- prepare a communication plan for promoting the AA.

Content:

- analysis of previous studies and campaigns
- analysis of public opinion polls
- media monitoring and analysis of the media coverage
- analysis of the desirability and practicality of influencing public opinion countrywide or in individual regions
- analysis of critical target audiences who have the ability to shape public opinion positively
- analysis of risks and opportunities

Research

Based on the complex nature of the goals and objectives of the study, we used the following research methods:

- **Expert interviews** – qualitative analysis method, a kind of in-depth interview, its main feature is the status and competence of the respondent, which is an expert in her/his group on issue to be studied. Expert interview aims to receive from the respondent detailed answers. At the same time, holding a significant number of interviews reduces the level of subjectivity of the results.
- **Focus groups** – method of group focused interview conducted by the moderator. This qualitative analysis tool allows getting a consolidated response to the questions "how" and "why".
- **Content analysis** – based on media monitoring. Content analysis is an efficient way of obtaining open information about the object of research. It allows finding the characteristics, properties of documents (publications), for example, the frequency of use of terms that reflect the essential aspects of its content. The text is formalised and indexed, which allows to estimate the frequency of use categories, objects of analysis, evaluation, publication types, the content of messages, as well as the presence or absence of information.
- **Method of document analysis** – is a set of techniques and procedures used for the extraction from documentary sources of sociological data during the study of social processes and phenomena in order to solve specific research problems. In this study, the units of study were selected results of opinion polls about the foreign policy preferences of Ukrainians, as well as analyses of the AA and the DCFTA.
- **Multivariate analysis** – is a variation of several methods of strategic planning (SWOT and PEST). It is used to assess the factors and events that affect the project or enterprise. All the factors (political, informational, social and psychological) are divided into categories: risks and opportunities. The method includes defining project goals and identifying the internal and external factors that contribute or impede their achieving.

Sample size

86 interviews conducted:

- 23 interviews with representatives of EU MS Embassies, EU Delegation, international organisations and EU experts in Ukraine;
- 25 interviews with representatives of national civil society organisations, think tanks, academic circles, journalists;
- 13 interviews with representatives regional civil society organisations, think tanks, academic circles, journalists;
- 12 interviews with representatives business associations and organisations;
- 13 interviews with politicians and public officials, responsible for European integration.

7 focus groups conducted:

- focus group with representatives of national civil society organisations;
- 5 focus groups with representatives of regional civil society organisations in Lviv, Odesa, Simferopol, Kharkiv, Donetsk;
- focus group with alumni students of (UK Government) Chevening Programme.

Content analysis included coverage on AA and DCFTA by the national and regional mass media and in the Internet during September-December 2012 (political and business press, news agencies, websites of TVs, blogs, websites of public authorities and political parties, social media). 827 articles were analysed.

Document analysis included the results of public opinion polls during 2011-2012 on the foreign policy preferences and consumer confidence of Ukrainians; analysis of publications on AA and DCFTA (including those provided by the EU Delegation, British Embassy and other Embassies of EU Member States).

3.2. Analysis of previous studies and campaigns

As of February 2013, the AA was not officially published (although a leaked version has emerged in the Ukrainian media) but there are commentaries by experts, diplomats, officials and politicians in mass media.

During 2008-2012 a series of studies were conducted with the support of international foundations (e.g. Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation) and diplomatic missions (e.g. EU Delegation, British Embassy) and their results published in the mass media. The studies were conducted by foreign and national think tanks and experts.

There are several qualitative studies on AA and DCFTA (see Annex B below), but their results are available to a limited number of specialists and experts who do not broadcast them in simple terms to the general public, and as a result, the level of awareness of the general public is low.

All previous information activities on European integration were situational and were held around a particular event, and were not part of a strategic, consistent, well-coordinated campaign.

3.3. Analysis of public opinion polls

It is clear from the results of recent opinion polls (see Appendix C below) that the majority of the Ukrainians do not have an informed opinion about the European integration processes. On average, opinion polls show that about 30% of respondents are in favour of European integration, 30% - for the Customs Union, and about 30% are undecided. The share of citizens supporting the two blocks at the same time remains stable (25-30%). One trend during 2011-2012 is noteworthy - the number of supporters of integration with Customs Union increased at the expense of the "undecided".

Ukraine is still divided geographically and demographically:

	All	West	Centre	South	East
EU integration	38.3	70.1	50.6	28.9	11.9
CU integration	36	7	23.9	47	60
Not supporting both	10.8	12.8	10.5	11.8	9.4
No answer	14.8	10	15	12.2	18.8
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
EU integration	50.8%	44.5%	37.7%	31.4%	27.7%
CU integration	25.4%	30.2%	36.3%	41.3%	45.9%
Not supporting both	10%	12.6%	10%	12%	10.2%
No answer	13.9%	12.7%	16%	15.3%	16.2%

The level of support for European integration in the expert community and NGOs is over 80%, but their influence on public opinion is limited: 32.1% of respondents mostly do not trust CSOs, 23.5% - do not fully trust CSOs. It is significant that 72.7% of the population does not believe that they can influence political decisions.

Opinion polls results also show that some part of the Ukrainian population does not recognise their country as a European state.

Perception of integration processes amongst Ukrainians

1. Citizens believe that the EU perceives Ukraine as a source of raw materials and cheap labour resources (33%), but not as a partner (7%).

As for relations with Russia, 44% of respondents do not have an opinion whilst 26% define relations between the countries as being rather friendly (25%).

2. Citizens have almost equal expectations of the results of cooperation with the EU and the Customs Union but the Customs Union holds a narrow advantage:

- positive development of trade and economic relations: with the EU – 65.9%, with the CU – 71.1%;
- improving relations with countries of the EU – 63.2%, CU – 71.8%.

Assessing the prospects for economic growth through integration, 29.9% of Ukrainians believe that progress will be achieved with the Customs Union (23.3% - hesitating), and 25.3% - with the EU (28% - hesitating).

3. Citizens recognise the existence of problems in Ukraine-Russia relations:

- energy dependence – 45%;
- mutual distrust between political elites – 32%;
- economic dependence – 24%.

Citizens have doubts regarding successful integration with CU because of the crisis in Russia (29.2%) and the difference in the foreign policy of Ukraine and Russia. (Given concerns about Ukraine's energy dependence on Russia, the campaign should focus on achieving energy independence through Ukrainian energy market integration to the EU, membership in the European energy community, energy-efficient and renewable energy enterprises.)

4. The factors that affect the level of uncertainty about the success of EU integration include:

- financial crisis in the EU (31.9%)
- worsening economic rivalry between the EU and Russia (25.4%)
- doubts that Ukraine's economy will suffer from EU integration (21%)
- fears about the EU's imposing its own agenda on the third countries (17.9%).

