RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR PERCEPTIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

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CAB SURVEY

- Since 2017 across ALL Central Asia
- Twice a year: Fall and Spring
- 12 Waves + ongoing Wave 13
- Sample sizes of 1500 - 2000
- TAPI and CATI methods
- 70% Core & 30% New Questions
WHAT DO WE ASK?

1. Overall attention to the war
2. Who is responsible, and is the SMO justified?
3. The consequences for respondent's country?
4. How the war will end?
Overall attention to the war

QUESTION

• How much attention are you paying to the situation in Ukraine?
Kyrgyzstan: How much attention are you paying to the situation in Ukraine?

- Wave 11:
  - A great deal of attention: 41%
  - Some attention: 34%
  - Not too much attention: 13%
  - None at all: 12%

- Wave 12:
  - A great deal of attention: 40%
  - Some attention: 36%
  - Not too much attention: 10%
  - None at all: 14%
Kazakhstan: How much attention are you paying to the situation in Ukraine?

- A great deal of attention
- Some attention
- Not too much attention
- None at all

Wave 11:
- 32% A great deal of attention
- 39% Some attention
- 12% Not too much attention
- 16% None at all

Wave 12:
- 26% A great deal of attention
- 43% Some attention
- 10% Not too much attention
- 17% None at all
Uzbekistan Spring 2022: How much attention are you paying to the situation in Ukraine?

- A great deal of attention: 23%
- Some attention: 25%
- Not too much attention: 17%
- None at all: 32%
Spring 2022: How concerned, if at all, are you about the current state of international relations?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Very concerned</th>
<th>Somewhat concerned</th>
<th>Not too concerned</th>
<th>Not at all concerned</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmenistan</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fall 2022: How concerned, if at all, are you about the current state of international relations?

- Very concerned
- Somewhat concerned
- Not too concerned
- Not at all concerned
- Don't Know

Tajikistan:
- Very concerned: 26%
- Somewhat concerned: 27%
- Not too concerned: 5%
- Not at all concerned: 22%
- Don't Know: 19%

Turkmenistan:
- Very concerned: 28%
- Somewhat concerned: 28%
- Not too concerned: 8%
- Not at all concerned: 29%
- Don't Know: 6%

Get the data • Created with Datawrapper
Spring 2022: How concerned, if at all, are you about... Conflict in other countries?

- Very concerned
- Somewhat concerned
- Not too concerned
- Not at all concerned
- Don't Know

**Tajikistan**
- Very concerned: 54%
- Somewhat concerned: 21%
- Not too concerned: 15%
- Not at all concerned: 7%
- Don't Know: 3%

**Turkmenistan**
- Very concerned: 31%
- Somewhat concerned: 23%
- Not too concerned: 7%
- Not at all concerned: 31%
- Don't Know: 6%
Fall 2022: How concerned, if at all, are you about conflict in other countries?

- Very concerned
- Somewhat concerned
- Not too concerned
- Not at all concerned
- Don't Know

**Tajikistan**
- Very concerned: 45%
- Somewhat concerned: 26%
- Not too concerned: 16%
- Not at all concerned: 9%
- Don't Know: 4%

**Turkmenistan**
- Very concerned: 26%
- Somewhat concerned: 24%
- Not too concerned: 8%
- Not at all concerned: 36%
- Don't Know: 4%
Spring 2022: Uzbekistan: How concerned, if at all, are you about... Conflict in other countries?

- Very concerned: 38%
- Somewhat concerned: 41%
- Not too concerned: 5%
- Not at all concerned: 14%
- Don't Know: 2%
Fall 2022 Uzbekistan: How concerned, if at all, are you about.. The current state of international relations?

- Very concerned
- Somewhat concerned
- Not too concerned
- Not at all concerned
- Don't Know

Bar chart showing the percentage of respondents in Uzbekistan. 39% are somewhat concerned, 28% are very concerned, 17% are not too concerned, 9% are not at all concerned, and 6% are don't know.
Who is responsible, and is the SMO justified

QUESTIONS:

- In your view, who is mainly responsible for the situation in Ukraine?
- To what extent do you think Russia's special military operation in Ukraine is justified or unjustified?
Now I am going to name some countries for each one, can you please let me know if you watch news and/or entertainment from that country? Russia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wave 11: In your view, who is mainly responsible for the situation in Ukraine?

- 36% Ukraine
- 14% Russia
- 7% Mixed
- 12% USA
- 2% NATO
- 1% EU
- 29% Don't know
Wave 12: In your view, who is mainly responsible for the situation in Ukraine?

- 30% Ukraine
- 19% Russia
- 9% Russia and Ukraine
- 9% United States
- 2% NATO
- 1% European Union
- 26% Don't know
Wave 11: In your view, who is mainly responsible for the situation in Ukraine?

- 19% Ukraine
- 28% Russia
- 10% Joint (Ukraine and Russia)
- 10% United States
- 2% NATO
- 1% EU
- 27% Don't know
Wave 12: In your view, who is mainly responsible for the situation in Ukraine?

- 23% Ukraine
- 27% Russia
- 3% Joint Ukraine-Russia
- 29% Don't know
- 8% USA
- 1% NATO
- 1% EU
Spring 2022: To what extent do you think Russia's special military operation in Ukraine is justified or unjustified?

