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TRANSFORMATION OF  
UKRAINIAN SOCIETY (2022–23)

Empirical Evidence

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# 1. Introduction

## Information about KIIS

We are finishing this book in January 2024 (and are writing the introduction after having finished all the other chapters). This is the 23rd month of Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine. Despite the hypocritical statements about the brotherhood of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, which were an important element of the discourse of the Soviet regime and post-Soviet Russian authorities, Russia's claims and manifestations of aggression against Ukraine have continued since the declaration of independence in 1991 (in the form of trade and economic warfare, political pressure, interference in internal affairs, such as elections, artificially creating pockets of instability in certain regions, etc.) However, it was only in 2014 that the war took the form of direct military intervention. Russia invaded Crimea and then eastern Ukraine, where the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk "people's republics" were created under the guise of "popular" protests and Russia actually occupied these territories, as well as Crimea. But at the time, Russia did not have the intention or resources to invade Ukraine as a whole. The full-scale invasion took place on February 24, 2022, with Russia launching what it called a "special military operation" with missile strikes on Ukraine, and troops entering through several directions, including Crimea and Belarus, and attempting to capture Kyiv. In this book, for the sake of simplicity, we will refer to the full-scale Russian invasion that began on February 24, 2022, as the war (although the actual beginning of the war is Russia's invasion of Crimea in 2014).

The authors of the book are sociologists, heads of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, so the impact of the war on Ukrainian society is considered from a sociological point of view. Compared to other approaches (e.g., the historical approach, which focuses on past events and the study of documents; or the economic approach, which focuses on resources and market relations), sociology focuses on people's views and values, on their behavior. We do not consider the theoretical aspects of social transformations and

refer the reader to the works of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, especially to the works of Yevhen Golovakha and his classification of social transformations<sup>1</sup>. Social transformation is a change in various spheres of society, primarily in people's minds. We rely on data from numerous sociological studies (mostly quantitative) to assess changes in the readiness to resist the enemy, geopolitical orientations of the population, attitudes towards the state and its social institutions, identity issues, etc. The sociological surveys we use cover the period from 1991 to December 2023 inclusive, but the main thing we are interested in is what changes have occurred since the beginning of the war in February 2022. KIIS conducts about a hundred different surveys every year (including its own surveys), which cover issues from various spheres of public life. This allows for a comprehensive assessment of the transformations that Ukrainian society is undergoing. In this book, we will mainly use data from our own surveys (and in some cases, where appropriate, data from surveys conducted by our partners and other sociological centers).

It should be noted that the history of KIIS creation and development is closely related to the history of sociological research in Ukraine. We can distinguish two periods of development of sociological surveys in Ukraine:

**1969–1990:** the period of creation and formation of sociology in Ukraine, dominance of surveys at enterprises and local surveys (within one city) by questionnaires

**1991–present:** a period of extensive growth, dominance of nationally representative surveys by interview, development of qualitative methods and integration into the world sociology.

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1 Ye. I. Holovakha, *Transformatsiia suspilstva: Dosvid sotsiolohichnoho monitorynhu v Ukraini* (Kyiv: Fond 'Demokratychni initsiatyvy,' 1997); Ye. I. Holovakha, 'Ukrainske suspilstvo: shliakhy transformatsii.' *Ukrainskyi sotsiolohichnyi zhurnal*, nos. 1-2 (2016); *Sotsialna transformatsiia: kontseptualizatsiia, trendy, ukrainskyi dosvid*, ed. V. V. Tancher and V. P. Stepanenko (Kyiv: Instytut sotsiologii NAN Ukrainy, 2004).

**The first period (1969–1990).** is characterized by the creation of sociological laboratories at universities, sociological groups at some enterprises and research institutes. Formally in 1968, but in reality in 1969, the first scientific sociological department began to work at the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences under the leadership of V. Chornovolenko (the Department of Specific Social Research). During this period, the methodological works of Western, Polish, Russian, and later Ukrainian sociologists developed, as well as sociological classics by E. Noel, J. Szczepanski, E. Durkheim, V. Yadov, V. Zdravomyslov, H. Saganenko, B. Grushin, V. Shlyapentokh, Y. Levada, V. Maksymenko, V. Paniotto, V. Khmelko, M. Churilov, and others, who in turn were largely based on the study of Western works. The so-called “hozdogovirni” groups, commercial groups (and analogues of current survey companies), that conducted research at enterprises were widespread. For example, a commercial group of the Department of Specific Social Research of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences conducted research at the portioning machine factory, the Radar (formerly Kommunist) factory, the Southwestern Railway, the Lviv TV factory, etc.<sup>2</sup> This allowed us to gain our own experience. The overwhelming majority of sociological studies were conducted at enterprises and universities, with only a few being representative of Kyiv and perhaps a few other cities with a population of over a million. In terms of content and depth of analysis, theoretical and practical sociological research was often as good as the achievements of sociology in the West (and some theoretical approaches, such as V. Khmelko's on the macro-sociological dynamics of societies, were even ahead of the corresponding “discoveries” in the West), but the geography and thematic focus were, unfortunately, severely limited by the Soviet government.

