

NATIONAL SURVEY OF UKRAINE

February 2023



A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

Detailed Methodology

- The survey was conducted by the Sociological Group “Rating” on behalf of the Center for Insights in Survey Research of the International Republican Institute (IRI).
- The survey was conducted throughout Ukraine (except for the occupied territories of Crimea and Donbas) from February 1-5, 2023, through computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI) based on a random sample of mobile telephone numbers.
- The total sample consists of n= 2,000 Ukrainians aged 18 and older. The sample excludes any Ukrainians not currently in Ukraine.
- The survey data obtained was weighted by regional (oblast of residence and type of settlement, except for Luhansk region where only oblast of residence was used) and age indicators using data by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine as of January 1, 2021. Unlike IRI polls in Ukraine prior to 2022, a gender weight was not used due to uneven temporary migration outside Ukraine.
- Mobile numbers were generated randomly by special software using 12 codes of the three largest mobile operators in Ukraine: KYIVSTAR, VODAFONE Ukraine and LIFECCELL. Each randomly generated number package includes an equal quantity of each code (050, 063, 066, 067, 068, 073, 093, 095, 096, 097, 098, 099).
- The margin of error at the 95 percent confidence level does not exceed 2 percentage points for the full sample.
- The response rate was 16 percent.
- Charts and graphs may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.
- The study was funded by the [United States Agency for International Development \(USAID\)](#).

Frequently Cited Disaggregates*

Disaggregate	Category	Base
Region	West	n = 542
	Center	n = 693
	South	n = 498
	East	n = 267
Age Groups	18-35	n = 580
	36-50	n = 545
	51+	n = 875
Gender	Male	n = 893
	Female	n = 1,107

**Cited bases are weighted. Margin of error will vary with sample size n.*

Geographical Key



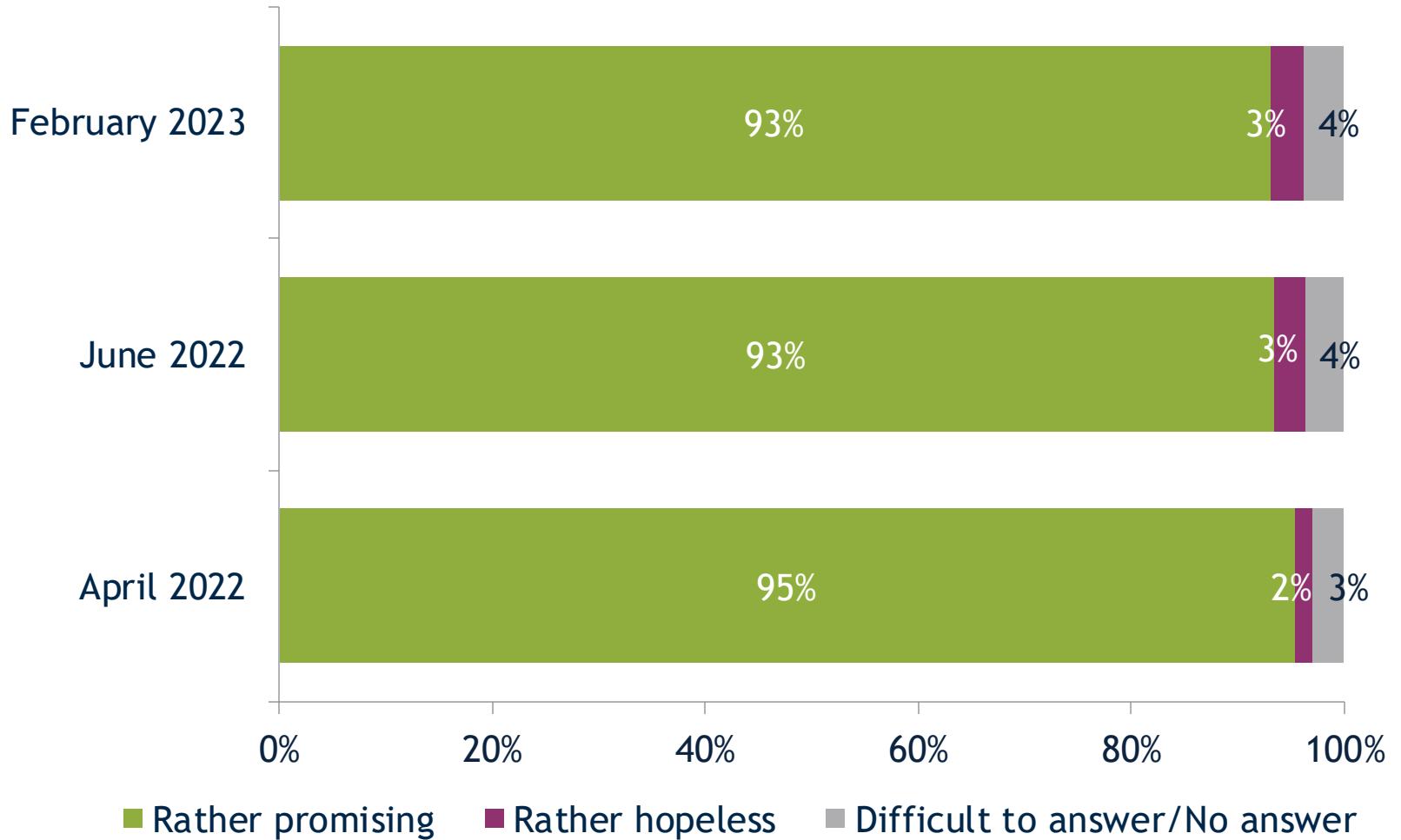
*The map represents territories that were under control of the Ukrainian government before February 24, 2022. Due to the Russian occupation, citizens located in territories temporarily not controlled by Ukraine did not participate in the survey. The representativeness of the territories that were occupied after February 24, 2022, is ensured by the procedure of weighting the data by the pre-war place of residence of the respondents

Current Events



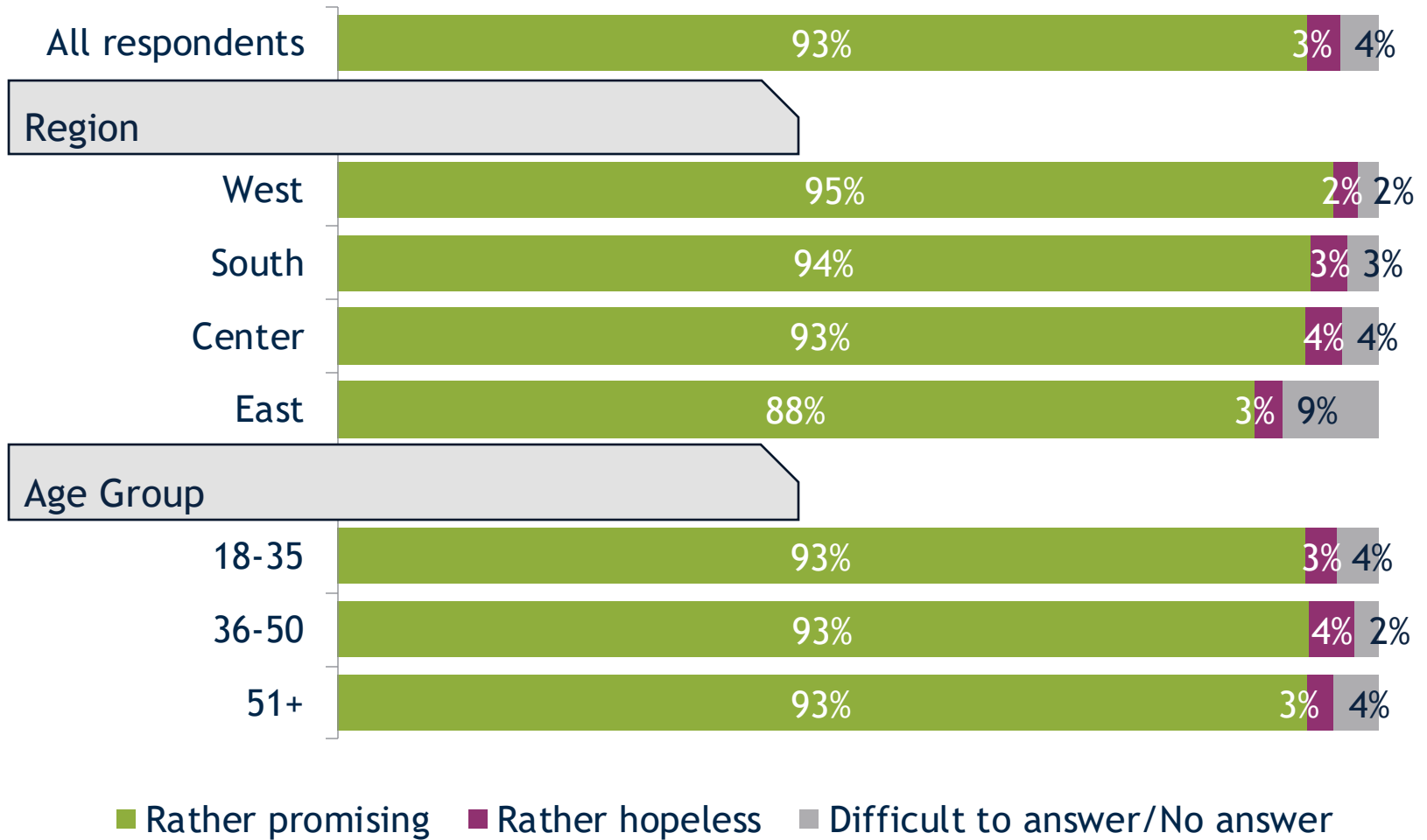


How do you see the future of Ukraine?



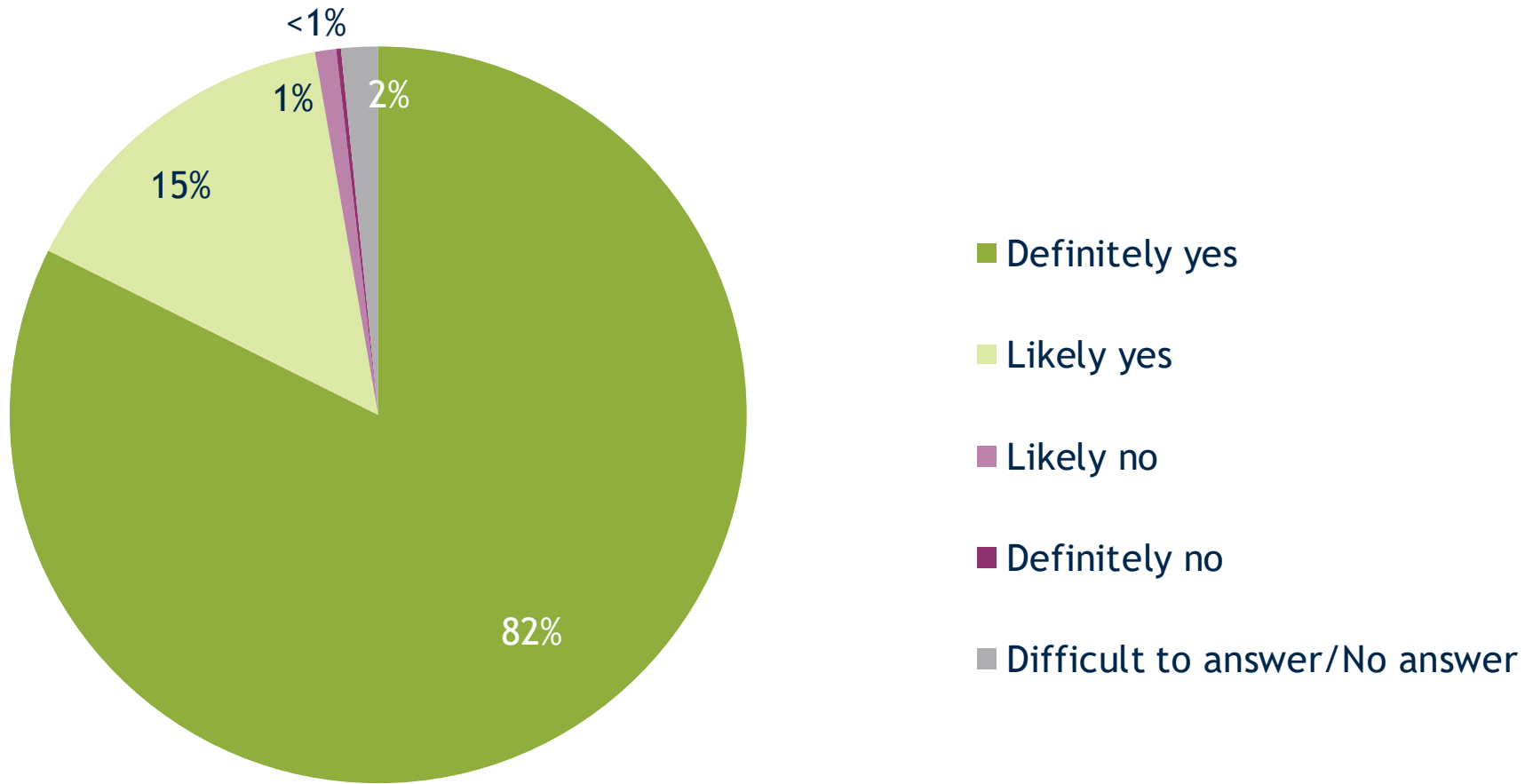


How do you see the future of Ukraine?



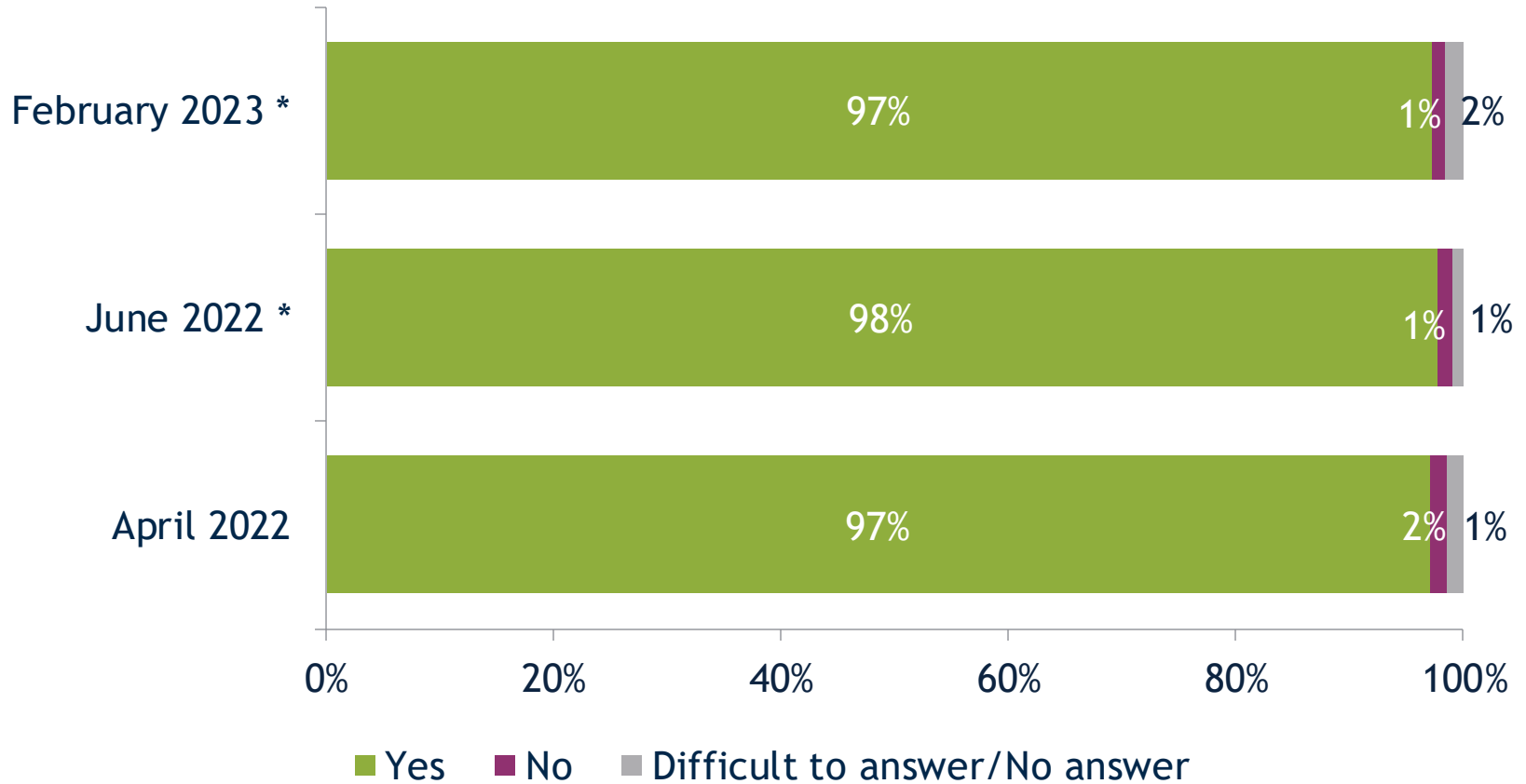


Do you believe that Ukraine will win the war?



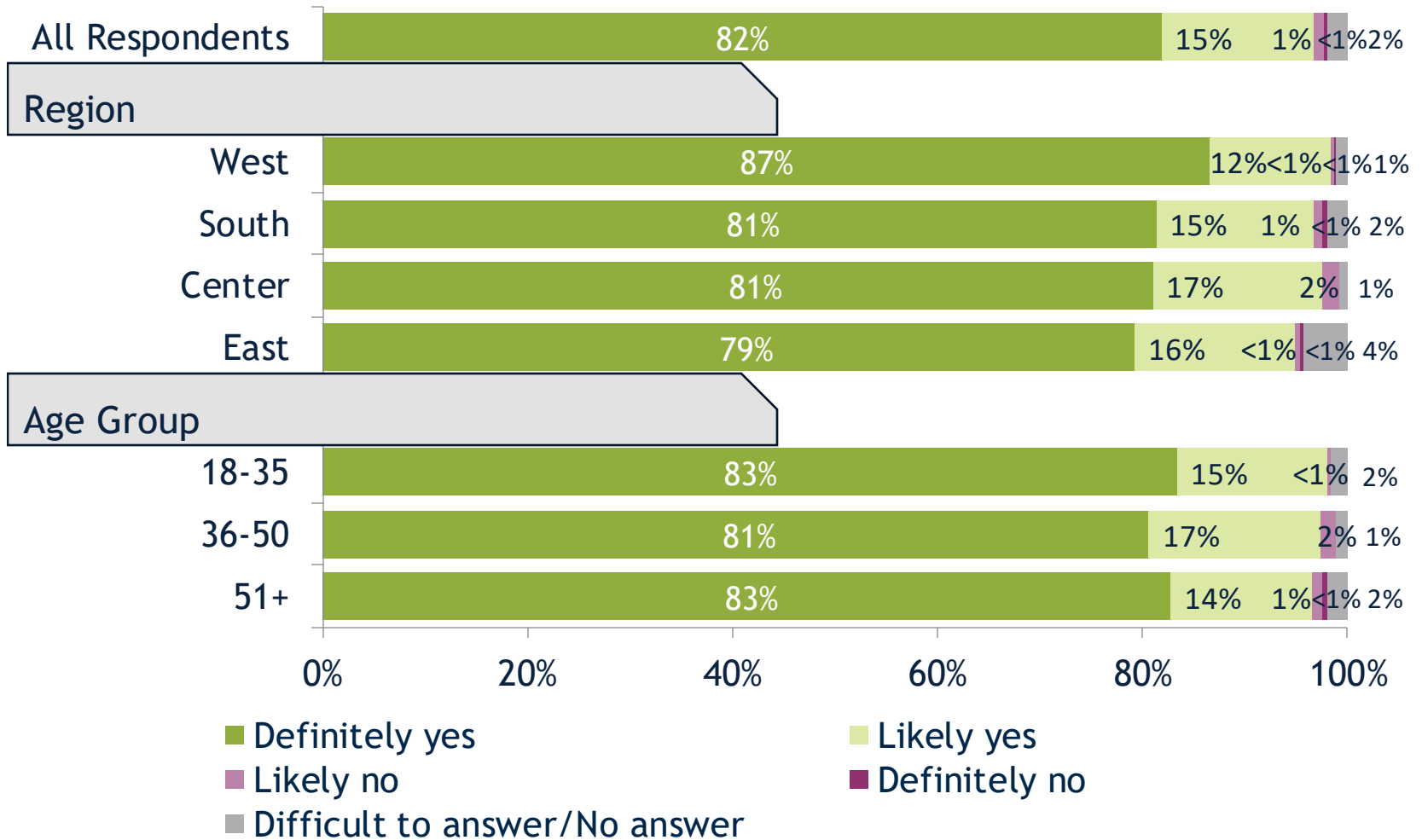


Do you believe that Ukraine will win the war?



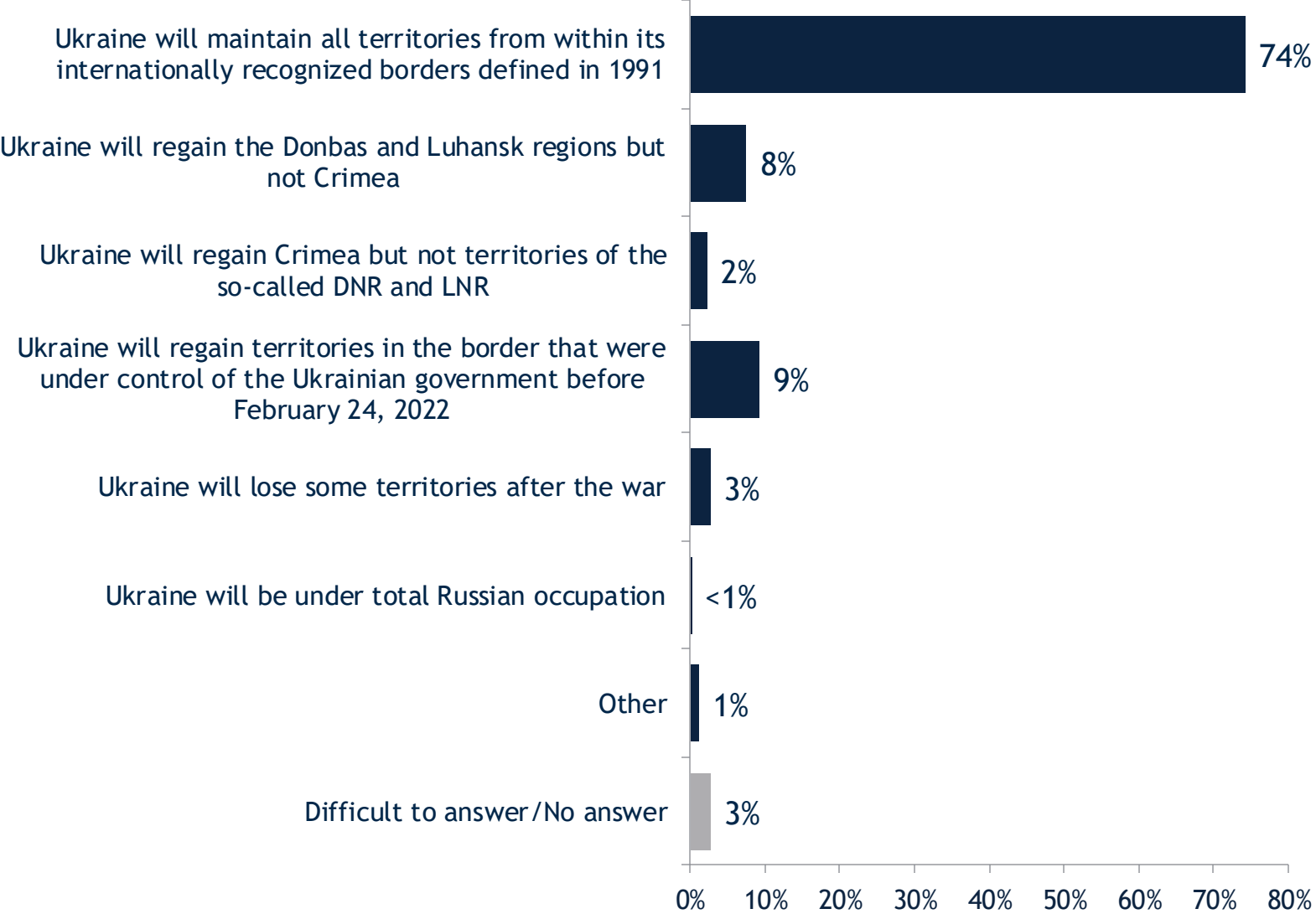
* “Yes” consists of the merged responses “Definitely yes” and “Likely yes”; “No” consists of the merged responses “Likely no” and “Definitely no”

Do you believe that Ukraine will win the war?





What will be the territorial boundaries of Ukraine as a result of this war?



What will be the territorial boundaries of Ukraine as a result of this war?

