OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FACING UKRAINE’S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Nationwide Telephone Survey
May 10 - 21, 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:
May 10 – 21, 2023
2,509 completed interviews
GENERAL CONTEXT
How much longer do you expect the war to continue? (q5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Timeframe</th>
<th>May 2022</th>
<th>August 2022</th>
<th>January 2023</th>
<th>May 2023</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than three months</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between three and six months</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between six and twelve months</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than twelve months</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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?”

In May 2022 18% of respondents believed that the war would last over 6 months, in May 2023: 47%
Let’s talk about the ways this war affected you. Have you faced any of the following? (q6)

- **Deterioration of mental health**: Women are more likely to report deterioration of mental and physical health and separation from family. Men are more likely to report loss of friends and family and loss of job.

- **Income reduction**
- **Deterioration of physical health**
- **Loss of friends and family**
- **Separation from family**
- **Loss of job**
- **Loss of other property**
- **Loss of home**
For the last three months, have you or anyone in your family gone without...? (q39)

**Part 1**

- **Electricity for the home**: All the time: 1%, Many times: 9%, Occasionally: 38%, Never: 52%
- **Internet connection**: All the time: 4%, Many times: 44%, Occasionally: 30%, Never: 60%
- **Heating at home**: All the time: 14%, Many times: 17%, Occasionally: 78%
- **Gas supply**: All the time: 4%, Many times: 8%, Occasionally: 85%
- **Water supply**: All the time: 2%, Many times: 21%, Occasionally: 74%
- **Means of communication**: All the time: 1%, Many times: 27%, Occasionally: 69%
- **Drinking water**: All the time: 1%, Many times: 8%, Occasionally: 90%
For the last three months, have you or anyone in your family gone without...? (q39)

Part 2

- Sleep: 6% (All the time), 16% (Many times), 35% (Occasionally), 43% (Never), 48% (DK), 4% (RA)
- Money: 5% (All the time), 10% (Many times), 37% (Occasionally), 48% (Never), 4% (DK), 1% (RA)
- Salary payments: 7% (All the time), 14% (Many times), 71% (Occasionally), 4% (Never), 1% (DK), 2% (RA)
- Medical treatment: 3% (All the time), 5% (Many times), 17% (Occasionally), 73% (Never), 1% (DK), 2% (RA)
- Food for babies: 4% (All the time), 4% (Many times), 83% (Occasionally), 8% (Never), 2% (DK), 2% (RA)
- Pension benefits: 3% (All the time), 5% (Many times), 86% (Occasionally), 5% (Never), 2% (DK), 8% (RA)
- Warm clothes or footwear: 8% (All the time), 8% (Many times), 89% (Occasionally), 5% (Never), 2% (DK), 2% (RA)
- Food: 8% (All the time), 8% (Many times), 90% (Occasionally), 2% (Never), 2% (DK), 2% (RA)
- Hygiene items: 7% (All the time), 7% (Many times), 91% (Occasionally), 1% (Never), 2% (DK), 2% (RA)
In general, are you optimistic or pessimistic about Ukraine’s future? (q7 X Settlement)

“Very optimistic/More optimistic than pessimistic” only

National – 87%

Level of optimism statistically has not changed during the time of observation from May 2022.
What makes you optimistic about Ukraine’s future? (q8)
How important is it to you that Ukraine becomes a fully functioning democracy? (q10 X Settlement) “Very important/important” only

In May 2022, the national response was 94%, in December 2021: 76%.
There are many characteristics of a fully functioning democracy. Of the list, which three do you think are most important? (q9)

Select up to three

- Equal justice for all: 64%
- Freedom of speech: 59%
- Free and fair elections: 44%
- Human rights are protected: 31%
- Government is transparent: 27%
- Government is accountable to citizens: 13%
- Parties represent citizens' interests: 3%
- DK: 4%
Please tell me to what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (q11)

**LGBT+ people should have the same rights as others**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 2023</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

**LGBT+ people should have the right to civil partnerships**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
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<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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? (q12/q13/q14)
To what extent, if at all, do you trust the following? (q15)

<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>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Armed Forces of Ukraine</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>President Volodymyr Zelenskyy</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Prime Minister of Ukraine Denys Shmyhal</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National police</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your local government *</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The National Government</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada, Ruslan Stefanchuk</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Election Commission (CEC)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>Parliament</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prosecutor General Office</td>
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<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>Political parties</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Split sample: local government vs local government elected through local elections. There is no statistical difference between answers.
There are several governmental agencies as well as civil society and media working on combating corruption. To what extent, if at all, do you trust the following? (q16)

- Fully trust
- Trust
- Neither trust nor distrust
- Do not trust
- Do not trust at all
- DK
- RA

### Journalists that uncover corruption cases

- Fully trust: 10
- Trust: 54
- Neither trust nor distrust: 28
- Do not trust: 5
- Do not trust at all: 22

### Civil society organizations working on combating corruption

- Fully trust: 4
- Trust: 40
- Neither trust nor distrust: 31
- Do not trust: 14
- Do not trust at all: 7

### National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU)

- Fully trust: 34
- Trust: 29
- Neither trust nor distrust: 34
- Do not trust: 22
- Do not trust at all: 6

