

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

Screening Questions

S1: What is your age?

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
Under 18 [TERMINATE]	--	--
18-20	5%	1%
21-29	13%	9%
30-34	11%	14%
35-39	10%	10%
40-49	17%	30%
50-64	24%	28%
65 and older	20%	8%

S2: In which country do you live?

United States	--	--
Canada	--	--
United Kingdom	--	--
France	100%	100%
Germany	--	--
Poland	--	--
Other [TERMINATE]	--	--

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

Perceptions of the EU and NATO

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 around the world 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.

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

1) From what you know, do you agree or disagree that the European Union is an overall force for good in the world?

TOTAL AGREE	72%	83%
TOTAL DISAGREE	19%	16%
Strongly agree	27%	45%
Somewhat agree	45%	38%
Somewhat disagree	13%	12%
Strongly disagree	6%	4%
Not sure	9%	1%

2) From what you know, do you agree or disagree that NATO is an overall force for good in the world?

TOTAL AGREE	69%	84%
TOTAL DISAGREE	21%	15%
Strongly agree	19%	36%
Somewhat agree	50%	48%
Somewhat disagree	16%	9%
Strongly disagree	5%	6%
Not sure	10%	1%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine

Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE

December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- 3) Between 2004 and 2013, eight Central and Eastern European countries, two Mediterranean countries, and one country in the Balkans joined the European Union. Generally speaking, do you think that enlarging the EU to its current number of 27 members was a good thing or a bad thing?

TOTAL GOOD	52%	62%
TOTAL BAD	35%	38%
Very good and should be continued	17%	18%
Somewhat good, but now it is enough and we need a break	35%	44%
Somewhat bad	16%	22%
Very bad, it was wrong and the EU should be smaller	15%	11%
Very bad, the EU should be dismantled	4%	5%
Not sure	13%	--

- 4) Between 1999 and 2020, ten Central and Eastern European countries and four countries in the Balkans joined NATO. Generally speaking, do you think that enlarging NATO to its current number of 30 members was a good thing or a bad thing?

TOTAL GOOD	69%	68%
TOTAL BAD/DISMANTLE NATO	17%	22%
Very good and should be continued	11%	11%
Somewhat good	22%	22%
Good, but now it is enough and we need a break	36%	35%
Somewhat bad	8%	14%
Very bad	6%	--
NATO should be dismantled	3%	8%
Not sure	14%	10%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

5) Some say that when Western leaders expanded the European Union and NATO in the early 2000s, they broke promises to Russia and violated legitimate Russian interests.

Others say that it was appropriate for Western leaders to expand the European Union and NATO to promote peace, democracy, and security.

Which is closer to your view?

It was appropriate for Western leaders to expand the European Union and NATO to promote peace, democracy, and security	59%	74%
When Western leaders expanded the European Union and NATO, they broke promises to Russia and violated legitimate Russian interests	14%	16%
Not sure	27%	10%

6) Generally speaking, do you believe that the European Union should accept new members in the future?

TOTAL YES	55%	59%
Yes, the EU should accept new members in the near future (in the next 5-10 years)	24%	30%
Yes, but only in the later future (possibly after 2030), when conditions are right	31%	29%
No, the EU should not accept new members	33%	37%
Not sure	12%	4%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

7) If another country were to join the European Union in the next 5-10 years, which do you believe should be admitted? (Select up to 2)

United Kingdom	26%	43%
Turkey	9%	10%
Morocco	8%	9%
Russia	7%	9%
Albania	6%	9%
Tunisia	6%	4%
Armenia	4%	5%
Moldova	4%	--
Georgia	3%	9%
Ukraine	3%	11%
Northern Macedonia	2%	3%
Serbia	2%	9%
Other (Please specify)	8%	11%
Not sure	35%	12%

8) Generally speaking, do you believe that NATO should accept new members in the future?

TOTAL YES	60%	55%
Yes, NATO should accept new members in the near future (in the next 5-10 years)	32%	25%
Yes, but only in the later future (possibly after 2030), when conditions are right	28%	30%
No, NATO should not accept new members	24%	38%
Not sure	16%	7%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
 Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
 December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

9) If another country were to join NATO in the next 5-10 years, which do you believe should be admitted? (Select up to 2)

Australia	34%	40%
Ukraine	11%	16%
Armenia	9%	2%
Serbia	7%	6%
Russia	6%	12%
Mexico	5%	9%
Morocco	5%	13%
Azerbaijan	3%	--
Georgia	3%	4%
Moldova	2%	13%
Tunisia	2%	4%
Other (Please specify)	3%	--
Not sure	40%	22%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

General Perceptions of the West
--

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
10) Thinking generally about countries around the world, which of the following comes closest to your view on what constitutes the West?		
The US, Canada, European Union, and the UK	28%	39%
US, Canada, European Union, and the UK, plus Australia and New Zealand	33%	47%
The West is a concept that has lost its meaning, or never had a meaning for me	21%	12%
Not sure	18%	2%
11) [IF CHOICES 1 OR 2 IN ABOVE Q] Okay, and in terms of the West's relations with Russia and China, which of the following approaches do you believe that the West should take?		
Strengthen relations with Russia to contain China	18%	12%
Strengthen relations with China to contain Russia	10%	9%
Do not strengthen relations with Russia or China because both violate Western principles and the West must contain and confront them both	30%	34%
It is best to have good relations with every major country around the world	39%	42%
Not sure	3%	3%
12) In your view, which of the following countries, if any, are part of the West? [SELECT ALL THAT APPLY]		
Serbia	28%	28%
Ukraine	27%	32%
Russia	21%	16%
Georgia	19%	21%
Moldova	15%	21%
None of the above	28%	34%
Not sure	24%	18%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP **PROFESSIONALS**

13) If you had to choose one country or group, who do you believe that the future belongs to?

Europe	17%	26%
China	16%	23%
The US	15%	2%
Asia	7%	9%
The West	7%	13%
The Muslim world	4%	5%
The Slavic world	--	--
No one country or group	19%	16%
Not sure	15%	6%

14) Thinking about whether some countries or groups of countries are more truthful and more closely follow moral principles than others, which of the following is closest to your view?

Western countries like the US, Canada, the UK or the countries of the EU, are in general more truthful and moral than countries like China or Russia	33%	52%
All are equally truthful and moral to me, everyone has a point	15%	11%
All governments are hypocrites and principles mean nothing to them	13%	20%
My country is more truthful and moral than all others	12%	13%
At least Russia is honest about its interests and does not hide its interests behind supposed truth and morals like the United States	5%	2%
China is more peaceful than other big countries	2%	--
Not sure	20%	2%

15) Thinking about France's current relations with the following countries around the world, which do you believe it is most important to improve relations with? (Select up to 3)

The United States	42%	41%
Germany	33%	26%
The United Kingdom	32%	40%
Russia	28%	43%
China	19%	30%
Canada	10%	17%
Ukraine	6%	9%
Poland	4%	12%
Not sure	20%	9%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

Perceptions of Russia

INTRO: Next, we will ask you some questions about Russia and its role in the world today.

