



"Public opinion about non-controlled Donbas: what has changed?"

The Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation and Razumkov Centre Sociological Service carried out this research from June 9-13, 2017. 2,018 respondents aged 18 and above from all regions of Ukraine except for AR of Crimea and occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions were polled. Theoretical margin of error does not exceed 2.3%.

Data of nationwide polling conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation jointly with the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology from October 9-19, 2015 and data from the polling conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation and Razumkov Centre Sociological Service from May 11-16, 2016, are provided for comparison purposes.

- Like a year ago, absolute majority of the population of Ukraine (70%) believes that "for the sake of peace in Donbas it is possible to accept compromises", however, the peace "at any price" is supported by only 18% of those polled, while more than a half of respondents believe that "not all compromises are acceptable". 18% of respondents support the establishment of peace in Donbas by force.
- **Readiness for compromises** is reducing with increasing of the distance from the zone of hostilities. Indeed, 25% of respondents in Eastern Ukraine and only 10% of respondents in Western Ukraine demonstrate readiness to make any compromises for the sake of peace.
- Population in Ukraine considers the **international pressure on Russia** aimed at ending its interference in the Donbas conflict (38%) and the successful **restoration of normal life** in the Ukraine-controlled areas of Donbas (28%) as the most effective among the proposed measures for **establishing peace in Donbas**. Compared to the last year, there is a decrease of the number of people who believe that for the establishment of peace it is necessary to stop funding these territories (from 20% to 11%), declare Russian as the second state language (from 11% to 5%) and introduce a federal system of governance in Ukraine (from 7.5% to 5%).
- **Population mostly supports** the decision of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine (NSDC) on the **blockade** of trade with **so-called "DPR" and "LPR"**: 47% of respondents support this decision, "against" - 37%. The highest level of support for the blockade is observed in Western Ukraine (66%), and somewhat lower in Central Ukraine (47%). It is noteworthy that the smallest number of supporters of such decision is observed in Southern Ukraine – 30%, while in Eastern Ukraine - 38%.
- **Major part of population supports** the proposal to **recognize uncontrolled territories** of Donetsk and Luhansk regions **occupied**: 55% - "in favor", 22% - "against", awhile almost 25% of respondents have not decided on this issue. The highest level of support for the blockade is observed in Western Ukraine (64%) and Central Ukraine (59%). 49% of respondents in Eastern Ukraine support legislative consolidation of the fact of occupation, while the lowest number of supporters for such actions is observed in Southern Ukraine – 35%.

- **Political future** of self-proclaimed "**DPR**" and "**LPR**" is seen by 55% of Ukrainians **as a part of Ukraine on pre-war conditions**. 20% of respondents are inclined to granting these territories a greater degree of autonomy within Ukraine and about 9% of them support independent existence of these entities or their accession to Russia. In general, support for proposals of providing more rights to currently uncontrolled territories has decreased as compared to the previous year. The greatest support of granting the autonomy rights to the territories of "DPR" and "LPR" is observed in Eastern Ukraine (28%), but still the majority in this region (47%) prefers that these territories remained in Ukraine with their pre-war status.
- It is worth mentioning that **support** for the idea of **introducing an international peacekeeping contingent** to Donbas **continues to grow**. Today, it exceeds 60% and only 20% of population oppose it. Southern Ukraine is the only macro-region, where the number of opponents of peacekeepers is slightly higher than the number of supporters (38% - "against", 36% - "in favor"). It is worth noting a significant share of respondents who have not decided on this issue - today they account for 19%, predominantly in Southern Ukraine (25%).
- **Among the possible policy options** for Ukraine regarding the uncontrolled territories in Donetsk and Luhansk regions, the survey revealed **a lack of consolidated position**: 23% of the population support complete isolation of so-called "DPR" and "LPR"; 22% – consider it appropriate to keep the economic blockade, but maintain humanitarian relations, 22% of respondents favor the permission to trade with essential goods (food and FMCG products from Ukraine and anthracite coal from the uncontrolled territories) and maximum support of humanitarian relations, while 15 % support maximum development of relations with uncontrolled territories – both humanitarian and trade.
- Population in Ukraine has an ambiguous attitude towards certain social and humanitarian policies related to uncontrolled territories of Donbas. Citizens **rather support** simplification of access to education in Ukrainian educational institutions of different levels for residents of uncontrolled territories (60%), provision of support (financial and material) to residents of uncontrolled territories seeking to move to territories controlled by Ukraine (59%), strengthening of control over payments to internally displaced persons in order to avoid abuse (69%), more serious control over crossing of the delimitation line (55%), simplification of receipt of any administrative services in front-line settlements (47%) and provision of permission to trade with food products and essential goods with uncontrolled territories (47%).
- At the same time, the population is **rather against** lifting the restrictions on social and pension payments to Ukrainian citizens residing on the uncontrolled territories (42%). Moreover, views on simplifying the crossing of the delimitation line and procedure for obtaining passes are divided almost equally: 38% of respondents support this proposal, while 40% - do not support it, with distinct regional division: the idea is supported by the majority of respondents in Eastern (52%) and Southern (48%) Ukraine and is perceived negatively in Western (51%) and Central (46%) Ukraine.

