

# NATIONAL SURVEY OF UKRAINE

September 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 September 9-12, 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) and age indicators using data by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine as of January 1, 2022. 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  $\pm 2.2$  percentage points for the full sample.
- The response rate was 12 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 = 546
	51+	n = 874
Gender	Male	n = 933
	Female	n = 1,067

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

## Geographical Key



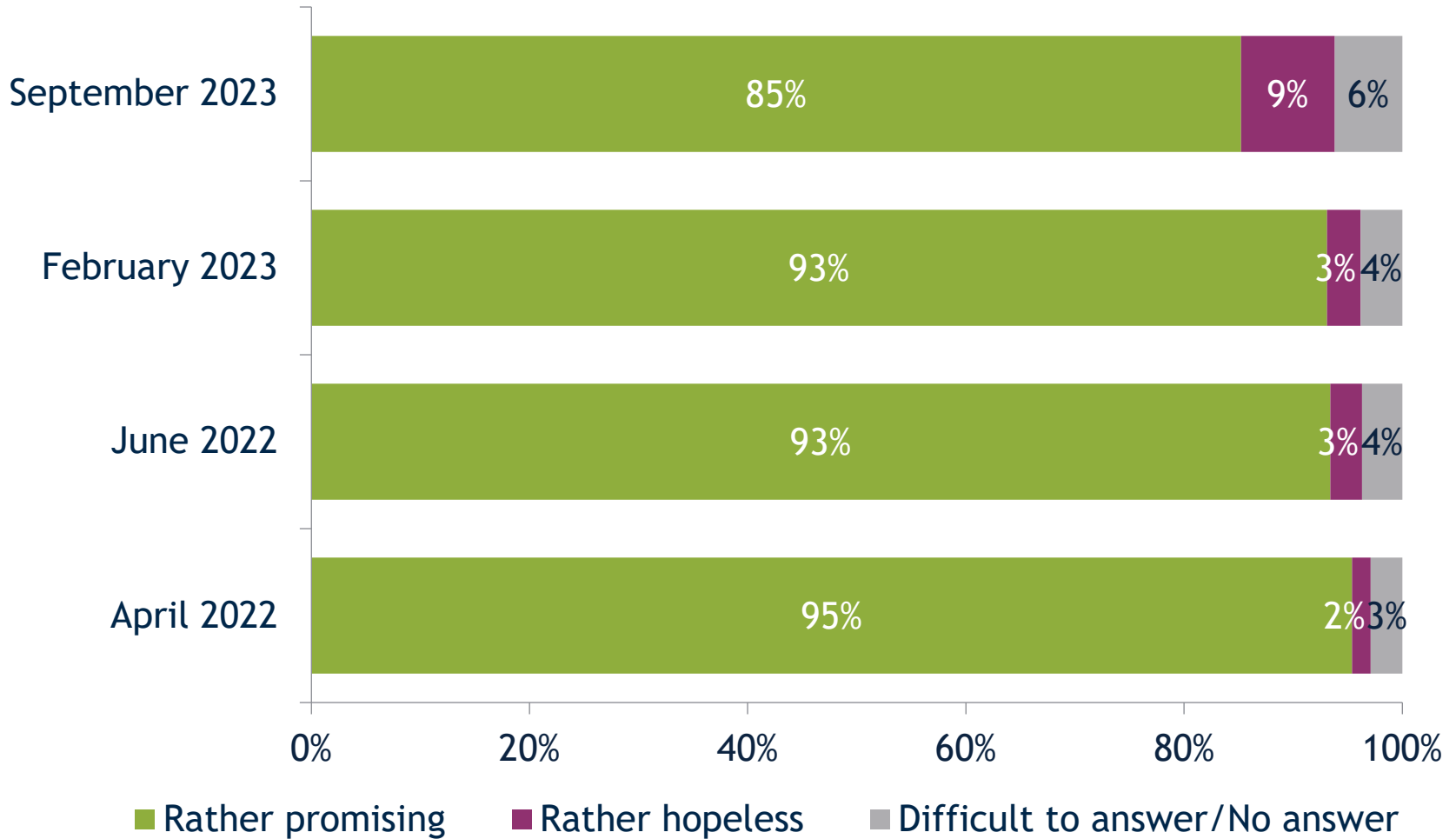
\*The map represents territories that are currently under control of the Ukrainian government after February 24, 2022. Due to the Russian occupation of Crimea and ongoing war in the East and South of Ukraine, citizens of Crimea and parts 4 of Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhia oblasts controlled by the occupiers did not participate in the survey.

# Current Events



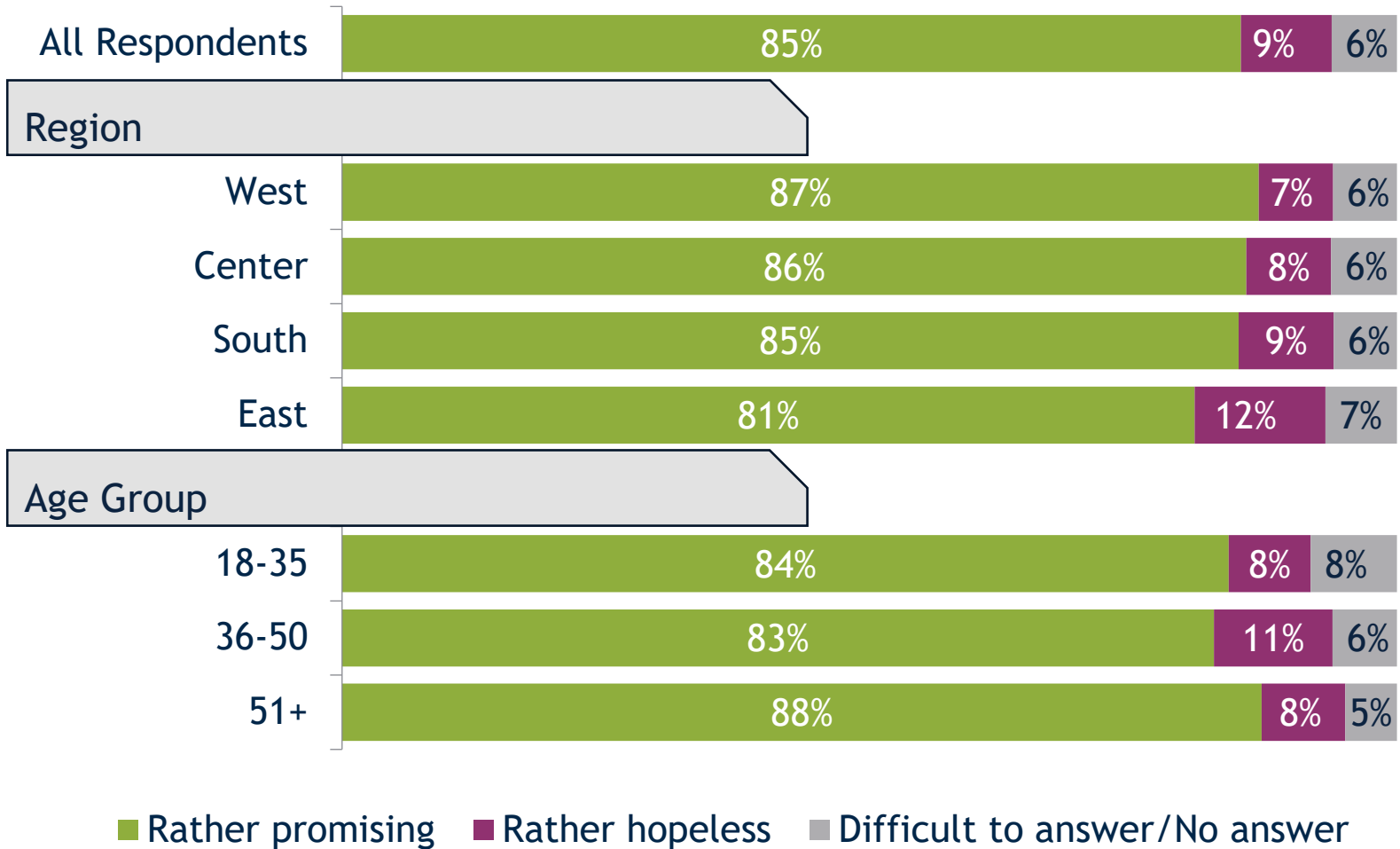


# How do you see the future of Ukraine?

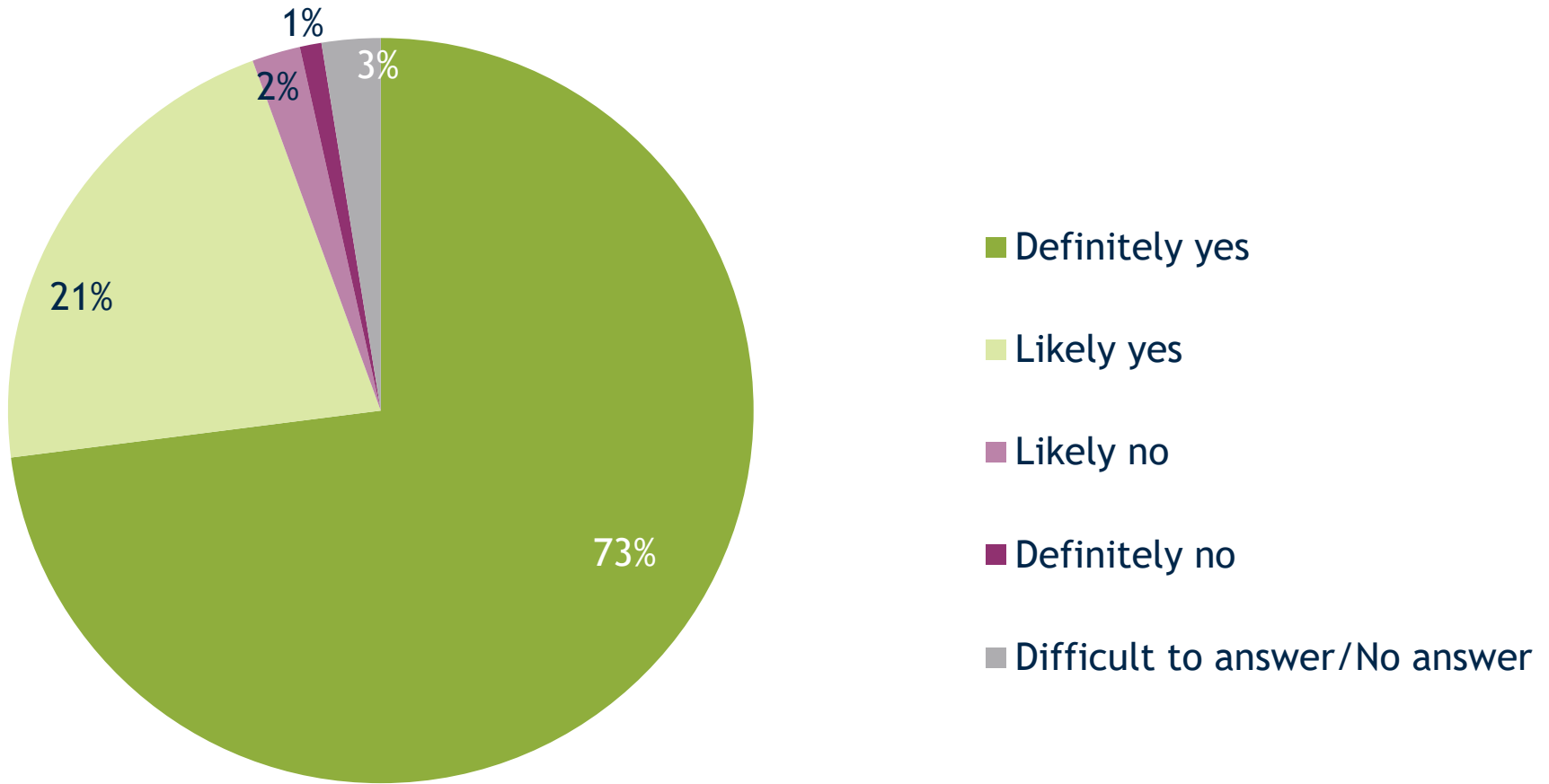




# How do you see the future of Ukraine?



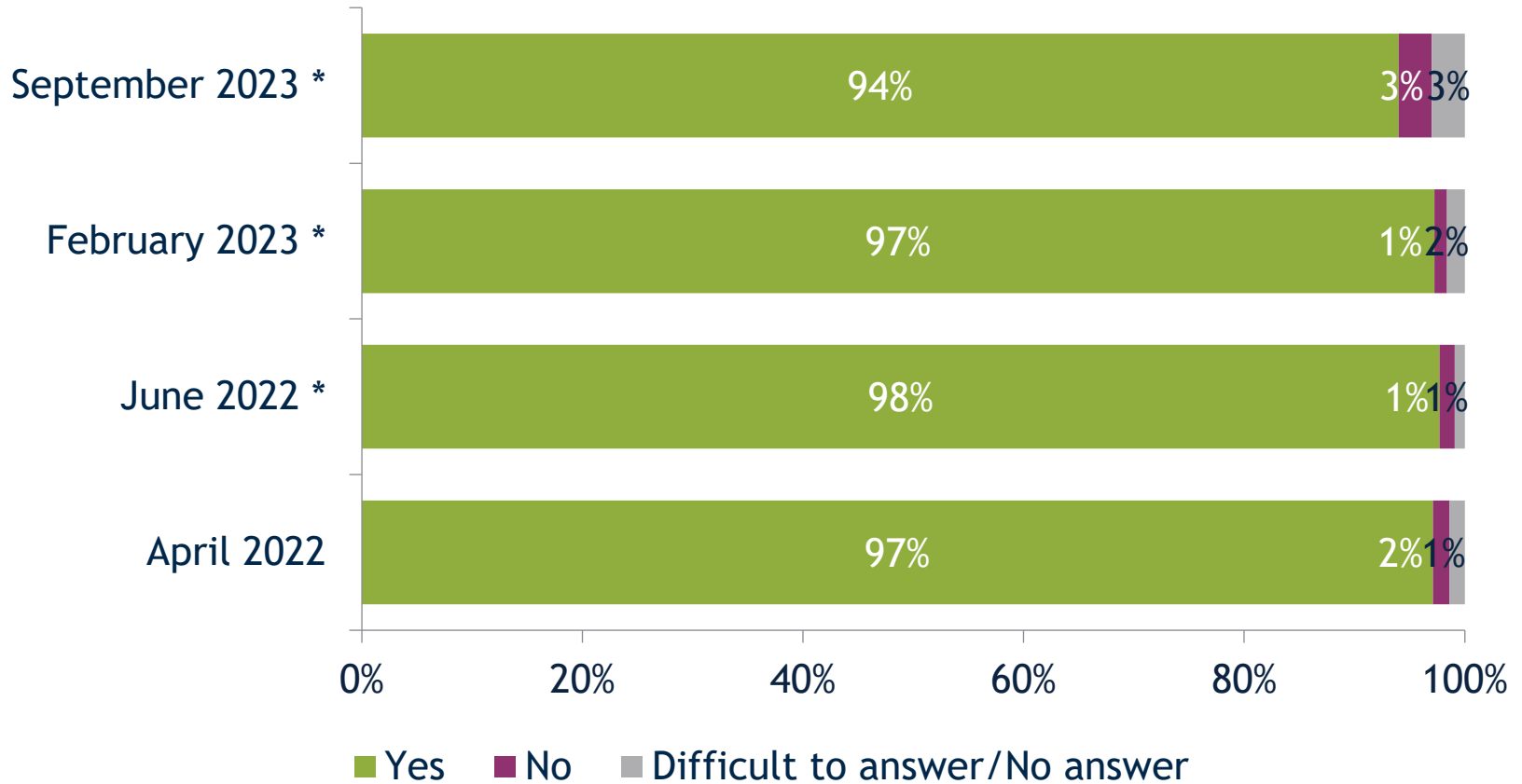
# Do you believe that Ukraine will win the war?





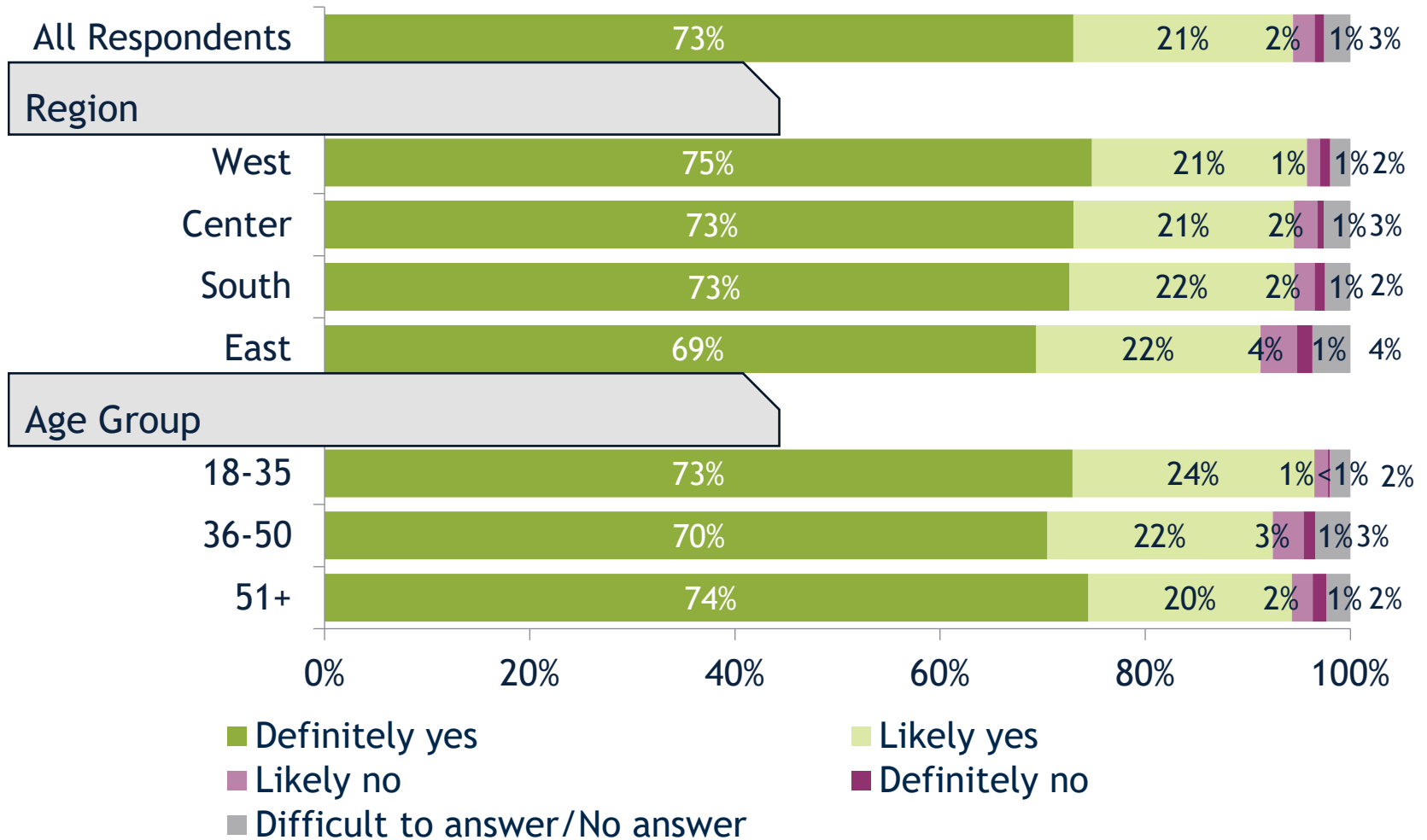


# Do you believe that Ukraine will win the war?



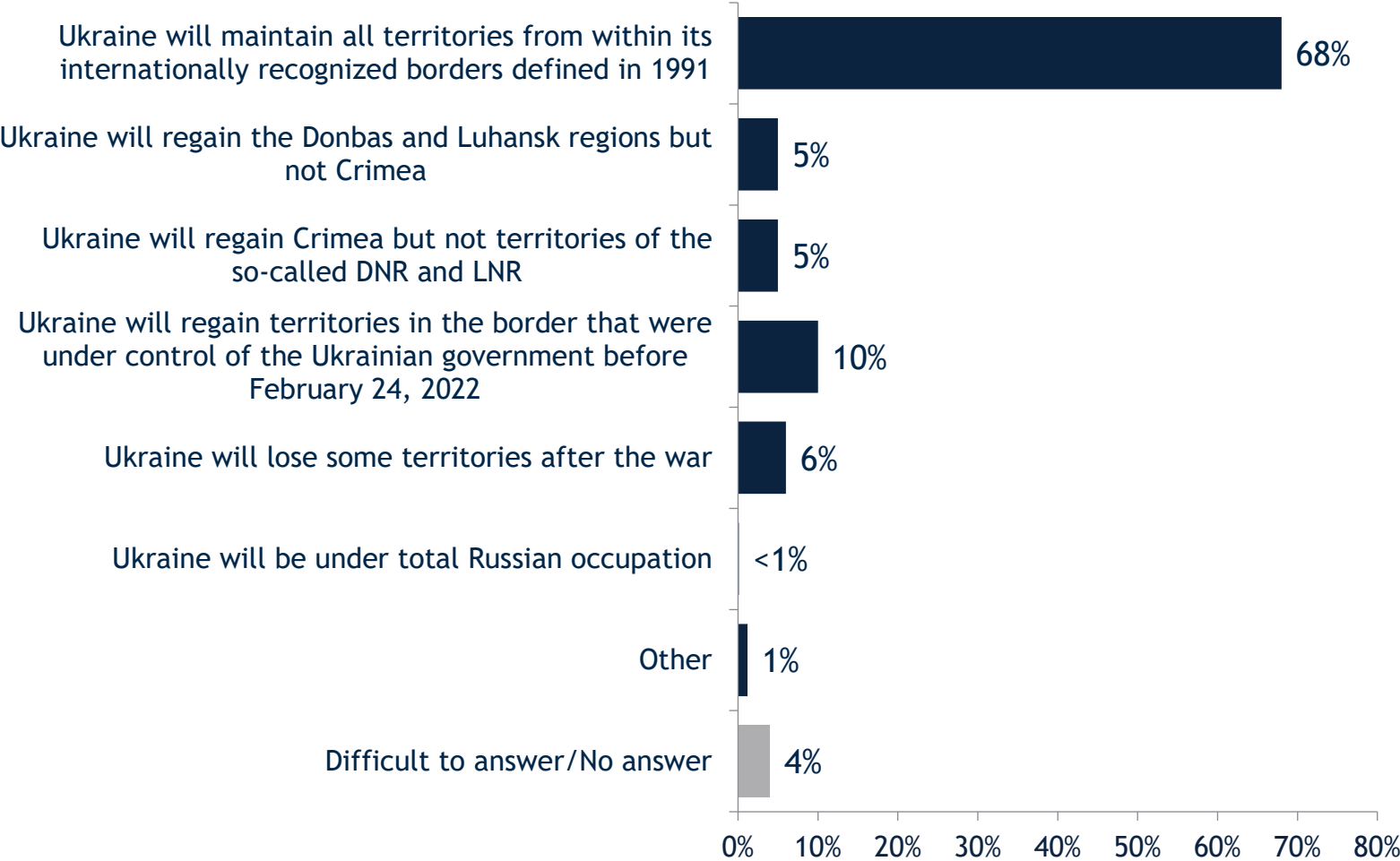
\* “Yes” consists of the merged responses “Definitely yes” and “Likely yes”; “No” consists of the merged responses “Likely no” and “Definitely no”

# 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	September 2023
Ukraine will maintain all territories from within its internationally recognized borders defined in 1991	53%	64%	74%	68%
Ukraine will regain the Donbas and Luhansk regions but not Crimea	16%	10%	8%	5%
Ukraine will regain Crimea but not territories of the so-called DNR and LNR	2%	2%	2%	5%
Ukraine will regain territories in the border that were under control of the Ukrainian government before February 24,2022	22%	14%	9%	10%
Ukraine will lose some territories after the war	4%	7%	3%	6%
Ukraine will be under total Russian occupation	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%
Other	1%	1%	1%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	3%	3%	3%	4%

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

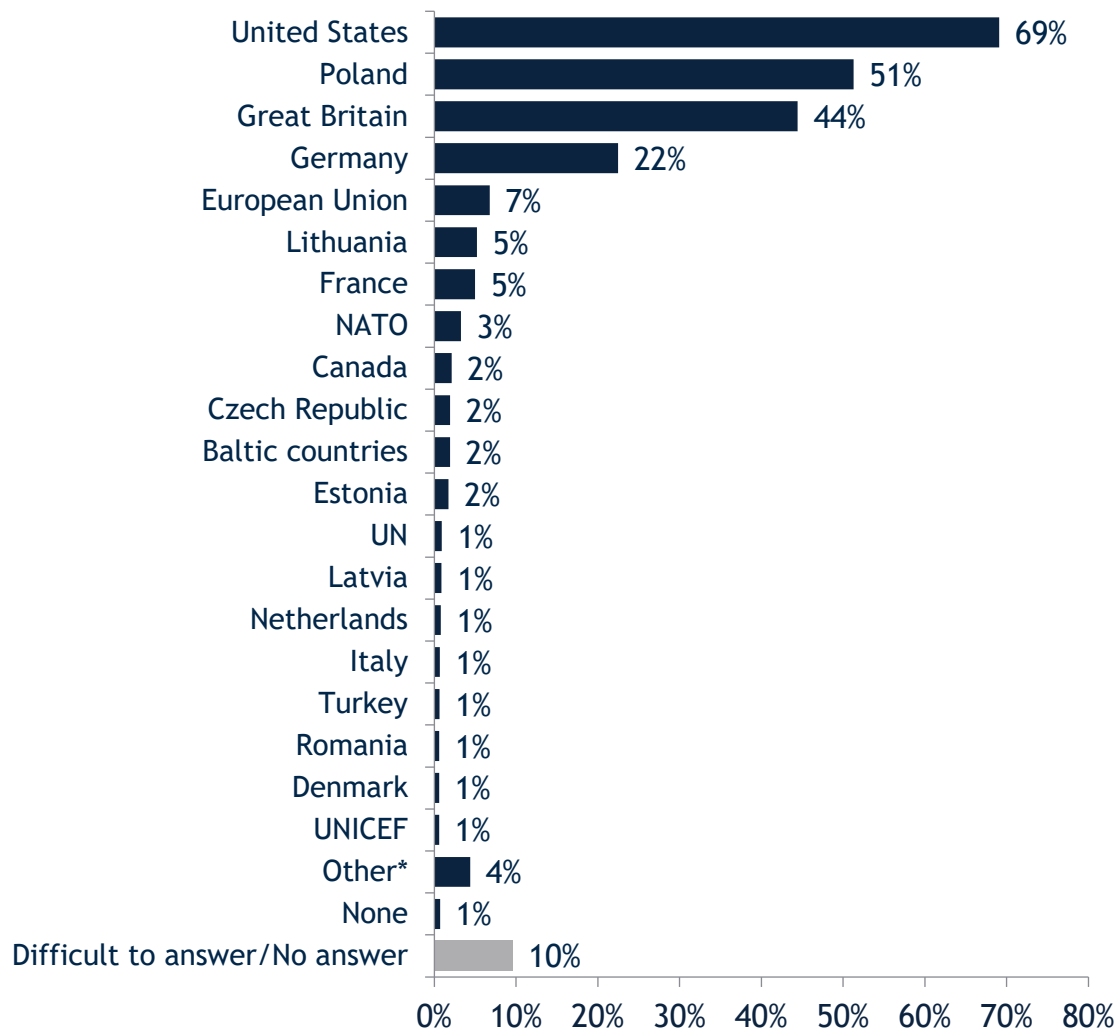
	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
Ukraine will maintain all territories from within its internationally recognized borders defined in 1991	65%	66%	72%	69%	71%	66%	64%
Ukraine will regain the Donbas and Luhansk regions but not Crimea	7%	5%	5%	5%	6%	5%	6%
Ukraine will regain Crimea but not territories of the so-called DNR and LNR	8%	5%	4%	6%	4%	6%	4%
Ukraine will regain territories in the border that were under control of the Ukrainian government before February 24, 2022	13%	10%	8%	10%	8%	11%	12%
Ukraine will lose some territories after the war	4%	7%	5%	5%	5%	5%	7%
Ukraine will be under total Russian occupation	-	1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%
Other	<1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	3%	4%	4%	2%	4%	4%	5%

# 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)



\*Responses less than 1% are collapsed into 'other'

