



The Ukrainian People on the Current Crisis

March 9, 2015

Questionnaire

Sample: 1005 respondents (plus oversample of 403 in Donbass region) **Margin of Error: 3.1%**
Sample in Ukrainian-held Donbass: 330 (includes oversample of 203) **Margin of Error: 5.4%**
Sample in rebel-held areas of Donbass: 240 (includes oversample of 200) **Margin of Error: 6.3%**

Fielded: 13 February – 24 February 2015
Oversample Fielded: 4 March – 6 March 2015

Q1: Please tell me if you think each of the following countries is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world:

Q1a. The United States

Mainly positive	45%
West	61
North.....	64
South.....	29
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	24
Donbass under rebel control	12
Mainly negative	24
West	8
North.....	13
South.....	28
East as a whole	52
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	74
Depends	19
West	16
North.....	13
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	6
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	10

East as a whole	5
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	7

Q1b. Russia

Mainly positive	14%
West	1
North	3
South	20
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	67
Mainly negative	64
West	84
North	87
South	40
East as a whole	38
Donbass under Ukrainian control	45
Donbass under rebel control	19
Depends	14
West	7
North	5
South	27
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	3
West	2
North	2
South	5
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	6

Q1c. Germany

Mainly positive	57%
West	70
North	70
South	49
East	39
Mainly negative	7
West	3
North	5
South	9
East	11
Depends	22
West	15
North	16
South	26

East	29
Neither	6
West	3
North.....	3
South.....	10
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q1d. France

Mainly positive	54%
West	68
North.....	66
South.....	46
East	35
Mainly negative	7
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	9
East	10
Depends	21
West	12
North.....	15
South.....	27
East	32
Neither	8
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	11
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q1e. The European Union

Mainly positive	57%
West	71
North.....	71
South.....	48
East as a whole	31
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	21
Mainly negative	10
West	3
North.....	6
South.....	12
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	41
Depends	19
West	13
North.....	12

South.....	28
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	19
Neither	5
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	5
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	10
Don't know/Refused.....	9

Q2: For each of the following please tell me if you approve or disapprove of how they are dealing with the crisis in eastern Ukraine.

Q2a. President Petro Poroshenko

Approve	36%
West.....	47
North.....	44
South.....	33
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	3
Disapprove	38
West.....	27
North.....	25
South.....	42
East as a whole	61
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	89
Depends	18
West.....	15
North.....	23
South.....	20
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	3
Neither	3
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	2
East as a whole	4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	
Don't know/Refused.....	5

Q2b. US President Barack Obama

Approve	31%
West.....	43
North.....	37
South.....	28

East	16
Disapprove.....	32
West.....	20
North.....	24
South.....	39
East	46
Depends	20
West.....	21
North.....	25
South.....	17
East	19
Neither	6
West.....	3
North.....	8
South.....	11
East	5
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q2c. Russian President Vladimir Putin

Approve	6%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	58
Disapprove.....	79
West.....	94
North.....	95
South.....	72
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	26
Depends	9
West.....	2
North.....	4
South.....	14
East as a whole	16
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	7
Neither	2
West.....	<1%
North.....	<1%
South.....	4
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	2
Don't know/Refused.....	4

Q2d. German Chancellor Angela Merkel

Approve	40%
West.....	46

North.....	44
South.....	39
East	31
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	17
North.....	15
South.....	24
East	25
Depends	24
West.....	22
North.....	26
South.....	23
East	27
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	5
South.....	8
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q2e. French President Francois Hollande

Approve	38%
West.....	46
North.....	43
South.....	33
East	28
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15
South.....	25
East	26
Depends	22
West.....	20
North.....	23
South.....	21
East	25
Neither	7
West.....	5
North.....	6
South.....	13
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q2f. EU officials

Approve	36%
West.....	48
North.....	46
South.....	32
East	19
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15

South.....	24
East	26
Depends	25
West.....	21
North.....	29
South.....	24
East	26
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	4
South.....	8
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q3: As you know there is ongoing debate about possible general directions that Ukraine could go in the future. How would you feel about the following possible directions? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

(Cluster 1)

Q3a. Ukraine moving closer to the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	22%
West.....	9
North.....	9
South.....	34
East as a whole	39
Donbass under Ukrainian control	34
Donbass under rebel control	62
Just tolerable (5)	18
West.....	13
North.....	13
South.....	20
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	19
Acceptable (6-10)	54
West.....	74
North.....	68
South.....	44
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	15
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	6.7
West.....	8.2
North.....	8.1
South.....	5.6
East as a whole	4.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.9
Donbass under rebel control	3.0

Q3b. Ukraine joining the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	26%
West	9
North.....	11
South.....	40
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	66
Just tolerable (5)	15
West	12
North.....	12
South.....	14
East as a whole	22
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	17
Acceptable (6-10)	52
West	73
North.....	67
South.....	42
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	13
Don't know/Refused.....	7
Mean	6.5
West	8.2
North.....	8.0
South.....	5.4
East as a whole	3.8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.7
Donbass under rebel control	2.7

Q3c. Ukraine joining NATO

Not acceptable (0-4)	36%
West	15
North.....	15
South.....	55
East as a whole	68
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	82
Just tolerable (5)	13
West	11
North.....	15
South.....	11
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	11
Acceptable (6-10)	38
West	62
North.....	51
South.....	24
East as a whole	9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	3

Don't know/Refused.....	13
Mean	5.3
West.....	7.6
North.....	7.0
South.....	4.0
East as a whole	2.1
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.7
Donbass under rebel control	1.2

(Cluster 2)

Q3d. Ukraine affirming a neutral position between the European Union and Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	31%
West.....	48
North.....	22
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	26
Just tolerable (5)	33
West.....	23
North.....	41
South.....	34
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	37
Donbass under rebel control	42
Acceptable (6-10)	30
West.....	25
North.....	30
South.....	31
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	25
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	5.1
West.....	4.0
North.....	5.5
South.....	5.2
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.7
Donbass under rebel control	5.0

(Cluster 3)

Q3e. Ukraine moving closer to Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	60%
West.....	77
North.....	81
South.....	55
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	15

Just tolerable (5)	14
West	12
North	6
South	13
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	12
Acceptable (6-10)	20
West	6
North	5
South	30
East as a whole	46
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	70
Don't know/Refused	5
Mean	3.1
West	1.6
North	1.4
South	3.8
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.0
Donbass under rebel control	7.4

Q3f. Ukraine joining the Eurasian Customs Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	64%
West	82
North	77
South	55
East as a whole	34
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	24
Just tolerable (5)	10
West	8
North	5
South	8
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	21
Acceptable (6-10)	17
West	2
North	5
South	29
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	47
Don't know/Refused	10
Mean	2.7
West	1.1
North	1.4
South	3.9

East as a whole	5.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.6
Donbass under rebel control	6.0

Q4: So if it were up to you, which course should Ukraine take? Do you think Ukraine should:

Have stronger relations with the European Union than with Russia	47%
West	70
North	67
South	31
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	20
Donbass under rebel control	11

Have stronger relations with Russia than with the European Union	13
West	3
North	5
South	20
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	18
Donbass under rebel control	45

Have equally strong relations with the European Union and Russia	34
West	22
North	19
South	45
East as a whole	55
Donbass under Ukrainian control	55
Donbass under rebel control	41

Don't know/Refused

7

Q5: Do you think the European Union:

Has gone too far in trying to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	9%
West	6
North	7
South	14
East as a whole	11
Donbass under Ukrainian control	8
Donbass under rebel control	9
Has not done enough to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	53
West	57
North	57
South	51
East as a whole	48
Donbass under Ukrainian control	47
Donbass under rebel control	46
Has struck the right balance	19
West	23
North	14

South.....	19
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	23
Don't know/Refused.....	18

Q6: How much confidence do you have in the efforts of the European Union, the United States and the International Monetary Fund to help reform the Ukrainian economy?

A lot	11%
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	20
East	4
Some	34
West.....	41
North.....	50
South.....	20
East	25
Not very much	27
West.....	24
North.....	26
South.....	33
East	27
None.....	17
West.....	13
North.....	6
South.....	16
East	30
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q7: Thinking about the future of Ukraine, how would you feel if each of the following happened? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

Q7a. Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	
Not acceptable (0-4)	10%
West.....	4
North.....	3
South.....	10
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	60
Just tolerable (5)	13
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	13
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	69
West.....	79

North.....	80
South.....	73
East as a whole	42
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	20
Don't know/Refused.....	8
Mean	7.9
West.....	8.6
North.....	9.1
South.....	7.6
East as a whole	5.9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.3
Donbass under rebel control	3.2

Q7b. Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy

Not acceptable (0-4)	32%
West.....	44
North.....	30
South.....	37
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	21
Donbass under rebel control	17
Just tolerable (5)	25
West.....	24
North.....	31
South.....	21
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	23
Acceptable (6-10)	32
West.....	26
North.....	22
South.....	33
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	55
Don't know/Refused.....	11
Mean	4.8
West.....	4.1
North.....	4.7
South.....	4.6
East as a whole	6.3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.0
Donbass under rebel control	6.6

Q7c. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent

Not acceptable (0-4)	69%
West.....	82
North.....	68

South.....	78
East as a whole	45
Donbass under Ukrainian control	61
Donbass under rebel control	32
Just tolerable (5)	12
West.....	6
North.....	18
South.....	8
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	20
Acceptable (6-10)	10
West.....	4
North.....	2
South.....	10
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	45
Don't know/Refused.....	9
Mean	2.2
West.....	1.1
North.....	2.0
South.....	1.9
East as a whole	4.2
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.6
Donbass under rebel control	5.4

Q7d. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	78%
West.....	91
North.....	84
South.....	81
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	64
Donbass under rebel control	35
Just tolerable (5)	5
West.....	3
North.....	1
South.....	6
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	7
West.....	1
North.....	2
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Mean	1.3
West	0.4
North	0.8
South	1.2
East as a whole	3.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.3
Donbass under rebel control	5.3

Q8: So if it were up to you, which one of the following would you choose?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	63%
West	76
North	77
South	59
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	15
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Luganska oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	17
North	13
South	27
East as a whole	33
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	36
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	4
West	1
North	<1
South	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	16
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	3
West	1
North	2
South	<1
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	26
Don't know/Refused	8

Q9: Which do you think the majority of the people in the Donbass region want?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	20%
West	24
North	15
South	27
East as a whole	14
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	12
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Luganska oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	20

North.....	17
South.....	26
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	27
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	13
West.....	10
North.....	13
South.....	12
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	17
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	9
West.....	9
North.....	11
South.....	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	22
No majority view among the people in the Donbass region.....	14
West.....	13
North.....	24
South.....	13
East as a whole	8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	8
Refused, don't know	22

Q10: As you may know, in September 2014 the Minsk Agreement was signed by Ukraine, Russia, the OSCE and the governments of Donetsk and Luhansk. It called for an immediate ceasefire to be monitored by the OSCE, greater autonomy for the oblasts, permanent monitoring of the Ukraine-Russian border by the OSCE and other provisions. Do you approve or disapprove of this agreement? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly approve.....	40%
West.....	35
North.....	28
South.....	51
East as a whole	50
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	62
Somewhat approve.....	34
West.....	37
North.....	43
South.....	28
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	21
Somewhat disapprove.....	7
West.....	6
North.....	10
South.....	6

East as a whole	7
Donbass under Ukrainian control	3
Donbass under rebel control	4
Strongly disapprove	5
West	8
North	4
South	3
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	1
Donbass under rebel control	4
Don't know/Refused	14

Statement: As you may know, despite the agreement, military conflict has persisted in eastern Ukraine.

Q11: Do you believe that military personnel from Russia are or are not engaged in the military conflict in east Ukraine? [**Those who answer are or are not engaged**] Do you believe that strongly or somewhat?

Believe strongly	54%
West	71
North	63
South	45
East	36
Believe somewhat	23
West	18
North	25
South	27
East	26
Do not believe somewhat	7
West	3
North	6
South	11
East	10
Do not believe strongly	6
West	2
North	4
South	7
East	13
Don't know/Refused	9

Q12: Do you approve or disapprove of the Ukrainian government using military force to try to regain territory held by separatist groups in eastern Ukraine? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Approve strongly	26%
West	45
North	25
South	28
East	4
Approve somewhat	22
West	27
North	29
South	20

East	12
Disapprove somewhat.....	13
West.....	7
North.....	15
South.....	16
East	14
Disapprove strongly.....	29
West.....	13
North.....	18
South.....	29
East	54
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q13: Do you favor or oppose the United States providing military weapons and equipment to the Ukrainian government? [**Those who answer favor or oppose**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly favor	34%
West.....	57
North.....	35
South.....	31
East	11
Somewhat favor.....	18
West.....	20
North.....	26
South.....	15
East	11
Somewhat oppose.....	9
West.....	5
North.....	10
South.....	14
East	9
Strongly oppose	27
West.....	10
North.....	14
South.....	29
East	53
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q14: Russian President Vladimir Putin has said that Russia has the right to intervene in Ukraine and other countries to protect Russian citizens and Russian speakers there. Do you think that Russia does or does not have such a right?

Does have the right	5%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	2
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	42
Does not have the right.....	87
West.....	96
North.....	94

South.....	90
East as a whole	66
Donbass under Ukrainian control	74
Donbass under rebel control	41
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q15: Which position is closest to your opinion about Russia?

Russia does not have the right to tell Ukraine what to do and Ukraine must stand up to Russia whenever it tries to do so.	68%
West.....	84
North.....	83
South.....	64
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	26

Ukraine should maintain autonomy from Russia, but it also needs to recognize that Russia is so powerful that it will need to accommodate some of its wishes.	17
West.....	13
North.....	11
South.....	19
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	15

It is in Ukraine's best interest to draw closer to Russia and it is natural and appropriate for Ukraine to align itself with Russia's goals.....	8
West.....	<1
North.....	1
South.....	9
East as a whole	24
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	7

Q16: Russia has stressed that it wants to Ukraine to commit to not join NATO. Do you think that Ukraine should be willing to make the following agreement:

- Ukraine agrees to not join NATO
- Russia agrees to not interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine
- the OSCE monitors Russia's compliance with the agreement with observers on the Ukrainian-Russian border

Ukraine should be willing.....	36%
West.....	17
North.....	35
South.....	40
East	54
Ukraine should not be willing.....	41
West.....	63
North.....	42

South.....	40
East	21
Don't know/Refused.....	22

Q17: Which position is closest to your opinion about the Crimea?

