



«Independence Day of Ukraine: Way to Victory, Identity, and Perception of the State's Value Amid the War»

The opinion poll was conducted from August 9 to 15, 2023 by Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation in cooperation with the Razumkov Center sociological service with the support of the MATRA program funded by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Ukraine.

The survey was conducted using face-to-face method in the following regions:

- Volyn, Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil, Chernivtsi regions (Western macro region);
- Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Kirovograd, Poltava, Sumy, Khmelnytskyi, Cherkasy, Chernihiv regions and in Kyiv city (Central macro region);
- Mykolaiv, Kherson and Odesa regions (Southern macro region);
- Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, Kharkiv regions (Eastern macro region)

The survey was conducted using a stratified multi-stage sample. The structure of the sample reflects the demographic structure of the adult population of the surveyed territories as of the beginning of 2022 (by age, gender, type of settlement).

2019 respondents aged 18 and older were interviewed. The theoretical sampling error does not exceed 2.3%. At the same time, additional systematic sample deviations may be caused by the consequences of Russian aggression, in particular, the forced evacuation of millions of citizens.

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Key findings of the study

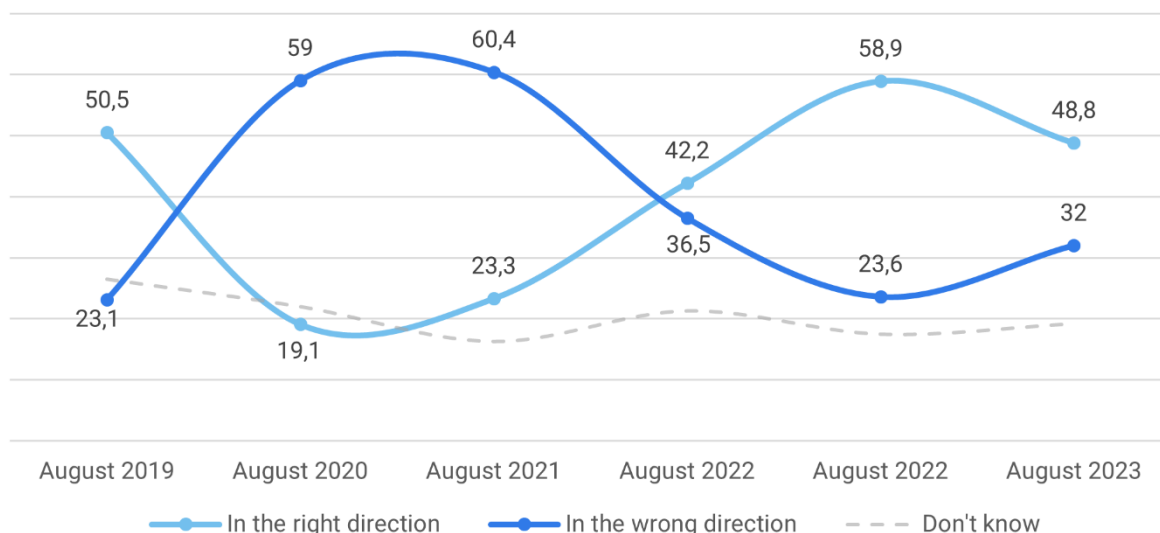
1. Assessment of the situation in the country, the value of the state and citizenship amid the war

- **Almost half of Ukrainians (49%) believe that events in Ukraine are developing in the right direction, about a third (32%) think that they are developing in the wrong direction, and the rest are not sure.** The last time positive assessments prevailed was in 2019, after the presidential and parliamentary elections, when most citizens showed high confidence in the authorities and had positive expectations for future reforms in the country.

However, in the short term, these expectations were not met, and in 2020-2021, negative assessments of developments in the country dominated.

The predominance of positive assessments in 2022-2023 is obviously not because citizens consider a full-scale war to be a positive phenomenon. **More likely, the full-scale war has changed the prism through which Ukrainians assess the situation in the country. In the context of a full-scale war, the Ukrainian state and people have faced an existential threat. However, both the state and the people have shown the will to resist, and Ukraine has been effectively resisting the aggressor for a year and a half. Most likely, positive assessments now prevail precisely because of the growing value of their state in the eyes of Ukrainians, who have never faced such large-scale threats to their existence before.**

In general, do you think that events in Ukraine are developing in the right or wrong direction?

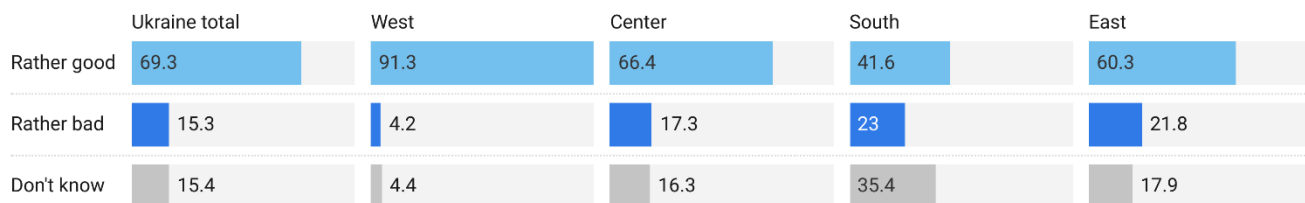


The region or age of respondents did not make a significant difference in assessing the situation in the country, although relatively fewer positive assessments were observed in the South. The financial situation of citizens had a significant impact on their opinion of the situation in the country: positive assessments prevailed among Ukrainians with higher incomes, and vice versa - less wealthy respondents tended to assess the developments in Ukraine negatively.

- **The vast majority of Ukrainians (69%) consider the collapse of the USSR a positive historical event.** This opinion is most widespread among residents of the West of Ukraine (91%). In the South of our country, this opinion

is somewhat less common (42%), but there is no massive nostalgia for the USSR there either (23%), while in this macro-region there are the highest number of those who have not decided on the answer (35%).

In your opinion, was the collapse of the Soviet Union a good or bad event?



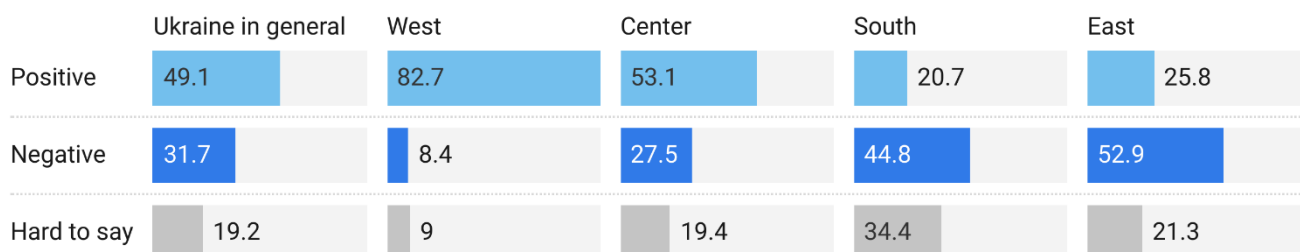
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Back in 2020, the regional distribution showed completely opposite opinions of residents of the West and Center and residents of the South and East of our country on the collapse of the USSR.