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

16) Generally speaking, do you have a positive, negative, or neutral view of Russia?

TOTAL POSITIVE	26%	26%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	51%	55%
Very positive	5%	8%
Somewhat positive	21%	18%
Somewhat negative	36%	41%
Very negative	15%	14%
Neutral	18%	16%
Not sure	5%	3%

17) Please indicate how much you associate each of the following attributes and characteristics with Russia.

- Strength

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	81%	95%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	10%	2%
Very much	42%	40%
Somewhat	39%	55%
Not very much	9%	2%
Not at all	1%	--
Not sure	9%	3%

- Freedom

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	25%	36%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	68%	63%
Very much	11%	11%
Somewhat	14%	25%
Not very much	34%	28%
Not at all	34%	35%
Not sure	7%	1%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
• Authoritarian leadership		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	80%	93%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	8%	7%
Very much	53%	67%
Somewhat	27%	26%
Not very much	7%	6%
Not at all	1%	1%
Not sure	12%	--
• Neo-Nazism		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	23%	45%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	50%	46%
Very much	7%	8%
Somewhat	16%	37%
Not very much	24%	26%
Not at all	26%	20%
Not sure	27%	9%
• Nice people		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	48%	46%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	39%	43%
Very much	7%	15%
Somewhat	41%	31%
Not very much	32%	36%
Not at all	7%	7%
Not sure	13%	11%
• Beautiful nature		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	84%	87%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	9%	13%
Very much	47%	54%
Somewhat	37%	33%
Not very much	7%	13%
Not at all	2%	--
Not sure	7%	-

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
• Soviet industry		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	61%	61%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	27%	30%
Very much	17%	8%
Somewhat	44%	53%
Not very much	22%	23%
Not at all	5%	7%
Not sure	12%	9%
• Corruption		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	71%	82%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	11%	10%
Very much	32%	54%
Somewhat	39%	28%
Not very much	5%	5%
Not at all	6%	5%
Not sure	18%	8%
• Successful fight against corruption		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	23%	19%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	65%	76%
Very much	13%	6%
Somewhat	10%	13%
Not very much	30%	24%
Not at all	35%	52%
Not sure	12%	5%
• Spying and espionage		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	84%	85%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	10%	15%
Very much	54%	41%
Somewhat	30%	44%
Not very much	7%	13%
Not at all	3%	2%
Not sure	6%	--

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
• Election interference		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	67%	71%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	18%	27%
Very much	30%	36%
Somewhat	37%	35%
Not very much	13%	18%
Not at all	5%	9%
Not sure	15%	2%
• Trafficking of women		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	36%	52%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	32%	26%
Very much	9%	16%
Somewhat	27%	36%
Not very much	20%	14%
Not at all	12%	12%
Not sure	32%	22%
• Organized crime		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	64%	78%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	21%	16%
Very much	30%	41%
Somewhat	34%	37%
Not very much	16%	9%
Not at all	5%	7%
Not sure	15%	6%
• Creativity		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	50%	64%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	40%	33%
Very much	12%	19%
Somewhat	38%	45%
Not very much	31%	28%
Not at all	9%	5%
Not sure	10%	3%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Anti-Semitism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	44%	50%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	28%	31%
Very much	15%	11%
Somewhat	29%	39%
Not very much	22%	15%
Not at all	6%	16%
Not sure	28%	19%

- IT industry

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	42%	40%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	27%	47%
Very much	15%	15%
Somewhat	27%	25%
Not very much	20%	34%
Not at all	7%	13%
Not sure	31%	13%

- Oligarchs

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	58%	86%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	15%	7%
Very much	34%	44%
Somewhat	24%	42%
Not very much	13%	5%
Not at all	2%	2%
Not sure	27%	7%

- The Slavic soul

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	68%	83%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	23%	17%
Very much	26%	39%
Somewhat	42%	44%
Not very much	19%	15%
Not at all	4%	2%
Not sure	9%	--

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Europe

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	38%	30%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	46%	60%
Very much	14%	8%
Somewhat	24%	22%
Not very much	29%	39%
Not at all	17%	21%
Not sure	16%	10%

- Aggressive nationalism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	70%	80%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	9%	11%
Very much	23%	34%
Somewhat	47%	46%
Not very much	5%	6%
Not at all	4%	5%
Not sure	21%	9%

- Great culture

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	70%	74%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	16%	22%
Very much	32%	43%
Somewhat	38%	31%
Not very much	14%	18%
Not at all	2%	4%
Not sure	14%	4%

- Emerging markets

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	50%	72%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	30%	26%
Very much	11%	19%
Somewhat	39%	53%
Not very much	22%	23%
Not at all	8%	3%
Not sure	20%	2%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
• Frozen conflicts		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	60%	55%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	24%	30%
Very much	21%	21%
Somewhat	39%	34%
Not very much	17%	23%
Not at all	7%	7%
Not sure	16%	15%
• Imperial/Tsarist history		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	64%	85%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	17%	11%
Very much	28%	43%
Somewhat	36%	42%
Not very much	12%	9%
Not at all	5%	2%
Not sure	19%	4%
• Soviet history		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	75%	85%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	15%	10%
Very much	38%	36%
Somewhat	37%	49%
Not very much	11%	8%
Not at all	4%	2%
Not sure	10%	5%
• Clueless		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	29%	44%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	42%	45%
Very much	12%	21%
Somewhat	17%	23%
Not very much	31%	28%
Not at all	11%	17%
Not sure	29%	11%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Pro-democracy protests

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	28%	36%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	55%	59%
Very much	10%	19%
Somewhat	18%	17%
Not very much	25%	16%
Not at all	30%	43%
Not sure	17%	5%

- Threatening

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	57%	73%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	25%	18%
Very much	11%	34%
Somewhat	46%	39%
Not very much	20%	16%
Not at all	5%	2%
Not sure	18%	9%

18) On a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least democratic and 10 being the most democratic, how democratic do you believe Russia is?

1-3; Less democratic	48%	55%
4-6	32%	28%
7-10; More democratic	15%	17%
Not sure	5%	--

19) On a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least corrupt and 10 being the most corrupt, how corrupt do you believe Russia is?

1-3; Less corrupt	4%	--
4-6	18%	21%
7-10; More corrupt	69%	79%
Not sure	9%	--

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP **PROFESSIONALS**

20) Generally speaking, how important do you believe a strong partnership with Russia is to the West?

TOTAL IMPORTANT	61%	73%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	23%	20%
Very important	16%	19%
Somewhat important	45%	54%
Not very important	17%	15%
Not important at all	6%	5%
Not sure	16%	7%

21) [IF IMPORTANT] Why do you believe that a strong partnership with Russia is important to the West?

Russia is a big power with a nuclear arsenal – the West must pay attention and respect	34%	31%
Russia is key for stability in the region	24%	24%
Russia is the West’s best potential partner for containing China	12%	17%
Russia has major natural resources, including iron ore and fossil fuels	9%	10%
Russia has European values	6%	1%
Russians are great people	4%	1%
There are many Russian people who live in Western countries	2%	2%
Russia can become a leader of innovation and digital economy in the world	2%	1%
Things in Russia are getting better	2%	1%
Russia is an emerging market economy	1%	3%
Russians are pro-democracy	--	2%
Russia has wealthy business leaders and investors	--	--
Russia is doing its best to fight corruption	--	4%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	4%	3%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

22)[**IF NOT IMPORTANT**] Why do you believe that a strong partnership with Russia is NOT important for the West?