	April 2022	June 2022	February 2023
Ukraine will maintain all territories from within its internationally recognized borders defined in 1991	53%	64%	74%
Ukraine will regain the Donbas and Luhansk regions but not Crimea	16%	10%	8%
Ukraine will regain Crimea but not territories of the so-called DNR and LNR	2%	2%	2%
Ukraine will regain territories in the border that were under control of the Ukrainian government before February 24, 2022	22%	14%	9%
Ukraine will lose some territories after the war	4%	7%	3%
Ukraine will be under total Russian occupation	<1%	<1%	<1%
Other	1%	1%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	3%	3%	3%

What will be the territorial boundaries of Ukraine as a result of this war?

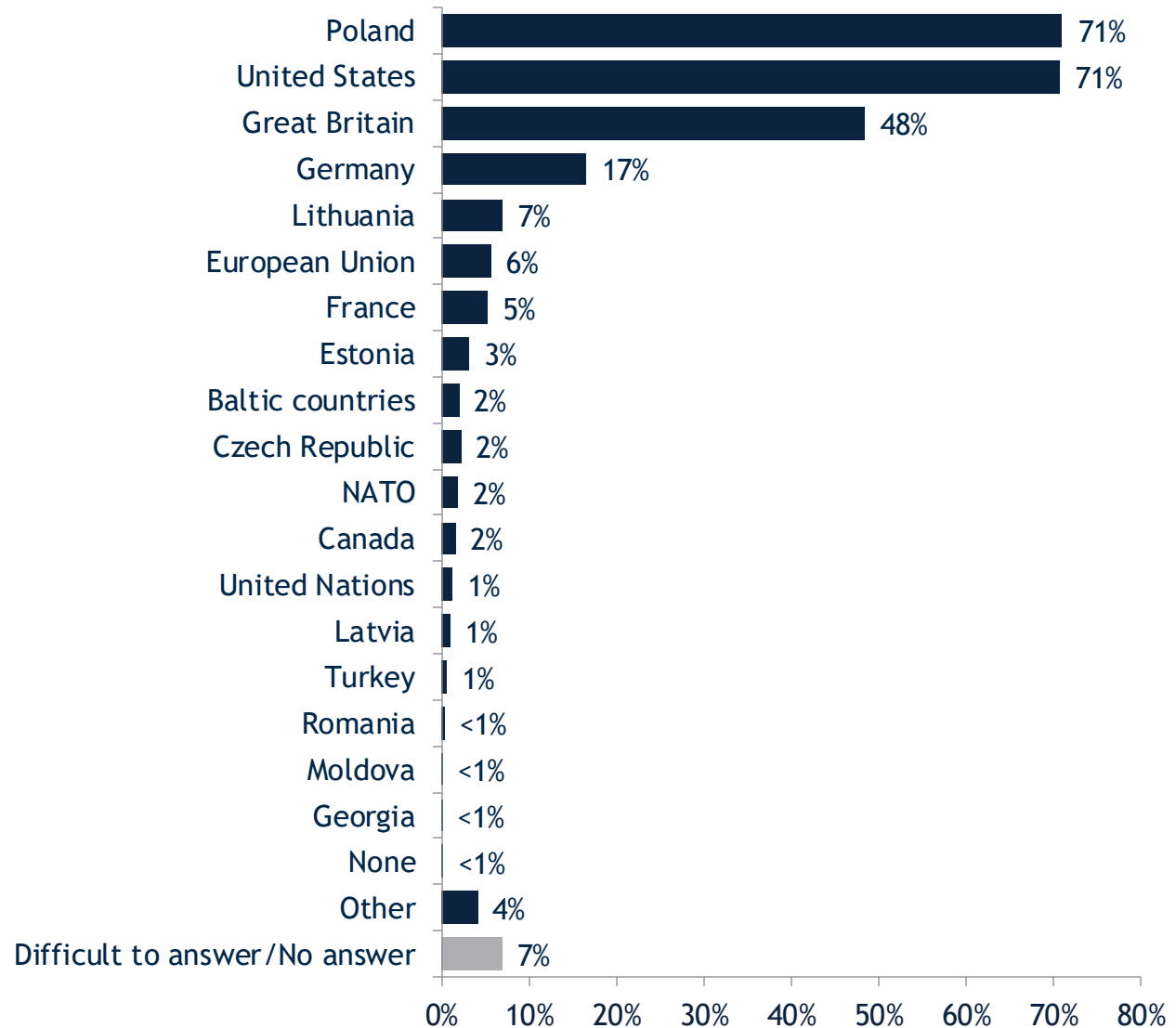
	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
Ukraine will maintain all territories from within its internationally recognized borders defined in 1991	71%	71%	78%	75%	75%	74%	70%
Ukraine will regain the Donbas and Luhansk regions but not Crimea	8%	10%	6%	8%	6%	8%	10%
Ukraine will regain Crimea but not territories of the so-called DNR and LNR	4%	2%	1%	2%	3%	2%	2%
Ukraine will regain territories in the border that were under control of the Ukrainian government before February 24, 2022	11%	9%	8%	8%	9%	10%	10%
Ukraine will lose some territories after the war	3%	3%	2%	2%	3%	3%	3%
Ukraine will be under total Russian occupation	-	-	<1%	-	-	<1%	-
Other	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
Difficult to answer/No answer	2%	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%

International Relations



In your opinion, which countries and international organizations provided the most support to Ukraine in the context of Russian military aggression, if any?

(Up to three responses; spontaneous response)



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(Up to three responses; spontaneous response)

	April 2022	June 2022	February 2023
Poland	67%	66%	71%
United States	54%	64%	71%
Great Britain	56%	60%	48%
Germany	1%	7%	17%
Lithuania	4%	10%	7%
European Union	2%	5%	6%
France	7%	3%	5%
Estonia	-	3%	3%
Baltic countries	1%	-	2%
Czech Republic	2%	1%	2%
NATO	3%	1%	2%
Canada	8%	3%	2%
Turkey	1%	1%	1%
Romania	7%	1%	<1%
Moldova	2%	<1%	<1%
Georgia	17%	<1%	<1%
China	2%	<1%	-
Latvia	-	3%	1%
United Nations	-	1%	1%
Taiwan	-	-	-
None	1%	1%	<1%
Other	5%	3%	4%
Difficult to answer/No answer	7%	6%	7%

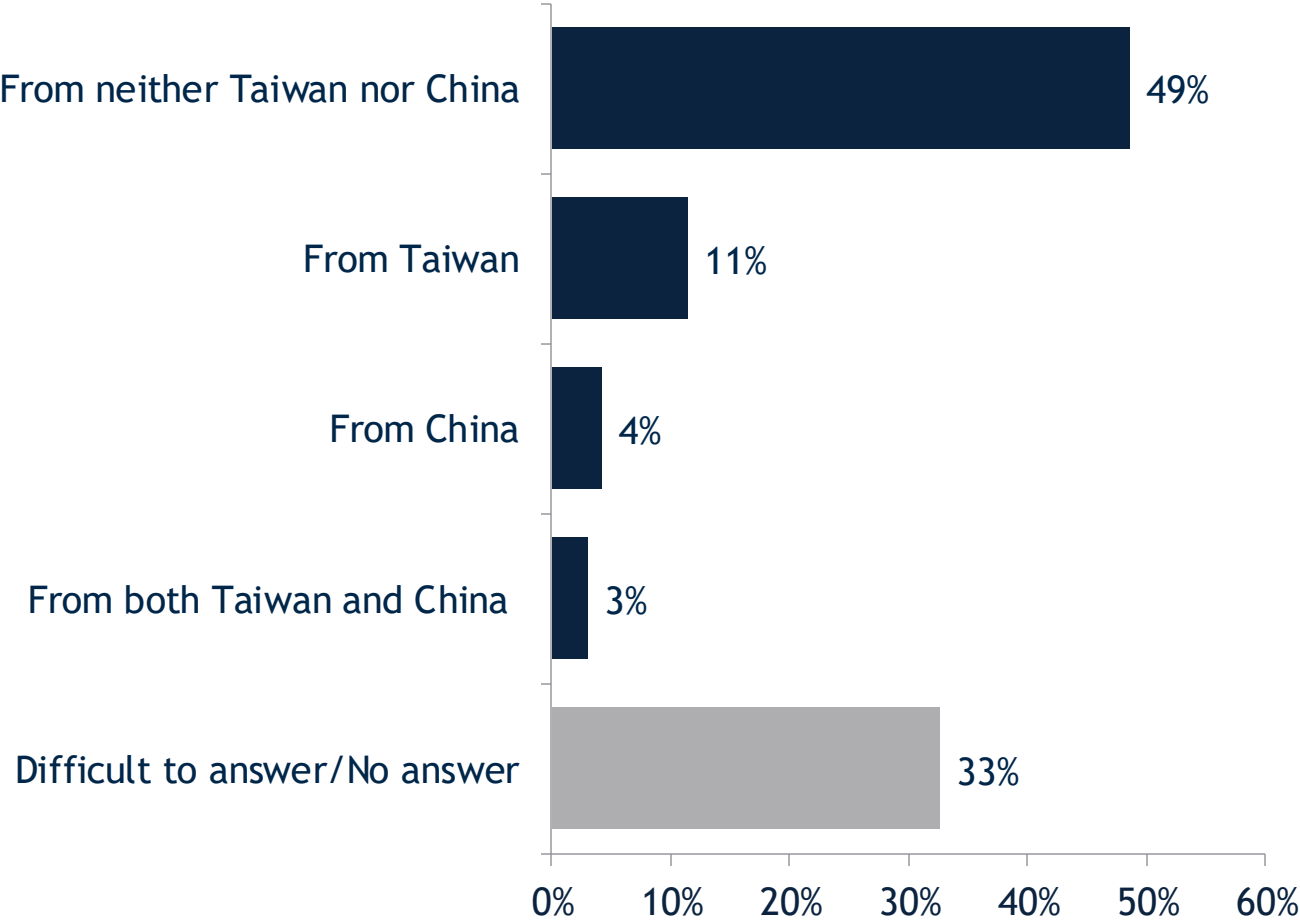
In your opinion, which countries and international organizations provided the most support to Ukraine in the context of Russian military aggression, if any?

(Up to three responses; spontaneous response)

	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
Poland	70%	73%	70%	74%	70%	72%	66%
United States	69%	67%	74%	73%	72%	70%	64%
Great Britain	38%	50%	55%	51%	51%	45%	41%
Germany	19%	16%	16%	15%	15%	17%	24%
Lithuania	6%	7%	8%	9%	6%	7%	5%
European Union	7%	5%	5%	6%	6%	5%	7%
France	6%	5%	5%	6%	4%	5%	9%
Estonia	4%	2%	3%	4%	4%	3%	2%
Baltic countries	1%	2%	4%	2%	2%	4%	2%
Czech Republic	3%	2%	2%	3%	2%	2%	2%
NATO	3%	2%	1%	1%	3%	2%	1%
Canada	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%
Turkey	1%	1%	<1%	-	<1%	2%	<1%
Romania	1%	<1%	<1%	1%	-	1%	-
Moldova	<1%	-	-	-	<1%	-	-
Georgia	<1%	-	-	<1%	-	-	-
Latvia	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%
United Nations	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%
Taiwan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
None	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	-
Other	5%	6%	3%	5%	3%	3%	7%
Difficult to answer/No answer	9%	7%	6%	5%	6%	9%	10%



As far as you know, did Ukraine receive support from any of the following countries after the full-scale invasion?



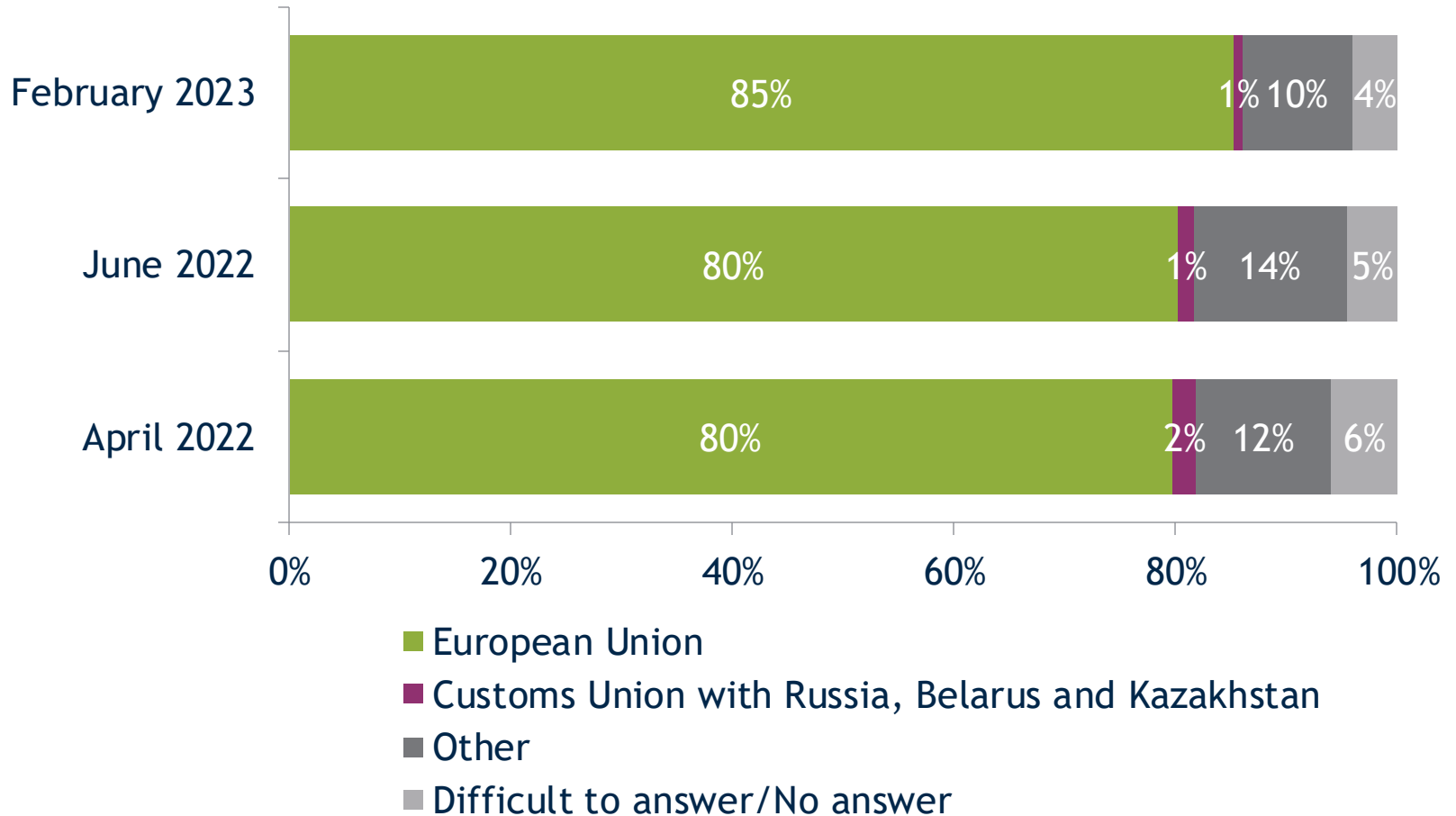
▶ As far as you know, did Ukraine receive support from any of the following countries after the full-scale invasion?

	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
From neither Taiwan nor China	53%	46%	47%	49%	48%	49%	49%
From Taiwan	10%	10%	14%	10%	13%	14%	7%
From China	4%	5%	4%	5%	5%	4%	3%
From both Taiwan and China	4%	3%	2%	4%	2%	3%	3%
Difficult to answer/No answer	29%	37%	33%	32%	33%	30%	38%

Geopolitical Alignment

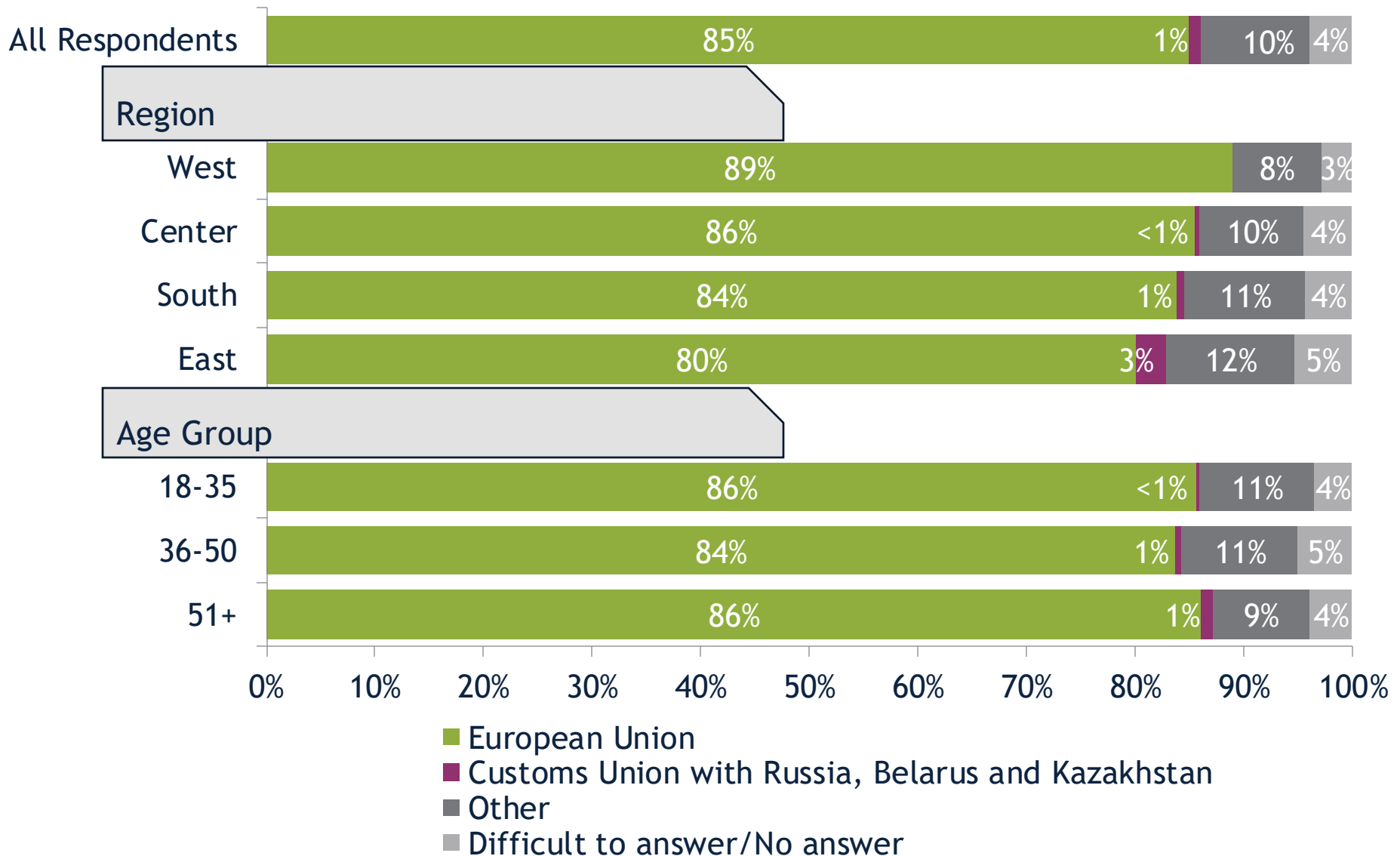


If Ukraine was able to enter only one international economic union, which one of the following should it be?



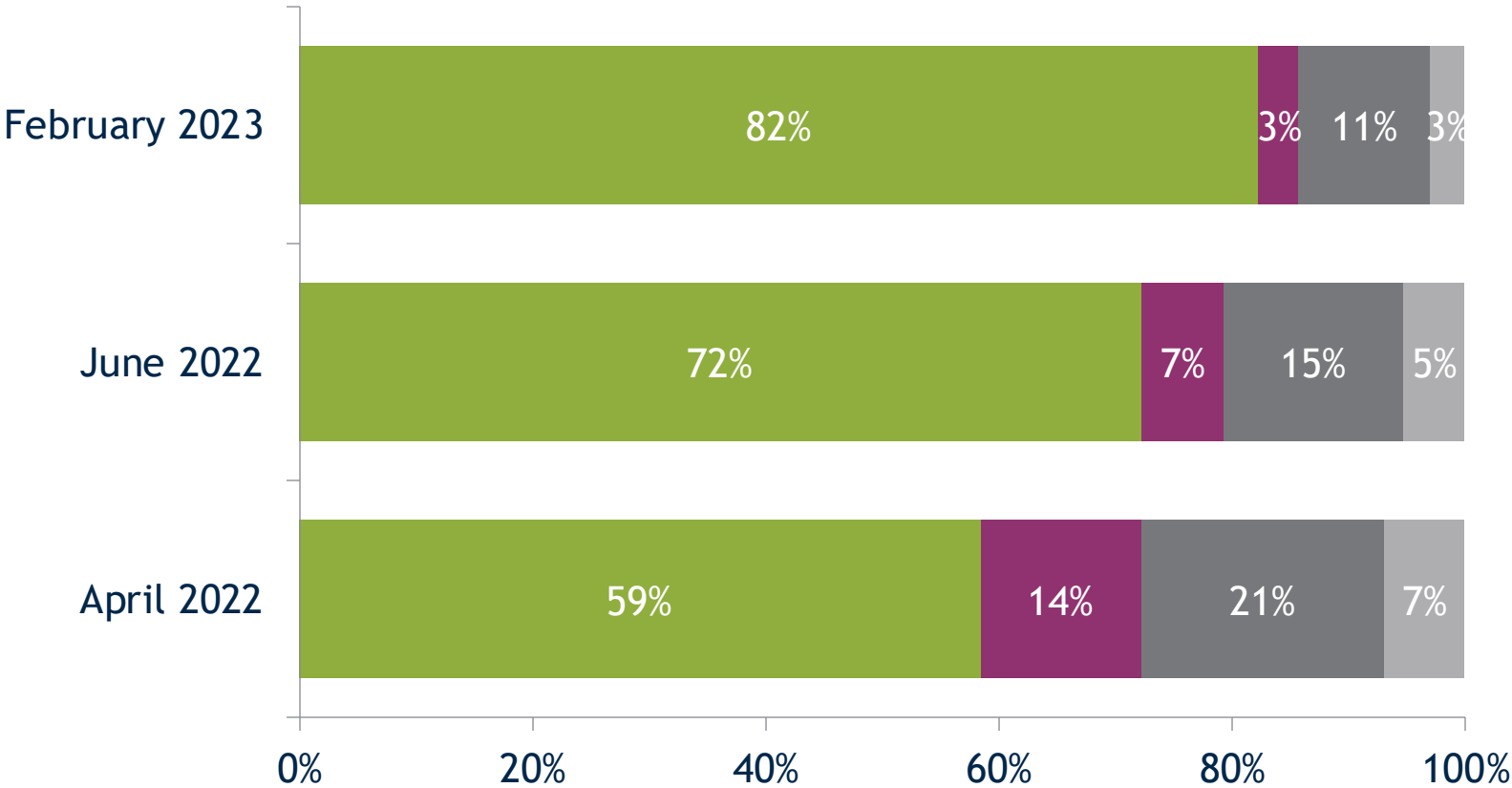


If Ukraine was able to enter only one international economic union, which one of the following should it be?



