

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

Screening Questions

S1: What is your age?

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
Under 18 [TERMINATE]	--	--
18-20	4%	1%
21-29	13%	13%
30-34	9%	10%
35-39	9%	17%
40-49	18%	26%
50-64	24%	28%
65 and older	23%	5%

S2: In which country do you live?

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

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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.

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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	79%	84%
TOTAL DISAGREE	14%	13%
Strongly agree	32%	41%
Somewhat agree	47%	43%
Somewhat disagree	11%	11%
Strongly disagree	3%	2%
Not sure	7%	3%

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

TOTAL AGREE	69%	76%
TOTAL DISAGREE	22%	17%
Strongly agree	24%	37%
Somewhat agree	45%	39%
Somewhat disagree	15%	14%
Strongly disagree	7%	3%
Not sure	9%	7%

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- 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	57%	76%
TOTAL BAD	35%	24%
Very good and should be continued	23%	21%
Somewhat good, but now it is enough and we need a break	34%	55%
Somewhat bad	23%	11%
Very bad, it was wrong and the EU should be smaller	7%	10%
Very bad, the EU should be dismantled	5%	3%
Not sure	8%	--

- 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	71%	85%
TOTAL BAD/SHOULD BE DISMANTLED	21%	12%
Very good and should be continued	18%	22%
Somewhat good	34%	38%
Good, but now it is enough and we need a break	19%	25%
Somewhat bad	13%	8%
Very bad	6%	--
Very bad, NATO should be dismantled	2%	4%
Not sure	8%	3%

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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?

When Western leaders expanded the European Union and NATO, they broke promises to Russia and violated legitimate Russian interests	34%	20%
It was appropriate for Western leaders to expand the European Union and NATO to promote peace, democracy, and security	38%	62%
Not sure	28%	18%

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

TOTAL YES	74%	73%
Yes, the EU should accept new members in the near future (in the next 5-10 years)	31%	36%
Yes, but only in the later future (possibly after 2030), when conditions are right	43%	37%
No, the EU should not accept new members	19%	24%
Not sure	7%	3%

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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	28%	42%
Ukraine	15%	18%
Russia	12%	1%
Serbia	10%	15%
Turkey	9%	4%
Albania	8%	14%
Northern Macedonia	6%	5%
Morocco	5%	2%
Georgia	4%	3%
Tunisia	4%	2%
Armenia	2%	2%
Moldova	2%	11%
Other (Please specify)	3%	5%
Not sure	28%	13%

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

TOTAL YES	59%	70%
Yes, NATO should accept new members in the near future (in the next 5-10 years)	32%	26%
Yes, but only in the later future (possibly after 2030), when conditions are right	27%	44%
No, NATO should not accept new members	24%	17%
Not sure	17%	13%

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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	28%	51%
Russia	20%	9%
Ukraine	15%	9%
Azerbaijan	8%	2%
Mexico	8%	10%
Serbia	8%	4%
Morocco	7%	1%
Armenia	4%	6%
Georgia	4%	12%
Moldova	3%	12%
Tunisia	3%	--
Other (Please specify)	1%	2%
Not sure	26%	17%

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General Perceptions of the West
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	<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?		
US, Canada, European Union, and the UK, plus Australia and New Zealand	35%	49%
The US, Canada, European Union, and the UK	28%	31%
The West is a concept that has lost its meaning, or never had a meaning for me	20%	16%
Not sure	17%	4%
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	13%	13%
Strengthen relations with China to contain Russia	9%	7%
Do not strengthen relations with Russia or China because both violate Western principles and the West must contain and confront them both	26%	32%
It is best to have good relations with every major country around the world	51%	48%
Not sure	1%	--
12) In your view, which of the following countries, if any, are part of the West? [SELECT ALL THAT APPLY]		
Ukraine	15%	35%
Serbia	14%	32%
Russia	13%	9%
Moldova	7%	18%
Georgia	6%	21%
None of the above	39%	47%
Not sure	29%	5%

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

China	19%	24%
Europe	17%	22%
The West	13%	20%
The US	7%	6%
Asia	6%	3%
The Muslim world	2%	6%
The Slavic world	--	1%
No one country or group	28%	8%
Not sure	8%	10%

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	26%	38%
All are equally truthful and moral to me, everyone has a point	22%	19%
My country is more truthful and moral than all others	15%	21%
All governments are hypocrites and principles mean nothing to them	12%	6%
At least Russia is honest about its interests and does not hide its interests behind supposed truth and morals like the United States	10%	6%
China is more peaceful than other big countries	1%	--
Not sure	14%	10%

15) Thinking about Germany'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)

Russia	45%	46%
The United States	36%	45%
China	31%	34%
France	22%	39%
The United Kingdom	20%	20%
Poland	14%	11%
Canada	9%	9%
Ukraine	5%	5%
Not sure	13%	2%

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Perceptions of Russia

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

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

TOTAL POSITIVE	29%	27%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	40%	52%
Very positive	8%	9%
Somewhat positive	21%	18%
Somewhat negative	28%	36%
Very negative	12%	16%
Neutral	26%	19%
Not sure	5%	2%

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

- Strength

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	83%	75%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	11%	22%
Very much	42%	32%
Somewhat	41%	43%
Not very much	10%	11%
Not at all	1%	11%
Not sure	6%	3%

- Freedom

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	30%	23%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	61%	77%
Very much	13%	12%
Somewhat	17%	11%
Not very much	28%	42%
Not at all	33%	35%
Not sure	9%	--