**The second stage (1991–present).** The formation of international standards of sociological surveys in Ukraine began only after the

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2 V. P. Stepanenko and K. V. Bataieva, eds., *Istoriia ukrainskoi sotsiologii XIX–XXI* (Kyiv: Instytut sotsiologii NAN Ukrainy, 2023).

declaration of independence in 1991<sup>3</sup>. However, this was not so much due to Ukraine's independence as to the processes of democratization and the development of a market economy. The transition from imitation elections in the Soviet Union to real elections caused, as it did in the United States, the need for forecasting election results and electoral research. In addition, with the development of the market economy, which also falls within this period, surveys related to marketing research emerged. Democratization and the expansion of international relations, as well as the opportunity for foreign businesses to enter the Ukrainian market, also contributed to the interest in conducting sociological research<sup>4</sup>. Thus, there was a demand for sociological research, a research market emerged, and the first private research companies opened (Kyiv International Institute of Sociology in 1992 and Socis in 1993). With the development of a competitive political system and market, the number of companies grew and now there are more than a hundred of them. Although the quality and integrity of research by a large number of these companies, especially in socio-political surveys, is questionable, a limited number of companies do their job properly<sup>5</sup>.

Socis was created on the basis of the Ukrainian branch of the All-Union Public Opinion Research Center (VTsIOM), which was created in 1988. This branch began to conduct social and marketing research, but it was not representative of Ukraine as a whole and was conducted in several localities as part of an all-Union sample. KIIS was founded on the initiative of Valerii Khmelko on the basis of the research center of the Sociological Association of Ukraine in 1990, in June 1990. Khmelko became the director of this center (RNPSC – Republican Scientific and Practical Sociological Center).

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3 V. Paniotto, 'Rozvytok metodiv sotsiolohichnykh doslidzhen v Instytuti filosofii Akademii nauk URSR (1918-2018),' in *Akademichna sotsiologhiia v Ukraini*, vol. 2 (Kyiv: Instytut sotsiologhii NAN Ukrainy, 2019), pp. 45–54.

4 O. Kutsenko and S. Babenko, 'Suchasna ukrainska sotsiologhiia: syła instytuttsii, dyskursu, dii,' in *Istoriia ukrainskoi sotsiologhii XIX–XXI*, ed. V. P. Stepanenko and K. V. Bataieva (Kyiv: Instytut sotsiologhii NAN Ukrainy, 2023), pp. 530–559.

5 In Ukraine, to combat dishonest research, a database called *Ratings Sellers: Database of pseudo-sociologists and hidden PR specialists*. However, the information in the database is not exhaustive, so the problem has become less acute in recent years, but still remains.

In 1992, it was transformed into a private American-Ukrainian joint venture called the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS), whose first founders and co-owners were V. Khmelko (1939-2021), V. Paniotto, and American sociologist and political scientist Michael Swafford (1947-2001). Thanks to the cooperation with American sociologists and thanks to Western orders, KIIS conducted the first researches that were representative of Ukraine and contributed to the establishment of standards of sociological research in Ukraine. In 1992, at the invitation of the newly restored Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (founded in 1615, but in the nineteenth century transformed by the tsarist authorities into a theological seminary, which was later liquidated by the Soviet authorities), V. Khmelko and V. Paniotto became professors at this university and founded the Department of Sociology, V. Khmelko became the head of the department, and V. Paniotto became the director of KIIS. KIIS was given premises in the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and has been cooperating with Mohyla for over 30 years.

