



Social expectations

regarding the end of war: First wave

March 7-10, 2024

Methodology

- Audience: Ukraine's population aged 18 and older in all regions, excluding the temporarily occupied territories of Crimea and Donbas, and territories lacking Ukrainian cellular coverage at the time of the survey. The results are weighted based on relevant data from the State Statistics Service of Ukraine
- The sample is representative by age, gender and settlement type
- Sample size: **2000 respondents**
- Surveying method: CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing). Based on randomized sample of phone numbers
- The error of representativeness of the study with a confidence level of 0.95: **no greater than 2,2%**
- Study timing: March 7-10, 2024
- The survey was conducted by the Rating Group under the commission of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.



CARNEGIE
ENDOWMENT FOR
INTERNATIONAL PEACE

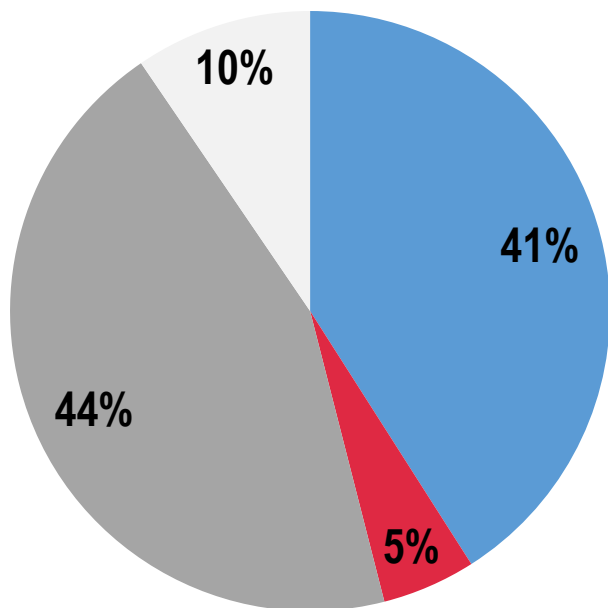
REGIONS (current residence location):

- **West** (Volyn, Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil, Khmelnytskyi, Chernivtsy)
- **Center** (Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Poltava, Sumy, Cherkasy, Chernihiv)
- **South** (Zaporizhia, Mykolayv, Odesa)
- **East** (Dnypropetrovsk, Donetsk, Kharkiv)
- **Kyiv** (Kyiv city)



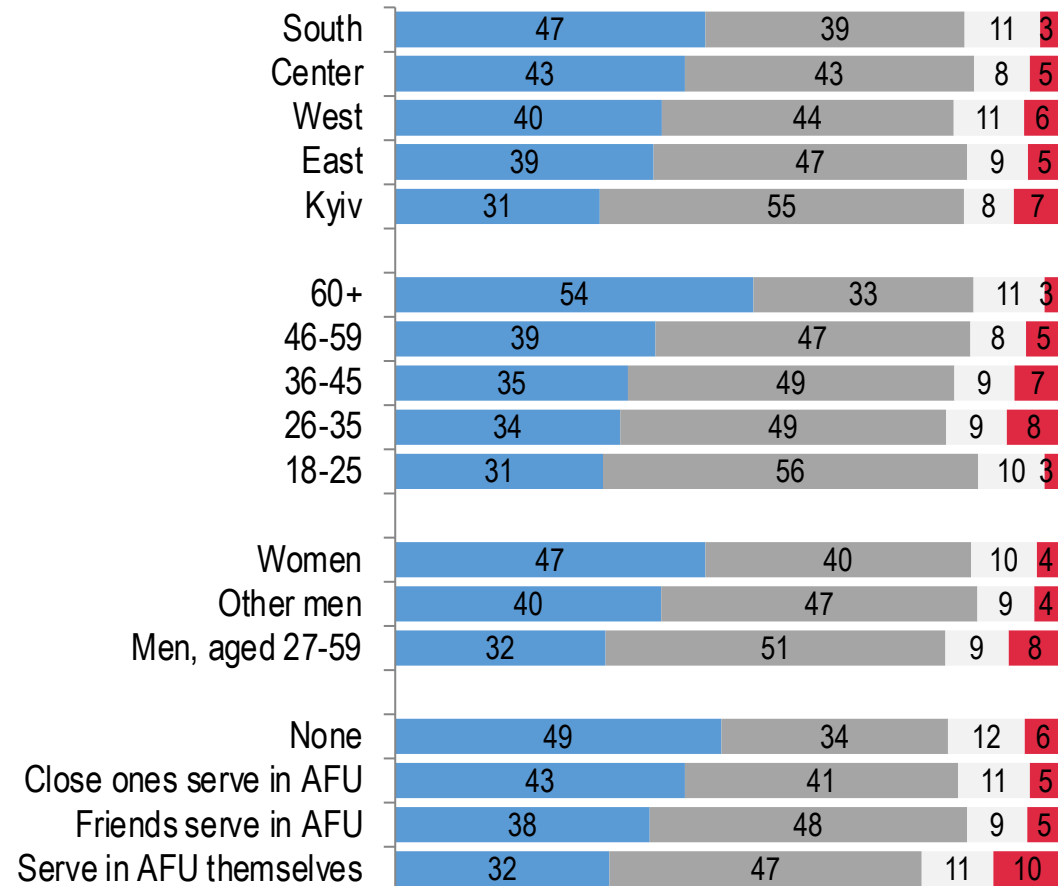
Assessment and expectations of the situation

What is your general sense of the war right now?



- Ukraine is winning
- Russia is winning
- Neither side is winning
- Difficult to answer

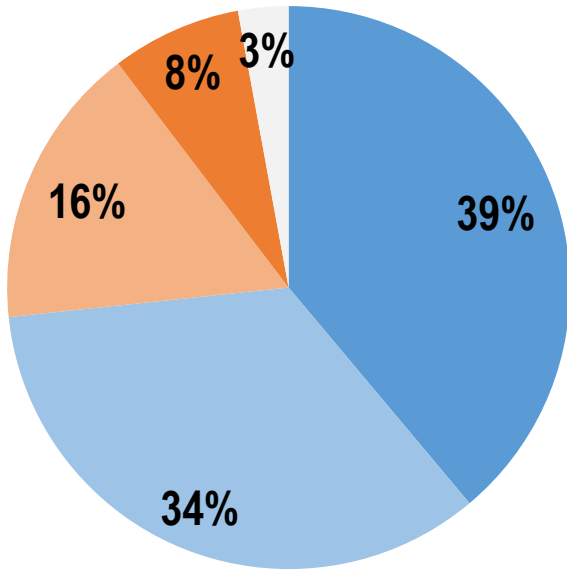
Regions. Age. Gender. Serving in AFU



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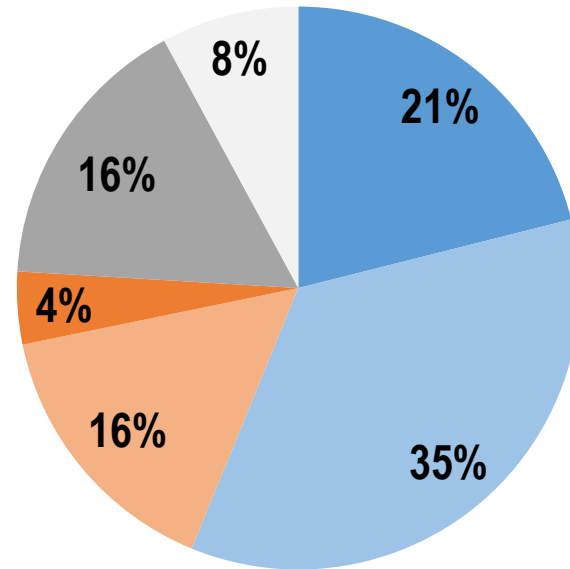


How confident are you that Ukraine will eventually liberate all of its territories?



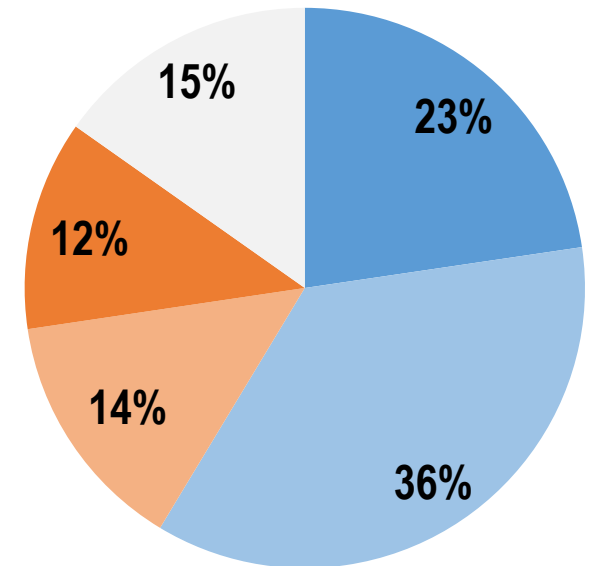
- Very confident
- Somewhat confident
- Not very confident
- Not at all confident
- Difficult to answer

If the war continues at current levels, what do you expect the situation on the battlefield to look like in one year?



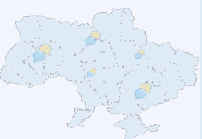
- Ukraine regains all its territories
- Ukraine partly regains its territories
- Ukraine loses control over some more territories
- Ukraine loses control over a large amount of territories
- Everything stays as it is at the moment
- Difficult to answer

How much longer will the war with Russia last?

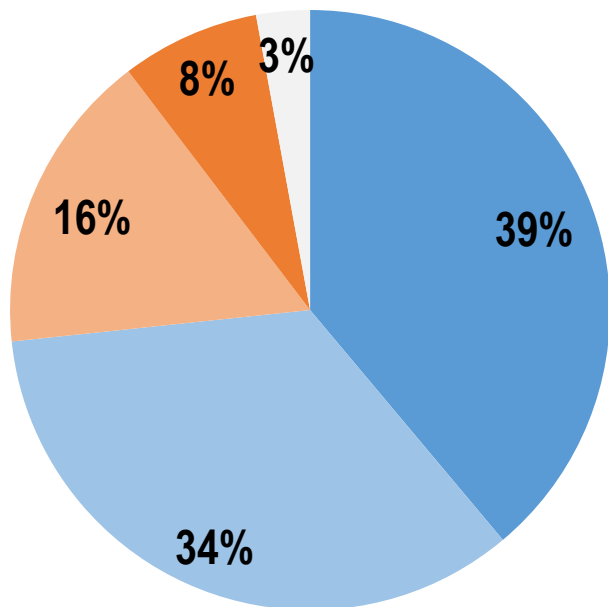


- Less than a year
- 1-2 years
- 3-4 years
- 5 years or longer
- Difficult to answer

March 7-10, 2024

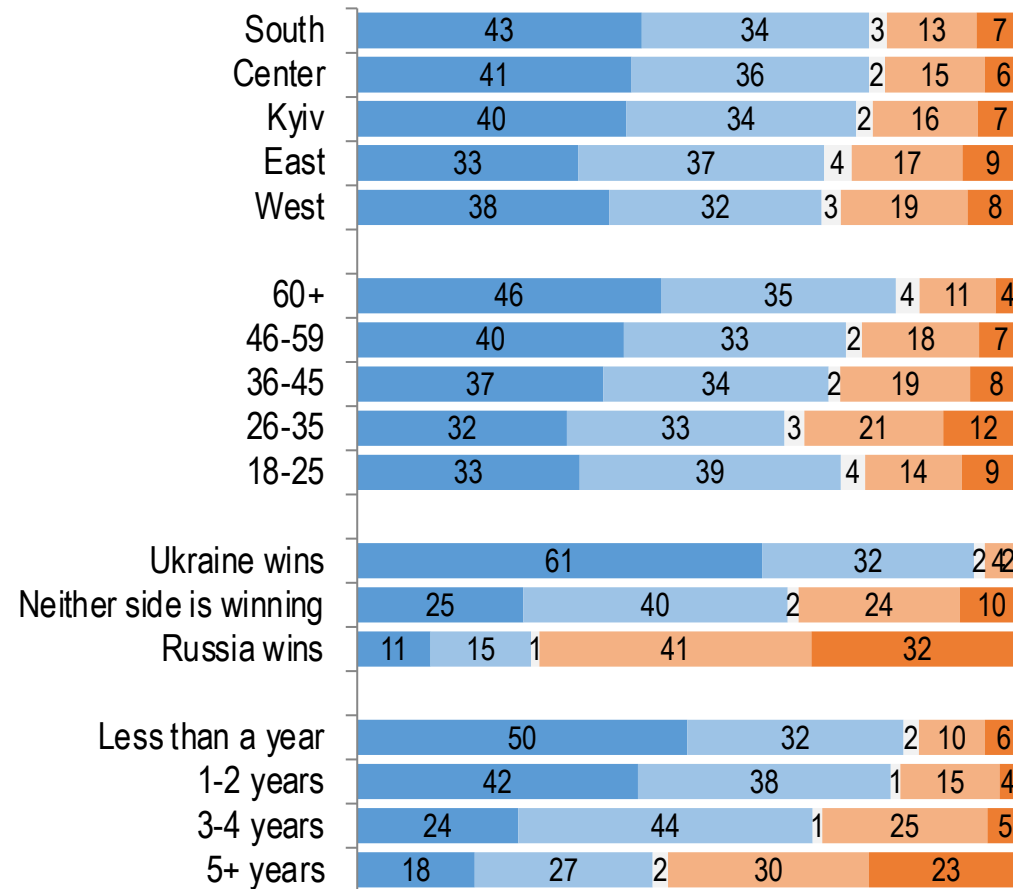


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Regions. Age. Sense of war. Expected duration of war.



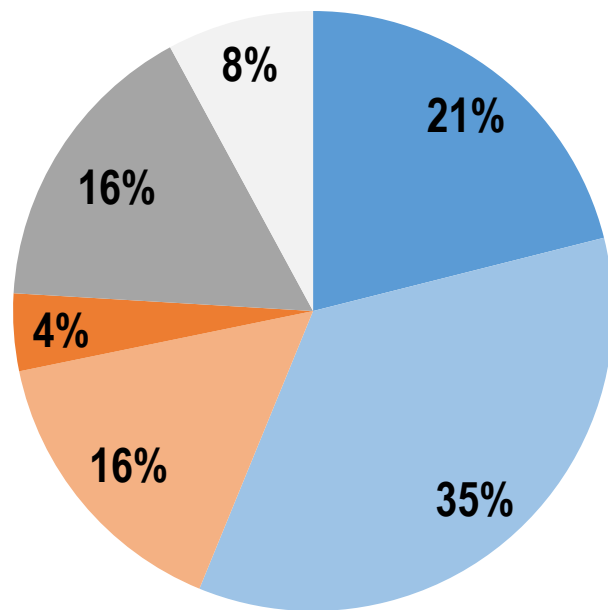
March 7-10, 2024



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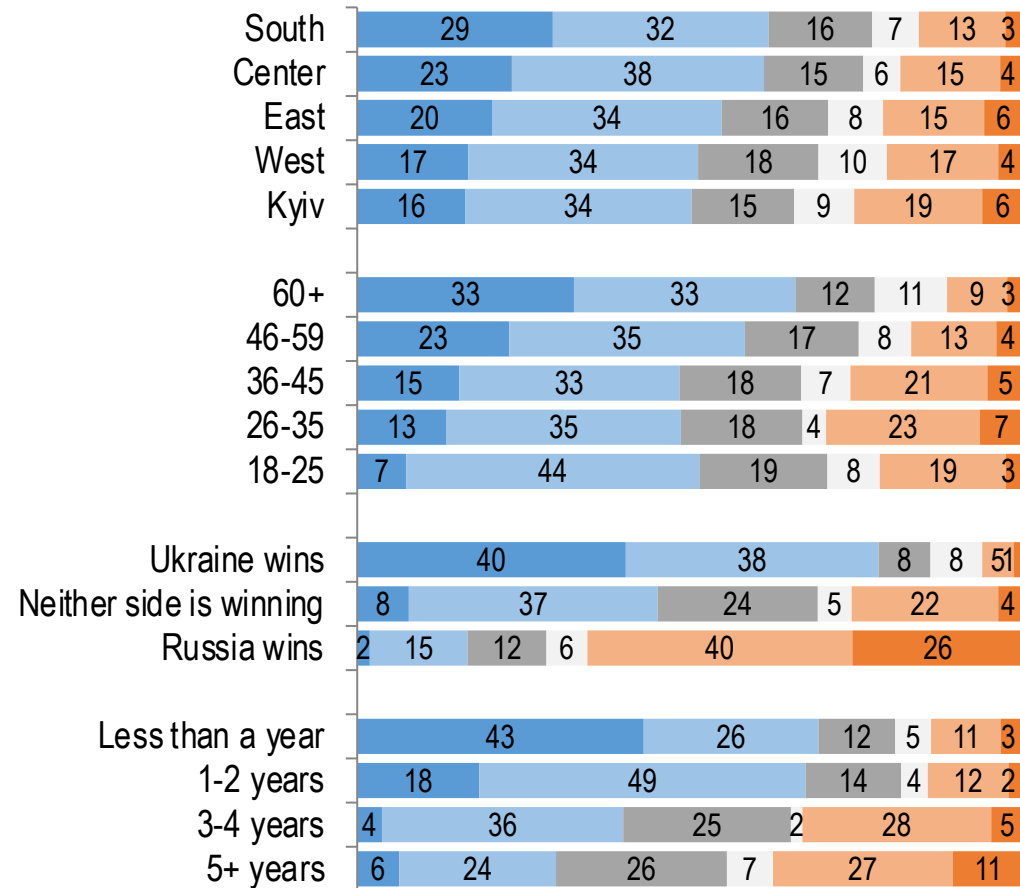


Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group



- Ukraine regains all its territories
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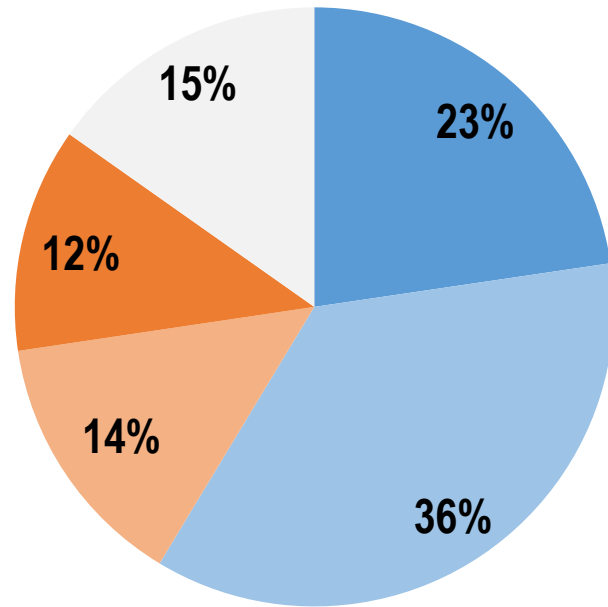
Regions. Age. Sense of war. Expected duration of war.



March 7-10, 2024

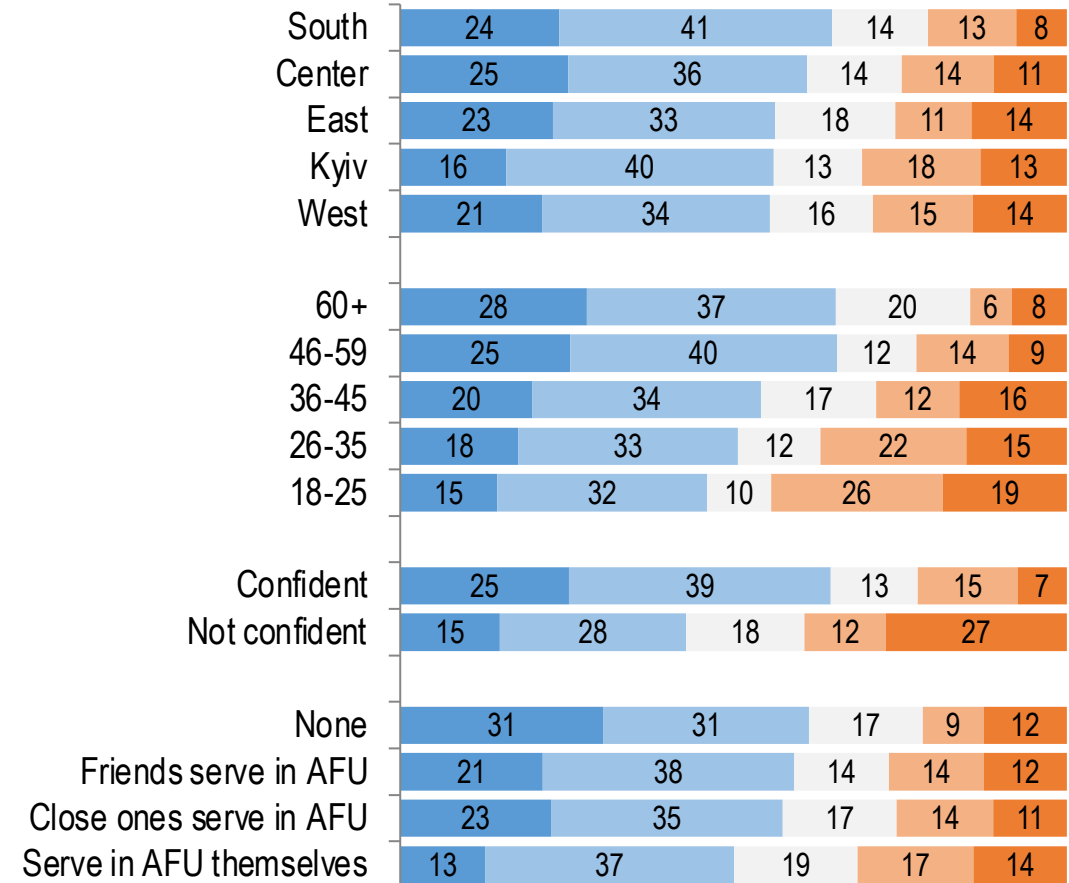


How much longer will the war with Russia last?



