

Crisis in Ukraine Project

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Background

- Faced with escalating crises, the Ukrainian government in Kiev has initiated a widespread campaign to mobilize young men for military service.
- Thousands have received notices requiring them to register with their local military recruitment offices.
- Those who fail to comply with the notices are threatened with fines and imprisonment.
- We seek to understand through our research why some answer the call to military service while others do not.

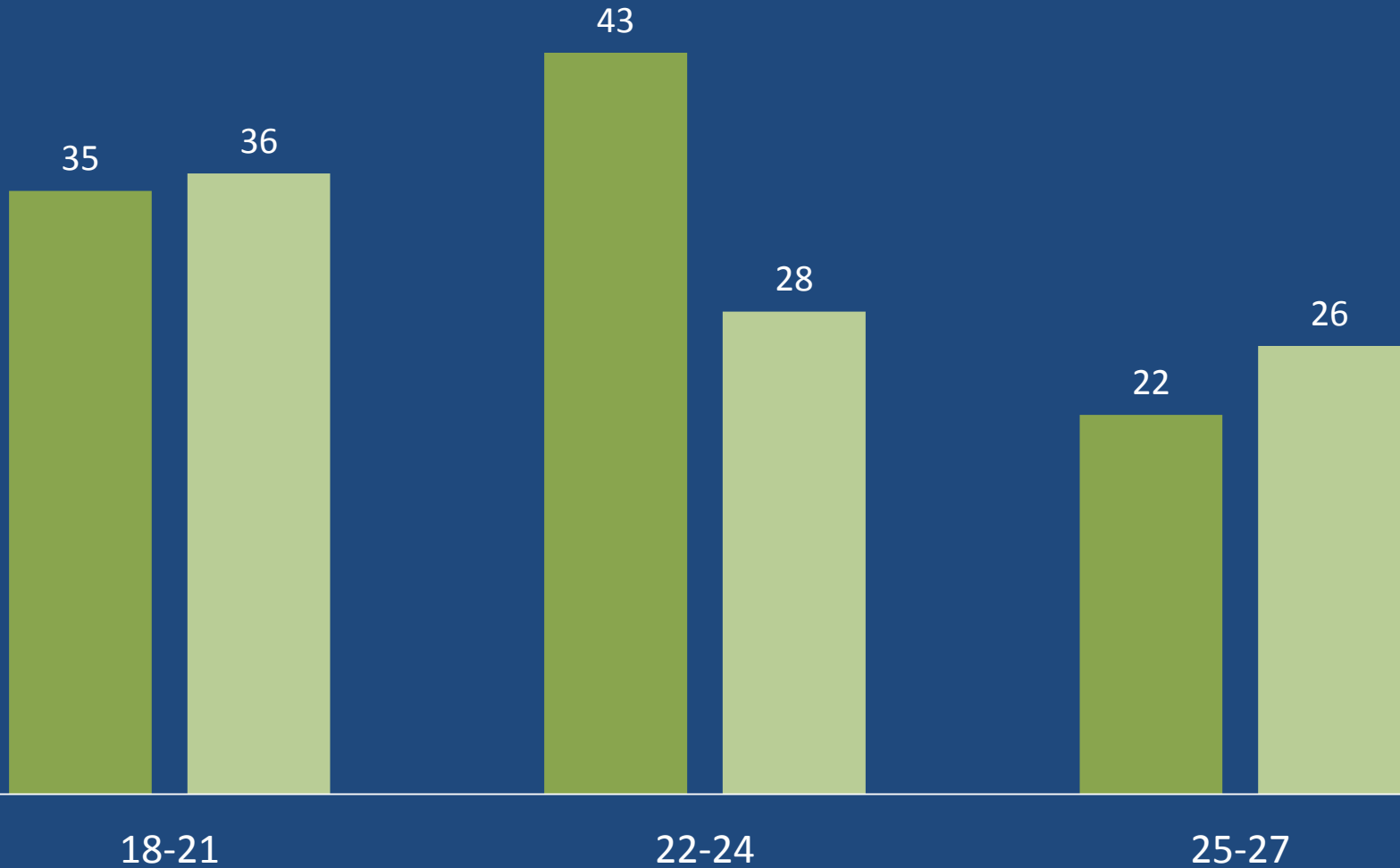
Methodology

- We select a region in Ukraine where young men have received recruitment notices (Kharkiv city and neighboring villages)
- In July 2014, we interview 100 young men who have reported to recruitment offices. We compare them to 100 other young men who live in the same communities, have received recruitment notices, but have chosen not to report. (N = 200)
- Fighters sampled by cluster-sampling at recruitment stations, with random selection of fighters by cluster. Civilian males sampled by random route in the vicinity of recruitment stations.

Demographics

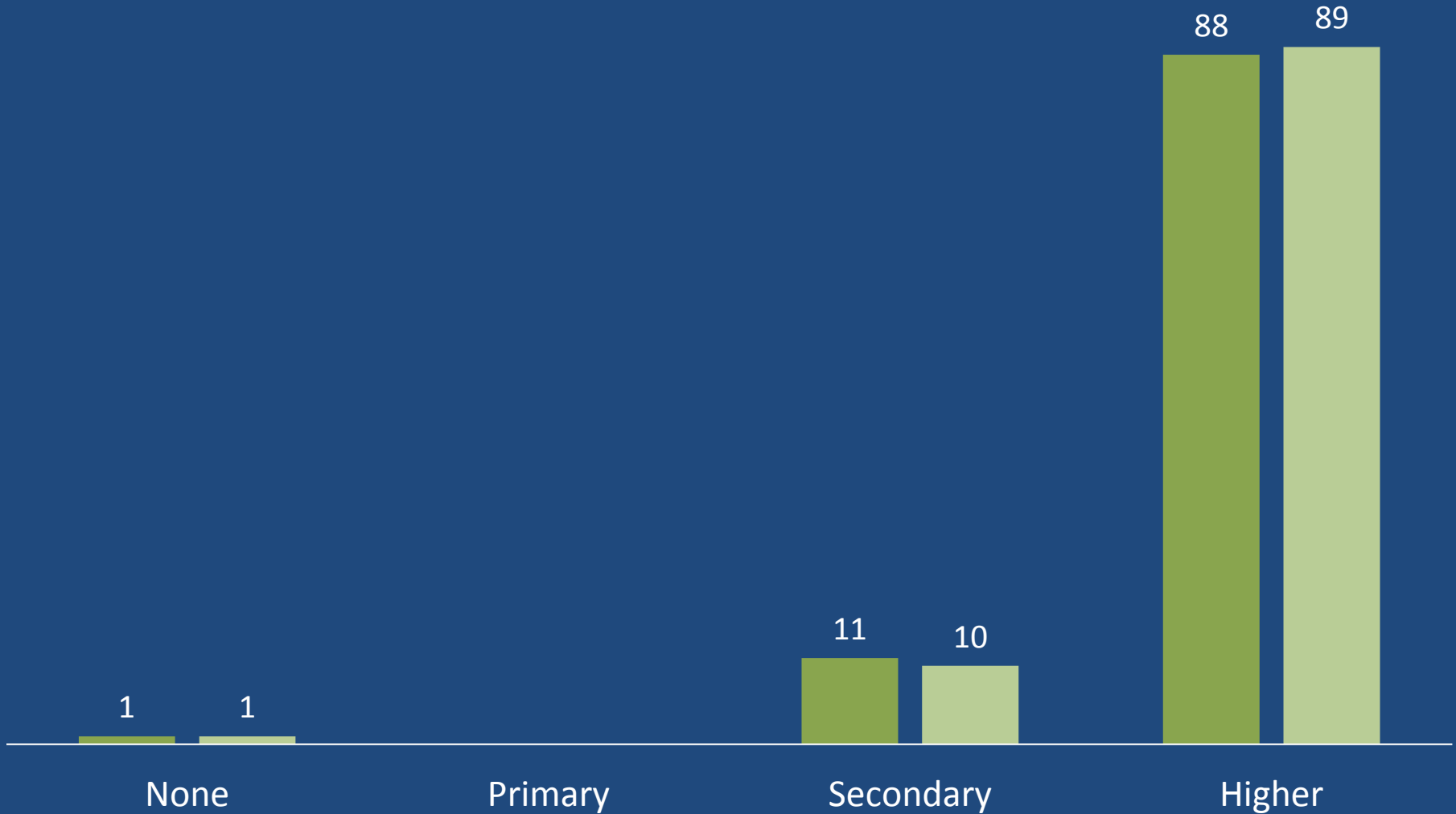
Age

Fighter Civilian



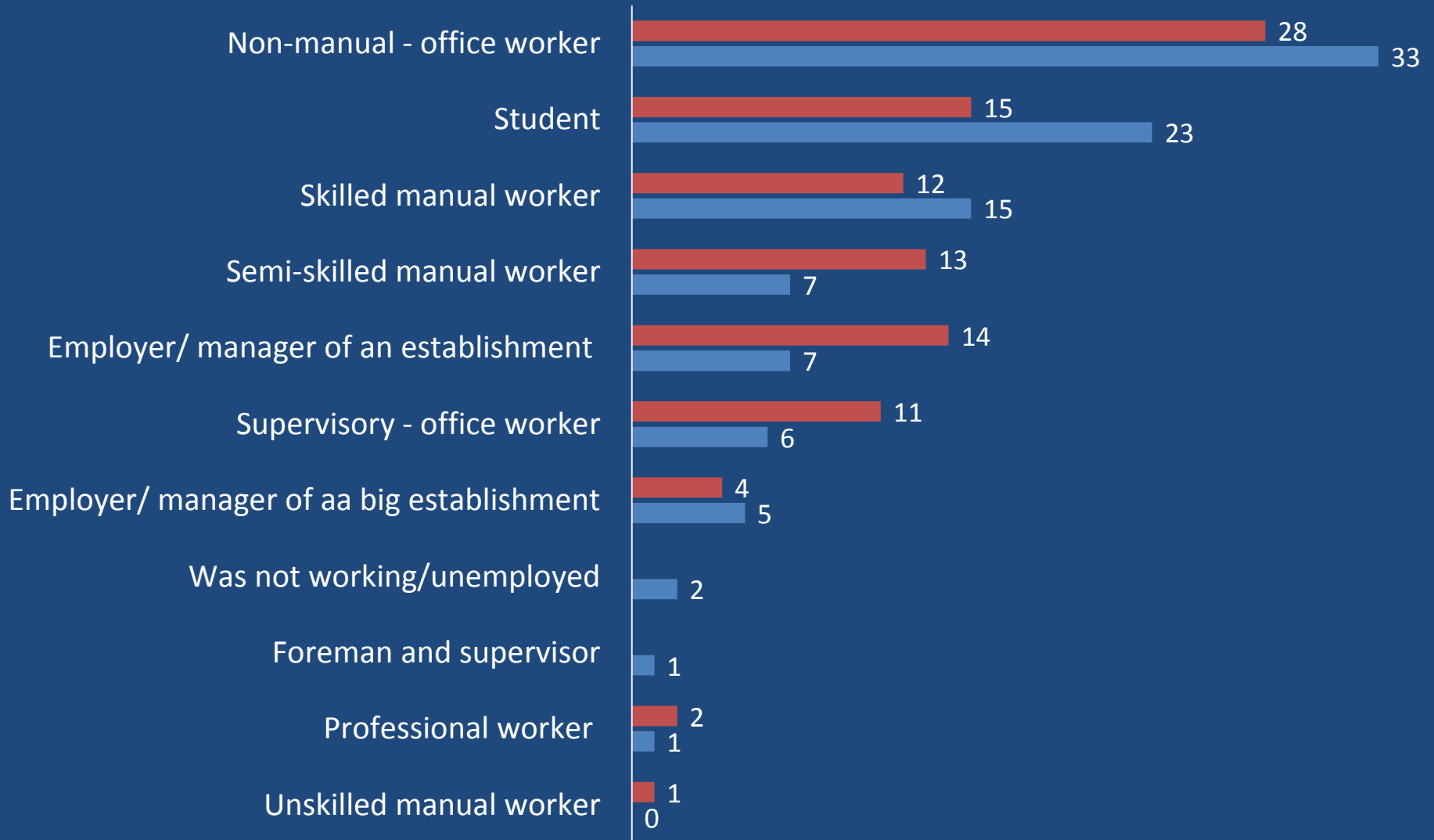
Education

■ Fighter ■ Civilian



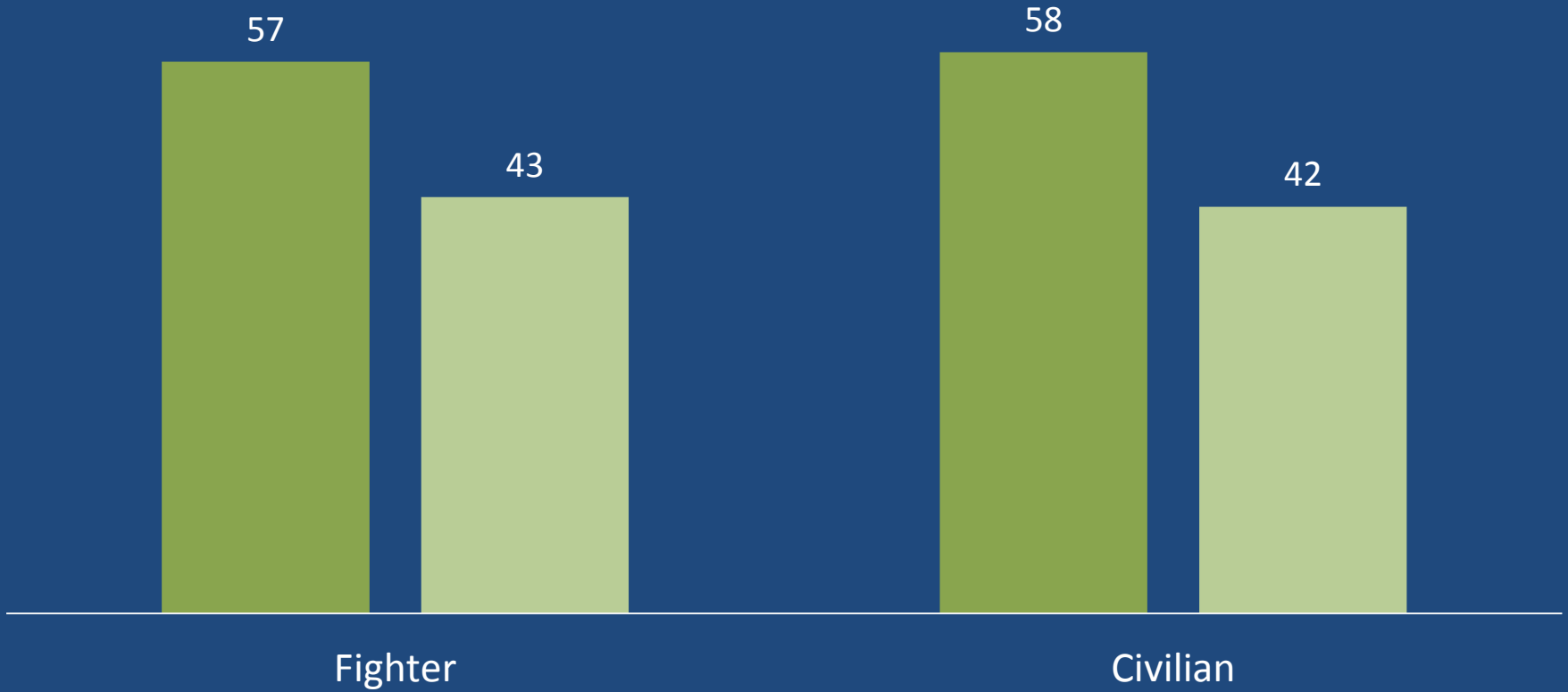
Most Recent Employment

Civilian Fighter



Current Residence

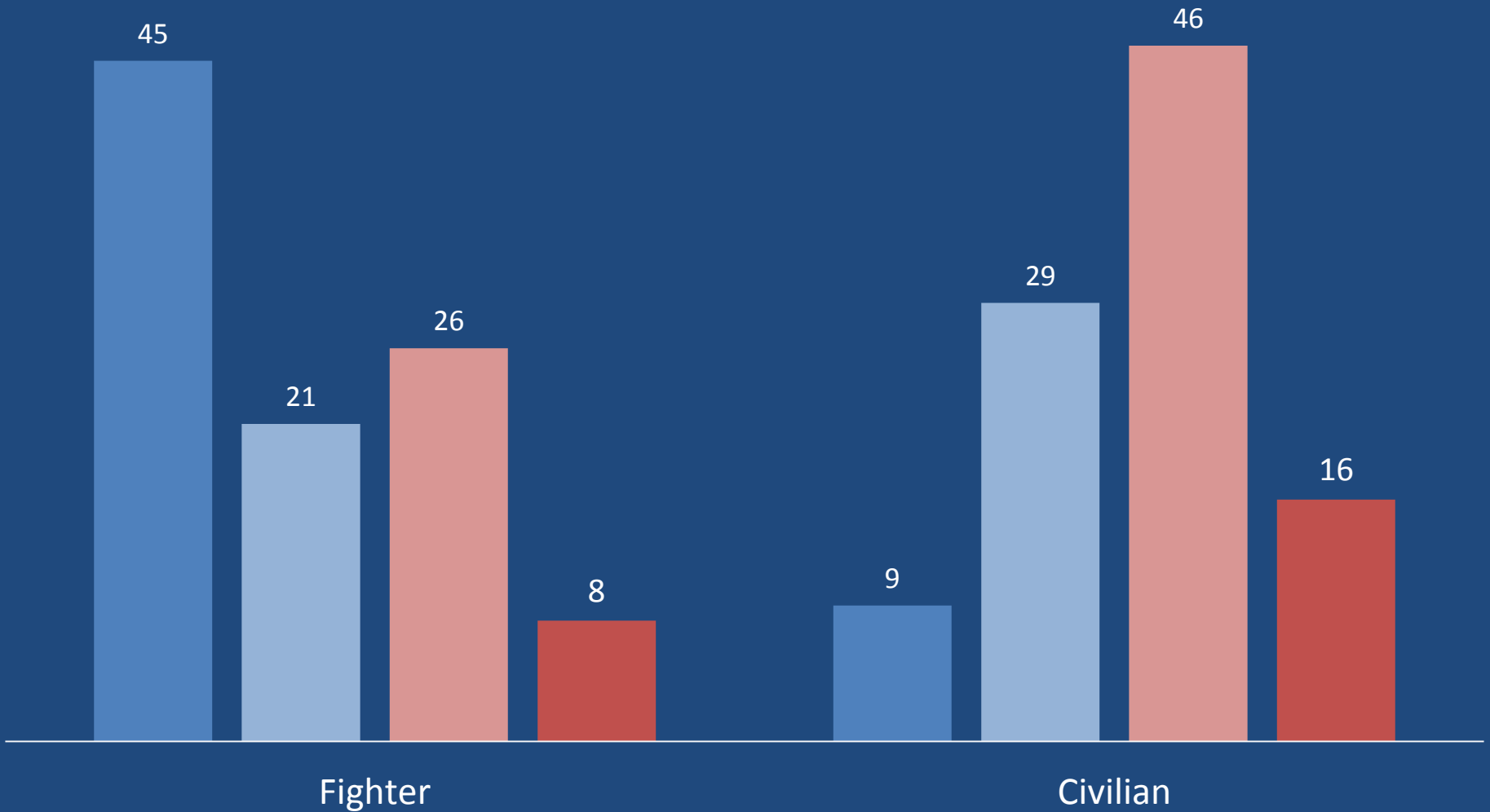
■ Kharkiv town ■ Kharkiv region



Religiosity

Q: How important are your religious beliefs in your daily life? Very important
- Not at all important