In response to a question on EU-Ukraine relations, citizens highlighted economic issues, in particular:

- trade - 77%
- economic development - 76%
- regional cooperation - 71%
- migration - 60%

In relations with Russia, the main issues are the coincidence of economic and political interests (economic - 38%, political - 26%, will of political leaders - 21%).

5. Level of confidence in various sources of information:

- information received from the EU officials (85% of experts and 58% of citizens)
- international journalists (74% of experts and 58% of citizens)
- colleagues and friends (59% of the experts, 68% of citizens)
- Ukrainian journalists (41% of experts and 44% of citizens).

Conclusions

Our research shows that the priority for any information campaign would be to work with those citizens who have not defined their position on Ukraine's integration, and the main focus should be on the economic arguments and on showing that the Association Agreement would result in fair and mutually beneficial relations for both sides.

Attention should be focused on displaying positive changes in everyday life, which the AA would bring; promoting a positive image and desirability of these changes as well as ways of achieving them. It is important also, however, to emphasize the need for citizens' personal involvement in working for these changes.

3.4. Analysis of media coverage

I. General characteristics of media coverage

- There is a lot of information about the AA and DCFTA in the mass media (about 5 outputs per day). At the same time, the uniformity of this information, simplistic presentation, massive "reprint" and quoting from the same sources that are not always credible or are generally discredited (e.g. Russian media) generally fails to "grab" the audience.
- Information on the AA and the DCFTA is not diversified and is not adapted for different target audiences
- The Ukrainian media cover the AA along with information on the Customs Union, and numerous comparisons are drawn. The "vacuum" created by the lack of specific information regarding the AA (information on cooperation between Ukraine and the EU tends to be provided separately from the context of the AA and DCFTA) is exploited by Customs Union advocates who for their provide "compelling" economic examples and facts concerning the benefits that the Customs Union will bring both the economy in general and its individual sectors (energy, air and automotive, agriculture, etc.).
- Despite the fact that European integration issues have been reported on for a long time, the lack of concrete and understandable to the public examples of progress reduces interest in information about European integration among target audiences. Mass media focus on the political component of the AA, but not enough attention is paid to the economic, legal and other aspects of the agreement. At the same time when the EU criticises the authorities (for example, when reporting on laws on public procurement and the law on civil service, which are important for the implementation of European standards and the AA), the mass media focusses more than anything else on the fact of criticism. By contrast, a constructive, professional, and most importantly, easily understandable analysis of why an issue is important is invariably absent.
- Interpretations, commentaries and political declarations prevail by 3 to 1 over analytical articles.
- Ukrainians do not have enough first hand information sources about the EU. Online resources are not easily accessible, the only TV programme "Window to Europe" is not broadcast in primetime, and information in it is merely factual. Although it must be said that in this telecast more attention is paid to EU projects and cooperation between the EU and Ukraine.
- Information about European integration is often manipulated with:
 - over-simplification or over-complexity of problems
 - presentation of information about the European integration processes using myths, stereotypes, patterns and value judgments (in the Customs Union - "corrupt country" Russia seeks to restore the empire etc., "the EU collapses", "EU bureaucratic structure" and others.)
 - different interpretation of the facts (from "Ukraine will sign an Association Agreement already in 2013", "Ukraine will not sign the AA during the next year", "If not signed in 2013 the AA will never be signed", "The AA it will not be signed by the current government");
 - manipulative use of opinion polls:
 - 40% of citizens find it more profitable for Ukraine to sign the AA, rather than joining the Customs Union (37% for joining CU) (survey of the Sociological Group "Rating");
 - 57% of Ukrainians support the integration into the Customs Union (data of V.Medvedchuk);
 - 46% support the accession to the Customs Union (Social Monitoring Centre);
 - 52% support Ukraine's accession to the EU (Deutsche Welle).
- There is a tendency to "closed" information on the AA and the negotiation process as well as "fragmentation" of information, especially personal and biased positions;
- The information on the AA and DCFTA is presented without adaptation for the general public.
- Discussions of the AA in social media is not systemic. Comments appear depending on the urgency or hot topics and applied nature of the information (e.g. discussion of visa issue).
- It should be noted that the Ukrainian media often quote foreign media, including the most common - Deutsche Welle, Financial Times and "Novaya Gazeta". In general, the volume of references to the Russian media is quite high.

II. Content

- The topic of the AA was moderately covered at the start of negotiations, and this period was full with commentaries, forecasts, information about numerous organisational steps, such as meetings, working groups, roundtables, etc. The period of technical work was covered in a much more restrained manner, due to, on the one hand, lack of really attractive information events, and, on the other, lack of professionally and systematic work on this topic by the journalists, as well as lower interest in comparison with internal politics issues.
- Mass media mull the issue of multi-vector foreign policy of Ukraine and sometimes tend to criticise the EU requirements, at the same time highlighting the topic of the Customs Union.
- Mass media do broadcast messages about cooperation between the EU and Ukraine (agriculture, energy, visa requirements, investments, etc.). However, this information is not focused, comprehensive and well-argued and is eroded by other messages, such as on the Customs Union (gas issue, short-term benefits, heavy industry).
- Mass media often cover the issue of politically motivated justice in Ukraine. However, it should be mentioned that this issue appears on the initiative of Ukrainian opposition politicians, as well as the initiative of representatives of EU Member States in response to manifestations of "non-democratic" tendencies in Ukraine.
- Ukrainian media often disseminate information about the "split" in the European Parliament and among Member States on the "Ukrainian question". European Union officials also publish their personal positions, guided by their own sympathies or political expediency. This opens the way for differing interpretations in the Ukrainian press, especially given the lack of professionalism of journalists.

III. Tone

- We can see a polarisation in media coverage on the AA and DCFTA.
- It should be noted that this polarisation has a dynamic character that appears in:
 - Mass media which share the position of the authorities: positive tonality (before and during the elections – expecting a quick AA signing); neutral (negotiations on AA signing – December 2013) and negative (while criticising the election results by EU representatives);
 - Mass media which share the position of the opposition politicians – inverse tonality. Messages have negative connotations (“not to sign the AA”) – before and after the elections (“Tymoshenko case”); positive tonality – before and during elections (waiting to win in elections);
 - Thus, we can see that the EU integration issues are used for internal political struggle;
 - Third category of mass media shares the messages in a neutral interpretation.

IV. Key messages

- Mass media tend to replay messages of the government representatives on European integration:
 - “AA and DCFTA is the strategic direction for Ukraine”, “need for a law on European integration”, “need for a ban of CU membership” etc.
 - Possible integration of Ukraine in the EU and at the same time in the Customs Union.
 - Expert community is not uniform: comments by political consultants quoted in the mass media reflect their political affiliation; and representatives of independent think tanks tend to express a positive if restrained assessment of European integration.
 - But there are exceptions: European integration is a threat to the economic and political security of Ukraine, while joining the CU - "is the path to success."