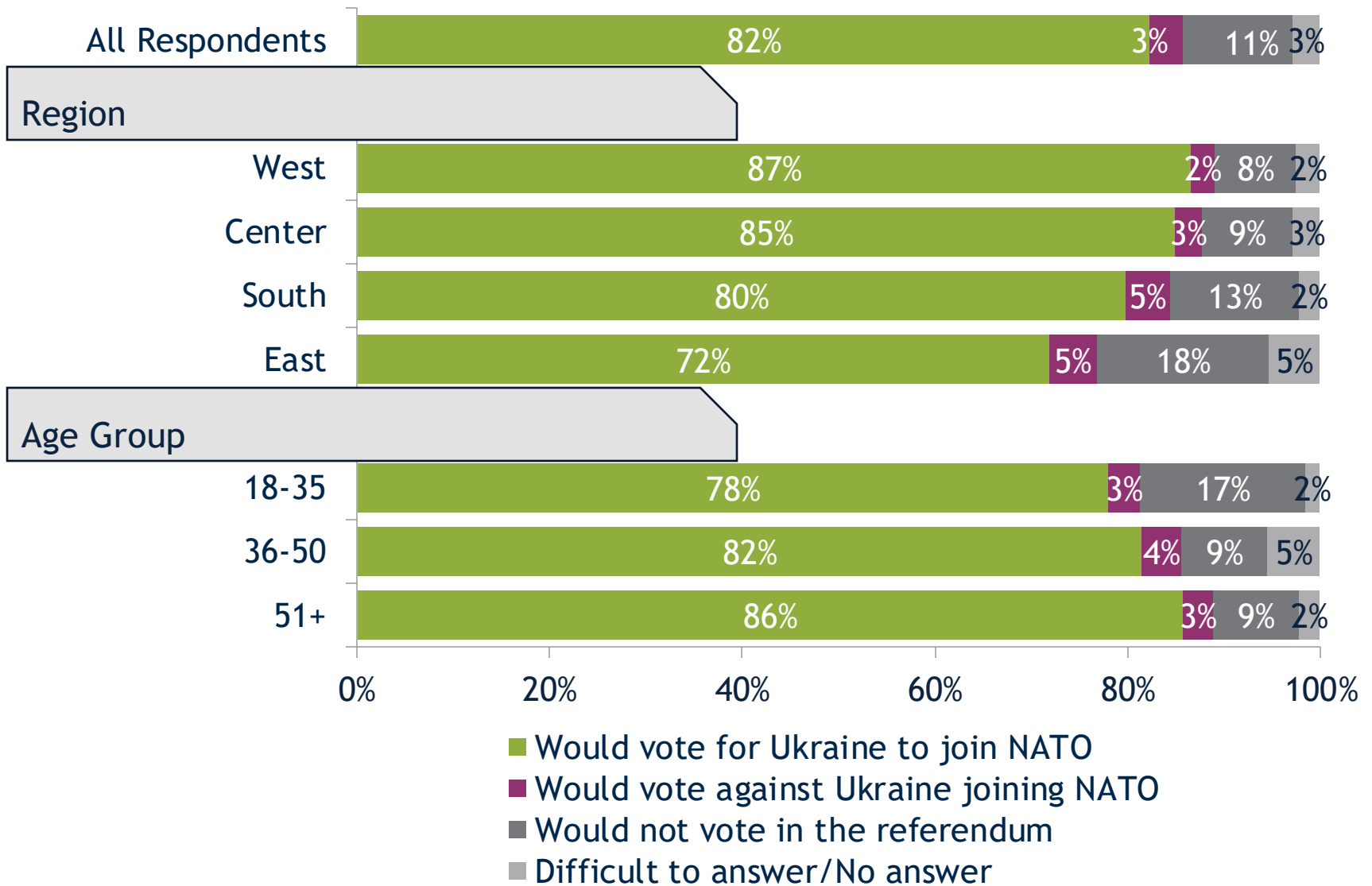


If a referendum was held today on Ukraine joining NATO, how would you vote?



- Would vote for Ukraine to join NATO
- Would vote against Ukraine joining NATO
- Would not vote in the referendum
- Difficult to answer/No answer

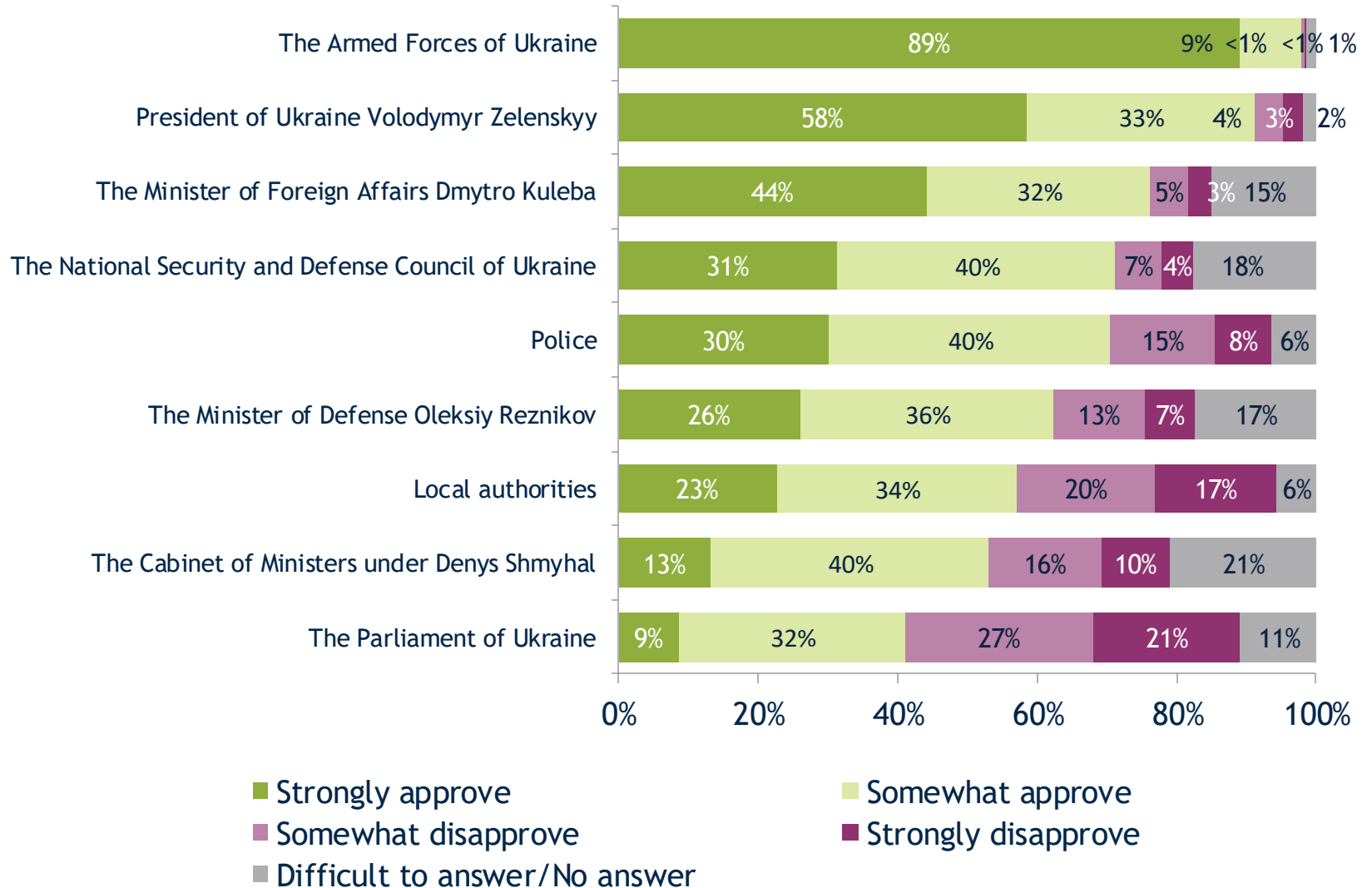
If a referendum was held today on Ukraine joining NATO, how would you vote?



Evaluation of Government Activities

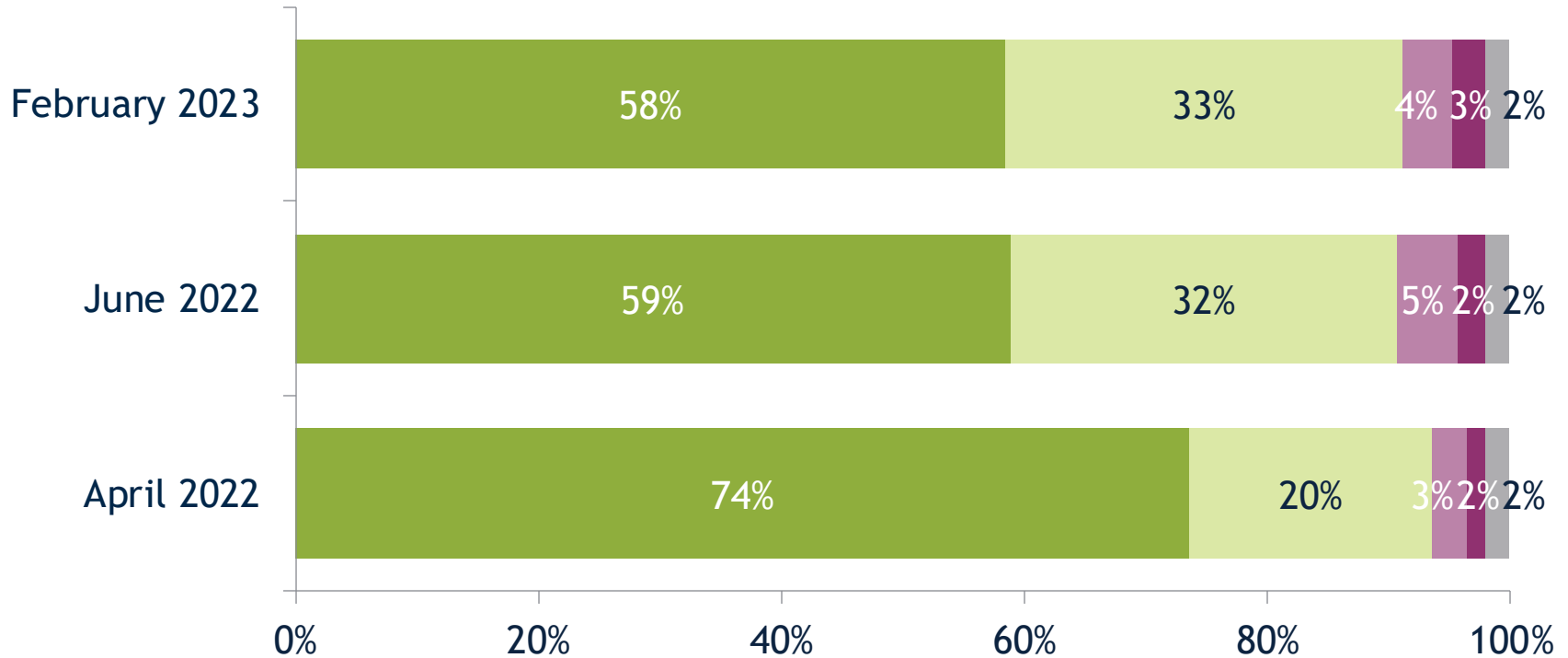


Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of...?



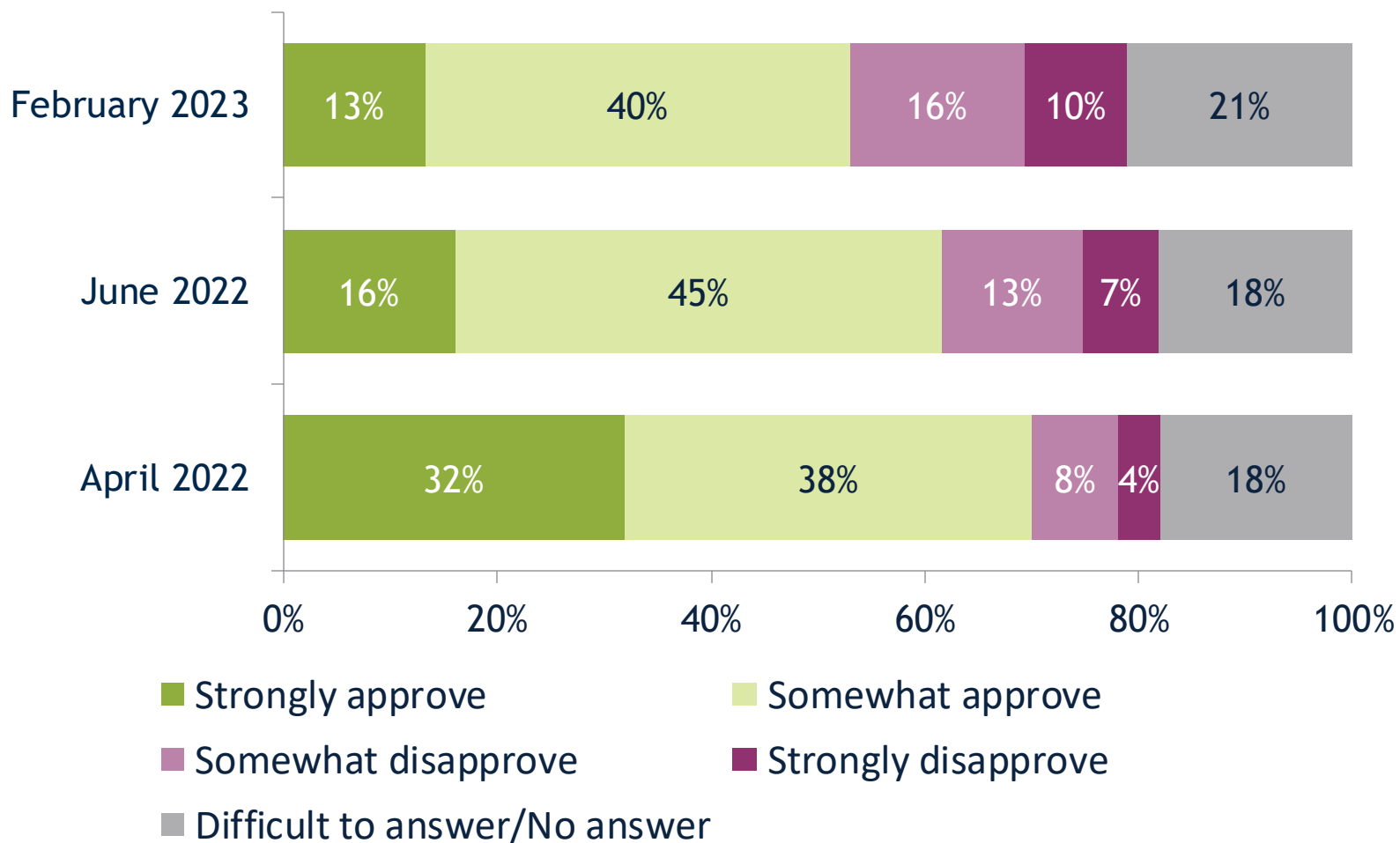


Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky?

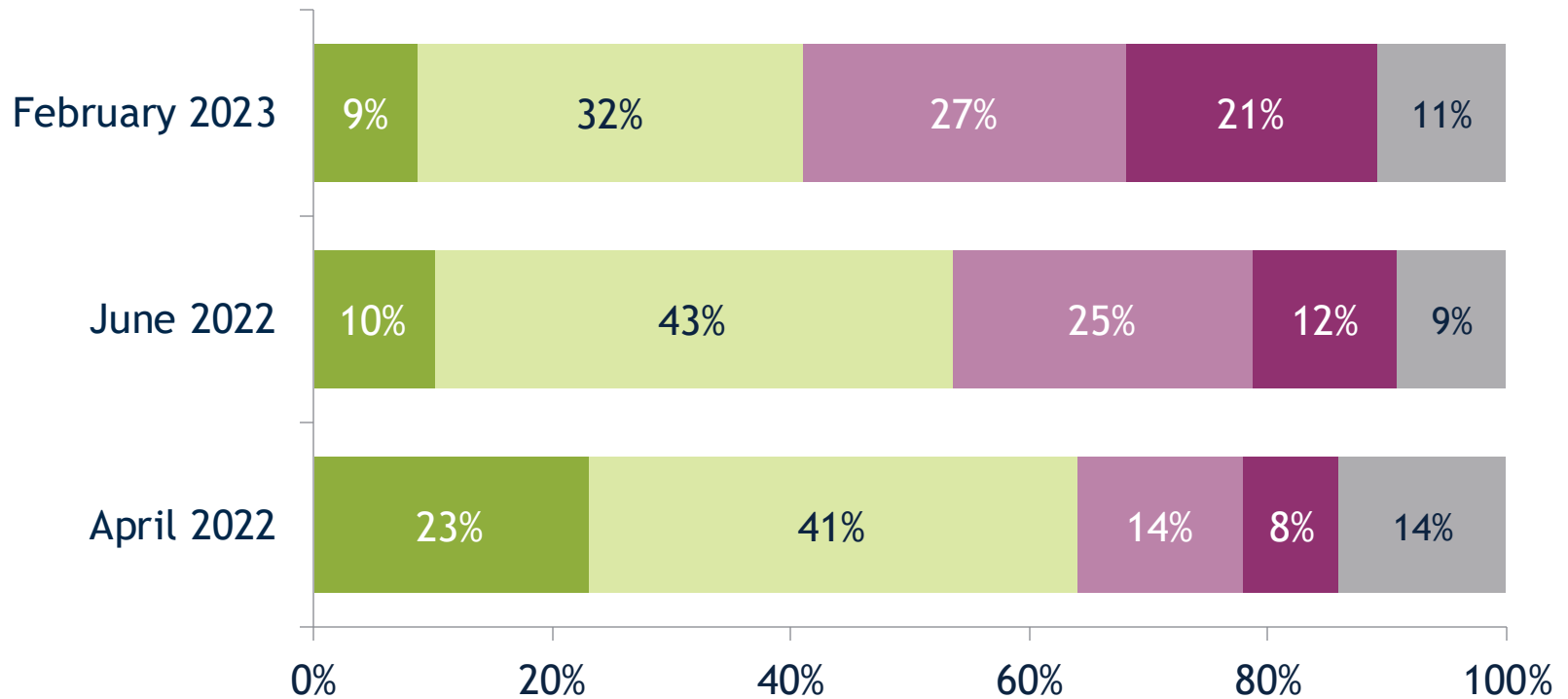


- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Difficult to answer/No answer

Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the Cabinet of Ministers under Denys Shmyhal?



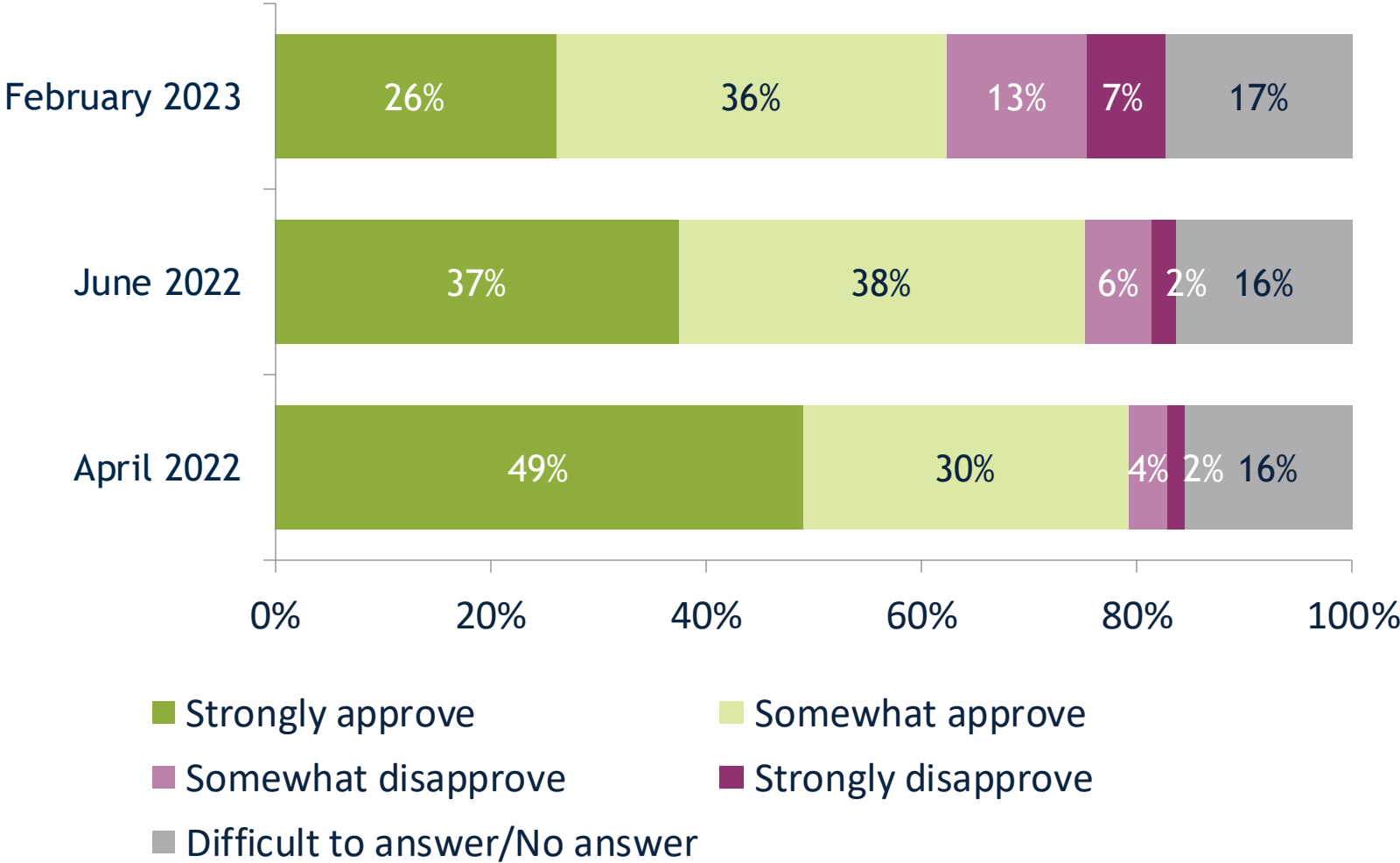
Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the Parliament of Ukraine?



- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Difficult to answer/No answer

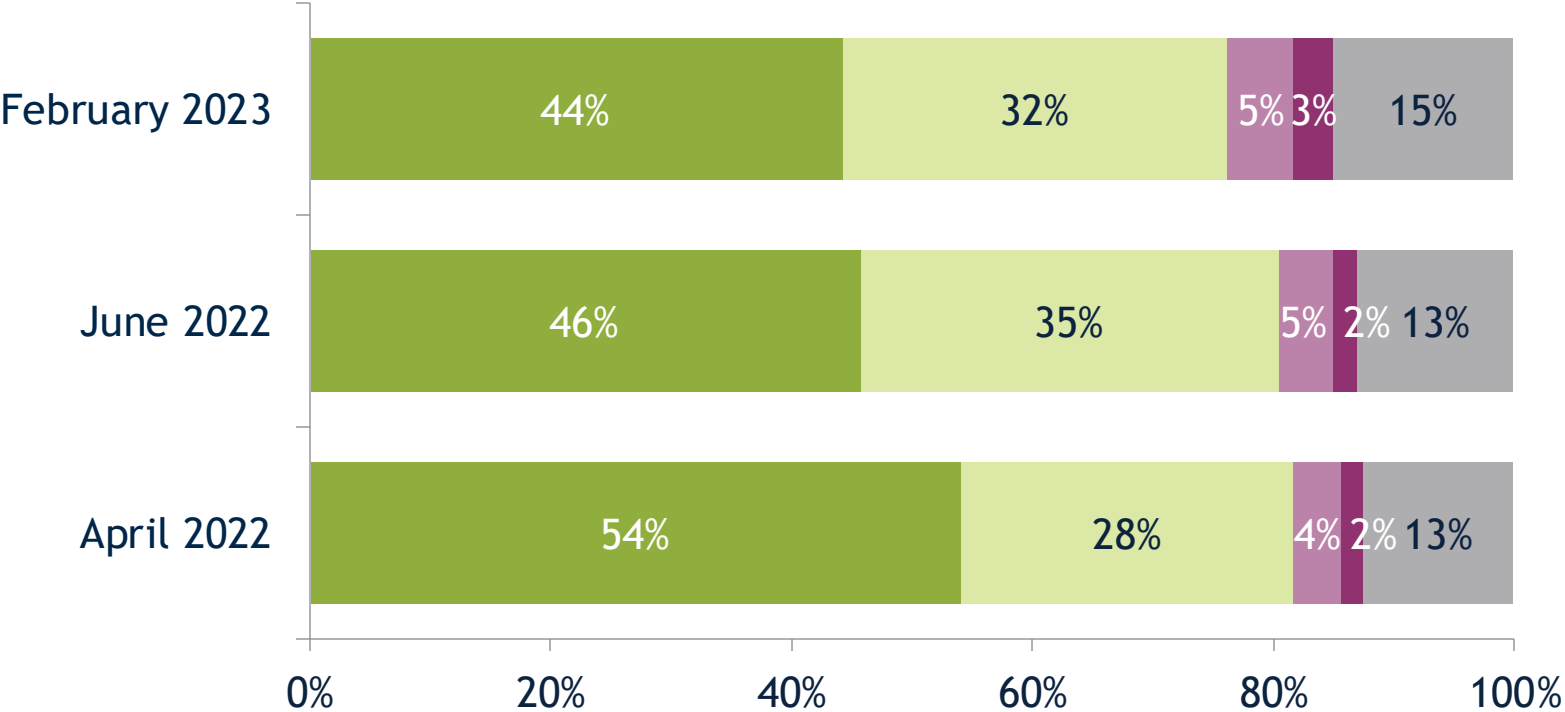


Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the Minister of Defense Oleksiy Reznikov?



