

Schoen Cooperman Research
 Ukrainian Security Study
 February 2022

Screening Questions

1) Do you prefer to take the following survey in Ukrainian or Russian?

Ukrainian	62%
Russian	38%

2) What is your age?

Under 18 [TERMINATE]	--
18-29	16%
30-39	21%
40-49	22%
50-64	32%
65 and older	9%

3) Do you or any of your family members work in financial services, telecommunications, advertising or public relations, news media, technology, marketing or market research, politics or political campaigns or government?

Financial services	7%
Telecommunications	3%
Advertising or public relations [END]	--
News media [END]	--
Technology	4%
Marketing or market research [END]	--
Politics or political campaigns [END]	--
Government [END]	--
You or any of your family members do not work in these fields	87%

4) In which oblast do you live? **[CODE BY REGION]**

Center	%
West	%
South	%
East	%

5) **[IF KHERSON]** Do you live in the Autonomous Region of Crimea?

Yes [END]	--
No	100%

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6) **[IF DONETSK]** Do you live in the Donetsk People's Republic?

Yes [END]	--
No	100%

7) **[IF LUHANSK]** Do you live in the Luhansk People's Republic?

Yes [END]	--
No	100%

Perceptions of the NATO and Ukraine's Position

INTRO: Thank you for participating in this survey. We will begin by asking you a few general questions about the political, social, and economic situation in Ukraine today.

The first set of questions will be about the European Union and NATO.

The European Union (EU) is a political and economic union of 27 member states that are located in Europe. The EU aims to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital within the internal single market of its member states.

NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) is a military alliance of 30 countries in Europe and North America. NATO members are committed to a system of collective security, whereby its member agree to defend each other in response to an attack on any one member.

We will also ask questions about the West, meaning EU countries, UK, US, and Canada.

EU MEMBERSHIP

8) Do you favor or oppose Ukraine becoming a member of the European Union?

TOTAL FAVOR	75%
TOTAL OPPOSE	14%
Strongly favor	48%
Somewhat favor	27%
Somewhat oppose	7%
Strongly oppose	7%
Not sure	9%
Prefer not to answer	2%

9) How likely do you believe it is that Ukraine becomes a member of the EU at some point in the future?

TOTAL LIKELY	70%
TOTAL NOT LIKELY	26%
Very likely	33%
Somewhat likely	37%
Not very likely	19%
Not likely at all, Ukraine will never become an EU member	7%
Not sure	4%

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NATO MEMBERSHIP

10) Do you favor or oppose Ukraine becoming a member of NATO?

TOTAL FAVOR	64%
TOTAL OPPOSE	34%
Strongly favor	44%
Somewhat favor	20%
Somewhat oppose	9%
Strongly oppose	13%
Not sure	12%
Prefer not to answer	2%

11) [IF FAVOR] Why do you favor Ukraine becoming a member of NATO? [RANK UP TO 3]

<u>REASON</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1ST CHOICE</u>	<u>2ND CHOICE</u>	<u>3RD CHOICE</u>
It would make Ukraine more secure	67%	49%	12%	6%
It would allow for peace instead of war by securing Ukraine	42%	9%	18%	15%
It would protect Ukraine from Russia	41%	19%	18%	4%
Ukraine needs NATO for our security	24%	5%	4%	15%
It would be good for Ukraine's future	22%	4%	6%	12%
It would benefit Ukraine economically	18%	4%	9%	5%
It would align Ukraine with the West rather than Russia	17%	2%	8%	7%
It would help improve Ukraine's military	16%	2%	7%	7%
It would reduce Russia's influence over Ukraine	15%	1%	6%	8%
It would help reduce corruption in Ukraine	14%	2%	5%	7%
It would show that Ukraine is a modern Western nation	13%	2%	4%	7%
Ukraine and NATO member states share the same values	10%	1%	2%	7%
Other [Specify]	1%	--	1%	--
Not sure	--	--	--	--

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12)[IF OPPOSE] Why do you oppose Ukraine becoming a member of NATO?
[RANK UP TO 3]