In your opinion, was the collapse of the Soviet Union a positive or a negative event?

August 2020



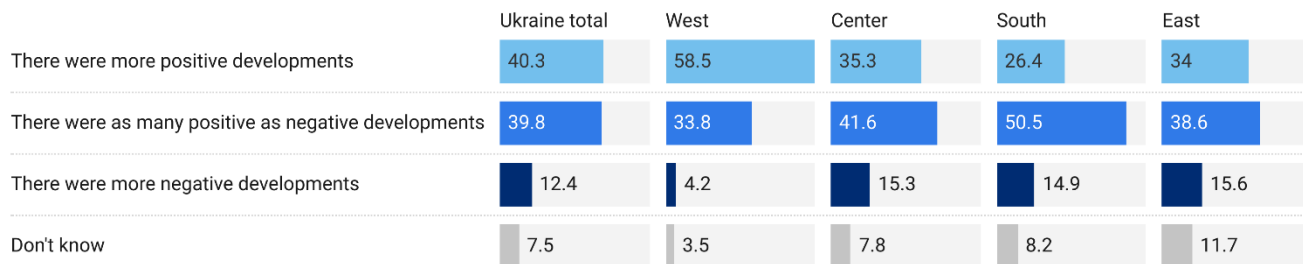
The survey was conducted by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation in cooperation with the Razumkov Center sociological service on August 14-19, 2020 in all regions of Ukraine, except Crimea and the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. 2018 respondents were interviewed

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"Nostalgia" for the USSR is more likely to be found among older generations (although older people are also mostly positive about the collapse of the USSR), as well as among people with lower levels of income.

- **Nearly 40% of Ukrainians believe that more positive events have occurred since Ukraine's independence, while another 40% said that as many positive as negative events have occurred.** The highest share of positive assessments was registered in the West of our country (59%), somewhat less - in the South (26%), but in all regions no more than 15% believe that more negative events have occurred since independence.

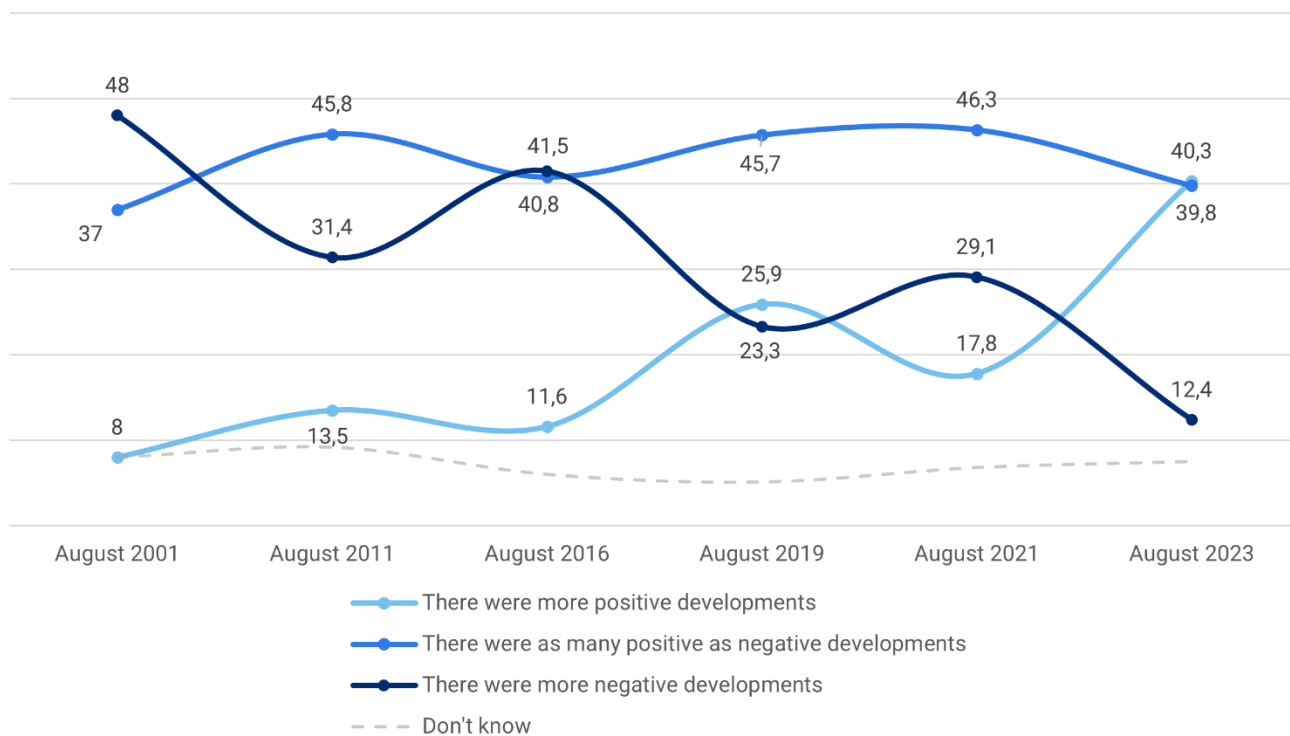
In your opinion, have there been more positive or negative developments over the years of Ukraine's independence?



The survey was conducted on August 9-15, 2023, by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation in cooperation with the Razumkov Center sociological service with the support of the MATRA program. The survey was conducted with face-to-face method in all regions of Ukraine, except for the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk regions, and in Zaporizhzhia, Mykolaiv, Kharkiv, Kherson regions the survey was conducted in the territories controlled by the government of Ukraine and where no combat actions are taking place. 2019 respondents aged 18 and older were interviewed. Created with Datawrapper

The full-scale war and the growing value of the state in the eyes of citizens have led to a rethinking of their past life in independent Ukraine. The number of those who believe that there have been more positive events since independence has increased significantly, while the share of pessimists has decreased.

In your opinion, have there been more positive or negative developments over the years of Ukraine's independence?