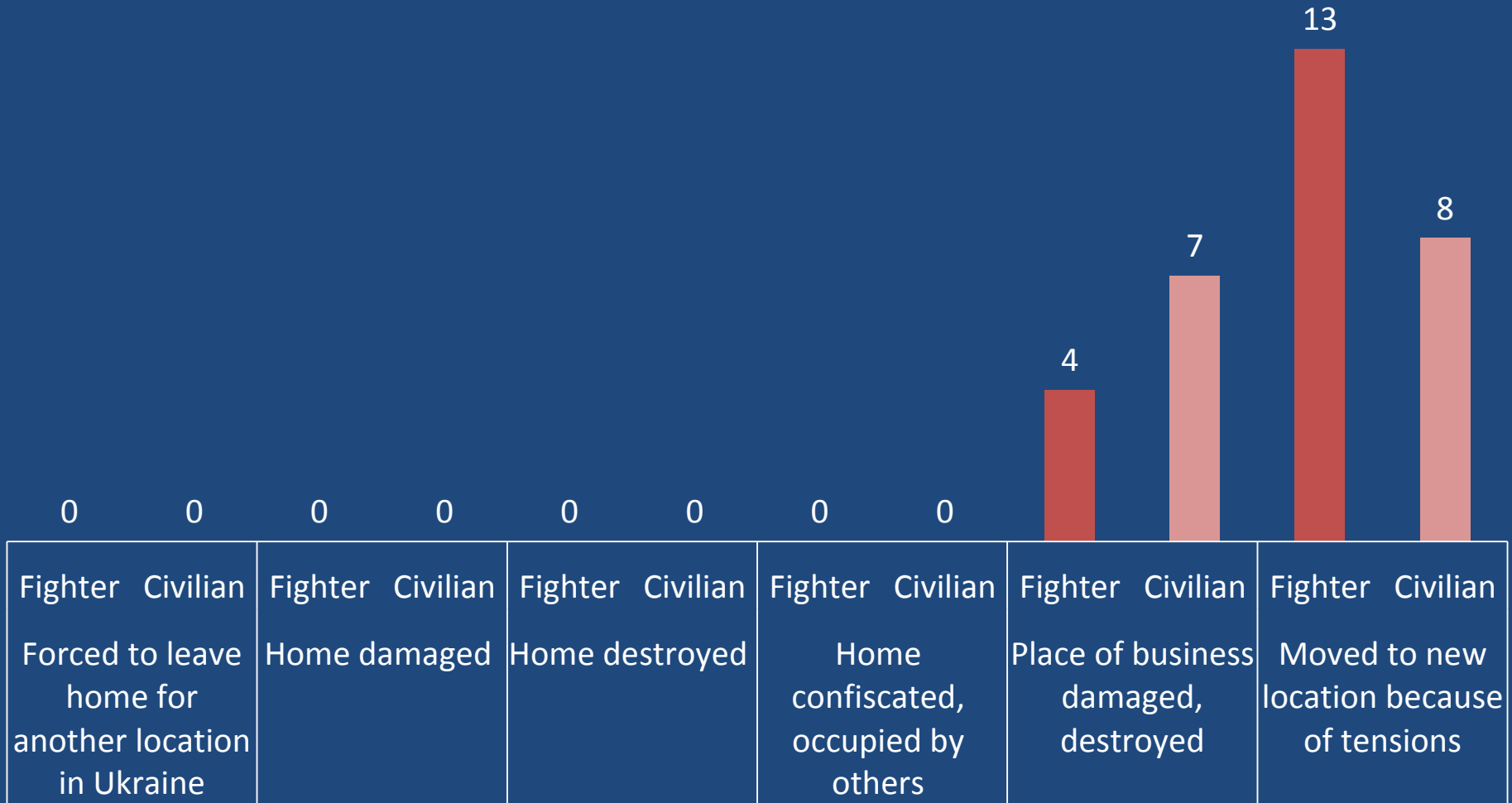
■ Very important ■ Somewhat important ■ Somewhat unimportant ■ Not at all important



Displacement

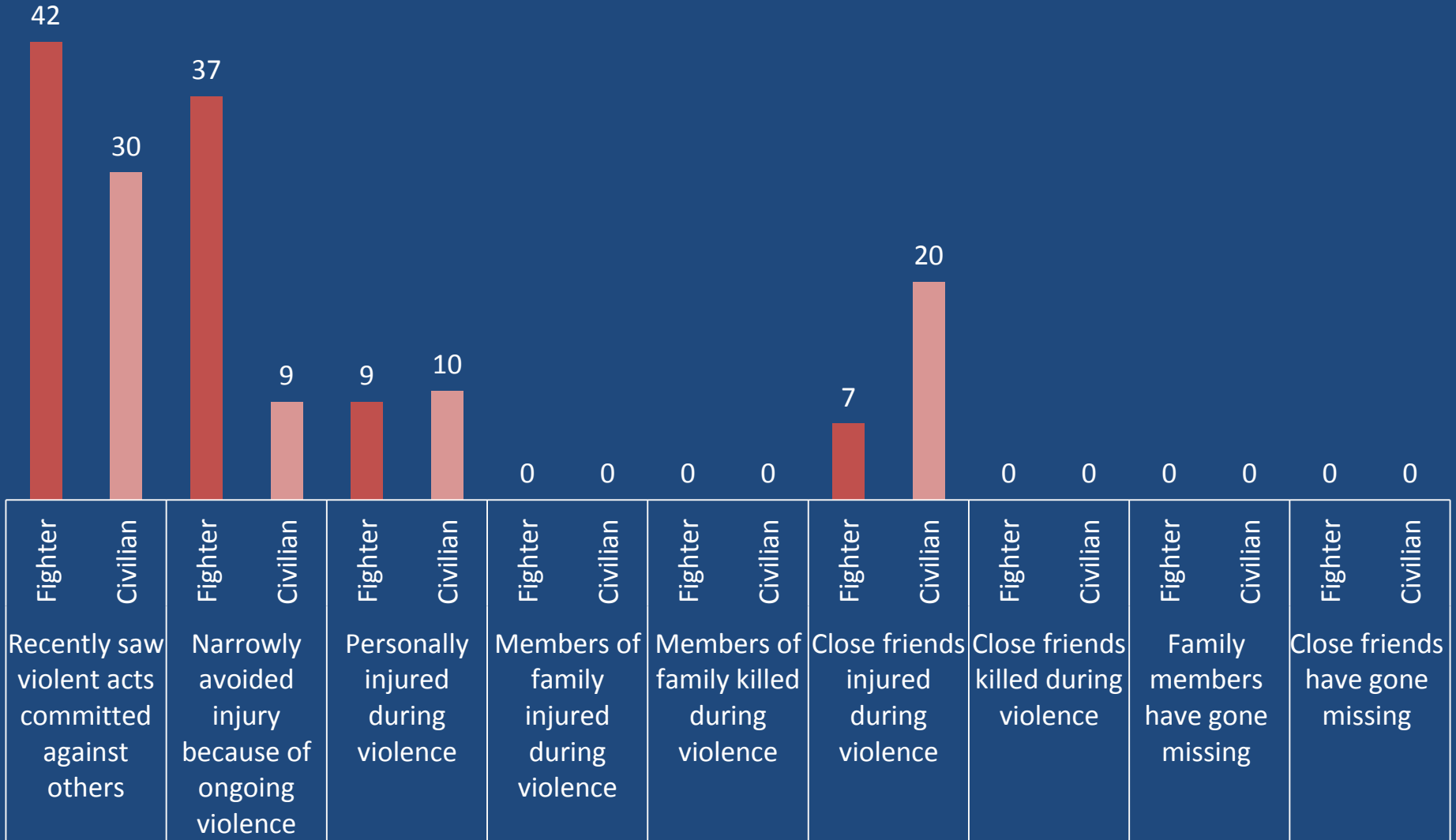
Displacement by Violence

Q: During the current crisis, some people have been forced to flee their homes or move to a different location. Please indicate if you have experienced the following:



Victimization by Violence

Q: In addition, many people have been killed, injured, and suffered the loss of family members and close friends. Please indicate if you have experienced the following:



Safety and Security

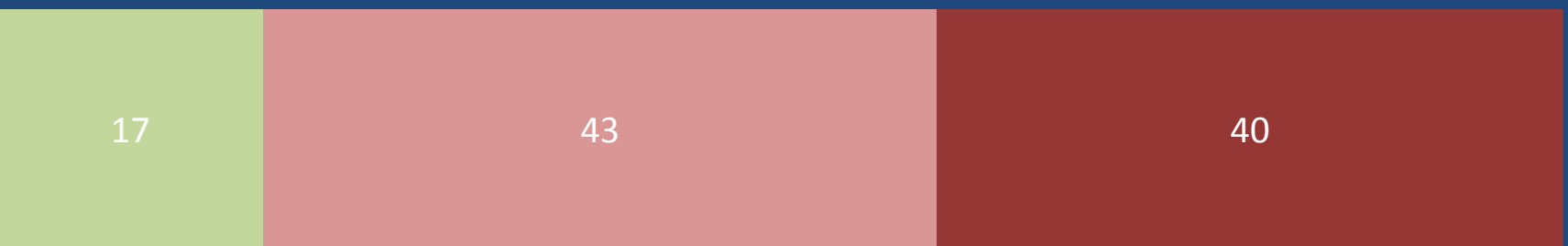
Compared to 12 months ago, do you think conditions here have:

■ Got a lot better ■ Got a little better ■ Stayed the same ■ Got a little worse ■ Got a lot worse

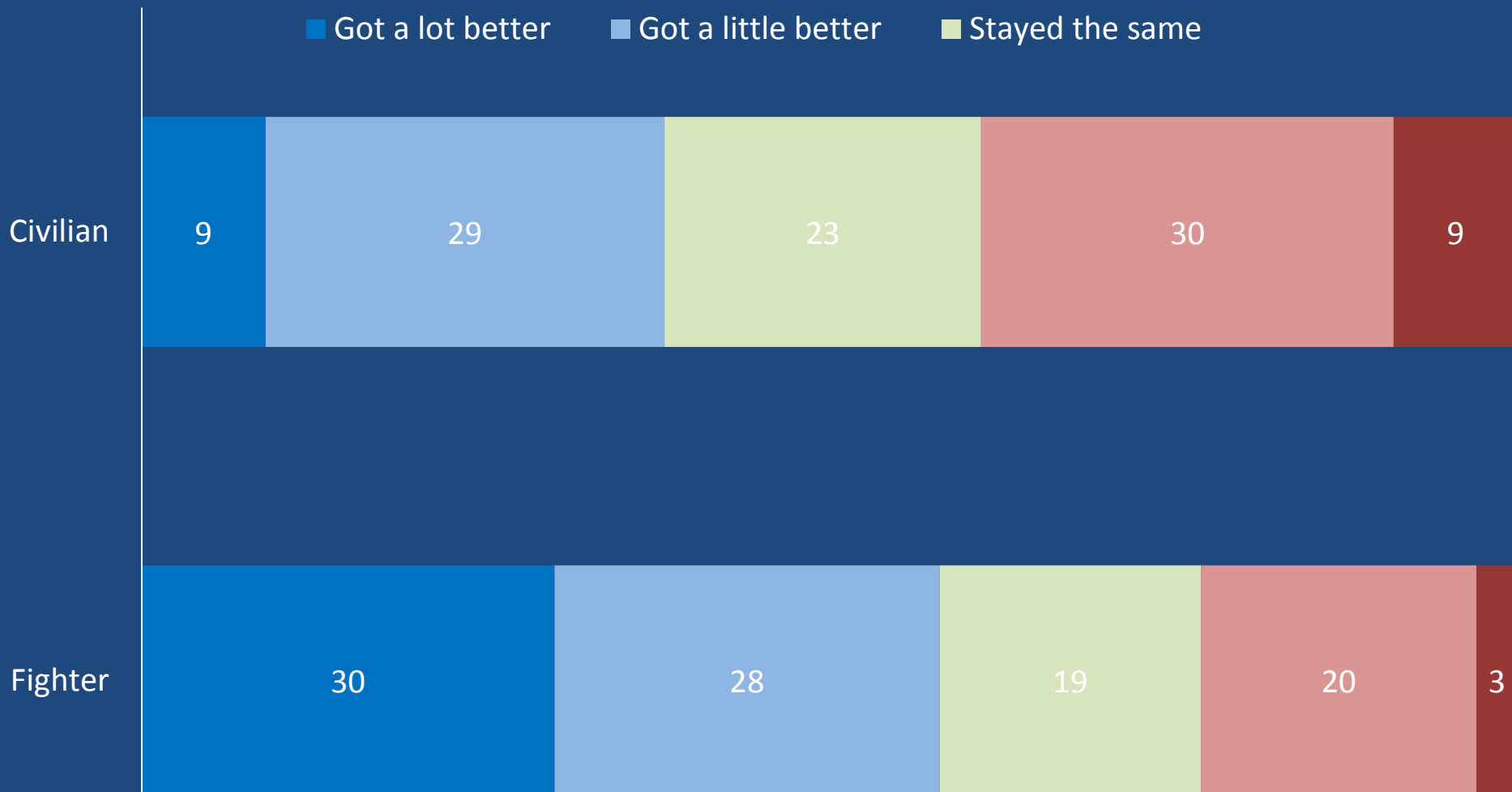
Civilian



Fighter

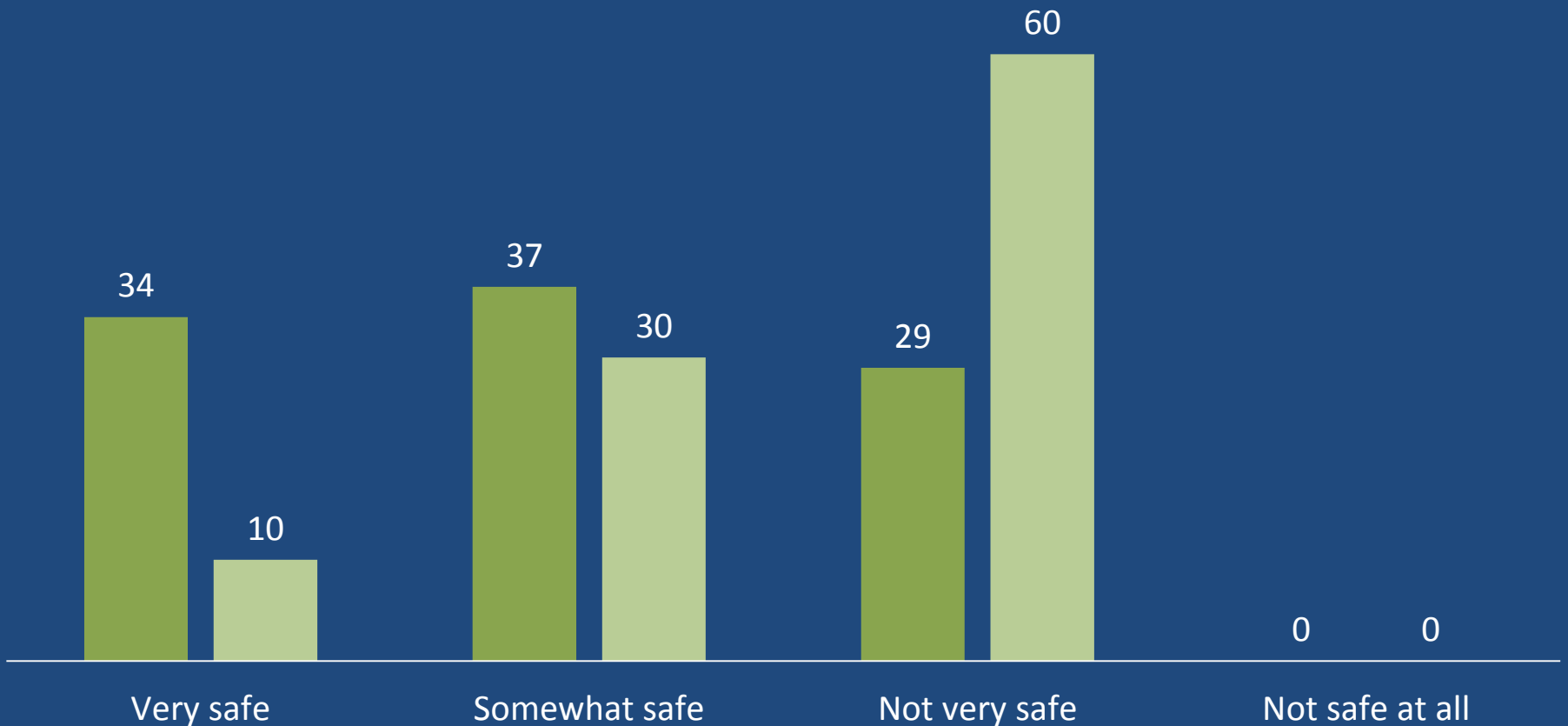


And over the next 12 months, do you expect conditions here to...?