<u>REASON</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1ST CHOICE</u>	<u>2ND CHOICE</u>	<u>3RD CHOICE</u>
Ukraine would lose its independence	38%	13%	13%	12%
Staying out of NATO would allow for peace instead of war by not provoking Russia	37%	12%	16%	9%
Ukraine would be pressured by other NATO members	35%	9%	12%	14%
It would hurt Ukraine's future	34%	5%	10%	19%
It would put Ukraine at greater risk of Russian aggression	32%	25%	3%	4%
Ukraine should be more aligned with Russia than the West	23%	9%	9%	5%
It would harm Ukraine's economic ties to Russia	22%	11%	8%	3%
Ukraine will be forced to spend more on our military under NATO policies	19%	3%	9%	7%
Ukraine and NATO member states do not share the same values	19%	3%	5%	11%
Ukraine does not need NATO for our security	16%	5%	5%	6%
Ukraine would lose our Slavic culture	15%	2%	6%	7%
Russia is stronger than many perceive them to be and will fight hard to control Ukraine	10%	3%	4%	3%
Other [Specify]	--	--	--	--
Not sure	--	--	--	--
Prefer not to answer	--	--	--	--

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13) How likely do you believe it is that Ukraine becomes a member of NATO at some point in the future?

TOTAL LIKELY	63%
TOTAL NOT LIKELY	29%
Very likely	30%
Somewhat likely	33%
Not very likely	23%
Not likely at all, Ukraine will never become a NATO member	6%
Not sure	8%

14) How likely do you believe it is that Ukraine becomes a member of NATO within the next five to ten years?

TOTAL LIKELY	53%
TOTAL NOT LIKELY	39%
Very likely	19%
Somewhat likely	34%
Not very likely	31%
Not likely at all, Ukraine will never become a NATO member	8%
Not sure	8%

15) What is more important to you: Ukrainian membership in NATO or Ukrainian membership in the EU?

Ukrainian membership in NATO	38%
Ukrainian membership in the EU	38%
Not sure	21%
Prefer not to answer	3%

16) Are you ready to consider alternatives for security guarantees while Ukraine is not yet a member of NATO?

TOTAL READY	66%
TOTAL NOT READY	17%
Definitely ready	29%
Possibly ready	37%
Not very ready	11%
Not ready at all	6%
Not sure	17%

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17) If NATO membership is not possible at this time, how interested are you in other ways to improve Ukrainian security?

TOTAL INTERESTED	84%
TOTAL NOT INTERESTED	7%
Very interested	53%
Somewhat interested	31%
Not very interested	5%
Not interested at all	2%
Not sure	9%

18) **[IF INTERESTED]** Which alternatives to NATO membership are you interested in Ukraine pursuing for its security? **[RANK UP TO 3]**

<u>REASON</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1ST CHOICE</u>	<u>2ND CHOICE</u>	<u>3RD CHOICE</u>
Strengthen the Ukrainian military to fight for our own territory	82%	61%	11%	10%
A security guarantee with the United States	48%	11%	26%	11%
A security guarantee from EU countries	40%	4%	15%	21%
Membership in the EU	36%	5%	14%	17%
A security guarantee but not membership with NATO	25%	4%	10%	11%
A peace treaty with Russia to give up claims to Crimea, Donetsk, and Luhansk	24%	4%	8%	12%
A security guarantee with Russia	23%	7%	10%	6%
A security guarantee from the CSTO	14%	3%	4%	7%
Membership in the CSTO	8%	1%	2%	5%
Other [Specify]	--	--	--	--
Not sure	--	--	--	--
Prefer not to answer	--	--	--	--

SECURITY GUARANTEES

At this time, there is an urgent discussion about Ukrainian security in Europe and around the world.

19) Do you consider yourself well-informed about the discussion about Ukrainian security?

TOTAL WELL INFORMED	61%
TOTAL NOT WELL INFORMED	37%
Very well informed	16%
Somewhat well informed	45%
Not very well informed	33%
Not informed at all	4%
Not sure	2%

20) From what you know, which of the following countries are not members of NATO? [select all that apply]

Switzerland	38%
Finland	36%
Sweden	26%
Croatia	15%
Denmark	14%
Not sure	40%

21) For each of the following statements about NATO, please indicate if you believe they are true or false.