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	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
• Authoritarian leadership		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	83%	91%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	11%	9%
Very much	55%	74%
Somewhat	28%	17%
Not very much	7%	4%
Not at all	4%	5%
Not sure	6%	--
• Neo-Nazism		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	33%	55%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	45%	34%
Very much	13%	19%
Somewhat	20%	36%
Not very much	25%	15%
Not at all	20%	19%
Not sure	22%	11%
• Nice people		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	65%	56%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	28%	41%
Very much	22%	26%
Somewhat	43%	30%
Not very much	21%	34%
Not at all	7%	7%
Not sure	7%	3%
• Beautiful nature		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	87%	90%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	8%	8%
Very much	42%	40%
Somewhat	45%	50%
Not very much	6%	8%
Not at all	2%	--
Not sure	5%	2%

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	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
• Soviet industry		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	61%	66%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	30%	34%
Very much	24%	6%
Somewhat	37%	60%
Not very much	22%	20%
Not at all	8%	14%
Not sure	9%	--
• Corruption		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	69%	84%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	17%	10%
Very much	30%	53%
Somewhat	39%	31%
Not very much	12%	8%
Not at all	5%	2%
Not sure	14%	6%
• Successful fight against corruption		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	34%	24%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	62%	73%
Very much	11%	3%
Somewhat	23%	21%
Not very much	28%	16%
Not at all	34%	57%
Not sure	4%	3%
• Spying and espionage		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	74%	96%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	17%	2%
Very much	44%	49%
Somewhat	30%	47%
Not very much	12%	2%
Not at all	5%	--
Not sure	9%	2%

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	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
• Election interference		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	66%	78%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	26%	20%
Very much	35%	52%
Somewhat	31%	26%
Not very much	18%	13%
Not at all	8%	7%
Not sure	8%	2%
• Trafficking of women		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	35%	54%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	48%	33%
Very much	10%	23%
Somewhat	25%	31%
Not very much	32%	26%
Not at all	16%	7%
Not sure	17%	13%
• Organized crime		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	62%	87%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	30%	10%
Very much	28%	32%
Somewhat	34%	55%
Not very much	24%	6%
Not at all	6%	4%
Not sure	8%	3%
• Creativity		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	51%	56%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	43%	44%
Very much	11%	11%
Somewhat	40%	45%
Not very much	28%	37%
Not at all	15%	7%
Not sure	6%	--

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- Anti-Semitism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	46%	47%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	37%	49%
Very much	19%	20%
Somewhat	27%	27%
Not very much	28%	31%
Not at all	9%	18%
Not sure	17%	4%

- IT industry

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	48%	48%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	36%	45%
Very much	20%	18%
Somewhat	28%	30%
Not very much	27%	31%
Not at all	9%	14%
Not sure	16%	7%

- Oligarchs

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	53%	80%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	31%	11%
Very much	28%	50%
Somewhat	25%	30%
Not very much	27%	11%
Not at all	4%	--
Not sure	16%	9%

- The Slavic soul

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	67%	69%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	20%	29%
Very much	25%	20%
Somewhat	42%	49%
Not very much	17%	22%
Not at all	3%	7%
Not sure	13%	2%

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- Europe

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	51%	32%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	40%	61%
Very much	11%	6%
Somewhat	40%	26%
Not very much	27%	42%
Not at all	13%	19%
Not sure	9%	7%

- Aggressive nationalism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	86%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	29%	8%
Very much	22%	55%
Somewhat	32%	31%
Not very much	19%	6%
Not at all	10%	2%
Not sure	17%	6%

- Great culture

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	84%	82%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	12%	14%
Very much	43%	41%
Somewhat	41%	41%
Not very much	10%	12%
Not at all	2%	2%
Not sure	4%	4%

- Emerging markets

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	41%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	38%	53%
Very much	15%	9%
Somewhat	39%	32%
Not very much	29%	35%
Not at all	9%	18%
Not sure	8%	6%

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	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frozen conflicts 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	67%	84%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	24%	15%
Very much	35%	40%
Somewhat	32%	44%
Not very much	19%	6%
Not at all	5%	9%
Not sure	9%	1%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imperial/Tsarist history 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	56%	80%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	28%	15%
Very much	25%	58%
Somewhat	31%	22%
Not very much	19%	12%
Not at all	9%	3%
Not sure	16%	5%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Soviet history 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	74%	81%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	19%	16%
Very much	38%	38%
Somewhat	36%	43%
Not very much	17%	16%
Not at all	2%	--
Not sure	7%	3%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clueless 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	27%	38%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	59%	53%
Very much	9%	8%
Somewhat	18%	30%
Not very much	31%	29%
Not at all	28%	24%
Not sure	14%	9%

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- Pro-democracy protests

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	69%	83%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	23%	14%
Very much	29%	25%
Somewhat	40%	58%
Not very much	17%	10%
Not at all	6%	4%
Not sure	8%	3%

- Threatening

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	52%	73%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	33%	22%
Very much	18%	24%
Somewhat	34%	49%
Not very much	19%	19%
Not at all	14%	3%
Not sure	15%	5%

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	37%	45%
4-6	38%	35%
7-10; More democratic	20%	17%
Not sure	5%	3%

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	6%	4%
4-6	27%	15%
7-10; More corrupt	63%	81%
Not sure	4%	--

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

TOTAL IMPORTANT	73%	75%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	17%	21%
Very important	26%	25%
Somewhat important	47%	50%
Not very important	13%	16%
Not important at all	4%	5%
Not sure	10%	4%

