FOR RELEASE JUNE 10, 2015

# NATO Publics Blame Russia for Ukrainian Crisis, but Reluctant to Provide Military Aid

In Russia, Anti-Western Views and Support for Putin Surge

BY Katie Simmons, Bruce Stokes and Jacob Poushter

## FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THIS REPORT:

Katie Simmons, Associate Director, Research Bruce Stokes, Director, Global Economic Attitudes Russ Oates, Senior Communications Manager

202.419.4372

www.pewresearch.org

## **About This Report**

This report examines public opinion in Ukraine, Russia and eight NATO countries: the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom. It is based on 11,116 face-to-face and telephone interviews in these 10 nations with adults 18 and older conducted from April 6 to May 15, 2015. For more details, see survey methodology and topline results.

Chapter 1 explores public opinion in eight NATO countries on a variety of issues, including views of Russia and President Vladimir Putin, responsibility for the violence in eastern Ukraine, actions to address the situation in Ukraine and attitudes towards NATO itself. Chapter 2 examines Russian attitudes towards their economy and Russia's international image, western powers and their leaders, President Putin and the Ukrainian crisis. Chapter 3 looks at Ukrainian public opinion, including views about their economy, domestic institutions, President Petro Poroshenko, whether Ukraine should remain united as a single nation, and attitudes toward Russia, western powers and their leaders.

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

Katie Simmons, Associate Director, Research Bruce Stokes, Director, Global Economic Attitudes Jacob Poushter, Research Associate

James Bell, Vice President, Global Strategy
Danielle Cuddington, Research Assistant
Kat Devlin, Research Analyst
David Kent, Copy Editor
Steve Schwarzer, Research Methodologist
Richard Wike, Director, Global Attitudes Research
Hani Zainulbhai, Research Analyst

Jill Carle, Research Associate
Claudia Deane, Vice President, Research
Michael Keegan, Information Graphics Designer
Bridget Parker, Research Assistant
Bethany Smith, Administrative Coordinator
Ben Wormald, Associate Digital Producer

Find related reports online at pewresearch.org/global.

## **About Pew Research Center**

Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world. It does not take policy positions. It conducts public opinion polling, demographic research, media content analysis and other empirical social science research. The center studies U.S. politics and policy views; media and journalism; internet and technology; religion and public life; Hispanic trends; global attitudes and U.S. social and demographic trends. Pew Research Center is a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts, its primary funder. All of the center's reports are available at <a href="https://www.pewresearch.org">www.pewresearch.org</a>.

© Pew Research Center 2015

## **Table of Contents**

Overview: NATO Publics Blame Russia for Ukrainian Crisis, but Reluctant to Provide Military Aid	4
1. NATO Public Opinion: Wary of Russia, Leery of Action on Ukraine	<b>1</b> 5
2. Russian Public Opinion: Putin Praised, West Panned	26
3. Ukrainian Public Opinion: Dissatisfied with Current Conditions, Looking for an End to the Crisis	s
	35
Methodology	42
Topline Results	43

## NATO Publics Blame Russia for Ukrainian Crisis, but Reluctant to Provide Military Aid

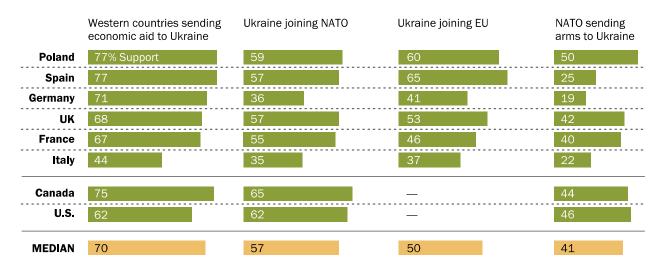
In Russia, Anti-Western Views and Support for Putin Surge

Publics of key member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) blame Russia for the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. Many also see Russia as a military threat to other neighboring states. But few support sending arms to Ukraine. Moreover, at least half of Germans, French and Italians say their country should *not* use military force to defend a NATO ally if attacked by Russia.

A median of 39% among NATO publics say Russia is the main culprit in the ongoing conflict in eastern Ukraine. The pro-Russian separatists in Luhans'k and Donets'k (18%) are a distant second. Half say Russia is a major military threat to other neighboring nations. In response to the crisis, 70% among allied countries say Western countries should send economic aid to Ukraine. A majority (57%) also supports Ukraine becoming a member of NATO.

#### **NATO Publics More Supportive of Economic than Military Aid for Ukraine**

In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose the following actions?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q48a-d.

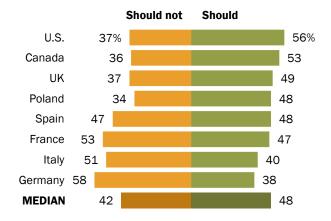
NATO nations are hesitant, however, to escalate their involvement in the conflict, especially militarily. Comparatively few support sending arms to Ukraine (median of 41%). And many allied countries are reluctant to uphold Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which requires NATO members to defend an ally with armed force if necessary. A median of 48% among these publics say their country should use military force if Russia gets into a serious military conflict with a neighboring nation that is a NATO ally, while 42% are opposed.

Americans and Canadians are the only publics where more than half think their country should use military action if Russia attacks a fellow NATO member (56% and 53%, respectively). Germans (58%) are the most likely to say their country should *not*. All NATO member publics are more likely to think the United States *will* come to an ally's defense (median of 68%) than to be willing to do so themselves.

As the crisis in Ukraine has dragged on, mutual animosity between Russia and the West has become more entrenched. A median of just a quarter of NATO publics now say they have a favorable view of Russia. Meanwhile, only 12% of Russians give NATO a positive rating. And Russians' favorable views of the U.S. and the European Union have plummeted by more than 30 percentage points since 2013, before the beginning of the crisis. Half of Russians say NATO is a major military threat to their nation. And Russians overwhelmingly

## Many NATO Countries Reluctant to Use Force to Defend Allies

If Russia got into a serious military conflict with one of its neighboring countries that is our NATO ally, do you think our country should or should not use military force to defend that country?



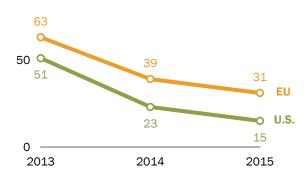
Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q52.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER** 

### **Russian Ratings of U.S., EU Collapse**

Favorable views of ...

100%



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12a & e.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER** 

oppose Ukraine becoming a member of either NATO (83% oppose) or the EU (68%).

At the same time, President Vladimir Putin's image at home continues to improve amid the conflict. Overwhelming majorities in Russia approve of Putin's performance on a range of domestic and international issues. This support holds despite the fact that Russians are less happy about the country's current economic situation than in 2014 and are now more likely to say that Putin's actions in Ukraine are tarnishing Russia's image worldwide. Russian nationalism is also at an all-time high – 63% have a *very* favorable image of their own country, up 34 percentage points since 2013 and up 12 points in just the past 12 months. In

### **Putin Receives High Marks in Russia**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Putin is handling ...

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know
	%	%	%
Relations w/ China	90	4	5
Relations w/ U.S.	85	10	5
Relations w/ Ukraine	83	13	4
Relations w/ EU	82	11	7
Energy policy	73	14	13
Economy	70	23	6
Corruption	62	29	8

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q81a-g.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER** 

addition, 69% of Russians say it is a bad thing that the Soviet Union dissolved, and 61% agree that parts of other countries really belong to Russia.

Meanwhile in Ukraine, the security situation on the ground posed a serious challenge to safely surveying the public. Pew Research Center was, however, able to interview in all regions of the country except Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.¹ The areas covered by the survey represent roughly 80% of the Ukrainian population. Among those surveyed, a majority of Ukrainians (67%) support becoming a member of the EU. They also favor joining NATO by a 53%-to-32% margin. At the same time, a plurality (47%) expresses support for negotiating with the rebels and Russia. Roughly a quarter (23%) says using military force to fight the separatists is the best way to end the conflict in the east, and another 19% volunteer either both or neither.

National differences in the preferred outcome for negotiations may continue to complicate reaching a settlement. While most Ukrainians outside of Donbas and Crimea say Luhans'k and Donets'k should remain part of Ukraine, either on the same terms with the national government as before (51%) or with increased regional autonomy (33%), a majority of Russians believe these two oblasts should secede, becoming either independent states (35%) or part of Russia (24%).

These are the key findings of a Pew Research Center survey of 11,116 respondents in eight NATO member countries, including Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as Russia and Ukraine. The survey was conducted from April 6 to May 15, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Pew Research Center's Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey in Ukraine excludes the oblasts of Luhans'k and Donets'k – also referred to as the Donbas region – as well as Crimea, for reasons of security and political sensitivities. For more information about the sample, see <a href="here">here</a>.

#### Surveying Ukraine in 2015: Security Conditions Limit Access to Eastern Regions

In 2014, Pew Research Center surveyed Ukraine from April 5 to April 23, coming out of the field just days before violence began in Odesa and other cities in the east. While the increasingly tense atmosphere in spring 2014 presented some obstacles, the survey included the oblasts of Luhans'k and Donets'k (also referred to as the Donbas region), as well as Crimea. This year, however, security conditions in the Donbas region deteriorated to the point where it was unsafe to conduct face-to-face interviews, especially on the topics covered in this poll. In addition, the survey was too politically sensitive to conduct in Crimea. For these reasons, Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea are not included in the 2015 survey of Ukraine. The map below illustrates which areas surveyed in 2014 were not able to be surveyed this year, as well as the west-east regional divide used throughout the report for analysis.

Excluding the Donbas region and Crimea can have an effect on the national results, particularly on topics related to Russia and the crisis. To assess this impact, we analyzed the 2014 <u>survey</u> with and without Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea in the sample. The findings show that, in general, when the Donbas region and Crimea are included, the national results are more favorable toward Russia, less favorable toward Western countries, and more supportive of secession. The variations on these topics were in the range of 5 to 12 percentage points. Despite these exclusions, the 2015 survey still covers a significant portion of the eastern population and was designed to be able to capture the variety of attitudes within the eastern region. The survey also continues to reveal deep divides between Ukraine's west and east in attitudes about Russia, Western countries and the crisis, similar to last year.

To make it possible to compare 2015 results to those from 2014, in this report we show the 2014 national data excluding the Donbas region and Crimea. This is to ensure that any change reported between 2014 and 2015 in Ukraine is based on comparable populations. Therefore, results for the 2014 survey reported here may differ somewhat from results published at the time, which were based on a survey including Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

For more on the full methods for the survey, see here. For a discussion of the survey sampling design, see here.



## NATO Publics Back Economic Aid to Ukraine, but Oppose Sending Arms

NATO publics broadly support sending Ukraine economic aid to address the current crisis. And, with the exception of Germany and Italy, majorities say Ukraine should become a member of the alliance.

However, other measures to address the crisis receive much weaker support among these allies, or at the least are more divisive. Roughly half or more of Germans (54% oppose), French (53%) and Italians (47%) oppose allowing Ukraine to join the EU, while the Spanish (65% support), Poles (60%), and British (53%) support the idea.

Few believe NATO should send military assistance to the Ukrainian government. Support for this measure is particularly low among Germans (19%), Italians (22%) and

## NATO Publics Support Ukraine, but Ukrainians Want More

Support for \_\_\_ in response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine

	NATO median*	Ukraine^	Diff
	%	%	
Ukraine becoming a NATO member	57	53	-4
Western countries providing economic aid to Ukraine	70	71	+1
NATO sending arms to the Ukrainian gov't	41	54	+13
Ukraine becoming an EU member	50	67	+17

<sup>\*</sup> Median across eight NATO countries: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain, the UK and the U.S.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q48a-d, Q49a-c, e.

#### **PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

Spanish (25%). And, with the exception of Poles, three-in-ten or fewer want to increase sanctions on Russia. Still, most publics want to keep sanctions at their current level (median of 49%), rather than decrease them (15%).

Among Ukrainians living outside Donbas and Crimea, majorities support receiving economic aid from Western countries (71%), joining the EU (67%) and increasing sanctions on Russia (65%). More than half also want to receive military assistance (54%) and join NATO (53%), though support for these measures is more tepid and regionally divided. Ukrainians in the west are much more supportive than those in the east of becoming a member of NATO (68% in west vs. 34% in east) and receiving military aid (66% support in west vs. 38% in east). Neither western nor eastern Ukrainians, however, want to join the Eurasian Economic Union with Russia (82% and 61% oppose, respectively).

 $<sup>\</sup>mbox{^{\sc h}}$  Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

## Most Say U.S. Would Defend NATO against Russia

Most NATO publics surveyed are reluctant to live up to the promise in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty that member countries will assist allies who are attacked, including with armed force. Roughly half or fewer in six of the eight countries surveyed say their country should use military force if Russia gets into a serious conflict with a neighboring country that is a NATO ally, including just 40% in Italy and 38% in Germany. Only in the U.S. (56%) and Canada (53%) do more than half say their nation should use military action in such a situation.

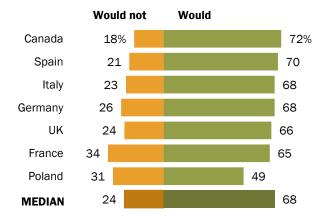
Contrary to their attitudes about what their own country should do, widespread majorities of most NATO publics believe the U.S. *would* use military force to defend a fellow NATO country. Poles stand out as less certain that the U.S. would come to an ally's aid (49% would, 31% would not).