<u>Statement</u>	<u>TRUE</u>	<u>FALSE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
NATO members have to defend each other with military force if one of them is attacked	78%	5%	17%
NATO has its own strong army	70%	12%	18%
While NATO members have to assist each other if one of them is attacked, this does not have to include sending military forces	63%	18%	19%
NATO promotes democratic values	47%	14%	39%

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<u>Statement</u>	<u>TRUE</u>	<u>FALSE</u>	<u>NOT SURE</u>
NATO has none of its own soldiers and for each of its goals, member states have to agree to send soldiers and equipment	43%	25%	32%
NATO promotes the market economy	25%	31%	44%
NATO protects members specifically against Russian aggression	21%	44%	35%
NATO recently adopted a policy to protect its member states from China	9%	33%	58%

22) Some countries are not in NATO but have individual security guarantees from the United States. From what you know, which of the following countries have security guarantees from the United States? [MULTIPLE CHOICES ALLOWED]

Israel	22%
South Korea	21%
Switzerland	18%
Japan	18%
Australia	12%
Sweden	11%
Iceland	6%
Scotland	5%
Not sure	58%

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23) Some have suggested that Ukraine should receive enforceable security guarantees from a number of countries or from organizations in order to secure its borders and avoid war.

Thinking about the situation that Ukraine faces today, do you think that there are actually security guarantees, from countries or from organizations, that can work and are reliable and can therefore really provide security?

TOTAL DEFINITELY/PROBABLY/POSSIBLY	70%
TOTAL NOT LIKELY/NOT AT ALL	21%
Definitely	21%
Probably	24%
Possibly	25%
Not likely	16%
Not at all	5%
Not sure	9%

24) [IF DEFINITELY/PROBABLY/POSSIBLY] Why do you think that the right form of security guarantees can really provide security? [RANK UP TO 3]

REASON	TOTAL	1 ST CHOICE	2 ND CHOICE	3 RD CHOICE
Almost no nation can defend itself alone, security needs alliances or security guarantees	71%	26%	18%	27%
International powers seek peace	55%	31%	10%	14%
Ukraine shares the same values as Western powers and organizations	53%	6%	25%	22%
I trust Western powers and organizations, like the US and NATO	51%	22%	18%	11%
There are successful examples in other countries	36%	11%	14%	11%
It will improve the economies for all countries involved	33%	3%	15%	15%
Other [Specify]	--	1%	--	--
Not sure	--	--	--	--
Prefer not to answer	--	--	--	--

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25)[IF NOT LIKELY/NOT AT ALL] Why do you think that no form of security guarantees can really work? [RANK UP TO 3]

<u>REASON</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1ST CHOICE</u>	<u>2ND CHOICE</u>	<u>3RD CHOICE</u>
Security guarantees and alliances are paper tigers, what counts is only the power of the own army.	86%	37%	20%	28%
Security guarantees have failed in other countries	69%	20%	28%	20%
I do not trust Western powers and organizations, like the US and NATO	60%	28%	17%	15%
Ukraine does not share the same values as Western powers and organizations	51%	7%	24%	20%
International powers want war	36%	8%	11%	17%
Other [Specify]	--	--	--	--
Not sure	--	--	--	--
Prefer not to answer	--	--	--	--

26)Would you like Ukraine to pursue security guarantees from international countries and organizations or not at this time?

I would like Ukraine to pursue security guarantees at this time	75%
I would not like Ukraine to pursue security guarantees at this time	8%
Not sure	17%

27)Can security guarantees be enforced, meaning a country that received guarantee can force the guarantor country to fulfill them or are security guarantees only on paper, and worthless in a case of real conflict?

Security guarantees can be enforced	36%
Security guarantees are worthless	29%
Not sure	35%

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28) Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about security guarantees.

<u>Positive/Neutral Statement</u>	<u>TOTAL AGREE</u>	<u>TOTAL DISAGREE</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Security guarantees can be enforced if the partner is trustworthy	66%	22%	12%
Security guarantees can be enforced because they are binding under international law	63%	22%	15%
Security guarantees can be enforced because if the guarantor power does not fulfill its commitments, it will be kicked out of the United Nations	61%	22%	17%
Security guarantees can be enforced because if the partner does not fulfill security commitments, they have to pay substantial financial compensation	52%	27%	21%
The only security guarantee system that works is NATO and everything else in history has failed because it could not be enforced	52%	35%	13%
Security guarantees can be enforced and a country that received guarantees can force their partner to fulfill them	51%	30%	19%

<u>Negative Statement</u>	<u>TOTAL AGREE</u>	<u>TOTAL DISAGREE</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Security guarantees cannot be enforced because one country cannot force another country to do something it does not want to do.	68%	19%	13%
Security guarantees cannot be enforced because as we saw this in the case of Poland and Czechoslovakia at the time of Nazi aggression, "Guarantees" only work as long as nobody really attacks a country	68%	19%	13%
Security guarantees cannot be enforced because we have already seen the Budapest Memorandum fail when Russia invaded and annexed Ukraine.	65%	19%	16%
Security guarantees are only on paper and are worthless in a case of real conflict.	53%	39%	8%

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29) In some other countries, security guarantees by an ally have so far been successful maintaining national sovereignty, peace, and border security.