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	29%	29%
Russia is key for stability in the region	22%	27%
Russia has major natural resources, including iron ore and fossil fuels	16%	23%
Russia is the West’s best potential partner for containing China	8%	6%
There are many Russian people who live in Western countries	4%	2%
Russia has European values	3%	2%
Russia is an emerging market economy	3%	5%
Russians are pro-democracy	2%	--
Russians are great people	2%	3%
Russia can become a leader of innovation and digital economy in the world	2%	1%
Russia has wealthy business leaders and investors	2%	--
Things in Russia are getting better	1%	--
Russia is doing its best to fight corruption	--	--
Other (Please specify)	--	1%
Not sure	6%	1%

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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%	29%
Russia is corrupt and will always be	20%	17%
I believe it is more important to help countries other than Russia	13%	23%
I don't really know what is going on in Russia	10%	6%
Support and offers of partnership for Russia would entice Russia to pressure and invade Ukraine	8%	8%
Russia doesn't deserve the support	5%	11%
Russia's economy is doomed, it has only corruption and an old style economy to offer	5%	--
Things in Russia are getting worse	1%	2%
Overall, we should stay away from international partnerships and cooperation	1%	--
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	5%	4%

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	69%	75%
TOTAL DISAGREE	19%	17%
Strongly agree	27%	15%
Somewhat agree	42%	60%
Somewhat disagree	13%	13%
Strongly disagree	6%	4%
Not sure	12%	8%

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

A strong independent power	33%	13%
Partially Europe, partially Asian	29%	39%
A European country	14%	7%
The leader of the Slavic world	12%	34%
Not sure	12%	7%

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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	24%	37%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	52%	52%
Very positive	6%	3%
Somewhat positive	18%	34%
Somewhat negative	36%	35%
Very negative	16%	17%
Neutral	14%	7%
Not sure	10%	4%

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

TOTAL POSITIVE	23%	17%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	56%	66%
Very positive	5%	10%
Somewhat positive	18%	7%
Somewhat negative	44%	49%
Very negative	12%	17%
Neutral	16%	15%
Not sure	5%	2%

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	16%	9%
Worse	49%	71%
Stayed the same	27%	14%
Not sure	8%	6%

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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	25%	35%
The West's fault	15%	13%
Both sides are equally at fault	49%	48%
Not sure	11%	4%

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	35%	51%
Suppression of internal opposition and other authoritarian tendencies	27%	32%
Support of Assad regime in Syria	20%	9%
Assassination of opponents abroad	11%	6%
Other (Please specify)	4%	1%
Not sure	3%	1%

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?

Expansion of NATO and EU	36%	44%
Lack of respect for Russia	25%	23%
Support of color revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and other places	22%	22%
Sanctions against Russia	10%	2%
Luring Ukraine away from Russia	3%	3%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	4%	6%

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	16%	20%
Defending democratic principles and values rather than improve relations with Russia	15%	29%
Defending principles is good, but avoiding escalation is even more important	49%	44%
Not sure	20%	7%

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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	29%	33%
No	37%	44%
Not sure	34%	23%

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	34%	45%
The accusations are true but exaggerated	24%	28%
The accusations are NOT true, Russia is just defending their interests	11%	5%
The big tech companies are the ones controlling and abusing information	7%	2%
It's actually Ukraine, not Russia, who is trying to spread disinformation and influence the West	4%	4%
Not sure	20%	16%

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

TOTAL YES	36%	33%
Yes, definitely	10%	8%
Yes, somewhat	26%	25%
No	52%	65%
Not sure	12%	2%

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

Civil society	33%	60%
Russia's Leadership	14%	1%
The example of free and democratic Ukraine	13%	9%
Western partners pushing Russia	9%	15%
Business	7%	7%
Not sure	24%	8%

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PROFESSIONALS

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

Accurately	15%	38%
Too positively	21%	15%
Too negatively	42%	39%
Not sure	22%	8%

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Perceptions of Ukraine

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

<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
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37) Generally speaking, do you have a positive, neutral, or negative view of Ukraine?

TOTAL POSITIVE	28%	41%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	13%	9%
Very positive	6%	5%
Somewhat positive	22%	36%
Neutral	53%	47%
Somewhat negative	10%	7%
Very negative	3%	2%
Not sure	6%	3%

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

- Strength

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	41%	35%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	48%	55%
Very much	9%	4%
Somewhat	32%	31%
Not very much	37%	40%
Not at all	11%	15%
Not sure	11%	10%

- Nice people

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	63%	75%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	16%	9%
Very much	27%	29%
Somewhat	36%	46%
Not very much	15%	9%
Not at all	1%	--
Not sure	21%	16%

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PROFESSIONALS

- Beautiful nature

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	67%	60%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	17%	26%
Very much	32%	34%
Somewhat	35%	26%
Not very much	13%	18%
Not at all	4%	8%
Not sure	16%	14%

- Freedom

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	51%	68%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	39%	27%
Very much	13%	14%
Somewhat	38%	54%
Not very much	29%	25%
Not at all	10%	2%
Not sure	10%	5%

- Authoritarian leadership

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	53%	33%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	34%	58%
Very much	19%	8%
Somewhat	34%	25%
Not very much	20%	48%
Not at all	14%	10%
Not sure	13%	9%

- Neo-Nazism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	34%	37%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	43%	52%
Very much	13%	8%
Somewhat	21%	29%
Not very much	31%	33%
Not at all	12%	19%
Not sure	23%	11%