## Americans and Germans Disagree over Best Course

U.S. President Barack Obama and German Chancellor Angela Merkel have made considerable efforts to downplay any disagreements they have over how to address the Ukrainian crisis. But it is clear their respective publics hold different views. Roughly six-in-ten Americans (62%) believe Ukraine should become a member of NATO and just under half (46%) support sending military assistance to the Ukrainian government. Few Americans (10%) think sanctions on Russia should be decreased. And a majority of

## NATO Countries Believe U.S. Will Come to Defense of Allies

If Russia got into a serious military conflict with one of its neighboring countries that is a NATO ally, do you think the U.S. would or would not use military force to defend that country?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. 053.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

#### **U.S.-German Divide Over Ukraine**

Support for \_\_\_ in response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine

	U.S.	Germany	Diff
	%	%	
NATO sending arms to Ukraine	46	19	-27
Ukraine joining NATO	62	36	-26
Use military force to defend NATO ally	56	38	-18
Decreased sanctions on Russia	10	29	+19
Western countries sending economic aid to Ukraine	62	71	+9

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q48a-b, d, Q50 & Q52.

Americans (56%) believe the U.S. should use military force to defend a NATO ally. Among Americans, Republicans are much more supportive than Democrats of allowing Ukraine to join NATO as well as sending military aid to the Ukrainian government.

Meanwhile, just 19% of Germans support sending arms to Ukraine and roughly four-in-ten or fewer believe Ukraine should join either the EU (41%) or NATO (36%). Germans (29%) are the most likely among allied nations to say that sanctions on Russia should be decreased. And only 38% of Germans say their country should use military force to protect a NATO ally if attacked by Russia. Within the country, western Germans are more favorable of NATO and using military force to defend an ally than eastern Germans.

However, the two nations are more in agreement on economic aid – substantial majorities in both Germany (71%) and the U.S. (62%) support sending monetary assistance to Ukraine.

## Poles Concerned about Russia, Want Action from NATO

Poles are more concerned about Russia's role in the current crisis than other NATO publics. Seven-in-ten Poles say Russia is a major threat to neighboring countries, compared with a median of 49% of the other seven allied countries surveyed. Similarly, Poles are more likely to blame Russia for the crisis and to have an unfavorable view of the former Cold War power than their NATO counterparts.

Perhaps because of this anxiety about Russia's intentions, nearly half of Poles (49%) would increase economic sanctions on Moscow. Only a median of 25% in the other countries say the same. And 50% back sending arms to Kyiv (Kiev), while just 40% of other NATO member publics agree.

### **Poland Takes a Tougher Line on Russia**

	Poland	Other NATO countries*	Diff
	%	%	
Russia is a major military threat to neighboring countries	70	49	-21
Russia is to blame for violence in eastern Ukraine	57	37	-20
Unfavorable view of Russia	80	67	-13
Increase economic sanctions on Russia	49	25	-24
Support for NATO sending arms to the Ukrainian gov't	50	40	-10
Support for Ukraine becoming a NATO member	59	57	-2
Support for Western countries providing economic aid to Ukraine	77	68	-9

 $<sup>\</sup>ensuremath{^{\star}}$  Median includes Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, the UK and the U.S.

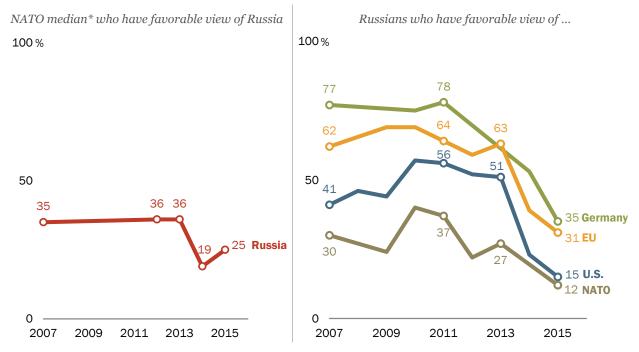
Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12d, Q27, Q47, Q48a-b, d & Q50.

### Increasing Animosity between Russia and the West

NATO publics generally hold Russia in very low esteem: Less than a third in any country give it a positive review, including just 15% in Poland and 18% in the UK. Pluralities in every NATO country except Germany and Italy blame Russia for the violence in eastern Ukraine, including a majority of Poles (57%) and four-in-ten or more in France (44%), the U.S. (42%) and the UK (40%). And roughly half or more in most allied nations believe that Russia is a major military threat to its neighboring countries besides Ukraine. This includes 70% in Poland and 59% in the U.S.

Meanwhile, Russians have soured considerably on major Western powers in just the past few years. Favorable views of the U.S., Germany, the EU and NATO have dropped by 25 percentage points or more since 2011. Half of Russians blame Western countries for the crisis in Ukraine, with the Ukrainian government (26%) a distant second. Russians also say Western sanctions (33%), along with falling oil prices (33%), rather than their government's economic policies (25%), are responsible for the country's current economic woes. And 50% of Russians think NATO is a major military threat to their country; another 31% say it is a minor threat while just 10% believe it is not a threat at all.

## NATO Publics Have Negative View of Russia as Russian Ratings of West Plummet



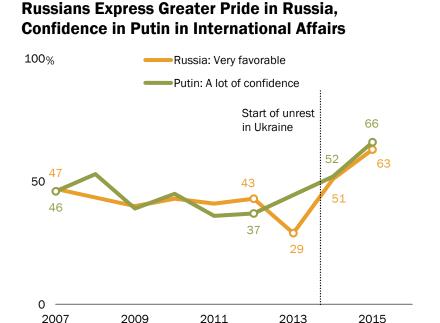
<sup>\*</sup> NATO median includes France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain, the UK and the U.S.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12a, d-f, o.

## Russians Rally around the Flag - and Putin

National pride has reached new heights in Russia. The percentage of Russians who say they have a *very* favorable image of their own country has continued to climb, from 29% in 2013, to 51% in 2014, to 63% today – the highest it has been in Pew Research Center polling since first asked in 2007. Roughly seven-in-ten (69%) also say it is a bad thing that the Soviet Union dissolved.

Russian President Vladimir Putin is faring well with his public during this crisis. Despite the fact that 73% of Russians are now unhappy with their country's economy,



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12d & Q25d.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

seven-in-ten approve of Putin's performance on the economy. And even though a plurality (37%) believes Putin's handling of the crisis in Ukraine has damaged Russia's international image, nearly nine-in-ten (88%) express confidence in him to do the right thing in international affairs – including 66% who say they have *a lot* of confidence.

## Ukrainians Ready to Negotiate with Russia, but Little Common Ground

A plurality of Ukrainians (47%) living outside of the Donbas region and Crimea say the best way to resolve the conflict in the east is to negotiate a settlement with the rebels and Russia. Roughly a quarter (23%) would prefer to use military force to fight the separatists, and 19% volunteer both or neither. Eastern Ukrainians are more supportive of negotiations than those in the west (56% vs. 40%), though this is still the most common answer in each region. Among eastern Ukrainians, those who live closest to the conflict areas – the bordering oblasts of Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovs'k and Zaporizhzhya – are the most eager for a settlement (65%).

However, negotiations may be difficult, as they have proved to be so far, because of the large divide between Ukrainians and Russians over the future of the Donbas region. As was true in 2014, an overwhelming majority of Ukrainians would prefer Ukraine to remain one country (85%) rather than allow regions to secede (10%). Both western and eastern Ukrainians support unity (91% and 77%, respectively).

There is somewhat more disagreement among Ukrainians over the exact terms under which the oblasts of Luhans'k and Donets'k should remain part of Ukraine. Roughly half (51%) say these oblasts should have the same level of autonomy from the central government as they did before the crisis, while 33% say they should have greater regional authority. Western Ukrainians are more supportive of reverting back to the situation before the crisis (61%) than granting increased autonomy to the regions (27%). Eastern Ukrainians are divided -37% say they prefer the previous status quo while

## Ukrainians Prefer Negotiations, but Want Donbas to Stay in Ukraine

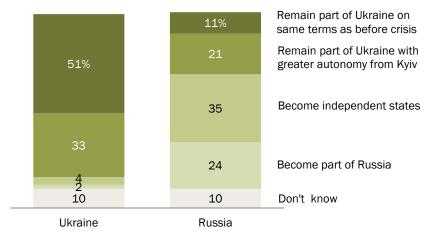
To end conflict in eastern Ukraine, which is best?	TOTAL %	West %	East %	Diff
Use military force to fight rebels	23	31	13	-18
Negotiate a settlement with separatists and Russia	47	40	56	+16
Both/Neither (VOL)	19	17	22	+5
Don't know	11	12	9	-3
Prefer that Donets'k and Luhans'k regions	TOTAL %	West %	East %	Diff
Remain part of Ukraine on the same terms as before the crisis	51	61	37	-24
Remain a part of Ukraine but receive greater autonomy from Kyiv	33	27	41	+14
Become independent states	4	3	5	+2
Become part of Russia	2	2	3	+1
Don't know	10	7	15	+8

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q51 & Q96.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

### Ukrainians Want Donbas to Remain Part of Ukraine; Russians Want It to Secede

Thinking about the future of the Luhans'k and Donets'k regions, would you prefer that they ...



Note: In Russia, question read "Thinking about the future of the self-declared republics of Luhans'k and Donets'k  $\dots$ "

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q51.

41% support more independence. Residents of the border oblasts are more supportive of greater autonomy (45%) than others in the east. Regardless of these regional divides, there is very little support in Ukraine for Luhans'k and Donets'k becoming either independent states (4%) or joining Russia (2%).

Russians, however, disagree. Just about a third says Donbas should stay part of Ukraine – either on the same terms as before (11%) or with greater autonomy (21%). A majority (59%) believes they should secede, including 35% who say they should become independent states and 24% who think they should become part of Russia.

# 1. NATO Public Opinion: Wary of Russia, Leery of Action on Ukraine

In recent years, Russia's relationship with Western countries, specifically with members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), has been on a roller-coaster ride. In 2010, U.S. President Barack Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev signed a <a href="New START">New START</a> agreement that reduced the number of deployed strategic warheads on each side by roughly 30%. But Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 and its ongoing support for separatist forces in eastern Ukraine has once more strained relations between Russia and Western nations.

Going forward, most NATO members are willing to provide economic aid to Ukraine and offer it NATO membership. But they generally shy away from sending arms to Kyiv or escalating economic sanctions against Moscow. And at least half in Germany, France and Italy are unwilling to use military force to defend other NATO allies against Russian aggression.

### Russia, Putin in Disfavor

Both Russia and its current president, Vladimir Putin, are held in low regard in the eight NATO countries surveyed. Public attitudes toward both Russia and its leader have been in steady decline over the past few years, though in the past 12 months views of Russia have rebounded slightly in Germany, Italy and Spain. Nevertheless, the median favorability of Russia is down to 26% from 37% in 2013. And the median confidence in Putin to do the right thing regarding world affairs is down to 16% from 28% in 2007.

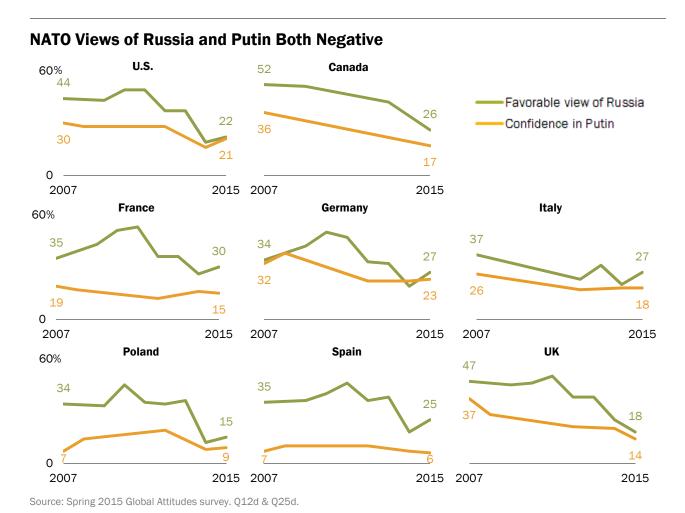
Russia's current image problems are especially bad in Poland. Poland has had a long, painful relationship with Russia, having been invaded, dismembered and occupied by a series of Russian and Soviet regimes. Thus it is hardly surprising that just 15% of Poles have a favorable view of Russia. But the Poles have not always despaired of their ties with their neighbor. As recently as 2010, 45% of Poles had a favorable view of Russia – three times the current share. Just as striking, in 2010 only 11% had a *very* unfavorable opinion of Russia. Now more than three times that number, 40%, intensely dislike Russia.

The British have similarly turned against Russia. Only 18% in the United Kingdom voice a favorable view of the country. This is down from 25% of the British in 2014 and 50% in 2011. It is also notable that in 2011 only 7% of the British said they held *very* unfavorable views of Russia. In 2015, that proportion has quadrupled to 28%.

Only 22% of Americans express a favorable opinion of Russia. This is largely unchanged from last year, but down from 49% in both 2010 and 2011. At the same time, however, intense animosity toward Russia seems to be waning in the past year. The proportion of Americans holding *very* unfavorable views is down 11 percentage points, from 38% in 2014 to 27% in 2015. Still, older Americans are more than three times as likely as younger Americans (40% vs. 11%) to see Russia in a negative light.

Fewer than three-in-ten Germans (27%) hold a favorable view of Russia. This assessment has improved 8 points since last year. But it is down from a recent high of 50% in 2010. German men are twice as likely as women to have a positive opinion of Russia.

Views of Putin in NATO countries have historically been very low and have dropped even further in some countries in recent years. Putin's peak popularity was in 2003, a heady time when 75% of Germans (rivaling the 76% of Russians with faith in Putin), 54% of Canadians, 53% of British, 48%



of French, 44% of Italians and 41% of Americans had confidence in him to do the right thing regarding world affairs.