The requirements of Western clients revealed the shortcomings of the methodological equipment of Ukrainian sociologists:

- Lack of experience in conducting face-to-face interviews; almost all studies were conducted by questionnaires in the presence of an interviewer, not interviews;
- Lack of survey networks consisting of trained interviewers;
- Lack of standard methods for constructing representative samples;
- Lack of experience in using qualitative methods (primarily focus groups)

Cooperation with Western sociologists and, above all, customers, helped to quickly overcome these shortcomings and set standards for conducting researches that were not inferior to those of the rest of the world. Customers and partners brought the necessary literature and conducted trainings. For KIIS, for example, the key project was a joint international project with the president (at that time) of

the American Sociological Association Melvin Kohn<sup>6</sup>, the planning of which began in 1989, as well as during V. Paniotto's two month trip to the United States in 1990. The subsequent work of V. Khmelko and V. Paniotto in the United States during a semester and other numerous visits contributed to the development of new methods (e.g., Lizrel analysis). The second important stimulus to the establishment of KIIS as a real research organization was the proposal from the Radio Liberty Research Institute to create with its help an all-Ukrainian survey network that would work by personal interviews and provide data representative of the Ukrainian population. By October 1991, with the help of experienced American sociologists, Michael Haney, Slavko Martyniuk, and Michael Swafford, we had trained interviewers with the necessary qualifications to work in all regions of Ukraine. The first training for interviewers in Ukraine was conducted by Michael Haney from the Radio Liberty Research Center in 1991. The training covered four groups of 12 people, 48 interviewers in total. Slavko Martyniuk, also from the Radio Liberty Research Center, conducted the first focus groups and trained KIIS staff.

It should be noted that these trainings had consequences for the work not only KIIS, but of other companies. For example, one of the participants of these trainings, S. Stukalo, went to work for SOCIS, created a survey network there and prepared a textbook for interviewers (at KIIS, a similar textbook was prepared by D. Krakovych and A. Serdiuk). The separation of USM (later GFK) from SOCIS contributed to the dissemination of interviewing standards. Similarly, V. Paniotto's graduate student who had been trained in conducting focus groups (V. Kurakina) joined SOCIS and contributed to the development of this area in SOCIS. This became the basis for the further development of public opinion polling in

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6 Melvin Lester Kohn (1928-2021) is a well-known American sociologist, author of classic works on the influence of social structure on personality, president of the American Sociological Association (1986-1988), and professor at Johns Hopkins University. The results of the long-term project are presented in the book: *Sotsialni struktury i osobystist: doslidzhennia Melvina L. Kona i yoho spivpratsivnykiv* (Kyiv: Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Publishing House, 2007).

Ukraine, including the emergence of branches of international organizations such as TNS and GFK, which further contributed to the improvement of national standards in this area.

In the following years (1993-1995), the sample was improved. Michael Swafford received a grant from the National Council for Soviet and East European Research, together with prominent statisticians Leslie Kish and Steven Heeringa, and with our participation and the head of Demoscope, M. Kosolapov, the KIIS sample and recommendations for sampling in post-Soviet countries were developed<sup>7</sup>.

There were many interesting and dramatic things in the history of KIIS creation and development, but unfortunately, we did not write a book or even an article telling this story<sup>8</sup>. Instead, our customers and colleagues write about some of the pages of KIIS creation<sup>9</sup>.

The first text below is an excerpt from Melvin Kohn's report presented to the annual convention of the American Sociological Association in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on August 24, 1992, on the occasion of Melvin Kohn's being awarded the Cooley-Mead Prize. Kohn's work was a large comparative study that lasted a decade on the impact of social structure on personality. The research was conducted in the United States, Poland, Ukraine, Japan, and China, but this piece is only about the planning of the research in Poland and Ukraine. This research was to be conducted in parallel using the same questionnaire.

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- 7 M. Swafford, M. Kosolapov, L. Kish, and S. Heeringa, *Sample Design for Republics of the Former Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: National Council for Soviet and East European Research, 1995).
  - 8 Only a video film "KMIS: Istoriia stvorennia" was made. Part 1. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xb3G50Xe\\_to&t=225s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xb3G50Xe_to&t=225s); Part 2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cRo2ss0h7lM> Accessed 10.10.2024
  - 9 *Sotsialni struktury i osobystist*; Melvin L. Kohn, *The Development of a Theory of Social Structure and Personality* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2019); Jaroslaw Martyniuk, *Monte Rosa: Memoir of an Accidental Spy* (Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation, 2017); R. Eugene Parta, *Under the Radar: Tracking Western Radio Listeners in the Soviet Union* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2022).