Russia pressures, bullies and invades its neighbors, therefore support or partnership would be completely wrong	32%	57%
I don't really know what is going on in Russia	18%	2%
Russia is corrupt and will always be	14%	13%
Russia doesn't deserve the support	12%	7%
I believe it is more important to help countries other than Russia	8%	4%
Support and offers of partnership for Russia would entice Russia to pressure and invade Ukraine	8%	3%
Russia's economy is doomed, it has only corruption and an old style economy to offer	3%	6%
Overall, we should stay away from international partnerships and cooperation	3%	3%
Things in Russia are getting worse	1%	--
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	1%	5%

23)Do you agree or disagree that the West should do more to have a good partnership with Russia and more understanding of their interests and needs?

TOTAL AGREE	56%	60%
TOTAL DISAGREE	27%	32%
Strongly agree	17%	13%
Somewhat agree	39%	47%
Somewhat disagree	19%	26%
Strongly disagree	8%	6%
Not sure	17%	8%

24)Generally speaking, which of the following do you believe best describes Russia's overall position in the world?

A strong independent power	43%	40%
The leader of the Slavic world	26%	23%
Partially Europe, partially Asian	15%	25%
A European country	3%	7%
Not sure	13%	5%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine

Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE

December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

25) In Tsarist times and during the Soviet Union, Moscow was the center of an empire that included countries that are independent today, like Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova.

Thinking specifically about Ukraine, do you think that Russia's influence on Ukraine has historically been positive (meaning benevolent, and encouraging of development), negative (meaning a relation of oppression and exploitation), or neutral?

TOTAL POSITIVE	16%	25%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	62%	46%
Very positive	5%	6%
Somewhat positive	11%	19%
Somewhat negative	44%	31%
Very negative	18%	15%
Neutral	6%	11%
Not sure	16%	18%

26) How would you describe the relations between the West (meaning EU countries, UK, US, Canada) and Russia?

TOTAL POSITIVE	26%	34%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	51%	59%
Very positive	2%	5%
Somewhat positive	24%	29%
Somewhat negative	43%	49%
Very negative	8%	10%
Neutral	4%	7%
Not sure	19%	--

27) Okay, and do you believe that relations between the West (meaning EU countries, UK, US, Canada) and Russia have gotten better, worse, or stayed the same compared to ten years ago?

Better	13%	17%
Worse	49%	55%
Stayed the same	25%	24%
Not sure	13%	4%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

28) Many say that relations between the West and Russia have gotten worse over the past ten years. Whose fault do you think this is?

Russia's fault	37%	45%
The West's fault	13%	13%
Both sides are equally at fault	34%	37%
Not sure	16%	5%

29) **[IF RUSSIA]** Okay, and why do you think it is Russia's fault that relations between the West and Russia have gotten worse over the past ten years?

The invasion of Ukraine	39%	36%
Suppression of internal opposition and other authoritarian tendencies	30%	34%
Support of Assad regime in Syria	22%	21%
Assassination of opponents abroad	5%	6%
Other (Please specify)	1%	1%
Not sure	3%	2%

30) **[IF THE WEST]** Okay, and why do you think it is the West's fault that relations between the West and Russia have gotten worse over the past ten years?

Support of color revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and other places	28%	34%
Expansion of NATO and EU	23%	4%
Lack of respect for Russia	22%	41%
Luring Ukraine away from Russia	19%	12%
Sanctions against Russia	6%	9%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	2%	--

31) Thinking about your home country's relationship with Russia, which of the following is most important?

Improving relations with Russia rather than defending democratic principles and values	10%	15%
Defending democratic principles and values rather than improve relations with Russia	18%	35%
Defending principles is good, but avoiding escalation is even more important	49%	43%
Not sure	23%	7%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

32) In the 1990s, Western countries considered admitting Russia to NATO. Do you think that Russia should become a NATO member at some point in the future?

Yes	27%	40%
No	44%	42%
Not sure	29%	18%

33) Russia is being accused by Western governments of disinformation and cyberattacks. Which of the following statements best describes your view on the situation?

The accusations are completely true, and the West is in danger from Russia and should defend itself more decisively	28%	35%
The accusations are true but exaggerated	23%	39%
It's actually Ukraine, not Russia, who is trying to spread disinformation and influence the West	5%	6%
The big tech companies are the ones controlling and abusing information	5%	7%
The accusations are NOT true, Russia is just defending their interests	4%	6%
Not sure	35%	7%

34) Do you believe that the West and Russia share the same value systems?

TOTAL YES	35%	51%
Yes, definitely	9%	21%
Yes, somewhat	26%	30%
No	52%	49%
Not sure	13%	--

35) Who is the key force for good in Russia, pushing in a good direction?

Russia's Leadership	9%	15%
Civil society	13%	31%
Business	6%	11%
Western partners pushing Russia	18%	10%
The example of free and democratic Ukraine	12%	10%
Not sure	42%	23%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

36) How do you believe that Western mainstream media depicts Russia?

Accurately	25%	56%
Too positively	25%	16%
Too negatively	24%	18%
Not sure	26%	10%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

Perceptions of Ukraine

INTRO: Next, we will ask you some questions about Ukraine and its role in the world today.

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

37) Generally speaking, do you have a positive, neutral, or negative view of Ukraine?

TOTAL POSITIVE	26%	38%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	15%	12%
Very positive	4%	8%
Somewhat positive	22%	30%
Neutral	46%	45%
Somewhat negative	12%	10%
Very negative	3%	2%
Not sure	13%	5%

38) Please indicate how much you associate each of the following attributes and characteristics with Ukraine.

- Strength

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	34%	37%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	46%	53%
Very much	8%	8%
Somewhat	26%	29%
Not very much	38%	48%
Not at all	8%	5%
Not sure	20%	10%

- Nice people

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	44%	42%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	19%	33%
Very much	16%	8%
Somewhat	28%	34%
Not very much	14%	23%
Not at all	5%	10%
Not sure	37%	25%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Beautiful nature

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	52%	57%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	15%	14%
Very much	14%	28%
Somewhat	38%	29%
Not very much	8%	12%
Not at all	7%	2%
Not sure	33%	29%

- Freedom

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	36%	52%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	47%	42%
Very much	9%	9%
Somewhat	27%	43%
Not very much	36%	32%
Not at all	11%	10%
Not sure	17%	6%

- Authoritarian leadership

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	40%	50%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	36%	43%
Very much	15%	15%
Somewhat	25%	35%
Not very much	30%	33%
Not at all	6%	10%
Not sure	24%	7%

- Neo-Nazism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	27%	51%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	41%	24%
Very much	9%	14%
Somewhat	18%	37%
Not very much	24%	18%
Not at all	17%	6%
Not sure	32%	25%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Soviet industry