Besides, the mass media actively cover different views on the ‘Ukrainian question’ by the representatives of the Member States, which is being interpreted as a ‘lack of consolidated position within the EU.’

V. Balance of coverage between EU representatives and Ukrainian experts

- Comments made by the EU representatives outnumber those by Ukrainian authorities. The EU position, translated via either Brussels or the EU Delegation to Ukraine, is mostly proactive, that of the Russian Federation - reactive, while the Ukrainian government often prefers passive waiting mode.
- Criticism by the EU MS representatives of the Ukrainian opposition is rare. However, the main mass of criticism of the government is logically associated with the critics of the state overall.
- At the same time, mass media commentaries often repeat the thesis that the government "only declares" European integration vector, but is not interested in its implementation. Big business which is also associated with the government "works with the EU for a long time."
- Among Ukrainian commentators in the mass media, there is no-one who could be trusted by the whole society. And the speakers commenting European integration are perceived by general public oppositely.
- After the elections mass media disseminate information, including comments by the political consultants about on the crucial role of the president and the need for a political to make the EU integration a success.
- Mass media also covers similar "unconditional" and sometimes provocative messages of opposition politicians ("EU will never sign the AA with this government", "To sign the AA the government must be changed").

VI. Activity before the February EU-Ukraine Summit

In connection with the preparation of the EU-Ukraine Summit (February 2013) in January and February in mass media there have been a significant activity. Publications have had more diverse information with pragmatic meaning and in positive tone. More representatives of both Ukraine and the EU at various levels joined in to discuss the topic. Most of the speakers express the same view, however, there have been divergent views from the Ukrainian parliamentarians. They directly use the subject of the AA (i.e. the Joint Appeal on Ukraine's European integration) to achieve certain political goals.

There has emerged a new rhetoric: "Russia offers Ukraine to join the CU together to increase the economic level and standard of living, and then together to join the EU".

3.5. Analysis of the civil society's position

- Most respondents believe that Ukrainian civil society can and should influence political decisions, especially if they are historically significant to the country.
- A "live" interest of Ukrainians to the subject should be encouraged, which would put European integration on top of the agenda, and therefore will not give politicians and officials the chance to take uncontrolled decisions. Respondents unanimously agreed that society should give constructive criticism of the Government, which will allow for balanced, profitable decisions for the country.
- Responding supporters of Ukraine's accession to the EU believe that an information campaign is needed, but disagree on the timing of its implementation:
 - a) majority of respondents believe that a campaign should be started at present to enhance the level of support among the general public for the AA, which may affect the readiness of the Government to implement reforms and, most importantly, the further implementation of the AA!
 - б) fewer respondents believe that the signing of the AA cannot be influenced by public opinion, but it is important to be prepared and to start an information campaign immediately after signature. This approach will allow the most effective promotion and implementation of the action plan for AA ratification.
- There is an opinion (less than 5% of respondents), that the absence of effective democracy in Ukraine and the inertia of the population eliminates the need to promote the AA.

- Despite the large number of information materials on relations between Ukraine and the EU, there is a lack of well-prepared and politically neutral information on European integration, which affects the confidence of Ukrainians in the EU.

3.6. Risks and opportunities

Political risks

- Unconsolidated / contradictory statements by the authorities regarding foreign policy will lead to audience disorientation and blocking its interest in the topic.
- Systematic manipulations and speculations on the topic of European integration from both the government and the opposition.
- The absence of clear and single state information policy in the field of European integration.
- Unpredictable information field and lack of broad, objective picture of EU events in it, which also opens the door to political interpretations.
- Information passivity of EU in Ukraine: the lack of available information sources and shrinking of the information activity.

Political opportunities

- A coordinated information campaign will neutralise disorientation and gradually form better understanding of European integration. The presence of detailed arguments and authoritative messengers will remove the topic out of the political context.
- Regular broadcasting of different news regarding EU in the information field will allow the audience to form a complex and objective picture of the European Union, its values and goals, as well as the problems that exist in every developing society and which can be quickly and efficiently overcome by joint efforts.
- Providing media information about the EU as well as campaign activities will also satisfy target audience's request for access to information about European Union (operatively, in native language, in informal presentation).

Informational risks

- The absence in Ukraine of holistic information field, low level of confidence in the national media.
- Longstanding and monotonous topic presence in the media field, large number of reports of the manipulative nature and, consequently, loss of interest from the audience, media and experts.
- The dominance of Russian information field in some regions and the absence of reasoned counter arguments towards aggressive pro-Russian information campaign.
- Since the results of the AA implementation will be obtained in the medium term, experts and media have no practical arguments (unlike the CU supporters).
- The Agreement is too complex for presentation in simple language for a wide audience.
- The low level of journalists and experts readiness for full coverage of the topic
- Risk of disinformation of the AA due to inconsistent information (especially in print media);
- Lack of a single body for coordination of communication campaign

Informational opportunities

- Diversification of communications and the supply of objective and engaging information will raise the level of interest in the subject and trust towards media.
- Accurate selection of arguments and communication channels, systematic work with journalists and messengers during campaign built not on open opposition, but on providing an objective picture (numbers, facts).
- Work with relevant experts will allow informational materials to be prepared and adapted to different target audiences (TAs) and provided to chosen messengers and media
- A training program for journalists from national and regional media, establishment of their interaction with experts.

Social and psychological risks

- The campaign will work with target audiences and stakeholders that have diverse interests, purposes and socio-demographic characteristics.
- With the great lack of information, some TAs think that they know why they have made their choices.
- Low awareness about EU values and standards and presence of stable "myths" generates "schismatic" sentiments.
- High expectations from implementation of the Agreement, misunderstanding of this process duration and its positive effects, risks, as well as reduced interest in the topic and possible disappointment in European integration of Ukraine.

Social and psychological opportunities

- Convincing arguments that meet interests and needs of each TA, clarity of exposition and authoritative for TA messengers will allow the broadest possible audience to be reached effectively. Consolidating messages of the campaign that contain both practical and emotional intensities will help to appeal to patriotic feelings.
- Specific data and facts underlying the campaign will give confidence for TA that supports the idea of European integration, and for the others – information for thinking and reviewing their opinions
- Specifics, applicable nature of information not only about possibilities, but also difficulties of Agreement implementation, professional coverage of the topic and open dialogue within the framework of public events.

4. Target audiences

Implementation of the Association Agreement will directly affect the interests of all Ukrainian society and its citizens.

But across Ukrainian society, there are different levels of awareness of and support for the AA. To target our resources properly, Ukrainian society should be divided into primary and secondary target audiences (TA).