For example, the United States and Japan have a joint security treaty under which Japan remains a largely pacifist country and the US is permitted to have military bases on Japanese soil. The two nations are also committed to defending each other if one or the other is attacked.

The United States and South Korea have a similar joint security treaty under which the US is permitted to have military bases on Korean soil and the two nations are committed to defending each other if one or the other is attacked.

Based on this information, do you think Japan and South Korea are sufficiently safe under this arrangement?

TOTAL YES	53%
TOTAL NO	11%
Definitely	21%
Probably	32%
Possibly	26%
Not likely	8%
Not at all	3%
Not sure	10%

30) **[IF DEFINITELY/PROBABLY/POSSIBLY]** Why do you think Japan and South Korea are sufficiently safe under this arrangement?

Because the US not only signed a treaty with these countries, but the US military is present on their soil	34%
Because the US sticks to their commitments	28%
Because the US has an egotistical interest in keeping these countries safe	26%
Other [specify]	1%
Not sure	11%

31) **[IF NOT LIKELY/NOT AT ALL]** Why do you think Japan and South Korea are not safe under this arrangement?

Because if an attack were to really happen, the US will find a way to disappear	37%
Because the US will help fight but not commit their full military strength	21%

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Because these agreements are with the US alone and not a larger organization like NATO	14%
Because if the US faces a big and powerful attacker, they will lose	9%
Other [specify]	7%
Not sure	11%

32) Thinking about the situation that Ukraine faces today, which country or organization would you like Ukraine to sign a treaty with and receive security guarantees from? [rank up to 3]

<u>REASON</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1ST CHOICE</u>	<u>2ND CHOICE</u>	<u>3RD CHOICE</u>
The United States and the European Union or some individual European countries	60%	23%	25%	12%
NATO alone	48%	26%	12%	10%
The United States and the United Kingdom	43%	13%	17%	13%
The United Nations alone	27%	3%	9%	15%
The European Union alone	26%	3%	6%	17%
The European Union and Russia	19%	4%	7%	8%
The United States and Russia	17%	8%	6%	3%
The United States alone	17%	2%	6%	9%
The United Nations and Russia	17%	3%	7%	7%
NATO and Russia	15%	8%	4%	3%
Russia alone	11%	7%	1%	3%
Other [Specify]	--	--	--	--
Not sure	--	--	--	--
Prefer not to answer	--	--	--	--

33) Which do you believe will provide greater security to Ukraine: security guarantees, but not membership, from NATO or security guarantees from the United States?

Security guarantees from NATO	40%
Security guarantees from the United States	23%
Not sure	31%
Prefer not to answer	6%

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34) Please indicate how confident you would be that another Russian invasion of Ukraine would not happen if Ukraine received security guarantees from each of the following countries or organizations.

<u>Country/Organization</u>	<u>Complete Confidence</u>	<u>TOTAL CONFIDENT</u>	<u>TOTAL NOT CONFIDENT</u>	<u>Not sure/ No answer</u>
The United States and the European Union	23%	69%	17%	14%
The United States, the UK and Poland	24%	68%	18%	14%
NATO alone	24%	66%	20%	14%
The United States, Germany and France	19%	64%	23%	13%
The United States alone	18%	63%	22%	15%
The European Union alone	10%	55%	31%	14%
The United Nations alone	12%	52%	35%	13%
The United States and Russia	12%	50%	35%	15%
The United Nations and Russia	9%	44%	41%	15%
NATO and Russia	10%	39%	39%	22%
The European Union and Russia	7%	37%	42%	21%
Russia alone	9%	26%	66%	8%

35) Many experts say that in order to ensure Ukraine’s security, at least four components are important:

- 1) The strength of Ukraine’s army
- 2) Ukraine having membership in alliances or security guarantees from individual countries
- 3) New arms control treaties that regulate in detail which kinds of weapons countries can deploy in a certain area – like the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe
- 4) Physical deterrence by troops of allies or international organizations present on Ukrainian territory (similar to the US troops that are present in Japan and South Korea)

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Thinking about these components, which do you believe Ukraine needs in order for you to be confident in its security? Please select only what you believe is absolutely necessary.