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PROFESSIONALS

- Soviet industry

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	53%	68%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	33%	25%
Very much	14%	20%
Somewhat	39%	48%
Not very much	21%	18%
Not at all	12%	7%
Not sure	14%	7%

- Nuclear power

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	32%	26%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	47%	55%
Very much	11%	9%
Somewhat	21%	17%
Not very much	28%	21%
Not at all	19%	34%
Not sure	21%	19%

- Corruption

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	69%	68%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	18%	18%
Very much	26%	20%
Somewhat	43%	48%
Not very much	14%	12%
Not at all	4%	6%
Not sure	13%	14%

- Successful fight against corruption

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	32%	14%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	52%	78%
Very much	13%	4%
Somewhat	19%	10%
Not very much	33%	45%
Not at all	19%	33%
Not sure	16%	8%

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PROFESSIONALS

- Trafficking of women

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	38%	47%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	47%	36%
Very much	13%	12%
Somewhat	25%	35%
Not very much	28%	25%
Not at all	19%	11%
Not sure	15%	17%

- Organized crime

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	58%	62%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	28%	34%
Very much	21%	8%
Somewhat	37%	54%
Not very much	24%	30%
Not at all	4%	4%
Not sure	14%	4%

- Creativity

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	49%	47%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	39%	41%
Very much	9%	4%
Somewhat	40%	43%
Not very much	27%	30%
Not at all	12%	11%
Not sure	12%	12%

- Anti-Semitism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	39%	50%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	39%	38%
Very much	11%	6%
Somewhat	28%	44%
Not very much	29%	24%
Not at all	10%	14%
Not sure	22%	12%

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

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GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- IT industry

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	28%	32%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	49%	62%
Very much	10%	16%
Somewhat	18%	16%
Not very much	38%	29%
Not at all	11%	33%
Not sure	23%	6%

- Aggressive nationalism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	52%	44%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	34%	50%
Very much	23%	6%
Somewhat	29%	38%
Not very much	30%	34%
Not at all	4%	16%
Not sure	14%	6%

- Europe

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	52%	67%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	38%	25%
Very much	11%	10%
Somewhat	41%	57%
Not very much	27%	17%
Not at all	11%	8%
Not sure	10%	8%

- Russia

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	53%	65%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	29%	29%
Very much	22%	19%
Somewhat	31%	46%
Not very much	19%	26%
Not at all	10%	3%
Not sure	18%	6%

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PROFESSIONALS

- The Slavic Soul

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	72%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	28%	20%
Very much	19%	18%
Somewhat	35%	54%
Not very much	23%	15%
Not at all	5%	5%
Not sure	18%	8%

- Oligarchs

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	54%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	26%	35%
Very much	22%	8%
Somewhat	32%	46%
Not very much	23%	26%
Not at all	3%	9%
Not sure	20%	11%

- Great culture

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	62%	75%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	26%	17%
Very much	23%	20%
Somewhat	39%	55%
Not very much	21%	11%
Not at all	5%	6%
Not sure	12%	8%

- Emerging markets

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	37%	39%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	44%	51%
Very much	9%	5%
Somewhat	28%	34%
Not very much	32%	39%
Not at all	12%	12%
Not sure	19%	10%

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PROFESSIONALS

- Frozen conflicts

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	61%	85%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	27%	7%
Very much	29%	40%
Somewhat	32%	45%
Not very much	18%	4%
Not at all	9%	3%
Not sure	12%	8%

- Pro-democracy protests

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	70%	74%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	19%	22%
Very much	24%	24%
Somewhat	46%	50%
Not very much	14%	22%
Not at all	5%	--
Not sure	11%	4%

- Unstable economy

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	67%	71%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	20%	19%
Very much	17%	23%
Somewhat	50%	48%
Not very much	16%	16%
Not at all	4%	3%
Not sure	13%	10%

- Clueless

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	36%	33%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	45%	55%
Very much	12%	4%
Somewhat	24%	29%
Not very much	27%	34%
Not at all	18%	21%
Not sure	19%	12%

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- Threatening

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	31%	17%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	54%	76%
Very much	8%	6%
Somewhat	23%	11%
Not very much	30%	44%
Not at all	24%	32%
Not sure	15%	7%

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	19%	4%
4-6	48%	56%
7-10; More democratic	27%	39%
Not sure	6%	1%

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	6%	5%
4-6	38%	40%
7-10; More corrupt	47%	51%
Not sure	9%	4%

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

The 2014 Russian invasion of Crimea	25%	36%
The Chernobyl disaster	23%	23%
The 2004 Orange Revolution	9%	20%
Ukrainian sport successes (Klitschko brothers boxing, Andriy Shevchenko)	8%	8%
Holodomor, which was a famine between 1932 and 1933	5%	2%
The 2014 Euromaidan protests	4%	5%
Wins on Eurovision Song Contest (Rusłana, Jamala)	4%	--
The occupation of Donetsk by pro-Russian forces	3%	2%
Tourist attractions (Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa)	1%	--
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	18%	4%

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

TOTAL IMPORTANT	57%	72%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	28%	21%
Very important	15%	21%
Somewhat important	42%	51%
Not very important	21%	13%
Not important at all	7%	8%
Not sure	15%	7%