- Completely justified
- Somewhat justified
- Somewhat unjustified
- Completely unjustified
- Refused
- Don't Know

**Kyrgyzstan**
- Completely justified: 13%
- Somewhat justified: 21%
- Somewhat unjustified: 23%
- Completely unjustified: 2%
- Refused: 2%
- Don't Know: 28%

**Kazakhstan**
- Completely justified: 14%
- Somewhat justified: 16%
- Somewhat unjustified: 16%
- Completely unjustified: 2%
- Refused: 2%
- Don't Know: 28%

**Uzbekistan**
- Completely justified: 23%
- Somewhat justified: 24%
- Somewhat unjustified: 7%
- Completely unjustified: 9%
- Refused: 2%
- Don't Know: 35%
Fall 2022: To what extent do you think Russia's special military operation in Ukraine is justified or unjustified?

- Completely justified
- Somewhat justified
- Somewhat unjustified
- Completely unjustified
- Refused
- Don't Know

**Kyrgyzstan**
- Completely justified: 24%
- Somewhat justified: 19%
- Somewhat unjustified: 15%
- Completely unjustified: 1%
- Refused: 9%
- Don't Know: 11%

**Kazakhstan**
- Completely justified: 28%
- Somewhat justified: 16%
- Somewhat unjustified: 15%
- Completely unjustified: 5%
- Refused: 9%
- Don't Know: 27%
KAZ/KRG: In your opinion, what negative consequences for our country may arise from the situation in Ukraine? First Mention

QUESTION

• Do you think the situation in Ukraine will have a positive impact on our country, a negative impact, or no impact at all?

• KAZ/KRG: In your opinion, what negative consequences for our country may arise from the situation in Ukraine? First Mention
Kyrgyzstan: Do you think the situation in Ukraine will have a positive impact on our country, a negative impact, or no impact at all?

- May 2022:
  - Very positive impact: 36%
  - Somewhat positive impact: 34%
  - Somewhat negative impact: 15%
  - Very negative impact: 6%
  - No impact at all: 3%
  - Don't Know: 5%

- November 2022:
  - Very positive impact: 43%
  - Somewhat positive impact: 31%
  - Somewhat negative impact: 18%
  - Very negative impact: 2%
  - No impact at all: 3%
  - Don't Know: 3%
Uzbekistan: Do you think the situation in Ukraine will have a positive impact on our country, a negative impact, or no impact at all?

- Very positive impact: 5%
- Somewhat positive impact: 8%
- Somewhat negative impact: 28%
- Very negative impact: 14%
- No impact at all: 28%
- Don't Know: 16%
Kazakhstan: Do you think the situation in Ukraine will have a positive impact on our country, a negative impact, or no impact at all?

- Very positive impact
- Somewhat positive impact
- Somewhat negative impact
- Very negative impact
- No impact at all
- Don't Know

May 2022:
- Very positive impact: 3%
- Somewhat positive impact: 7%
- Somewhat negative impact: 23%
- Very negative impact: 10%
- No impact at all: 20%
- Don't Know: 2%

November 2022:
- Very positive impact: 5%
- Somewhat positive impact: 7%
- Somewhat negative impact: 14%
- Very negative impact: 12%
- No impact at all: 27%
- Don't Know: 12%
Kyrgyzstan: In your opinion, what negative consequences for our country may arise from the situation in Ukraine? First Mention

- Increase prices for basic necessities (food, clothing, gas) - 22%
- Increased prices for other items - 7%
- Other negative impact on the economy - 29%
- War might come to our country / our country might go to war - 9%
- Bad for our migrant workers abroad - 7%
Kazakhstan: In your opinion, what negative consequences for our country may arise from the situation in Ukraine? First Mention

- Increase prices for basic necessities (food, clothing, gas): 17%
- Increased prices for other items: 7%
- Other negative impact on the economy: 23%
- War might come to our country / our country might go to war: 11%
- Growing tensions in international relations / business: 9%
Perceptions of the migration to Russia after the war
What would you say is the most attractive country for labor migration for our country's labor migrants? - Russia

Tajikistan: 90% (Fall 2021), 70% (Fall 2022)
Kyrgyzstan: 65% (Fall 2021), 50% (Fall 2022)
Uzbekistan: 40% (Fall 2021), 15% (Fall 2022)
Turkmenistan: 20% (Fall 2021)
Kazakhstan: 15% (Fall 2021), 8% (Fall 2022)
Kyrgyzstan: How do you think the conflict in Ukraine will end?

- Diplomatic negotiations will reach a mutually beneficial peace: 44% (Spring 2022), 57% (Fall 2022)
- Ukraine will be forced to accept Russian terms: 36% (Spring 2022), 23% (Fall 2022)
- Russia will be forced to retreat: 5% (Spring 2022), 6% (Fall 2022)
- Don't know: 12% (Spring 2022), 13% (Fall 2022)
Kazakhstan: How do you think the conflict in Ukraine will end?

- Blue: Diplomatic negotiations will reach a mutually beneficial peace
- Orange: Ukraine will be forced to accept Russian terms
- Red: Russia will be forced to retreat
- Gray: Don't know

Spring 2022:
- Diplomatic negotiations: 42%
- Ukraine will be forced: 27%
- Russia will be forced: 13%
- Don't know: 14%

Fall 2022:
- Diplomatic negotiations: 55%
- Ukraine will be forced: 14%
- Russia will be forced: 13%
- Don't know: 16%
Researchers need to consider the self-censorship bias in an authoritarian context, especially with politically sensitive questions as the questions on Ukraine are

"15% in Uzbekistan, 40% in Kazakhstan, 25% in Kyrgyzstan felt uncomfortable when surveyed"