A stronger Ukrainian army	32%
NATO membership	21%
Ukrainian nuclear weapons	14%
Some reliable security guarantees, not necessarily NATO but equally reliable	8%
New arms control treaties that regulate in detail the deployment of Russian and other military forces in the region	7%
The presence of soldiers of our allies on Ukrainian territory	5%
Not sure	9%
Prefer not to answer	4%

36) In order for you to be confident that another Russian invasion of Ukraine would not happen would there need to be detailed military agreements, guarantees signed by heads of state, like Presidents, or will only NATO make Ukraine secure?

There need to be detailed military agreements	30%
Guarantees signed by heads of state, like Presidents, are enough	20%
Only NATO will make Ukraine secure	24%
Not sure	21%
Prefer not to answer	5%

37) Which type of military agreement or agreements, if any, would make you confident that another Russian invasion of Ukraine would not happen? Please select all that apply.

Ukraine must be a member of NATO or receive another reliable agreement that guarantees Western powers will come to Ukraine's defense if attacked	48%
Russian troops are not allowed within a specific distance of the Ukrainian border	25%
Ukraine commits to defending another country if they are attacked in exchange for the same commitment from that partner	12%
A new Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe is ratified among all countries	8%

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The numbers of weapons and amount of military equipment that individual countries can have is limited	7%
Other [SPECIFY]	3%
Not sure	17%
Prefer not to answer	4%

38) In order to ensure that another Russian invasion does not happen again, would you find it necessary to have some form of physical deterrence, such as defensive weaponry and other border security, on top of security guarantees to trust?

Yes	63%
No	10%
Not sure	23%
Prefer not to answer	4%

39) [IF YES] what is enough from your point of view?

Soldiers and military bases of allies on Ukrainian territory equipped with full range of weapons, but no missiles	31%
Ukrainian nuclear weapons	21%
Soldiers and military bases of allies on Ukrainian territory with no offensive capability	13%
Ballistic missiles (non-nuclear) of allies on Ukrainian territory	7%
Nuclear weapons of allies on Ukrainian territory	6%
Ukrainian ballistic missiles (non-nuclear)	5%
Other [specify]	1%
Not sure	15%
Prefer not to answer	1%

40) In your view, what stands in the way of Ukraine joining NATO? Please select all that apply.

Ukraine is too corrupt	45%
Some NATO members believe it would provoke Russia	29%
Germany and France are too egotistical and cowards, so they block Ukrainian membership	18%
NATO does not accept applications of states that are in an armed conflict	18%

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Ukraine’s army has to get more modern and capable	16%
NATO members think they already support Ukraine enough	10%
Ukraine is liable to get into new conflicts in the very near future	8%
Other [specify]	2%
Not sure	14%
Prefer not to answer	2%

41) Should Georgia be offered membership in NATO as urgently as Ukraine?

Yes	47%
No	14%
Not sure	35%
Prefer not to answer	4%

42) In your view, who is a real friend of Ukraine and will fight for Ukraine’s security?

The United States	39%
Poland	34%
The United Kingdom	32%
Canada	26%
NATO	21%
The European Union	20%
Turkey	19%
France	11%
The United Nations	11%
Germany	8%
Israel	5%
The OSCE	4%
China	2%
Other [specify]	8%
Not sure	23%
Prefer not to answer	5%

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43) Who is most dangerous for Ukraine today? **[RANK UP TO 3]**

<u>Country/Organization</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1ST CHOICE</u>	<u>2ND CHOICE</u>	<u>3RD CHOICE</u>
Russia	84%	79%	2%	3%
Belarus	67%	2%	55%	10%
The CSTO	28%	--	8%	20%
The United States	26%	10%	7%	9%
China	23%	--	6%	17%
NATO	17%	4%	8%	5%
Hungary	13%	--	2%	11%
Poland	10%	2%	3%	5%
The OSCE	9%	--	1%	8%
The European Union	8%	2%	2%	4%
Germany	5%	--	1%	4%
Turkey	4%	1%	1%	2%
The United Nations	4%	--	3%	1%
Italy	2%	--	1%	1%
Other [Specify]	--	--	--	--
Not sure	--	--	--	--
Prefer not to answer	--	--	--	--

44) Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about NATO and Russia.