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

Ukraine can be Europe’s bridge to Russia and Asia	21%	24%
Ukraine is on the frontlines of defending democracy against authoritarianism	17%	16%
Ukraine can be the example that a free democracy in the post-Soviet Slavic world is possible	13%	20%
Ukraine is on the frontlines of containing Russia	11%	10%
Ukraine is on the frontlines of containing Russia and China	5%	10%
Ukraine has European values	5%	2%
Ukrainians are pro-democracy	5%	7%
Ukraine has major natural resources, including iron ore and fossil fuels	3%	2%
Ukrainians are great people	2%	1%
There are many Ukrainian people who live in Western countries	2%	3%
Ukraine is an emerging market economy	2%	2%
Ukraine can become a leader of innovation and digital economy in the world	1%	--
Ukraine has wealthy business leaders and investors	1%	--
Ukraine is trying its best to fight corruption	1%	1%
Things in Ukraine are getting better	1%	--
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	10%	2%

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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	21%	20%
Ukraine is escalating the conflict with Russia, the West should not support such behavior	16%	16%
Ukraine is corrupt and will always be	9%	2%
I believe it is more important to help countries other than Ukraine	7%	8%
Support for Ukraine would mean putting sanctions on Russia, and this is against the West's economic interests	6%	5%
Ukraine is Russia's territory, the West should stay out	5%	2%
Support for Ukraine could provoke Russia, which could mean war	5%	14%
Overall, we should give less support to foreign countries	5%	--
Ukraine doesn't deserve the support	3%	2%
Ukraine's economy is doomed, it has only corruption and an old style economy to offer	2%	17%
Things in Ukraine are getting worse	1%	--
Other (Please specify)	1%	1%
Not sure	19%	13%

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

TOTAL DEFINITELY/POSSIBLY	70%	66%
TOTAL NOT REALLY/NO	21%	31%
Definitely	23%	15%
Possibly	47%	51%
Not really	18%	29%
Not at all	3%	2%
Not sure	9%	3%

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

Improving relations with Russia rather than defending Ukraine	18%	19%
Defending Ukraine rather than improving relations with Russia	16%	19%
Defending Ukraine is good, but never at the risk of serious conflict with Russia	51%	56%
Not sure	15%	6%

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

TOTAL IMPORTANT	51%	72%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	32%	23%
Very important	17%	24%
Somewhat important	34%	48%
Not very important	26%	16%
Not important at all	6%	7%
Not sure	17%	5%

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

A bridge to Russia	20%	22%
An independent country between Europe and Russia	16%	20%
A part of Russia	15%	5%
A European country	13%	20%
A Slavic country	12%	18%
A part of the West	9%	10%
Not sure	15%	5%

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

A dialect of Russian	40%	34%
A fully separate language	38%	42%
Not sure	22%	24%

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	40%	40%
TOTAL WEAK	44%	42%
Very strong	6%	6%
Somewhat strong	34%	34%
Somewhat weak	37%	39%
Very weak	7%	3%
Not sure	16%	18%

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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	24%	30%
Worse	26%	28%
Stayed the same	33%	30%
Not sure	17%	12%

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	20%	23%
The West's fault	15%	26%
Both sides are equally at fault	57%	46%
Not sure	8%	5%

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 is not serious about democratic reforms	35%	42%
Ukraine provokes Russia	16%	5%
Ukraine has had many chances but fails to use them	14%	23%
Ukraine always demands but does not deliver	13%	20%
Ukraine was on a good track but recently things got worse	10%	9%
Corruption	4%	--
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	8%	1%

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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	27%	29%
Denying a NATO perspective to Ukraine	18%	13%
Support of color revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and other places	18%	6%
The West lacks courage to stand up for values that Ukraine defends	17%	26%
Denying an EU perspective to Ukraine	11%	13%
Trying to lure Ukraine away from Russia	5%	9%
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	4%	--
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	--	4%

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

Because Ukrainians fought successfully a previous autocratic regime	28%	33%
Because Ukrainians bravely fight for freedom	23%	25%
Because Ukrainians defend Europe against Russia	14%	16%
Because Ukrainians try to fight corruption	13%	16%
Because we finally learned what is Ukraine, shattering Russian stereotypes and fake stories	7%	2%
Because the Ukrainian leadership is impressive and does the right thing	5%	4%
Not sure	10%	4%

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

Things are getting worse recently	21%	36%
I do not follow news from Ukraine	15%	4%
Bad as always	14%	11%
Ukraine is corruption and always will be	11%	6%
Ukraine would be a great asset for Europe and the West	10%	12%
Things are moving in the right direction	9%	10%
Not sure	20%	21%

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

Accurately	24%	39%
Too positively	25%	17%
Too negatively	15%	21%
Not sure	36%	23%

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

Ukraine	27%	34%
Russia	15%	10%
Both equally	28%	23%
Neither	14%	26%
Not sure	16%	7%

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

Ukraine is under military attack from Russia	14%	10%
Ukraine is under economic attack from Russia	9%	6%
Ukraine is under political and diplomatic attack from Russia	14%	31%
Ukraine is under a multi-front, hybrid attack from Russia	19%	32%
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)	13%	10%
Ukraine and Russia are both reckless, this is why there is a conflict	10%	6%
Not sure	21%	5%

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Ukraine's Geopolitical Alignment & Future
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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	25%	27%
A member of the EU but not NATO	13%	18%
A member of the EU and NATO	12%	22%
A member of the NATO but not the EU	11%	7%
Closely tied to Russia	8%	9%
Part of a Russia-China alliance	3%	2%
None of the above	9%	10%
Not sure	19%	5%
61)Do you favor or oppose NATO allies making a commitment to defend Ukraine from Russian aggression?		
TOTAL FAVOR	49%	64%
TOTAL OPPOSE	35%	28%
Strongly favor	14%	11%
Somewhat favor	35%	53%
Somewhat oppose	21%	20%
Strongly oppose	14%	8%
Not sure	16%	8%
62)Do you favor or oppose Ukraine becoming a member of the European Union at any point in the future?		
TOTAL FAVOR	50%	47%
TOTAL OPPOSE	27%	38%
Strongly favor	13%	12%
Somewhat favor	37%	35%
Somewhat oppose	20%	31%
Strongly oppose	7%	7%
Not sure	23%	15%

