OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FACING UKRAINE’S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Nationwide Telephone Survey
January 4 - 16, 2023

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 Affaires mondiales Canada.

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

Fieldwork dates:
January 4 – 16, 2023
2,508 completed interviews
GENERAL CONTEXT
How much longer do you expect the war to continue? (q4)

*The wording of the question has changed since May 2022. In May 2022, the question was: “How long do you expect the war to continue?”*
Have you faced any of the following since the beginning of full-scale war? (q5) “Yes” only

<table>
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<th>May 2022</th>
<th>August 2022</th>
<th>January 2023</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income reduction</td>
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<td>Deterioration of mental health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deterioration of physical health</td>
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<td>Separation from family</td>
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<td>Loss of friends and family</td>
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<td>Loss of job</td>
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<td>Loss of other property</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loss of home</td>
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</table>

Women more often than men report “Deterioration of mental and physical health”. Men more often than women report “Loss of friends and family” and “Loss of job”
Since the beginning of full-scale war, have you or anyone in your family gone without...? (q45)

**Part 1**

- **Electricity for the home**: All the time - 11, Many times - 39, Occasionally - 42, Never - 6
- **Internet connection**: All the time - 6, Many times - 20, Occasionally - 51, Never - 21, DK - 2
- **Means of communication**: All the time - 4, Many times - 17, Occasionally - 52, Never - 28
- **Heating at home**: All the time - 4, Many times - 9, Occasionally - 33, Never - 54
- **Water supply**: All the time - 3, Many times - 9, Occasionally - 38, Never - 49
- **Gas supply**: All the time - 4, Many times - 12, Occasionally - 79, Never - 1
- **Drinking water**: All the time - 3, Many times - 4, Occasionally - 18, Never - 74
Since the beginning of full-scale war, have you or anyone in your family gone without...? (q45)

Part 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>All the time</th>
<th>Many times</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Never</th>
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<td>83</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Have you done any of these since the start of the full-scale war? (q6)

- Speaking more Ukrainian: 89% yes, 7% no, 4% would if had a chance
- Donating money to the Armed Forces: 88% yes, 9% no, 3% would if had a chance
- Donating clothing or items to IDPs: 68% yes, 28% no, 4% would if had a chance
- Donating money for humanitarian relief: 67% yes, 27% no, 6% would if had a chance
- Wearing national symbols and colors: 60% yes, 25% no, 5% would if had a chance
- Hosting/Assisting IDPs: 54% yes, 41% no, 5% would if had a chance
- Volunteering: 41% yes, 47% no, 2% would if had a chance
- Joining the Armed Forces/Territorial Defense/National Guard: 21% yes, 57% no, 2% would if had a chance
- Helping rebuild/sort out debris in de-occupied/war affected areas: 18% yes, 72% no, 0% would if had a chance
In general, are you optimistic or pessimistic about Ukraine’s future? (q8)

63% responded that the next generation will be “Better off than yours”
What makes you optimistic about Ukraine’s future? (q9)

- Victory
- President
- Unity
- Hope
- Peace
- Defeating Enemy
- End of War
- Ukrainians
- Army
- Internation Support
- Development
- Reconstruction
- Ukraine
- Future Generations
- Independence
- Government
- Family
- Faith
- Nothing
- Freedom
- Prosperity
- Change
- Transformation
- Confidence
- Future
- Help
- Invincibility
- Patriotism
- Consciousness
How important is it to you that Ukraine becomes a functioning democracy? (q12 X Settlement)

“Very important/important” only

National – 94%

West 96%

Center/North 93%

East 92%

South 95%

In December 2021, the national response was – 76%. 
There are many characteristics of a fully functioning democracy. Of the list, which three do you think are most important? (q11)

Select up to three

- Freedom of speech: 61
- Equal justice for all: 58
- Free and fair elections: 47
- Human rights protection: 28
- Government’s transparency: 27
- Government’s accountability: 13
- Citizens’ interests representation by political parties: 4
- DK: 6
In your opinion, who is/should be more involved in political life, men or women? (q13/14)

74% of Ukrainians want to see a better balance between men and women in political life.

In December 2021, this rate was 66%.