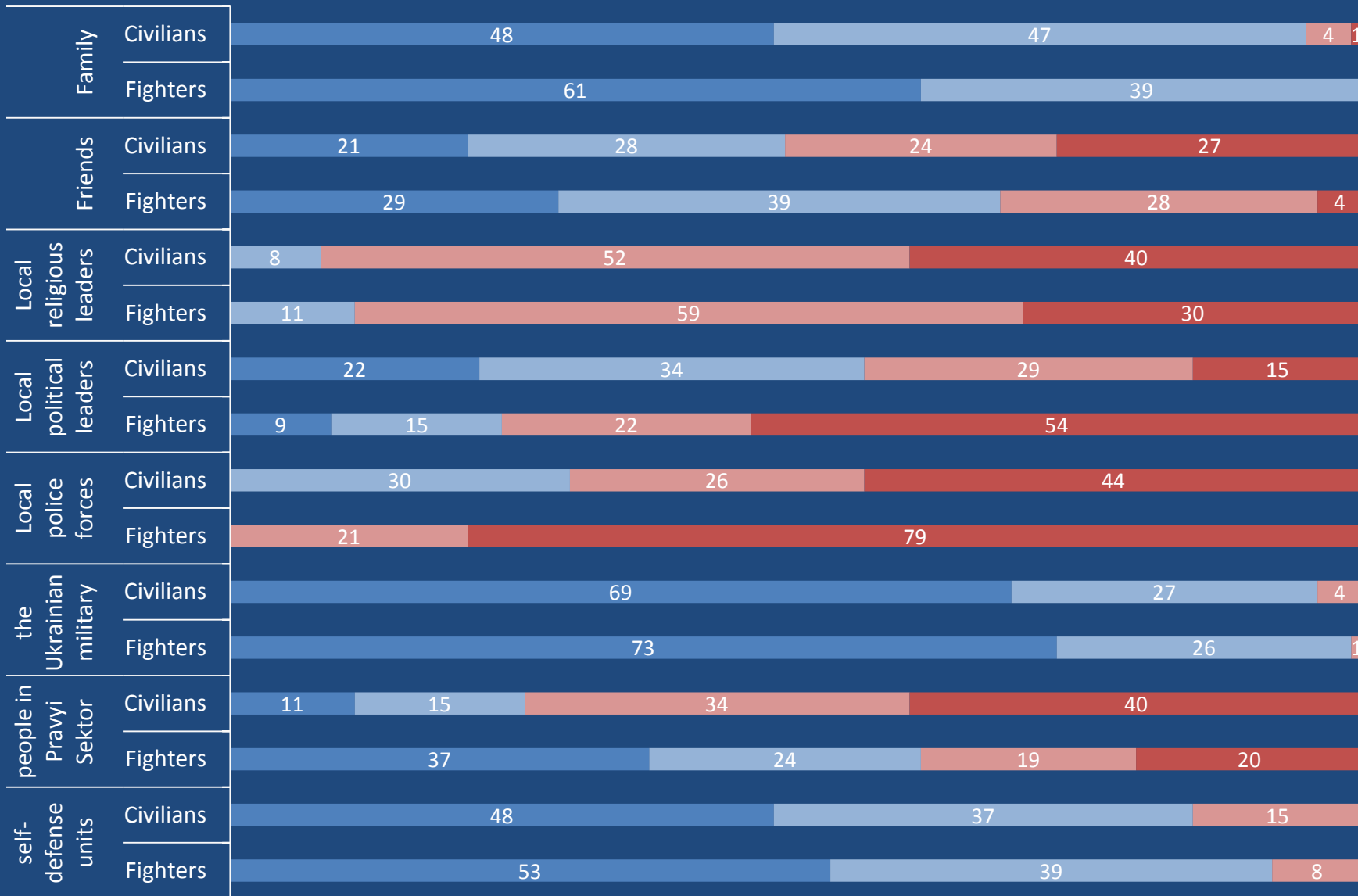
Q: How safe do you feel in your current location today?

■ Fighter ■ Civilian



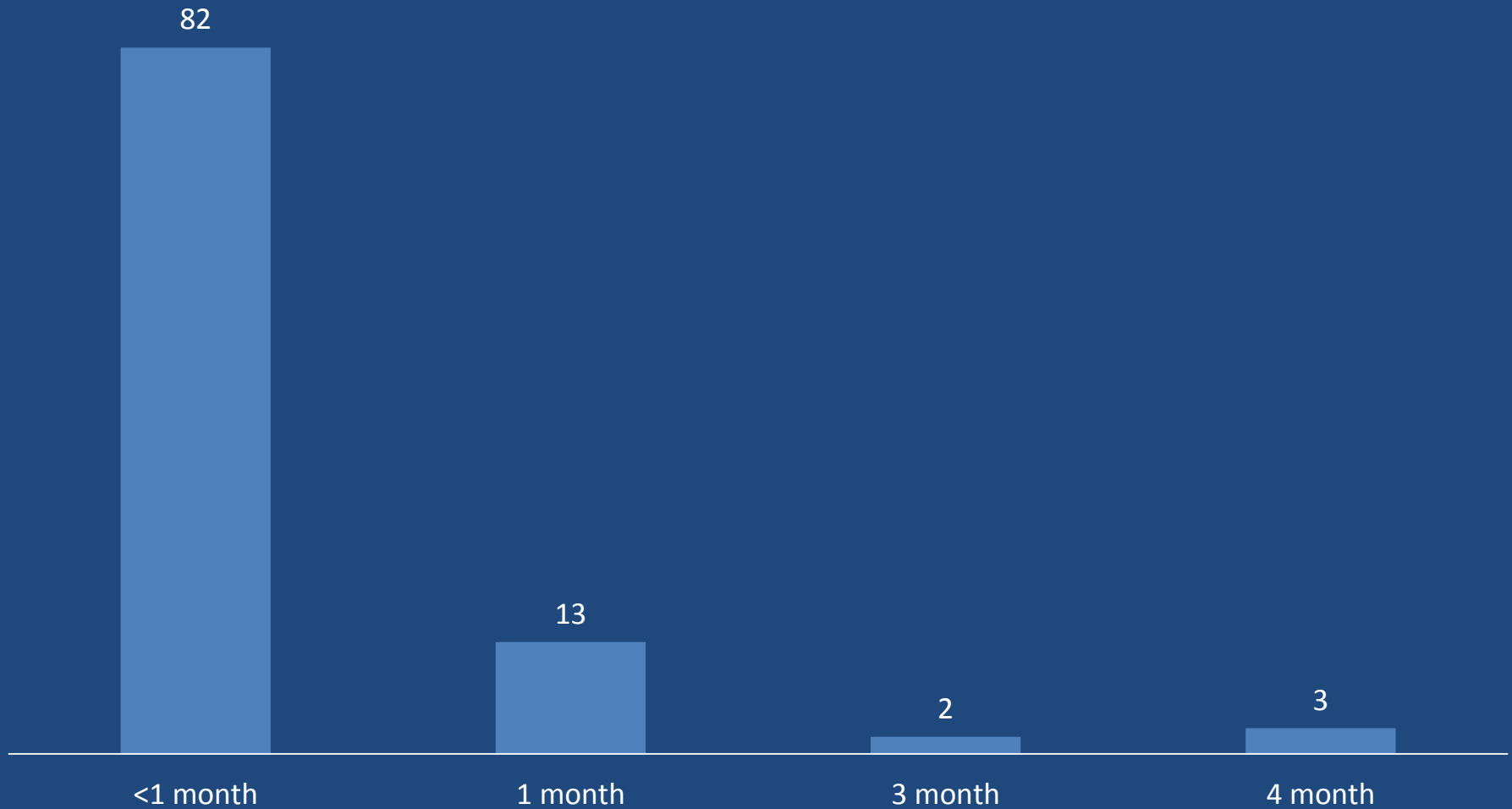
Q: How Much Confidence Do You Have in the Following to Keep You Safe?

■ A Great Deal ■ A Fair Amount ■ Not Very Much ■ None At All



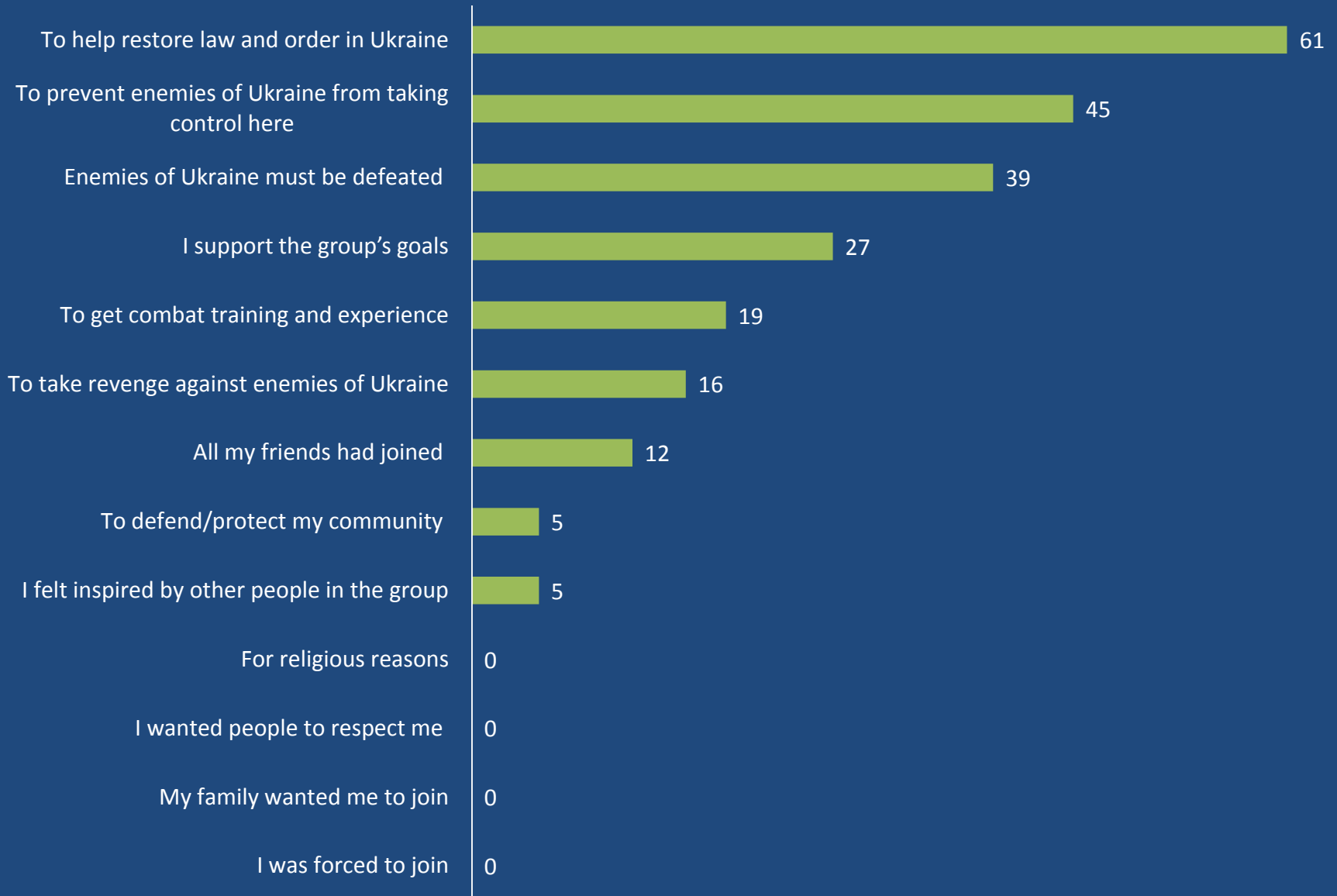
Recruitment

Time in group (fighters only)



Why did you join this group? (fighters only)

Q: Why did you join (select all that apply)?

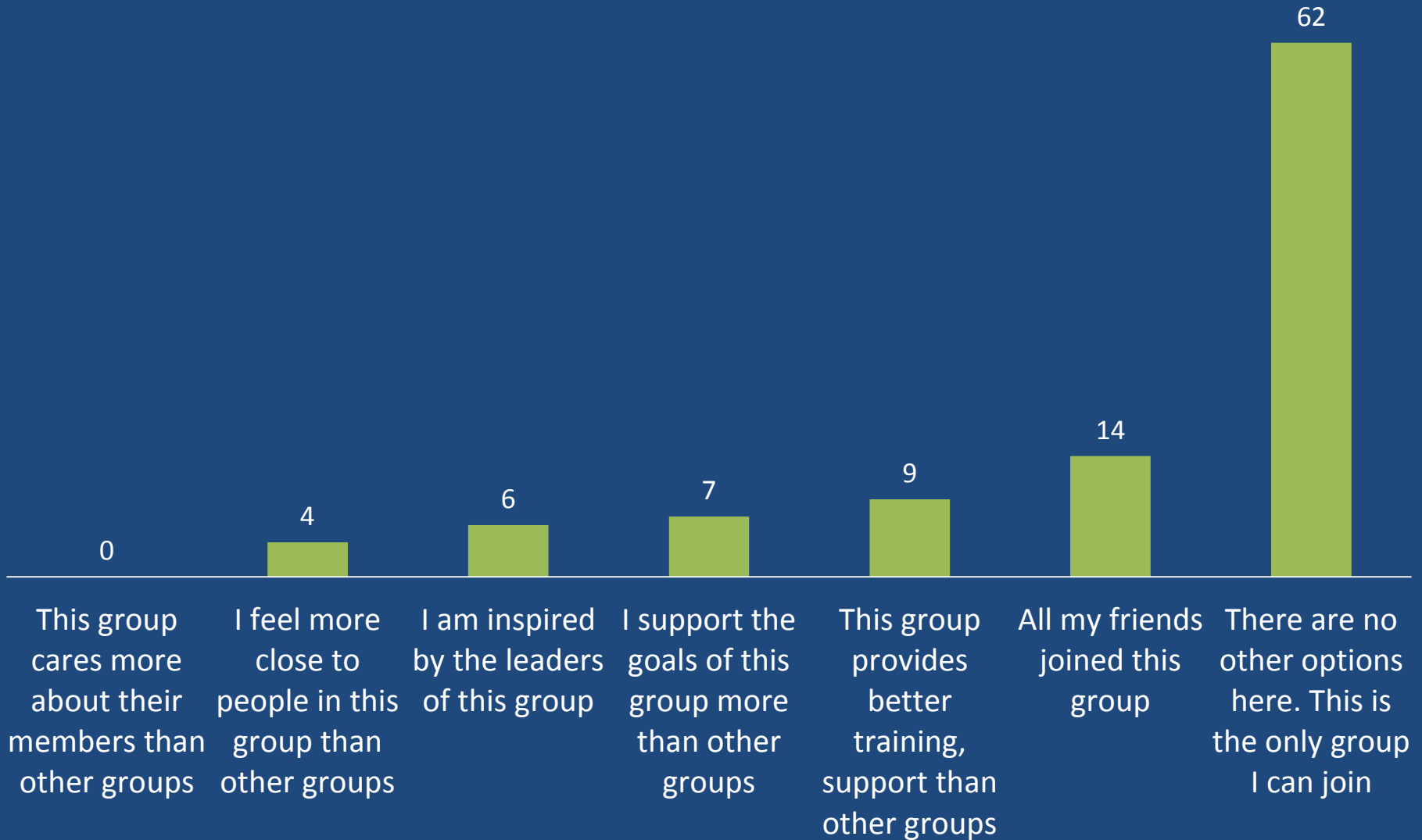


Main reason for Joining (fighters only)

Q: What was the most important reason this group?



Q: Why did you join this group as opposed to some other group? (fighters only)



Q: Why do you think most people join your group (fighters only) ?



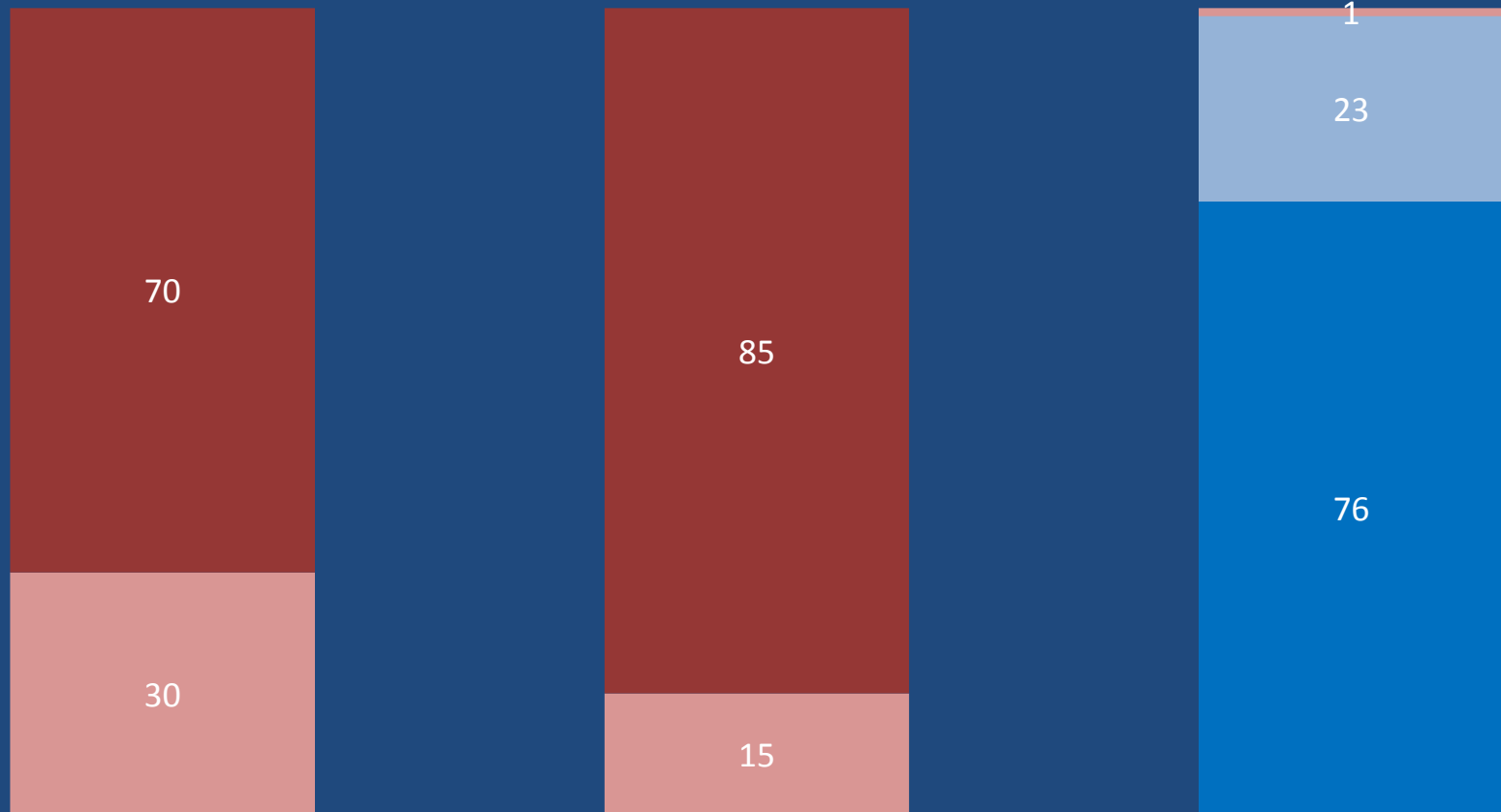
Q: What do you think is the main reason most people join your group? (fighters only)



Internal vs. External Threats

Q: To what extent do you agree with the following?

