

UKRAINE POLLS: UKRAINIANS REMAIN CONFIDENT IN WAR OUTCOME AND THEIR NATION'S FUTURE

Ukrainians are increasingly confident that they will be successful driving Russia out of their territory, according to polls conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago in July 2022 and April 2023. Seventy-nine percent of Ukrainians age 16 and older predict that Ukraine will succeed in driving Russia out of Ukrainian territory, an increase of 9 percentage points since last year.

At the same time, many are concerned about escalation scenarios, such as fighting near nuclear power zones (83%), Russia's use of nuclear weapons (74%), or other post-Soviet states entering the war on Russia's side (62%). Along with Russia's invasion, large majorities of Ukrainians cite official corruption and a poor economy as other top national concerns (97%, 91%, and 79%, respectively).

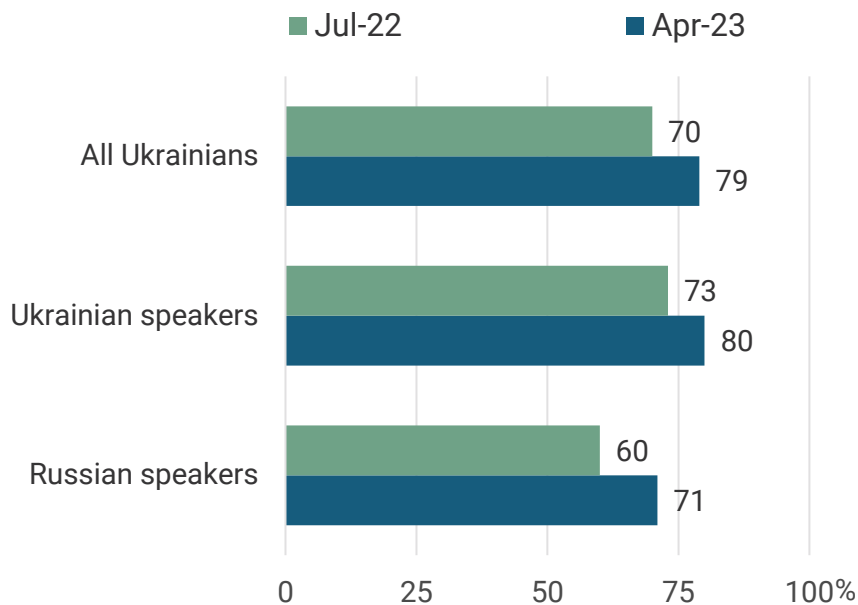
While most Ukrainians view independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 (88%) and nationalist figures positively, such as anti-Soviet resistance leader and Nazi collaborator Stepan Bandera (72%), looking to the country's future, NATO membership and integration with the European Union are strongly preferred paths. Russian-speaking Ukrainians who predominantly live in the Southern and Eastern Ukraine and were impacted the most by the war, align in their views on the invasion-related questions with Ukrainian speakers, but are less in favor of NATO's membership (81% supportive among Ukrainian speakers and 51% among Russian speakers).

On language policies, both Ukrainian (93%) and Russian (70%) speakers favor use of Ukrainian-only for official business but differ on whether to allow minority language status to ethnic groups that comprise at least 10% of the population, a policy that was revoked after the 2014 Maidan. Forty-two percent of Ukrainian speakers favor recognizing minority languages, compared with 61% of Russian speakers.

Confidence in the Ukrainian army's chances of driving out Russia has increased among Ukrainian and Russian speakers alike. Ukrainians of different ages share similar levels of confidence in Ukraine's counter-offensive.

Confidence in Ukrainian success in the war grows

Percent of adults who think Ukraine will drive Russia out of most Ukrainian territory



Question: What do you think is the most likely outcome of the current conflict through the end of this year?

