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«FROM OPINION TOWARD UNDERSTANDING »

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This twelfth edition of the annual “Russia Public Opinion 2012-2013” continues a series of publications which present the main findings of socio-political and socio-economic research conducted on the basis of mass surveys. Published materials that previously appeared in periodicals are available on our web pages.

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PREFACE

The current edition of the annual “Russian Public opinion – 2012-2013” is the **twelfth** successive issue. Provided in it are the results of research into public opinion obtained in 2012, for questions, which are regularly asked, we have also added data through August 2013. The findings of the research that were regularly published in specialised and mass publications are available on our web pages.

The materials incorporated in this edition of the annual, from research led up to the end of August 2003, were obtained and published by FSUE VCIOM. In September the entire staff at VCIOM transferred to ANO (autonomous non-profit organisation) the analytical Service of «VCIOM» (VCIOM-A). In February 2004, the name ANO was changed and registered as «**Levada Analytical Center**» («**Levada-Center**»).

Presented in the annual are indicators of trends in public sentiment, attitudes, assessments and interests concerning various aspects of everyday life, processes in socio-political and socio-economic spheres and events in Russia and the rest of the world. Published materials of various mass surveys tell an entire, sufficiently complex and sometimes conflicting, story about the climate of public opinion in Russia over the past year.

A more detailed analysis of the results of the Analytical Center’s research can be found in their self-published journal “**Vestnik obschestvennogo mneniya**” (**The Russian public opinion herald**) and in other publications, as well as on the website **www.levada.ru**

In the given data, a few points should be taken into account

- 1) in cases where respondents are asked to provide one answer, the sum of the percentages may deviate from 100% by 2% as a consequence of rounding errors;
- 2) in cases where the question provides the opportunity to give several alternative answers, the sum of the answers in percentages may significantly deviate from 100%;
- 3) the position of the response «Other», as a rule, is not provided; in the case that the sum of responses is significantly lower than 100%, it may be that the position of «Difficult to answer» is not cited;
- 4) the survey program «Monitoring », which has previously been carried out up until June 2008 with a sample of 2100 people, was resumed within the framework of the project «Vestnik» and conducted with a sample of 1600 people.

1. PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE YEAR 2012

Table 1.1

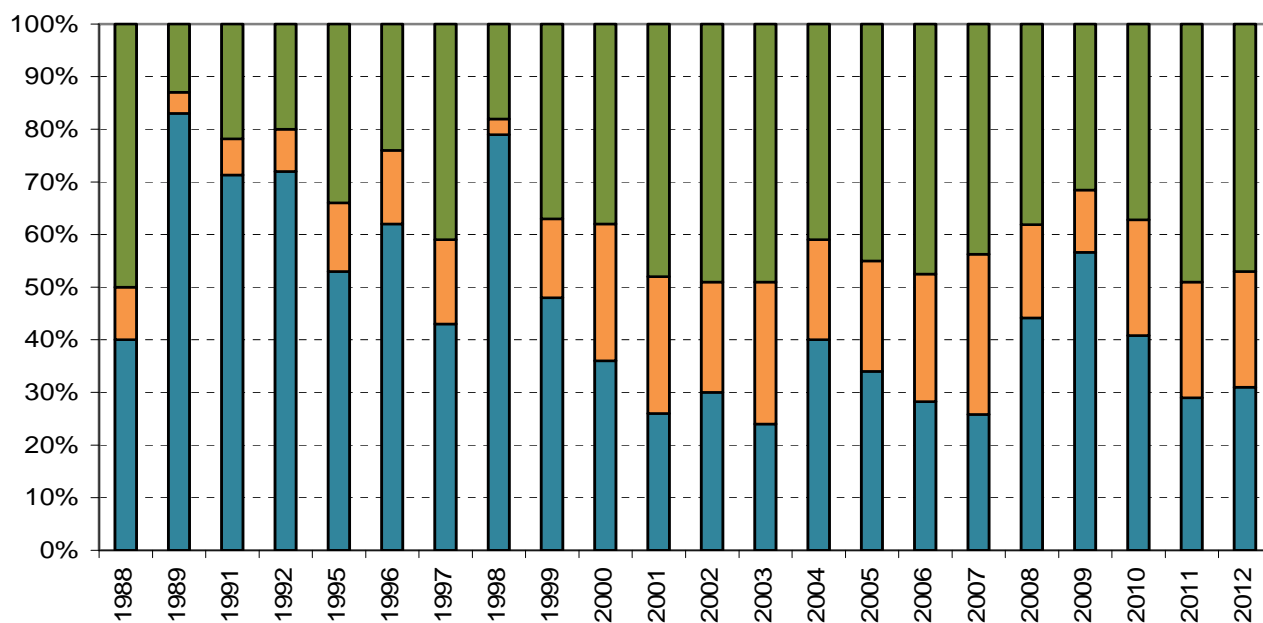
**Do you believe the past year was successful
or unsuccessful for you personally?**

Year of evaluation	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Successful	36	37	42	47	51	42	47	49	52	46	43	48	50	47
Unsuccessful	51	51	38	37	34	37	34	29	28	32	37	29	26	31
Difficult to answer	14	12	20	16	15	21	19	22	20	22	20	23	24	22

N=1600

Diagram 1.1

How was this past year for you and your family?



N=1600

Table 1.2

This year is coming to an end. How was it for Russia?

Year of evaluation	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Harder than the previous	58	55	62	37	82	50	38	23	32	21	34	26	22	20	46	62	43	28	31
Easier than the previous	12	13	11	17	3	15	27	31	22	25	18	23	24	33	17	11	22	23	22
The same as the previous	30	32	27	46	15	35	35	46	46	54	48	51	54	47	38	26	36	50	47

N=1600

Table 1.3

How would you evaluate the past year in general?

Year of evaluation	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Very good	2	2	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	2
Good	15	12	16	20	22	16	12	19	17	15
Average	69	62	66	62	61	60	61	59	67	64
Bad	10	19	14	13	11	19	23	17	12	14
Very bad	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3

N=1600

Table 1.4

How would you evaluate this year?

Year of evaluation	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Very good	2	2	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	2
Good	15	12	16	20	22	16	12	19	17	15
Average	69	62	66	62	61	60	61	59	67	64
Bad	10	19	14	13	11	19	23	17	12	14
Very bad	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3

N=1600

Table 1.5

How has your confidence in the future changed during the last year?

Year of Evaluation	Strengthened	Has not changed	Weakened	Never had it	Difficult to answer
2004	13	44	26	14	2
2005	13	52	21	12	2
2006	16	57	17	9	2
2007	24	56	14	4	2
2008	11	51	32	6	1
2009	13	52	24	9	1
2010	16	58	20	4	1
2011	12	59	22	7	1
2012	10	60	21	7	2

N=1600

Table 1.6

How has your trust in people changed during the last year?

Year of Evaluation	Strengthened	Has not changed	Weakened	Never had it	Difficult to answer
2004	8	59	24	6	3
2005	7	62	21	7	3
2006	8	63	20	6	3
2007	13	67	16	2	2
2008	5	66	23	4	2
2009	7	67	20	4	2
2010	10	64	20	4	2
2011	9	65	19	6	2
2012	7	66	19	6	2

N=1600

Table 1.7

How has your confidence in yourself changed during the last year?

Year of Evaluation	Strengthened	Has not changed	Weakened	Never had it	Difficult to answer
2004	20	60	15	2	3
2005	22	61	12	3	2
2006	20	66	10	2	3
2007	25	63	9	1	2
2008	15	71	11	1	2
2009	16	69	11	2	2
2010	22	65	9	1	3
2011	18	63	13	3	3
2012	15	71	9	3	3

Table 1.8

What events in the last year you consider as the most important ones?*

2010		2011		2012	
Abnormal heat wave and forest fires in July and August, 2010	43	Bulgaria cruise ship disaster	49	Floods in Krymsk and Gelendzhik	30
Celebration of 65 th anniversary of Victory day	32	Lokomotiv hockey team plane crash	43	Russian Presidential election on March 4 th	29
Exposure campaign on Russian TV against Moscow Major Yury Luzhkov and his wife Elena Baturina	25	Earthquake, tsunami and Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster in Japan	39	Increase of housing utilities fees and prices of pharmaceutical drugs	29
Moscow subway suicide bombings	21	Terrorist attack in Moscow's Domodedovo airport	32	XXX Summer Olympics in London	26
Russian population census	21	Russia's State Duma elections	26	Resignation of the Minister of Defence Serdyukov	23
Death of Polish President and government delegation members in the plane crash near Smolensk, Russia	19	Daylight saving time was cancelled	19	Corruption scandals involving Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Agriculture	18
Death of miners in explosion in the Rapsadskaya coal mine in Kemerovo Oblast	18	World population reached 7 billion	16	Sandy hurricane in the USA	14
Mass murders in Kuschevskaya village, Krasnodar Kray	18	Yulia Timoshenko trial	16	Pussy Riot's "Punk prayer" in the Christ the Saviour Cathedral in Moscow	13
Mass ultranationalist riots under "Russia for Russians" slogan on Moscow Manezhnaya Square and in other Russian cities	15	Russia was approved for WTO membership	16	Obama's victory in Presidential elections	13
Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver, Canada	15	Cincture of the Virgin Mary arrived in Russia	16	14th UEFA European football championship in Poland and Ukraine	11
BP oil spill disaster in the Gulf of Mexico	12	Protests against the rigged elections to Russian State Duma	15	Russia's official accession to WTO	11
Direct Line with Vladimir Putin	10	Militia renamed to Police	15	Adoption of the Federal Law "On Protecting Children from Information Harmful to Their Health and Development", and introduction of age restrictions for media	10
Football world cup in South Africa	9	Civil war in Libya and ousting of M. Gaddafi	13	London Paralympics	10
Vladimir Putin's trip through Siberia in yellow Lada Kalina	8	Finance Minister Kudrin's resignation	9	Opposition protests "For Fair Elections" before the Presidential elections	8
Grigory Perelman refused to accept one million dollars in the Millennium prize for resolution of the Poincare conjecture	7	Terror attack in Norway perpetrated by Anders Breivik	8	Celebrations marking 200th anniversary of battle of Borodino	8

* 15 most popular events

N=1600

Table 1.9

Who would you name the “Person of the year” (men)?*

2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
V. Putin	40	V. Putin	37	V. Putin	34	V. Putin	28	V. Putin	28
D. Medvedev	27	D. Medvedev	29	D. Medvedev	24	D. Medvedev	17	S. Shoygu	10
Alexy II	8	Barack Obama	7	S. Shoigu	4	V. Zhirinovskiy	5	D. Medvedev	8
V. Zhirinovskiy	3	S. Shoigu	4	V. Zhirinovskiy	3	M. Prochorov	4	Barack Obama	5
D. Bilan	3	G. Zyuganov	3	S. Sobyenin	3	G. Zyuganov	3	V. Zhirinovskiy	4
A. Solzhenitsyn	3	V. Zhirinovskiy	3	Patriarch Kirill	2	S. Mironov	2	M. Prokhorov	4
B. Obama	3	Patriarch Kirill	2	Y. Luzhkov	2	Barack Obama	2	G. Zyuganov	2
A. Lukashenko	2	Michael Jackson	2	A. Lukashenko	2	L. Roshal	2	Ph. Kirkorov	2
S. Shoigu	2	A. Lukashenko	2	Barack Obama	1	A. Lukashenko	2	A. Malakhov	1
A. Arshavin	1	V. Tihonov	2	F. Kirkorov	1	A. Kudrin	2	I. Oleynikov	1

*) 10 most frequently mentioned positions are cited
N=1600

Table 1.10

Who would you name “Person of the year”? (women)?*

2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
V. Matviyenko	6	A. Pugacheva	8	V. Matviyenko	5	V. Matviyenko	13	G. Vishnevskaya	6
A. Pugacheva	3	V. Matviyenko	6	T. Golikova	4	A. Pugacheva	7	A. Pugacheva	5
K. Sobchak	2	T. Golikova	4	A. Pugacheva	3	Y. Timoshenko	6	V. Matvienko	4
S. Rotaru	2	Respondent's own wife/ mother/ daughter	3	Respondent's own wife/ mother/ daughter	3	K. Sobchak	3	K. Sobchak	4
E. Isinbaeva	2	E. Isinbaeva	2	K. Sobchak	2	E. Malysheva	2	Angela Merkel	2
A. Zavorotnyk	2	K. Orbakaite	2	A. Merkel	1	A. Merkel	2	Y. Timoshenko	2
Y. Timoshenko	2	K. Sobchak	2	E. Nabiullina	1	Ch. Chamatova	1	Elizabeth II	2
I. Khakamada	1	Y. Timoshenko	2	S. Rotaru	1	I. Khakamada	1	T. Golikova	1
N. Mordykova	1	A. Merkel	1	A. Kabaeva	1	S. Rotaru	1	I. Khakamada	1
T. Kandelaki	1	L. Zykina	1	L. Gurchenko	1	R. Markova	1	Y. Malysheva	1

*) 10 most frequently mentioned positions are cited
N=1600

Table 1.11

**What do you expect from the coming year
to be compared to the last one?**

Year of evaluation	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Certainly better	6	5	5	5	4	2	6	6	7	5	7	8	6	8	11	6	9	9	6	6
Better, I hope	42	36	33	28	31	27	46	51	42	45	47	38	46	41	45	43	48	49	50	50
I don't think t'll be worse	10	15	19	12	20	14	17	18	22	24	21	13	18	17	17	20	19	20	21	21
The same	23	20	25	30	25	27	18	17	20	19	19	26	19	25	18	15	13	12	17	16
Probably worse	11	15	12	19	9	23	6	4	5	4	3	12	7	5	6	11	4	4	3	2
Difficult to answer	8	9	6	6	11	7	7	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	3	6	7	6	4	5

N=1600

Table 1.12

Do you expect the next year to be peaceful?

	Definitely yes	Most likely, yes	Most likely, no	Definitely no	Difficult to answer
For your family and you personally					
2011	13	51	15	4	18
2012	7	48	29	2	14
2013	11	54	15	2	19
For Russian economy					
2011	6	40	25	5	25
2012	2	24	48	7	18
2013	7	39	29	3	22
For Russian politics					
2011	7	36	27	5	25
2012	2	20	47	14	17
2013	7	38	27	5	24

N=1600

Table 1.13

Is it possible that Russia will face next year...

	Definitely yes	Most likely, yes	Most likely, no	Definitely no	Difficult to answer
... anthropogenic disaster ?					
2006	7	34	28	8	24
2010	7	36	32	5	20
2011	5	46	26	6	18
2012	8	43	26	6	16
... mass epidemics?					
2006	4	26	37	10	23
2010	6	28	39	8	20
2011	3	34	36	9	19
2012	4	27	37	12	20
... high profile corruption scandals and resignation of ministers?					
2006	14	46	16	5	19
2010	13	47	18	4	19
2011	10	50	21	4	14
2012	16	55	15	4	11
... coup?					
2006	1	9	44	36	9
2010	3	14	40	25	18
2011	3	16	45	20	16
2012	3	16	43	24	15
... turmoil and mass protests?					
2010	6	40	28	8	18
2011	6	50	25	5	13
2012	5	45	31	8	12
... armed conflict with one of the neighbouring countries?					
2005	2	18	44	22	14
2010	4	19	38	18	21
2011	1	22	42	17	19
2012	3	21	40	18	18
... escalation of the situation in Chechnya and North Caucasus?					
2010	6	32	28	8	26
2011	3	30	34	8	25
2012	5	35	30	9	22

N=1600

Table 1.14

Can Russia potentially face the economic recession similar to the one in 2008?

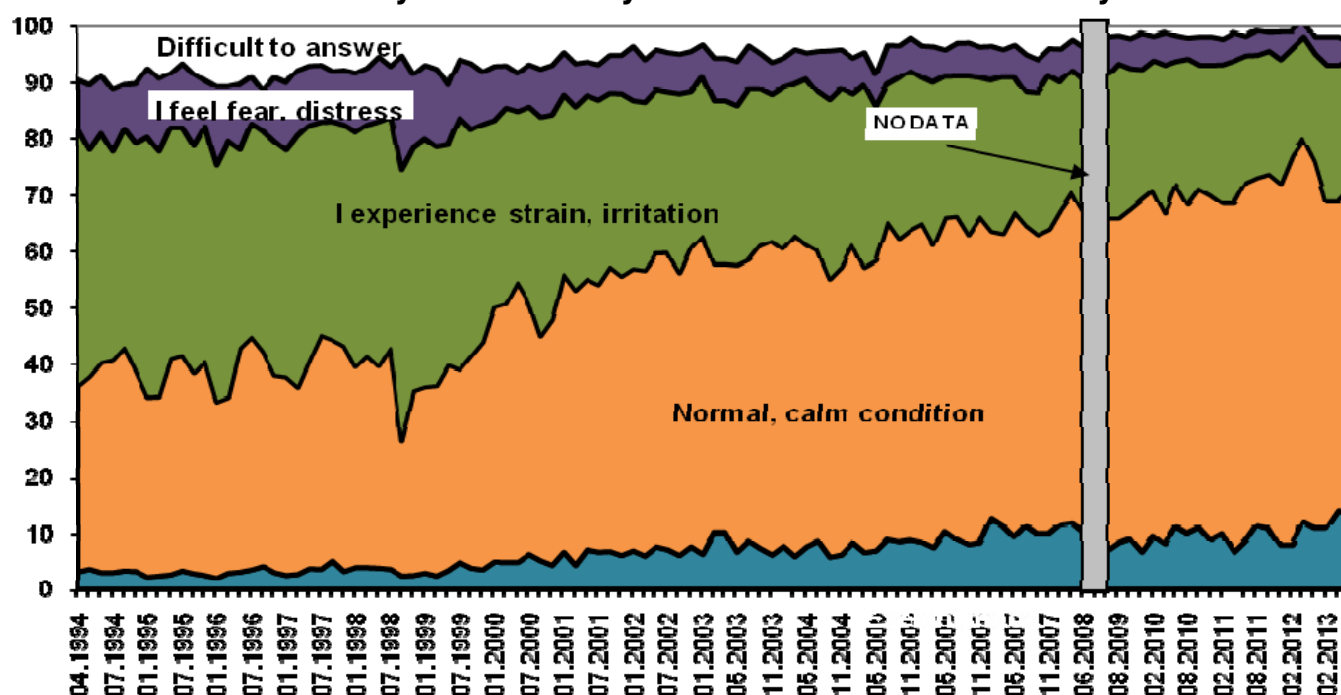
	2010	2011	2012
Definitely yes	7	2	6
Most likely, yes	28	37	33
Most likely, no	40	34	37
Definitely no	7	7	8
Difficult to answer	19	19	16

N=1600

2. PUBLIC SENTIMENTS, EXPECTATIONS

Diagram 2.1

How would you describe your sentiments in recent days?

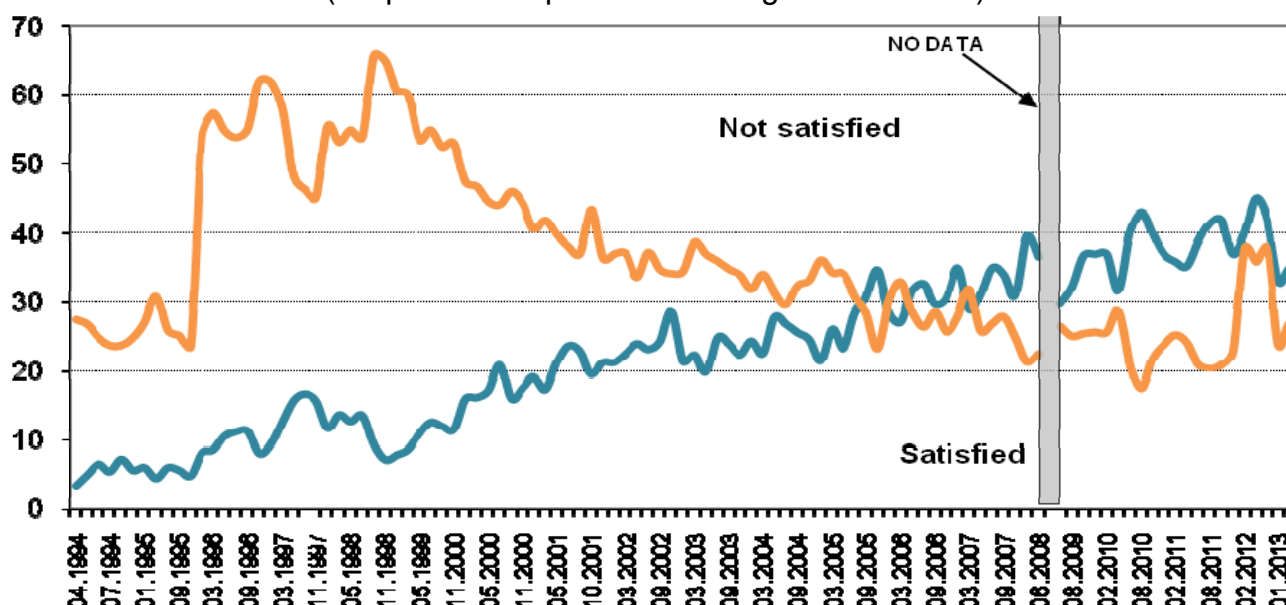


Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 2.2

Are you satisfied with your life?

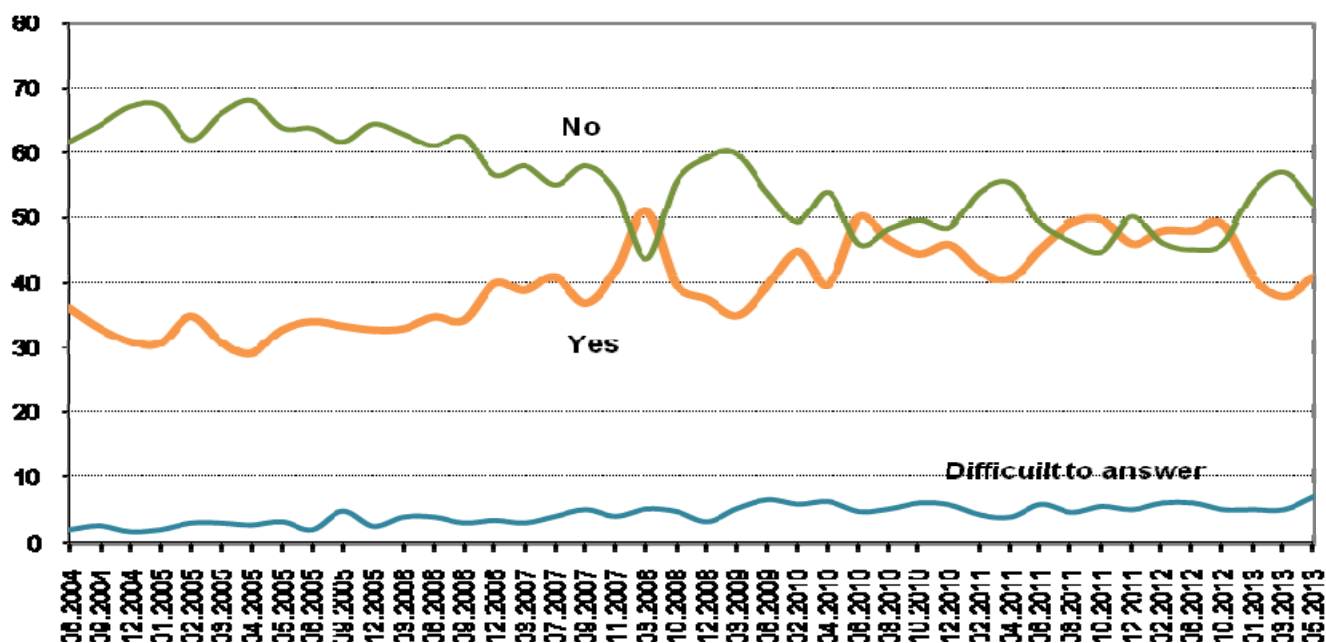
(Proportions of positive and negative answers)



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 2.3

Do you feel confident about your future?