- Less than a year
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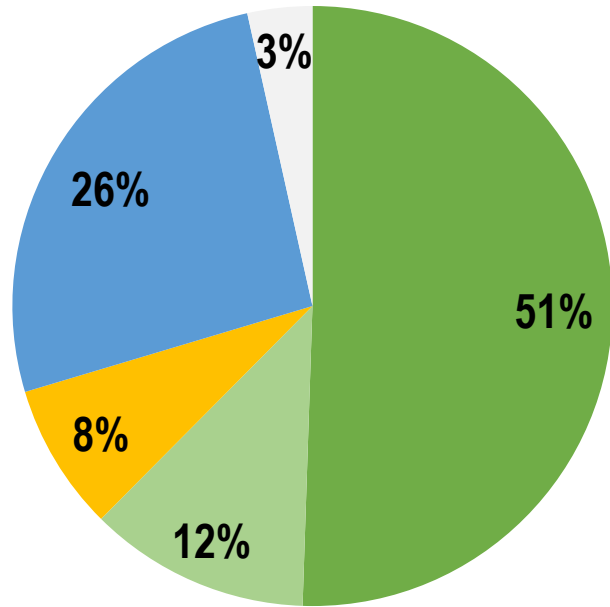
Regions. Age. Confidence in victory. Serving in AFU



March 7-10, 2024

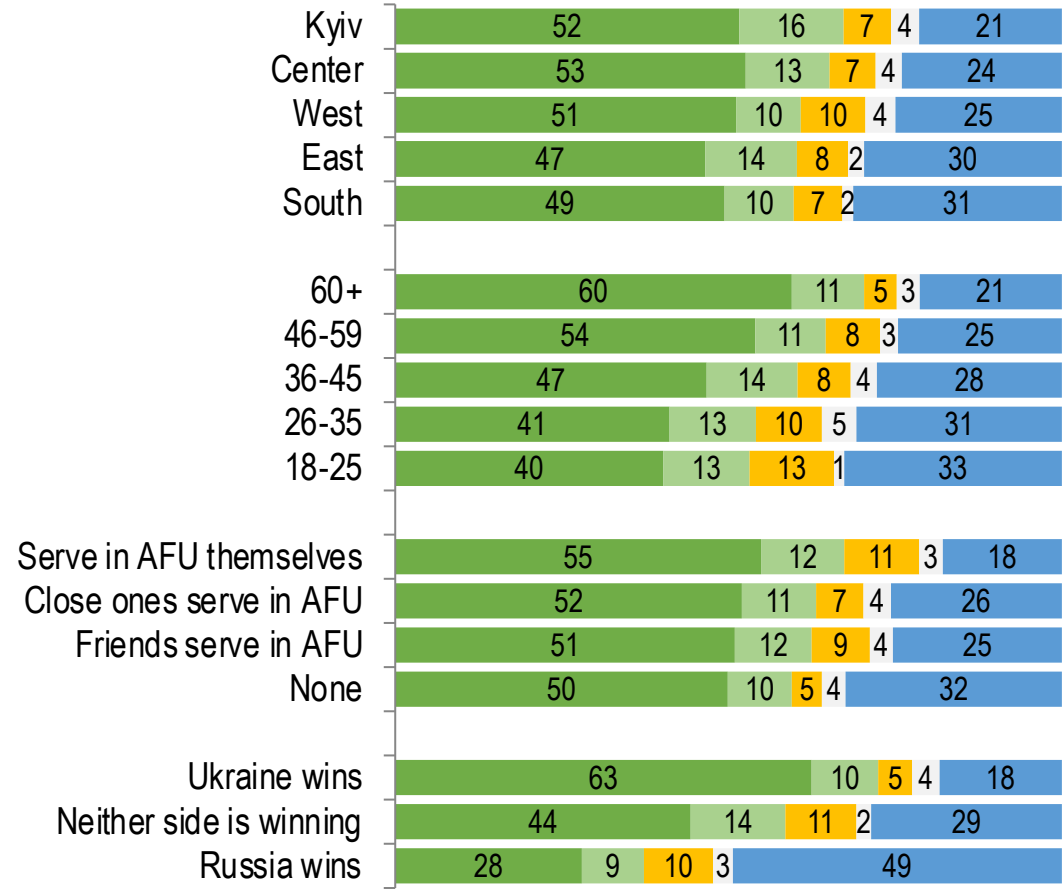


Which of the following statements do you agree with the most:



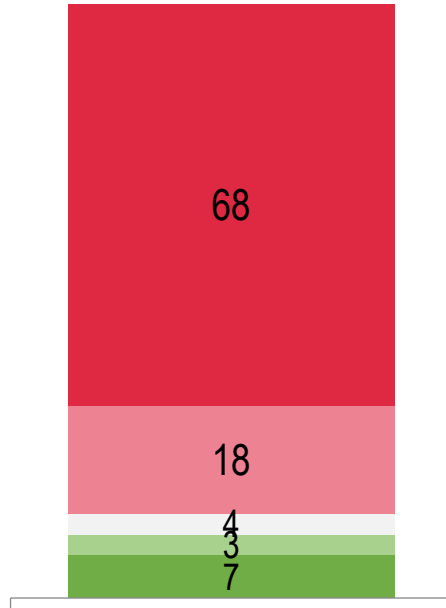
- Ukraine should fight until it liberates all territory to the 1991 borders
- Until it liberates all territory to the February 2022 lines
- Defend its positions and focus on exhausting Russia but not go on the offensive
- Seek a compromise to end the war through negotiations
- Difficult to answer

Regions. Age. Serving in AFU. Sense of war



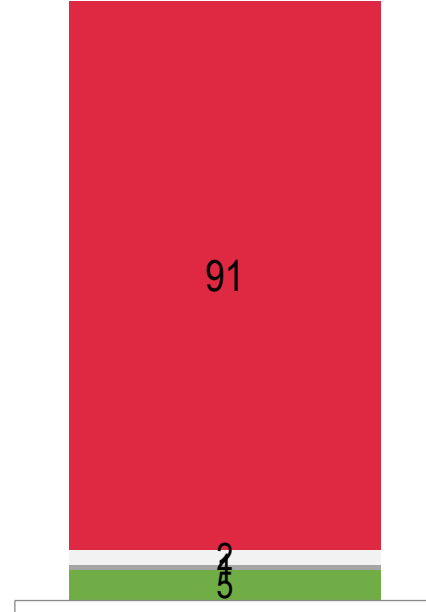
Assessment of Russia's intentions

What is the probability of Russia attacking Ukraine again if there is a signed peace treaty?



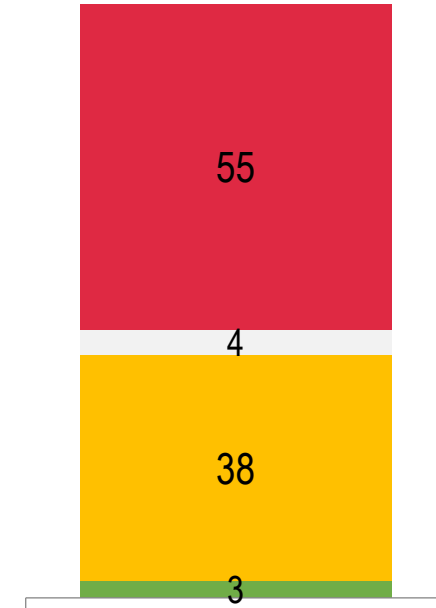
- High
- Medium
- Difficult to answer
- Low
- No such probability

Russia officially states it wants to negotiate with Ukraine. What is Russia's motive to enter into negotiations?



- Russia wants to take time to prepare for a new attack
- Difficult to answer
- Other
- Russia wants peace and to stop the war

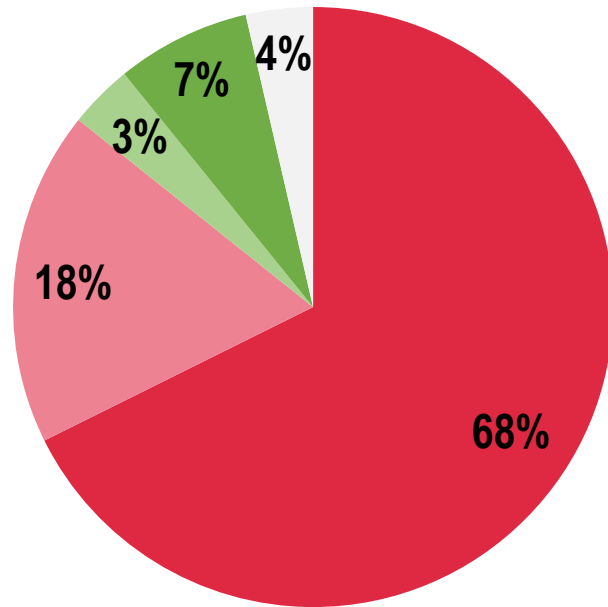
Do you think Russia will accept Ukraine's terms in negotiations to end the war?



- It will not accept Ukraine's terms at all
- Difficult to answer
- It will accept partially
- Yes, it will accept all terms

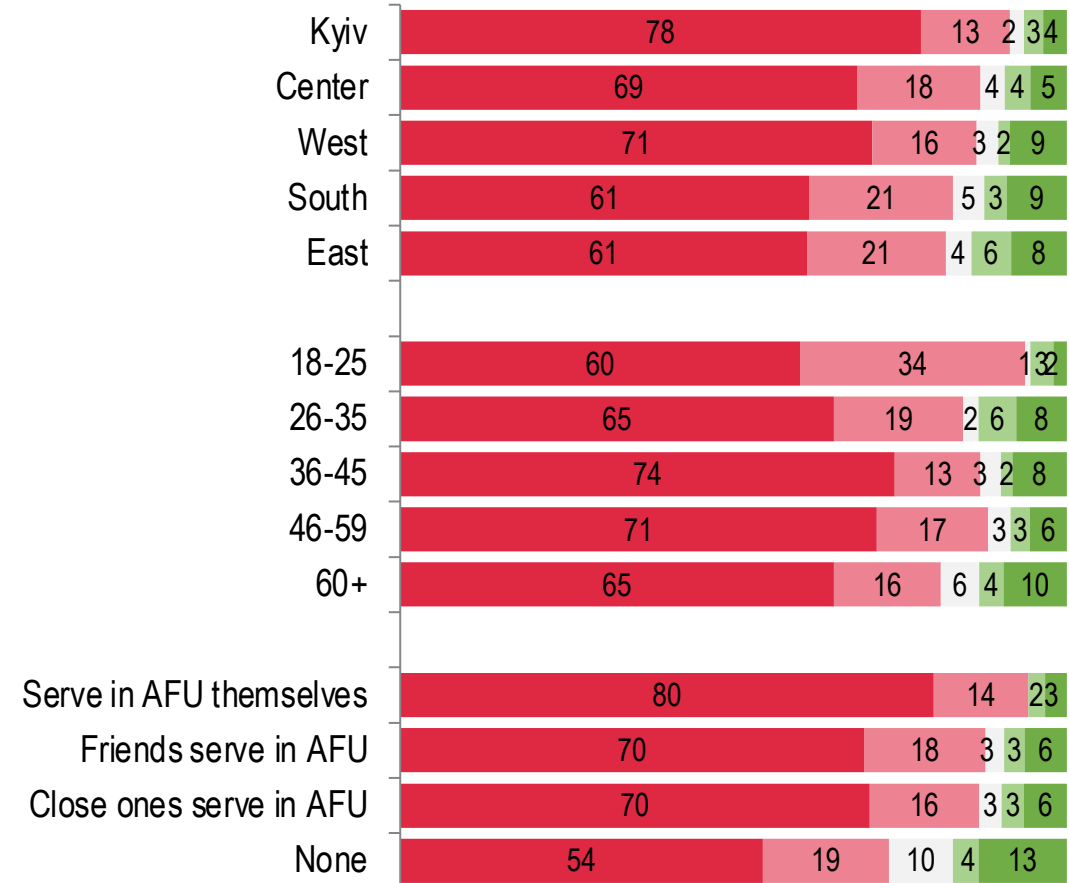


What is the probability of Russia attacking Ukraine again if there is a signed peace treaty?



- High
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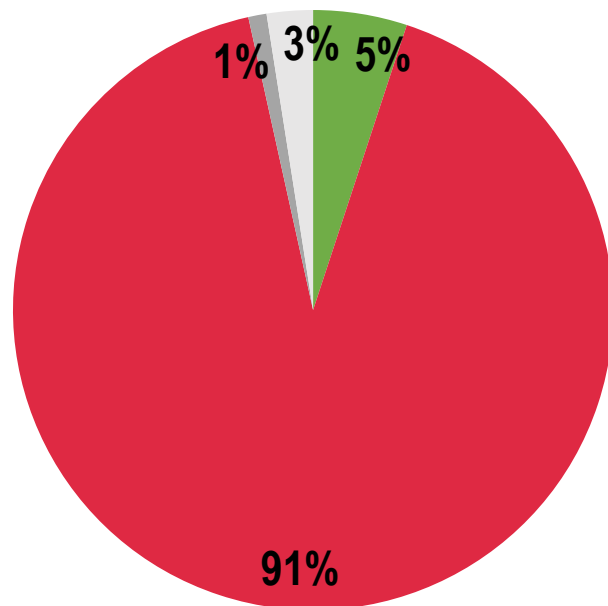
Regions. Age. Serving in AFU



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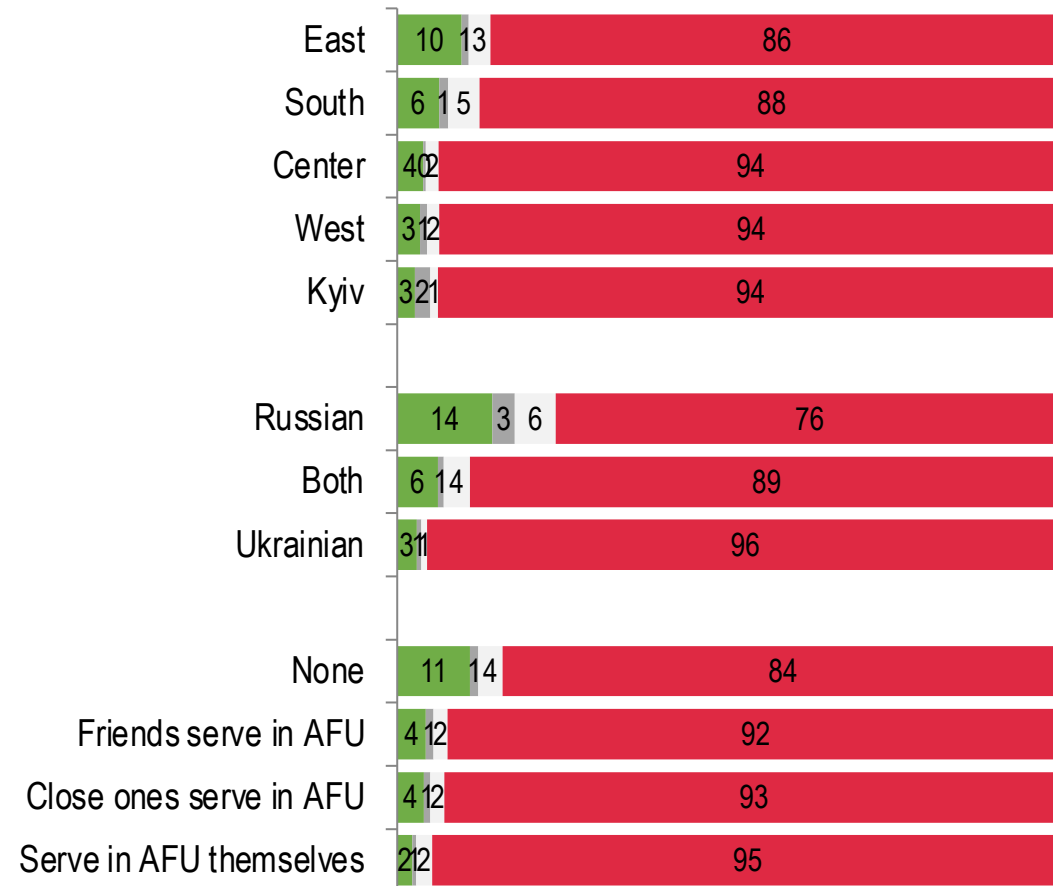


Russia officially states it wants to negotiate with Ukraine. What is Russia's motive to enter into negotiations?



- Russia wants peace and to stop the war
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- Other
- Difficult to answer

Regions. Language. Serving in AFU

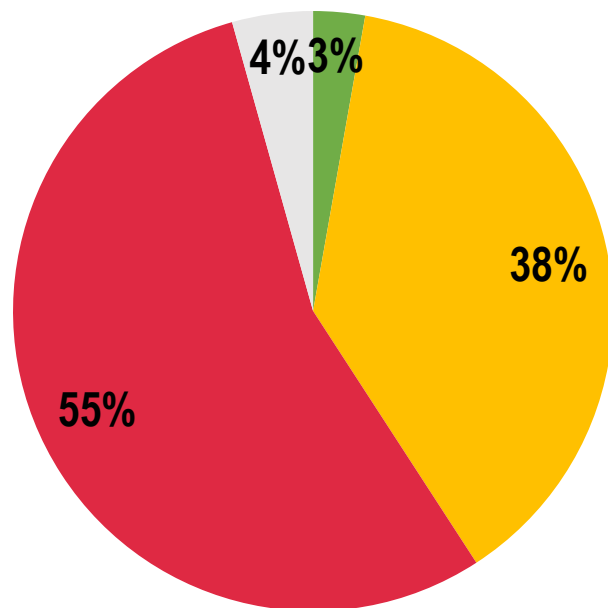


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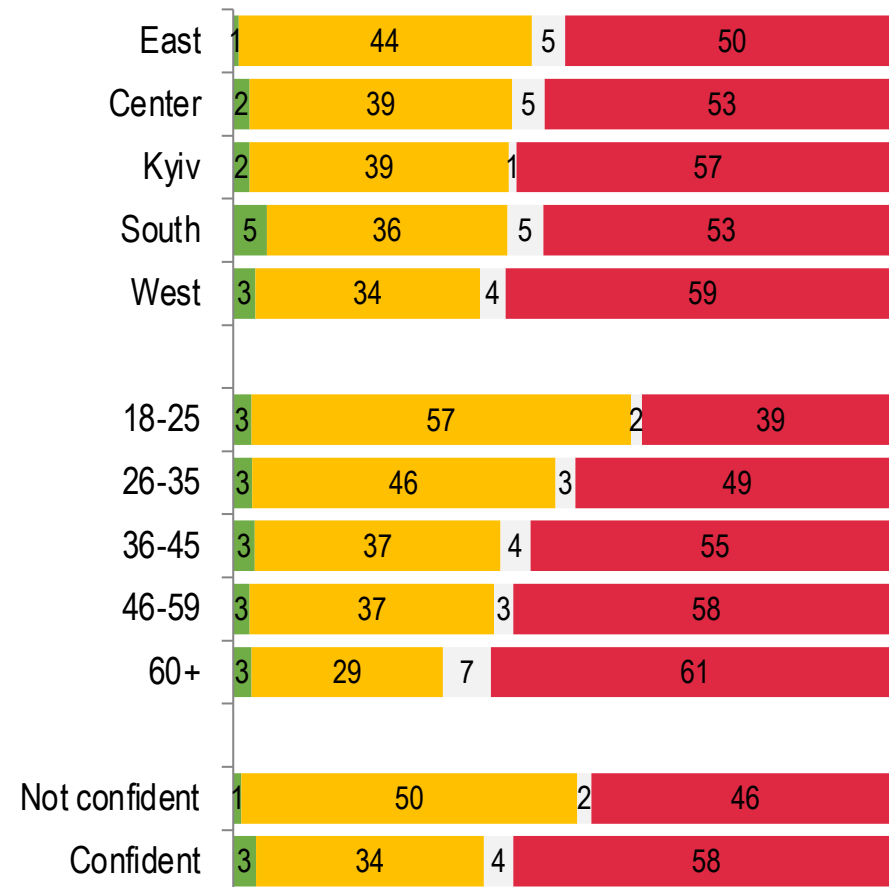
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РЕЙТИНГ



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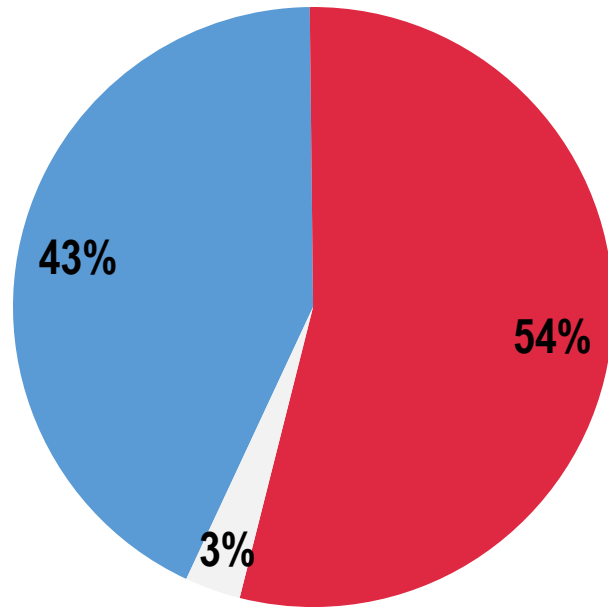
Regions. Age. Confidence in victory



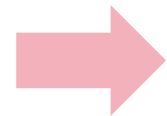
РЕЙТИНГ

Negotiations

Do you think Ukraine should negotiate with Russia to achieve peace?



- Yes
- No
- Difficult to answer

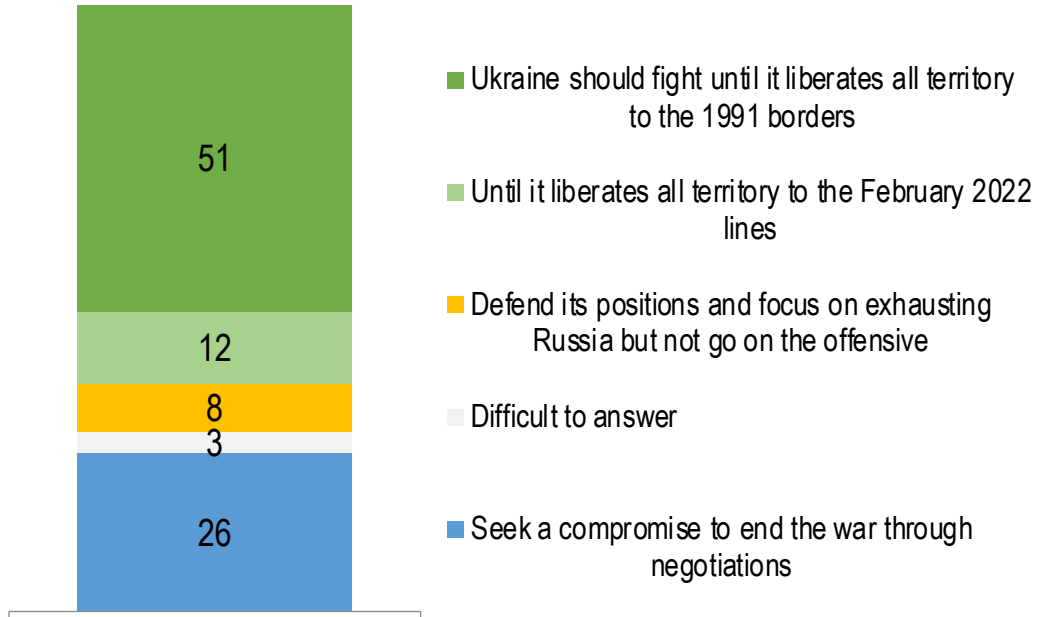


Under what circumstances should Ukraine agree to negotiate with Russia to achieve peace?