The Crimea is part of the Ukrainian state and Ukraine should make it a top priority to get it back as soon as possible.	31%
West.....	42
North.....	36
South.....	34
East	13

Ukraine should not accept the loss of Crimea, but Ukraine has so many other problems that it should not make getting Crimea back right away a top priority.	51
West.....	54
North.....	58
South.....	50
East	46

Given the number of ethnic Russians living in Crimea and its history, Ukraine should accept Crimea becoming part of Russia again.	18
West.....	4
North.....	6
South.....	17
East	41

Q18: Do you approve or disapprove of the ending of Victor Yanukovich's presidential term last year?

Approve	48%
West.....	73
North.....	63
South.....	35
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	17
Disapprove.....	38
West.....	17
North.....	21
South.....	52
East as a whole	72
Donbass under Ukrainian control	75
Donbass under rebel control	76
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q19: On a scale of 0-10, with 0 being not at all corrupt and 10 being extremely corrupt, please assess the corruption level of the following:

Q19a. the Yanukovich government	
Mean.....	9.5
West.....	9.7

North.....	9.7
South.....	9.5
East	9.2

Don't know/Refused..... 4%

Q19b. the current government

Mean	7.7
West.....	7.0
North.....	7.2
South.....	8.2
East	8.3

Don't know/Refused..... 13%



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Questionnaire

Sample: 1005 respondents (plus oversample of 403 in Donbass region) **Margin of Error: 3.1%**
Sample in Ukrainian-held Donbass: 330 (includes oversample of 203) **Margin of Error: 5.4%**
Sample in rebel-held areas of Donbass: 240 (includes oversample of 200) **Margin of Error: 6.3%**

Fielded: 13 February – 24 February 2015
Oversample Fielded: 4 March – 6 March 2015

Q1: Please tell me if you think each of the following countries is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world:

Q1a. The United States

Mainly positive	45%
West	61
North.....	64
South.....	29
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	24
Donbass under rebel control	12
Mainly negative	24
West	8
North.....	13
South.....	28
East as a whole	52
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	74
Depends	19
West	16
North.....	13
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	6
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	10

East as a whole	5
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	7

Q1b. Russia

Mainly positive	14%
West	1
North	3
South	20
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	67
Mainly negative	64
West	84
North	87
South	40
East as a whole	38
Donbass under Ukrainian control	45
Donbass under rebel control	19
Depends	14
West	7
North	5
South	27
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	3
West	2
North	2
South	5
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	6

Q1c. Germany

Mainly positive	57%
West	70
North	70
South	49
East	39
Mainly negative	7
West	3
North	5
South	9
East	11
Depends	22
West	15
North	16
South	26

East	29
Neither	6
West	3
North.....	3
South.....	10
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q1d. France

Mainly positive	54%
West	68
North.....	66
South.....	46
East	35
Mainly negative	7
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	9
East	10
Depends	21
West	12
North.....	15
South.....	27
East	32
Neither	8
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	11
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q1e. The European Union

Mainly positive	57%
West	71
North.....	71
South.....	48
East as a whole	31
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	21
Mainly negative	10
West	3
North.....	6
South.....	12
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	41
Depends	19
West	13
North.....	12

South.....	28
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	19
Neither	5
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	5
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	10
Don't know/Refused.....	9

Q2: For each of the following please tell me if you approve or disapprove of how they are dealing with the crisis in eastern Ukraine.

Q2a. President Petro Poroshenko

Approve	36%
West.....	47
North.....	44
South.....	33
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	3
Disapprove	38
West.....	27
North.....	25
South.....	42
East as a whole	61
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	89
Depends	18
West.....	15
North.....	23
South.....	20
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	3
Neither	3
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	2
East as a whole	4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	
Don't know/Refused.....	5

Q2b. US President Barack Obama

Approve	31%
West.....	43
North.....	37
South.....	28

East	16
Disapprove.....	32
West.....	20
North.....	24
South.....	39
East	46
Depends	20
West.....	21
North.....	25
South.....	17
East	19
Neither	6
West.....	3
North.....	8
South.....	11
East	5
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q2c. Russian President Vladimir Putin

Approve	6%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	58
Disapprove.....	79
West.....	94
North.....	95
South.....	72
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	26
Depends	9
West.....	2
North.....	4
South.....	14
East as a whole	16
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	7
Neither	2
West.....	<1%
North.....	<1%
South.....	4
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	2
Don't know/Refused.....	4

Q2d. German Chancellor Angela Merkel

Approve	40%
West.....	46

North.....	44
South.....	39
East	31
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	17
North.....	15
South.....	24
East	25
Depends	24
West.....	22
North.....	26
South.....	23
East	27
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	5
South.....	8
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q2e. French President Francois Hollande

Approve	38%
West.....	46
North.....	43
South.....	33
East	28
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15
South.....	25
East	26
Depends	22
West.....	20
North.....	23
South.....	21
East	25
Neither	7
West.....	5
North.....	6
South.....	13
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q2f. EU officials

Approve	36%
West.....	48
North.....	46
South.....	32
East	19
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15

South.....	24
East	26
Depends	25
West.....	21
North.....	29
South.....	24
East	26
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	4
South.....	8
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q3: As you know there is ongoing debate about possible general directions that Ukraine could go in the future. How would you feel about the following possible directions? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

(Cluster 1)

Q3a. Ukraine moving closer to the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	22%
West.....	9
North.....	9
South.....	34
East as a whole	39
Donbass under Ukrainian control	34
Donbass under rebel control	62
Just tolerable (5)	18
West.....	13
North.....	13
South.....	20
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	19
Acceptable (6-10)	54
West.....	74
North.....	68
South.....	44
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	15
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	6.7
West.....	8.2
North.....	8.1
South.....	5.6
East as a whole	4.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.9
Donbass under rebel control	3.0

Q3b. Ukraine joining the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	26%
West	9
North.....	11
South.....	40
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	66
Just tolerable (5)	15
West	12
North.....	12
South.....	14
East as a whole	22
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	17
Acceptable (6-10)	52
West	73
North.....	67
South.....	42
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	13
Don't know/Refused.....	7
Mean	6.5
West	8.2
North.....	8.0
South.....	5.4
East as a whole	3.8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.7
Donbass under rebel control	2.7

Q3c. Ukraine joining NATO

Not acceptable (0-4)	36%
West	15
North.....	15
South.....	55
East as a whole	68
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	82
Just tolerable (5)	13
West	11
North.....	15
South.....	11
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	11
Acceptable (6-10)	38
West	62
North.....	51
South.....	24
East as a whole	9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	3

Don't know/Refused.....	13
Mean	5.3
West.....	7.6
North.....	7.0
South.....	4.0
East as a whole	2.1
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.7
Donbass under rebel control	1.2

(Cluster 2)

Q3d. Ukraine affirming a neutral position between the European Union and Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	31%
West.....	48
North.....	22
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	26
Just tolerable (5)	33
West.....	23
North.....	41
South.....	34
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	37
Donbass under rebel control	42
Acceptable (6-10)	30
West.....	25
North.....	30
South.....	31
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	25
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	5.1
West.....	4.0
North.....	5.5
South.....	5.2
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.7
Donbass under rebel control	5.0

(Cluster 3)

Q3e. Ukraine moving closer to Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	60%
West.....	77
North.....	81
South.....	55
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	15

Just tolerable (5)	14
West	12
North	6
South	13
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	12
Acceptable (6-10)	20
West	6
North	5
South	30
East as a whole	46
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	70
Don't know/Refused	5
Mean	3.1
West	1.6
North	1.4
South	3.8
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.0
Donbass under rebel control	7.4

Q3f. Ukraine joining the Eurasian Customs Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	64%
West	82
North	77
South	55
East as a whole	34
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	24
Just tolerable (5)	10
West	8
North	5
South	8
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	21
Acceptable (6-10)	17
West	2
North	5
South	29
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	47
Don't know/Refused	10
Mean	2.7
West	1.1
North	1.4
South	3.9

East as a whole	5.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.6
Donbass under rebel control	6.0

Q4: So if it were up to you, which course should Ukraine take? Do you think Ukraine should:

Have stronger relations with the European Union than with Russia	47%
West	70
North	67
South	31
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	20
Donbass under rebel control	11

Have stronger relations with Russia than with the European Union	13
West	3
North	5
South	20
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	18
Donbass under rebel control	45

Have equally strong relations with the European Union and Russia	34
West	22
North	19
South	45
East as a whole	55
Donbass under Ukrainian control	55
Donbass under rebel control	41

Don't know/Refused

7

Q5: Do you think the European Union:

Has gone too far in trying to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	9%
West	6
North	7
South	14
East as a whole	11
Donbass under Ukrainian control	8
Donbass under rebel control	9
Has not done enough to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	53
West	57
North	57
South	51
East as a whole	48
Donbass under Ukrainian control	47
Donbass under rebel control	46
Has struck the right balance	19
West	23
North	14

South.....	19
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	23
Don't know/Refused.....	18

Q6: How much confidence do you have in the efforts of the European Union, the United States and the International Monetary Fund to help reform the Ukrainian economy?

A lot	11%
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	20
East	4
Some	34
West.....	41
North.....	50
South.....	20
East	25
Not very much	27
West.....	24
North.....	26
South.....	33
East	27
None.....	17
West.....	13
North.....	6
South.....	16
East	30
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q7: Thinking about the future of Ukraine, how would you feel if each of the following happened? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

Q7a. Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	
Not acceptable (0-4)	10%
West.....	4
North.....	3
South.....	10
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	60
Just tolerable (5)	13
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	13
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	69
West.....	79

North.....	80
South.....	73
East as a whole	42
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	20
Don't know/Refused.....	8
Mean	7.9
West.....	8.6
North.....	9.1
South.....	7.6
East as a whole	5.9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.3
Donbass under rebel control	3.2

Q7b. Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy

Not acceptable (0-4)	32%
West.....	44
North.....	30
South.....	37
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	21
Donbass under rebel control	17
Just tolerable (5)	25
West.....	24
North.....	31
South.....	21
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	23
Acceptable (6-10)	32
West.....	26
North.....	22
South.....	33
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	55
Don't know/Refused.....	11
Mean	4.8
West.....	4.1
North.....	4.7
South.....	4.6
East as a whole	6.3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.0
Donbass under rebel control	6.6

Q7c. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent

Not acceptable (0-4)	69%
West.....	82
North.....	68

South.....	78
East as a whole	45
Donbass under Ukrainian control	61
Donbass under rebel control	32
Just tolerable (5)	12
West.....	6
North.....	18
South.....	8
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	20
Acceptable (6-10)	10
West.....	4
North.....	2
South.....	10
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	45
Don't know/Refused.....	9
Mean	2.2
West.....	1.1
North.....	2.0
South.....	1.9
East as a whole	4.2
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.6
Donbass under rebel control	5.4

Q7d. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	78%
West.....	91
North.....	84
South.....	81
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	64
Donbass under rebel control	35
Just tolerable (5)	5
West.....	3
North.....	1
South.....	6
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	7
West.....	1
North.....	2
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Mean	1.3
West	0.4
North	0.8
South	1.2
East as a whole	3.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.3
Donbass under rebel control	5.3

Q8: So if it were up to you, which one of the following would you choose?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	63%
West	76
North	77
South	59
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	15
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	17
North	13
South	27
East as a whole	33
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	36
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	4
West	1
North	<1
South	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	16
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	3
West	1
North	2
South	<1
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	26
Don't know/Refused	8

Q9: Which do you think the majority of the people in the Donbass region want?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	20%
West	24
North	15
South	27
East as a whole	14
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	12
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	20

North.....	17
South.....	26
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	27
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	13
West.....	10
North.....	13
South.....	12
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	17
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	9
West.....	9
North.....	11
South.....	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	22
No majority view among the people in the Donbass region.....	14
West.....	13
North.....	24
South.....	13
East as a whole	8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	8
Refused, don't know	22

Q10: As you may know, in September 2014 the Minsk Agreement was signed by Ukraine, Russia, the OSCE and the governments of Donetsk and Luhansk. It called for an immediate ceasefire to be monitored by the OSCE, greater autonomy for the oblasts, permanent monitoring of the Ukraine-Russian border by the OSCE and other provisions. Do you approve or disapprove of this agreement? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly approve.....	40%
West.....	35
North.....	28
South.....	51
East as a whole	50
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	62
Somewhat approve.....	34
West.....	37
North.....	43
South.....	28
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	21
Somewhat disapprove.....	7
West.....	6
North.....	10
South.....	6

East as a whole	7
Donbass under Ukrainian control	3
Donbass under rebel control	4
Strongly disapprove	5
West	8
North	4
South	3
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	1
Donbass under rebel control	4
Don't know/Refused	14

Statement: As you may know, despite the agreement, military conflict has persisted in eastern Ukraine.

Q11: Do you believe that military personnel from Russia are or are not engaged in the military conflict in east Ukraine? [**Those who answer are or are not engaged**] Do you believe that strongly or somewhat?

Believe strongly	54%
West	71
North	63
South	45
East	36
Believe somewhat	23
West	18
North	25
South	27
East	26
Do not believe somewhat	7
West	3
North	6
South	11
East	10
Do not believe strongly	6
West	2
North	4
South	7
East	13
Don't know/Refused	9

Q12: Do you approve or disapprove of the Ukrainian government using military force to try to regain territory held by separatist groups in eastern Ukraine? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Approve strongly	26%
West	45
North	25
South	28
East	4
Approve somewhat	22
West	27
North	29
South	20

East	12
Disapprove somewhat.....	13
West.....	7
North.....	15
South.....	16
East	14
Disapprove strongly.....	29
West.....	13
North.....	18
South.....	29
East	54
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q13: Do you favor or oppose the United States providing military weapons and equipment to the Ukrainian government? [**Those who answer favor or oppose**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly favor	34%
West.....	57
North.....	35
South.....	31
East	11
Somewhat favor.....	18
West.....	20
North.....	26
South.....	15
East	11
Somewhat oppose.....	9
West.....	5
North.....	10
South.....	14
East	9
Strongly oppose	27
West.....	10
North.....	14
South.....	29
East	53
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q14: Russian President Vladimir Putin has said that Russia has the right to intervene in Ukraine and other countries to protect Russian citizens and Russian speakers there. Do you think that Russia does or does not have such a right?