- **If a referendum on Ukraine's state independence was to be held today, the vast majority of Ukrainians (82%) would support Ukraine's independence. The highest number of those who would support independence is in the West of our country (94%). In the South and East, 68% and 70% respectively. Those who are against constitute 3% of the country as a whole, with less than 1% in the West and about 7% in the East.**

August 24 marks the 32nd anniversary of Ukraine's independence. If a referendum on the declaration of Ukraine's state independence were held today, how would you vote?

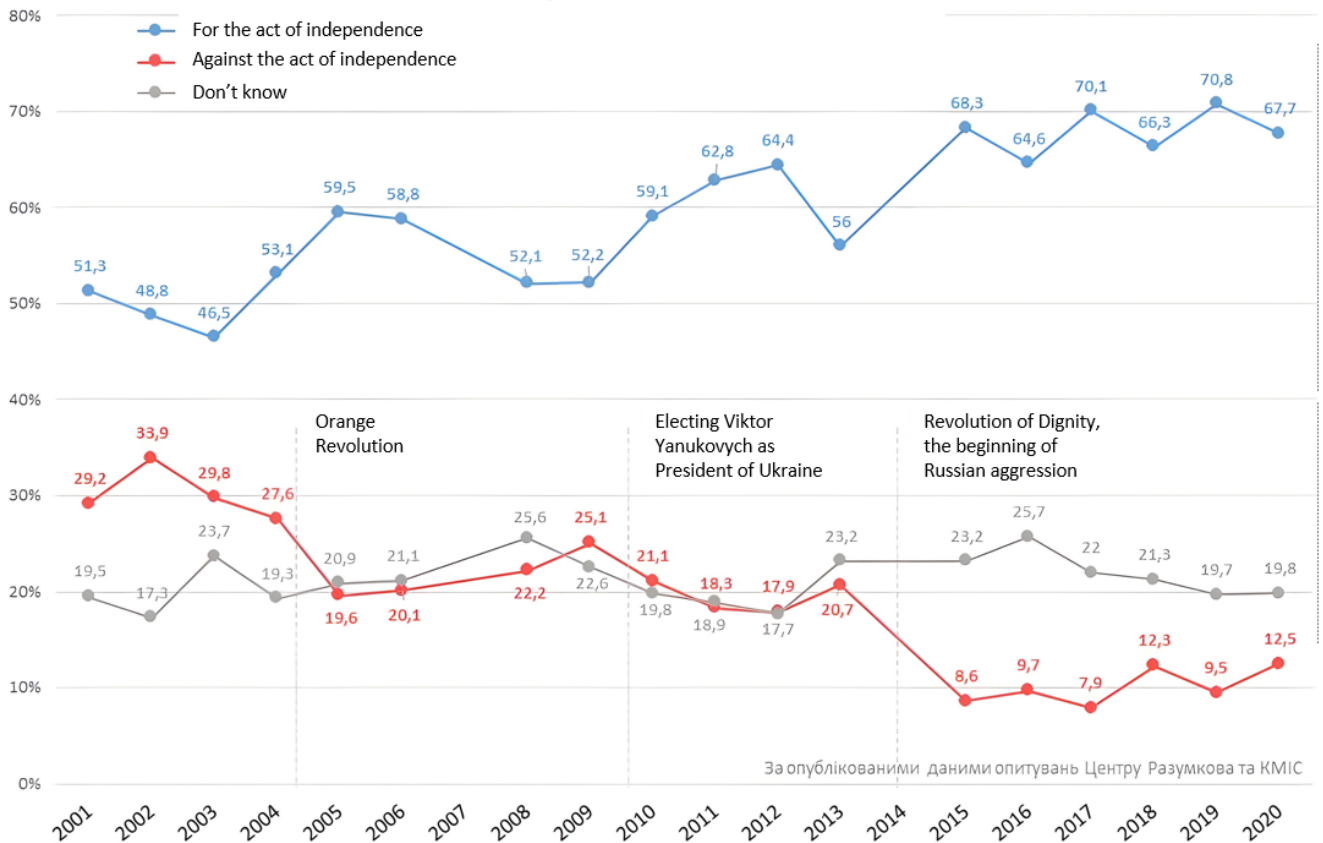
	Ukraine total	West	Center	South	East
For the act of independence	81.6	93.7	82.9	67.8	69.9
Against the act of independence	3.4	0.7	3.1	4.8	6.8
Would not participate in the referendum	7.2	2.2	8.1	15.4	7.8
Don't know	7.7	3.3	5.8	12	15.4

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Support for independence is now the highest in over 20 years. Support has increased even compared to the period 2014-2021, when it was already dominant compared to the periods before 2014.

If a referendum on the declaration of Ukraine's state independence were held today, how would you vote?



Visualization source: Rozyrnyi O. Independence of Ukraine as a Choice. Razumkov Center. URL: <https://razumkov.org.ua/statti/nezalezhnist-ukrainy-iak-vybir>.

- **The vast majority of Ukrainians (almost 89%) are proud of their citizenship. Most of them are in the Western (95%), Central (90%), and Southern (89%) macro-regions, and somewhat less in the East of Ukraine (76%).**

To what extent are you proud or not proud to be a citizen of Ukraine?

