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## ABOUT HALF THE PUBLIC BELIEVES RUSSIA HAS COMMITTED WAR CRIMES IN UKRAINE

Most adults believe Russia's actions in Ukraine are unjustified and it has committed war crimes, according to a new UChicago Harris/NORC Poll. Public attitudes toward the war have remained relatively stable in the last year. In the latest poll, 26\% favor the United States taking a major role in the conflict while $47 \%$ support a minor role. Majorities continue to back imposing economic sanctions on Russia and accepting refugees from Ukraine.

Six in 10 adults consider Russia an enemy of the U.S., however, many have a positive view

© 2022 mikolajn of the Russian people and their culture. Half of the public has a favorable opinion of the Russian people and only $17 \%$ have an unfavorable opinion. And nearly all adults say they would be comfortable working with, being neighbors, or being friends with someone Russian.

The survey shows attitudes toward the role of the U.S. in the conflict are closely tied to perceptions of Russia's actions in Ukraine and broader foreign policy preferences rather than feelings toward the Russian people. Over a third of those who think only Russia has committed war crimes believe the U.S. should play a major role, while less than a fifth of those who think both sides have committed crimes agree. Adults who say the U.S. should take a more active role in solving the world's problems are more likely to think the U.S. should play a major role in the Russia-Ukraine conflict than those who think it should take a less active role in world affairs ( $44 \%$ vs. $9 \%$ ). However, support for U.S. involvement in the conflict does not significantly differ between those who view the Russian people positively or negatively.

There are significant differences in opinions toward both the U.S. role in the conflict and Russia in general based on age and partisanship. Adults 45 and older feel more

> Three Things You Should Know About the UChicago Harris/NORC Poll Among American Adults:
> 1) 7 in 10 think Russia's actions are an unjustified attempt to gain territory and overthrow the Ukrainian government, but only 26\% think the U.S. should play a major role in the conflict.
> 2) $54 \%$ think only Russia has committed war crimes during the Russia-Ukraine conflict, including two-thirds of Democrats and half of Republicans.
> 3) While 62\% of the public views Russia as an enemy of the U.S., 50\% have a favorable view of the Russian people and 88\% say they would feel comfortable being neighbors or friends with someone Russian.
negatively toward Russia. Democrats are more likely than Republicans to favor the U.S. taking a major role in the conflict ( $38 \%$ vs $19 \%$ ) or regard Russia's actions as an unjustified attempt to gain territory ( $82 \%$ vs. $69 \%$ ). Despite these partisan differences, many in both parties believe Russia has committed war crimes.

The nationwide poll was conducted by the University of Chicago Harris School of Public Policy and NORC from April 13 to April 17, 2023, using AmeriSpeak®, the probability-based panel of NORC at the University of Chicago. Online and telephone interviews using landlines and cell phones were conducted with 1,180 adults. The margin of sampling error is +/- 3.9 percentage points.

## PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE WAR IN UKRAINE HAS REMAINED LARGELY STABLE, BUT FEW SUPPORT THE U.S. PLAYING A MAJOR ROLE.

Public attitudes toward the war in Ukraine have changed little in the last year. Most adults do not support the U.S. taking a major role in the conflict. Nearly half ( $47 \%$ ) of adults believe the U.S should have a minor role, and $26 \%$ think it shouldn't play a role at all. Just $26 \%$ think the U.S. should have a major role.

When it comes to specific policies, majorities still favor imposing economic sanctions on Russia and accepting refugees from the Ukraine into the U.S., although slightly fewer than in May 2022. Half favor providing weapons to Ukraine, down from 60\% last May. Four in 10 favor sending government funds directly to Ukraine, nearly the same as a year ago.

## Many adults favor providing support to Ukraine. <br> Percent of adults



Question: In response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the United States doing each of the following?
Source: AP-NORC Polls conducted May 12-16, 2022 with 1,172 adults and January 26-30, 2023 with 1,068 adults nationwide, and UChicago Harris/NORC Poll conducted April 13-17, 2023 with 1,180 adults nationwide.
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## MOST BELIEVE RUSSIA'S ACTIONS IN UKRAINE ARE UNJUSTIFIED, AND ABOUT HALF THINK ONLY RUSSIA HAS COMMITTED WAR CRIMES.

Most adults believe that Russia's actions are an unjustified attempt to overthrow the Ukrainian government (72\%) or to gain territory ( $70 \%$ ). Fewer than 1 in 10 think that Russia's actions are a justified attempt to defend its security from NATO encroachment (9\%) or to defend a Russian minority within Ukraine (8\%).

About half believe that only Russia has committed war crimes during the conflict, and nearly 4 in 10 say both sides are guilty of war crimes. Very few adults think neither side has committed war crimes or believe only Ukraine has done so.

## Most adults believe Russia has committed war crimes during the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

 Percent of adults

Question: Which comes closest to your opinion on Russia and Ukraine's actions during the conflict? Would you say....
Source: UChicago Harris/NORC Poll conducted April 13-17, 2023 with 1,180 adults nationwide.
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While a majority describe Russia as an enemy and have an unfavorable view of its government, many adults have a positive view of the Russian people.

