

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

Screening Questions

S1: What is your age?

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
Under 18 [TERMINATE]	--	--
18-20	4%	2%
21-29	13%	19%
30-34	9%	11%
35-39	9%	13%
40-49	18%	26%
50-64	28%	24%
65 and older	19%	5%

S2: In which country do you live?

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

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	76%	82%
TOTAL DISAGREE	17%	15%
Strongly agree	29%	43%
Somewhat agree	47%	39%
Somewhat disagree	11%	9%
Strongly disagree	6%	6%
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	82%	78%
TOTAL DISAGREE	10%	15%
Strongly agree	35%	41%
Somewhat agree	47%	37%
Somewhat disagree	6%	10%
Strongly disagree	4%	5%
Not sure	8%	7%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	79%	78%
TOTAL BAD	13%	14%
Very good and should be continued	40%	47%
Somewhat good, but now it is enough and we need a break	39%	31%
Somewhat bad	5%	5%
Very bad, it was wrong and the EU should be smaller	1%	--
Very bad, the EU should be dismantled	7%	9%
Not sure	8%	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	87%	89%
TOTAL BAD	4%	9%
Very good and should be continued	43%	47%
Somewhat good	32%	27%
Good, but now it is enough and we need a break	12%	15%
Somewhat bad	3%	6%
Very bad	1%	1%
Very bad, NATO should be dismantled	--	2%
Not sure	9%	2%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	69%	66%
When Western leaders expanded the European Union and NATO, they broke promises to Russia and violated legitimate Russian interests	11%	13%
Not sure	20%	21%

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

TOTAL YES	70%	86%
Yes, the EU should accept new members in the near future (in the next 5-10 years)	46%	57%
Yes, but only in the later future (possibly after 2030), when conditions are right	24%	29%
No, the EU should not accept new members	13%	12%
Not sure	17%	2%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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)

Ukraine	31%	29%
United Kingdom	28%	28%
Serbia	15%	1%
Turkey	14%	16%
Northern Macedonia	13%	16%
Georgia	11%	23%
Moldova	9%	6%
Russia	7%	6%
Albania	6%	11%
Morocco	4%	1%
Tunisia	3%	6%
Armenia	1%	10%
Other (Please specify)	2%	--
Not sure	12%	7%

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

TOTAL YES	80%	84%
Yes, NATO should accept new members in the near future (in the next 5-10 years)	55%	60%
Yes, but only in the later future (possibly after 2030), when conditions are right	25%	24%
No, NATO should not accept new members	6%	8%
Not sure	14%	8%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
 Six Country Study – POLAND 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)

Ukraine	51%	66%
Australia	18%	22%
Georgia	18%	21%
Serbia	14%	11%
Tunisia	12%	--
Mexico	6%	8%
Russia	6%	5%
Azerbaijan	5%	--
Moldova	2%	19%
Morocco	2%	1%
Armenia	1%	2%
Other (Please specify)	2%	--
Not sure	16%	4%

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

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?		
The US, Canada, European Union, and the UK	44%	49%
US, Canada, European Union, and the UK, plus Australia and New Zealand	22%	30%
The West is a concept that has lost its meaning, or never had a meaning for me	16%	17%
Not sure	18%	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	11%	18%
Strengthen relations with China to contain Russia	14%	7%
Do not strengthen relations with Russia or China because both violate Western principles and the West must contain and confront them both	27%	34%
It is best to have good relations with every major country around the world	45%	38%
Not sure	3%	3%
12) In your view, which of the following countries, if any, are part of the West? [SELECT ALL THAT APPLY]		
Ukraine	14%	16%
Georgia	7%	11%
Serbia	7%	15%
Russia	6%	12%
Moldova	5%	5%
None of the above	61%	59%
Not sure	18%	10%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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?

China	26%	43%
Asia	9%	7%
The West	3%	2%
The US	18%	12%
Europe	16%	22%
The Muslim world	2%	--
The Slavic world	2%	2%
No one country or group	8%	6%
Not sure	16%	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	29%	35%
All governments are hypocrites and principles mean nothing to them	24%	17%
My country is more truthful and moral than all others	18%	7%
All are equally truthful and moral to me, everyone has a point	9%	15%
At least Russia is honest about its interests and does not hide its interests behind supposed truth and morals like the United States	5%	18%
China is more peaceful than other big countries	1%	--
Not sure	14%	8%

15) Thinking about The United States' 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	66%	63%
Germany and France	43%	69%
The United Kingdom	41%	38%
China	22%	15%
Ukraine	17%	23%
Russia	15%	7%
Canada	7%	13%
Not sure	11%	2%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	11%	19%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	61%	65%
Very positive	3%	6%
Somewhat positive	8%	13%
Somewhat negative	33%	35%
Very negative	28%	30%
Neutral	22%	14%
Not sure	6%	2%

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

- Strength

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	85%	89%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	9%	11%
Very much	47%	69%
Somewhat	38%	20%
Not very much	7%	11%
Not at all	2%	--
Not sure	6%	--

- Freedom

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	21%	30%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	66%	67%
Very much	8%	11%
Somewhat	13%	19%
Not very much	27%	24%
Not at all	39%	43%
Not sure	13%	3%