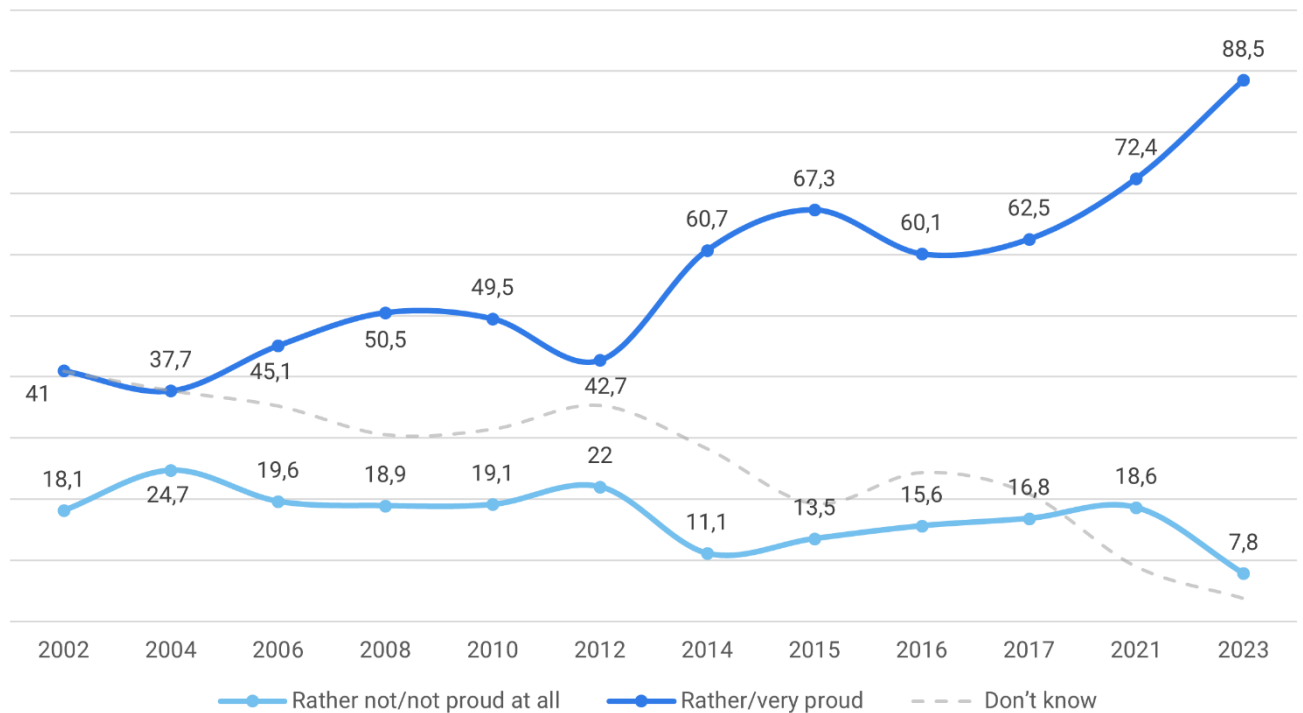
	Ukraine total	West	Center	South	East
Rather/very proud	88.5	95.2	90.1	88.5	75.6
Rather not/not proud at all	7.8	2.2	7.5	5.3	17.4
Don't know	3.7	2.6	2.3	6.2	7.1

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Pride in citizenship is now the highest it has been since Ukraine's independence.

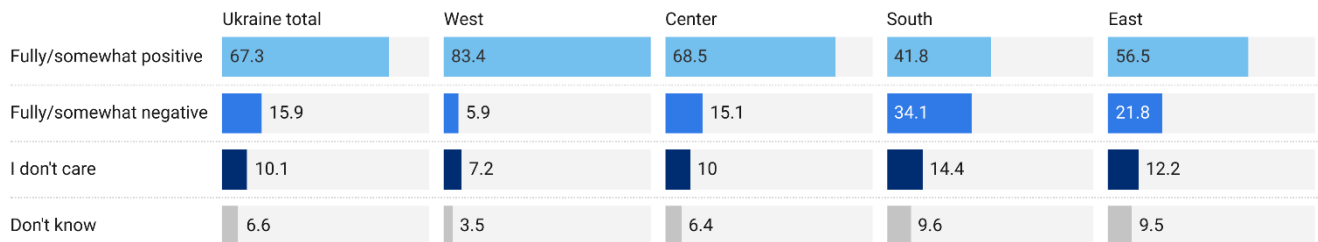
To what extent are you proud or not proud to be a citizen of Ukraine?



2. Replacing the Soviet coat of arms with a Ukrainian trident on the Motherland monument: an important symbolic step or an improper use of funds during the war?

- At the time of the survey, 83% of respondents had heard about the initiative to replace the USSR coat of arms with a Ukrainian trident on the shield of the Motherland monument in Kyiv. 17% had not heard anything about it.
- Overall, Ukrainians reacted favorably to this initiative: 67% were positive about the decision, while only 16% were negative, and the rest were undecided or indifferent. Positive attitudes are highest in the West of the country, as well as among young and middle-aged Ukrainians.

How do you generally feel about the initiative to dismantle the Soviet coat of arms from the shield on the Motherland monument in Kyiv and replace it with the Ukrainian trident?



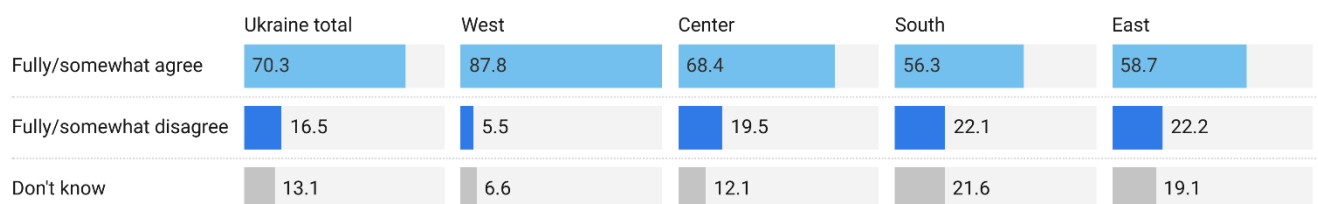
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The share of such positive assessments is somewhat lower in the South (42%) and East (57%), as well as among older people (58%). However, even in these regions and age groups, positive assessments prevail.

- The majority of respondents (70%) agree that the replacement of the Soviet coat of arms with a Ukrainian trident on the Motherland monument is an important event that symbolizes Ukraine's struggle for freedom and break with the Soviet past. About 17% disagree. As in the case of the overall assessment of the decision to replace the coat of arms, the above-mentioned judgment of the symbolism of the event is somewhat less approved in the South (56%) and East (59%) of Ukraine, as well as among the older age group (60% among those over 60 years old compared to 75% among young people aged 18-29).

Do you agree that the replacement of the Soviet coat of arms with a Ukrainian trident on the Motherland monument is an important event that symbolizes Ukraine's struggle for freedom and break with the Soviet past?



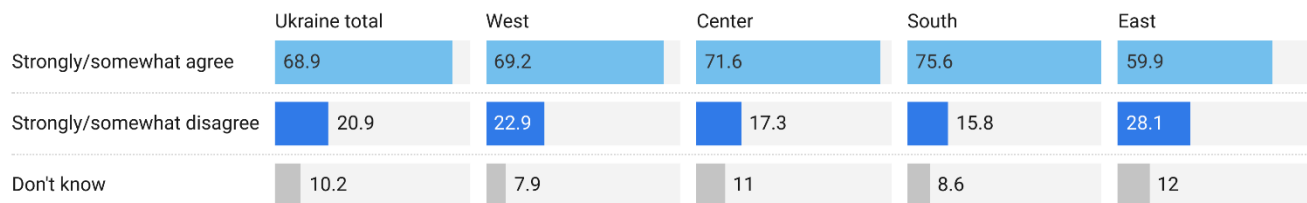
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- At the same time, the majority of Ukrainians (69%) also agreed that it was possible to replace the Soviet coat of arms with a trident on the Motherland monument later (for example, after the war), but that it would be more appropriate to use the money to help the army and people affected by the war. About 21% of respondents

disagreed. The highest number of those who agree with this statement was recorded in the South (76%), and somewhat lower in the East (60%).