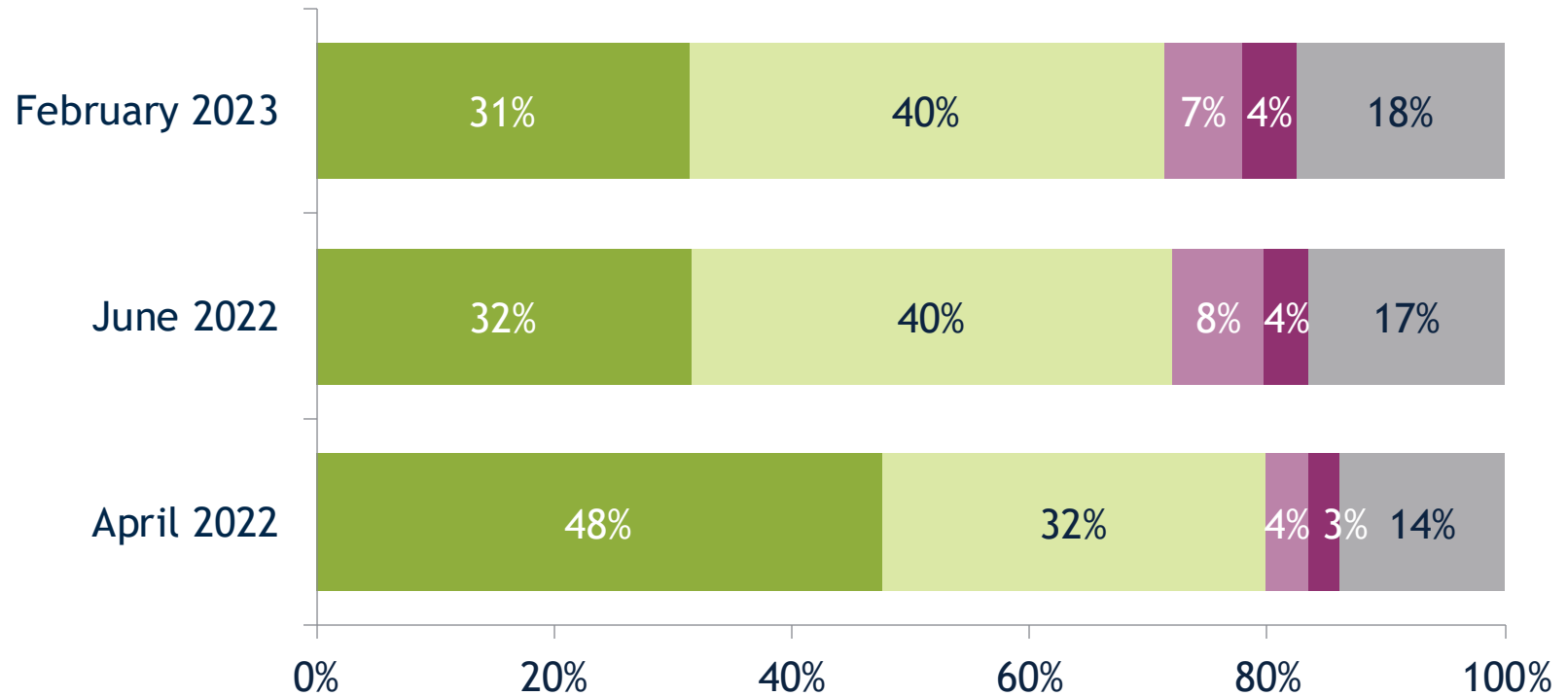


Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dmytro Kuleba?



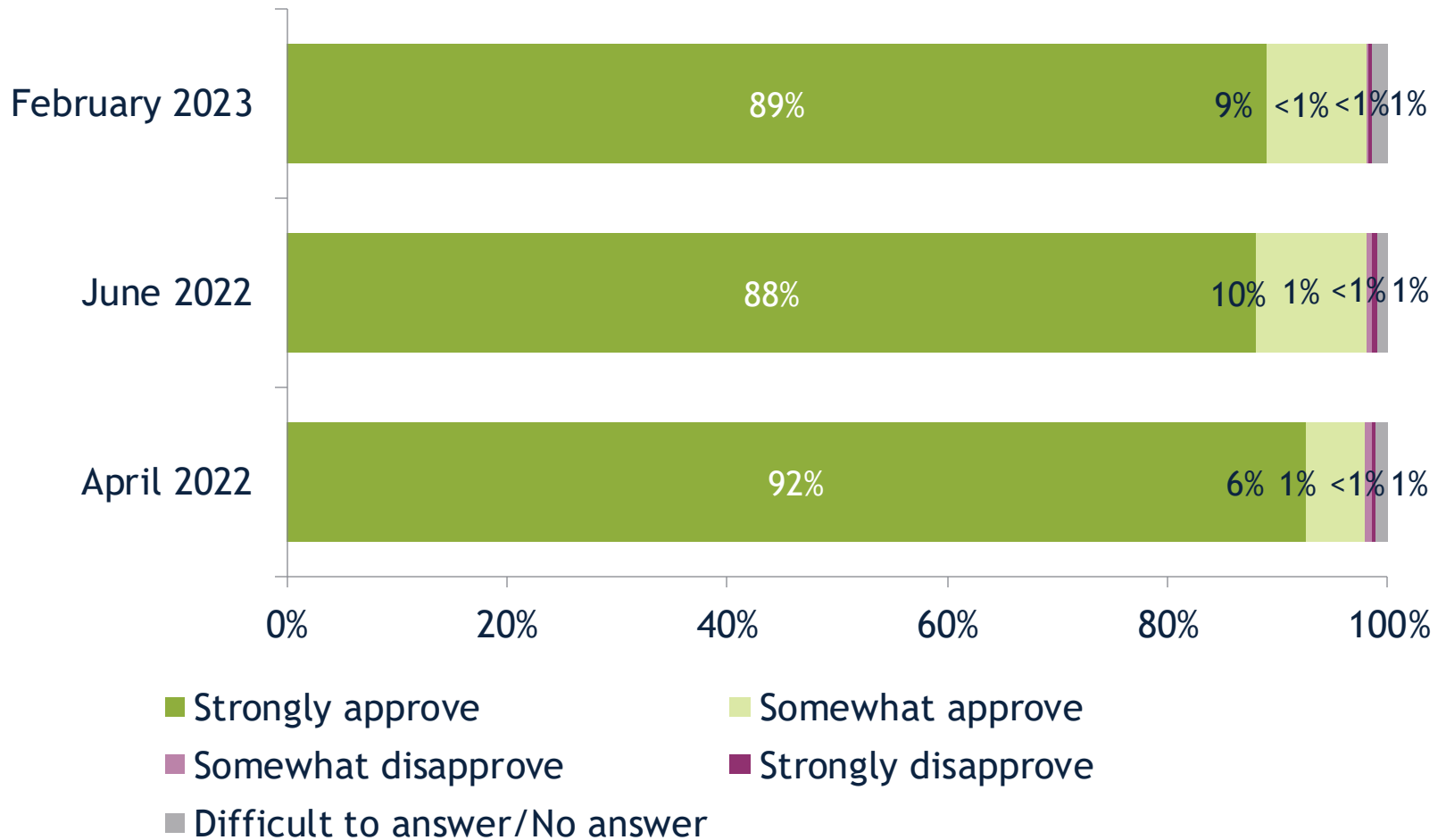
- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Difficult to answer/No answer

Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine?



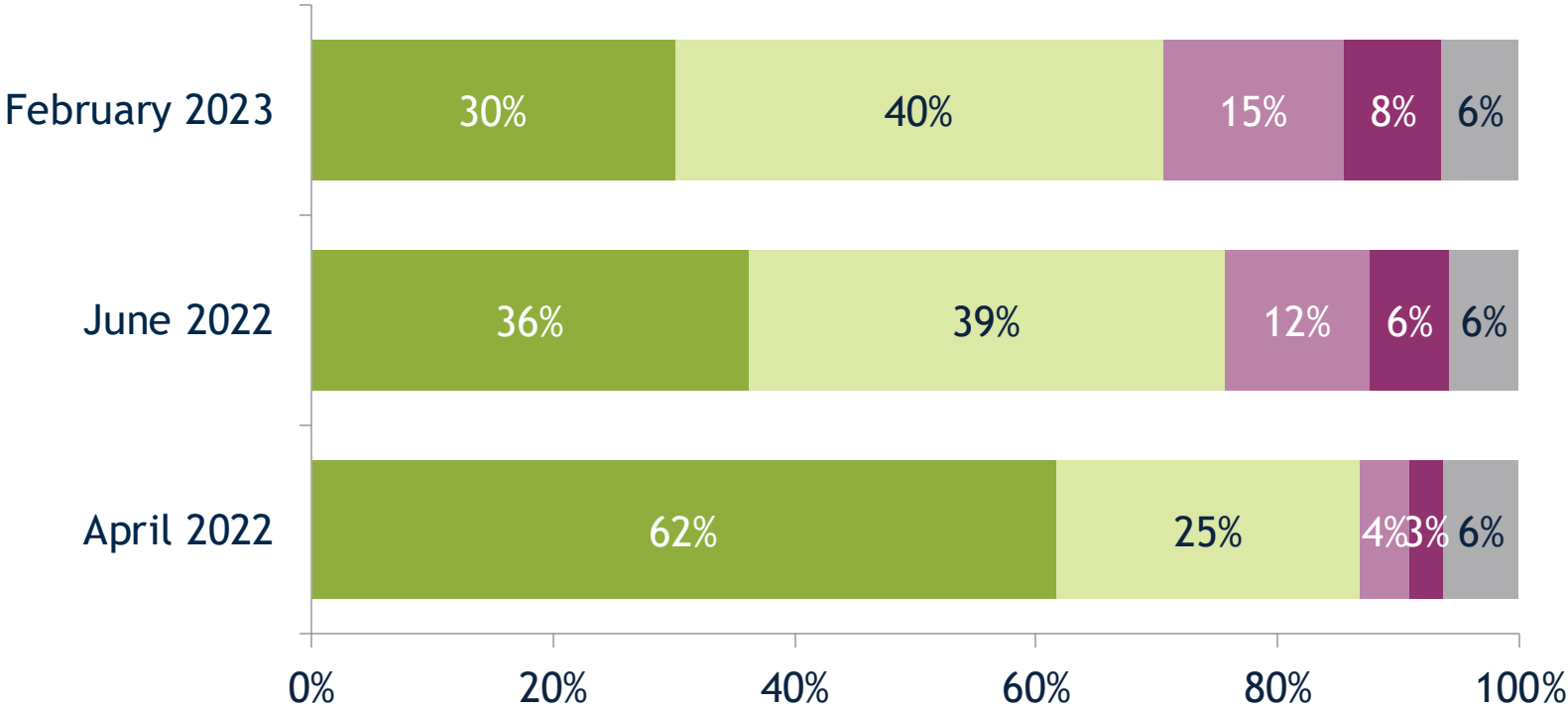
- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Difficult to answer/No answer

Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine?





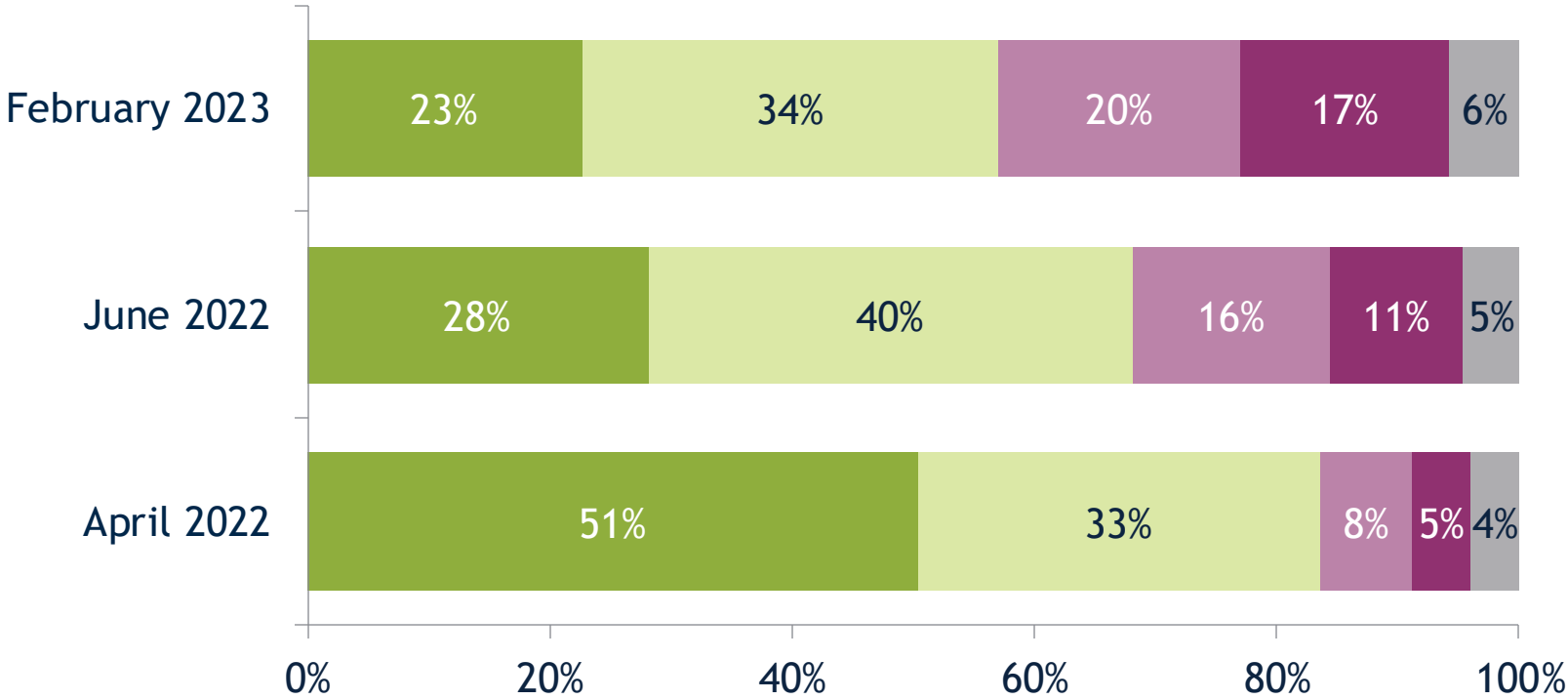
Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the police?



- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Difficult to answer/No answer



Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of local authorities?



- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Difficult to answer/No answer

Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of...

(Sum of responses “Strongly approve” and “Somewhat approve”)

	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
The Armed Forces of Ukraine	98%	97%	98%	99%	98%	98%	96%
President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky	96%	90%	89%	93%	89%	92%	90%
The Minister of Foreign Affairs Dmytro Kuleba	75%	74%	78%	81%	76%	76%	68%
The National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine	78%	69%	68%	73%	71%	71%	67%
The police	76%	69%	68%	68%	72%	73%	67%
The Minister of Defense Oleksiy Reznikov	66%	64%	59%	63%	63%	63%	60%
Local authorities	63%	52%	57%	57%	61%	47%	67%
The Cabinet of Ministers under Denys Shmyhal	58%	54%	49%	57%	53%	52%	46%
The Parliament of Ukraine	51%	35%	38%	41%	38%	45%	41%

In your opinion, who should primarily finance the restoration of Ukraine's damaged infrastructure?

(Up to 2 responses)



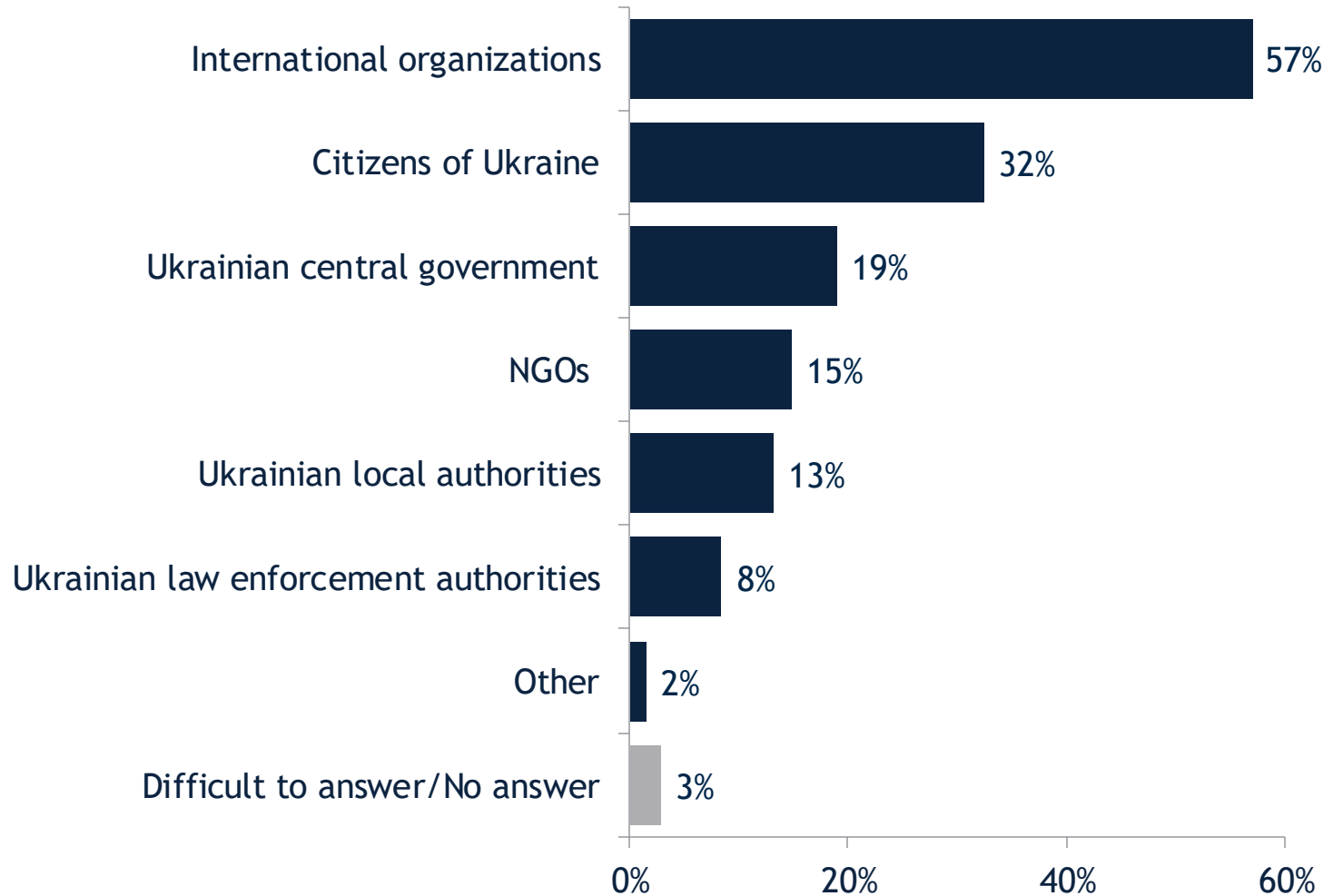
In your opinion, who should primarily finance the restoration of Ukraine's damaged infrastructure?

(Up to 2 responses)

	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
Russian seized assets or Russian payment for damages	92%	91%	86%	91%	88%	88%	90%
International organizations	22%	23%	25%	22%	23%	24%	30%
Ukrainian central government	13%	12%	10%	10%	13%	11%	11%
Ukrainian businesses	5%	5%	8%	6%	7%	7%	3%
Ukrainian local authorities	5%	4%	4%	4%	5%	4%	5%
Citizens of Ukraine	5%	2%	4%	5%	4%	4%	3%
Ukrainian charitable funds	4%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%
Other	2%	3%	4%	3%	3%	4%	2%
Difficult to answer/No answer	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%

In your opinion, who should primarily control the use of funds for the restoration of Ukraine's damaged infrastructure?

(Up to 2 responses)



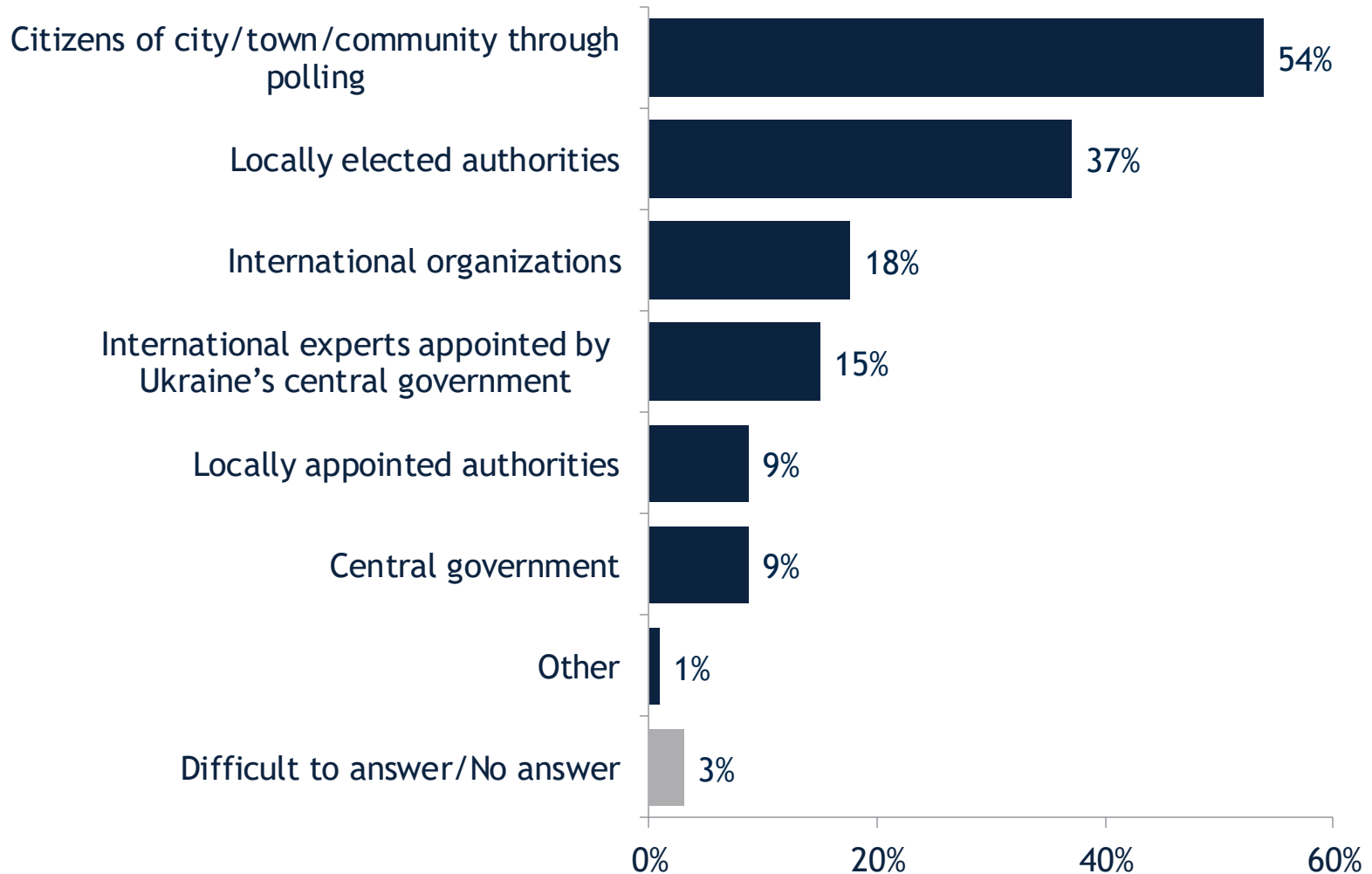
In your opinion, who should primarily control the use of funds for the restoration of Ukraine's damaged infrastructure?

(Up to 2 responses)

	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
International organizations	49%	61%	60%	59%	55%	59%	54%
Citizens of Ukraine	36%	36%	28%	34%	32%	34%	28%
Ukrainian central government	25%	15%	17%	16%	20%	21%	18%
NGOs	12%	18%	15%	14%	15%	15%	14%
Ukrainian local authorities	17%	13%	11%	13%	12%	12%	18%
Ukrainian law enforcement authorities	11%	7%	8%	9%	9%	8%	7%
Other	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%

In your opinion, who should decide on reconstruction priorities for your city/town/community?

(Up to 2 responses)



In your opinion, who should decide on reconstruction priorities for your city/town/community?