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

TOTAL FAVOR	35%	49%
TOTAL OPPOSE	41%	28%
Strongly favor	8%	16%
Somewhat favor	27%	33%
Somewhat oppose	25%	20%
Strongly oppose	16%	8%
Not sure	24%	23%

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

Corruption	31%	26%
Soviet legacy	27%	24%
Weak military and unsecure borders	21%	17%
Pro-Russian factions and regions in the country	20%	32%
Weak economy	16%	21%
Organized crime	14%	9%
Russian border	14%	22%
Cultural differences	12%	14%
Lack of resources	8%	3%
Oligarchs	8%	8%
Unstable government	8%	17%
Authoritarian leadership	7%	10%
Geographic distance	2%	14%
Public protests	2%	--
Other (Please specify)	1%	3%
Not sure	17%	10%

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65) 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	31%	18%
TOTAL DISAGREE	58%	80%
Strongly agree	17%	9%
Somewhat agree	14%	9%
Somewhat disagree	20%	28%
Strongly disagree	38%	52%
Not sure	11%	2%

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

TOTAL AGREE	62%	68%
TOTAL DISAGREE	23%	15%
Strongly agree	29%	19%
Somewhat agree	33%	49%
Somewhat disagree	17%	13%
Strongly disagree	6%	2%
Not sure	15%	17%

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

TOTAL AGREE	61%	51%
TOTAL DISAGREE	23%	41%
Strongly agree	29%	16%
Somewhat agree	32%	35%
Somewhat disagree	17%	25%
Strongly disagree	6%	16%
Not sure	16%	8%

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

TOTAL AGREE	67%	80%
TOTAL DISAGREE	21%	14%
Strongly agree	40%	55%
Somewhat agree	27%	25%
Somewhat disagree	17%	10%
Strongly disagree	4%	4%
Not sure	12%	6%

66) 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%	32%
More negative and skeptical	22%	15%
Nothing changed recently in my views	39%	46%
Not sure	18%	7%

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

TOTAL YES	48%	48%
Yes, definitely	8%	3%
Yes, somewhat	40%	45%
No	32%	48%
Not sure	20%	4%

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

Stable government	40%	38%
Eliminate corruption	18%	21%
Closer integration with the West	9%	17%
Clamping down on nationalism and far-right movements	7%	9%
Judicial reform	6%	3%
Defense against Russia	4%	--
Decarbonization	3%	6%
A strong military in general	2%	2%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	11%	4%

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PROFESSIONALS

69) 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	34%	28%
TOTAL DISAGREE	49%	52%
Strongly agree	12%	12%
Somewhat agree	22%	16%
Somewhat disagree	36%	34%
Strongly disagree	13%	18%
Not sure	17%	20%

- Ukraine needs Western support, but not Western pressure.

TOTAL AGREE	66%	86%
TOTAL DISAGREE	18%	10%
Strongly agree	32%	33%
Somewhat agree	34%	53%
Somewhat disagree	12%	8%
Strongly disagree	6%	2%
Not sure	16%	4%

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

TOTAL AGREE	58%	71%
TOTAL DISAGREE	25%	16%
Strongly agree	26%	35%
Somewhat agree	32%	36%
Somewhat disagree	17%	14%
Strongly disagree	8%	2%
Not sure	17%	13%

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

TOTAL AGREE	51%	75%
TOTAL DISAGREE	33%	14%
Strongly agree	14%	23%
Somewhat agree	37%	52%
Somewhat disagree	23%	12%
Strongly disagree	10%	2%
Not sure	16%	11%

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

TOTAL AGREE	60%	61%
TOTAL DISAGREE	23%	28%
Strongly agree	18%	18%
Somewhat agree	42%	43%
Somewhat disagree	15%	26%
Strongly disagree	8%	2%
Not sure	17%	11%

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

TOTAL AGREE	47%	43%
TOTAL DISAGREE	34%	46%
Strongly agree	19%	11%
Somewhat agree	28%	32%
Somewhat disagree	26%	33%
Strongly disagree	8%	13%
Not sure	19%	11%

70) 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	27%	22%
Equally important	42%	52%
Less important	9%	13%
Not sure	22%	13%

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

TOTAL MORE OPTIMISTIC	41%	53%
TOTAL LESS OPTIMISTIC	44%	40%
Much more optimistic	6%	15%
Somewhat more optimistic	35%	38%
Somewhat less optimistic	28%	36%
Much less optimistic	16%	4%
Not sure	15%	7%

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

Civil society	34%	44%
Ukraine's Leadership	16%	11%
Western partners pushing Ukraine	15%	18%
Business	11%	8%
Russia	--	3%
Not sure	24%	16%

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

TOTAL AGREE	34%	40%
TOTAL DISAGREE	45%	50%
Strongly agree	13%	6%
Somewhat agree	21%	34%
Somewhat disagree	34%	43%
Strongly disagree	11%	7%
Not sure	21%	10%

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

Too much influence	49%	57%
Too little influence	15%	18%
The right amount of influence	14%	10%
Not sure	22%	15%

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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.