# 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)

	April 2022	June 2022	February 2023	September 2023
United States	54%	64%	71%	69%
Poland	67%	66%	71%	51%
Great Britain	56%	60%	48%	44%
Germany	1%	7%	17%	22%
European Union	2%	5%	6%	7%
Lithuania	4%	10%	7%	5%
France	7%	3%	5%	5%
NATO	3%	1%	2%	3%
Canada	8%	3%	2%	2%
Czech Republic	2%	1%	2%	2%
Baltic countries	1%	-	2%	2%
Estonia	-	3%	3%	2%
United Nations	-	1%	1%	1%
Latvia	-	3%	1%	1%
Netherlands	**	**	**	1%
Italy	**	**	**	1%
Turkey	1%	1%	1%	1%
Romania	7%	1%	<1%	1%
Denmark	**	**	**	1%
UNICEF	**	**	**	1%
Other*	26%	3%	4%	6%
None	1%	1%	<1%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	7%	6%	7%	10%

\*Responses less than 1% in September 2023 are collapsed into 'other'

\*\*Received less than 1% in this poll and was included in 'other'



# 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)

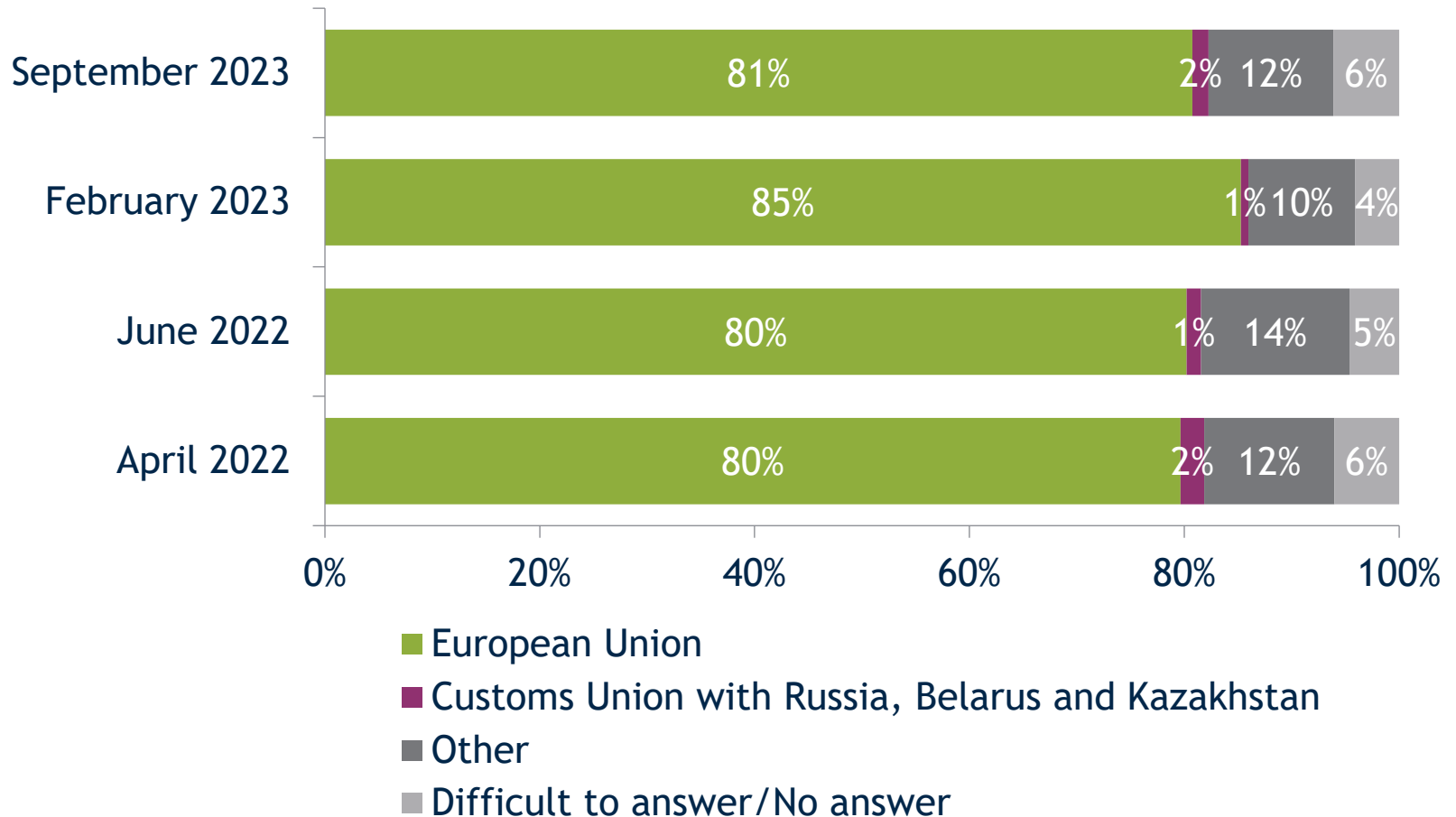
	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
United States	63%	67%	74%	68%	71%	67%	68%
Poland	54%	50%	50%	58%	50%	51%	42%
Great Britain	39%	43%	49%	46%	46%	44%	37%
Germany	20%	20%	26%	19%	21%	25%	28%
European Union	8%	6%	6%	6%	7%	7%	7%
Lithuania	5%	6%	5%	6%	5%	5%	5%
France	5%	4%	6%	3%	5%	7%	6%
NATO	5%	3%	2%	4%	3%	2%	3%
Canada	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Czech Republic	1%	2%	2%	3%	1%	2%	2%
Baltic countries	1%	3%	2%	3%	2%	2%	<1%
Estonia	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%
UN	1%	1%	1%	1%	<1%	1%	2%
Latvia	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	<1%
Netherlands	2%	<1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
Italy	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	<1%	1%
Turkey	1%	<1%	1%	1%	<1%	1%	1%
Romania	<1%	2%	<1%	1%	-	1%	1%
Denmark	1%	<1%	1%	<1%	<1%	1%	<1%
UNICEF	2%	1%	<1%	1%	<1%	1%	2%
Other*	8%	6%	5%	5%	7%	6%	9%
None	1%	1%	<1%	<1%	1%	1%	-
Difficult to answer/No answer	12%	10%	7%	9%	9%	10%	10%

\*responses less than 1% are collapsed into 'other'

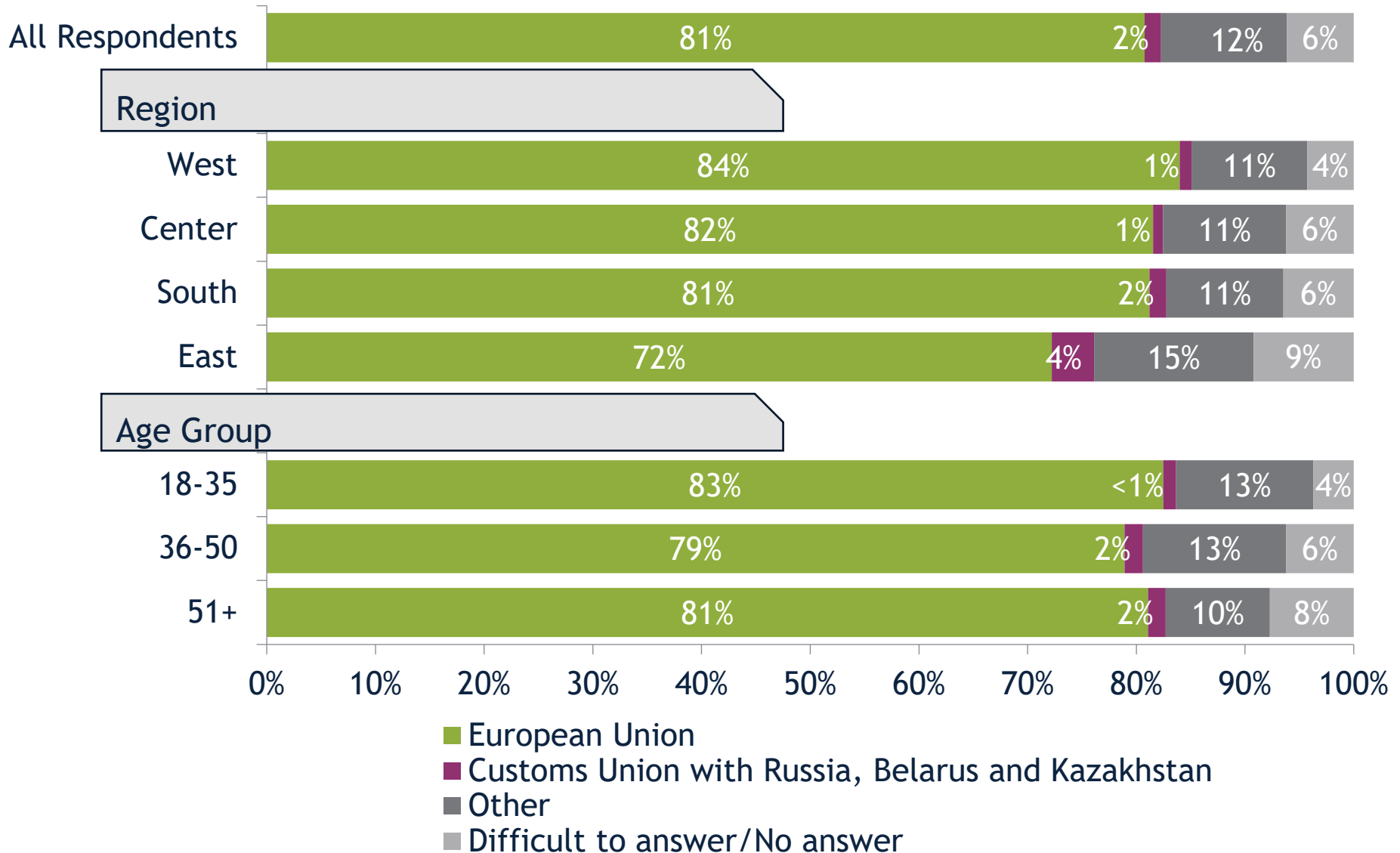
# Geopolitical Alignment



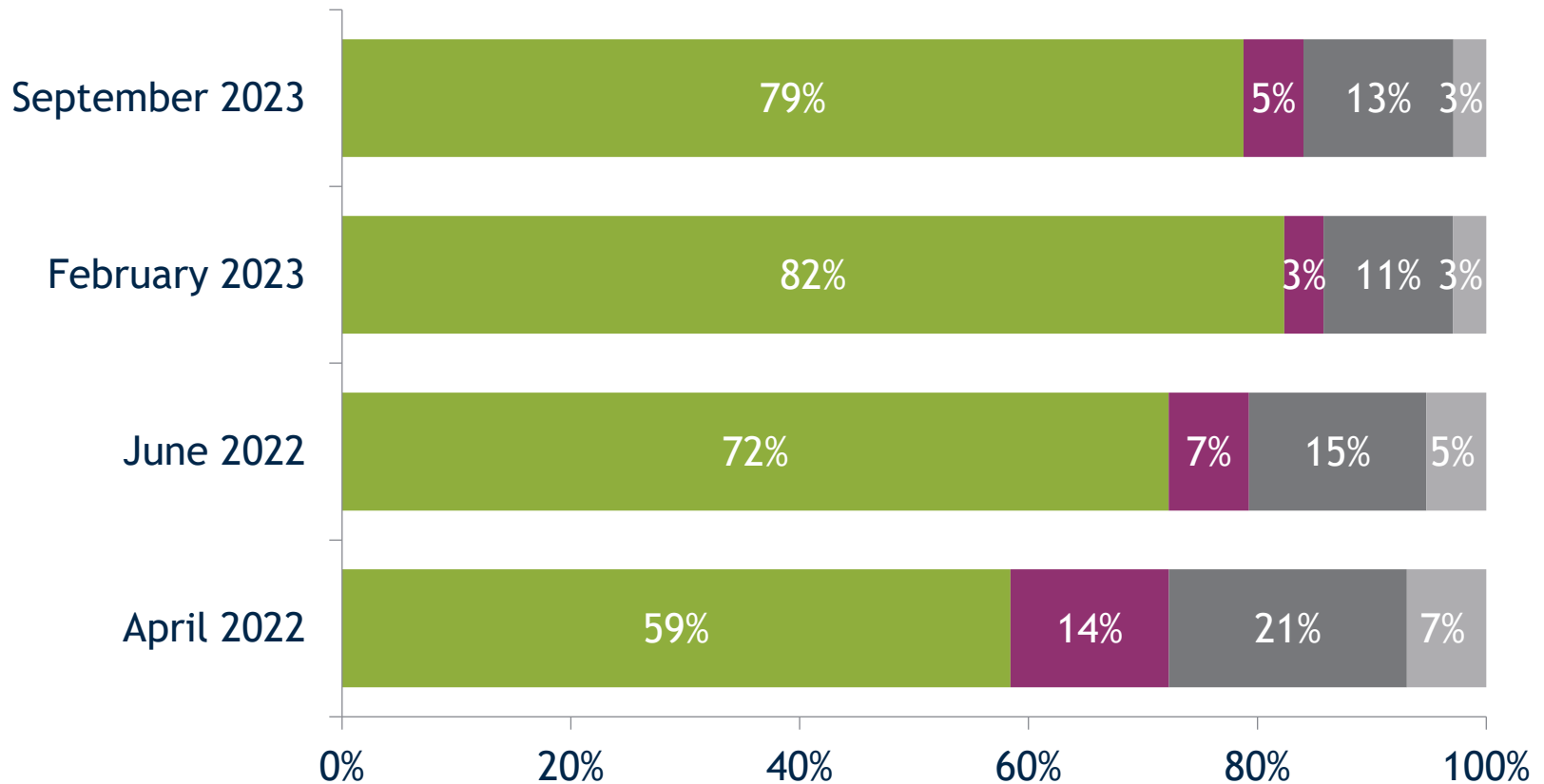
# If Ukraine was able to enter only one international economic union, which one of the following should it be?



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

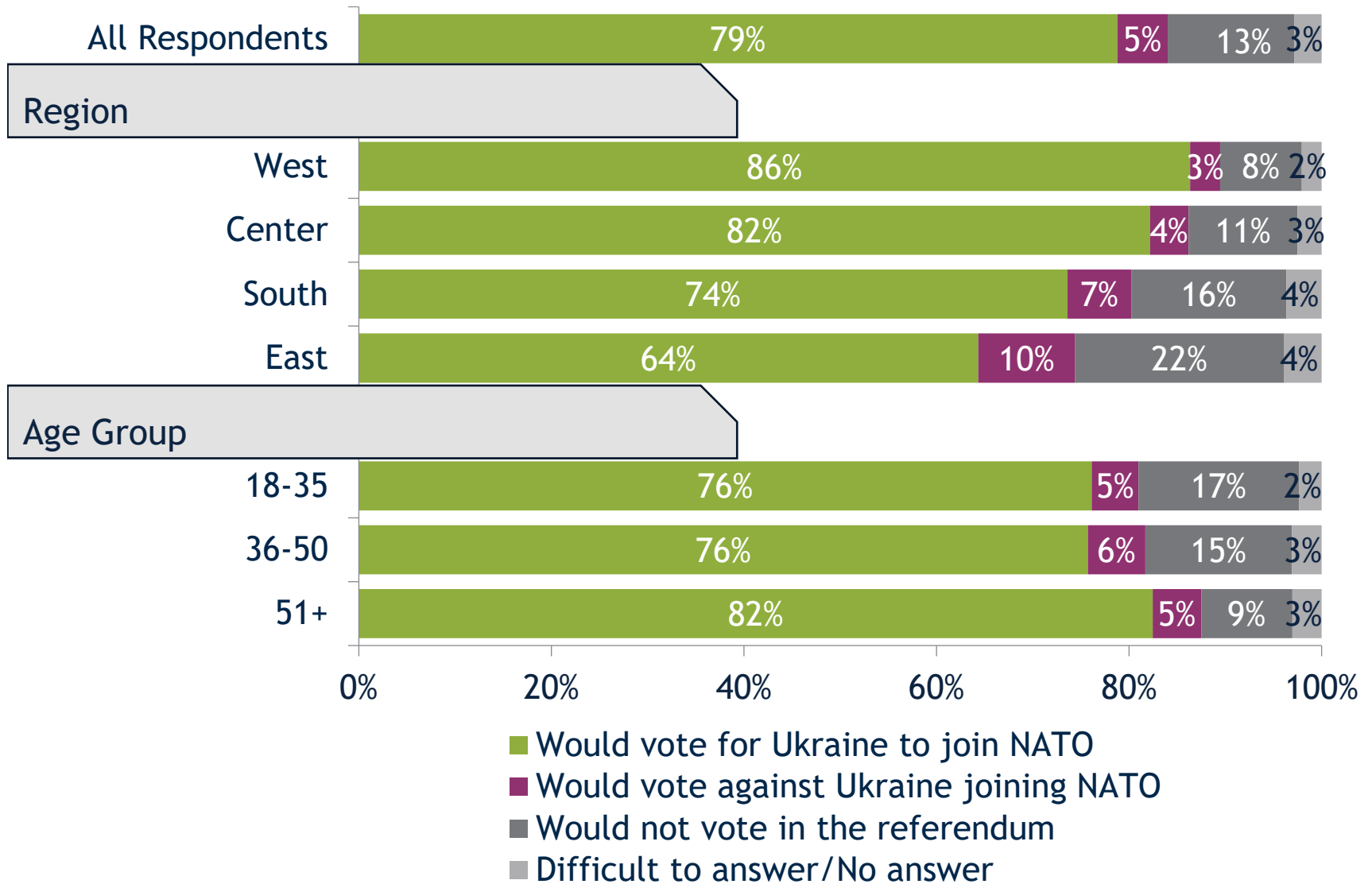


# If a referendum was held today on Ukraine joining NATO, how would you vote?



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

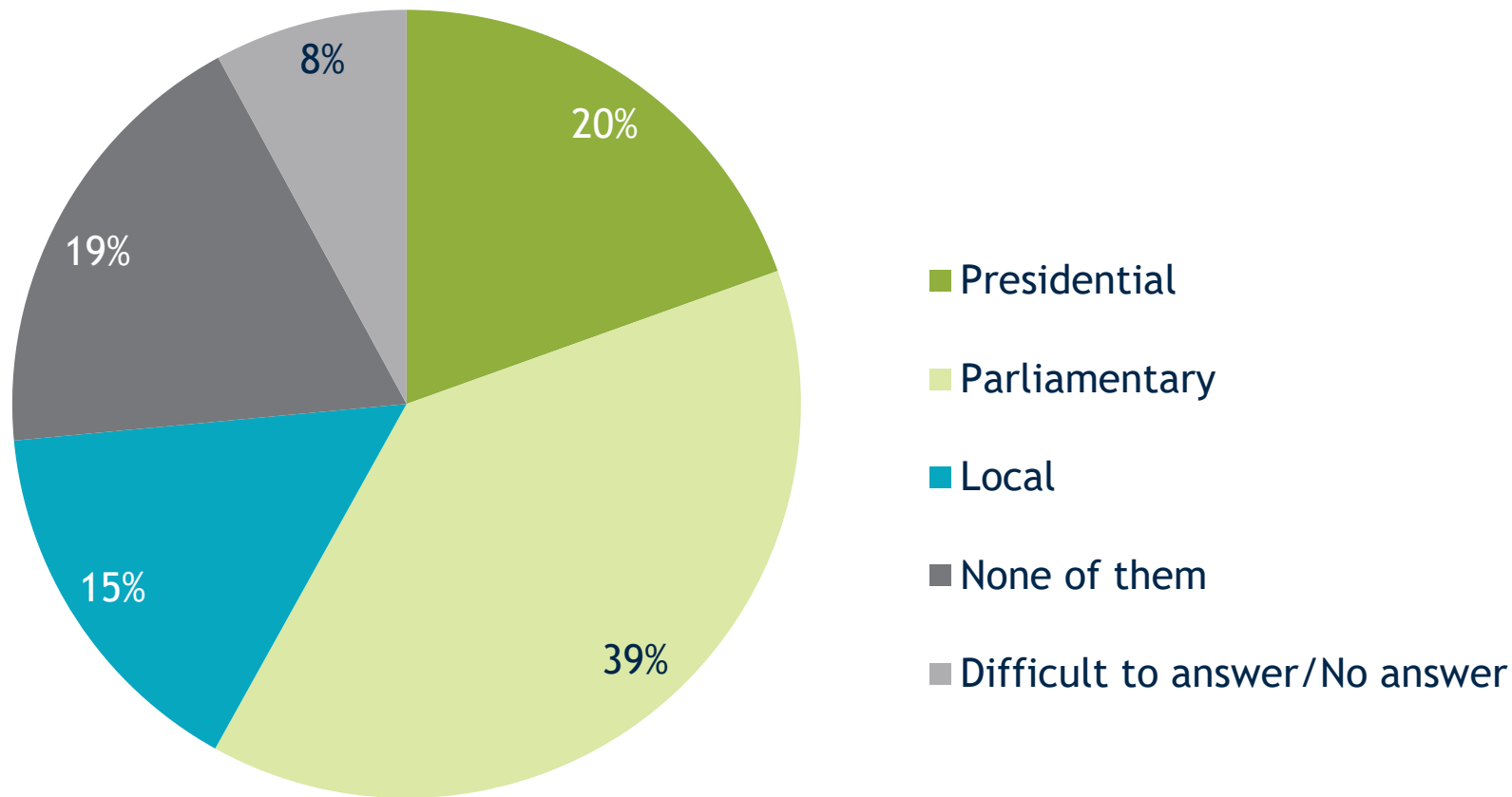
# If a referendum was held today on Ukraine joining NATO, how would you vote?



# Elections

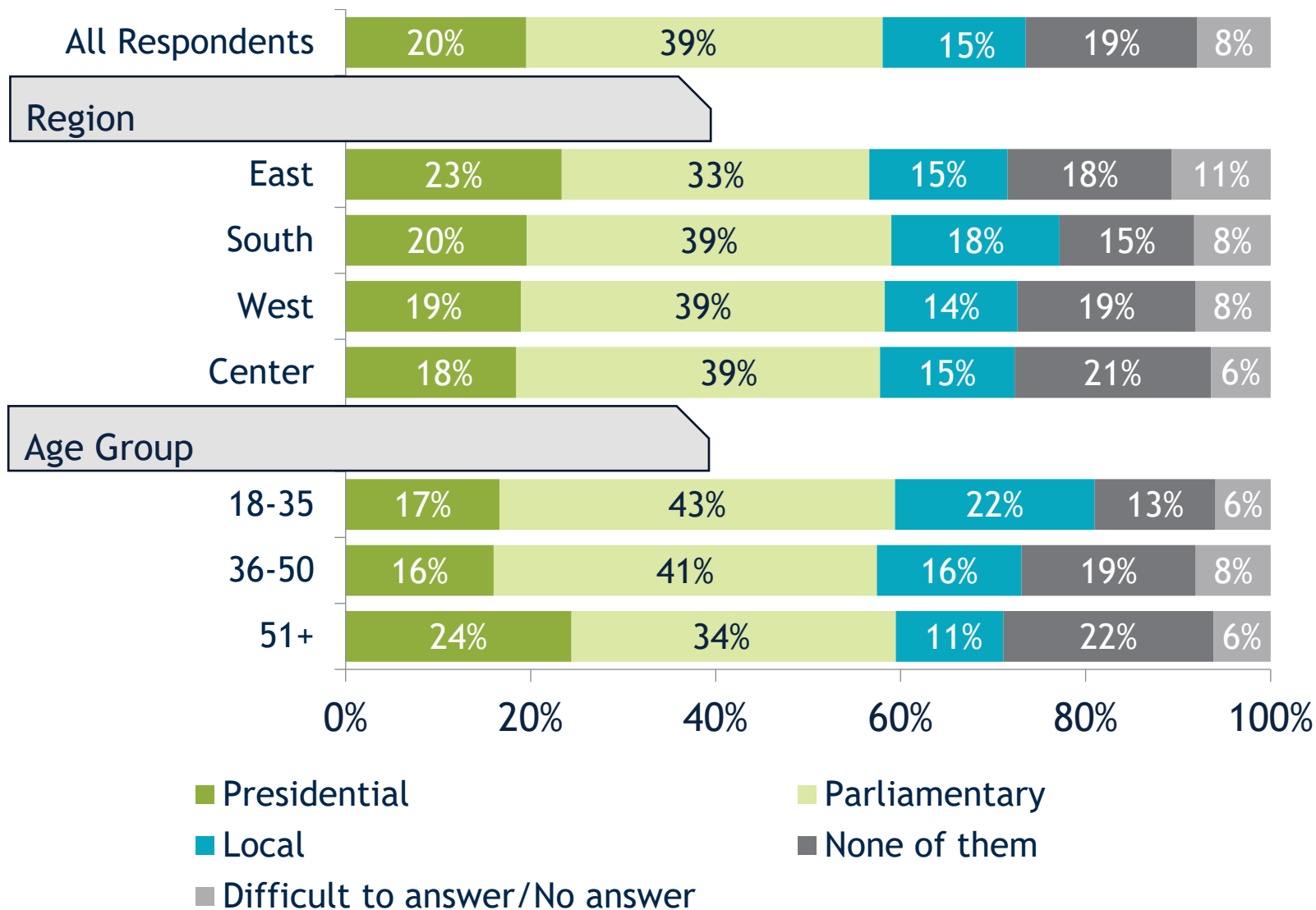


If not for the war, Ukraine would be preparing for the elections. Which type of elections do you think should be held in the current wartime environment?