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	30%	51%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	30%	22%
Very much	5%	10%
Somewhat	25%	41%
Not very much	25%	15%
Not at all	5%	7%
Not sure	40%	27%

- Nuclear power

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	25%	29%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	50%	58%
Very much	8%	13%
Somewhat	17%	16%
Not very much	32%	31%
Not at all	18%	27%
Not sure	25%	13%

- Corruption

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	52%	72%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	28%	21%
Very much	22%	27%
Somewhat	30%	45%
Not very much	25%	21%
Not at all	3%	--
Not sure	20%	7%

- Successful fight against corruption

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	31%	30%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	41%	54%
Very much	8%	17%
Somewhat	23%	13%
Not very much	29%	35%
Not at all	12%	19%
Not sure	28%	16%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Trafficking of women

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	29%	45%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	25%	23%
Very much	5%	18%
Somewhat	24%	27%
Not very much	15%	15%
Not at all	10%	8%
Not sure	46%	32%

- Organized crime

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	49%	58%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	28%	31%
Very much	16%	21%
Somewhat	33%	37%
Not very much	22%	28%
Not at all	6%	3%
Not sure	23%	11%

- Creativity

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	35%	48%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	33%	40%
Very much	7%	7%
Somewhat	28%	41%
Not very much	29%	40%
Not at all	4%	--
Not sure	32%	12%

- Anti-Semitism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	29%	47%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	37%	33%
Very much	7%	15%
Somewhat	22%	32%
Not very much	27%	27%
Not at all	10%	6%
Not sure	34%	20%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- IT industry

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	26%	29%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	33%	48%
Very much	9%	5%
Somewhat	17%	24%
Not very much	26%	42%
Not at all	7%	6%
Not sure	41%	23%

- Aggressive nationalism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	43%	50%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	36%	43%
Very much	19%	16%
Somewhat	24%	34%
Not very much	30%	41%
Not at all	6%	2%
Not sure	21%	7%

- Europe

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	44%	48%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	33%	48%
Very much	12%	14%
Somewhat	32%	34%
Not very much	25%	45%
Not at all	8%	3%
Not sure	23%	4%

- Russia

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	46%	54%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	27%	34%
Very much	13%	11%
Somewhat	33%	43%
Not very much	15%	13%
Not at all	12%	21%
Not sure	27%	12%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- The Slavic Soul

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	55%	73%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	15%	13%
Very much	17%	17%
Somewhat	38%	56%
Not very much	10%	13%
Not at all	5%	--
Not sure	30%	14%

- Oligarchs

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	42%	62%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	26%	24%
Very much	12%	25%
Somewhat	30%	37%
Not very much	21%	21%
Not at all	5%	3%
Not sure	32%	14%

- Great culture

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	55%	63%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	27%	30%
Very much	14%	21%
Somewhat	41%	42%
Not very much	22%	26%
Not at all	5%	4%
Not sure	18%	7%

- Emerging markets

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	39%	52%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	33%	34%
Very much	12%	16%
Somewhat	27%	36%
Not very much	29%	29%
Not at all	4%	5%
Not sure	28%	14%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Frozen conflicts

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	40%	47%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	21%	19%
Very much	9%	14%
Somewhat	31%	33%
Not very much	15%	19%
Not at all	6%	--
Not sure	39%	34%

- Pro-democracy protests

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	59%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	28%	28%
Very much	13%	9%
Somewhat	41%	50%
Not very much	20%	24%
Not at all	8%	4%
Not sure	18%	13%

- Unstable economy

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	51%	72%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	26%	22%
Very much	16%	36%
Somewhat	35%	36%
Not very much	22%	20%
Not at all	4%	2%
Not sure	23%	6%

- Clueless

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	46%	58%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	23%	24%
Very much	13%	19%
Somewhat	33%	39%
Not very much	19%	24%
Not at all	4%	--
Not sure	31%	18%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Threatening

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	17%	33%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	55%	50%
Very much	6%	13%
Somewhat	11%	20%
Not very much	38%	27%
Not at all	17%	23%
Not sure	28%	17%

39) On a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least democratic and 10 being the most democratic, how democratic do you believe Ukraine is?

1-3; Less democratic	17%	16%
4-6	49%	50%
7-10; More democratic	21%	32%
Not sure	13%	2%

40) On a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least corrupt and 10 being the most corrupt, how corrupt do you believe Ukraine is?

1-3; Less corrupt	1%	2%
4-6	32%	44%
7-10; More corrupt	48%	51%
Not sure	19%	3%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

41) Which of the following historical events or places do you most associate with Ukraine?
[SELECT ONE]

The Chernobyl disaster	22%	15%
The 2014 Russian invasion of Crimea	18%	30%
The 2004 Orange Revolution	11%	19%
Ukrainian sport successes (Klitschko brothers boxing, Andriy Shevchenko)	9%	4%
The occupation of Donetsk by pro-Russian forces	6%	13%
The 2014 Euromaidan protests	5%	4%
Holodomor, which was a famine between 1932 and 1933	4%	6%
Tourist attractions (Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa)	2%	--
Wins on Eurovision Song Contest (Rusłana, Jamala)	--	7%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	23%	2%

42) Generally speaking, how important do you believe it is for the West, including France to support Ukraine?

TOTAL IMPORTANT	53%	69%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	22%	17%
Very important	14%	19%
Somewhat important	39%	50%
Not very important	17%	14%
Not important at all	5%	3%
Not sure	25%	14%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

43)[**IF IMPORTANT**] Why do you believe that it is important for the West to support Ukraine?

Ukraine is on the frontlines of containing Russia	17%	13%
Ukraine is on the frontlines of defending democracy against authoritarianism	16%	13%
Ukraine can be Europe’s bridge to Russia and Asia	16%	20%
Ukraine has European values	11%	5%
Ukraine can be the example that a free democracy in the post-Soviet Slavic world is possible	11%	16%
Ukraine is on the frontlines of containing Russia and China	8%	11%
Ukrainians are pro-democracy	3%	6%
Ukraine has major natural resources, including iron ore and fossil fuels	3%	2%
Ukrainians are great people	2%	2%
There are many Ukrainian people who live in Western countries	2%	3%
Ukraine is an emerging market economy	2%	1%
Ukraine can become a leader of innovation and digital economy in the world	1%	1%
Ukraine has wealthy business leaders and investors	1%	1%
Ukraine is trying its best to fight corruption	1%	1%
Things in Ukraine are getting better	1%	1%
Other (Please specify)	--	1%
Not sure	5%	3%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

44)[**IF NOT IMPORTANT**] Why do you believe that it is **NOT** important for the West to support Ukraine?

I don't really know what is going on in Ukraine	28%	31%
Ukraine is escalating the conflict with Russia, the West should not support such behavior	9%	16%
Ukraine is Russia's territory, the West should stay out	7%	16%
I believe it is more important to help countries other than Ukraine	6%	3%
Support for Ukraine could provoke Russia, which could mean war	5%	6%
Support for Ukraine would mean putting sanctions on Russia, and this is against the West's economic interests	5%	9%
Ukraine is corrupt and will always be	3%	4%
Ukraine doesn't deserve the support	3%	4%
Ukraine's economy is doomed, it has only corruption and an old style economy to offer	2%	2%
Overall, we should give less support to foreign countries	1%	--
Things in Ukraine are getting worse	--	--
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	31%	9%

45)Do you believe that the West needs to better understand how important Ukraine is?