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

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authoritarian leadership 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	80%	91%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	10%	7%
Very much	45%	56%
Somewhat	35%	35%
Not very much	8%	4%
Not at all	2%	3%
Not sure	10%	2%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neo-Nazism 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	41%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	33%	51%
Very much	17%	21%
Somewhat	37%	20%
Not very much	24%	44%
Not at all	9%	7%
Not sure	13%	8%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nice people 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	53%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	35%	41%
Very much	15%	17%
Somewhat	39%	36%
Not very much	28%	33%
Not at all	7%	8%
Not sure	11%	6%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beautiful nature 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	77%	81%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	17%	18%
Very much	46%	44%
Somewhat	31%	37%
Not very much	9%	16%
Not at all	8%	2%
Not sure	6%	1%

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

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Soviet industry 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	79%	76%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	11%	22%
Very much	36%	42%
Somewhat	43%	34%
Not very much	10%	8%
Not at all	1%	14%
Not sure	10%	2%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	80%	92%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	11%	7%
Very much	52%	61%
Somewhat	28%	31%
Not very much	10%	5%
Not at all	1%	2%
Not sure	9%	1%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Successful fight against corruption 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	21%	21%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	66%	68%
Very much	7%	3%
Somewhat	14%	18%
Not very much	20%	20%
Not at all	46%	48%
Not sure	13%	11%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spying and espionage 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	75%	87%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	16%	12%
Very much	52%	59%
Somewhat	23%	28%
Not very much	10%	5%
Not at all	6%	7%
Not sure	9%	1%

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

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
• Election interference		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	82%	77%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	11%	22%
Very much	53%	53%
Somewhat	29%	24%
Not very much	10%	11%
Not at all	1%	11%
Not sure	7%	1%
• Trafficking of women		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	39%	35%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	41%	57%
Very much	18%	11%
Somewhat	21%	24%
Not very much	28%	42%
Not at all	13%	15%
Not sure	20%	8%
• Organized crime		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	71%	69%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	18%	28%
Very much	37%	32%
Somewhat	34%	37%
Not very much	9%	15%
Not at all	9%	13%
Not sure	11%	3%
• Creativity		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	57%	59%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	31%	33%
Very much	14%	16%
Somewhat	43%	43%
Not very much	21%	22%
Not at all	10%	11%
Not sure	12%	8%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Anti-Semitism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	50%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	36%	42%
Very much	24%	35%
Somewhat	30%	15%
Not very much	30%	28%
Not at all	6%	14%
Not sure	10%	8%

- IT industry

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	40%	39%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	41%	57%
Very much	10%	19%
Somewhat	30%	20%
Not very much	31%	35%
Not at all	10%	22%
Not sure	19%	4%

- Oligarchs

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	71%	76%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	15%	13%
Very much	52%	61%
Somewhat	19%	15%
Not very much	12%	8%
Not at all	3%	5%
Not sure	14%	11%

- The Slavic soul

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	61%	63%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	29%	30%
Very much	22%	28%
Somewhat	39%	35%
Not very much	20%	25%
Not at all	9%	5%
Not sure	10%	7%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Europe

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	51%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	35%	48%
Very much	19%	31%
Somewhat	35%	20%
Not very much	21%	29%
Not at all	14%	19%
Not sure	11%	1%

- Aggressive nationalism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	71%	80%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	21%	20%
Very much	38%	46%
Somewhat	33%	34%
Not very much	19%	19%
Not at all	2%	1%
Not sure	8%	--

- Great culture

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	61%	70%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	27%	22%
Very much	23%	19%
Somewhat	38%	51%
Not very much	18%	15%
Not at all	9%	7%
Not sure	12%	8%

- Emerging markets

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	51%	48%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	40%	51%
Very much	11%	16%
Somewhat	40%	32%
Not very much	26%	39%
Not at all	14%	12%
Not sure	9%	1%

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

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frozen conflicts 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	76%	70%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	16%	26%
Very much	35%	38%
Somewhat	41%	32%
Not very much	11%	9%
Not at all	5%	17%
Not sure	8%	4%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imperial/Tsarist history 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	76%	81%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	15%	19%
Very much	45%	72%
Somewhat	31%	9%
Not very much	13%	19%
Not at all	2%	--
Not sure	9%	--
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Soviet history 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	72%	89%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	14%	10%
Very much	33%	57%
Somewhat	39%	32%
Not very much	11%	10%
Not at all	3%	--
Not sure	14%	1%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clueless 		
TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	32%	51%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	51%	42%
Very much	14%	19%
Somewhat	18%	32%
Not very much	37%	30%
Not at all	14%	12%
Not sure	17%	7%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Pro-democracy protests

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	73%	60%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	16%	38%
Very much	30%	33%
Somewhat	43%	27%
Not very much	13%	30%
Not at all	3%	8%
Not sure	11%	2%

- Threatening

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	83%	82%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	11%	17%
Very much	55%	65%
Somewhat	28%	17%
Not very much	8%	16%
Not at all	3%	1%
Not sure	6%	1%

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%	53%
4-6	33%	22%
7-10; More democratic	14%	22%
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	3%	--
4-6	24%	24%
7-10; More corrupt	68%	74%
Not sure	5%	2%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	63%	68%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	24%	26%
Very important	25%	31%
Somewhat important	38%	37%
Not very important	17%	19%
Not important at all	7%	7%
Not sure	13%	6%