POLLING RESULTS

1. Currently, negotiations on possible ways for resolving military conflict in Donbas are being carried out. Is it necessary, in your opinion, to make compromises with Russia and leaders of self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk republics for the sake of peace?

1 – Peace "at any price", it is necessary to make any compromise – with anyone and on anything	17.9
2 – For the sake of peace it is necessary to accept compromises, but not all of them	52.4
3 – Peace in Donbas may be restored by force only – when one of the parties wins	17.7
4 – IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY	12.0

2. Do you support the decision of the NSDC of Ukraine on the blockade of trade with so-called "DPR" and "LPR"?

1 – Fully support	23.0
2 – Rather support	24.0
3 – Rather not support	20.6
4 – Don't support at all	16.3
5 – It is difficult to say	16.0

3. Do you support the proposal to recognize uncontrolled territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions occupied?

1 – Fully support	27.8
2 – Rather support	26.8
3 – Rather not support	12.9
4 – Don't support at all	9.4
5 – It is difficult to say	23.1

4. In your opinion, should government undertake the following steps in the field of social and humanitarian policy in relation to citizens who stay on uncontrolled territories of Donbas? (Please, check one answer for each row)

	Yes	No	It is difficult to answer
Lift restrictions on social and pension payments to Ukrainian citizens residing on the uncontrolled territories	32.6	42.2	25.2
Simplify the crossing of the delimitation line as much as possible, simplify the procedure for obtaining passes	38.3	39.6	22.0
Simplify receipt of any administrative services in front-line settlements as much as possible	46.8	30.1	23.1
Simplify access to education in Ukrainian educational institutions of different levels for residents of uncontrolled territories	59.7	20.1	20.2
Provide support (financial and material) to residents of uncontrolled territories seeking to move to territories controlled by Ukraine	59.1	21.2	19.7
Permit trade with food products and essential goods with the uncontrolled territories	47.3	30.4	22.3
Strengthen control over payments to internally displaced persons in order to avoid abuse	69.4	12.5	18.2
Strengthen control over crossing of the delimitation line	54.7	23.1	22.2

5. What kind of Ukraine's policy on uncontrolled territories would be reasonable, in your opinion, in future? (Please, choose one answer, which fits best)

1 – Officially recognize these territories as occupied and stop any trade, provision of services, payments and contacts (including movement of people)	23.0
2 – Keep economic blockade, but maintain humanitarian relations (movement of people, payment of pensions, water and power supply)	21.6
3 – Permit trade with essential goods (food and FMCG products from Ukraine and anthracite coal from uncontrolled territories) and support humanitarian relations as much as possible	21.9
4 – Develop both humanitarian, as well as trade relations with uncontrolled territories as much as possible	15.2
5 – Other	1.0
6 – It is difficult to say	17.2

6. Which decisions shall be made, in your opinion, to establish peace in Donbas? (Please, choose no more than 3 answers)

1 – Separation of territories occupied by "DPR" and "LPR" from Ukraine	8.8
2 – Granting "DPR" and "LPR" special status within territory of Ukraine	11.8
3 – Introduction of federal system of governance in Ukraine	4.6
4 – Successful restoration of normal life on Donbas territories controlled by Ukraine	28.0
5 – Holding legal elections on territories controlled by "DPR" and "LPR"	11.7
6 – Declare Russian as the second state language	4.9
7 – Amnesty for all participants of military actions in Donbas	3.8
8 – Force Russia to stop intervening into the Donbas conflict (tightening of international sanctions, international institutions' pressure on Russia)	38.1
9 – Stop funding of territories occupied by "DPR" and "LPR" (payment of pensions, salaries, etc.)	11.0
10 – Refusal from prospects of joining NATO, consolidation of Ukraine's neutral status in the Constitution	6.3
11 – Restore Ukraine's control over territories of "DPR" and "LPR" by military force	13.5
12 – Other	3.3
13 – IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY	14.1

7. Which option of political future of "DPR" and "LPR" territories you prefer?

1 – Part of Ukraine on pre-war conditions	55.0
2 – Part of Ukraine with a greater degree of autonomy	20.1
3 – Independent states	6.6
4 – Accession to Russia	2.1
5 – IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY	16.3