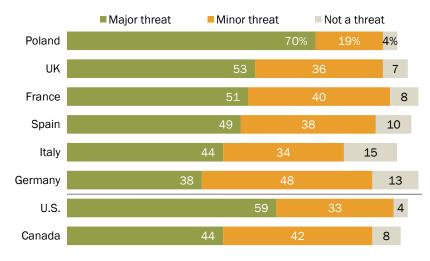
Putin has never again attained this level of trust in the West. Today, fewer than a quarter voice confidence in his leadership in any country, including just 9% in Poland and 6% in Spain. These attitudes are largely unchanged from 2014. It is older and more highly educated people in both the UK and the U.S. who are most likely to voice no confidence in Putin.

## Russia Seen as Threat to Neighbors

There is widespread public concern in some NATO member states that Russia poses a military threat to neighboring countries aside from Ukraine. Seven-in-ten Poles say Moscow poses a major danger, as do roughly six-in-ten Americans (59%) and about half of British (53%) and French (51%). But only 44% of Italians and 38% of Germans see Russia as a major menace. Notably, while older Americans (64%) are far more likely than younger ones (51%) to say Moscow is a military danger, it is younger French (63%)

### **Poland Most Worried about Russian Military Threat**

How much of a military threat, if at all, is Russia to its neighboring countries, aside from Ukraine?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q27.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER** 

rather than their elders (47%) who are the most worried.

When it comes to the current conflict in eastern Ukraine, NATO members tend to see Russia as responsible for the fighting. A majority of Poles (57%) say Moscow is behind the violence in Ukraine, as do four-in-ten or more French (44%), Americans (42%) and British (40%). But only roughly three-in-ten Germans and Italians (both 29%) agree. Older Americans (50%) and Brits (45%) are more likely than their younger compatriots (33% of both Americans and British) to blame Russia. And in all but Germany, those who blame Russia for the violence in eastern Ukraine are the most likely to see Russia as a military threat.

Other actors in the Ukraine drama are seen as less culpable for the hostilities in eastern Ukraine. Three-in-ten French, 25% of Germans and 22% of Italians say pro-Russian Ukrainian separatists are responsible for the violence there. Few say the responsibility lies with the Ukrainian government itself. And only in Germany (12%) does a double-digit minority believe that the actions of Western governments in Europe and the U.S. are accountable for the hostilities.

## In NATO Countries, Russia Bears Largest Share of Blame for Violence in Ukraine

Who is most to blame for the violence in eastern Ukraine?

	Pro-Russian separatists in Ukraine	Ukrainian gov't	Russia	Western countries	Don't know
	%	%	%	%	%
U.S.	15	13	42	5	22
Canada	18	5	37	7	29
France	30	14	44	9	2
Germany	25	9	29	12	17
Italy	22	7	29	6	23
UK	17	7	40	7	24
Spain	15	9	37	8	21
Poland	15	8	57	3	8

Note: Data for volunteer categories "more than one named," "all of the above" and "none of the above" not shown. In all countries, volunteer categories represent less than 15%.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q47.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER** 

## Views of NATO Generally Favorable

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the Western alliance created in 1949 to provide collective security for its members in the face of the military threat then posed by the Soviet Union. NATO now includes 28 countries from Europe and North America. The eight NATO members surveyed by Pew Research Center in 2015 account for 78% of NATO countries' population, 88% of their gross domestic product and 94% of their defense spending.

### NATO Support Declining in Germany, Rising in Poland

Favorable view of NATO

	2009	2011	2013	2015	09-15 Change	13-15 Change
	%	%	%	%		
U.S.	53	54	49	49	-4	0
Canada	_	_	57	56	-	-1
France	71	70	58	64	-7	+6
Germany	73	60	59	55	-18	-4
Italy	64	_	60	64	0	+4
Poland	75	72	64	74	-1	+10
Spain	56	62	42	47	-9	+5
UK	63	63	59	60	-3	+1

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12f.

Overall, NATO members have a favorable view of their 66-year-old alliance. A median of 62% expresses a positive perception of the organization. But this generally upbeat attitude masks national differences that highlight current tensions and possible future difficulties for the coalition. It also does not capture differences within countries. For example, people who place themselves on the right of the ideological spectrum are more supportive than those on the left in Spain, France and Germany. But only in Spain do more than half of people on the left have an unfavorable attitude toward NATO. In the U.S., a majority of Democrats (56%) voice a favorable opinion of the organization, but only about four-in-ten Republicans (43%) share that view.

Given their contentious history with Russia and their proximity to the fighting in Ukraine, it is not surprising that 74% of Poles hold a favorable opinion of NATO and the security reassurance membership in it provides. Polish support for the alliance is up 10 percentage points from 2013. Six-in-ten or more French (64%), Italians (64%) and British (60%) also hold a favorable view of NATO. However, roughly a third of the French (34%) and about a quarter of Italians (26%) express an unfavorable attitude toward NATO.

The greatest change in support for NATO has been in Germany, where favorability of the alliance has fallen 18 points since 2009, from 73% to 55%. Germans living in the east are divided -46% see it positively, 43% negatively.

The American public's attitude toward NATO belies the U.S. role in the organization. U.S. defense expenditures account for 73 percent of the defense spending of the alliance as a whole. And this is among the <u>highest proportion</u> of total alliance security spending since the early 1950s. But only 49% of Americans express a favorable opinion of the security organization. This is unchanged from 2013 but down from 54% in 2010 and 2011. Meanwhile, the proportion of Americans who say they have an unfavorable view of NATO has grown from 21% in 2010 to 31% in 2015.

#### What to Do about Ukraine

In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, publics in NATO member countries were given options as to what, if anything, they wanted to do about it. The survey suggests they support economic aid for beleaguered Ukraine, but comparatively few favor doing much else.

The greatest support for helping Ukraine is for the most passive option: economic aid. A median of 70% backs providing the government in Kyiv with financial assistance in response to the situation involving Russia. The strongest proponents of such aid are Poles (77%), Spanish (77%), Canadians (75%) and Germans (71%). The most reluctant to provide financial assistance are the Italians, with

44% favoring it and 41% in opposition. It is older Spanish (81%) and Americans (68%) who back aid more than their younger compatriots (66% of Spanish and 53% of Americans). People on the left are more supportive than those on the right in France, Italy and the UK.

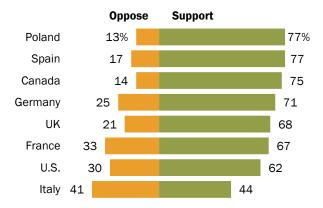
Ukraine's relationship with NATO has long been the topic of contentious debate, both within the country and among the members of the Western security pact. Since the end of the Cold War, governments in Kyiv have wavered between a desire to eventually join the alliance and a desire to remain nonaligned.

A median of 57% of the NATO publics surveyed support offering Ukraine NATO membership in response to the situation involving Russia. About two-thirds of Canadians (65%) favor that option, as do roughly six-in-ten Americans (62%) and Poles (59%). Germans (36%) and Italians (35%) are the least supportive of Ukraine's membership in NATO. In fact, a majority of Germans (57%) and a plurality of Italians (46%) oppose offering Kyiv this option.

NATO membership for Ukraine is backed more by older (66%) than younger Americans (55%). Conversely, younger Germans (51%), French and Poles (both 64%) favor it more than their elders (32% of Germans, 52% of French and 54% of Poles).

### Majorities in Most NATO Countries Back Economic Aid to Ukraine

In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose: economic aid to Ukraine provided by Western countries?

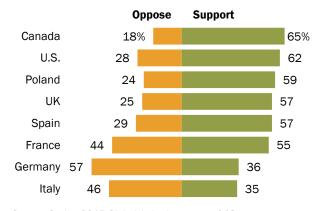


Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q48d.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER** 

### **Germans Oppose Ukraine Joining NATO**

In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose: Ukraine becoming a member of NATO?



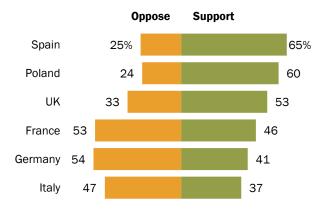
Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q48b.

Notably, despite recent developments, support for Ukrainian membership in NATO is relatively unchanged in a number of alliance countries – France, Germany, Italy, Poland – compared with attitudes expressed in 2009, when <a href="Pew Research Center">Pew Research Center</a> asked publics a standalone question: if they favored Ukraine joining NATO in the next decade. Among the nations surveyed, support for Ukrainian membership in the defense alliance has increased by double digits in the U.S., the UK and Spain.

The prospect of Ukraine one day joining the European Union (EU) is at the heart of much recent Ukraine-Russia tension and helped spark the Euromaidan demonstrations in Ukraine that eventually led to the ouster of Viktor Yanukovych and his government in February 2014. The six EU member nations surveyed are divided over offering Ukraine membership in the EU in response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine. The strongest support comes from the Spanish (65%) and Poles (60%). Italians (37%) are the least willing to offer Ukraine a spot at the EU table. And more than half of Germans (54%) and French (53%) are openly opposed to membership. Notably, a majority of older Germans (57%) are against Ukraine joining the EU, compared with 42% of younger Germans. People on the left are more supportive of EU membership for Ukraine than people on the right in Italy, the UK, France and Spain.

### **Division over Ukraine Joining EU**

In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose: Ukraine becoming a member of the EU?

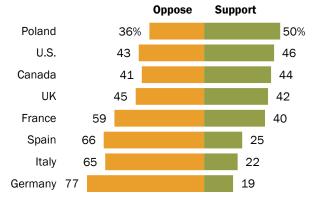


Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q48c.

#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Many NATO Countries Oppose Supplying Ukraine with Arms Against Russia

In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose: NATO sending arms to the Ukrainian government?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q48a.

There is relatively little support among NATO members for sending arms to the Ukrainian government. A median of only 41% back such action. Despite Poles' general antipathy toward Russia, their concern about the military threat posed by Russia and their blaming Moscow for the current violence in Ukraine, only half (50%) want NATO to give arms to Kyiv. Americans are divided on the issue: 46% support sending weaponry, 43% oppose it. A majority of older Americans (56%) favor arming the Ukrainians, while more than half of younger Americans (54%) oppose it. And majorities in four of the eight nations are against helping arm the Ukrainians. The strongest opposition is in Germany (77%), Spain (66%) and Italy (65%).

In a related question concerning the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, Americans, Canadians and publics in the six EU member states in the survey were asked if they thought that the economic sanctions imposed on Russia by the EU and the U.S. should be increased, decreased or kept about the same as they are now. Outside of Poland, there is little appetite for escalating financial penalties. About half of Poles (49%) back ratcheting up economic sanctions. Roughly three-in-ten Italians (30%), Canadians (28%) and Americans (28%) agree. But only about a quarter of the French (25%) and the Spanish (24%) go along. Only one-in-five Germans want more economic pressure applied to Moscow. There is also relatively little interest in decreasing sanctions, except in Germany (29%). Most publics – including 53% of both Americans and British – want to keep the penalties about where they are now.

## Mixed Views on Coming to the Aid of NATO Allies

In Article 5 of the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty that created NATO, member states "agree that an armed attack against one or more of them ... shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that [they] will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by ... such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force." This commitment to collective self-defense has been the backbone of NATO since its founding, a tripwire to deter Soviet aggression throughout the Cold War. But in the face of Russian activities in Ukraine, not all NATO-member publics are willing to live up to their Article 5 obligation.

Roughly half or fewer in six of the eight countries surveyed say their country should use military force if Russia attacks a neighboring country that is a NATO ally. And at least half in three of the eight NATO countries say that their government should *not* use military force in such circumstances. The strongest opposition to responding with armed force is in Germany (58%), followed by France (53%) and Italy (51%). Germans (65%) and French (59%) ages 50 and older are more opposed to the use of military force against Russia than are their younger counterparts ages

18 to 29 (Germans 50%, French 48%). German, British and Spanish women are particularly against a military response.

More than half of Americans (56%) and Canadians (53%) are willing to respond to Russian military aggression against a fellow NATO country. A plurality of the British (49%) and Poles (48%) would also live up to their Article 5 commitment. And the Spanish are divided on the issue: 48% support it, 47% oppose.

While some in NATO are reluctant to help aid others attacked by Russia, a median of 68% of the NATO member countries surveyed believe that the U.S. *would* use military force to defend an ally. The Canadians (72%), Spanish (70%), Germans (68%) and Italians (68%) are the most

## NATO Countries Divided on Using Military Force to Defend Allies

If Russia got into a serious military conflict with one of its neighboring countries that is our NATO ally, do you think our country should or should not use military force to defend that country?

	Should	Should not	Don't know
	%	%	%
U.S.	56	37	7
Canada	53	36	11
UK	49	37	14
Poland	48	34	17
Spain	48	47	5
France	47	53	0
Italy	40	51	9
Germany	38	58	4

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q52.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

confident that the U.S. would send military aid. In many countries, young Europeans express the strongest faith in the U.S. to help defend allied countries. The Poles, citizens of the most front-line nation in the survey, have their doubts: 49% think Washington would fulfill its Article 5 obligation, 31% don't think it would and 20% aren't sure.

## Germany: Old Divisions over Russia and NATO Remain

There is also internal German disagreement on what to do about Ukraine and Russia. German reunification has not closed the east-west divide in that country, a division that has its origins in the Cold War.

Overall, Germans see neither Russia nor Putin in a positive light. But eastern Germans (40%) are twice as likely as western Germans (19%) to have confidence in Putin. And more than a third of those in the east (36%) have a favorable opinion of Russia compared with just 24% of western Germans. Easterners (28%) are also less likely than westerners (40%) to believe that Russia poses a military threat to its neighbors. And they are more likely to want to ease economic sanctions on Russia.