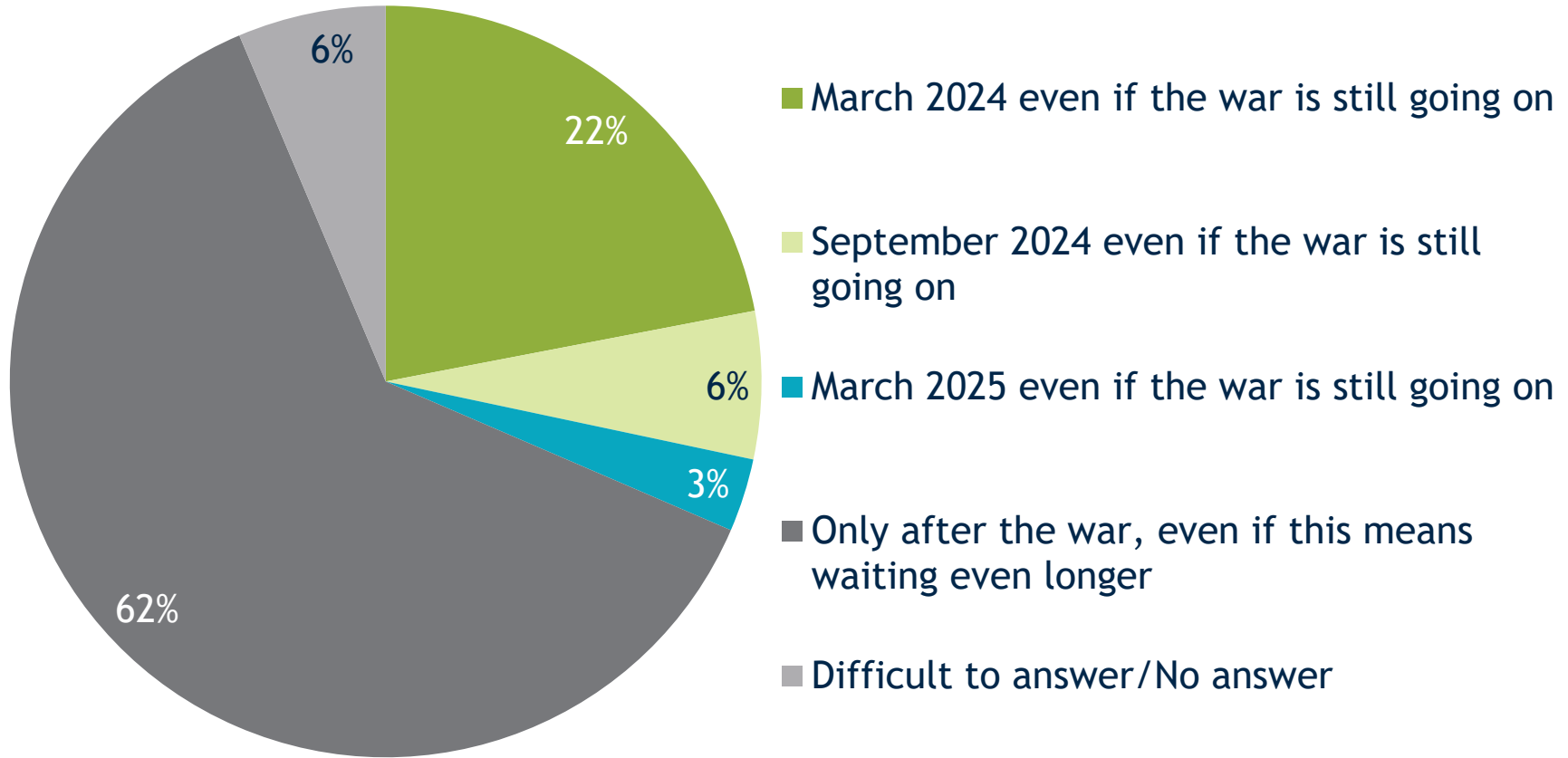




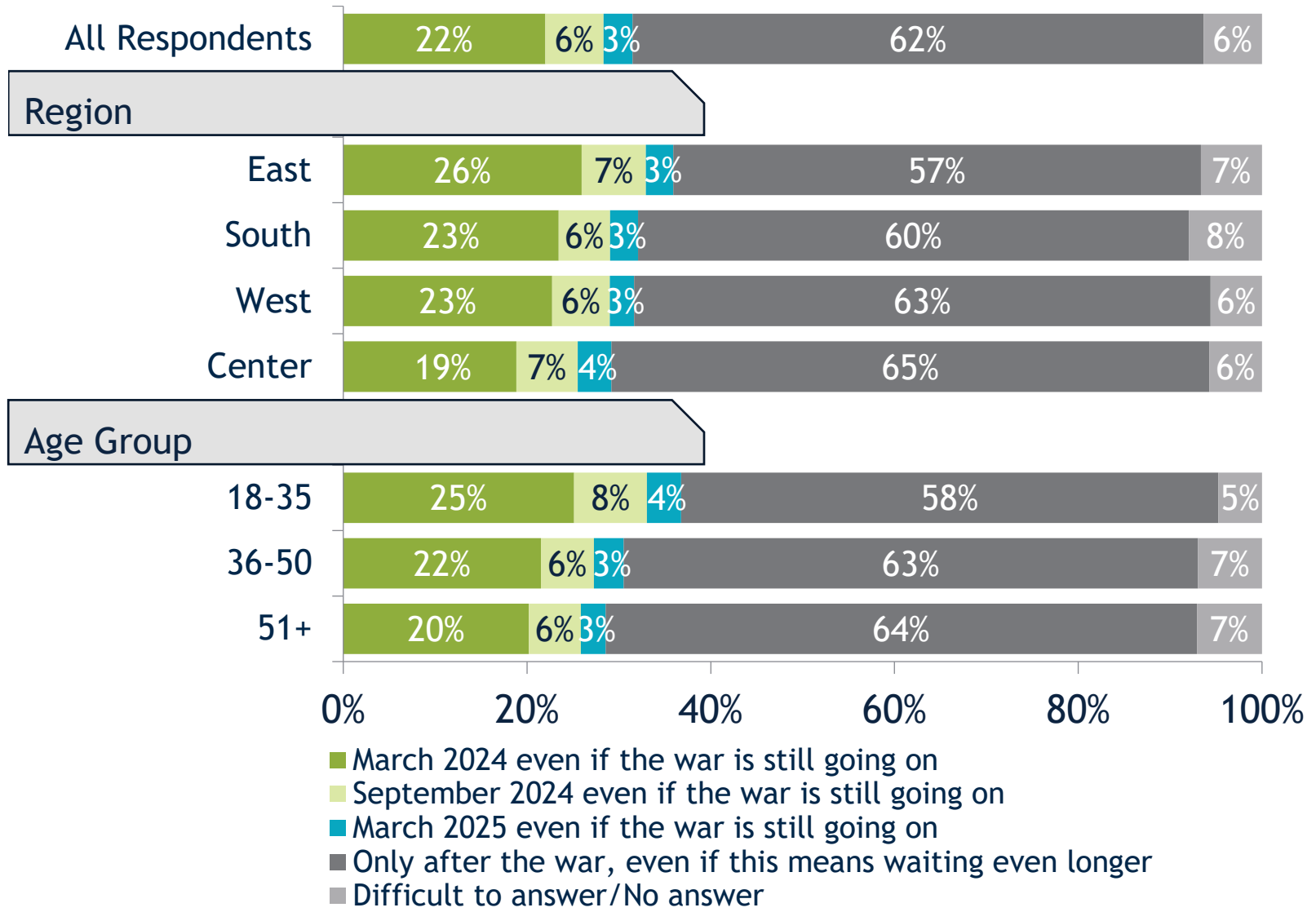
# If not for the war, Ukraine would be preparing for the elections. Which type of elections do you think should be held in the current wartime environment?



# Considering the war, if a decision about the necessity of elections is to be made, when should elections begin to be held?



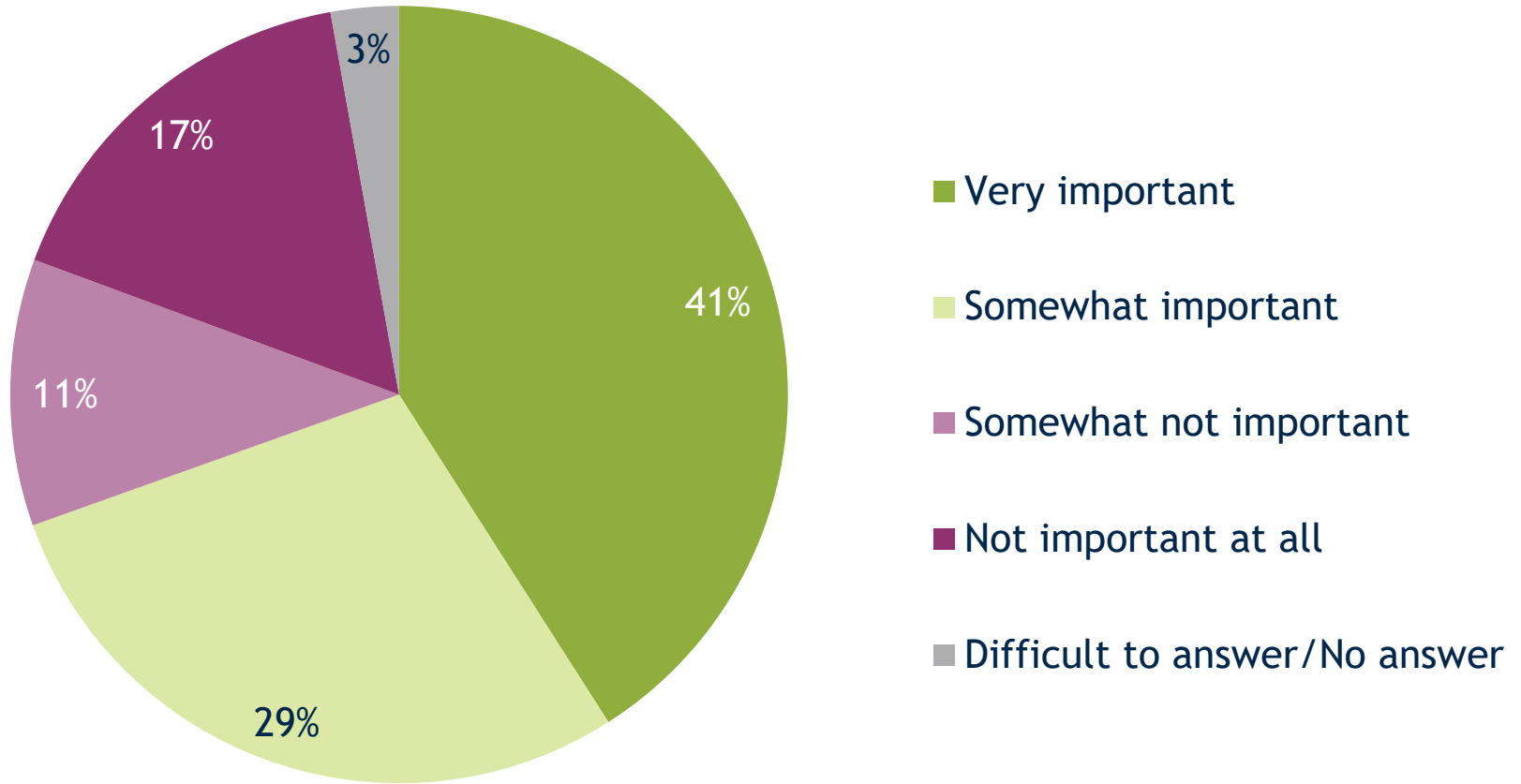
# Considering the war, if a decision about the necessity of elections is to be made, when should elections begin to be held?



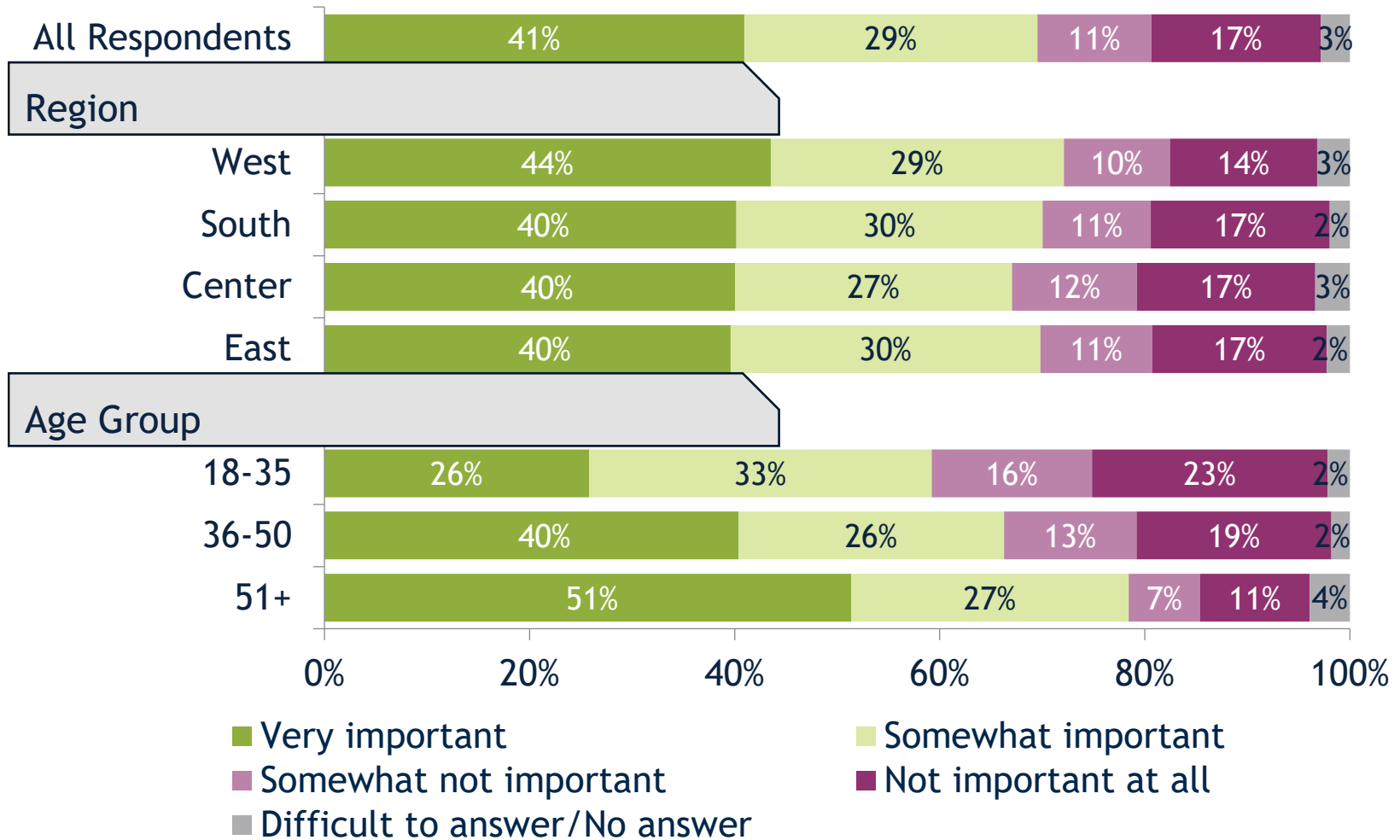
## Considering the war, if a decision about the necessity of elections is to be made, when should elections begin to be held?

	Presidential (n=389)	Parliamentary (n=770)	Local (n=309)	None of them (n=371)
March 2024 even if the war is still going on	30%	30%	18%	4%
September 2024 even if the war is still going on	6%	8%	6%	4%
March 2025 even if the war is still going on	2%	4%	6%	2%
Only after the war, even if it means waiting even longer	56%	52%	66%	85%
Difficult to answer/No answer	5%	6%	5%	6%

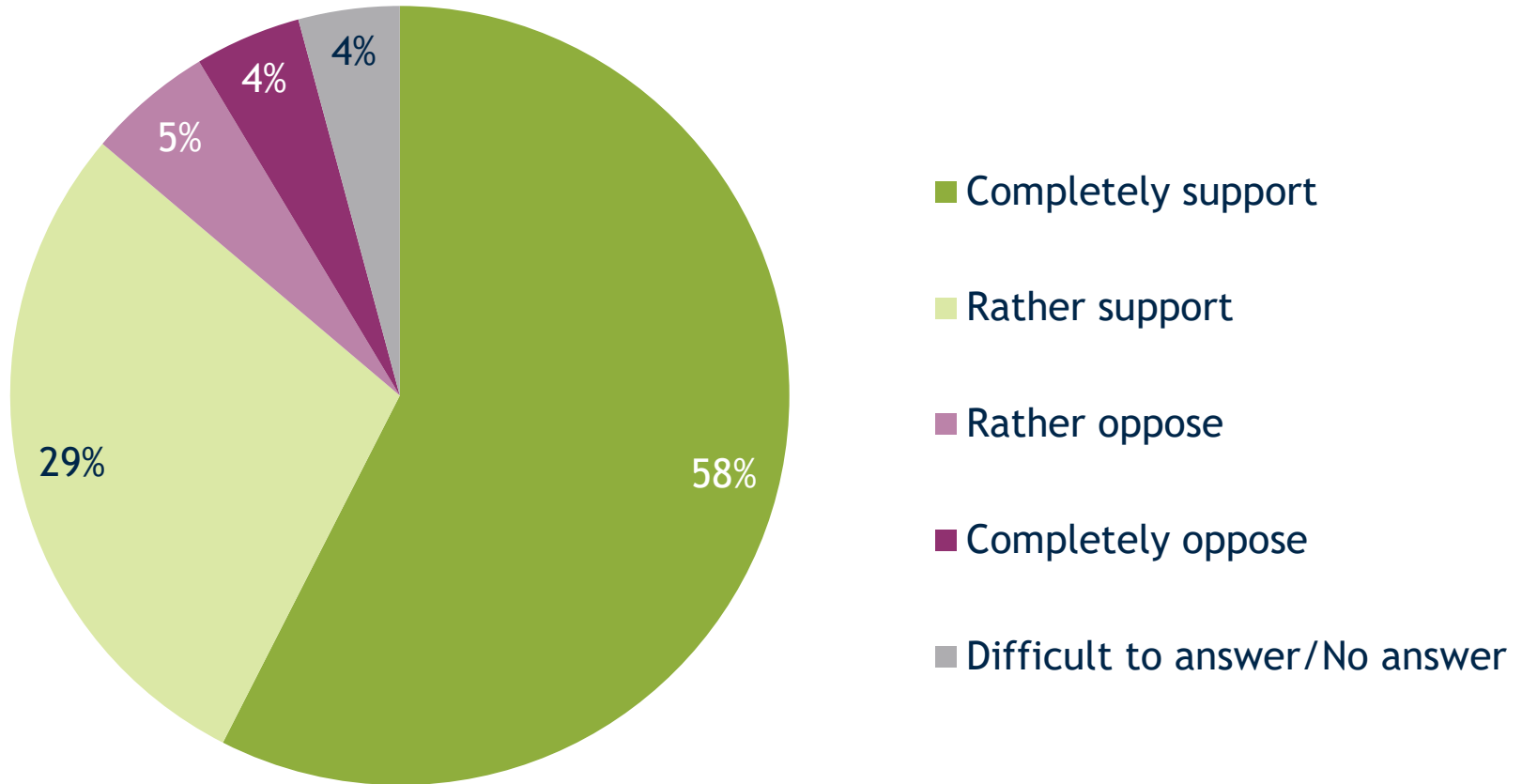
# How important is it to you that Ukrainians outside the country will vote in elections?



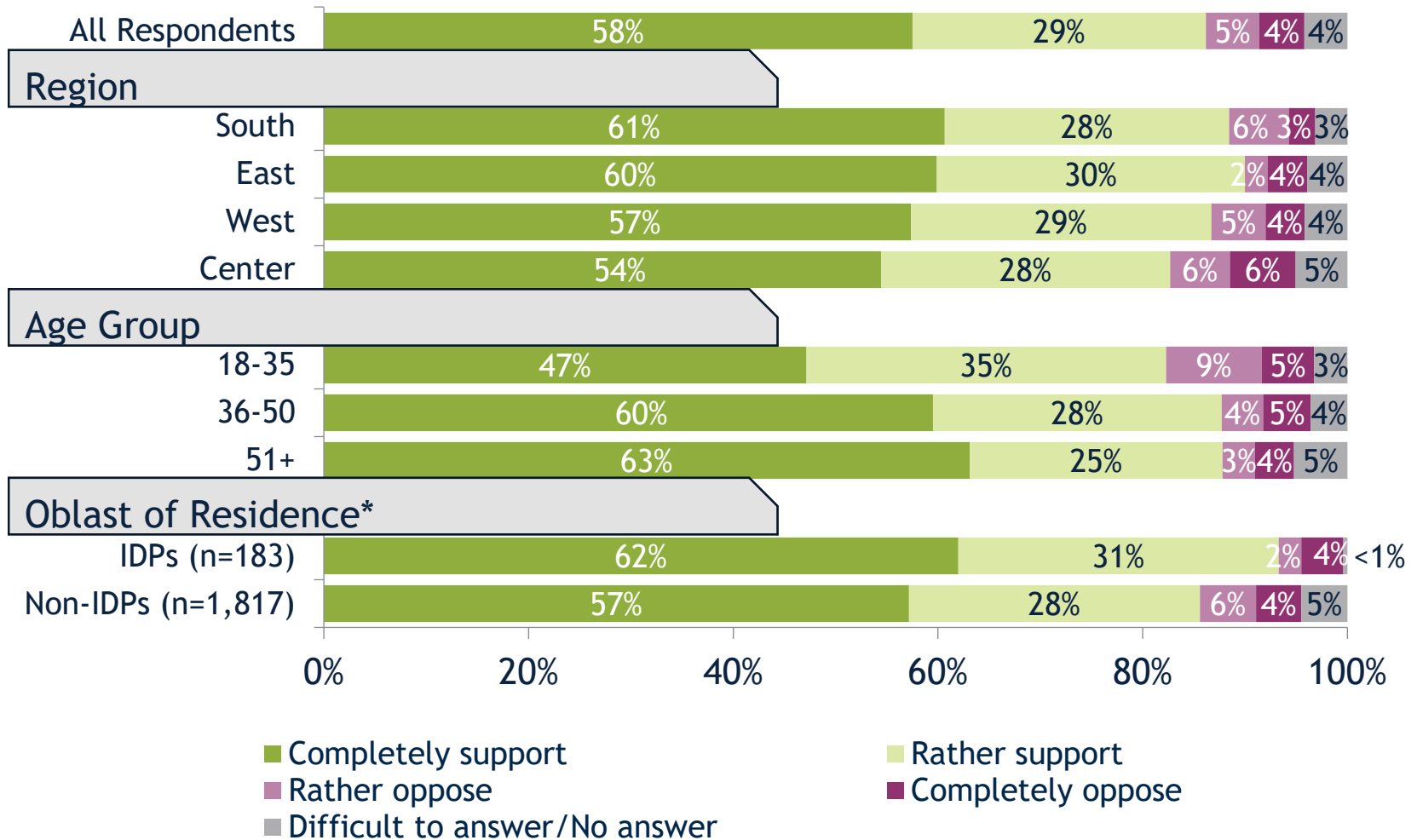
# How important is it to you that Ukrainians outside the country will vote in elections?



Do you support or oppose the idea that internally displaced persons, also known as IDPs, have a civic obligation to vote in parliamentary elections regardless of their plans to return to their original location at some time in the future?



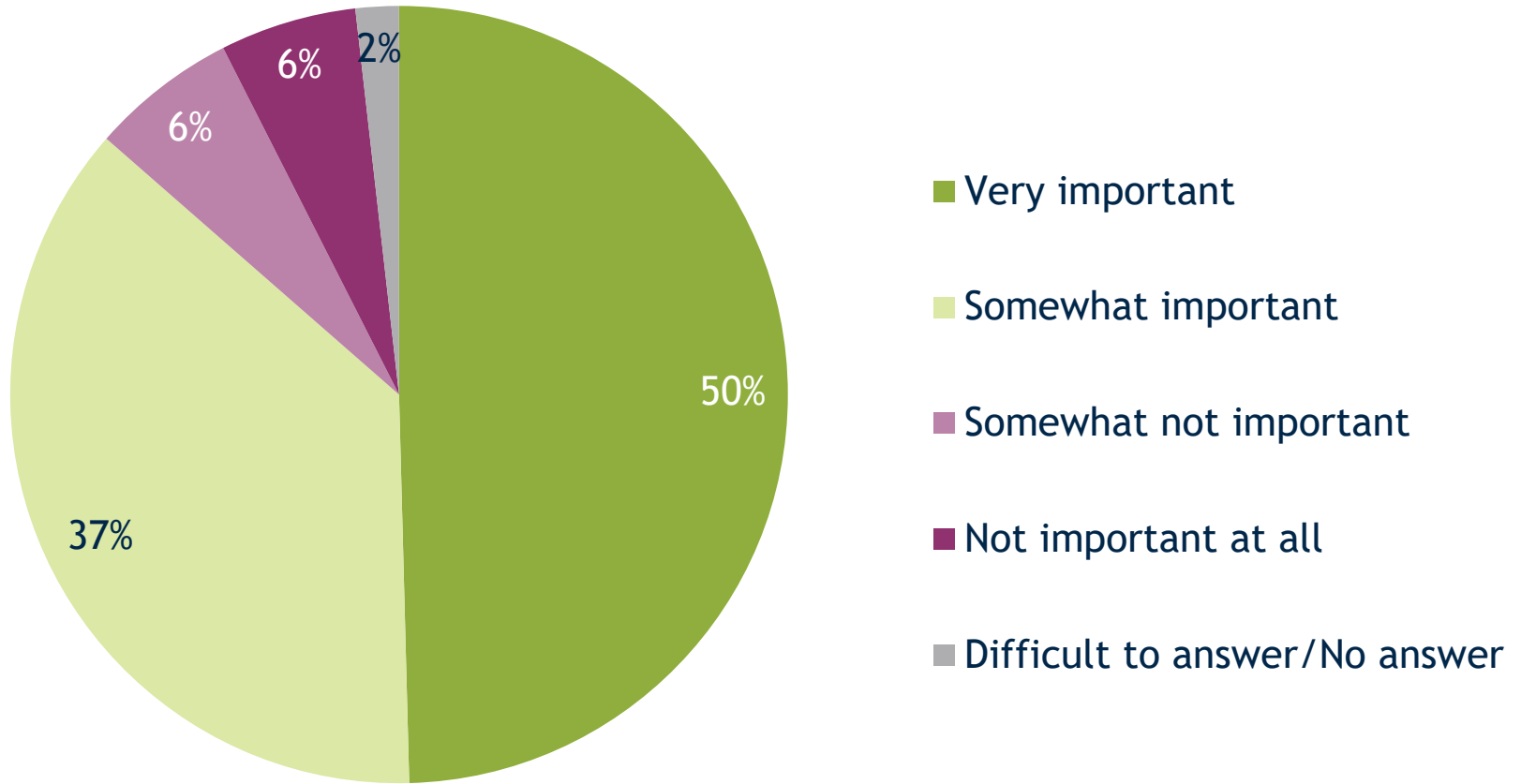
# Do you support or oppose the idea that internally displaced persons, also known as IDPs, have a civic obligation to vote in parliamentary elections regardless of their plans to return to their original location at some time in the future?



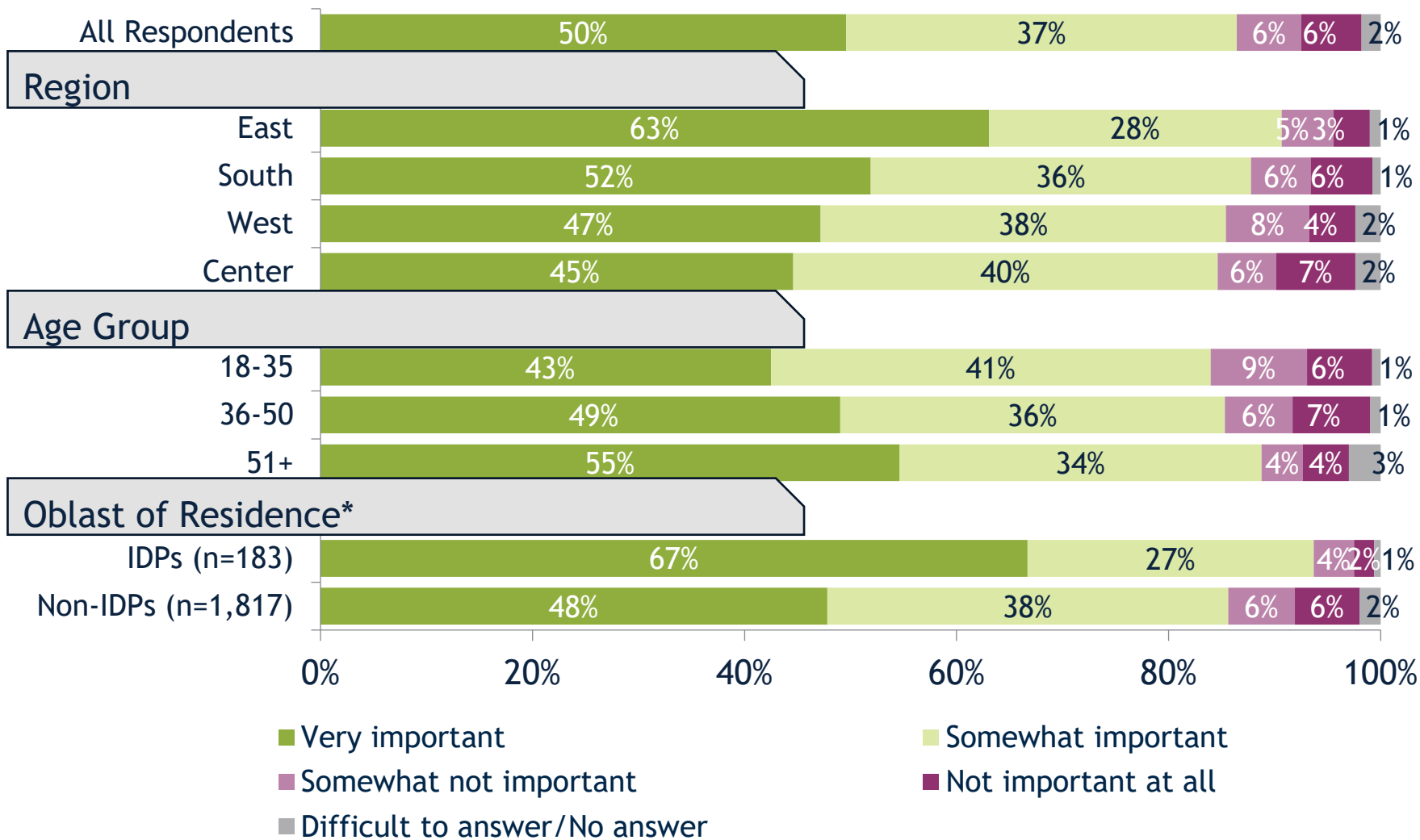
\* Please note, in this instance IDP refers to people who are not currently living in their usual oblast of residence



