OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FACING UKRAINE’S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Nationwide Telephone Survey
May 2 – 11, 2022

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

Fieldwork dates:
May 2 – 11, 2022
2,500 completed interviews
GENERAL CONTEXT
How important is it to you that Ukraine becomes a fully functioning democracy? (q12 X Settlement)
“Very important/important” only

In December 2021, the national response was 76%
Which characteristics of a fully functioning democracy do you think are most important? (q11)

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

In December 2021,
Human rights protection – 53%
Equal justice for all – 50%
Freedom of speech – 46%
In general, are you optimistic or pessimistic about Ukraine’s future? (q9)

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women, nor there are differences between age groups.

In December 2021,
- Very optimistic – 9%
- More optimistic than pessimistic – 30%
- Neither pessimistic nor optimistic – 20%
- More pessimistic than optimistic – 26%
- Very pessimistic – 9%
What makes you optimistic about Ukraine’s future? (q10)
Have you faced any of the following since the beginning of full-scale war? (q6 X Sex) “Yes” only

** uit`ek X Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income reduction</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deterioration of mental health</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deterioration of physical health</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation from family</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of job</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of friends or family</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of other property</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of home</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since the beginning of full-scale war, have you or anyone in your family gone without...? (q37)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>All the time</th>
<th>Many times</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sleep</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical treatment</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas supply</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heating at home</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water supply</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity for the home</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking water</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hygiene items</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means of communication</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm clothes or footwear</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food for babies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NDI UKRAINE | May 2022 | War
How would you characterize your income nowadays? X Have you moved since the beginning of full-scale war? (q36 X q2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Have not moved</th>
<th>Moved to another settlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living comfortably on present income</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping on present income</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding it difficult to live on present income</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding it very difficult to live on present income</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men, significantly more than women, say they live comfortably on present income.
How long do you expect the war to continue? (q4 X Sex)

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between regions.
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.
Have you done any of these since the start of full-scale war? (q7)

- Speaking more Ukrainian: 78% Yes, 11% No
- Donating money to the Armed Forces: 78% Yes, 18% No
- Donating money for humanitarian relief: 58% Yes, 37% No
- Donating clothing or items to IDPs: 56% Yes, 37% No
- Volunteering: 51% Yes, 37% No
- Hosting/Assisting IDPs: 50% Yes, 39% No
- Wearing national symbols and colors: 47% Yes, 38% No
- Joining the Territorial Defense: 29% Yes, 47% No
- Joining the Armed Forces: 17% Yes, 55% No
- Joining the National Guard: 13% Yes, 47% No

There are no statistically significant differences in responses between men and women, except for the joining of the Territorial Defense, the Armed Forces and the National Guard.
POLITICAL PARTIES AND LEADERS
What is your attitude toward the following parties today? (q31)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Very positive/Positive</th>
<th>Very negative/Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Servant of the People (O. Shuliak)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A party led by Serhii Prytula</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDAR of Vitalii Klychko (V. Klychko)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A party led by Dmytro Razumkov</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holos (K. Rudyk)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian Strategy of Groisman (V. Groisman)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Solidarity (P. Poroshenko)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batkivshchyna (Y. Tymoshenko)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Korpus (A. Biletsky)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the Future (I. Palytsia)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition Platform - For Life (Y. Boyko)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the following people, please tell me whether you like or dislike...? (q32)
GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE AND TRUST
How would you rate President Zelenskyy’s/Parliament’s/Government’s performance since the start of full-scale war on February 24, 2022? (q13/q14/q15)

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

Men, significantly more than women, trust State Emergency Service

Distrust for a few options is slightly higher in the South and East
MEDIA AND NEWS
Where do you get information about politics and current events? (q17)
"Yes" only

- Social media and messaging apps: 64
- Television: 61
- Websites: 41
- Friends and family: 24
- Radio: 17
- I don’t get information about politics and current events: 1

Women, significantly more than men, get information from Television.
Is there information that you feel you’re missing? If so, what kinds? (q21)

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? (q22)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Fully acceptable</th>
<th>Somewhat acceptable</th>
<th>Somewhat unacceptable</th>
<th>Fully unacceptable</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-35</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-55</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 and over</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To what extent would you accept each of the following as the price for peace? (q22)

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

Ukraine claims only the territory it currently controls

- Fully unacceptable
- Somewhat unacceptable
- Somewhat acceptable
- Fully acceptable
- DK
- RA
By 2030, do you want/expect Ukraine to be... (q26/q27)

Men significantly more than women want and expect Ukraine to become a member state of NATO.

Younger respondents want NATO and expect EU membership more than respondents in older age groups.

In December 2021,
Member state of the EU:
• Want – 58%
• Expect – 41%
Member state of NATO:
• Want – 48%
• Expect – 33%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Want</th>
<th>Expect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A member state of the EU</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A member state of NATO</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A non-aligned country</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A member state of the Eurasian Customs Union led by Russia</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By 2030, do you want Ukraine to be a member state of EU (q26 X Settlement)
“Yes” only

National – 90%

West 94%

Center/North 93%

East 84%

South 84%
By 2030, do you want Ukraine to be a member state of NATO (q26 X Settlement) "Yes" only

National – 73%

West 82%
Center/North 79%
South 65%
East 59%

Legend:
- 0 - 10%
- 11 - 20%
- 21 - 30%
- 31 - 40%
- 41 - 50%
- 51 - 60%
- 61 - 70%
- 71 - 80%
- 81 - 90%
- 91 - 100%
In December 2021, “Russia has a lot of influence” – 49%
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, May 23, 2022), about 7 million individuals are currently internally displaced within Ukraine. An additional 6 million individuals (UNHCR, May 27, 2022) have fled to neighboring countries. This results in about 13 million displaced people (30%) from the country’s estimated pre-war population of 43 million. Only people currently residing in Ukraine were interviewed.

- **Geography.** Recent security assessments (MRTOT, May 27, 2022) indicate that 300 communities in 8 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.
Bi-annual Survey Methodology

Fieldwork dates: May, 2-11, 2022

2,500 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
  • 28% of all interviews were checked by controllers
  • All 2,500 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