## Stark East-West Divide in Views toward Russia and NATO in Germany

	West	East	Diff
	%	%	
Confidence in Putin	19	40	+21
Decrease economic sanctions on Russia	26	42	+16
Favorable view of Russia	24	36	+12
Favorable view of NATO	57	46	-11
Russia is a major military threat to neighboring countries	40	28	-12
Germany should use military force to defend NATO ally against Russia	40	28	-12

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12d, f, Q25d, Q27, Q50 & Q52.

#### **PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

Conversely, people living in western Germany (57%) are more supportive of NATO than are those in the east (46%). And they are more likely than their eastern compatriots to support the use of military force to defend other NATO allies.

## Major Partisan Split in the U.S.

Republicans and Democrats in the U.S. are strongly divided on the situation in Ukraine and what to do about it. Members of both parties see Russia as a major military threat to neighboring countries, but to a different degree. Two-thirds of the GOP sees Russia in that light, but only 56% of Democrats share their fear. And while half of Republicans say Russia is to blame for the violence in eastern Ukraine, just 39% of Democrats agree.

There is a similar partisan divide over what to do about the situation in Ukraine. The smallest division is over economic aid to Kyiv: 69% of Republicans back such assistance, as do 60% of Democrats. But while 60% of Republicans would send arms to the Ukrainians, only 39% of Democrats agree.

With regard to U.S. and EU economic sanctions on Russia, substantial percentages of both parties favor keeping them about the same (44% of GOP and 54% of Democrats). However, 40% of Republicans would increase those sanctions, but only 23% of Democrats approve of such action.

Members of both parties support NATO membership for Ukraine. Such support is greater among the GOP (71%) than among Democrats (59%). Moreover, there is a partisan difference about U.S. obligations to come to the military assistance of other NATO members. Nearly seven-in-ten Republicans (69%) say that Washington should come to the aid of its allies in the event of Russian aggression. But only 47% of Democrats back that long-standing U.S. treaty obligation, while 48% oppose it.

## Partisan Divide in U.S. on What to Do about Russia-Ukraine Situation

	Democrats	Republicans	Diff
	%	%	
U.S. should use military force to defend NATO ally against Russia	47	69	+22
Support for NATO sending arms to the Ukrainian gov	39	60	+21
Increase economic sanctions on Russia	23	40	+17
Support for Ukraine becoming a NATO member	59	71	+12
Russia is a major military threat to its neighbors	56	67	+11
Russia is to blame for violence in eastern Ukraine	39	50	+11
Support for Western countries providing economic aid to Ukraine	60	69	+9

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q27, Q47, Q48a-b, d, Q50 & Q52.

## 2. Russian Public Opinion: Putin Praised, West Panned

As Russia deals with a dramatic fall in the price of oil and Western sanctions over its actions in Ukraine, fewer Russians say the economy is good and that Russian President Vladimir Putin's actions in Ukraine have led to more favorable views of Russia. Nonetheless, Putin, who has entered his 11th year as leader of the country, garners overwhelming support from the Russian people on both his domestic and foreign policies, including record-high confidence in his ability to handle international affairs.

Concurrently, views of Western foreign leaders and powers have plummeted within Russia to their lowest levels of the Putin era. And many consider NATO and Western countries a military threat to Russia. Nationalism is on the rise within the country – very favorable views of the homeland are up sharply, Russians agree that parts of other countries belong to them and a majority says it is a bad thing that the USSR no longer exists. Regarding Ukraine, Russians believe the Luhans'k and Donets'k regions should secede, either becoming independent states or part of Russia. But Russians are divided about Ukraine's place within the Eurasian Economic Union.

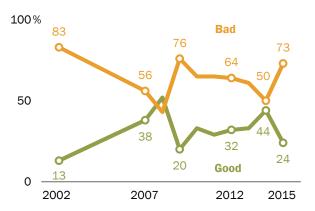
## Russians See Downward Trend on Economy and International Image

Russians express increasingly negative views about the economic situation in their country. Roughly three-quarters (73%) say the Russian economy is bad, with only around a quarter (24%) saying it is good. In the months following the annexation of Crimea in 2014, positive economic attitudes had risen to 44%. But the fall in the price of oil and Western sanctions have led to a 20 percentage point drop in positive economic sentiments in the past year, despite recent signs that the economic downturn might be less severe than anticipated.

Young Russians, those ages 18 to 29, are the most likely to hold positive views about the economy, yet only 32% say it is doing well, compared with 19% of Russians ages 50 and older.

## **Russian Views of Economy Souring**

How would you describe the current economic situation in Russia?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q3.

Most Russians agree that Western sanctions are having an effect on the economy, but there is a split as to whether it is those sanctions or falling oil prices that are the main culprit for the economic downturn. In all, 45% of Russians say sanctions are having a major effect on the economy, with a further 41% saying they are having a minor effect. Only 8% say they are having no effect at all.

A third of Russians say that Western sanctions are causing the most harm to their economy, and another third say that falling oil prices are to blame. Only a quarter fault the economic woes on current government policies.

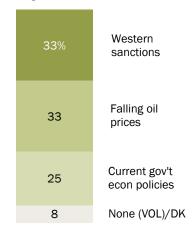
In the wake of annexing Crimea last year, a plurality of Russians believed Putin's handling of the situation in Ukraine was improving Russia's image worldwide. Today, Russians are more likely to say Putin's actions have dampened the country's international image. A 37% plurality says Putin's handling of Ukraine has led other countries to have a less favorable opinion of Russia, an 11-percentage-point increase since 2014.

And only 27% say Putin's actions have led to a more favorable opinion of Russia, down 16 points since last year. A quarter says it has made no difference.

There is a slight gender gap on this question. Women (31%) are more likely than men (22%) to say Putin's actions have made Russia's international image more favorable.

# Russians Blame Sanctions and Falling Oil Prices for Economic Woes

Which one of the following is causing the most harm to our economy?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. 058.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER** 

## More Russians Say Putin's Handling of Ukraine Crisis Has Led to Worsening International Opinion of Russia

Has President Putin's handling of the situation in Ukraine led people in other countries to have a more favorable opinion of Russia, a less favorable opinion or has it made no difference?

	2014	2015	Change
	%	%	
More favorable	43	27	-16
Less favorable	26	37	+11
No difference	22	25	+3
Don't know	9	11	+2

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q82.

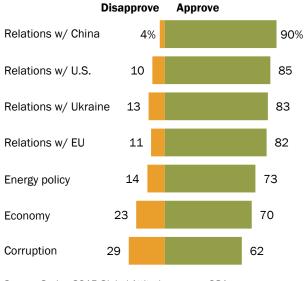
## Putin Gets Widespread Job Approval from the Russian Public

Whether it is for his handling of relations with other countries, such as China, the U.S., Ukraine, or the European Union (EU), or for domestic issues, such as energy policy, the economy and corruption, Putin gets high marks from the Russian people. Majorities approve of his handling of each issue, and he is especially praised for his foreign policy.

At the top of the list, nine-in-ten Russians approve of Putin's handling of relations with China. The two countries have seen a marked increase in cooperation recently, as energy ties and opposition to U.S. policies have forged a common cause between the two powers. But Russians also praise Putin for his relations with the U.S. (85% approve), Ukraine (83%), and the EU (82%), even as he faces sanctions from the U.S. and EU for his actions in eastern Ukraine.

## Russians Overwhelmingly Support Putin's Foreign and Domestic Policies

Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Vladimir Putin is handling ...



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q81a-g.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

While not as robust as his foreign policy ratings, seven-in-ten or more in Russia approve of Putin's energy policy (73%) and handling of the economy (70%), despite recent negative trends in the price of oil and a subsequent <u>slowdown of the Russian economy</u>. Putin also receives majority approval for a <u>common concern</u> in many emerging countries around the world: corruption. About six-in-ten Russians (62%) approve of Putin's handling of corruption, though a significant minority (29%) disapproves on this particular issue.

## Russians Have High Confidence in Putin's Handling of International Affairs

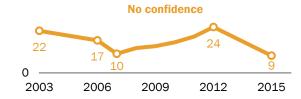
Along with their high approval ratings for Putin's international and domestic policies, Russians also have great confidence in their leader's ability to handle international affairs. Nearly nine-in-ten (88%) have confidence in Putin to do the right thing regarding world affairs, including 66% who say they have *a lot* of confidence. Only 9% express little or no confidence in the Russian leader.

The 88% rating for Putin represents a new high for his handling of international affairs since Pew Research began polling on this issue in 2003. And Putin gets significantly higher ratings from the Russian public compared with 2012, when massive protests surrounding the disputed 2011 legislative

#### **Russian Confidence in Putin at New High**

Confidence in Putin to do the right thing regarding world affairs





Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q25d.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER** 

elections threatened to weaken his hold on the country.

Regardless of whether Russians blame Western sanctions, falling oil prices or current government policies for harming their economy, vast majorities still have confidence in Putin's handling of international affairs and relations with Ukraine. However, those Russians who approve of Putin's handling of relations with Ukraine are more likely to blame Western sanctions for their economic woes, while those few who disapprove are more likely to name current government policies as the cause of the economic downturn.

## Russians Hold Negative Views of U.S. and Other Western Powers

Russians have very negative opinions of Western powers. Majorities in Russia have unfavorable views of the U.S., NATO, the EU and Germany. And these feelings of dislike have intensified in recent years.

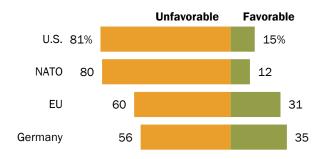
In the current survey, around eight-in-ten Russians have an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. (81%) and NATO (80%). This includes about half who have a *very* unfavorable opinion of the U.S. (49%) and NATO (50%). Only 15% and 12% respectively have favorable opinions of these Western entities.

While opinions of the EU and Germany are not as bleak, majorities in Russia have negative views of these powers. Six-in-ten Russians have an unfavorable opinion of the EU, and 56% have a negative view of the EU's largest economic power, Germany. Only around a third have positive opinions of the EU (31%) and Germany (35%).

Positive opinions of Germany, the EU, the U.S. and NATO are all at the lowest point since Pew Research began asking these questions in Russia. In the past two years, from

## Russians Hold Very Negative Views of U.S. and NATO

Russian views of ...



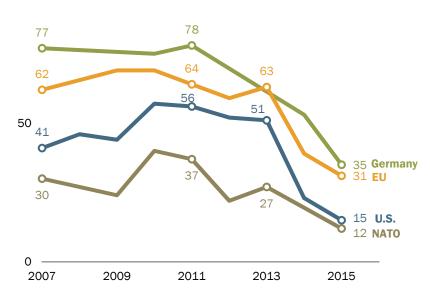
Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12a, e-f, o.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

#### **Views of Western Powers Plummet in Russia**

Russians who have a favorable view of ...

100%



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12a, e-f, o.

before the Ukraine crisis began to now, positive opinions of the U.S. have plummeted 36 percentage points in Russia.

Similarly, favorable opinions of the EU have fallen 32 points and views of NATO are down 15 points since 2013. Perhaps most strikingly, since 2011, favorable views of Germany have collapsed in Russia. In 2011, 78% of Russians had a positive opinion of the Federal Republic, but that stands at only 35% today, a fall of 43 percentage points in four years, including 18 points in the past year alone.

Meanwhile, only 28% have confidence in

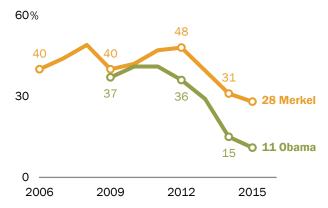
German Chancellor Angela Merkel's international policies, with
66% expressing little or no confidence. And U.S. President
Barack Obama gets even worse ratings – only 11% of Russians
have confidence in his role regarding world affairs, with 86%
expressing no confidence.

Among the Russian public, ratings for Merkel and Obama are also at all-time lows. Indeed, since 2012, confidence in Merkel's handling of international affairs has fallen 20 percentage points in Russia. And in that same time period, Russians' confidence in Obama has dropped from an already low 36% in 2012 to a dismal 11% in 2015.

Coinciding with diminishing positive views of major Western powers, half of Russians see NATO as a major military threat to their country. An additional 31% see NATO as a minor threat. Only one-in-ten say NATO is not a military threat. Older Russians ages 50 and older are more willing to say NATO is a major military threat (55%) than Russians ages 18 to 29 (43%).

### Russians' Faith in Merkel, Obama Wanes

Confidence in \_\_\_ to do the right thing regarding world affairs

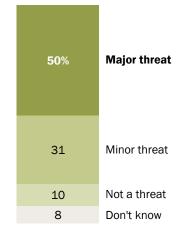


Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q25a, f.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER** 

## Half in Russia Say NATO Is a Major Military Threat

How much of a military threat is NATO to our country?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q28.

### Russian Nationalism on the Rise

As the Putin era draws on, Russian nationalism is getting stronger. More than nine-in-ten Russians (93%) have a favorable opinion of their own country. And in the past year, the percentage who have a *very* favorable opinion of their homeland is up 12 percentage points.

Nostalgia for a lost era is also evident. An overwhelming majority of Russians (69%) say that the dissolution of the Soviet Union was a bad thing for Russia. Only 17% say it was a good thing.

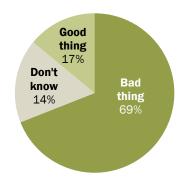
Older Russians are much more likely to say that the breakup of the USSR was a bad thing (85%). Only 44% of young Russians say the same, though around a quarter (27%) have no opinion, probably owing to the fact that 18- to 29-year-olds were only children or not even born when the Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990s.