1. Melvin Kohn, Professor at Johns Hopkins University, President of the American Sociological Association: Conducting social research in the context of radical social change<sup>10</sup>

If there is a rational basis for this article, other than to make myself forgiven for recounting some of my favorite life episodes, it is this: one can learn a lot about social and psychological phenomena by considering the problems that arise when trying to study these phenomena [...].

When I came to Kyiv in June 1990, my goal was to see if it was possible to make Ukrainian studies really real. From there I was going to go to Warsaw and see if there were any prospects for a new Polish study. Officially, I was in Kyiv as a representative of IREX to establish ties with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. This official role provided me with a room in a fairly comfortable Communist Party hotel with a guaranteed source of food, which was not easy to obtain in Ukraine even then. My role as an IREX representative also gave me access to Academy of Sciences officials, which allowed me to experience for myself how the Academy operated under the leadership of individuals whose academic and party roles were difficult to distinguish [...].

Meanwhile, Ukrainian sociologists created an independent sociological organization, the Sociological Association of Ukraine. Khmelko was elected its first vice president, and Paniotto was elected vice president for international relations. The Association established a research center to be funded by contracts with government organizations and foreign clients. Khmelko was appointed its director, so he got a job, albeit without any guarantees of earnings or permanent employment. Paniotto remained at the Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine for the time being, but also worked closely with Khmelko in developing the Center [...].

For our research — if it takes place — this change has several important implications. Any research we did would no longer be part of a larger study of the party institution. Therefore, we no longer had to squeeze our questions into a prefabricated questionnaire, and I did not have to worry about how party sponsorship might influence people's responses to our questions. However, this also meant that we no longer had a guaranteed source of funding for fieldwork. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, Khmelko and Paniotto now had to build a survey network from the ground up. This is a huge job, but it is also an opportunity to create something that hardly existed in the Soviet Union — a research center that can conduct surveys through personal, face-to-face interviews. The prospect is extremely exciting and at the same time somewhat terrifying [...].

...Initially, the Ukrainian study was supposed to be supported by the party institute, but Khmelko left this institute. In any case, this party and its institute ceased to exist. Then it was supposed to be supported by the Union Academy of Sciences. But Yadov's assurance of full financial support turned into symbolic support when Paniotto moved from the Ukrainian Academy

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10 *Sotsialni struktury i osobystist.*



of Sciences to Kyiv University, and the possibility of funding research by transferring funds from the Soviet Academy to the Ukrainian Academy disappeared. Later, when the Soviet Academy was transformed into the Russian Academy, even symbolic support became impossible. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences showed no interest in supporting my colleagues. All sources from which we hoped to receive financial support for fieldwork dried up.

However, Khmelko and Paniotto would not be themselves if they were not resourceful. They turned a research center they created into a successful polling organization. The center was a business whose first office was in the corner of Paniotto's bedroom and the second in the corner of Khmelko's living room. Its equipment consisted of a computer bought by Paniotto with money from IREX that he did not need for living expenses when he lived with my wife and me. Despite the lack of material resources, Khmelko and Paniotto conducted surveys for local authorities in Ukraine, for the Radio Liberty Research Institute, for other Western news organizations, and for the United States Information Agency. The field work in Ukraine will be funded to a very large extent by the profits Paniotto and Khmelko have made from conducting surveys for clients. They now also have financial support in the form of a grant from a newly created institution, elegantly named the Commission for Scientific and Technological Progress of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.<sup>11</sup> However, Khmelko and Paniotto are saving this grant to support a planned and potentially invaluable follow-up survey in a year's time. The client's surveys provided not only the financial resources for our research, but also invaluable experience in conducting surveys. In addition, by a remarkably lucky coincidence, they provided interviewer training by a highly qualified specialist in the person of Michael Haney from the research staff of Radio Liberty [...].

We also needed office space in both Warsaw and Kyiv, cozy places to hold meetings, plan, and work. In Warsaw, before we received grants, we used to meet in the apartment of a staff member or in noisy cafes. The Ukrainian colleagues still work in this way (August 1992), except that in Kyiv it is much harder to find even a noisy cafe; we spent a lot of time trying to find a place to meet. The Polish group finally found a room, which was paid for from the overhead of their research grant. Soon the Ukrainian colleagues were to get an office as well. Finally, they found satisfactory office space for their research center at the Department of Sociology at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, where they were both appointed professors. This Academy is a medieval university that was closed in 1817 by the Russian Czar and later turned by the Communist regime into a higher school to train political workers for the Soviet Navy, and now it is again what I like to think of as a new medieval university. Amidst the institutional disarray, some things are going quite well [...].