## ▶ How important is it to you that IDPs will vote in elections?

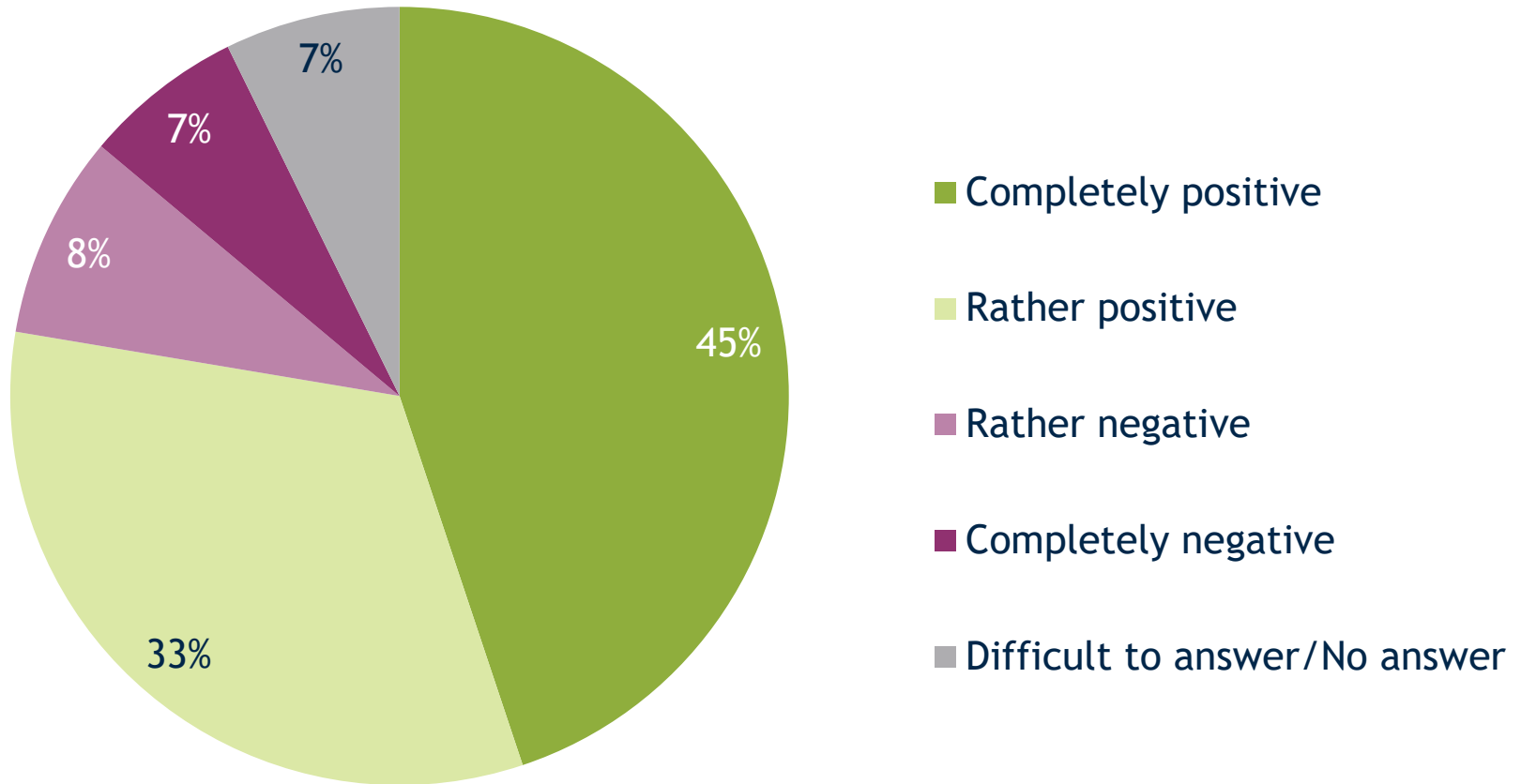


# How important is it to you that IDPs will vote in elections?

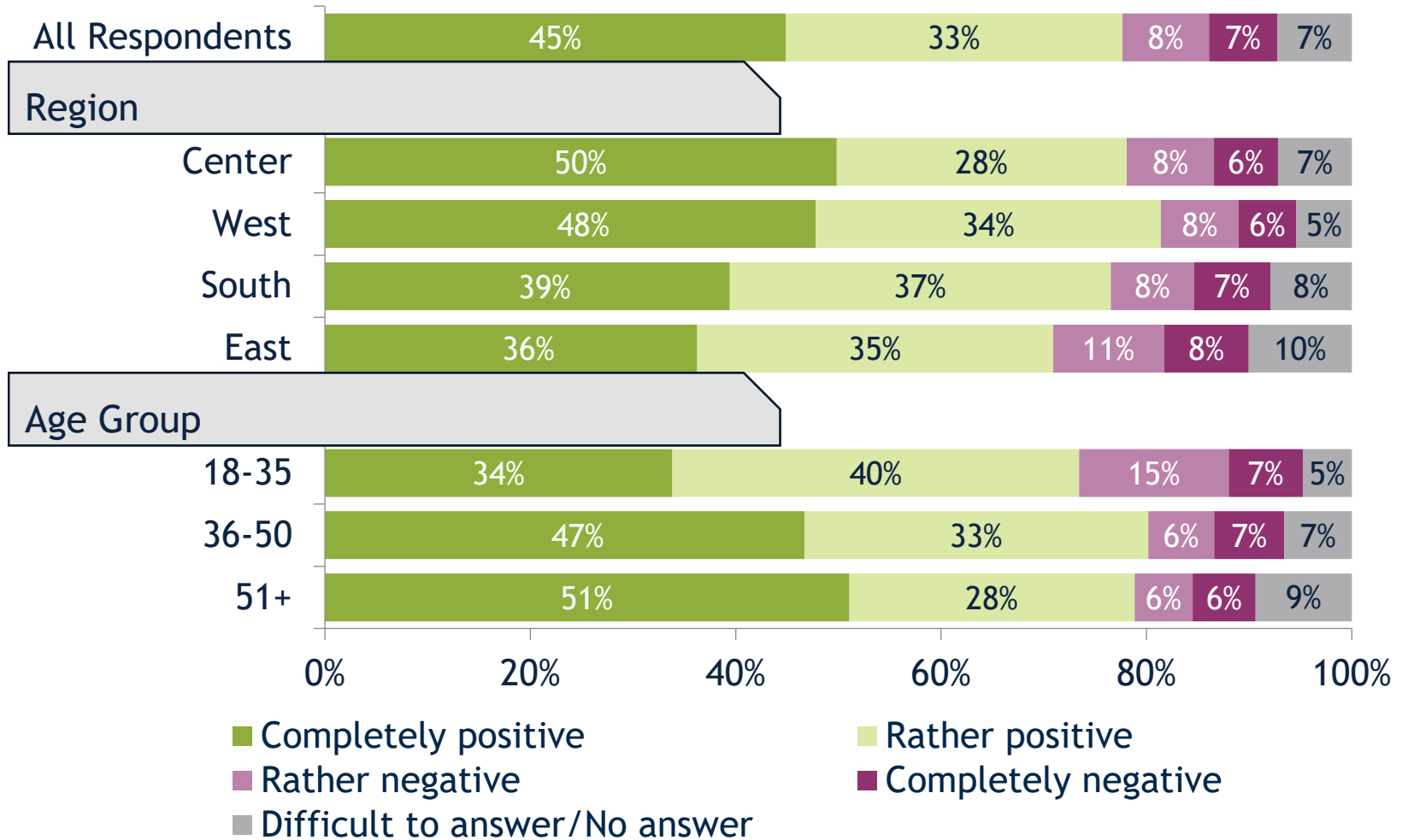


\* Please note, in this instance IDP refers to people who are not currently living in their usual oblast of residence

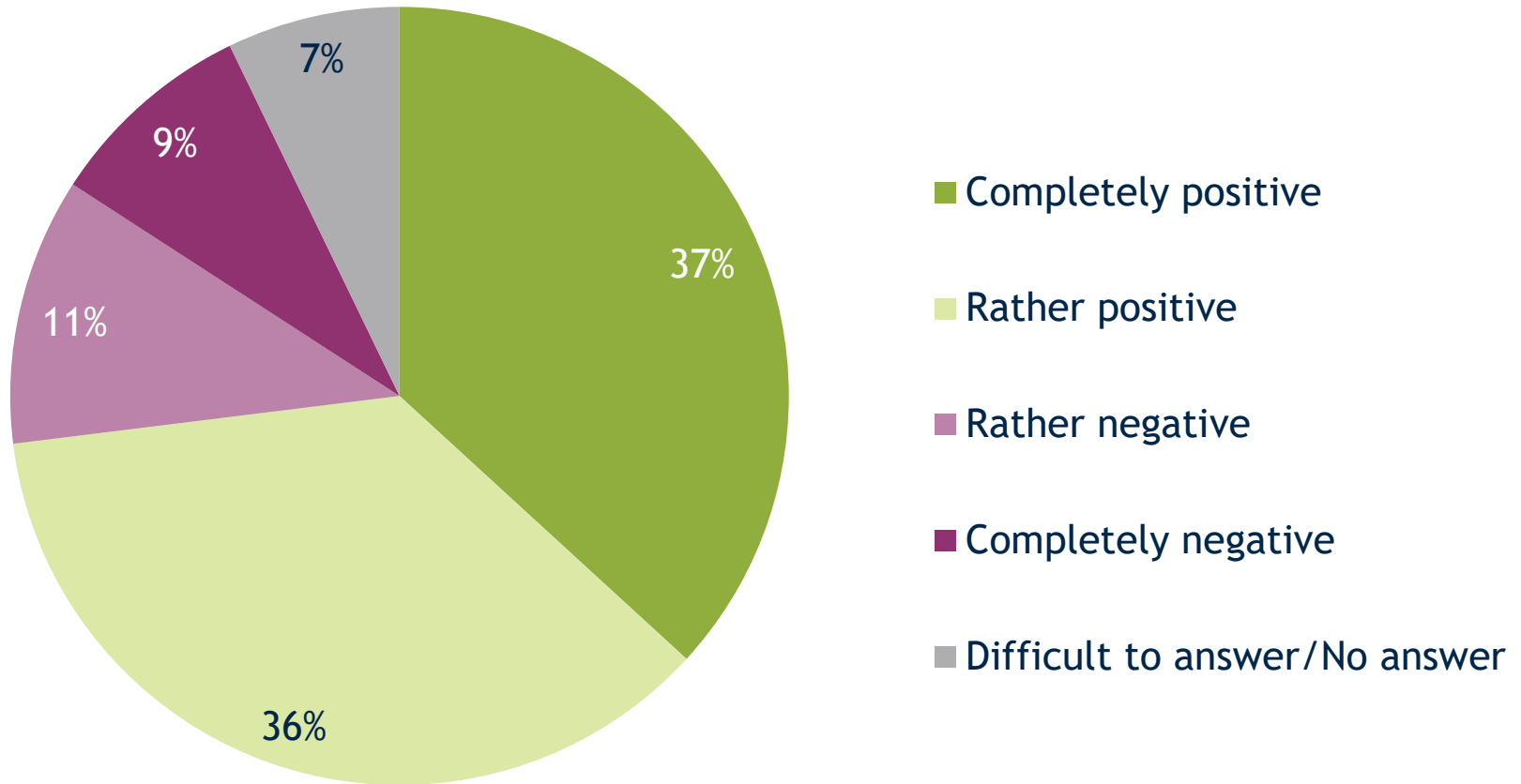
# What is your attitude towards military veterans of the Russian-Ukrainian war creating their own political party?



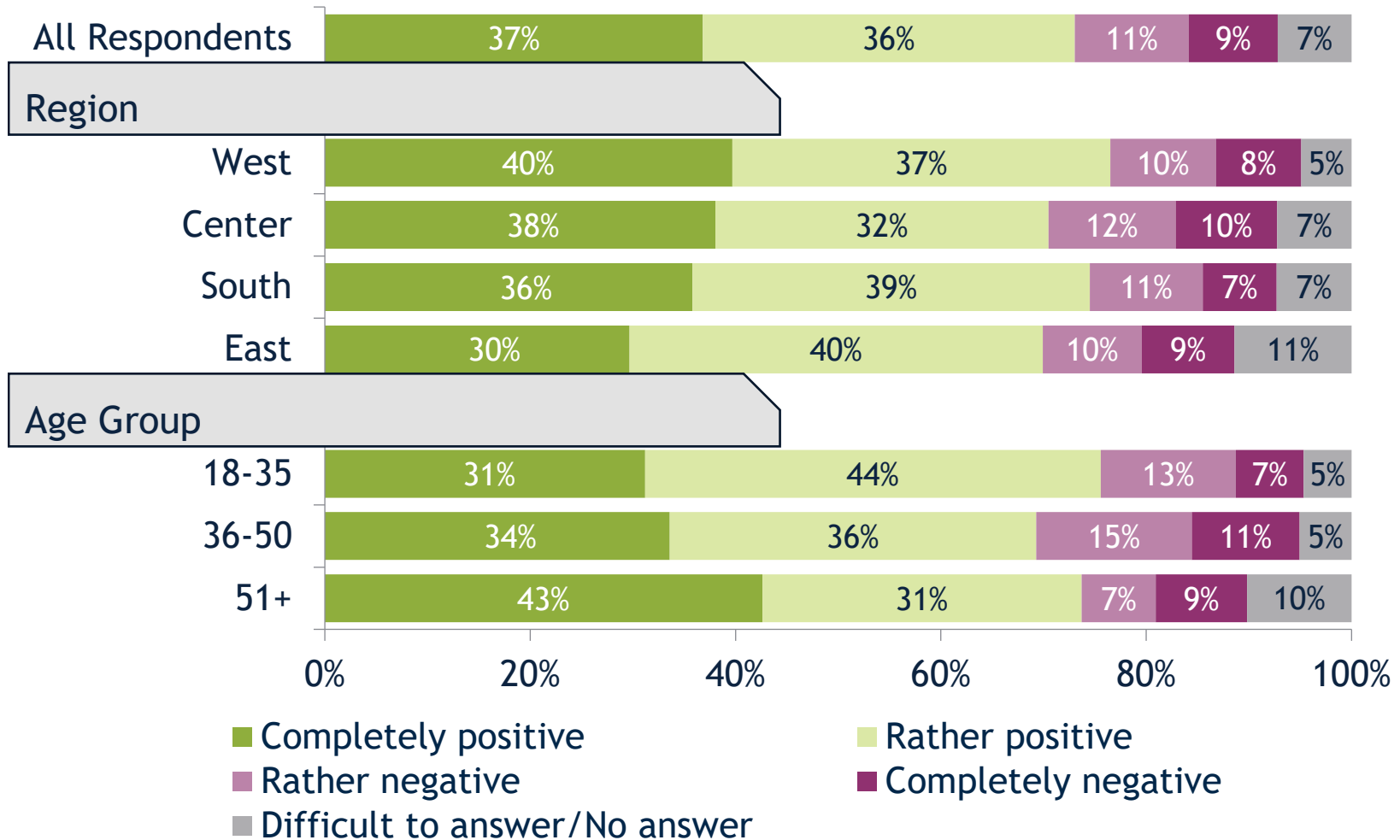
# What is your attitude towards military veterans of the Russian-Ukrainian war creating their own political party?



# What is your attitude towards the active engagement of military veterans of the Russian-Ukrainian war within existing political parties?



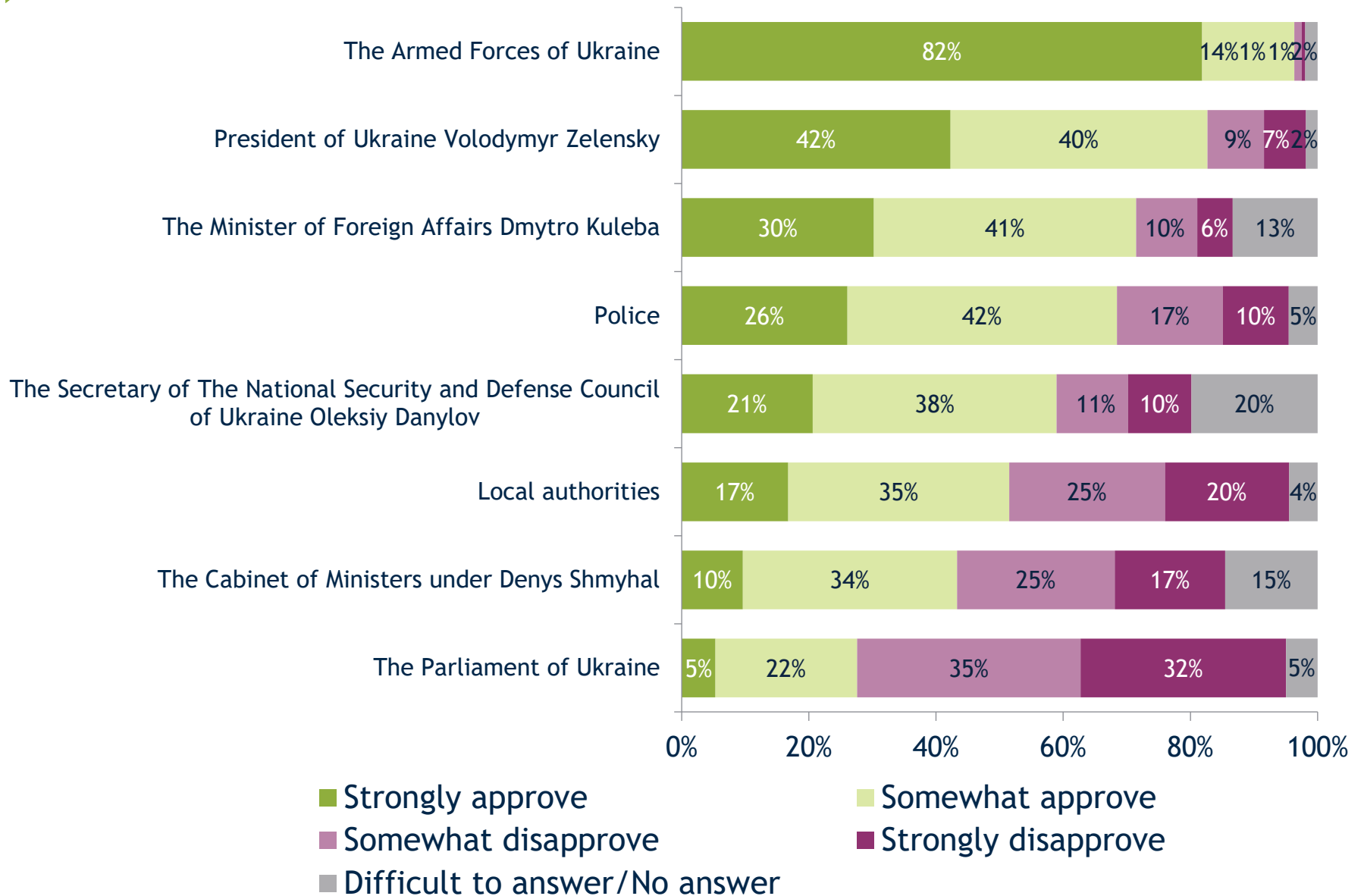
# What is your attitude towards the active engagement of military veterans of the Russian-Ukrainian war within existing political parties?



# Evaluation of Government Activities



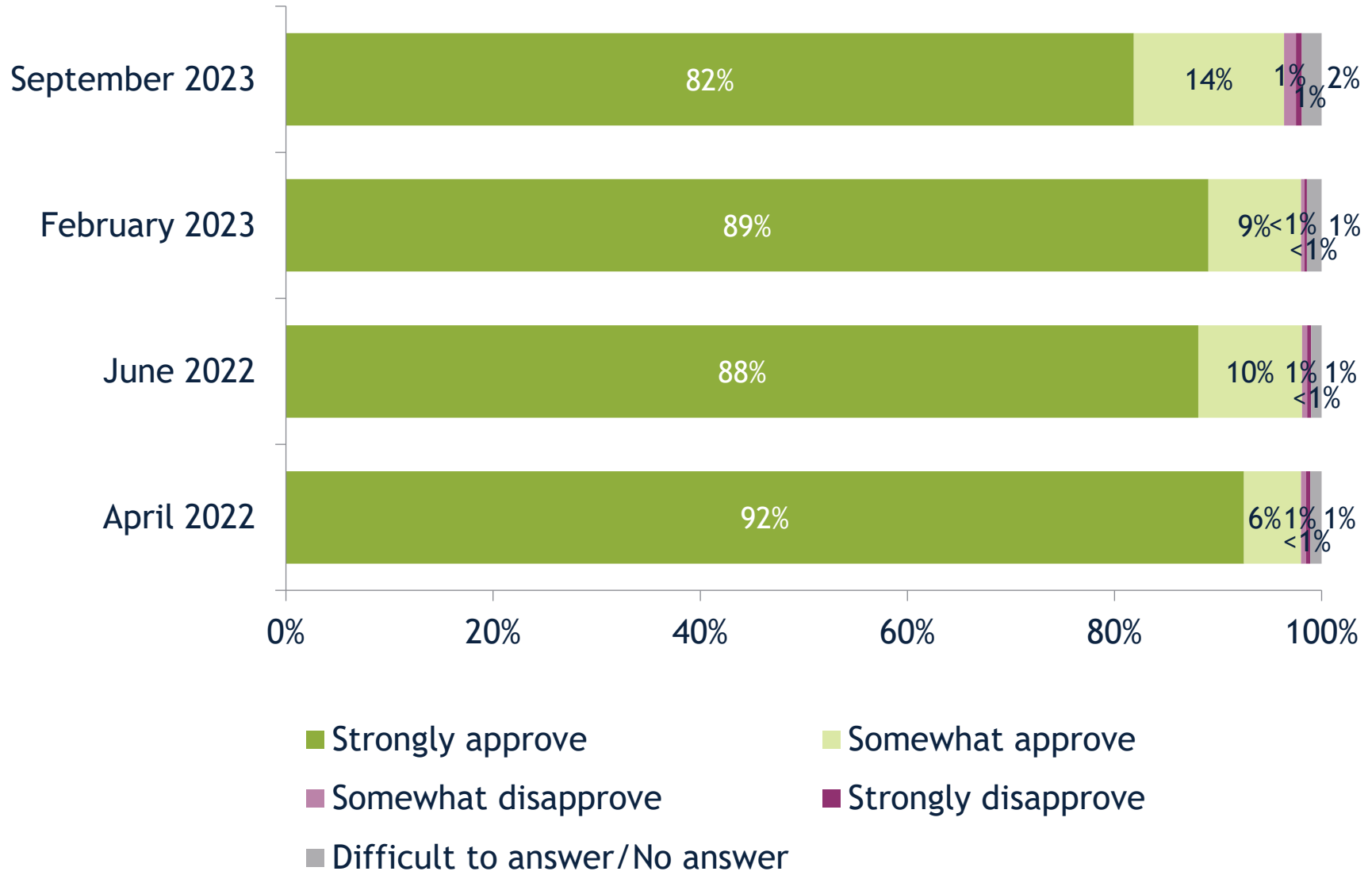
# Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of...?



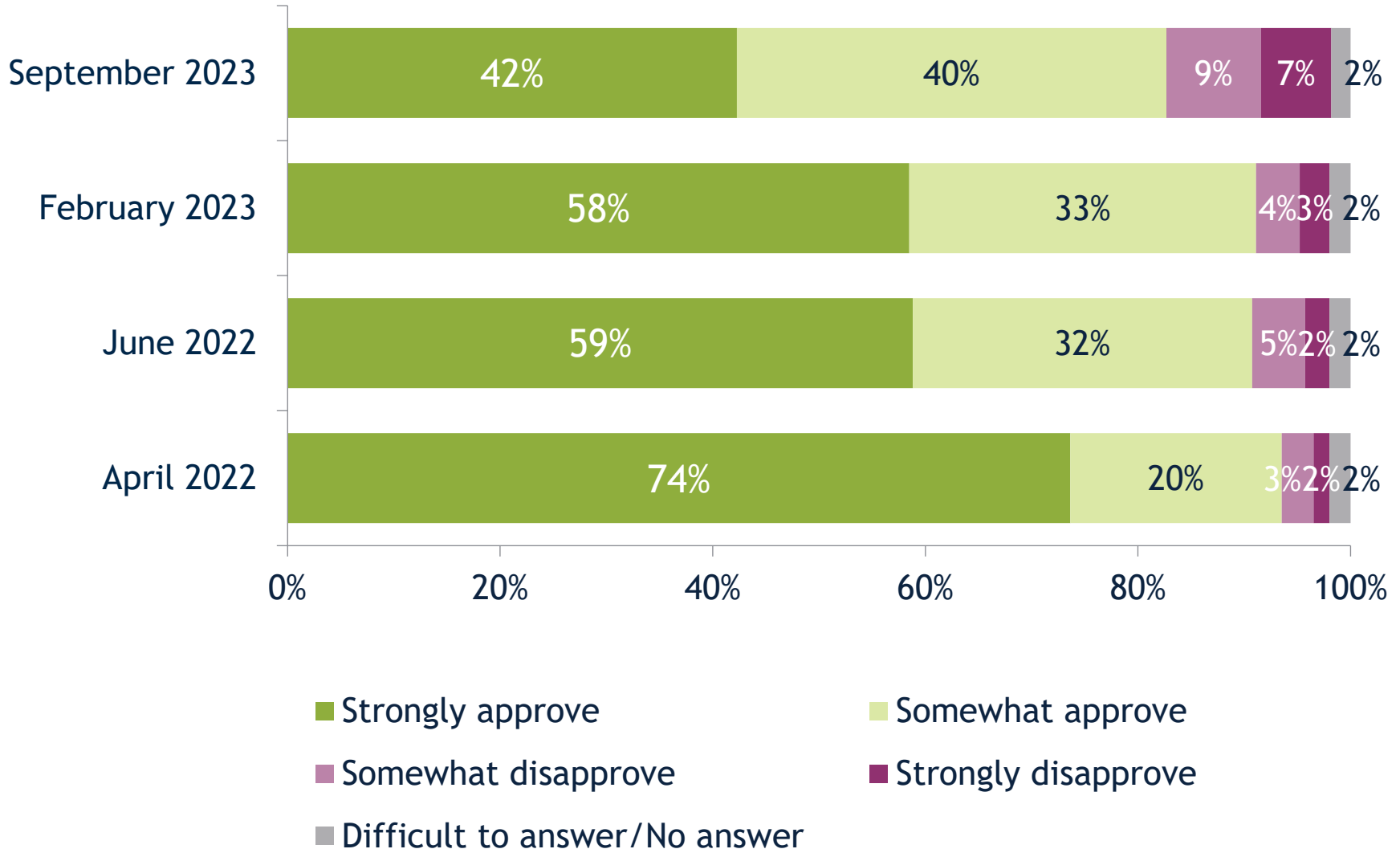




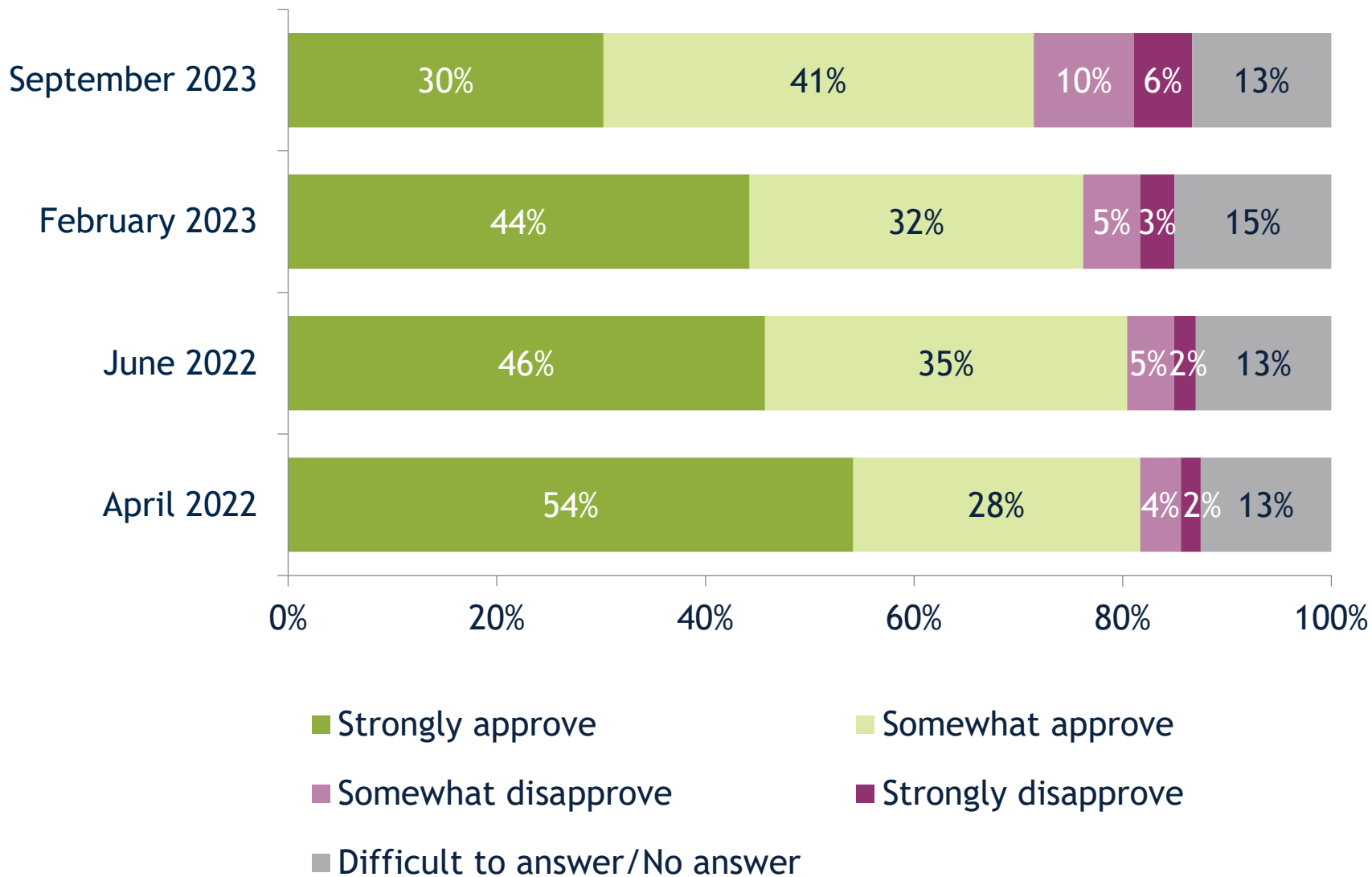
# Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine?