Along with high approval of the state and nostalgia for the Soviet era, 61% of Russians agree with the statement that there are parts of neighboring countries that really belong to Russia. This sentiment has remained steady since 2002. However, in 1992, following the breakup of the Soviet Union, fewer than four-in-ten Russians believed that other countries belonged to the Russian state, and still fewer believed this in 1991 (22%).

Russians also increasingly say that their government respects the personal freedoms of its people. In 2015, 63% of Russians say this is the case, while only 29% disagree. Since 2008, belief that the Russian government respects its people's rights is up 18 percentage points.

## Overwhelming Majority of Russians Say Breakup of USSR Was Bad for Russia

Do you think the dissolution of the Soviet Union was a good thing or bad thing for Russia?

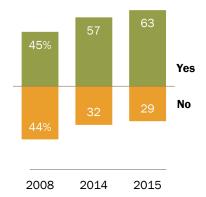


Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. 034.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Russians Increasingly See Their Government as Respecting Personal Freedoms

Does the gov't of Russia respect the personal freedoms of its people?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. 019c.

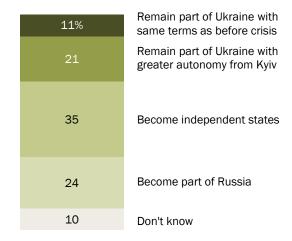
## Russians Support Secession for Eastern Ukraine

Half in Russia say that Western countries, such as those in Europe and the U.S., are to blame for the violence in eastern Ukraine. A further 26% faults the government in Kyiv for the conflict. Only 4% see rebels from Luhans'k and Donets'k as the cause and a measly 2% say Russia itself is to blame.

Few Russians believe that the Ukrainian government respects the freedom of its people. Only 8% say Ukraine's government respects its people's rights, while 83% say it does not. This negative view is up 10 percentage points since 2014.

#### **Russians Prefer Donbas to Secede**

Thinking about the future of the self-declared republics of Luhans'k and Donets'k, would you prefer that they ...



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q51.

#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER

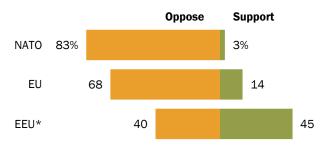
Russians are also clear that they do not prefer the Luhans'k and Donets'k regions to remain part of Ukraine. Only about a third (32%) say they would like those regions to remain part of Ukraine, either with the same terms as before the crisis (11%) or with greater autonomy from Kyiv (21%). But 35% would like the Donbas region to become independent, and a further 24% say those regions should become part of Russia.

Russians also do not want Ukraine to turn westward. Few support Ukraine joining NATO or the EU. Only 3% and 14%, respectively, support Ukraine joining those Western institutions.

However, Russians are divided about incorporating Ukraine into the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), a supranational body which consists of Russia, Armenia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, with Kyrgyzstan as an acceding state. Only 45% of Russians say Ukraine should join the EEU, with a similar 40% opposed to such an arrangement. Older

## Russians Opposed to Ukraine Joining NATO or EU, Split on EEU Membership

Do you support or oppose Ukraine becoming a member of ...



\* The Eurasian Economic Union (Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan).

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q46a-c.

Russians are more likely to support EEU membership for Ukraine (49%) than are young Russians (39%).

# 3. Ukrainian Public Opinion: Dissatisfied with Current Conditions, Looking for an End to the Crisis

Pew Research Center interviewed in all regions of Ukraine except Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea, due to the security situation on the ground.<sup>2</sup> The survey represents roughly 80% of the Ukrainian population. While Luhans'k and Donets'k are populous oblasts within the eastern region, the survey still covers a substantial proportion of the east and was designed to allow for analysis of the regional divide in attitudes.

Overall, Ukrainians living outside the Donbas region and Crimea continue to be very dissatisfied with their country's economy. They are also increasingly critical of their national government and see little progress in the confrontation in the east. And while many Ukrainians – especially those in the east – would like to negotiate a peaceful end to the conflict with the rebels and Russia, few want the disputed oblasts to secede, and most would prefer to continue to get closer with Western nations rather than with Russia.

## Discontent with Economy and Government

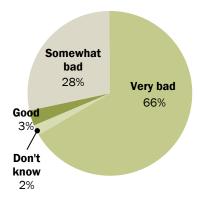
More than nine-in-ten Ukrainians think their country's economic situation is bad (94%), including 66% who say it is *very* bad. Similar percentages gave the economy negative ratings in 2014.

In addition to dissatisfaction with economic conditions, Ukrainians express little faith in some of their country's major institutions. The public is especially critical of their court system. Just 11% say the judiciary is having a good influence on their nation. Roughly three-quarters (76%) say its influence is bad, including 45% who think it is *very* bad.

Only about a third (32%) thinks the government in Kyiv is having a good impact on the nation. Nearly six-in-ten (59%) say the central government is having a negative influence. Positive views of Kyiv have dropped 15 percentage points in the past 12 months.

#### **Unhappy with Economy**

How would you describe the current economic situation in Ukraine?



Note: Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pew Research Center's Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey in Ukraine excludes the oblasts of Luhans'k and Donest'k – also referred to as the Donbas region – as well as Crimea, for reasons of security and political sensitivities. For more information about the sample, see <a href="here">here</a>.

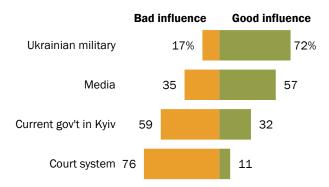
The country's media fares much better, with a majority (57%) saying they have a good impact on the country. And Ukrainians rate the military most highly (72%). Eastern Ukrainians outside of the Donbas region are somewhat less happy with the military than those in the west. Nonetheless, majorities in both regions give the armed forces positive reviews (63% good influence in east vs. 79% in west).

Ukrainians give both their president and prime minister negative marks. A plurality disapproves of President Petro Poroshenko's job performance (43%), while just a third approves. A majority (60%) is unhappy with the way Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk is handling his job. Roughly half or more of eastern Ukrainians give Poroshenko (49%) and Yatsenyuk (66%) negative reviews. Western Ukrainians also give Yatsenyuk bad marks (55%) but are divided on Poroshenko (39% approve, 39% disapprove).

When it comes to specific policy areas, Ukrainians disapprove of Poroshenko's handling of domestic and international affairs. Majorities say he is performing poorly on the issues of the economy (62% disapprove), corruption within the country (61%), relations with Russia (57%), and the conflict in eastern Ukraine (57%). On these issues the east and west agree – over half in both regions say Poroshenko is handling all these aspects of his job badly.

### Few in Ukraine Say National Government Has Good Influence

What kind of influence are the following groups having on the way things are going in Ukraine?



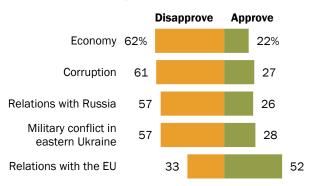
Note: Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q79aukr, bukr, c-d.

#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Most Ukrainians Disapprove of Poroshenko's Handling of Key Issues

Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Petro Poroshenko is handling ...



Note: Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q91a-e.

#### **PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

The one bright spot for Poroshenko is the European Union. About half of Ukrainians (52%) approve of his handling of relations with the Western organization, and just 33% disapprove.

Poroshenko has continued to pursue EU membership for Ukraine, as well as has attempted to convince EU nations to provide military aid. Ukrainians appear to approve of these efforts, though support on this issue is higher in the west (58%) than the east (46%).

The government in Kyiv also receives negative marks for its civil liberties record. A majority of Ukrainians (55%) believe their national government does not respect the personal freedoms of its people. Roughly a third (32%) thinks Kyiv protects its citizens' rights.

# Western Ukraine Increasingly Critical of Government in Kyiv

	2014	2015	Change
Kyiv gov't a bad influence	%	%	
Ukraine	42	59	+17
West	28	54	+26
East	59	65	+6

Note: Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q79aukr.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

As was true in 2014, eastern Ukrainians are more negative about their national government than

those in the west. However, western Ukrainians have become increasingly critical of Kyiv in the past 12 months. More than half (54%) in the west now say the national government is having a bad influence on the country. In 2014, only 28% of western Ukrainians gave Kyiv negative reviews and 60% were happy with its performance.

## Ukrainians See Little Progress, Blame Russia for Conflict

Few Ukrainians living outside of Donbas and Crimea think the military is making progress in its campaign against the separatists in the east (23%). Most say things are about the same as they have been (40%) or that the military is actually losing ground (21%). Eastern Ukrainians in the areas outside of Donbas are somewhat more likely than those in the west to say the military is losing to the rebels (25% in east vs. 18% in west). These impressions may be linked to the aftermath of the peace agreement

## Ukrainians Blame Russia for Violence, See Russia as Military Threat

	Ukraine	West	East
Who is most to blame for the violence in eastern Ukraine?	%	%	%
Pro-Russian separatists in Ukraine	9	9	8
Ukrainian gov't	8	5	13
Russia	45	56	33
Western countries	6	5	7
More than one/All named (VOL)	28	22	36
Don't know	3	3	3
How much of a military threat is Russia to its neighboring countries, aside from Ukraine?			
Major threat	47	61	30
Minor threat	34	28	40
Not a threat	13	8	19
Don't know	6	3	11

Note: Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q27 & Q47.

that was signed in February of this year. It led to a fragile cease-fire that has been punctuated repeatedly by violent violations.

Overall, a plurality of Ukrainians say Russia is to blame for the violence in eastern Ukraine (45%). Few think either the separatists (9%), the Ukrainian government (8%) or Western countries (6%) are responsible, though many name more than one of these groups (28%). Western Ukrainians are much more likely to say Russia is the sole culprit (56%), while those in the east see the problem as more complicated. A third of Ukrainians in the east think Russia is primarily to blame, but 36% fault more than one of the groups.

Roughly half of Ukrainians (47%) believe Russia is a major military threat to other neighboring countries. Another 34% say the former Cold War power is a minor threat. Western Ukrainians are much more concerned about Russia's territorial ambitions (61% major threat) than those in the east (30%).

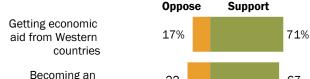
# Western Countries' Aid Welcomed in Response to Crisis

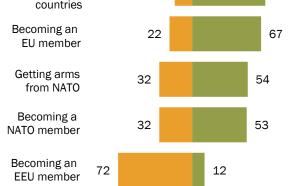
To help them in their time of crisis, more than half of Ukrainians outside of Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea want more help from Western countries, especially economic aid. Roughly seven-in-ten (71%) support receiving economic assistance from Western countries. In addition, two-thirds of Ukrainians want to join the EU. Ukrainians are more hesitant to either receive military arms from NATO (54% support) or join the alliance (53%).

The topics of NATO and military aid are also more regionally divisive than either economic assistance or the EU. At least half in both the west and the east support receiving economic aid and joining the EU. When it comes to joining NATO, however, 68% in the country's west support it, compared with just 34% of those in the east living outside of Donbas. Similarly, 66% in the west want NATO to send

### **Ukrainians Wants Aid from the West**

Do you support or oppose for our country?





Note: Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q49a-e.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

arms to the Ukrainian government, while just 38% of those in the east agree.

Regardless of their opinions about the EU or NATO, a broad majority of Ukrainians (72%) oppose joining the Eurasian Economic Union with Russia. This includes 82% of western Ukrainians and 61% of eastern Ukrainians living outside of Donbas. Similarly, nearly two-thirds of Ukrainians (65%) support increasing Western countries' sanctions on Russia. Just 13% say they should stay at the same level as they are now, and only 12% say they should be decreased. Three-quarters of western Ukrainians support ratcheting up economic punishment of Russia, while 52% in the east agree.

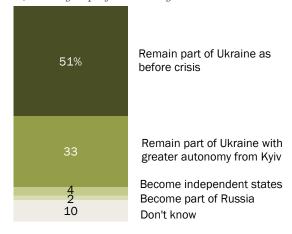
# Hope for a Peaceful End, but Little Support for Donbas Independence

Just as they did in 2014, most Ukrainians living outside of Donbas and Crimea think that in principle Ukraine should remain one, united country (85%), rather than allowing regions to secede (10%). Both western Ukrainians (91%) and those in the east (77%) continue to support unity.

Similarly, a majority of Ukrainians prefer that Luhans'k and Donets'k remain part of Ukraine – either on the same terms with the national government as before the crisis (51%) or with greater regional autonomy (33%). Western Ukrainians are more supportive of the precrisis status quo (61%) than giving Donbas increased decision-making authority (27%). Eastern Ukrainians outside of Donbas are divided – 41% support greater autonomy while 37% prefer no change. Ukrainians living along the border of the conflict – the oblasts of

### Ukrainians Prefer Donbas to Remain in Ukraine

Thinking about the future of the Luhans'k and Donets'k regions, would you prefer that they ...



Note: Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q51.

#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovs'k and Zaporizhzhya – are more supportive (45%) than other easterners (36%) of granting increased authority to the Donbas region. Few Ukrainians in either the east or the west, however, want Luhans'k and Donets'k to become independent states or part of Russia.

To end the crisis, a plurality of Ukrainians (47%) would prefer a negotiated settlement with the separatists and Russia. Roughly a quarter (23%) thinks the best approach is to use military force to fight the rebels. Ukrainians from the country's west are more supportive of military action than those from the east (31% in west vs. 13% in east). Nonetheless, a plurality or more in each region

say negotiations are best (40% in west vs. 56% in east). Ukrainians living in the border oblasts are the most supportive of negotiations to end the conflict (65%).

