OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FACING UKRAINE’S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Nationwide Telephone Survey
August 2 – 9, 2022

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Survey fieldwork was conducted by Kyiv International Institute of Sociology
SURVEY REGIONS

Fieldwork dates:
August 2 – 9, 2022
2,510 completed interviews
PERSONAL SAFETY AND IMPACT OF WAR
Which of the following describes your living situation the best? (q3)

I have not moved since February 24: 72
I am not currently living in the place I lived in before February 24: 15
Following February 24, I moved to another place and have since returned: 12

*6.8 million (~16%) of Ukrainians are currently outside of Ukraine. They are not represented in this survey.

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.

Trends on this include:
• Respondents from East and South are significantly more displaced
• Respondents from Center/North are significantly more reporting returning home
• Older respondents have been significantly less mobile than younger over the last two waves
Have you faced any of the following since the beginning of full-scale war? (q6)

- Income reduction: 70% (August 2022) vs. 66% (May 2022)
- Deterioration of mental health: 64% (August 2022) vs. 59% (May 2022)
- Deterioration of physical health: 48% (August 2022) vs. 41% (May 2022)
- Separation from family: 42% (August 2022) vs. 38% (May 2022)
- Loss of job: 31% (August 2022) vs. 33% (May 2022)
- Loss of friends and family: 28% (August 2022) vs. 20% (May 2022)
- Loss of other property: 10% (August 2022) vs. 8% (May 2022)
- Loss of home: 9% (August 2022) vs. 6% (May 2022)
Since the beginning of full-scale war, have you or anyone in your family gone without...? (q38)

Statistically significant increases since May 2022 on going without sleep, money, electricity for the home and water supply.
Which of these descriptions comes closest to how you feel about your income nowadays? (q37 X Sex)

- Living comfortably on present income:
  - Women: 44
  - Men: 7

- Coping on present income:
  - Women: 21
  - Men: 31

- Finding it difficult to live on present income:
  - Women: 40
  - Men: 35

- Finding it very difficult to live on present income:
  - Women: 34
  - Men: 26

95% of respondents report not living comfortably on present income.
Have you done any of these since the start of the full-scale war? (q7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No, but I would if I had a chance</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaking more Ukrainian</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Donating money to the Armed Forces</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Donating clothing or items to IDPs</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donating money for humanitarian relief</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing national symbols and colors</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosting/Assisting IDPs</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteering</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining the Armed Forces/Territorial Defense</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Guard</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Looking forward, how likely do you think the hostilities will occur/continue where you’re currently residing? (q5 X Settlement)

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.
How much longer do you expect the war to continue?* (q4 X Settlement)

*The wording of the question has changed slightly since May 2022. In May 2022, the question was: “How long do you expect the war to continue?”

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women, nor there are differences between regions.
GENERAL CONTEXT
How important is it to you that Ukraine becomes a fully functioning democracy? (q12 X Settlement)

“Very important/important” only

National – 95%
West 96%
Center/North 94%
East 94%
South 94%

May 2022 - 94%
December 2021 – 76%.
There are many characteristics of a fully functioning democracy. Of the list, which three do you think are most important? (q11 X Sex)

Select up to three

- Freedom of speech
- Equal justice for all
- Free and fair elections
- Human rights protection
- Government’s transparency
- Government’s accountability
- Citizens’ interests representation by political parties
- DK

*NDiUKRAINE | August 2022 | War*
In general, are you optimistic or pessimistic about Ukraine’s future? (q9)

![Bar chart showing the distribution of responses between May 2022 and August 2022.]

- Very optimistic: 52% (May 2022), 50% (August 2022)
- More optimistic than pessimistic: 36% (May 2022), 36% (August 2022)
- Neither pessimistic nor optimistic: 4% (May 2022), 4% (August 2022)
- More pessimistic than optimistic: 3% (May 2022), 4% (August 2022)
- Very pessimistic: 2% (May 2022), 2% (August 2022)
- DK: 3% (May 2022), 4% (August 2022)
What makes you optimistic about Ukraine’s future? (q10)
In your opinion, who is/should be more involved in political life, men or women? (q13/14)

72% of Ukrainians want to see a better balance between men and women in political life.