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

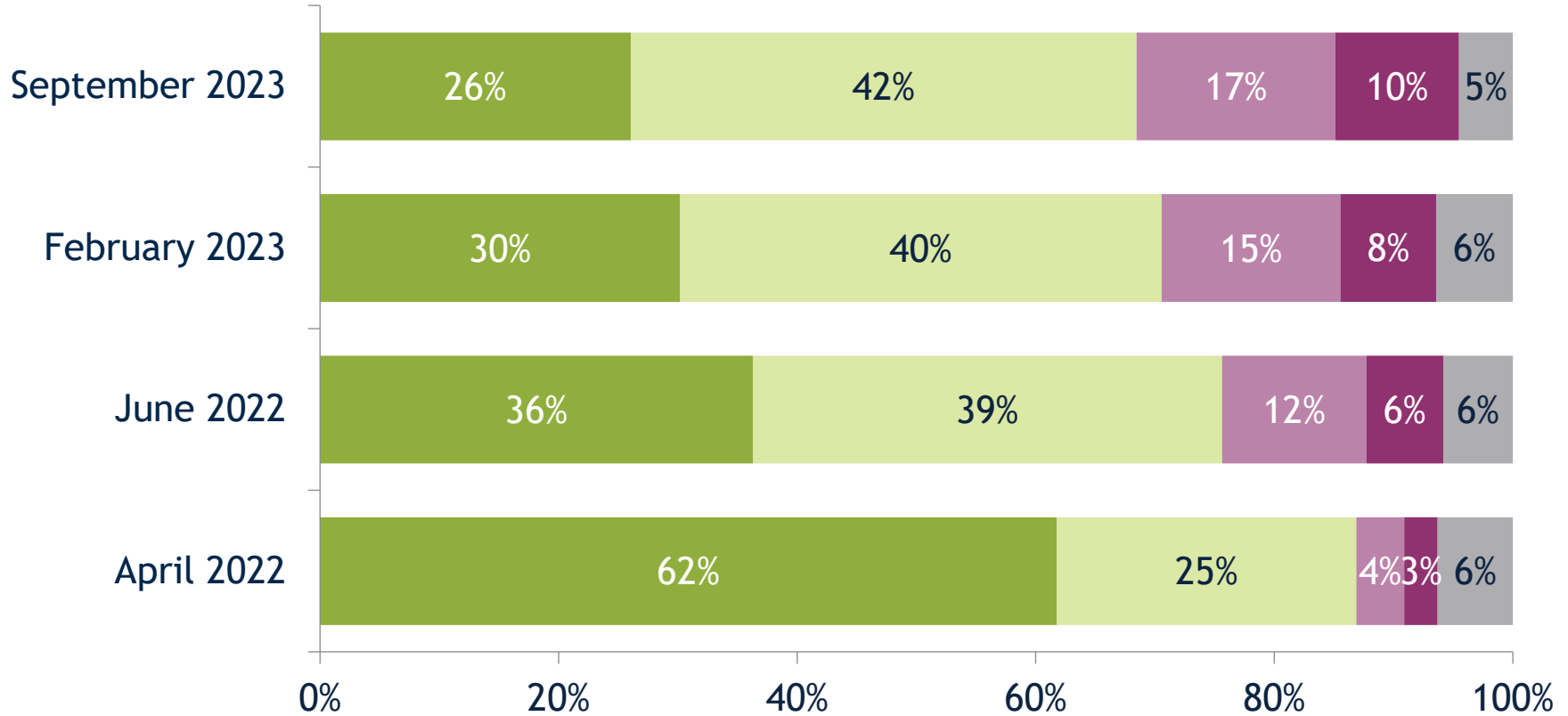


# Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dmytro Kuleba?



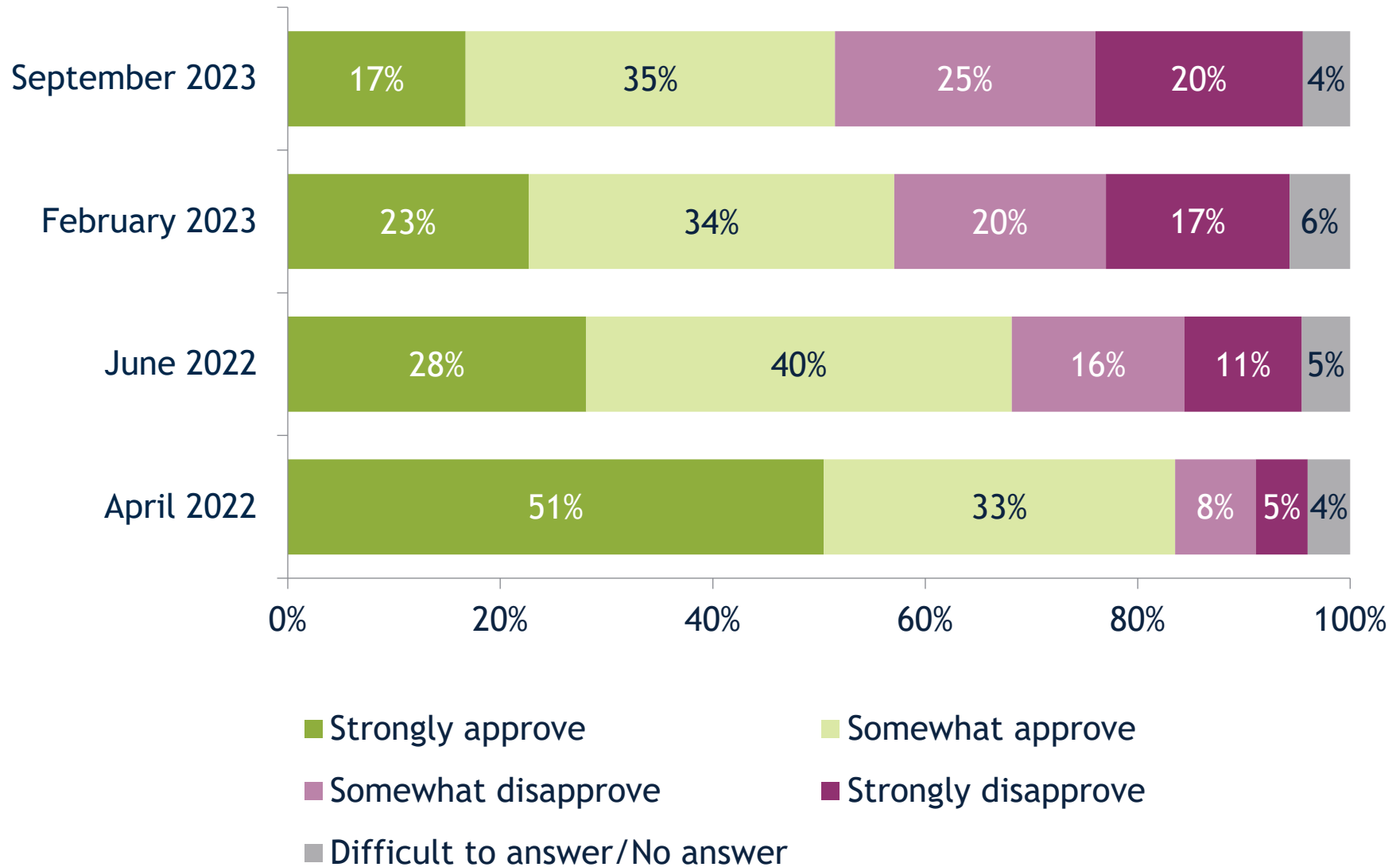


# Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of the police?

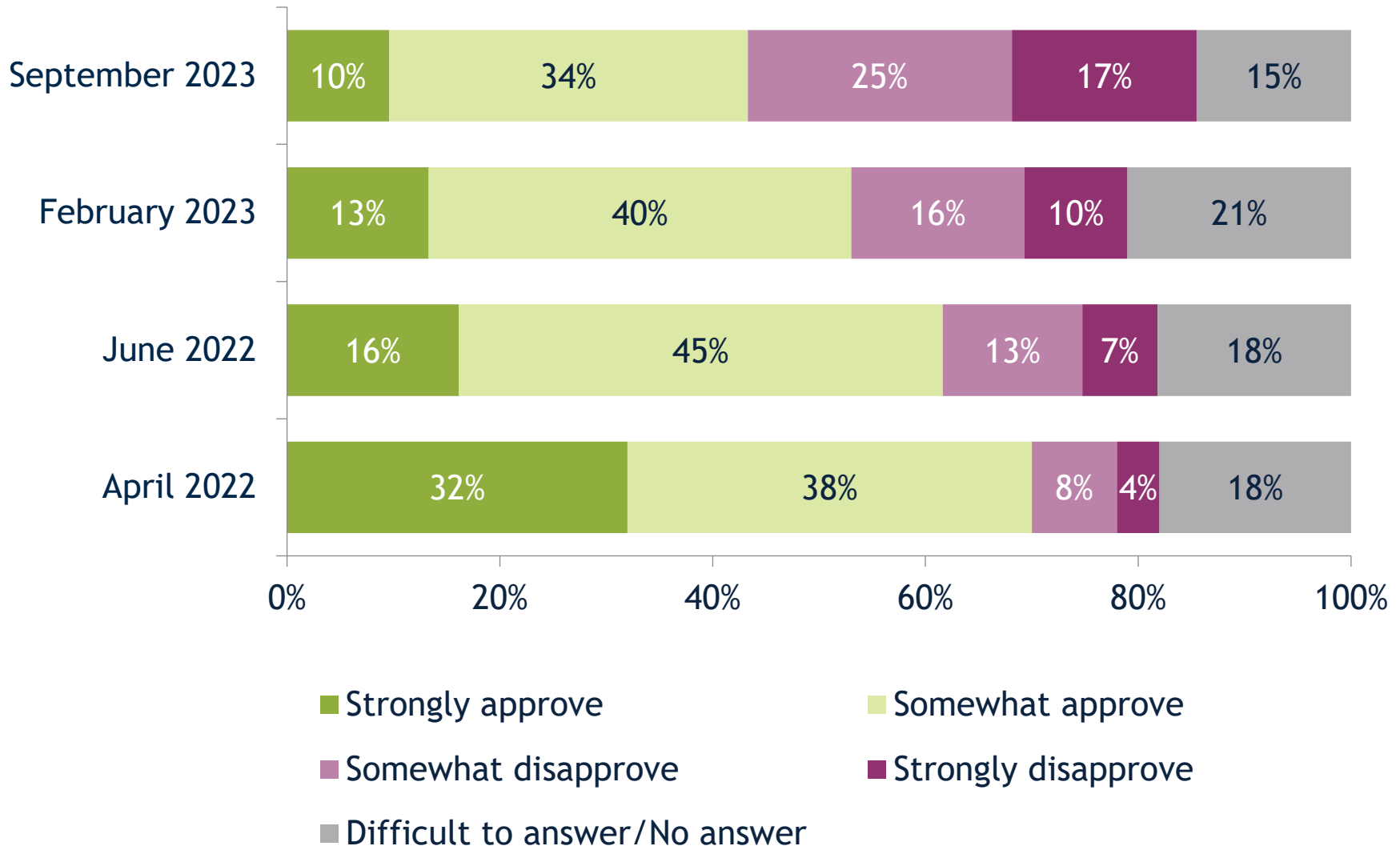


- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Difficult to answer/No answer

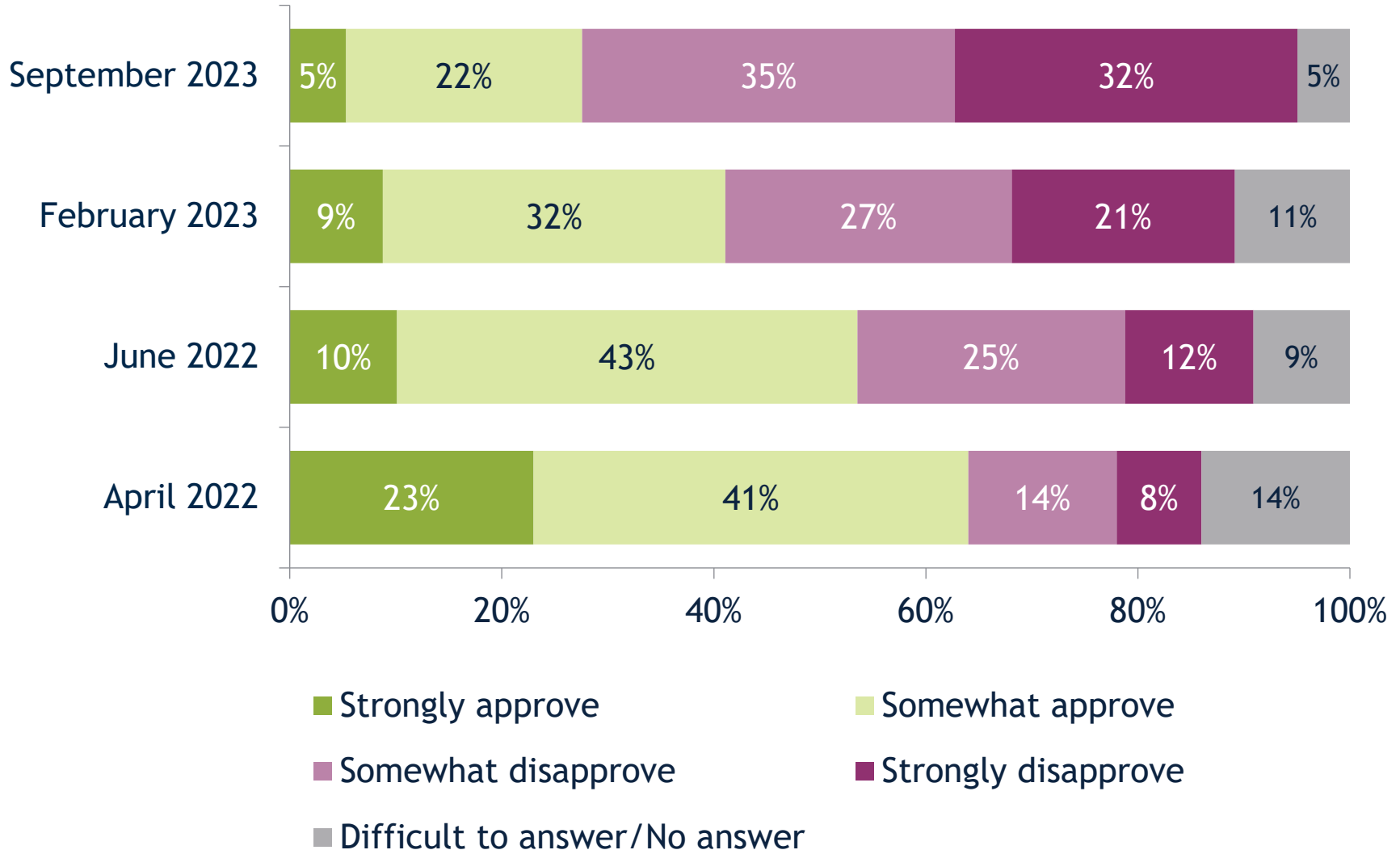
# Do you approve or disapprove of the activities of local authorities?



# 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?



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

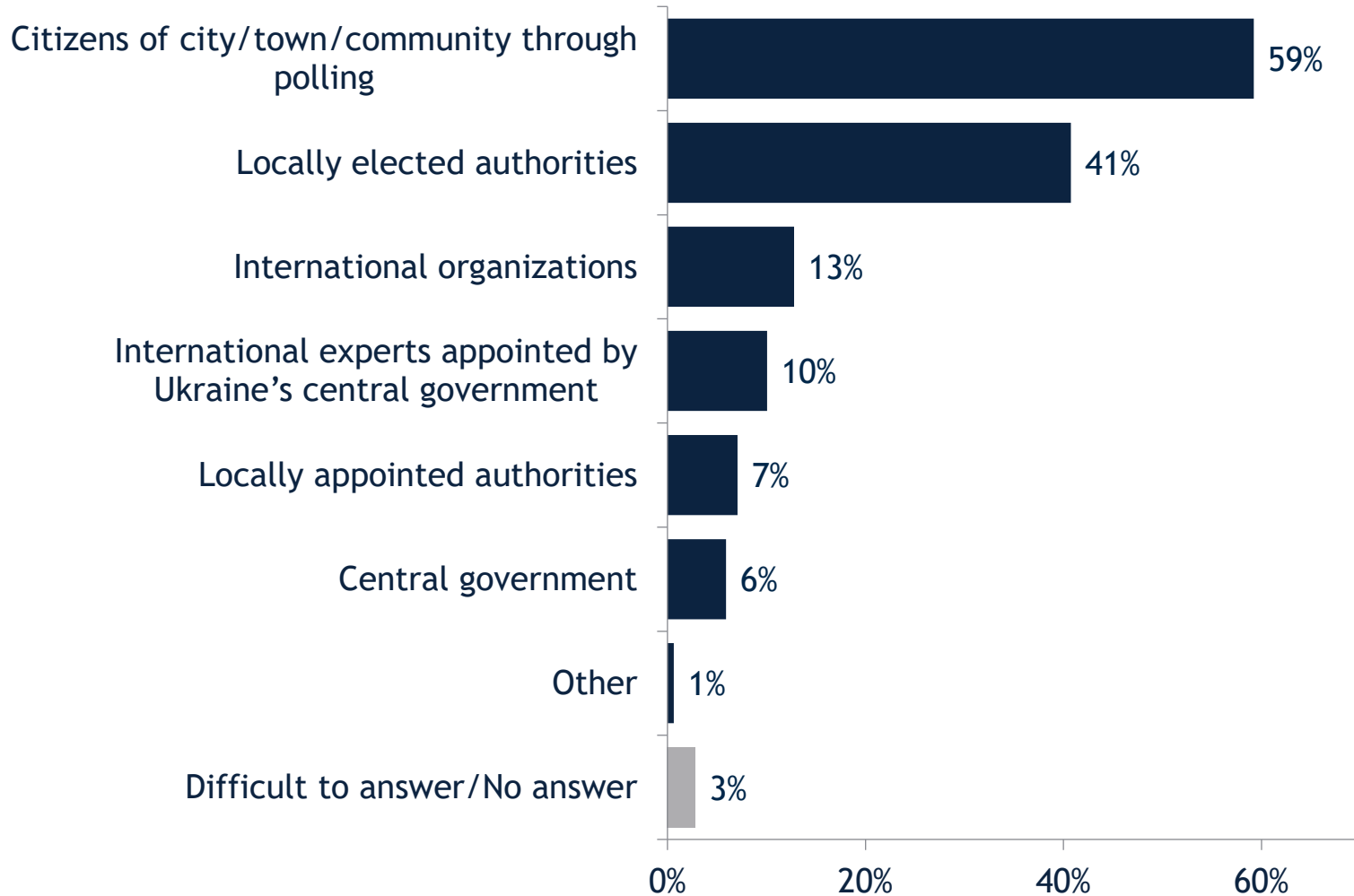
(Sum of responses “Strongly approve” and “Somewhat approve”)

	All Respondents	Age Group			Region			
		18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
The Armed Forces of Ukraine	96%	97%	96%	96%	97%	97%	96%	95%
President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky	82%	86%	82%	81%	83%	84%	84%	77%
The Minister of Foreign Affairs Dmytro Kuleba	71%	70%	67%	76%	75%	73%	70%	62%
Police	68%	76%	67%	64%	67%	68%	72%	67%
The Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine Oleksiy Danylov	59%	59%	55%	62%	60%	60%	59%	54%
Local authorities	52%	53%	49%	52%	51%	49%	49%	66%
The Cabinet of Ministers under Denys Shmyhal	44%	47%	41%	42%	45%	45%	42%	40%
The Parliament of Ukraine	27%	32%	25%	27%	30%	27%	27%	26%



# 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)

	February 2023	September 2023
Citizens of city/town/community through polling	54%	59%
Locally elected authorities	37%	41%
International organizations	18%	13%
International experts appointed by Ukraine's central government	15%	10%
Locally appointed authorities	9%	7%
Central government	9%	6%
Other	1%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	3%	3%

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

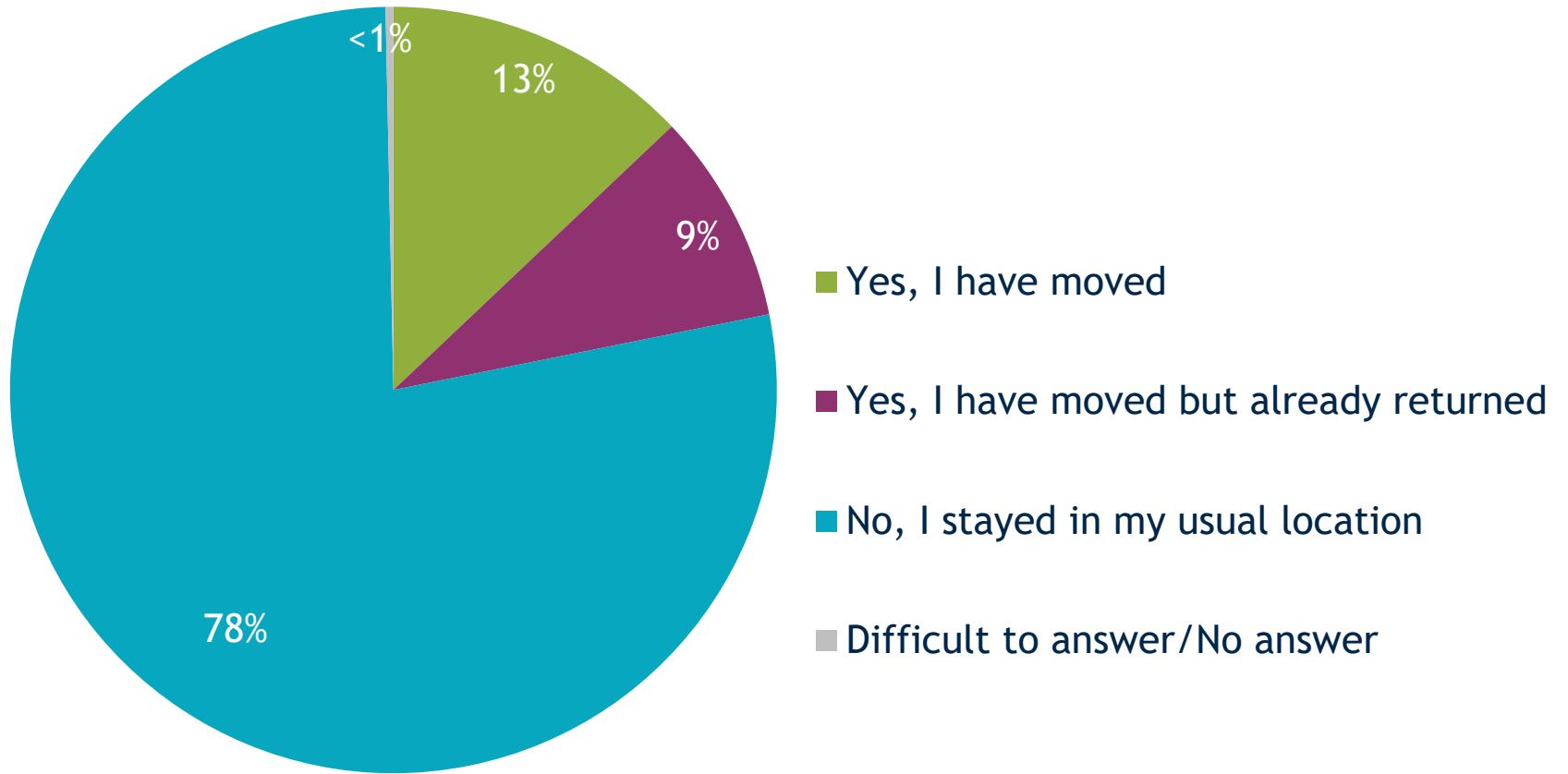
(Up to 2 responses)

	Age Group			Region			
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East
Citizens of city/town/community through polling	66%	64%	52%	62%	59%	61%	52%
Locally elected authorities	41%	39%	42%	38%	42%	41%	43%
International organizations	16%	13%	11%	12%	12%	13%	17%
International experts appointed by Ukraine's central government	12%	9%	9%	9%	10%	11%	10%
Locally appointed authorities	9%	6%	7%	7%	7%	8%	7%
Central government	8%	5%	5%	5%	6%	6%	7%
Other	<1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	<1%	<1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	1%	2%	4%	3%	3%	2%	5%