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%	28%
Russia is key for stability in the region	21%	23%
Russia has major natural resources, including iron ore and fossil fuels	17%	13%
Russia is the West’s best potential partner for containing China	10%	12%
Russians are great people	3%	2%
Russia can become a leader of innovation and digital economy in the world	2%	2%
Things in Russia are getting better	2%	4%
Russia has European values	1%	--
Russians are pro-democracy	1%	2%
There are many Russian people who live in Western countries	1%	6%
Russia is an emerging market economy	1%	--
Russia has wealthy business leaders and investors	1%	3%
Russia is doing its best to fight corruption	--	1%
Other (Please specify)	1%	1%
Not sure	5%	3%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	42%	54%
Russia is corrupt and will always be	17%	4%
I don't really know what is going on in Russia	12%	2%
Support and offers of partnership for Russia would entice Russia to pressure and invade Ukraine	8%	15%
Russia doesn't deserve the support	6%	11%
I believe it is more important to help countries other than Russia	6%	5%
Overall, we should stay away from international partnerships and cooperation	3%	--
Russia's economy is doomed, it has only corruption and an old style economy to offer	2%	7%
Things in Russia are getting worse	1%	1%
Other (Please specify)	--	1%
Not sure	3%	--

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	60%	60%
TOTAL DISAGREE	18%	31%
Strongly agree	19%	30%
Somewhat agree	41%	30%
Somewhat disagree	10%	21%
Strongly disagree	8%	10%
Not sure	22%	9%

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

Partially Europe, partially Asian	34%	41%
A strong independent power	34%	28%
A European country	11%	17%
The leader of the Slavic world	6%	6%
Not sure	15%	8%

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

Six Country Study – POLAND 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%	9%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	63%	79%
Very positive	4%	9%
Somewhat positive	12%	--
Somewhat negative	34%	38%
Very negative	29%	41%
Neutral	9%	8%
Not sure	12%	4%

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

TOTAL POSITIVE	26%	18%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	44%	60%
Very positive	3%	2%
Somewhat positive	23%	16%
Somewhat negative	34%	44%
Very negative	10%	16%
Neutral	17%	9%
Not sure	13%	13%

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	10%	20%
Worse	49%	48%
Stayed the same	27%	28%
Not sure	14%	4%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	46%	45%
The West's fault	5%	8%
Both sides are equally at fault	36%	42%
Not sure	13%	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	67%	73%
Suppression of internal opposition and other authoritarian tendencies	15%	11%
Support of Assad regime in Syria	8%	6%
Assassination of opponents abroad	5%	2%
Other (Please specify)	2%	3%
Not sure	3%	5%

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?

Lack of respect for Russia	35%	16%
Luring Ukraine away from Russia	19%	50%
Support of color revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and other places	17%	20%
Sanctions against Russia	13%	4%
Expansion of NATO and EU	10%	3%
Other (Please specify)	5%	--
Not sure	1%	7%

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

Defending principles is good, but avoiding escalation is even more important	44%	53%
Defending democratic principles and values rather than improve relations with Russia	29%	23%
Improving relations with Russia rather than defending democratic principles and values	13%	11%
Not sure	14%	13%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	22%	17%
No	34%	48%
Not sure	44%	35%

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	36%	40%
The accusations are true but exaggerated	27%	38%
The big tech companies are the ones controlling and abusing information	9%	5%
The accusations are NOT true, Russia is just defending their interests	4%	3%
It's actually Ukraine, not Russia, who is trying to spread disinformation and influence the West	2%	2%
Not sure	22%	12%

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

TOTAL YES	37%	50%
Yes, definitely	8%	17%
Yes, somewhat	29%	33%
No	45%	39%
Not sure	18%	11%

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

Civil society	19%	14%
Russia's Leadership	18%	8%
Western partners pushing Russia	16%	32%
Business	12%	20%
The example of free and democratic Ukraine	8%	15%
Not sure	27%	11%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

Accurately	19%	28%
Too positively	25%	29%
Too negatively	28%	24%
Not sure	28%	19%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	40%	44%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	14%	19%
Very positive	9%	12%
Somewhat positive	31%	32%
Neutral	36%	32%
Somewhat negative	9%	14%
Very negative	5%	5%
Not sure	10%	5%

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

- Strength

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	38%	44%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	51%	53%
Very much	12%	16%
Somewhat	26%	28%
Not very much	31%	38%
Not at all	20%	15%
Not sure	11%	3%

- Nice people

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	66%	64%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	18%	29%
Very much	27%	37%
Somewhat	39%	27%
Not very much	16%	22%
Not at all	2%	7%
Not sure	16%	7%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Beautiful nature

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	71%	87%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	17%	12%
Very much	29%	46%
Somewhat	42%	41%
Not very much	15%	8%
Not at all	2%	4%
Not sure	12%	1%

- Freedom

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	46%	56%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	42%	37%
Very much	19%	13%
Somewhat	27%	43%
Not very much	26%	22%
Not at all	16%	15%
Not sure	12%	7%

- Authoritarian leadership

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	49%	50%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	36%	47%
Very much	13%	18%
Somewhat	36%	32%
Not very much	30%	43%
Not at all	6%	4%
Not sure	15%	3%

- Neo-Nazism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	44%	48%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	39%	35%
Very much	14%	27%
Somewhat	30%	21%
Not very much	31%	22%
Not at all	8%	13%
Not sure	17%	17%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Soviet industry

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	55%	67%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	32%	29%
Very much	16%	19%
Somewhat	39%	48%
Not very much	30%	22%
Not at all	2%	7%
Not sure	13%	4%