Primary TAs are those on which our public awareness campaign will in the main be targeted whilst secondary TAs comprise well-informed experts, officials, journalists and NGOs who will serve as translators / messengers in this campaign.

Our research showed that there are in general terms three categories of people with different levels of awareness regarding the AA:

- **high level:** government officials, politicians, experts, diplomats, and people related to the instruments development and their subsequent implementation
- **average:** representatives of civil society, journalists, students, and representatives of the scientific community, the participants of EU projects;
- **low level:** (almost in all country regions): the general public, opinion leaders, those who do not belong to expert community, but after appropriate training they can be used as campaign messengers.

Given their low level of knowledge and awareness, our main target audience should be the **general public**. But we cannot forget other TAs who, when better informed and armed with concrete facts and arguments, can become "campaign agents".

Target audiences analysis

4.1. General public

During campaign development it is important to consider that this audience represents a sufficiently large group of people, who haven't defined their position towards the Agreement. According to sociological research, the number of undecided voters is approximately 30% and 10% do not have any

idea about the topic of European integration. The factors that determine this level of indecision includes the proactive outreach of pro-Russian forces (especially in the south-east and in the Crimea).

Also, according to respondents, European integration, is not attractive for a large number of Ukrainians because on the one hand they do not believe that the Ukrainian authorities are capable of to implementing European standards, and on the other, see no real prospect of Ukraine joining EU.

All experts have noted a significant reduction in information activities related to EU topic and reduction in available for wide audience open information sources.

As a consequence, low level of awareness leads to "myths", such as:

- Ukraine is unable to implement EU standards;
- Ukraine is not expected in EU and there is no place for her there, while the Customs Union has already created all conditions and prerequisites for successful development;
- Europe intends to use Ukraine as a source of raw materials and cheap labor.

Experts note that the authorities play a critical role in the period up to signature. But successful implementation of reforms after signature depends on the proactive commitment and involvement of the population ("The authorities change, people reach a goal").

Thus, the **information campaign must aim to convince the general public of the ability of Ukraine to implement European standards and values, emphasising the role of public in the process of the AA's implementation.**

4.2. Youth

Ukrainian youth is the most pro-European oriented of the general populace. To reinforce this, the campaign should provide objective information about the AA and demonstrate that the AA is a road map for the country's modernization and the introduction of European standards of living. It is important to focus on the possibilities of study and traveling in the EU (for older students and students in primary and secondary schools interactive methods should be used along with informal presentation of information and communication with peers as part of national and international projects). It is recommended to use resources of the Ministry of Education to promote the European integration of Ukraine in school programmes.

However, since the effect of the "youth" vector of the campaign will be achieved in the medium term, it is recommended to provide for communication activities for this audience not more than 15% of the budget. Such distribution of funds also reflects the reality that campaign tools for other TA will also have impact on the youth audience.

4.3. Business community (including Unions)

Respondents note that:

- Ukrainian large scale business is well aware of the FTA. So the campaign should rather focus on informing small and medium enterprises (SMEs), the driving force of any market economy, about opportunities and risks. Owners and top management should be informed about the benefits, challenges, and how Ukraine's economic integration into the EU single internal market will be achieved: elimination of the majority of tariffs and duties (for goods and services), significant investment influx (particularly in the energy sector), business climate improvement as a result of the application of EU legislation, rise in quality standards etc
- FTA will contribute to real economic modernization and, therefore, the Ukrainian authorities should actively inform business community about benefits of the FTA with the EU;
- Oligarchs should be involved in the process of lobbying for the AA through "their" media and personal involvement in campaign events.

Trade unions, especially in the east of the country, should be informed about competition protection, workers' rights and working conditions protection, necessary steps for EU standards implementation, sanitary and phytosanitary standards, access issues to the EU market, intellectual property rights protection, trade and investment facilitation, governmental procurement.

4.4. Government officials and politicians

Without the active involvement of the authorities especially at regional and local levels, our communication campaign may be ineffective and / or have a negative effect. But we must take into account that not all officials are well-informed about the AA.

Given the administrative resources at their disposal (and their own plans for an information campaign), the authorities should be involved in the campaign where appropriate as co-organizers of events and promotions as well as facilitating free use of facilities, air time on TV and radio, attraction of high-level speakers.

Also, officials at all levels should be informed that the AA constitutes:

- a program of global reforms in Ukraine based on European values, including
 - full respect of democratic principles;
 - rule of Law;
 - good governance;
 - respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- sectoral cooperation in more than 30 areas: energy, transportation, environment, industry, small and medium enterprises, improvement of social security and consumer protection; education, cultural cooperation.

4.5. Journalists and mass media

National, regional and local media should play a key role in informing citizens about Ukraine's integration into EU. However, all experts assess the level of coverage as weak. Basically it comes down to the statements of officials on the AA preparation process and its signing; information regarding internal processes in the EU is reduced to the crisis. By all accounts, the main reason for low media interest lies with editorial policy. **Media owners and editors do not see European integration as a subject of interest for a mass audience.**

Therefore, it is advisable not to limit yourself to cooperation with journalists, but to communicate with the owners and media top management so as to identify common interests, relevant topics, and their further illumination.

To achieve campaign's goals it is important to involve media at all levels. While working with regional press and TV it is crucial to consider local context and specific interests of local audiences:

- Possibilities of solving regional problems through implementation AA provisions;
- Possible solutions of local problems, using the European experience;
- Possible participation of the local business community and civil society in EU projects and other.

At the start of the campaign a pool of journalists, who will cover the AA subject should be established in each region. It is important to hold a series of thematic trainings and workshops for them, as well as provide adapted information materials.

4.6. Civil society

Despite the fact that civil society more consistently than other TAs promotes European values and "lobbies" issues of European integration, the level of awareness about the AA is strong in Kyiv but weaker in Ukraine's regions.

Experts note that activities of civil society organizations in most regions are limited and fragmented. One reason for this situation is the absence of practical information regarding AA and real European integration perspectives for Ukraine in media and information field.

The expert community in Kyiv, in contrast to regional experts, is well-informed about AA and FTA and regularly makes statements about AA and FTA. However, quite often their opinion is biased, so the level of audience trust in such statements is not high.

Respondents recommend focusing on working with regional experts so that subsequently they could act as AA spokesmen and advocates. Activities could include:

- training sessions with participation of competent speakers, politicians with positive reputation, officials involved in the European integration issues;
- Providing adapted information materials;
- Encouraging research on topics of AA and DCFTA;
- Provide interaction between regional experts and media - for effective topic coverage

One of the main sub-groups in this category and perhaps the most influential one in general is the **scientific community**, which has traditionally supported the European course of Ukraine. Its representatives and leaders have a good reputation in the community and potential to influence public opinion. In universities, especially in the regions, it is crucial to promote and support research on the AA and FTA topics. It is also important to restore public professional discussions on this issue, which were popular at the start of the Ukrainian integration to Europe.