<u>Statement</u>	<u>TOTAL AGREE</u>	<u>TOTAL DISAGREE</u>	<u>Not Sure/No Answer</u>
NATO is not a direct threat to Russia but it is an unfriendly and strong military alliance committed to keep Russia down	59%	25%	16%
NATO is not a threat to Russia, but the Russians and the Kremlin really think it is	50%	30%	20%
NATO is not a threat to Russia and the Russians know it is a purely defensive alliance	50%	29%	21%
NATO is a threat to Russia because it was founded to contain Russia	45%	39%	16%
NATO is a threat to Russia because any military alliance at your border of which you are not a member is a threat	43%	38%	19%
NATO is a threat to Russia because it is a tool for the United States to increase their power	42%	38%	20%
NATO is a threat to Russia because weakening Russia is better for NATO	38%	43%	19%

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45) Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about NATO and Ukraine.

<u>Positive Statement</u> <i>NATO has an obligation to accept Ukraine in the near future because...</i>	<u>TOTAL AGREE</u>	<u>TOTAL DISAGREE</u>	<u>Not Sure/No Answer</u>
NATO has a rule that it is open to all applying democracies who fulfill certain criteria	66%	17%	17%
Nobody ever promised that it would not happen	56%	22%	22%
It is immoral to force Ukrainians to contain the Russian threat alone	55%	25%	20%
Ukraine has no other option for its security	52%	31%	17%
NATO accepted Romania, Bulgaria, Estonia	50%	29%	21%
Ukraine will make NATO stronger	38%	40%	22%

<u>Negative Statement</u> <i>NATO does not have an obligation to accept Ukraine in the near future because...</i>	<u>TOTAL AGREE</u>	<u>TOTAL DISAGREE</u>	<u>Not Sure/No Answer</u>
NATO does not have to accept every applicant immediately	60%	24%	16%
Ukraine is in an armed conflict	57%	29%	14%
NATO members have a right to reject applications	52%	24%	24%
Ukraine does not fulfill NATO's democracy criteria	43%	38%	19%
Ukrainian membership would provoke Russia, so NATO has a right to say no in the interest of peace	40%	42%	18%
Russian was previously promised it would not happen	25%	47%	28%

UKRAINE'S CURRENT POSITION & FUTURE

46) Generally speaking, which type of alliance would you prefer Ukraine to have in the future?

An alliance with both the EU and NATO	58%
An alliance with the EU but not NATO	5%
An alliance with NATO but not the EU	3%
No alliance with the EU or NATO, but alliances with individual Western countries	7%
An alliance with Russia	10%
Not sure	17%

47) Where do you see Ukraine in 10 years?

A member of the EU and NATO	47%
Special relations but no formal alliance either with NATO, EU, Russia or China	8%
A member of the EU but not NATO	5%
Closely tied to Russia	5%
A member of the NATO but not the EU	4%
Part of a Russia-China alliance	3%
Neutral	13%
None of the above	3%
Not sure	12%

48) In terms of its security policy and alliances, which of the following countries' example would you like Ukraine to follow? Please select all that apply.

The United Kingdom	21%
Israel	19%
Switzerland	19%
Poland	19%
Japan	12%
Finland	10%
Turkey	9%
Estonia	9%
South Korea	8%
Taiwan	2%
Other [specify]	2%
Not sure	28%

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49) From what you know, would you describe the relations between the West (meaning EU countries, UK, US, and Canada) and Ukraine to be good or bad?

TOTAL GOOD	78%
TOTAL BAD	11%
Very good	19%
Somewhat good	59%
Somewhat bad	8%
Very bad	3%
Not sure	11%

50) From what you know, do you believe that relations between the West and Ukraine have gotten better or worse in the past ten years?

Gotten better	56%
Gotten worse	14%
Stayed the same	17%
Not sure	13%

51) In the past year or so, have you become more positive and welcoming or more negative and skeptical about Ukraine becoming more closely integrated with the EU and the West?

More positive – I am more open for such integration	44%
More negative – I feel more reluctant with the prospect of such integration	14%
Nothing changed recently in my views	24%
This is not important to me	3%
Not sure	12%
Prefer not to answer	3%

52) Do the West and Ukraine share the same value systems?

TOTAL YES	66%
TOTAL NO	24%
Yes, definitely	24%
Yes, somewhat	42%
No, not very much	16%
No, not at all	8%
Not sure	10%

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Threats of Russian Invasion

Next, we will ask you some questions about Russia in its relation to Ukraine.

53) Do you think the threat of a Russian invasion is a real possibility or is it a maneuver by Russia to get concessions from the West?