- Nuclear power

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	41%	45%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	40%	44%
Very much	11%	17%
Somewhat	30%	28%
Not very much	28%	32%
Not at all	12%	12%
Not sure	19%	11%

- Corruption

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	69%	66%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	25%	33%
Very much	31%	25%
Somewhat	38%	41%
Not very much	22%	29%
Not at all	3%	4%
Not sure	6%	1%

- Successful fight against corruption

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	27%	37%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	58%	54%
Very much	5%	12%
Somewhat	22%	25%
Not very much	34%	22%
Not at all	24%	32%
Not sure	15%	9%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Trafficking of women

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	33%	29%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	47%	65%
Very much	12%	12%
Somewhat	21%	17%
Not very much	31%	33%
Not at all	16%	32%
Not sure	20%	6%

- Organized crime

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	68%	60%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	22%	34%
Very much	32%	23%
Somewhat	36%	37%
Not very much	18%	24%
Not at all	4%	10%
Not sure	10%	6%

- Creativity

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	50%	49%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	37%	42%
Very much	10%	9%
Somewhat	40%	40%
Not very much	25%	20%
Not at all	12%	22%
Not sure	13%	9%

- Anti-Semitism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	36%	50%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	47%	40%
Very much	14%	31%
Somewhat	22%	19%
Not very much	37%	37%
Not at all	10%	3%
Not sure	17%	10%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- IT industry

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	28%	32%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	49%	63%
Very much	8%	7%
Somewhat	20%	25%
Not very much	36%	33%
Not at all	13%	30%
Not sure	23%	5%

- Aggressive nationalism

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	48%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	33%	47%
Very much	23%	11%
Somewhat	31%	37%
Not very much	30%	22%
Not at all	3%	25%
Not sure	13%	5%

- Europe

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	58%	62%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	31%	25%
Very much	20%	21%
Somewhat	38%	41%
Not very much	22%	14%
Not at all	9%	11%
Not sure	11%	13%

- Russia

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	57%	65%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	29%	31%
Very much	22%	34%
Somewhat	35%	31%
Not very much	19%	13%
Not at all	10%	18%
Not sure	14%	4%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- The Slavic Soul

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	72%	85%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	19%	15%
Very much	27%	41%
Somewhat	45%	44%
Not very much	15%	4%
Not at all	4%	11%
Not sure	9%	--

- Oligarchs

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	67%	68%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	18%	22%
Very much	30%	38%
Somewhat	37%	30%
Not very much	17%	17%
Not at all	1%	5%
Not sure	15%	10%

- Great culture

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	63%	62%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	29%	36%
Very much	22%	20%
Somewhat	41%	42%
Not very much	17%	18%
Not at all	12%	18%
Not sure	8%	2%

- Emerging markets

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	61%	73%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	27%	13%
Very much	15%	25%
Somewhat	46%	48%
Not very much	21%	8%
Not at all	6%	5%
Not sure	12%	14%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Frozen conflicts

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	68%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	27%	32%
Very much	20%	16%
Somewhat	34%	52%
Not very much	25%	28%
Not at all	2%	4%
Not sure	19%	--

- Pro-democracy protests

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	69%	72%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	21%	21%
Very much	28%	18%
Somewhat	41%	54%
Not very much	18%	8%
Not at all	3%	13%
Not sure	10%	7%

- Unstable economy

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	71%	69%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	17%	17%
Very much	35%	36%
Somewhat	36%	33%
Not very much	11%	15%
Not at all	6%	2%
Not sure	12%	14%

- Clueless

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	54%	62%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	32%	35%
Very much	19%	37%
Somewhat	35%	25%
Not very much	23%	20%
Not at all	9%	15%
Not sure	14%	3%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Threatening

TOTAL VERY MUCH/SOMEWHAT	51%	37%
TOTAL NOT VERY MUCH/NOT AT ALL	37%	60%
Very much	23%	15%
Somewhat	28%	22%
Not very much	23%	49%
Not at all	14%	11%
Not sure	12%	3%

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	23%	21%
4-6	42%	43%
7-10; More democratic	27%	32%
Not sure	8%	4%

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%	2%
4-6	39%	42%
7-10; More corrupt	48%	55%
Not sure	7%	1%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	29%	18%
The 2014 Russian invasion of Crimea	26%	33%
Holodomor, which was a famine between 1932 and 1933	13%	13%
The 2004 Orange Revolution	6%	11%
The occupation of Donetsk by pro-Russian forces	4%	4%
The 2014 Euromaidan protests	3%	8%
Tourist attractions (Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa)	3%	4%
Ukrainian sport successes (Klitschko brothers boxing, Andriy Shevchenko)	2%	3%
Wins on Eurovision Song Contest (Rusłana, Jamala)	2%	1%
Other (Please specify)	3%	3%
Not sure	9%	2%

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

TOTAL IMPORTANT	71%	70%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	17%	25%
Very important	36%	41%
Somewhat important	35%	29%
Not very important	12%	19%
Not important at all	5%	6%
Not sure	12%	5%

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	30%	34%
Ukraine is on the frontlines of defending democracy against authoritarianism	17%	20%
Ukraine can be Europe's bridge to Russia and Asia	12%	4%
Ukraine can be the example that a free democracy in the post-Soviet Slavic world is possible	10%	8%