5. Strategic approach of the campaign

Based on our research, we suggest positioning the campaign as a **large-scale awareness campaign**. This should target a range of audiences including the Ukrainian general public, civil society, experts, business and scientific sectors, culture, youth and school children.

Since the topic of European integration is nowadays covered in a rather monotonous and predictable way and is also the focus of political manipulation, the benefits and risks of the AA are not that clear and obvious to the **general public**. The AA as an issue does not stir the public's conscious interest. At the same time since the main newsmakers of this TOPIC are politicians (both the authorities and the opposition), the credibility of information provided is low.

In order to improve understanding of and support for the AA, it is important to distance discussion of the AA from the arena of political debate. This will reduce the scope for political manipulation of public opinion. It will also allow the campaign to turn debate to those issues that should appeal most to the general public – thus the campaign should focus mainly on the **economic benefits** from implementation of the AA for **every Ukrainian**.

Despite the apparent abundance of information on European integration and Association Agreement, there are no specifics in the information field (numbers, facts, terms, clearly defined benefits and risks) - in contrast to the economically-based position of Customs Union supporters. In general, information from both the Ukrainian authorities and the EU seems vague and lacks clarity.

To address this fundamental shortcoming, we propose to call our campaign a **“Campaign of Arguments”** and to base it on specific data (facts and figures) that reflects the benefits of European integration and objective difficulties to be overcome by Ukrainians on their way to this goal. Such a realistic picture will encourage open dialogue in the spirit of European values.

We propose an integrated communications approach with the campaign's major components comprising both PR and advertising. The **campaign should start before the Agreement is signed**, because it is necessary to prepare the ground with key TAs for more intensive communications thereafter.

Based on regional, educational (professional) and age criteria, it will be necessary to formulate advertising slogans, global and targeted messages, directed at specific target audiences.

Campaign slogans should be clear and appealing to a majority of citizens. Slogans should be prepared in both Russian and Ukrainian. The main components that must be included in slogans' formulation:

- *Rational* (showing economic, legal, and value benefits of the AA's implementation) and
- *Emotional*

Slogans should focus on three arguments for European integration: economic, human rights and freedoms, education and training in Europe.

These global characteristics should be adapted for each TA to convincingly illustrate specific advantages of the Agreement implementation: more high-quality products at lower prices, better services for citizens, protection of consumers' rights in line with EU standards, road safety, and environmental protection as in EU countries, etc.

As a campaign **draft slogan**, we offer such options:

I. **“Why am I choosing Europe? My arguments”:**

- State should protect the environment
- All are equal under the law, regardless of their position and properties
- Better health and safety at work, creation of new jobs
- European framework for small and medium business and enterprise protection
- New roads, safety for drivers and pedestrians
- Higher quality of goods, greater choice, reasonable prices
- High-quality education - opportunity to work according to the profession”.

II. **“I choose Europe. My arguments”**

III. **“Live in Ukraine in European way”:**

- State control over the environment and high-quality tap water in your flat
- All are equal under the law, regardless their position and property
- Guaranteed labour security, creation of new jobs
- European framework for small and medium business and enterprise protection
- New roads, safety for drivers and pedestrians
- Greater choice of goods, higher quality, reasonable prices
- Up-to-date education - getting interesting job according to the profession».

Examples of slogan usage on the billboards:

For youth audience

“Why am I choosing Europe? My arguments:

- Up-to-date education - getting interesting job according to the profession
- Greater choice of goods, higher quality, reasonable prices
- All are equal under the law, regardless their position and properties”.

For business representatives

“Why am I choosing Europe? My arguments:

- All are equal before the law, regardless their position and properties
- Better health and safety at work, creation of new jobs
- European framework for small and medium business and enterprise protection”.

For audience 55+

“Why am I choosing Europe? My arguments”:

- Better protection for the environment and high-quality tap water in the apartment
- All are equal under the law, regardless their position and properties
- New roads, safety for drivers and pedestrians
- Greater choice of goods, higher quality, reasonable prices

In general, communication access to TA should be as targeted as possible and be reflected in the plot of the advertisement campaign. We suggest introducing a series of images that will be associated with target groups: student, businessman, worker, consumer / housewife, pensioner, university and high school professor, etc.

6. Key messages

Key messages differ from the advertising message by the fact that they are not used in the form of the approved phrases, but are a kind of "framework", which are used to assess the information content. Key messages should be used during interviews and comments by speakers, analytical and information materials, training programmes, and through press events, special events for the TA, and entertaining and educational programmes for general public.

- **Signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement is the "starting point" for working together to implement the European civilization model**
- **EU-Ukraine Association Agreement encourages reforms aimed at increasing welfare of citizens, protection of rights and freedoms, and more opportunities for every Ukrainian**
- **EU-Ukraine Association Agreement provides new real opportunities for learning, working, contacts between people**
- **EU is founded on the principle of equality of all members of the community and offers a relationship of equal partners to Ukraine**
- **EU-Ukraine Association Agreement brings Ukraine closer to European norms and principles of life, but there is not an obligation to join the European Union (as opposed to mandatory membership in Customs Union).**

7. Messengers

One of the key factors for our campaign's success will be defining the right messengers (speakers). Preferably, this role should be played by particular individuals, but in some cases it can also be organizations (associations, foundations, etc.) that broadcast important messages on their behalf. Groups of messengers should be formed at central and regional levels.

Various groups should form a messenger pool (politicians, government officials, diplomats, businessmen, scientists, artists, students, and journalists) on the basis of such criteria:

- Recognition and credibility for their TA and the general public
- Expertise on this topic
- Intellectual level, public speaking skills.

Candidates for the messenger pool should be selected not only from among the supporters of European integration but also among those who have not determined their position. For constructive discussions we suggest to involve speakers and supporters of the CU as well.

The methodology of forming messenger pool should be determined by the campaign steering committee, but the **general approach** might be as follows:

- Identifying people responsible for working with messengers (selection, communication, trainings, interim control over the work, performance rating after its completion)
- Identifying potential candidates
- Training of candidates
- Agreeing objectives, consultations during campaign, implementation monitoring.

The level of control over the messengers' work is determined by the format of working with them - on a free or paid basis.

One of the instruments to involve messengers (especially speakers of the first level) in public dialogue and support of their loyalty can be **systematic work with them in a club format (regular meetings in an informal atmosphere with given discussion topic and journalist involvement)**.