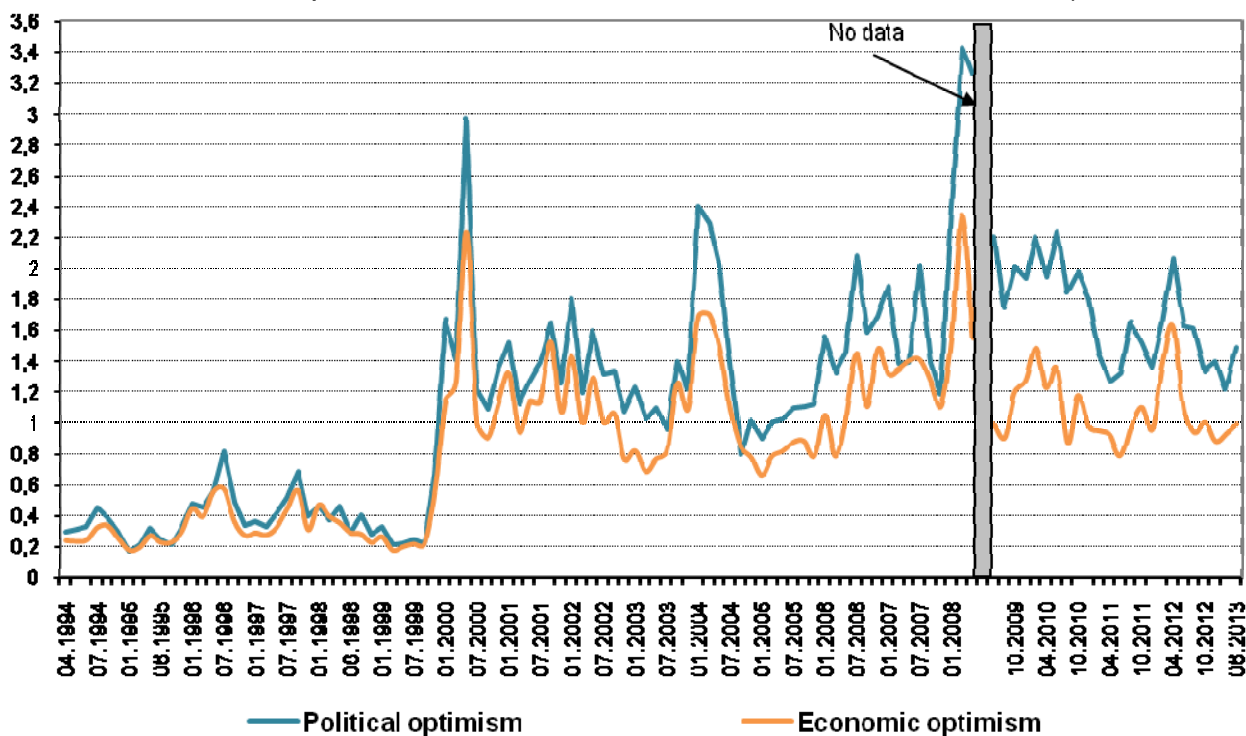
N=1600

Diagram 2.4

Indices of optimism

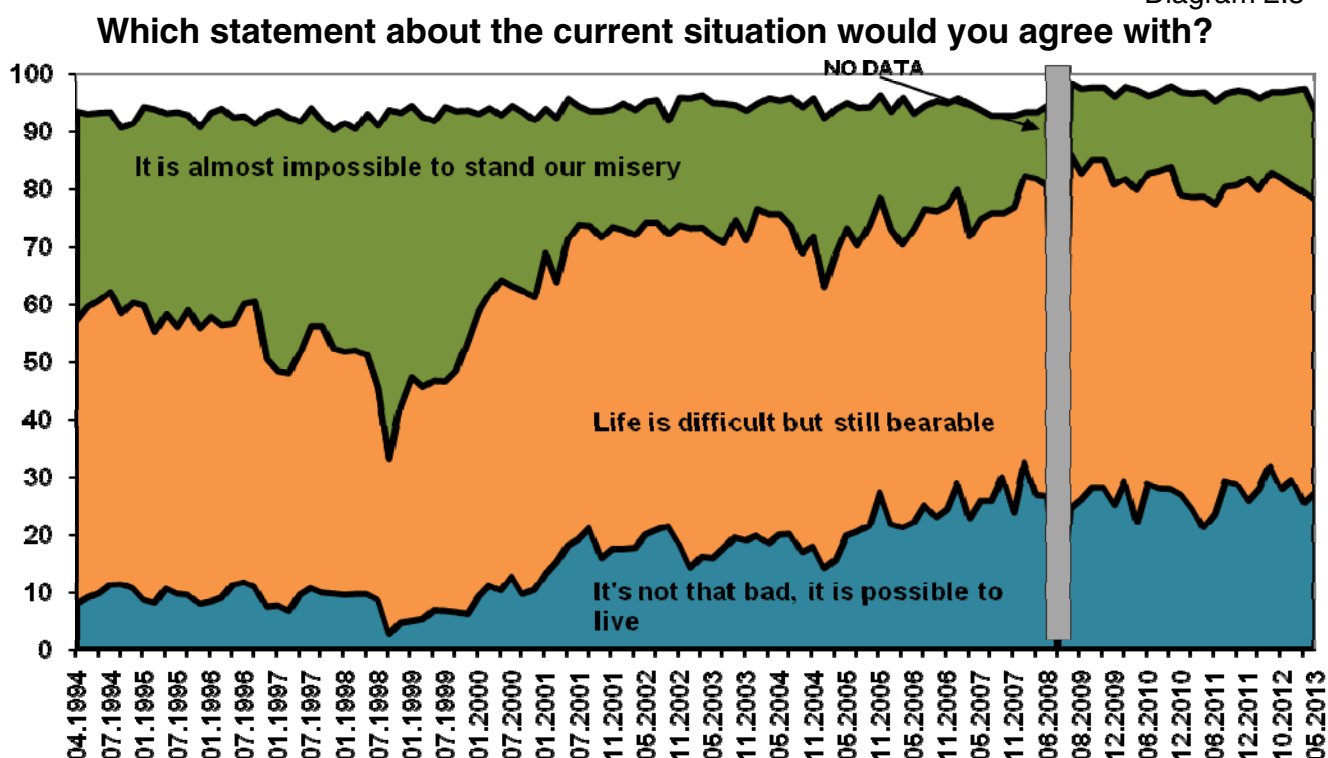
(A ratio of those who made positive evaluations («average», «good» and «very good») to those who made negative ones («bad», «very bad»).

The option «Difficult to answer» was not taken into account



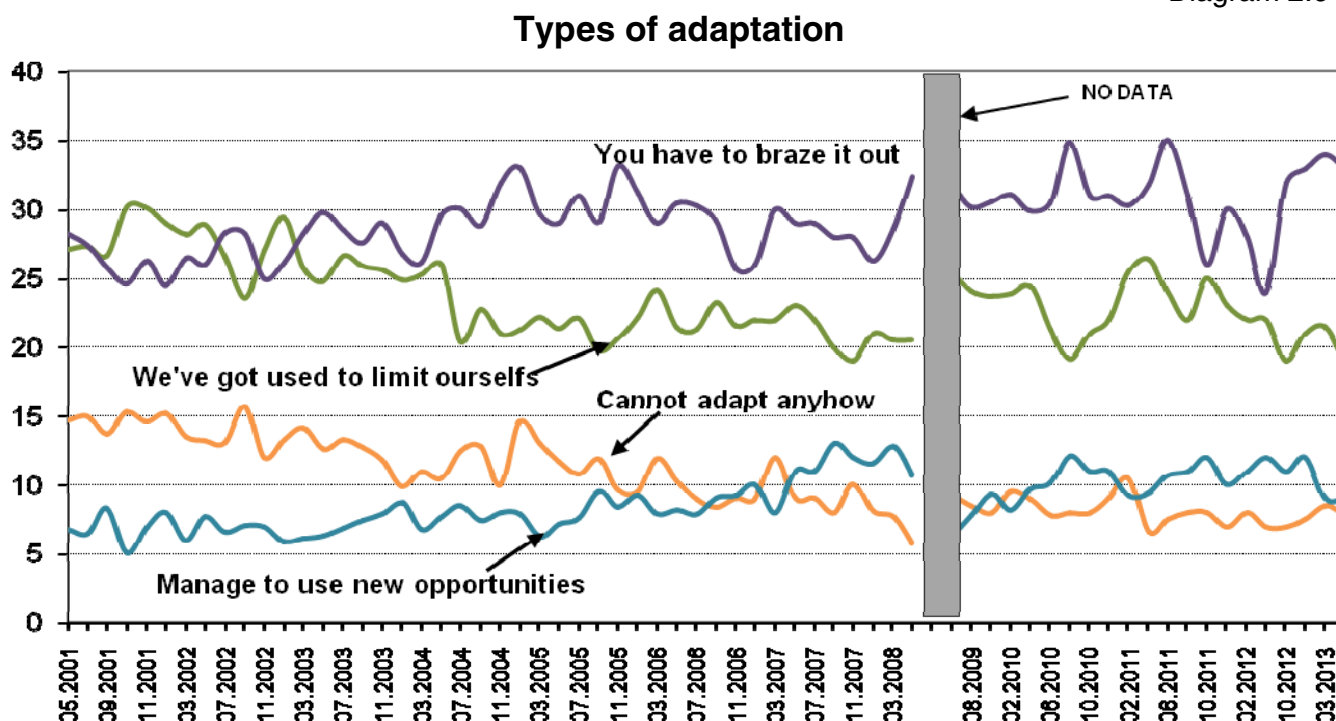
Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 2.5



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 2.6



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Table 2.1

**What feelings emerged or became stronger in people
around you over the past years?**

	1999	2003	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Hope	10	30	34	41	29	34	30	30
Tiredness, indifference	52	40	33	27	42	33	36	37
Loneliness	5	8	13	7	11	11	11	7
Fear	29	15	16	9	19	11	8	12
Self-respect	3	11	18	18	8	14	10	10
Resentment	26	18	16	11	16	14	13	13
Confusion	24	18	13	12	22	16	10	19
Envy	8	8	13	13	12	10	9	12
Desperation	37	14	15	8	17	11	12	12
Confidence in the future	3	11	15	15	7	12	8	9
Feeling of freedom	4	14	9	13	7	12	7	6
Bitterness, aggression	37	18	18	15	19	17	15	18
Responsibility for the situation in the country	2	4	7	4	4	7	4	4
Pride in their nation	2	4	6	8	6	7	4	4
Difficult to answer	3	11	6	13	10	8	18	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

N=1600

Table 2.2

What are you afraid of the most?
(The answers are ranked based on the last poll)

	1993 I	2004 I	2007 XI	2012 II
Loss of loved ones	50	48	57	54
Wars and massacres	56	42	46	38
Poverty	28	34	31	32
Old age, illness, being helpless	20	27	27	25
Abuse of power	22	22	21	20
Famine	37	25	23	17
Physical violence	19	14	17	12
Own death	8	7	8	8
Wrath of God, The Last Judgment	9	9	9	6
Public humiliation, insults	6	8	8	6
I am not afraid of anything	4	8	5	6

N=1600

Table 2.3

Considering the current circumstances, how many years ahead can you be certain about your future?

	1990	1991	2001	2006	2010	2012
Many years ahead	1	2	2	3	4	4
To the nearest five-six years	3	3	6	11	14	15
The next one-two years	17	14	34	34	31	32
I do not know what will happen to me even in the next few months	61	63	53	48	47	45
Difficult to answer	18	18	5	5	5	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2500</i>	<i>2800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

3. STATE AND SOCIETY

3.1. RUSSIAN IDENTITY

Table 3.1.1

How proud are you to be a Russian citizen?

	2000	2003	2007	2007	2008	2008	2009	2010	2012
	IV	VII	IV	XII	III	VI	VI	VII	IX
Very proud	32	34	32	34	35	47	26	32	33
Rather proud	48	37	38	42	43	37	48	46	44
Not too proud	15	22	21	17	15	12	16	19	20
Not at all proud	5	6	5	4	3	4	5	3	3
Difficult to answer	_*	_*	3	4	4	_*	5	_*	_*

- *option was not given

N=1600

Table 3.1.2

How strong is your connection to ...?

	Very strong	Fairly strong	Not too strong	Do not feel any connection	Difficult to answer
Your city, village or town	24	38	27	9	2
Your oblast, krai or republic	20	36	30	11	3
Russia	24	38	23	12	4
Europe	2	9	30	52	7
Asia	1	5	24	62	8

2012, October; N=1600

Table 3.1.3

How important it is to ... to be a true Russian?

	Very important	Important to a certain extent	No too important	No important at all	Difficult to answer
Be born in Russia	51	34	10	2	2
Have Russian citizenship	53	35	9	2	2
Live in Russia for most of your life	50	35	12	2	2
Speak Russian	58	29	9	2	1
Be Orthodox Christian	38	31	18	9	4
Respect Russian political system and laws	44	37	12	3	4
Feel yourself a Russian	57	32	8	1	2
Have Russian origins	47	34	14	4	2

2012, October; N=1600

Table 3.1.4

How proud you are of ...

	Very proud	Proud to a certain extent	Not much proud	Not proud at all	Difficult to answer
Current state of democracy in Russia	5	26	41	20	9
Russia' political influence in the world	9	37	31	15	8
Russia's economic achievements	7	26	39	23	5
Population's social security	6	17	35	39	4
Fairness and equal rights for all social groups in Russia	6	18	31	38	7
Russia's scientific and technical achievements	19	47	20	8	7
Russia's sports achievements	29	45	17	6	3
Russia's achievements in literature and art	28	45	13	7	7
Russian armed forces	22	37	23	11	7
Russian history	39	41	12	5	4

2012, August; N=1600

Table 3.1.5

To which extent do you agree or disagree with the statement that strong patriotism in Russia...?

	Completely agree	Rather agree	Neither agree or disagree	Rather disagree	Completely disagree	Difficult to answer
Leads to a rise of intolerance in Russia	8	26	29	17	5	14
Required to maintain Russia's territorial integrity	25	39	20	5	1	11
Leads to a negative attitude towards immigrants in Russia	8	25	31	16	4	16
Reinforces Russia's position globally	27	38	18	7	2	8

2012, August; N=1600

Table 3.1.6

What is your first association when you hear of Russia's unique course?

	2008	2011	2012	2013
Discrepancy between the values and traditions of Russia and the West	22	16	18	19
Economic development of the country, caring more about regular people than benefits and interests of the "life masters"	34	39	41	30
Accounting for the spiritual and moral aspects in relations between State and its citizens in the policy	18	19	20	15
Citizens are ready to sacrifice themselves for the glory of the Russia	7	8	7	5
Interests of the Authority dominate over those of the people	7	9	6	7
Need to always account for the hostile environment and a threat of aggression against the country	9	5	11	8
I can see no unique course here, nothing comes to my mind	16	15	17	17
I have never heard of that	11	11	8	11
I think Russia's development should not differ from the other countries	9	6	8	7
Difficult to answer	9	7	6	8

N=1600

Table 3.1.7

What type of state would you like Russia to be in future?

	1999	2008	2011	2012	2013
Socialist state like the USSR	15	17	23	22	24
A state like Western states with a democratic government system and market economy	35	32	30	31	33
A state with a special system and a unique course of development	45	39	36	41	33
Difficult to answer	6	11	12	7	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.1.8

Which type of state you would like to see Russia?

	1998 III	2006 II	2010 II	2012 I	2013 III
United centralized state with local authorities appointed by the federal government	25	41	46	37	36
State where the local authorities enjoy extensive powers and the federal government coordinating the local authority interests	52	40	36	44	44
Difficult to answer	23	20	19	20	21

1998 N=1500, later N=1600

Table 3.1.9

Which of the statements best fits your idea of what is right and what is supposed to be?

	2002	2012
To ensure a successful development, Russia should become an open country, join the world community; otherwise we are doomed to fall behind other countries	59	58
To ensure a successful development, Russia should not open to the world – otherwise openness will destroy our unique culture, whereas we should not be afraid of lagging behind others, as we have enough resources to be successful	42	42

August, N=1600

Table 3.1.10

Which of the statements best fits your idea of what is right and what is supposed to be?

	2002	2012
For me, the country's greatness is in how well the citizens live, their quality of life, equal rights and opportunities regardless of ethnic background, this defines the country's leadership in the world	75	71
For me, the country's greatness is in its leading position in the world, the size of the country's territory and the leading positions of my people in the country	25	29

August, N=1600

Table 3.1.11

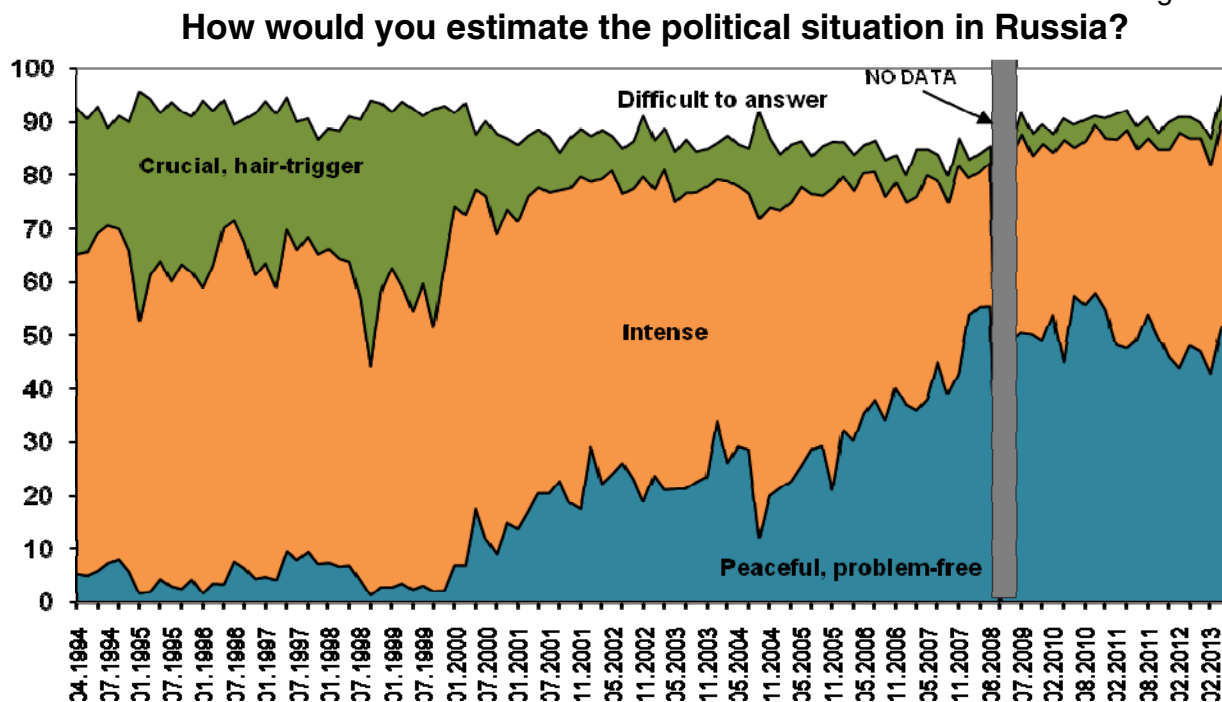
What kind of Russia do you need?

	2002	2012
A powerful military country, where the interests of the state and country's prestige and the position in the world is of paramount importance	30	22
A comfortable and liveable country, where human wellbeing, interests and opportunities is the prime concern	70	78

August, N=1600

3.2. RUSSIAN PROSPECTS

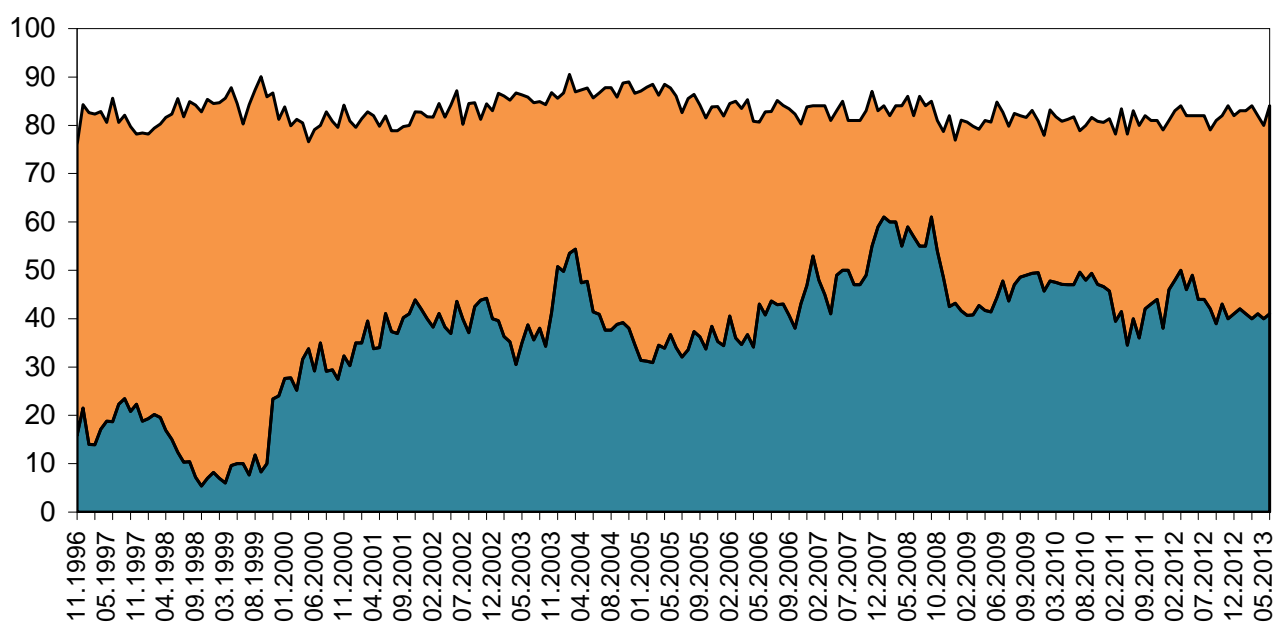
Diagram 3.2.1



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 3.2.2

Is Russia moving in the right direction or this course is a dead-end?



N=1600

Table 3.2.1

What do think of the current changes in the country?

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	X	V	II	IX	VI	IX	VI	VI	V	III	III	III	VIII	VIII	VIII	XII	VIII	VIII	IX	I
Need faster and more decisive and overwhelming changes	60	50	44	35	37	30	36	34	38	37	35	42	38	40	31	37	40	39	32	39
Need to proceed more carefully and cautiously	23	33	34	41	37	49	48	47	43	52	54	43	49	47	52	49	43	47	56	52
Difficult to answer	17	17	22	23	26	22	16	18	19	11	11	15	12	13	16	13	17	14	12	9

N=1600

Table 3.2.2

**To which extent do you agree with the statement:
“I feel shame for what is happening in Russia now”?**

Completely agree	16
Rather agree	36
Neither agree or disagree	26
Rather disagree	14
Completely disagree	5
Difficult to answer	4

2012, October; N=1600

Table 3.2.3

**Do you have any idea about the course our country
is moving and what goals its current leaders have set?**

	2004	2005	2006	2009	2009	2010	2011	2011	2012	2013
	III	VIII	VIII	VIII	XII	XII	IV	XII	IV	IV
Fairly clear idea	18	14	22	20	14	15	15	23	12	13
Quite a vague idea	43	41	36	43	45	38	43	38	47	44
No idea	23	22	23	21	27	30	23	20	27	27
It is clear that they just let things slide	14	18	13	8	8	12	12	10	8	12
Difficult to answer	4	5	5	8	6	6	7	9	6	4

N=1600

Table 3.2.4

Do you think, can you call modern Russia a “police state”?