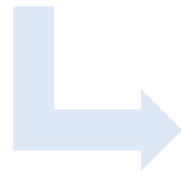
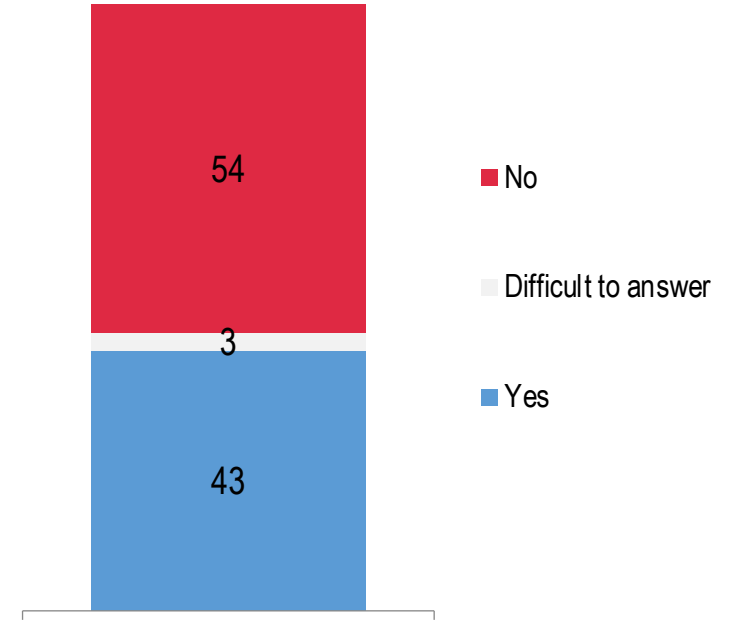
Among those, who **DO NOT SUPPORT** negotiations with Russia



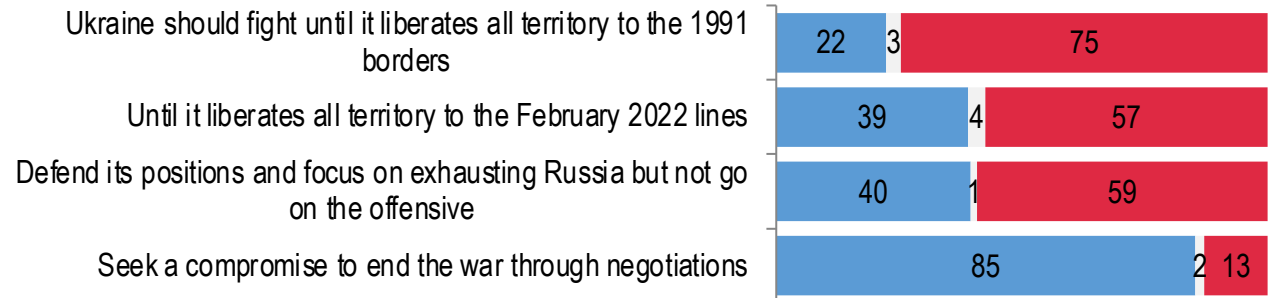
Which of the following statements do you agree with the most:



Do you think Ukraine should negotiate with Russia to achieve peace?



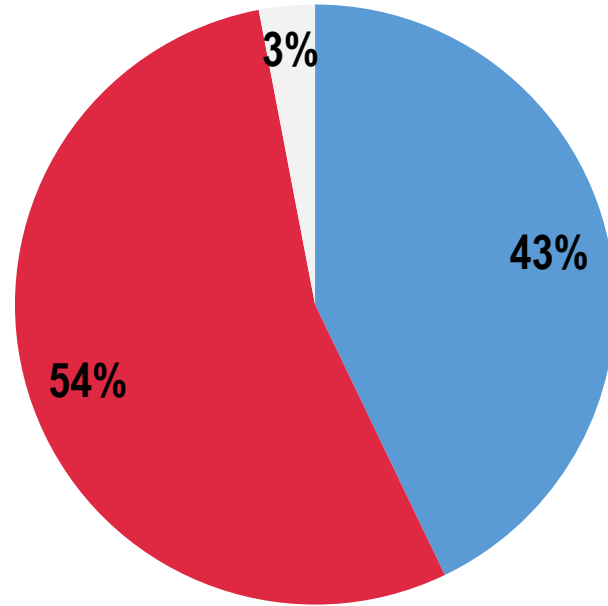
Answering questions about negotiations among those who chose such a preferred scenario



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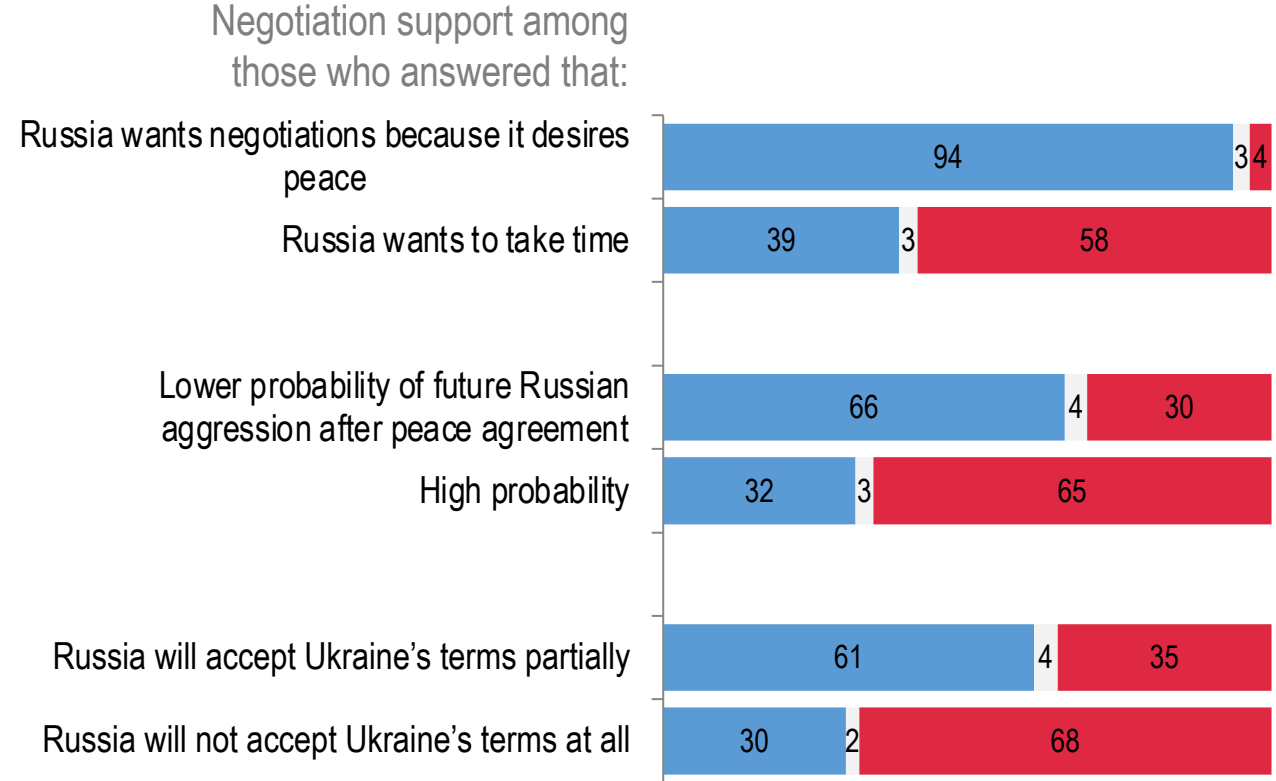


Do you think Ukraine should negotiate with Russia to achieve peace?



- Yes
- No
- Difficult to answer

The impact of distrust of Russia on support for negotiations



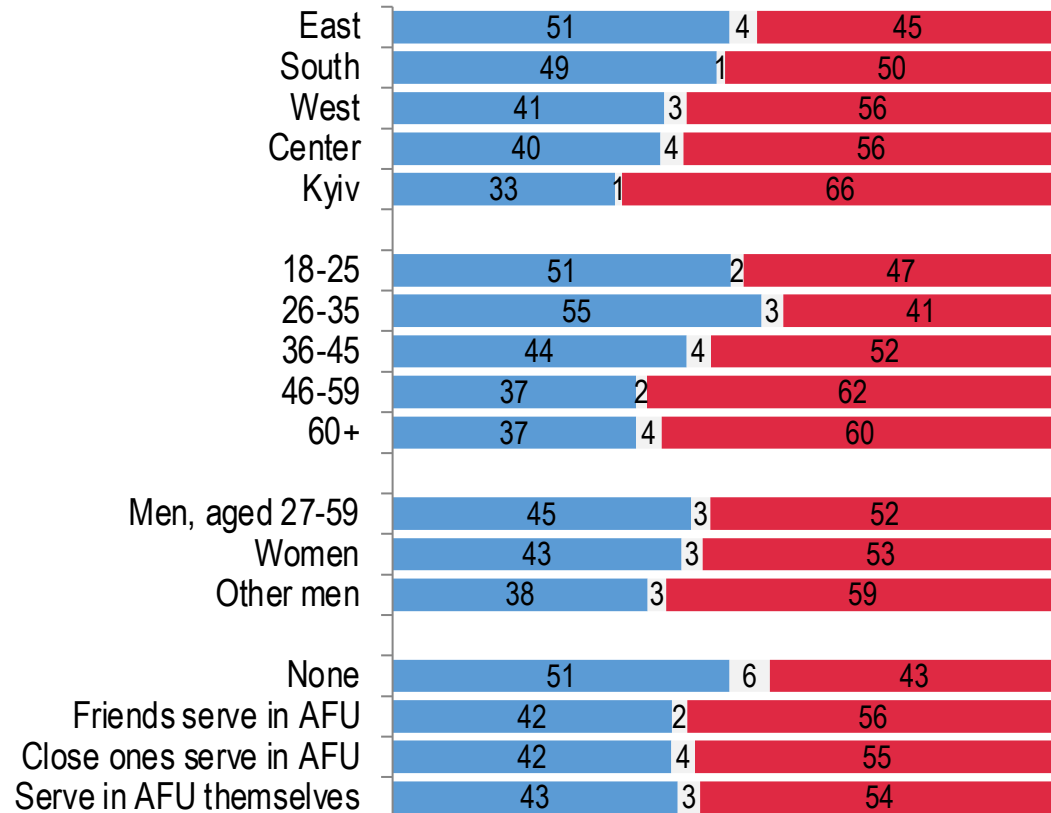
Distrust of Russia is one of the main factors against negotiations. People who do not believe that Russia will fulfill the conditions, will refrain from attacking again after signing the agreement – are less supportive of negotiations. These categories make up the majority of the population.



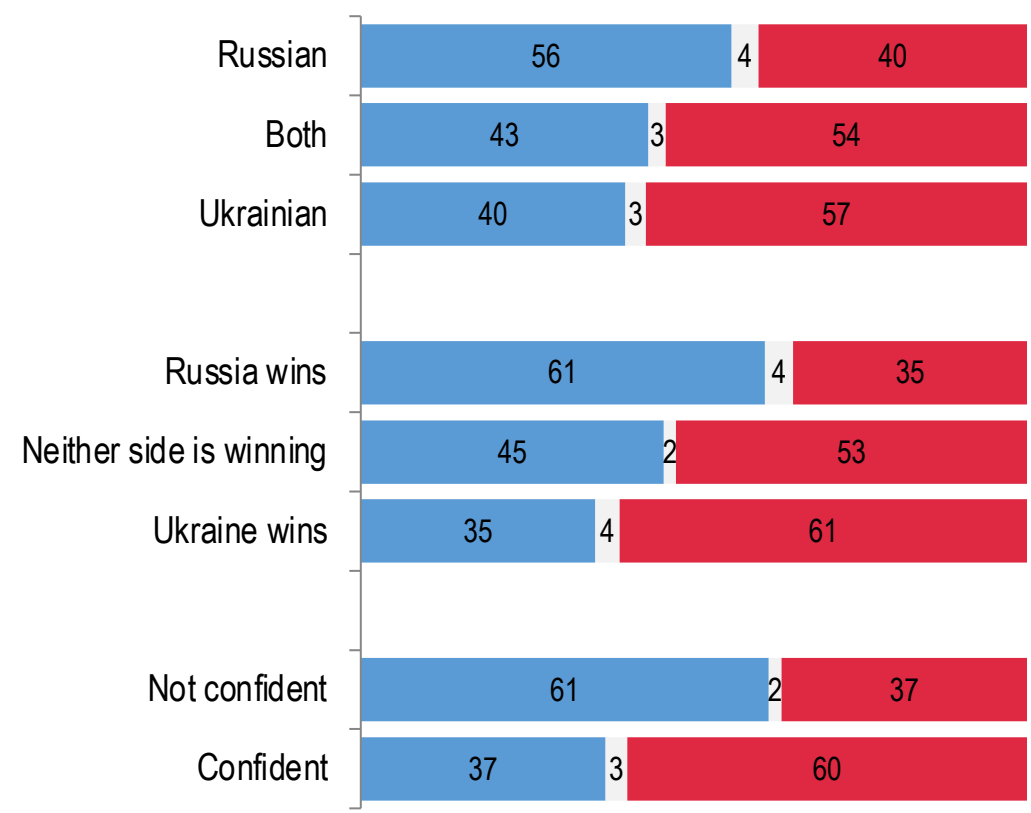
Do you think Ukraine should negotiate with Russia to achieve peace?

■ Yes ■ Difficult to answer ■ No

Regions. Age. Gender. Serving in AFU

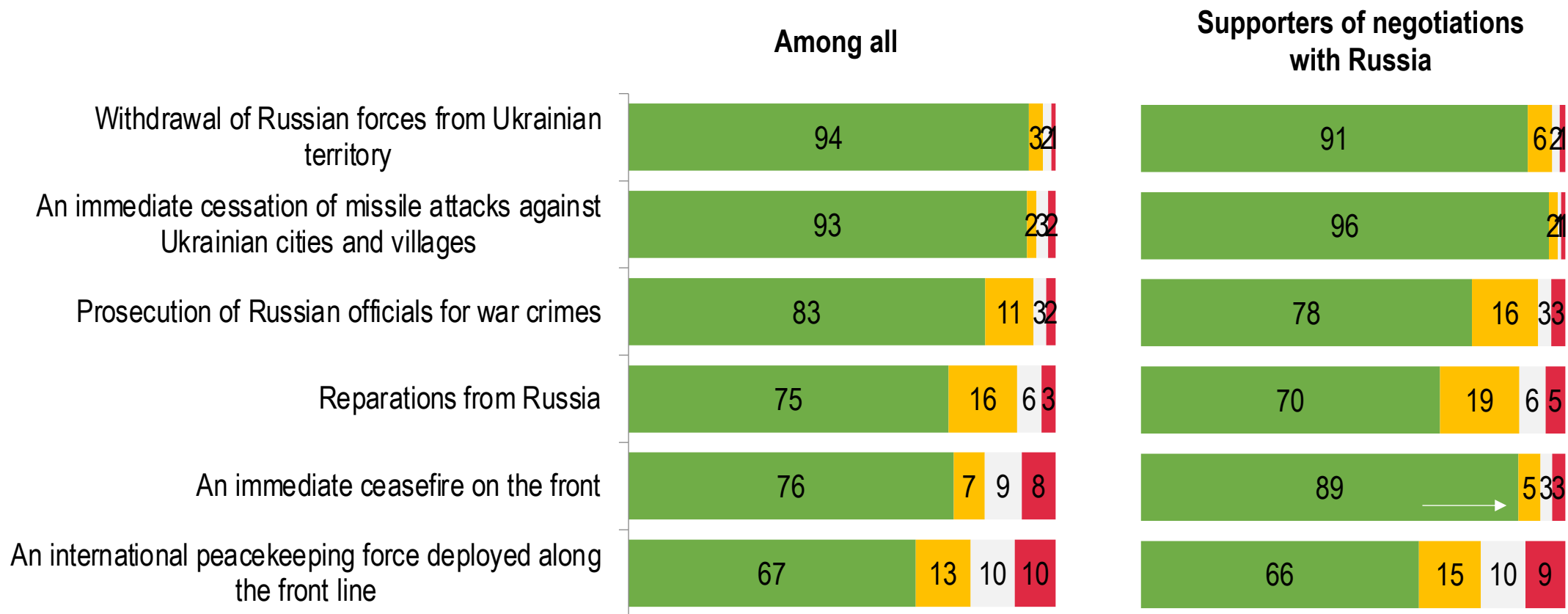


Language. Sense of situation. Confidence in victory



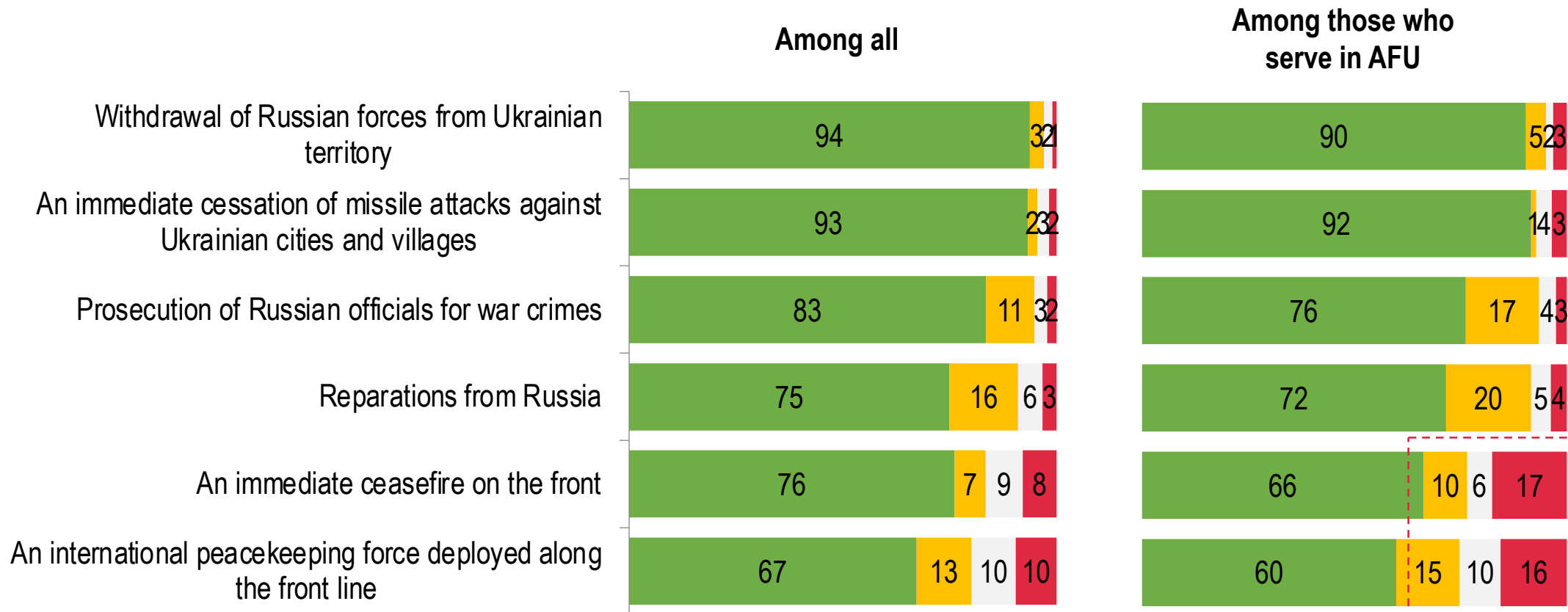
How important and prioritized is it for Ukraine to achieve the following in potential negotiations?

■ Important and urgent ■ Important but not urgent ■ Difficult to answer ■ Not important at all



How important and prioritized is it for Ukraine to achieve the following in potential negotiations?

■ Important and urgent ■ Important but not urgent ■ Difficult to answer ■ Not important at all



Under what circumstances could you imagine reconciliation between Ukraine and Russia?

UP TO THREE ANSWERS



Under what circumstances could you imagine reconciliation between Ukraine and Russia?



UP TO THREE ANSWERS

Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group

REGION. AGE. LANGUAGE. SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATIONS	West	Center	South	East	Kyiv	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-59	60+	Ukrainian	Both	Russian	Support	Do not support
After Russia withdraws from all Ukrainian territory	45	47	46	47	42	58	46	44	40	47	47	46	39	45	46
After Putin is no longer in power	24	23	25	29	24	38	30	21	22	21	24	27	26	30	21
When Russia and Ukraine will sign an agreement on the cessation of hostilities	16	19	21	22	13	29	24	12	16	17	16	19	26	31	8
Such reconciliation is possible only after many generations	48	47	41	44	51	47	54	51	53	34	47	46	46	36	55
Other	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1
Under none	5	3	4	2	4	3	5	5	3	3	4	3	4	2	4
Difficult to answer	1	1	2	1				1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1

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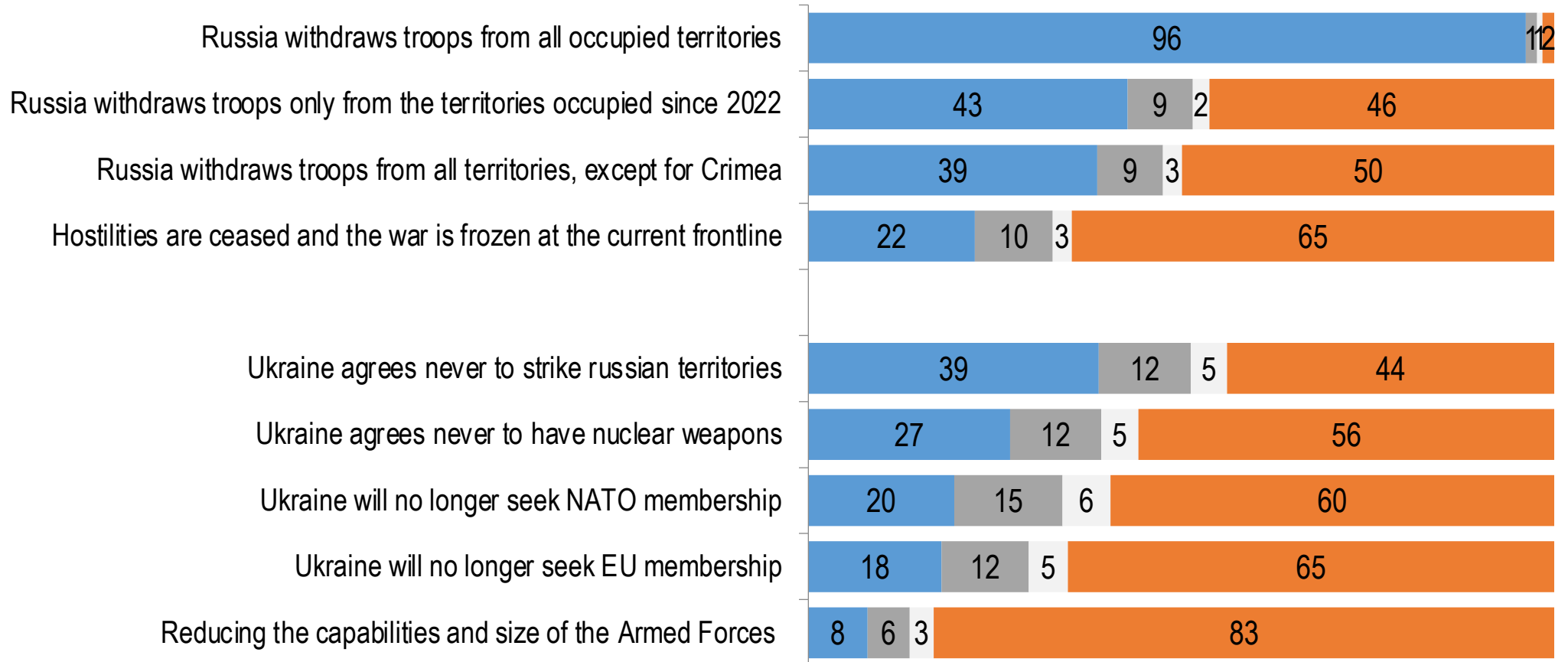
Possible compromises

SUPPORT FOR DIFFERENT SCENARIOS TO END THE WAR

I will read some possible scenarios to you. Tell me for each of them, would you support them as a condition to end the war?