Does have the right	5%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	2
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	42
Does not have the right.....	87
West.....	96
North.....	94

South.....	90
East as a whole	66
Donbass under Ukrainian control	74
Donbass under rebel control	41
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q15: Which position is closest to your opinion about Russia?

Russia does not have the right to tell Ukraine what to do and Ukraine must stand up to Russia whenever it tries to do so.	68%
West.....	84
North.....	83
South.....	64
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	26

Ukraine should maintain autonomy from Russia, but it also needs to recognize that Russia is so powerful that it will need to accommodate some of its wishes.	17
West.....	13
North.....	11
South.....	19
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	15

It is in Ukraine's best interest to draw closer to Russia and it is natural and appropriate for Ukraine to align itself with Russia's goals.....	8
West.....	<1
North.....	1
South.....	9
East as a whole	24
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	7

Q16: Russia has stressed that it wants to Ukraine to commit to not join NATO. Do you think that Ukraine should be willing to make the following agreement:

- Ukraine agrees to not join NATO
- Russia agrees to not interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine
- the OSCE monitors Russia's compliance with the agreement with observers on the Ukrainian-Russian border

Ukraine should be willing.....	36%
West.....	17
North.....	35
South.....	40
East	54
Ukraine should not be willing.....	41
West.....	63
North.....	42

South.....	40
East	21

Don't know/Refused..... 22

Q17: Which position is closest to your opinion about the Crimea?

The Crimea is part of the Ukrainian state and Ukraine should make it a top priority to get it back as soon as possible.	31%
West.....	42
North.....	36
South.....	34
East	13

Ukraine should not accept the loss of Crimea, but Ukraine has so many other problems that it should not make getting Crimea back right away a top priority.	51
West.....	54
North.....	58
South.....	50
East	46

Given the number of ethnic Russians living in Crimea and its history, Ukraine should accept Crimea becoming part of Russia again.	18
West.....	4
North.....	6
South.....	17
East	41

Q18: Do you approve or disapprove of the ending of Victor Yanukovich's presidential term last year?

Approve	48%
West.....	73
North.....	63
South.....	35
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	17
Disapprove.....	38
West.....	17
North.....	21
South.....	52
East as a whole	72
Donbass under Ukrainian control	75
Donbass under rebel control	76
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q19: On a scale of 0-10, with 0 being not at all corrupt and 10 being extremely corrupt, please assess the corruption level of the following:

Q19a. the Yanukovich government	
Mean.....	9.5
West.....	9.7

North.....	9.7
South.....	9.5
East	9.2

Don't know/Refused..... 4%

Q19b. the current government

Mean	7.7
West.....	7.0
North.....	7.2
South.....	8.2
East	8.3

Don't know/Refused..... 13%



The Ukrainian People on the Current Crisis

March 9, 2015

Questionnaire

Sample: 1005 respondents (plus oversample of 403 in Donbass region) **Margin of Error: 3.1%**
Sample in Ukrainian-held Donbass: 330 (includes oversample of 203) **Margin of Error: 5.4%**
Sample in rebel-held areas of Donbass: 240 (includes oversample of 200) **Margin of Error: 6.3%**

Fielded: 13 February – 24 February 2015
Oversample Fielded: 4 March – 6 March 2015

Q1: Please tell me if you think each of the following countries is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world:

Q1a. The United States

Mainly positive	45%
West	61
North.....	64
South.....	29
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	24
Donbass under rebel control	12
Mainly negative	24
West	8
North.....	13
South.....	28
East as a whole	52
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	74
Depends	19
West	16
North.....	13
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	6
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	10

East as a whole	5
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	7

Q1b. Russia

Mainly positive	14%
West	1
North	3
South	20
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	67
Mainly negative	64
West	84
North	87
South	40
East as a whole	38
Donbass under Ukrainian control	45
Donbass under rebel control	19
Depends	14
West	7
North	5
South	27
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	3
West	2
North	2
South	5
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	6

Q1c. Germany

Mainly positive	57%
West	70
North	70
South	49
East	39
Mainly negative	7
West	3
North	5
South	9
East	11
Depends	22
West	15
North	16
South	26

East	29
Neither	6
West	3
North.....	3
South.....	10
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q1d. France

Mainly positive	54%
West	68
North.....	66
South.....	46
East	35
Mainly negative	7
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	9
East	10
Depends	21
West	12
North.....	15
South.....	27
East	32
Neither	8
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	11
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q1e. The European Union

Mainly positive	57%
West	71
North.....	71
South.....	48
East as a whole	31
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	21
Mainly negative	10
West	3
North.....	6
South.....	12
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	41
Depends	19
West	13
North.....	12

South.....	28
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	19
Neither	5
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	5
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	10
Don't know/Refused.....	9

Q2: For each of the following please tell me if you approve or disapprove of how they are dealing with the crisis in eastern Ukraine.

Q2a. President Petro Poroshenko

Approve	36%
West.....	47
North.....	44
South.....	33
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	3
Disapprove	38
West.....	27
North.....	25
South.....	42
East as a whole	61
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	89
Depends	18
West.....	15
North.....	23
South.....	20
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	3
Neither	3
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	2
East as a whole	4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	
Don't know/Refused.....	5

Q2b. US President Barack Obama

Approve	31%
West.....	43
North.....	37
South.....	28

East	16
Disapprove.....	32
West.....	20
North.....	24
South.....	39
East	46
Depends	20
West.....	21
North.....	25
South.....	17
East	19
Neither	6
West.....	3
North.....	8
South.....	11
East	5
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q2c. Russian President Vladimir Putin

Approve	6%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	58
Disapprove.....	79
West.....	94
North.....	95
South.....	72
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	26
Depends	9
West.....	2
North.....	4
South.....	14
East as a whole	16
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	7
Neither	2
West.....	<1%
North.....	<1%
South.....	4
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	2
Don't know/Refused.....	4

Q2d. German Chancellor Angela Merkel

Approve	40%
West.....	46

North.....	44
South.....	39
East	31
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	17
North.....	15
South.....	24
East	25
Depends	24
West.....	22
North.....	26
South.....	23
East	27
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	5
South.....	8
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q2e. French President Francois Hollande

Approve	38%
West.....	46
North.....	43
South.....	33
East	28
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15
South.....	25
East	26
Depends	22
West.....	20
North.....	23
South.....	21
East	25
Neither	7
West.....	5
North.....	6
South.....	13
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q2f. EU officials

Approve	36%
West.....	48
North.....	46
South.....	32
East	19
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15

South.....	24
East	26
Depends	25
West.....	21
North.....	29
South.....	24
East	26
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	4
South.....	8
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q3: As you know there is ongoing debate about possible general directions that Ukraine could go in the future. How would you feel about the following possible directions? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

(Cluster 1)

Q3a. Ukraine moving closer to the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	22%
West.....	9
North.....	9
South.....	34
East as a whole	39
Donbass under Ukrainian control	34
Donbass under rebel control	62
Just tolerable (5)	18
West.....	13
North.....	13
South.....	20
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	19
Acceptable (6-10)	54
West.....	74
North.....	68
South.....	44
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	15
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	6.7
West.....	8.2
North.....	8.1
South.....	5.6
East as a whole	4.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.9
Donbass under rebel control	3.0

Q3b. Ukraine joining the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	26%
West	9
North.....	11
South.....	40
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	66
Just tolerable (5)	15
West	12
North.....	12
South.....	14
East as a whole	22
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	17
Acceptable (6-10)	52
West	73
North.....	67
South.....	42
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	13
Don't know/Refused.....	7
Mean	6.5
West	8.2
North.....	8.0
South.....	5.4
East as a whole	3.8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.7
Donbass under rebel control	2.7

Q3c. Ukraine joining NATO

Not acceptable (0-4)	36%
West	15
North.....	15
South.....	55
East as a whole	68
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	82
Just tolerable (5)	13
West	11
North.....	15
South.....	11
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	11
Acceptable (6-10)	38
West	62
North.....	51
South.....	24
East as a whole	9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	3

Don't know/Refused.....	13
Mean	5.3
West.....	7.6
North.....	7.0
South.....	4.0
East as a whole	2.1
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.7
Donbass under rebel control	1.2

(Cluster 2)

Q3d. Ukraine affirming a neutral position between the European Union and Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	31%
West.....	48
North.....	22
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	26
Just tolerable (5)	33
West.....	23
North.....	41
South.....	34
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	37
Donbass under rebel control	42
Acceptable (6-10)	30
West.....	25
North.....	30
South.....	31
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	25
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	5.1
West.....	4.0
North.....	5.5
South.....	5.2
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.7
Donbass under rebel control	5.0

(Cluster 3)

Q3e. Ukraine moving closer to Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	60%
West.....	77
North.....	81
South.....	55
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	15

Just tolerable (5)	14
West	12
North	6
South	13
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	12
Acceptable (6-10)	20
West	6
North	5
South	30
East as a whole	46
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	70
Don't know/Refused	5
Mean	3.1
West	1.6
North	1.4
South	3.8
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.0
Donbass under rebel control	7.4

Q3f. Ukraine joining the Eurasian Customs Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	64%
West	82
North	77
South	55
East as a whole	34
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	24
Just tolerable (5)	10
West	8
North	5
South	8
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	21
Acceptable (6-10)	17
West	2
North	5
South	29
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	47
Don't know/Refused	10
Mean	2.7
West	1.1
North	1.4
South	3.9

East as a whole	5.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.6
Donbass under rebel control	6.0

Q4: So if it were up to you, which course should Ukraine take? Do you think Ukraine should:

Have stronger relations with the European Union than with Russia	47%
West	70
North	67
South	31
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	20
Donbass under rebel control	11

Have stronger relations with Russia than with the European Union	13
West	3
North	5
South	20
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	18
Donbass under rebel control	45

Have equally strong relations with the European Union and Russia	34
West	22
North	19
South	45
East as a whole	55
Donbass under Ukrainian control	55
Donbass under rebel control	41

Don't know/Refused

7

Q5: Do you think the European Union:

Has gone too far in trying to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	9%
West	6
North	7
South	14
East as a whole	11
Donbass under Ukrainian control	8
Donbass under rebel control	9
Has not done enough to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	53
West	57
North	57
South	51
East as a whole	48
Donbass under Ukrainian control	47
Donbass under rebel control	46
Has struck the right balance	19
West	23
North	14

South.....	19
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	23
Don't know/Refused.....	18

Q6: How much confidence do you have in the efforts of the European Union, the United States and the International Monetary Fund to help reform the Ukrainian economy?

A lot	11%
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	20
East	4
Some	34
West.....	41
North.....	50
South.....	20
East	25
Not very much	27
West.....	24
North.....	26
South.....	33
East	27
None.....	17
West.....	13
North.....	6
South.....	16
East	30
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q7: Thinking about the future of Ukraine, how would you feel if each of the following happened? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

Q7a. Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	
Not acceptable (0-4)	10%
West.....	4
North.....	3
South.....	10
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	60
Just tolerable (5)	13
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	13
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	69
West.....	79

North.....	80
South.....	73
East as a whole	42
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	20
Don't know/Refused.....	8
Mean	7.9
West.....	8.6
North.....	9.1
South.....	7.6
East as a whole	5.9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.3
Donbass under rebel control	3.2

Q7b. Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy

Not acceptable (0-4)	32%
West.....	44
North.....	30
South.....	37
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	21
Donbass under rebel control	17
Just tolerable (5)	25
West.....	24
North.....	31
South.....	21
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	23
Acceptable (6-10)	32
West.....	26
North.....	22
South.....	33
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	55
Don't know/Refused.....	11
Mean	4.8
West.....	4.1
North.....	4.7
South.....	4.6
East as a whole	6.3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.0
Donbass under rebel control	6.6

Q7c. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent

Not acceptable (0-4)	69%
West.....	82
North.....	68

South.....	78
East as a whole	45
Donbass under Ukrainian control	61
Donbass under rebel control	32
Just tolerable (5)	12
West.....	6
North.....	18
South.....	8
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	20
Acceptable (6-10)	10
West.....	4
North.....	2
South.....	10
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	45
Don't know/Refused.....	9
Mean	2.2
West.....	1.1
North.....	2.0
South.....	1.9
East as a whole	4.2
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.6
Donbass under rebel control	5.4

Q7d. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	78%
West.....	91
North.....	84
South.....	81
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	64
Donbass under rebel control	35
Just tolerable (5)	5
West.....	3
North.....	1
South.....	6
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	7
West.....	1
North.....	2
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Mean	1.3
West	0.4
North	0.8
South	1.2
East as a whole	3.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.3
Donbass under rebel control	5.3

Q8: So if it were up to you, which one of the following would you choose?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	63%
West	76
North	77
South	59
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	15
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	17
North	13
South	27
East as a whole	33
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	36
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	4
West	1
North	<1
South	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	16
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	3
West	1
North	2
South	<1
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	26
Don't know/Refused	8

Q9: Which do you think the majority of the people in the Donbass region want?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	20%
West	24
North	15
South	27
East as a whole	14
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	12
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	20

North.....	17
South.....	26
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	27
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	13
West.....	10
North.....	13
South.....	12
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	17
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	9
West.....	9
North.....	11
South.....	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	22
No majority view among the people in the Donbass region.....	14
West.....	13
North.....	24
South.....	13
East as a whole	8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	8
Refused, don't know	22

Q10: As you may know, in September 2014 the Minsk Agreement was signed by Ukraine, Russia, the OSCE and the governments of Donetsk and Luhansk. It called for an immediate ceasefire to be monitored by the OSCE, greater autonomy for the oblasts, permanent monitoring of the Ukraine-Russian border by the OSCE and other provisions. Do you approve or disapprove of this agreement? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly approve.....	40%
West.....	35
North.....	28
South.....	51
East as a whole	50
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	62
Somewhat approve.....	34
West.....	37
North.....	43
South.....	28
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	21
Somewhat disapprove.....	7
West.....	6
North.....	10
South.....	6

East as a whole	7
Donbass under Ukrainian control	3
Donbass under rebel control	4
Strongly disapprove	5
West	8
North	4
South	3
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	1
Donbass under rebel control	4
Don't know/Refused	14

Statement: As you may know, despite the agreement, military conflict has persisted in eastern Ukraine.