Source: Polls conducted July 12-20, 2022 and April 13-19, 2023 by telephone each with 1,000

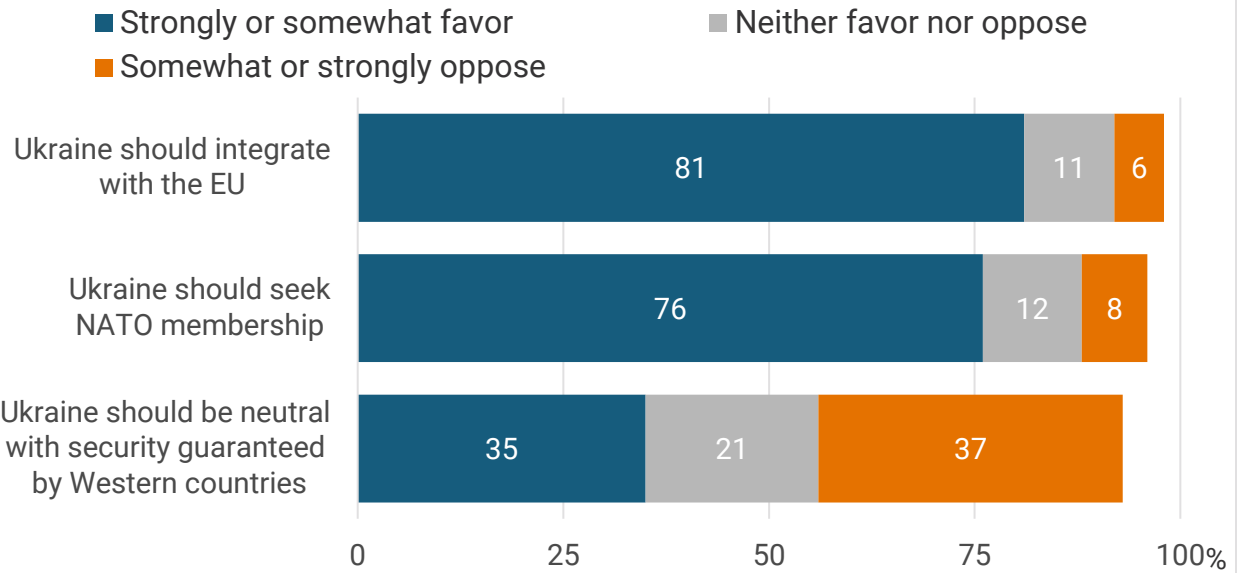


Ninety-three percent of Ukrainians find it unacceptable to cede Ukrainian territory taken by Russia after the invasion began on Feb 24th, 2022, even if doing so would end the conflict. Only two percent of Ukrainian speakers and five percent of Russian speakers find ceding this territory an acceptable conclusion to the fighting. Similarly, 89% of Ukrainians favor fighting to regain all occupied Ukrainian territory.

A majority of Ukrainians (81%) favor integrating with the European Union. Ukrainian speakers are more likely to be in favor than Russian speakers. However, even among Russian speakers, integrating with the EU is the most favored option (68%).

NATO membership (76%) is clearly favored over neutrality with security guarantees (35%). In public support for seeking NATO membership, there is a significant difference between Ukrainian (81%) and Russian speakers (51%).

Among Ukrainians, integrating with the European Union is a popular next step



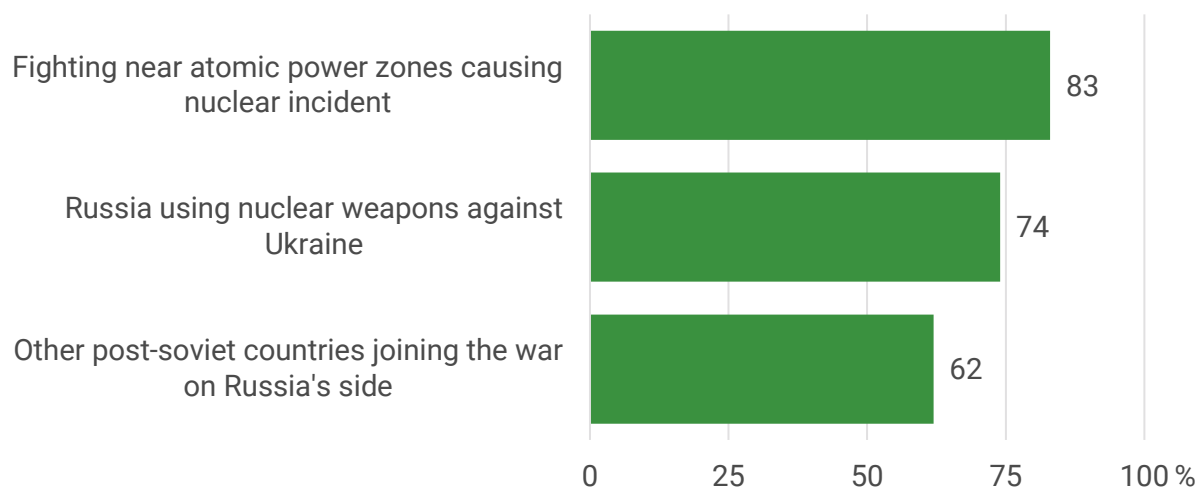
Question: For each please tell me do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose?
Source: NORC poll conducted on telephone April 13–19, 2023, with 1,000 adults age 16 and older nationwide.