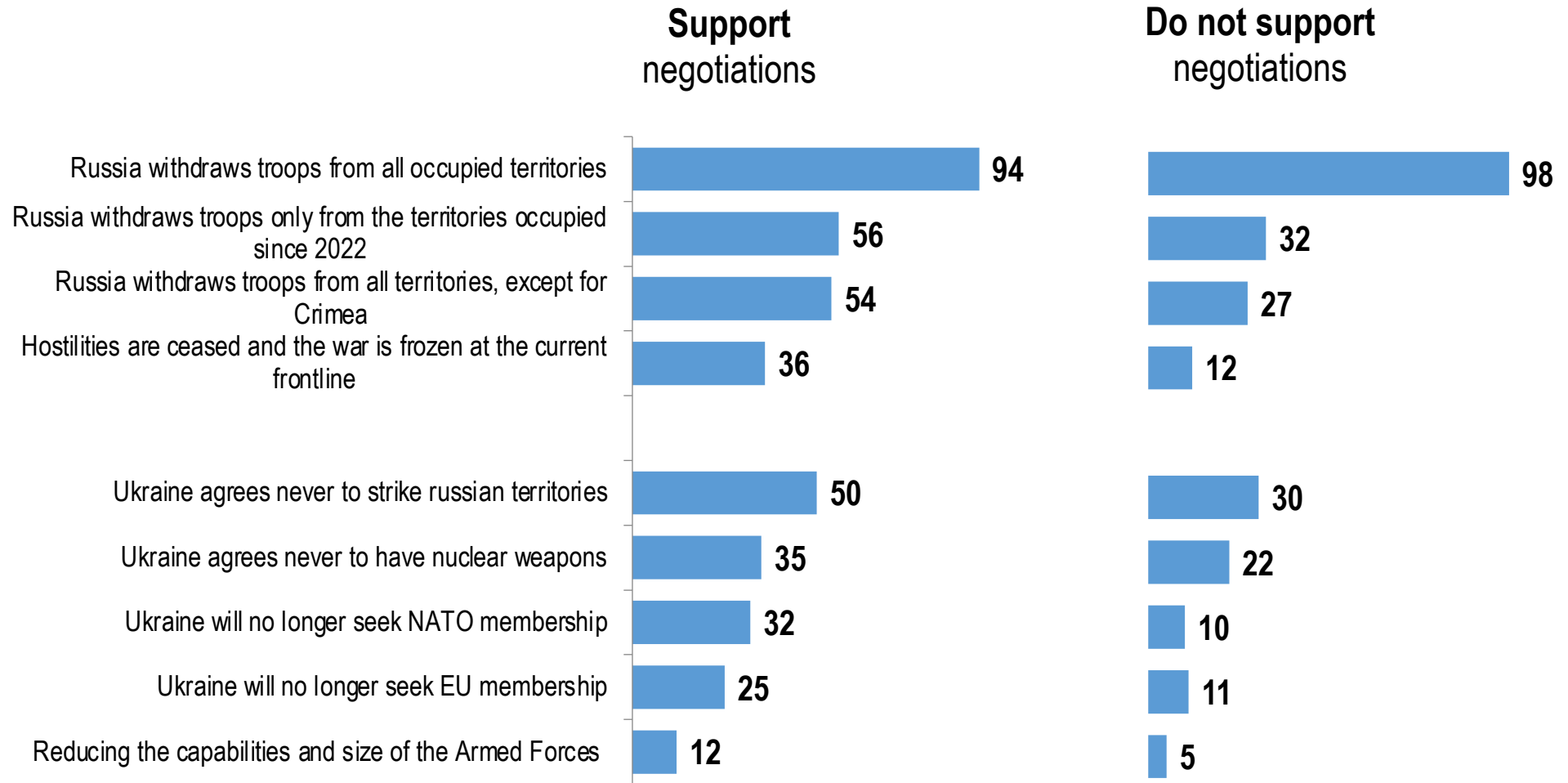


■ I support it ■ None of the two ■ Difficult to answer ■ I do not support it



SUPPORT FOR DIFFERENT SCENARIOS TO END THE WAR

% of those, who selected «I support it» option for a specific scenario



SUPPORT FOR DIFFERENT SCENARIOS TO END THE WAR

% of those, who selected «I support it» option for a specific scenario



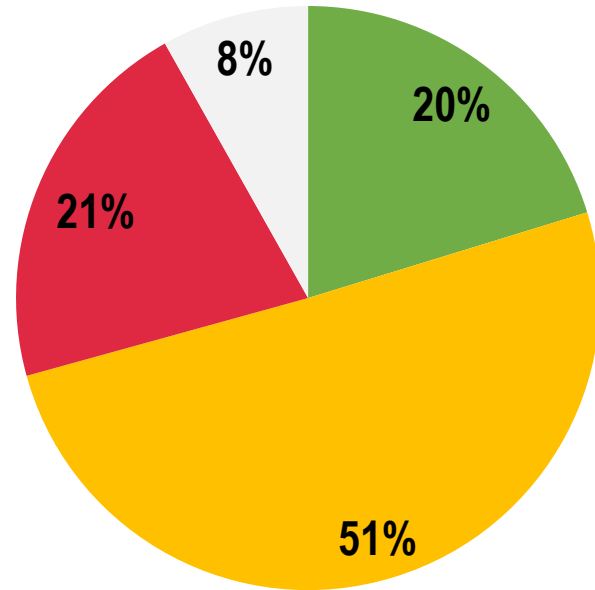
Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group

REGION. AGE. SERVING IN AFU	REGION					AGE					SERVING IN AFU			
	West	Center	South	East	Kyiv	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Serve in AFU themselves	Close ones serve in AFU	Friends serve in AFU	None
Russia withdraws troops from all occupied territories	95	98	97	95	97	95	95	97	96	97	98	97	97	96
Russia withdraws troops only from the territories occupied since 2022	39	45	45	45	38	44	50	42	41	40	37	41	43	42
Russia withdraws troops from all territories, except for Crimea	38	39	41	38	41	48	47	39	33	35	32	38	39	42
Hostilities are ceased and the war is frozen at the current frontline	22	22	26	22	17	28	28	19	19	21	16	21	21	35
Ukraine agrees never to strike Russian territories	38	38	37	44	38	39	41	36	37	41	38	35	39	49
Ukraine agrees never to have nuclear weapons	26	25	30	29	28	28	32	27	24	26	27	24	27	30
Ukraine will no longer seek NATO membership	19	18	21	25	15	23	23	20	19	16	18	19	19	23
Ukraine will no longer seek EU membership	20	14	17	23	12	22	19	17	14	18	20	17	17	22
Reducing the capabilities and size of the Armed Forces	9	6	9	10	7	5	7	7	11	8	6	7	7	16

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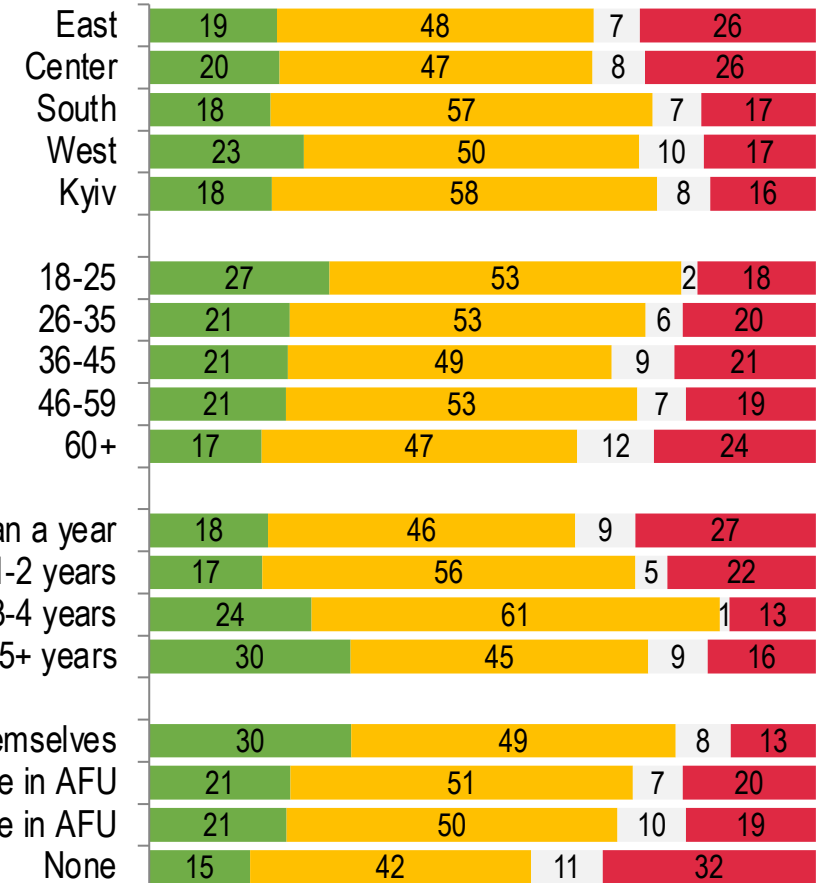
If you disagree with the terms of possible peace treaty, would you demand the change of leadership?



- Yes, immediately
- Yes, but when it is possible to hold elections
- No
- Difficult to answer



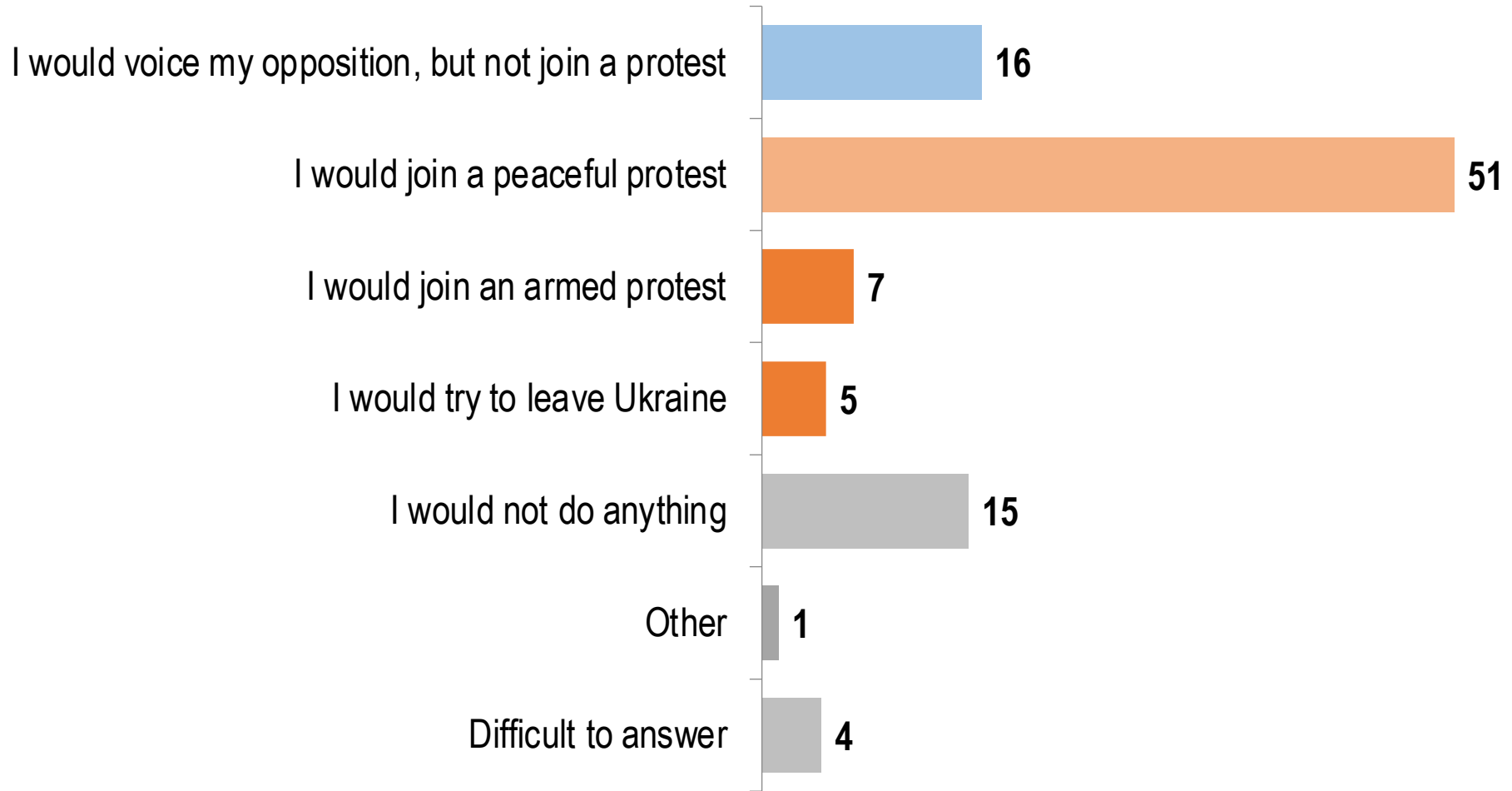
Regions. Age. Expected duration of war. Serving in AFU



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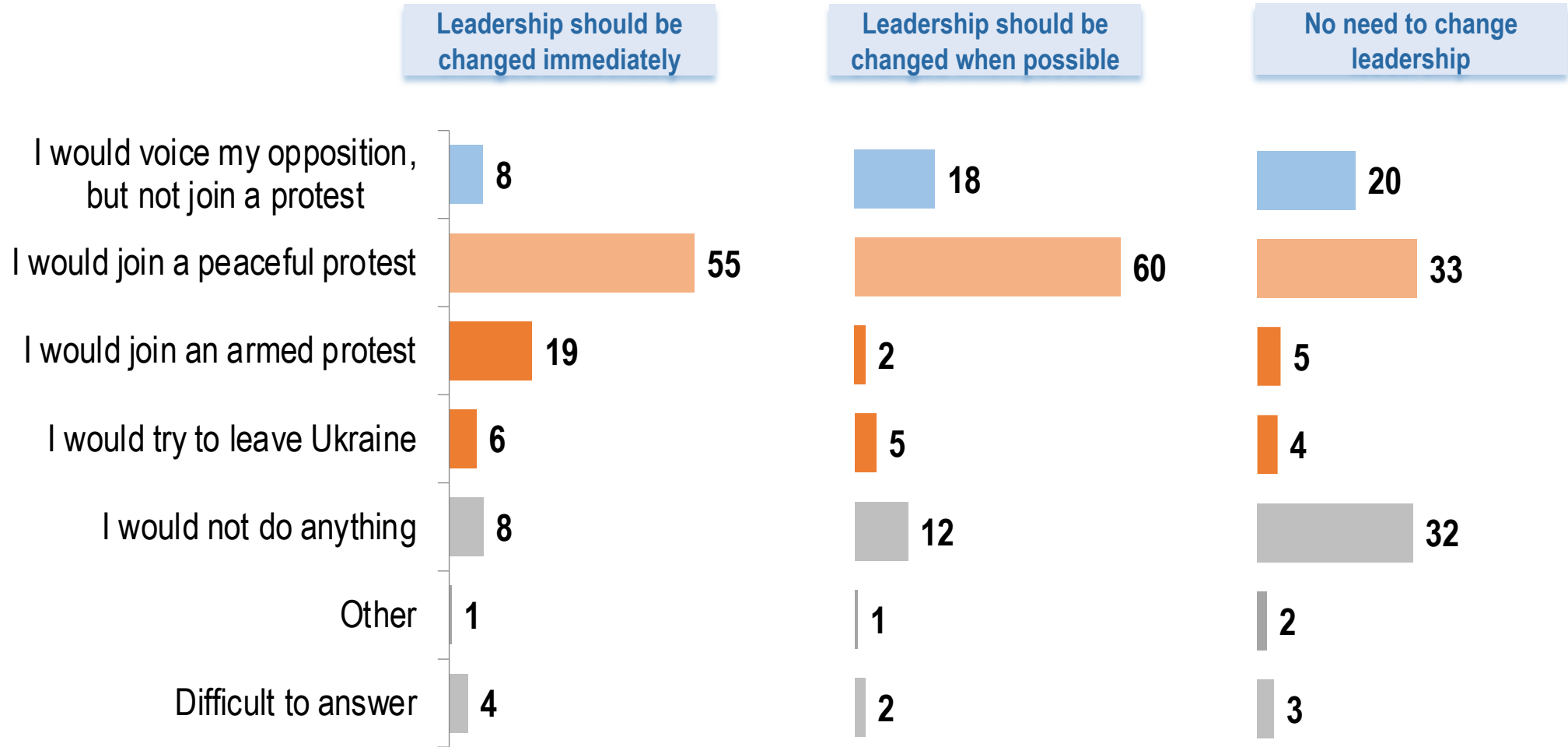
What exactly would you do in case you disagree with the terms of the treaty?



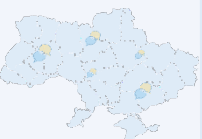
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DEMAND FOR CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP

Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group



March 7-10, 2024



What exactly would you do in case you disagree with the terms of the treaty?

REGION. AGE. SERVING IN AFU	West	Center	South	East	Kyiv	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-59	60+	Serve in AFU themselves	Close ones serve in AFU	Friends serve in AFU	None
I would voice my opposition, but not join a protest	15	18	16	17	13	12	14	16	16	19	10	15	16	20
I would join a peaceful protest	53	53	51	45	53	55	52	48	54	50	41	54	53	38
I would join an armed protest	10	5	5	6	6	7	6	9	8	5	15	8	7	4
I would try to leave Ukraine	4	4	5	6	8	6	8	6	4	1	7	5	5	4
I would not do anything	13	15	17	19	13	17	13	12	13	20	15	12	14	27
Other	2	1		3	2		1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1
Difficult to answer	4	4	5	5	6	2	5	7	3	4	10	4	4	7

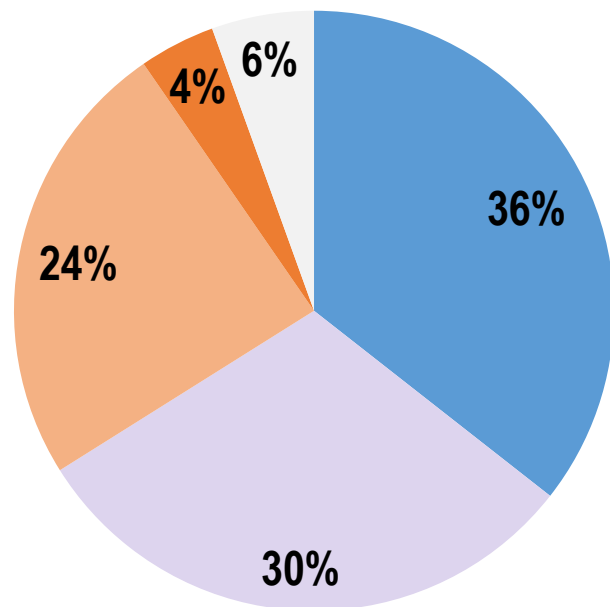


Role of Ukraine's international partners

What level of weapons and economic support from Ukraine's partners do you anticipate in the nearest couple of years?

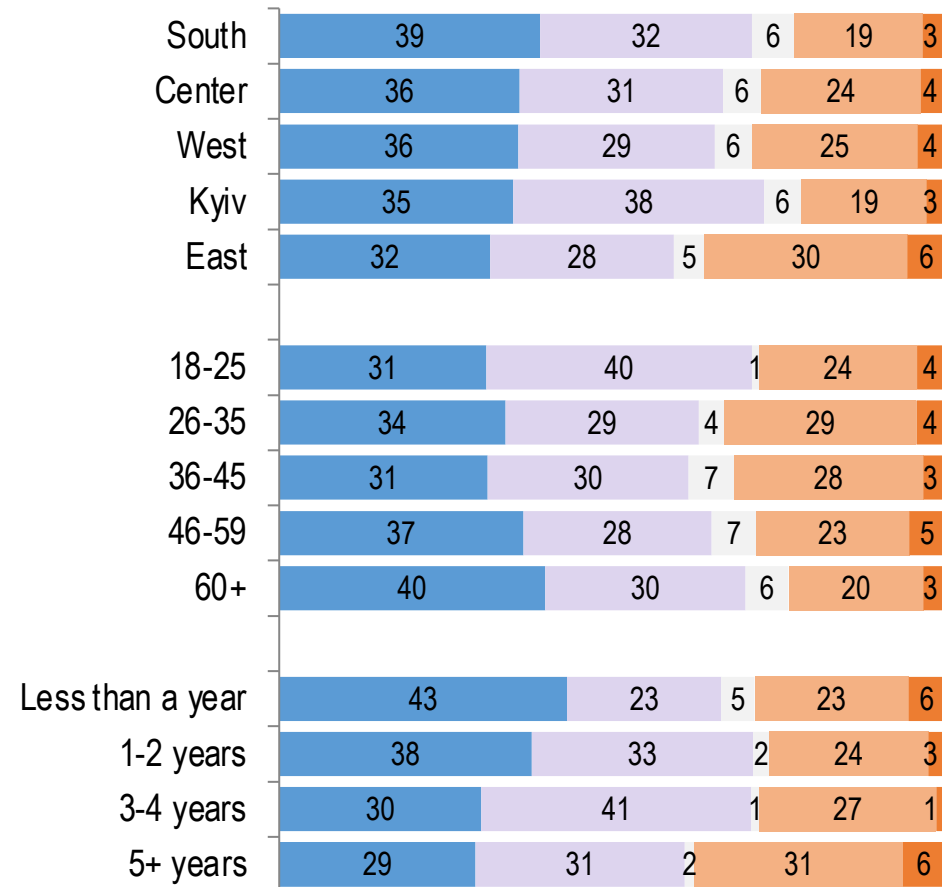


Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group



- The level of support will increase significantly
- It will stay the same as it has been
- It will decrease significantly
- Partners will entirely stop support
- Difficult to answer

Regions. Age. Expected duration of war.