Do you agree that the Soviet coat of arms should have been replaced with a trident on the Motherland monument later (for example, after the war), and that it would be more appropriate to use the money spent on this project to help the army and people affected by the war?



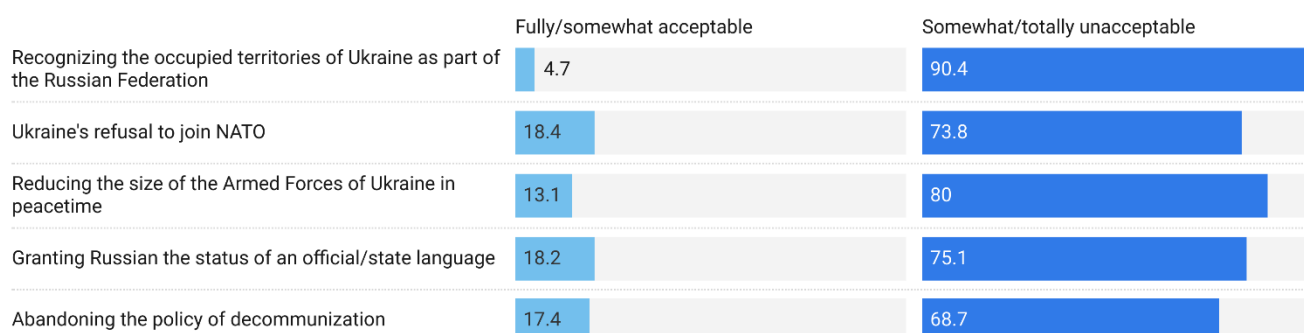
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3. The way to victory or "war fatigue": Are Ukrainians ready to make concessions to the aggressor? 11

- **The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians continue to be unwilling to compromise with the aggressor to end the war.** Less than 5% of Ukrainians are ready to make territorial concessions to end the war. A slightly higher share (18%) expressed readiness to give up Ukraine's future membership in NATO. No more than 13% of Ukrainians are ready to accept the peacetime reduction of the Armed Forces, which was allegedly discussed in Istanbul in 2022. No more than 17-18% of respondents are ready to grant the Russian language official status or abandon the policy of decommunization to please the Kremlin.

Let's imagine that Russia puts forward certain demands to Ukraine in exchange for an end to its aggression. Please tell us how acceptable each of the following demands is to you personally?

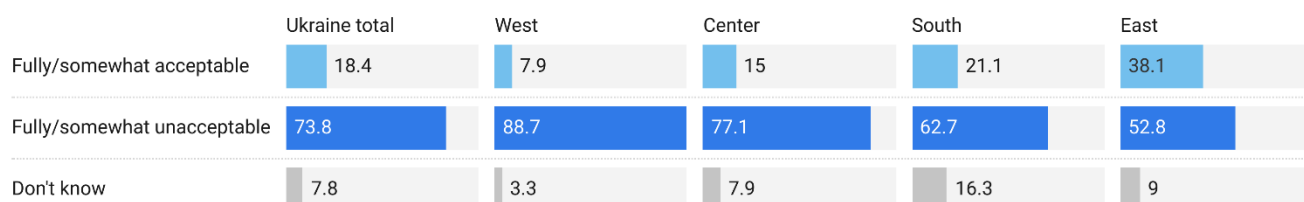


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Respondents in the South and, to a somewhat greater extent, in the East, are slightly more ready to make concessions (except for territorial ones). However, even in these regions, the majority of respondents consider any of the above concessions unacceptable.

Let's imagine that Russia puts forward certain demands to Ukraine in exchange for an end to its aggression. Please tell us how acceptable each of the following demands is to you personally?

Ukraine's refusal to join NATO



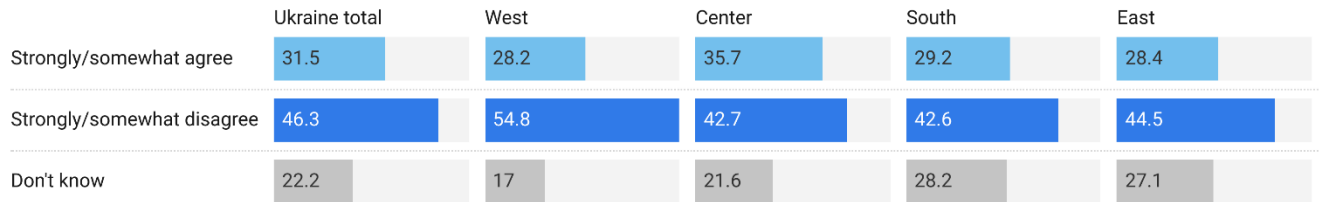
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The analysis of the survey results also showed that about half of the respondents who believe that "any compromise is worth making for the sake of peace" (8% in total) actually consider the above-mentioned concessions by Ukraine unacceptable (in the case of territorial concessions - 2/3 of those saying that any compromise is worth making for the sake of peace).

Of those who think that "compromises can be made, but not all of them", 2/3 actually believe that no concessions from Ukraine are acceptable.

- **Most Ukrainians do not believe that Ukraine's partners will significantly reduce their support for Ukraine if it does not achieve significant success on the battlefield in a counteroffensive over the next 3-4 months.** Almost a third of Ukrainians agree with this, but a relative majority, about 46%, do not share this opinion.

Do you agree that the West will significantly reduce its support for Ukraine if Ukraine does not achieve significant success on the battlefield in the course of a counteroffensive within the next 3-4 months?

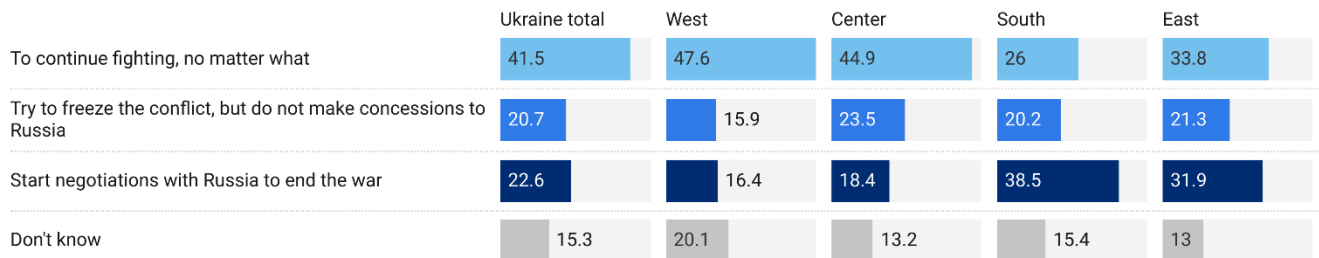


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- **A relative majority, 42% of Ukrainians, believe that if the aggressor intensifies rocket attacks on Ukrainian cities, leading to an increase in civilian casualties, Ukraine should continue to fight no matter what.** Another 21% of respondents would prefer to try to freeze the conflict, but not to make concessions to Russia. Another 23% of respondents believe that in this case it is worth starting negotiations with the aggressor to end the war.