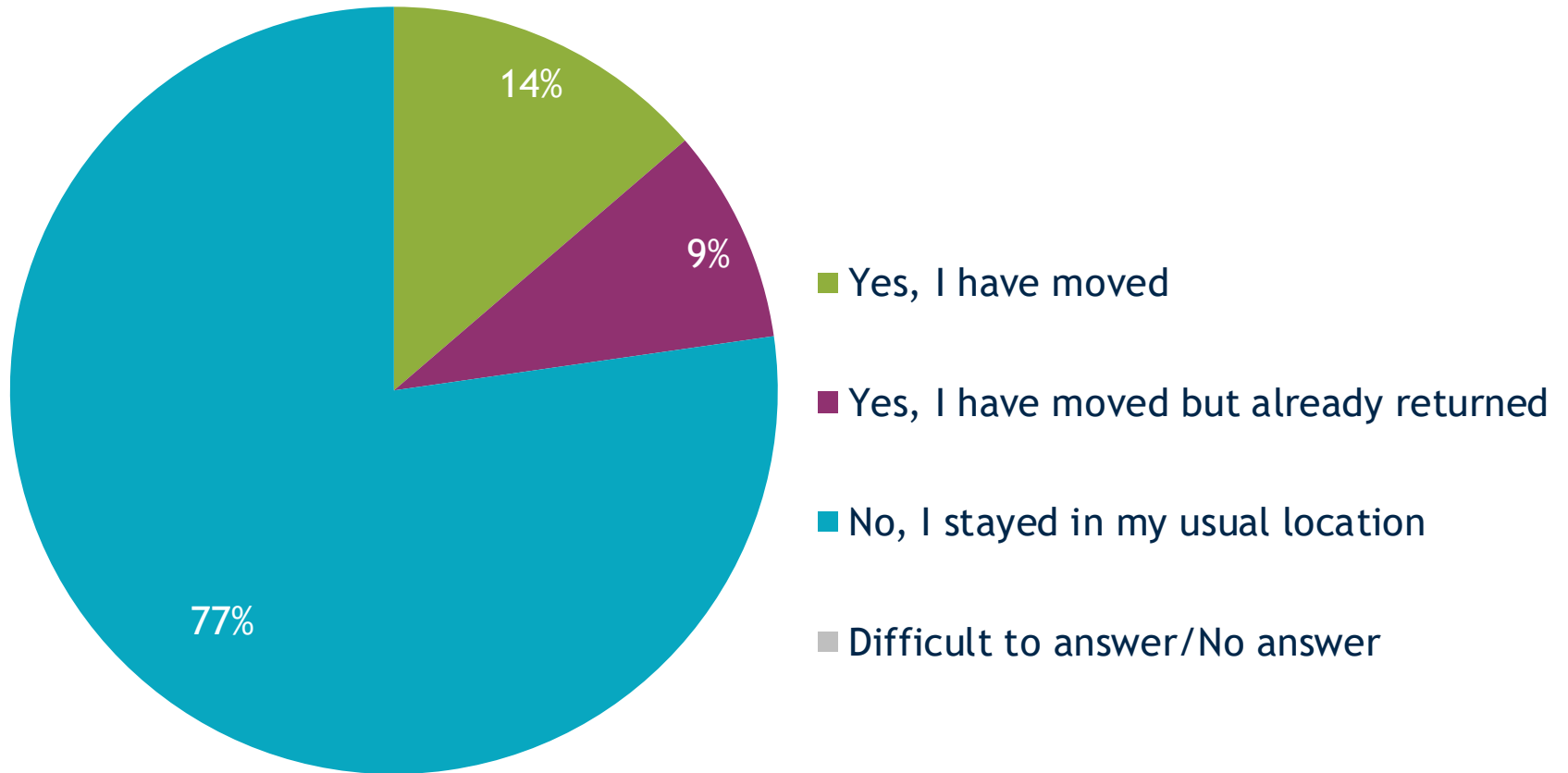
(Up to 2 responses)

	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
Citizens of city/town/community through polling	58%	56%	50%	56%	58%	51%	46%
Locally elected authorities	34%	32%	42%	39%	37%	34%	39%
International organizations	16%	21%	17%	14%	16%	22%	21%
International experts appointed by Ukraine's central government	20%	15%	12%	13%	14%	17%	16%
Locally appointed authorities	10%	10%	7%	10%	7%	8%	11%
Central government	10%	10%	7%	8%	9%	10%	9%
Other	<1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	<1%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%

Migration

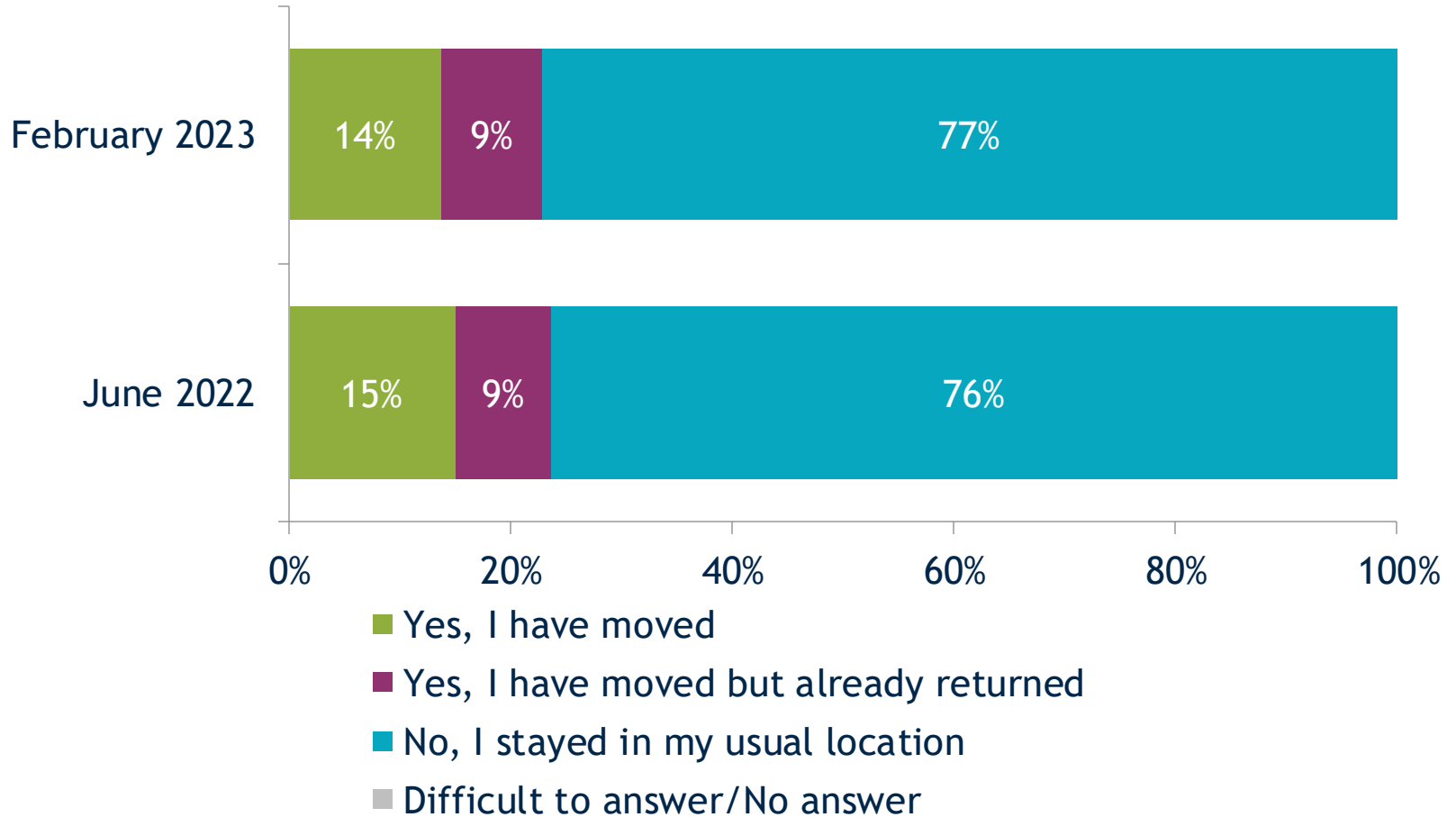


Have you moved from your home as a result of the war?



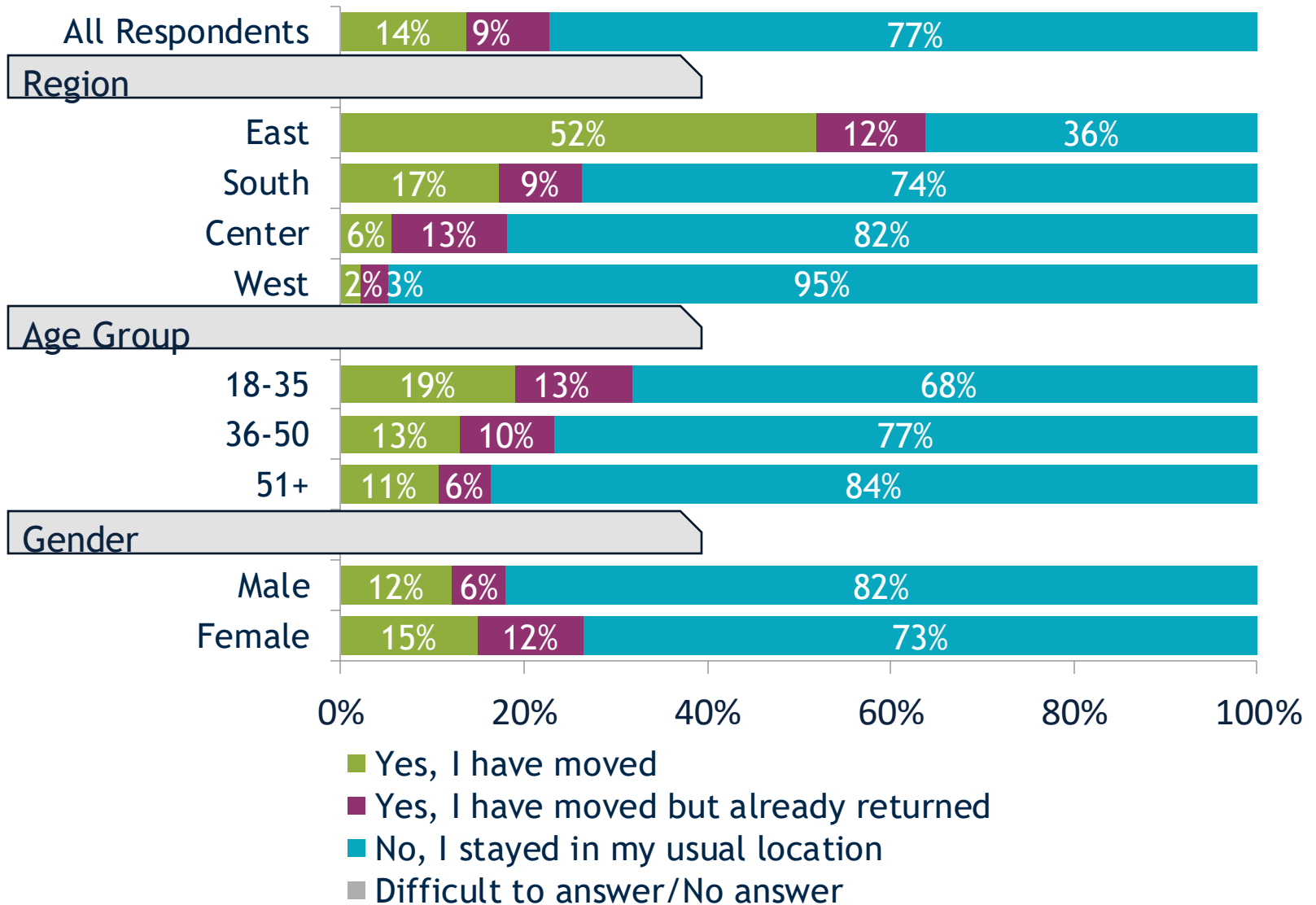


Have you moved from your home as a result of the war?



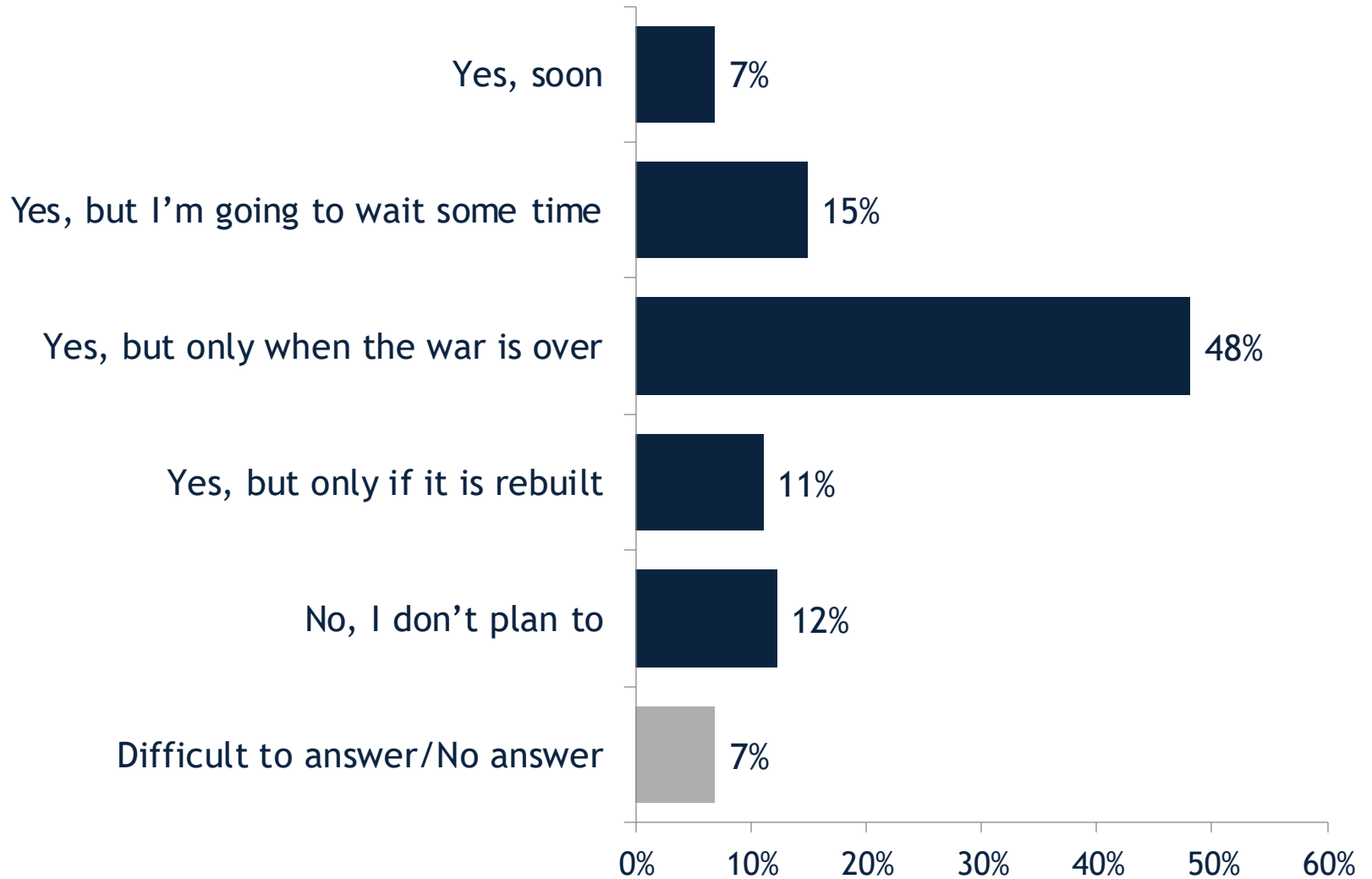


Have you moved from your home as a result of the war?



Do you plan to return to your home; if so, when?

(Among those who have moved from home, n=274)



▶ Do you plan to return to your home; if so, when?

(Among those who have moved from home, n=274)

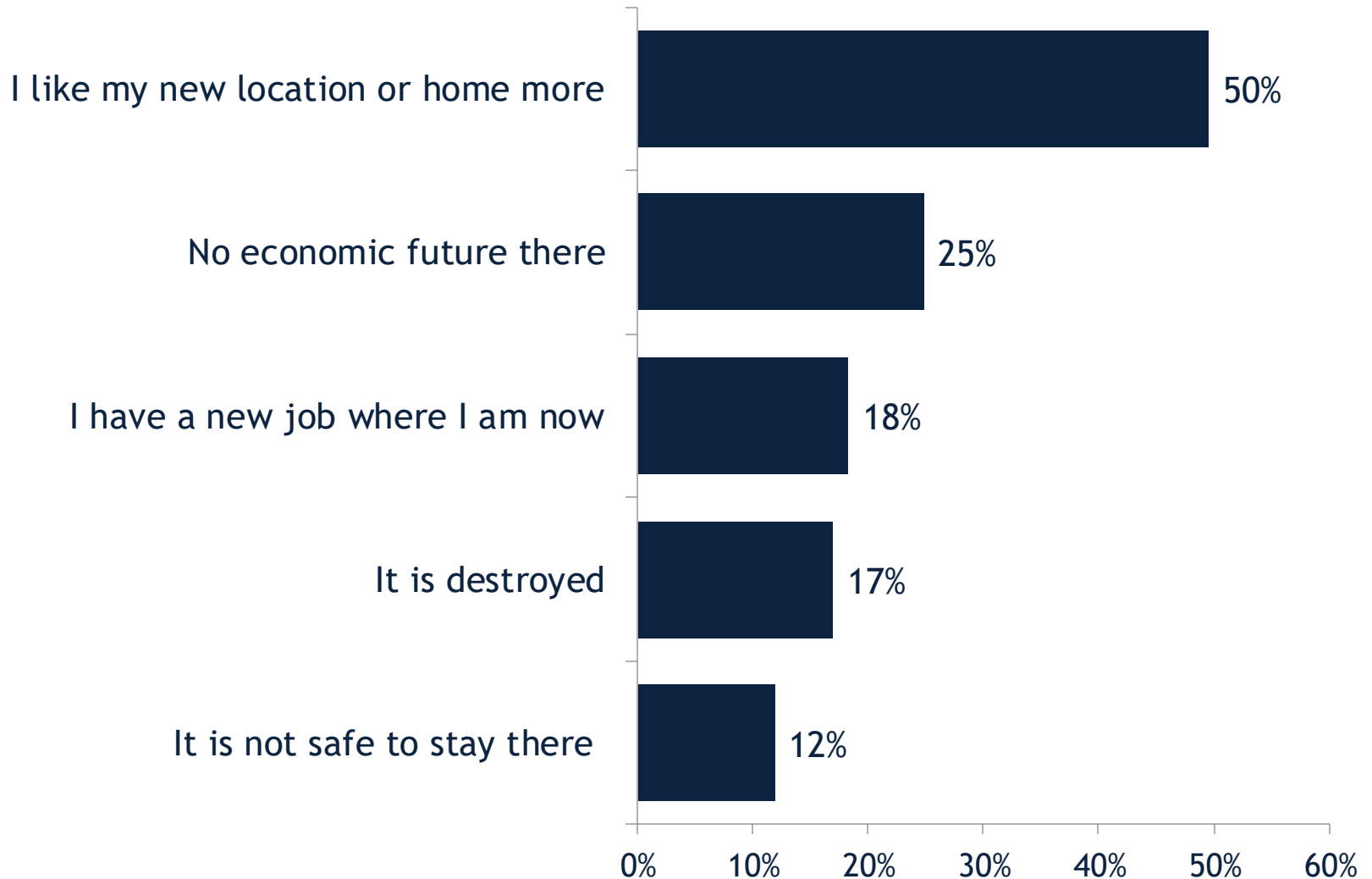
	June 2022	February 2023
Yes, soon	10%	7%
Yes, but I'm going to wait some time	23%	15%
Yes, but only when the war is over	46%	48%
Yes, but only if it is rebuilt	9%	11%
No, I don't plan to	7%	12%
Difficult to answer/No answer	4%	7%



If you do not plan to return to your home, why not?

(Among those who don't plan to return, n=34*)

(Multiple responses)

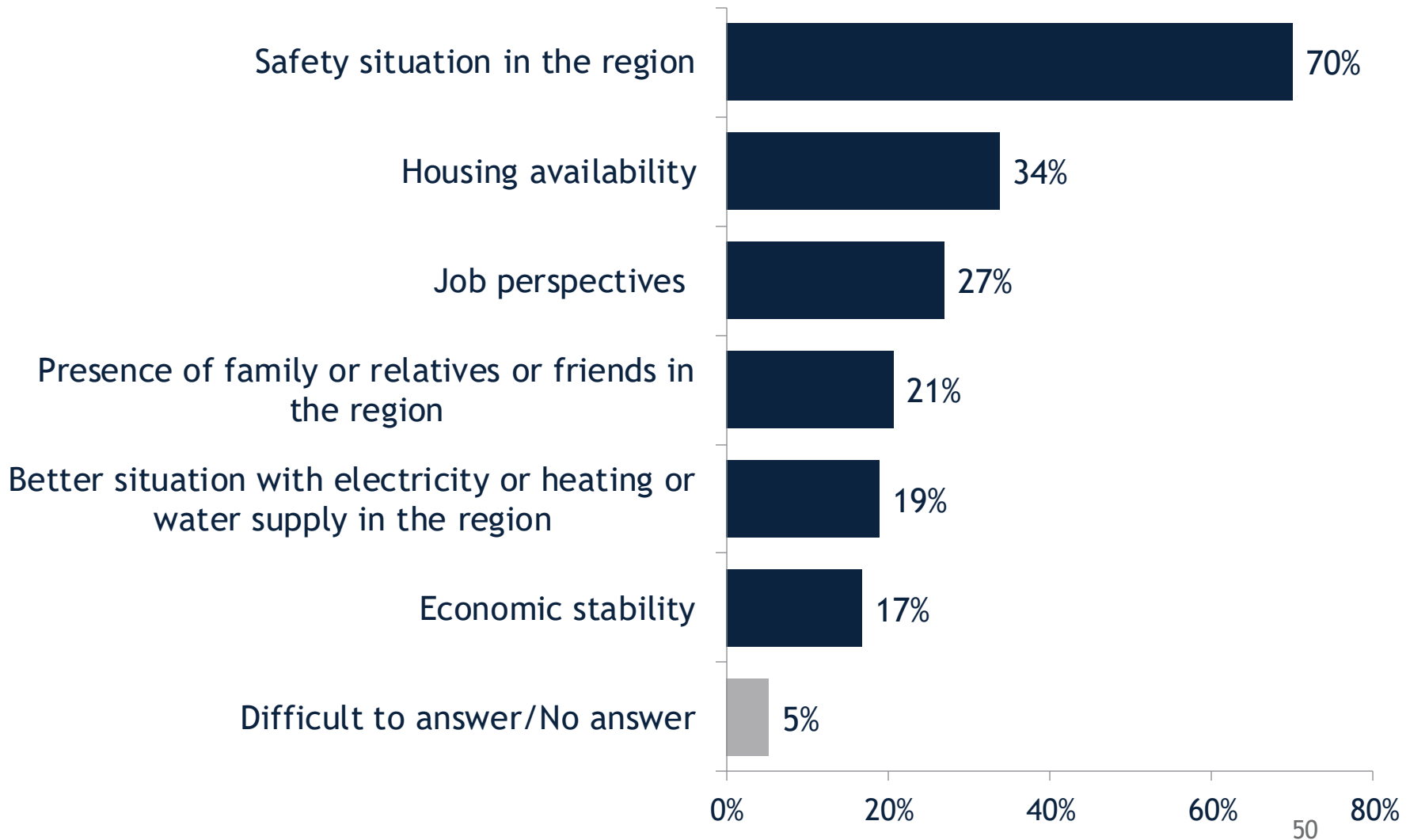


* The results should be treated with caution due to the small sample size

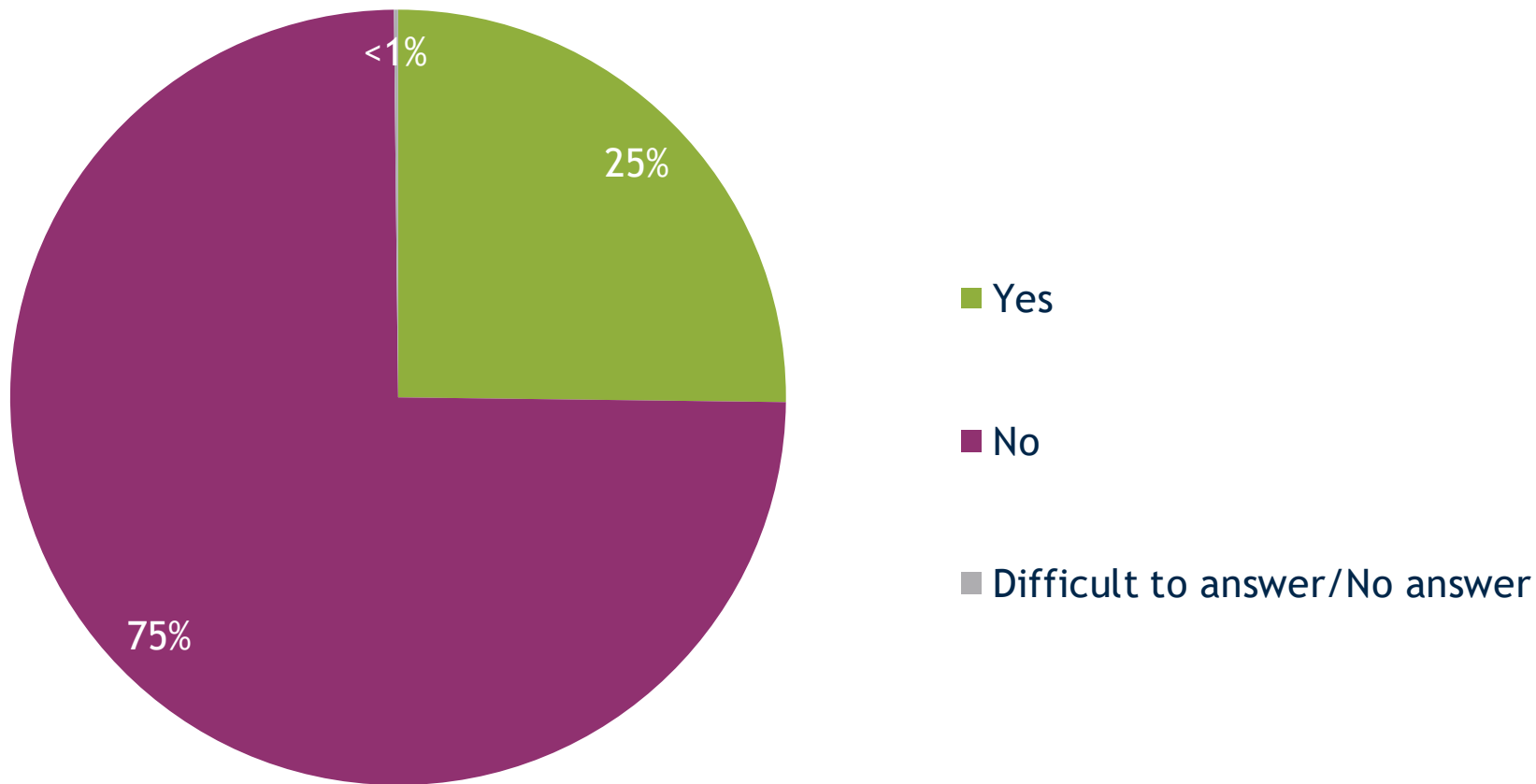
What factors are most important for you when considering returning?