Definitely yes	6
Rather yes	21
Rather no	42
Definitely not	14
Difficult to answer	18

2012, August; N=1600

Table 3.2.5

What are the major threats for Russia now?

(the answers are ranged on the last poll)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	II	I	I	I	I	III
Growing prices, mass impoverishment	51	55	47	62	58	55
Growing unemployment	30	56	43	42	40	30
Rise in crime	32	23	29	29	26	27
Economic recession	22	59	39	32	38	26
No confidence in the future	-*	22	14	18	20	22
Arbitrary rule	20	8	17	17	19	18
Weakness, incompetence of country authorities	14	7	15	13	20	16
Growing dependence on the West, Russia is turning into an third-world country	15	7	11	11	16	15
Russia's breakup into separate regions	18	5	9	11	10	14
Colonization of Russia, plunder of national wealth by foreigners	17	6	10	13	12	14
New Caucasus war / escalation in the North Caucasus	9	5	6	8	5	7
Russia's embroilment in military conflicts abroad	14	8	7	6	9	6
Property redistribution, expropriation of private property	4	2	5	5	4	6
Establishment of dictatorship	3	1	4	3	5	5
Mass repressions, witch-hunt	2	1	1	2	2	4
Queues, deficit, food rations	-*	-*	2	4	2	4
Civil war	0	3	2	3	8	4
Danger to private property, infringement of the private sector interests	3	2	4	3	4	4
Escalating tensions between Russia and the West	12	5	3	3	5	4
Conflicts with CIS countries / neighboring countries	8	13	5	5	6	4
Limitation of freedoms (freedom of speech, borders being “closed”)	2	<1	3	3	2	3
Difficult to answer	10	5	8	4	5	9

* - the variant was not asked

N=1600

Table 3.2.6

What is the main obstacle to democratic and market reforms in Russia?

	2000	2004	2007	2010	2011	2012
Wrong course of reforms	25	16	18	14	15	17
Lack of a mature reform program	45	30	39	28	28	30
Slow pace of reforms, inconsistency of reforms	12	13	13	13	11	10
The reform pace is too fast, rapidly changing life of the population	17	12	15	13	13	9
Market relations inconsistent with Russian lifestyle	22	21	22	17	21	17
Lack of skilled and competent professionals in the government	24	24	23	25	20	16
Corrupt ruling elite	47	42	42	49	47	38
Reluctance and sabotage on part of the bureaucrats	10	12	16	16	13	9
The population does not know how to live in a market economy and democracy, lack of initiative and ability to work hard	18	17	14	18	16	11
Difficult to answer	9	12	11	12	11	19

March, N=1600

Table 3.2.7

What should the President and government do now?

	2001 I	2006 III	2007 III	2009 X	2012 III	2013 III
“Clamp down” and take a tough stance against any “liberties” in politics and economy	53	39	48	37	35	43
Give people freedom to take care of their business and only make sure they follow the law	33	47	36	48	48	43
Difficult to answer	14	14	17	15	17	14

N=1600

3.3. RUSSIA AND DEMOCRACY

Table 3.3.1

Where does the Russian political life going now?

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Development of democracy	9	8	13	11	14	14	9	10	32	33	36	54	36	39	36	36	29
Re-establishment of the former Soviet order	17	18	12	13	15	12	12	8	7	6	9	8	9	10	7	10	10
Development of authoritarian regime and dictatorship	5	5	5	9	5	4	6	6	12	14	13	16	14	13	18	19	16
Escalating chaos and anarchy	51	53	54	51	51	54	58	62	30	22	14	9	21	16	18	19	21
Difficult to answer	17	16	16	13	14	17	15	14	18	24	28	13	20	22	21	18	24
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.2

Does Russia need democracy?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2009	2010	2011	2011	2012
	VI	XII	XII	VI	VI	XII	VI	VII	X	VII
Yes, Russia needs democracy	66	56	67	62	57	57	60	55	61	63
No, the democratic form of government is unsuitable for Russia	21	27	16	20	26	23	24	32	25	24
Difficult to answer	13	17	17	18	17	20	16	13	14	13

N=1600

Table 3.3.3

What kind of democracy does Russia need?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009		2010	2011		2012
	VI	XII	XII	VI	VI	XII	VII	X	VI	VII
Like in developed countries of Europe and America	24	18	22	20	20	23	23	19	23	27
Like in the former Soviet Union	16	13	10	13	18	14	16	14	17	20
A special kind, which suits national traditions and the specific Russian character	45	48	47	45	39	43	45	49	44	38
Russia does not need democracy	6	10	7	8	10	7	7	7	7	3
Difficult to answer	9	11	14	15	14	13	10	11	10	12

N=1600

Table 3.3.4

What is “democracy” in your opinion?

(the answers are ranked on the last poll)

	2000	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012
Freedom of speech, press and conscience	37	39	44	44	40	44	46	38	27	47
Economic prosperity of the country	33	26	31	32	35	26	47	39	35	24
Appointment of all top government officials by election	15	14	18	13	12	17	15	13	6	18
Opportunity for everyone to do whatever they want	10	10	6	10	7	10	7	7	8	10
Submission of the minority to the majority	6	4	3	4	2	3	3	3	4	6
Guarantee of minorities' rights	5	7	6	6	5	6	5	7	21	6
Strict rule of law	29	23	24	24	26	21	26	29	8	20
Order and stability	28	24	29	30	35	30	41	37	13	24
Anarchy and general lawlessness	6	4	6	5	5	4	2	3	9	2
Idle talk	10	10	11	9	10	11	1	5	29	10
Difficult to answer	8	6	7	6	6	5	2	5	6	5

N=1600

Table 3.3.5

Is there democracy in modern Russia?

	2006	2010	2012	2013
Definitely yes	4	4	8	6
To a certain extent, yes	33	32	40	31
It has not established yet	33	36	31	32
It has been dwindling recently	20	20	14	22
Difficult to answer	11	8	8	8

February, N=1600

Table 3.3.6

What is more important?

	2007 III	2010 IV	2011 V	2012 III	2013 III
Observance of the civil rights of the political, ethnic, religious, sexual and other minorities	52	53	55	56	59
Submission of the minority to the majority	27	27	32	28	26
Difficult to answer	21	20	13	16	15

N=1600

3.4. SOCIETY

Table 3.4.1

Which of the two principles of social order is right and just?

	2002 VIII	2012 VIII
Above all is the individual freedom and interests of individuals, whereas the state should guarantee these freedoms and interests are followed	72	70
Above all are the national interests, and every individual should facilitate such state interests	28	30

N=1600

Table 3.4.2

Do people in Russia have enough freedom, too little freedom or too much freedom at present?

	1990	1997	2007	2010	2011	2012
Too little freedom	38	20	12	17	18	18
Enough freedom	30	32	57	61	51	59
Too much freedom	17	34	24	13	23	16
Difficult to answer	16	14	6	10	8	7

N=1600

Table 3.4.3

Do you personally need the freedom of ...?

	Speech	Assembly and demonstrations	International travel
Definitely need it	37	23	39
Rather need it	46	39	37
Do not need it much	11	24	13
Do not need at all	3	9	7
Difficult to answer	4	6	4

2012, August; N=1600

Table 3.4.4

Would you say one can trust people in general – or one should always be cautious dealing with other people?

	2005 V	2009 X	2010 IV	2010 X	2011 IV	2011 X	2012 VI	2012 X	2013 II
One can always trust other people	1	3	3	4	3	3	3	5	4
Usually one can trust other people	20	24	24	27	25	25	26	28	30
Usually one should be cautious dealing with other people	59	49	51	54	53	53	51	46	50
One should always be cautious dealing with other people	17	17	21	15	18	17	20	17	15
Difficult to answer	2	7	1	2	1	2	2	5	1

2005 N=1800, 2009-2010 N=1600

Table 3.4.5

Did you feel higher social stress recently?

	2006 XII	2010 XII	2011 XII	2012 XI
Definitely yes	20	15	14	14
Most likely, yes	34	35	40	44
Most likely, no	30	35	35	31
Definitely no	8	7	6	3
Difficult to answer	8	8	6	7

N=1600

3.5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Table 3.5.1

Overall, how much are you interested in politics?

	1990	1991	1992	1997	2006	2010	2011	2012
Very interested	6	1	5	2	5	1	2	2
Interested to large extent	15	15	10	9	10	8	6	8
Interested to some extent	44	40	33	36	37	39	34	36
Not too interested	23	23	32	32	27	32	34	31
Not at all interested	12	13	20	17	20	19	24	21
Difficult to answer	-	8	<1	4	1	1	<1	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

N=1600

Table 3.5.2

Are you willing to be more politically active?

	2006	2012	2013
Definitely yes	5	3	3
To a certain extent	14	14	13
Rather not	30	38	35
Definitely not	47	39	45
Difficult to answer	4	6	5

February, N=1600

Table 3.5.3

Why do you not want to be more politically active?
(of those who do not want to, the answers are ranked based on the last poll)

	2006	2012	2013
Politics are not for common public, it is the authorities' business	32	22	32
I am busy with my routine and I have no time for politics	29	30	27
You cannot change anything, and, anyway, "might is right"	25	25	24
I do not understand anything in politics, I don't know how the authorities work	22	18	21
Politics is a dirty business and I do not want to have anything to do with it	15	11	15
I do not want to stand out: majority of people are not interested in politics	4	5	6
I am afraid of the government's persecution, it is best to stay away from the politics	3	4	5
Difficult to answer	3	2	2

February, N=1600

Table 3.5.4

**To which extent you are satisfied with your options
to participate in politics?**

	2010 IV	2011 IV	2011 X	2012 VI	2012 X
Completely satisfied	12	8	9	13	13
Rather satisfied	21	25	31	27	33
Rather unsatisfied	25	25	23	20	22
Absolutely unsatisfied	14	14	10	11	10
Difficult to answer	28	28	28	29	21

N=1600

Table 3.5.5

**Would you like to participate in political life at least
on the level of your city?**

	2008 VI	2010 VI	2011 IV	2011 X	2012 VI	2012 X
Definitely yes	7	5	4	5	3	3
Yes, rather than no	21	21	21	18	17	23
No, rather than yes	30	28	37	33	33	35
Definitely no	33	34	30	33	37	31
Difficult to answer	9	13	8	11	10	8

N=1600

Table 3.5.6

**To which you extend you agree or disagree
with the statement: “Politicians just need to be elected
and do not care about doing anything for the voters”?**

	2010 IV	2011 IV	2011 X	2012 VI	2012 X
Agree absolutely	50	49	50	39	40
Rather agree	35	34	32	34	38
Rather disagree	7	10	8	12	13
Absolutely disagree	1	1	1	3	1
Difficult to answer	8	7	8	12	8

N=1600

Table 3.5.7

**To which extend you agree or disagree with the following statement:
“I know nothing about politics”?**

	2010 IV	2011 IV	2011 X	2012 VI	2012 X
Agree absolutely	15	15	22	17	15
Rather agree	32	36	28	31	32
Rather disagree	36	35	34	33	36
Absolutely disagree	10	9	8	11	10
Difficult to answer	7	5	8	8	7

N=1600

Table 3.5.8

**To which extend you agree or disagree with the following statement:
“Politics gives me the blues”?**

	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2012 X
Agree absolutely	17	17	19	17
Rather agree	30	35	27	31
Rather disagree	33	28	33	33
Absolutely disagree	12	12	9	10
Difficult to answer	9	8	11	10

N=1600

Table 3.5.10

What would be better?

	2006 II	2010 II	2012 I	2013 III
Centralized power in the country	50	45	38	39
The power is shared between various structures, keeping each other in check	36	42	46	46
Difficult to answer	14	13	17	15

N=1600

3.6. CITIZENS AND THE POWER

Table 3.6.1

Which of the definitions below is closest to your idea of a strong state authority?

	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI
The authority that guarantees and ensures that all institutions, entities and citizens comply with the law, but does not interfere with the private lives of the citizens	54	57	51
The authority controlling all aspects of public life: economy, education, religion, culture, morals, etc.	35	34	34
Difficult to answer	11	9	14

N=1600

Table 3.6.2

How strong or weak you believe is the current state authority in Russia?

	2001 X	2010 IV	2011 X	2012 VI
Very strong	5	4	4	5
Fairly strong	40	40	35	36
Fairly weak	37	35	36	36
Very weak	10	9	15	8
Difficult to answer	9	13	1	16

N=1600

Table 3.6.3

What should be the foundation for authority in the country where you would like to live and which are the current primary foundations?
(ranked by the first column)

	Should be	Now
Adherence to Constitution	55	18
Support of the voters who expect improvements from the authorities	32	24
Accountability to society and strict adherence to law	30	7
People who came to government for their professional or personal qualities (talents abilities, initiative)	28	11
The system of the government created for and functioning in public interests	26	8
Support of the voting taxpayers which hire authorities for a certain term to serve the common interests	24	21
Free people which are confident in their interests and able to defend them	23	7
Independence and clear separation of all branches of power and cross checks between the branches	21	5
Public opinion support	19	7
People who came to government for personal loyalty	11	21
Free property owners	7	5
Control over the property owners	7	8
All government authorities reporting to the head of state	4	16
All power of the government machine serving only the interests of the authorities	4	24
Unaccountability to the society and disregard of law	4	24
Public's fear of the government and its powerlessness to defend the public interests	3	19
Cover-up and corruption among the country's bureaucracy	2	37
Manipulation with public opinion	2	19

2012, August; N=1600

Table 3.6.4

What is most important for the people currently in power in Russia: national prosperity or consolidation of personal power?

	2006 II	2010 II	2012 I	2012 VIII	2013 IV
National prosperity	16	27	28	30	26
Maintain and consolidate personal power	72	60	59	58	62
Difficult to answer	12	14	14	12	12

N=1600

Table 3.6.5

Would you agree with the statement that current Russia developed a system of mutual cover-up and responsibility avoidance by the people in power?

Definitely agree	33
Rather agree	46
Rather disagree	9
Definitely disagree	2
Difficult to answer	10

2012, N=1600

Table 3.6.6

Who is the primary decision maker in Russia now and who should be the chief decision maker for most critical national issues?

	Current	Should be
Presidential Administration of Russian President	55	32
Russian State Duma	13	20
Russian Government	17	30
Difficult to answer	16	18

2012, July; N=1600

Table 3.6.7

Which kind of handover of power you would rather support in Russia?

	2007 V	2012 IX
The individuals in power should be regularly replaced in popular democratic elections	57	62
The individuals in power should later name the successor and handover the power to him	15	14
The same people should remain in power as long as possible	18	12
Difficult to answer	10	13

N=1600

Table 3.6.8

Which of the following ideas about the system of government in Russia you would rather agree with?

Need a sweeping change of political power in the country – half-hearted measures will not succeed	20
Need gradual reforms, whereas the authorities, even when they enforce such reforms, are always too slow and inconsistent	37
Need gradual reforms, and authorities enforce them at a right pace in the right direction	19
No need to reform anything - the current stability is good for the country	10
Difficult to answer	15

2012, October; N=1600

Table 3.6.9

Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that Russia doesn't have an efficient system to select, assess and people to government position?

Completely agree	32
Rather agree	43
Rather disagree	14
Completely disagree	3
Difficult to answer	9

2012, November; N=1600

Table 3.6.10

Which of the opinions describe your views the best?

	2002 IX	2012 XI
Specific individuals in power are the problem, you just need to replace them and life will improve	30	27
The problem is the system of government in Russia, so the system should be changed	61	62
Difficult to answer	9	11

N=1600

Table 3.6.11

Do you think Russia has more government bureaucrats at various levels, the same or less than it in the Soviet Union?

	2011	2012
More	73	69
Same	18	19
Less	3	3
Difficult to answer	6	8

July, N=1600

Table 3.6.12

Do Russia's government officials and bureaucrats have more benefits now than in the Soviet Union?

	2011	2012
More	71	68
Same	17	20
Less	6	4
Difficult to answer	6	9

July, N=1600

Table 3.6.13

Is there more oversight over the government officials and bureaucrats now, the same or less than in the Soviet Union?

	2011	2012
More	14	9
Same	14	17
Less	63	63
Difficult to answer	9	11

July, N=1600

Table 3.6.14

Which of the below should be, in your opinion, the founding principle of the society you would like to live in?

	2001 XI	2006 XII	2007 XII	2010 XII	2011 XII	2012 XII
The authorities should care about people	64	68	66	65	63	64
The public should be able to get from the authorities what they need	33	28	30	29	32	32
Difficult to answer	3	4	6	6	5	4

N=1600

Table 3.6.15

Which of the statements below you believe describes the current Russia the best?

	2006 II	2010 II	2012 I
The general public controls the authority	2	1	2
Authority controls the general public	21	24	31
General public and authority control each other	7	11	9
Neither authority nor general public control each other	30	31	27
General public and authority deceive each other	31	24	20
Difficult to answer	10	9	11

N=1600

Table 3.6.16

Why the majority of Russian public do not control or have any considerable influence on the authority?

	2006 II	2010 II	2012 I
The public do not care much about what the authority is doing	18	11	11
The people hope that the authority already takes care of their needs	17	16	17
The officials only care about what their superiors would say and ignore the needs and opinions of the common people	48	47	48
Authority does not inform the public about what it is doing	29	21	26
Elections, referendums and free debates are getting less important in the social life	27	18	16
Difficult to answer	7	10	10

N=1600

Table 3.6.17

To which extend the authority's decisions affect the lives of other people, like you?

	2006	2010	2012
To a large extent	50	40	31
Inconsiderably	28	33	42
Do not affect at all	19	22	21
Difficult to answer	4	5	5

February, N=1600

Table 3.6.18

How would you describe your relations with the authority?

	2006	2010	2012	2013
When you come in contact with the authority, you get what you want from it	6	3	6	8
Your life is totally dependent from the authority	24	27	21	22
You maintain independence and avoid any contacts with the authority	62	62	65	64
Difficult to answer	8	8	8	6

February, N=1600

Table 3.6.19

Can people like you influence government decisions in the country now?

	2006 II	2007 X	2010 II	2012 II	2013 III
Definitely yes	2	3	2	1	3
Somewhat	13	21	12	14	10
No, rather than yes	39	31	34	39	35
Definitely no	45	41	51	42	49
Difficult to answer	2	5	1	4	4

N=1600

Table 3.6.20

Can people like you influence the political decision making in your region, city or district?

	2006 II	2010 II	2012 II	2013 III
Definitely yes	3	2	1	2
Yes, to a certain extent	21	16	21	14
Most likely, no	36	34	38	34
Definitely no	39	46	37	46
Difficult to answer	2	2	4	4

N=1600

Table 3.6.21

To which extent, you believe, the Russian public controls the authority?

	2001 XI	2006 XII	2010 XII	2011 IV	2012 VI	2012 X
To a very large extent	2	3	1	1	2	3
To a fairly large extent	9	6	8	10	13	11
To a fairly small extent	34	32	39	42	42	42
Does not control at all	48	51	41	39	31	34
Difficult to answer	7	8	11	8	13	10

N=1600

Table 3.6.22

What does Russia need more now: strong authority or the public needs to control the authority?

	2001 XI	2006 XII	2010 XII	2011 IV	2011 XII	2012 VI	2012 X	2012 XII
Strong authority	37	43	39	39	31	42	40	35
The public needs to control the authority	54	42	51	48	60	42	48	55
Difficult to answer	9	16	10	13	9	17	13	11

N=1600

Table 3.6.23

To which extent, in your opinion, Russian citizens perform their duties to the State (comply with the law, pay taxes, etc.)?

	1998 III	2001 I	2006 II	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2013 I
Perform duties completely	4	6	7	6	3	6	9
Perform their duties for the most part	15	33	30	33	39	37	42
Perform as much duties as they do not	36	38	38	40	43	37	33
Do not perform for the most part	31	16	19	15	10	13	10
Do not perform at all	9	3	4	2	2	2	3
Difficult to answer	5	5	4	4	3	6	3

1998 N=1500, then N=1600

Table 3.6.24

To which extent the current Russian state performs its duties to the Russian citizens?

	1998 III	2001 I	2006 II	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2013 I
Performs duties completely	1	2	1	2	1	2	2
Performs its duties for the most part	4	8	8	20	20	18	12
Performs as much duties as it does not	23	29	33	39	39	36	36
Does not perform for the most part	45	41	39	27	27	27	32
Does not perform its duties at all	25	16	15	10	9	12	14
Difficult to answer	2	3	4	3	3	5	4

N=1600

Table 3.6.25

How can Russian citizens more likely get their problems solved?

	2010 XII	2011 IV	2012 VI	2012 X
Appeal to the executive authority with their requests and proposals	21	18	20	22
Vote for the political forces which are ready to work on solving the problems	10	9	12	13
Appeal to the court of law	41	40	36	33
Appeal to the media	23	24	22	24
Be socially active, participate in public organizations, civic initiative	5	7	6	6
Appeal to the local counselor	15	13	11	14
Participate in public protests: rallies, marches and strikes	15	12	12	9
Participate in political parties, political movements	-*	4	4	4
They cannot	24	25	24	29
Difficult to answer	10	8	10	10

*- option was not offered

N=1600

Table 3.6.26

Will most of the people in Russia be able to live without the state's constant care and protection or not?

	1990	1997	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
The majority will be able to live without the state care	21	17	21	15	15	15	19	20
The majority will not be able to live without the state care	62	72	74	81	80	77	75	75
Difficult to answer	17	11	5	4	5	8	6	4

N=1600

Table 3.6.27

Which is more likely to ensure the wellbeing of people: decent people in the government of the country or reliable laws that really work?

	1990	1997	1998	2001	2007	2008		2009	2010		2011		2012	
	XI	V	III	I	VI	II	VII	VIII	II	VII	VII	X	I	VII
Decent people in the government	29	32	33	30	33	37	34	37	34	35	37	40	35	38
Reliable laws that really work	56	53	54	58	62	57	59	57	62	60	58	56	61	56
Difficult to answer	15	14	14	12	5	6	7	6	5	5	5	4	4	6
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1500	1000	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600

Table 3.6.28

How would you describe the people in power now?

	1994	1997	2000	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	III	IV	XII	VI	II	VII	XII	VII	III	III	X	III	III	III
These are people concerned only with their financial well-being and careers	47	59	55	52	53	64	51	60	31	31	43	42	40	50
These are honest but weak people, who do not know what to do with the power or how to secure order and a consistent political course	16	15	13	11	14	11	12	9	11	12	11	11	10	13
These are honest but incompetent people, who do not know how to cope with the economic situation in the country	18	11	11	12	9	10	10	11	13	13	10	10	9	10
It is a good team of politicians leading the country in the right direction	4	4	10	10	13	6	12	10	26	23	18	21	23	15
Difficult to answer	14	10	13	15	11	9	15	10	20	21	19	16	19	11

N=1600

Table 3.6.29

What the people in power mostly concerned with?

(Responses are ranked by the last poll)

	2011	2012	2013
Their own interests	27	28	35
Cling to power	27	29	26
Country's interests	14	19	13
Interests of large corporations	12	6	8
National security	10	7	7
Well-being of the general public	3	5	5
Difficult to answer	7	7	6

March, N=1600

Table 3.6.30

Can there be the situations in the country where the people need a strong and authoritative leader, a “strong hand”?

