OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FACING UKRAINE’S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Nationwide Survey
December 1 – January 10, 2021 - 2022

This research is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Sweden, UK Aid and Global Affairs Canada | Cette étude est financée par l’Agence des États-Unis pour le développement international (USAID), la Suède, UK Aid et Affairesmondiales Canada.

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

Fieldwork dates:
December 1, 2021 – January 10, 2022
6,232 completed interviews

Focus groups dates:
November 27, 2021 – December 9, 2021
19 focus group discussions
GENERAL CONTEXT
How important is it to you that Ukraine becomes a fully functioning democracy? (q6 X Settlement)

“Very important/important” only

- National – 76%
- East 75%
- West 78%
- Center/North 76%
- South 76%
- Zaporizhzhia 60%
- Kharkiv 69%
- Lviv 94%
- Mariupol 92%
- Odesa 69%
There are many characteristics of a fully functioning democracy. Which three are most important? (q5)

Select up to three

- Human rights protection: 53%
- Equal justice for all: 50%
- Freedom of speech: 46%
- Free and fair elections: 38%
- Government’s transparency: 23%
- Government’s accountability: 22%
- Citizens’ interests representation by political parties: 12%

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.
Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q32 X Settlement)

"Agree/Strongly Agree" only

Government is like a parent;
the people should be taken care of like children

Government is like an employee;
the people should be the bosses who control the government

July 2021:
“Government like a parent” - 38%
“Government like an employee” – 51%
Please tell me which of the following statements do you agree with more? (q27)

- The President should use any means necessary to deliver results: 7
- The President should always respect the rule of law when working to deliver results: 89
- Neither: 2
Do you feel the following are either a big threat, some threat or no threat at all to your way of life? (q52)

- **Russian military aggression**: 60% big threat, 24% some threat, 9% no threat, 5% DK, 1% RA
- **Economic uncertainty**: 57% big threat, 35% some threat, 3% no threat, 4% DK, 1% RA
- **Coronavirus/COVID-19**: 44% big threat, 45% some threat, 8% no threat, 3% DK, 1% RA
- **Political uncertainty**: 44% big threat, 41% some threat, 6% no threat, 7% DK, 1% RA
- **Russian disinformation or propaganda**: 42% big threat, 35% some threat, 13% no threat, 8% DK, 1% RA
- **Climate change**: 39% big threat, 46% some threat, 8% no threat, 6% DK, 1% RA
- **Moving closer to Russia**: 36% big threat, 27% some threat, 24% no threat, 11% DK, 1% RA
- **Western disinformation or propaganda**: 23% big threat, 37% some threat, 25% no threat, 14% DK, 1% RA
- **Moves to reduce the status of Russian language**: 17% big threat, 25% some threat, 48% no threat, 9% DK, 1% RA
- **Moving closer to the West (EU and the USA)**: 12% big threat, 24% some threat, 52% no threat, 11% DK, 1% RA
There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Ukraine is going. In your opinion ...? (q4)

- Ukraine is going in the right direction:
  - December 2019: 37
  - July 2021: 16
  - December 2021: 15

- Ukraine is going in the wrong direction:
  - December 2019: 25
  - July 2021: 46
  - December 2021: 52

- Ukraine is not changing at all:
  - December 2019: 23
  - July 2021: 30
  - December 2021: 25

- DK:
  - December 2019: 15
  - July 2021: 8
  - December 2021: 7
Which national issues are most important to you and your family? (q1 X Sex)

Select up to three

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Women (%)</th>
<th>Men (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rising prices</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War in the East of Ukraine</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The economy</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coronavirus / COVID-19 pandemic</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returning Crimea to Ukrainian control</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU accession</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO accession</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable currency rate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How do you think the situation has changed in Ukraine since the 2019 presidential election? (q2)
Which local issues are most important for you and your family? (q17)

Select up to three

- Utility prices: 61
- Local medical services: 41
- Roads: 37
- Water quality: 21
- Quality of communal services: 19
- Transportation: 16
- Personal security: 13
- Trash collection: 9
- Street cleaning: 7
- Air quality: 7
- Local schools: 7
- Playgrounds: 5
- Pre-schools/Kindergarten: 5
- Other: 3
- Public parks: 3
- DK: 3

Respondents in **Mariupol** more often prioritize “Air quality” and “Water pollution”

Respondents in **Lviv** more often prioritize “Transportation”