(Among those who have moved from home, n=274)

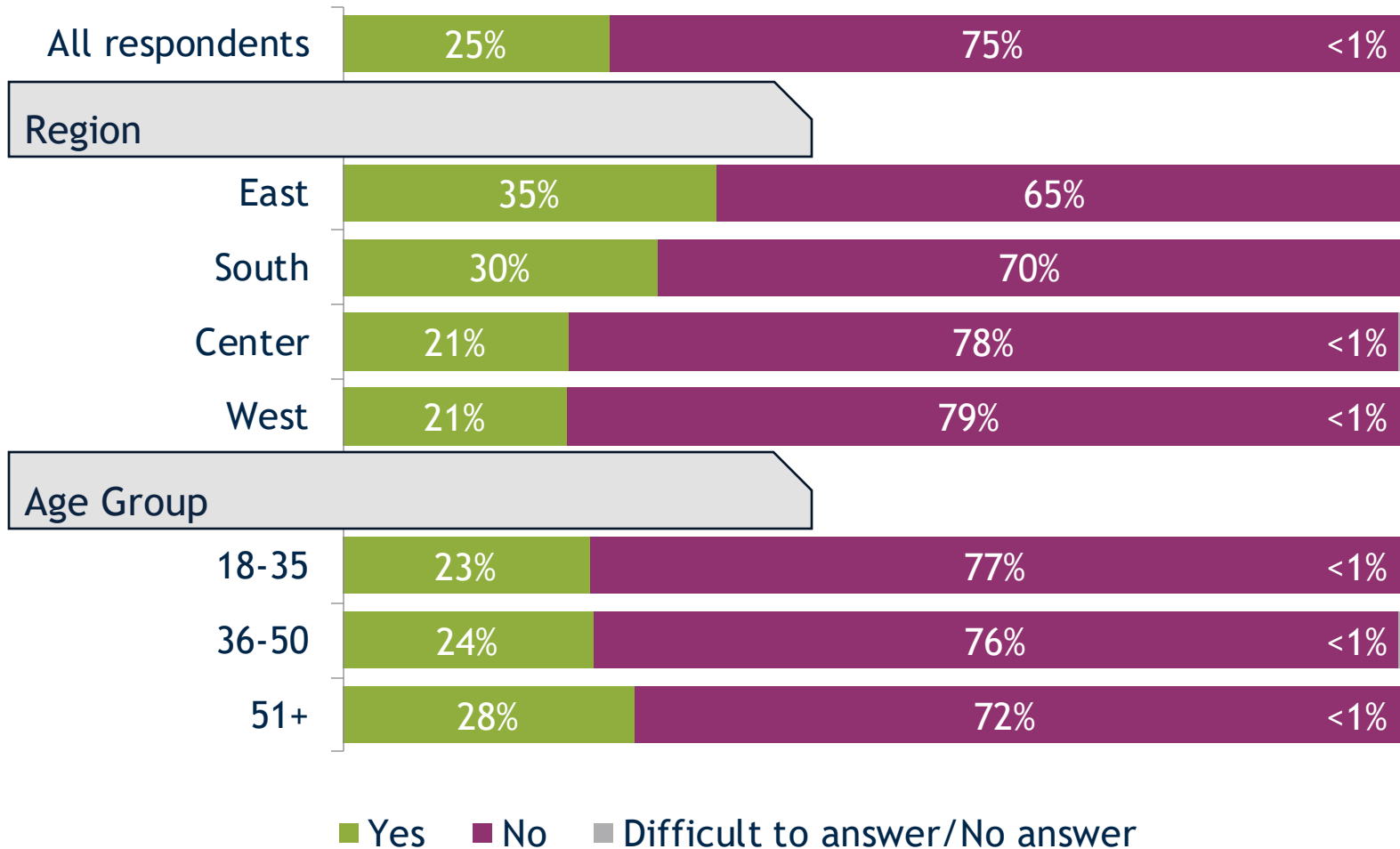
(Multiple responses)



Do you have close relatives, for example husband, wife, parents or children, who are currently abroad due to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine?

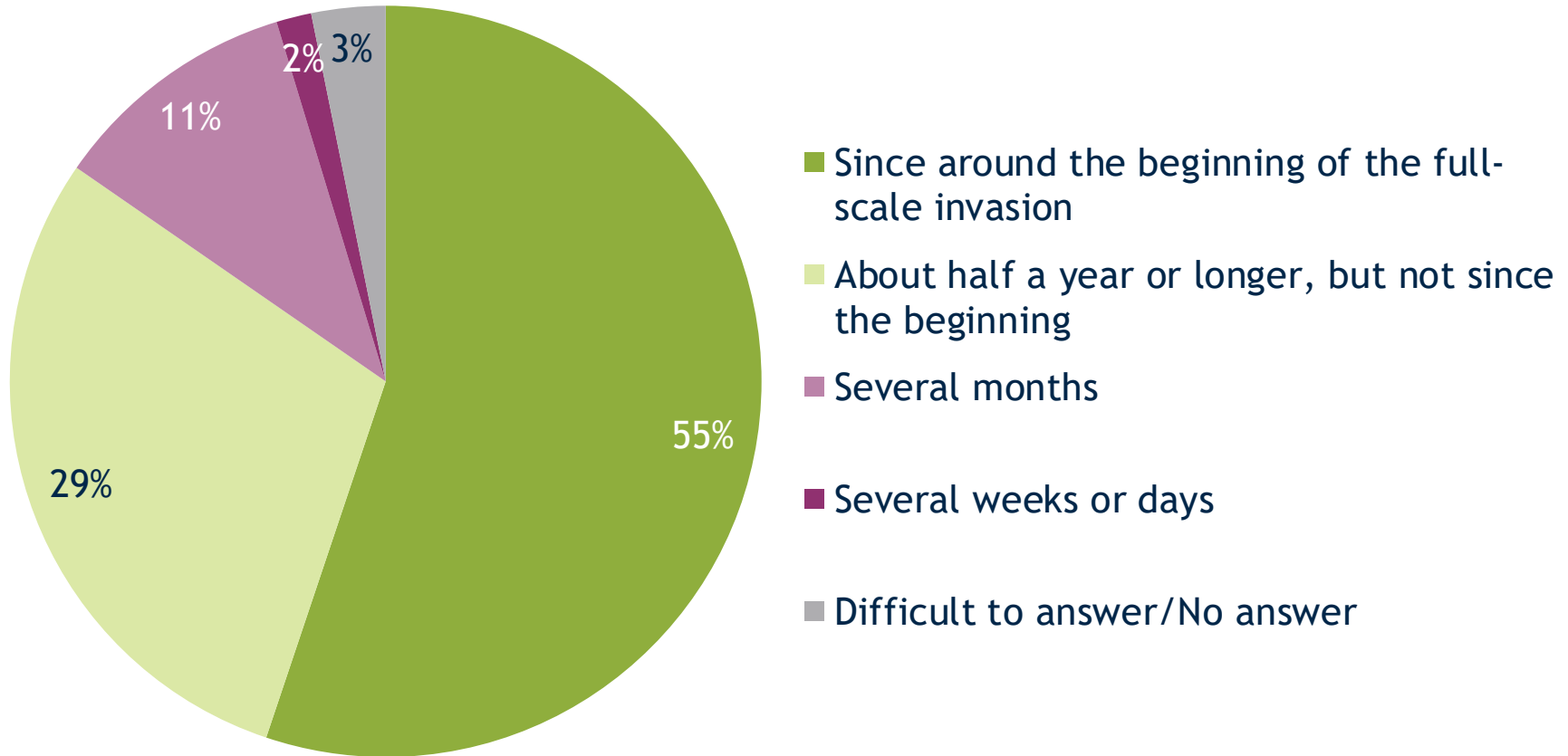


Do you have close relatives, for example husband, wife, parents or children, who are currently abroad due to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine?



How long have they been abroad?

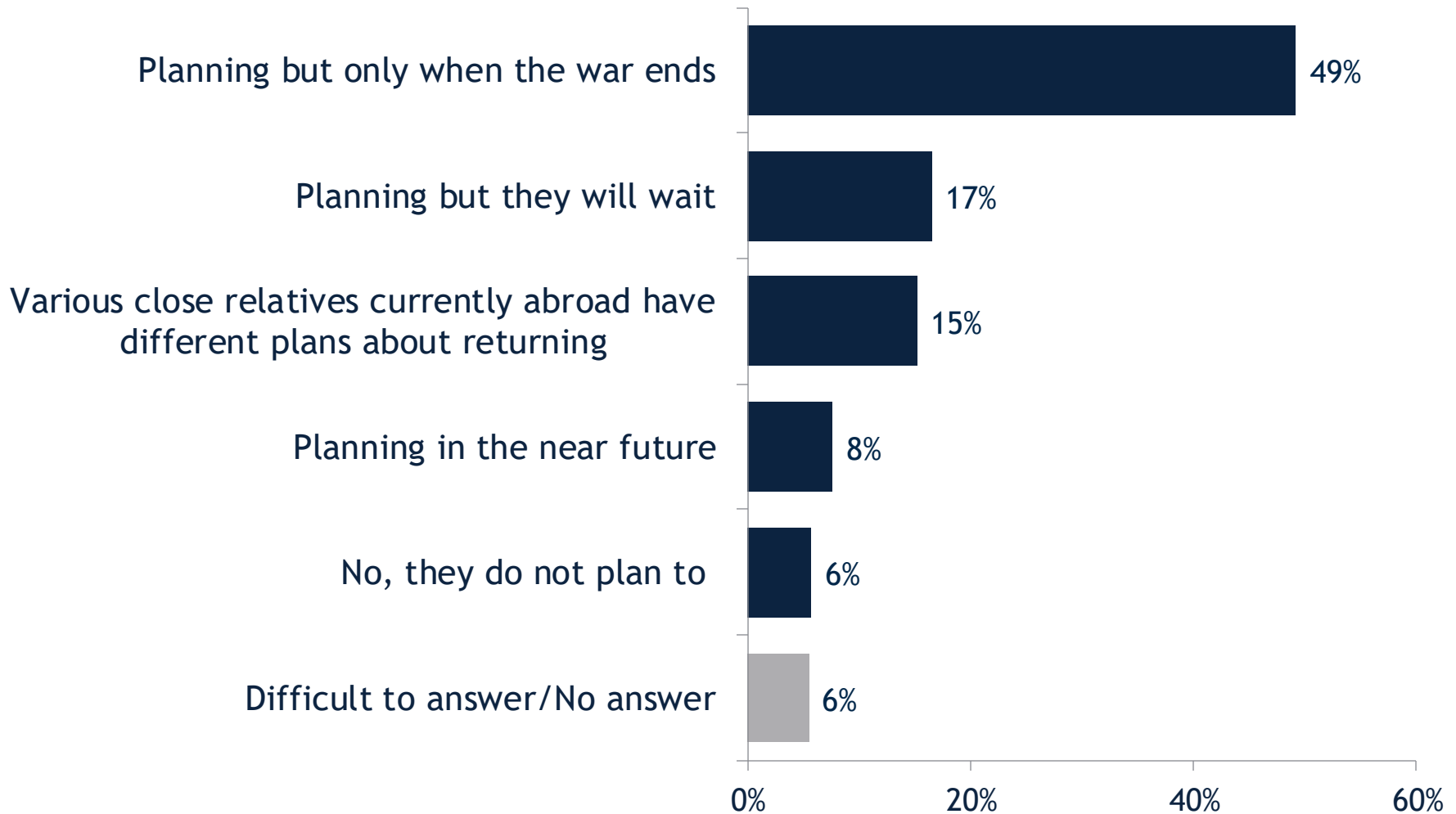
(Among those who have relatives who are currently abroad, n=504)



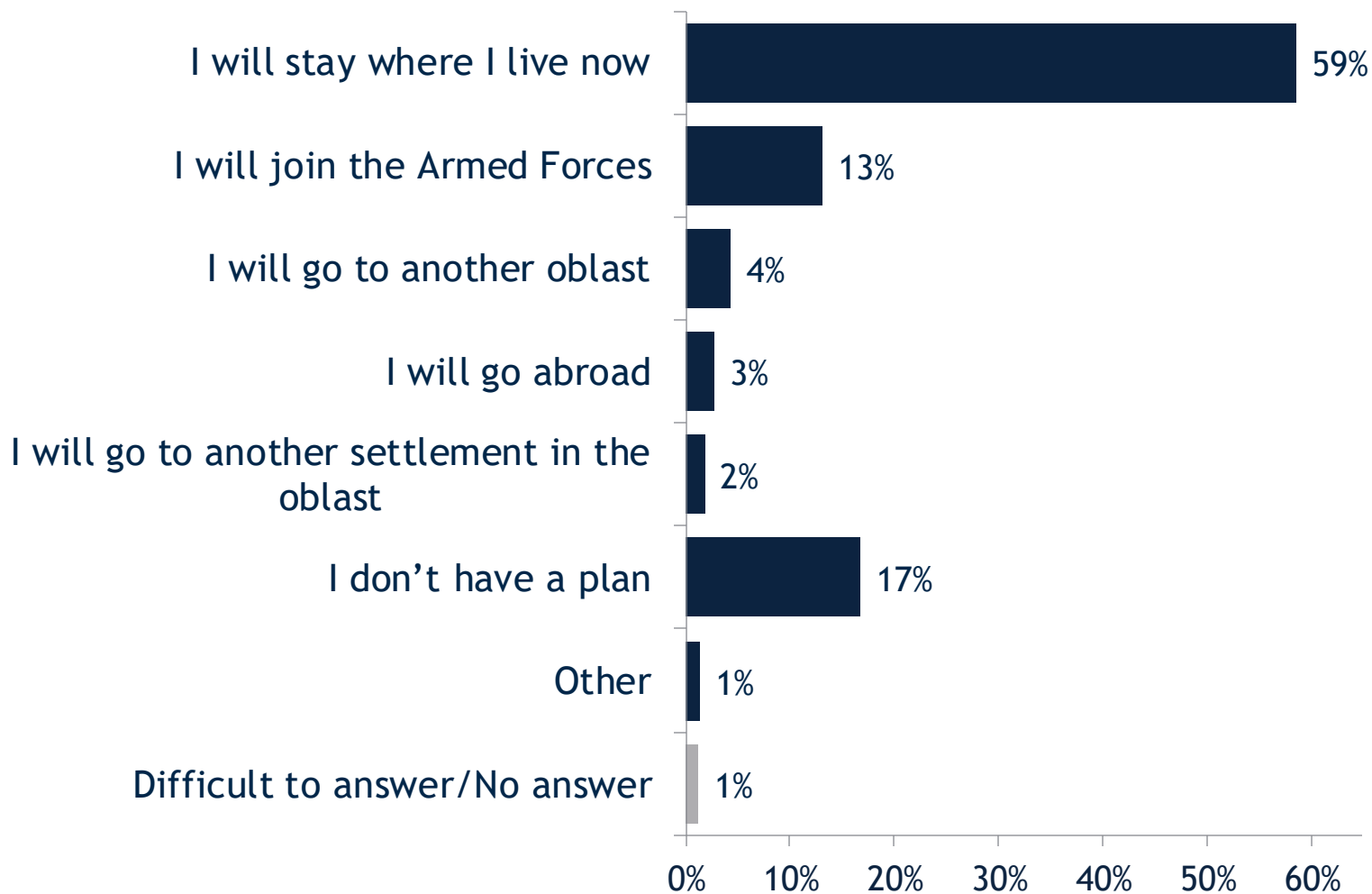


Do they plan to return to Ukraine; if so, when?

(Among those who have relatives who are currently abroad, n= 504)



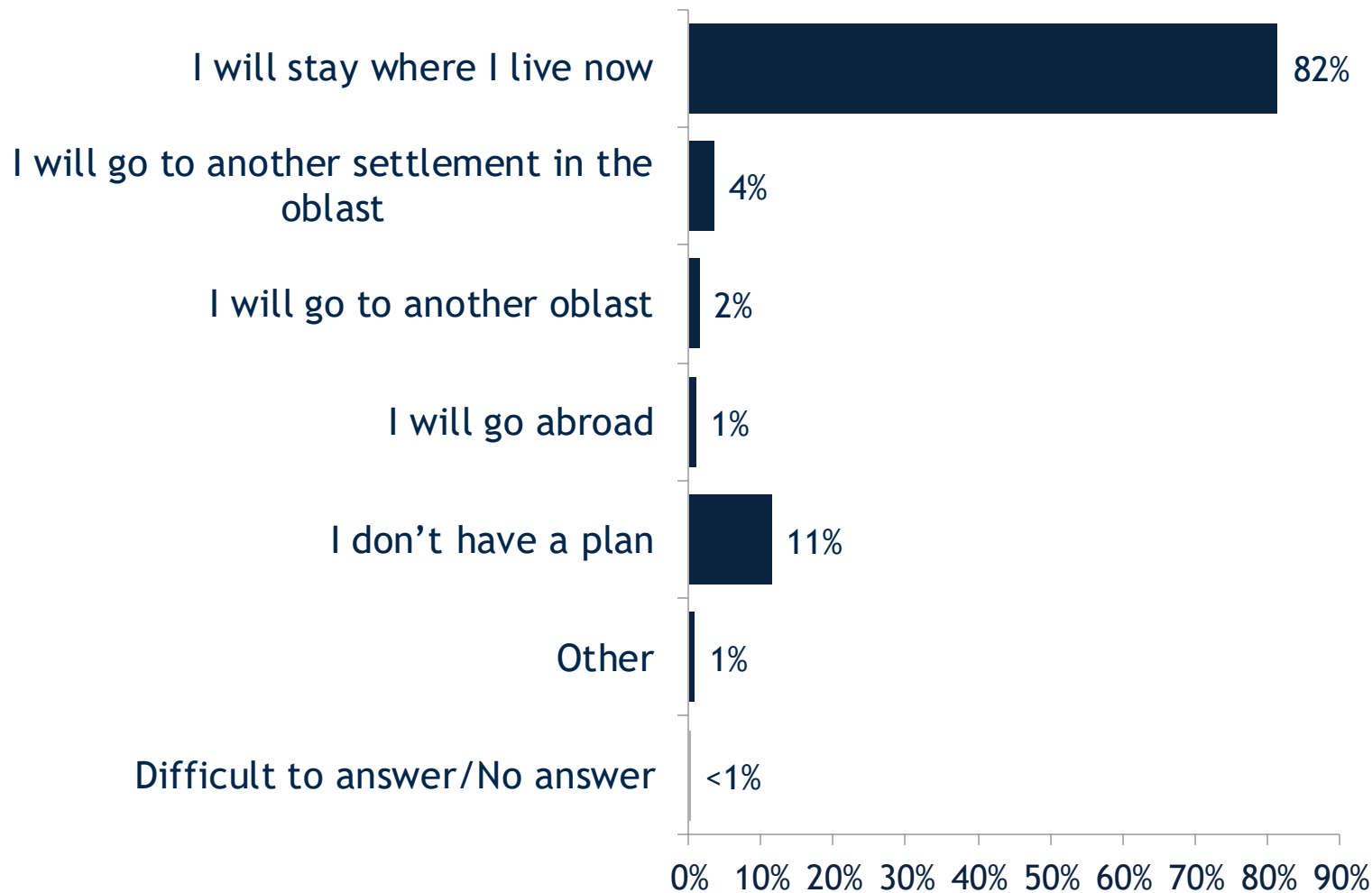
What do you plan to do in the event of aggravation of the situation at the front, for example, a repeated attack on the liberated territories?



What do you plan to do in the event of aggravation of the situation at the front, for example, a repeated attack on the liberated territories?

	Age Group			Region				Gender	
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East	Male	Female
I will stay where I live now	49%	51%	70%	65%	58%	57%	50%	50%	66%
I will join the Armed Forces	18%	16%	8%	16%	15%	12%	7%	25%	3%
I will go to another oblast	5%	5%	3%	1%	4%	6%	9%	3%	6%
I will go abroad	3%	4%	1%	2%	3%	4%	2%	1%	4%
I will go to another settlement in the oblast	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	5%	1%	2%
I don't have a plan	19%	21%	13%	13%	17%	17%	24%	16%	17%
Other	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	3%	2%	1%

What do you plan to do in the event of an exacerbation with the supply of electricity or its complete disconnection for a period lasting longer than 5 days?



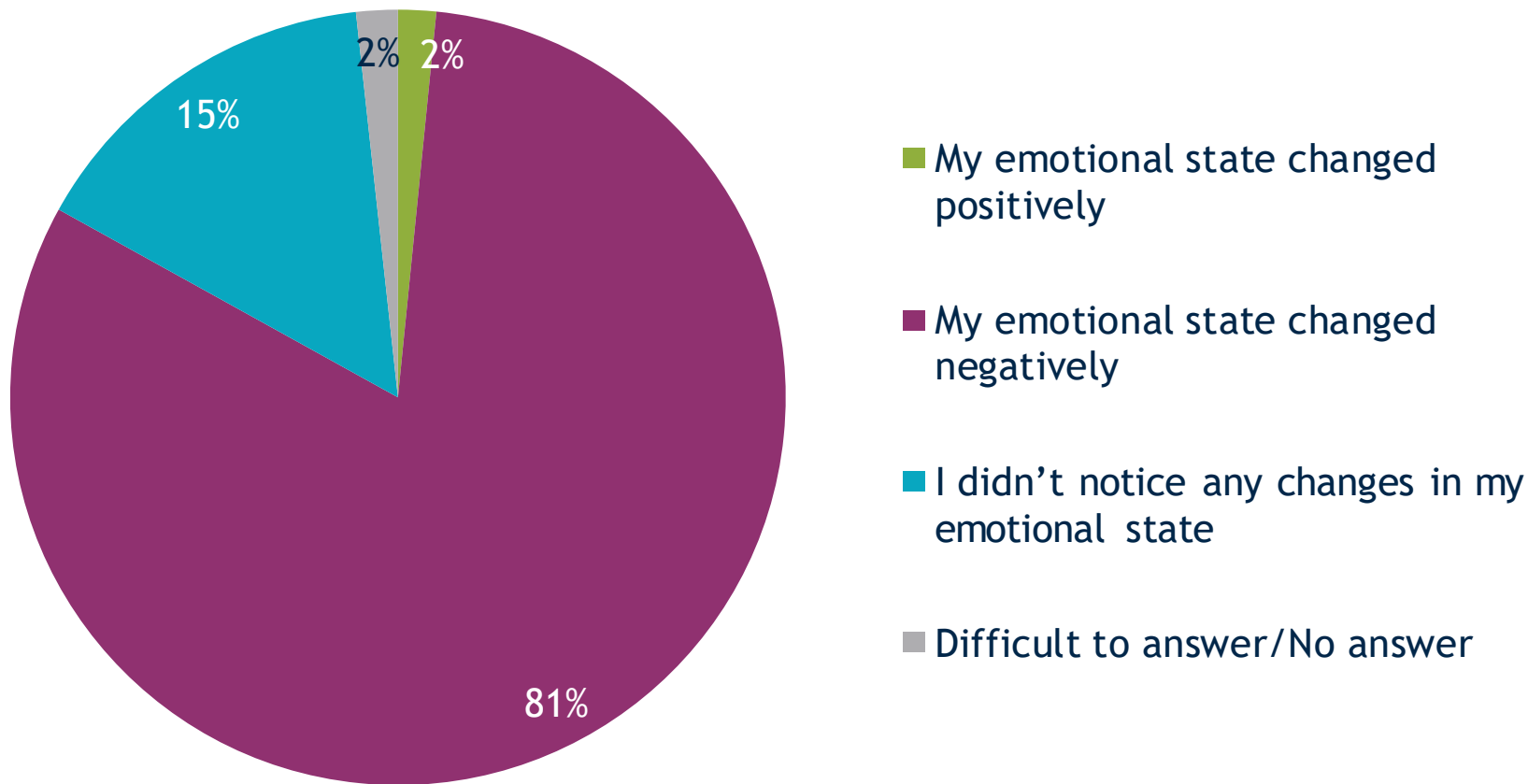
What do you plan to do in the event of an exacerbation with the supply of electricity or its complete disconnection for a period lasting longer than 5 days?