8. What is your attitude towards an idea of introducing an international peacekeeping contingent to Donbas?

1 – Positive	60.2
2 – Negative	21.1
3 – IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY	18.7

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

- 1. Currently, negotiations on possible ways for resolving military conflict in Donbas are being carried out. Is it necessary, in your opinion, to make compromises with Russia and leaders of self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk republics for the sake of peace?**

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Peace "at any price", it is necessary to make any compromise – with anyone and on anything	9.5	16.5	22.2	25.3
For the sake of peace it is necessary to accept compromises, but not all of them	56.3	54.6	44.3	49.5
Peace in Donbas may be restored by force only – when one of the parties wins	22.1	16.9	15.4	16.2
It is difficult to say	12.1	12.0	18.1	8.9

- 2. Do you support the decision of the NSDC of Ukraine on the blockade of trade with so-called "DPR" and "LPR"?**

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Fully support	38.6	18.2	15.7	19.2
Rather support	27.3	28.9	14.3	18.5
Rather not support	11.5	26.9	19.1	20.4
Don't support at all	3.5	11.4	30.2	28.6
It is difficult to say	19.1	14.5	20.8	13.3

- 3. Do you support the proposal to recognize uncontrolled territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions occupied?**

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Fully support	39.4	25.4	17.5	25.5
Rather support	24.6	33.4	17.3	23.4
Rather not support	9.2	16.1	12.5	11.8
Don't support at all	3.0	4.6	21.4	16.8
It is difficult to say	23.9	20.5	31.3	22.5

- 4. SHOULD GOVERNMENT UNDERTAKE THE FOLLOWING STEPS IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN POLICY IN RELATION TO CITIZENS WHO STAY ON UNCONTROLLED TERRITORIES OF DONBAS?**

- 4.1. Lift restrictions on social and pension payments to Ukrainian citizens residing on the uncontrolled territories**

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Yes	19.2	29.8	48.5	41.3
No	51.7	46.8	20.4	37.1
It is difficult to answer	29.1	23.4	31.2	21.6

4.2. Simplify the crossing of the delimitation line as much as possible; simplify the procedure for obtaining passes

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Yes	25.4	33.8	47.8	52.0
No	50.8	45.9	18.8	30.1
It is difficult to answer	23.8	20.3	33.4	17.9

4.3. Simplify receipt of any administrative services in front-line settlements as much as possible

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Yes	39.8	42.1	50.8	58.1
No	37.7	33.4	16.0	25.0
It is difficult to answer	22.4	24.5	33.2	16.9

4.4. Simplify access to education in Ukrainian educational institutions of different levels for residents of uncontrolled territories

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Yes	60.5	51.1	67.7	68.0
No	20.9	26.7	5.6	16.4
It is difficult to answer	18.6	22.3	26.7	15.5

4.5. Provide support (financial and material) to residents of uncontrolled territories seeking to move to territories controlled by Ukraine

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Yes	54.4	52.5	66.2	69.5
No	25.6	27.3	8.0	14.5
It is difficult to answer	20.0	20.2	25.8	16.0

4.6. Permit trade with food products and essential goods with the uncontrolled territories

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Yes	38.1	42.3	62.9	55.8
No	37.9	35.4	12.8	24.4
It is difficult to answer	24.1	22.3	24.3	19.8

4.7. Strengthen control over payments to internally displaced persons in order to avoid abuse

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Yes	77.0	67.9	71.4	63.7
No	7.7	14.0	7.6	16.7
It is difficult to answer	15.3	18.1	21.0	19.6

4.8. Strengthen control over crossing of the delimitation line

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Yes	64.8	58.4	54.2	40.7
No	17.4	19.9	16.7	35.8
It is difficult to answer	17.8	21.7	29.2	23.5

5. What kind of Ukraine's policy on uncontrolled territories would be reasonable, in your opinion, in future?

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Officially recognize these territories as occupied and stop any trade, provision of services, payments and contacts (including movement of people)	31.1	24.6	9.9	19.5
Keep economic blockade, but maintain humanitarian relations (movement of people, payment of pensions, water and power supply)	21.9	26.5	21.2	14.5
Permit trade with essential goods (food and FMCG products from Ukraine and anthracite coal from uncontrolled territories) and support humanitarian relations as much as possible	19.7	22.0	18.4	25.3
Develop both humanitarian, as well as trade relations with uncontrolled territories as much as possible	6.7	9.1	31.7	24.2
Other	1.4	0.8	0.0	1.3
It is difficult to say	19.1	17.1	18.7	15.1