More view Russia as an enemy or the top enemy of the U.S. (62\%) than a neutral entity (33\%). Very few (4\%) see Russia as an ally. Forty-eight percent are highly concerned about Russia's influence around the world. And the public has a largely unfavorable view of Russian leader Vladimir Putin and the Russian miliary. But few have unfavorable opinions of the Russian people or Russian culture.


Most Americans also report they would feel at least somewhat comfortable working (88\%), being neighbors (88\%), or being friends with a Russian (88\%), or having a Russian marry into their family (82\%).

## PERCEPTIONS OF RUSSIA'S ACTIONS IN UKRAINE ARE ASSOCIATED WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD THE U.S. ROLE IN THE CONFLICT.

Beliefs about the Ukraine-Russia war are tied to people's views on the role the U.S. should play in the conflict, even when taking partisanship and demographic factors into account.

Viewing Russia's actions as an unjustified attempt to overthrow the Ukrainian government is significantly associated with believing that the U.S. should play a more active role in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Those who view Russia's actions as unjustified are more likely to say the U.S. should play a major role in the Russia-Ukraine conflict than those who view them as justified ( $32 \% \mathrm{vs} .10 \%$ ). It is also significantly associated with being in favor of specific actions such as sending government funds or weapons to Ukraine, imposing sanctions on Russia, or accepting Ukrainian refugees.

# Those who view Russia's actions as unjustified are more likely to support significant U.S. involvement. 

## Percent of adults in favor



Question: In response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the United States doing each of the following?
Source: UChicago Harris/NORC Poll conducted April 13-17, 2023 with 1,180 adults nationwide.

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Those who think only Russia has committed war crimes in Ukraine are also significantly more likely to support for more U.S. involvement and favoring the U.S. action to aid Ukraine's war efforts. They are also more likely to support the U.S. playing a major role than those who believe both sides have committed war crimes ( $36 \% \mathrm{vs}$. 16\%). And those who believe only Russia has committed war crimes are more concerned about Russia's influence around the world posing a direct threat to the U.S. (57\%) compared to $40 \%$ of those who think both sides have done so.

# Those who believe only Russia has committed war crimes are more supportive of significant U.S. involvement. 



Question: In response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the United States doing each of the following?
Source: UChicago Harris/NORC Poll conducted April 13-17, 2023 with 1,180 adults nationwide.

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Views toward U.S. foreign policy are also related to beliefs about the role the U.S. should play in Ukraine.
Overall, $39 \%$ think the role that the U.S. has taken in solving the world's problems is about right, $34 \%$ believe it should take a less active role, and $26 \%$ think it should take a more active role.

Believing that the U.S. should play a more active role in world affairs in general is strongly associated with being in favor of the U.S. taking on a more substantial role in the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Those who think the U.S. should be more active in world affairs also support the U.S. playing a major role in the Russia-Ukraine war. Percent of adults


Question: Do you think the United States should take a more or less active role solving the world's problems, or is its current role about right? How much of a role do you think the U.S. should have in the situation between Russia and Ukraine?
Source: UChicago Harris/NORC Poll conducted April 13-17, 2023 with 1,180 adults nationwide.

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Regardless of people's party identification or demographics, views of the Russian people themselves are related to perceptions of Russia as an ally or enemy but not beliefs about the role of the U.S. in the conflict. For example, those who are comfortable being friends with someone who is Russian are less likely to view Russia as an enemy than those who are not ( $60 \%$ vs. $75 \%$ ).

THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN THE ATTITUDES OF DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS TOWARDS RUSSIA, BUT MAJORITIES FROM BOTH PARTIES VIEW RUSSIA'S ACTIONS IN A NEGATIVE LIGHT.

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Question: Do you agree, disagree, or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements about the conflict between Russia and Ukraine?
Source: UChicago Harris/NORC Poll conducted April 13-17, 2023 with 1,180 adults nationwide.

Democrats are also more likely than Republicans to think only Russia has committed war crimes during the conflict, while Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say both sides have committed war crimes.

Democrats more likely to say Russia alone has committed war crimes. Percent of adults


Question: Which comes closest to your opinion on Russia and Ukraine's actions during the conflict? Would you say....
Source: UChicago Harris/NORC Poll conducted April 13-17, 2023 with 1,180 adults nationwide.

There are also partisan differences when it comes to perceptions of Russia's government.
Among all adults, $36 \%$ describe the Russian government as authoritarian, $30 \%$ as communist, $7 \%$ as socialist, $2 \%$ as democratic, and $24 \%$ are unsure. Democrats are more likely than Republicans to describe the Russian government as authoritarian ( $50 \%$ vs. 27\%), while Republicans are more likely than Democrats to describe it as communist (39\% vs. 24\%).

## DIFFERENCES IN VIEWS ABOUT RUSSIA ARE ALSO TIED TO AGE.

Older adults who lived during the Cold War with the Soviet Union are more likely to have negative views of Russia's relationship with the U.S. and its actions during the Russia-Ukraine war.