TOTAL DEFINITELY/POSSIBLY	64%	70%
TOTAL NOT REALLY/NO	18%	17%
Definitely	24%	24%
Possibly	40%	46%
Not really	14%	13%
Not at all	4%	4%
Not sure	18%	13%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

46) Thinking about France's interests, which do you think is more important?

Defending Ukraine is good, but never at the risk of serious conflict with Russia	46%	55%
Defending Ukraine rather than improving relations with Russia	19%	25%
Improving relations with Russia rather than defending Ukraine	13%	13%
Not sure	22%	7%

47) How important do you believe Ukraine is to European security?

TOTAL IMPORTANT	50%	61%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	19%	30%
Very important	12%	20%
Somewhat important	38%	41%
Not very important	14%	25%
Not important at all	5%	5%
Not sure	31%	9%

48) Generally speaking, which of the following do you believe best describes Ukraine's overall position in the world?

A European country	22%	12%
A Slavic country	17%	28%
A part of Russia	14%	7%
A bridge to Russia	12%	32%
A part of the West	8%	12%
An independent country between Europe and Russia	8%	7%
Not sure	19%	2%

49) From what you know, is the Ukrainian language a dialect of Russian or a fully separate language?

A dialect of Russian	23%	31%
A fully separate language	30%	37%
Not sure	47%	32%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine

Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE

December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

50) From what you know, how would you describe the relations between the West (meaning EU countries, UK, US, and Canada) and Ukraine?

TOTAL STRONG	27%	44%
TOTAL WEAK	51%	39%
Very strong	7%	9%
Somewhat strong	20%	35%
Somewhat weak	44%	39%
Very weak	7%	--
Not sure	22%	17%

51) From what you know, do you believe that relations between the West (meaning EU countries, UK, US, and Canada) and Ukraine have gotten better or worse in the past ten years?

Better	18%	29%
Worse	25%	27%
Stayed the same	27%	28%
Not sure	30%	16%

52) **[IF WORSE]** Whose fault do you think this is that relations between the West and Ukraine have gotten worse over the past ten years?

Ukraine's fault	24%	16%
The West's fault	21%	33%
Both sides are equally at fault	44%	44%
Not sure	11%	7%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

53)[**IF UKRAINE**] Why do you believe it is Ukraine’s fault that relations between the West and Ukraine have deteriorated in the past 10 years?

Ukraine always demands but does not deliver	37%	28%
Ukraine is not serious about democratic reforms	27%	15%
Ukraine has had many chances but fails to use them	17%	13%
Ukraine provokes Russia	12%	15%
Ukraine was on a good track but recently things got worse	7%	14%
Corruption	--	15%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	--	--

54)[**IF THE WEST**] Why do you believe it is the West’s fault that relations between the West and Ukraine have deteriorated in the past 10 years?

The West always promises support but never delivers when it counts	37%	31%
Denying a NATO perspective to Ukraine	21%	24%
The West lacks courage to stand up for values that Ukraine defends	13%	24%
Trying to lure Ukraine away from Russia	11%	7%
Denying an EU perspective to Ukraine	6%	7%
Support of color revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and other places	6%	--
Not fulfilling the promises made in the Budapest Memorandum in 1994, that in exchange for giving up nuclear weapons Ukraine’s security would be assured	3%	7%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	3%	--

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

55) **[IF BETTER]** In your view, why have relations between Ukraine and the West improved?

Because Ukrainians bravely fight for freedom	44%	43%
Because Ukrainians fought successfully a previous autocratic regime	21%	19%
Because Ukrainians try to fight corruption	14%	22%
Because Ukrainians defend Europe against Russia	12%	7%
Because we finally learned what is Ukraine, shattering Russian stereotypes and fake stories	4%	6%
Because the Ukrainian leadership is impressive and does the right thing	--	--
Not sure	5%	3%

56) Do you think things in Ukraine are moving in the right direction or wrong direction?

I do not follow news from Ukraine	20%	15%
Things are getting worse recently	18%	29%
Things are moving in the right direction	11%	14%
Bad as always	9%	11%
Ukraine would be a great asset for Europe and the West	8%	8%
Ukraine is corruption and always will be	6%	6%
Not sure	28%	17%

57) How do you believe that Western mainstream media depicts Ukraine?

Accurately	25%	22%
Too positively	19%	42%
Too negatively	19%	14%
Not sure	37%	22%

58) If Ukraine and Russia were to take different positions on a major issue, whom would you be more likely to believe?

Ukraine	22%	28%
Russia	8%	13%
Both equally	18%	22%
Neither	25%	19%
Not sure	27%	18%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
 Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
 December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

59) Which of the following best describes Ukraine’s position with relation to Russia?

Ukraine is under a multi-front, hybrid attack from Russia	21%	40%
Ukraine is under military attack from Russia	18%	18%
Ukraine is under political and diplomatic attack from Russia	16%	10%
Ukraine is under economic attack from Russia	9%	14%
Ukraine and Russia are both reckless, this is why there is a conflict	9%	2%
Ukraine is not under attack from Russia and its issues are within its own borders, between different parts of its population hostile to each other (a kind of civil war)	7%	6%
Not sure	20%	10%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

Ukraine's Geopolitical Alignment & Future
--

INTRO: Next, we will ask some questions about Ukraine's current position and its future, both as it relates to Russia and their position in the rest of the world.

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
60)Where do you see Ukraine in 10 years?		
Special relations but no formal alliance either with NATO, EU, Russia or China	19%	18%
A member of the EU but not NATO	13%	12%
Closely tied to Russia	13%	14%
A member of the EU and NATO	9%	11%
A member of the NATO but not the EU	8%	20%
Part of a Russia-China alliance	3%	--
None of the above	7%	5%
Not sure	28%	20%
61)Do you favor or oppose NATO allies making a commitment to defend Ukraine from Russian aggression?		
TOTAL FAVOR	57%	72%
TOTAL OPPOSE	22%	20%
Strongly favor	24%	23%
Somewhat favor	33%	49%
Somewhat oppose	19%	16%
Strongly oppose	3%	4%
Not sure	21%	8%
62)Do you favor or oppose Ukraine becoming a member of the European Union at any point in the future?		
TOTAL FAVOR	41%	48%
TOTAL OPPOSE	29%	26%
Strongly favor	12%	15%
Somewhat favor	29%	33%
Somewhat oppose	14%	13%
Strongly oppose	15%	13%
Not sure	30%	26%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

63) Do you favor or oppose Ukraine becoming a member of NATO at any point in the future?