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women.
Why do you think a better balance of men and women in political life is important? (q15)

- It would be fair: 40
- More diverse opinions: 35
- More effective government: 11
- More qualified leaders: 8
- More focus on social issues: 7
- Less corruption: 5
- More focus on peace: 5
- More focus on security: 4
- More economic growth: 4
- Professionalism is more important than gender: 3
- Other: 8
- DK: 10
Please tell me to what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (q16)

Sample B*

- LGBT+ people should have the same rights as others
- LGBT+ people should have the right to civil partnership
- LGBT+ people should be able to demonstrate freely to defend rights
- LGBT+ people should have the right to marry
- LGBT+ couples should be able to adopt children just like heterosexual couples

Those who personally know someone who is LGBT+ are twice as likely to support equal rights for LGBT+ than those who don’t

*The question was asked to half of the sample
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? (q18/q19/q20)
To what extent, if at all, do you trust the following? (q21)
MEDIA AND NEWS
Where do you get information about the war and current events? (q22)

Select all that apply

- Social media and messaging apps: 67
- Television: 55
- Websites: 39
- Friends and family: 28
- Radio: 18
- Other: 2

I don’t get information about politics and current events: 1
Is there information about the war and recent events that you feel you’re missing? (q23)

- Yes: 24
- No: 74
- DK: 2

NDI UKRAINE | January 2023 | War
What kinds of information about the war and recent events do you feel you’re missing? (q24)

Of 24% who feel they are missing information about the war and recent events

- News from the frontline: 43
- Information on losses suffered by Ukraine: 27
- Truthful and complete information: 13
- Regional news: 9
- Analysis of the future of the war: 8
- Distribution of humanitarian aid: 6
- State support available for Ukrainian citizens: 4
- Information on international assistance: 4
- Information on power outages: 4
- Plans for post-war reconstruction: 3
- News from peace negotiations: 3
- Other: 8
- DK: 10
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WAR
To what extent would you accept each of the following as the price for peace? (q25)

Ukraine reclaims the territory it controlled prior to 2014 that includes all of Donbas and Crimea
To what extent would you accept each of the following as the price for peace? (q25)

Ukraine reclaims the territory it controlled prior to 2022 without Crimea and Donbas territories of the so-called “DNR”, “LNR”

- Fully unacceptable
- Somewhat unacceptable
- Somewhat acceptable
- Fully acceptable
- DK
- RA

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>National</th>
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<th>Male</th>
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<th>36-55</th>
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Ukraine claims only the territory it currently controls

- Fully unacceptable
- Somewhat unacceptable
- Somewhat acceptable
- Fully acceptable
- DK
- RA

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To what extent would you accept each of the following as the price for peace? (q25)

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<th>Somewhat unacceptable</th>
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<td><strong>Ukraine renounces its declared goal to join NATO</strong></td>
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</table>
Do you think that Ukraine should engage in negotiations with Russia to try to achieve peace? (q26)

- **May 2022**: Yes 59, No 37, DK 4
- **August 2022**: Yes 44, No 52, DK 4
- **January 2023**: Yes 29, No 66, DK 5
There are different ideas of what reconstruction should look like in Ukraine. Would you agree or disagree with the following statements outlining these ideas? (q27)

- **Reconstruction process should be transparent**
  - Strongly agree/Somewhat agree: 98
  - Completely disagree/Somewhat disagree: 1

- **Reconstruction process should account for people with disabilities**
  - Strongly agree/Somewhat agree: 97
  - Completely disagree/Somewhat disagree: 2

- **Reconstruction process should prioritize eco-friendly and sustainable solutions**
  - Strongly agree/Somewhat agree: 95
  - Completely disagree/Somewhat disagree: 2

- **Reconstruction process should be inclusive of all Ukrainian citizens**
  - Strongly agree/Somewhat agree: 92
  - Completely disagree/Somewhat disagree: 4
Would you be willing to personally contribute to the reconstruction process? (q28 X Settlement)

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<td>WEST</td>
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</table>
By 2030, do you want/expect Ukraine to be...

- A member state of the EU: Want 92, Expect 86
- A member state of NATO: Want 86, Expect 80
- A non-aligned country: Want 20, Expect 20
- A member state of the Eurasian Customs Union (Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan): Want 9, Expect 8
By 2030, do you want/expect Ukraine to be a member state of EU (q29/q30 X Settlement)

Want

- National – 92%
- West 94%
- Center/North 95%
- South 91%
- East 88%

Expect

- National – 86%
- West 88%
- Center/North 87%
- South 86%
- East 83%

August 2022:
- Want – 92%
- Expect – 85%
By 2030, do you want/expect Ukraine to be a member state of NATO (q29/q30 X Settlement)

Want
- National – 86%
  - West 92%
  - Center/North 87%
  - East 80%
  - South 81%

Expect
- National – 80%
  - West 85%
  - Center/North 82%
  - East 74%
  - South 78%

August 2022:
- Want – 79%
- Expect – 69%
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? (q32/33)
What is your attitude toward the following parties today? (q35)

![Attitude Towards Parties Chart]

25% do not have positive attitude to any of the following parties.
Of the following people, please tell me whether you like or dislike...? (q37)
METHODOLOGY
Bi-annual Telephone Survey Methodology

Fieldwork dates: January, 4-16, 2023

2,508 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 2,508 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