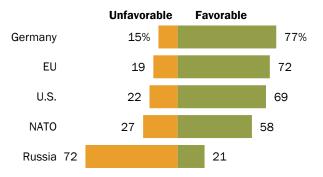
#### **Ukraine Looks West**

The crisis in eastern Ukraine continues to impact Ukrainians' views of major world powers. Similar to 2014, Ukrainians outside of Donbas and Crimea have more positive opinions of Western nations than of Russia, though there are deep regional divides. Overall, majorities of Ukrainians have a favorable view of Germany, the EU, the U.S. and NATO. Nonetheless, Ukrainians in the west give Germany, the EU and the U.S. more positive ratings than do those in the east. The two regions are even more deeply divided over NATO (69% favorable in west vs. 43% in east). Russia, on the other hand, garners negative ratings from Ukrainians in both the west (81% unfavorable) and the east (61%).

Roughly half or more of Ukrainians express confidence in German Chancellor Angela Merkel (56%) and U.S. President Barack Obama (51%) to do the right thing in world affairs. However, west and east Ukraine disagree over these two leaders. Majorities in the west express confidence in both Merkel and Obama, but less than half in the east outside of Donbas say the same about either. One person both western and eastern Ukrainians agree on is Russian President Vladimir Putin – 10% of Ukrainians express confidence in him and 84% do not.

# Germany Seen Most Favorably by Ukrainians, Russia Least

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of ...



Note: Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12a, d-f, o.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# **East-West Divide in Ukrainian Views of Leaders, Except Putin**

Confidence in \_\_\_ to do the right thing regarding world affairs

	Ukraine	West	East
	%	%	%
Merkel	56	63	47
Obama	51	62	37
Putin	10	8	12

Note: Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q25a, d, f.

Similarly, a broad majority of Ukrainians (78%) believe the government of Russia does not respect the personal freedoms of its citizens. Just 12% says Moscow does protect civil liberties. There is less disagreement between eastern and western Ukrainians on this issue.

In addition, 47% of Ukrainians say the dissolution of the Soviet Union has been a good thing for their country. About a third (34%) says it has been a bad thing. On this aspect, eastern and western Ukrainians clearly disagree. A majority of those in the west say the end of the USSR was good for Ukraine (61%), while a plurality of those in the east say it was bad (45%).

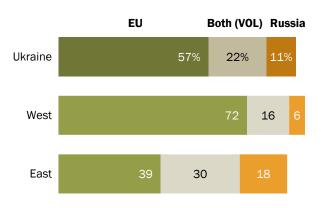
Despite some nostalgia for the Soviet Union, negative attitudes about Russia today dominate Ukrainians' views of the future.

Nearly six-in-ten (57%) say it is more important for Ukraine to have strong ties with the EU rather than with Russia (11%). About two-in-ten (22%) think both the EU and Russia are equally important to Ukraine. A broad majority of western Ukrainians (72%) choose the EU over Russia. A plurality of eastern Ukrainians living outside of Donbas (39%) make the same choice, though three-inten prefer strong ties with both. Just 18% of those in the east say strong ties with Russia are more important.

Young Ukrainians, those ages 18 to 29, are the most positive toward Western countries and organizations. Nearly eight-in-ten young

# **EU Seen as More Important to Ukraine** than Russia

More important for Ukraine to have strong ties with ...



Note: Ukraine sample does not include Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q93.

#### **PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

people have a positive image of the EU (80% favorable) and the U.S. (79%), compared with less than seven-in-ten among those ages 50 and older (66% EU, 62% U.S.). Younger Ukrainians are also much more supportive of closer ties with the EU (67%) than their elders (51%). Meanwhile, despite equally negative views of Russia today among the young and old, Ukrainians ages 50 and older express much greater fondness for the Soviet Union (47% bad thing it dissolved) than younger Ukrainians (18%) who were born around the time of the fall of the Soviet Union, or a few years after.

# Methodology

About the 2015 Spring Pew Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are available on our <u>website</u>.

For more detailed information on survey methods for this report, see here: <a href="http://www.pewglobal.org/methods-database/">http://www.pewglobal.org/methods-database/</a>

For more general information on international survey research, see here: <a href="http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/international-survey-research/">http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/international-survey-research/</a>

# **Topline Results**

Pew Research Center Spring 2015 survey June 10, 2015 Release

#### Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. For further details
  on sample designs, see Methodology section and our <u>international survey methods</u>
  <u>database</u>.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, the Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate toplines for its Global Attitudes surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- Results for Ukraine in 2014 may differ from previously published figures. To make the 2014 sample comparable to 2015, Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea were excluded from the 2014 sample. These areas were not surveyed in 2015 due to security concerns. Throughout the topline results, 2014 Ukraine figures are noted with an asterisk.
- For some countries, trends for certain years are omitted due to differences in sample design or population coverage. Omitted trends often reflect less representative samples than more recent surveys in the same countries. Trends that are omitted include:
  - Ukraine prior to 2014
  - Russia in March 2003
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2015 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

44 PEW RESEARCH CENTER

			Q3. Now thinking about our economic situation, how would you describe the current economic situation in (survey country) — is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?						
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total		
Russia	Spring, 2015	1	23	54	19	3	100		
	Spring, 2014	3	41	41	9	6	100		
	Spring, 2013	2	31	46	15	6	100		
	Spring, 2012	4	28	49	15	5	100		
	Spring, 2011	5	24	46	19	6	100		
	Spring, 2010	3	30	49	16	4	100		
	Fall, 2009	3	25	50	18	4	100		
	Spring, 2009	2	18	55	21	5	100		
	Spring, 2008	5	47	37	6	4	100		
	Spring, 2007	3	35	45	11	6	100		
	Summer, 2002	0	13	57	26	4	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	1	2	28	66	2	100		
	Spring, 2014*	2	2	29	66	2	100		

		Q12a. Please te	Q12a. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. the United States						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Russia	Spring, 2015	4	11	32	49	4	100		
	Spring, 2014	4	19	37	34	6	100		
	Spring, 2013	9	42	30	10	9	100		
	Spring, 2012	11	41	25	9	13	100		
S	Spring, 2011	13	43	26	8	10	100		
	Spring, 2010	9	48	26	7	10	100		
	Spring, 2009	6	38	33	11	12	100		
	Spring, 2008	12	34	28	20	7	100		
	Spring, 2007	8	33	32	16	11	100		
	Spring, 2006	9	34	28	19	10	100		
	Spring, 2005	9	43	31	9	8	100		
	Spring, 2004	9	37	29	15	11	100		
	May, 2003	11	26	32	23	8	100		
	Summer, 2002	8	53	27	6	7	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	24	45	16	6	9	100		
	Spring, 2014*	20	48	18	7	7	100		

**45** PEW RESEARCH CENTER

		Q12d. Please t		e a very favorable unfavorable opin		rable, somewhat u ussia	ınfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2015	3	19	40	27	12	100
	Spring, 2014	3	16	34	38	9	100
	Spring, 2013	4	33	29	14	20	100
	Spring, 2012	5	32	27	13	24	100
	Spring, 2011	8	41	22	10	19	100
	Spring, 2010	7	42	24	8	19	100
	Spring, 2009	7	36	27	12	18	100
	Spring, 2007	4	40	24	11	21	100
Canada	Spring, 2015	3	23	36	23	14	100
	Spring, 2013	3	39	31	8	19	100
	Spring, 2009	5	46	22	8	19	100
	Spring, 2007	7	45	23	7	18	100
France	Spring, 2015	4	26	40	30	0	100
	Spring, 2014	4	22	34	39	1	100
	Spring, 2013	3	33	41	23	0	100
	Spring, 2012	3	33	41	23	0	100
	Spring, 2011	4	49	37	11	0	100
	Spring, 2010	3	48	37	12	0	100
	Spring, 2009	2	41	42	14	1	100
	Spring, 2007	2	33	48	17	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2015	3	24	47	23	3	100
Cermany	Spring, 2014	1	18	59	20	2	100
	Spring, 2013	1	31	49	11	7	100
	Spring, 2012	3	30	55	9	3	100
	Spring, 2011	2	45	42	7	5	100
		3	47	38	7	5	100
	Spring, 2010 Spring, 2009	2	40	41	10	7	100
	Spring, 2007	2	32	52	10	4	100
Italy		4	23	46	23	5	100
Italy	Spring, 2015 Spring, 2014	2	18	42	32	5	100
		4	27	35	21	13	100
	Spring, 2013	2	21	37	30	10	100
	Spring, 2012	2	35	41	8	14	100
Deleval	Spring, 2007	2	13	40	40	5	100
Poland	Spring, 2015	2	10	37	44	7	100
	Spring, 2014	3	33		1	9	
	Spring, 2013	_		42	12	7	100
	Spring, 2012	3	31	40	20	11	100
	Spring, 2011						100
	Spring, 2010	6	39	35	11	7	100
	Spring, 2009	2	31	40	16	10	100
Constant	Spring, 2007	4	30	39	19	8	100
Spain	Spring, 2015	6	19	41	25	9	100
	Spring, 2014	3	15	48	26	7	100
	Spring, 2013	10	28	34	17	12	100
	Spring, 2012	9	27	34	20	11	100
	Spring, 2011	10	36	31	14	10	100
	Spring, 2010	4	36	35	9	16	100
	Spring, 2009	3	33	35	9	20	100
	Spring, 2007	3	32	37	12	17	100
United Kingdom		3	15	38	28	16	100
	Spring, 2014	4	21	38	25	12	100
	Spring, 2013	4	34	30	9	23	100
	Spring, 2012	3	35	32	11	19	100
	Spring, 2011	7	43	24	7	19	100
	Spring, 2010	6	40	26	6	22	100
	Spring, 2009	5	40	26	7	21	100
	Spring, 2007	4	43	26	5	23	100

46 PEW RESEARCH CENTER

		Q12d. Please to	2d. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable o very unfavorable opinion of? d. Russia						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Russia	Spring, 2015	63	30	4	1	2	100		
	Spring, 2014	51	41	5	1	2	100		
	Spring, 2013	29	54	11	3	3	100		
	Spring, 2012	42	43	9	2	4	100		
	Spring, 2011	41	43	9	2	5	100		
	Spring, 2010	43	44	7	2	4	100		
	Spring, 2009	40	47	8	2	3	100		
	Spring, 2007	47	42	7	1	4	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	5	16	27	45	7	100		
	Spring, 2014*	5	17	29	43	6	100		

		Q12e. Please t		e a very favorable Ivorable opinion o		rable, somewhat ı ean Union	unfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2015	8	47	32	13	0	100
	Spring, 2014	6	48	28	18	0	100
	Spring, 2013	5	36	38	20	0	100
	Spring, 2012	10	50	28	12	0	100
	Spring, 2011	14	49	26	11	0	100
	Spring, 2010	13	51	28	9	0	100
	Spring, 2009	12	50	28	9	0	100
	Spring, 2007	9	53	27	11	0	100
	Spring, 2004	12	57	22	9	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2015	7	51	34	6	2	100
	Spring, 2014	7	59	27	4	2	100
	Spring, 2013	7	53	29	6	4	100
	Spring, 2012	12	56	27	4	1	100
	Spring, 2011	8	58	27	5	1	100
	Spring, 2010	11	51	28	7	3	100
	Spring, 2009	8	57	26	6	3	100
	Spring, 2007	12	56	24	6	2	100
	Spring, 2004	13	45	33	6	3	100
Italy	Spring, 2015	10	54	24	8	3	100
	Spring, 2014	5	41	34	16	4	100
	Spring, 2013	10	48	26	10	6	100
	Spring, 2012	10	49	25	10	6	100
	Spring, 2007	18	60	10	3	8	100
Poland	Spring, 2015	9	63	19	3	6	100
	Spring, 2014	13	59	18	4	7	100
	Spring, 2013	8	60	24	4	5	100
	Spring, 2012	10	59	20	5	6	100
	Spring, 2011	14	60	16	3	7	100
	Spring, 2010	21	60	12	2	5	100
	Spring, 2009	15	62	12	3	7	100
	Spring, 2007	23	60	10	1	7	100
Spain	Spring, 2015	15	48	22	12	4	100
	Spring, 2014	8	42	34	14	3	100
	Spring, 2013	14	32	35	17	2	100
	Spring, 2012	18	42	24	14	2	100
	Spring, 2011	23	49	17	7	3	100
	Spring, 2010	15	62	15	3	4	100
	Spring, 2009	15	62	14	2	6	100
	Spring, 2007	16	64	12	3	5	100

47 PEW RESEARCH CENTER

		Q12e. Please te			, somewhat favor f? e. Europe		unfavorable or
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	13	38	24	17	8	100
	Spring, 2014	12	40	22	19	7	100
	Spring, 2013	7	36	26	22	9	100
	Spring, 2012	9	36	26	20	8	100
	Spring, 2011	13	38	22	19	8	100
	Spring, 2010	9	40	21	21	10	100
	Spring, 2009	8	42	21	18	10	100
	Spring, 2007	10	42	21	16	10	100
	Spring, 2004	13	41	21	15	9	100
Russia	Spring, 2015	7	24	40	20	9	100
	Spring, 2014	9	30	35	17	9	100
	Spring, 2013	12	51	16	6	15	100
	Spring, 2012	12	47	15	4	22	100
	Spring, 2011	15	49	14	5	17	100
	Spring, 2010	19	50	12	3	16	100
	Spring, 2009	16	53	13	4	15	100
	Spring, 2007	15	47	15	3	20	100
	Spring, 2004	11	51	13	5	21	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	27	45	15	4	9	100
	Spring, 2014*	24	49	14	6	8	100

						able, somewhat u lantic Treaty Orga	
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2015	9	40	20	11	20	100
	Spring, 2013	9	40	17	10	24	100
	Spring, 2012	12	39	15	7	26	100
	Spring, 2011	14	40	17	7	22	100
	Spring, 2010	13	41	15	6	25	100
	Fall, 2009	11	42	14	10	23	100
Canada	Spring, 2015	10	46	18	5	22	100
	Spring, 2013	9	48	13	6	23	100
France	Spring, 2015	7	57	26	9	1	100
	Spring, 2013	6	52	29	12	1	100
	Spring, 2012	8	59	21	10	1	100
	Spring, 2011	10	60	23	7	1	100
	Spring, 2010	6	62	24	7	2	100
	Fall, 2009	12	59	20	7	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2015	7	48	29	7	9	100
	Spring, 2013	5	54	27	3	10	100
	Spring, 2012	8	57	26	4	5	100
	Spring, 2011	6	54	29	4	7	100
	Spring, 2010	7	50	27	6	9	100
	Fall, 2009	14	59	18	4	4	100
Italy	Spring, 2015	11	53	18	8	9	100
	Spring, 2013	11	49	18	7	16	100
	Spring, 2012	12	49	18	7	14	100
	Fall, 2009	11	53	14	2	20	100
Poland	Spring, 2015	9	65	14	2	11	100
	Spring, 2013	7	57	17	3	16	100
	Spring, 2012	11	59	16	3	11	100
	Spring, 2011	12	60	11	2	14	100
	Spring, 2010	18	59	9	1	13	100
	Fall, 2009	17	58	8	2	15	100
	Spring, 2007	15	57	13	4	11	100