■ Strongly Agree ■ Somewhat Agree ■ Somewhat Disagree ■ Strongly Disagree



I am fighting to protect Russian speakers from possible attacks by Ukrainian speakers

I am fighting to protect Ukrainian speakers from possible attacks by Russian speakers

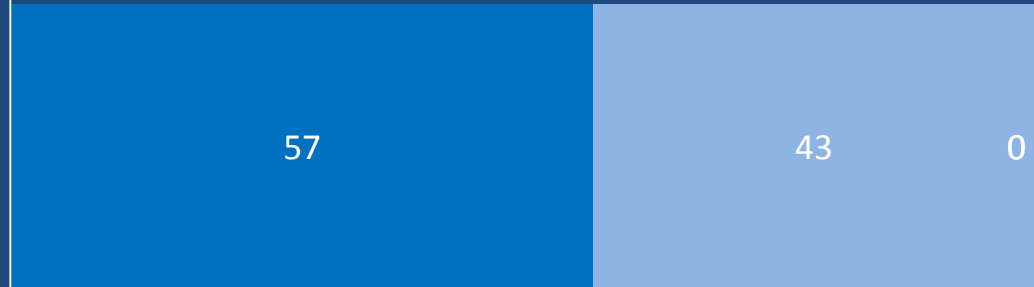
I am fighting to prevent Russia from gaining control over Ukraine

Motivation for Revenge?

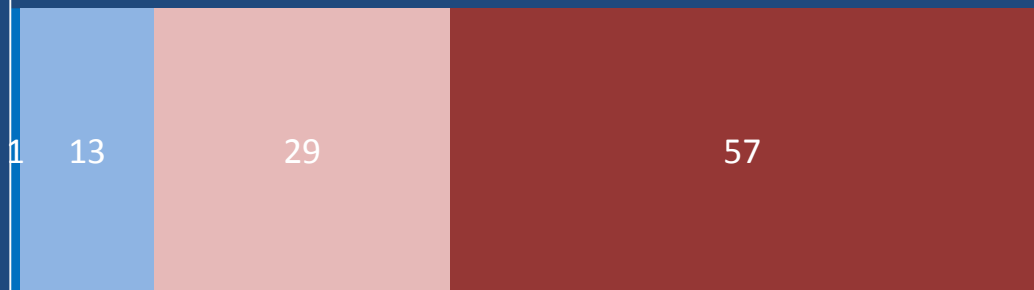
Q: To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

■ Strongly Agree ■ Somewhat Agree ■ Somewhat Disagree ■ Strongly Disagree

I am here to protect my homeland



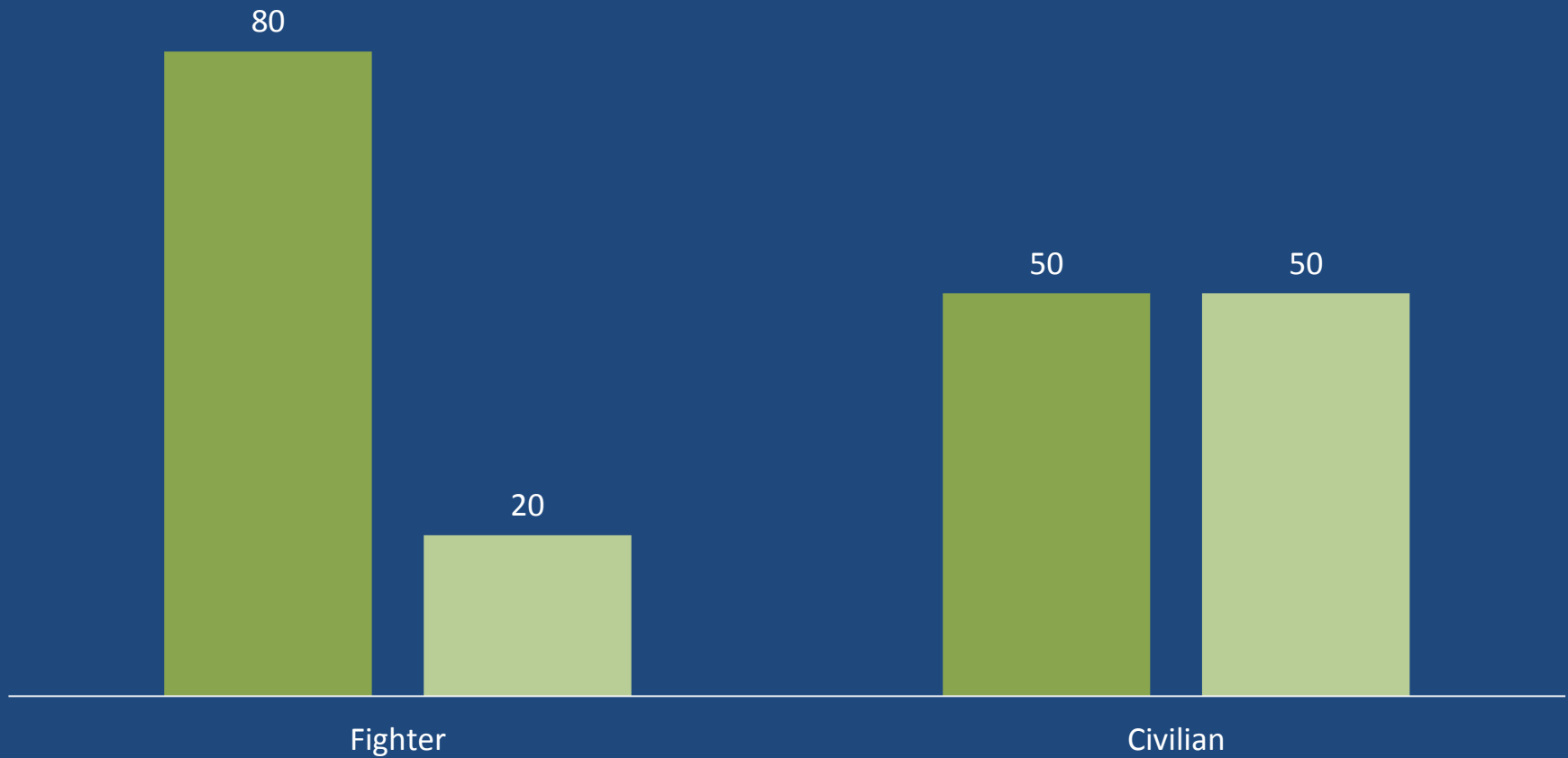
I am here to take revenge for crimes against the people of Ukraine



Maidan Protests

Q: Did you participate in the Maidan protests?

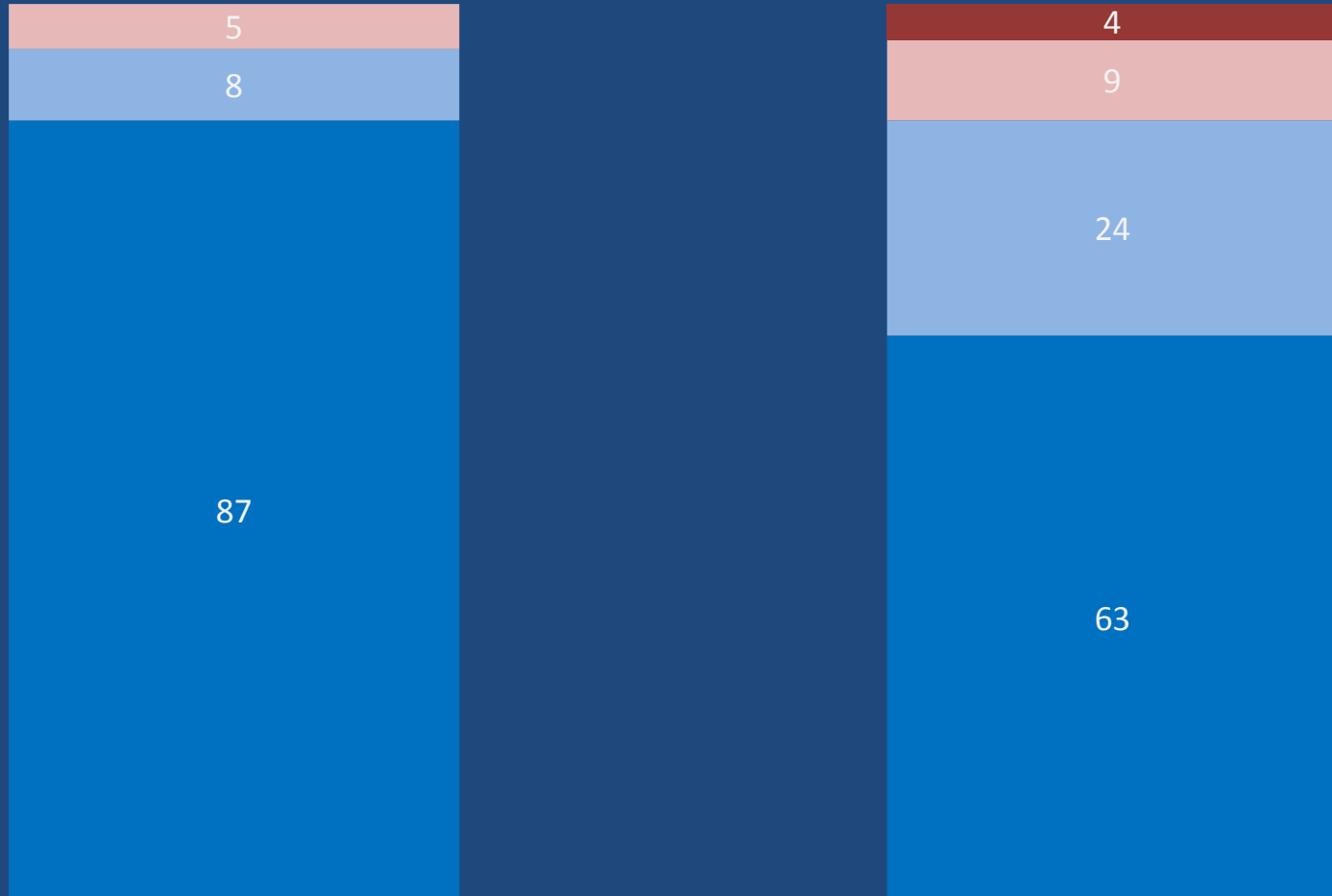
■ Yes ■ No



Support for the Maidan

Q: To what extent do you support or oppose the following?

Strongly Support Somewhat Support Somewhat Oppose Strongly Oppose



Fighter

Civilian

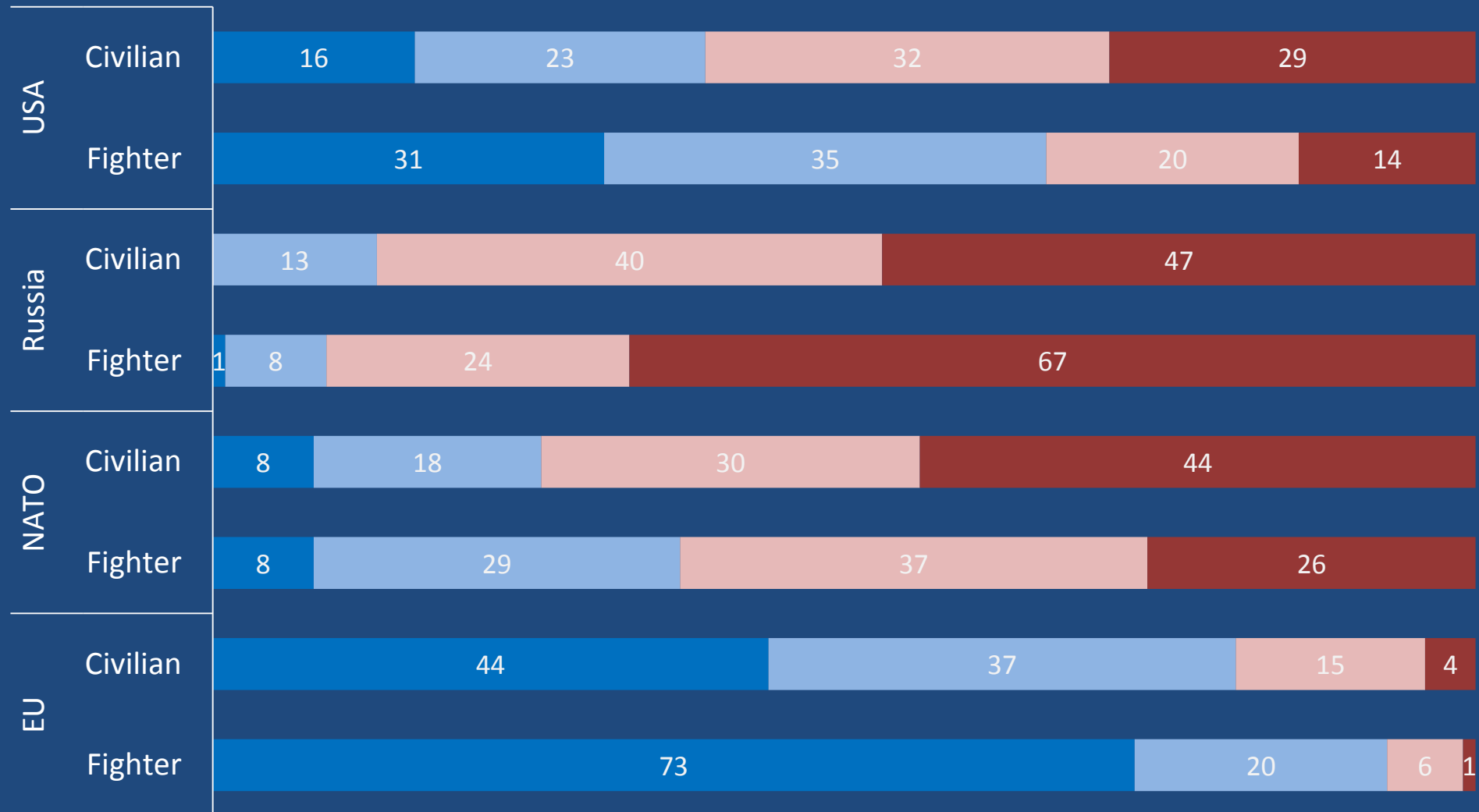
The actions of the Maidan protesters in removing Viktor Yanukovich from power in Ukraine

Political views

Views of Russia, the U.S., and the West

Q: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable view of the following:

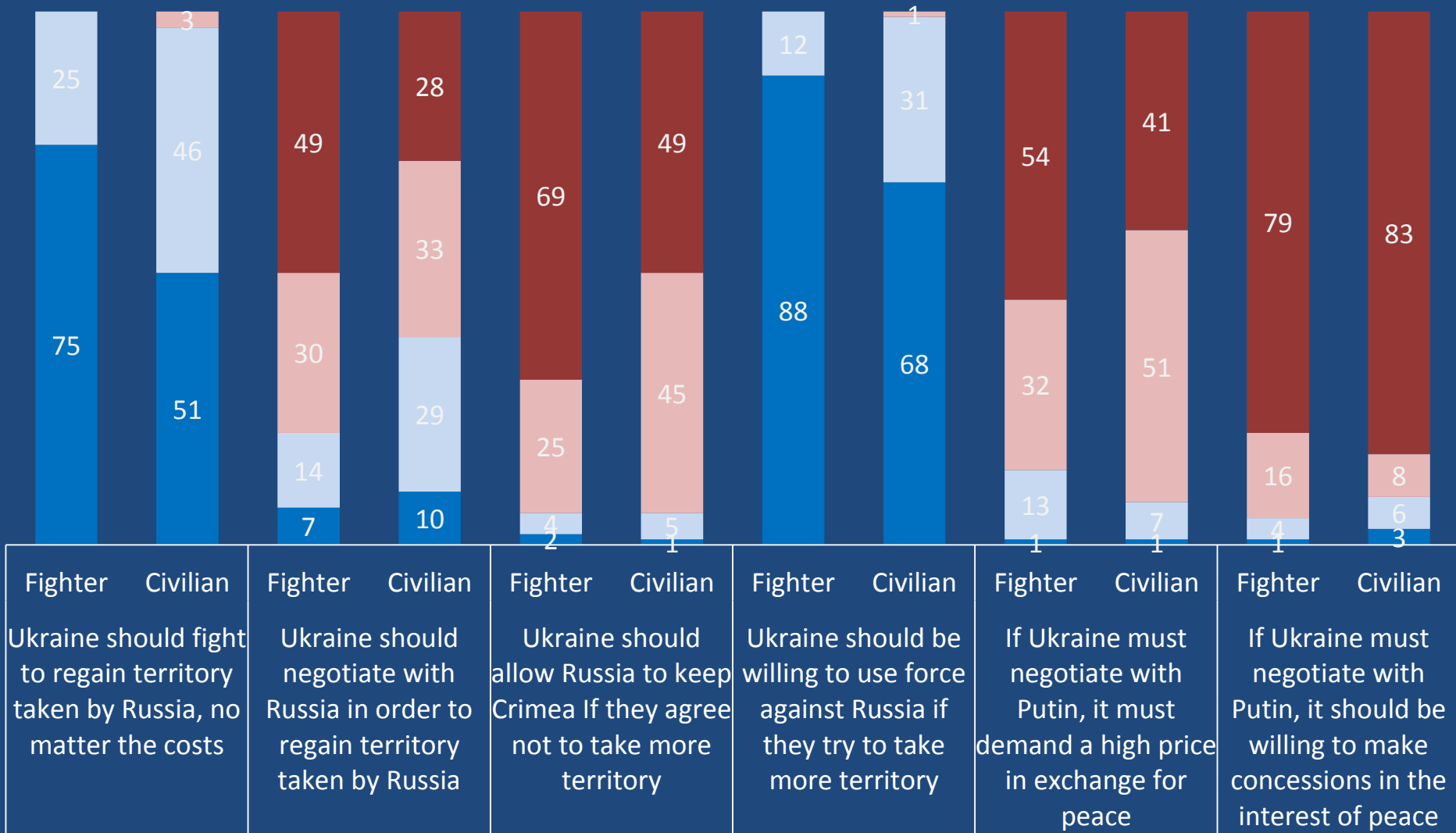
■ Very favorable
 ■ Somewhat favorable
 ■ Somewhat unfavorable
 ■ Very unfavorable