	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
I will stay where I live now	76%	78%	87%	85%	79%	82%	80%
I will go to another settlement in the oblast	5%	4%	2%	3%	5%	2%	2%
I will go to another oblast	2%	2%	<1%	1%	2%	1%	3%
I will go abroad	1%	2%	<1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
I don't have a plan	14%	13%	9%	9%	12%	13%	13%
Other	1%	<1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%

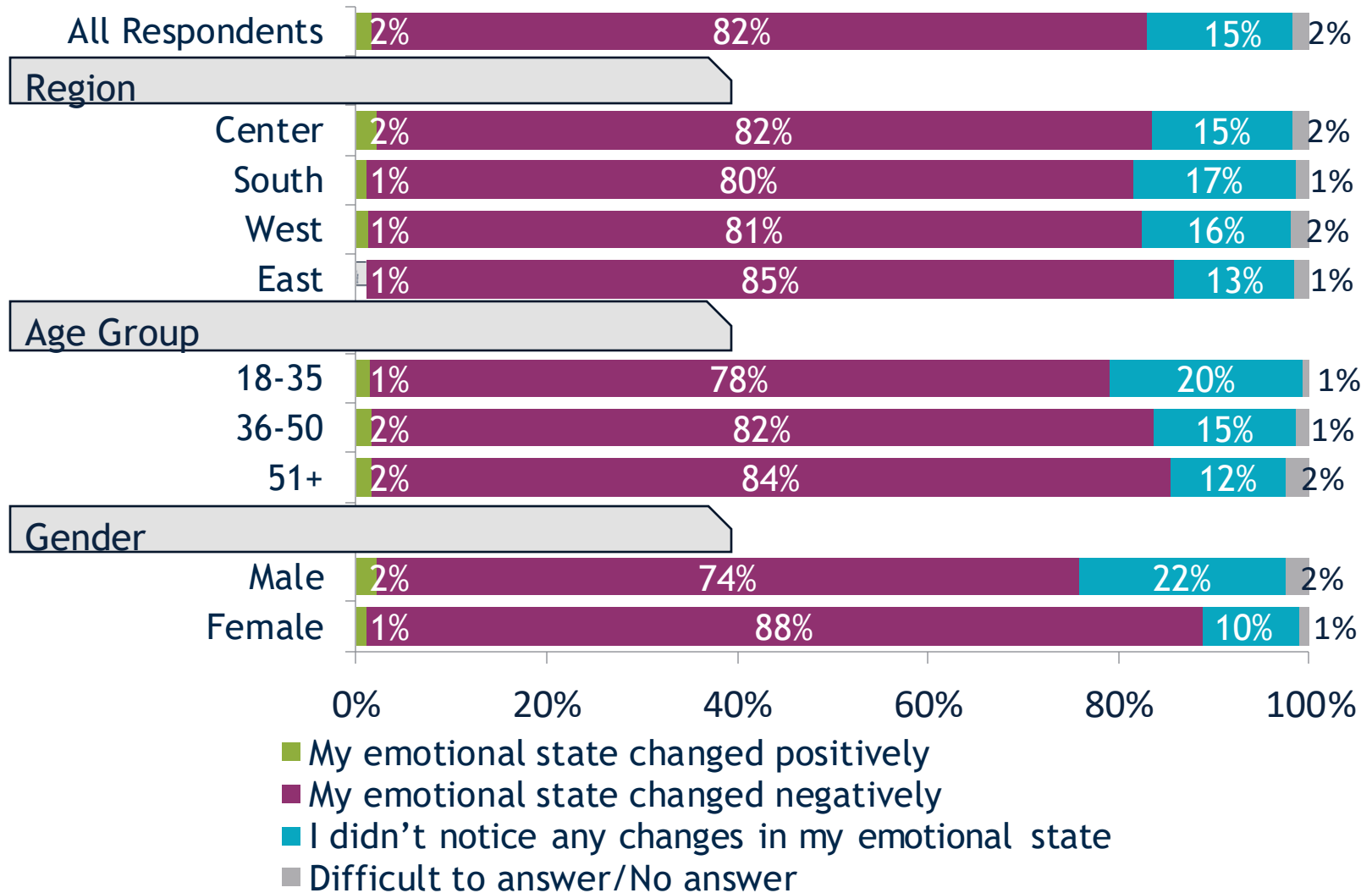
Personal Impacts



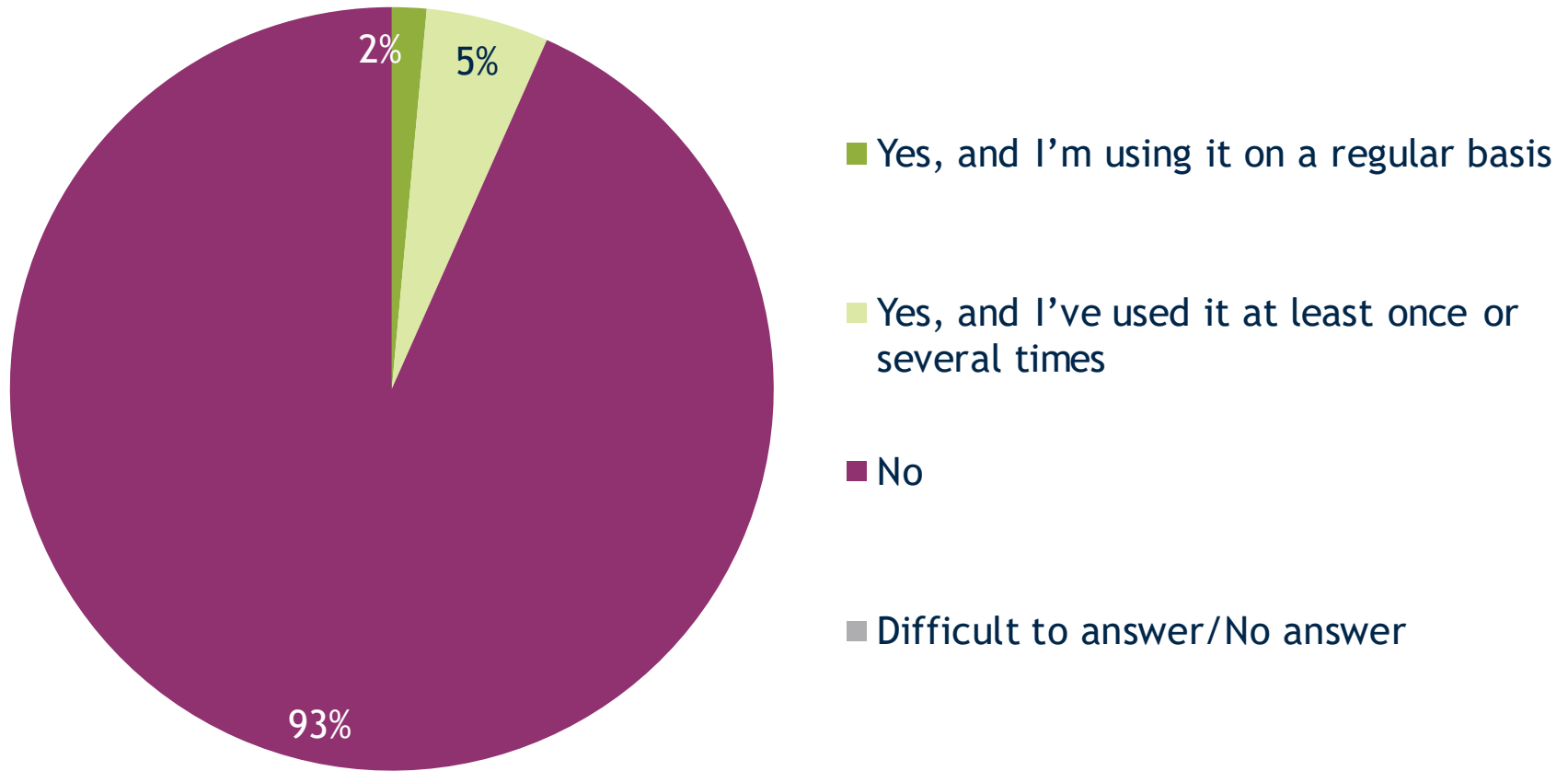
Did you notice any changes in your emotional well-being since the full-scale Russian invasion on February 24, 2022?



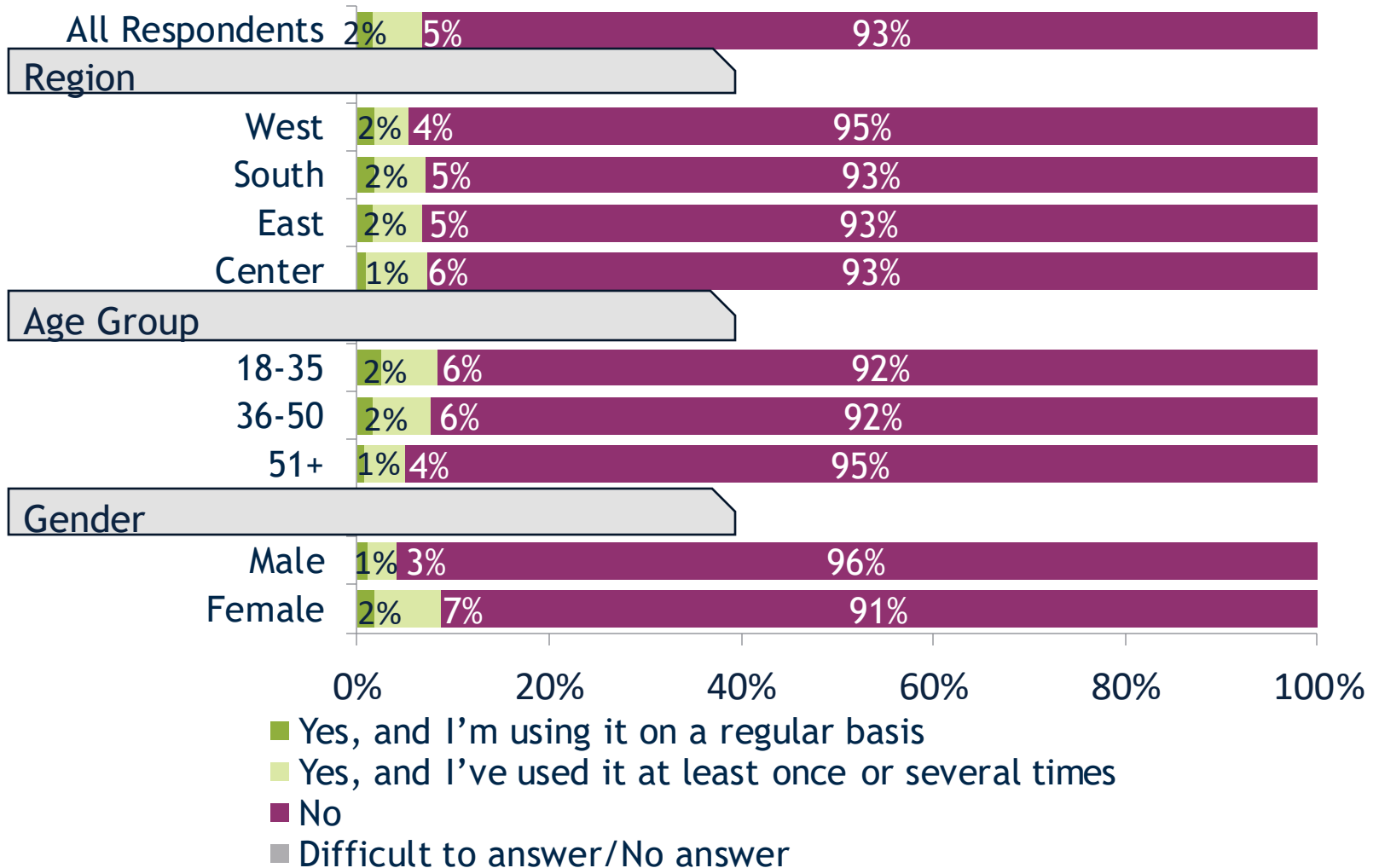
Did you notice any changes in your emotional well-being since the full-scale Russian invasion on February 24, 2022?



Have you used psychological support consultations since the full-scale Russian invasion on February 24, 2022?



Have you used psychological support consultations since the full-scale Russian invasion on February 24, 2022?





If not, why did you not seek psychological counseling?

(Among those who haven't used psychological support consultations since the full-scale Russian invasion, n=1,867) (Multiple responses)



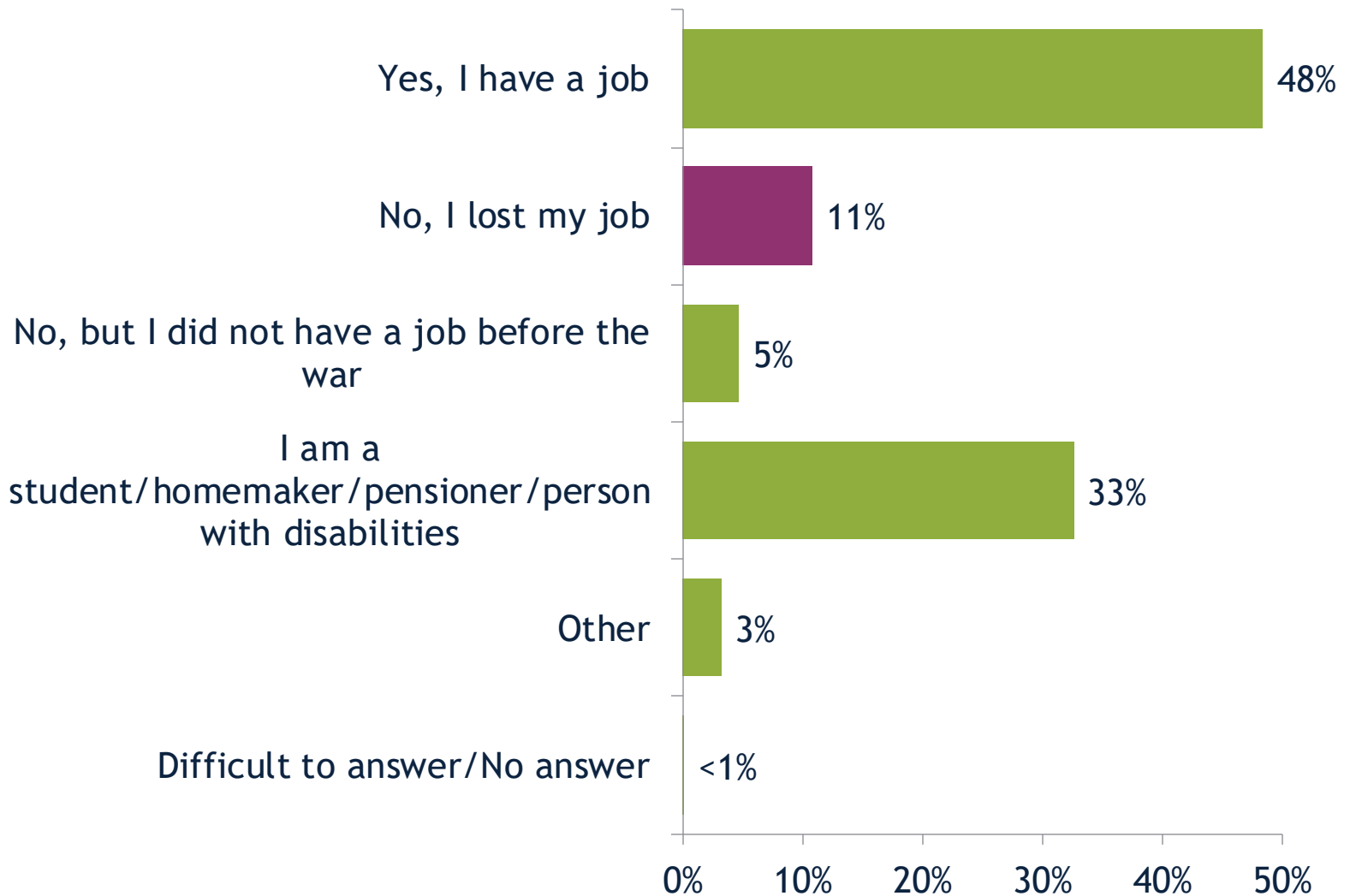


If not, why did you not seek psychological counseling?

(Among those who haven't used psychological support consultations since the full-scale Russian invasion, n=1,867) (Multiple responses)

	Age Group			Region				Gender	
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East	Male	Female
I don't need any psychological support	77%	76%	67%	75%	72%	75%	63%	82%	64%
I have no money for psychological support	11%	11%	19%	15%	13%	14%	15%	9%	19%
There are no specialists in my place of residence	10%	10%	14%	11%	12%	9%	18%	8%	15%
I don't know how to access such services or cannot get a consultation	3%	2%	3%	1%	2%	4%	6%	2%	4%
Other	4%	4%	7%	5%	5%	6%	6%	4%	7%
Difficult to answer/No answer	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%

Do you currently have a job or a means of earning an income?

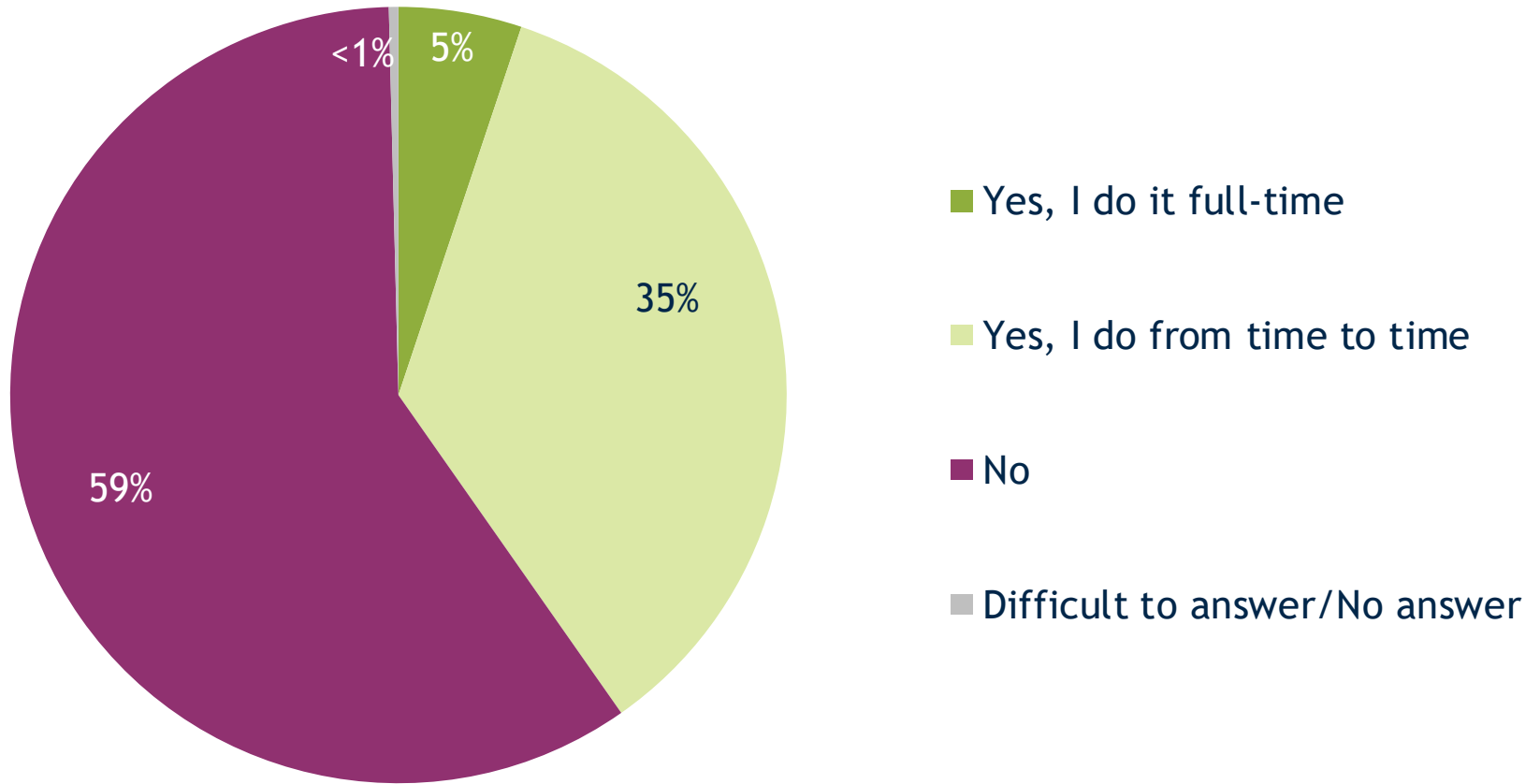




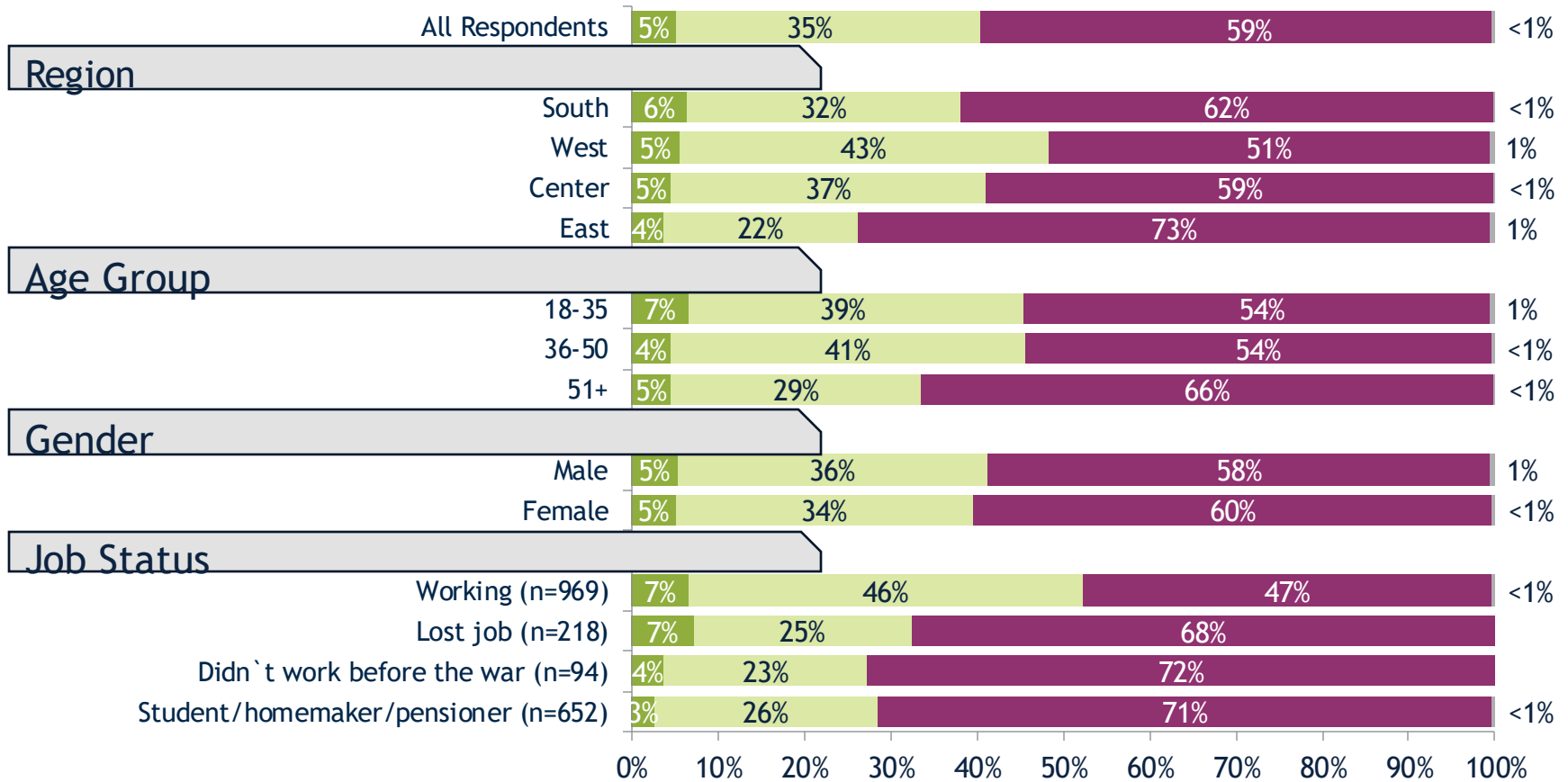
Do you currently have a job or a means of earning an income?