Q11: Do you believe that military personnel from Russia are or are not engaged in the military conflict in east Ukraine? [**Those who answer are or are not engaged**] Do you believe that strongly or somewhat?

Believe strongly	54%
West	71
North	63
South	45
East	36
Believe somewhat	23
West	18
North	25
South	27
East	26
Do not believe somewhat	7
West	3
North	6
South	11
East	10
Do not believe strongly	6
West	2
North	4
South	7
East	13
Don't know/Refused	9

Q12: Do you approve or disapprove of the Ukrainian government using military force to try to regain territory held by separatist groups in eastern Ukraine? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Approve strongly	26%
West	45
North	25
South	28
East	4
Approve somewhat	22
West	27
North	29
South	20

East	12
Disapprove somewhat.....	13
West.....	7
North.....	15
South.....	16
East	14
Disapprove strongly.....	29
West.....	13
North.....	18
South.....	29
East	54
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q13: Do you favor or oppose the United States providing military weapons and equipment to the Ukrainian government? [**Those who answer favor or oppose**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly favor	34%
West.....	57
North.....	35
South.....	31
East	11
Somewhat favor.....	18
West.....	20
North.....	26
South.....	15
East	11
Somewhat oppose.....	9
West.....	5
North.....	10
South.....	14
East	9
Strongly oppose	27
West.....	10
North.....	14
South.....	29
East	53
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q14: Russian President Vladimir Putin has said that Russia has the right to intervene in Ukraine and other countries to protect Russian citizens and Russian speakers there. Do you think that Russia does or does not have such a right?

Does have the right	5%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	2
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	42
Does not have the right	87
West.....	96
North.....	94

South.....	90
East as a whole	66
Donbass under Ukrainian control	74
Donbass under rebel control	41
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q15: Which position is closest to your opinion about Russia?

Russia does not have the right to tell Ukraine what to do and Ukraine must stand up to Russia whenever it tries to do so.	68%
West.....	84
North.....	83
South.....	64
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	26

Ukraine should maintain autonomy from Russia, but it also needs to recognize that Russia is so powerful that it will need to accommodate some of its wishes.	17
West.....	13
North.....	11
South.....	19
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	15

It is in Ukraine's best interest to draw closer to Russia and it is natural and appropriate for Ukraine to align itself with Russia's goals.....	8
West.....	<1
North.....	1
South.....	9
East as a whole	24
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	7

Q16: Russia has stressed that it wants to Ukraine to commit to not join NATO. Do you think that Ukraine should be willing to make the following agreement:

- Ukraine agrees to not join NATO
- Russia agrees to not interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine
- the OSCE monitors Russia's compliance with the agreement with observers on the Ukrainian-Russian border

Ukraine should be willing.....	36%
West.....	17
North.....	35
South.....	40
East	54
Ukraine should not be willing.....	41
West.....	63
North.....	42

South.....	40
East	21

Don't know/Refused..... 22

Q17: Which position is closest to your opinion about the Crimea?

The Crimea is part of the Ukrainian state and Ukraine should make it a top priority to get it back as soon as possible.	31%
West.....	42
North.....	36
South.....	34
East	13

Ukraine should not accept the loss of Crimea, but Ukraine has so many other problems that it should not make getting Crimea back right away a top priority.	51
West.....	54
North.....	58
South.....	50
East	46

Given the number of ethnic Russians living in Crimea and its history, Ukraine should accept Crimea becoming part of Russia again.	18
West.....	4
North.....	6
South.....	17
East	41

Q18: Do you approve or disapprove of the ending of Victor Yanukovich's presidential term last year?

Approve	48%
West.....	73
North.....	63
South.....	35
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	17
Disapprove.....	38
West.....	17
North.....	21
South.....	52
East as a whole	72
Donbass under Ukrainian control	75
Donbass under rebel control	76
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q19: On a scale of 0-10, with 0 being not at all corrupt and 10 being extremely corrupt, please assess the corruption level of the following:

Q19a. the Yanukovich government	
Mean.....	9.5
West.....	9.7

North.....	9.7
South.....	9.5
East	9.2

Don't know/Refused..... 4%

Q19b. the current government

Mean	7.7
West.....	7.0
North.....	7.2
South.....	8.2
East	8.3

Don't know/Refused..... 13%



The Ukrainian People on the Current Crisis

March 9, 2015

Questionnaire

Sample: 1005 respondents (plus oversample of 403 in Donbass region) **Margin of Error: 3.1%**
Sample in Ukrainian-held Donbass: 330 (includes oversample of 203) **Margin of Error: 5.4%**
Sample in rebel-held areas of Donbass: 240 (includes oversample of 200) **Margin of Error: 6.3%**

Fielded: 13 February – 24 February 2015
Oversample Fielded: 4 March – 6 March 2015

Q1: Please tell me if you think each of the following countries is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world:

Q1a. The United States

Mainly positive	45%
West	61
North.....	64
South.....	29
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	24
Donbass under rebel control	12
Mainly negative	24
West	8
North.....	13
South.....	28
East as a whole	52
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	74
Depends	19
West	16
North.....	13
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	6
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	10

East as a whole	5
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	7

Q1b. Russia

Mainly positive	14%
West	1
North	3
South	20
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	67
Mainly negative	64
West	84
North	87
South	40
East as a whole	38
Donbass under Ukrainian control	45
Donbass under rebel control	19
Depends	14
West	7
North	5
South	27
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	3
West	2
North	2
South	5
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	6

Q1c. Germany

Mainly positive	57%
West	70
North	70
South	49
East	39
Mainly negative	7
West	3
North	5
South	9
East	11
Depends	22
West	15
North	16
South	26

East	29
Neither	6
West	3
North.....	3
South.....	10
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q1d. France

Mainly positive	54%
West	68
North.....	66
South.....	46
East	35
Mainly negative	7
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	9
East	10
Depends	21
West	12
North.....	15
South.....	27
East	32
Neither	8
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	11
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q1e. The European Union

Mainly positive	57%
West	71
North.....	71
South.....	48
East as a whole	31
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	21
Mainly negative	10
West	3
North.....	6
South.....	12
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	41
Depends	19
West	13
North.....	12

South.....	28
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	19
Neither	5
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	5
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	10
Don't know/Refused.....	9

Q2: For each of the following please tell me if you approve or disapprove of how they are dealing with the crisis in eastern Ukraine.

Q2a. President Petro Poroshenko

Approve	36%
West.....	47
North.....	44
South.....	33
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	3
Disapprove	38
West.....	27
North.....	25
South.....	42
East as a whole	61
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	89
Depends	18
West.....	15
North.....	23
South.....	20
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	3
Neither	3
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	2
East as a whole	4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	
Don't know/Refused.....	5

Q2b. US President Barack Obama

Approve	31%
West.....	43
North.....	37
South.....	28

East	16
Disapprove.....	32
West.....	20
North.....	24
South.....	39
East	46
Depends	20
West.....	21
North.....	25
South.....	17
East	19
Neither	6
West.....	3
North.....	8
South.....	11
East	5
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q2c. Russian President Vladimir Putin

Approve	6%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	58
Disapprove.....	79
West.....	94
North.....	95
South.....	72
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	26
Depends	9
West.....	2
North.....	4
South.....	14
East as a whole	16
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	7
Neither	2
West.....	<1%
North.....	<1%
South.....	4
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	2
Don't know/Refused.....	4

Q2d. German Chancellor Angela Merkel

Approve	40%
West.....	46

North.....	44
South.....	39
East	31
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	17
North.....	15
South.....	24
East	25
Depends	24
West.....	22
North.....	26
South.....	23
East	27
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	5
South.....	8
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q2e. French President Francois Hollande

Approve	38%
West.....	46
North.....	43
South.....	33
East	28
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15
South.....	25
East	26
Depends	22
West.....	20
North.....	23
South.....	21
East	25
Neither	7
West.....	5
North.....	6
South.....	13
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q2f. EU officials

Approve	36%
West.....	48
North.....	46
South.....	32
East	19
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15

South.....	24
East	26
Depends	25
West.....	21
North.....	29
South.....	24
East	26
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	4
South.....	8
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q3: As you know there is ongoing debate about possible general directions that Ukraine could go in the future. How would you feel about the following possible directions? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

(Cluster 1)

Q3a. Ukraine moving closer to the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	22%
West.....	9
North.....	9
South.....	34
East as a whole	39
Donbass under Ukrainian control	34
Donbass under rebel control	62
Just tolerable (5)	18
West.....	13
North.....	13
South.....	20
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	19
Acceptable (6-10)	54
West.....	74
North.....	68
South.....	44
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	15
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	6.7
West.....	8.2
North.....	8.1
South.....	5.6
East as a whole	4.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.9
Donbass under rebel control	3.0

Q3b. Ukraine joining the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	26%
West	9
North.....	11
South.....	40
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	66
Just tolerable (5)	15
West	12
North.....	12
South.....	14
East as a whole	22
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	17
Acceptable (6-10)	52
West	73
North.....	67
South.....	42
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	13
Don't know/Refused.....	7
Mean	6.5
West	8.2
North.....	8.0
South.....	5.4
East as a whole	3.8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.7
Donbass under rebel control	2.7

Q3c. Ukraine joining NATO

Not acceptable (0-4)	36%
West	15
North.....	15
South.....	55
East as a whole	68
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	82
Just tolerable (5)	13
West	11
North.....	15
South.....	11
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	11
Acceptable (6-10)	38
West	62
North.....	51
South.....	24
East as a whole	9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	3

Don't know/Refused.....	13
Mean	5.3
West.....	7.6
North.....	7.0
South.....	4.0
East as a whole	2.1
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.7
Donbass under rebel control	1.2

(Cluster 2)

Q3d. Ukraine affirming a neutral position between the European Union and Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	31%
West.....	48
North.....	22
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	26
Just tolerable (5)	33
West.....	23
North.....	41
South.....	34
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	37
Donbass under rebel control	42
Acceptable (6-10)	30
West.....	25
North.....	30
South.....	31
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	25
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	5.1
West.....	4.0
North.....	5.5
South.....	5.2
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.7
Donbass under rebel control	5.0

(Cluster 3)

Q3e. Ukraine moving closer to Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	60%
West.....	77
North.....	81
South.....	55
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	15

Just tolerable (5)	14
West	12
North	6
South	13
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	12
Acceptable (6-10)	20
West	6
North	5
South	30
East as a whole	46
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	70
Don't know/Refused	5
Mean	3.1
West	1.6
North	1.4
South	3.8
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.0
Donbass under rebel control	7.4

Q3f. Ukraine joining the Eurasian Customs Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	64%
West	82
North	77
South	55
East as a whole	34
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	24
Just tolerable (5)	10
West	8
North	5
South	8
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	21
Acceptable (6-10)	17
West	2
North	5
South	29
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	47
Don't know/Refused	10
Mean	2.7
West	1.1
North	1.4
South	3.9

East as a whole	5.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.6
Donbass under rebel control	6.0

Q4: So if it were up to you, which course should Ukraine take? Do you think Ukraine should:

Have stronger relations with the European Union than with Russia	47%
West	70
North	67
South	31
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	20
Donbass under rebel control	11

Have stronger relations with Russia than with the European Union	13
West	3
North	5
South	20
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	18
Donbass under rebel control	45

Have equally strong relations with the European Union and Russia	34
West	22
North	19
South	45
East as a whole	55
Donbass under Ukrainian control	55
Donbass under rebel control	41

Don't know/Refused

7

Q5: Do you think the European Union:

Has gone too far in trying to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	9%
West	6
North	7
South	14
East as a whole	11
Donbass under Ukrainian control	8
Donbass under rebel control	9
Has not done enough to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	53
West	57
North	57
South	51
East as a whole	48
Donbass under Ukrainian control	47
Donbass under rebel control	46
Has struck the right balance	19
West	23
North	14

South.....	19
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	23
Don't know/Refused.....	18

Q6: How much confidence do you have in the efforts of the European Union, the United States and the International Monetary Fund to help reform the Ukrainian economy?