Respondents in **Zaporizhzhia** less often prioritize “Utility prices” than respondents in other cities and regions
How do you think the situation has changed in Ukraine since the 2020 local elections? (q18)
GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE AND TRUST
To what extent, if at all, do you trust the following? (q34)

- **Your local government**
  - Fully trust: 2%
  - Trust: 25%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 37%
  - Do not trust: 25%
  - Do not trust at all: 7%
  - DK: 1%
  - RA: 3%

- **President Volodymyr Zelenskyy**
  - Fully trust: 2%
  - Trust: 16%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 24%
  - Do not trust: 36%
  - Do not trust at all: 20%
  - DK: 2%
  - RA: 2%

- **National police**
  - Fully trust: 17%
  - Trust: 31%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 34%
  - Do not trust: 12%
  - Do not trust at all: 4%

- **Central Election Commission**
  - Fully trust: 16%
  - Trust: 29%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 31%
  - Do not trust: 12%
  - Do not trust at all: 10%

- **National Security and Defence Council**
  - Fully trust: 13%
  - Trust: 27%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 32%
  - Do not trust: 12%
  - Do not trust at all: 14%

- **Ministry of Health**
  - Fully trust: 11%
  - Trust: 28%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 40%
  - Do not trust: 16%
  - Do not trust at all: 3%

- **National Government**
  - Fully trust: 6%
  - Trust: 22%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 49%
  - Do not trust: 20%
  - Do not trust at all: 3%

- **Courts**
  - Fully trust: 5%
  - Trust: 20%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 45%
  - Do not trust: 22%
  - Do not trust at all: 7%

- **Parliament**
  - Fully trust: 5%
  - Trust: 18%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 51%
  - Do not trust: 23%
  - Do not trust at all: 2%

- **Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada, Ruslan Stefanchuk**
  - Fully trust: 5%
  - Trust: 15%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 38%
  - Do not trust: 18%
  - Do not trust at all: 23%

- **Prime Minister of Ukraine, Denys Shmygal**
  - Fully trust: 5%
  - Trust: 18%
  - Neither trust nor distrust: 43%
  - Do not trust: 19%
  - Do not trust at all: 14%
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (q24)

There is very little statistically significant variation regionally on each of these questions.
In your opinion, are any of the following interested in hearing your opinions? (q33)

- **Your local government**: Yes 27, No 60
- **Mayor**: Yes 21, No 65
- **Member of Parliament**: Yes 15, No 77
- **President Volodymyr Zelenskyy**: Yes 14, No 75
- **Governor**: Yes 8, No 79
- **Political parties**: Yes 8, No 85
- **National Government**: Yes 5, No 88
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WAR
By 2030, do you want(expect Ukraine to be... (q46/q47)

- A member state of the EU
  - Want: [Graphical representation]
  - Expect: [Graphical representation]

- A member state of NATO
  - Want: [Graphical representation]
  - Expect: [Graphical representation]

- A non-aligned country
  - Want: [Graphical representation]
  - Expect: [Graphical representation]

- A member state of the Customs Union led by Russia
  - Want: [Graphical representation]
  - Expect: [Graphical representation]
By 2030, do you want/expect Ukraine to be... (q46/q47 X Age) “EU” only

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.
By 2030, do you want/expect Ukraine to be... (q46/q47 X Age)
“NATO” only

Men significantly more than women want Ukraine to become a member state of NATO.
How much influence, if any, do the following have in determining Ukraine's future? (q48)
Is this influence...? (q49)
What would you like for the future of those parts of Donbas that are not under Ukrainian control? What do you expect for the future of those parts of Donbas that are not under Ukrainian control? (q50/q51)

Level of “expect” on “Them to be returned to Ukrainian control” has been decreasing:
- December 2019 – 62%,
- July 2021 – 50%
POLITICAL PARTIES AND LEADERS
Do political parties currently do any of the following? / Leaving aside what political parties are currently doing, what would you like them to do? (q43/q44)

- Act with impunity: 87% currently do, 46% should be doing
- Represent the interests of oligarchs: 85% currently do, 5% should be doing
- Participate in corruption: 85% currently do, 4% should be doing
- Engage in nepotism: 84% currently do, 3% should be doing
- Propose reforms: 92% should be doing, 43% currently do
- Bring together like-minded people: 91% should be doing, 37% currently do
- Provide leaders for the country: 86% should be doing, 30% currently do
- Represent citizens' interests: 95% should be doing, 10% currently do
- Meet your expectations: 95% should be doing, 7% currently do
- Keep their promises: 95% should be doing, 7% currently do
What is your attitude toward the following parties today? (q35)