Ukrainians fear fighting near nuclear power zones and the threat of nuclear weapons. Eighty-three percent of Ukrainians say they were extremely or very worried that fighting near atomic power plants in the ZAES in Southern Ukraine would cause a major nuclear disaster. Russia using nuclear weapons against Ukraine is the second most feared escalation.

Fighting near nuclear zones is the greatest feared escalation

Percent of adults who are extremely or very worried



Question: How personally concerned are you about each of the following developments?

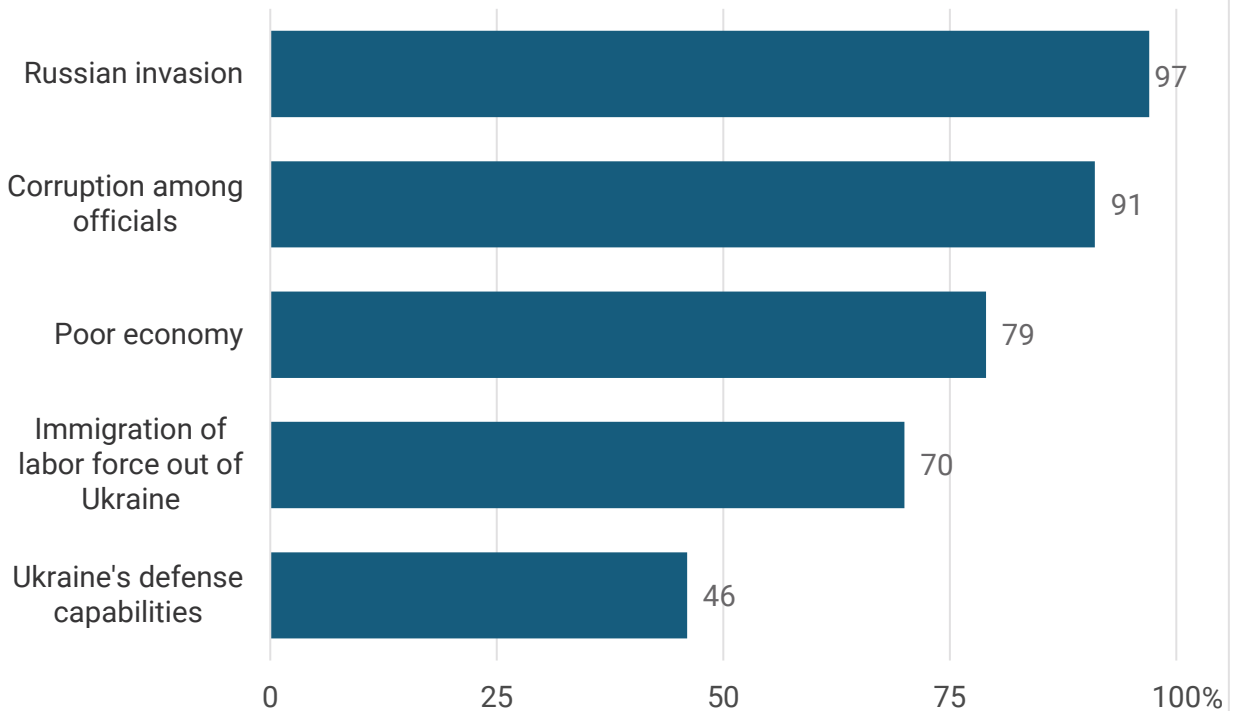
Source: NORC poll conducted on telephone April 13–19, 2023, with 1,000 adults age 16 and older nationwide.