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

Ukraine is on the frontlines of containing Russia and China	7%	9%
Ukraine has European values	4%	9%
There are many Ukrainian people who live in Western countries	4%	3%
Ukrainians are great people	3%	5%
Ukraine is an emerging market economy	2%	2%
Ukrainians are pro-democracy	1%	3%
Ukraine has major natural resources, including iron ore and fossil fuels	1%	1%
Ukraine is trying its best to fight corruption	1%	--
Things in Ukraine are getting better	1%	1%
Ukraine can become a leader of innovation and digital economy in the world	--	--
Ukraine has wealthy business leaders and investors	--	--
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	7%	1%

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	17%	15%
Ukraine is corrupt and will always be	11%	10%
Ukraine is escalating the conflict with Russia, the West should not support such behavior	9%	11%
Support for Ukraine could provoke Russia, which could mean war	7%	14%
Ukraine doesn't deserve the support	5%	5%
I believe it is more important to help countries other than Ukraine	5%	4%
Overall, we should give less support to foreign countries	5%	--
Ukraine's economy is doomed, it has only corruption and an old style economy to offer	4%	9%
Support for Ukraine would mean putting sanctions on Russia, and this is against the West's economic interests	3%	5%
Things in Ukraine are getting worse	3%	4%
Ukraine is Russia's territory, the West should stay out	2%	13%
Other (Please specify)	2%	2%
Not sure	27%	8%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

TOTAL DEFINITELY/POSSIBLY	71%	83%
TOTAL NOT REALLY/NO	15%	14%
Definitely	28%	55%
Possibly	43%	28%
Not really	13%	12%
Not at all	2%	2%
Not sure	14%	3%

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

Defending Ukraine is good, but never at the risk of serious conflict with Russia	52%	59%
Defending Ukraine rather than improving relations with Russia	14%	18%
Improving relations with Russia rather than defending Ukraine	12%	13%
Not sure	22%	10%

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

TOTAL IMPORTANT	65%	64%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	25%	32%
Very important	24%	36%
Somewhat important	41%	28%
Not very important	16%	25%
Not important at all	9%	7%
Not sure	10%	4%

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

An independent country between Europe and Russia	25%	9%
A European country	24%	25%
A Slavic country	16%	34%
A bridge to Russia	9%	5%
A part of Russia	6%	19%
A part of the West	3%	7%
Not sure	17%	1%

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

Six Country Study – POLAND TOPLINE

December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

A dialect of Russian,	34%	30%
A fully separate language	41%	48%
Not sure	25%	22%

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	31%	34%
TOTAL WEAK	53%	61%
Very strong	8%	5%
Somewhat strong	23%	29%
Somewhat weak	41%	45%
Very weak	12%	16%
Not sure	16%	5%

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	26%	36%
Worse	24%	29%
Stayed the same	30%	24%
Not sure	20%	11%

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	12%	21%
The West's fault	27%	19%
Both sides are equally at fault	49%	53%
Not sure	12%	7%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	22%	5%
Ukraine has had many chances but fails to use them	22%	27%
Ukraine was on a good track but recently things got worse	19%	25%
Ukraine provokes Russia	17%	21%
Ukraine is not serious about democratic reforms	11%	11%
Corruption	9%	10%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	--	1%

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	51%	37%
The West lacks courage to stand up for values that Ukraine defends	15%	12%
Denying a NATO perspective to Ukraine	11%	6%
Trying to lure Ukraine away from Russia	10%	35%
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	6%	--
Denying an EU perspective to Ukraine	4%	4%
Support of color revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and other places	2%	6%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	1%	--

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	48%	33%
Because Ukrainians defend Europe against Russia	18%	12%
Because we finally learned what is Ukraine, shattering Russian stereotypes and fake stories	14%	11%
Because Ukrainians fought successfully a previous autocratic regime	9%	22%
Because the Ukrainian leadership is impressive and does the right thing	4%	12%
Because Ukrainians try to fight corruption	3%	7%
Not sure	4%	3%

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

Things are moving in the right direction	11%	15%
Bad as always	13%	20%
Things are getting worse recently	36%	34%
I do not follow news from Ukraine	8%	2%
Ukraine is corruption and always will be	6%	6%
Ukraine would be a great asset for Europe and the West	7%	6%
Not sure	19%	17%

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

Accurately	19%	32%
Too positively	22%	25%
Too negatively	13%	18%
Not sure	46%	25%

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

Ukraine	51%	54%
Russia	11%	5%
Both equally	10%	22%
Neither	11%	13%
Not sure	17%	6%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

Ukraine is under military attack from Russia	26%	33%
Ukraine is under a multi-front, hybrid attack from Russia	25%	22%
Ukraine is under political and diplomatic attack from Russia	14%	22%
Ukraine is under economic attack from Russia	8%	9%
Ukraine and Russia are both reckless, this is why there is a conflict	6%	4%
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)	5%	6%
Not sure	16%	4%

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

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?		
A member of the EU and NATO	21%	29%
Special relations but no formal alliance either with NATO, EU, Russia or China	20%	18%
A member of the EU but not NATO	16%	24%
Closely tied to Russia	10%	5%
A member of the NATO but not the EU	4%	2%
Part of a Russia-China alliance	2%	1%
None of the above	9%	14%
Not sure	18%	7%
61)Do you favor or oppose NATO allies making a commitment to defend Ukraine from Russian aggression?		
TOTAL FAVOR	68%	72%
TOTAL OPPOSE	13%	14%
Strongly favor	24%	29%
Somewhat favor	44%	43%
Somewhat oppose	9%	8%
Strongly oppose	4%	6%
Not sure	19%	14%
62)Do you favor or oppose Ukraine becoming a member of the European Union at any point in the future?		
TOTAL FAVOR	66%	79%
TOTAL OPPOSE	17%	11%
Strongly favor	28%	29%
Somewhat favor	38%	50%
Somewhat oppose	12%	8%
Strongly oppose	5%	3%
Not sure	17%	10%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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	53%	66%
TOTAL OPPOSE	20%	21%
Strongly favor	13%	29%
Somewhat favor	40%	37%
Somewhat oppose	13%	11%
Strongly oppose	7%	10%
Not sure	27%	13%