TOTAL FAVOR	40%	46%
TOTAL OPPOSE	32%	37%
Strongly favor	8%	10%
Somewhat favor	32%	36%
Somewhat oppose	17%	18%
Strongly oppose	15%	19%
Not sure	28%	17%

64) From what you know, what are the main obstacles to Ukraine's membership in the EU and NATO? (Select up to 3)

Corruption	36%	29%
Soviet legacy	24%	45%
Russian border	21%	20%
Pro-Russian factions and regions in the country	16%	25%
Weak military and unsecure borders	14%	18%
Cultural differences	14%	13%
Organized crime	12%	19%
Weak economy	12%	21%
Unstable government	12%	21%
Lack of resources	11%	13%
Geographic distance	7%	2%
Oligarchs	6%	3%
Public protests	5%	4%
Authoritarian leadership	1%	3%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	20%	10%

65)

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

66) Thinking about how much influence Russia should have over Ukraine’s future, please indicate if you agree with any of the following statements.

- Russia should have influence over major strategic decisions made by Ukraine.

TOTAL AGREE	28%	21%
TOTAL DISAGREE	51%	70%
Strongly agree	11%	14%
Somewhat agree	17%	7%
Somewhat disagree	25%	39%
Strongly disagree	26%	31%
Not sure	21%	9%

- Russia should not have absolute influence over Ukraine, but Ukraine should take Russia’s interests into account at every step.

TOTAL AGREE	56%	55%
TOTAL DISAGREE	17%	27%
Strongly agree	22%	18%
Somewhat agree	34%	37%
Somewhat disagree	15%	16%
Strongly disagree	2%	11%
Not sure	27%	18%

- NATO and the EU should not take actions with Ukraine that violate Russia’s interests.

TOTAL AGREE	40%	50%
TOTAL DISAGREE	36%	46%
Strongly agree	11%	19%
Somewhat agree	29%	31%
Somewhat disagree	29%	34%
Strongly disagree	7%	12%
Not sure	24%	4%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Russia has no right to influence what happens in Ukraine.

TOTAL AGREE	68%	66%
TOTAL DISAGREE	19%	29%
Strongly agree	36%	28%
Somewhat agree	32%	38%
Somewhat disagree	17%	22%
Strongly disagree	2%	7%
Not sure	13%	5%

67) In the past year or so, have you become more positive and welcoming or more negative and skeptical toward the idea of Ukraine becoming more closely integrated with the EU and the West, or have your views not changed?

More positive and welcoming	21%	27%
More negative and skeptical	23%	18%
Nothing changed recently in my views	36%	46%
Not sure	20%	9%

68) Do you think that the West and Ukraine share the same value systems?

TOTAL YES	47%	72%
Yes, definitely	6%	13%
Yes, somewhat	41%	59%
No	24%	12%
Not sure	29%	16%

69) Which of the following do you believe is most important for Ukraine to become a successful market economy and democracy?

Stable government	21%	38%
Clamping down on nationalism and far-right movements	17%	1%
Eliminate corruption	16%	30%
Closer integration with the West	13%	9%
Defense against Russia	5%	3%
Judicial reform	3%	6%
Decarbonization	3%	2%
A strong military in general	3%	--
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	19%	11%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

70) Thinking about the West’s support for Ukraine, please indicate if you agree with any of the following statements.

- Ukraine can be successful on its own without Western support or Western pressure.

TOTAL AGREE	36%	38%
TOTAL DISAGREE	41%	58%
Strongly agree	8%	19%
Somewhat agree	28%	19%
Somewhat disagree	29%	38%
Strongly disagree	12%	20%
Not sure	23%	4%

- Ukraine needs Western support, but not Western pressure.

TOTAL AGREE	65%	81%
TOTAL DISAGREE	17%	15%
Strongly agree	26%	26%
Somewhat agree	39%	55%
Somewhat disagree	11%	13%
Strongly disagree	6%	2%
Not sure	18%	4%

- Ukraine needs support, pressure, and firm guidance from the West.

TOTAL AGREE	61%	74%
TOTAL DISAGREE	19%	19%
Strongly agree	16%	14%
Somewhat agree	45%	60%
Somewhat disagree	17%	14%
Strongly disagree	2%	5%
Not sure	20%	7%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Now is a great moment to strengthen support for Ukraine.

TOTAL AGREE	54%	74%
TOTAL DISAGREE	22%	17%
Strongly agree	12%	22%
Somewhat agree	42%	52%
Somewhat disagree	17%	17%
Strongly disagree	5%	--
Not sure	24%	9%

- Ukraine must first get their act together, then support can be given.

TOTAL AGREE	53%	62%
TOTAL DISAGREE	23%	26%
Strongly agree	18%	14%
Somewhat agree	35%	48%
Somewhat disagree	20%	24%
Strongly disagree	3%	2%
Not sure	24%	12%

- Western efforts to support and pressure Ukraine will be unsuccessful and a waste of resources.

TOTAL AGREE	39%	41%
TOTAL DISAGREE	35%	46%
Strongly agree	9%	7%
Somewhat agree	30%	34%
Somewhat disagree	25%	37%
Strongly disagree	10%	9%
Not sure	26%	13%

71) Compared to 5 or 10 years ago, are Ukraine's efforts to defend its territorial integrity and freedom to choose its own way more or less important to you today?

More important	18%	32%
Equally important	41%	36%
Less important	15%	15%
Not sure	26%	17%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine

Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE

December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

72) Compared to 10 years ago, are you more or less optimistic that Ukraine will be a successful democracy relatively soon?

TOTAL MORE OPTIMISTIC	34%	38%
TOTAL LESS OPTIMISTIC	41%	49%
Much more optimistic	6%	9%
Somewhat more optimistic	28%	29%
Somewhat less optimistic	28%	44%
Much less optimistic	13%	5%
Not sure	25%	13%

73) Who is the key force for good in Ukraine, pushing in the direction you think is best for the country?

Civil society	20%	30%
Western partners pushing Ukraine	17%	22%
Business	12%	12%
Ukraine's Leadership	7%	7%
Russia	4%	5%
Not sure	40%	24%

74) Do you agree or disagree that Ukraine can be a successful market economy without Europe?

TOTAL AGREE	44%	43%
TOTAL DISAGREE	34%	42%
Strongly agree	11%	12%
Somewhat agree	33%	31%
Somewhat disagree	26%	36%
Strongly disagree	8%	6%
Not sure	22%	15%

75) Do you think that Russia has too much, too little, or the right amount of influence over Ukraine's future today?

Too much influence	44%	40%
Too little influence	11%	22%
The right amount of influence	18%	16%
Not sure	27%	22%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

2014 Invasion of Ukraine & Relations with Russia

INTRO: Beginning in February 2014, Russian forces and Russian-backed militias invaded Ukraine. The Russian forces proceed to annex Crimea, while the Russian-backed militias took control of the eastern Ukraine region of Donbas.

Following these actions, sanctions were imposed by the West against individuals, financial institutions, energy companies, other businesses, and officials from Russia. These sanctions also prevent some Russian officials and politicians from traveling to Canada, the United States, and the European Union, and also freeze their assets in Western countries.

At the same time, the United States and other Western countries began providing military aid and weapons to Ukraine to counter Russian forces and the Russian-backed militias.

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

76) In your view, which of the following best describes the sanctions and pressure that the West put on Russia after the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2014?