			Q12f. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? f. NATO, that is, North Atlantic Treaty Organization						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Spain	Spring, 2015	10	37	24	16	13	100		
	Spring, 2013	11	31	29	18	11	100		
	Spring, 2012	12	33	26	20	10	100		
	Spring, 2011	15	47	21	11	6	100		
	Spring, 2010	6	47	23	5	19	100		
	Fall, 2009	7	49	20	8	15	100		
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	19	41	12	7	21	100		
	Spring, 2013	12	47	13	5	23	100		
	Spring, 2012	15	47	13	4	20	100		
	Spring, 2011	17	46	12	5	20	100		
	Spring, 2010	18	42	12	5	24	100		
	Fall, 2009	22	41	11	6	21	100		
Russia	Spring, 2015	3	9	30	50	8	100		
	Spring, 2013	4	23	32	18	22	100		
	Spring, 2012	4	18	31	21	27	100		
	Spring, 2011	9	28	26	17	19	100		
	Spring, 2010	8	32	26	14	20	100		
	Fall, 2009	4	20	36	22	18	100		
	Spring, 2007	5	25	28	20	22	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	20	38	18	9	16	100		

		Q12o. Please te	Q12o. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable overy unfavorable opinion of? o. Germany					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Russia	Spring, 2015	7	28	37	19	8	100	
	Spring, 2014	11	42	28	11	8	100	
	Spring, 2011	20	58	9	3	10	100	
	Spring, 2010	22	53	10	2	12	100	
	Spring, 2007	22	55	10	2	12	100	
	Spring, 2006	22	55	10	4	9	100	
	Spring, 2005	21	58	10	3	8	100	
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	26	51	12	3	9	100	
	Spring, 2014*	27	55	9	3	6	100	

			215a. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statement. a. there are parts of neighboring countries that really belong to us.						
Completely Mostly Completely agree Mostly agree disagree DK/Refused							Total		
Russia	Spring, 2015	24	37	18	11	10	100		
	Spring, 2014	28	33	18	10	11	100		
	Fall, 2009	19	39	19	10	13	100		
	Summer, 2002	26	38	14	4	19	100		
	Fall, 1992	19	17	15	11	37	100		
	Spring, 1991	10	12	22	26	30	100		

		Q19c. Do you think the government of respects the personal freedoms of its people or don't you think so? c. Russia					
		Yes - respects personal freedoms	No – does not respect personal freedoms	DK/Refused	Total		
Russia	Spring, 2015	63	29	8	100		
	Spring, 2014	57	32	11	100		
	Spring, 2008	45	44	12	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	12	78	10	100		
	Spring, 2014*	17	70	14	100		

		Q19d. Do you think the government of respects the personal freedoms of its people or don't you think so? d. Ukraine					
		Yes - respects personal freedoms	No – does not respect personal freedoms	DK/Refused	Total		
Russia	Spring, 2015	8	83	9	100		
	Spring, 2014	14	73	13	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	32	55	13	100		
	Spring, 2014*	37	50	13	100		

		Q25a. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs — a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence or no confidence at all. a. U.S. President Barack Obama							
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total		
Russia	Spring, 2015	3	8	24	62	3	100		
	Spring, 2014	4	11	27	53	5	100		
	Spring, 2013	6	23	35	16	20	100		
	Spring, 2012	10	26	27	17	21	100		
	Spring, 2011	15	26	29	14	16	100		
	Spring, 2010	9	32	28	9	22	100		
	Spring, 2009	7	30	31	9	23	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	19	32	27	11	11	100		
	Spring, 2014*	18	36	25	13	8	100		

			Q25d. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs — a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence or no confidence at all. d. Russian President Vladimir Putin						
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total		
United States	Spring, 2015	2	19	26	49	5	100		
	Spring, 2014	3	13	27	53	5	100		
	Spring, 2012	4	24	29	25	18	100		
	Spring, 2008	2	26	22	26	25	100		
	Spring, 2007	2	28	25	25	21	100		
	Spring, 2006	3	30	26	19	22	100		
	May, 2003	2	39	28	19	13	100		
Canada	Spring, 2015	2	15	31	45	6	100		
	Spring, 2007	4	32	26	22	17	100		
	May, 2003	6	48	21	13	13	100		
France	Spring, 2015	3	12	29	56	0	100		
	Spring, 2014	4	12	26	59	0	100		
	Spring, 2012	2	10	31	57	0	100		
	Spring, 2008	1	16	30	52	1	100		
	Spring, 2007	2	17	36	45	0	100		
	Spring, 2006	2	22	33	43	1	100		
	May, 2003	5	43	27	25	1	100		
	August, 2001	2	12	39	38	9	100		
Germany	Spring, 2015	5	18	36	40	2	100		
	Spring, 2014	3	19	33	44	1	100		
	Spring, 2012	4	18	39	38	2	100		
	Spring, 2008	7	31	31	29	2	100		
	Spring, 2007	5	27	37	29	2	100		
	Spring, 2006	5	45	29	17	4	100		
	May, 2003	24	51	18	6	1	100		
	August, 2001	4	37	31	24	4	100		
Italy	Spring, 2015	2	16	43	34	5	100		
	Spring, 2014	2	16	40	38	4	100		
	Spring, 2012	2	15	38	35	10	100		
	Spring, 2007	2	24	36	24	14	100		
	May, 2003	5	39	35	12	8	100		
	August, 2001	3	21	36	13	28	100		
				1		·			

		Q25d. For eared	rld affairs — a lot	much confidence of confidence, so	you have in each ome confidence, r in President Vladi	not too much conf	right thing fidence or no
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2015	1	8	26	61	3	100
	Spring, 2014	1	7	29	57	4	100
	Spring, 2012	3	16	37	37	8	100
	Spring, 2008	1	13	38	40	7	100
	Spring, 2007	0	7	37	44	12	100
Spain	Spring, 2015	1	5	44	48	3	100
	Spring, 2014	1	6	29	58	5	100
	Spring, 2012	2	8	42	45	4	100
	Spring, 2008	1	9	32	48	11	100
	Spring, 2007	2	5	33	43	17	100
	Spring, 2006	1	9	31	46	13	100
	May, 2003	5	26	24	33	13	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	2	12	27	53	6	100
	Spring, 2014	5	15	32	40	7	100
	Spring, 2012	3	18	34	36	9	100
	Spring, 2008	3	25	24	32	16	100
	Spring, 2007	3	34	26	21	16	100
	Spring, 2006	3	30	27	24	16	100
	May, 2003	10	43	23	13	10	100
	August, 2001	1	25	35	22	17	100
Russia	Spring, 2015	66	22	7	2	2	100
	Spring, 2014	52	31	11	3	3	100
	Spring, 2012	37	32	16	8	7	100
	Spring, 2011	36	39	14	5	6	100
	Spring, 2010	45	32	12	4	7	100
	Spring, 2009	39	42	11	3	4	100
	Spring, 2008	53	30	10	3	4	100
	Spring, 2007	46	38	8	2	6	100
	Spring, 2006	27	48	13	4	8	100
	May, 2003	28	48	19	3	1	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	3	7	19	65	5	100
	Spring, 2014*	4	7	16	69	5	100

			O25f. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs — a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence or no confidence at all. f. German Chancellor Angela Merkel						
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total		
Russia	Spring, 2015	6	22	38	28	6	100		
	Spring, 2014	7	24	35	21	13	100		
	Spring, 2012	16	32	16	7	29	100		
	Spring, 2011	16	31	19	6	28	100		
	Spring, 2010	11	31	18	4	35	100		
	Spring, 2009	7	33	20	5	34	100		
	Spring, 2008	14	35	20	8	24	100		
	Spring, 2007	12	32	19	6	31	100		
	Spring, 2006	9	31	18	5	37	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	21	35	25	8	11	100		
	Spring, 2014*	17	43	22	9	10	100		

		Q27. In your neighboring cou							
		Major threat Minor threat Not a threat DK/Refused Total							
United States	Spring, 2015	59	33	4	4	100			
Canada	Spring, 2015	44	42	8	7	100			
France	Spring, 2015	51	40	8	0	100			
Germany	Spring, 2015	38	48	13	1	100			
Italy	Spring, 2015	44	34	15	7	100			
Poland	Spring, 2015	70	19	4	6	100			
Spain	Spring, 2015	49	38	10	4	100			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	53	53 36 7 4 100						
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	47	34	13	6	100			

		Q28. In your opinion, how much of a military threat is NATO to our country? A major threat, a minor threat or not a threat?						
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total		
Russia	Spring, 2015	pring, <b>2015</b> 50 31 10 8 100						

Q34. In general, do you think the dissolution of the So has been a good thing or a bad thing for (survey or					
		Good thing	Bad thing	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2015	17	69	14	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	47	34	19	100

		Q46a. Do you support or oppose Ukraine becoming a member of each of the following? a. NATO						
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total			
Russia	Spring, 2015	3 83 13 100						

		Q46b. Do you support or oppose Ukraine becoming a member of each of the following? b. the European Union						
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total			
Russia	Spring, 2015	14	14 68 18 100					

		Q46c. Do you support or oppose Ukraine becoming a member of each of the following? c. the Eurasian Economic Union (Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Armenia)					
		Support	Support Oppose DK/Refused Total				
Russia	Spring, 2015	45	45 40 15 100				

		Q47. Who is n	Q47. Who is most to blame for the violence in eastern Ukraine? Pro-Russian separatists in Ukraine, the Ukrainian government, Russia or Western countries, such as those in Europe and the U.S.?							
		Pro-Russian separatists in Ukraine	Ukrainian government	Russia	Western countries, such as those in Europe and the U.S.	More than one named (VOL)	All of the above (VOL)	None of the above (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2015	15	13	42	5	0	1	1	22	100
Canada	Spring, 2015	18	5	37	7	2	2	0	29	100
France	Spring, 2015	30	14	44	9	0	1	0	2	100
Germany	Spring, 2015	25	9	29	12	3	5	0	17	100
Italy	Spring, 2015	22	7	29	6	7	4	1	23	100
Poland	Spring, 2015	15	8	57	3	5	5	0	8	100
Spain	Spring, 2015	15	9	37	8	3	5	1	21	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	17	7	40	7	2	2	1	24	100
Russia	Spring, 2015	4	26	2	50	8	4	0	4	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	9	8	45	6	16	12	0	3	100

In Russia, the question asked 'Who is most to blame for the violence in eastern Ukraine? Rebels from the self-declared republics of Luhans'k and Donets'k, the government in Kyiv, Russia or Western countries, such as those inEurope and the U.S.?' In Ukraine the question asked 'Who is most to blame for the violence in eastern Ukraine? Rebels from the self-declared republics of Luhans'k and Donets'k, the Ukrainian government, Russia or Western countries, such as thosein Europe and the U.S.?'