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

Weak economy	27%	26%
Pro-Russian factions and regions in the country	26%	30%
Weak military and unsecure borders	24%	30%
Corruption	22%	26%
Oligarchs	19%	15%
Russian border	17%	15%
Lack of resources	14%	21%
Unstable government	14%	15%
Soviet legacy	13%	8%
Geographic distance	10%	14%
Cultural differences	9%	8%
Organized crime	9%	4%
Authoritarian leadership	5%	4%
Public protests	3%	2%
Other (Please specify)	2%	--
Not sure	10%	5%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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	19%	29%
TOTAL DISAGREE	72%	68%
Strongly agree	10%	26%
Somewhat agree	9%	3%
Somewhat disagree	20%	17%
Strongly disagree	52%	51%
Not sure	9%	3%

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

TOTAL AGREE	67%	68%
TOTAL DISAGREE	20%	27%
Strongly agree	32%	28%
Somewhat agree	35%	40%
Somewhat disagree	17%	18%
Strongly disagree	3%	9%
Not sure	13%	5%

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

TOTAL AGREE	40%	33%
TOTAL DISAGREE	41%	56%
Strongly agree	19%	18%
Somewhat agree	21%	15%
Somewhat disagree	29%	33%
Strongly disagree	12%	23%
Not sure	19%	11%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

TOTAL AGREE	71%	74%
TOTAL DISAGREE	24%	24%
Strongly agree	53%	49%
Somewhat agree	18%	25%
Somewhat disagree	15%	14%
Strongly disagree	9%	10%
Not sure	5%	2%

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	34%	51%
More negative and skeptical	11%	15%
Nothing changed recently in my views	44%	29%
Not sure	11%	5%

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

TOTAL YES	61%	61%
Yes, definitely	13%	16%
Yes, somewhat	48%	45%
No	20%	19%
Not sure	19%	20%

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

Stable government	27%	27%
Closer integration with the West	23%	25%
Eliminate corruption	15%	16%
Defense against Russia	7%	5%
Judicial reform	6%	7%
Clamping down on nationalism and far-right movements	3%	7%
Decarbonization	2%	5%
A strong military in general	2%	5%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	15%	3%

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

GEN POP

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	42%	44%
TOTAL DISAGREE	45%	44%
Strongly agree	17%	15%
Somewhat agree	25%	29%
Somewhat disagree	31%	28%
Strongly disagree	14%	16%
Not sure	13%	12%

- Ukraine needs Western support, but not Western pressure.

TOTAL AGREE	78%	87%
TOTAL DISAGREE	11%	12%
Strongly agree	36%	52%
Somewhat agree	42%	35%
Somewhat disagree	8%	4%
Strongly disagree	3%	8%
Not sure	11%	1%

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

TOTAL AGREE	75%	85%
TOTAL DISAGREE	12%	8%
Strongly agree	36%	32%
Somewhat agree	39%	53%
Somewhat disagree	10%	6%
Strongly disagree	2%	2%
Not sure	13%	7%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

TOTAL AGREE	58%	72%
TOTAL DISAGREE	24%	20%
Strongly agree	15%	36%
Somewhat agree	43%	36%
Somewhat disagree	17%	14%
Strongly disagree	7%	6%
Not sure	18%	8%

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

TOTAL AGREE	67%	64%
TOTAL DISAGREE	17%	32%
Strongly agree	23%	25%
Somewhat agree	44%	39%
Somewhat disagree	10%	18%
Strongly disagree	7%	14%
Not sure	16%	4%

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

TOTAL AGREE	35%	43%
TOTAL DISAGREE	29%	31%
Strongly agree	10%	19%
Somewhat agree	25%	24%
Somewhat disagree	19%	18%
Strongly disagree	10%	13%
Not sure	36%	26%

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	23%	44%
Equally important	53%	40%
Less important	10%	4%
Not sure	14%	12%

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

Six Country Study – POLAND TOPLINE

December 2021

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

TOTAL MORE OPTIMISTIC	38%	59%
TOTAL LESS OPTIMISTIC	42%	38%
Much more optimistic	11%	21%
Somewhat more optimistic	27%	38%
Somewhat less optimistic	29%	31%
Much less optimistic	13%	7%
Not sure	20%	3%

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

Civil society	33%	35%
Western partners pushing Ukraine	21%	18%
Ukraine's Leadership	12%	6%
Business	11%	24%
Russia	2%	5%
Not sure	21%	12%

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

TOTAL AGREE	35%	45%
TOTAL DISAGREE	45%	45%
Strongly agree	10%	26%
Somewhat agree	25%	19%
Somewhat disagree	29%	28%
Strongly disagree	16%	17%
Not sure	20%	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	53%	71%
Too little influence	17%	14%
The right amount of influence	13%	1%
Not sure	17%	14%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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