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11 There is some inaccuracy in the author's notes here. The institution that gave the grant to support the Ukrainian research at that time (until April 1992) had a slightly different name: the Committee on Scientific and Technical Progress under the Cabinet of Ministers

We have also seen the beginning of the process of transformation of existing research institutions. A prime example is the Polish Academy of Sciences, which is making a concerted effort to reorganize itself to meet new and difficult challenges. Perhaps the most radical innovation we have seen is the revival of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Ukraine. Rebuilt on a model never before seen in the former Soviet Union, this university combines teaching and research. Moreover, it has no ties to the previous regime.

2. From the book by Gene Parta, director of Soviet Area Audience Research at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL)<sup>12</sup>

Irene McKeegan from IVM Joint National Consultant was waiting for me in the hotel lobby [...]. She contacted two well-known Ukrainian sociologists on my behalf, Prof. Valerii Khmelko and Prof. Volodymyr Paniotto, who headed the Research Institute of the Ukrainian Sociological Association. Iryna met Paniotto in 1989, when he spent two months in Colombia. They were supposed to meet us for dinner that evening. Paniotto turned out to be the spitting image of Lenin. It was hard for me to hide my surprise when Irina introduced us. Despite being in the United States, his English was still shaky, so we spoke in Russian. Given that the hotel restaurant was in party mode, with an orchestra playing, couples dancing, and people at the next table treating us to sweet champagne, the introduction session was not easy. Still, I had a good first impression of both men and was confident that we could establish a strong working relationship [...]. The next day at their office, we got down to business. We decided to conduct a pilot survey with a sample of 1000 respondents. We planned to use the three methods that had been tested in Moscow, as well as try two others: direct mail and handing the questionnaire to the respondent in person to return by mail. The latter was the most common Soviet method. The results of the test would suggest which methods would work best for the larger study. This meeting was the beginning of a long and fruitful cooperation.

Volodia Paniotto and I became good friends and met regularly at ESOMAR<sup>13</sup> conferences over the next twenty years. He and Khmelko founded their own organization, the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS), which became popular in November 2004. The KIIS exit polls showed that the second round of elections, which showed Yanukovich's victory over Yushchenko, was riddled with fraud. It was the spark that ignited the Orange Revolution. The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology has been widely cited in the

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12 R. Eugene Parta, *Under the Radar: Tracking Western Radio Listeners in the Soviet Union* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2022).

13 ESOMAR stands for the European Society for Opinion and Marketing Research. It is an international organization that brings together professionals in market research, social research, and data analytics, providing standards and ethical guidelines for the industry.

Western press for its excellent reports on Ukrainian public opinion since the Russian invasion of February 24, 2022.

Our research almost fell victim to a brutal attack when Soviet television broadcast the attack on Radio Liberty in March 1991. The main TV channel aired a movie called “Strangers’ Voices” (“Vrazhdebnye golosa”), created by the KGB, and clearly labeled as such. The film was a direct attack on Radio Liberty and was mainly based on the statements of traitor Oleg Tumanov. SAAOR<sup>14</sup> was singled out for attack. Photos of me and Charlie Allen were shown, and our activities were condemned as an intelligence operation. The SAAOR questionnaire was analyzed on the screen and it was emphasized that while it may look like an innocent document, it was actually designed to gather intelligence.

The film was shown across the country on a Sunday evening, the best time to reach the maximum audience. I was in Warsaw when it was broadcast, and Michael Haney was in Kyiv, preparing to conduct a training for interviewers. His luggage included a fax machine, which the institute considered its “window to the world.” But when the directors of the institute, Paniotto and Khmelko, saw “Strangers’ Voices”, they were deeply shocked. If the KGB is attacking us on television, is it wise to continue research? Paniotto’s mother, who had lived through the Stalinist era, was particularly nervous [...].

The group that gathered for the Monday morning training session consisted mostly of graduate students from the university. Before the meeting, Paniotto and Khmelko told Michael that they intended to cancel the project. But when the three of them walked into the meeting room, the students stood up and burst into applause. They had seen the movie, and they insisted that the research should continue. They said that if the KGB had attacked SAAOR, the research must be important, and they wanted to be a part of it. Paniotto and Khmelko had to give in<sup>15</sup>. Michael held a study session and further study was scheduled. There were no consequences. The episode made it clear that the atmosphere of fear that had long pervaded the Soviet Union still lingered among the elderly, but the younger, educated generation that had grown up during perestroika was no longer in its thrall.