In the East and South, there are somewhat more people who believe that in this case it is worth starting negotiations with Russia to end the war than in the West and Center of Ukraine.

In your opinion, what should Ukraine's political and military leadership do if Russia increases its missile attacks on Ukrainian cities, leading to more civilian casualties?



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Distributions of respondents' answers

1. In general, do you think that events in Ukraine are developing in the right or wrong direction? (one answer)

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. In the right direction	48,8	53,3	48,1	39,2	49,3
2. In the wrong direction	32,0	30,4	34,8	34,4	27,0
3. Don't know	19,2	16,2	17,1	26,3	23,8

temporal trends

	<i>August 2019*</i>	<i>August 2020</i>	<i>August 2021</i>	<i>August 2022</i>	<i>August 2022</i>	<i>August 2023</i>
1. In the right direction	50,5	19,1	23,3	42,2	58,9	48,8
2. In the wrong direction	23,1	59,0	60,4	36,5	23,6	32,0
3. Don't know	26,5	22,0	16,3	21,3	17,5	19,2

* In August 2019, the study was conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation in cooperation with the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology. Other polls presented in temporal trends, were conducted by DiF in cooperation with the Razumkov Center sociological service

age distribution

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. In the right direction	48,8	54,5	55,0	50,0	44,9	42,9
2. In the wrong direction	32,0	26,8	28,2	33,2	35,6	34,6
3. Don't know	19,2	18,7	16,8	16,8	19,5	22,5

distribution by education level

	<i>incomplete/general secondary education</i>	<i>secondary specialized education</i>	<i>higher or incomplete higher education</i>
1. In the right direction	50,9	44,8	52,3
2. In the wrong direction	29,6	35,3	29,3
3. Don't know	19,5	19,9	18,3

distribution by the language of everyday communication

	<i>Russian</i>	<i>Ukrainian</i>
1. In the right direction	40,6	52,2
2. In the wrong direction	36,7	30,7
3. Don't know	22,7	17,1

distribution by financial situation

	<i>We can barely make ends meet, we don't even have enough money to buy the necessary groceries</i>	<i>We have enough money for food and to buy the necessary inexpensive items</i>	<i>In general, we have enough money to live on, but buying durable goods is causing difficulties</i>	<i>More wealthy*</i>
1. In the right direction	35,2	47,0	54,6	64,4
2. In the wrong direction	44,0	31,8	29,9	20,5
3. Don't know	20,9	21,2	15,5	15,2

* This category unites respondents who described their financial situation as "We live well, but we are not yet able to make some purchases" and "We can afford to buy almost everything we want" due to the low coverage of the latter category (N = 6).

2. In your opinion, was the collapse of the Soviet Union a good or bad event? (one answer)

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Rather good	69,3	91,3	66,4	41,6	60,3
2. Rather bad	15,3	4,2	17,3	23,0	21,8
3. Don't know	15,4	4,4	16,3	35,4	17,9

temporal trend: regional distribution in August 2020

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Rather good	49,1	82,7	53,1	20,7	25,8
2. Rather bad	31,7	8,4	27,5	44,8	52,9
3. Don't know	19,2	9,0	19,4	34,4	21,3

age distribution

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. Rather good	69,3	75,8	75,7	76,8	69,4	56,3
2. Rather bad	15,3	4,3	6,6	9,5	17,4	30,0
3. Don't know	15,4	19,9	17,7	13,8	13,2	13,7

age distribution for respondents from the West and Center of Ukraine

	<i>Region total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. Rather good	76,0	81,2	82,5	84,8	76,7	62,3
2. Rather bad	12,3	3,9	3,1	5,5	14,7	26,4
3. Don't know	11,8	14,8	14,3	9,8	8,6	11,2

age distribution for respondents from the South and East of Ukraine

	<i>Region total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. Rather good	54,0	62,4	60,8	58,3	52,5	43,2
2. Rather bad	22,2	5,4	13,6	19,1	23,8	37,7
3. Don't know	23,8	32,3	25,6	22,6	23,8	19,1

distribution by education level

	<i>incomplete/general secondary education</i>	<i>secondary specialized education</i>	<i>higher or incomplete higher education</i>
1. Rather good	60,3	68,8	75,1
2. Rather bad	21,9	14,5	12,5
3. Don't know	17,8	16,7	12,5

distribution by the language of everyday communication

	<i>Russian</i>	<i>Ukrainian</i>
1. Rather good	50,4	75,5
2. Rather bad	24,4	12,5
3. Don't know	25,2	12,0

distribution by financial situation

	<i>We can barely make ends meet, we don't even have enough money to buy the necessary groceries</i>	<i>We have enough money for food and to buy the necessary inexpensive items</i>	<i>In general, we have enough money to live on, but buying durable goods is causing difficulties</i>	<i>More wealthy*</i>
1. Rather good	55,3	66,3	78,2	84,2
2. Rather bad	30,8	15,4	9,5	7,5
3. Don't know	13,9	18,4	12,3	8,3

* This category unites respondents who described their financial situation as "We live well, but we are not yet able to make some purchases" and "We can afford to buy almost everything we want" due to the low coverage of the latter category (N = 6).