- Ukrainian Strategy of Groisman (V. Groisman)
- Opposition Platform - For Life (Y. Boyko)
- European Solidarity (P. Poroshenko)
- Batkivshchyna (Y. Tymoshenko)
- A party led by Dmytro Razumkov
- Servant of the People (O. Shuliak)
- UDAR of Vitalii Klychko (V. Klychko)
- A party led by Serhii Prytula
- Svoboda (O. Tiahnybok)
- Holos (K. Rudyk)
- National Korpus (A. Biletsky)
- For the Future (I. Palytsia)
- ProPosition (B. Filatov)
Of the following people, please tell me whether you like or dislike...? (q45)
INCLUSIVE GOVERNANCE
In your opinion, who should be more involved in political life, men or women? (q20 X Settlement)

“Men slightly more than women/Men and women equally/Women slightly more than men” only

NDI UKRAINE | December 2021 | Biannual National – 66%
Why do you think a better balance of men and women in political life is important? (q21 X Sex)

Of 66% who support more balance in political life

- It would be fair: 55% (Women: 55, Men: 55)
- More focus on social issues: 28% (Women: 42, Men: 28)
- More focus on peace: 23% (Women: 28, Men: 23)
- Less corruption: 15% (Women: 17, Men: 15)
- More effective government: 16% (Women: 14, Men: 16)
- More economic growth: 12% (Women: 13, Men: 12)
- More qualified leaders: 12% (Women: 13, Men: 13)
- More focus on security: 12% (Women: 13, Men: 12)
- DK: 3% (Women: 5, Men: 3)
- Other: 0% (Women: 2, Men: 0)
Which of the following groups would you say are most likely to be victims of intolerance in Ukraine (q64)

Select up to three

- People with physical or mental disabilities
- Homosexuals (men or women)
- Women
- Ethnic minorities
- IDPs
- Religious minorities
- Other
If the government were interested in hearing your opinion on an issue that matters to you, would you be willing to provide your input? (q13)

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.
Here is a list of actions citizens sometimes take when they want to change something. Have you done any of these in the past 12 months? (q12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Yes at least once</th>
<th>No, but I would if I had a chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donate money for a cause</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend a community meeting</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collect money to support a cause</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submit an appeal to authorities</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address a CSO to receive help in solving a problem</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign an electronic petition</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post an opinion about a cause you care about on social media</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in a discussion on reforms with national government</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend a demonstration or march about a specific issue</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comment on a draft law on a government website</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help out a political campaign</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join a political party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.
MEDIA AND NEWS
Where do you get information about politics and current events? (q56 X Sex)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social media and messaging apps</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Websites</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends and family</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't get information</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How often do you engage with the following platforms? Do you get information about politics and current events from...? (q57 x q58)

- Viber: 64% at least once a week, 7% get information about politics and current events.
- YouTube: 59% at least once a week, 35% get information about politics and current events.
- Facebook: 57% at least once a week, 30% get information about politics and current events.
- Instagram: 34% at least once a week, 9% get information about politics and current events.
- Telegram: 28% at least once a week, 12% get information about politics and current events.
- TikTok: 17% at least once a week, 4% get information about politics and current events.
- WhatsApp: 13% at least once a week, 1% get information about politics and current events.
- Twitter: 9% at least once a week, 3% get information about politics and current events.
- Vkontakte: 5% at least once a week, 1% get information about politics and current events.
- Odnoklassniki: 4% at least once a week, 1% get information about politics and current events.
METHODOLOGY
Bi-annual Survey Methodology

Fieldwork dates: December 1, 2021 – January 10, 2022

6,232 completed interviews

The nationally representative sample was random at all stages:
- Random selection of election precincts
- Random selection of households via random route sampling
- Random selection of respondents within the households using modified Kish grid

Areas outside the control of the Ukrainian government were excluded

Six oversamples

Kyiv city [600]
Vinnytsia [600]
Kharkiv city [600]
Mariupol city [600]
Odesa city [600]
Lviv city [600]
Zaporizhzhia [600]

Quality control

- All interviewers received a three level training system which includes 16 hours of training
- An independent network of controllers conducted quality control interviews
- 30% of all interviews were checked by controllers
- All 6,232 interviews were conducted using tablets

The margin of error for national sample is 3%
- Margin of error for oversamples does not exceed 6%

In this presentation, the margin of error is shown for each question/option
- This is shown in the example below:
  - A is statistically greater than B and C
  - There is no statistical difference between B and C