The threat of a Russian invasion is a real possibility	39%
The threat of a Russian invasion is a maneuver to get concessions	40%
Not sure	15%
Prefer not to answer	6%

54) How concerned are you that Russia troops will cross Ukraine's border?

TOTAL CONCERNED	78%
TOTAL NOT CONCERNED	16%
Very concerned	57%
Somewhat concerned	21%
Not very concerned	7%
Not at all concerned	9%
Not sure	4%
Prefer not to answer	2%

55) How concerned are you that Russia troops will invade all the way to western Ukrainian?

TOTAL CONCERNED	72%
TOTAL NOT CONCERNED	20%
Very concerned	47%
Somewhat concerned	25%
Not very concerned	9%
Not at all concerned	11%
Not sure	6%
Prefer not to answer	2%

56) If Ukraine is invaded by Russia again, would you volunteer to serve or fight in the Ukrainian armed forces?

TOTAL DEFINITELY/PROBABLY/POSSIBLY	49%
TOTAL PROBABLY NOT/NO	34%
Definitely	22%

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Probably	12%
Possibly	15%
Probably not	12%
No	22%
Not sure	10%
Prefer not to answer	7%

57) Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

<u>Statement</u>	<u>TOTAL AGREE</u>	<u>TOTAL DISAGREE</u>	<u>Not Sure/No Answer</u>
<i>Russia could win a fully-fledged offensive campaign to conquer significant additional territory in Ukraine because...</i>			
Their army is so much stronger than the Ukrainian army	54%	32%	14%
Ukraine is not in NATO	47%	34%	19%
The West is not engaging militarily at this time	44%	33%	23%

<u>Statement</u>	<u>TOTAL AGREE</u>	<u>TOTAL DISAGREE</u>	<u>Not Sure/No Answer</u>
<i>Russia could <u>not</u> win a fully-fledged offensive campaign to conquer significant additional territory in Ukraine because...</i>			
They will have to advance deep in the country and when occupation starts, Ukrainians will take up arms and kill as many of the occupying force as necessary until the occupation ends and Russia retreats.	62%	20%	18%
The Ukrainian army can beat back such an offensive at an early stage	59%	28%	13%
The West will put such economic sanctions on Russia that they have to retreat	55%	29%	16%
Once that starts, Western powers will engage militarily	44%	33%	23%

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<u>Neutral Statement</u>	<u>TOTAL AGREE</u>	<u>TOTAL DISAGREE</u>	<u>Not Sure/No Answer</u>
Russia conquering Ukraine will create problems for the Kremlin at home	59%	19%	22%

58) In your view, why did the Kremlin recently decide to concentrate troops on Ukraine's borders? [Rank up to 3]

<u>REASON</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1ST CHOICE</u>	<u>2ND CHOICE</u>	<u>3RD CHOICE</u>
Russia is afraid of Ukraine joining NATO	58%	40%	9%	8%
Russia believes Ukraine is slipping away to a Western orientation, so this is the last chance to change things by force	58%	20%	25%	12%
Russia understands that a successful democratic Ukraine will motivate Russians to stand up against the Kremlin and they are afraid of that	48%	9%	21%	18%
Russia creates a threat to blackmail the West and get concessions in other areas	40%	7%	11%	22%
Russia understandably feels NATO gets closer and closer to its borders and is a threat to Russia, so red lines had to be marked	33%	13%	8%	12%
Russia's leadership wants to distract from their problems at home	30%	3%	11%	16%
Russia knows that Ukraine finally resolved to beat back Russian language and Russian cultural influence, and Russians refuse to accept it	17%	3%	8%	6%
Russia is angry that Ukraine puts pro-Kremlin politicians in Ukraine under pressure	10%	3%	4%	3%
Russia just wants attention	8%	2%	3%	3%
Other [Specify]	--	--	--	--
Not sure	--	--	--	--
Prefer not to answer	--	--	--	--

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Ukrainian National Identity

59) Do you consider the Ukrainian language a dialect of Russian or a fully separate language?

A dialect of Russian	9%
A fully separate language	84%
Not sure	7%

60) Do you favor or oppose the Ukrainian government making Ukrainian the only official state language?

TOTAL FAVOR	68%
TOTAL OPPOSE	27%
Strongly favor	47%
Somewhat favor	21%
Somewhat oppose	10%
Strongly oppose	17%
Not sure	4%
Prefer not to answer	1%

61) Please if you agree or disagree with the following statements.