In December 2021, this rate was 66%.
In your opinion, who should be more involved in political life, men or women? (q14 X Settlement)

“Men slightly more/men and women equally/ men slightly less” only

National – 72%

West 72%

Center/North 75%

East 71%

South 71%

NDI UKRAINE | May 2022 | War
Why do you think a better balance of men and women in political life is important? (q15)

Of 72% who believe there should be a better balance of men and women in political life

- It would be fair: 30
- Everyone should be involved equally: 13
- More effective government: 13
- Gender equality is important: 10
- More focus on social issues: 10
- More qualified leaders: 8
- Conventional gender roles complement each other: 5
- Less corruption: 5
- More focus on peace: 5
- More focus on security: 3
- Competence is more important than gender: 3
- More economic growth: 3
- Other: 7
- DK: 12

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.
To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree homosexual people should have the same rights as heterosexuals? (q16)

On June 3, 2022 the petition on legalization of same-sex marriages was registered on the website of the President of Ukraine. It got more than 28,500 signatures.

On August 2, 2022 President responded to the petition saying that the Government has worked out options for legalizing a registered civil partnership in Ukraine as part of the work on establishing and ensuring human rights and freedoms.
GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE AND TRUST
How would you rate President Zelenskyy’s/Parliament’s/Government’s performance since the start of the full-scale war on February 24, 2022? (q17/q18/q19)
To what extent, if at all, do you trust the following? (q20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Fully trust</th>
<th>Trust</th>
<th>Neither trust nor distrust</th>
<th>Do not trust</th>
<th>Do not trust at all</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Armed Forces of Ukraine</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Volodymyr Zelenskyy</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Emergency Service</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Guard</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territorial Defense Forces</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Security and Defense Council</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National police</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your local government</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime Minister of Ukraine Denys Shmyhal</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The National Government</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada, Ruslan Stefanchuk</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutor General Office</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
POLITICAL PARTIES AND LEADERS
Of the following people, please tell me whether you like or dislike...? (q33)
MEDIA AND NEWS
Where do you get information about politics and current events? (q21)

*Select all that apply*

- **Social media and messaging apps**: 67%
- **Television**: 57%
- **Websites**: 39%
- **Friends and family**: 30%
- **Radio**: 18%

In May 2022,
Social media and messaging apps – 64%,
Television – 61%.

In December 2021,
Social media and messaging apps – 44%,
Television – 75%.
Are you missing any information about the war and recent events? (q22)

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.
What kinds of information about the war and recent events do you feel you’re missing? (q23)

Of those who feel they are missing information about the war and recent events

- News from the frontline: 41
- Information on losses suffered by Ukraine: 27
- Analysis of the future of the war: 14
- Regional news: 8
- Distribution of humanitarian aid: 6
- Information on international assistance: 6
- State support available for Ukrainian citizens: 4
- News from peace negotiations: 4
- Plans for post-war reconstruction: 4
- Availability of humanitarian corridors: 3
- Other: 27
- DK: 7

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WAR
To what extent would you accept each of the following as the price for peace? (q24)

Ukraine reclaims the territory it controlled prior to 2014 that includes all of Donbas and Crimea

Fully acceptable | Somewhat acceptable | Somewhat unacceptable | Fully unacceptable | DK | RA

| National | 77 | 11 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| Female | 76 | 12 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Male | 79 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| 18-35 | 79 | 13 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| 36-55 | 75 | 13 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| 56 and over | 79 | 18 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
### To what extent would you accept each of the following as the price for peace? (q24)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price for Peace</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>18-35</th>
<th>36-55</th>
<th>56 and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine reclaims the territory it controlled prior to 2022 without Crimea and Donbas territories of the so-called “DNR”, “LNR”</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine claims only the territory it currently controls</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To what extent would you accept each of the following as the price for peace? (q24)