Although a majority (71%) of Ukrainians think their country is headed in the right direction, Russia's invasion is seen as the biggest threat to the nation's security, followed closely by corruption among officials, and the poor state of the Ukrainian economy. Ukrainians share similar security concerns across age groups, and regardless of whether they answered the survey in Russian or Ukrainian.

Russian invasion biggest concern followed by corruption and the economy

Percent of adults who say each is a major threat



Question: How much of a threat is each of the following to Ukraine's security?

Source: NORC poll conducted on telephone July 14–27, 2022, with 1,000 adults age 16 and older.



EXPERIENCES OF WAR

Over a third of Ukrainians experienced a loss of work or decrease in regular income within their family in the first six months of the Russian invasion and almost 3 in 10 experienced family separation. Around 10% experienced destruction of property, loss of life or health, or failure to receive appropriate medical attention.

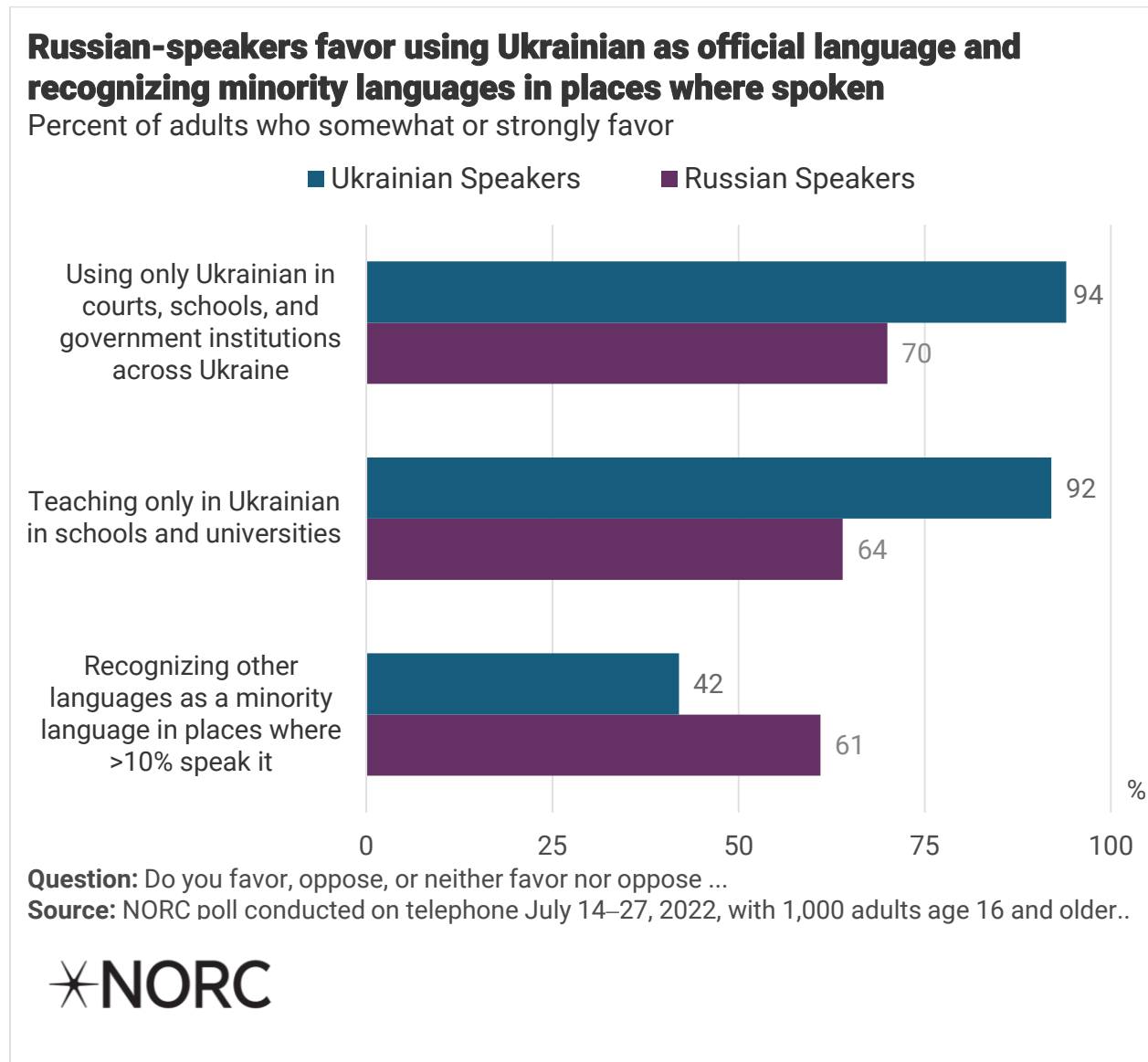
Those who answered NORC's survey in Russian were more likely to have experienced traumatic events in the first six months of the invasion than those who answered in Ukrainian. First-language Russian speakers are concentrated in Eastern and Southern Ukraine, which have been the frontlines of the war. Men and women report similar experiences of loss related to the invasion.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