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14 SAAOR—Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research department, a department of the Radio Liberty Research Institute, which commissioned our research.

15 “Forced” ... We discussed it for a long time the day before and decided to continue, but to warn future interviewers about the risks, so that only those who are willing to take risks with us would stay. (V. P.)

3. From the book by Slavko Martyniuk, researcher at Radio Liberty SAAOR<sup>16</sup>

We launched a nationwide survey in Ukraine in October 1991, and by the end of the month we had preliminary data<sup>17</sup>. The results were shocking. They showed that 88 percent of the 32 million Ukrainian citizens who would vote said they would say yes to independence in a referendum. Many well-informed people at Radio Liberty found these findings unbelievable and I was tasked with investigating what could have gone wrong with this poll. After all, it was the first poll of its kind in Ukraine. Personally, I was confident that the results were quite accurate. I traveled to Ukraine to personally supervise and observe the fieldwork to make sure that the interviewers were properly trained and followed the selection and procedures developed by the Sociological Association of Ukraine. I found no errors in selecting or conducting the survey. The only thing left to do was to wait and see what the referendum results would show.

On December 5, the results of the referendum were announced and, to the surprise of everyone at Radio Liberty, 90.3 percent of Ukrainians voted for independence. Still, some thought it might be a fluke. So the next step for me was to look at the results by geographic region (oblast) and demographic category. What I found was that, with the exception of Crimea and some regions in eastern Ukraine, our poll results closely matched the referendum results. Crimea was a strange case because it was the only region with a majority Russian population, but even there 54 percent voted for independence. The Center of the Sociological Association of Ukraine showed that they were competent sociologists and it was the beginning of a fruitful and grateful twenty-year relationship. Time passed and they proved to be reliable and trustworthy again and again. The following year they moved to the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy under the name of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology.

The center created by Khmelko and Paniotto has been operating since 1990, and since 1992 it has been called the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS). During this time, KIIS has conducted several thousand studies (before the war, it was conducting about 150 projects a year) and had several thousand clients. Among the clients are international organizations (United Nations, World Bank, USAID, DFID, ETF, IFES, IFC, TACIS, WHO and others), universities (e.g., Cambridge University (UK), The Duke University

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16 Jaroslaw Martyniuk, *Monte Rosa: Memoir of an Accidental Spy* (Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation, 2017).

17 Radio Liberty commissioned us to do this survey, Michael Haney and Slavko Martyniuk trained interviewers from our center (which we named KIIS the following year) and supervised the survey.

(USA), The Indiana University (USA), The Johns Hopkins University (USA), London School of Economics and Political Studies (UK), The McGill University (Canada), Stony Brook University (USA) and others), ministries (Ministry of Education and Science, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Policy, etc.), media (BBC, Deutsche Welle, VOA, Radio Liberty, Inter TV Channel, ICTV, newspaper *Dzerkalo Tyzhnya*, etc.), commercial companies (Coca-Cola, Foyil Financial, KENSU, Kraft Foods, Kyivstar, McDonald's, Motorola, Nestle, Procter & Gamble, Raiffeisen Bank Aval, Safege, Sanofi-Aventis, Svitoch, System Capital Management and others), political parties (almost all major political parties have commissioned our research), embassies, foundations, NGOs, etc.

KIIS also founded (together with the Center for Social Indicators) and supports the National Data Bank “Kyiv Archive” and regularly submits its research to it, readers who are interested in them or other surveys can get the data set for analysis<sup>18</sup>. KIIS (Kyiv Archive) also submits its data to CESSDA (the Consortium of European Social Science Data Archives) and the Discuss Data project<sup>19</sup>.

In addition to its own research, we also use the Monitoring of Social Changes in Ukrainian Society, an annual public opinion poll conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv). This project, launched in 1992 by Natalia Panina and Yevgen Golovakha, received the State Prize of Ukraine in Science and Technology in 2014. The last two waves of this monitoring were conducted by KIIS. In addition, we used data from the Razumkov Center, the Sociological Group “Rating” and the Info Sapience Center, and some other centers.

We do not provide an overview of what you will learn from the book here, but we have made a fairly detailed table of contents that gives you an idea of what aspects of social life are described in the book and how they changed during the war.

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18 Data Bank. 2024. [survey-archive.com](https://survey-archive.com). Accessed August 16.

19 Discuss Data. 2024. <https://discuss-data.net>. Accessed August 16.