



Why a no fly zone in Ukraine won't fly with IR experts (Partial results from TRIP Snap Poll 17)

Teaching, Research & International Policy (TRIP) Project
Global Research Institute (GRI)
<https://trip.wm.edu/home>

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March 2022

Introduction

We are pleased to share the results of the 17th Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP) Snap Poll, fielded with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Our polls provide real-time data in the wake of significant policy proposals, during international crises, and on emerging foreign policy debates. In this survey, we asked questions concerning Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the U.S. foreign policy response, and possible implications for China and Taiwan.

Methodology

We attempted to contact all international relations (IR) scholars in the United States. We define IR scholars as individuals who are employed at a college or university in a political science department or professional school and who teach or conduct research on issues that cross international borders. Of the 4,598 scholars across the United States that we contacted, 866 responded to at least one question. The resulting response rate is approximately 19 percent. The poll was open from March 10 to March 14 of 2022. Our sample is roughly similar to the broader population of International Relations scholars in terms of gender, academic rank and university type.

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Sample vs. Population Comparison

Table 1: Sample vs. Population Comparison: Gender

Gender	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
Female	237	28.49	1384	32.22
Male	595	71.51	2911	67.78

Chi-squared test results: X-squared=4.33, p-value=0.03

Table 2: Sample vs. Population Comparison: Academic Rank

Academic Rank	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
Adjunct	21	2.46	266	5.85
Assistant Professor	118	13.80	847	18.64
Associate Professor	275	32.16	1197	26.34
Emeritus	28	3.27	222	4.88
Full Professor	355	41.52	1542	33.93
Instructor	22	2.57	230	5.06
Other	21	2.46	131	2.88
Visiting Instructor/Visiting Assistant Professor	15	1.75	110	2.42

Chi-squared test results: X-squared= 61.22 p-value<0

Table 3: Sample vs. Population Comparison: University Type

University Type	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
National Liberal Arts College	108	13.12	589	13.65
National Research University	514	62.45	2592	60.06
Regional Liberal Arts College	24	2.92	157	3.64
Regional Research University	177	21.51	978	22.66

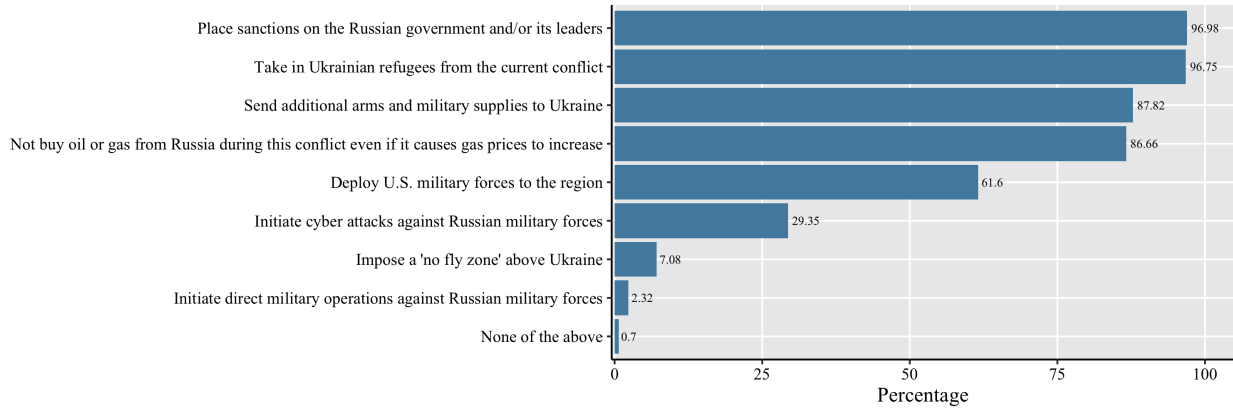
Chi-squared test results: X-squared=2.46, p-value=0.98

Results

Respondents were asked to put their personal political views aside and use their expert knowledge of politics, foreign policy, or international relations as they reflected on these questions.

Figure 1:

In response to the Russian use of military force in Ukraine, the United States should (or should continue to):

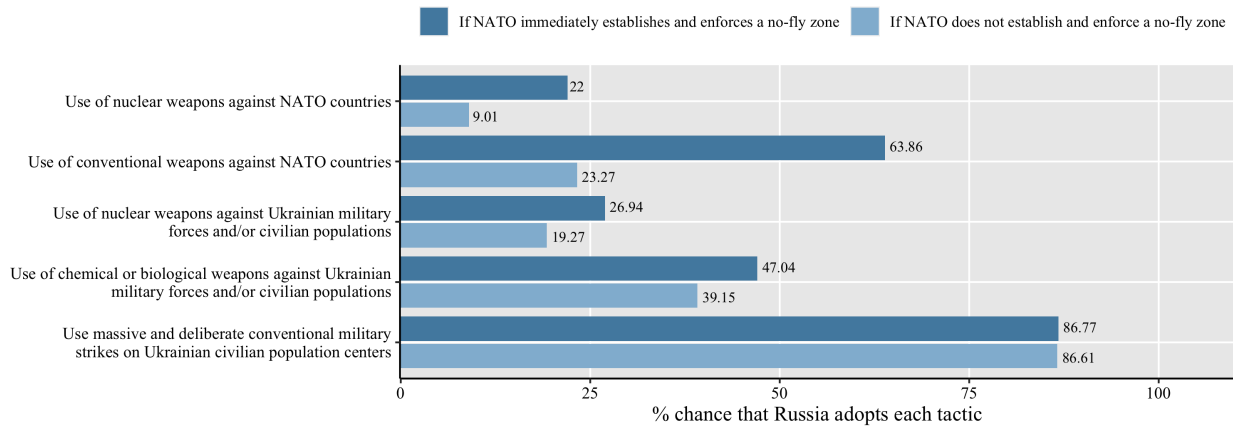


TRIP Snap Poll XVII



Figure 2:

How likely is Russia to adopt the following tactics in the next month?