The sanctions and pressure were not enough	32%	44%
The sanctions and pressure were the right amount	40%	34%
The sanctions and pressure were too much	6%	7%
Not sure	22%	15%

77) Which of the following do you believe should happen with the Russian-controlled territory in Ukraine?

Russia should return the eastern region of Donbas and Crimea to Ukraine	33%	43%
Russia should return the eastern region of Donbas to Ukraine	13%	22%
Russia should return Crimea to Ukraine	13%	19%
Russia should not return territory to Ukraine	8%	6%
Not sure	33%	10%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

78) How likely do you believe it is that Russia would invade Ukraine again?

TOTAL LIKELY	60%	70%
TOTAL NOT LIKELY	21%	20%
Very likely	14%	15%
Somewhat likely	46%	55%
Not very likely	18%	16%
Not likely at all	3%	4%
Not sure	19%	10%

79) What, if any, international actions or approaches do you think could influence or change Russian policy toward Ukraine?

Nothing, Russia will not bow to Western pressure	24%	18%
Excluding Russia from international trade	16%	26%
Additional sanctions	12%	19%
Broader respect from the West for Russia and their legitimate security interests	8%	0%
An alliance between the West and China	6%	6%
Providing powerful military equipment to Ukraine	4%	0%
New Russian leadership	4%	14%
Not sure	26%	17%

80) In your view, what should be done to end the war in Ukraine?

Ukraine should use diplomatic and legal means but no military force to regain its territory	46%	66%
Ukraine should make peace with Russia diplomatically and allow Russia its territory	23%	17%
Ukraine should use military force to regain its territory	10%	10%
Not sure	21%	7%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

81) Which of the following outcomes do you believe that Western support and strong relations with Ukraine would have? (select all that apply)

Deter Russia in the region and thus strengthen the West and democracy	33%	40%
Be seen as an aggressive sign by Russia and thus endanger stability	18%	22%
Be beneficial for everyone and no problem for Russia or anyone else	18%	16%
Be a waste of time for everyone, Ukraine should play no role for the West	11%	12%
Weaken China in the region	10%	8%
Not sure	30%	14%

82) Do agree or disagree that by defending itself against Russian pressure and attacks, Ukraine is also defending Europe and the West?

TOTAL AGREE	54%	64%
TOTAL DISAGREE	25%	31%
Strongly agree	19%	30%
Somewhat agree	35%	34%
Somewhat disagree	18%	27%
Strongly disagree	7%	4%
Not sure	21%	5%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
83) Do you favor or oppose France selling weapons to Ukraine?		
Yes, so Ukraine can gain back Crimea and Donbas with a strong military	5%	13%
Yes, but only defensive weapons	18%	15%
Yes, but only in case that Russia invades again Ukraine	13%	21%
France should not sell weapons to Ukraine, but other Western countries should	6%	13%
No, neither my country nor anyone else from the West should under any circumstances sell weapons to Ukraine	25%	13%
Not sure	33%	25%
84) Would you favor or oppose NATO deploying soldiers into Ukraine <u>now</u> as a deterrent to Russian aggression against Ukraine?		
TOTAL FAVOR	33%	55%
TOTAL OPPOSE	42%	38%
Strongly favor	9%	19%
Somewhat favor	24%	36%
Somewhat oppose	27%	23%
Strongly oppose	15%	15%
Not sure	25%	7%
85) If Russia would invade Ukraine, would you favor or oppose NATO helping defend Ukraine by sending soldiers?		
TOTAL FAVOR	46%	56%
TOTAL OPPOSE	33%	35%
Strongly favor	16%	11%
Somewhat favor	30%	45%
Somewhat oppose	21%	23%
Strongly oppose	12%	12%
Not sure	21%	9%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

Analysis of Nord Stream 2

INTRO: Next, we will ask some questions about a project called Nord Stream 2, which is a system of offshore natural gas pipelines in Europe.

The Russian-owned Nord Stream 2 Pipeline is designed to transport natural gas from Russia under the Baltic Sea to Germany. From Germany, the natural gas is then transported to other the European Union countries.

This pipeline would be the first time that Russia supplies gas to Europe without going over land through Ukraine. By moving away from Ukraine and going under the Baltic Sea, critics say this will hurt Ukraine’s economy and destabilize Ukraine because Ukraine will no longer be needed for business with Europe and Russia will be the primary gas provider.

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

86) From what you know, do you favor or oppose Germany opening the transportation of natural gas from Russia via Nord Stream 2?

TOTAL FAVOR	39%	54%
TOTAL OPPOSE	32%	29%
Strongly favor	10%	12%
Somewhat favor	29%	42%
Somewhat oppose	22%	22%
Strongly oppose	10%	7%
Not sure	29%	17%

87) From what you know, please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

- By allowing and building Nord Stream 2, Germany made itself and Europe more vulnerable to blackmail by Russia than before.

TOTAL AGREE	61%	58%
TOTAL DISAGREE	22%	29%
Strongly agree	33%	16%
Somewhat agree	28%	42%
Somewhat disagree	15%	22%
Strongly disagree	7%	7%
Not sure	17%	13%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- By allowing and building Nord Stream 2, Germany put Ukraine at risk.

TOTAL AGREE	51%	62%
TOTAL DISAGREE	23%	27%
Strongly agree	12%	21%
Somewhat agree	39%	41%
Somewhat disagree	18%	20%
Strongly disagree	5%	7%
Not sure	26%	11%

- By allowing and building Nord Stream 2, Germany created an overall helpful long term bridge of economic cooperation between countries in the European Union and Russia.

TOTAL AGREE	52%	64%
TOTAL DISAGREE	21%	18%
Strongly agree	12%	11%
Somewhat agree	40%	53%
Somewhat disagree	17%	16%
Strongly disagree	4%	2%
Not sure	27%	18%

- It is dangerous to be dependent on supplies of oil and gas from Russia.

TOTAL AGREE	66%	92%
TOTAL DISAGREE	25%	6%
Strongly agree	33%	56%
Somewhat agree	33%	36%
Somewhat disagree	20%	6%
Strongly disagree	5%	--
Not sure	9%	2%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Russia is a reliable supplier of oil and gas to the world.

TOTAL AGREE	42%	62%
TOTAL DISAGREE	31%	25%
Strongly agree	11%	20%
Somewhat agree	31%	42%
Somewhat disagree	25%	20%
Strongly disagree	6%	5%
Not sure	27%	13%

88) Would you favor or oppose Germany and its allies retaliating with sanctions if Russia uses Nord Stream 2 to blackmail Europe?

TOTAL FAVOR	54%	59%
TOTAL OPPOSE	26%	28%
Strongly favor	28%	27%
Somewhat favor	26%	32%
Somewhat oppose	19%	13%
Strongly oppose	7%	15%
Not sure	20%	13%

89) Germany and the US have stated that if Russia uses Nord Stream 2 as an instrument to exert pressure, they will take strong countermeasures.

Do you believe that these statements are credible?