- Ukraine renounces its declared goal to join NATO
- Ukraine renounces its declared goal to join EU

![Bar chart showing the percentage of respondents who accept each price point for peace.](chart.png)
By 2030, do you want/expect Ukraine to be... (q27/q28)

In December 2021, 58% of respondents wanted Ukraine to be a member state of EU (41% expected it);

48% of respondents wanted Ukraine to be a member state of NATO (33% expected it).

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.
By 2030, do you want/expect Ukraine to be a member state of EU (q27/q28 X Settlement)

**Want**
- National – 92%
  - West 95%
  - Center/North 93%
  - South 89%
  - East 89%

**Expect**
- National – 85%
  - West 89%
  - Center/North 86%
  - South 80%
  - East 82%
By 2030, do you want(expect) Ukraine to be a member state of NATO (q27/q28 X Settlement)

National – 79%

Want

West 86%
Center/North 81%
East 71%
South 73%

Expect

West 77%
Center/North 70%
East 63%
South 57%
How much influence, if any, do the following have in determining Ukraine’s future? In your opinion is the influence of the following, in determining Ukraine’s future? (q30/31)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>A lot</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>A little</th>
<th>Very positive/Positive</th>
<th>Very negative/Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
METHODOLOGY
Note on Methodology

Russia launched their full-scale war in Ukraine on February 24, 2022. This war has resulted in numerous casualties, infrastructure damage and unprecedented population displacement. As a result, it is difficult to estimate the exact share of the population that was excluded from this research. The following should be taken into account when interpreting the results of this survey:

• **Population.** According to the latest estimates (IOM, August 26, 2022), about 3 million individuals are currently internally displaced within Ukraine (down from an estimated 7 million in May). An additional 6.8 million individuals (UNHCR, August 23, 2022) have fled to neighboring countries. This results in about 9.8 million displaced people (~23%) from the country’s estimated pre-war population of 43 million.

• **Geography.** Recent security assessments (MRTOT, August 17, 2022) indicate that 323 communities in 9 oblasts remain temporarily occupied, under siege or directly affected by war (frontline communities). Residents in these areas were interviewed only if they felt safe doing so. The temporarily occupied territories of Autonomous Republic of Crimea and city of Sevastopol, as well as occupied regions of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts (prior to February 24, 2022) were excluded from the sample.

• **Access to phones.** Access to information and communication technologies such as mobile and landline phones has been severely hindered in war-affected areas. For this reason, some share of the population could not be reached for the survey.

Therefore, the results of this survey should be deemed representative only of the adult population currently residing in Ukraine who use mobile phones with a Ukrainian number.
Bi-annual Telephone Survey Methodology

Fieldwork dates: August, 2-9, 2022

2,510 completed interviews

The nationally representative sample was random:
  • One-staged sample based on random generation of mobile phone numbers
  • No additional quota or strata was used

The temporarily occupied territories by February 23, 2022 (Autonomous Republic of Crimea, city of Sevastopol, and occupied regions of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts) were excluded from the sample. Respondents residing on the territories that were occupied after February 24, 2022, were interviewed (in case they felt safe to answer the questions).

Quality control
  • All interviewers received a two-level training system
  • Independent controllers conducted quality control interviews
  • 30% of all interviews were checked by controllers
  • All 2,510 interviews were conducted via telephone using CATI (Computer-Assisted Telephone Interview) software

The margin of error for national sample is 2.2%
  • The margin of error is different for every response to every question in all surveys. In this presentation, the margin of error is shown for each question/option
  • This is shown in the example on the right:
    • A is statistically greater than B and C
    • There is no statistical difference between B and C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>52</td>
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