	1989	1994	1995	1996	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	XI	IX	VII	IX	III	III	VII	X	VII	IX	III	III
Our people need a «strong hand» at all times	25	35	33	37	42	45	43	40	44	42	35	41
There can be situations (like now) where it is necessary to give full power to one person	16	23	27	32	31	29	29	31	33	29	39	31
It should never be possible for one person to have full power	44	23	24	18	20	18	18	25	19	22	22	20
Difficult to answer	16	18	15	13	8	8	10	5	5	8	5	8
<i>Total questioned</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.6.31

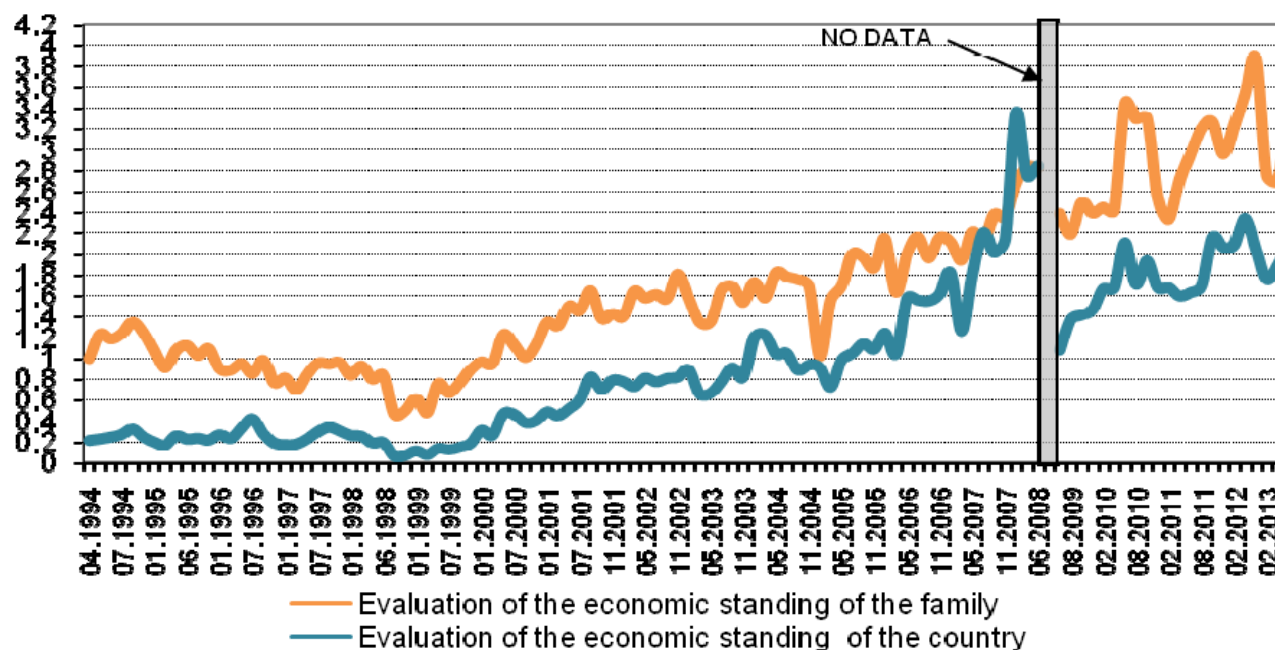
Which of the statements below regarding the relationship with the state you would rather agree with?

	1989	1999	2006	2010	2011	2012	2013
Our state gave us everything we need, we have no right to demand anything else from it	5	1	1	3	4	3	3
The state provides a lot, but we can still ask for more	11	6	15	22	23	23	26
The state provides us with so little that we do not owe anything to the state	8	38	39	31	31	31	29
Our state is in such a condition now that we should help it, even if we need to make a sacrifice	37	17	9	7	5	5	9
We should make the state serve our interests	25	37	27	24	26	30	23
Difficult to answer	15	2	9	13	10	9	10
<i>Total respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

4. ESTIMATE OF THE ACTUAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

Diagram 4.1

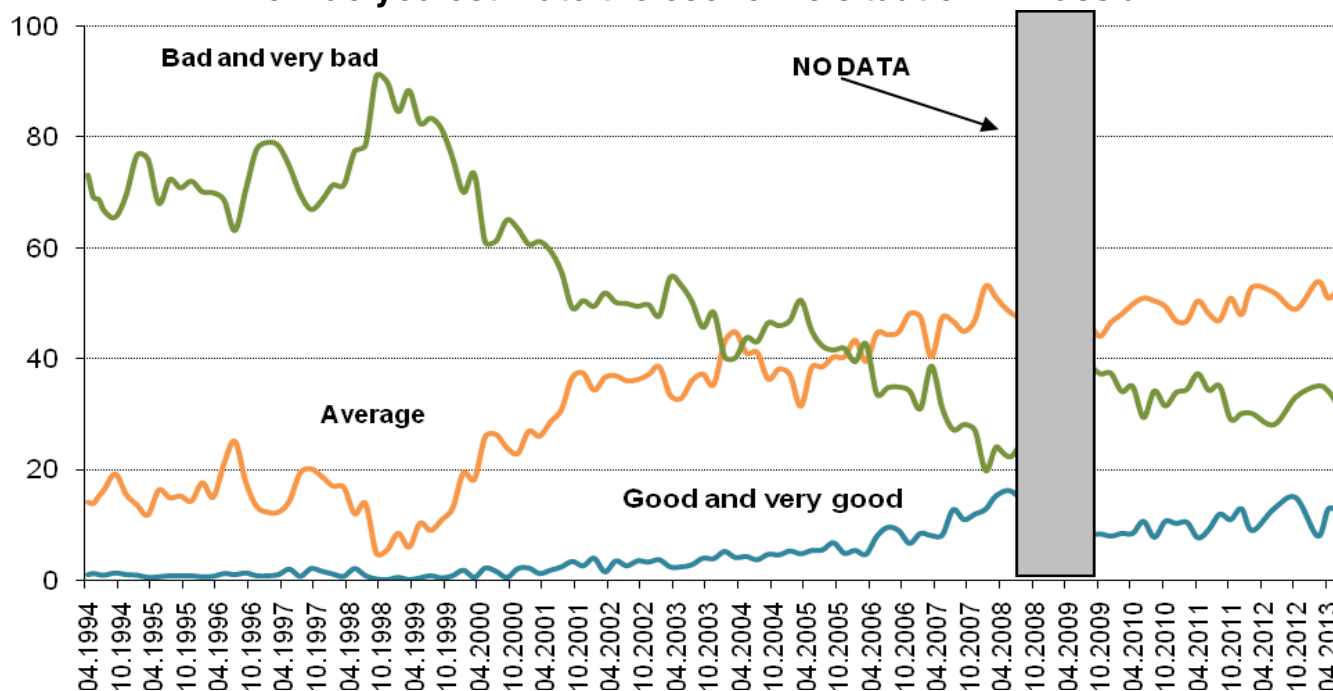
Evaluation of the economic conditions in the country and the family



June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

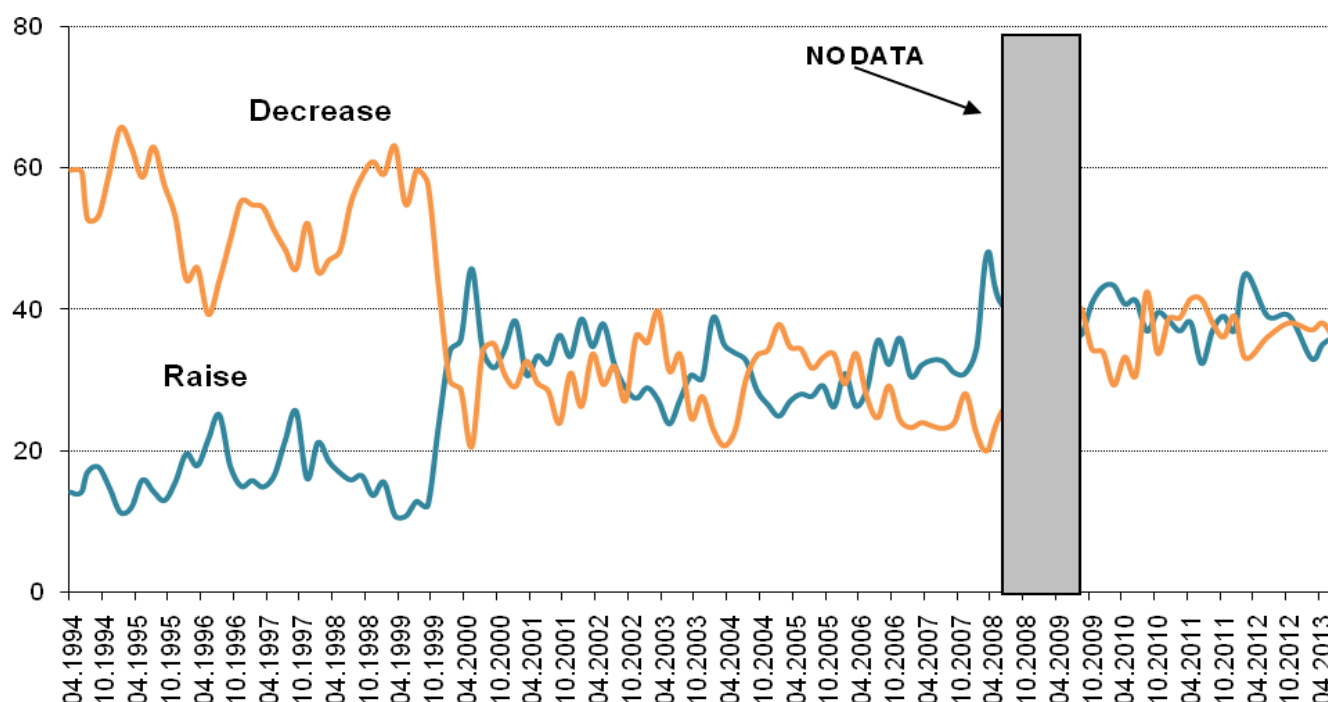
Diagram 4.2

How do you estimate the economic situation in Russia?



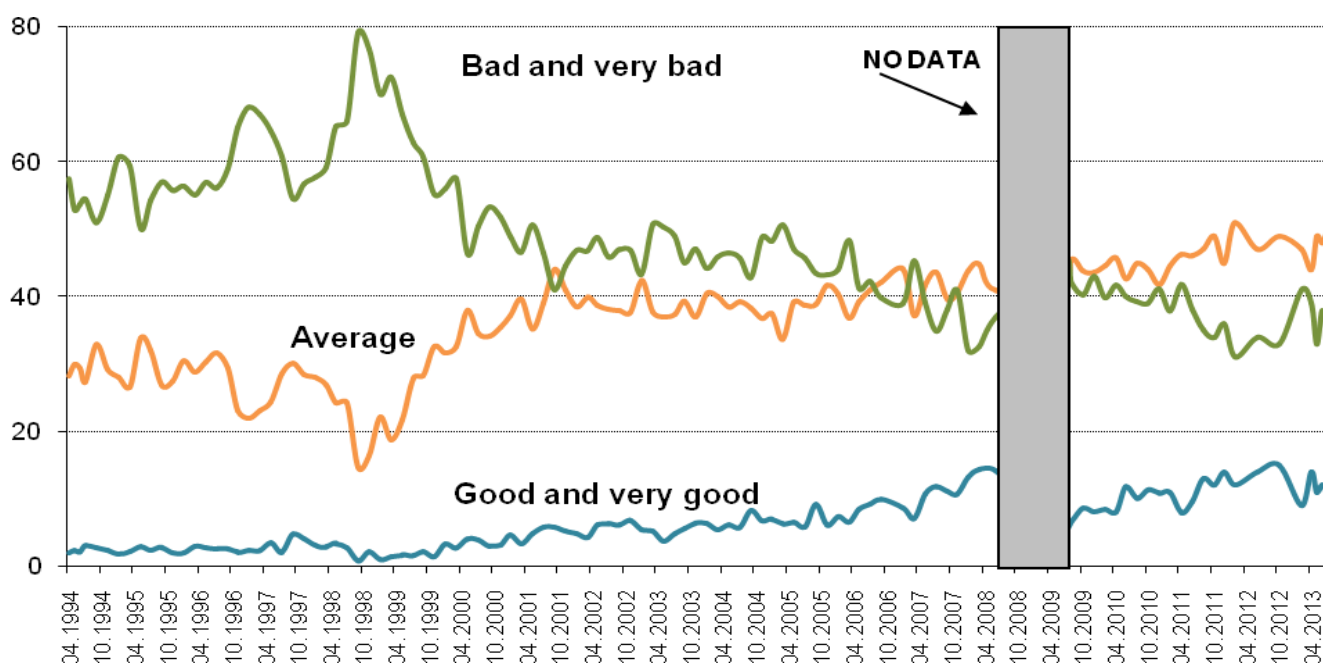
Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 4.3

What do you think awaits Russian economy in the next few months?

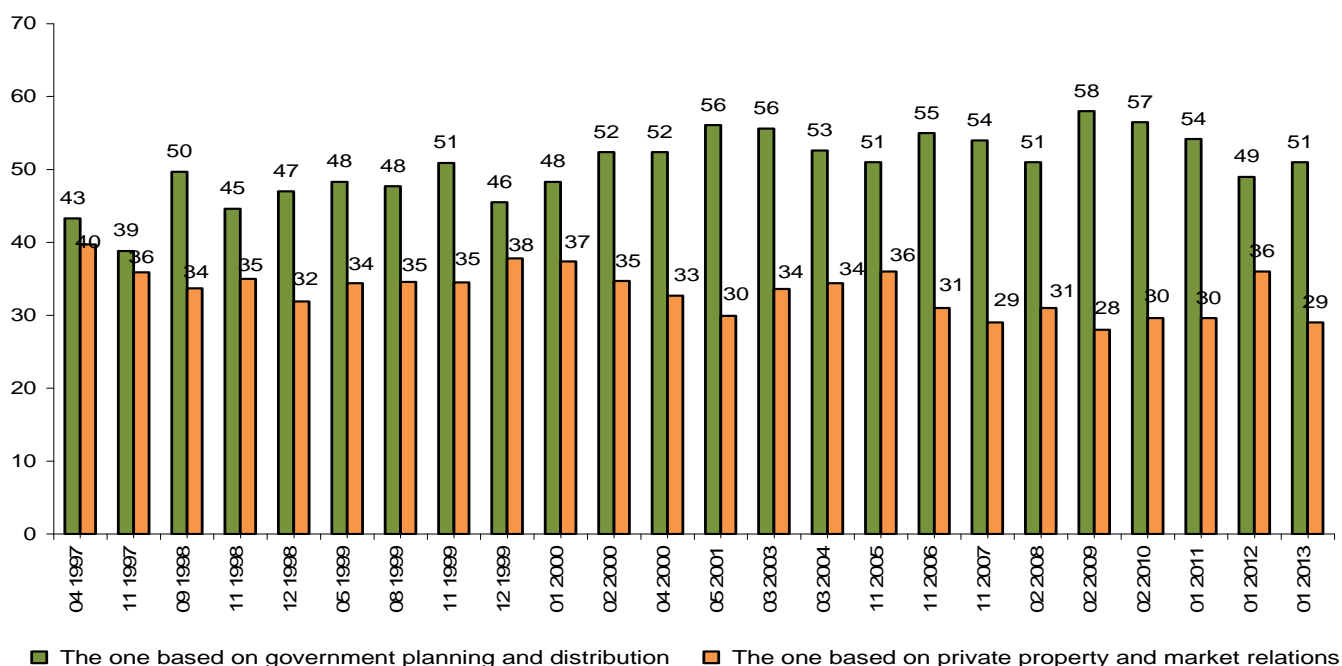
* - from 2009 survey conducted by sampling N=1600
N=2100

Diagram 4.4

How do you estimate the economic situation in your city, rural area?

* - from 2009 survey conducted by sampling N=1600
N=2100

Diagram 4.5

Which economic system do you think to be the right one..?*

N=1600

Table 4.1

Are we living through the hardest times now, are they already in the past or still to come?

	1992	1998	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	
	I	IX	XI	IX	IX	IX	IX	III	VI
Living through them now	21	27	25	39	25	24	22	24	17
Are already in the past	1	6	18	17	30	29	33	26	32
Are still to come	73	58	45	33	32	33	30	38	35
Difficult to answer	5	9	12	11	13	15	15	13	16

N=1600

Table 4.2

Is the economic recession over in Russia?

	2010	2011		2012	
	X	III	XI	IV	VI
Already over	5	6	8	7	8
Winding down	21	19	16	19	14
Still in recession	51	57	48	52	53
Recession is just picking up	7	9	14	11	11
Recession did not happen and will not happen	10	5	7	5	6
Difficult to answer	6	5	8	7	9

N=1600

Table 4.3

**What is the main reason why Russia is better off economically now
than it used to be in the late 90s?**

	2007	2008	2012
Russians work better now	10	11	7
Russian government pursues a reasonable economic and fiscal policy	23	31	23
Oil and gas prices are high now	37	33	36
I do not believe Russian economy is in good shape	20	18	25
Difficult to answer	10	7	9

January, N=1600

Table 4.4

**Why, in your opinion, Russia does not demonstrate
any considerable economic growth now?**

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2011	2012	2013
Wrong economic policy of the Russian government	27	28	34	32	26	26	25
Russian government does not have any clear economic programs	22	22	29	27	19	22	18
Lack of investments in Russian economy	11	11	12	12	12	15	15
Outflow of capital from Russia/ capital transfer to offshore accounts	25	27	26	26	29	28	37
Plunderers policies of large Russian businesses and oligarchs, lack of interest among the large business owners in Russia's economic recovery	38	34	29	33	35	33	35
Top manager's embezzlement (siphoning off the profit to their own pockets)	28	20	21	24	31	25	33
Bureaucratic abuse of power, corruption and bribery in the top echelons of power	34	34	31	34	33	35	42
High business taxes	15	10	13	13	13	14	14
Lack of legal protection for business owners	9	7	7	9	8	6	9
Key assets are worn down	13	11	11	17	16	15	15
Russian products cannot compete with the western produce	9	10	10	12	14	13	13
Difficult to answer	12	12	9	11	11	9	11

March, N=1600

Table 4.5

How current high oil prices will affect Russia?

	2011	2012
Russia will receive more revenue to invest in economic development and improve the quality of life for Russians	12	24
Russian government will have money to pay state employees' salaries and pensions to retirees.	19	25
The prices for all goods and services will increase	34	25
"Oil" profits, just as earlier, will slow down reforms and will be an obstacle for an efficient overhaul of national economy	14	11
Such super profits will be simply siphoned off and divided between the bureaucrats and the oligarchs	39	34
They will not make any difference	7	6
Difficult to answer	8	7

March, N=1600

Table 4.6

Do you think the government of Russia has a sound economic program?

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012			2013
	VIII	VIII	VIII	XII	XII	VIII	XI	I	VI	IX	II
There is a sound economic program	21	19	24	46	32	24	34	33	29	26	23
There is no sound program, they just have a general idea of what should be done	35	40	37	26	27	43	33	32	38	38	38
The government does not have a program, the decisions are made on the spur of the moment	34	31	29	14	26	21	22	24	23	23	24
Difficult to answer	11	11	10	14	15	13	11	12	11	13	14

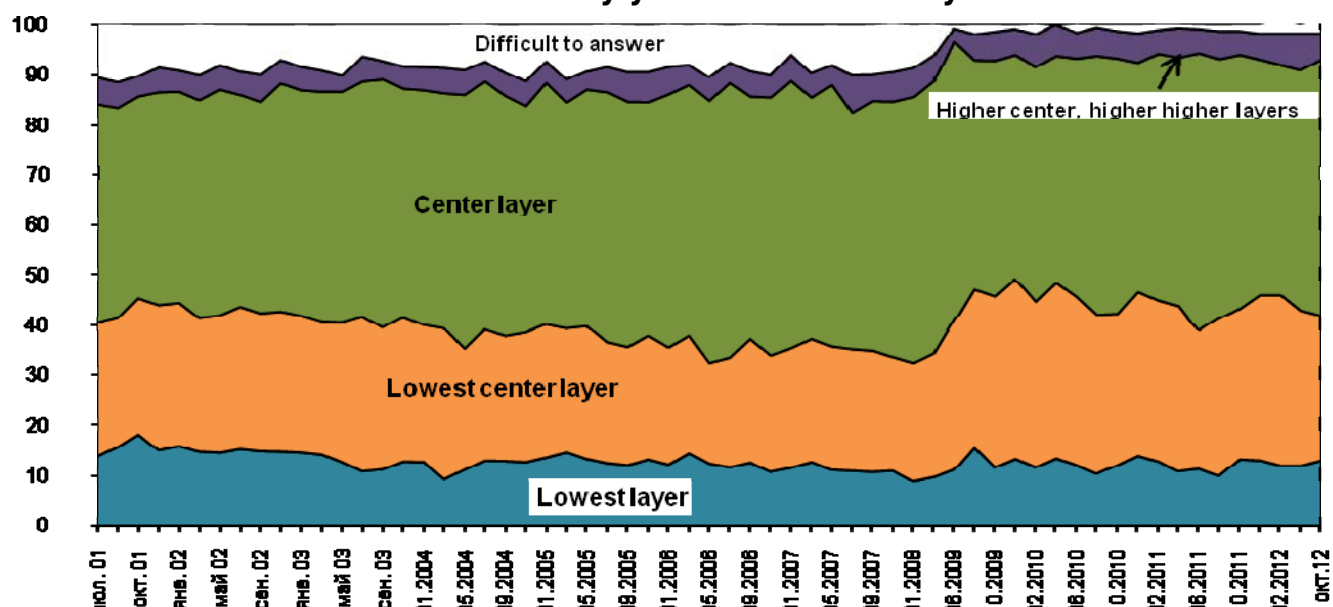
N=1600

5. LIVING STANDARD OF RUSSIAN POPULATION

5.1. LIVING STANDARD OF RUSSIAN POPULATION

Diagram 5.1.1

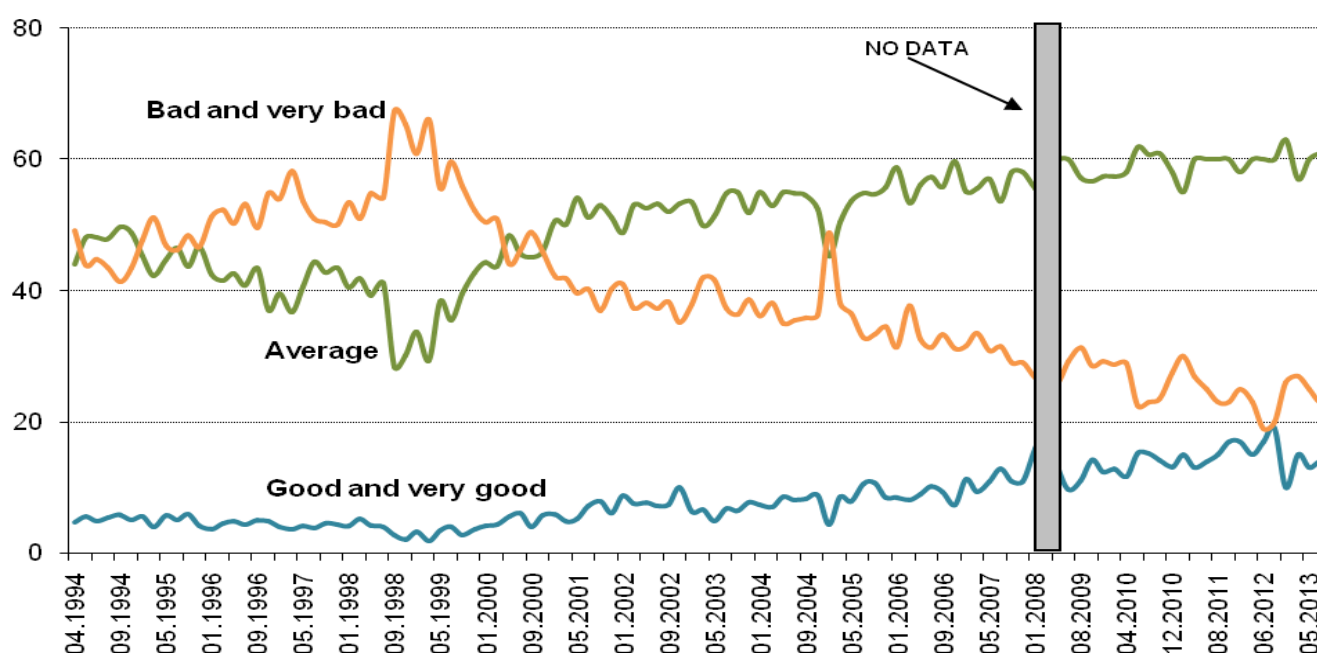
Which class of the society you would affiliate yourself with?