7.1. Politicians, officials and authorities

As campaign messengers we recommend following candidates:

- Well-known politicians;
- Competent officials-eurointegrators;
- mayors of the cities that are members of Covenant of Mayors
- Senior officials, diplomats and politicians from the EU, EU ambassadors in Ukraine, European experts and representatives of international organizations
- Experts and representatives of international organisations.

7.2. Businessmen and business associations

- Business associations (EBA, CCI, ACC etc.) - translators about the AA and the co-organizers of relevant events.
- Well known Ukrainian businessmen (large business) and business people from the EU;
- Representatives of local SMEs - translators of idea of European integration for the local communities.

7.3. Civil society representatives

According to experts civil society organizations are willing to actively participate in the campaign, but in order to make their activities more efficient (especially in the regions) relevant trainings are needed. Today they do not have any information, materials, or sufficient competence.

Potential messengers from NGOs:

- Kiev NGOs - Centre UA, PAUCI, "Public Space";
- regional organizations and associations - Monitoring Committee of press freedom in the Crimea, Centre for European Cooperation (Donetsk), regional offices of the Institute of Strategic Studies, Institute for European Integration (Lviv), etc.;
- associations and movements - pro-European network of organisations "We - the Europeans", "New Citizen";
- analytical centres and think tanks - Razumkov Centre, International Centre for Policy Studies, Institute of World Policy, Institute of Economic Research and Policy Consulting, "Social Barometer", "Laboratory for Legislative Initiatives";
- foundations of businessmen.

We also recommend involving in the campaign as messengers / co-organizers the International Fund "Renaissance" and the Fund "Democratic Initiatives".

7.4. Journalists

- Authoritative journalists that broadcast an objective point of view
- Independent national and regional journalist associations and organisations, for example European journalists associations, Monitoring Committee of press freedom in the Crimea.

7.5. Youth organisations and Universities

- Youth organizations and associations – European Youth Parliament, Euroclubs, "Youth in Action" movement;
- Ukrainian alumni from European Universities associations – Chevening, Erasmus Mundus, etc.

- Tertiary education institutions and associations – participants of the EU programs and projects in the education field – Ukrainian association of European Studies, etc.;
- EU projects in education sphere - Tempus-office, etc.;
- EU information centres in Kyiv and regions;
- Education and culture organizations in EU-member states - British Council, Goethe Institute, French Alliance, Polish Cultural Institute.

7.6. Opinion leaders

Opinion leaders that are not directly connected with European integration promotion, but can effectively influence public opinion:

- writers and journalists
- musicians
- scientists, teachers, doctors, businessmen
- artists, actors, film directors
- sportspeople.

Despite the fact that in Ukraine the Church is separated from the state, its representatives are actively involved in the discussion of socially significant issues. In particular, they speak on the topic of the choice of Ukraine's foreign policy of Ukraine. Currently most churches in Ukraine, besides Moscow Patriarchate, support the European vector). Therefore we propose to involve representatives of the Church in the public debates, especially since the latest figures show that the Church is the most trusted institution by the population (66.5%).

(For comparison the national mass media are trusted by 61%, Russian mass media – 46.7%, Western mass media 46%, civil society – 40.2%, labour unions – 35.1%, political parties – 21.2%).

8. Communication tools and channels

The scale and strategic importance of the campaign require an integrated communications approach: **news-event, overview and analysis, image, informal (social networking, word of mouth).**

8.1. News and events communication channel

Media relations **is the main tool for interaction with media**, which enables system communication with media at all levels: media owners and top management, "writing" journalists. Media relations is intended for systematic and prompt news broadcasting on the AA, covering campaign's developments and events.

Media relations should include:

- Preparing a pool of interested journalists
- Planning and delivering information events
- Preparing and distributing press releases, press announcements
- Coordinating media contacts (phone / meeting)
- Preparing journalists for interview
- Training speakers for interview and / or public speaking
- Arranging interviews with speakers
- Photo and video shooting, archives
- Media monitoring and news clipping (in electronic form)

For maximum impact and to optimize the budget, it is recommended to build partnerships with key media (including concluding memoranda of partnership with mass media for the period of the campaign). This approach will help to build loyalty and media interest in the topic in the long run.

Events for national and regional media:

8.1.1. We suggest initiating an **online contest for journalists** for the best publication on topic "The Association Agreement: Questions and Answers". Journalists from EU countries that have recently joined EU or are about to join it can also be invited to contest. For the authors of best articles we suggest organizing a trip to Brussels, to example, to press-centres of such EU institutions: the European Commission and the European Parliament.

8.1.2. We suggest a **series of training sessions for journalists** with leading European journalists from well-known media, as well as competent officials and experts on European integration topic. This approach will emphasize the importance and relevance of the AA and provide journalists with necessary materials and knowledge.

8.1.3. We recommend organizing a series of **press visits for journalists**: national media to key events in the regions, key regional media to events held in Kiev. It is important to invite not only journalists, but also chief editors in order to form loyal media.

Press visit programme should include:

- 1-2 press tours for national and regional media to EU countries, which are close to Ukraine (mentally and geographically). The value of the event - to show how regional problems are addressed at the regional level
- Press tour in one of countries in which there are difficulties (crisis) in the economy to show practical cases of overcoming difficulties associated with the European integration process, since the theme of "difficulties" is exploited by eurocritics.
- Press tour to Brussels for key editors and journalists - for studying work of EU institutions media services.

8.1.4. To create loyal attitude among top management of leading Ukrainian media we suggest organizing a **Pen Club**, whose meetings will be held twice a year in different regions of Ukraine.

8.1.5. An interesting **form of cooperation with journalists - exchange of materials on the lives of people** between media in different countries. For example, usage of such format by journalists from Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia and Armenia will allow sharing preparation experiences of signing and implementation of the AA.

In addition to special events for journalists media presence on all media events organized as part of the campaign is crucial.

Activities and events, focused on expert and business society, politicians, officials and authorities:

8.1.6. A series of **events at the national level** for public authorities, experts and business community

- National conference on prospects of the DCFTA for Ukrainian business with the support of the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade
- National conference on prospects of the AA as regards co-operation on industrial and enterprise policy with the support of the Ministry of Industrial Policy
- National conference on prospects of the AA as regards energy development with the support of the Ministry of Energy and Coal Industry
- National conference on prospects of the AA as regards consumer protection with the support of the State Inspection of Ukraine for Consumer Rights Protection
- National conference on prospects of the AA as regards road safety and transport development with the support of the Ministry of Infrastructure
- National conference on prospects of the AA as regards environment protection with the support of the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources
- National conference on prospects of the AA as regards social development and protection with the support of the Ministry of Social Policy

Since the AA covers different spheres of the country, it is recommended to **hold events in major Ukrainian cities** in order to emphasize the importance of each region in the AA implementation. This will demonstrate the real opportunities that AA realization opens in the context of each region interests. For example, a conference on the AA prospects for cooperation in the field of industry and business with

support of the Ministry of Industrial Policy will be appropriate to conduct in the south-eastern region (Zaporizhzhya or Donetsk). National event on tourism and recreational areas promotion is logical to hold in the Crimea or in western Ukraine.