3. In your opinion, have there been more positive or negative developments over the years of Ukraine's independence?

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. There were more positive developments	40,3	58,5	35,3	26,4	34,0
2. There were as many positive as negative developments	39,8	33,8	41,6	50,5	38,6
3. There were more negative developments	12,4	4,2	15,3	14,9	15,6
4. Don't know	7,5	3,5	7,8	8,2	11,7

age distribution

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. There were more positive developments	40,3	46,9	45,9	44,3	35,5	33,1
2. There were as many positive as negative developments	39,8	37,3	36,7	40,5	45,2	39,8
3. There were more negative developments	12,4	5,6	8,0	10,3	14,8	19,2
4. Don't know	7,5	10,2	9,5	4,9	4,5	7,9

temporal trends

	<i>August 2001</i>	<i>August 2011</i>	<i>August 2016</i>	<i>August 2019</i>	<i>August 2021</i>	<i>August 2023</i>
1. There were more positive developments	8,0	13,5	11,6	25,9	17,8	40,3
2. There were as many positive as negative developments	37,0	45,8	40,8	45,7	46,3	39,8
3. There were more negative developments	48,0	31,4	41,5	23,3	29,1	12,4
4. Don't know	8,0	9,2	6,0	5,1	6,8	7,5

4. August 24 marks the 32nd anniversary of Ukraine's independence. If a referendum on the declaration of Ukraine's state independence were held today, how would you vote? (one answer)

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. For the act of independence	81,6	93,7	82,9	67,8	69,9
2. Against the act of independence	3,4	0,7	3,1	4,8	6,8
3. Would not participate in the referendum	7,2	2,2	8,1	15,4	7,8
4. Don't know	7,7	3,3	5,8	12,0	15,4

temporal trends (more comprehensive temporal trends are [available](#) in Oleksiy Rozumny's article "Ukraine's Independence as a Choice")

	<i>August 2019</i>	<i>August 2020</i>	<i>August 2022</i>	<i>August 2023</i>
1. For the act of independence	70,8	67,7	87,5	81,6
2. Against the act of independence	9,5	12,5	3,2	3,4
3. Would not participate in the referendum	7,6	9,5	5,5	7,2
4. Don't know	12,1	10,3	3,9	7,7

regional distribution in August 2020

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. For the act of independence	67,7	92,5	71,7	56,0	45,0
2. Against the act of independence	12,5	0,8	8,7	10,4	29,6
3. Would not participate in the referendum	9,5	3,3	10,1	11,6	13,0
4. Don't know	10,3	3,3	9,5	22,0	12,4

age distribution

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. For the act of independence	81,6	86,3	88,6	86,2	81,7	71,7
2. Against the act of independence	3,4	1,6	1,7	3,0	3,3	5,8
3. Would not participate in the referendum	7,2	5,0	4,1	4,9	8,1	11,5
4. Don't know	7,7	7,1	5,6	6,0	6,9	11,0

distribution by the language of everyday communication

	<i>Russian</i>	<i>Ukrainian</i>
1. For the act of independence	65,7	87,1
2. Against the act of independence	7,9	1,7
3. Would not participate in the referendum	12,9	5,8
4. Don't know	13,5	5,4

distribution by financial situation

	<i>We can barely make ends meet, we don't even have enough money to buy the necessary groceries</i>	<i>We have enough money for food and to buy the necessary inexpensive items</i>	<i>In general, we have enough money to live on, but buying durable goods is causing difficulties</i>	<i>More wealthy*</i>
1. For the act of independence	69,2	80,6	88,1	87,9
2. Against the act of independence	4,8	3,5	2,6	3,0
3. Would not participate in the referendum	13,9	7,5	4,9	3,0
4. Don't know	12,1	8,3	4,4	6,1

* This category unites respondents who described their financial situation as "We live well, but we are not yet able to make some purchases" and "We can afford to buy almost everything we want" due to the low coverage of the latter category (N = 6).

5. To what extent are you proud or not proud to be a citizen of Ukraine?

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Not proud at all	3,0	2,2	7,5	5,3	17,4
2. Rather not proud	4,8				
3. Rather proud	38,4	95,2	90,1	88,5	75,6
4. Very proud	50,1				
5. Don't know	3,7	2,6	2,3	6,2	7,1

age distribution

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. Rather not/not proud at all	7,8	5,0	8,5	5,4	8,1	10,1
2. Rather/very proud	88,5	91,6	88,1	89,4	87,4	87,1
3. Don't know	3,7	3,4	3,4	5,1	4,5	2,7

temporal trends

	<i>2002</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>2015</i>	<i>2016</i>	<i>2017</i>	<i>2021</i>	<i>2023</i>
Rather not/not proud at all	18,1	24,7	19,6	18,9	19,1	22	11,1	13,5	15,6	16,8	18,6	7,8
Rather/very proud	41	37,7	45,1	50,5	49,5	42,7	60,7	67,3	60,1	62,5	72,4	88,5
Don't know	40,9	37,7	35,2	30,5	31,4	35,3	28,2	19,2	24,3	20,8	8,9	3,7

6. Have you heard about the initiative to dismantle the Soviet coat of arms from the shield on the Motherland monument in Kyiv and replace it with the Ukrainian trident? (one answer)

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Yes	83,0	81,5	85,6	71,6	85,0
2. No, I have not heard anything about it until now	16,5	17,7	14,1	28,4	14,0

7. How do you generally feel about this initiative? (one answer)

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Very positive	42,3	83,4	68,5	41,8	56,5
2. Somewhat positive	25,0				
3. Somewhat negative	11,2	5,9	15,1	34,1	21,8
4. Very negative	4,7				
5. I don't care	10,1	7,2	10,0	14,4	12,2
6. Don't know	6,6	3,5	6,4	9,6	9,5

age distribution

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. Very/somewhat positive	67,4	72,6	73,5	70,0	67,9	58,2
2. Very/somewhat negative	16,0	9,3	11,2	14,1	17,7	23,3
3. I don't care	10,1	11,8	8,7	8,9	8,7	11,6
4. Don't know	6,5	6,2	6,6	7,0	5,7	6,8

distribution by voting in a hypothetical referendum on Ukraine's independence

	<i>For independence</i>	<i>Against/wouldn't come to referendum, don't know.</i>
1. Very/somewhat positive	77,8	20,5
2. Very/somewhat negative	9,1	46,8
3. I don't care	7,8	20,5
4. Don't know	5,3	12,2

8. Do you agree that the replacement of the Soviet coat of arms with a Ukrainian trident on the Motherland monument is an important event that symbolizes Ukraine's struggle for freedom and break with the Soviet past? (one answer)

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Fully agree	41,1	87,8	68,4	56,3	58,7
2. Somewhat agree	29,2				
3. Somewhat disagree	10,5	5,5	19,5	22,1	22,2
4. Fully disagree	6,0				
5. Don't know	13,1	6,6	12,1	21,6	19,1

age distribution

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. Fully/somewhat agree	70,3	74,5	76,9	75,4	70,0	60,4
2. Somewhat/fully disagree	16,6	10,6	10,4	13,0	18,9	25,2
3. Don't know	13,1	15,0	12,6	11,6	11,1	14,4

9. Do you agree that the Soviet coat of arms should have been replaced with a trident on the Motherland monument later (for example, after the war), and that it would be more appropriate to use the money spent on this project to help the army and people affected by the war? (one answer)

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Strongly agree	41,9	69,2	71,6	75,6	59,9
2. Somewhat agree	27,1				
3. Somewhat disagree	14,2	22,9	17,3	15,8	28,1
4. Strongly disagree	6,7				
5. Don't know	10,2	7,9	11,0	8,6	12,0

age distribution

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. Strongly/somewhat agree	68,9	62,1	70,6	72,2	70,0	69,0
2. Somewhat/strongly disagree	20,9	21,4	20,9	17,0	21,0	22,8
3. Don't know	10,2	16,5	8,5	10,8	9,0	8,2

10. Let's imagine that Russia puts forward certain demands to Ukraine in exchange for an end to its aggression. Please tell us how acceptable each of the following demands is to you personally?