A lot	11%
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	20
East	4
Some	34
West.....	41
North.....	50
South.....	20
East	25
Not very much	27
West.....	24
North.....	26
South.....	33
East	27
None.....	17
West.....	13
North.....	6
South.....	16
East	30
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q7: Thinking about the future of Ukraine, how would you feel if each of the following happened? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

Q7a. Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	
Not acceptable (0-4)	10%
West.....	4
North.....	3
South.....	10
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	60
Just tolerable (5)	13
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	13
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	69
West.....	79

North.....	80
South.....	73
East as a whole	42
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	20
Don't know/Refused.....	8
Mean	7.9
West.....	8.6
North.....	9.1
South.....	7.6
East as a whole	5.9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.3
Donbass under rebel control	3.2

Q7b. Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy

Not acceptable (0-4)	32%
West.....	44
North.....	30
South.....	37
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	21
Donbass under rebel control	17
Just tolerable (5)	25
West.....	24
North.....	31
South.....	21
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	23
Acceptable (6-10)	32
West.....	26
North.....	22
South.....	33
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	55
Don't know/Refused.....	11
Mean	4.8
West.....	4.1
North.....	4.7
South.....	4.6
East as a whole	6.3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.0
Donbass under rebel control	6.6

Q7c. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent

Not acceptable (0-4)	69%
West.....	82
North.....	68

South.....	78
East as a whole	45
Donbass under Ukrainian control	61
Donbass under rebel control	32
Just tolerable (5)	12
West.....	6
North.....	18
South.....	8
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	20
Acceptable (6-10)	10
West.....	4
North.....	2
South.....	10
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	45
Don't know/Refused.....	9
Mean	2.2
West.....	1.1
North.....	2.0
South.....	1.9
East as a whole	4.2
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.6
Donbass under rebel control	5.4

Q7d. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	78%
West.....	91
North.....	84
South.....	81
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	64
Donbass under rebel control	35
Just tolerable (5)	5
West.....	3
North.....	1
South.....	6
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	7
West.....	1
North.....	2
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Mean	1.3
West	0.4
North	0.8
South	1.2
East as a whole	3.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.3
Donbass under rebel control	5.3

Q8: So if it were up to you, which one of the following would you choose?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	63%
West	76
North	77
South	59
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	15
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Luganska oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	17
North	13
South	27
East as a whole	33
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	36
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	4
West	1
North	<1
South	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	16
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	3
West	1
North	2
South	<1
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	26
Don't know/Refused	8

Q9: Which do you think the majority of the people in the Donbass region want?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	20%
West	24
North	15
South	27
East as a whole	14
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	12
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Luganska oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	20

North.....	17
South.....	26
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	27
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	13
West.....	10
North.....	13
South.....	12
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	17
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	9
West.....	9
North.....	11
South.....	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	22
No majority view among the people in the Donbass region.....	14
West.....	13
North.....	24
South.....	13
East as a whole	8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	8
Refused, don't know	22

Q10: As you may know, in September 2014 the Minsk Agreement was signed by Ukraine, Russia, the OSCE and the governments of Donetsk and Luhansk. It called for an immediate ceasefire to be monitored by the OSCE, greater autonomy for the oblasts, permanent monitoring of the Ukraine-Russian border by the OSCE and other provisions. Do you approve or disapprove of this agreement? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly approve.....	40%
West.....	35
North.....	28
South.....	51
East as a whole	50
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	62
Somewhat approve.....	34
West.....	37
North.....	43
South.....	28
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	21
Somewhat disapprove.....	7
West.....	6
North.....	10
South.....	6

East as a whole	7
Donbass under Ukrainian control	3
Donbass under rebel control	4
Strongly disapprove	5
West	8
North	4
South	3
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	1
Donbass under rebel control	4
Don't know/Refused	14

Statement: As you may know, despite the agreement, military conflict has persisted in eastern Ukraine.

Q11: Do you believe that military personnel from Russia are or are not engaged in the military conflict in east Ukraine? [**Those who answer are or are not engaged**] Do you believe that strongly or somewhat?

Believe strongly	54%
West	71
North	63
South	45
East	36
Believe somewhat	23
West	18
North	25
South	27
East	26
Do not believe somewhat	7
West	3
North	6
South	11
East	10
Do not believe strongly	6
West	2
North	4
South	7
East	13
Don't know/Refused	9

Q12: Do you approve or disapprove of the Ukrainian government using military force to try to regain territory held by separatist groups in eastern Ukraine? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Approve strongly	26%
West	45
North	25
South	28
East	4
Approve somewhat	22
West	27
North	29
South	20

East	12
Disapprove somewhat.....	13
West.....	7
North.....	15
South.....	16
East	14
Disapprove strongly.....	29
West.....	13
North.....	18
South.....	29
East	54
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q13: Do you favor or oppose the United States providing military weapons and equipment to the Ukrainian government? [**Those who answer favor or oppose**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly favor	34%
West.....	57
North.....	35
South.....	31
East	11
Somewhat favor.....	18
West.....	20
North.....	26
South.....	15
East	11
Somewhat oppose.....	9
West.....	5
North.....	10
South.....	14
East	9
Strongly oppose	27
West.....	10
North.....	14
South.....	29
East	53
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q14: Russian President Vladimir Putin has said that Russia has the right to intervene in Ukraine and other countries to protect Russian citizens and Russian speakers there. Do you think that Russia does or does not have such a right?

Does have the right	5%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	2
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	42
Does not have the right	87
West.....	96
North.....	94

South.....	90
East as a whole	66
Donbass under Ukrainian control	74
Donbass under rebel control	41
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q15: Which position is closest to your opinion about Russia?

Russia does not have the right to tell Ukraine what to do and Ukraine must stand up to Russia whenever it tries to do so.	68%
West.....	84
North.....	83
South.....	64
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	26

Ukraine should maintain autonomy from Russia, but it also needs to recognize that Russia is so powerful that it will need to accommodate some of its wishes.	17
West.....	13
North.....	11
South.....	19
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	15

It is in Ukraine's best interest to draw closer to Russia and it is natural and appropriate for Ukraine to align itself with Russia's goals.....	8
West.....	<1
North.....	1
South.....	9
East as a whole	24
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	7

Q16: Russia has stressed that it wants to Ukraine to commit to not join NATO. Do you think that Ukraine should be willing to make the following agreement:

- Ukraine agrees to not join NATO
- Russia agrees to not interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine
- the OSCE monitors Russia's compliance with the agreement with observers on the Ukrainian-Russian border

Ukraine should be willing.....	36%
West.....	17
North.....	35
South.....	40
East	54
Ukraine should not be willing.....	41
West.....	63
North.....	42

South.....	40
East	21

Don't know/Refused..... 22

Q17: Which position is closest to your opinion about the Crimea?

The Crimea is part of the Ukrainian state and Ukraine should make it a top priority to get it back as soon as possible.	31%
West.....	42
North.....	36
South.....	34
East	13

Ukraine should not accept the loss of Crimea, but Ukraine has so many other problems that it should not make getting Crimea back right away a top priority.	51
West.....	54
North.....	58
South.....	50
East	46

Given the number of ethnic Russians living in Crimea and its history, Ukraine should accept Crimea becoming part of Russia again.	18
West.....	4
North.....	6
South.....	17
East	41

Q18: Do you approve or disapprove of the ending of Victor Yanukovich's presidential term last year?

Approve	48%
West.....	73
North.....	63
South.....	35
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	17
Disapprove.....	38
West.....	17
North.....	21
South.....	52
East as a whole	72
Donbass under Ukrainian control	75
Donbass under rebel control	76
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q19: On a scale of 0-10, with 0 being not at all corrupt and 10 being extremely corrupt, please assess the corruption level of the following:

Q19a. the Yanukovich government	
Mean.....	9.5
West.....	9.7

North.....	9.7
South.....	9.5
East	9.2

Don't know/Refused..... 4%

Q19b. the current government

Mean	7.7
West.....	7.0
North.....	7.2
South.....	8.2
East	8.3

Don't know/Refused..... 13%



The Ukrainian People on the Current Crisis

March 9, 2015

Questionnaire

Sample: 1005 respondents (plus oversample of 403 in Donbass region) **Margin of Error: 3.1%**
Sample in Ukrainian-held Donbass: 330 (includes oversample of 203) **Margin of Error: 5.4%**
Sample in rebel-held areas of Donbass: 240 (includes oversample of 200) **Margin of Error: 6.3%**

Fielded: 13 February – 24 February 2015
Oversample Fielded: 4 March – 6 March 2015

Q1: Please tell me if you think each of the following countries is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world:

Q1a. The United States

Mainly positive	45%
West	61
North.....	64
South.....	29
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	24
Donbass under rebel control	12
Mainly negative	24
West	8
North.....	13
South.....	28
East as a whole	52
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	74
Depends	19
West	16
North.....	13
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	6
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	10

East as a whole	5
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	7

Q1b. Russia

Mainly positive	14%
West	1
North	3
South	20
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	67
Mainly negative	64
West	84
North	87
South	40
East as a whole	38
Donbass under Ukrainian control	45
Donbass under rebel control	19
Depends	14
West	7
North	5
South	27
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	3
West	2
North	2
South	5
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	6

Q1c. Germany

Mainly positive	57%
West	70
North	70
South	49
East	39
Mainly negative	7
West	3
North	5
South	9
East	11
Depends	22
West	15
North	16
South	26

East	29
Neither	6
West	3
North.....	3
South.....	10
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q1d. France

Mainly positive	54%
West	68
North.....	66
South.....	46
East	35
Mainly negative	7
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	9
East	10
Depends	21
West	12
North.....	15
South.....	27
East	32
Neither	8
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	11
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q1e. The European Union

Mainly positive	57%
West	71
North.....	71
South.....	48
East as a whole	31
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	21
Mainly negative	10
West	3
North.....	6
South.....	12
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	41
Depends	19
West	13
North.....	12

South.....	28
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	19
Neither	5
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	5
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	10
Don't know/Refused.....	9

Q2: For each of the following please tell me if you approve or disapprove of how they are dealing with the crisis in eastern Ukraine.

Q2a. President Petro Poroshenko

Approve	36%
West.....	47
North.....	44
South.....	33
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	3
Disapprove	38
West.....	27
North.....	25
South.....	42
East as a whole	61
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	89
Depends	18
West.....	15
North.....	23
South.....	20
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	3
Neither	3
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	2
East as a whole	4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	
Don't know/Refused.....	5

Q2b. US President Barack Obama

Approve	31%
West.....	43
North.....	37
South.....	28

East	16
Disapprove.....	32
West.....	20
North.....	24
South.....	39
East	46
Depends	20
West.....	21
North.....	25
South.....	17
East	19
Neither	6
West.....	3
North.....	8
South.....	11
East	5
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q2c. Russian President Vladimir Putin

Approve	6%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	58
Disapprove.....	79
West.....	94
North.....	95
South.....	72
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	26
Depends	9
West.....	2
North.....	4
South.....	14
East as a whole	16
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	7
Neither	2
West.....	<1%
North.....	<1%
South.....	4
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	2
Don't know/Refused.....	4

Q2d. German Chancellor Angela Merkel

Approve	40%
West.....	46

North.....	44
South.....	39
East	31
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	17
North.....	15
South.....	24
East	25
Depends	24
West.....	22
North.....	26
South.....	23
East	27
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	5
South.....	8
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q2e. French President Francois Hollande

Approve	38%
West.....	46
North.....	43
South.....	33
East	28
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15
South.....	25
East	26
Depends	22
West.....	20
North.....	23
South.....	21
East	25
Neither	7
West.....	5
North.....	6
South.....	13
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q2f. EU officials

Approve	36%
West.....	48
North.....	46
South.....	32
East	19
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15

South.....	24
East	26
Depends	25
West.....	21
North.....	29
South.....	24
East	26
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	4
South.....	8
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q3: As you know there is ongoing debate about possible general directions that Ukraine could go in the future. How would you feel about the following possible directions? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

(Cluster 1)

Q3a. Ukraine moving closer to the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	22%
West.....	9
North.....	9
South.....	34
East as a whole	39
Donbass under Ukrainian control	34
Donbass under rebel control	62
Just tolerable (5)	18
West.....	13
North.....	13
South.....	20
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	19
Acceptable (6-10)	54
West.....	74
North.....	68
South.....	44
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	15
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	6.7
West.....	8.2
North.....	8.1
South.....	5.6
East as a whole	4.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.9
Donbass under rebel control	3.0

Q3b. Ukraine joining the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	26%
West	9
North.....	11
South.....	40
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	66
Just tolerable (5)	15
West	12
North.....	12
South.....	14
East as a whole	22
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	17
Acceptable (6-10)	52
West	73
North.....	67
South.....	42
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	13
Don't know/Refused.....	7
Mean	6.5
West	8.2
North.....	8.0
South.....	5.4
East as a whole	3.8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.7
Donbass under rebel control	2.7

Q3c. Ukraine joining NATO

Not acceptable (0-4)	36%
West	15
North.....	15
South.....	55
East as a whole	68
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	82
Just tolerable (5)	13
West	11
North.....	15
South.....	11
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	11
Acceptable (6-10)	38
West	62
North.....	51
South.....	24
East as a whole	9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	3

Don't know/Refused.....	13
Mean	5.3
West.....	7.6
North.....	7.0
South.....	4.0
East as a whole	2.1
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.7
Donbass under rebel control	1.2

(Cluster 2)

Q3d. Ukraine affirming a neutral position between the European Union and Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	31%
West.....	48
North.....	22
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	26
Just tolerable (5)	33
West.....	23
North.....	41
South.....	34
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	37
Donbass under rebel control	42
Acceptable (6-10)	30
West.....	25
North.....	30
South.....	31
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	25
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	5.1
West.....	4.0
North.....	5.5
South.....	5.2
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.7
Donbass under rebel control	5.0

(Cluster 3)

Q3e. Ukraine moving closer to Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	60%
West.....	77
North.....	81
South.....	55
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	15

Just tolerable (5)	14
West	12
North	6
South	13
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	12
Acceptable (6-10)	20
West	6
North	5
South	30
East as a whole	46
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	70
Don't know/Refused	5
Mean	3.1
West	1.6
North	1.4
South	3.8
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.0
Donbass under rebel control	7.4

Q3f. Ukraine joining the Eurasian Customs Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	64%
West	82
North	77
South	55
East as a whole	34
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	24
Just tolerable (5)	10
West	8
North	5
South	8
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	21
Acceptable (6-10)	17
West	2
North	5
South	29
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	47
Don't know/Refused	10
Mean	2.7
West	1.1
North	1.4
South	3.9

East as a whole	5.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.6
Donbass under rebel control	6.0

Q4: So if it were up to you, which course should Ukraine take? Do you think Ukraine should:

Have stronger relations with the European Union than with Russia	47%
West	70
North	67
South	31
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	20
Donbass under rebel control	11

Have stronger relations with Russia than with the European Union	13
West	3
North	5
South	20
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	18
Donbass under rebel control	45

Have equally strong relations with the European Union and Russia	34
West	22
North	19
South	45
East as a whole	55
Donbass under Ukrainian control	55
Donbass under rebel control	41

Don't know/Refused

7

Q5: Do you think the European Union:

Has gone too far in trying to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	9%
West	6
North	7
South	14
East as a whole	11
Donbass under Ukrainian control	8
Donbass under rebel control	9
Has not done enough to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	53
West	57
North	57
South	51
East as a whole	48
Donbass under Ukrainian control	47
Donbass under rebel control	46
Has struck the right balance	19
West	23
North	14

South.....	19
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	23
Don't know/Refused.....	18

Q6: How much confidence do you have in the efforts of the European Union, the United States and the International Monetary Fund to help reform the Ukrainian economy?