Regional events:

8.1.7. Information days for small and medium businesses in each area (total 27 events) - in collaboration with regional Chambers of Commerce. As speakers we offer to engage fellow businessmen from new EU countries, who will demonstrate practical cases. This format will facilitate development of business relations with foreign partners.

8.1.8. Regional roundtables in each area - with the support of regional administrations, with participation of government officials, experts and NGOs to discuss the AA and the FTA in practical implementation context.

8.1.9. Trainings for regional experts on the AA implementation. At the start of the campaign a pool of experts from NGOs, research centres and universities in each region will be created. They will need to be provided with necessary materials. The trainers may be competent officials and fellow experts with a high level of competence.

Participants in EU projects should be involved in activities, which are implemented in the regions.

Opinion leaders that are not directly connected with euro-topic promotion should be invited to participate in public events aimed at the general public (TV talk shows, Road-shows, round tables).

To ensure campaign support by local authorities it is appropriate to prepare and send official letters on behalf of the EU with offer of assistance. Besides the government, letters should be sent to owners of national, regional television, and radio stations.

Activities aimed at general public:

Public events should be held in all areas regarding AA implementation - with the support of local authorities. These activities create conditions for interactive communication with national and European experts. It is important to engage TA in regional events held in the framework of European actions – Week of energy efficiency, Regional days, European Days, etc.

Event formats:

8.1.10. Road Show. It is proposed to organize for a branded Eurobus to visit all regions of the country with informational and educational program (debates with the participation of EU diplomats, officials, and experts on the AA, opinion leaders, contests, entertainment, with the support of EYP volunteers and Euroclubs, distribution of informational materials).

8.1.11. Debates in universities on EU integration with the support of EYP, Information Centres and Euroclubs, regional EU projects representatives.

8.1.12. Activities in schools with Euroclubs support, and with Ukrainians participation - graduates of European universities. Also we suggest holding a drawing contest on the topic "EU ☺» for students of 11-14 years in social networks. The prize fund - a tour in European entertainment centre. Entries will be presented in public places.

8.1.12. In the framework of municipal beautification programs we offer to organize a **graffiti contest** in areas that require refinement - for example, at the airport areas, bridges areas, etc.

8.2. Analytical communication channel

The value of this communication channel is in the ability to give objective information, which will allow TA make informed choices.

In cooperation with the media we suggest initiating a series of overview articles in popular journals, interviews with key stakeholders and editorial roundtables with national and European experts.

Adaptation and representation in the Ukrainian media overviews / studies results prepared by Ukrainian specialists and European institutions or specialized agencies (Eurostat, Eurobarometer).

8.3. Image communication channel

This communication channel is mostly aimed at the general public, it is important to fill it with "live", interesting and diverse information, which would represent EU as a friendly community.

Creating a positive image of EU as a place to live, work and study will boost the interest of Ukrainians in the European Union and improve support for the Association Agreement. Since at present there is insufficient information of this type, we propose to organize a series of image publications on the topic "EU - not only Brussels".

Ukrainians, who have been in the EU for education, work, volunteerism or travel could become the "face" of such communications

Events and activities:

8.3.1. We recommend that you **create a quarterly program on one popular TV-channel** with themes that reveal key aspects of the Agreement and will be of interest to all target audiences: the environment, human rights and freedoms, consumer rights protection, business, education, etc. on concrete examples from real people. We also recommend a blog-diary on popular sites.

8.3.2. Programmes on regional TV and radio about European integration after a series of press tours in the new EU countries or in countries that are on the way to the EU.

8.3.3. Production and broadcasting 5-7min **TV stories** "EU 😊" about EU best practices, news and attractions.

8.3.4. Talk shows and debates on regional TV and radio about the benefits and risks of integration into the EU, each region problems and how they correspond with the AA.

8.3.5. Entertaining and educational **TV programmes** for a mass audience

8.3.6. Production and installation in each regional administration of **information stands** "Ukraine's integration into the EU" with the materials about AA for different target audiences (consumers, business, etc.)

8.3.7. Production and distribution of posters to promote the AA with brief information for various TA in universities, post offices, etc. For younger audience it would make sense to make **posters in the form of comics** as a modern expressive form of communication.

Advertising campaign is an effective tool for image communication, as it is traditionally an effective method for forming the desired image and the corresponding dominant.

Main advertising tools:

8.3.8. Outdoor campaign (Billboards and metro lights, poster production)

8.3.9. TV and radio campaign (audio and video production and broadcasting)

8.3.10. Campaign in written press (layout production and placement)

8.3.11. Internet campaign (web banners production and placement)

Campaign's budget (see Section 9) involves production of talk shows content, entertainment and other programs on the topic of European integration on TV and radio, but the payment of air time on TV / radio or space in print media should be provided by the partnership and / or the use of administrative resources. Arrangements must be achieved by lobbying at the level of owners and media managers.

8.4. Online promotion - a tool for integrated communications

Internet resources create conditions for communication and information exchange between Ukrainian and international audience in real time. It covers the most comprehensive and socially active people representing various target audiences.

8.4.1. We propose to create an **information portal** that will be a source of reliable and verifiable information. In addition to content, the popularity of the portal depends on the presentation language and visuals.

Portal format - multiblog, combining reasoned positions of opinion leaders on every issue (small posts on specific issues.) It will include: operational and analytical information on the EU, the EU-Ukraine Cooperation and its unique format - AA. The portal will be a platform for industry discussions, experience exchange and contacts between the communities, etc.

Recommended mandatory sections and headings of the portal:

EU – open world

- History, operation principles, values and standards, policies and programs in the EU
- Eurolife (lifestyle) - information about people's lives (from the apartment rent, taxes, food prices to the issues of education and culture)
- Eurobiz - business information in the EU, tax system, quotas distribution, SMEs, regional development
- Q&A - basic questions and answers (set + interactive).

EU - Ukraine

- Lessons and results of interaction
- The Association Agreement and FTA: principles and directions, ways of implementation, opportunities and risks
- Q&A - basic questions and answers (set + interactive).

Work at other platforms (popular media forums, blogging platforms and media, etc.) - on a voluntary basis:

- Creating a pool of bloggers to communicate key messages from the Portal;
- Involving other platforms user in the portal.

8.5. Informal communication channel

Social media is a modern communication channel, which allows interactive communication with the TA in the long run. Besides, this channel is very effective, as social networks users are the most socially active audience in the community.