How Ukraine Should Approach Russia

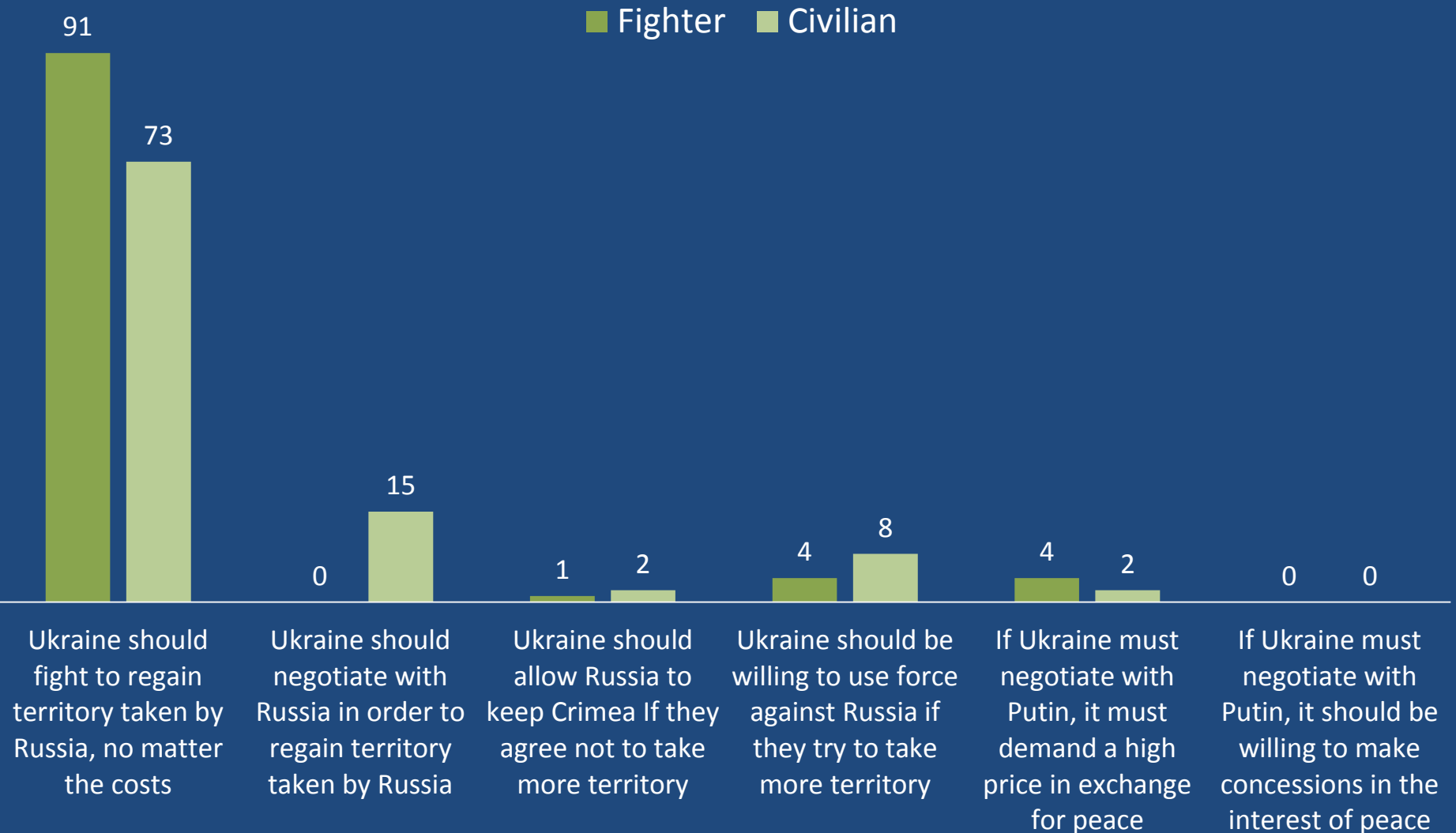
Q: Tell me whether you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the following

■ Strongly Agree
 ■ Somewhat Agree
 ■ Somewhat Disagree
 ■ Strongly Disagree



How Ukraine Should Deal with Russia (top preference)

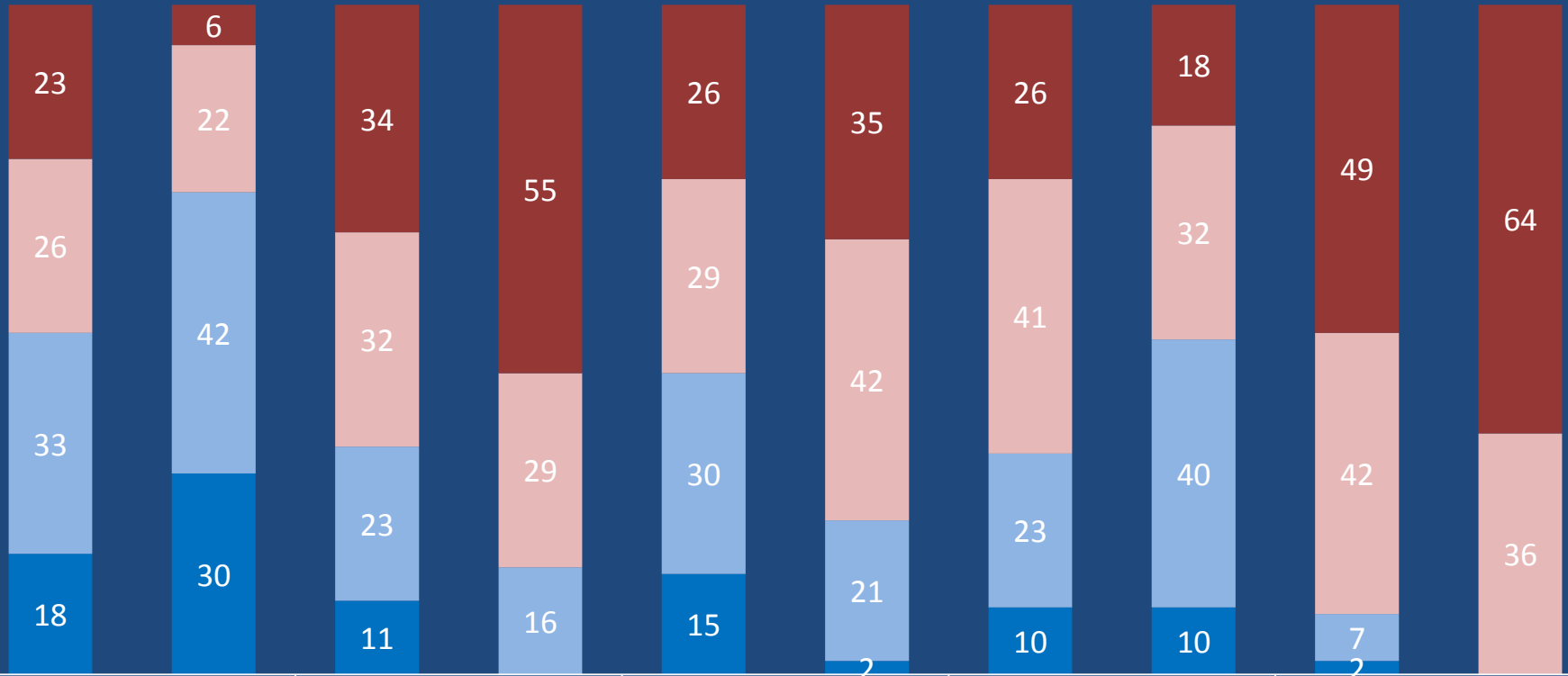
Q: And which of the following options do you support the most?



Role of the West in Dealing with Russia

Q: There is often discussion about the role of what other countries could do to bring an end to the crisis in Ukraine. To what extent do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the

■ Strongly Agree
 ■ Somewhat Agree
 ■ Somewhat Disagree
 ■ Strongly Disagree

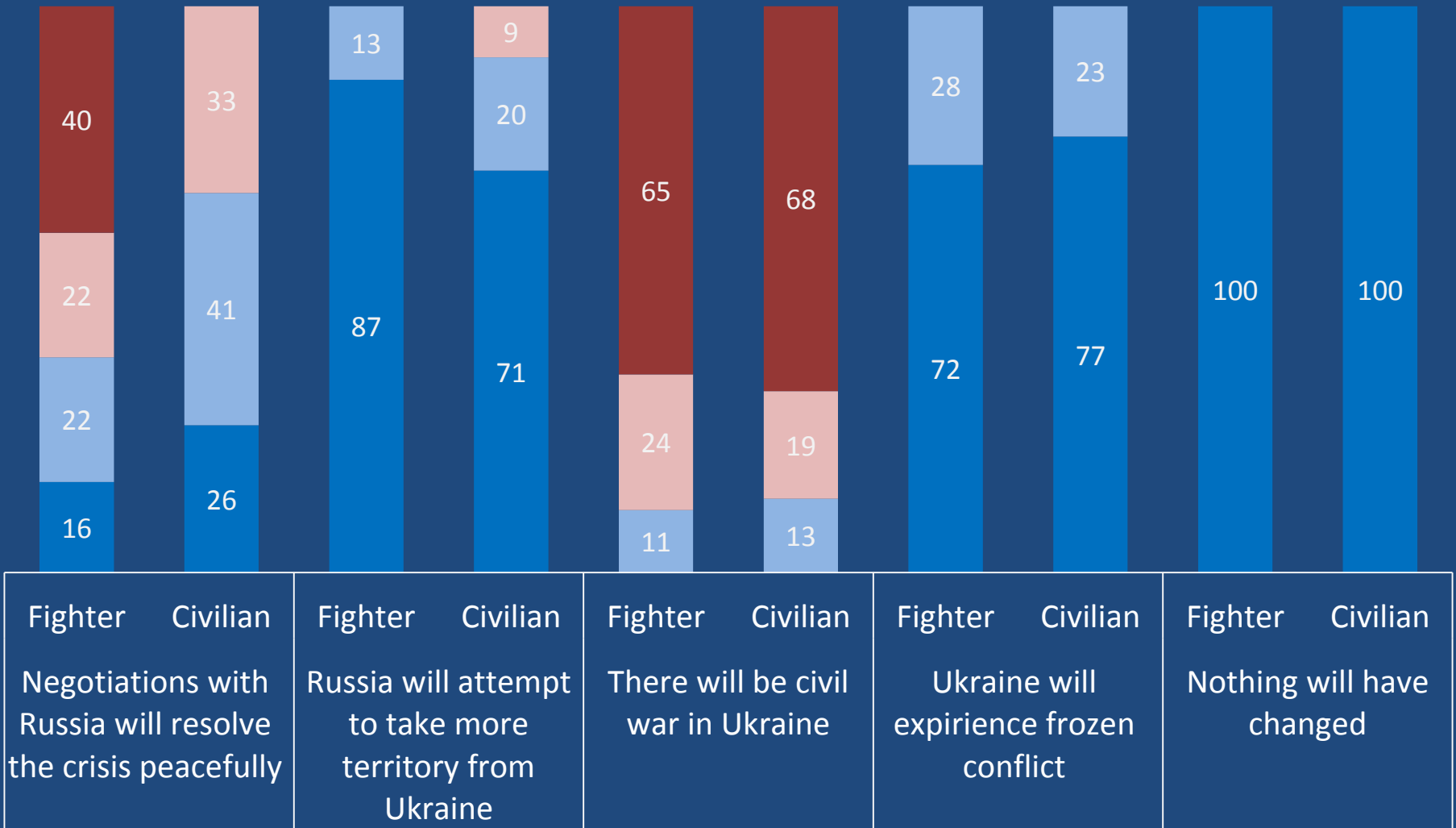


Fighter	Civilian	Fighter	Civilian	Fighter	Civilian	Fighter	Civilian	Fighter	Civilian
UN Peacekeeping intervention		NATO military intervention		US military intervention		Increase use of sanctions on Russia		West should negotiate more with Putin	

Predictions for the Future

Q: How likely do you think the following is to happen within the next year - very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, not at all likely

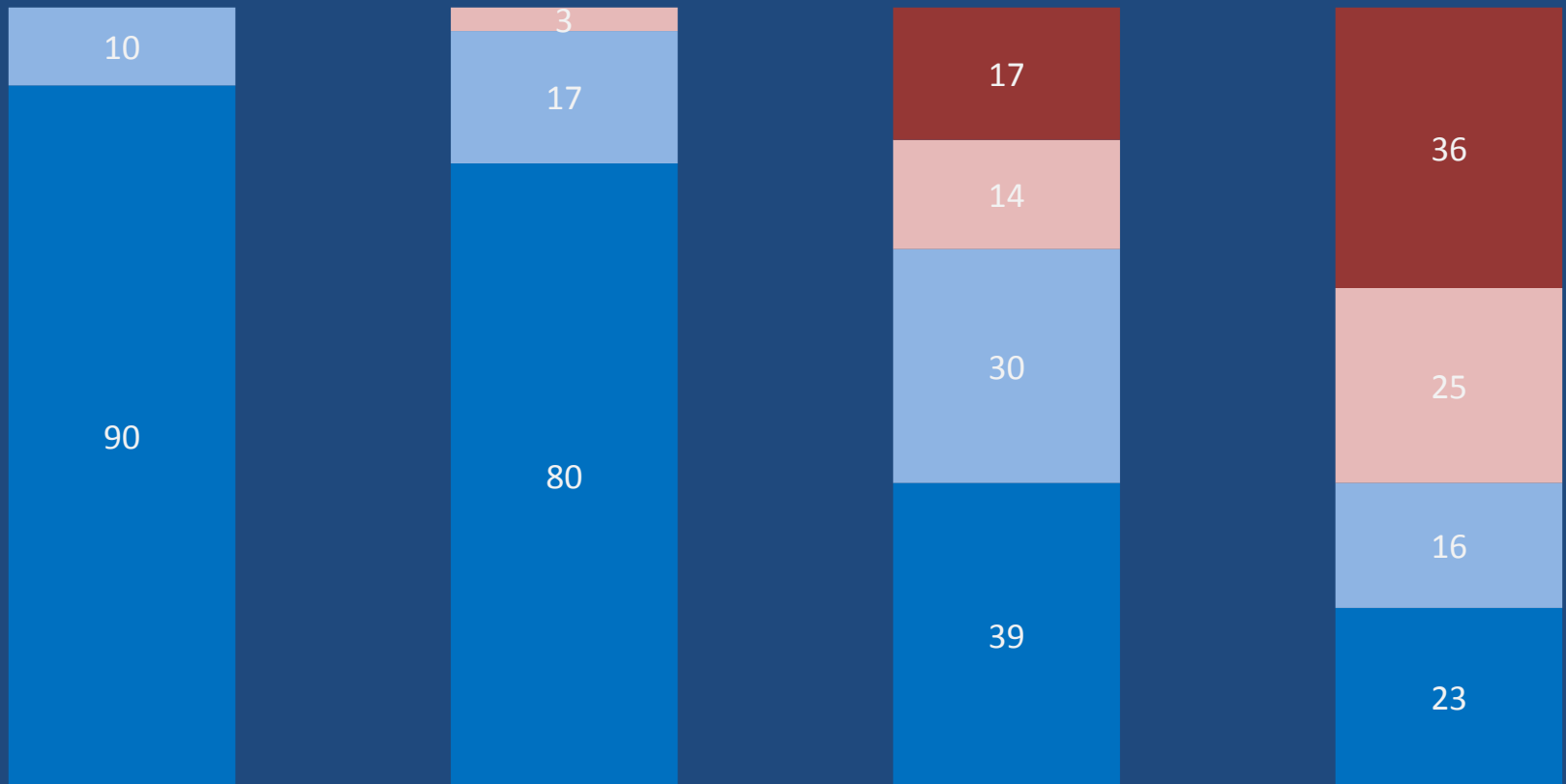
■ Very Likely
 ■ Somewhat Likely
 ■ Somewhat Unlikely
 ■ Very Unlikely



Views on Ukrainian State Unity

Q: To what extent do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements

Strongly Agree Somewhat Agree Somewhat Disagree Strongly Disagree



Fighter

Civilian

Fighter

Civilian

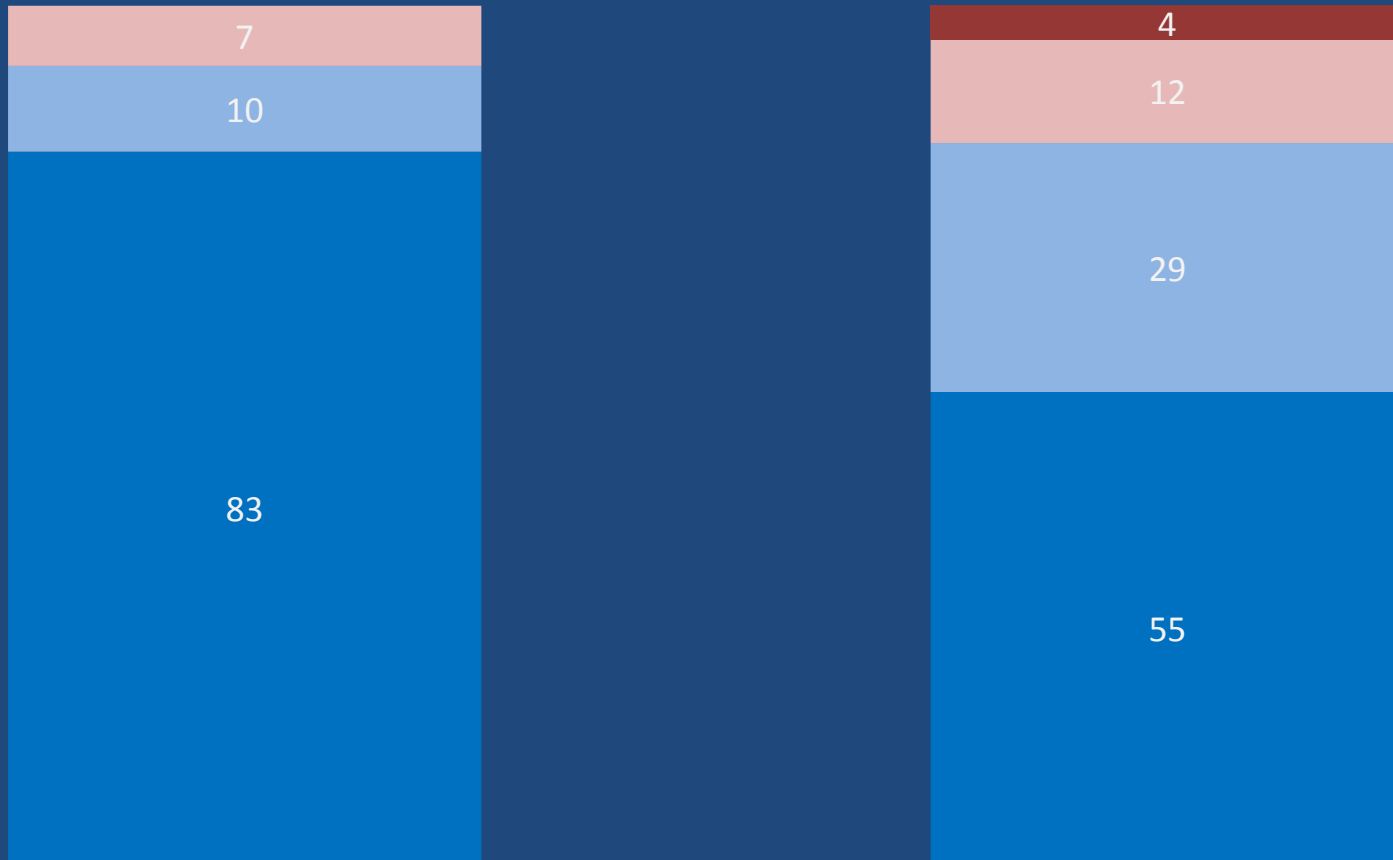
It is essential that Ukraine remains unified state

Parts of Ukraine should be allowed more regional autonomy

Views on Negotiating With Russia

Q: To what extent do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements

■ Strongly Agree ■ Somewhat Agree ■ Somewhat Disagree ■ Strongly Disagree



Fighter

Civilian

If Ukraine negotiates with Russia, then it would betray those who have died fighting

Views on Accountability for Violence

Q: Which of these two statements comes closer to your own view?