	Fully acceptable	Somewhat acceptable	Somewhat unacceptable	Totally unacceptable	Don't know
Recognizing the occupied territories of Ukraine as part of the Russian Federation	0,9	3,8	17	73,4	4,9
Ukraine's refusal to join NATO	4,7	13,7	17,6	56,2	7,8
Reducing the size of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in peacetime	2,6	10,5	17,9	62,1	6,8
Granting Russian the status of an official/state language	4,8	13,4	14,9	60,2	6,7
Abandoning the policy of decommunization	4,1	13,3	18,1	50,6	13,9

regional distributions:

10.1 Recognizing the occupied territories of Ukraine as part of the Russian Federation

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Fully/somewhat acceptable	4,7	1,1	4,4	8,7	8,1
2. Somewhat/totally unacceptable	90,4	97,2	90,6	85,1	83,6
3. Don't know	4,9	1,7	5,0	6,3	8,3

10.2 Ukraine's refusal to join NATO

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Fully/somewhat acceptable	18,4	7,9	15,0	21,1	38,1
2. Somewhat/totally unacceptable	73,8	88,7	77,1	62,7	52,8
3. Don't know	7,8	3,3	7,9	16,3	9,0

10.3 Reducing the size of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in peacetime

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
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1. Fully/somewhat acceptable	13,1	7,6	9,5	19,7	24,7
2. Somewhat/totally unacceptable	80,0	88,0	85,6	65,9	64,8
3. Don't know	6,9	4,4	4,9	14,4	10,5

10.4 Granting Russian the status of an official/state language

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Fully/somewhat acceptable	18,3	1,5	18,8	24,0	36,4
2. Somewhat/totally unacceptable	75,1	97,4	73,3	65,9	54,0
3. Don't know	6,6	1,1	7,9	10,1	9,5

10.5 Abandoning the policy of decommunization

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Fully/somewhat acceptable	17,4	5,7	19,4	25,0	24,5
2. Somewhat/totally unacceptable	68,8	87,8	67,6	47,6	56,9
3. Don't know	13,9	6,5	13,0	27,4	18,6

distribution by opinion on whether Ukraine should compromise:

10.1 Recognizing the occupied territories of Ukraine as part of the Russian Federation

	<i>For the sake of peace, it is worth making any compromises</i>	<i>For the sake of peace, compromises can be made, but not all of them</i>	<i>War can only end in case of victory</i>
1. Fully/somewhat acceptable	25,6	5,0	0,9
2. Somewhat/totally unacceptable	63,1	89,2	97,1
3. Don't know	11,4	5,8	2,0

10.2 Ukraine's refusal to join NATO

	<i>For the sake of peace, it is worth making any compromises</i>	<i>For the sake of peace, compromises can be made, but not all of them</i>	<i>War can only end in case of victory</i>
1. Fully/somewhat acceptable	55,7	26,3	6,3
2. Somewhat/totally unacceptable	34,1	64,6	89,3
3. Don't know	10,2	9,1	4,4

10.3 Reducing the size of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in peacetime

	<i>For the sake of peace, it is worth making any compromises</i>	<i>For the sake of peace, compromises can be made, but not all of them</i>	<i>War can only end in case of victory</i>
1. Fully/somewhat acceptable	39,2	17,7	5,3
2. Somewhat/totally unacceptable	47,7	73,4	92,1
3. Don't know	13,1	8,9	2,7

10.4 Granting Russian the status of an official/state language

	<i>For the sake of peace, it is worth making any compromises</i>	<i>For the sake of peace, compromises can be made, but not all of them</i>	<i>War can only end in case of victory</i>
1. Fully/somewhat acceptable	45,7	26,4	7,6
2. Somewhat/totally unacceptable	40,6	66,7	88,6
3. Don't know	13,7	6,9	3,8

10.5 Granting Russian the status of an official/state language

	<i>For the sake of peace, it is worth making any compromises</i>	<i>For the sake of peace, compromises can be made, but not all of them</i>	<i>War can only end in case of victory</i>
1. Fully/somewhat acceptable	41,1	26,1	7,3
2. Somewhat/totally unacceptable	34,9	58,4	83,7
3. Don't know	24,0	15,4	9,0

11. Do you agree that the West will significantly reduce its support for Ukraine if Ukraine does not achieve significant success on the battlefield in the course of a counteroffensive within the next 3-4 months?

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. Strongly agree	11,0	28,2	35,7	29,2	28,4
2. Somewhat agree	20,5				
3. Somewhat disagree	25,1	54,8	42,7	42,6	44,5
4. Strongly disagree	21,2				
5. Don't know	22,2	17,0	21,6	28,2	27,1

age distribution

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. Strongly/somewhat agree	31,5	27,3	31,6	29,3	30,7	35,7
2. Somewhat/strongly disagree	46,3	50,9	48,1	47,7	50,3	39,5
3. Don't know	22,2	21,7	20,4	23,0	19,0	24,9

12. In your opinion, what should Ukraine's political and military leadership do if Russia increases its missile attacks on Ukrainian cities, leading to more civilian casualties?

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>East</i>
1. To continue fighting, no matter what	41,5	47,6	44,9	26,0	33,8
2. Try to freeze the conflict, but do not make concessions to Russia	20,7	15,9	23,5	20,2	21,3
3. Start negotiations with Russia to end the war	22,6	16,4	18,4	38,5	31,9
4. Don't know	15,3	20,1	13,2	15,4	13,0

age distribution

	<i>Ukraine total</i>	<i>18-29 years</i>	<i>30-39 years</i>	<i>40-49 years</i>	<i>50-59 years</i>	<i>60 years and older</i>
1. To continue fighting, no matter what	41,5	48,6	42,6	42,0	39,5	37,5
2. Try to freeze the conflict, but do not make concessions to Russia	20,7	18,4	21,4	22,0	21,0	20,4
3. Start negotiations with Russia to end the war	22,6	19,9	19,0	20,3	23,4	27,7
4. Don't know	15,3	13,1	17,0	15,7	16,2	14,4