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 5.1.2

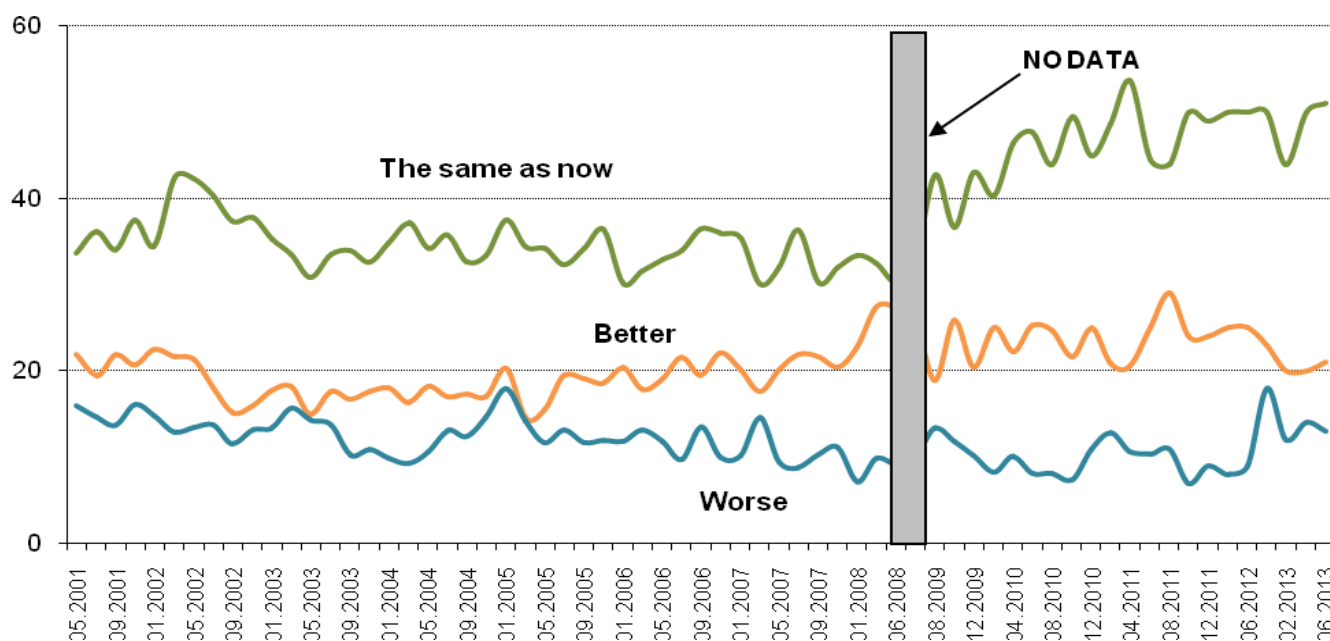
How would you estimate your family's financial standing?



N=1600

Diagram 5.1.3

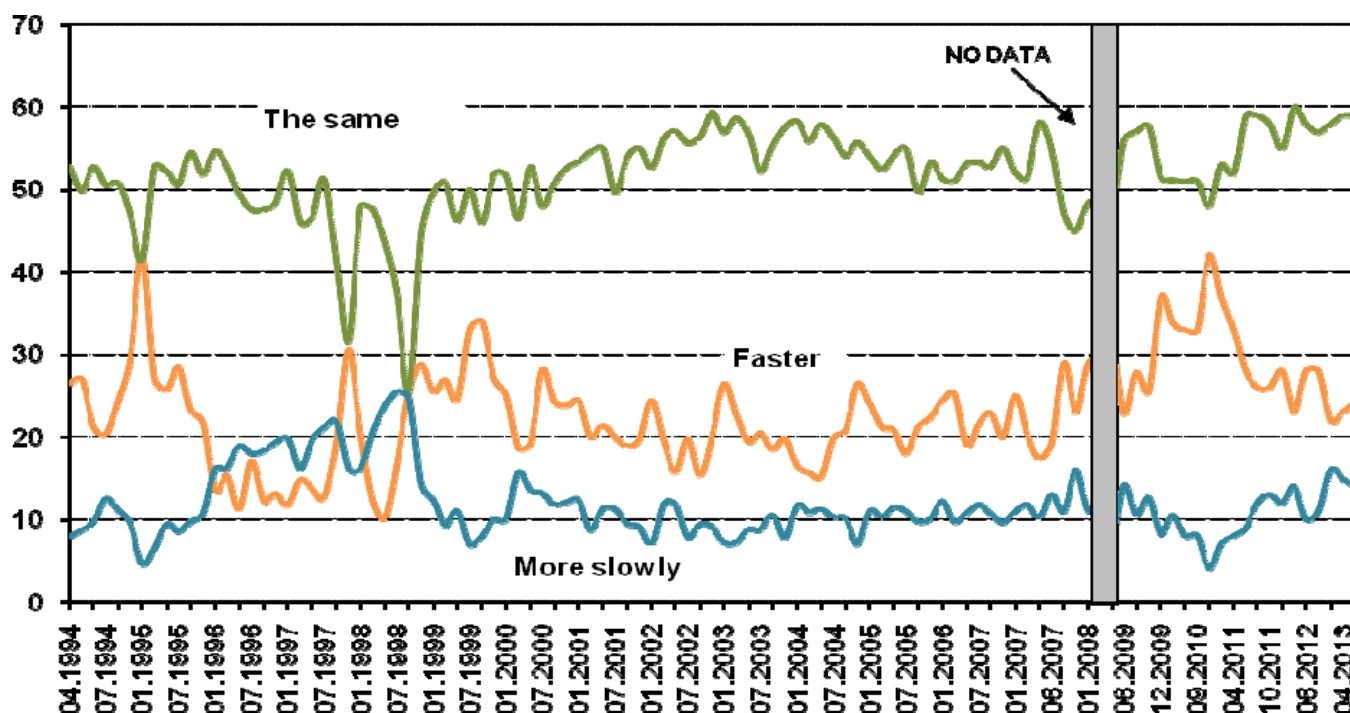
How do you expect your family live in a year?



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 5.1.4

How do you expect the prices for goods and services grow in the near future?



Until June 2009 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Table 5.1.1

Which group your family is more likely to belong to?

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	VI	VI	XII	XII	X
We can hardly make ends meet, there is not enough money even for food	22	19	15	18	15	14	12	12	9	9	9
We have enough money for food but buying clothes is a serious problem	44	42	45	41	37	33	29	33	31	30	22
We have enough money for food and clothes but buying durables is a problem	27	32	31	31	37	37	42	45	45	46	49
Buying durables is not a problem but it is difficult to buy expensive things	7	7	9	10	10	15	17	11	15	15	19
We can afford to buy expensive things – a car, a flat, a dacha and a lot of other things	<1	<1	1	<1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0

* - from 2009 survey conducted by sampling N=1600
N=2100

Table 5.1.2

Is now a good time for buying on credit?

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	X	X	X	X	VI
Now is a good time for buying on credit	5	7	11	12	24	29	27	24	18	9	9	12	15	17	19
Neither good, nor bad	16	17	17	18	18	19	26	25	26	16	20	28	29	35	32
Now is not a good time for buying on credit	64	59	57	50	39	37	33	36	39	67	65	54	50	43	44
Difficult to answer	15	17	15	20	19	15	14	15	17	8	7	6	6	5	5

N=2100

Table 5.1.3

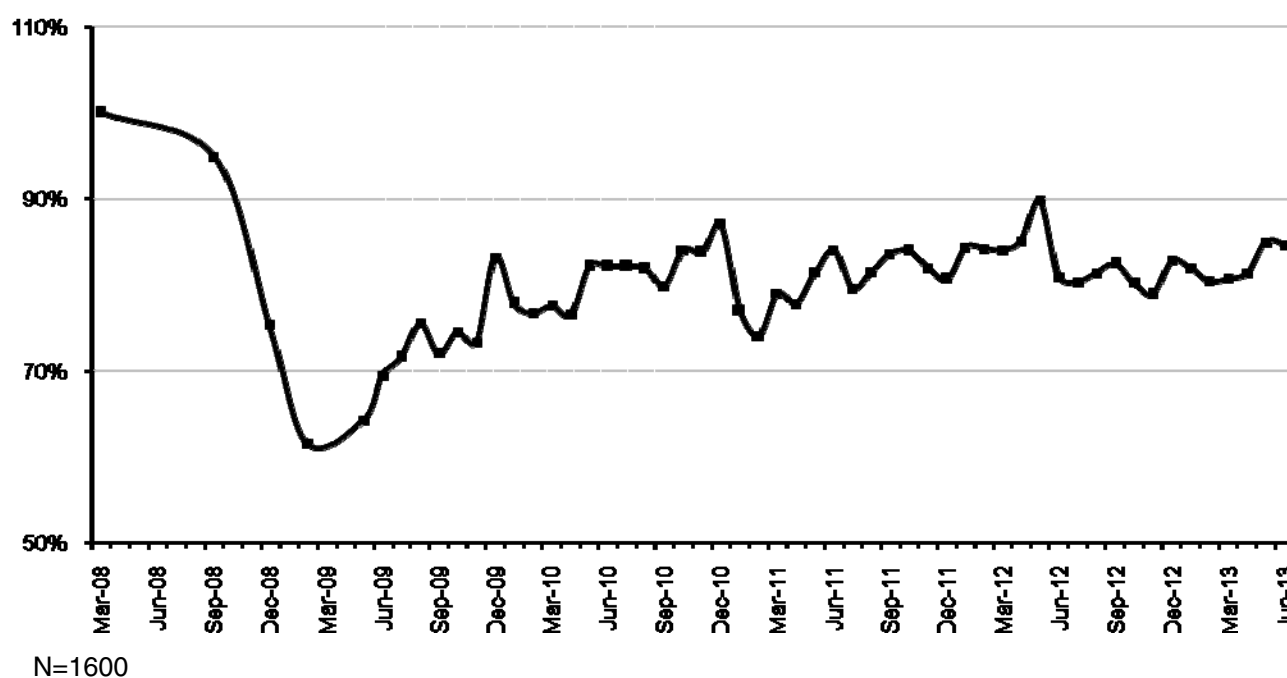
Have you bought anything on credit in the last two years?
If the answer is «yes», what did you buy?

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009*	2010	2011	2012	2013
	XI	IX	IX	IX	IX	X	X	X	VIII	VI
Haven't bought anything on credit	84	77	71	65	62	71	68	65	64	67
<i>Bought:</i>										
Household appliances, video, computer	12	17	22	26	24	16	19	18	23	22
Furniture	3	5	5	6	7	6	6	7	8	4
Flat, dacha, other real estate	1	1	2	4	5	3	2	3	2	3
Car	-	2	3	2	3	6	6	7	7	4
Education, health	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Other	2	1	2	3	4	3	3	3	2	3

* - from 2009 survey conducted by sampling 1600
N=2100

INDEX OF CONSUMER ATTITUDES

Diagram 5.1.5



The index of consumer attitudes (ICA) is an important instrument in forecasting consumer behavior. During the development of the market economy in Russia, consumer activity and the level of consumer demand are becoming an important driving force in the economic development of the country. Long-term observations showed that the ICA predicts the trends in retail sales several months in advance. **ICA** provides short-term forecasting of the development in the Russian economy and gives the business sector the opportunity to react expertly and in good time to changes in the economic situation.

The procedure for building the **ICA** is fairly straightforward: the index is estimated on the basis of respondents' answers to five questions. For each question, an individual index is formed as the difference in proportions of positive and negative answers and adds up to 100, in order to avoid the appearance of negative values in the index. The cumulative index, **ICA**, is calculated as an average of the individual indices. **ICA** varies between 0 and 200, where index values below 100 indicate the predominant negative evaluations in society.

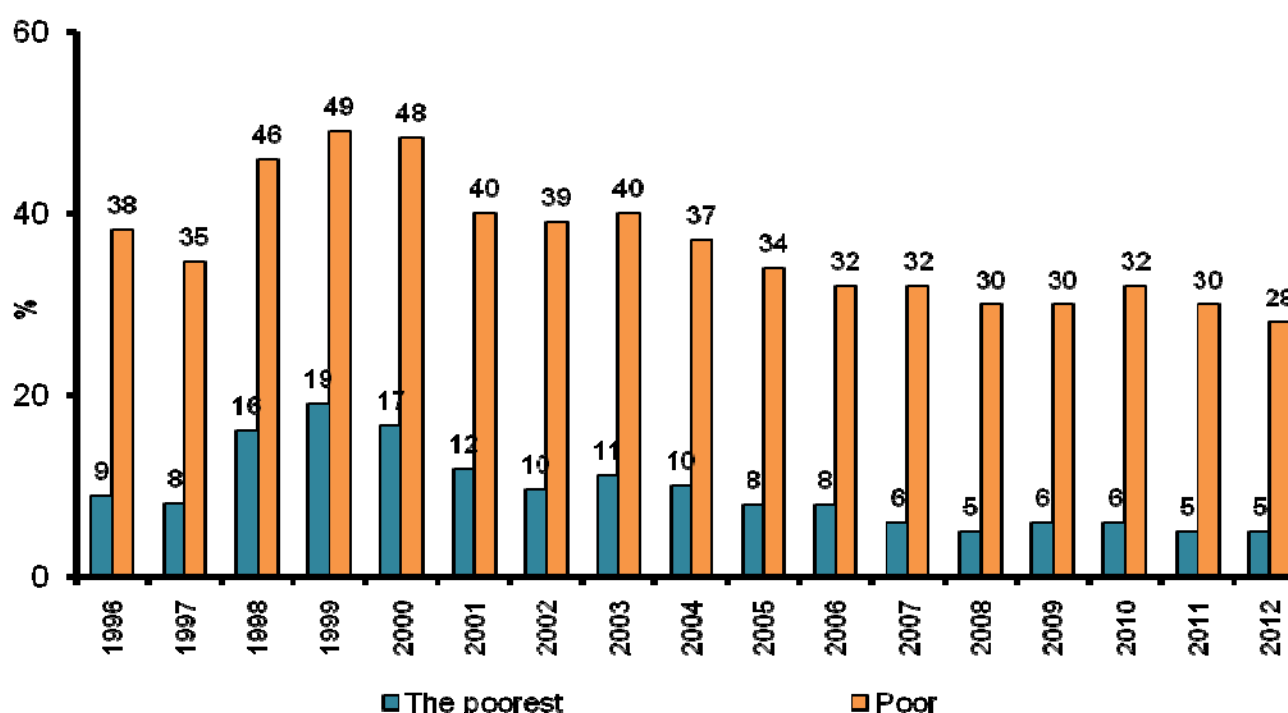
ICA is formed on the basis of public opinion surveys, conducted by representative sampling, which reflect the opinions of the adult (over 16 years of age), urban and rural populations of the country (Total respondents – 1600).

IDEAS ABOUT LEVELS OF POVERTY

Based on the subjective evaluations of the level of poverty and the actual incomes of the respondents, Levada-Centre calculates the share of the poor population, i.e. the actual share of the population which, according to the data of the surveys, has incomes below their own evaluations of the level of poverty. However, in order to understand the nature of poverty, it is important to single out groups of the poor differing by the relative level of subjective evaluations. If we define the group of the poorest as those whose subjective evaluations are not higher than the average level, according to the population overall, we will see that they constitute about a third of all the poor. The financial situation in the group of the poorest families is truly miserable. The rest of the poor are closer to the middle strata of the population.

Diagram 5.1.6

People's perceptions of the poverty level (share of the poor as a percentage of adult population)



Until June 2009 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

5.2 PERSONAL SAVINGS

Table 5.2.1

Do you or your family have any savings?

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	XII	X	X	X	X
Yes	26	24	24	21	22	22	18	22	26	24	31
No	68	69	68	70	69	66	75	73	69	68	64
Difficult to answer/ refused to answer	6	7	8	9	9	13	7	5	5	8	5

N=1600

Table 5.2.2

For what purpose do you make savings (or you would if you were able to)?

Purpose of savings	2002 IX	2005 IX	2007 IX	2009 X	2010 X	2011 X	2012 X
Buying expensive things	14	13	11	11	13	12	17
Purchase of an apartment or a house	20	21	21	22	22	21	17
Education	22	20	19	18	14	15	11
Healthcare	27	24	19	24	26	26	20
Holidays, entertaining, traveling	12	13	12	19	21	20	21
Purchase of a private business or shares	4	4	4	6	5	5	3
Purchase of land, dacha, cottage	3	3	2	6	6	8	4
Car purchase	9	10	10	13	14	15	12
For an emergency, just in case	35	36	33	41	42	40	38
Other purpose	6	5	7	4	6	7	5
Wouldn't make any savings without any purpose	9	7	10	11	11	10	17
Difficult to answer	8	9	10	5	6	5	4

Till June 2008 N=2100; since June 2008 N=1600

Table 5.2.3

Type of savings

	2002 IX	2005 IX	2007 IX	2009 X	2010 X	2011 X	2012 X
Sberbank (primarily state owned savings bank)	41	44	50	53	58	55	56
Commercial bank	4	5	6	6	9	9	10
Public bonds, other public securities	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Accumulative insurance plans	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Shares and other securities of stock companies, investment funds, banks, etc.	3	5	5	3	3	3	3
Cash	20	24	29	_*	_*	_*	_*
“Convertible” currency	40	24	16	_*	_*	_*	_*
Rubles in cash		*		29	29	27	29
US dollars in cash		*		8	8	10	9
Euro in cash		*		17	10	10	9
Fine jewelry, antiques, paintings	8	6	6	8	5	8	6
Other	2	2	2	3	1	2	2
Difficult to answer	17	21	20	16	16	11	14

* - No option was offered

Before June 2008 N=2100; Effective June 2009 and later N=1600

Table 5.2.4

**How long do you think your savings could support your family
if all other income sources are gone and you could only use
your savings to support your daily needs?**

(Of respondents who have savings)

	2002 IX	2005 IX	2007 IX	2009 X	2010 X	2011 X	2012 X
Savings would last less than a month	7	7	6	2	7	5	5
Savings would last for 1 month	17	13	13	13	8	6	9
Savings would last for 2 months	16	14	16	11	9	8	13
Savings would last for 3-4 months	17	20	18	18	16	23	17
Savings would last for 5-6 months	11	12	14	15	16	16	11
Savings would last for 7-12 months	7	6	6	8	9	8	6
Savings would last for over a year	6	4	5	6	11	10	13
Difficult to answer	19	25	22	27	24	26	27

Before June 2008 N=2100 Effective June 2008 and later N=1600

Table 5.2.5

Which currency is the safest and most profitable to keep your savings in?

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011		2012
	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VI	VI	III	XII	VI
Rubles	29	29	38	35	50	49	48	33	46	48	47	36
Dollars	33	27	17	23	8	5	4	9	6	6	6	8
Euro	18	25	28	25	24	30	35	25	11	19	7	9
In different currencies/ in several currencies	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	18	19	13	14	22
Difficult to answer	21	19	17	18	18	16	14	17	19	15	27	25

* - No option was offered

N=1600

Table 5.2.6

Do you have a bank card with credit purchase or overdraft option?

(% of respondents who have a bank card)

	2009 X	2010 X	2011 X	2012 VI
Yes	24	25	32	30
No	74	72	65	69
Difficult to answer	2	3	4	1

N=1600

Table 5.2.7

**Did you use the bank card in the last month, and,
if yes, for what purpose?**

(% of respondents who have a plastic card)

	2009 X	2010 X	2011 X	2012 VIII
Cash withdrawal in Russia	83	82	86	89
Cash withdrawal outside Russia	3	4	3	6
Account top-up, cash deposit to your bank account	5	10	17	15
Payment for items or services purchased in stores in Russia	16	17	21	27
Payment for items or services purchased in stores outside Russia	0	1	3	3
Payment for online purchases (for instance, hotel bookings, payment for items purchased in online stores, online payments for services)	0	2	2	4
Utilities and other bills paid via pay stations	_*	_*	_*	15
Did not use the bank card in the last month	13	13	9	5**

* - No option was offered

**-In the last three month

N=1600

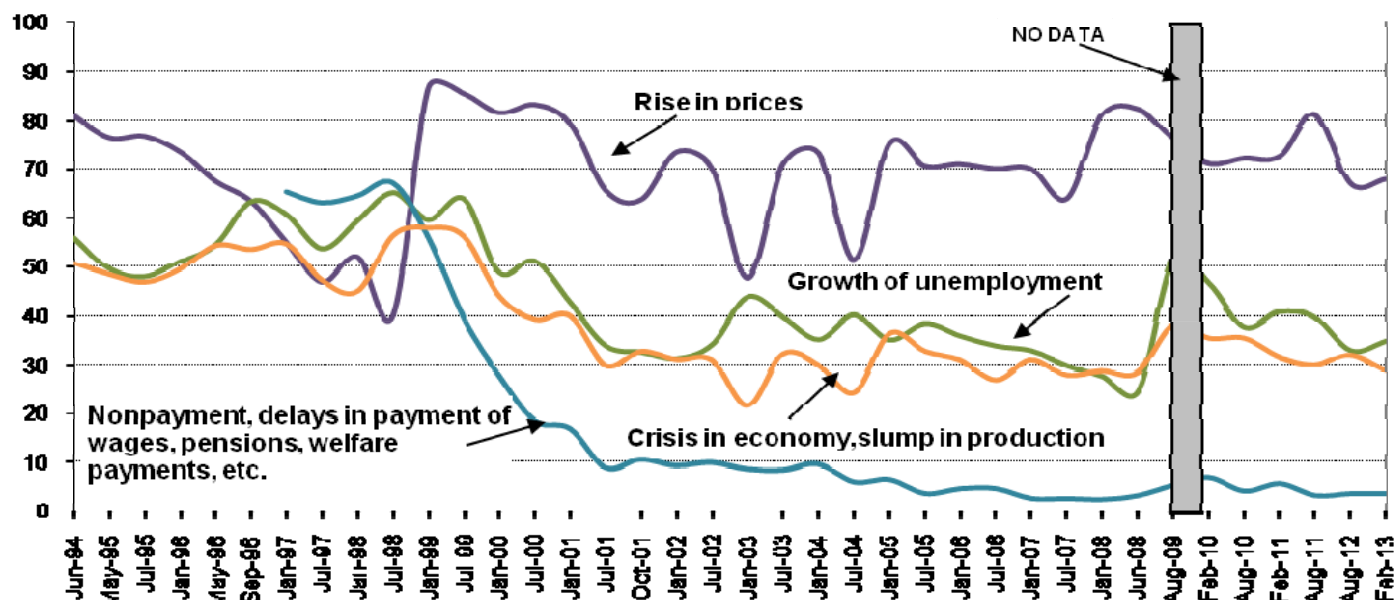
6. ESTIMATES OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND EMPLOYMENT

EVALUATIONS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Diagram 6.1.1

Which problems in our society you are concerned the most?