A lot	11%
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	20
East	4
Some	34
West.....	41
North.....	50
South.....	20
East	25
Not very much	27
West.....	24
North.....	26
South.....	33
East	27
None.....	17
West.....	13
North.....	6
South.....	16
East	30
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q7: Thinking about the future of Ukraine, how would you feel if each of the following happened? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

Q7a. Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	
Not acceptable (0-4)	10%
West.....	4
North.....	3
South.....	10
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	60
Just tolerable (5)	13
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	13
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	69
West.....	79

North.....	80
South.....	73
East as a whole	42
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	20
Don't know/Refused.....	8
Mean	7.9
West.....	8.6
North.....	9.1
South.....	7.6
East as a whole	5.9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.3
Donbass under rebel control	3.2

Q7b. Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy

Not acceptable (0-4)	32%
West.....	44
North.....	30
South.....	37
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	21
Donbass under rebel control	17
Just tolerable (5)	25
West.....	24
North.....	31
South.....	21
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	23
Acceptable (6-10)	32
West.....	26
North.....	22
South.....	33
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	55
Don't know/Refused.....	11
Mean	4.8
West.....	4.1
North.....	4.7
South.....	4.6
East as a whole	6.3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.0
Donbass under rebel control	6.6

Q7c. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent

Not acceptable (0-4)	69%
West.....	82
North.....	68

South.....	78
East as a whole	45
Donbass under Ukrainian control	61
Donbass under rebel control	32
Just tolerable (5)	12
West.....	6
North.....	18
South.....	8
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	20
Acceptable (6-10)	10
West.....	4
North.....	2
South.....	10
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	45
Don't know/Refused.....	9
Mean	2.2
West.....	1.1
North.....	2.0
South.....	1.9
East as a whole	4.2
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.6
Donbass under rebel control	5.4

Q7d. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	78%
West.....	91
North.....	84
South.....	81
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	64
Donbass under rebel control	35
Just tolerable (5)	5
West.....	3
North.....	1
South.....	6
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	7
West.....	1
North.....	2
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Mean	1.3
West	0.4
North	0.8
South	1.2
East as a whole	3.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.3
Donbass under rebel control	5.3

Q8: So if it were up to you, which one of the following would you choose?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	63%
West	76
North	77
South	59
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	15
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	17
North	13
South	27
East as a whole	33
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	36
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	4
West	1
North	<1
South	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	16
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	3
West	1
North	2
South	<1
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	26
Don't know/Refused	8

Q9: Which do you think the majority of the people in the Donbass region want?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	20%
West	24
North	15
South	27
East as a whole	14
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	12
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	20

North.....	17
South.....	26
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	27
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	13
West.....	10
North.....	13
South.....	12
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	17
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	9
West.....	9
North.....	11
South.....	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	22
No majority view among the people in the Donbass region.....	14
West.....	13
North.....	24
South.....	13
East as a whole	8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	8
Refused, don't know	22

Q10: As you may know, in September 2014 the Minsk Agreement was signed by Ukraine, Russia, the OSCE and the governments of Donetsk and Luhansk. It called for an immediate ceasefire to be monitored by the OSCE, greater autonomy for the oblasts, permanent monitoring of the Ukraine-Russian border by the OSCE and other provisions. Do you approve or disapprove of this agreement? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly approve.....	40%
West.....	35
North.....	28
South.....	51
East as a whole	50
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	62
Somewhat approve.....	34
West.....	37
North.....	43
South.....	28
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	21
Somewhat disapprove.....	7
West.....	6
North.....	10
South.....	6

East as a whole	7
Donbass under Ukrainian control	3
Donbass under rebel control	4
Strongly disapprove	5
West	8
North	4
South	3
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	1
Donbass under rebel control	4
Don't know/Refused	14

Statement: As you may know, despite the agreement, military conflict has persisted in eastern Ukraine.

Q11: Do you believe that military personnel from Russia are or are not engaged in the military conflict in east Ukraine? [**Those who answer are or are not engaged**] Do you believe that strongly or somewhat?

Believe strongly	54%
West	71
North	63
South	45
East	36
Believe somewhat	23
West	18
North	25
South	27
East	26
Do not believe somewhat	7
West	3
North	6
South	11
East	10
Do not believe strongly	6
West	2
North	4
South	7
East	13
Don't know/Refused	9

Q12: Do you approve or disapprove of the Ukrainian government using military force to try to regain territory held by separatist groups in eastern Ukraine? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Approve strongly	26%
West	45
North	25
South	28
East	4
Approve somewhat	22
West	27
North	29
South	20

East	12
Disapprove somewhat.....	13
West.....	7
North.....	15
South.....	16
East	14
Disapprove strongly.....	29
West.....	13
North.....	18
South.....	29
East	54
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q13: Do you favor or oppose the United States providing military weapons and equipment to the Ukrainian government? [**Those who answer favor or oppose**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly favor	34%
West.....	57
North.....	35
South.....	31
East	11
Somewhat favor.....	18
West.....	20
North.....	26
South.....	15
East	11
Somewhat oppose.....	9
West.....	5
North.....	10
South.....	14
East	9
Strongly oppose	27
West.....	10
North.....	14
South.....	29
East	53
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q14: Russian President Vladimir Putin has said that Russia has the right to intervene in Ukraine and other countries to protect Russian citizens and Russian speakers there. Do you think that Russia does or does not have such a right?

Does have the right	5%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	2
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	42
Does not have the right.....	87
West.....	96
North.....	94

South.....	90
East as a whole	66
Donbass under Ukrainian control	74
Donbass under rebel control	41
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q15: Which position is closest to your opinion about Russia?

Russia does not have the right to tell Ukraine what to do and Ukraine must stand up to Russia whenever it tries to do so.	68%
West.....	84
North.....	83
South.....	64
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	26

Ukraine should maintain autonomy from Russia, but it also needs to recognize that Russia is so powerful that it will need to accommodate some of its wishes.	17
West.....	13
North.....	11
South.....	19
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	15

It is in Ukraine's best interest to draw closer to Russia and it is natural and appropriate for Ukraine to align itself with Russia's goals.....	8
West.....	<1
North.....	1
South.....	9
East as a whole	24
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	7

Q16: Russia has stressed that it wants to Ukraine to commit to not join NATO. Do you think that Ukraine should be willing to make the following agreement:

- Ukraine agrees to not join NATO
- Russia agrees to not interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine
- the OSCE monitors Russia's compliance with the agreement with observers on the Ukrainian-Russian border

Ukraine should be willing.....	36%
West.....	17
North.....	35
South.....	40
East	54
Ukraine should not be willing.....	41
West.....	63
North.....	42

South.....	40
East	21

Don't know/Refused..... 22

Q17: Which position is closest to your opinion about the Crimea?

The Crimea is part of the Ukrainian state and Ukraine should make it a top priority to get it back as soon as possible.	31%
West.....	42
North.....	36
South.....	34
East	13

Ukraine should not accept the loss of Crimea, but Ukraine has so many other problems that it should not make getting Crimea back right away a top priority.	51
West.....	54
North.....	58
South.....	50
East	46

Given the number of ethnic Russians living in Crimea and its history, Ukraine should accept Crimea becoming part of Russia again.	18
West.....	4
North.....	6
South.....	17
East	41

Q18: Do you approve or disapprove of the ending of Victor Yanukovich's presidential term last year?

Approve	48%
West.....	73
North.....	63
South.....	35
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	17
Disapprove.....	38
West.....	17
North.....	21
South.....	52
East as a whole	72
Donbass under Ukrainian control	75
Donbass under rebel control	76
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q19: On a scale of 0-10, with 0 being not at all corrupt and 10 being extremely corrupt, please assess the corruption level of the following:

Q19a. the Yanukovich government	
Mean.....	9.5
West.....	9.7

North.....	9.7
South.....	9.5
East	9.2

Don't know/Refused..... 4%

Q19b. the current government

Mean	7.7
West.....	7.0
North.....	7.2
South.....	8.2
East	8.3

Don't know/Refused..... 13%



The Ukrainian People on the Current Crisis

March 9, 2015

Questionnaire

Sample: 1005 respondents (plus oversample of 403 in Donbass region) **Margin of Error: 3.1%**
Sample in Ukrainian-held Donbass: 330 (includes oversample of 203) **Margin of Error: 5.4%**
Sample in rebel-held areas of Donbass: 240 (includes oversample of 200) **Margin of Error: 6.3%**

Fielded: 13 February – 24 February 2015
Oversample Fielded: 4 March – 6 March 2015

Q1: Please tell me if you think each of the following countries is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world:

Q1a. The United States

Mainly positive	45%
West	61
North.....	64
South.....	29
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	24
Donbass under rebel control	12
Mainly negative	24
West	8
North.....	13
South.....	28
East as a whole	52
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	74
Depends	19
West	16
North.....	13
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	6
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	10

East as a whole	5
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	7

Q1b. Russia

Mainly positive	14%
West	1
North	3
South	20
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	67
Mainly negative	64
West	84
North	87
South	40
East as a whole	38
Donbass under Ukrainian control	45
Donbass under rebel control	19
Depends	14
West	7
North	5
South	27
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	3
West	2
North	2
South	5
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	6

Q1c. Germany

Mainly positive	57%
West	70
North	70
South	49
East	39
Mainly negative	7
West	3
North	5
South	9
East	11
Depends	22
West	15
North	16
South	26

East	29
Neither	6
West	3
North.....	3
South.....	10
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q1d. France

Mainly positive	54%
West	68
North.....	66
South.....	46
East	35
Mainly negative	7
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	9
East	10
Depends	21
West	12
North.....	15
South.....	27
East	32
Neither	8
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	11
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q1e. The European Union

Mainly positive	57%
West	71
North.....	71
South.....	48
East as a whole	31
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	21
Mainly negative	10
West	3
North.....	6
South.....	12
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	41
Depends	19
West	13
North.....	12

South.....	28
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	19
Neither	5
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	5
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	10
Don't know/Refused.....	9

Q2: For each of the following please tell me if you approve or disapprove of how they are dealing with the crisis in eastern Ukraine.

Q2a. President Petro Poroshenko

Approve	36%
West.....	47
North.....	44
South.....	33
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	3
Disapprove	38
West.....	27
North.....	25
South.....	42
East as a whole	61
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	89
Depends	18
West.....	15
North.....	23
South.....	20
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	3
Neither	3
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	2
East as a whole	4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	
Don't know/Refused.....	5

Q2b. US President Barack Obama

Approve	31%
West.....	43
North.....	37
South.....	28

East	16
Disapprove.....	32
West.....	20
North.....	24
South.....	39
East	46
Depends	20
West.....	21
North.....	25
South.....	17
East	19
Neither	6
West.....	3
North.....	8
South.....	11
East	5
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q2c. Russian President Vladimir Putin

Approve	6%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	58
Disapprove.....	79
West.....	94
North.....	95
South.....	72
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	26
Depends	9
West.....	2
North.....	4
South.....	14
East as a whole	16
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	7
Neither	2
West.....	<1%
North.....	<1%
South.....	4
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	2
Don't know/Refused.....	4

Q2d. German Chancellor Angela Merkel

Approve	40%
West.....	46

North.....	44
South.....	39
East.....	31
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	17
North.....	15
South.....	24
East.....	25
Depends.....	24
West.....	22
North.....	26
South.....	23
East.....	27
Neither.....	6
West.....	4
North.....	5
South.....	8
East.....	7
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q2e. French President Francois Hollande

Approve.....	38%
West.....	46
North.....	43
South.....	33
East.....	28
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15
South.....	25
East.....	26
Depends.....	22
West.....	20
North.....	23
South.....	21
East.....	25
Neither.....	7
West.....	5
North.....	6
South.....	13
East.....	7
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q2f. EU officials

Approve.....	36%
West.....	48
North.....	46
South.....	32
East.....	19
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15

South.....	24
East	26
Depends	25
West.....	21
North.....	29
South.....	24
East	26
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	4
South.....	8
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q3: As you know there is ongoing debate about possible general directions that Ukraine could go in the future. How would you feel about the following possible directions? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

(Cluster 1)

Q3a. Ukraine moving closer to the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	22%
West.....	9
North.....	9
South.....	34
East as a whole	39
Donbass under Ukrainian control	34
Donbass under rebel control	62
Just tolerable (5)	18
West.....	13
North.....	13
South.....	20
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	19
Acceptable (6-10)	54
West.....	74
North.....	68
South.....	44
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	15
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	6.7
West.....	8.2
North.....	8.1
South.....	5.6
East as a whole	4.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.9
Donbass under rebel control	3.0

Q3b. Ukraine joining the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	26%
West	9
North.....	11
South.....	40
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	66
Just tolerable (5)	15
West	12
North.....	12
South.....	14
East as a whole	22
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	17
Acceptable (6-10)	52
West	73
North.....	67
South.....	42
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	13
Don't know/Refused.....	7
Mean	6.5
West	8.2
North.....	8.0
South.....	5.4
East as a whole	3.8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.7
Donbass under rebel control	2.7

Q3c. Ukraine joining NATO

Not acceptable (0-4)	36%
West	15
North.....	15
South.....	55
East as a whole	68
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	82
Just tolerable (5)	13
West	11
North.....	15
South.....	11
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	11
Acceptable (6-10)	38
West	62
North.....	51
South.....	24
East as a whole	9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	3

Don't know/Refused.....	13
Mean	5.3
West.....	7.6
North.....	7.0
South.....	4.0
East as a whole	2.1
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.7
Donbass under rebel control	1.2

(Cluster 2)

Q3d. Ukraine affirming a neutral position between the European Union and Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	31%
West.....	48
North.....	22
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	26
Just tolerable (5)	33
West.....	23
North.....	41
South.....	34
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	37
Donbass under rebel control	42
Acceptable (6-10)	30
West.....	25
North.....	30
South.....	31
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	25
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	5.1
West.....	4.0
North.....	5.5
South.....	5.2
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.7
Donbass under rebel control	5.0

(Cluster 3)

Q3e. Ukraine moving closer to Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	60%
West.....	77
North.....	81
South.....	55
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	15

Just tolerable (5)	14
West	12
North	6
South	13
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	12
Acceptable (6-10)	20
West	6
North	5
South	30
East as a whole	46
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	70
Don't know/Refused	5
Mean	3.1
West	1.6
North	1.4
South	3.8
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.0
Donbass under rebel control	7.4

Q3f. Ukraine joining the Eurasian Customs Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	64%
West	82
North	77
South	55
East as a whole	34
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	24
Just tolerable (5)	10
West	8
North	5
South	8
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	21
Acceptable (6-10)	17
West	2
North	5
South	29
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	47
Don't know/Refused	10
Mean	2.7
West	1.1
North	1.4
South	3.9

East as a whole	5.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.6
Donbass under rebel control	6.0

Q4: So if it were up to you, which course should Ukraine take? Do you think Ukraine should:

Have stronger relations with the European Union than with Russia	47%
West	70
North	67
South	31
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	20
Donbass under rebel control	11

Have stronger relations with Russia than with the European Union	13
West	3
North	5
South	20
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	18
Donbass under rebel control	45

Have equally strong relations with the European Union and Russia	34
West	22
North	19
South	45
East as a whole	55
Donbass under Ukrainian control	55
Donbass under rebel control	41

Don't know/Refused

7

Q5: Do you think the European Union:

Has gone too far in trying to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	9%
West	6
North	7
South	14
East as a whole	11
Donbass under Ukrainian control	8
Donbass under rebel control	9
Has not done enough to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	53
West	57
North	57
South	51
East as a whole	48
Donbass under Ukrainian control	47
Donbass under rebel control	46
Has struck the right balance	19
West	23
North	14

South.....	19
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	23
Don't know/Refused.....	18

Q6: How much confidence do you have in the efforts of the European Union, the United States and the International Monetary Fund to help reform the Ukrainian economy?