March 7-10, 2024

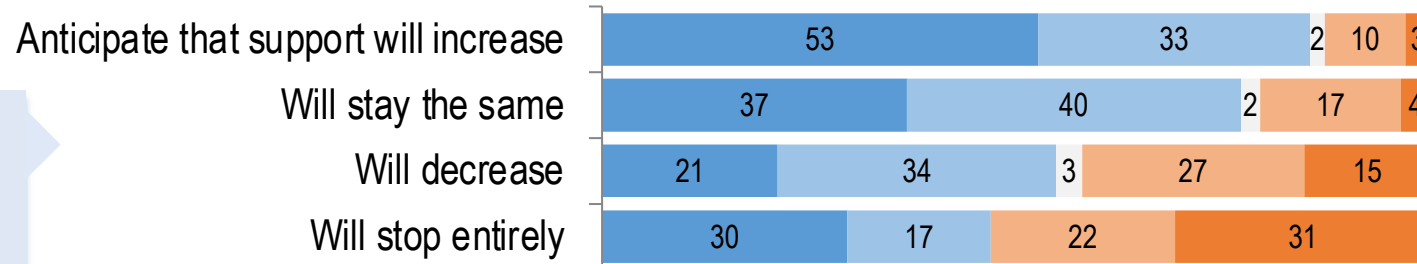


Anticipation regarding international help as factor of confidence in victory

How confident are you that Ukraine will eventually liberate all of its territories?

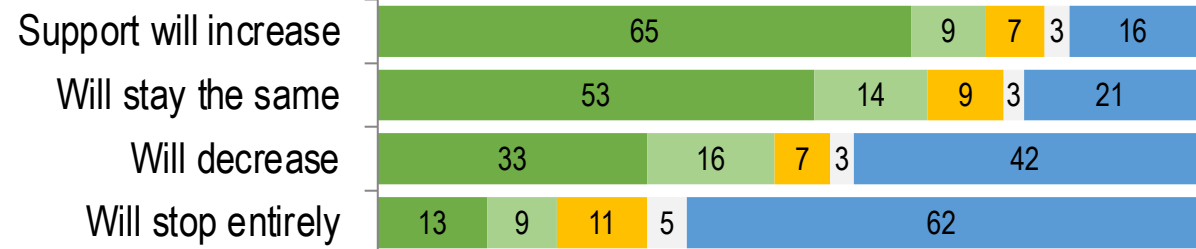
■ Very confident ■ Somewhat confident ■ Difficult to answer ■ Not very confident ■ Not at all confident

Anticipation regarding international help



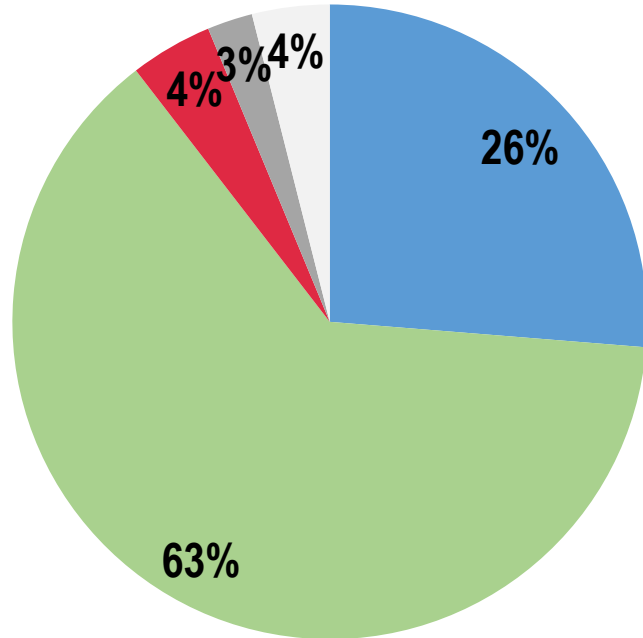
Which of the following statements do you agree with the most:

■ Ukraine should fight until it liberates all territory to the 1991 borders
 ■ Until it liberates all territory to the February 2022 lines
 ■ Defend its positions and focus on exhausting Russia but not go on the offensive
 ■ Difficult to answer
 ■ Seek a compromise to end the war through negotiations



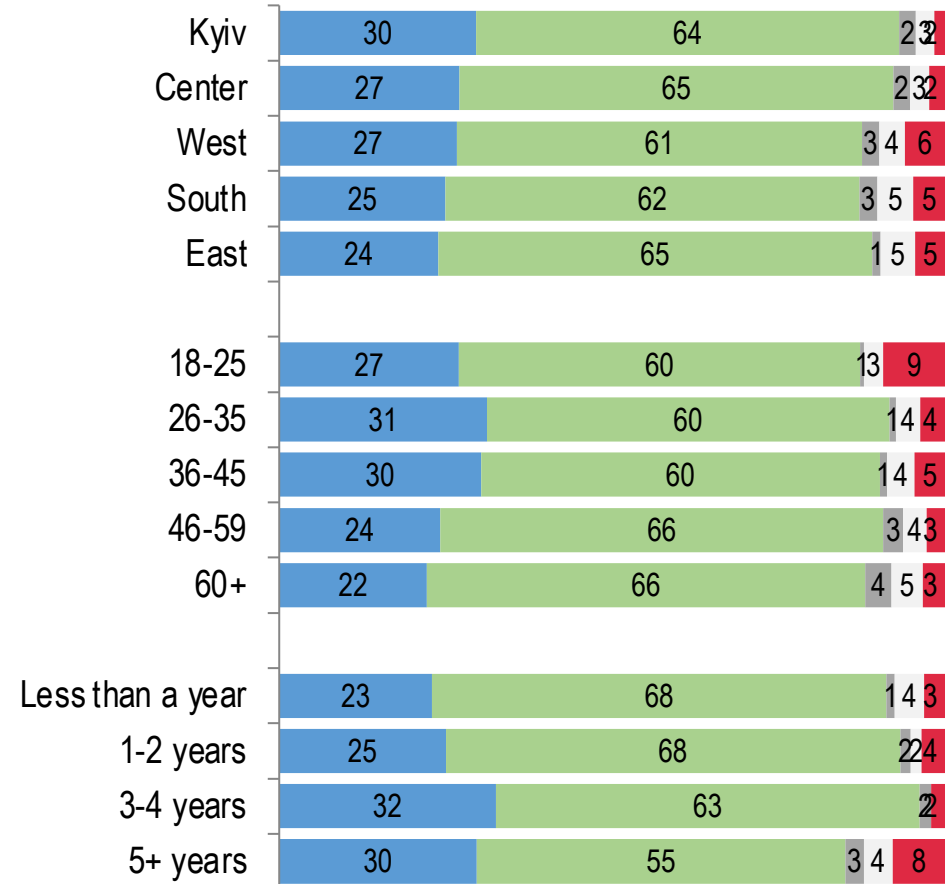
Which security guarantees should Ukraine's partners provide to it?

Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group



- They should agree to deploy their troops to defend Ukraine
- They should provide long-range weapons, training, and support for Ukraine's defense industry, but not their troops
- They should not provide any guarantees
- Other
- Difficult to answer

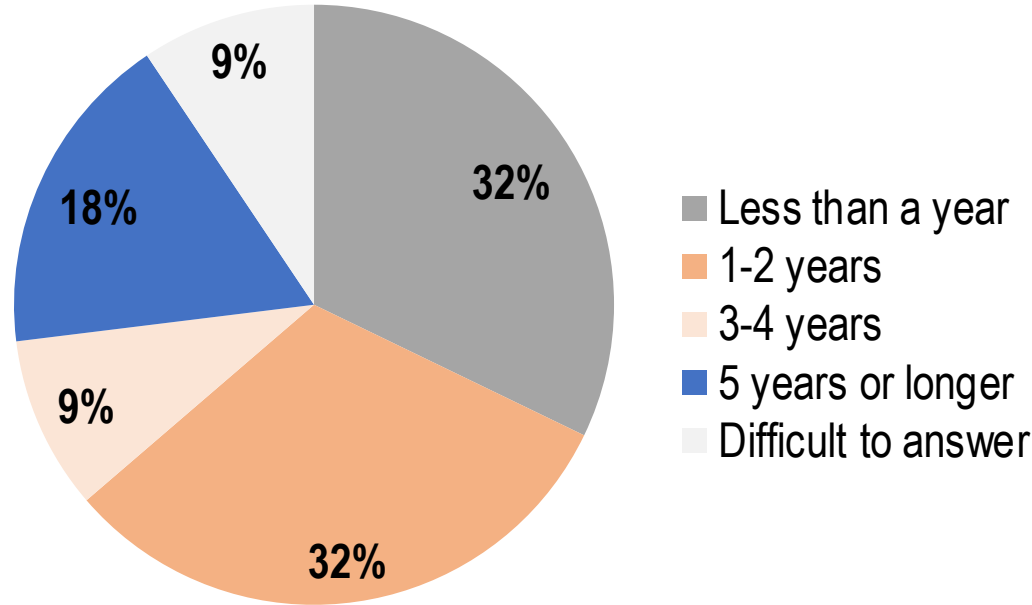
Regions. Age. Expected duration of war.



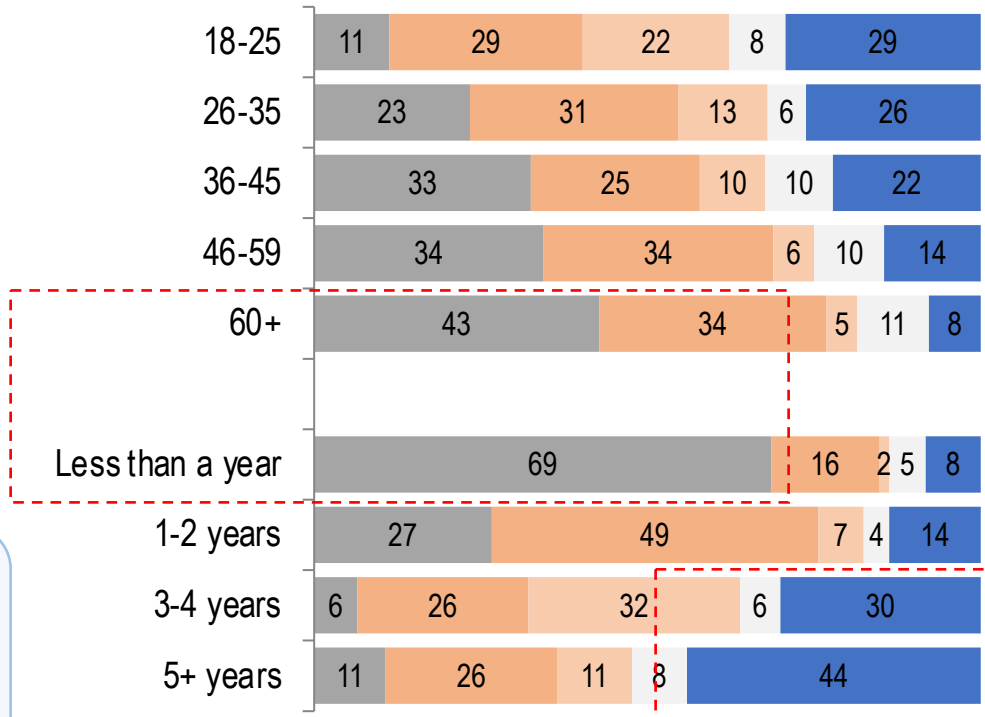
March 7-10, 2024



If Ukraine continues to receive sufficient weapons from its partners, how long can it fight?



Age. Expected duration of war.

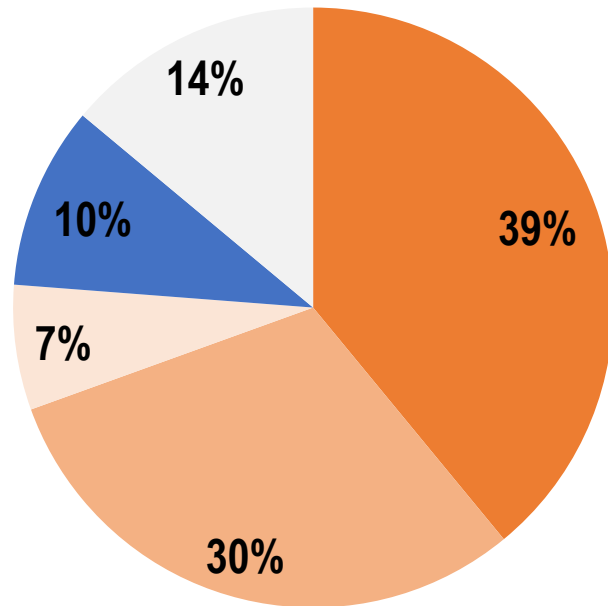


Caution! Respondents understood this question in different ways. Optimists interpreted sufficient weapons aid for Ukraine as a factor that will help to end the war earlier. In other words, they selected the option «less than a year» with interpretation that «Ukraine will (successfully) end the war in less than a year». Hence, it is not applicable to compare this question with the next question



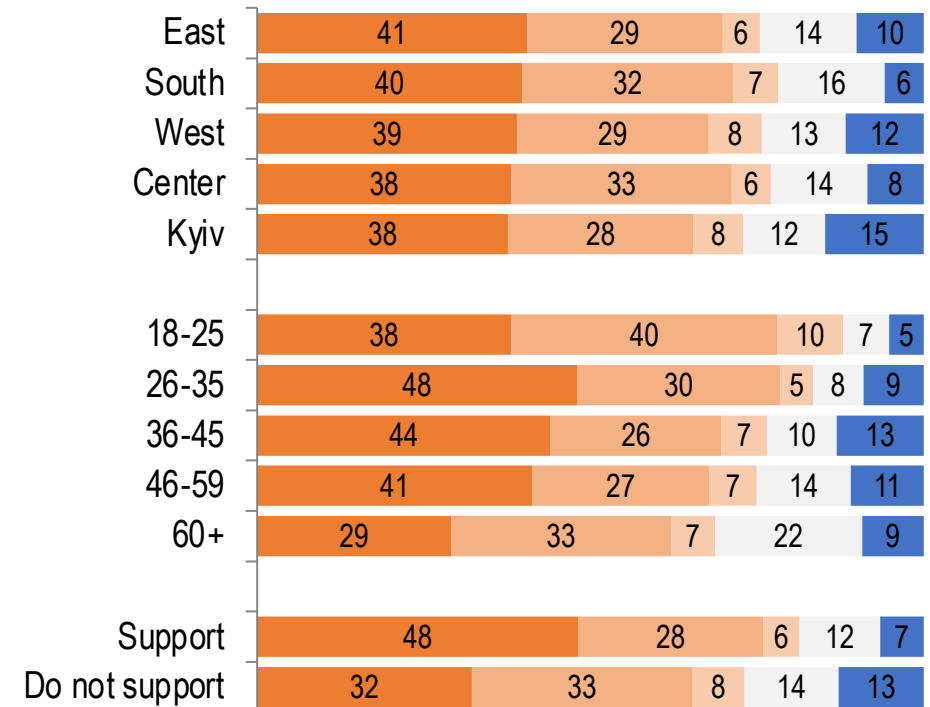
If Ukraine's partners stop supplying weapons, or significantly scale back such deliveries, how long can Ukraine continue to fight?

Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group



- Less than a year
- 1-2 years
- 3-4 years
- 5 years or longer
- Difficult to answer

Regions. Age. Support for negotiations



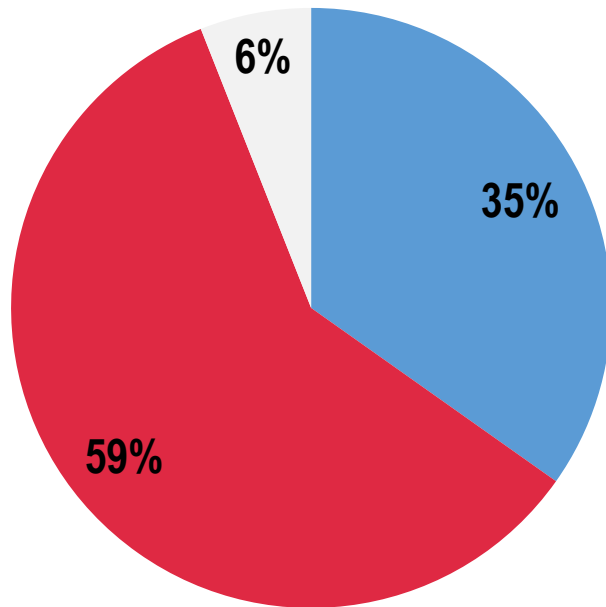
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РЕЙТИНГ

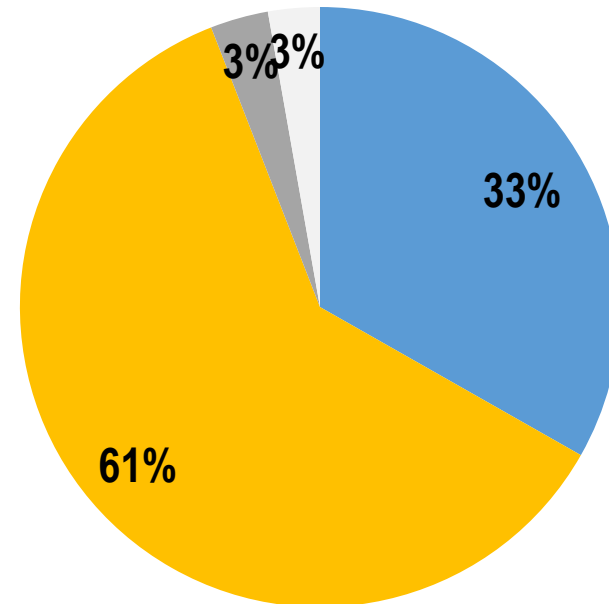
Joining NATO

Do you think Ukraine will receive an invitation to join NATO at the next summit in Washington this July?



- Yes
- No
- Difficult to answer

If Ukraine does not receive an invitation to join NATO this July, it should:

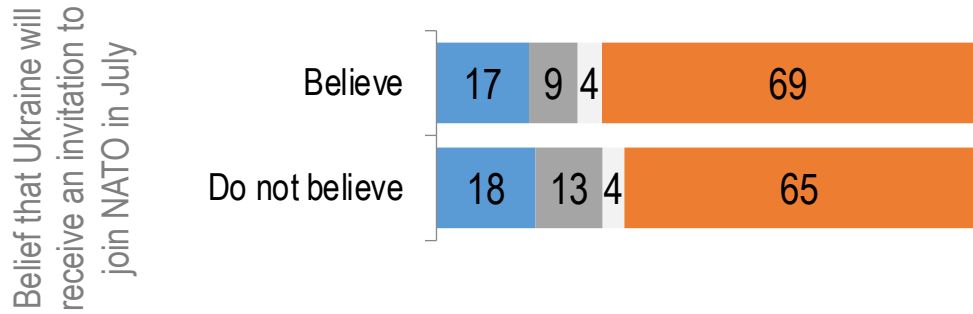


- Continue trying to receive an invitation in future years
- Search for other means to improve its security
- Other
- Difficult to answer



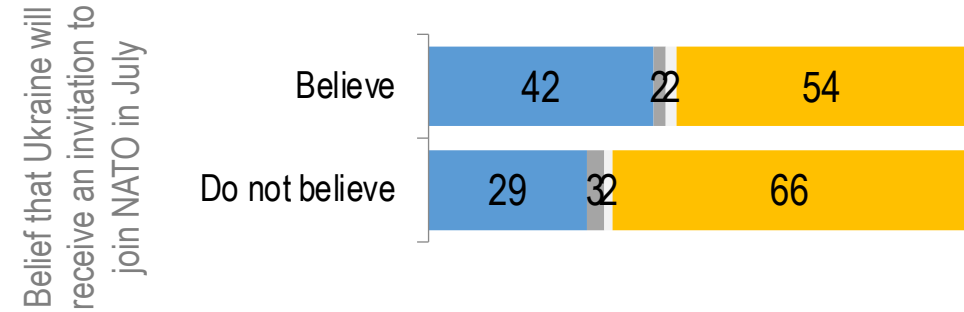
Ukraine will no longer seek NATO membership as a condition to end the war

■ I support it ■ None of the two ■ Difficult to answer ■ I do not support it



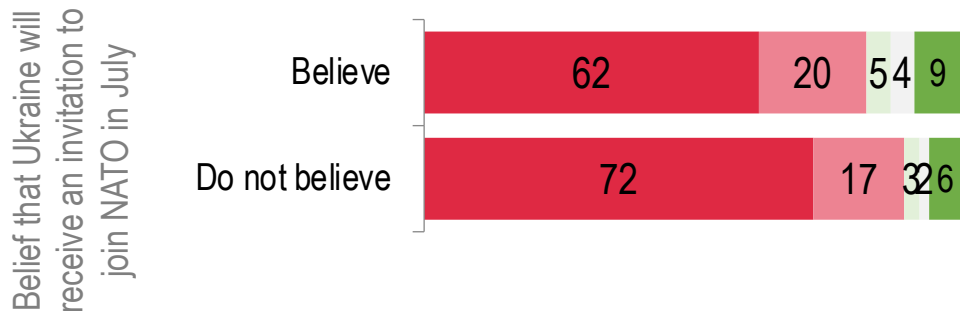
If Ukraine does not receive an invitation to join NATO this July, it should:

■ Continue trying to receive an invitation in future years
 ■ Other
 ■ Difficult to answer
 ■ Search for other means to improve its security



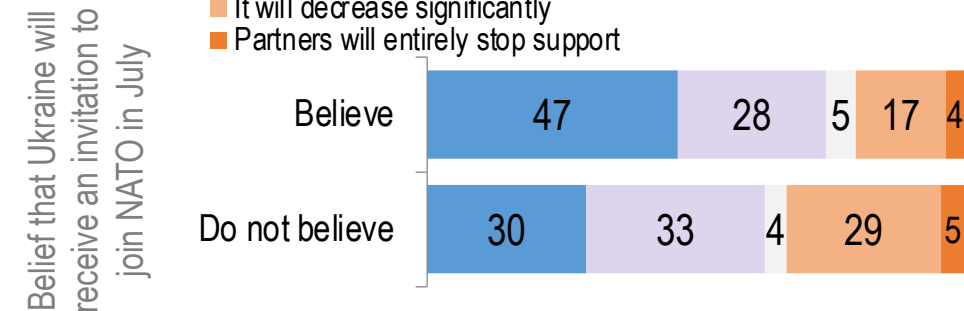
What is the probability of Russia attacking Ukraine again if there is a signed peace treaty?