# Migration

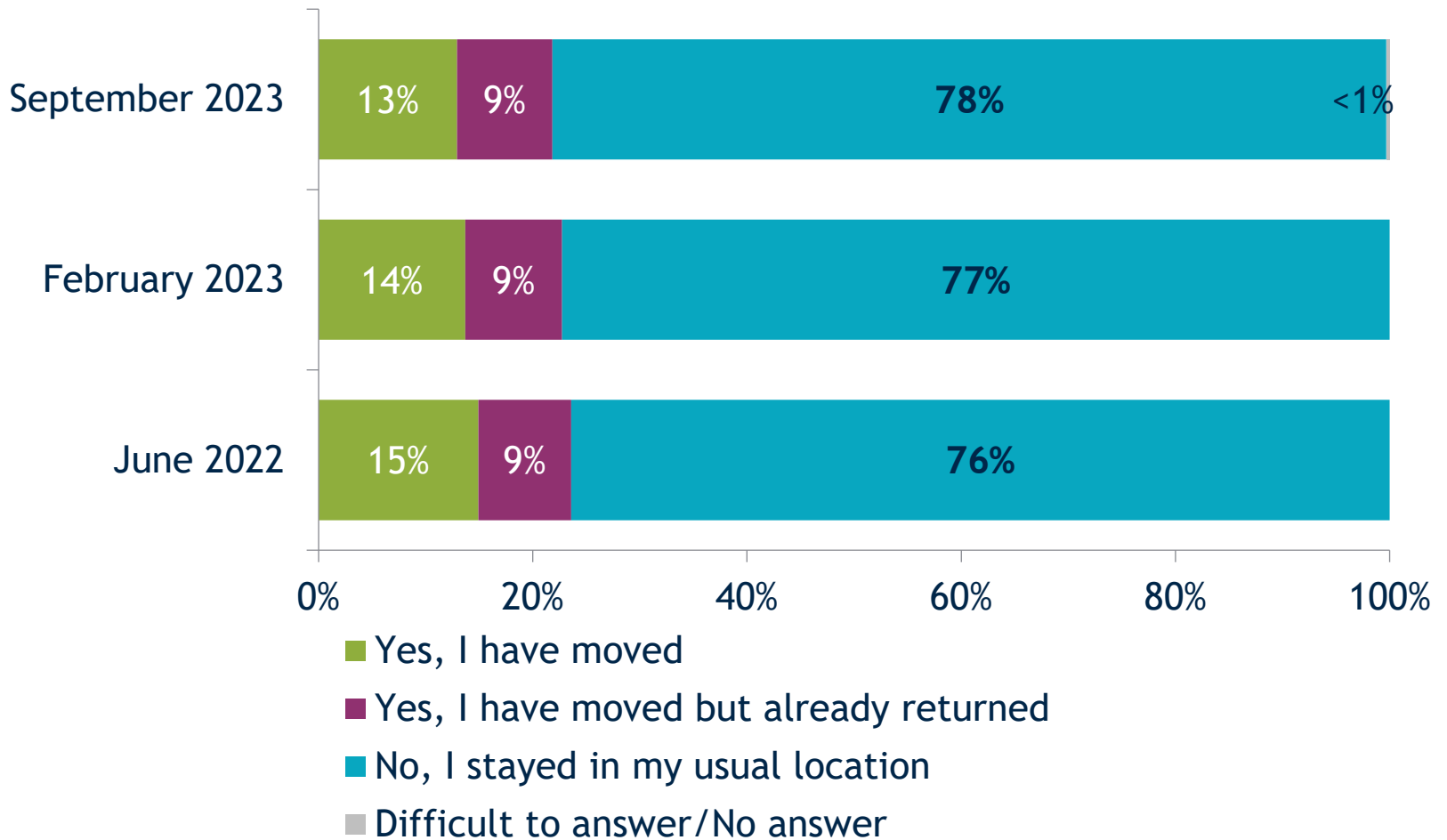


# Have you moved from your home as a result of the war?

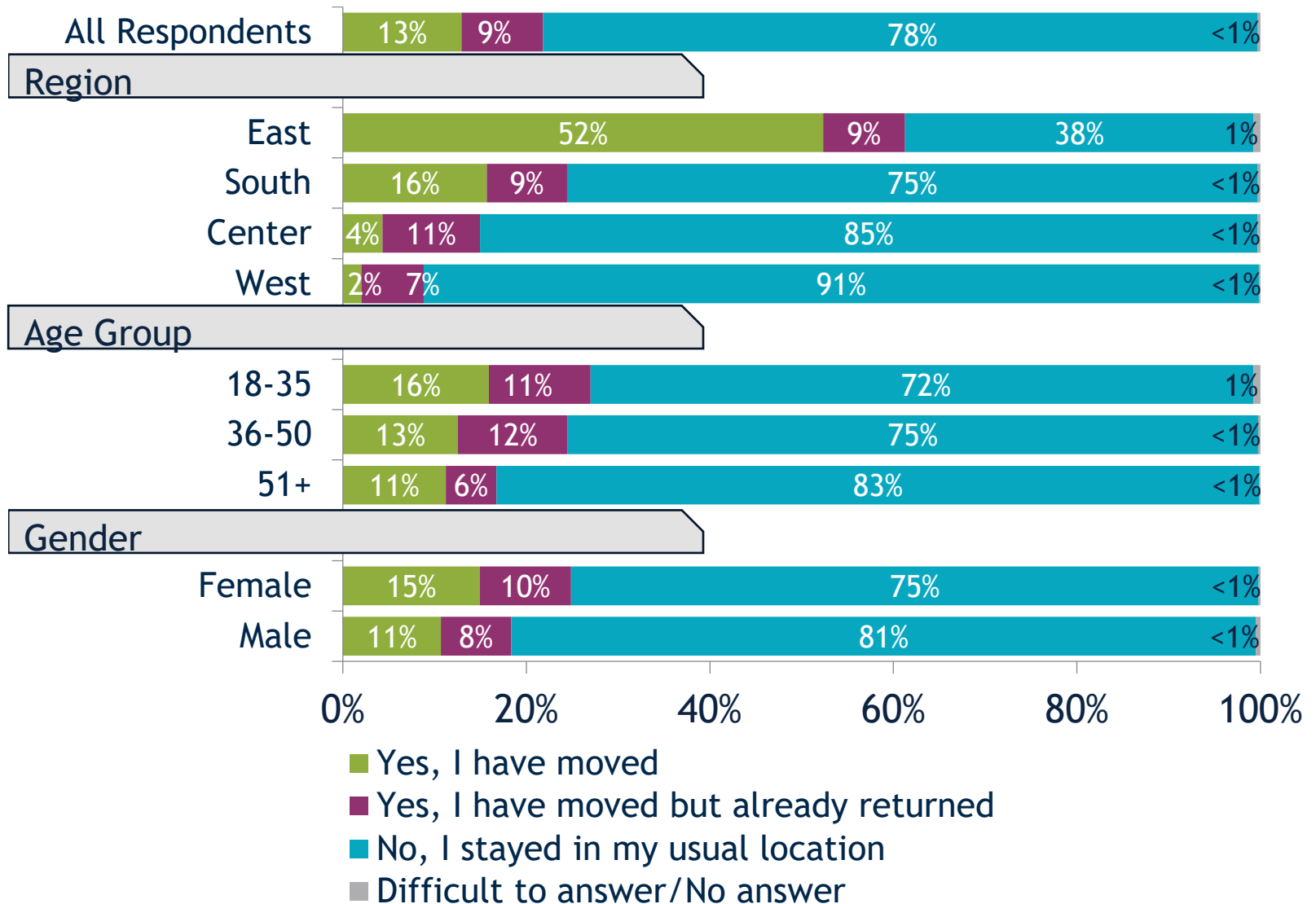




# Have you moved from your home as a result of the war?

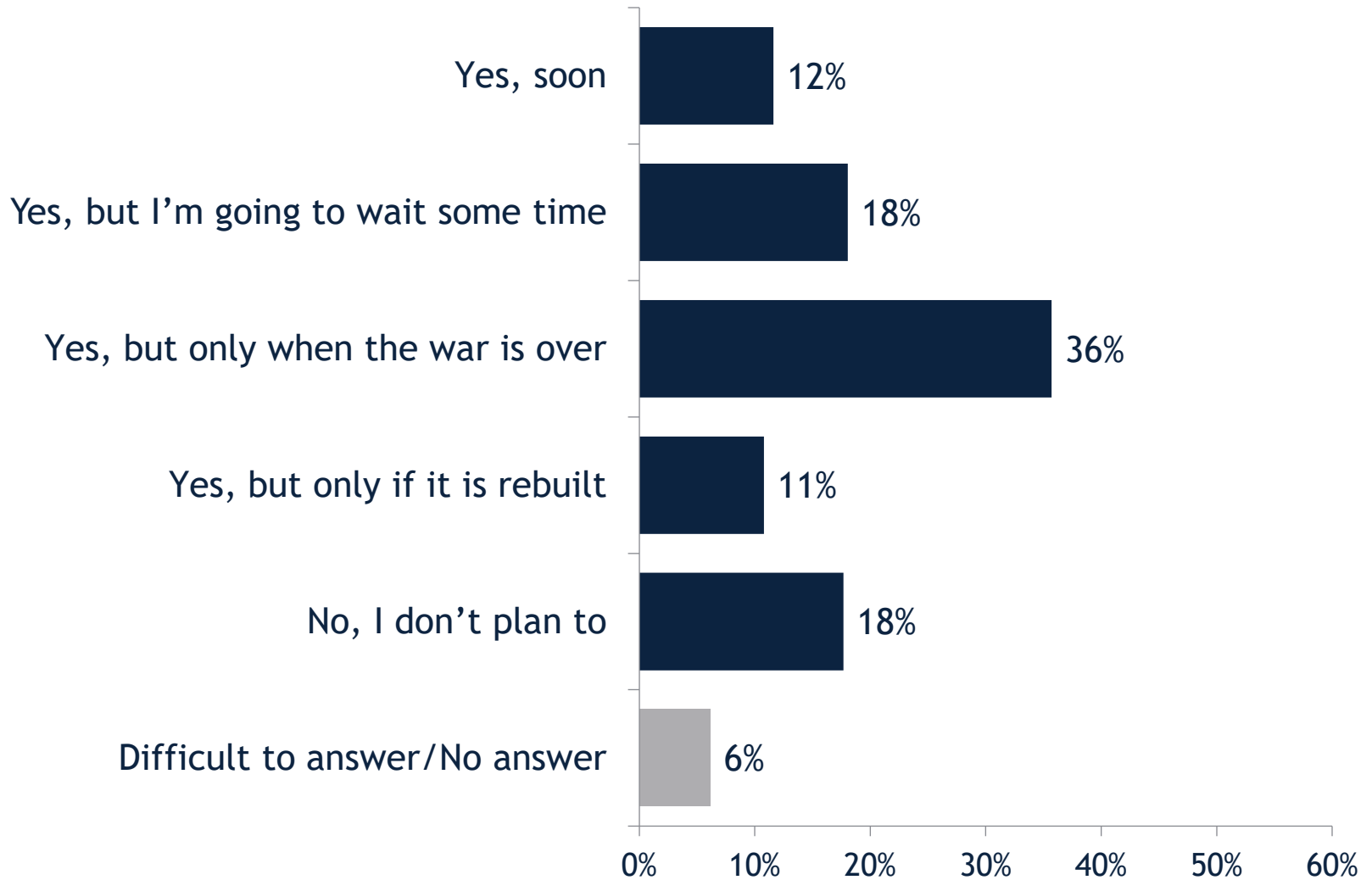


# Have you moved from your home as a result of the war?



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

(Among those who have moved from home, n=259)





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

(Among those who have moved from home, n=259)

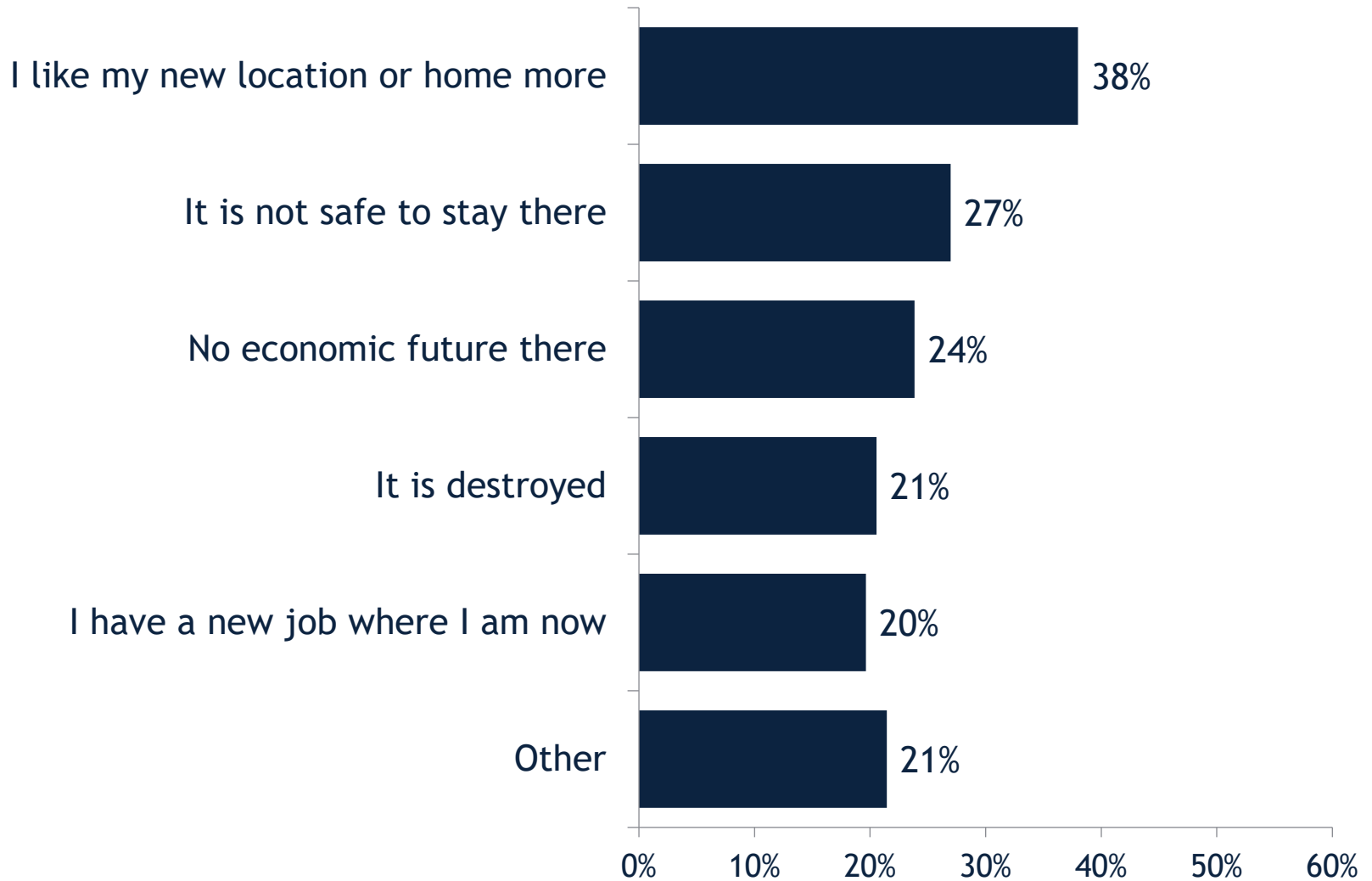
	June 2022	February 2023	September 2023
Yes, soon	10%	7%	12%
Yes, but I'm going to wait some time	23%	15%	18%
Yes, but only when the war is over	46%	48%	36%
Yes, but only if it is rebuilt	9%	11%	11%
No, I don't plan to	7%	12%	18%
Difficult to answer/No answer	4%	7%	6%



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

(Among those who don't plan to return, n=46\*)

(Multiple responses)

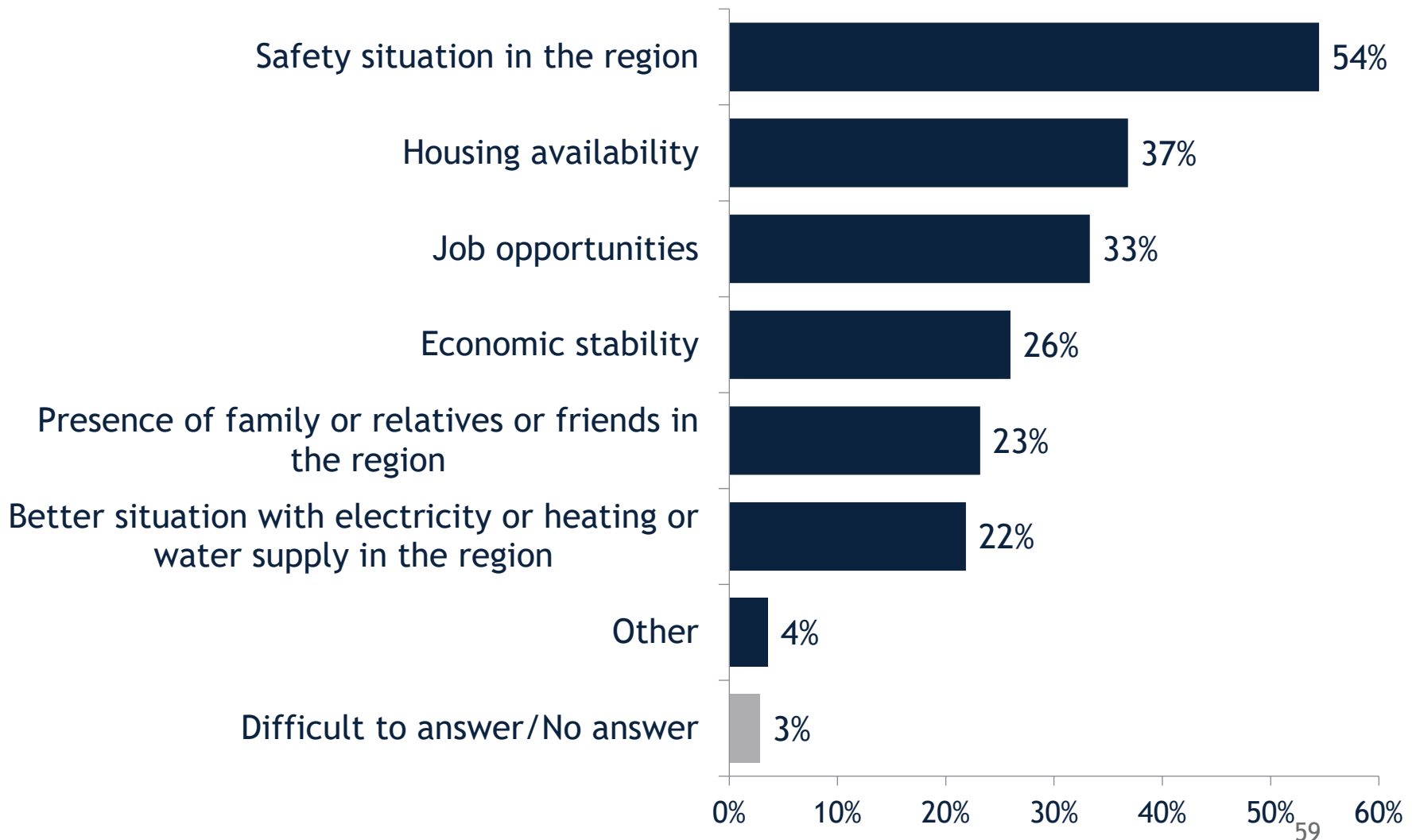


\* The results should be treated with caution due to the small sample size

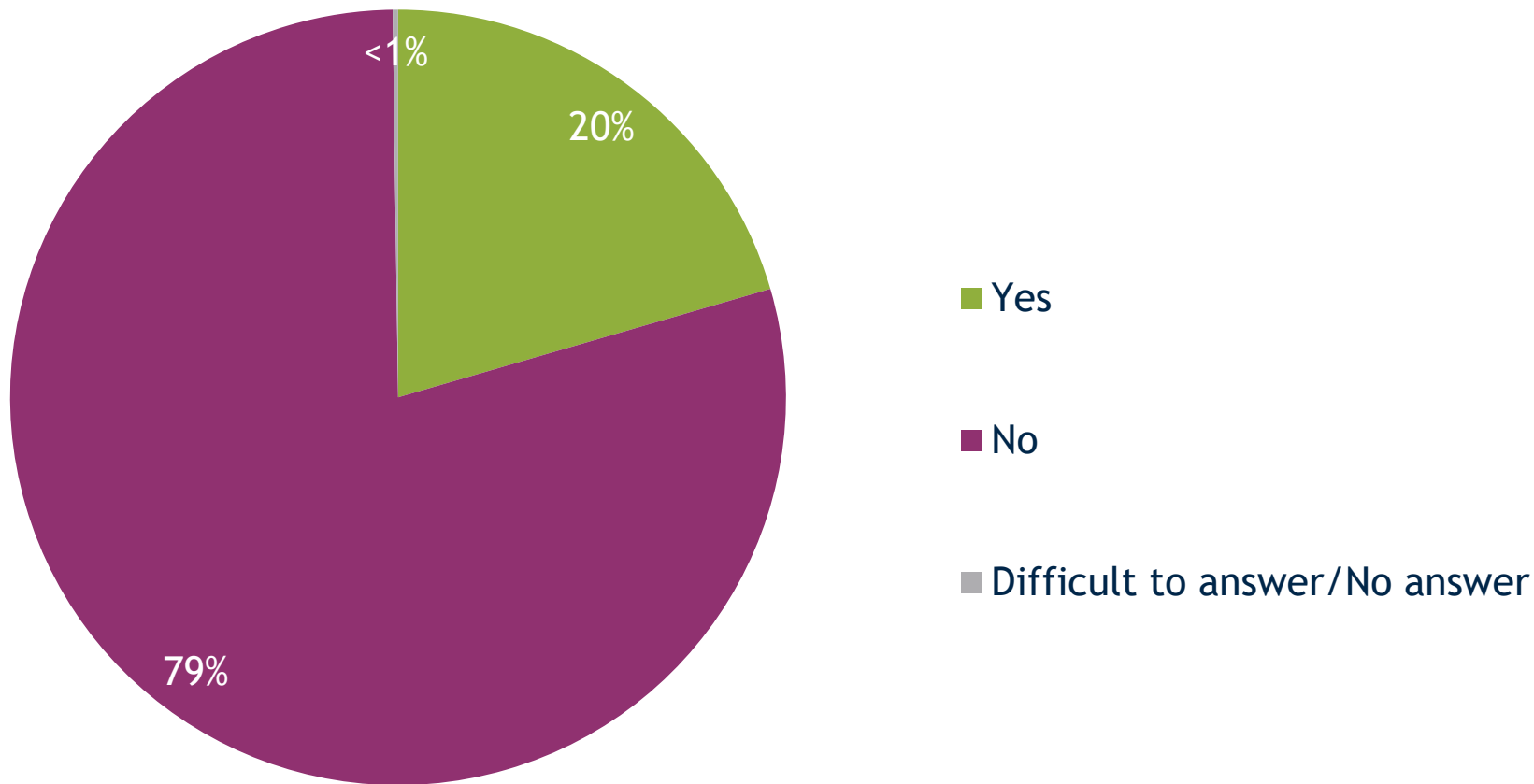
# What factors are most important for you when considering returning?

(Among those who have moved from home, n=259)

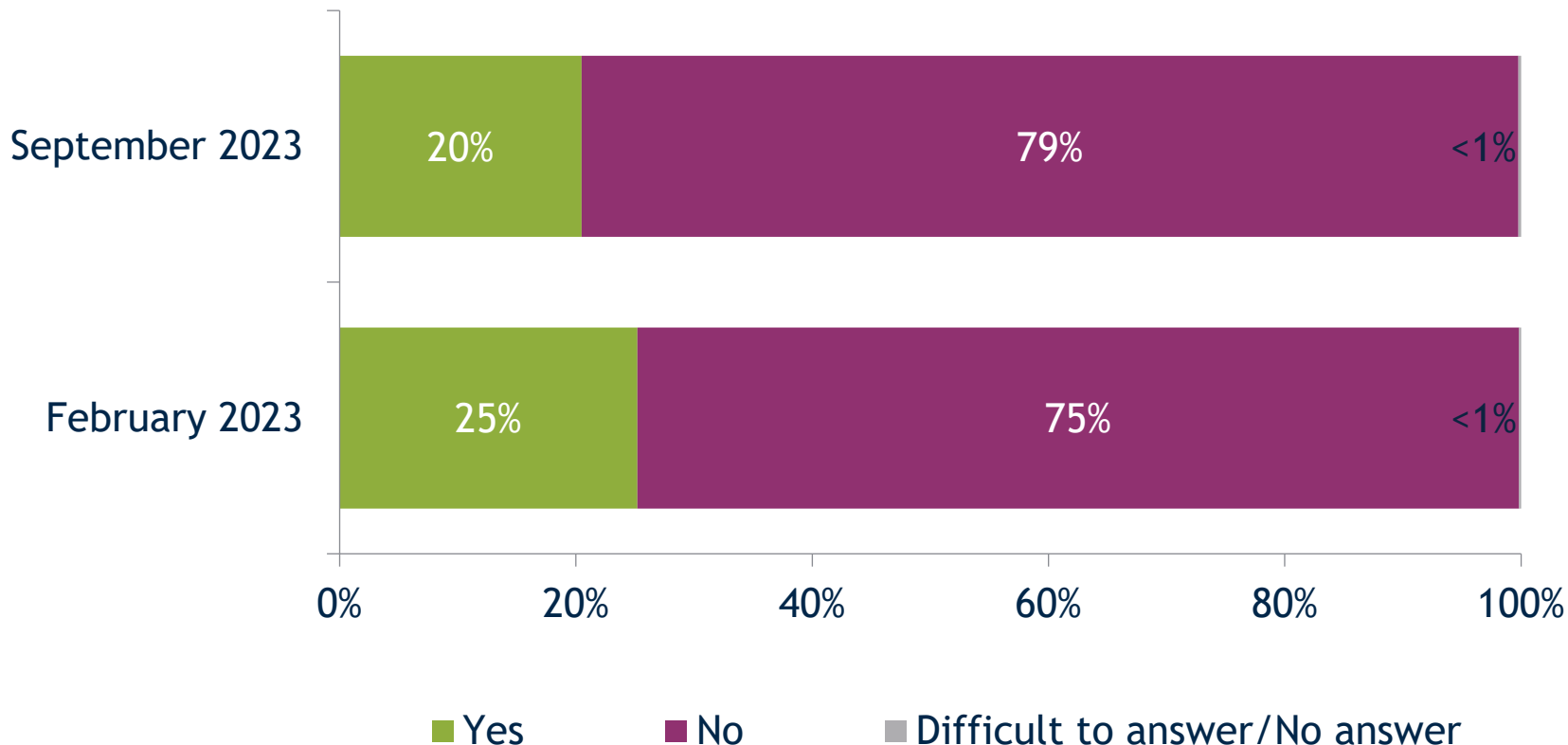
(Multiple responses)



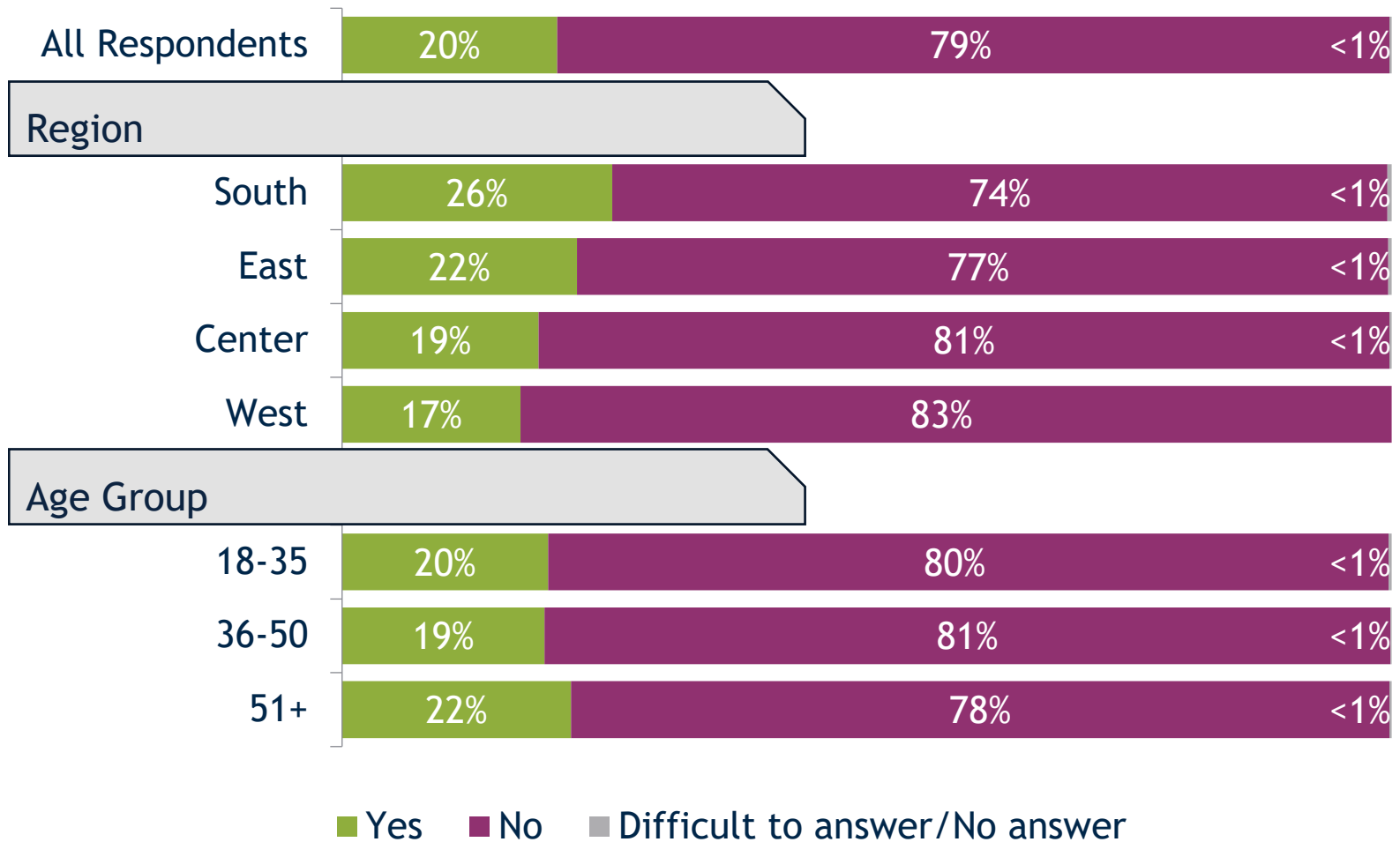
Do you have close relatives, for example husband, wife, parents or children, who are currently abroad due to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine?