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75) 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	36%	35%
The sanctions and pressure were the right amount	30%	41%
The sanctions and pressure were too much	16%	13%
Not sure	18%	11%

76) 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	36%	45%
Russia should return Crimea to Ukraine	18%	33%
Russia should return the eastern region of Donbas to Ukraine	16%	13%
Russia should not return territory to Ukraine	5%	5%
Not sure	25%	4%

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

TOTAL LIKELY	58%	64%
TOTAL NOT LIKELY	31%	24%
Very likely	20%	15%
Somewhat likely	38%	49%
Not very likely	26%	22%
Not likely at all	5%	2%
Not sure	11%	12%

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

Excluding Russia from international trade	18%	29%
New Russian leadership	10%	11%
Additional sanctions	9%	14%
Broader respect from the West for Russia and their legitimate security interests	8%	4%
An alliance between the West and China	7%	3%
Providing powerful military equipment to Ukraine	5%	7%
Nothing, Russia will not bow to Western pressure	22%	27%
Not sure	21%	5%

79) 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	53%	72%
Ukraine should make peace with Russia diplomatically and allow Russia its territory	27%	22%
Ukraine should use military force to regain its territory	7%	--
Not sure	13%	6%

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

Be seen as an aggressive sign by Russia and thus endanger stability	29%	35%
Deter Russia in the region and thus strengthen the West and democracy	25%	26%
Be beneficial for everyone and no problem for Russia or anyone else	14%	22%
Weaken China in the region	8%	6%
Be a waste of time for everyone, Ukraine should play no role for the West	5%	5%
Not sure	28%	16%

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

TOTAL AGREE	43%	60%
TOTAL DISAGREE	35%	36%
Strongly agree	15%	12%
Somewhat agree	28%	48%
Somewhat disagree	21%	30%
Strongly disagree	14%	6%
Not sure	22%	4%

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82) Do you favor or oppose Germany selling weapons to Ukraine?		
Yes, so Ukraine can gain back Crimea and Donbas with a strong military	9%	5%
Yes, but only defensive weapons	13%	21%
Yes, but only in case that Russia invades again Ukraine	9%	16%
Germany should not sell weapons to Ukraine, but other Western countries should	8%	8%
No, neither my country nor anyone else from the West should under any circumstances sell weapons to Ukraine	41%	38%
Not sure	20%	12%

83) Would you favor or oppose NATO deploying soldiers into Ukraine now as a deterrent to Russian aggression against Ukraine?

TOTAL FAVOR	22%	41%
TOTAL OPPOSE	63%	44%
Strongly favor	7%	5%
Somewhat favor	15%	36%
Somewhat oppose	31%	28%
Strongly oppose	32%	16%
Not sure	15%	15%

84) If Russia would invade Ukraine, would you favor or oppose NATO helping defend Ukraine by sending soldiers?

TOTAL FAVOR	33%	57%
TOTAL OPPOSE	38%	38%
Strongly favor	10%	17%
Somewhat favor	23%	40%
Somewhat oppose	21%	31%
Strongly oppose	17%	7%
Not sure	29%	5%

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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.

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

TOTAL FAVOR	52%	57%
TOTAL OPPOSE	30%	33%
Strongly favor	20%	16%
Somewhat favor	32%	41%
Somewhat oppose	19%	22%
Strongly oppose	11%	11%
Not sure	18%	10%

86) 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	63%	73%
TOTAL DISAGREE	30%	24%
Strongly agree	37%	38%
Somewhat agree	26%	35%
Somewhat disagree	25%	17%
Strongly disagree	5%	7%
Not sure	7%	3%

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

TOTAL AGREE	39%	34%
TOTAL DISAGREE	45%	58%
Strongly agree	19%	10%
Somewhat agree	20%	24%
Somewhat disagree	22%	39%
Strongly disagree	23%	19%
Not sure	16%	8%

- 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	65%	77%
TOTAL DISAGREE	21%	15%
Strongly agree	30%	25%
Somewhat agree	35%	52%
Somewhat disagree	19%	15%
Strongly disagree	2%	--
Not sure	14%	8%

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

TOTAL AGREE	64%	74%
TOTAL DISAGREE	31%	20%
Strongly agree	31%	37%
Somewhat agree	33%	37%
Somewhat disagree	24%	18%
Strongly disagree	7%	2%
Not sure	5%	6%

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

TOTAL AGREE	59%	62%
TOTAL DISAGREE	29%	36%
Strongly agree	23%	13%
Somewhat agree	36%	49%
Somewhat disagree	23%	29%
Strongly disagree	6%	7%
Not sure	12%	2%

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

TOTAL FAVOR	50%	78%
TOTAL OPPOSE	28%	19%
Strongly favor	27%	34%
Somewhat favor	23%	44%
Somewhat oppose	18%	12%
Strongly oppose	10%	7%
Not sure	22%	3%

88) 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	29%	41%
No, this is only words, nothing will really happen if Russia uses Nord Stream 2 to blackmail Europe and the West	36%	33%
The US may do something serious, Germany will do nothing	19%	20%
Not sure	16%	6%

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

Yes	45%	58%
No	25%	22%
Not sure	30%	20%

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Personal Feelings & Demographics

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

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

- Religion

TOTAL IMPORTANT	43%	37%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	53%	59%
Very important	22%	14%
Somewhat important	21%	23%
Not very important	25%	22%
Not important at all	28%	37%
Not sure	4%	4%