TRIP Snap Poll XVII



Table 4: In response to the Russian use of military force in Ukraine, the United States should (or should continue to):

Response option	Count	Percentage
Place sanctions on the Russian government and/or its leaders	836	96.98
Deploy U.S. military forces to the region	531	61.6
Send additional arms and military supplies to Ukraine	757	87.82
Initiate direct military operations against Russian military forces	20	2.32
Initiate cyber attacks against Russian military forces	253	29.35
Impose a ‘no fly zone’ above Ukraine	61	7.08
Not buy oil or gas from Russia during this conflict even if it causes gas prices to increase	747	86.66
Take in Ukrainian refugees from the current conflict	834	96.75
None of the above	6	0.7

* Reuters/Ipsos Public Poll - Impose a ‘no fly zone’ above Ukraine: Yes 74%, No 26%

* Reuters/Ipsos Public Poll - Not buy oil or gas from Russia during this conflict, even if it causes gas prices to increase: Agree 80%, Disagree 20%

* Reuters/Ipsos Public Poll - Take in Ukrainian refugees from the current conflict: Agree 74%, Disagree 26%

The following three response options have been previously asked on a public opinion survey by Reuters/Ipsos; (1)“Impose a ‘no fly zone’ above Ukraine”, (2)“Not buy oil or gas from Russia during this conflict, even if it causes gas prices to increase”, (3) “Take in Ukrainian refugees from the current conflict”. The original questions and data can be found here. The Reuters/Ipsos Poll was conducted between March 3-4, 2022, a sample of 831 adults age 18+ from the continental U.S., Alaska, and Hawaii were interviewed online in English.

Table 5: Assuming that NATO does not establish and enforce a no-fly zone over Ukraine, how likely is Russia to adopt the following tactics in the next month:

Response option	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Use massive and deliberate conventional military strikes on Ukrainian civilian population centers	4 (0.47%)	1 (0.12%)	8 (0.94%)	8 (0.94%)	12 (1.40%)	45 (5.26%)	30 (3.51%)	51 (5.96%)	127 (14.85%)	152 (17.78%)	417 (48.77%)	855 (100.00%)
Use of chemical or biological weapons against Ukrainian military forces and/or civilian populations	48 (5.97%)	89 (11.07%)	132 (16.42%)	118 (14.68%)	89 (11.07%)	139 (17.29%)	66 (8.21%)	42 (5.22%)	45 (5.60%)	20 (2.49%)	16 (1.99%)	804 (100.00%)
Use of conventional weapons against NATO countries	73 (9.73%)	217 (28.93%)	190 (25.33%)	117 (15.60%)	44 (5.87%)	73 (9.73%)	13 (1.73%)	11 (1.47%)	9 (1.20%)	1 (0.13%)	2 (0.27%)	750 (100.00%)
Use of nuclear weapons against NATO countries	258 (42.43%)	254 (41.78%)	52 (8.55%)	18 (2.96%)	11 (1.81%)	10 (1.64%)	1 (0.16%)	1 (0.16%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.16%)	2 (0.33%)	608 (100.00%)
Use of nuclear weapons against Ukrainian military forces and/or civilian populations	144 (20.31%)	225 (31.73%)	148 (20.87%)	77 (10.86%)	36 (5.08%)	47 (6.63%)	13 (1.83%)	5 (0.71%)	7 (0.99%)	4 (0.56%)	3 (0.42%)	709 (100.00%)

^a 0 to 10 scale where 0 indicates Russia definitely will not adopt the tactic and 10 indicates that Russia definitely will adopt the tactic.

Table 6: If NATO immediately establishes and enforces a no-fly zone over Ukraine, how likely is Russia to adopt the following tactics in the next month:

Response option	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Use massive and deliberate conventional military strikes on Ukrainian civilian population centers	4 (0.47%)	1 (0.12%)	11 (1.29%)	7 (0.82%)	16 (1.88%)	46 (5.40%)	30 (3.52%)	56 (6.57%)	101 (11.85%)	125 (14.67%)	455 (53.40%)	852 (100.00%)
Use of chemical or biological weapons against Ukrainian military forces and/or civilian populations	39 (4.86%)	70 (8.73%)	78 (9.73%)	102 (12.72%)	88 (10.97%)	129 (16.08%)	89 (11.10%)	66 (8.23%)	66 (8.23%)	30 (3.74%)	45 (5.61%)	802 (100.00%)
Use of conventional weapons against NATO countries	17 (2.02%)	25 (2.97%)	39 (4.63%)	60 (7.12%)	50 (5.93%)	134 (15.90%)	81 (9.61%)	91 (10.79%)	136 (16.13%)	81 (9.61%)	129 (15.30%)	843 (100.00%)
Use of nuclear weapons against NATO countries	117 (15.79%)	235 (31.71%)	151 (20.38%)	93 (12.55%)	37 (4.99%)	57 (7.69%)	12 (1.62%)	20 (2.70%)	9 (1.21%)	3 (0.40%)	7 (0.94%)	741 (100.00%)
Use of nuclear weapons against Ukrainian military forces and/or civilian populations	109 (14.51%)	157 (20.91%)	161 (21.44%)	112 (14.91%)	61 (8.12%)	70 (9.32%)	24 (3.20%)	20 (2.66%)	16 (2.13%)	8 (1.07%)	13 (1.73%)	751 (100.00%)

^a 0 to 10 scale where 0 indicates Russia definitely will not adopt the tactic and 10 indicates that Russia definitely will adopt the tactic.