A majority of Russian and Ukrainian speakers favor using only Ukrainian in government institutions and teaching in schools. Those who answered the survey in Ukrainian are more likely to favor Ukrainian language dominance in public institutions.

Although a majority of Russian-speaking Ukrainians also favor conducting official government business in Ukrainian, most in this group also support recognizing minority or regional languages in areas of the country where more than 10% of the population speaks that language, a previously existing policy that was annulled by the Ukrainian parliament in 2014 after the Euromaidan uprising. The annulment, criticized by the EU, meant actual banning of Russian language which fueled separatism in predominantly Russian-speaking regions.

Ukrainians of different ages feel similarly about national language policies.



Ukrainians say Russia has been the most negative force on Ukraine throughout its history, a view shared by both Ukrainian and Russian speakers.

Ukrainians name Taras Shevchenko, a 19th century poet who criticized the oppression of Ukraine by Russia and prophesied a revolution, as the most positive influence on the nation's history.

Independence from the Soviet Union is a close second, however, there is an approval gap of 12 percentage points between Russian and Ukrainian speakers.

Other historical figures are more divisive. Stepan Bandera, the leader of the anti-Soviet independence movement, is seen as a positive influence by 78% of Ukrainian speakers, but just over half of Russian speakers say the same, as some view Bandera as a traitor for his insurgence against Soviet forces and his campaigns against Poles and Jews in collaboration with Nazi Germany.

Both Ukrainian and Russian speakers view Germany as the most negative influence on Ukraine after Russia. Poland's influence is viewed more positively, even after a bitter history of centuries of Polish rule and 20th Century violence against Poles in Ukraine.

Ivan Mazepa and the Euromaidan revolution also saw a strong split by language. Seventy-eight percent of Ukrainian speakers, and 61% of Russian speakers think that the 17th century civic leader who switched allegiance from the Tsar was a good influence on the country. A fifth of all Ukrainians are not sure whether Mazepa's influence was positive or negative.

Ukrainians have favorable opinions of personalities and events related to independence and nationalism

Percent of adults who have a favorable opinion of each



Question: Do you think each of the following has made a mostly positive or mostly negative contribution to Ukraine's history?

Source: NORC poll conducted on telephone July 14–27, 2022, with 1,000 adults age 16 and older.