<u>Statement</u>	<u>TOTAL AGREE</u>	<u>TOTAL DISAGREE</u>	<u>Not Sure/No Answer</u>
I'm proud to be Ukrainian	80%	9%	11%
Ukraine is better off aligning with the West than Russia	66%	19%	15%
Russia is an enemy of Ukraine	58%	32%	10%
I would fight and die for Ukraine.	47%	30%	23%
Vladimir Putin is right that Ukraine and Russia are brother nations and share the same values.	35%	52%	13%
Ukraine should be a close ally and partner with Russia	27%	55%	17%
Ukraine is better off aligning with Russia than the West	25%	58%	17%
Ukraine is a part of Russia	12%	77%	11%

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62) Thinking about what Ukraine means to you, what are the most important aspects of the nation? [Rank up to 3]

<u>REASON</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1ST CHOICE</u>	<u>2ND CHOICE</u>	<u>3RD CHOICE</u>
Freedom	59%	30%	19%	9%
Ukraine is peaceful	50%	22%	16%	12%
Democracy	36%	7%	16%	13%
Language	31%	16%	8%	7%
There is a real will of people to end corruption	29%	7%	9%	13%
Ukrainians accepts other nations as equal	25%	4%	11%	10%
Ukraine is a modern nation	21%	4%	6%	11%
Slavic culture	15%	4%	6%	5%
Ukraine is becoming closer to the West	14%	2%	3%	9%
Ukrainians do not follow an authoritarian leader	8%	2%	3%	3%
Tolerance	8%	1%	2%	5%
Ukrainians are better than other nations	5%	1%	1%	3%
Other [Specify]	--	--	--	--
Not sure	--	--	--	--
Prefer not to answer	--	--	--	--

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63) What makes Ukraine different from Russia? Rank up to 3

<u>REASON</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1ST CHOICE</u>	<u>2ND CHOICE</u>	<u>3RD CHOICE</u>
Ukraine is peaceful	54%	23%	17%	13%
Freedom	51%	25%	15%	11%
Democracy	36%	9%	16%	11%
Ukrainians need no authoritarian leader to feel good	33%	10%	10%	13%
Ukrainians accept other nations as equal	33%	4%	15%	14%
Language	32%	20%	6%	6%
Ukraine is closer to the West	27%	5%	8%	14%
A real will of people to end corruption	18%	3%	7%	8%
Tolerance	11%	1%	4%	6%
Russians are more primitive	5%	--	2%	3%
Other [Specify]	1%	--	--	1%
Not sure	--	--	--	--
Prefer not to answer	--	--	--	--

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Demographics

64)What is your gender?

Male	48%
Female	52%
Other	--
Don't want to disclose	--

65)What is your religion?

Orthodox UPC, meaning Kyiv Patriarch, Local Orthodox Church in Ukraine	42%
Orthodox UPC MP, meaning Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Moscow Patriarch	15%
Greek Catholic	8%
Catholic	1%
Protestant	1%
Judaism	--
Muslim	--
Atheist	6%
I believe in God, but do not belong to any religion	16%
Other	2%
Not sure	4%
Prefer not to answer	3%

66)What language is spoken at home?

Ukrainian	44%
Russian	25%
Both Ukrainian and Russian	29%
Other	1%
Not sure	1%

67)Where do you typically get your daily news? [select all that apply]

Social media	74%
News on TV	59%
Word of mouth (friends, family, or colleagues)	29%
Newspapers (online or print)	24%
Radio	16%
Podcasts	6%
Other [SPECIFY]	4%

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Not sure 2%

68) Do you watch Russian TV or follow Russian new outlets?

Very often	7%
Sometimes	25%
Rarely	29%
Never	39%

69) How much time do you spend on social media (Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, etc.) on average during the week?

0-5 hours	50%
6-10 hours	26%
11-15 hours	9%
16-20 hours	6%
More than 20 hours	9%

70) What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Primary	--
Non-complete secondary	2%
General secondary	17%
Vocational secondary	38%
Non-complete higher	7%
Higher	36%
Not sure/No answer	--

71) Which of the following categories best describes your financial situation?

There isn't enough money even for food (Very poor)	8%
There is enough for everyday expenses, but it is difficult to buy clothes (Poor)	35%
Basically enough, but not enough to buy expensive items (Low income)	39%
Enough for almost everything, but buying an apartment, a house is not available (High income)	14%
We deny ourselves practically nothing (High income)	4%