A lot	11%
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	20
East	4
Some	34
West.....	41
North.....	50
South.....	20
East	25
Not very much	27
West.....	24
North.....	26
South.....	33
East	27
None.....	17
West.....	13
North.....	6
South.....	16
East	30
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q7: Thinking about the future of Ukraine, how would you feel if each of the following happened? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

Q7a. Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	
Not acceptable (0-4)	10%
West.....	4
North.....	3
South.....	10
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	60
Just tolerable (5)	13
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	13
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	69
West.....	79

North.....	80
South.....	73
East as a whole	42
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	20
Don't know/Refused.....	8
Mean	7.9
West.....	8.6
North.....	9.1
South.....	7.6
East as a whole	5.9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.3
Donbass under rebel control	3.2

Q7b. Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy

Not acceptable (0-4)	32%
West.....	44
North.....	30
South.....	37
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	21
Donbass under rebel control	17
Just tolerable (5)	25
West.....	24
North.....	31
South.....	21
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	23
Acceptable (6-10)	32
West.....	26
North.....	22
South.....	33
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	55
Don't know/Refused.....	11
Mean	4.8
West.....	4.1
North.....	4.7
South.....	4.6
East as a whole	6.3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.0
Donbass under rebel control	6.6

Q7c. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent

Not acceptable (0-4)	69%
West.....	82
North.....	68

South.....	78
East as a whole	45
Donbass under Ukrainian control	61
Donbass under rebel control	32
Just tolerable (5)	12
West.....	6
North.....	18
South.....	8
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	20
Acceptable (6-10)	10
West.....	4
North.....	2
South.....	10
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	45
Don't know/Refused.....	9
Mean	2.2
West.....	1.1
North.....	2.0
South.....	1.9
East as a whole	4.2
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.6
Donbass under rebel control	5.4

Q7d. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	78%
West.....	91
North.....	84
South.....	81
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	64
Donbass under rebel control	35
Just tolerable (5)	5
West.....	3
North.....	1
South.....	6
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	7
West.....	1
North.....	2
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Mean	1.3
West	0.4
North	0.8
South	1.2
East as a whole	3.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.3
Donbass under rebel control	5.3

Q8: So if it were up to you, which one of the following would you choose?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	63%
West	76
North	77
South	59
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	15
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	17
North	13
South	27
East as a whole	33
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	36
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	4
West	1
North	<1
South	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	16
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	3
West	1
North	2
South	<1
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	26
Don't know/Refused	8

Q9: Which do you think the majority of the people in the Donbass region want?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	20%
West	24
North	15
South	27
East as a whole	14
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	12
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	20

North.....	17
South.....	26
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	27
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	13
West.....	10
North.....	13
South.....	12
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	17
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	9
West.....	9
North.....	11
South.....	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	22
No majority view among the people in the Donbass region.....	14
West.....	13
North.....	24
South.....	13
East as a whole	8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	8
Refused, don't know	22

Q10: As you may know, in September 2014 the Minsk Agreement was signed by Ukraine, Russia, the OSCE and the governments of Donetsk and Luhansk. It called for an immediate ceasefire to be monitored by the OSCE, greater autonomy for the oblasts, permanent monitoring of the Ukraine-Russian border by the OSCE and other provisions. Do you approve or disapprove of this agreement? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly approve.....	40%
West.....	35
North.....	28
South.....	51
East as a whole	50
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	62
Somewhat approve.....	34
West.....	37
North.....	43
South.....	28
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	21
Somewhat disapprove.....	7
West.....	6
North.....	10
South.....	6

East as a whole	7
Donbass under Ukrainian control	3
Donbass under rebel control	4
Strongly disapprove	5
West	8
North	4
South	3
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	1
Donbass under rebel control	4
Don't know/Refused	14

Statement: As you may know, despite the agreement, military conflict has persisted in eastern Ukraine.

Q11: Do you believe that military personnel from Russia are or are not engaged in the military conflict in east Ukraine? [**Those who answer are or are not engaged**] Do you believe that strongly or somewhat?

Believe strongly	54%
West	71
North	63
South	45
East	36
Believe somewhat	23
West	18
North	25
South	27
East	26
Do not believe somewhat	7
West	3
North	6
South	11
East	10
Do not believe strongly	6
West	2
North	4
South	7
East	13
Don't know/Refused	9

Q12: Do you approve or disapprove of the Ukrainian government using military force to try to regain territory held by separatist groups in eastern Ukraine? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Approve strongly	26%
West	45
North	25
South	28
East	4
Approve somewhat	22
West	27
North	29
South	20

East	12
Disapprove somewhat.....	13
West.....	7
North.....	15
South.....	16
East	14
Disapprove strongly.....	29
West.....	13
North.....	18
South.....	29
East	54
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q13: Do you favor or oppose the United States providing military weapons and equipment to the Ukrainian government? [**Those who answer favor or oppose**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly favor	34%
West.....	57
North.....	35
South.....	31
East	11
Somewhat favor.....	18
West.....	20
North.....	26
South.....	15
East	11
Somewhat oppose.....	9
West.....	5
North.....	10
South.....	14
East	9
Strongly oppose	27
West.....	10
North.....	14
South.....	29
East	53
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q14: Russian President Vladimir Putin has said that Russia has the right to intervene in Ukraine and other countries to protect Russian citizens and Russian speakers there. Do you think that Russia does or does not have such a right?

Does have the right	5%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	2
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	42
Does not have the right	87
West.....	96
North.....	94

South.....	90
East as a whole	66
Donbass under Ukrainian control	74
Donbass under rebel control	41
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q15: Which position is closest to your opinion about Russia?

Russia does not have the right to tell Ukraine what to do and Ukraine must stand up to Russia whenever it tries to do so.	68%
West.....	84
North.....	83
South.....	64
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	26

Ukraine should maintain autonomy from Russia, but it also needs to recognize that Russia is so powerful that it will need to accommodate some of its wishes.	17
West.....	13
North.....	11
South.....	19
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	15

It is in Ukraine's best interest to draw closer to Russia and it is natural and appropriate for Ukraine to align itself with Russia's goals.....	8
West.....	<1
North.....	1
South.....	9
East as a whole	24
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	7

Q16: Russia has stressed that it wants to Ukraine to commit to not join NATO. Do you think that Ukraine should be willing to make the following agreement:

- Ukraine agrees to not join NATO
- Russia agrees to not interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine
- the OSCE monitors Russia's compliance with the agreement with observers on the Ukrainian-Russian border

Ukraine should be willing.....	36%
West.....	17
North.....	35
South.....	40
East	54
Ukraine should not be willing.....	41
West.....	63
North.....	42

South.....	40
East	21

Don't know/Refused..... 22

Q17: Which position is closest to your opinion about the Crimea?

The Crimea is part of the Ukrainian state and Ukraine should make it a top priority to get it back as soon as possible.	31%
West.....	42
North.....	36
South.....	34
East	13

Ukraine should not accept the loss of Crimea, but Ukraine has so many other problems that it should not make getting Crimea back right away a top priority.	51
West.....	54
North.....	58
South.....	50
East	46

Given the number of ethnic Russians living in Crimea and its history, Ukraine should accept Crimea becoming part of Russia again.	18
West.....	4
North.....	6
South.....	17
East	41

Q18: Do you approve or disapprove of the ending of Victor Yanukovich's presidential term last year?

Approve	48%
West.....	73
North.....	63
South.....	35
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	17
Disapprove.....	38
West.....	17
North.....	21
South.....	52
East as a whole	72
Donbass under Ukrainian control	75
Donbass under rebel control	76
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q19: On a scale of 0-10, with 0 being not at all corrupt and 10 being extremely corrupt, please assess the corruption level of the following:

Q19a. the Yanukovich government	
Mean.....	9.5
West.....	9.7

North.....	9.7
South.....	9.5
East	9.2

Don't know/Refused..... 4%

Q19b. the current government

Mean	7.7
West.....	7.0
North.....	7.2
South.....	8.2
East	8.3

Don't know/Refused..... 13%



The Ukrainian People on the Current Crisis

March 9, 2015

Questionnaire

Sample: 1005 respondents (plus oversample of 403 in Donbass region) **Margin of Error: 3.1%**
Sample in Ukrainian-held Donbass: 330 (includes oversample of 203) **Margin of Error: 5.4%**
Sample in rebel-held areas of Donbass: 240 (includes oversample of 200) **Margin of Error: 6.3%**

Fielded: 13 February – 24 February 2015
Oversample Fielded: 4 March – 6 March 2015

Q1: Please tell me if you think each of the following countries is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world:

Q1a. The United States

Mainly positive	45%
West	61
North.....	64
South.....	29
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	24
Donbass under rebel control	12
Mainly negative	24
West	8
North.....	13
South.....	28
East as a whole	52
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	74
Depends	19
West	16
North.....	13
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	6
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	10

East as a whole	5
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	7

Q1b. Russia

Mainly positive	14%
West	1
North	3
South	20
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	67
Mainly negative	64
West	84
North	87
South	40
East as a whole	38
Donbass under Ukrainian control	45
Donbass under rebel control	19
Depends	14
West	7
North	5
South	27
East as a whole	19
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	4
Neither	3
West	2
North	2
South	5
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	3
Don't know/Refused	6

Q1c. Germany

Mainly positive	57%
West	70
North	70
South	49
East	39
Mainly negative	7
West	3
North	5
South	9
East	11
Depends	22
West	15
North	16
South	26

East	29
Neither	6
West	3
North.....	3
South.....	10
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q1d. France

Mainly positive	54%
West	68
North.....	66
South.....	46
East	35
Mainly negative	7
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	9
East	10
Depends	21
West	12
North.....	15
South.....	27
East	32
Neither	8
West	4
North.....	5
South.....	11
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q1e. The European Union

Mainly positive	57%
West	71
North.....	71
South.....	48
East as a whole	31
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	21
Mainly negative	10
West	3
North.....	6
South.....	12
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	41
Depends	19
West	13
North.....	12

South.....	28
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	15
Donbass under rebel control	19
Neither	5
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	5
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	10
Don't know/Refused.....	9

Q2: For each of the following please tell me if you approve or disapprove of how they are dealing with the crisis in eastern Ukraine.