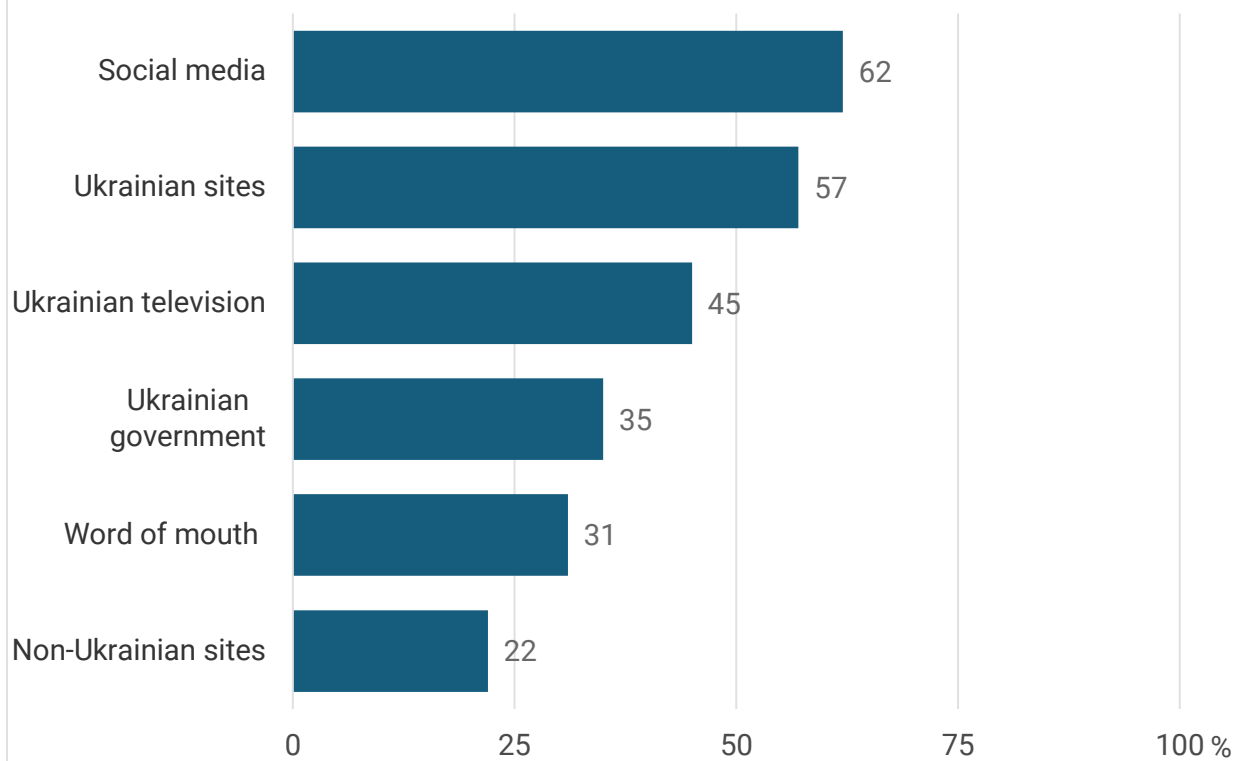


TRUST IN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Social media is the most popular source for Ukrainians to get their news, followed by Ukrainian internet sites and Ukrainian television, where war coverage is closely regulated by the government. Ukrainians 60 and up are more likely to say they trust Ukrainian television as a source of news (79%), whereas those aged 20-29 are more likely to trust social media (68%). Ukrainians rely similarly on the Ukrainian government (81%), Ukrainian internet sites (76%), and word of mouth (76%).

Social media is the most popular news source among Ukrainians

Percent of adults who say each is their main source of information



Question: What is your primary source of information about what is happening in Ukraine now?
(Select all that apply)

Source: NORC poll conducted on telephone July 14–27, 2022, with 1,000 adults age 16 and older.



Trust in sources of information is similar between Russian and Ukrainian speakers, apart from their trust in the Ukrainian government. Those who answered the survey in Russian (22%) are more likely to distrust the Ukrainian government than those who answered in Ukrainian (12%).

Russian speakers have similar levels of distrust in media as Ukrainian speakers, apart from trust in the Ukrainian government

Percent of adults who trusted very little or not at all



Question: How much do you trust each of the following sources of information about what is happening in Ukraine now?

Source: NORC poll conducted on telephone July 14–27, 2022, with 1,000 adults age 16 and older.



METHODOLOGY AND MODAL DIFFERENCES

The surveys analyzed in this issue brief were funded by NORC at the University of Chicago. Phone data were collected by the local agency Info Sapiens with a random sample of 1,000 Ukrainians aged 16 and older who own a mobile phone number with one of Ukraine’s mobile service providers and live in Ukraine-controlled areas of the country. The first round of interviews consisted of 1,000 interviews conducted between July 14-27, 2022. The second round of interviews includes 1,000 interviews conducted between April 13-19, 2023.

Mobile numbers in Ukraine have ten digits. The first three digits are the mobile provider code. The last seven digits of the mobile number were generated randomly. Hence, the sample frame covered Ukrainian mobile numbers from the areas of the country under Ukrainian control during the time of fieldwork and excluded Crimea and the separatist-controlled parts of Donbas where Ukrainian mobile providers are not used. The numbers were dialed randomly using the CATI method, with quotas by age, gender, and region, with up to three callbacks. Interviews were conducted by live bilingual interviewers in Ukrainian and Russian, depending on respondent preference.