6. Which decisions shall be made, in your opinion, to establish peace in Donbas?

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Separation of territories occupied by "DPR" and "LPR" from Ukraine	15.2	8.0	4.8	6.3
Granting "DPR" and "LPR" special status within territory of Ukraine	9.7	11.7	11.9	14.1
Introduction of federal system of governance in Ukraine	0.5	3.9	7.8	7.9
Successful restoration of normal life on Donbas territories controlled by Ukraine	25.3	24.0	32.4	34.7
Holding legal elections on territories controlled by "DPR" and "LPR"	5.0	13.2	15.2	14.1
Declare Russian as the second state language	1.2	2.9	13.4	7.3
Amnesty for all participants of military actions in Donbas	1.9	3.4	5.4	5.6
Force Russia to stop intervening into the Donbas conflict (tightening of international sanctions, international institutions' pressure on Russia)	49.1	43.6	20.4	29.0
Stop funding of territories occupied by "DPR" and "LPR" (payment of pensions, salaries, etc.)	13.3	13.0	8.9	7.1
Refusal from prospects of joining NATO, consolidation of Ukraine's neutral status in the Constitution	1.2	3.7	13.3	11.8
Restore Ukraine's control over territories of "DPR" and "LPR" by military force	17.6	13.6	9.3	12.0
Other	4.8	4.1	2.4	1.1
It is difficult to answer	14.9	13.2	15.6	14.3

7. Which option of political future of "DPR" and "LPR" territories you prefer?

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Part of Ukraine on pre-war conditions	63.5	56.2	52.4	46.8
Part of Ukraine with a greater degree of autonomy	13.1	16.4	26.4	28.8
Independent states	3.3	5.4	6.9	10.9

Accession to Russia	3.1	1.7	1.8	2.1
It is difficult to say	17.1	20.3	12.6	11.4

8. What is your attitude towards an idea of introducing an international peacekeeping contingent to Donbas?

	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
Positive	66.5	67.2	36.4	55.3
Negative	12.5	15.7	38.2	28.8
It is difficult to say	20.9	17.1	25.4	15.9

THE DYNAMICS OF PUBLIC OPINION

Currently, negotiations on possible ways for resolving military conflict in Donbas are being carried out. Is it necessary, in your opinion, to make compromises with Russia and leaders of self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk republics for the sake of peace?

	<i>October, 2015</i>	<i>May, 2016</i>	<i>June, 2017</i>
Peace "at any price", it is necessary to make any compromise – with anyone and on anything	20.7	22.5	17.9
For the sake of peace it is necessary to accept compromises, but not all of them	54.2	47.3	52.4
Peace in Donbas may be restored by force only – when one of the parties wins	13.6	17.8	17.7
IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY	11.4	12.3	12.0

Which decisions shall be made, in your opinion, to establish peace in Donbas? Please, choose no more than 3 answers. *NO MORE THAN 3 ANSWERS.*

	<i>October, 2015</i>	<i>May, 2016</i>	<i>June, 2017</i>
Separation of territories occupied by "DPR" and "LPR" from Ukraine	8.2	12.0	8.8
Granting "DPR" and "LPR" special status within the territory of Ukraine	13.5	12.8	11.8
Introduction of federal system of governance in Ukraine	8.1	7.5	4.6
Successful restoration of normal life on Donbas territories controlled by Ukraine	29.2	27.6	28.0
Holding legal elections on territories controlled by "DPR" and "LPR"	12.9	12.6	11.7
Declare Russian as the second state language	8.2	11.4	4.9
Amnesty for all participants of military actions in Donbas	2.7	5.7	3.8
Force Russia to stop intervening into the Donbas conflict (tightening of international sanctions, international institutions' pressure on Russia)	35.2	40.6	38.1
Stop funding of territories occupied by "DPR" and "LPR" (payment of pensions, salaries, etc.)	13.2	19.6	11.0
Refusal from prospects of joining NATO, consolidation of Ukraine's neutral status in the Constitution	5.9	7.5	6.3
Peace may be restored by force only – Restore Ukraine's control over territories of "DPR" and "LPR" by military force	13.6	14.8	13.5
Other	0.8	1.8	3.3
IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY	17.5	13.1	14.1

What is your attitude towards an idea of introducing an international peacekeeping contingent to Donbas?

	<i>October, 2015</i>	<i>May, 2016</i>	<i>June, 2017</i>
Positive	52.7	58.0	60.2
Negative	26.9	21.1	21.1
IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY	20.4	20.9	18.7

Which option of political future of "DPR" and "LPR" territories you prefer?

	<i>October, 2015</i>	<i>May, 2016</i>	<i>June, 2017</i>
Part of Ukraine on pre-war conditions	49.1	47.9	55.0
Part of Ukraine with a greater degree of autonomy	22.4	24.6	20.1
Fully-fledged autonomy within Ukraine	9.5	-	-
Independent states	4.5	7.4	6.6
Accession to Russian Federation	0.2	3.2	2.1
Other	0.2	-	-
IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY	12.2	16.9	16.3