		Q48a. In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose each of the following actions? a. NATO sending arms to the Ukrainian government							
		Support	Support Oppose DK/Refused Total						
United States	Spring, 2015	46	43	11	100				
Canada	Spring, 2015	44	41	15	100				
France	Spring, 2015	40	59	0	100				
Germany	Spring, 2015	19	77	4	100				
Italy	Spring, 2015	22	65	13	100				
Poland	Spring, 2015	50	36	14	100				
Spain	Spring, 2015	25	25 66 9 100						
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	42	45	13	100				

		Q48b. In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose each of the following actions? b.  Ukraine becoming a member of NATO							
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total				
United States	Spring, 2015	62	28	11	100				
Canada	Spring, 2015	65	18	17	100				
France	Spring, 2015	55	44	1	100				
Germany	Spring, 2015	36	57	7	100				
Italy	Spring, 2015	35	46	19	100				
Poland	Spring, 2015	59	24	17	100				
Spain	Spring, 2015	57	57 29 14 100						
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	57	25	18	100				

		do you suppo	se to the situation ort or oppose each raine becoming a	h of the following	actions? c.			
		Support Oppose DK/Refused Total						
France	Spring, 2015	46	53	1	100			
Germany	Spring, 2015	41	54	5	100			
Italy	Spring, 2015	37	47	16	100			
Poland	Spring, 2015	60	24	16	100			
Spain	Spring, 2015	65 25 10 100						
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	53	33	14	100			

		Q48d. In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, do you support or oppose each of the following actions? d.  Economic aid to Ukraine provided by Western countries							
		Support Oppose DK/Refused Total							
United States	Spring, 2015	62	30	8	100				
Canada	Spring, 2015	75	14	11	100				
France	Spring, 2015	67	33	0	100				
Germany	Spring, 2015	71	25	5	100				
Italy	Spring, 2015	44	41	15	100				
Poland	Spring, 2015	77	14	9	100				
Spain	Spring, 2015	77	77 17 7 100						
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	68	21	11	100				

			II me whether you				
	Support Oppose DK/Refused Total						
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	53 32 15 100					

			II me whether you				
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total		
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	67 22 11 100					

		Q49c. Please tell me whether you support or oppose each of the following for our country. c. getting arms from NATO						
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total			
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	54	54 32 15 100					

		Q49d. Please tell me whether you support or oppose each of the following for our country. d. joining the Eurasian Economic Union with Russia						
		Support Oppose DK/Refused Total						
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	12	12 72 15 100					

			II me whether you r country. e. gett coun	ing economic aid			
		Support	Support Oppose DK/Refused Total				
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	71 17 12 100					

		Q50. In your opinion, should the economic sanctions imposed on Russia by the European Union and the United States be increased, decreased or kept about the same as they are now?							
		Increased	Increased Decreased Same DK/Refused Total						
United States	Spring, 2015	28	10	53	9	100			
Canada	Spring, 2015	28	9	48	15	100			
France	Spring, 2015	25	25	49	0	100			
Germany	Spring, 2015	20	29	46	5	100			
Italy	Spring, 2015	30	18	34	19	100			
Poland	Spring, 2015	49	13	26	13	100			
Spain	Spring, 2015	24	16	49	11	100			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	23 12 53 12 100							
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	65	12	13	10	100			

		Q51. Thinking about the future of the Donets'k and Lugans'k regions which of the following would you prefer?						
		They should remain a part of Ukraine on the same terms as before the crisis	They should remain a part of Ukraine but receive greater autonomy from Kyiv	They should become independent states	They should become a part of Russia	DK/Refused	Total	
Russia	Spring, 2015	11	21	35	24	10	100	
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	51	33	4	2	10	100	

In Russia, question read 'Thinking about the future of the self-declared republics of Luhans'k and Donets'k ...'

		Q52. If Russia got into a serious military conflict with one of its neighboring countries that is our NATO ally, do you think (survey country) should or should not use military force to defend that country?							
		Yes, should use military force	No, should not use military force	DK/Refused	Total				
United States	Spring, 2015	56	37	7	100				
Canada	Spring, 2015	53	36	11	100				
France	Spring, 2015	47	53	0	100				
Germany	Spring, 2015	38	58	4	100				
Italy	Spring, 2015	40	51	9	100				
Poland	Spring, 2015	48	34	17	100				
Spain	Spring, 2015	48	48 47 5 100						
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	49	37	14	100				

		Q53. And do you think the United States would or would not use military force to defend that country?					
		Would use military force	Would not use military force	DK/Refused	Total		
Canada	Spring, 2015	72	18	10	100		
France	Spring, 2015	65	34	1	100		
Germany	Spring, 2015	68	26	6	100		
Italy	Spring, 2015	68	23	10	100		
Poland	Spring, 2015	49	31	20	100		
Spain	Spring, 2015	70	21	9	100		
United Kingdom	Spring, 2015	66	24	10	100		

	Q58. In your opinion, which one of the following is causing the most harm to our economy – Western sanctions, falling oil prices or current government economic policies?							
		Western sanctions	Falling oil prices	Current government economic policies	None of these (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total	
Russia	Spring, 2015	33	33	25	2	6	100	

			the influence of _		omewhat good, s	y things are going somewhat bad or ent in Kyiv	
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	4	28	38	21	9	100
	Spring, 2014*	9	38	26	16	11	100

		naving on the way omewhat good, s the Ukrainian m	omewhat bad or				
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	26	46	13	4	10	100
	Spring, 2014*	19	50	15	7	10	100

			ence of very	group is having good, somewhat edia - television,	good, somewha	t bad or very bad	
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	9	48	26	9	9	100
	Spring, 2014*	14	47	22	9	7	100

			y). Is the influence	of influence the e of very go (survey country	ood, somewhat g	ood, somewhat b	
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	2	9	31	45	14	100
	Spring, 2014*	3	9	35	41	11	100

			u approve or disa in is handling ead relations wi	h of the followin	
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2015	83	13	4	100

		u approve or disa is handling each econ	of the following					
	Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total				
Russia Spring, 2015	70							

			PEW RESEARCH	0=:::=::		_					
		Vladimir Put	u approve or disa tin is handling ea relations with the	ch of the followin	g areas? c.						
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total						
Russia	Spring, 2015	82	11	7	100						
			u approve or disa s handling each o pol	of the following ar							
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total						
Russia	Spring, 2015	73	14	13	100						
			u approve or disa tin is handling ea relations with th	ch of the followin							
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total						
Russia	Spring, 2015	85	10	5	100						
			u approve or disa tin is handling ea relations v	ch of the following							
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total						
Russia	Spring, 2015	90	4	5	100						
		Q81g. Do yo	u approve or disa	approve of the wa	y President						
		Q81g. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Vladimir Putin is handling each of the following areas? g.  corruption									
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total						
Russia	Spring, 2015	Approve 62		DK/Refused 8	Total 100						
Russia	Spring, 2015	62 <b>Q82. In your o</b>	Disapprove 29 pinion, has Presidenter countries to	8 dent Putin's hand	100 ling of the situationable opinion of						
Russia	Spring, 2015	62  Q82. In your o	Disapprove  29  pinion, has Presidenther countries to favorable opinion	8 dent Putin's hand have a more favo	100 ling of the situationable opinion of						
Russia Russia	Spring, 2015  Spring, 2015	62  Q82. In your o led people in o	Disapprove 29  pinion, has Presidenther countries to favorable opinion Less	8 dent Putin's hand have a more favon or has it made	ling of the situationable opinion of no difference?	Russia, a less					
		02 Q82. In your o led people in o	Disapprove  29  pinion, has Presidenther countries to favorable opinion  Less favorable	dent Putin's hand have a more favo on or has it made No difference	ling of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused	Russia, a less Total					
	Spring, 2015	More favorable 27 43 Q83. In your	pinion, has Presidente countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable 37 26  opinion, how mu	dent Putin's hand have a more favon or has it made  No difference  25  22  1ch of an effect has	ling of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused  11	Total 100 100 anctions on					
	Spring, 2015	More favorable 27 43 Q83. In your	pinion, has Presidente countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable 37 26  opinion, how mu	dent Putin's hand have a more favon or has it made  No difference  25  22  1ch of an effect has	ling of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused  11  9  Inve the Western services and situational situation of the situation o	Total 100 100 anctions on					
	Spring, 2015	62  Q82. In your olled people in olled people in olled favorable  27  43  Q83. In your Russia had	pinion, has Presidente countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable  37  26  opinion, how mu on our economy	No difference  25  22  ach of an effect hamajor effect, min	100 ling of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused  11  9  ave the Western soor effect or no effect	Total 100 100 anctions on fect at all?					
Russia	Spring, 2015 Spring, 2014	62  Q82. In your of led people in of led	pinion, has Presidente countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable  37  26  opinion, how mu on our economy  Minor effect	No difference  25 22  Sch of an effect harmajor effect, min  No effect at all 8	100 ling of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused  11  9  ave the Western shor effect or no effect or no effect of some opinion of no difference?	Total 100 100 anctions on fect at all?					
Russia	Spring, 2015 Spring, 2014 Spring, 2015	G2  Q82. In your of led people in of led	pinion, has Presidenter countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable  37  26  opinion, how mu on our economy  Minor effect  41  prove or disappro is handling his ju	No difference  25  22  Sch of an effect hamajor effect, min  No effect at all  8  Since of the way Perob as president?  DK/Refused	100 ling of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused  11  9  Inve the Western shor effect or no effect or n	Total 100 100 anctions on fect at all?					
Russia	Spring, 2015 Spring, 2014	62  Q82. In your of led people in of led	pinion, has Presidenter countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable  37  26  opinion, how mut on our economy  Minor effect  41  prove or disapprois handling his juitable in the prove of the provential the	No difference  25  22  ach of an effect hamajor effect, min  No effect at all  8  ave of the way Perob as president?	100 ling of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused  11  9  ave the Western shor effect or no	Total 100 100 anctions on fect at all?					
Russia Russia	Spring, 2015 Spring, 2014 Spring, 2015	62  Q82. In your of led people in of led	pinion, has Presidenter countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable  37  26  opinion, how mu on our economy  Minor effect  41  prove or disappro is handling his ju	No difference  25 22  Ich of an effect harmajor effect, min  No effect at all 8  Ive of the way Perob as president?  DK/Refused  24  Trove of the way Perob as president?	ling of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused  11  9  ave the Western shor effect or no eff	Total 100 100 anctions on fect at all?					
Russia Russia	Spring, 2015 Spring, 2014 Spring, 2015 Spring, 2015	Q82. In your of led people in of led peo	pinion, has Presidente countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable  37  26  opinion, how mu on our economy  Minor effect  41  prove or disapprois handling his just pandling each of the same prove or disapprois handling each of the same prove or disapprois handling each of the same prove or disapprois handling each of the same prove or disapprove and the same prove or disapprove or disapprove and the same prove or disapprove or disapprove and the same prove or disapprove	No difference  25  22  Ach of an effect hamajor effect, mir  No effect at all  8  DK/Refused  24  rove of the way Performed the following a specific part of the foll	Ing of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused  11  9  Inve the Western shor effect or no eff	Total 100 100 anctions on fect at all?					
Russia Russia	Spring, 2015 Spring, 2014 Spring, 2015	O82. In your of led people in or led peo	pinion, has Presidente countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable  37  26  opinion, how mu on our economy  Minor effect  41  prove or disapprois handling his juick prove or disapprove  43  pprove or disapprois handling each of econ	No difference  25 22  Ich of an effect harmajor effect, min  No effect at all 8  Ive of the way Perob as president?  DK/Refused  24  Trove of the way Perob as president?	DK/Refused  11  9  Nove the Western shor effect or no eff	Total 100 100 anctions on fect at all?					
Russia  Russia  Ukraine	Spring, 2015 Spring, 2014 Spring, 2015 Spring, 2015	O82. In your of led people in or led peo	pinion, has Presidente countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable  37  26  opinion, how mu on our economy  Minor effect  41  prove or disapprois handling his juick prove of disapprove  43  pprove or disapprois handling each of economy	No difference  25  22  Ich of an effect hamajor effect, min  No effect at all  8  Ive of the way Perob as president?  DK/Refused  24  Tove of the way Perof the following anomy  DK/Refused  16  Tove of the way Perof the following anomy  DK/Refused	Ing of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused  11  9  Inve the Western shor effect or no eff	Total 100 100 anctions on fect at all?					
Russia  Russia  Ukraine	Spring, 2015 Spring, 2014 Spring, 2015 Spring, 2015	O82. In your of led people in or led peo	pinion, has Presidente countries to favorable opinion.  Less favorable  37 26  opinion, how mu on our economy  Minor effect 41  prove or disapprois handling his juick prove or disapprove 43  pprove or disapprois handling each of econ  Disapprove 62  pprove or disapprove 62	No difference  25  22  Ich of an effect hamajor effect, min  No effect at all  8  Ive of the way Perob as president?  DK/Refused  24  Tove of the way Perof the following anomy  DK/Refused  16  Tove of the way Perof the following anomy  DK/Refused	Ing of the situationable opinion of no difference?  DK/Refused  11  9  Inve the Western shor effect or no eff	Total 100 100 anctions on fect at all?					

				rove of the way P he following area he EU	
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	52	33	15	100

			pprove or disappr andling each of t with R	he following area					
		Approve	Approve Disapprove DK/Refused Total						
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	26 57 17 100							

		Poroshenko i	pprove or disappr s handling each o military conflict ir	of the following a	reas? e. the					
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total					
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	28	28 57 15 100							

			u approve or disa ruk is handling hi					
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total			
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	23 60 18 100						

		Q93. Which is m	ore important for	r Ukraine - to hav strong ties v	ve strong ties with	n the European U	nion or to have
European Both equally important Union Russia (VOL) Neither (VOL) DK/Refused						Total	
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	57	11	22	6	4	100
	Spring, 2014*	50	11	26	9	5	100

		Q94. In your opinion, should Ukraine remain one, united country or should regions that want to leave be allowed to secede?							
		Remain Allowed to united secede DK/Refused Total							
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	85	10	5	100				
	Spring, 2014*								

		Q95. Do you think that the military is making progress in its campaign against the pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine, losing ground or are things about the same as they have been?					
	Making About the progress Losing ground same DK/Refused Total						
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	23	21	40	16	100	

		Q96. To end the		rn Ukraine, which		ving solutions	
		Use military force to fight settlement the pro- Russian separatists and Russia (VOL) DK/Refused Total					
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	23	47	19	11	100	

	Q93. Which is more important for Ukraine - to have strong ties with the European Union or to have strong ties with Russia?							
European Both equally important Union Russia (VOL) Neither (VOL) DK/Refused T					Total			
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	57	11	22	6	4	100	
	Spring, 2014*	50	11	26	9	5	100	

				ne remain one, ur leave be allowed t			
	Allowed to  Remain united secede DK/Refused Total						
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	85	10	5	100		
	Spring, 2014*	87	6	7	100		

Q95. Do you think that the military is making progress in its campaig pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine, losing ground or are thin same as they have been?							
	Making About the progress Losing ground same DK/Refused Total						
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	23	21	40	16	100	

		Q96. To end the		n Ukraine, which o	one of the followir	g solutions do
		Use military force to fight the pro- Russian separatists	Negotiate a settlement with the separatists and Russia	Both/Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Spring, 2015	23	47	19	11	100