# 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?

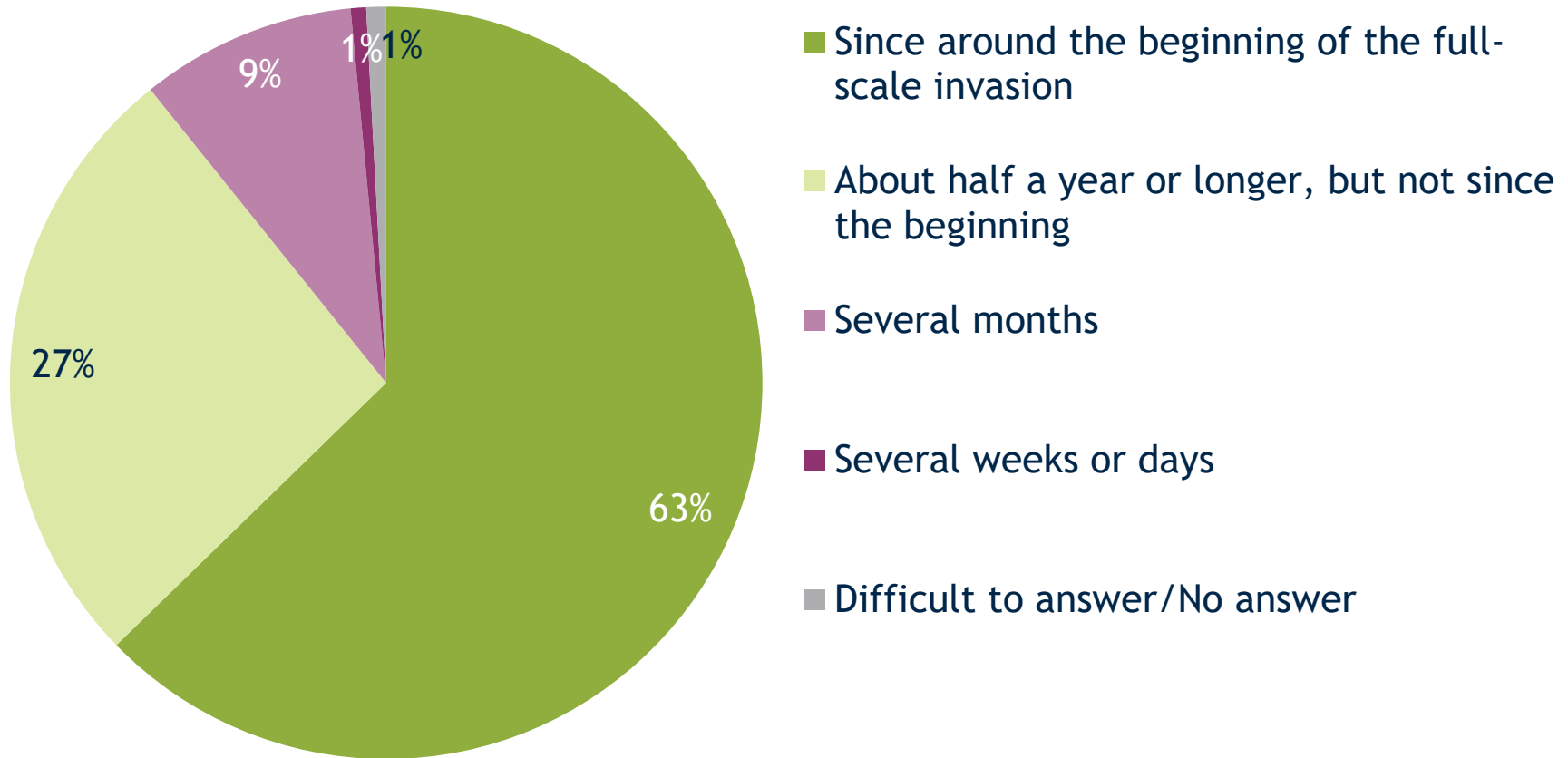


# Do you have close relatives, for example husband, wife, parents or children, who are currently abroad due to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine?



## How long have they been abroad?

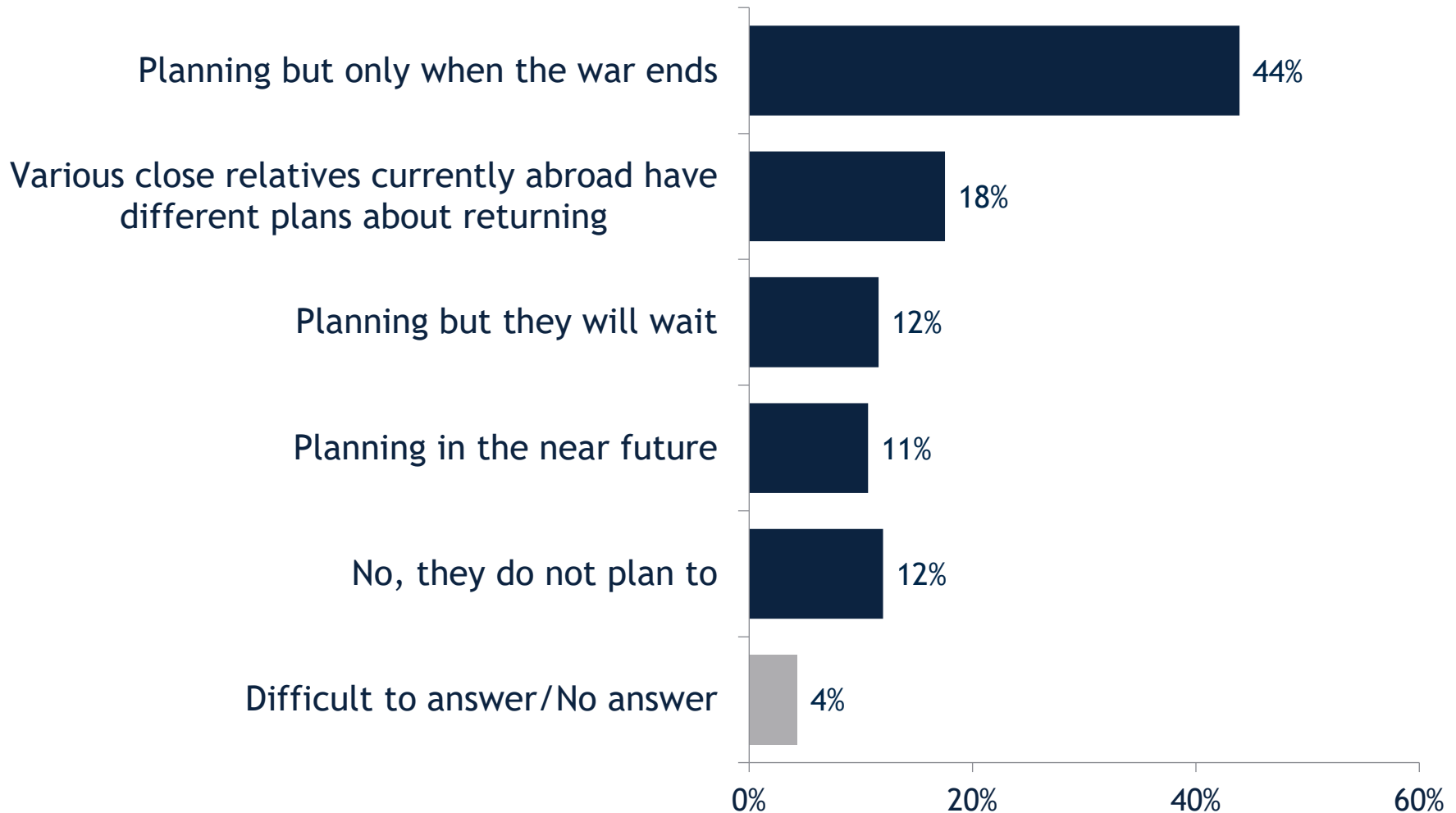
(Among those who have relatives who are currently abroad, n=410)





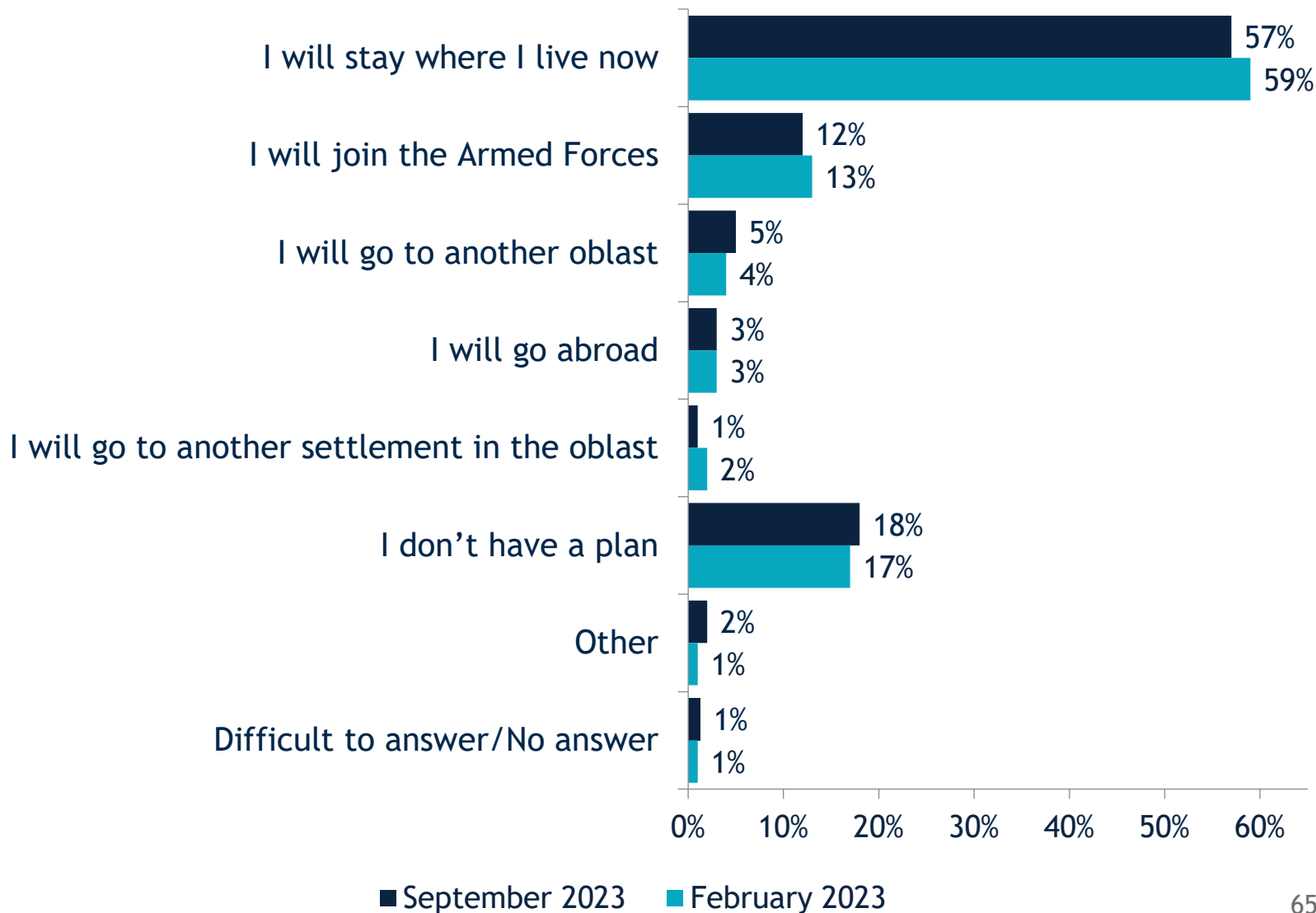
# Do they plan to return to Ukraine; if so, when?

(Among those who have relatives who are currently abroad, n= 410)





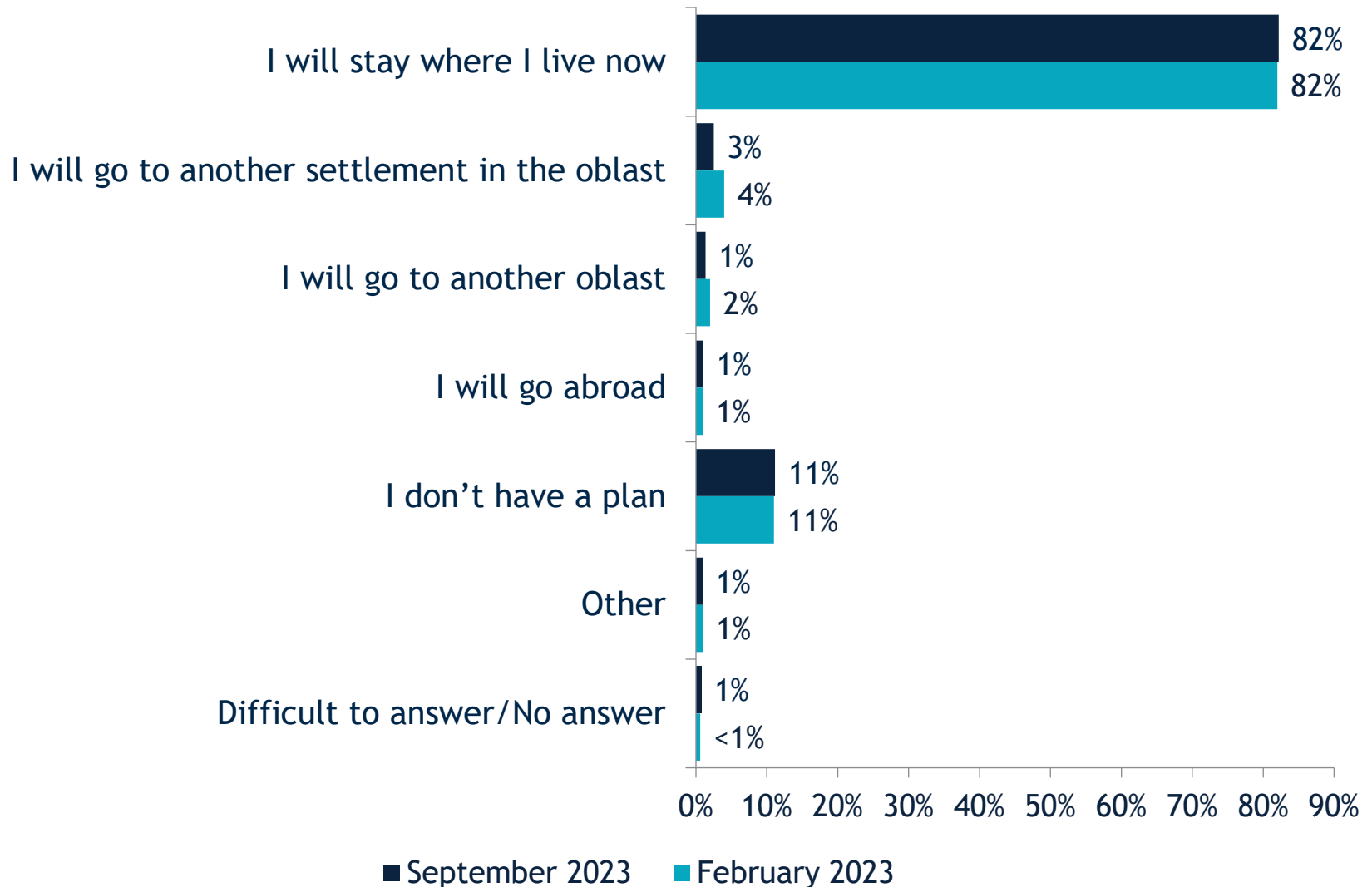
# What do you plan to do in the event of aggravation of the situation at the front, for example, a repeated attack on the liberated territories?



# 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	47%	49%	68%	64%	59%	52%	45%	49%	63%
I will join the Armed Forces	15%	14%	9%	13%	12%	12%	8%	21%	4%
I will go to another oblast	8%	6%	3%	2%	5%	6%	11%	3%	7%
I will go abroad	4%	5%	2%	3%	3%	3%	5%	2%	5%
I will go to another settlement in the oblast	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%
I don't have a plan	21%	21%	15%	14%	16%	22%	25%	19%	18%
Other	3%	3%	1%	2%	3%	2%	1%	4%	<1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%

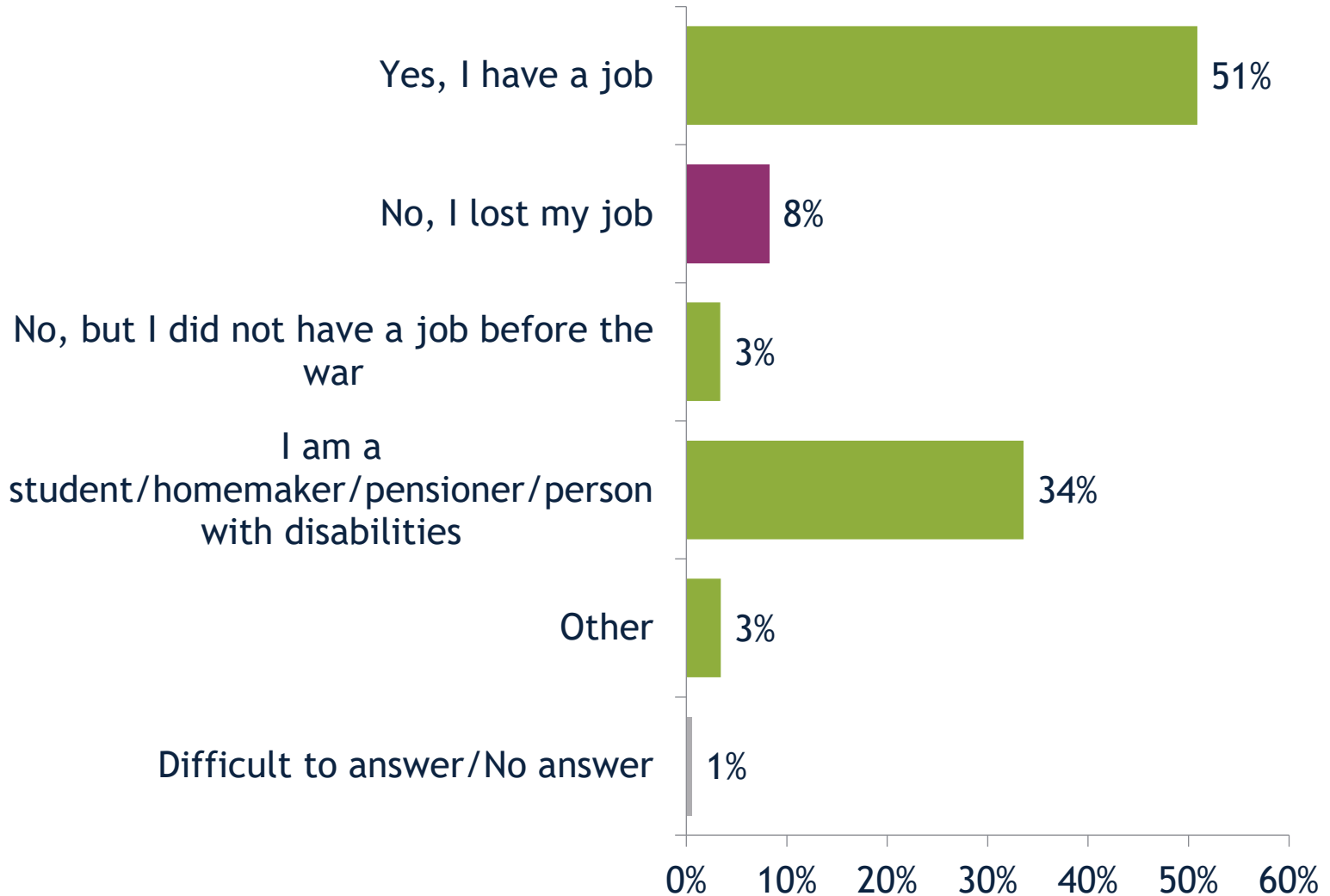
# What do you plan to do in the event of an exacerbation with the supply of electricity or its complete disconnection for a period lasting longer than 5 days?



## 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	78%	78%	88%	84%	80%	85%	79%
I will go to another settlement in the oblast	4%	3%	2%	2%	3%	1%	3%
I will go to another oblast	2%	2%	<1%	1%	2%	1%	1%
I will go abroad	2%	2%	<1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
I don't have a plan	12%	14%	9%	11%	12%	10%	13%
Other	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	<1%	1%
Difficult to answer/No answer	1%	<1%	1%	<1%	1%	1%	1%

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



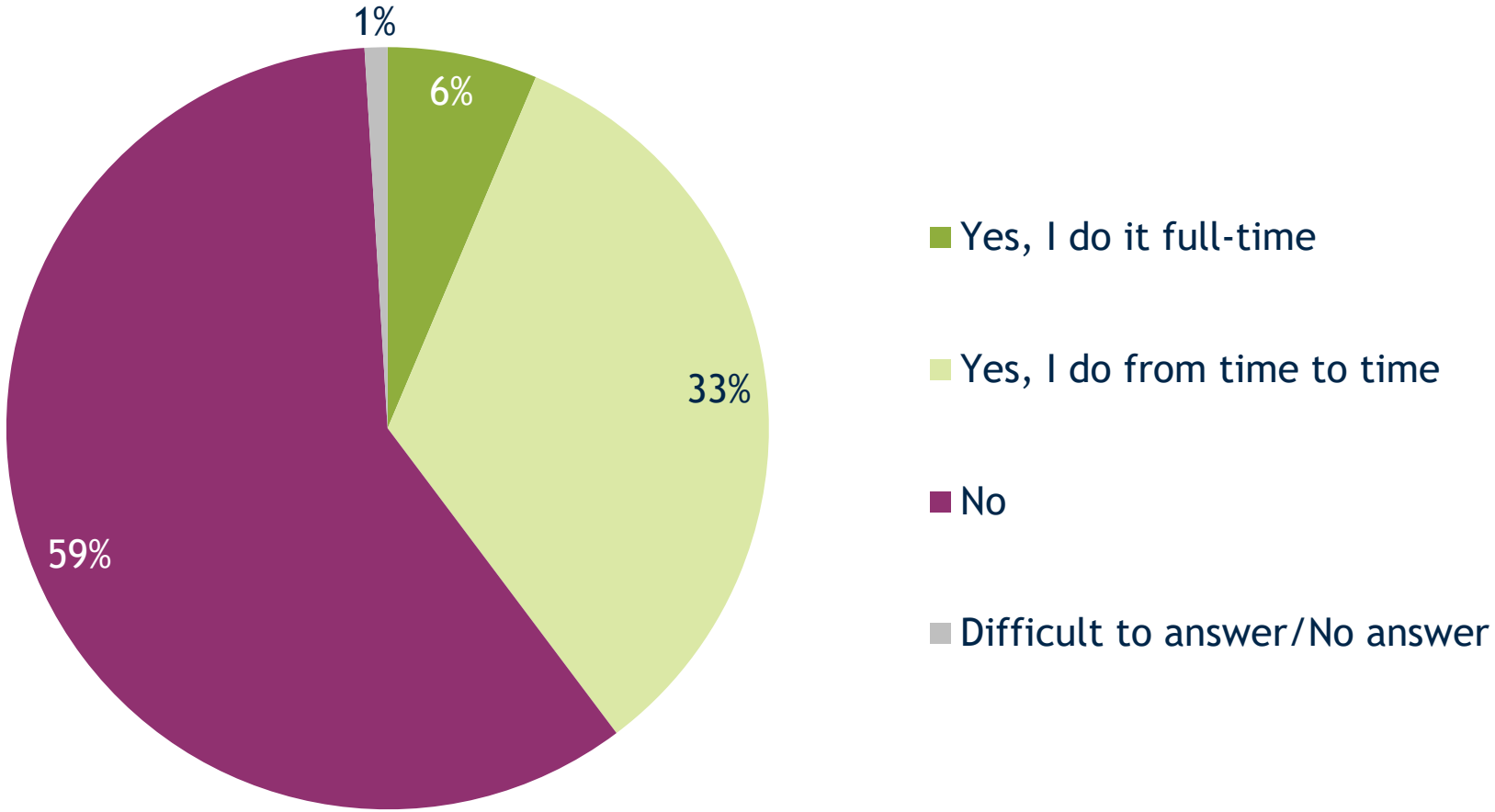


# Do you currently have a job or a means of earning an income?

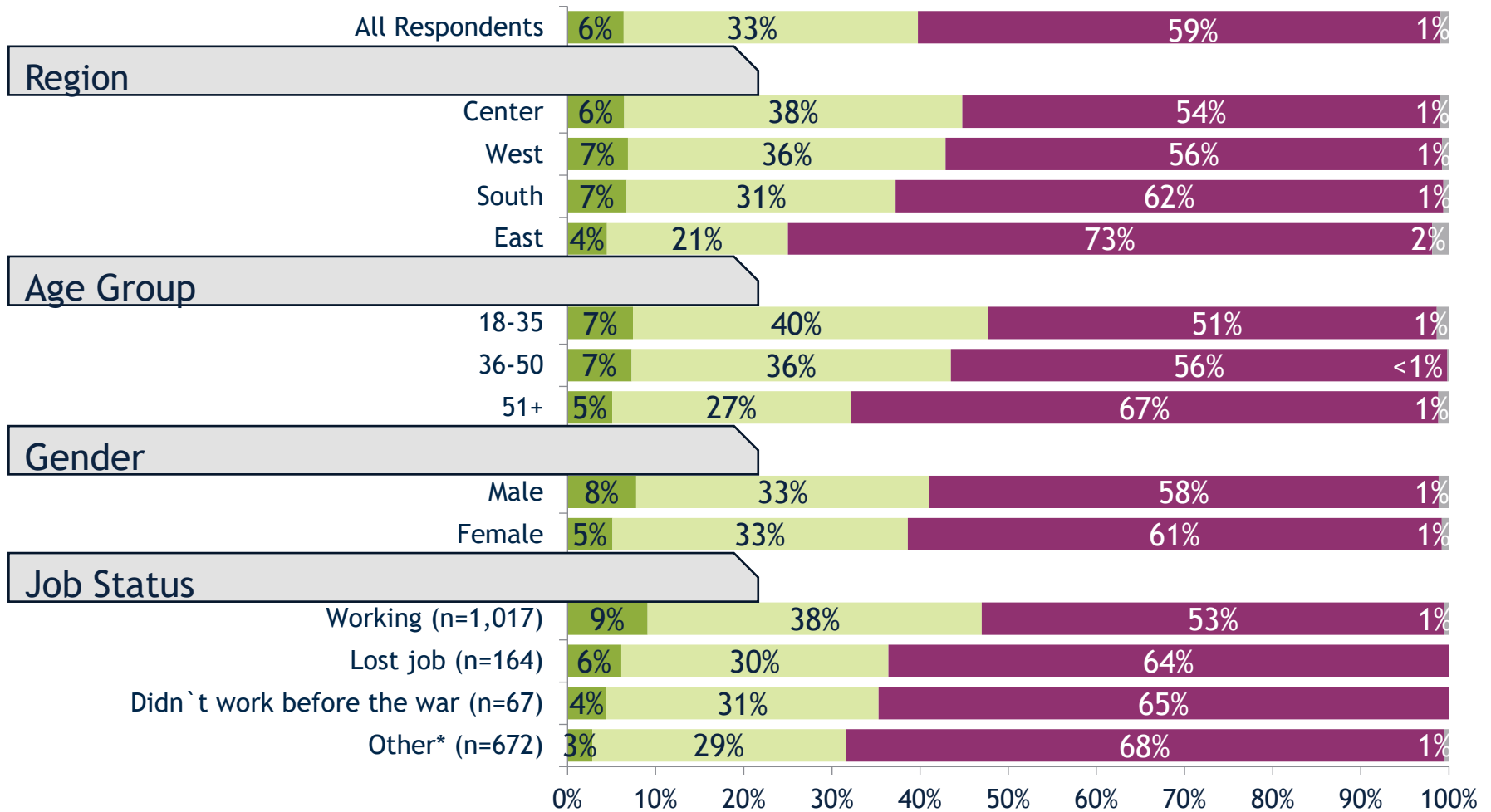
	Age Group			Region				Gender	
	18-35	36-50	51+	West	Center	South	East	Male	Female
Yes, I have a job	63%	67%	32%	52%	51%	53%	45%	60%	43%
No, I lost my job	8%	12%	6%	5%	7%	10%	15%	7%	9%
No, but I did not have a job before the war	4%	4%	2%	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%
I am a student/homemaker/pensioner/person with disabilities	18%	12%	57%	36%	34%	31%	34%	24%	42%
Other	5%	4%	2%	3%	5%	3%	2%	6%	2%
Difficult to answer/No answer	1%	<1%	<1%	1%	<1%	1%	1%	1%	<1%