### Specialized Anti-Corruption Prosecution (SAP)

- Fully trust: 24
- Trust: 24
- Neither trust nor distrust: 35
- Do not trust: 23
- Do not trust at all: 6

### National Agency on the Corruption Prevention (NACP)

- Fully trust: 22
- Trust: 36
- Neither trust nor distrust: 22
- Do not trust: 6
- Do not trust at all: 11

### High Anti-Corruption Court of Ukraine

- Fully trust: 20
- Trust: 33
- Neither trust nor distrust: 30
- Do not trust: 8
- Do not trust at all: 8
To what extent would you accept each of the following as the price for peace? (q17)

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? (q17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Percentage Acceptance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine recovers the territory it controlled prior to 2022 without Crimea and certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk oblast</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine claims only the territory it currently controls</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine renounces its declared goal to join NATO</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine renounces its declared goal to join EU</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you think that Ukraine should engage in negotiations with Russia to try to achieve peace? (q18)
There is a lot of discussion in Ukraine about reconstruction/rebuilding/recovery*. What does it mean to you when you hear the word ... ? (q19)

*Split sample: reconstruction vs rebuilding vs recovery
In your opinion, who should primarily fund/oversee the reconstruction process in Ukraine? (q20/q21)

- **Seized Russian assets and reparations**: 77
- **Central government**: 26
- **International organizations**: 45
- **Western countries**: 18
- **Ukrainian businesses**: 9
- **Local government**: 16
- **International businesses**: 10
- **Citizens of Ukraine**: 25
- **Ukrainian NGOs/Funds**: 1
- **DK**: 3
Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (q22)

- The government will deploy funding for reconstruction to the regions where it is most needed: 80% agree, 8% disagree.
- The government will involve different political parties in decisions on reconstruction: 53% agree, 25% disagree.
- The government will prevent corruption in reconstruction activities: 51% agree, 27% disagree.
- The government will use the funding for reconstruction effectively: 50% agree, 24% disagree.
- The reconstruction of Ukraine is best managed by the local government, not by the central government: 50% agree, 26% disagree.
- There is sufficient government transparency about how decisions are made about reconstruction: 38% agree, 30% disagree.

48% of respondents agree that they have a chance to influence decision-making in reconstruction.
By 2030, do you want/expect Ukraine to be... (q24/q25)

**A member state of the EU**
- **Want**: 90, 92, 92, 92
- **Expect**: 87, 85, 86, 89

**A member state of NATO**
- **Want**: 73, 79, 86, 89
- **Expect**: 65, 69, 80, 85
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? (q27/28)
There are conversations about how and when elections should take place in the context of the full-scale war. In your opinion, when should the government hold elections? (q29)
What is your attitude toward the following parties today? (q30)

- A party led by Serhii Prytula: Very positive/Positive 43, Very negative/Negative 14
- Servant of the People (O. Shuliak): Very positive/Positive 33, Very negative/Negative 21
- UDAR of Vitalii Klychko (V. Klychko): Very positive/Positive 25, Very negative/Negative 20
- European Solidarity (P. Poroshenko): Very positive/Positive 14, Very negative/Negative 51
- A party led by Dmytro Razumkov: Very positive/Positive 14, Very negative/Negative 19
- National Korpus (A. Biletsky): Very positive/Positive 13, Very negative/Negative 16
- Holos (K. Rudyk): Very positive/Positive 13, Very negative/Negative 20
- Ukrainian Strategy of Groisman (V. Groisman): Very positive/Positive 11, Very negative/Negative 29
- Batkivshchyna (Y. Tymoshenko): Very positive/Positive 8, Very negative/Negative 56
- Opposition Platform - For Life (Y. Boyko): Very positive/Positive 7, Very negative/Negative 65
Of the following people, please tell me whether you like or dislike...? (q31)

Government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Like</th>
<th>Dislike</th>
<th>Never heard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volodymyr Zelenskyy</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mykhailo Podoliak</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denys Shmyhal</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iryna Vereshchuk</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrii Yermak</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruslan Stefanchuk</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mykhailo Fedorov</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olha Stefanishyna</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olena Kondratiuk</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yulia Svyrydenko</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oleksandr Kubrakov</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the following people, please tell me whether you like or dislike…? (q31)

Politics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Like</th>
<th>Dislike</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serhii Prytula</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitalii Klychko</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dmytro Razumkov</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volodymyr Groisman</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Arakhamia</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olena Shuliak</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petro Poroshenko</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kira Rudyk</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yurii Boiko</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuliia Tymoshenko</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oleksandra Ustinova</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Never heard: 1%, 0%, 10%, 3%, 13%, 27%, 0%, 31%, 3%, 0%, 49%
Of the following people, please tell me whether you like or dislike...? (q31)

Defense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Like</th>
<th>Dislike</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valerii Zaluzhnyi</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrylo Budanov</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanna Maliar</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oleksii Reznikov</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oleksii Danilov</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Never heard:
- Valerii Zaluzhnyi: 2%
- Kyrylo Budanov: 11%
- Hanna Maliar: 12%
- Oleksii Reznikov: 8%
- Oleksii Danilov: 15%
METHODOLOGY
## Bi-annual Telephone Survey Methodology

### Fieldwork dates: May, 10-21, 2023

2,509 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 before 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 2,509 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>
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<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
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