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	44%	49%
The sanctions and pressure were the right amount	23%	32%
The sanctions and pressure were too much	11%	13%
Not sure	22%	6%

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	42%	36%
Russia should return the eastern region of Donbas to Ukraine	23%	20%
Russia should return Crimea to Ukraine	14%	25%
Russia should not return territory to Ukraine	4%	13%
Not sure	17%	6%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

TOTAL LIKELY	69%	76%
TOTAL NOT LIKELY	17%	24%
Very likely	35%	44%
Somewhat likely	34%	32%
Not very likely	16%	19%
Not likely at all	1%	5%
Not sure	14%	--

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

Additional sanctions	21%	17%
Excluding Russia from international trade	20%	21%
Providing powerful military equipment to Ukraine	12%	14%
New Russian leadership	12%	29%
Nothing, Russia will not bow to Western pressure	11%	7%
An alliance between the West and China	5%	5%
Broader respect from the West for Russia and their legitimate security interests	1%	1%
Not sure	18%	6%

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	52%	58%
Ukraine should use military force to regain its territory	15%	20%
Ukraine should make peace with Russia diplomatically and allow Russia its territory	13%	15%
Not sure	20%	7%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

80) 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	46%	51%
Be seen as an aggressive sign by Russia and thus endanger stability	31%	40%
Be beneficial for everyone and no problem for Russia or anyone else	16%	20%
Weaken China in the region	6%	12%
Be a waste of time for everyone, Ukraine should play no role for the West	5%	5%
Not sure	18%	5%

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

TOTAL AGREE	63%	69%
TOTAL DISAGREE	21%	30%
Strongly agree	28%	40%
Somewhat agree	35%	29%
Somewhat disagree	13%	19%
Strongly disagree	8%	11%
Not sure	16%	1%

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

	<u>GEN POP</u>	<u>PROFESSIONALS</u>
82) Do you favor or oppose Poland selling weapons to Ukraine?		
Yes, but only in case that Russia invades again Ukraine	22%	20%
Yes, so Ukraine can gain back Crimea and Donbas with a strong military	21%	18%
Yes, but only defensive weapons	15%	19%
No, neither my country nor anyone else from the West should under any circumstances sell weapons to Ukraine	14%	21%
Poland should not sell weapons to Ukraine, but other Western countries should	7%	6%
Not sure	21%	16%
83) Would you favor or oppose NATO deploying soldiers into Ukraine <u>now</u> as a deterrent to Russian aggression against Ukraine?		
TOTAL FAVOR	44%	60%
TOTAL OPPOSE	36%	24%
Strongly favor	20%	36%
Somewhat favor	24%	24%
Somewhat oppose	19%	15%
Strongly oppose	17%	9%
Not sure	20%	16%
84) If Russia would invade Ukraine, would you favor or oppose NATO helping defend Ukraine by sending soldiers?		
TOTAL FAVOR	56%	48%
TOTAL OPPOSE	28%	39%
Strongly favor	17%	28%
Somewhat favor	39%	20%
Somewhat oppose	22%	25%
Strongly oppose	6%	14%
Not sure	16%	13%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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

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	23%	33%
TOTAL OPPOSE	50%	48%
Strongly favor	7%	13%
Somewhat favor	16%	20%
Somewhat oppose	21%	21%
Strongly oppose	29%	27%
Not sure	27%	19%

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	72%	72%
TOTAL DISAGREE	18%	26%
Strongly agree	34%	34%
Somewhat agree	38%	38%
Somewhat disagree	12%	15%
Strongly disagree	6%	11%
Not sure	10%	2%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

TOTAL AGREE	65%	67%
TOTAL DISAGREE	18%	13%
Strongly agree	37%	30%
Somewhat agree	28%	37%
Somewhat disagree	13%	8%
Strongly disagree	5%	5%
Not sure	17%	20%

- 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	57%	68%
TOTAL DISAGREE	27%	23%
Strongly agree	22%	25%
Somewhat agree	35%	43%
Somewhat disagree	18%	9%
Strongly disagree	9%	14%
Not sure	16%	9%

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

TOTAL AGREE	84%	89%
TOTAL DISAGREE	6%	6%
Strongly agree	55%	57%
Somewhat agree	29%	32%
Somewhat disagree	5%	1%
Strongly disagree	1%	5%
Not sure	10%	5%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

TOTAL AGREE	48%	44%
TOTAL DISAGREE	38%	45%
Strongly agree	18%	22%
Somewhat agree	30%	22%
Somewhat disagree	25%	29%
Strongly disagree	13%	16%
Not sure	14%	11%

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

TOTAL FAVOR	68%	71%
TOTAL OPPOSE	9%	16%
Strongly favor	41%	58%
Somewhat favor	27%	13%
Somewhat oppose	7%	8%
Strongly oppose	2%	8%
Not sure	23%	13%

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%	26%
No, this is only words, nothing will really happen if Russia uses Nord Stream 2 to blackmail Europe and the West	38%	23%
The US may do something serious, Germany will do nothing	15%	30%
Not sure	18%	21%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

Yes	56%	68%
No	14%	7%
Not sure	30%	25%

How The West Perceives Ukraine, and What The West Expects From Ukraine
Six Country Study – POLAND 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

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

- Religion

TOTAL IMPORTANT	67%	47%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	28%	50%
Very important	41%	29%
Somewhat important	26%	18%
Not very important	15%	27%
Not important at all	13%	23%
Not sure	5%	3%