	Age Group			Region				Gender	
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East	Male	Female
Yes, I have a job	63%	66%	28%	53%	49%	49%	36%	55%	43%
No, I lost my job	12%	15%	8%	5%	9%	13%	23%	13%	9%
No, but I did not have a job before the war	4%	5%	5%	5%	6%	3%	3%	3%	6%
I am a student/homemaker/pensioner/person with disabilities	17%	10%	58%	33%	33%	32%	33%	26%	38%
Other	5%	4%	1%	4%	2%	3%	4%	3%	3%
Difficult to answer/No answer	-	1%	-	<1%	<1%	-	<1%	<1%	<1%

Are you involved in volunteering activities?

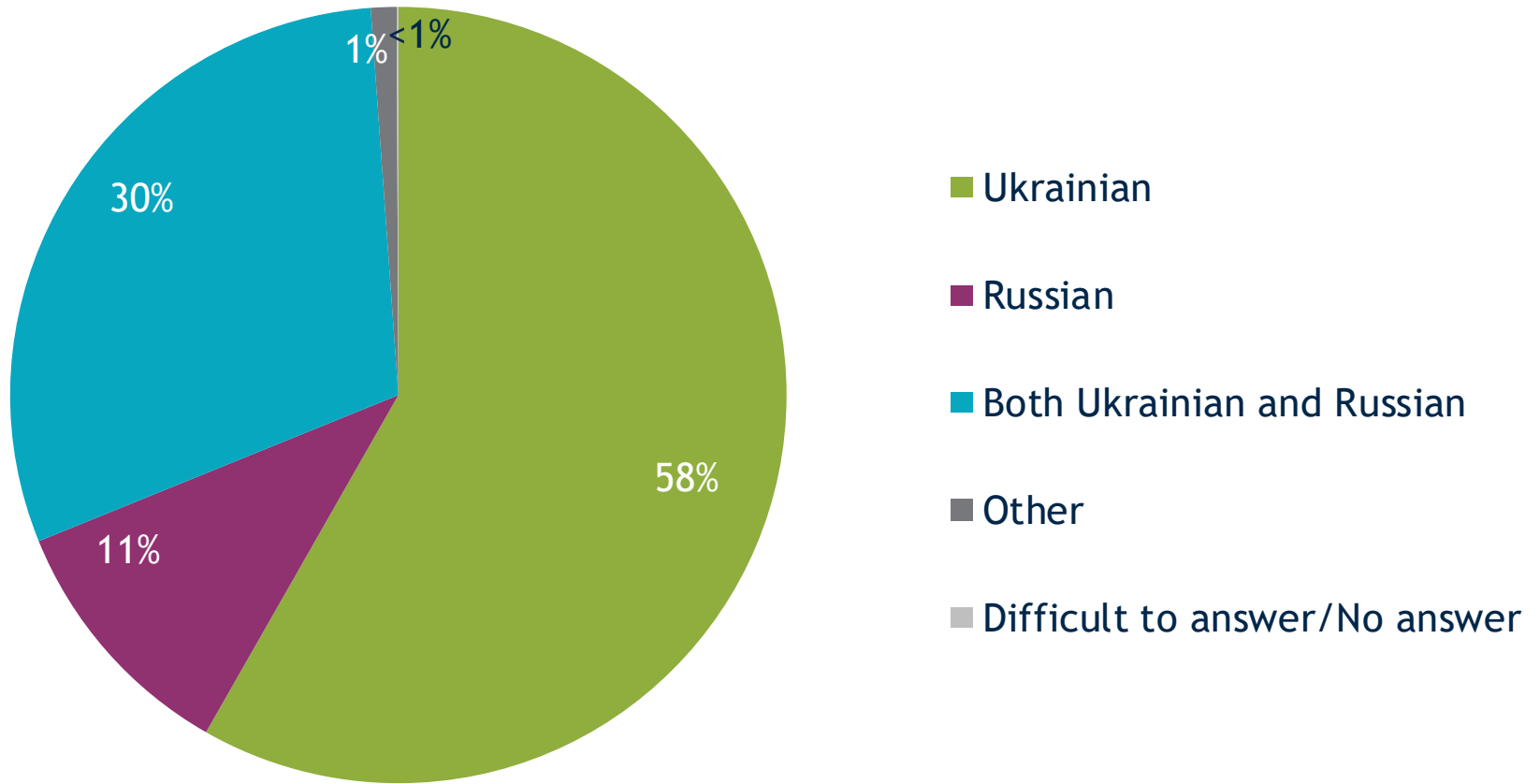


Are you involved in volunteering activities?

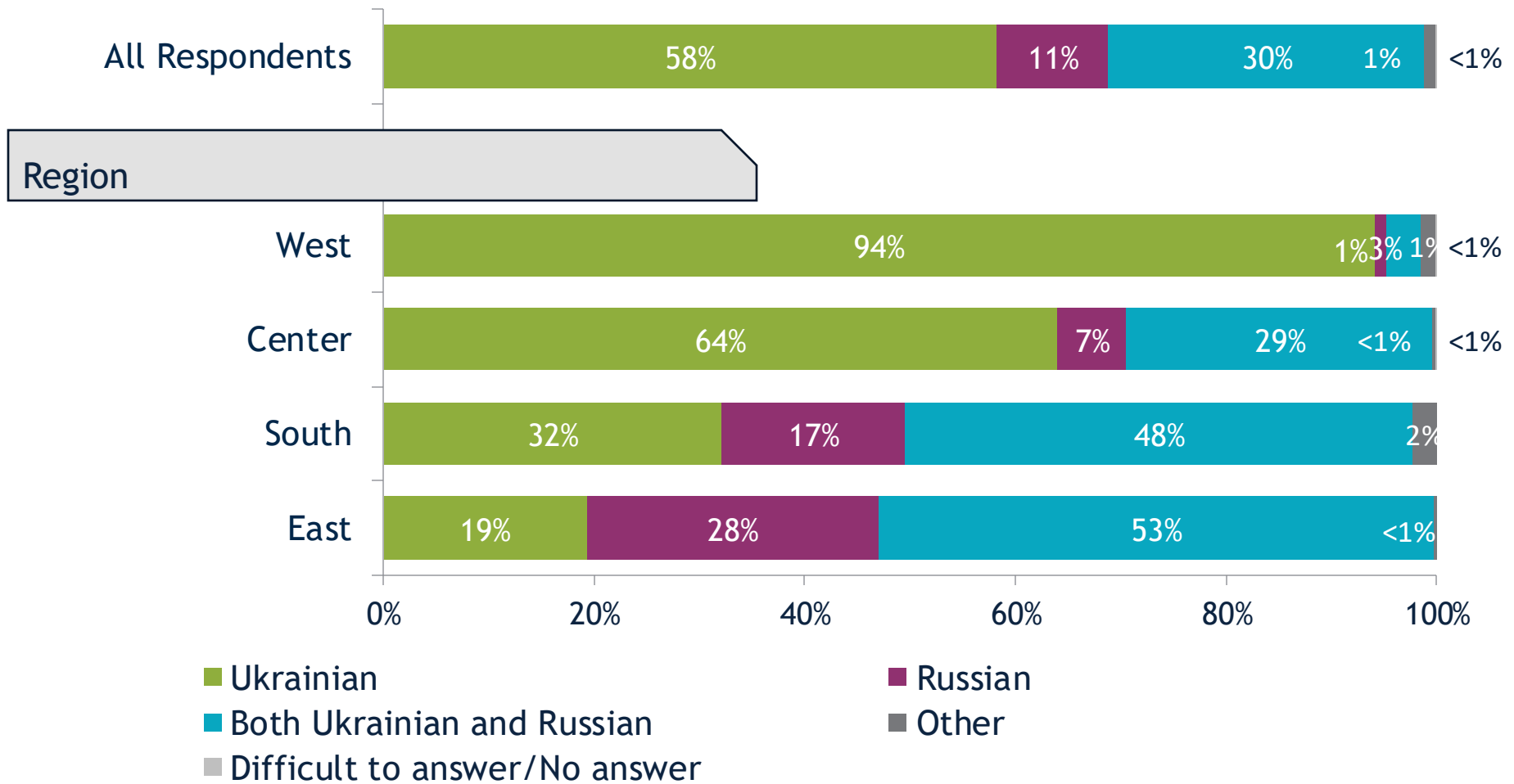


■ Yes, I do it full-time
 ■ Yes, I do from time to time
 ■ No
 ■ Difficult to answer/No answer

Which language do you usually speak at home?

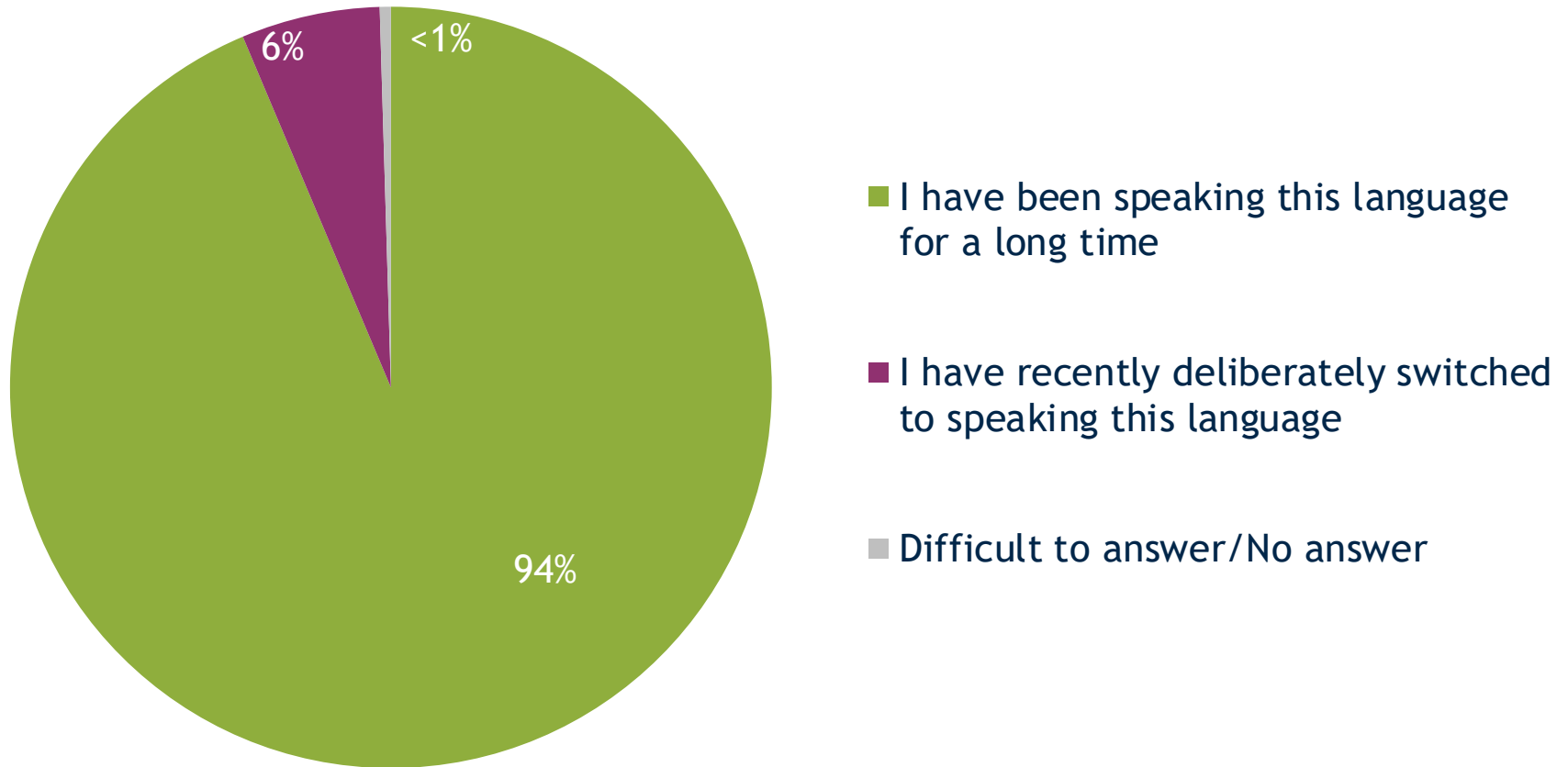


Which language do you usually speak at home?



Have you been speaking this language for a long time or have you specifically switched to this language recently?

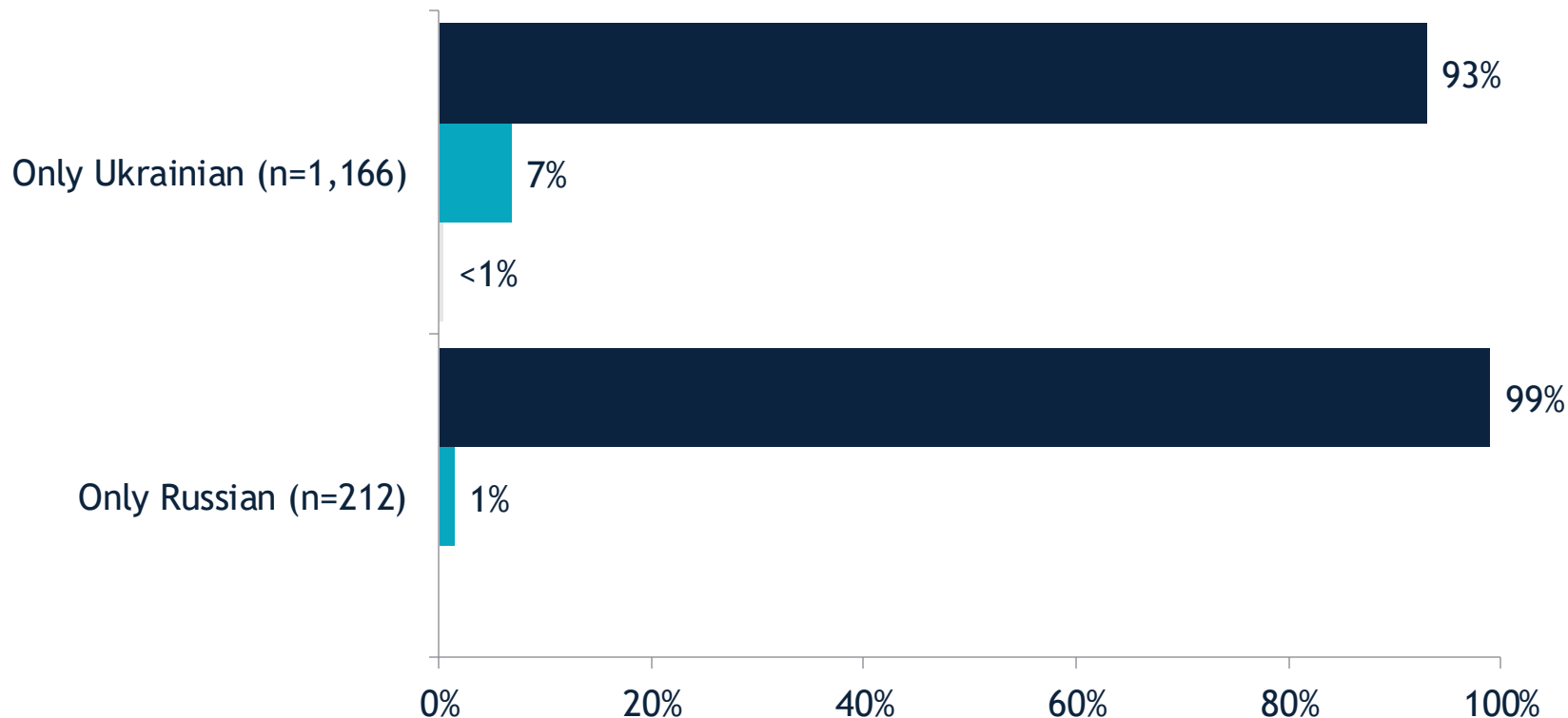
(Among those who usually speak only Ukrainian or only Russian at home, n=1,377)



Have you been speaking this language for a long time or have you specifically switched to this language recently?

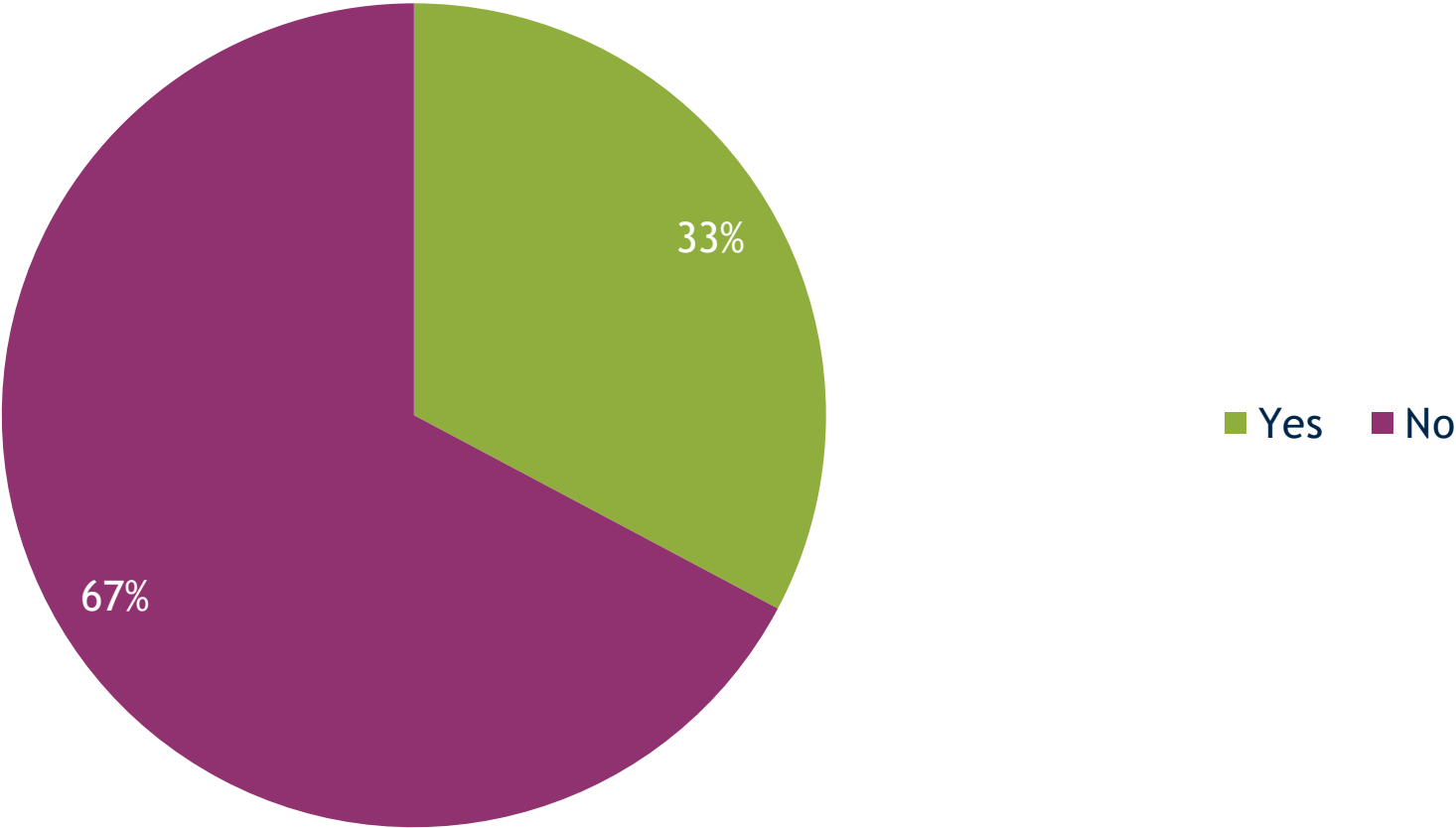
(Among those who usually speak only Ukrainian or only Russian at home)

- I have been speaking this language for a long time
- I have recently deliberately switched to speaking this language
- Difficult to answer/No answer



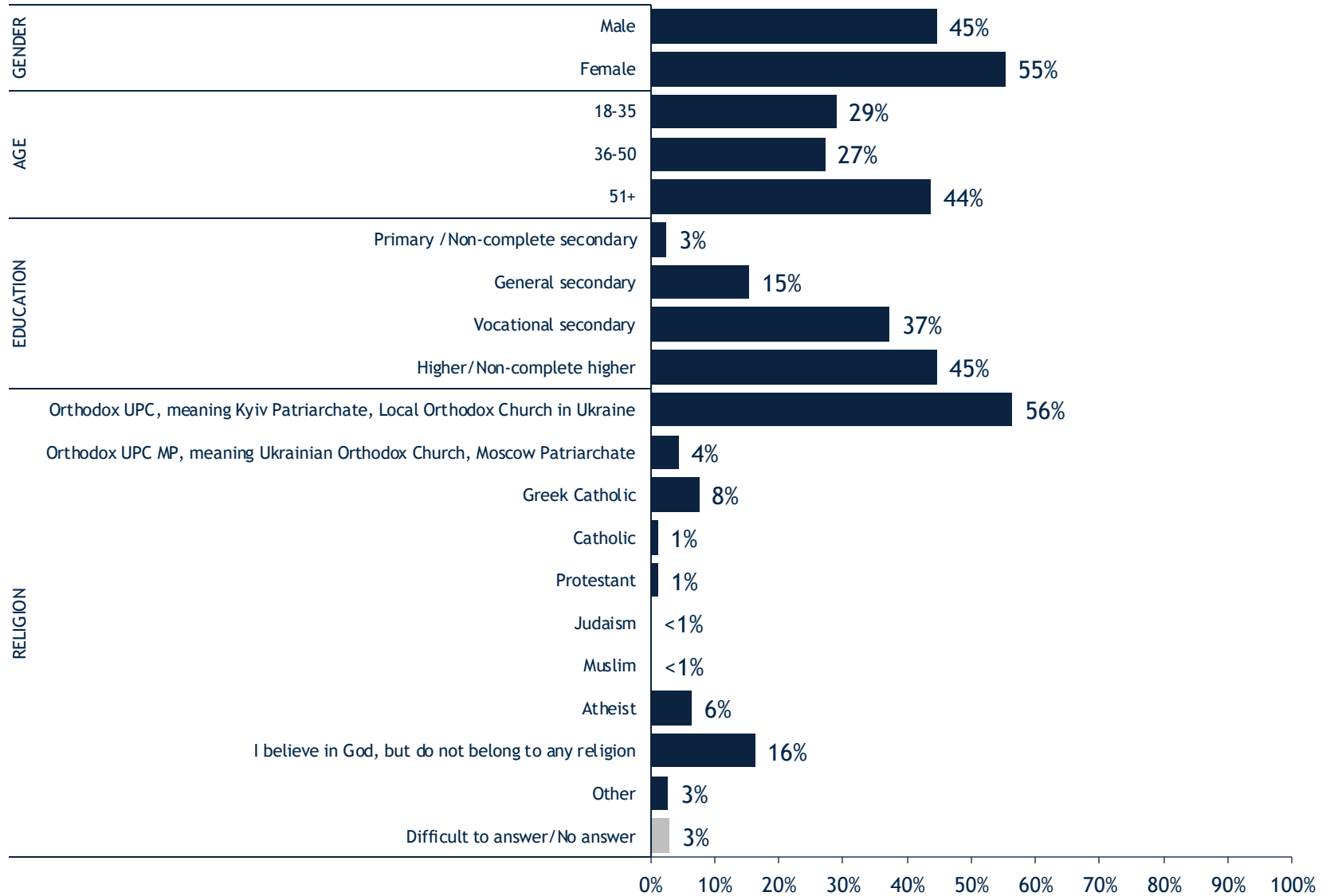


Do you have children under the age of 18 who are staying with you?



Demographics







Oblasts of Residence

	Usual oblast of residence	Current oblast of residence
Vinnytsia	4%	5%
Volyn	3%	3%
Dnipro	8%	10%
Donetsk	4%	2%
Zhytomyr	3%	4%
Zakarpattia	3%	3%
Zaporizhzhia	5%	4%
Ivano-Frankivsk	3%	4%
Kyiv oblast	5%	5%
Kirovohrad	2%	3%
Luhansk	2%	-
Lviv	7%	7%



Oblasts of Residence

	Usual oblast of residence	Current oblast of residence
Mykolayiv	3%	3%
Odesa	6%	7%
Poltava	4%	4%
Rivne	3%	3%
Sumy	3%	3%
Ternopil	3%	3%
Kharkiv	7%	6%
Kherson	3%	1%
Khmelnysky	3%	4%
Cherkasy	3%	4%
Chernivtsi	2%	3%
Chernihiv	3%	2%
Kyiv	8%	9%

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