■ Civilian ■ Fighter

Only the top leadership should be held accountable for Human rights violations committed in Ukraine

2

1

All those who are responsible for human rights violations in Ukraine should be held accountable in the courts for what they have done

98

99

Support for Democracy

Q: Which of these two statements comes closer to your own view?

■ Civilian ■ Fighter

For people like me, it does not matter whether a government is democratic or not democratic

0

0

Under some circumstances, a non-democratic government may be preferable to a democratic one

39

39

Democracy is preferable to any other form of political system

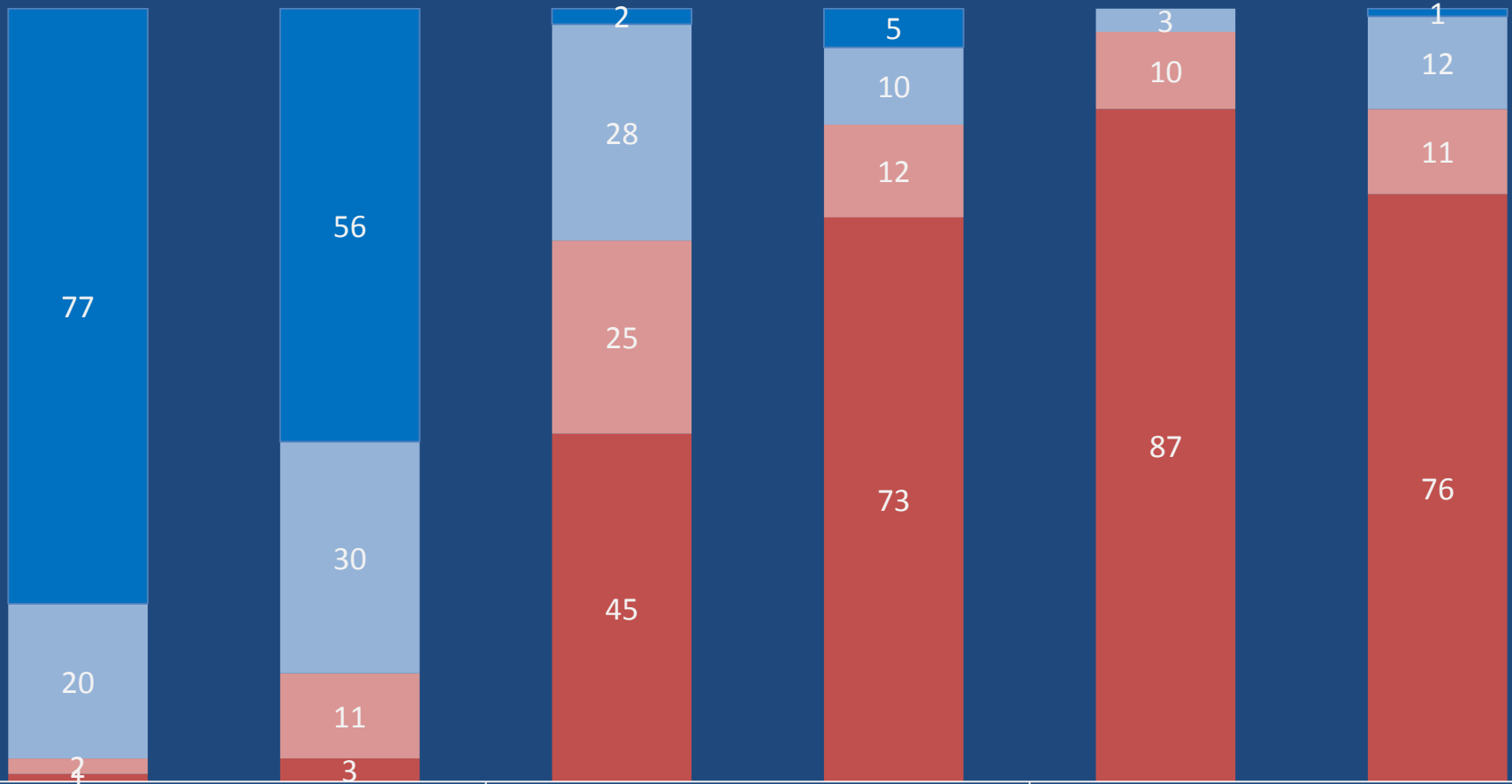
61

61

Support for EU, NATO, Customs Union Membership

Q: Do you support Ukraine joining the following organizations – definitely yes, probably yes, probably not, or definitely not?

Definitely Not Probably Not Probably Yes Definitely Yes



Fighter

Civilian

Fighter

Civilian

Fighter

Civilian

The European Union

NATO

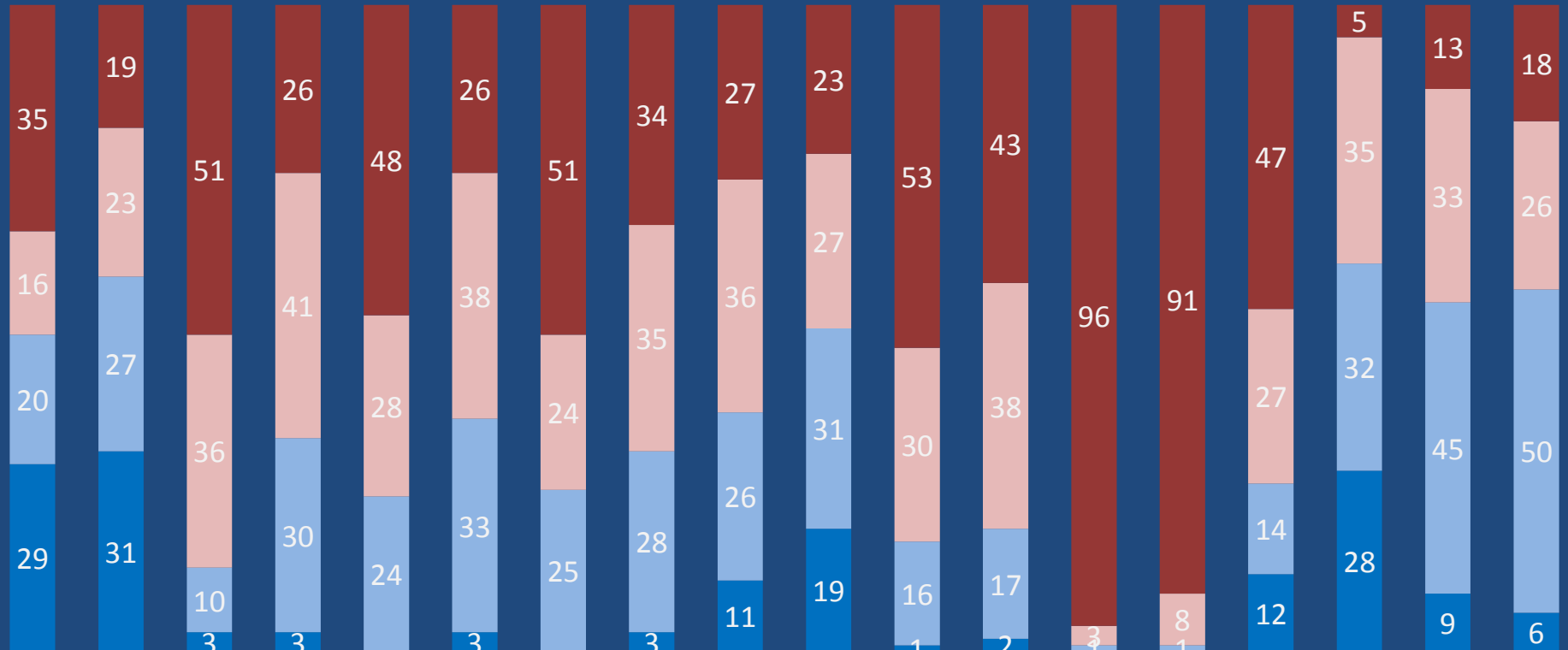
Customs Union with Russia

Mass Media

Trust in Media

Q: How much do you trust the following news sources for objective reporting about what is happening today in Ukraine?

■ Highly Trust
 ■ Somewhat Trust
 ■ Somewhat Distrust
 ■ Highly Distrust

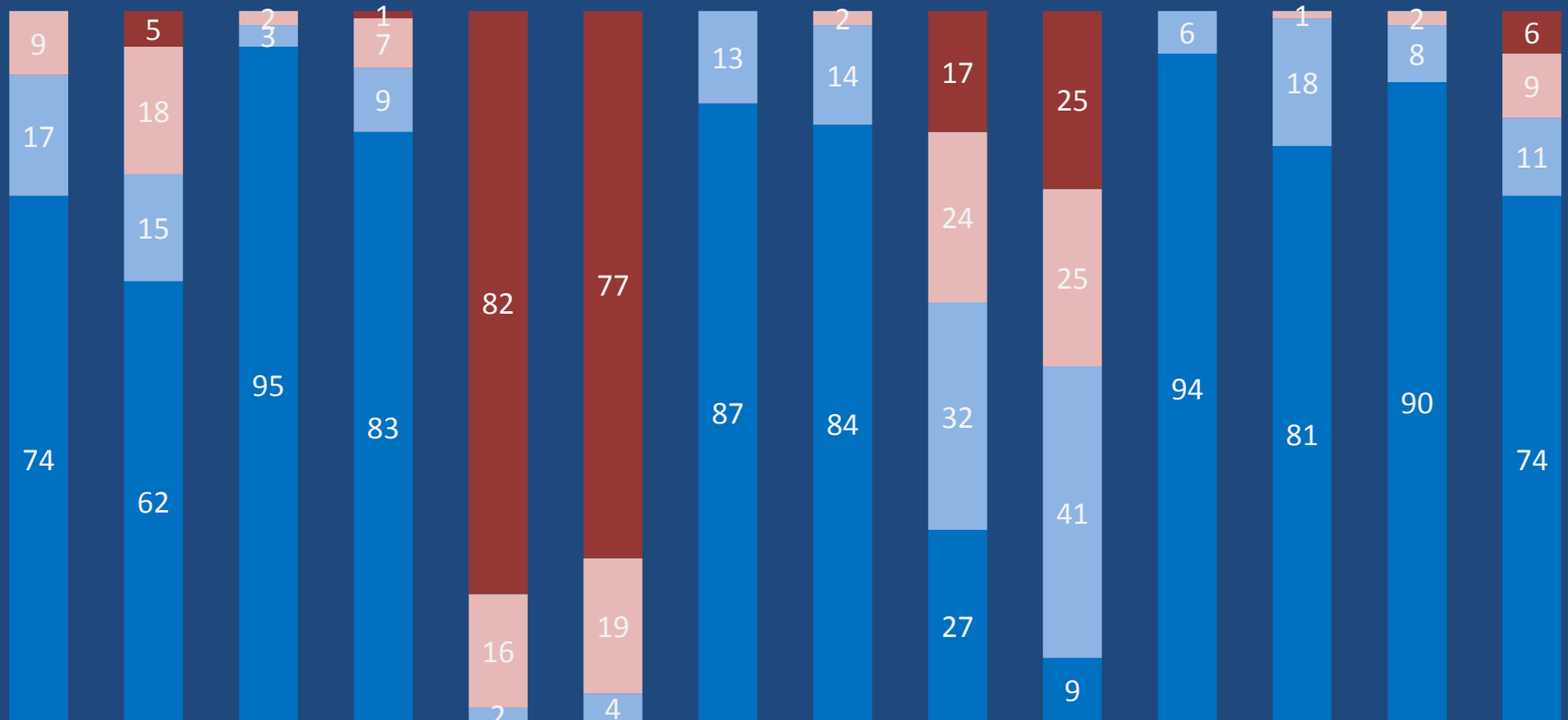


Assigning Blame for the Conflict

Assigning Blame for Maidan Violence

Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree the following deserve blame for violence during the Maidan protests in Kiev?

■ Strongly Agree
 ■ Somewhat Agree
 ■ Somewhat Disagree
 ■ Strongly Disagree

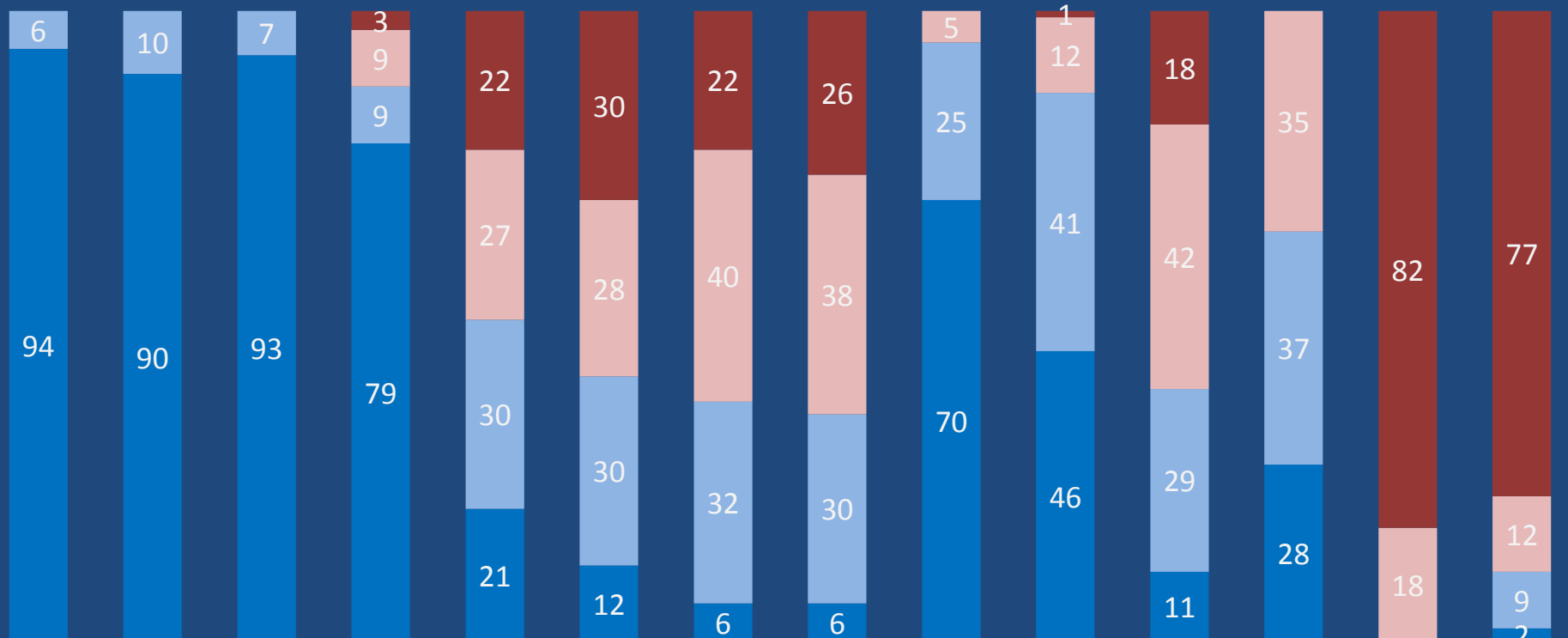


Fighter Civilian	Fighter Civilian	Fighter Civilian	Fighter Civilian	Fighter Civilian	Fighter Civilian	Fighter Civilian
Berkut	Viktor Yanukovich	protesters themselves	Russian special operations	Opposition leaders	Putin	The Party of Regions

Assigning Blame for the Annexation of Crimea

Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree that the following deserve blame for Russia's annexation of Crimea?

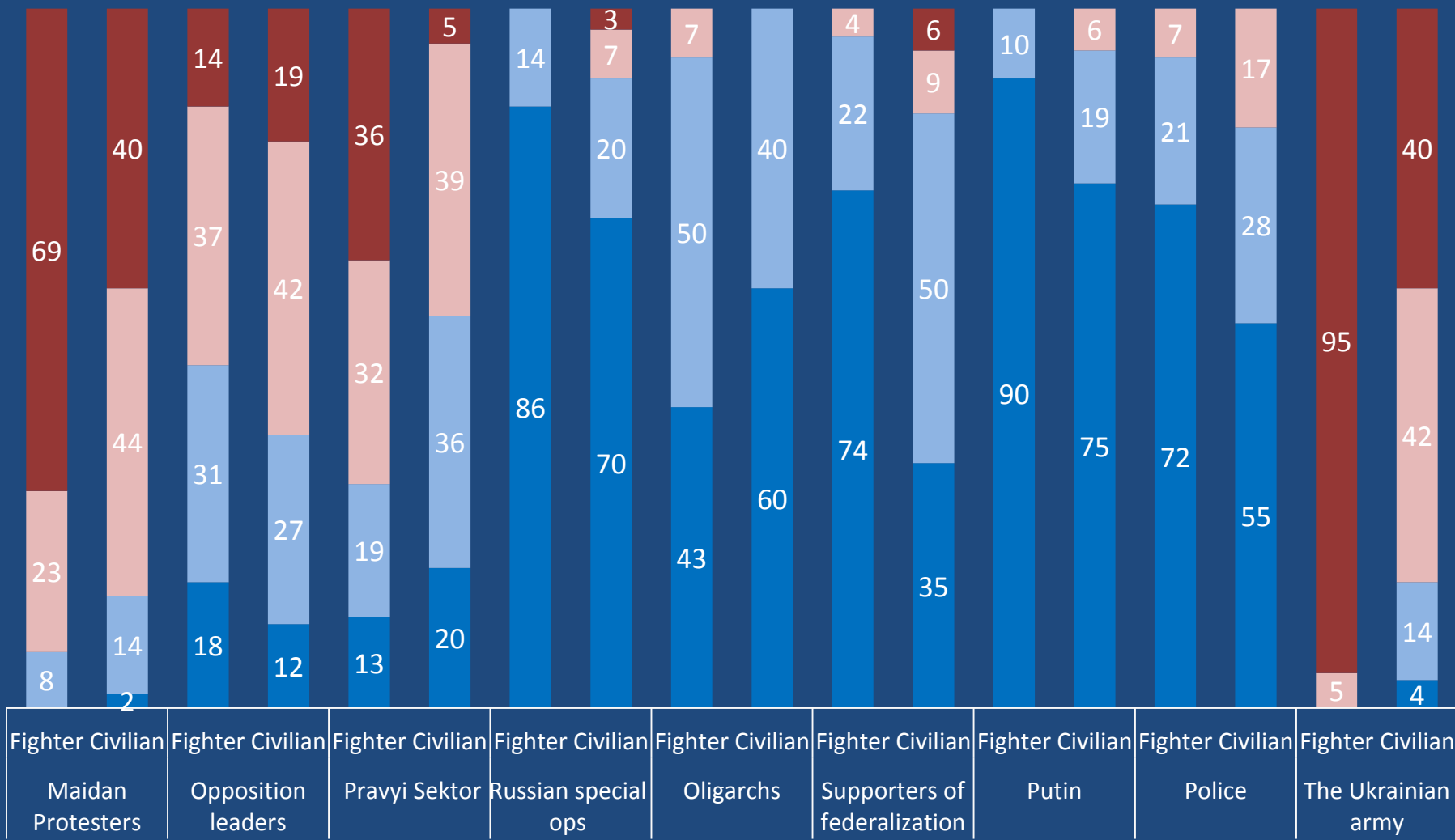
Strongly Agree Somewhat Agree Somewhat Disagree Strongly Disagree



Assigning Blame for Unrest in Eastern Ukraine

Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree that the following deserve blame for the recent unrest in Eastern Ukraine?