- Freedom

TOTAL IMPORTANT	93%	93%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	4%	6%
Very important	87%	84%
Somewhat important	6%	9%
Not very important	3%	4%
Not important at all	1%	2%
Not sure	3%	1%

- Solidarity

TOTAL IMPORTANT	91%	84%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	6%	14%
Very important	68%	62%
Somewhat important	23%	22%
Not very important	4%	12%
Not important at all	2%	2%
Not sure	3%	2%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

- Environmental sustainability

TOTAL IMPORTANT	88%	86%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	10%	13%
Very important	61%	59%
Somewhat important	27%	27%
Not very important	6%	7%
Not important at all	4%	6%
Not sure	2%	1%

- Fairness

TOTAL IMPORTANT	94%	89%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	4%	10%
Very important	86%	81%
Somewhat important	8%	8%
Not very important	2%	4%
Not important at all	2%	6%
Not sure	2%	1%

- My country

TOTAL IMPORTANT	91%	85%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	5%	11%
Very important	76%	66%
Somewhat important	15%	19%
Not very important	4%	9%
Not important at all	1%	2%
Not sure	4%	4%

- Human rights

TOTAL IMPORTANT	92%	88%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	5%	9%
Very important	84%	78%
Somewhat important	8%	10%
Not very important	3%	3%
Not important at all	2%	6%
Not sure	3%	3%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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	39%	39%
Traditional personal and family values are under attack now by liberation movements and I would like to see them protected	35%	25%
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	18%	26%
Not sure	8%	10%

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	47%	44%
Simple hardworking people who are given no chance by a system run by PROFESSIONALS	39%	33%
The poor in my own country	33%	28%
Women suffering repression	28%	31%
Ukrainian soldiers defending their country	14%	13%
Activists fighting climate change	12%	13%
Refugees trying to cross the Mediterranean to get to Europe	9%	13%
Religious movements and ethnic minorities suppressed in China	8%	9%
Afghan citizens under the new Taliban regime	8%	22%
Central American migrants trying to gain asylum in the US	4%	7%
Other (Please specify)	--	--
Not sure	9%	3%

93) What is your gender?

Male	48%	56%
Female	50%	43%
Other	2%	--
Don't want to disclose	--	1%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

94)What is your religion?

Catholic	82%	57%
Atheist or Agnostic	6%	15%
Eastern orthodox	2%	2%
Jehovah's Witness	1%	1%
Protestant	1%	2%
Jewish	1%	2%
Other	1%	4%
None	3%	13%
Not sure	3%	4%

95)Which of the following best describes your ideology?

Far-left	1%	4%
Left-wing	7%	12%
Centre-left	8%	12%
Centre	16%	25%
Centre-right	15%	16%
Right-wing	17%	13%
Far-right	5%	3%
Other	3%	6%
Not sure	28%	9%

96)What is your ethnicity?

White – Western European	30%	39%
White – Eastern European	66%	57%
Asian	2%	2%
Two or more	2%	2%
Other	--	--
Prefer not to answer	--	--

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

Employed full-time	56%	82%
Employed part-time	7%	3%
Unemployed	5%	1%
Retired	21%	9%
Student	4%	2%
Homemaker	5%	2%
Not sure	2%	1%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

Tech	11%	26%
Finance	7%	16%
Business services/consulting	6%	13%
Healthcare	5%	6%
Government	4%	11%
Marketing/Advertising/Public Relations	4%	8%
Law	3%	8%
Entertainment	2%	4%
Media	1%	--
Philanthropy	1%	1%
Academia	--	7%
Other	45%	--
Not sure	11%	--

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

Urban	64%	77%
Suburban	11%	15%
Rural	25%	8%

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

News on TV	64%	58%
Social media	53%	58%
Radio	43%	48%
Newspapers (online or print)	40%	43%
Word of mouth (friends, family, or colleagues)	38%	45%
Podcasts	14%	19%
Other [SPECIFY]	2%	4%
Not sure	3%	1%

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

Very often	6%	7%
Sometimes	10%	17%
Rarely	25%	28%
Never	59%	48%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

Yes	37%	37%
Somewhat, but it is good to get also a different point of view	32%	38%
No, Russian media are often more credible than Western mainstream media	5%	11%
Not sure	26%	14%

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

0-5 hours	52%	38%
6-10 hours	25%	27%
11-15 hours	13%	21%
16-20 hours	4%	11%
More than 20 hours	6%	3%

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

Incomplete Secondary General	3%	--
Complete Secondary general	8%	--
Lower secondary school	4%	--
Upper secondary school	--	--
Post-secondary school (vocational or technical post-secondary school)	53%	--
First cycle degree program [UPPER EDU FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	18%	39%
Second cycle degree program (Master’s degree) [UPPER EDU FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	14%	61%

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

GEN POP

PROFESSIONALS

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

Less than zł40,000 annually	19%	--
zł40,001 – zł60,000	19%	--
zł60,001 – zł80,000	19%	--
Zł80,001 –	20%	5%
zł100,000[MODERATE INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING OF ACADEMIA AND GOVERNMENT PROFESSIONALS]		
Zł100,001 – zł150,000	14%	56%
[UPPER INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]		
Zł150,001 – Zł200,000-	5%	26%
[UPPER INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]		
Zł200,000+ [UPPER INCOME FOR PROFESSIONAL CODING]	4%	13%
Prefer not to answer	--	--