Q2a. President Petro Poroshenko

Approve	36%
West.....	47
North.....	44
South.....	33
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	3
Disapprove	38
West.....	27
North.....	25
South.....	42
East as a whole	61
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	89
Depends	18
West.....	15
North.....	23
South.....	20
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	3
Neither	3
West.....	3
North.....	5
South.....	2
East as a whole	4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	
Don't know/Refused.....	5

Q2b. US President Barack Obama

Approve	31%
West.....	43
North.....	37
South.....	28

East	16
Disapprove.....	32
West.....	20
North.....	24
South.....	39
East	46
Depends	20
West.....	21
North.....	25
South.....	17
East	19
Neither	6
West.....	3
North.....	8
South.....	11
East	5
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Q2c. Russian President Vladimir Putin

Approve	6%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	58
Disapprove.....	79
West.....	94
North.....	95
South.....	72
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	26
Depends	9
West.....	2
North.....	4
South.....	14
East as a whole	16
Donbass under Ukrainian control	9
Donbass under rebel control	7
Neither	2
West.....	<1%
North.....	<1%
South.....	4
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	2
Don't know/Refused.....	4

Q2d. German Chancellor Angela Merkel

Approve	40%
West.....	46

North.....	44
South.....	39
East	31
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	17
North.....	15
South.....	24
East	25
Depends	24
West.....	22
North.....	26
South.....	23
East	27
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	5
South.....	8
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q2e. French President Francois Hollande

Approve	38%
West.....	46
North.....	43
South.....	33
East	28
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15
South.....	25
East	26
Depends	22
West.....	20
North.....	23
South.....	21
East	25
Neither	7
West.....	5
North.....	6
South.....	13
East	7
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q2f. EU officials

Approve	36%
West.....	48
North.....	46
South.....	32
East	19
Disapprove.....	20
West.....	14
North.....	15

South.....	24
East	26
Depends	25
West.....	21
North.....	29
South.....	24
East	26
Neither	6
West.....	4
North.....	4
South.....	8
East	10
Don't know/Refused.....	14

Q3: As you know there is ongoing debate about possible general directions that Ukraine could go in the future. How would you feel about the following possible directions? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

(Cluster 1)

Q3a. Ukraine moving closer to the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	22%
West.....	9
North.....	9
South.....	34
East as a whole	39
Donbass under Ukrainian control	34
Donbass under rebel control	62
Just tolerable (5)	18
West.....	13
North.....	13
South.....	20
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	19
Acceptable (6-10)	54
West.....	74
North.....	68
South.....	44
East as a whole	25
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	15
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	6.7
West.....	8.2
North.....	8.1
South.....	5.6
East as a whole	4.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.9
Donbass under rebel control	3.0

Q3b. Ukraine joining the European Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	26%
West	9
North.....	11
South.....	40
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	66
Just tolerable (5)	15
West	12
North.....	12
South.....	14
East as a whole	22
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	17
Acceptable (6-10)	52
West	73
North.....	67
South.....	42
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	27
Donbass under rebel control	13
Don't know/Refused.....	7
Mean	6.5
West	8.2
North.....	8.0
South.....	5.4
East as a whole	3.8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.7
Donbass under rebel control	2.7

Q3c. Ukraine joining NATO

Not acceptable (0-4)	36%
West	15
North.....	15
South.....	55
East as a whole	68
Donbass under Ukrainian control	62
Donbass under rebel control	82
Just tolerable (5)	13
West	11
North.....	15
South.....	11
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	11
Acceptable (6-10)	38
West	62
North.....	51
South.....	24
East as a whole	9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	13
Donbass under rebel control	3

Don't know/Refused.....	13
Mean	5.3
West.....	7.6
North.....	7.0
South.....	4.0
East as a whole	2.1
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.7
Donbass under rebel control	1.2

(Cluster 2)

Q3d. Ukraine affirming a neutral position between the European Union and Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	31%
West.....	48
North.....	22
South.....	30
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	26
Just tolerable (5)	33
West.....	23
North.....	41
South.....	34
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	37
Donbass under rebel control	42
Acceptable (6-10)	30
West.....	25
North.....	30
South.....	31
East as a whole	37
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	25
Don't know/Refused.....	6
Mean	5.1
West.....	4.0
North.....	5.5
South.....	5.2
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.7
Donbass under rebel control	5.0

(Cluster 3)

Q3e. Ukraine moving closer to Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	60%
West.....	77
North.....	81
South.....	55
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	15

Just tolerable (5)	14
West	12
North	6
South	13
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	30
Donbass under rebel control	12
Acceptable (6-10)	20
West	6
North	5
South	30
East as a whole	46
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	70
Don't know/Refused	5
Mean	3.1
West	1.6
North	1.4
South	3.8
East as a whole	6.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5.0
Donbass under rebel control	7.4

Q3f. Ukraine joining the Eurasian Customs Union

Not acceptable (0-4)	64%
West	82
North	77
South	55
East as a whole	34
Donbass under Ukrainian control	31
Donbass under rebel control	24
Just tolerable (5)	10
West	8
North	5
South	8
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	33
Donbass under rebel control	21
Acceptable (6-10)	17
West	2
North	5
South	29
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	47
Don't know/Refused	10
Mean	2.7
West	1.1
North	1.4
South	3.9

East as a whole	5.0
Donbass under Ukrainian control	4.6
Donbass under rebel control	6.0

Q4: So if it were up to you, which course should Ukraine take? Do you think Ukraine should:

Have stronger relations with the European Union than with Russia	47%
West	70
North	67
South	31
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	20
Donbass under rebel control	11

Have stronger relations with Russia than with the European Union	13
West	3
North	5
South	20
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	18
Donbass under rebel control	45

Have equally strong relations with the European Union and Russia	34
West	22
North	19
South	45
East as a whole	55
Donbass under Ukrainian control	55
Donbass under rebel control	41

Don't know/Refused

7

Q5: Do you think the European Union:

Has gone too far in trying to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	9%
West	6
North	7
South	14
East as a whole	11
Donbass under Ukrainian control	8
Donbass under rebel control	9
Has not done enough to draw Ukraine closer to the EU	53
West	57
North	57
South	51
East as a whole	48
Donbass under Ukrainian control	47
Donbass under rebel control	46
Has struck the right balance	19
West	23
North	14

South.....	19
East as a whole	20
Donbass under Ukrainian control	22
Donbass under rebel control	23
Don't know/Refused.....	18

Q6: How much confidence do you have in the efforts of the European Union, the United States and the International Monetary Fund to help reform the Ukrainian economy?

A lot	11%
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	20
East	4
Some	34
West.....	41
North.....	50
South.....	20
East	25
Not very much	27
West.....	24
North.....	26
South.....	33
East	27
None.....	17
West.....	13
North.....	6
South.....	16
East	30
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q7: Thinking about the future of Ukraine, how would you feel if each of the following happened? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all acceptable, 10 meaning very acceptable, and 5 meaning just tolerable.

Q7a. Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	
Not acceptable (0-4)	10%
West.....	4
North.....	3
South.....	10
East as a whole	28
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	60
Just tolerable (5)	13
West.....	14
North.....	7
South.....	13
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	23
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	69
West.....	79

North.....	80
South.....	73
East as a whole	42
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	20
Don't know/Refused.....	8
Mean	7.9
West.....	8.6
North.....	9.1
South.....	7.6
East as a whole	5.9
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.3
Donbass under rebel control	3.2

Q7b. Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy

Not acceptable (0-4)	32%
West.....	44
North.....	30
South.....	37
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	21
Donbass under rebel control	17
Just tolerable (5)	25
West.....	24
North.....	31
South.....	21
East as a whole	23
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	23
Acceptable (6-10)	32
West.....	26
North.....	22
South.....	33
East as a whole	49
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	55
Don't know/Refused.....	11
Mean	4.8
West.....	4.1
North.....	4.7
South.....	4.6
East as a whole	6.3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	6.0
Donbass under rebel control	6.6

Q7c. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent

Not acceptable (0-4)	69%
West.....	82
North.....	68

South.....	78
East as a whole	45
Donbass under Ukrainian control	61
Donbass under rebel control	32
Just tolerable (5)	12
West.....	6
North.....	18
South.....	8
East as a whole	17
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	20
Acceptable (6-10)	10
West.....	4
North.....	2
South.....	10
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	12
Donbass under rebel control	45
Don't know/Refused.....	9
Mean	2.2
West.....	1.1
North.....	2.0
South.....	1.9
East as a whole	4.2
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.6
Donbass under rebel control	5.4

Q7d. The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia

Not acceptable (0-4)	78%
West.....	91
North.....	84
South.....	81
East as a whole	53
Donbass under Ukrainian control	64
Donbass under rebel control	35
Just tolerable (5)	5
West.....	3
North.....	1
South.....	6
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	14
Donbass under rebel control	15
Acceptable (6-10)	7
West.....	1
North.....	2
South.....	5
East as a whole	21
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	10

Mean	1.3
West	0.4
North	0.8
South	1.2
East as a whole	3.4
Donbass under Ukrainian control	2.3
Donbass under rebel control	5.3

Q8: So if it were up to you, which one of the following would you choose?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	63%
West	76
North	77
South	59
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	46
Donbass under rebel control	15
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	17
North	13
South	27
East as a whole	33
Donbass under Ukrainian control	36
Donbass under rebel control	36
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	4
West	1
North	<1
South	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	16
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	3
West	1
North	2
South	<1
East as a whole	10
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	26
Don't know/Refused	8

Q9: Which do you think the majority of the people in the Donbass region want?

Ukraine remains one nation, governed as it is now	20%
West	24
North	15
South	27
East as a whole	14
Donbass under Ukrainian control	25
Donbass under rebel control	12
Ukraine remains one nation, but certain rayons of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts receive greater autonomy	22
West	20

North.....	17
South.....	26
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	26
Donbass under rebel control	27
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and becomes independent	13
West.....	10
North.....	13
South.....	12
East as a whole	18
Donbass under Ukrainian control	5
Donbass under rebel control	17
The Donbass region secedes from Ukraine and is annexed by Russia	9
West.....	9
North.....	11
South.....	3
East as a whole	12
Donbass under Ukrainian control	7
Donbass under rebel control	22
No majority view among the people in the Donbass region.....	14
West.....	13
North.....	24
South.....	13
East as a whole	8
Donbass under Ukrainian control	16
Donbass under rebel control	8
Refused, don't know	22

Q10: As you may know, in September 2014 the Minsk Agreement was signed by Ukraine, Russia, the OSCE and the governments of Donetsk and Luhansk. It called for an immediate ceasefire to be monitored by the OSCE, greater autonomy for the oblasts, permanent monitoring of the Ukraine-Russian border by the OSCE and other provisions. Do you approve or disapprove of this agreement? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly approve.....	40%
West.....	35
North.....	28
South.....	51
East as a whole	50
Donbass under Ukrainian control	56
Donbass under rebel control	62
Somewhat approve.....	34
West.....	37
North.....	43
South.....	28
East as a whole	26
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	21
Somewhat disapprove.....	7
West.....	6
North.....	10
South.....	6

East as a whole	7
Donbass under Ukrainian control	3
Donbass under rebel control	4
Strongly disapprove	5
West	8
North	4
South	3
East as a whole	3
Donbass under Ukrainian control	1
Donbass under rebel control	4
Don't know/Refused	14

Statement: As you may know, despite the agreement, military conflict has persisted in eastern Ukraine.

Q11: Do you believe that military personnel from Russia are or are not engaged in the military conflict in east Ukraine? [**Those who answer are or are not engaged**] Do you believe that strongly or somewhat?

Believe strongly	54%
West	71
North	63
South	45
East	36
Believe somewhat	23
West	18
North	25
South	27
East	26
Do not believe somewhat	7
West	3
North	6
South	11
East	10
Do not believe strongly	6
West	2
North	4
South	7
East	13
Don't know/Refused	9

Q12: Do you approve or disapprove of the Ukrainian government using military force to try to regain territory held by separatist groups in eastern Ukraine? [**Those who answer approve or disapprove**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Approve strongly	26%
West	45
North	25
South	28
East	4
Approve somewhat	22
West	27
North	29
South	20

East	12
Disapprove somewhat.....	13
West.....	7
North.....	15
South.....	16
East	14
Disapprove strongly.....	29
West.....	13
North.....	18
South.....	29
East	54
Don't know/Refused.....	11

Q13: Do you favor or oppose the United States providing military weapons and equipment to the Ukrainian government? [**Those who answer favor or oppose**] Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

Strongly favor	34%
West.....	57
North.....	35
South.....	31
East	11
Somewhat favor.....	18
West.....	20
North.....	26
South.....	15
East	11
Somewhat oppose.....	9
West.....	5
North.....	10
South.....	14
East	9
Strongly oppose	27
West.....	10
North.....	14
South.....	29
East	53
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q14: Russian President Vladimir Putin has said that Russia has the right to intervene in Ukraine and other countries to protect Russian citizens and Russian speakers there. Do you think that Russia does or does not have such a right?

Does have the right	5%
West.....	1
North.....	1
South.....	2
East as a whole	15
Donbass under Ukrainian control	10
Donbass under rebel control	42
Does not have the right	87
West.....	96
North.....	94

South.....	90
East as a whole	66
Donbass under Ukrainian control	74
Donbass under rebel control	41
Don't know/Refused.....	8

Q15: Which position is closest to your opinion about Russia?

Russia does not have the right to tell Ukraine what to do and Ukraine must stand up to Russia whenever it tries to do so.	68%
West.....	84
North.....	83
South.....	64
East as a whole	35
Donbass under Ukrainian control	41
Donbass under rebel control	26

Ukraine should maintain autonomy from Russia, but it also needs to recognize that Russia is so powerful that it will need to accommodate some of its wishes.	17
West.....	13
North.....	11
South.....	19
East as a whole	27
Donbass under Ukrainian control	29
Donbass under rebel control	15

It is in Ukraine's best interest to draw closer to Russia and it is natural and appropriate for Ukraine to align itself with Russia's goals.....	8
West.....	<1
North.....	1
South.....	9
East as a whole	24
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	44
Don't know/Refused.....	7

Q16: Russia has stressed that it wants to Ukraine to commit to not join NATO. Do you think that Ukraine should be willing to make the following agreement:

- Ukraine agrees to not join NATO
- Russia agrees to not interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine
- the OSCE monitors Russia's compliance with the agreement with observers on the Ukrainian-Russian border

Ukraine should be willing.....	36%
West.....	17
North.....	35
South.....	40
East	54
Ukraine should not be willing.....	41
West.....	63
North.....	42

South.....	40
East	21

Don't know/Refused..... 22

Q17: Which position is closest to your opinion about the Crimea?

The Crimea is part of the Ukrainian state and Ukraine should make it a top priority to get it back as soon as possible.	31%
West.....	42
North.....	36
South.....	34
East	13

Ukraine should not accept the loss of Crimea, but Ukraine has so many other problems that it should not make getting Crimea back right away a top priority.	51
West.....	54
North.....	58
South.....	50
East	46

Given the number of ethnic Russians living in Crimea and its history, Ukraine should accept Crimea becoming part of Russia again.	18
West.....	4
North.....	6
South.....	17
East	41

Q18: Do you approve or disapprove of the ending of Victor Yanukovich's presidential term last year?

Approve	48%
West.....	73
North.....	63
South.....	35
East as a whole	13
Donbass under Ukrainian control	17
Donbass under rebel control	17
Disapprove.....	38
West.....	17
North.....	21
South.....	52
East as a whole	72
Donbass under Ukrainian control	75
Donbass under rebel control	76
Don't know/Refused.....	13

Q19: On a scale of 0-10, with 0 being not at all corrupt and 10 being extremely corrupt, please assess the corruption level of the following:

Q19a. the Yanukovich government	
Mean.....	9.5
West.....	9.7

North.....	9.7
South.....	9.5
East	9.2

Don't know/Refused..... 4%

Q19b. the current government

Mean	7.7
West.....	7.0
North.....	7.2
South.....	8.2
East	8.3

Don't know/Refused..... 13%