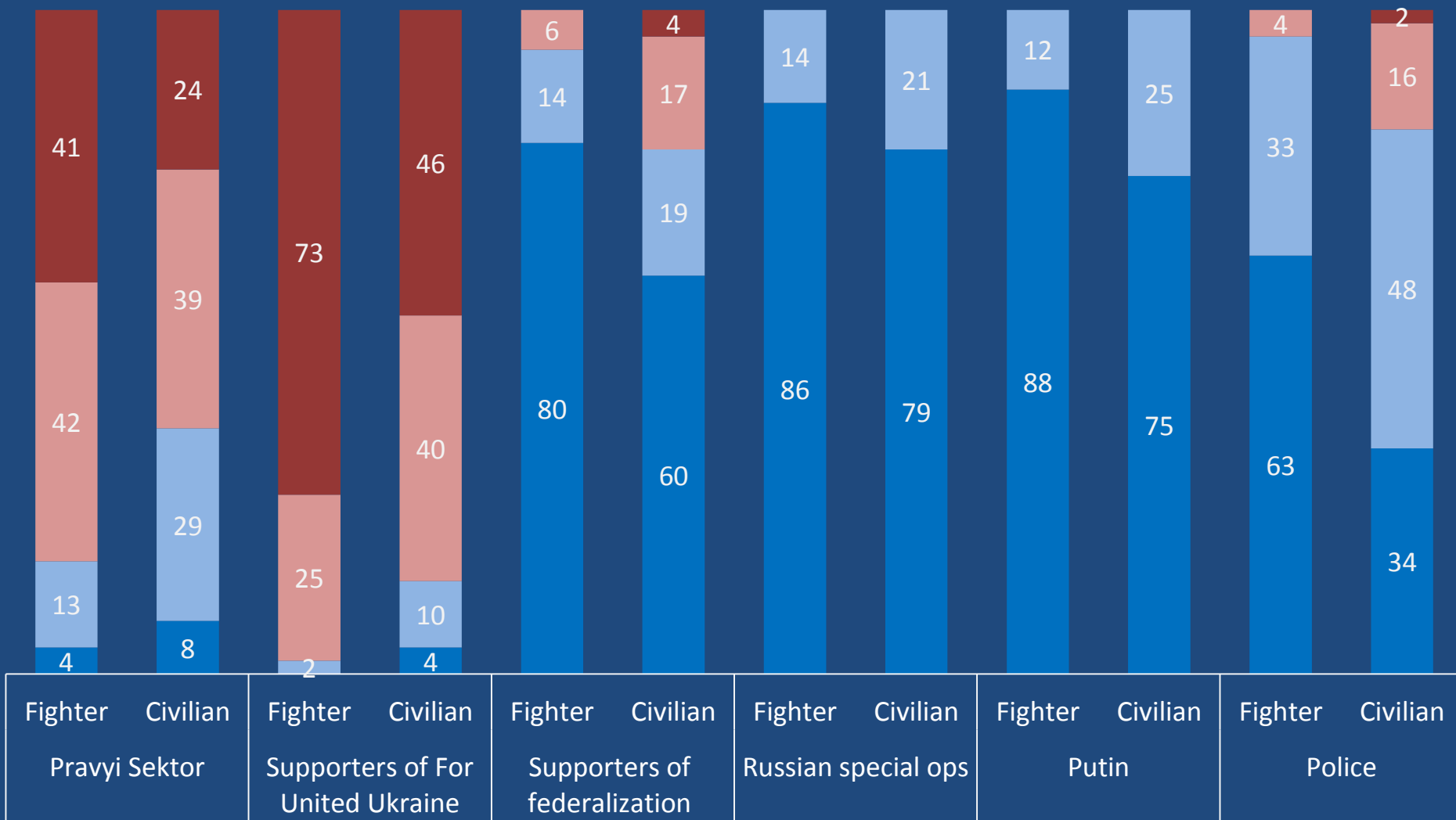
Strongly Agree Somewhat Agree Somewhat Disagree Strongly Disagree



Assigning Blame for Unrest in Odessa

Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree that the following deserve blame for the recent violence in Odessa?

Strongly Agree Somewhat Agree Somewhat Disagree Strongly Disagree

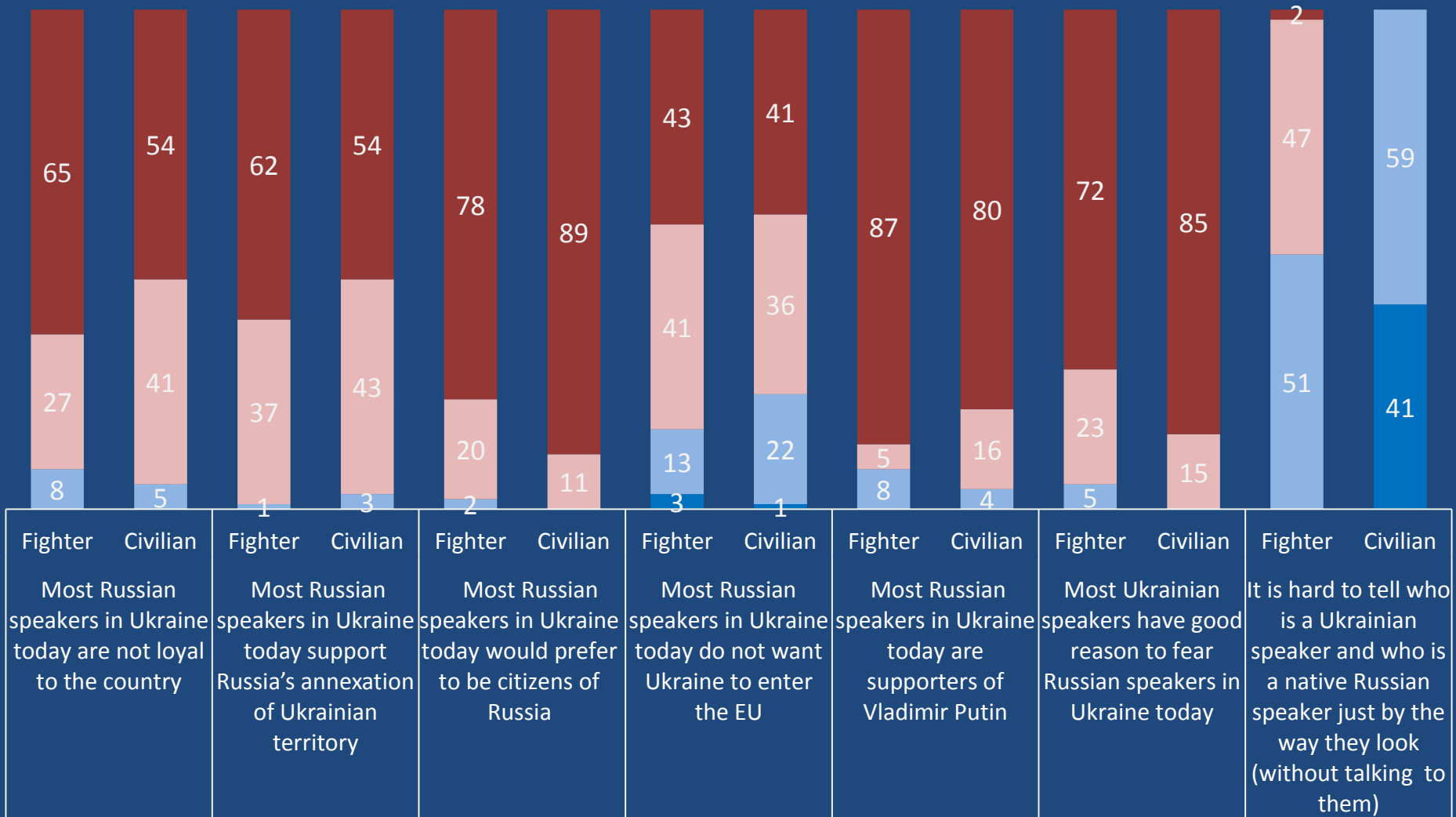


Social Capital

Perceptions of Ukrainian Russian Speakers' Goals and Motivations

Q: To what extent do you agree with the following

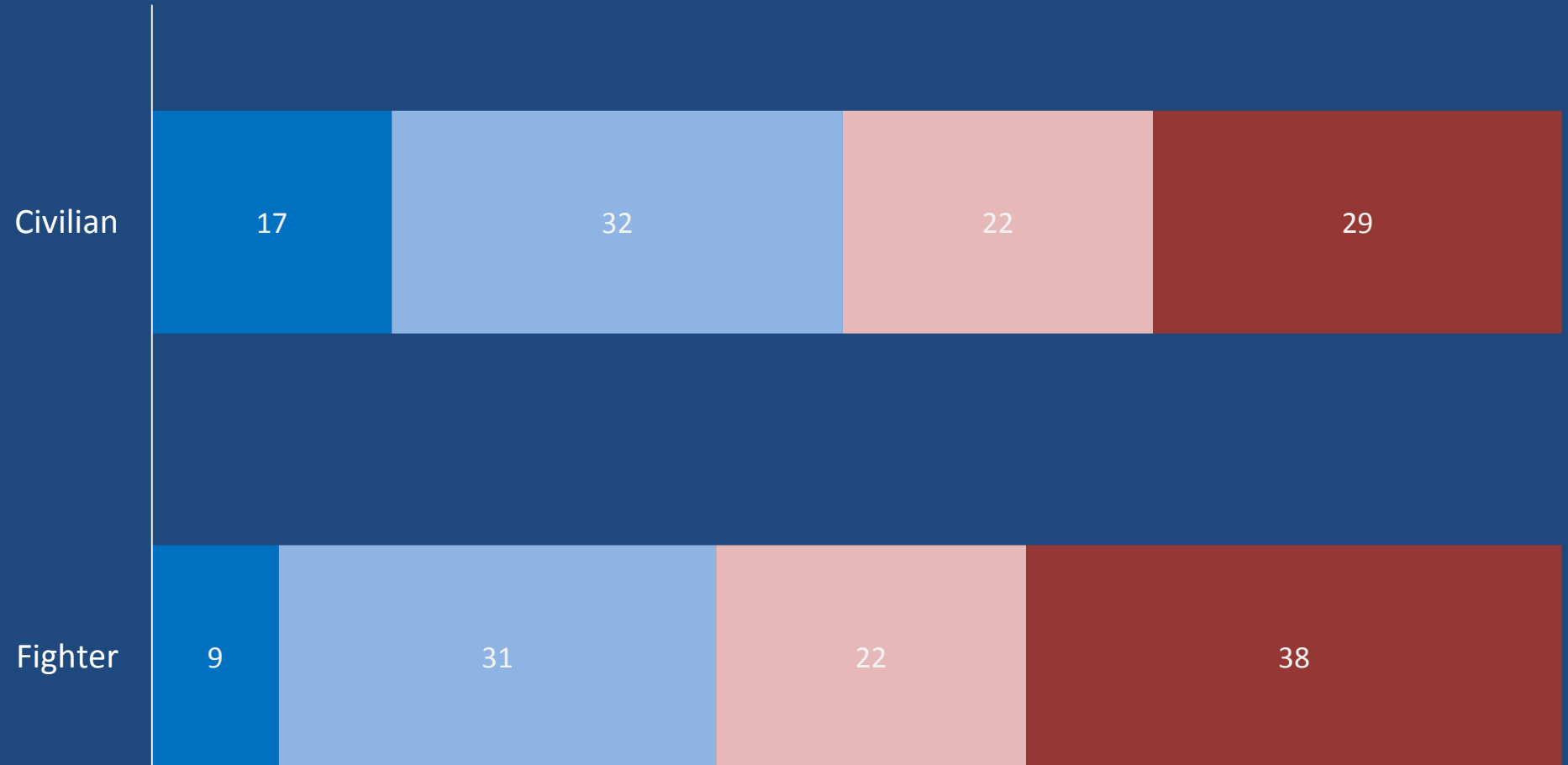
■ Strongly Agree
 ■ Somewhat Agree
 ■ Somewhat Disagree
 ■ Strongly Disagree



Interpersonal Trust

Q: Generally speaking, would you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree that most people can be trusted?

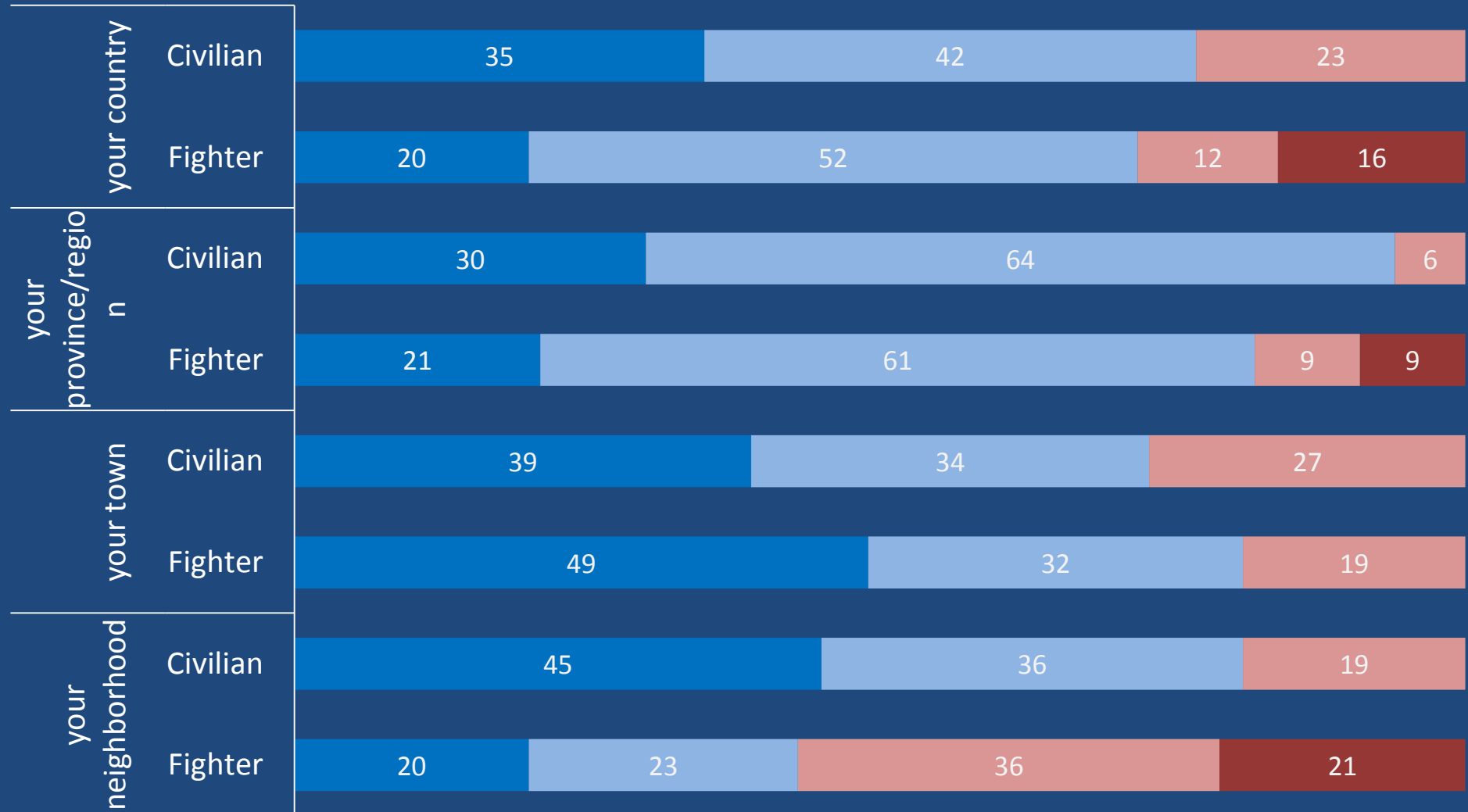
Strongly agree Somewhat agree Somewhat disagree Strongly disagree



Social Distance Outside Provincial Communities

Q: In general, how close do you feel to other people in the following locations – very close, somewhat close, not very close, not close at all?