The overall margin of sampling error is +/- 4.0 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level, including the design effect. The margin of sampling error may be higher for subgroups. Sampling error is only one of many potential sources of error and there may be other unmeasured error in this or any other survey.

Quality assurance checks were conducted to ensure data quality, including continuous supervision of interviewing and logical checks of completed interviews. No interviews were found faulty as a result of these checks. Once the sample has been selected and fielded, and all the study data have been collected and made final, a poststratification weighting was used to adjust for any survey nonresponse as well as any noncoverage or under and oversampling resulting from the study specific sample design. Poststratification variables included age, gender, region, and urbanicity. Targets for weighting were obtained from the State Statistics Service of Ukraine report, 2021. The weighted data reflect the Ukrainian population of adults aged 16 and over, excluding Crimea and the Donbas areas not under Ukrainian control before February 24th, 2022.

NORC also funded a web survey of Ukrainians, conducted between September 12-20, 2022. In total, 1245 adult internet users were surveyed. The survey was offered in Ukrainian and Russian. We used a “blended panel” approach to select the sample among two online access panels, Cint and Info Sapiens. Based on internal research, we recognize that opt-in panels can vary significantly in demographic composition, as well as attitudinal and behavioral responses, due to differences in how the panelists are recruited and incentivized. By selecting sample across several sources, and applying a standardized quota structure, sample consistency is achieved within country and across countries in multimarket surveys.

The quota scheme was compiled from the most recent census population statistics available in Ukraine, based on several key demographic characteristics—gender, age, and education. We also ensured that the sample is geographically balanced across major regions in Ukraine.

For this survey, multiple outgoing sample replicates were deployed throughout the field period, so that the achieved total sample includes early and late responders, as well as weekday and weekend responders. This procedure also allowed panelists with different lifestyles and schedules a chance to respond.

Unlike telephone or face-to-face surveys which are administered by trained interviewers, online surveys are self-administered and are at a higher risk of respondent error or falsification. We apply our proprietary system for quality analysis and de-duplication control to finalize the datasets and replace cases that red-flagged during control.

After data cleaning, we weighted the data on the same geo-demographic variables used in sample selection to remove biases due to differences in cooperation rate across these subgroups. Weight factors were calculated using a rim weighting or iterative proportional fitting program. Where the weights fell outside of an acceptable range, we used a trimming procedure to adjust extreme weights that are too small or too large.

Modal Differences

Overall, we found that CATI and CAWI results did not substantially differ from each other. However, there were some questions for which there were substantial differences that were not mitigated by weighting and we attribute to mode effect. The chart below shows how CAWI respondents were more likely than phone respondents to say they have experienced traumatic events during the war, such as

decrease in regular income and failure to receive proper medical care. The chart also shows that Russian speakers are more likely to report these consistently across the two modes.

Similarly, compared with telephone respondents, Ukrainian speaking web respondents were significantly more likely to say they believe that Ukraine will succeed in driving Russia out of all occupied territories. Conversely, a higher percentage of Russian speakers who responded on the web said they believe it's likely that things end in a stalemate, which might be attributed to the fact that they were not speaking to a live interviewer which removed the possible impact of social desirability. It's worth noting that approximately five percent of Russian phone respondents did not provide a response to this question.

For more information about the surveys or NORC's international survey capability, please email info@norc.org

CAWI respondents more likely than phone respondents to say they have experienced traumatic events



Question: Since February 24th, have you or your family experienced any of the following?

Source: NORC polls conducted on telephone July 14-27, 2022, with 1,000 adults age 16 and older nationwide and online September 12-20 with 1,245 adults 16 and up nationwide.

Modal differences between Ukrainian and Russian speakers on the war outcome

Percent of adults who say each will be the most likely outcome



Question: What do you think is the most likely outcome of the current conflict through the end of this year?

Source: AP-NORC polls conducted on telephone July 12–20, 2022, with 1,000 adults age 16 and older nationwide and online September 14-27 with 1,245 adults age 16 and up nationwide.



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