Yes, Germany and the US will take strong steps to push back against Russia in this case	21%	41%
No, this is only words, nothing will really happen if Russia uses Nord Stream 2 to blackmail Europe and the West	31%	37%
The US may do something serious, Germany will do nothing	11%	9%
Not sure	37%	13%

90) If Russian were to invade Ukraine at any point in the coming years, should Germany close Nord Stream 2 immediately?

Yes	44%	48%
No	20%	24%
Not sure	36%	28%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

Personal Feelings & Demographics

INTRO: We're almost finished! We will conclude with some standard questions about your personal views, demographics, and habits.

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

91) How important are each of the following values to you?

- Religion

TOTAL IMPORTANT	44%	47%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	50%	53%
Very important	22%	21%
Somewhat important	22%	26%
Not very important	24%	24%
Not important at all	26%	29%
Not sure	6%	--

- Freedom

TOTAL IMPORTANT	88%	92%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	6%	8%
Very important	71%	74%
Somewhat important	17%	18%
Not very important	4%	5%
Not important at all	2%	3%
Not sure	6%	--

- Solidarity

TOTAL IMPORTANT	83%	90%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	11%	10%
Very important	51%	57%
Somewhat important	32%	33%
Not very important	8%	8%
Not important at all	3%	2%
Not sure	6%	--

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Environmental sustainability

TOTAL IMPORTANT	84%	91%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	10%	8%
Very important	49%	54%
Somewhat important	35%	37%
Not very important	6%	6%
Not important at all	4%	2%
Not sure	6%	1%

- Fairness

TOTAL IMPORTANT	85%	91%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	9%	9%
Very important	53%	60%
Somewhat important	32%	31%
Not very important	7%	8%
Not important at all	2%	1%
Not sure	6%	--

- My country

TOTAL IMPORTANT	83%	93%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	11%	7%
Very important	51%	57%
Somewhat important	32%	36%
Not very important	7%	5%
Not important at all	4%	2%
Not sure	6%	--

- Human rights

TOTAL IMPORTANT	88%	93%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	7%	6%
Very important	68%	71%
Somewhat important	20%	22%
Not very important	5%	4%
Not important at all	2%	2%
Not sure	5%	1%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

92) In Europe and the West, personal and family identities have changed in recent decades. Which of the following best describes your views on these changes?

We need to fight for full equality for women, LGBTQ people, and people of color	39%	55%
It is good that much has been achieved for women, LGBTQ people, and people of color, but it is enough for now and there are more urgent tasks	27%	29%
Traditional personal and family values are under attack now by liberation movements and I would like to see them protected	18%	14%
Not sure	16%	2%

93) Thinking about some of the biggest challenges facing the world, with which group of people do you feel the greatest empathy and wish to help? (Select up to 3)

Simple hardworking people who are given no chance by a system run by PROFESSIONALS	37%	32%
Those dying of hunger and diseases worldwide	34%	41%
The poor in my own country	32%	36%
Women suffering repression	32%	32%
Activists fighting climate change	16%	13%
Refugees trying to cross the Mediterranean to get to Europe	15%	25%
Afghan citizens under the new Taliban regime	15%	20%
Religious movements and ethnic minorities suppressed in China	9%	15%
Central American migrants trying to gain asylum in the US	6%	11%
Ukrainian soldiers defending their country	5%	7%
Other (Please specify)	1%	1%
Not sure	13%	4%

94) What is your gender?

Male	48%	56%
Female	51%	44%
Other	--	--
Don't want to disclose	1%	--

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

95) What is your religion?

Roman Catholic	35%	49%
Muslim	9%	3%
Other Protestant Christian	4%	5%
Lutheran	1%	0%
Jewish	1%	5%
Hindu	1%	0%
Buddhist	1%	2%
No religion	41%	33%
Other	7%	4%

96) Which of the following best describes your ideology?

Left	23%	17%
Center	25%	39%
Right	26%	35%
Not sure	16%	5%
Prefer not to answer	10%	4%

97) What is your ethnicity?

French	81%	92%
Algerian and Moroccan Berber	3%	2%
Italian	1%	2%
Portuguese	1%	1%
Moroccan Arab	2%	--
Fleming	--	--
Algerian Arab	3%	--
Basque	1%	--
Jewish	--	1%
Other	7%	2%
Not sure	1%	--

98) Which of the following best describes your employment status?

Employed full-time	56%	82%
Employed part-time	8%	4%
Unemployed	3%	2%
Retired	22%	9%
Student	6%	2%
Homemaker	4%	1%
Not sure	1%	--

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

99) **[IF FULL TIME OR PART TIME]** In which of the following industries do you work?

Tech	12%	19%
Business services/consulting	10%	4%
Finance	7%	26%
Government	14%	25%
Healthcare	15%	9%
Academia	2%	5%
Law	2%	3%
Marketing/Advertising/Public Relations	4%	5%
Media	1%	3%
Entertainment	1%	1%
Philanthropy	--	--
Other	31%	--
Not sure	1%	--

100) Is the area in which you live...?

Urban	50%	67%
Suburban	20%	20%
Rural	30%	13%

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

News on TV	63%	61%
Newspapers (online or print)	51%	71%
Radio	44%	56%
Social media	35%	45%
Word of mouth (friends, family, or colleagues)	19%	25%
Podcasts	6%	12%
Other [SPECIFY]	1%	0%
Not sure	7%	1%

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

Very often	6%	8%
Sometimes	12%	12%
Rarely	12%	10%
Never	70%	70%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine

Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE

December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

103) Russia’s media presence around the world has been criticized as disinformation, do you agree?

Yes	25%	34%
Somewhat, but it is good to get also a different point of view	31%	38%
No, Russian media are often more credible than Western mainstream media	10%	7%
Not sure	34%	21%

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

0-5 hours	57%	50%
6-10 hours	24%	23%
11-15 hours	12%	14%
16-20 hours	4%	6%
More than 20 hours	3%	7%

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

Incomplete Secondary Education	3%	--
Secondary Education Completed (Baccalauréat or equivalent)	9%	--
Some University or Vocational Certification	16%	--
Vocational or Professional Certification Completed (BTS, DUT or equivalent)	23%	--
University Education Completed (Bac+3) [UPPER EDU FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	18%	16%
Postgraduate Education Completed (Bac+5: Master, Engineering Degree or equivalent) [UPPER EDU FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	20%	55%
Doctorate, Post-doctorate or equivalent (Bac +8) [UPPER EDU FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	6%	29%
Prefer not to answer	5%	--

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
 Six Country Study – FRANCE TOPLINE
 December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

106) Which of the following categories best describes your annual household income before taxes?

Less than €20,000	19%	--
€20,000 - €39,999	31%	--
€40,000 - €59,999	20%	--
€60,000 - €79,999	12%	10%
[MODERATE INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING OF ACADEMIA AND GOVERNMENT PROFESSIONALS]		
€80,000 - €99,999	5%	12%
[MODERATE INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING OF ACADEMIA AND GOVERNMENT PROFESSIONALS]		
€100,00 – 119,999 [UPPER INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	2%	38%
€120,000 or more [UPPER INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	1%	40%
Prefer not to answer	10%	--