Taking into account that social media users often have a limited time for communication, it is important that the content is interesting and messengers consistently hold the attention of users.

Among social networks users there are opinion leaders, including public figures, who can be effectively involved in the campaign.

Content to fill accounts in social networks:

- Portal content retranslation
- Generation of discussions and opinion leaders involvement
- Lead-generation on official positions
- Involvement in offline events
- viral materials (demotivators, motivators, collages, videos, flash mobs, polls, interactive and mobile applications).

8.6. Researches for preparation and production of information materials about AA and DCFTA:

8.6.1. Sector researches (on about 30 sectors covered by the AA);

8.6.2. Regional researches (problems and ways of their solving through implementations of the AA).

8.7. Information materials

- *Leaflets with facts* about AA for the TA for each AA sector (consumer protection, environment, etc.). Spreading at public events and through pro-European organizations in all regions.

- *Brochures on the FTA impact* on each sector of the economy. Spreading at the business activities.
- *Brochures on the AA effect* on different demographic and occupational groups.
- *Brochures on regional issues* and the potential impact on it by AA implementation. Draft title: "The Association Agreement: a regional perspective"
- Production of quarterly (print and electronic) information editions regarding the EU-Ukraine cooperation and AA implementation.
- *Journalist Guide*.
- Posters, leaflets, stickers, magnets, silicone bracelets, eco-bags.

Annex A – Action plan and budget (in a separate file)

Annex B – Overview of documents/studies about the Association Agreement

Detailed content of the AA and prospects of its implementation could be found in the next publications:

- “Guide to the Association Agreement” – published on the website of the European Commission and describes the structure and the content of the agreement.
- “*Association agreement EU-Ukraine: what it gives to you*” is a publication prepared by the Delegation of the European Union to Ukraine for general public with main benefits of the AA for Ukrainian citizens and business community.
- A series of publications for expert community:
 - “*EU-Ukraine Association Agreement: Guideline for Reforms*” (Konrad Adenauer Foundation) is a policy paper prepared by an expert group representing Ukrainian independent think-tanks which analyses the prospects of AA implementation for Ukraine.
 - “*Association Agreement: a pearl of great value which at risk of loss*” is a policy brief released in January 2012 by the Public Expert Council under the Ukrainian Part of the EU-Ukraine Cooperation Committee which describes the political context and the content of the AA.
 - “*Social Consequences of the European integration of Ukraine*” is a series of publication funded by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation about the possible consequences for the labour market of Ukraine of signing the AA and DCFTA.
- “*Ukraine between two regional integration blocks: Analysis and Recommendations*” is a policy briefing prepared by the German Advisory Group on Economic Reforms which provide a comparison of EU of CU integration of Ukraine.
- “*Quantitative Assessment of Ukraine’s Regional Integration Options: DCFTA with European Union vs. Customs Union with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan*” is a policy paper prepared by the Institute for Economic Research and Policy Consulting assessing the economic impact of regional integration options faced by Ukraine.
- “*Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union: special relationship based on values*” is an expert review of the Laboratory for Legislative Initiatives which provides the understanding the AA nature, meaning and content.
- A series of publications funded by the British Embassy in Ukraine during the negotiations on AA and DCFTA:
 - “*The EU-Ukraine FTA: What’s it all about?*” is a basic guide explaining the EU-Ukraine free trade agreement prepared by UK experts in cooperation with the Ministry of Economy of Ukraine.
 - “*Prospects for agreement on Free Trade Area between the EU and Ukraine*” was a preliminary analysis containing information notes in 9 areas regarding prospects of the DCFTA.

State Information Policy on European Integration

The Ukrainian government prepared State Programmes of Public Awareness on European Integration of Ukraine for 2004-2007 and 2008-2011. However, due to insufficient budget funding, they have not been fulfilled. Thus, the task of public awareness on issues of European integration was undertaken by mass media, NGOs, international funds, the EU Delegation to Ukraine, diplomatic missions, international foundations, and EU projects in Ukraine.

On 10 October 2012 the Government issued the Order on some issues of institutional reforms in the implementation of the future Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union. One of the issues is elaboration of the Information and Communication Strategy for Raising Public Awareness on European integration and creation of a national web portal "Ukraine-EU". The Ministry of Foreign

Affairs organised during 2012 a series of expert round tables to prepare the Concept of the Information and Communication Strategy for Raising Public Awareness on European integration.

The platform "Your Ukraine in Europe" (Youkraine.eu) of civil society experts for analysis and public discussion of the process of European integration of Ukraine elaborated and proposed its own concept of State Programme to Increase Public Awareness on European integration of Ukraine. The Youkraine.eu experts suggest that effective implementation of the policy of European integration is possible only with the active conscious and sustainable public support and denote the lack of conscious support of Ukraine's European integration among general public. The experts provided their recommendations with target audiences, communication channels and communicators for each objective of the State Programme.

The experts formulated the major drawbacks of the previous communication programmes:

- Lack of coordination of the public awareness campaign and too many authorities responsible for its implementation;
- Lack of a clear targeting of the state programmes and the lack of differentiation of the target audiences;
- Lack of competences of officials.

Also the National Institute for Strategic Studies (NISS) prepared a policy brief "Technology on increasing awareness on the European integration" describing the approach for the European Commission on EU enlargement; the characteristic of the communication activities of the Candidate Countries for accession to the EU, usage of promotion technologies, branding, PR campaigns of different types and current information on European integration issues, summed up the experience of Estonia and Latvia, Poland and Romania, Croatia and Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro to raise awareness in the run-up to EU accession.

Annex C – Opinion polls on AA reviewed

Opinion polls on AA that were reviewed:

- **Razumkov Centre** in cooperation with **Democratic Initiatives Foundation** (21-24 December 2012, 30 March-4 April 2012, December 2011, September-October 2011, September 2011).
- **Sociological Group "Rating"** ("Dynamics of ideological markers" 25 September-5 October 2012; 10-24 February 2012, 30 March-9 April 2011, "Rating of threats", 14-27 July 2012)
- **Research and Branding Group** ("Ukrainian-Russia relations: the political and economic aspects" 27 October-7 November 2011; "Ukrainian-Russia relations. A year after the change of power in Ukraine" 1-10 February 2011).
- **Kyiv International Institute of Sociology** ("Dynamics of attitude of Ukrainian citizens to sociological research" 12-23 April 2012, "Citizens' attitude to integration projects" 10-19 February 2012, "What issues Ukrainians most concerned about" 9-19 February 2012).
- EU Neighbourhood Info Centre – 2010, 2011.
- Deutsche Welle (DW-Trend 2011, 2012).
- Organizations that conduct situational analysis of public opinion (Social Monitoring Centre from 5 to 15 December 2012).