# Are you involved in volunteering activities?



# Are you involved in volunteering activities?

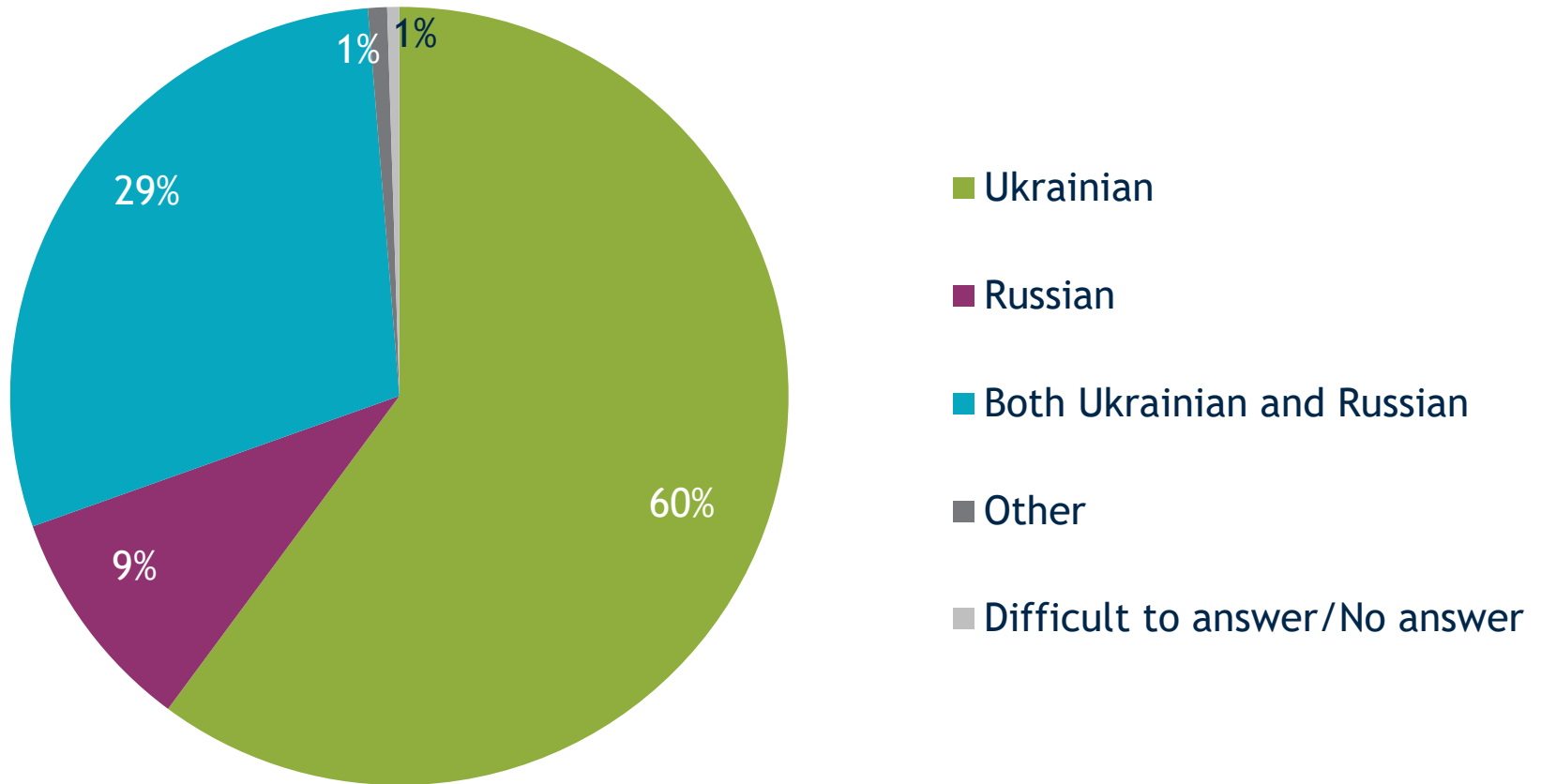


■ Yes, I do it full-time 
 ■ Yes, I do from time to time 
 ■ No 
 ■ Difficult to answer/No answer

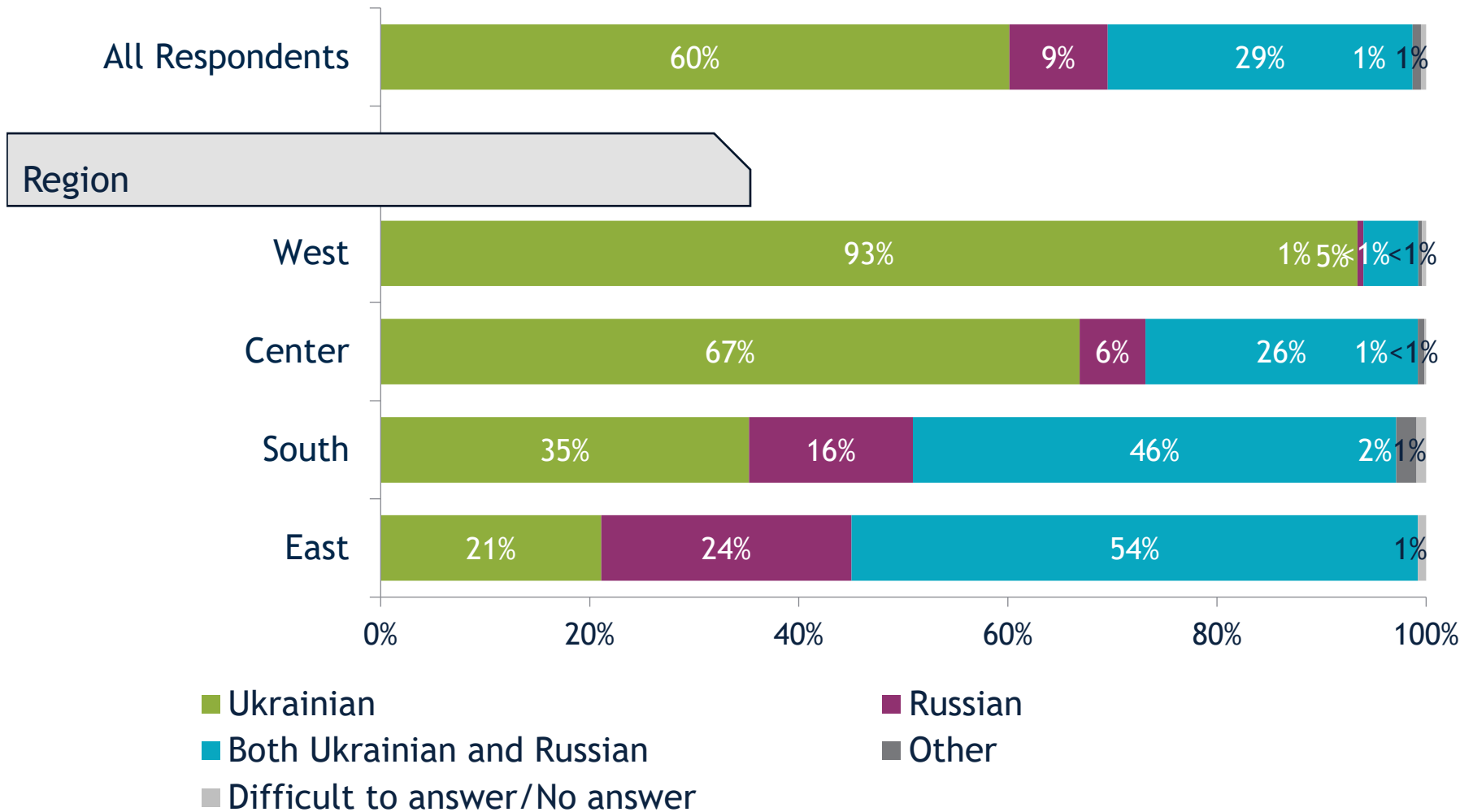
\* Student/homemaker/pensioner/person with disabilities/maternity leave



## Which language do you usually speak at home?

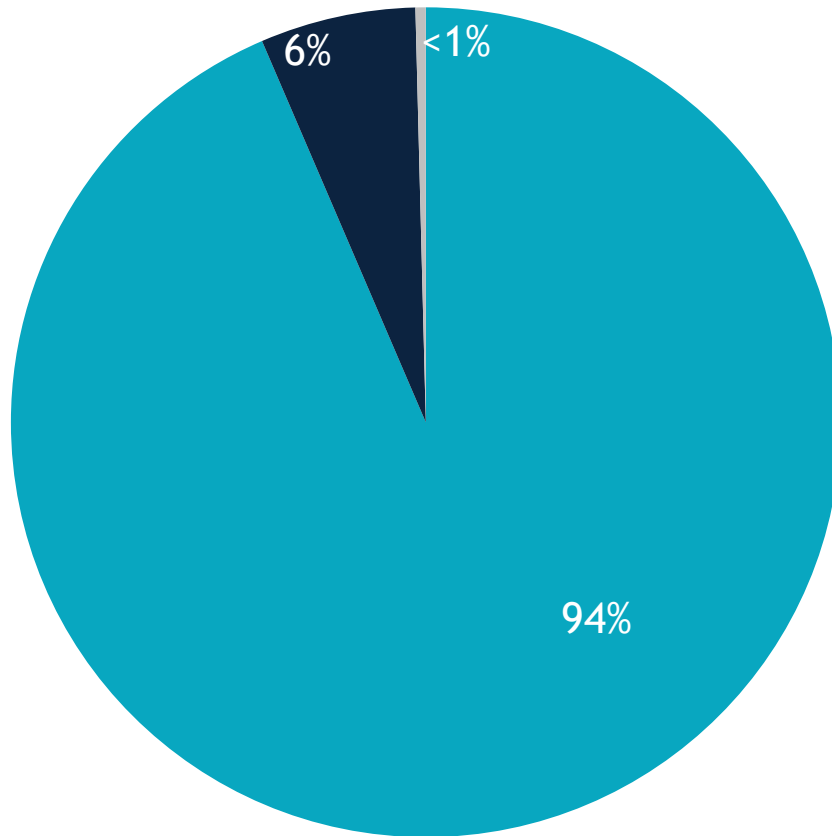


# Which language do you usually speak at home?



# 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=1,391)

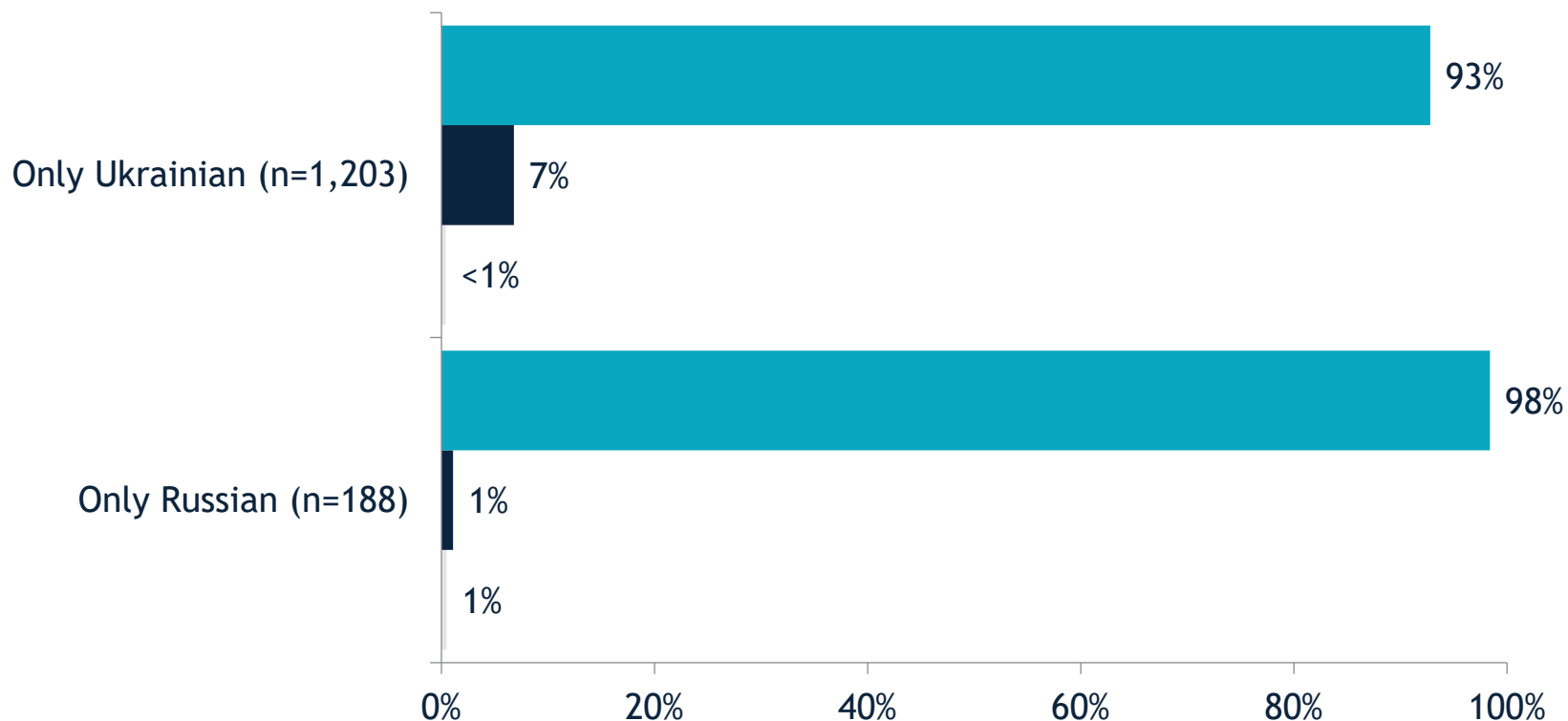


- I have been speaking this language for a long time
- I have recently deliberately switched to speaking this language
- Difficult to answer/No answer

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

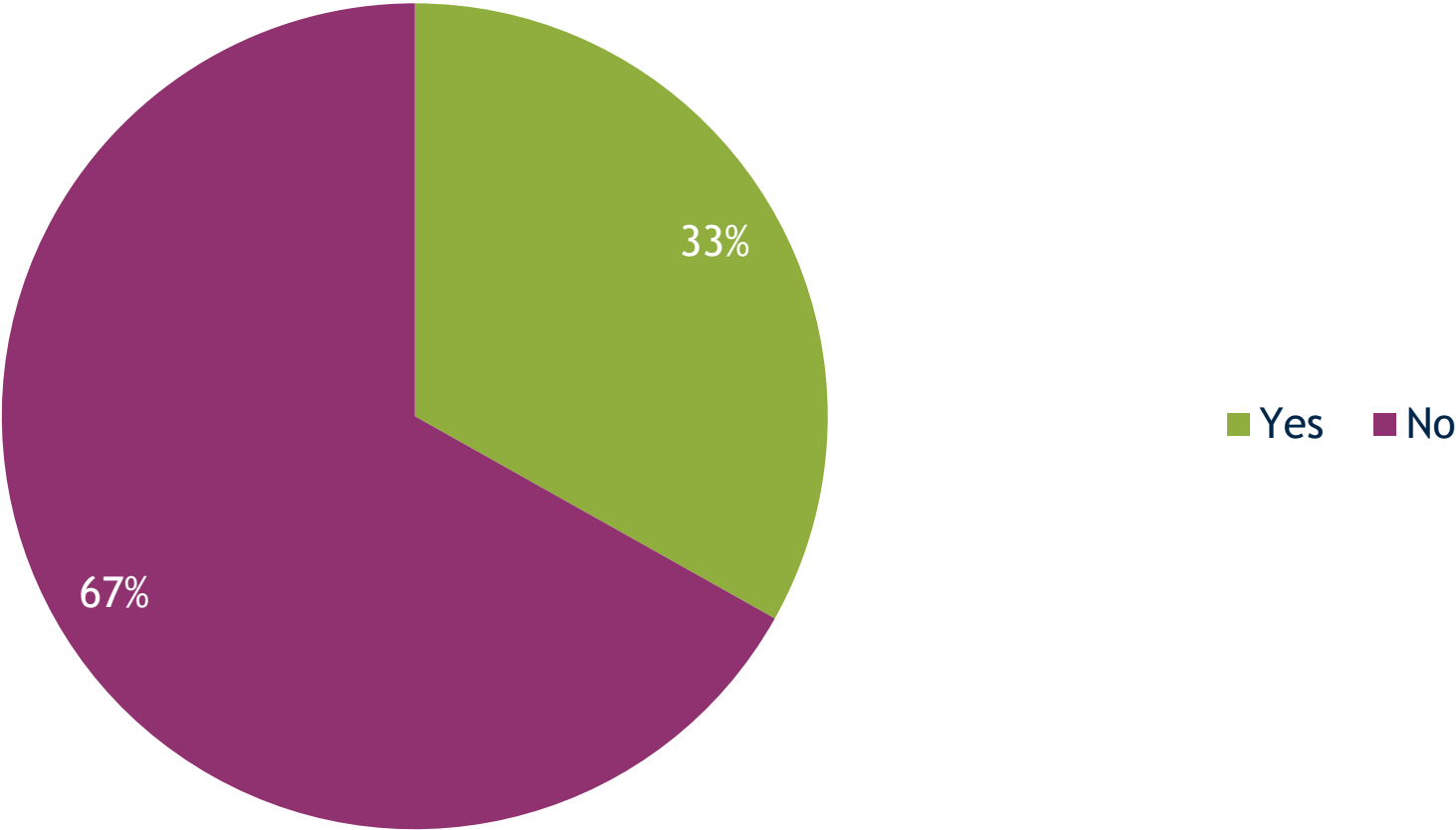
(Among those who usually speak only Ukrainian or only Russian at home, n=1,391)

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



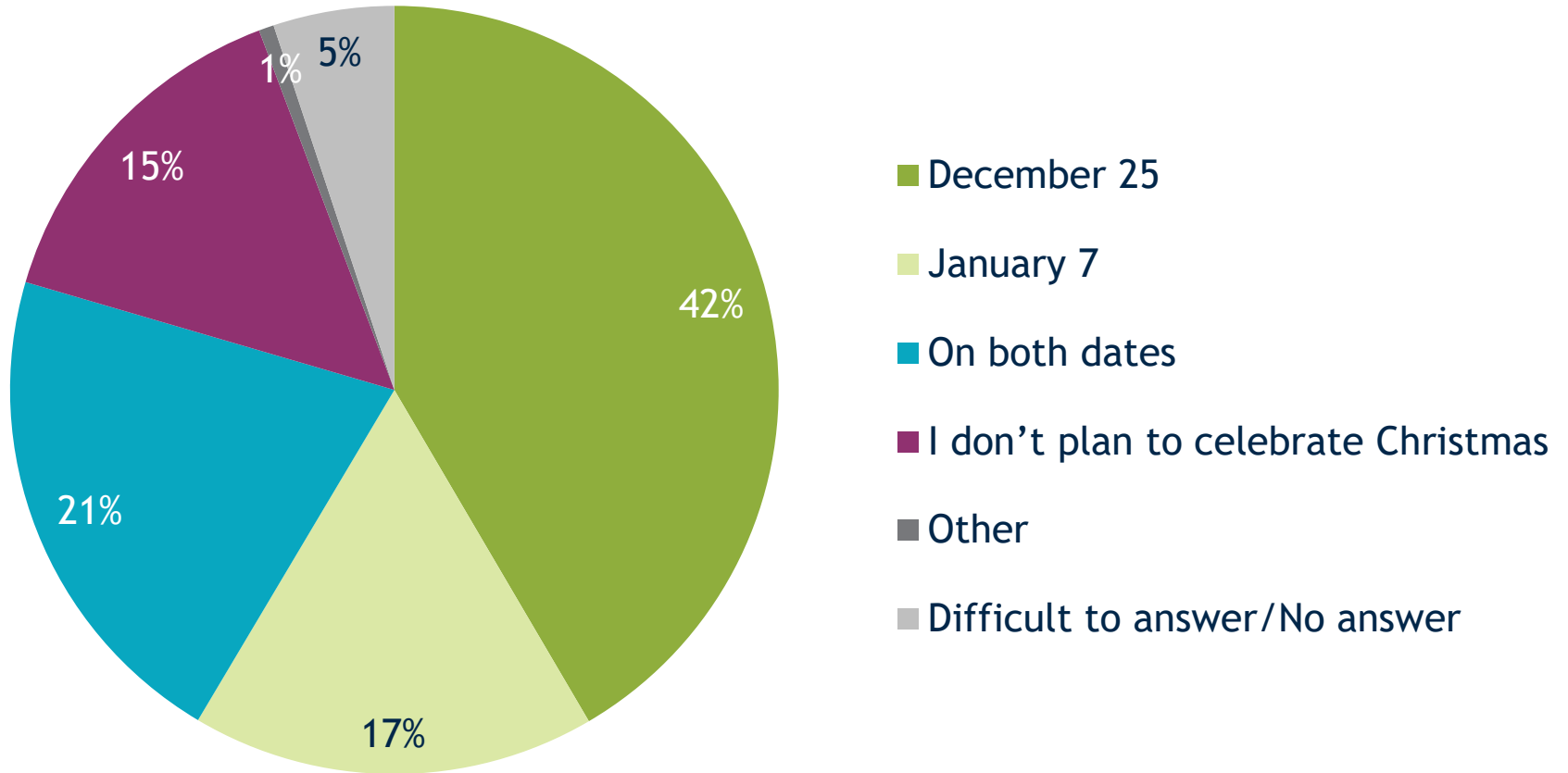


# Do you have children under the age of 18 who are staying with you?



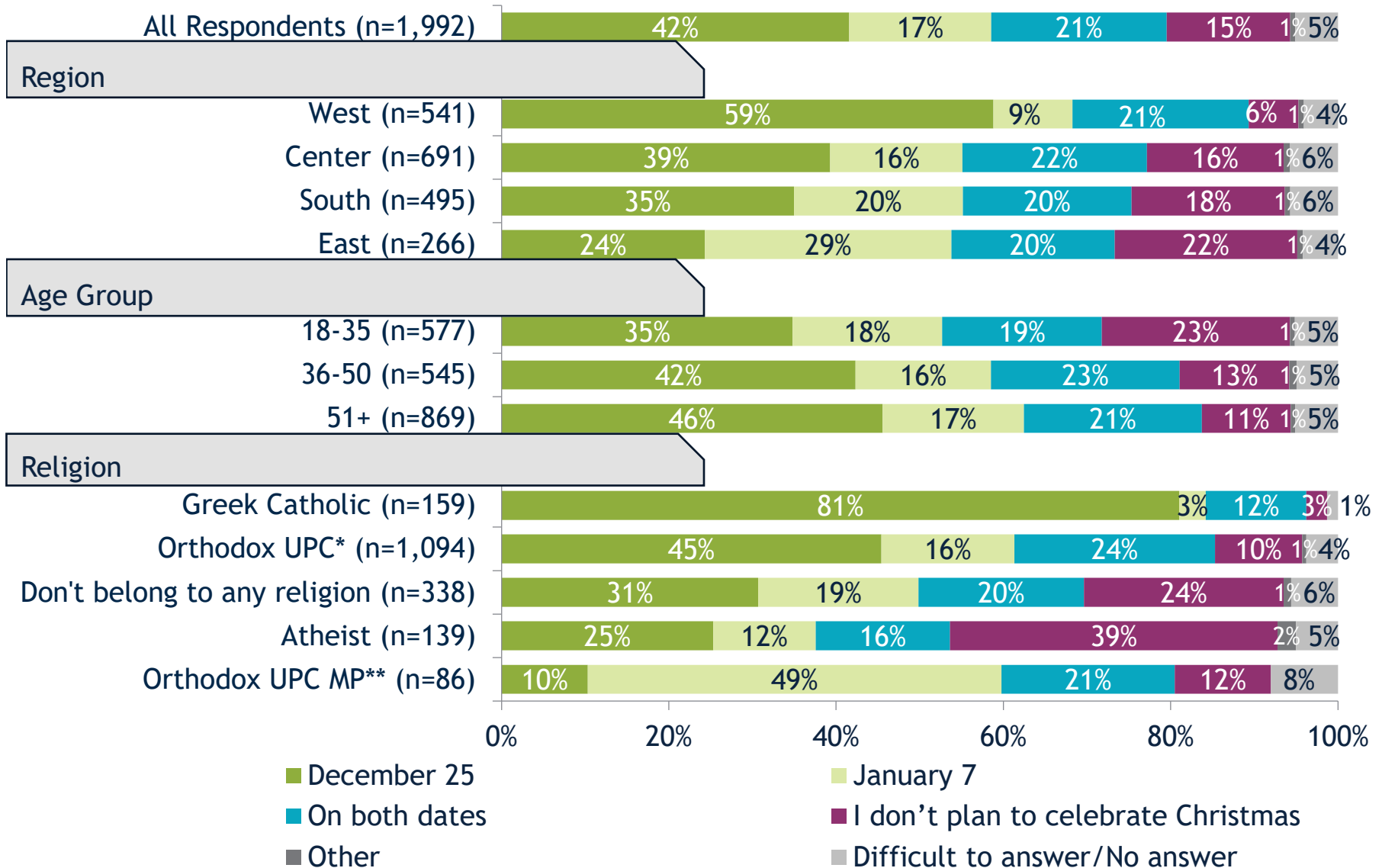
# On what date do you plan to celebrate Christmas?

(Among those who are not Muslim or Jewish, n=1,992)



# On what date do you plan to celebrate Christmas?

(Among those who are not Muslim or Jewish)



\*Kyiv Patriarchate, Local Orthodox Church in Ukraine

\*\*Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Moscow Patriarchate

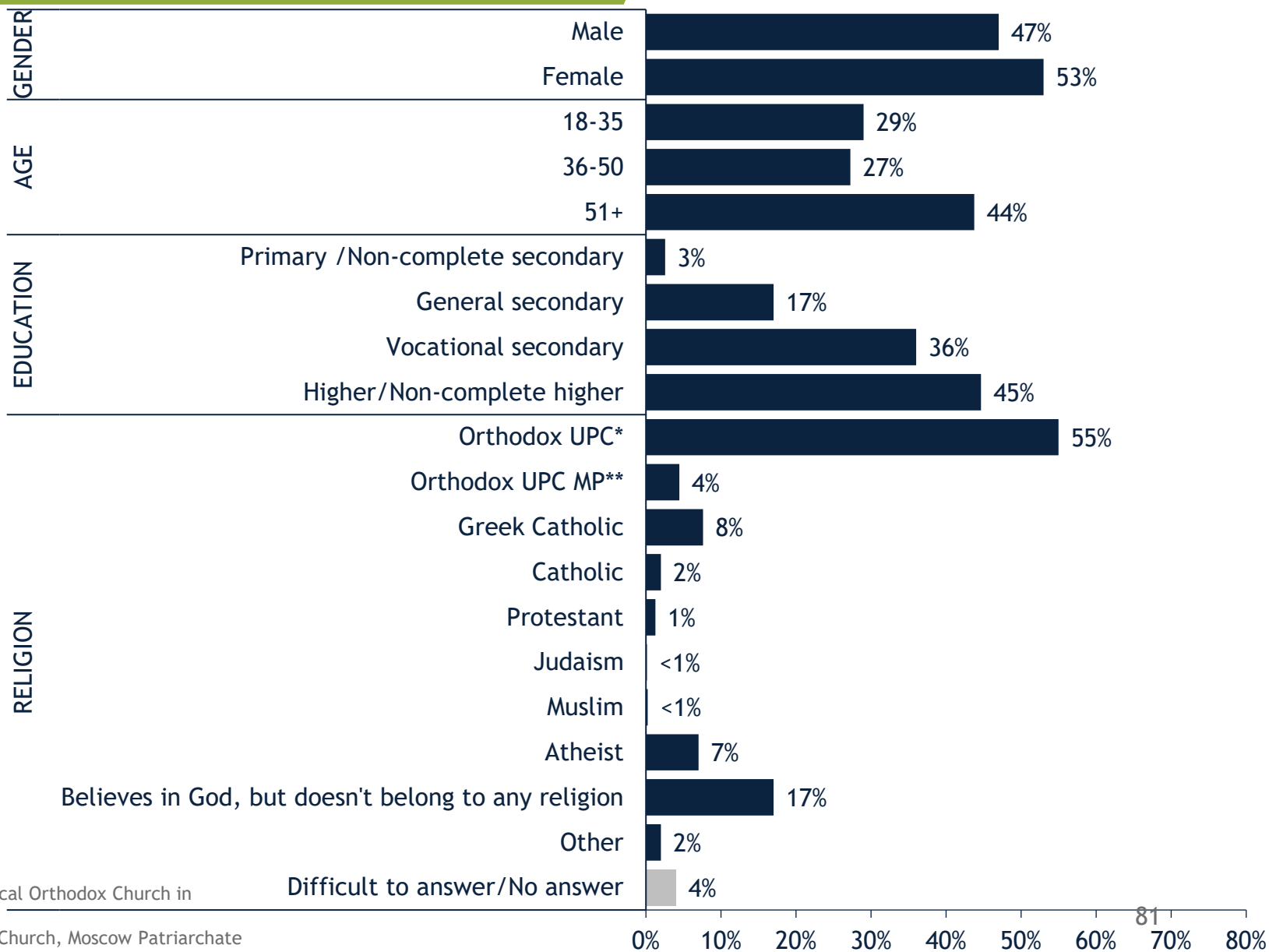
\*\*\* The results for Catholic and Protestant are not shown due to the small sample size

# Demographics





# Demographics



\*Kyiv Patriarchate, Local Orthodox Church in Ukraine

\*\*Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Moscow Patriarchate

## Oblast of Residence

	Usual Oblast of Residence	Current Oblast of Residence
Vinnitsia	4%	5%
Volyn	3%	3%
Dnipro	8%	10%
Donetsk	4%	2%
Zhytomyr	3%	3%
Zakarpattia	3%	3%
Zaporizhzhia	5%	4%
Ivano-Frankivsk	4%	4%
Kyiv oblast	5%	6%
Kirovohrad	2%	3%
Luhansk	2%	-
Lviv	7%	7%
Mykolayiv	3%	3%

	Usual Oblast of Residence	Current Oblast of Residence
Odesa	6%	7%
Poltava	4%	4%
Rivne	3%	3%
Sumy	3%	3%
Ternopil	3%	3%
Kharkiv	7%	6%
Kherson	3%	2%
Khmelnysky	3%	4%
Cherkasy	3%	4%
Chernivtsi	2%	3%
Chernihiv	3%	3%
Kyiv	8%	8%

Center for Insights in Survey Research  
202.408.9450 | info@IRI.org

[www.IRI.org](http://www.IRI.org) | @IRI\_Polls



**USAID**  
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



CENTER FOR  
INSIGHTS IN  
**SURVEY**  
**RESEARCH**

A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

соціологічна група

**РЕЙТИНГ**