- Freedom

TOTAL IMPORTANT	92%	93%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	5%	5%
Very important	79%	71%
Somewhat important	13%	22%
Not very important	3%	3%
Not important at all	2%	2%
Not sure	3%	2%

- Solidarity

TOTAL IMPORTANT	89%	90%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	8%	8%
Very important	60%	42%
Somewhat important	29%	48%
Not very important	6%	7%
Not important at all	2%	1%
Not sure	3%	2%

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- Environmental sustainability

TOTAL IMPORTANT	82%	84%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	14%	13%
Very important	51%	45%
Somewhat important	31%	39%
Not very important	10%	12%
Not important at all	4%	1%
Not sure	4%	3%

- Fairness

TOTAL IMPORTANT	91%	93%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	6%	6%
Very important	68%	64%
Somewhat important	23%	29%
Not very important	5%	5%
Not important at all	1%	1%
Not sure	3%	1%

- My country

TOTAL IMPORTANT	81%	80%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	16%	18%
Very important	52%	38%
Somewhat important	29%	42%
Not very important	12%	15%
Not important at all	4%	3%
Not sure	3%	2%

- Human rights

TOTAL IMPORTANT	90%	90%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	7%	6%
Very important	74%	66%
Somewhat important	16%	24%
Not very important	5%	3%
Not important at all	2%	3%
Not sure	3%	4%

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91) 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	46%	48%
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	24%	34%
Traditional personal and family values are under attack now by liberation movements and I would like to see them protected	18%	11%
Not sure	12%	7%

92) 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)

Those dying of hunger and diseases worldwide	45%	55%
The poor in my own country	42%	36%
Women suffering repression	28%	32%
Simple hardworking people who are given no chance by a system run by PROFESSIONALS	26%	27%
Refugees trying to cross the Mediterranean to get to Europe	18%	23%
Afghan citizens under the new Taliban regime	13%	15%
Activists fighting climate change	13%	12%
Religious movements and ethnic minorities suppressed in China	10%	12%
Ukrainian soldiers defending their country	5%	6%
Central American migrants trying to gain asylum in the US	5%	6%
Other (Please specify)	--	1%
Not sure	9%	4%

93) What is your gender?

Male	49%	58%
Female	50%	41%
Other	1%	1%
Don't want to disclose	--	--

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94)What is your religion?

Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD)	27%	24%
Roman Catholic	25%	21%
Muslim	4%	2%
Other Protestant (Jehovah's Witness, Latter Day Saints, other Protestant)	3%	3%
Orthodox	3%	2%
United Protestant (Lutheran and Reformed)	2%	4%
Jewish	1%	1%
Other	22%	27%
Prefer not to answer	13%	16%

95)Which of the following best describes your ideology?

Progressive	21%	14%
Moderate	36%	56%
Conservative	19%	24%
Not sure	15%	4%
Prefer not to answer	9%	2%

96)What is your ethnicity?

Ethnic German	85%	90%
Turkish	2%	--
Austrian	1%	--
Polish	1%	--
Italian	1%	--
Greek	--	1%
Russian	1%	1%
Arab	1%	1%
Other	6%	4%
Not sure	1%	2%
Prefer not to answer	1%	1%

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

Employed full-time	49%	83%
Employed part-time	14%	11%
Unemployed	4%	--
Retired	25%	4%
Student	4%	--
Homemaker	4%	1%
Not sure	--	1%

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

Healthcare	13%	7%
Tech	11%	19%
Business services/consulting	7%	16%
Finance	6%	14%
Government	4%	22%
Marketing/Advertising/Public Relations	4%	1%
Academia	2%	16%
Entertainment	2%	3%
Law	1%	2%
Media	1%	--
Philanthropy	1%	--
Other	43%	--
Not sure	5%	--

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

Urban	54%	57%
Suburban	25%	26%
Rural	21%	17%

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

News on TV	65%	73%
Radio	52%	51%
Newspapers (online or print)	50%	66%
Social media	42%	42%
Word of mouth (friends, family, or colleagues)	22%	21%
Podcasts	9%	11%
Other [SPECIFY]	2%	3%
Not sure	3%	2%

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

Very often	6%	5%
Sometimes	13%	15%
Rarely	13%	15%
Never	68%	65%

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

Yes	27%	41%
Somewhat, but it is good to get also a different point of view	30%	36%
No, Russian media are often more credible than Western mainstream media	31%	10%
Not sure	12%	13%

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

0-5 hours	44%	44%
6-10 hours	30%	31%
11-15 hours	14%	16%
16-20 hours	6%	6%
More than 20 hours	6%	3%

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

Primary Degree	1%	--
Incomplete Secondary Education	5%	--
Lower Secondary Education	9%	--
Upper Secondary Education	16%	--
Vocational Certification	40%	--
Some University Education	3%	--
University Education	15%	43%
Completed [UPPER EDU FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]		
Masters, Doctoral, or other post-graduate degree [UPPER EDU FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	10%	57%
Not sure	1%	--

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

Less than €20,000	16%	--
€20,000 - €39,999	33%	--
€40,000 - €59,999	21%	--
€60,000 - €79,999 [MODERATE INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING OF ACADEMIA AND GOVERNMENT PROFESSIONALS]	11%	14%
€80,000 - €99,999 [MODERATE INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING OF ACADEMIA AND GOVERNMENT PROFESSIONALS]	6%	14%
€100,00 - 119,999 [UPPER INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	4%	38%
€120,000 or more [UPPER INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	3%	34%
Prefer not to answer	6%	--