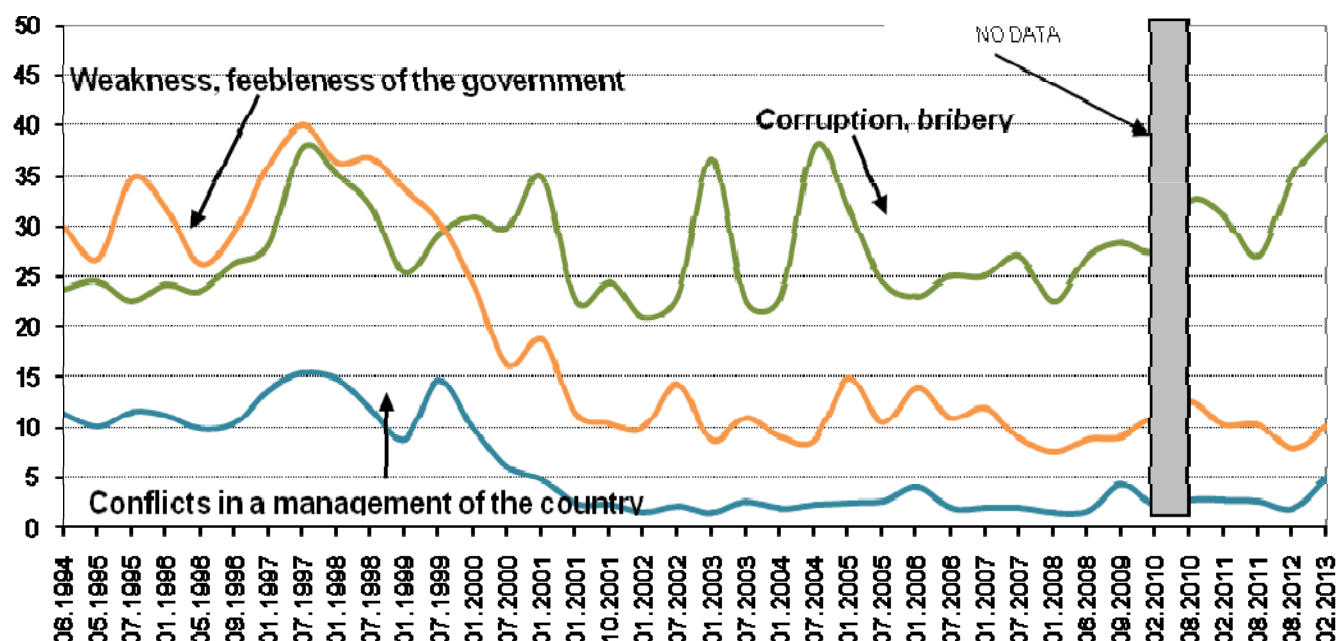
Social and economic problems



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

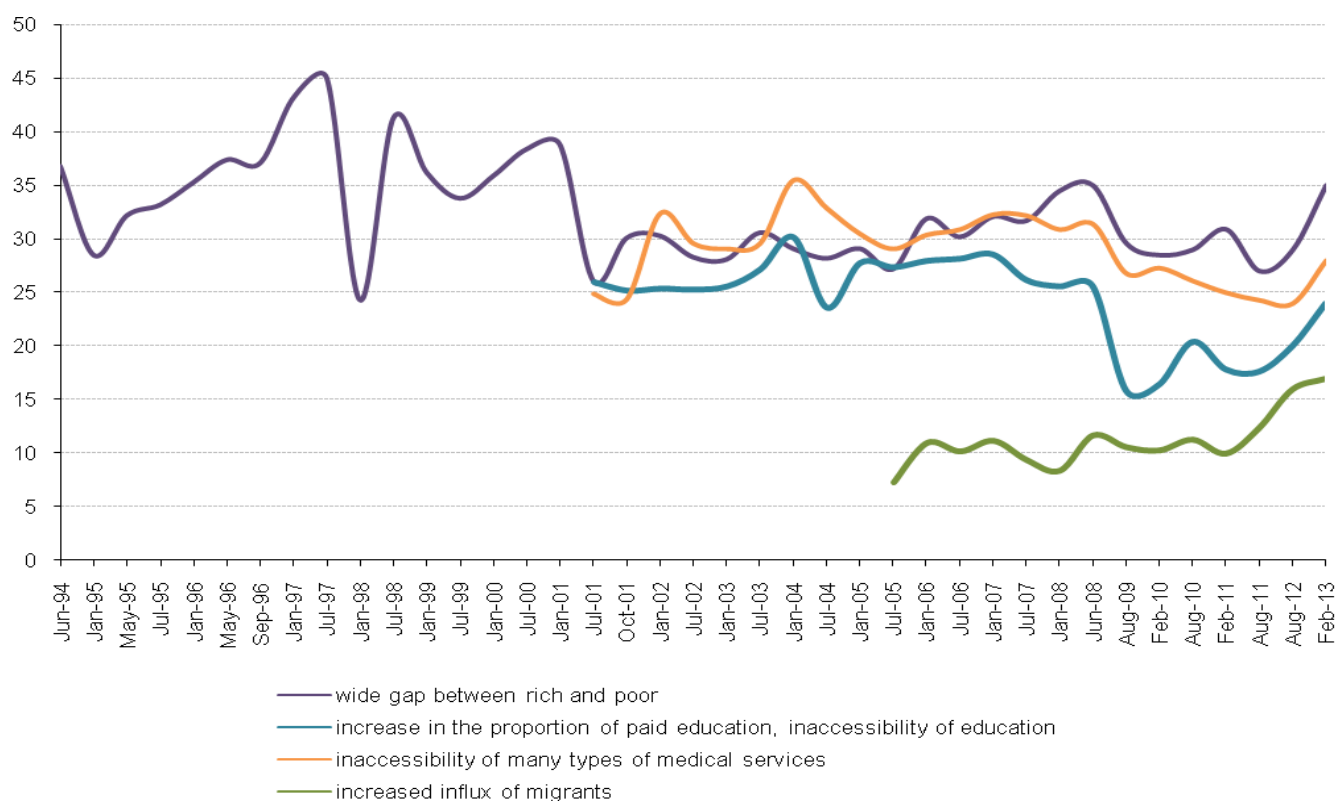
Diagram 6.1.2

Authority and management



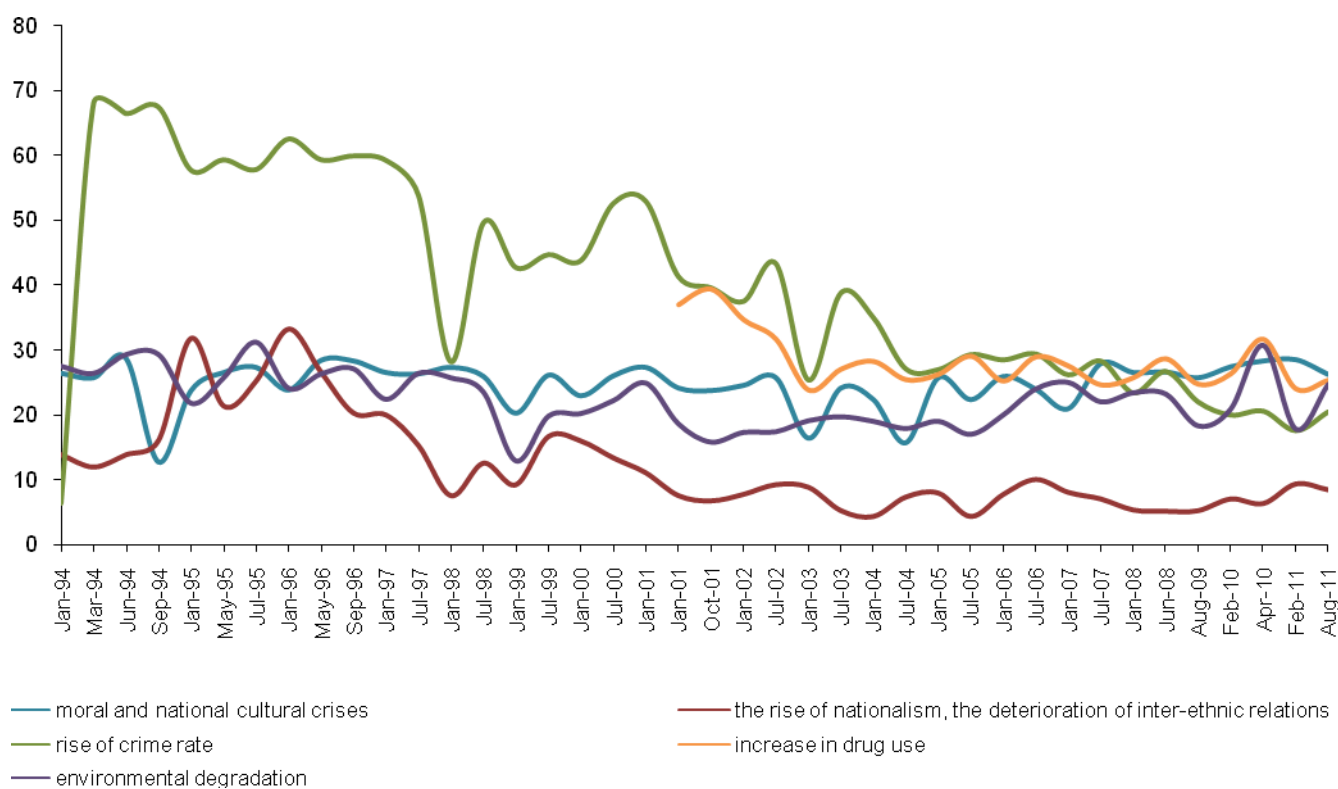
Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 6.1.3

Social life

Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

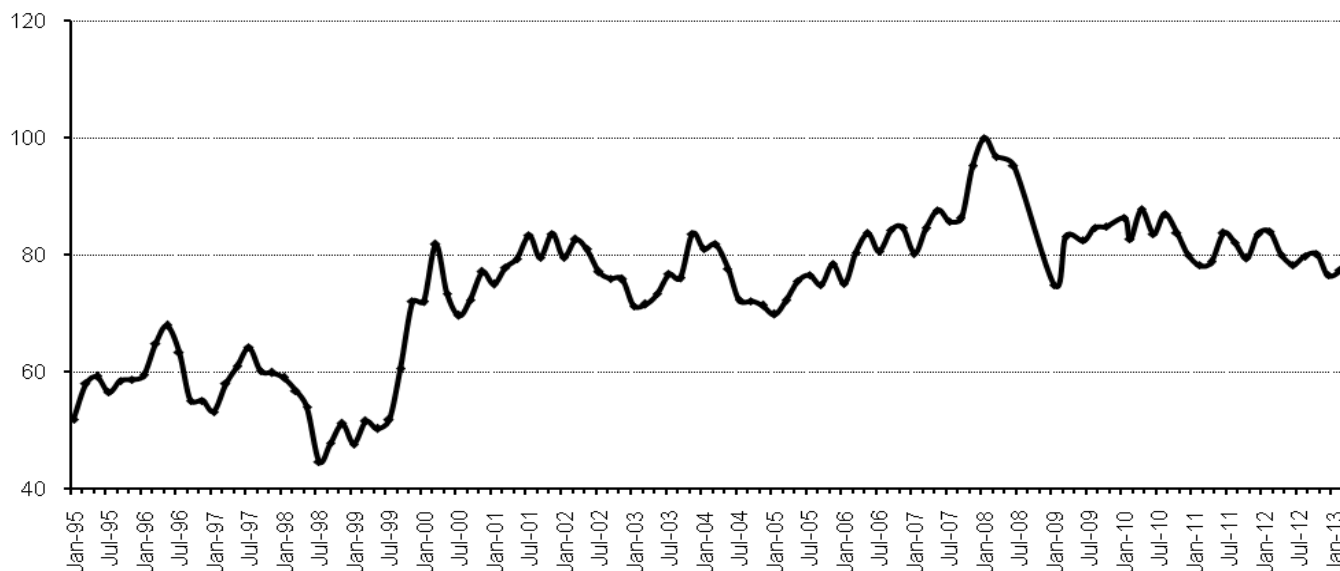
Diagram 6.1.4

Culture and environment

Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

SOCIAL SENTIMENT INDEX (SSI)

Diagram 6.2

Social sentiment index (SSI)
March 2008=100%

N=1600

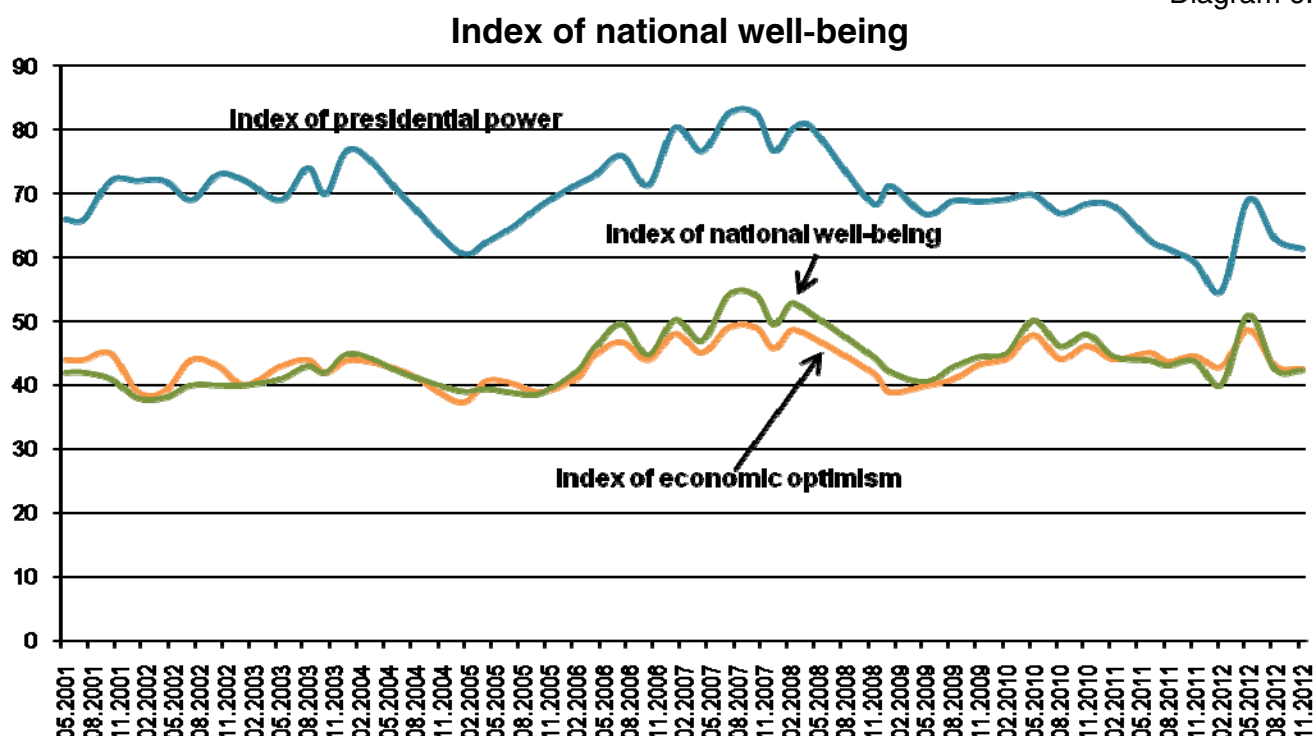
Social Sentiment Index (SSI) is a composite indicator of the mass sentiments in society which reflects the influence of mass consciousness on the country's development. It takes into account people's appraisals of their current private life, of the situation in the country as a whole, appraisals of the authorities' activities and of their expectations for the near future.

SSI summarizes the answers of the respondents to 12 questions, each of them intending to expose positive or negative appraisals. On each question, an individual index is calculated as a difference in percentages of positive and negative answers. Total SSI is calculated as the mean of individual indexes.

Since autumn 2008, Levada Centre has been publishing the dynamics of SSI, calculated according to a revised procedure that retains all the basic principles of SSI compilation and ensures the consistency of measurements. This revision has been due to the increasingly important projection component, reflecting people's expectations for the near future. In addition, the revised SSI takes into account appraisals of the population's confidence in the fundamental governmental institutions. Furthermore the method of data collection has changed as well – it is now the interview format with the sampling reflecting the opinions of adult rural and urban populations (18+), N = 1600.

The new procedure was introduced at the beginning of 2008; the diagram extends the data accumulated since 1995.

Diagram 6.3



INDEX OF ECONOMIC OPTIMISM is a general indicator of the state of national economy, which is built on individual appraisals of the economic situation in the country, people's personal financial situations and the satisfaction with the leadership's economic program.

INDEX OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER is based on an overall assessment of the activities of the President of Russia, his influence on the country's state of affairs and the support of his actions.

INDEX OF NATIONAL WELL-BEING is a general indicator based on the index of economic optimism and the index of presidential power as well as assessments of the situation in Russia from a perspective of satisfaction with the changes in Russia on the whole and in terms of morals and virtues, as well as the expectation of changes in quality of life and the position of Russia's position in the international community.

Every index adds up to an average value calculated based on the answers in the survey carried out once every three months using representative all-Russian sampling with a range of 1600 people aged 18 years or over. The values of the indices vary within the range of 0 to 100 and are determined by the comparison of positive and negative statements, without taking the rank of « Difficult to answer» into account. More detailed information on the indices in on the website www.levada.ru.

SOCIAL SPHERE

Table 6.1

What would you prefer: so that you and your children had an opportunity to have free healthcare and education – or that you had enough assets to pay for the healthcare and educational services?

	2004	2005	2007	2010	2011	2012
Opportunity to have free healthcare and education	68	76	60	73	67	64
Enough assets to pay for the healthcare and educational services	30	22	35	23	30	33
Difficult to answer	2	2	5	4	3	3

July, N=1600

Table 6.2

Who do you rely on in a time of need?

	1994 III	1995 I	1996 I	1997 I	2004 IV	2007 IX	2011 VI	2012 I
Only myself	32	34	36	33	33	41	39	40
My relatives and friends	53	56	54	59	60	54	56	54
My company or the organization where I work (or worked)	8	5	5	5	4	2	3	2
State assistance (social welfare institution)	8	5	4	3	4	3	2	4
Social organizations (trade union, etc.)	2	<1	<1	1	<1	1	1	<1
Charity	1	1	<1	1	<1	1	1	1
Church	1	2	1	1	2	2	<1	<1
Difficult to answer	3	2	3	2	1	1	1	1

1994 N=4000; 1995 N=2000; 1996-1997 N=2500; 2004, 2007-2012 N=1600

Table 6.3

What do you primarily rely on?

	1996 III	1997 IV	1998 IV	2003 XII	2008 IV	2009 VIII	2010 X	2011 IX	2012 VII
Your own capacities and powers	75	77	78	78	79	74	69	74	72
Social security and social and state support	20	15	17	19	18	24	28	23	24
Difficult to answer	5	8	4	3	3	2	3	3	3

N=1600

TAXES

Table 6.4

Would you support or disapprove if Russia re-introduced the progressive tax rates for above average incomes?

	2011 IX	2012 II	2013 I
Completely agree	17	22	16
Rather agree	37	35	40
Rather disagree	21	20	20
Completely disagree	9	9	9
Difficult to answer	16	14	16

N=1600

Table 6.5

Are you in favor or against a significant property tax hike?

	2011 IX	2012 II	2013 I
Definitely in favor	3	8	7
Rather in favor	13	20	15
Rather against	40	36	37
Definitely against	31	27	28
Difficult to answer	13	9	14

N=1600

Table 6.6

Are you in favor or against the introduction of the luxury tax?

	2011 IX	2012 II	2013 I
Definitely in favor	22	31	28
Rather in favor	30	34	31
Rather against	19	18	18
Definitely against	14	9	10
Difficult to answer	15	8	13

September, 2011; N=1600

Table 6.7

Are you in favor or against the tax hike for tobacco and alcohol, which will effectively increase the prices for such products?

	2011 IX	2012 II
Definitely in favor	18	16
Rather in favor	25	26
Rather against	24	28
Definitely against	21	20
Difficult to answer	13	10

September, 2011; N=1600

Table 6.8

Do you know how the taxes paid by individuals, companies and business owners are distributed and how they are used in Russia?

I know how it works and I believe the taxes in general are distributed fairly, for the benefit of the state and majority of people	12
I know how it works and I believe the taxes in general are distributed unfairly, not for the benefit of the state or majority of people	38
I do not have any idea how the taxes are used	45
Difficult to answer	5

2012, June; N=1600

EMPLOYMENT

Table 6.9

Which would you prefer if you could choose?

	1989	1994	1995	1998	1999	2003	2008	2010	2011	2012
Having a smaller salary but more time off the job, an easier job	10	3	3	4	3	4	4	_*	_*	_*
Having a steady salary, even if it is a small one, and confidence in the future	45	55	60	61	60	54	56	50	47	47
Working a lot and having a good income even if there are no definite guarantees for the future	26	24	23	22	23	22	21	26	34	34
Having own business and running it at your own risk	7	5	6	5	6	10	8	12	11	11
Difficult to answer	11	12	8	9	8	10	11	13	9	8
<i>Total respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>

*No alternative options were offered

Table 6.10

If you were looking for a job now, what would be most important for you?

	2000 XI	2010 II	2011 II	2012 II
Good pay	85	81	82	81
Chance to work in my profession	25	22	23	23
Potential for professional growth	13	17	20	18
Good work environment	34	38	41	44
Regular salary payment	41	26	29	30
Convenient work schedule	16	20	22	27
Proximity from my home	10	13	14	15
Independent work, chance to show initiative, creativity	7	9	6	8
Potential to get housing, availability of a clinic, daycare, etc.	8	9	8	10
Chance to work in a good team, among people	11	9	11	11
Difficult to answer	3	6	4	3

N=1600

Table 6.11

If you were looking for a job now and you were free to choose the employment, where you would prefer to work?

	2011	2012
I would prefer to work for government, in a federal or municipal government, in a federal or government institution	33	35
I would prefer to work for government in education, healthcare, social security or academic institution, etc.	15	14
I would prefer to work for a private company	18	18
I would prefer to work for a foreign company or joint venture	7	5
I would prefer to have my own business and be self-employed	11	13
I would prefer to work for a non-profit or a non-governmental organization	1	1
Difficult to answer	14	13

February, N=1600

Table 6.12

Which would you prefer?

	2002	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011		2012
	IV	X	IV	IX	X	VII	X	VII
Be the owner of a company (own a business)	35	39	32	32	37	33	31	37
Be an employee and receive a steady salary	56	51	48	52	51	56	54	55
Difficult to answer	8	10	19	16	12	11	15	9

N=1600

Table 6.13

Which of the following statements about what the work means to an individual is the best fit for you personally?