Those age 45 and older are more likely than younger adults to view Russia's actions as an unjustified attempt to gain territory ( $79 \%$ vs. $59 \%$ ) or overthrow the Ukrainian government ( $81 \%$ vs. $61 \%$ ).


Question: Do you agree, disagree, or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements about the conflict between Russia and Ukraine?
Source: UChicago Harris/NORC Poll conducted April 13-17, 2023 with 1,180 adults nationwide.

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Those 45 and older also tend to think that only Russia has committed war crimes during the conflict, while those 18-44 are more likely to think both sides have committed war crimes. In addition, those age 45 and older are more inclined than younger adults to view Russia as an enemy of the U.S. (70\% vs. 53\%).

## Older adults are more likely to say only Russia has committed war crimes.

Percent of adults


Question: Which comes closest to your opinion on Russia and Ukraine's actions during the conflict? Would you say....
Source: UChicago Harris/NORC Poll conducted April 13-17, 2023 with 1,180 adults nationwide.

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Older adults are also more likely to have concerns about other foreign powers, with $69 \%$ concerned about China's influence around the world compared to $49 \%$ of adults under 45 . However, there are no significant differences in the views of younger and older adults regarding whether the U.S. should play a more active role in world affairs.

## STUDY METHODOLOGY

This survey was conducted by the University of Chicago Harris School of Public Policy and NORC at the University of Chicago. Staff from Harris Public Policy and NORC collaborated on all aspects of the study.

Data were collected using the AmeriSpeak Omnibus®, a monthly multi-client survey using NORC's probabilitybased panel designed to be representative of the U.S. household population. The survey was part of a larger study that included questions about other topics not included in this report. During the initial recruitment phase of the panel, randomly selected U.S. households were sampled with a known, non-zero probability of selection from the NORC National Sample Frame and then contacted by U.S. mail, email, telephone, and field interviewers (face-toface). The panel provides sample coverage of approximately 97 percent of the U.S. household population. Those excluded from the sample include people with P.O. Box only addresses, some addresses not listed in the USPS Delivery Sequence File, and some newly constructed dwellings.

Interviews for this survey were conducted between April 13 and April 17, 2023, with adults age 18 and over representing the 50 states and the District of Columbia. Panel members were randomly drawn from AmeriSpeak, and 1,180 completed the survey $-1,110$ via the web and 70 via telephone. Panel members were invited by email or by phone from an NORC telephone interviewer. Interviews were conducted in English. Respondents were offered a small monetary incentive for completing the survey.

The final stage completion rate is 20.1 percent, the weighted household panel recruitment rate is 20.6 percent, and the weighted household panel retention rate is 79.9 percent, for a cumulative response rate of 3.3 percent. The overall margin of sampling error is $+/-3.9$ percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level, including the design effect. The margin of sampling error may be higher for subgroups.

Quality assurance checks were conducted to ensure data quality. In total, 63 interviews were removed for nonresponse to at least $50 \%$ of the questions asked of them, for completing the survey in less than one-third the median interview time for the full sample, or for straight-lining all grid questions asked of them. These interviews were excluded from the data file prior to weighting.

Once the sample has been selected and fielded, and all the study data have been collected and made final, a poststratification process is used to adjust for any survey nonresponse as well as any noncoverage or under- and oversampling resulting from the study specific sample design. Poststratification variables included age, gender, census division, race/ethnicity, and education. Weighting variables were obtained from the 2022 Current Population Survey. The weighted data reflect the U.S. population of adults age 18 and over.

The sample is also weighted to match the average of self-identified party identification in the previous two waves of the AmeriSpeak Omnibus survey and this current survey.

Complete questions and results are available at: www.norc.org
Additional information on the AmeriSpeak Panel methodology is available at: https://amerispeak.norc.org/about-amerispeak/Pages/Panel-Design.aspx.

For more information, email info@norc.org.

## ABOUT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO HARRIS SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY

One of the largest graduate professional schools at the University of Chicago, Harris Public Policy has been driven by the belief that evidence-based research, not ideology or intuition, is the best guide for public policy. For more than three decades, our exceptional community of scholars, students, and alumni have applied this exacting perspective to the world's most pressing problems using the latest tools of social science. Through our undergraduate and graduate programs, we empower a new generation of data-driven leaders to create a positive social impact throughout our global society. For more information visit https://harris.uchicago.edu/

## ABOUT NORC AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NORC at the University of Chicago is an independent research institution that delivers reliable data and rigorous analysis to guide critical programmatic, business, and policy decisions. Since 1941, NORC has conducted groundbreaking studies, created and applied innovative methods and tools, and advanced principles of scientific integrity and collaboration. Today, government, corporate, and nonprofit clients around the world partner with NORC to transform increasingly complex information into useful knowledge.

NORC conducts research in five main areas: Economics, Markets and the Workforce; Education, Training, and Learning; Global Development; Health and Well-Being; and Society, Media, and Public Affairs.

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[^0]:    Majorities of both Republicans and Democrats view Russia's actions as an unjustified attempt to overthrow the Ukrainian government to gain territory, with Democrats especially critical.