■ High ■ Medium ■ Low ■ Difficult to answer ■ There is not such probability



What level of weapons and economic support from Ukraine's partners do you anticipate in the nearest couple of years?

■ The level of support will increase significantly
 ■ It will stay the same as it has been
 ■ Difficult to answer
 ■ It will decrease significantly
 ■ Partners will entirely stop support



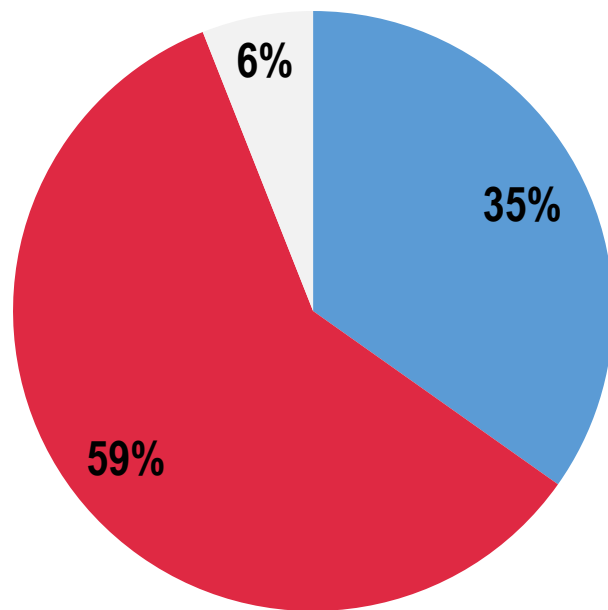
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Do you think Ukraine will receive an invitation to join NATO at the next summit in Washington this July?

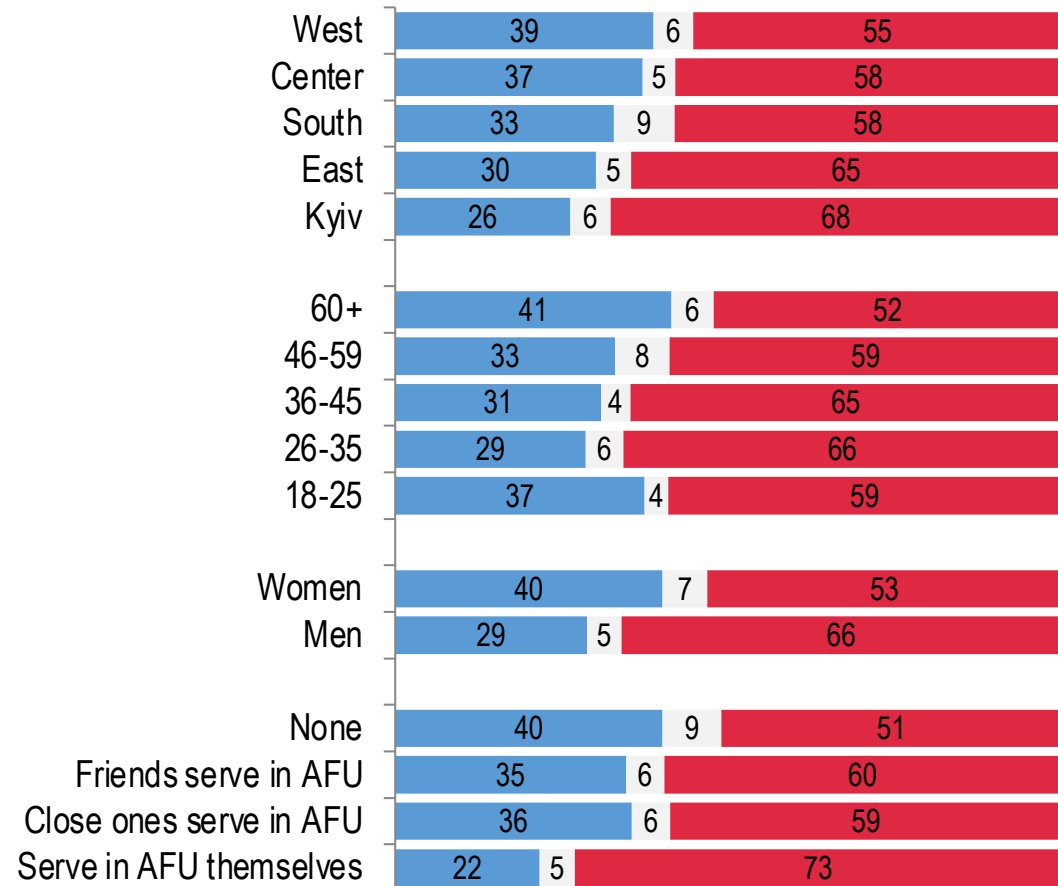


Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group



- Yes
- No
- Difficult to answer

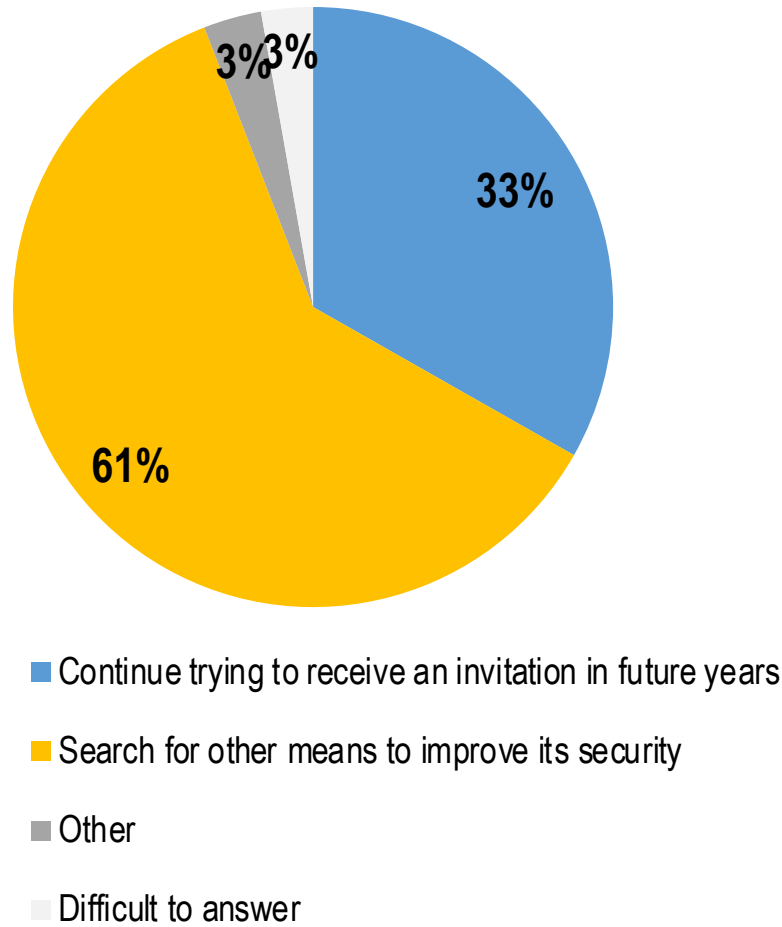
Regions. Age. Gender. Serving in AFU



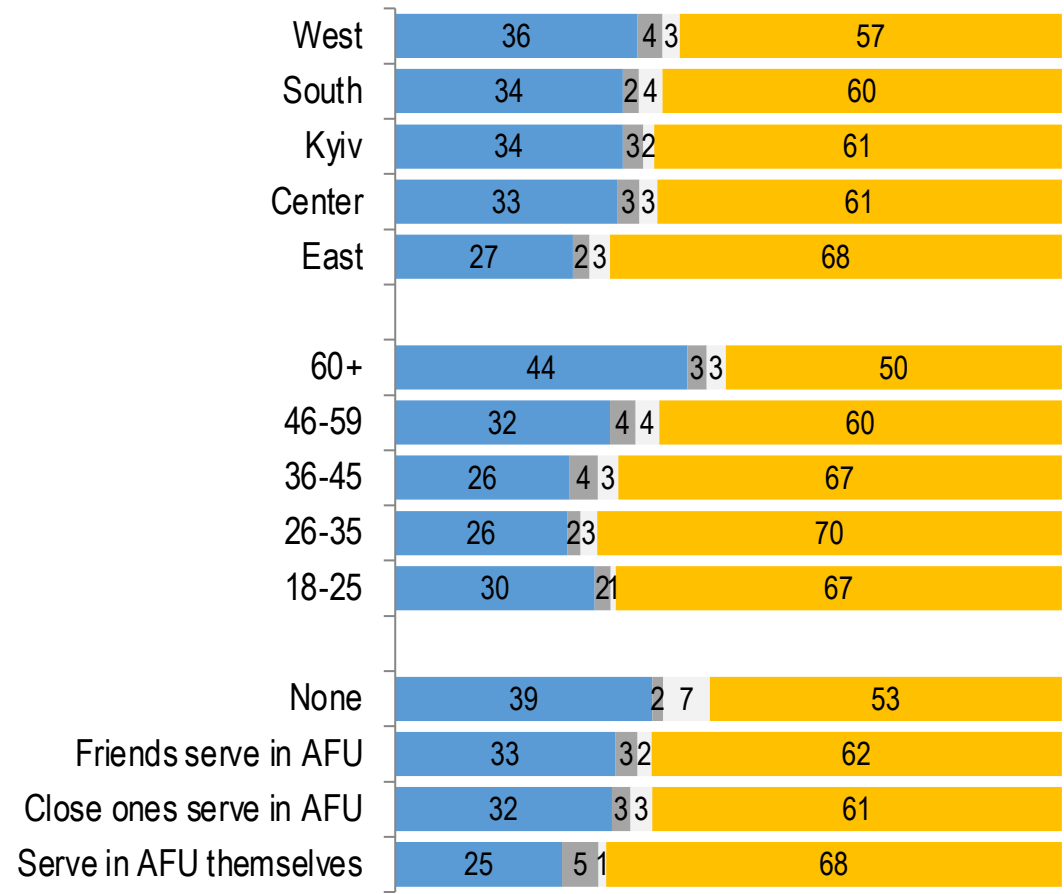
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If Ukraine does not receive an invitation to join NATO this July, it should:



Regions. Age. Serving in AFU



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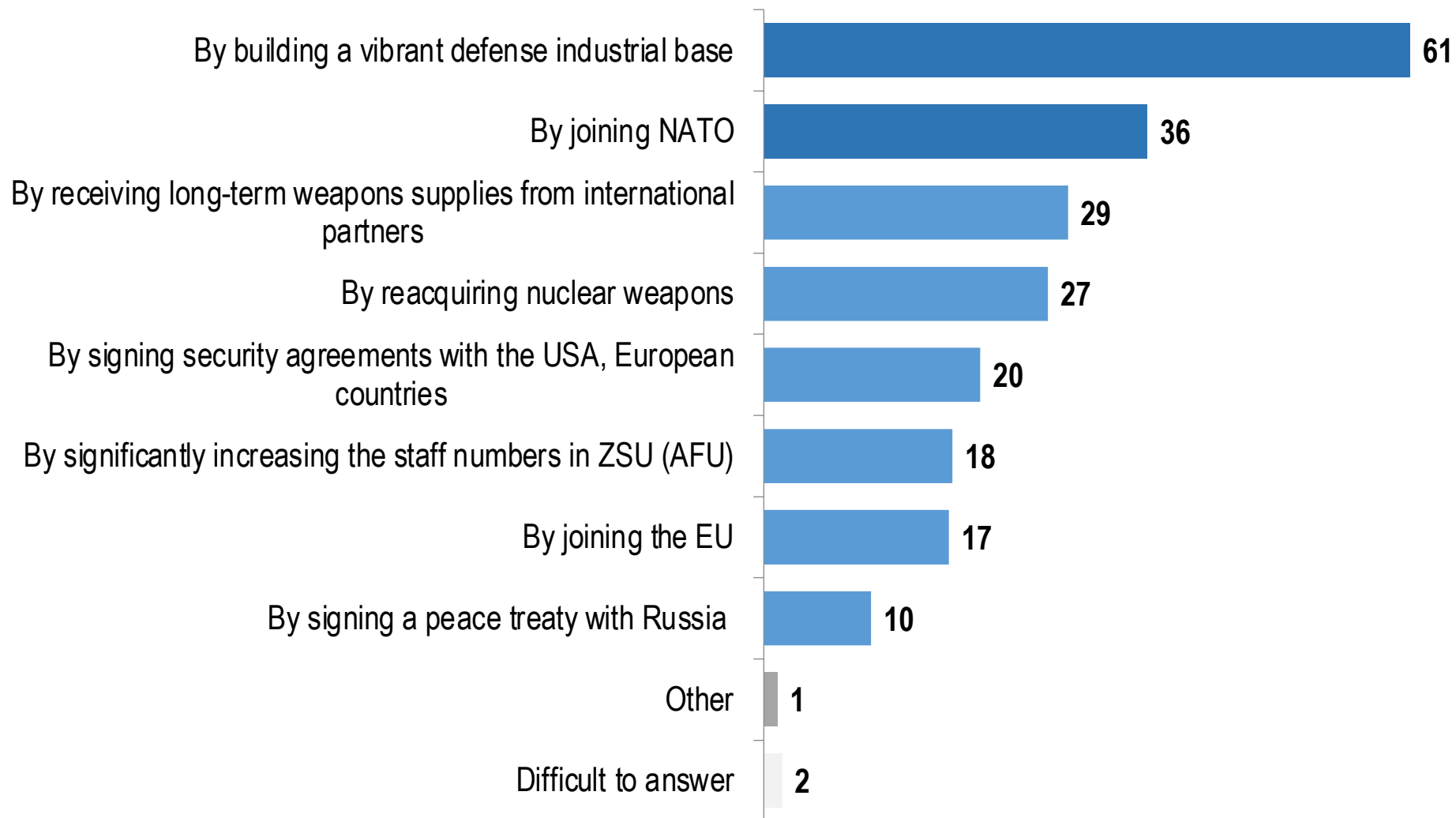
РЕЙТИНГ

Security guarantees

What can help Ukraine to deter future Russian aggression?



NO MORE THAN 3 OPTIONS



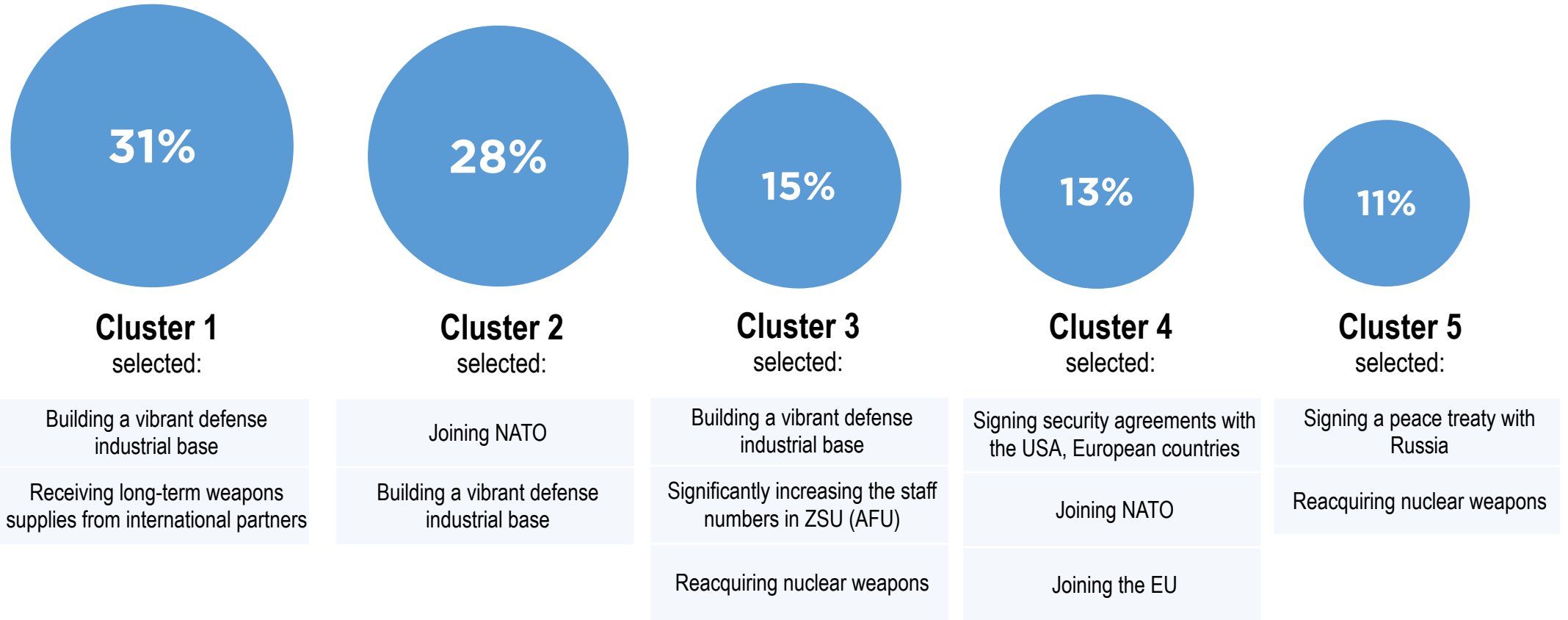
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CLUSTER ANALYSIS: paired selection of future Russian aggression deterring



The most frequently selected factors within the cluster



March 7-10, 2024



What can help Ukraine to deter future Russian aggression?



NO MORE THAN 3 OPTIONS

REGIONS. AGE. SERVING IN AFU. FUTURE AGGRESSION PROBABILITY	REGIONS					AGE					SERVING IN AFU				PROBABILITY			
	West	Center	South	East	Kyiv	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-59	60+	Serve in AFU themselves	Close ones serve in AFU	Friends serve in AFU	None	High	Medium	Low	There is no such probability
By building a vibrant defense industrial base	57	62	59	64	66	57	66	62	64	55	71	62	63	55	65	58	53	40
By joining NATO	40	35	34	29	44	33	38	31	36	39	37	35	38	31	42	30	18	17
By receiving long-term weapons supplies from international partners	30	29	27	24	33	38	33	29	26	24	27	29	31	23	31	28	17	21
By reacquiring nuclear weapons	26	28	23	27	30	32	29	31	28	20	36	28	26	24	30	26	8	13
By signing security agreements with the USA, European countries	22	22	17	18	19	29	24	21	18	16	16	20	22	18	20	28	23	13
By significantly increasing the staff numbers in ZSU (AFU)	20	16	20	18	13	23	20	23	17	12	18	19	18	12	19	22	10	7
By joining the EU	19	17	18	15	19	23	16	18	17	16	18	18	18	13	19	15	11	13
By signing a peace treaty with Russia	9	9	11	14	7	19	14	11	7	7	11	9	10	14	5	16	37	21
Other	2	1	1	1				3	1	2	2	1	1		1	1	1	4
Difficult to answer	1	2	3	2	1		1	1	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	5

Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group

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What can help Ukraine to deter future Russian aggression?



NO MORE THAN 3 OPTIONS

	SUPPORT FOR MOBILIZATION		SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATIONS	
	Support	Do not support	Support	Do not support
By building a vibrant defense industrial base	64	54	56	64
By joining NATO	42	27	29	42
By receiving long-term weapons supplies from international partners	31	25	25	31
By reacquiring nuclear weapons	28	24	22	31
By signing security agreements with the USA, European countries	18	24	22	19
By significantly increasing the staff numbers in ZSU (AFU)	20	14	15	20
By joining the EU	17	18	17	18
By signing a peace treaty with Russia	5	20	21	1
Other	1	2	1	1
Difficult to answer	1	2	2	1

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What can help Ukraine to deter future Russian aggression?

NO MORE THAN 3 OPTIONS

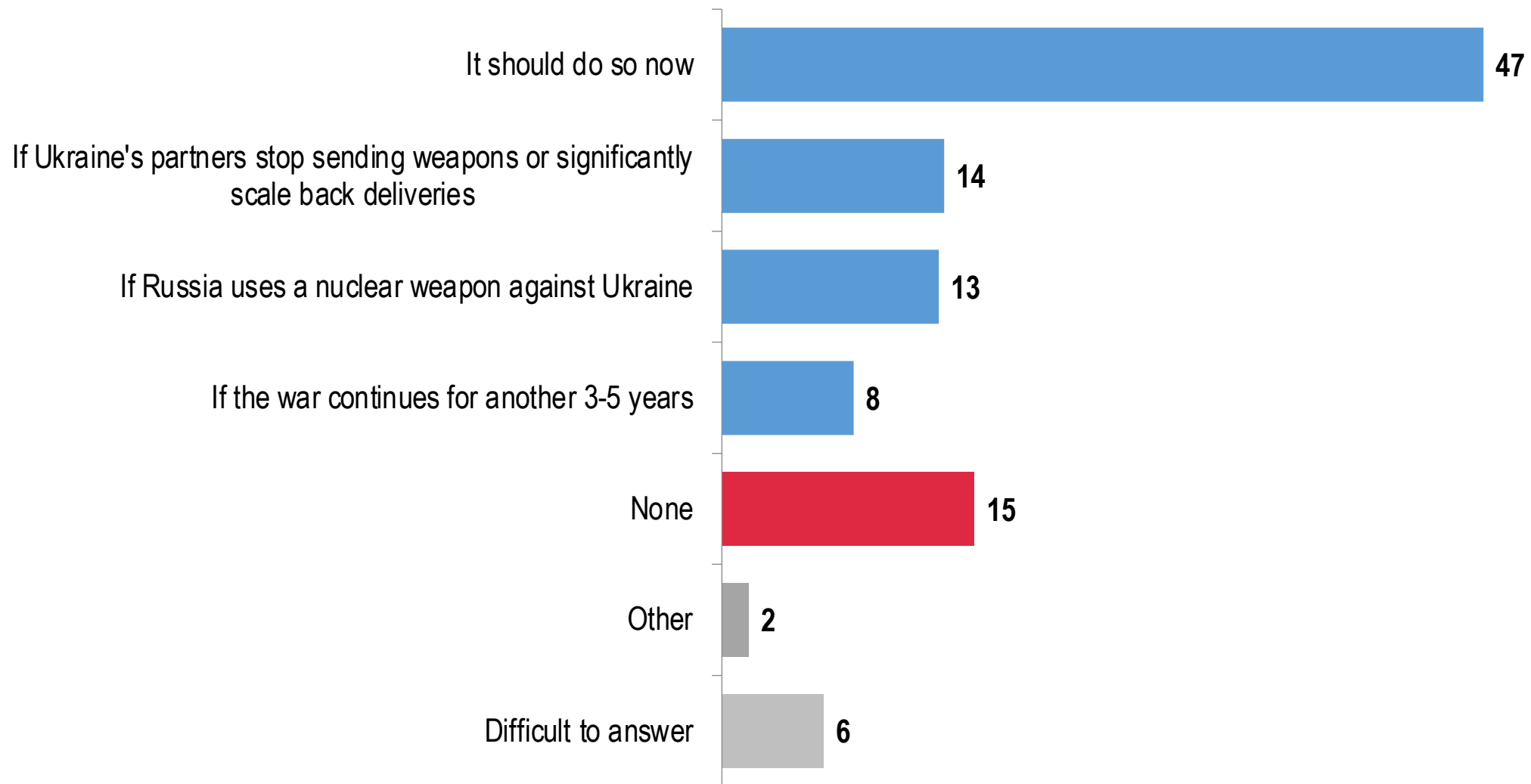
	Believe Ukraine will receive invitation to NATO in June		Expectation on international support level			
	Believe	Do not believe	The support will increase	The support stays the same	The support will decrease	The support will stop
By building a vibrant defense industrial base	55	65	59	64	64	39
By joining NATO	40	35	43	40	28	18
By receiving long-term weapons supplies from international partners	28	29	29	33	26	19
By reacquiring nuclear weapons	22	30	28	27	28	10
By signing security agreements with the USA, European countries	19	22	21	22	20	20
By significantly increasing the staff numbers in ZSU (AFU)	15	20	19	19	17	10
By joining the EU	23	15	20	16	17	18
By signing a peace treaty with Russia	8	11	8	7	14	33
Other	1	2	1	1	1	3
Difficult to answer	2	1	1	1	2	6



Under what circumstances should Ukraine seek to reacquire nuclear weapons?