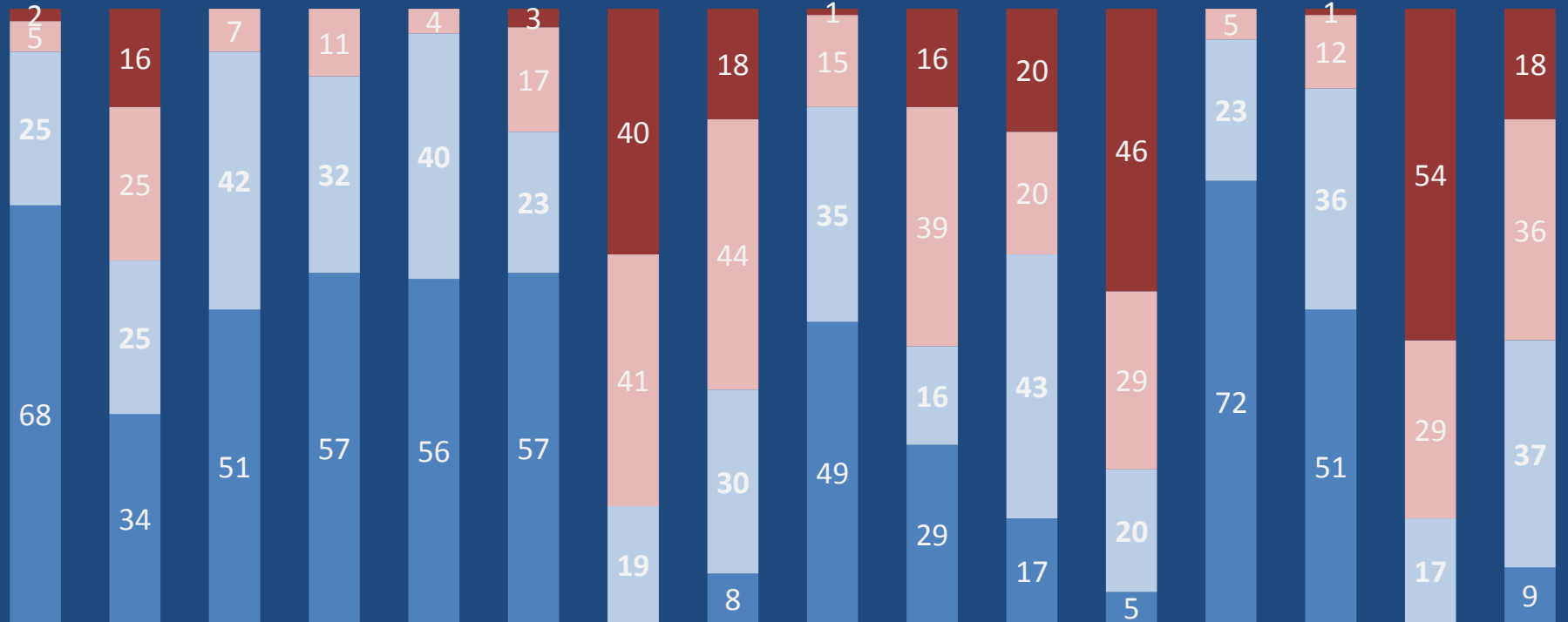
Very close Somewhat close Not very close Not close at all



Social Distance to Others in Ukraine

Q: how close do you feel to the following— very close, somewhat close, not very close, not close at all?

■ Very close
 ■ Somewhat close
 ■ Not very close
 ■ Not close at all



Fighter Civilian

Fighter Civilian

Fighter Civilian

Fighter Civilian

Fighter Civilian

Fighter Civilian

Fighter Civilian

Fighter Civilian

Maidan supporters in Ukraine

Ukrainian Speakers in Ukraine

Russian Speakers in Ukraine

Russians from Russia

People in your self-defense unit

People in Pravyi Sektor

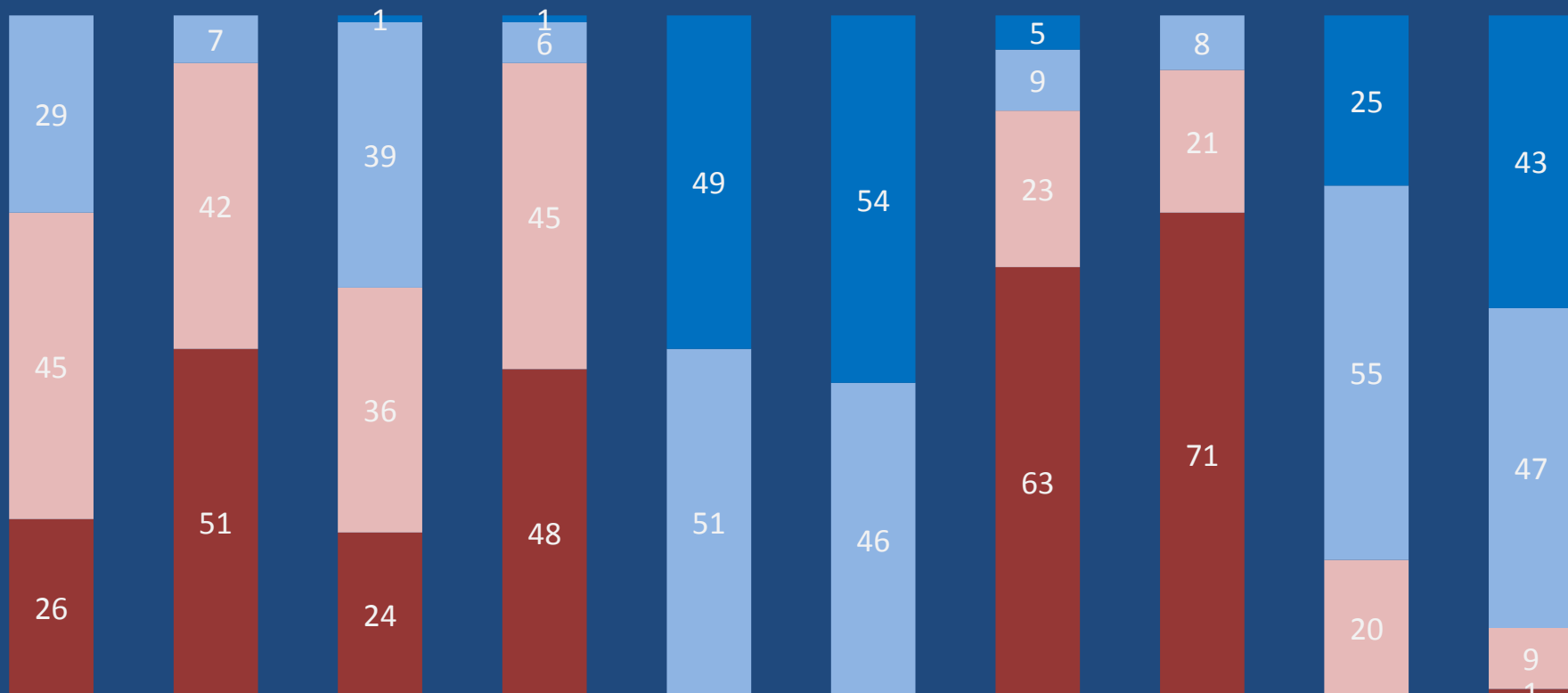
People in the Ukrainian army

People in areas of Ukraine under Russia's de facto control

Prospects for Reconciliation

Q: Given the way things are now, to what extent do you think Ukrainians on different sides of this conflict will be able to do the following – definitely not, probably not, probably yes, definitely yes?

■ Definitely Not
 ■ Probably Not
 ■ Probably Yes
 ■ Definitely Yes



Fighter Civilian
Support the same political leaders

Fighter Civilian
Support the same political party

Fighter Civilian
Respect each other's religion

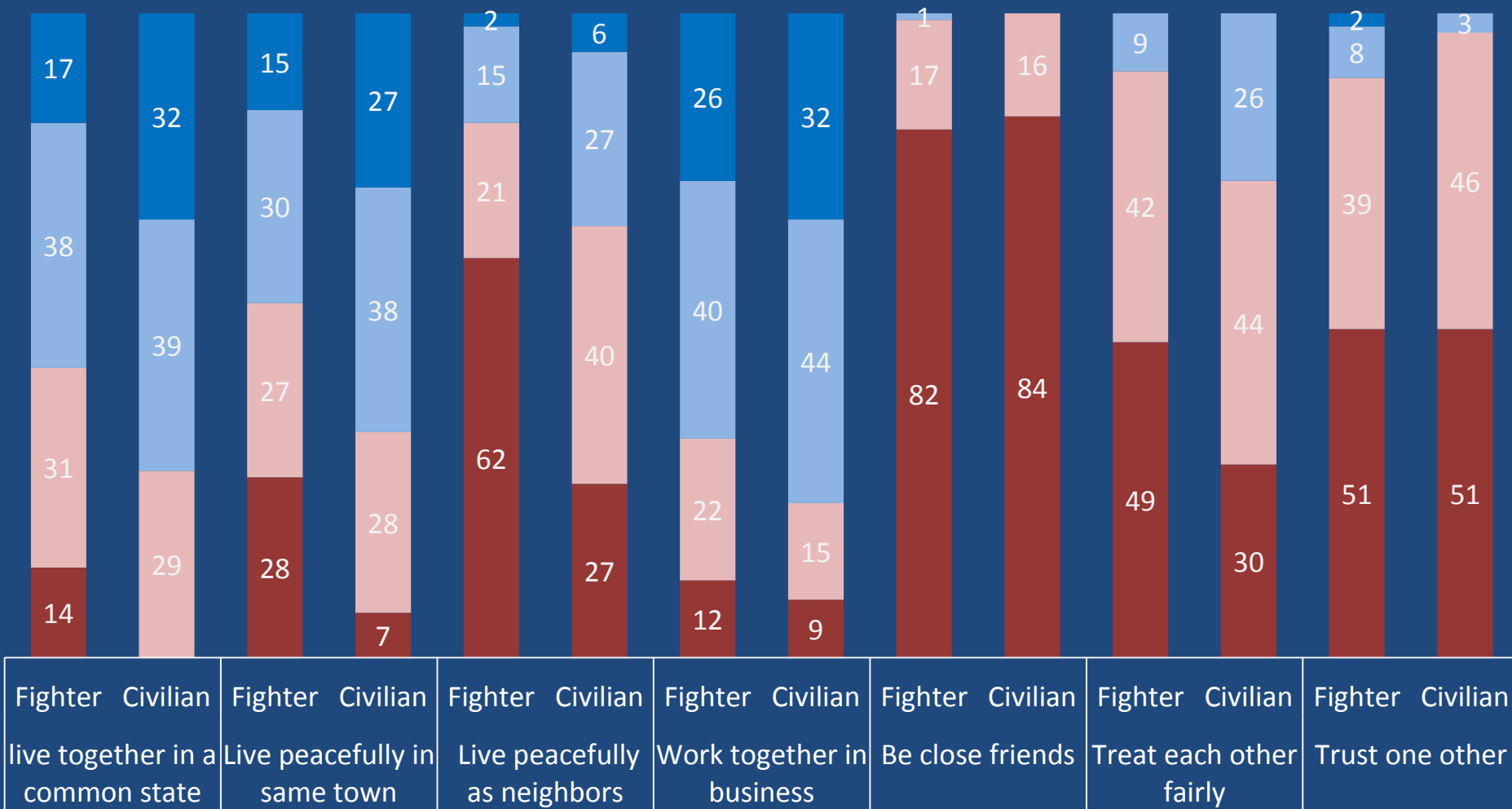
Fighter Civilian
Forgive the wrongs of the past

Fighter Civilian
Avoid another war in the future

Prospects for Reconciliation, Cont.

Q: Given the way things are now, to what extent do you think Ukrainians on different sides of this conflict will be able to do the following – definitely not, probably not, probably yes, definitely yes?

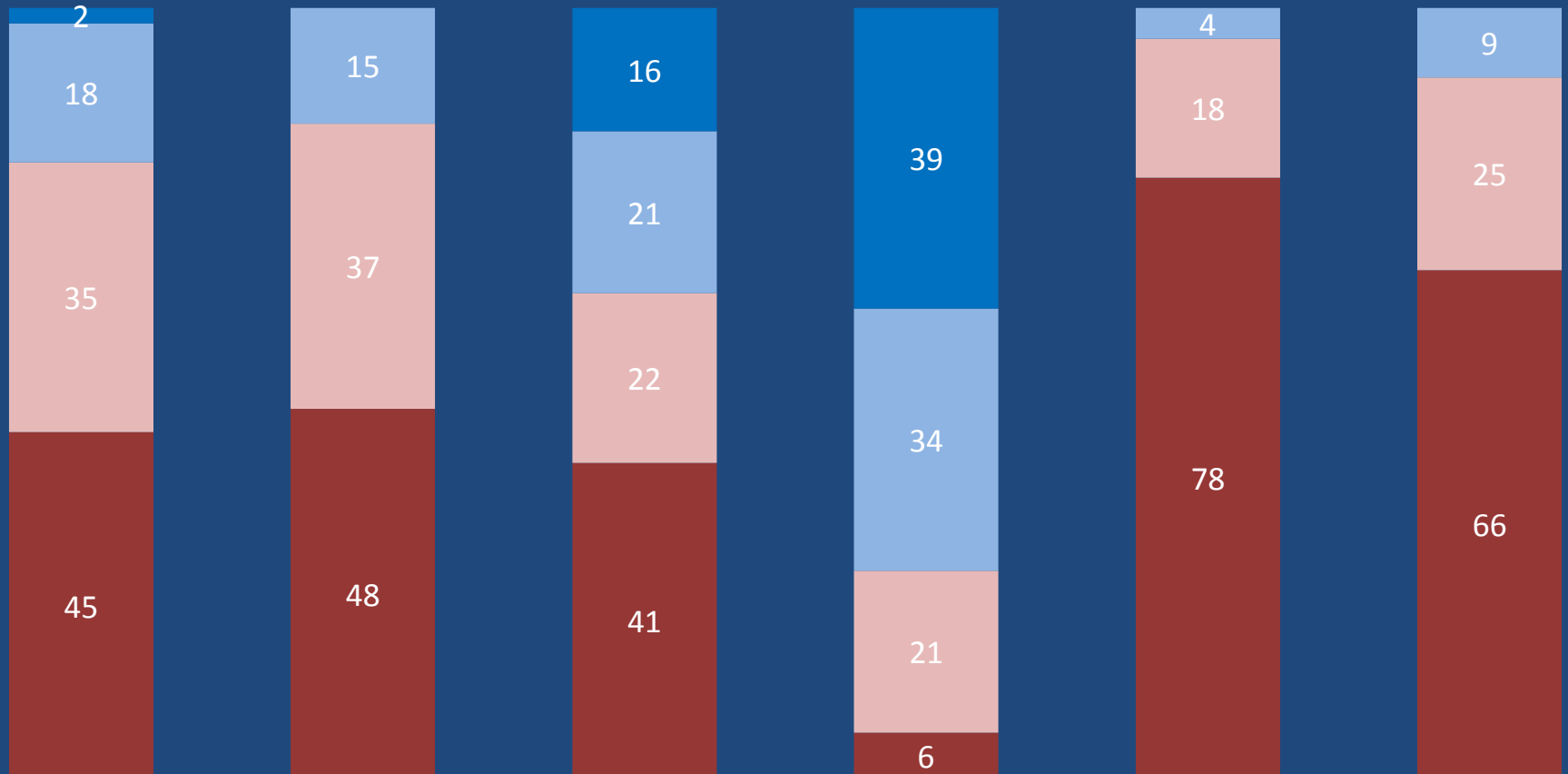
Definitely Not Probably Not Probably Yes Definitely Yes



Prospects for Reconciliation with Pro-Russia Supporters

Q: What about those Russian speakers in Ukraine who are supporting Putin?
Do you think it will be possible to do the following again?

Definitely Not Probably Not Probably Yes Definitely Yes



Fighter

Civilian

Fighter

Civilian

Fighter

Civilian

Trust Putin Supporters

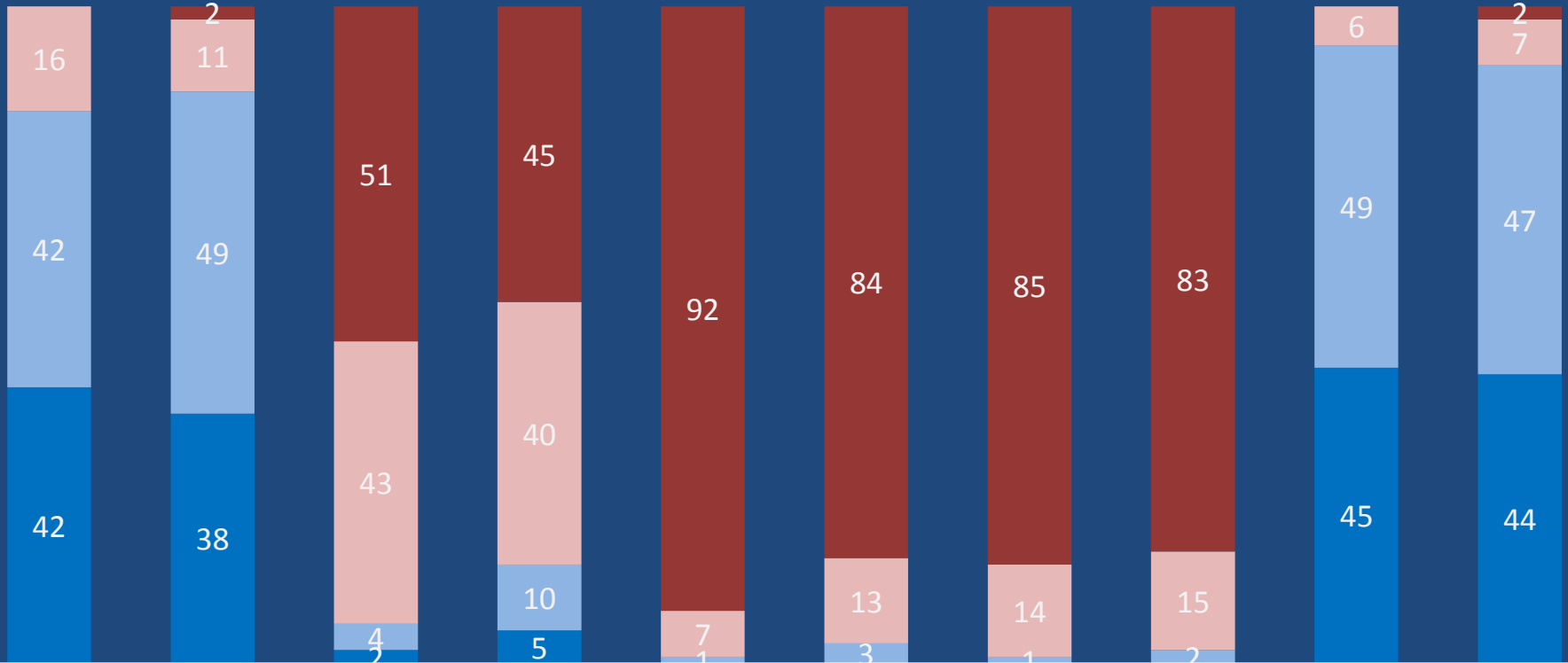
Live in a common State with Putin Supporters

Forgive the wrongs of the Putin supporters

Causes and Consequences of Violence

Q: To what extent would you agree with the following.

■ Strongly Agree
 ■ Somewhat Agree
 ■ Somewhat Disagree
 ■ Strongly Disagree



Fighter	Civilian	Fighter	Civilian	Fighter	Civilian	Fighter	Civilian	Fighter	Civilian
Relations between Russian speakers and Ukrainian speakers were good here before the Maidan protests began		There are real tensions here today Between Russian speakers and Ukrainian speakers		I no longer trust Russian speakers here In my community		I feel threatened by Russian speakers here In my community		My community would be better off without Russian speakers living here	