NO MORE THAN 3 OPTIONS



March 7-10, 2024



Under what circumstances should Ukraine seek to reacquire nuclear weapons?



NO MORE THAN 3 OPTIONS

REGIONS. AGE. SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

	West	Center	South	East	Kyiv	18-25	26-35	36-45	45-59	60+	Support	Do not support
It should do so now	44	47	49	47	49	42	43	46	50	48	39	53
If Ukraine's partners stop sending weapons or significantly scale back deliveries	15	13	12	12	17	15	14	15	13	13	14	14
If Russia uses a nuclear weapon against Ukraine	11	15	13	14	14	22	17	14	11	10	14	13
If the war continues for another 3-5 years	10	9	5	7	8	12	15	8	7	4	8	8
None	15	14	16	18	15	10	16	15	17	17	20	12
Other	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
Difficult to answer	6	7	7	6	6	5	3	6	5	10	8	4



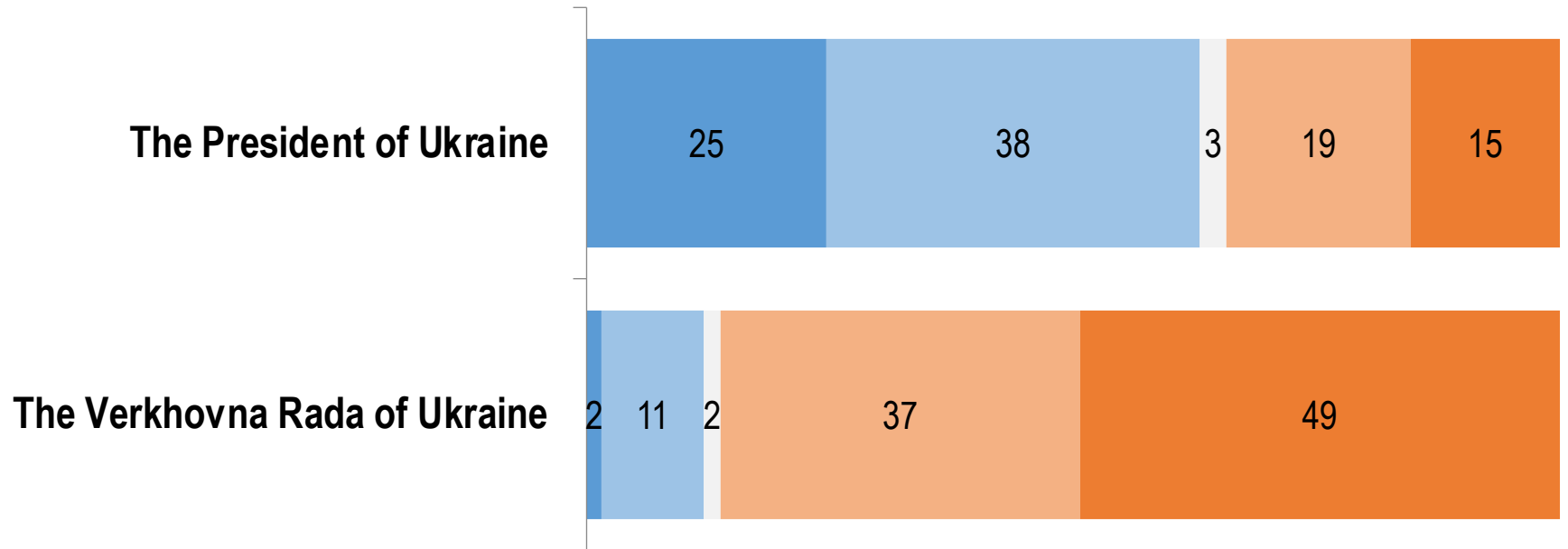
РЕЙТИНГ

Elections in Ukraine

Satisfaction with performance of...



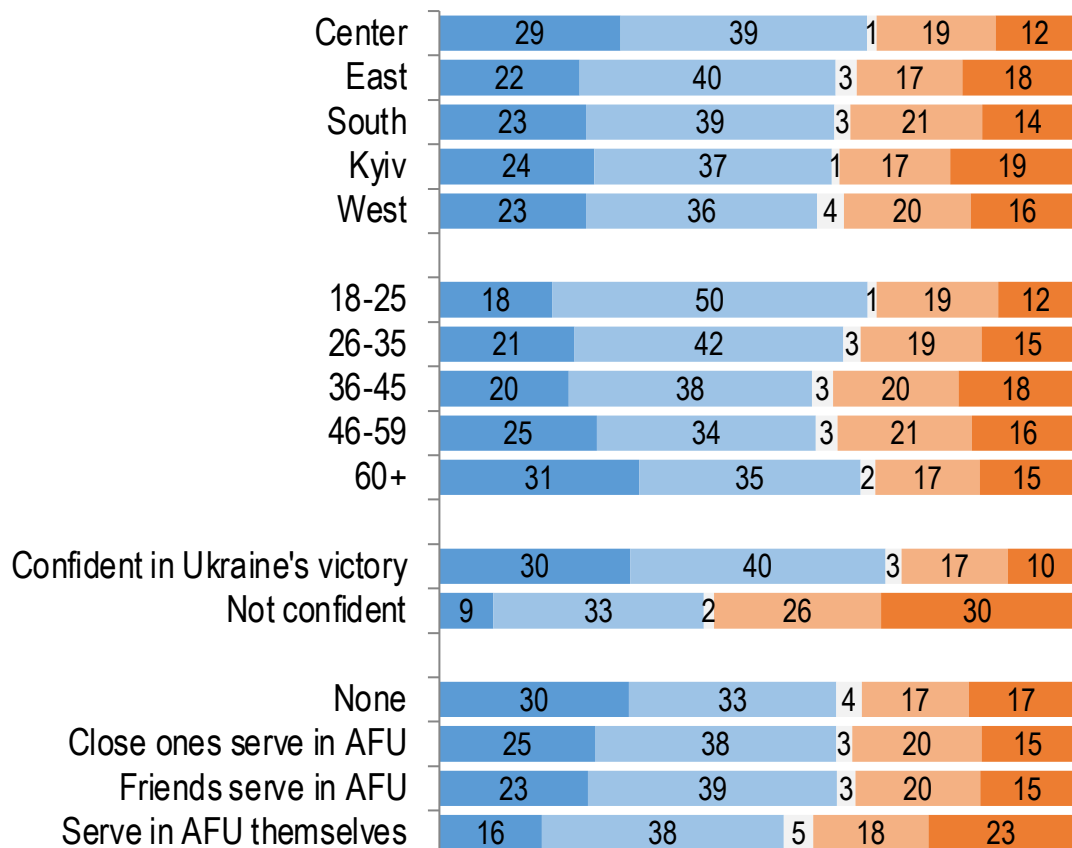
- Absolutely satisfied
- Rather satisfied
- Difficult to answer
- Rather not satisfied
- Not satisfied at all



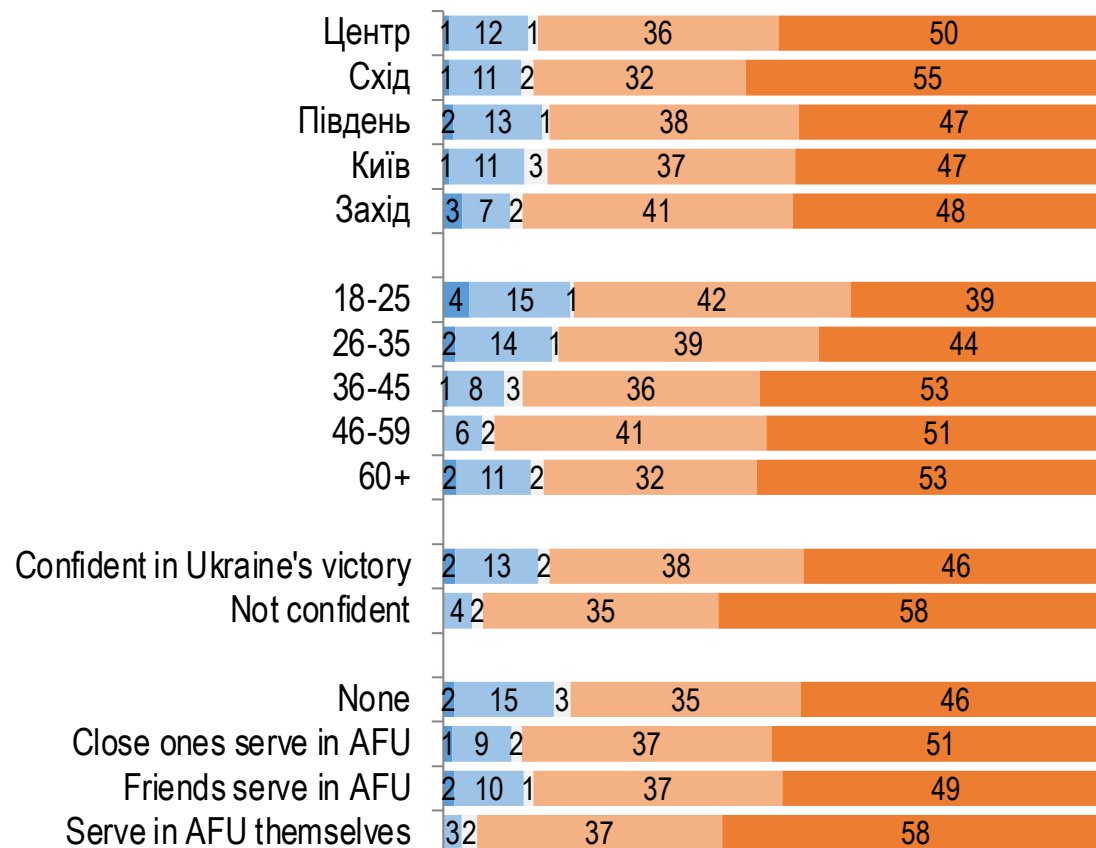
Satisfaction with performance of...

■ Absolutely satisfied ■ Rather satisfied ■ Difficult to answer ■ Rather not satisfied ■ Not satisfied at all

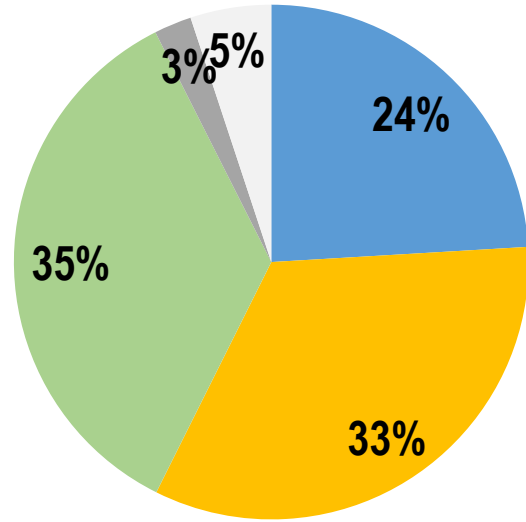
The President of Ukraine



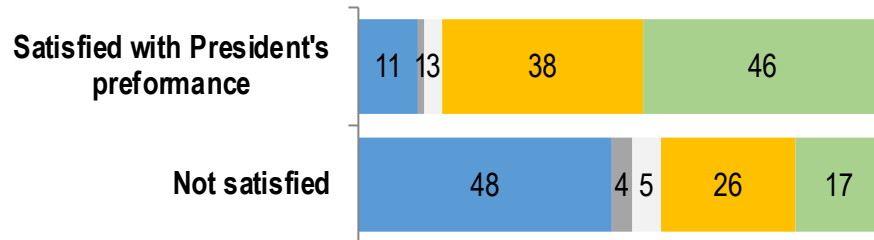
The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine



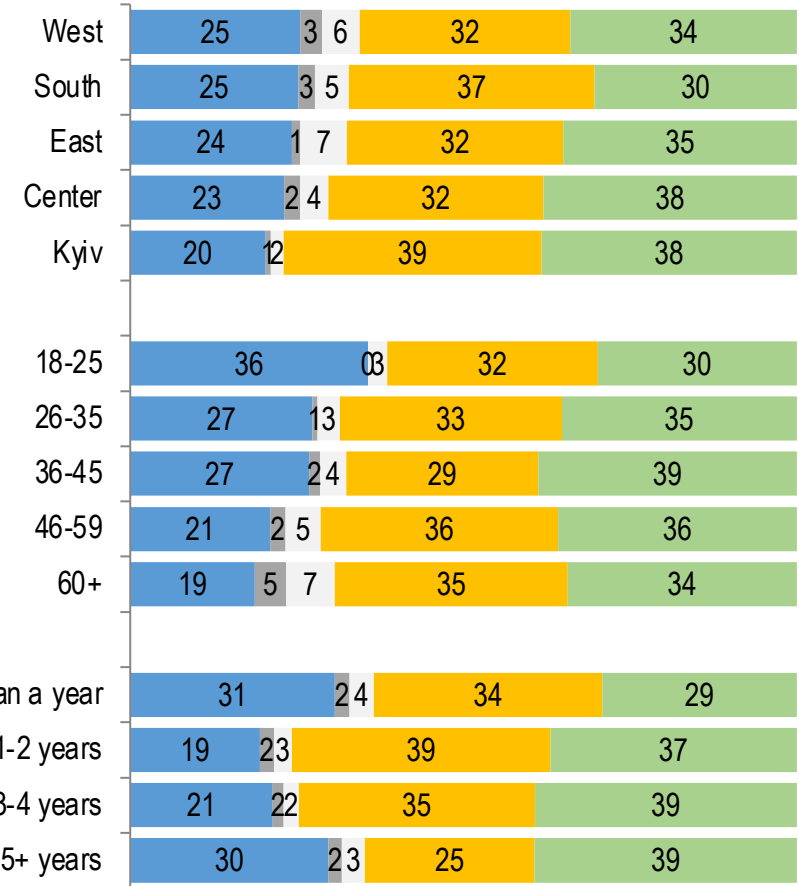
When should Ukraine hold its next elections?



- This year, regardless of whether the war ends by that time or not
- After the war ends, even if it takes another few years
- After the war ends, even if it takes another 5 years or more
- Other
- Difficult to answer



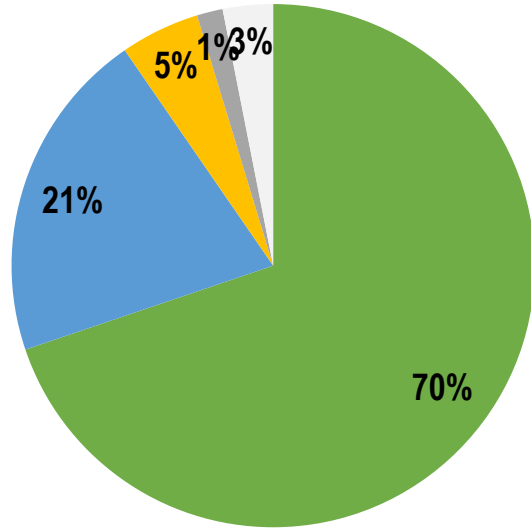
Regions. Age.
Expected duration of war.



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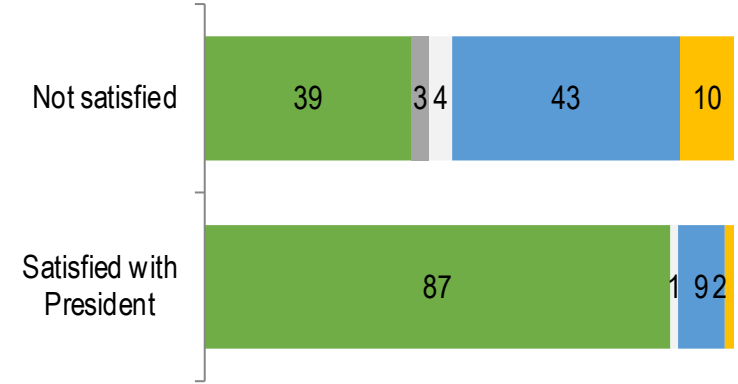


What should be done in a situation when President Zelensky's term of office expires in May this year?

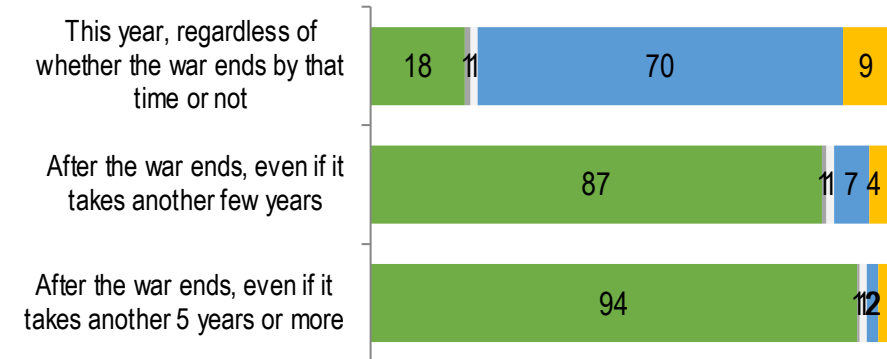


- President Zelensky should continue in office until the war ends
- Hold presidential elections this year, regardless of whether the war ends or not
- The Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada shall perform the duties of the President until the end of the war
- Other
- Difficult to answer

Satisfaction with President's performance



When to hold elections

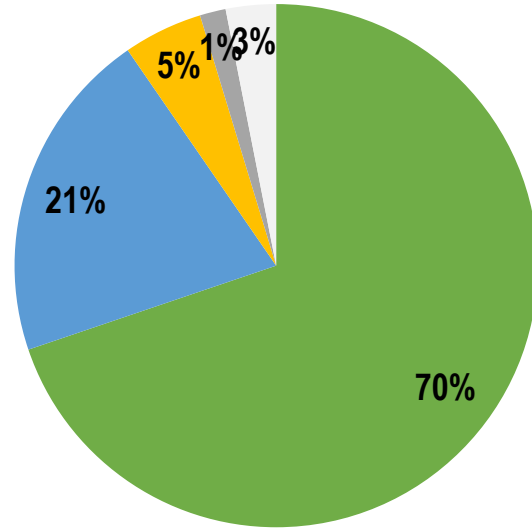


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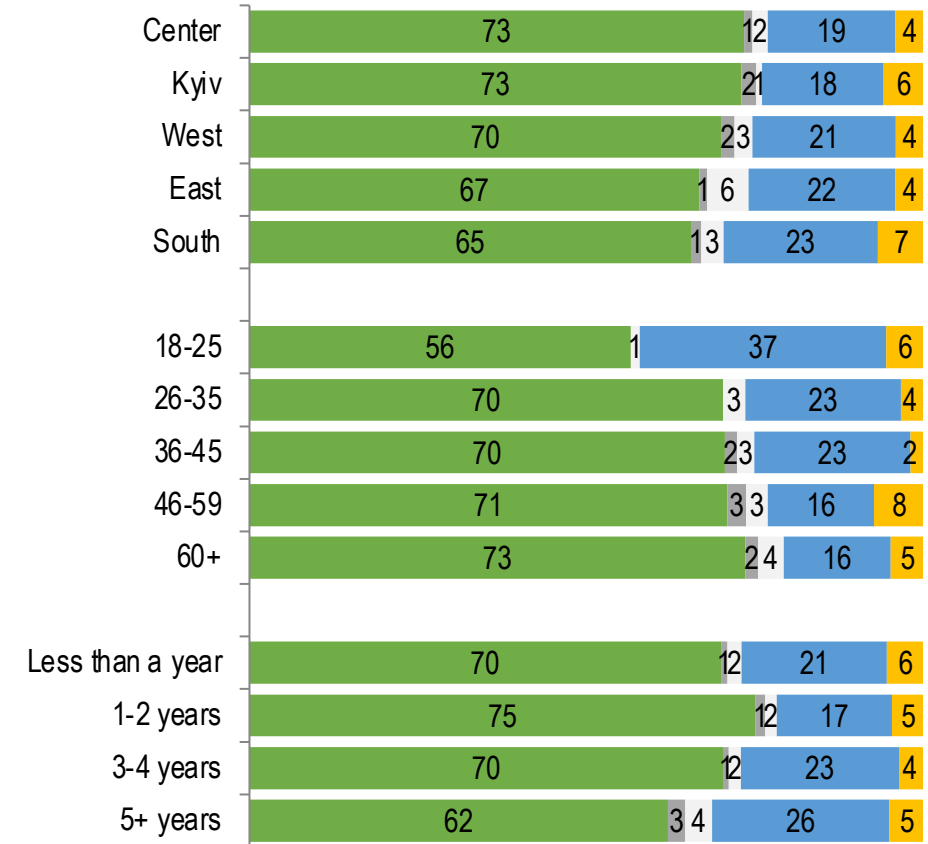
What should be done in a situation when President Zelensky's term of office expires in May this year?

Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group



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- Other
- Difficult to answer

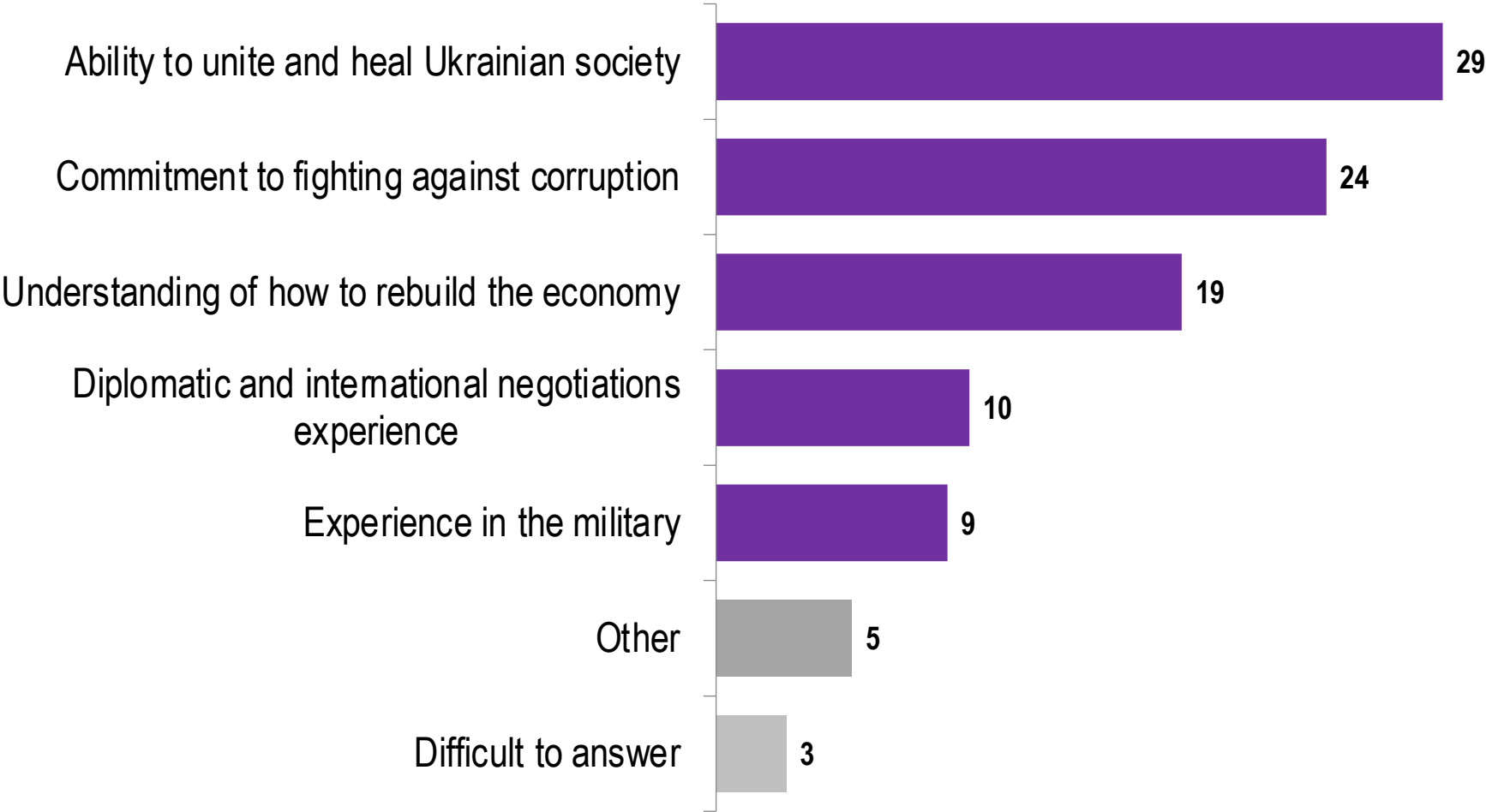
Regions. Age. Expected duration of war.



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What is the most important quality you will look for in Ukraine's next leader?



What is the most important quality you will look for in Ukraine's next leader?

REGIONS. AGE. INCOME. SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATIONS. WHEN TO HOLD ELECTIONS

	West	Center	South	East	Kyiv	Poor	Low income	Medium income	High income	Support	Do not support	This year	After the war, in near future	After the war, in 5+ years
Commitment to fighting against corruption	32	30	28	26	24	34	30	29	25	30	28	29	29	31
Ability to unite and heal Ukrainian society	24	25	23	24	26	20	25	25	26	20	28	20	26	25
Understanding of how to rebuild the economy	18	17	15	24	21	16	17	19	24	22	16	17	22	18
Diplomatic and international negotiations experience	9	10	15	9	11	6	9	11	13	12	9	13	11	8
Experience in the military	9	10	10	9	9	12	11	8	8	9	9	15	6	8
Other	7	5	6	3	6	8	6	5	3	6	5	3	3	7
Difficult to answer	2	4	2	4	2	5	2	3	1	2	3	1	3	3

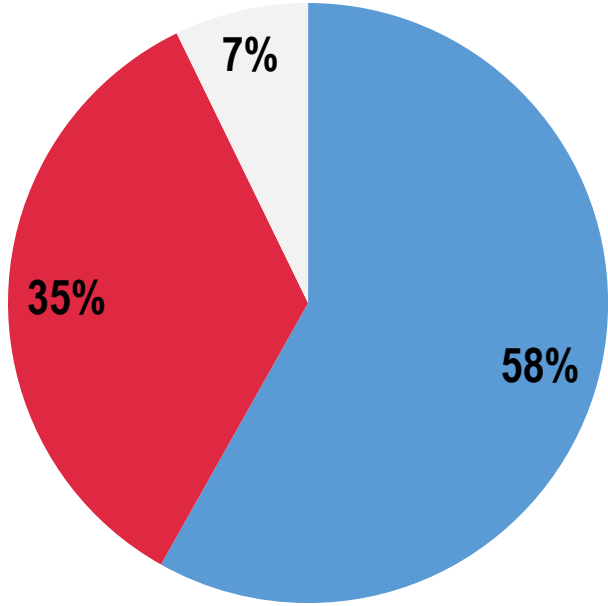
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РЕЙТИНГ

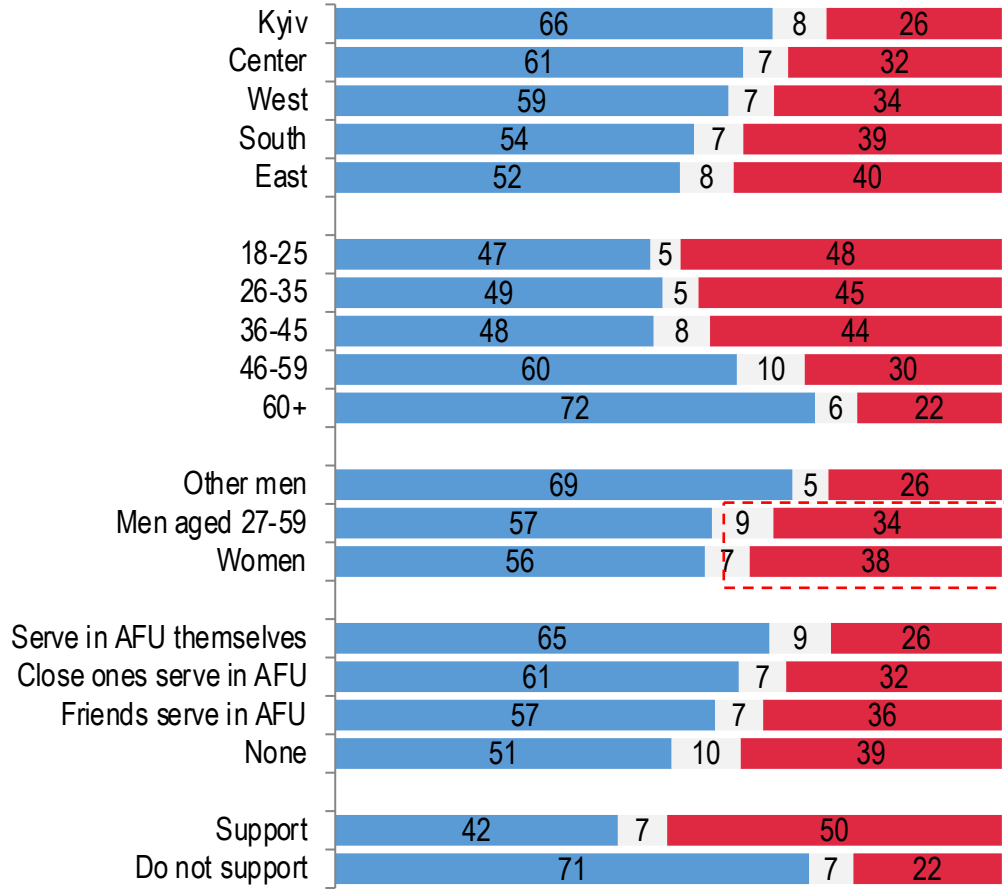
Mobilization

Do you support the intensification of mobilization?



- I support it
- I do not support it
- Difficult to answer

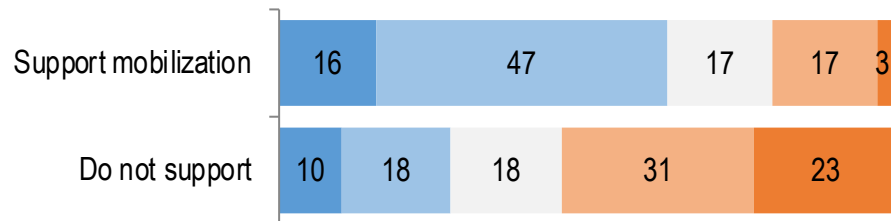
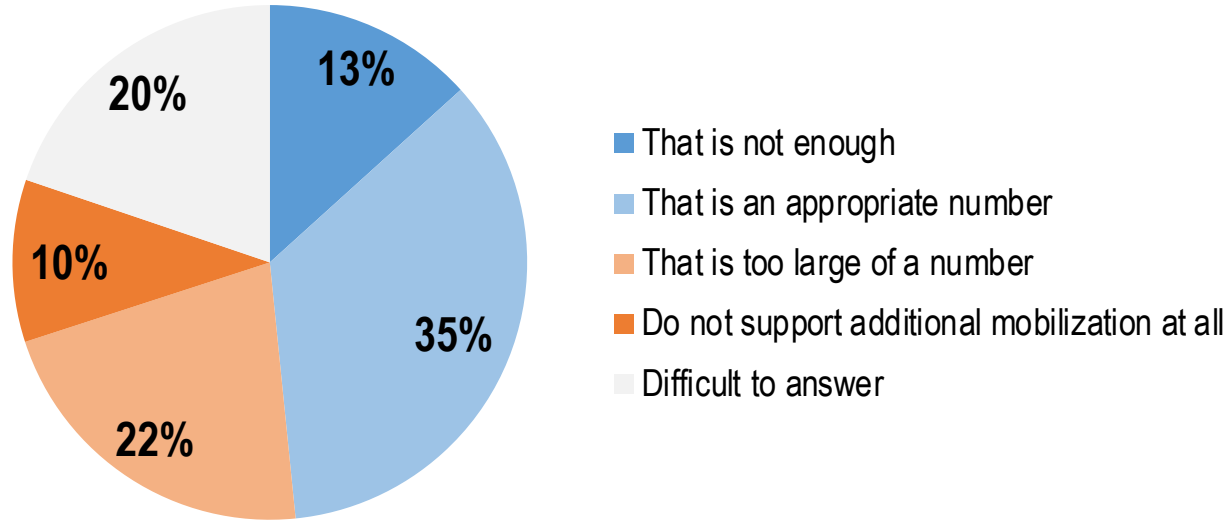
Regions. Age. Gender. Serving in AFU. Support for negotiations.



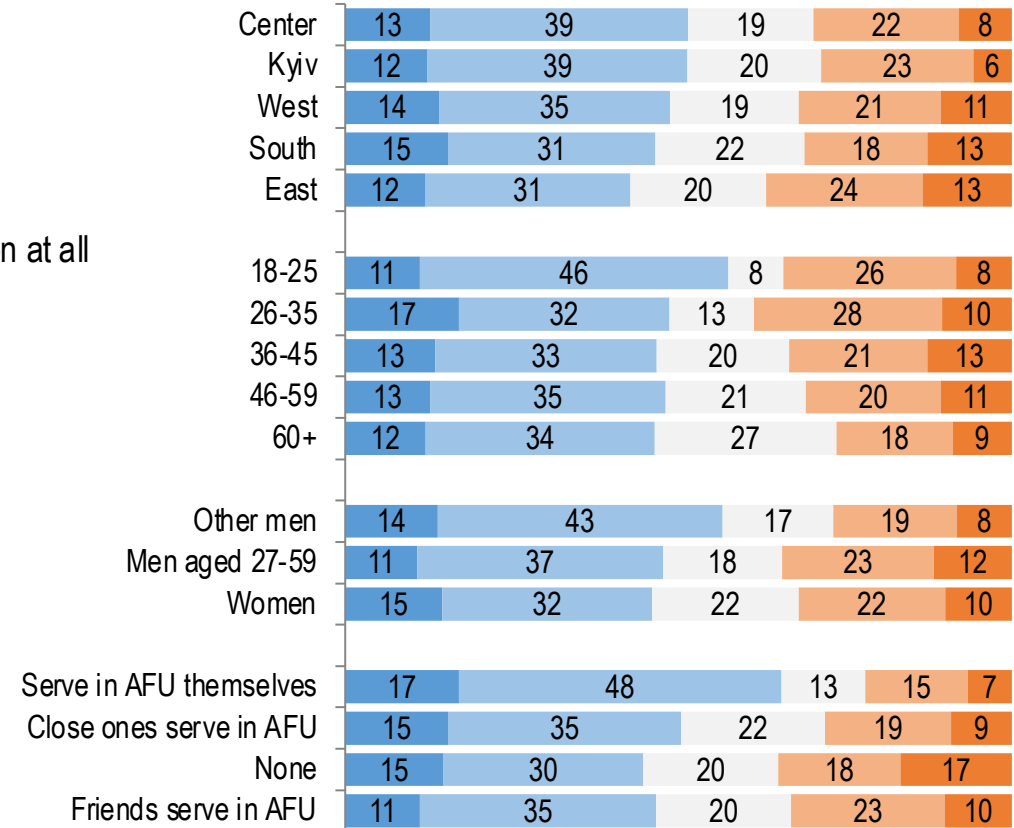
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What is your opinion on the need for additional mobilization of 500,00 troops?



Regions. Age. Gender. Serving in AFU.



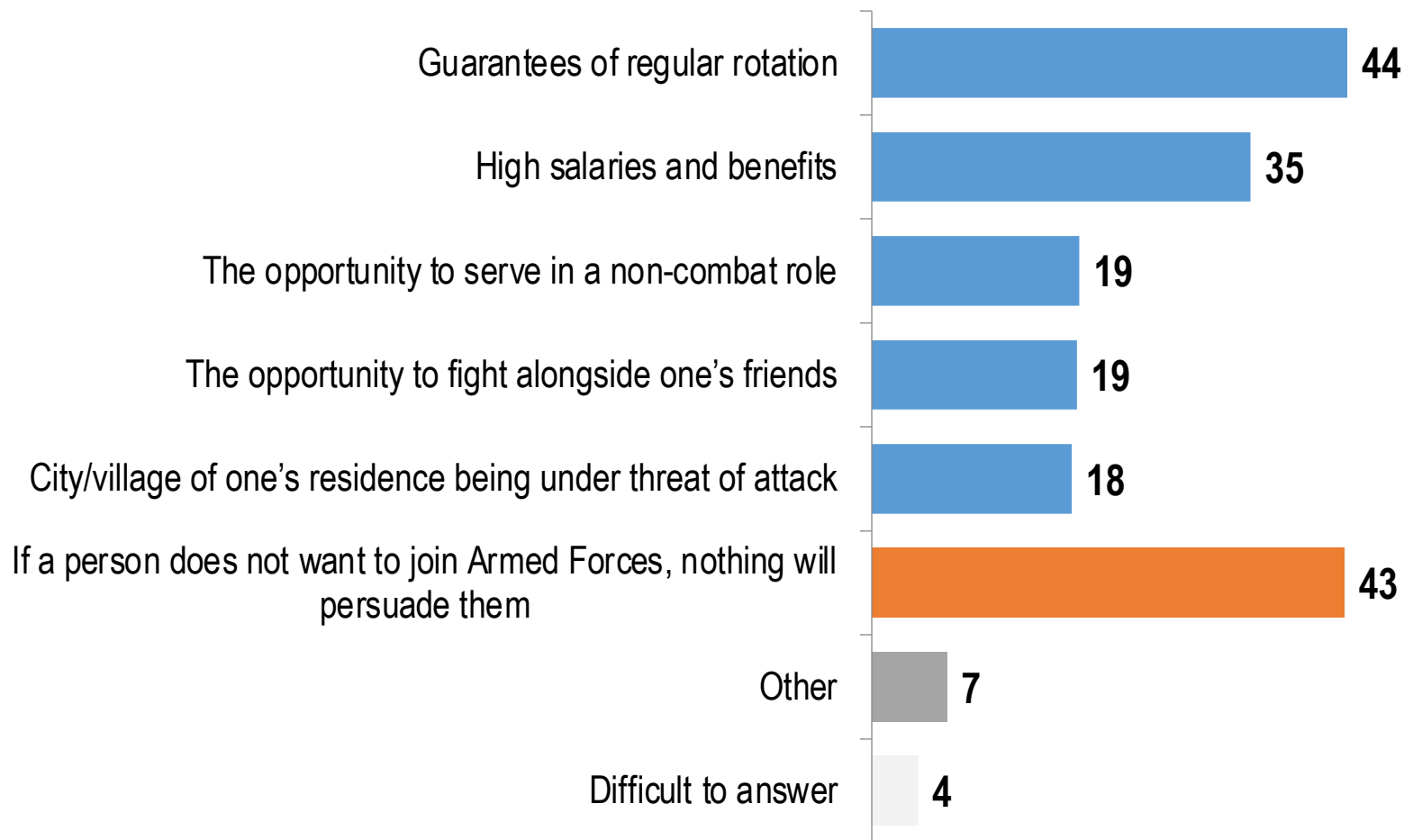
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In your opinion, which of the following will incentivize people to join the ZSU (AFU)?



MULTIPLE CHOICE ALLOWED



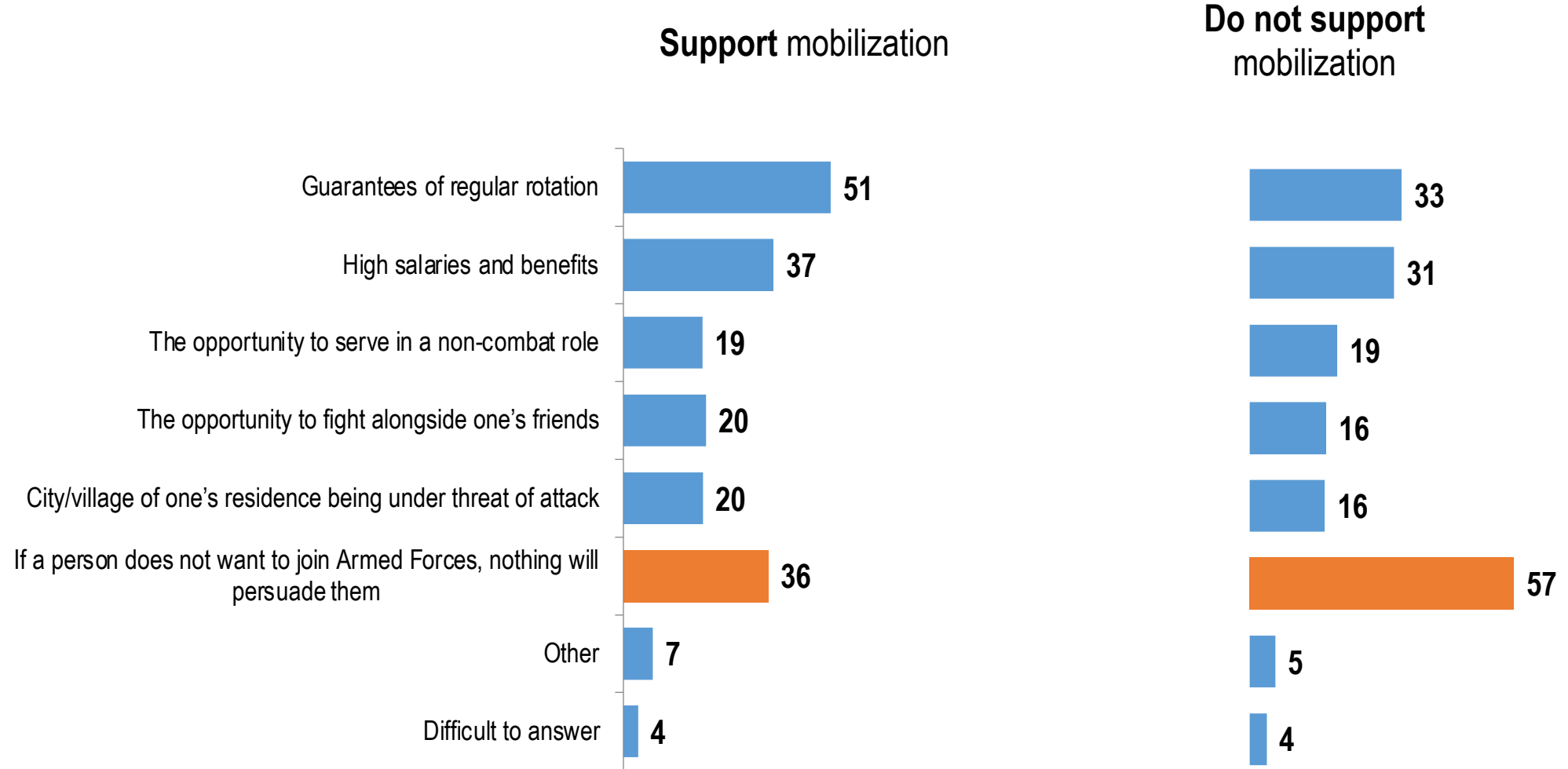
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MULTIPLE CHOICE ALLOWED



March 7-10, 2024



In your opinion, which of the following will incentivize people to join the ZSU (AFU)?

MULTIPLE CHOICE ALLOWED



Social expectations regarding the end of war | Rating Group

REGIONS. AGE. SERVING IN AFU. GENDER

	West	Center	South	East	Kyiv	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-59	60+	Serve in AFE themselves	Close ones serve in AFU	Friends serve in AFU	None	Men aged 27-59	Other men	Women
Guarantees of regular rotation	40	44	45	44	52	49	50	45	42	38	53	48	45	23	45	45	43
High salaries and benefits	33	36	31	34	44	41	38	34	36	30	37	35	37	28	39	35	32
The opportunity to serve in a non-combat role	17	20	22	17	21	31	29	17	17	11	23	19	21	9	23	18	17
The opportunity to fight alongside one's friends	18	21	18	18	20	23	22	18	18	17	22	21	21	9	21	21	17
City/village of one's residence being under threat of attack	17	21	19	18	14	21	24	20	20	11	20	19	20	9	23	15	17
If a person does not want to join Armed Forces, nothing will persuade them	42	43	43	47	41	52	55	43	42	34	40	40	46	44	47	34	44
Інше	10	5	5	7	6	1	3	9	8	9	8	8	8	6	8	6	6
Важко відповісти	4	4	6	4	3	1	1	3	3	9	1	3	4	9	3	5	5

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