	1996 XI	1997 XI	2000 XI	2001 VII	2010 II	2011 II	2012 II
The work is important to me and interesting for me as such, regardless of the pay	13	12	16	19	14	14	15
The work is primarily the source of income for me	63	61	66	62	62	64	66
The work is not the most important for me, there are other things in my life more important than work	15	17	8	8	13	12	11
The work is an unpleasant duty for me; I would never work if I could	4	6	4	2	3	3	2
Difficult to answer	5	5	6	9	10	7	6
Total respondents	2400	2400	2400	2400	1600	1600	1500

Table 6.14

Which job is the best in Russia, in your opinion?
(responses are ranked)

Work for the government	27
In “law” enforcement agencies (police, security, judiciary, prosecutor’s office)	18
In foreign companies/companies where the majority stake is owned by foreign companies	14
Have your own business	10
In state-run companies/ companies where the majority stake is owned by the government	10
In public sector (education, healthcare)	5
In private companies / companies where the majority stake is owned by private individuals and international companies	5
Difficult to answer	9

2012, August; N=1600

Table 6.15

Which professions you have the most respect for, and which are less respected?
(responses are ranked by first column)

	Respect	Do not respect
Doctors	55	8
School teachers	48	4
Scientists	44	1
Farmers	44	2
Industrial, construction, transport etc. workers	40	1
Military	39	5
Artistic intelligentsia (writers, poets, artists and composers)	25	3
University instructors	21	3
Movie and theatre actors	20	9
Clergy	18	4
Accountants and economists	15	5
Businessmen	13	11
Journalists	9	14
Pop stars	9	24
Customer service	9	7
Police	8	29
Trade	7	13
Prosecutor’s office	6	16
Judges	6	17
Office workers	4	7
Politicians and members of Parliament	3	36
Show business	3	28
Government officers/bureaucrats	3	28
Difficult to answer	7	19

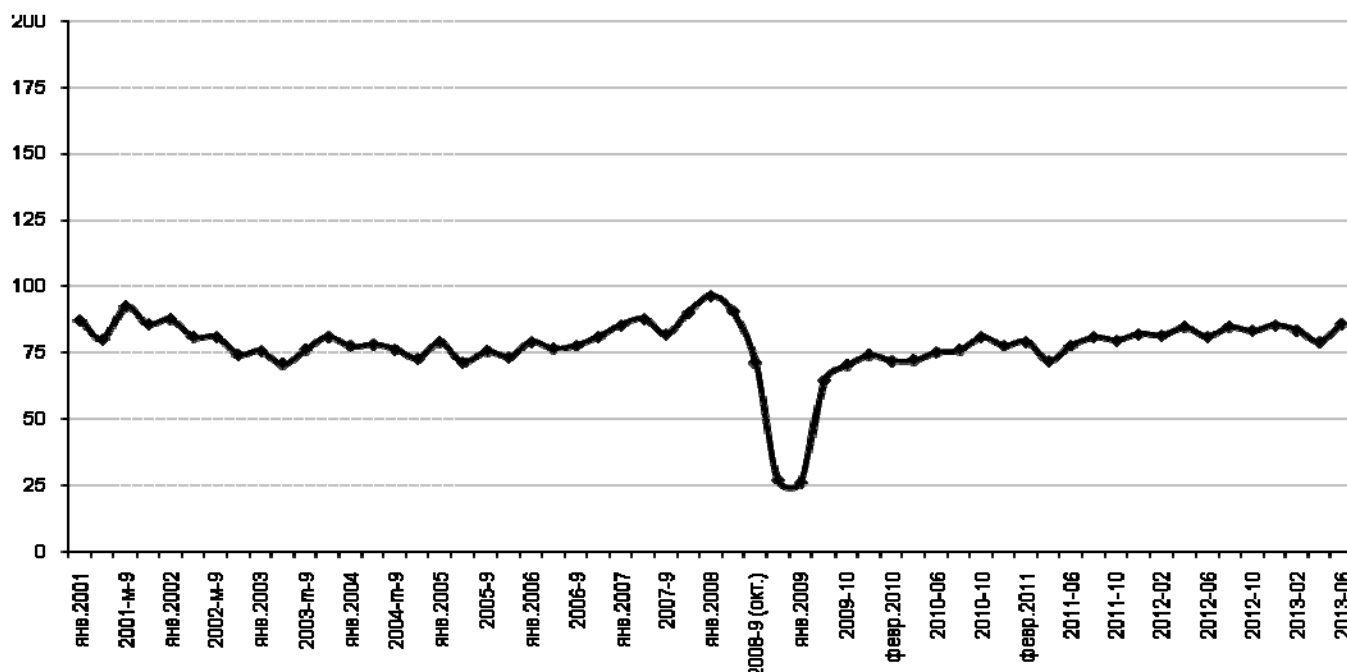
2012, September; N=1600

UNEMPLOYMENT

Diagram 6.4

Unemployment expectation index

(Difference between the % of respondents who believe the unemployment is decreasing and % of respondents who believe the unemployment is on the rise, plus 100)



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Table 6.16

Do you think you could lose your job in the near future? If yes, how easy or hard it will be for you to find a new job in your profession?
(% of employed respondents)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	
	XII	XII	X	II	VI
No, I don't think I will lose my job	53	56	53	59	56
Yes, I could lose my job, but will be able to find a new one fairly easily	12	10	11	11	14
Yes, I could lose my job, and it will be hard to find a new one	20	20	22	19	19
Yes, I could lose my job, and it will be practically impossible to find a new one	7	6	6	6	4
Difficult to answer	8	8	8	6	8

N=1600

PENSION AND PENSION REFORM

Table 6.17

Did you ever think about what would be your source of income once you retire?

	2010	2011	2012
	II	II	II
No, never thought about that	41	33	36
Yes, I thought about that and I count on the government old age or disability pension	47	54	52
Yes, I thought about that and I count on the industry-specific or departmental pension	1	2	1
Yes, I thought about that and I count on payments from the private pension plans	3	3	2
Yes, I thought about that and I count on my kids and relatives to help me	6	6	5
Yes, I thought about that and I count on my own savings or property income (renting out an apartment, etc.)	7	8	7
Yes, I thought about that and I count on something else	<1	<1	<1
I will continue working	2	1	3
Yes, I thought about that and there is nothing I can count on	3	3	2
Difficult to answer	2	3	2

N=1600

Table 6.18

Are you aware of the upcoming pension reform?

I am well aware of it	11
I have heard something about it	51
It is the first time I ever hear about that	35
Difficult to answer	3

2012, August; N=1600

Table 6.19

Are you concerned with the upcoming pension reform?

Very concerned	29
Concerned to a certain extent	30
Not concerned much	22
Not concerned at all	13
Difficult to answer	6

2012, August; N=1600

Table 6.20

Will, in your opinion, the pension reform will improve the lives of the retirees, make it worse or will not have any affect?

Improve	6
Make it worse	42
Will not have any effect on retirees	28
Difficult to answer	24

2012, August; N=1600

SOCIAL PROTESTS

Diagram 6.4

Protest potential

(positive estimation of probability of mass protests against decline in standard of living and level of willingness to participate in protests, %)

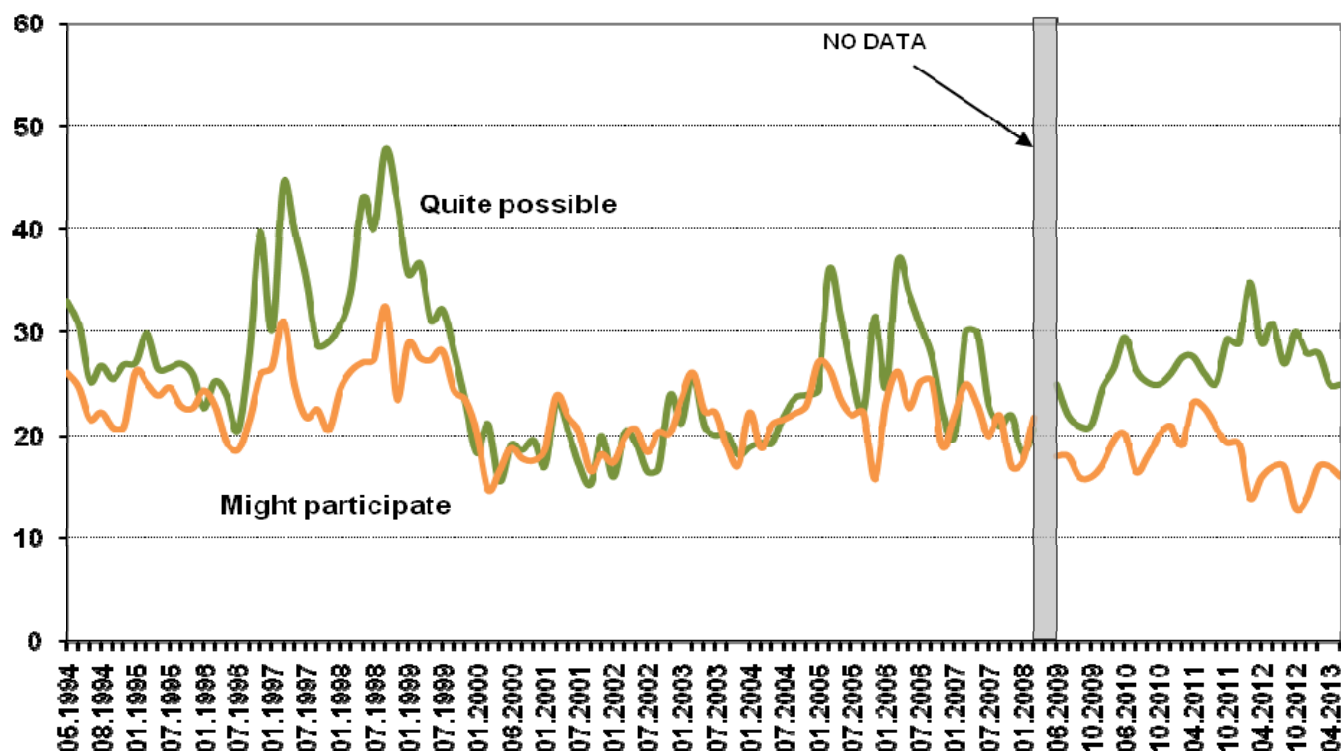


Table 6.21

How would you estimate possibility that the escalating social tension will result in strikes, protest marches and demonstrations in the near future?

	1992 VIII	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2012 X
Very high	17	5	5	4	4
Rather high	29	13	16	18	20
Medium	22	32	35	37	36
Rather low	12	27	27	22	21
Very low	9	14	11	9	10
Difficult to answer	1	9	8	10	9

N=1600

Table 6.22

Which view of street rallies and demonstrations you would rather share?

	2008 V	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2012 X
Street rallies and demonstrations are standard democratic means that citizens use to get what they want, and authorities have no right to ban them	55	59	54	51	48
If street rallies and demonstrations disturb people around or incite riots, authorities should ban them	32	27	35	37	39
Difficult to answer	12	14	11	13	13

N=1600

Table 6.23

Do you think people like you can influence the situation in the country by taking part in rallies, protests and strikes?

	2001 I	2010 IV	2011 IV	2011 X	2012 VI	2012 X
Definitely yes	5	4	3	4	4	4
Most likely, yes	19	18	18	15	14	20
Most likely, no	41	36	40	40	35	39
Definitely no	30	32	32	34	35	29
Difficult to answer	5	9	7	8	12	9

N=1600

Table 6.24

If there is a mass demonstration taking place in your town on 1st of May, would you like to participate in the demonstration in support of the president's and government's policy?

	2004	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Yes	23	20	21	17	26	17	18	17
No	72	70	66	71	63	76	75	71
Difficult to answer	5	10	13	12	11	7	8	12

April, N=1600

Table 6.25

If there is a mass demonstration taking place in your city on 1st of May, would you like to participate in the demonstration to protest the authorities' policy?

	2004	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Yes	10	12	10	11	11	11	10	16
No	84	77	75	76	76	80	83	70
Difficult to answer	6	11	15	13	12	10	8	14

April, N=1600

Table 6.26

**Have you participated in any mass protests
(picket lines, rallies, marches or demonstrations) in the last 12 months?**

	2011	2012
Yes	3	3
No	95	95
Difficult to answer	2	2

April, N=1600

Table 6.27

Have you participated in strikes in the last 12 months?

	2011	2012
Yes	2	1
No	95	96
Difficult to answer	3	3

April, N=1600

7. RATING THE PERFORMANCE OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

7.1 HEALTHCARE

Table 7.1.1

**What has changed in the operation of hospitals and clinics
in the last year?**

Year of rating	1989	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012
Situation improved	5	3	8	11	12	12	13	11	16	18	11	12	10	9
Situation deteriorated	40	67	45	52	50	45	39	41	30	47	36	37	40	40
Situation remained the same	36	18	40	32	33	37	39	40	46	29	43	45	42	45
Difficult to answer	19	10	7	6	5	6	8	8	9	6	10	7	8	6

N=1600

Table 7.1.2

Are you satisfied with the healthcare system in Russia?

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	XII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	IX
Definitely yes	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	1	1	2
Yes, rather than no	9	11	9	10	14	13	15	13	14	15	13
Neither yes, nor no	23	20	21	19	21	20	23	22	22	22	22
No, rather than yes	39	36	36	36	34	36	36	35	37	33	32
Definitely no	23	29	29	32	26	27	22	25	22	24	29
Difficult to answer	4	2	3	2	2	3	1	4	4	4	2

N=1600

Table 7.1.3

**How did the quality of medical services in Russia
change over the past year?**

	2002	2005	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	XII	I	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII
Improved considerably	3	1	3	3	2	3	2	1	2	1
Improved somewhat	11	9	19	20	21	20	9	12	12	12
Has not changed	37	34	36	44	45	48	45	43	42	46
Became somewhat worse	28	27	22	22	17	17	17	21	21	26
Became considerably worse	14	24	16	10	10	7	13	13	16	10
Difficult to answer	7	5	6	5	6	4	14	9	8	4

N=1600

Table 7.1.4

**Can you and other members of your family
get a good medical service if necessary?**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII
Definitely yes	7	7	6	5	5	4	6	2	2	3	2
Yes, rather than no	18	19	19	18	23	20	24	18	20	21	23
No, rather than yes	47	40	41	39	43	41	40	42	45	42	49
Definitely no	26	32	31	36	27	31	26	28	25	26	22
Difficult to answer	2	2	3	2	3	3	4	9	8	8	4

N=1600

HEALTH

Table 7.1.5

How would you rate your own health?

	2007 IX	2012 VI
Perfect	5	5
Very good	8	10
Good	20	39
Satisfactory	38	33
Bad	26	13
Difficult to answer	3	1

N=1600

Table 7.1.6

**When you feel you are getting sick, do you usually see a doctor or
try to treat yourself on your own?**

	2010 II	2011 II	2012 IV
Essentially always see a doctor	13	15	16
I would see a doctor more often	30	26	26
I would try to treat myself more often	40	42	43
Essentially never see a doctor	15	17	13
Difficult to answer	2	1	2

February, 2010; N=1600

Table 7.1.7

Where do you go for medical care in event of illness or serious ailment?

(% of respondents who seek medical care)

	2011 II	2012 IV
District polyclinic	82	72
Polyclinic or medical centre on the insurance partially or completely paid for by the employer	11	20
Polyclinic or medical centre on the insurance which I pay for myself / paid by my family	3	3
Polyclinic or medical centre for cash	2	2
I go to the private doctor of which I have been a long-term patient	2	2
Difficult to answer	1	<1

N=1600

Table 7.1.8

Do you visit fitness centers/gyms and, if you do, how often?

A few times a week	2
Approximately once a week	2
2-3 times a month	3
Approximately once a month	4
Less often	6
Never	84

2012, September; N=1600

Table 7.1.9

Do go to the swimming pool and, if you do, how often?

A few times a week	1
Approximately once a week	2
2-3 times a month	2
Approximately once a month	4
Less often	12
Never	79

2012, September; N=1600

Table 7.1.10

Did you or your family have to decline treatment or health care for lack of funds in the last year?

	1996	2000	2001	2002	2005	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012
On regular basis	35	43	33	35	39	34	27	25	27	25
Occasionally	25	30	32	30	30	30	29	27	30	29
Very seldom	15	13	15	15	13	15	19	18	17	17
Never	25	13	20	20	18	22	25	31	27	30

N=1600

AIDS

Table 7.1.11

What would be your attitude towards proposal to legalize “soft” drugs (marijuana, etc.)?

	2006 IV	2011 V	2012 VII	2013 V
Positive	5	11	8	8
Neutral	8	10	9	11
Negative	85	77	81	79
Difficult to answer	2	3	3	3

N=1600

Table 7.1.12

What would be your attitude towards proposal to introduce a mandatory drug testing program for school students?

	2011 V	2012 VII	2013 V
Positive	75	68	73
Neutral	13	18	18
Negative	7	10	6
Difficult to answer	5	4	3

N=1600

Table 7.1.13

What would be your attitude towards proposal to take drug tests when hiring new employees or admitting students to universities and colleges?

	2011 V	2012 VII	2013 V
Positive	76	68	73
Neutral	13	20	17
Negative	7	9	6
Difficult to answer	4	3	3

N=1600

Table 7.1.14

What would be your attitude towards proposal to criminalize the drug use (effectively means the mandatory rehab for drug users)?

	2011 V	2012 VII	2013 V
Positive	77	68	75
Neutral	12	18	13
Negative	6	9	7
Difficult to answer	5	5	5

N=1600

7.2 EDUCATION

Table 7.2.1

How would you rate the system of education in Russia?

	2011 V	2012 IV	2013 V
Excellent	3	1	2
Good	24	23	19
Mediocre	48	39	49
Bad	16	14	18
Very bad	5	14	5
Difficult to answer	5	8	8

N=1600

Table 7.2.2

Are you satisfied with the education system in Russia?

	2004 III	2005 I	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 VIII	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 IX
Definitely yes	5	3	2	3	4	4	4	1	2	3
Yes, rather than no	18	15	15	22	21	21	19	18	16	16
Neither yes, nor no	20	22	19	22	22	26	24	28	25	24
No, rather than yes	30	29	33	28	29	30	27	26	29	27
Definitely no	20	21	25	18	18	13	12	12	16	23
Difficult to answer	8	10	6	8	6	6	15	15	13	7

N=1600

Table 7.2.3

How did the quality of the education system in Russia change over the past year?

	2005 I	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 VIII	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 VIII
Improved considerably	1	3	3	2	4	1	1	1	1
Improved somewhat	10	13	17	20	19	9	11	10	11
Has not changed	35	37	44	45	47	35	38	34	43
Somewhat declined	23	21	15	15	15	20	21	23	23
Declined considerably	17	13	7	6	5	9	9	14	9
Difficult to answer	14	13	14	13	10	26	21	18	13

N=1600

Table 7.2.4

**Is it possible for you (your children, grandchildren)
to get a good education now if necessary?**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII
Definitely yes	7	6	6	6	7	8	7	3	4	4	3
Yes, rather than no	30	26	30	26	35	31	36	27	32	28	28
No, rather than yes	38	38	35	35	34	35	36	34	33	35	43
Definitely no	21	26	25	28	19	21	17	15	14	15	16
Difficult to answer	4	4	3	5	5	5	5	21	18	18	10

N=1600

UNIFIED STATE EXAM

Table 7.2.5

**What is your attitude to the practice of abolishing entrance exams to higher
education institutions and entry based instead on a uniform state examination
to be taken upon high school graduation?**

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	V	VIII	IX	VII	VI	VI	VI	V	V	V	V
Entirely positive	18	20	19	13	14	12	6	9	10	9	13
Rather positive	32	35	25	31	30	28	22	25	26	29	28
Rather negative	19	18	20	22	22	25	25	31	25	25	23
Very negative	9	12	14	15	10	11	15	12	16	16	12
Difficult to answer	22	15	22	19	24	24	32	23	23	22	24

N=1600

Table 7.2.6

**How do you think the Unified State Exam assesses the knowledge of school
graduates in comparison to the usual exams?**

	2004	2006	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	VI	IV	III	V	V	V	V
Better	24	18	16	12	15	14	13
Worse	22	29	36	41	43	45	34
Neither better nor worse	32	31	27	28	25	28	33
Difficult to answer	23	22	21	18	18	14	21

N=1600

Table 7.2.7

**With the introduction of the Unified State Exam, around the end of school and
entrance to higher education institutions, the number of bribes, use of
profitable connections and other corrupt practices will...**

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	III	V	V	V	V
Increase	25	27	30	35	30
Decrease	17	15	17	16	13
Remain the same	36	31	33	31	34
Difficult to answer	23	28	20	18	24

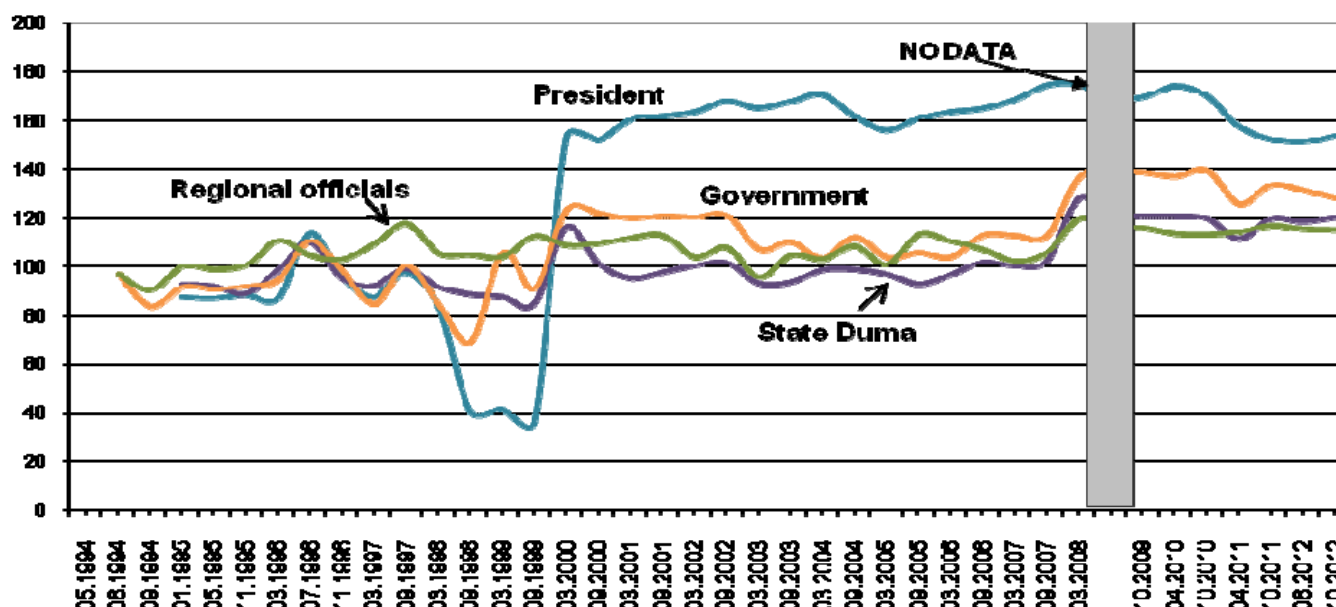
N=1600

8. GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

8.1. OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF INSTITUTIONS

Diagram 8.1.1

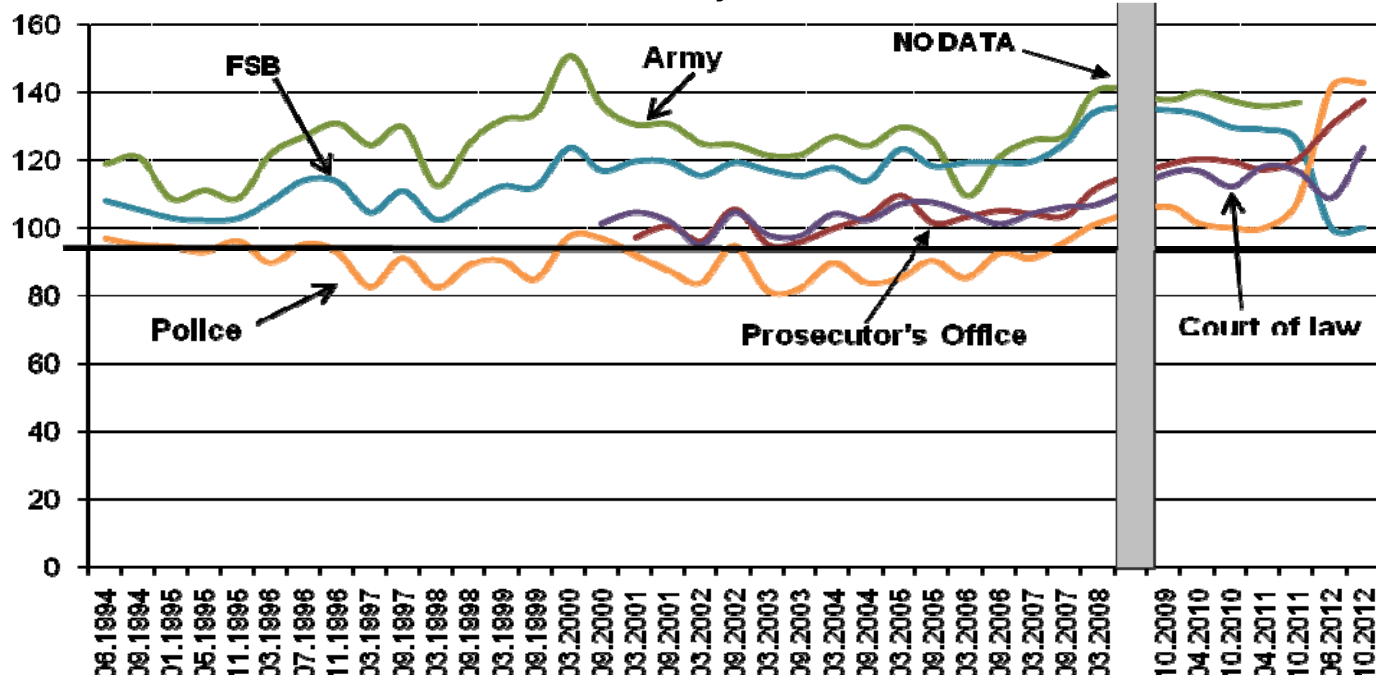
Indices of confidence in public institutions:



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

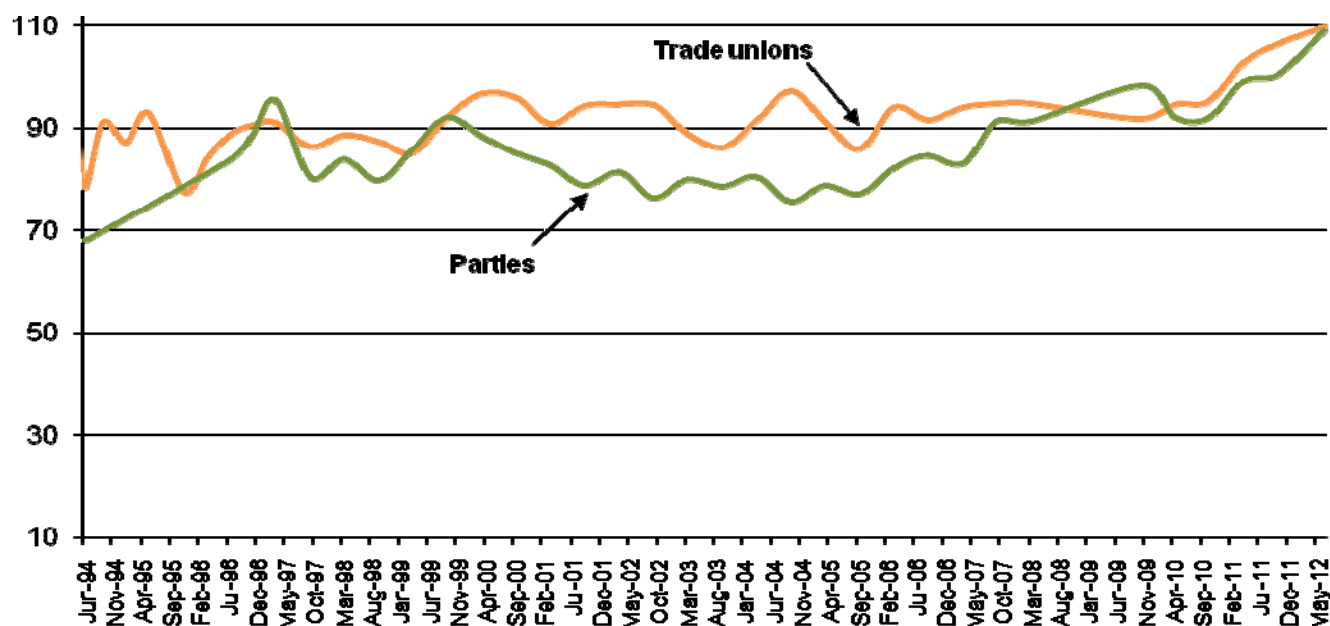
Diagram 8.1.2

Indices of confidence in security and law enforcement bodies



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 8.1.3

Indices of confidence in parties and trade unions

Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Indices of diagram 8.1.1-8.1.3 were calculated as the sum of the percentages of those who «have complete confidence» plus half of those who «do not have complete confidence» minus the share of those who «have no confidence» plus 100.

Table 8.1.1

How important in Russia is the role of ..?*

		2001	2002	2003	2004	2004	2005	2005	2006	2006	2007	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
		I-II	I-II	I-II	I	VII	I	VIII	II	VII	I	VII	II	I	I	I	I
1	President	3,90	4,12	3,96	4,11	3,85	3,92	3,91	3,99	4,08	4,25	4,22	4,51	4,11	4,03	4,17	3,87
2	President's Administration	2,9	2,84	3,1	-**	-**	3,28	3,43	3,42	3,44	3,63	3,55	3,96	3,81	3,6	3,69	3,51
3	Oligarchs, bankers, Financial officers	3,79	3,78	3,80	3,89	3,67	3,64	3,71	3,71	3,59	3,74	3,64	3,58	3,71	3,66	3,63	3,63
4	Media	3,52	3,57	3,53	3,48	3,40	3,39	3,43	3,49	3,52	3,48	3,53	3,43	3,48	3,32	3,45	3,36
5	Government	3,53	3,48	3,38	3,48	3,25	3,22	3,22	3,41	3,30	3,56	3,45	3,84	3,87	3,7	3,78	3,61
6	Regional governors	3,42	3,25	3,29	3,32	3,18	3,14	3,27	3,23	3,30	3,34	3,26	3,47	3,39	3,28	3,25	3,18
7	Armed forces	3,28	3,25	3,29	3,26	3,30	3,21	3,34	3,21	3,51	3,5	3,47	3,62	3,61	3,46	3,36	3,42
8	Federal Security Service	3,21	3,21	3,31	-**	3,40	3,41	3,54	3,50	3,69	3,74	3,65	3,78	3,73	3,55	3,36	3,61
9	Top managers of large corporations	3,35	3,28	3,15	3,40	3,16	3,12	3,21	3,11	3,17	3,18	3,17	3,27	3,30	3,09	3,01	3,10
10	Public Prosecutor's Office	2,9	3,08	2,97	-**	3,2	3,13	3,2	3,14	3,32	3,36	3,28	3,43	3,39	3,35	3,22	3,26
11	Judicial	2,8	2,73	2,91	-**	-**	3,01	3,08	3,06	3,13	3,25	3,11	3,27	3,29	3,16	3,18	3,17
12	Federation Council	2,99	3,00	2,93	3,10	2,95	2,93	2,93	3,11	3,08	3,23	3,09	3,41	3,33	3,18	3,22	3,10
13	Church	2,91	3,08	2,74	2,92	3,02	3,06	2,98	2,89	3,17	3,26	3,00	3,04	3,42	3,16	3,04	3,04
14	State Duma	2,81	2,90	2,86	3,01	2,90	2,85	2,80	2,95	2,81	3,07	2,89	3,29	3,18	3,16	3,09	3,06
15	Intelligentsia	2,53	2,46	2,44	2,52	2,43	2,42	2,38	2,47	2,49	2,59	2,43	2,67	2,56	2,42	2,54	2,42
16	Political parties	2,69	2,68	2,60	2,82	2,56	2,61	2,50	2,75	2,55	2,73	2,64	3,04	2,84	2,81	2,81	2,81
17	Trade-unions	1,95	1,85	1,91	1,97	1,91	1,91	1,77	1,91	1,88	1,89	1,93	2,01	2,05	1,91	1,92	1,91
18	Police	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	2,86	3,10

* - average on a 5-point scale, with 5 as «very important» and 1 as «unimportant»

** - «-» the question was not asked

N=1600

Table 8.1.2

How dependent are from the Presidential Administration in Russia...?

	Fully dependent	Strongly dependent	Somewhat dependent	Absolutely independent	Difficult to answer
State Duma and Federation Council	27	45	11	1	16
Federal mass media outlets	27	44	12	2	16
Russian Judiciary	26	38	14	5	18
Russian business	25	41	12	5	16

2012, September; N=1600

Table 8.1.3

Who should be primarily credited for Russia's economic success and growing wellbeing of the population?

	2010	2011	2012
D. Medvedev	33	30	11
V. Putin	44	38	59
Russian government/Ministers	14	16	12
Governors / local authorities	5	7	3
Businessmen	5	6	3
No one	9	12	13
Difficult to answer	14	17	13

August, N=1600

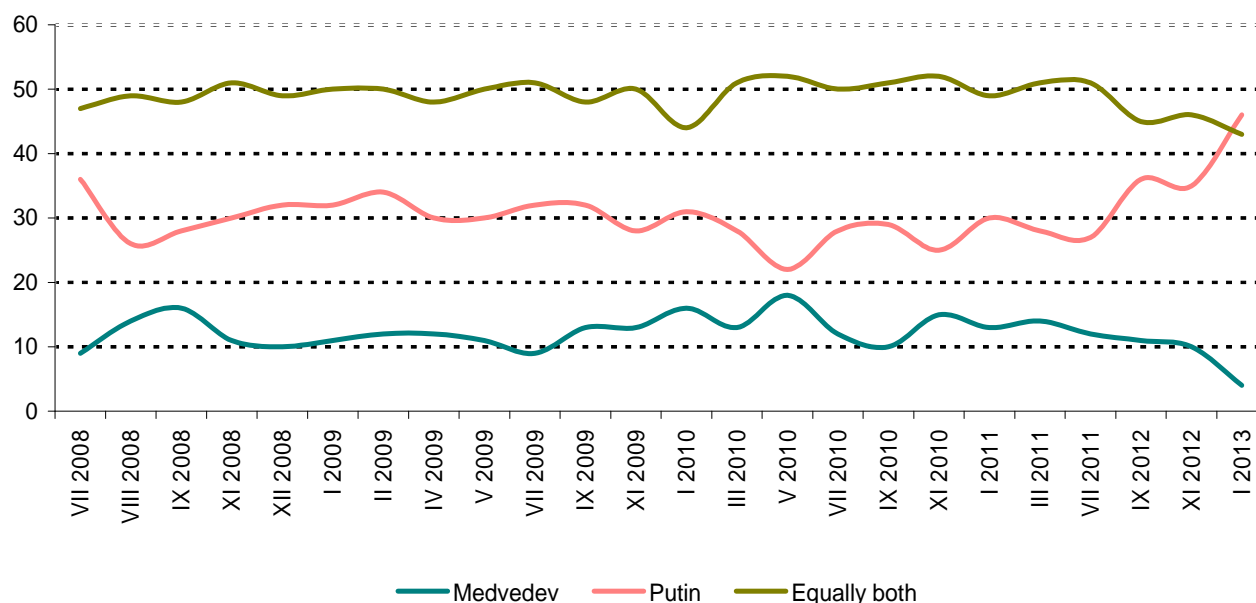
Table 8.1.4

Who in Russia is primarily responsible for the country's problems and increasing cost of living?

	2010	2011	2012
D. Medvedev	36	41	19
V. Putin	31	29	51
Russian government/Ministers	30	40	31
Governors / local authorities	12	16	12
Businessmen	7	6	6
No one	5	4	5
Difficult to answer	14	10	11

August, N=1600

Diagram 8.1.4

Who, in your opinion, holds the actual power in Russia?

N=1600

8.2. PRIME MINISTER

Table 8.2.1

Have you formed a generally positive or negative impression of D. Medvedev?

	2008	2009					2010				2011				2012
	X	I	V	VIII	XI	II	V	VIII	XI	II	VI	VIII	XI	I	
Generally positive	55	62	59	62	55	65	66	62	64	60	54	54	51	44	
Generally negative	9	9	13	11	9	17	15	15	17	17	21	22	24	30	
Do not know enough about him	33	26	24	22	33	15	15	18	15	17	19	19	17	20	
Difficult to answer	4	3	4	5	4	3	4	5	4	6	5	5	7	6	

N=1600

Table 8.2.2

To what degree does D. Medvedev influence what happens in Russia?

	2008	2009				2010				2011				2012
	X	I	V	VIII	XI	II	V	VIII	XI	II	VI	VIII	XI	I
Very strongly	7	8	6	7	5	9	10	6	10	12	7	8	7	5
Strongly	30	35	29	29	29	36	35	31	36	36	33	28	27	24
Average	41	38	41	42	43	38	37	42	35	35	37	34	39	39
Weakly	10	9	15	13	14	11	12	14	12	12	15	18	17	20
Very weakly	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	1	3	4	4	6
Difficult to answer	10	8	6	7	6	4	4	5	5	4	5	7	6	5

N=1600

8.3. PUTIN PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT AGAIN

Table 8.3.1

How would you describe your attitude to V. Putin?

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012		2013
	V	V	V	XI	XI	XI	VIII	IX	VI	VIII	I	I	VIII	III
Admiration	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	9	9	4	3	3	2	2
Like him	28	30	32	38	30	32	31	38	40	31	28	20	20	18
Can't say anything bad about him	35	37	40	39	35	36	37	34	31	38	36	32	31	30
Neutral, indifferent	8	12	9	10	14	11	15	9	10	11	18	19	20	22
Cautious, wait-and-see approach	18	11	9	5	7	5	5	4	3	7	4	11	11	10
Can't say anything good about him	3	4	4	3	7	8	6	2	3	6	2	8	8	8
Dislike, disgust	1	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	5	4	7
Difficult to answer	4	1	0	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	3	3

N=1600

Table 8.3.2

Which group's interests do you think V. Putin promotes? (ranked by the last survey)

	2000	2001	2003	2005	2006	2007	2010	2011		2012		2013
	X	VII	VII	VII	IX	VIII	X	I	VII	I	VII	III
Oligarchs, bankers, big business	24	15	27	25	23	18	26	26	29	36	39	36
The military and law enforcement agencies	54	43	51	51	34	39	34	31	33	37	43	35
Civil servants, bureaucrats	12	15	21	26	21	19	24	24	22	26	32	27
Top management of large enterprises	16	16	21	23	12	13	18	18	22	21	26	18
The middle class: people with incomes above average	10	16	19	23	24	31	27	26	25	27	21	18
Yeltsin's former closest associates, the Family	25	22	25	20	13	13	11	10	13	15	14	13
Common people: white and blue collar workers, farmers	13	15	15	18	18	24	20	20	19	18	14	12
All people without exception	5	7	7	6	10	12	8	10	12	7	11	10
Cultural and academic elite	4	8	9	11	7	10	10	10	9	9	10	7
Intelligentsia	5	10	9	12	7	10	10	10	10	8	7	6
Difficult to answer	13	18	11	12	12	13	14	13	12	9	7	6

N=1600

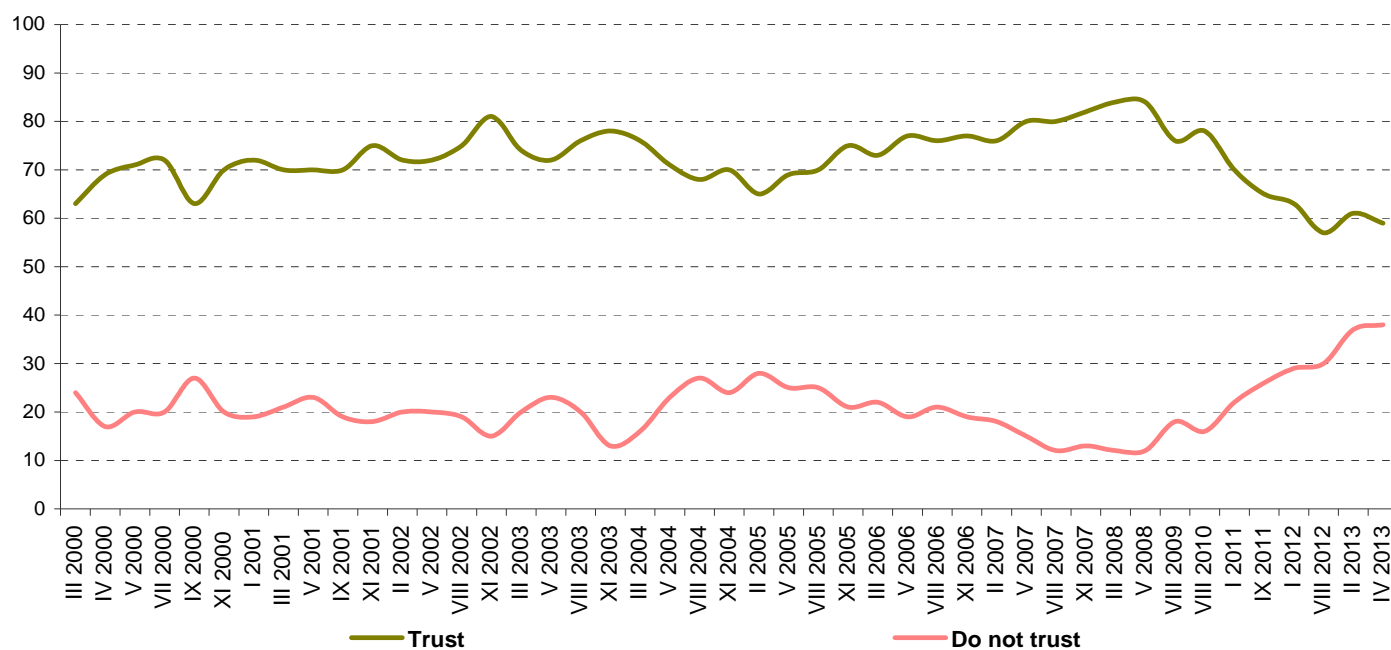
Table 8.3.3

Why do so many people have confidence in V. Putin?

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012
People have seen that V. Putin copes with Russia's problems efficiently	14	21	15	16	16	25	31	28	26	26	15
People hope that V. Putin will cope with Russia's problems in the future	43	44	46	40	36	32	30	35	34	38	41
People do not see anyone else to rely on	34	31	34	41	42	38	35	31	34	29	35
Difficult to answer	9	4	5	3	6	5	4	6	6	8	9

N=1600

Diagram 8.3.1

How much do you trust Vladimir Putin?

N=1600

Table 8.3.4

What would you call V. Putin's main achievement during his term in office and what would you call V. Putin's biggest failure?

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012
Economic development of the country	10	7	10	18	21	17	12	14
Improvement of the living standards, salaries and pensions	24	18	14	16	16	22	20	14
Raising the level of optimism and hope for an improvement in the country in the near future	13	11	14	10	12	9	10	7
Introducing order in the country, maintaining a calm political situation	6	9	8	6	8	8	8	7
Ensuring the economic and political environment for the development of private business	3	2	2	3	1	2	2	4
«Harnessing» the oligarchs, restraining their ascendancy	6	6	5	4	2	2	3	2
Fight with corruption, bribery	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1
Fight with crime	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Solving the Chechen problem	2	2	2	4	5	4	3	5
Securing higher military efficiency and reform of the armed forces	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	3
Defending democracy and political freedoms of the citizens	1	2	2	1	1	<1	1	1
Elimination of the threat of terrorism in the country	<1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1
Cooperation with other CIS countries	3	4	3	2	2	1	4	2
Improvement of the relations between Russia and the West	6	8	6	5	4	5	6	4
Strengthening Russia's position in the world	4	4	7	8	8	7	7	8
Improvement of the relations between people of different ethnic groups in Russia	<1	1	1	<1	1	<1	1	1
Safeguard of morals of the public	<1	1	1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1
I don't see any achievements	12	13	13	10	5	8	9	15
Difficult to answer	4	4	8	4	7	8	10	8

N=1600

Table 8.3.5

Is Vladimir Putin, in your opinion, responsible for the issues Russia faced while he was in the office?

	2012 I	2013 II
Yes, completely	50	48
Yes, to a certain extent	28	30
No, he did everything right and if anything failed the problem were the negligent and corrupt bureaucrats	12	13
He did everything right and if anything failed, it was due to external circumstance	6	5
Difficult to answer	5	4

N=1600

Table 8.3.6

Do you agree with the statement that Russia's population is tired of waiting till Vladimir Putin makes any positive changes in the country?

	2010 VII	2011 V X		2012 II VIII		2013 IV
Definitely yes	15	20	17	20	17	22
Most likely, yes	28	35	35	33	39	39
Most likely, no	31	26	34	29	27	37
Definitely no	9	10	6	10	6	3
Difficult to answer	17	9	8	9	12	10

N=1600

Table 8.3.7

Which part of the society will Vladimir Putin rely on in the future?

(The answers are ranked based on the last poll)

	2000	2012
Law enforcement, officers of security service, military and Ministry of Internal Affairs	59	47
Governors, Russia's political elite	31	44
Oligarchs, bankers and big business	19	39
Government officials and bureaucracy	16	27
Directors of major companies	23	25
"Middle class": people with average European incomes	11	16
Intelligentsia: teachers, doctors and engineers	10	11
Art and academic elite	10	11
Common people: small clerks, workers, farmers	12	11
Fringe urban population: paupers and degraded people	1	1
Everyone without any exception	5	5
Difficult to answer	16	11

N=1600

Table 8.3.8

**What is, in your opinion, is the largest concern for V. Putin's associates:
national issues or personal material interests?**

	2005	2008	2012	2013
National issues	31	56	40	33
Personal material interests	55	29	41	52
Difficult to answer	14	16	19	16

N=1600

Table 8.3.9

**Is V. Putin, in your opinion, guilty of abuse of power his opponents
accuse him for?**

	2012 IV	2012 XII
Definitely guilty: a lot of facts on the Internet and in mass media points to that	16	11
Probably guilty, like all top government officials, however, I do not know much about that and I do not follow such news;	32	37
Even if it is true, most important is that Russia improved while he was in the office	25	14
Whatever people say, I do not believe V. Putin ever abused power	11	15
Difficult to answer	16	23

N=1600

Table 8.3.10

**Is there anyone, in your opinion, who can replace V. Putin
as the President of Russia?**

You can already name a politician who can replace V. Putin	10
It is possible to find a person who could replace V. Putin, if need be	47
There is no one in Russia who could replace V. Putin	27
Difficult to answer	15

N=1600

Table 8.3.11

**Would you want Vladimir Putin to be re-elected the President in 6 years
for another term in the office or you would rather have D. Medvedev or
someone else to replace him in the position?**

	2012 VIII	2012 XII	2013 III
I would want V. Putin to be re-elected the President in 6 years	22	23	22
I would like to have D. Medvedev or someone else replace Putin in 6 years	7	5	8
I would like to have someone else replace Putin in 6 years	49	44	47
Difficult to answer	22	28	23

N=1600

Table 8.3.12

**Which of the assessments of V. Putin as the Prime Minister
you would rather agree with...**

	2010 VIII	2011 VI	2012 V
I share Vladimir Putin's ideas and views completely	22	16	15
I am willing to support V. Putin as long as he is willing to pursue the democratic and market reforms in Russia	30	29	26
I used to admire V. Putin, but I have recently been disillusioned	11	19	17
I support V. Putin for lack of other decent political figures	4	14	7
I am not a supporter of V. Putin	18	11	17
I did not admire V. Putin until recently, but I hope he will be useful for Russia in the future	8	5	12
I believe we should anyone but V. Putin	1	2	2
Difficult to answer	7	6	5

June, 2011; N=1600

Table 8.3.13

**Will, in your opinion, Vladimir Putin's resignation from the Presidency
destabilize Russia?**

Definitely yes	10
Rather yes	36
Rather no	28
Definitely not	8
Difficult to answer	18

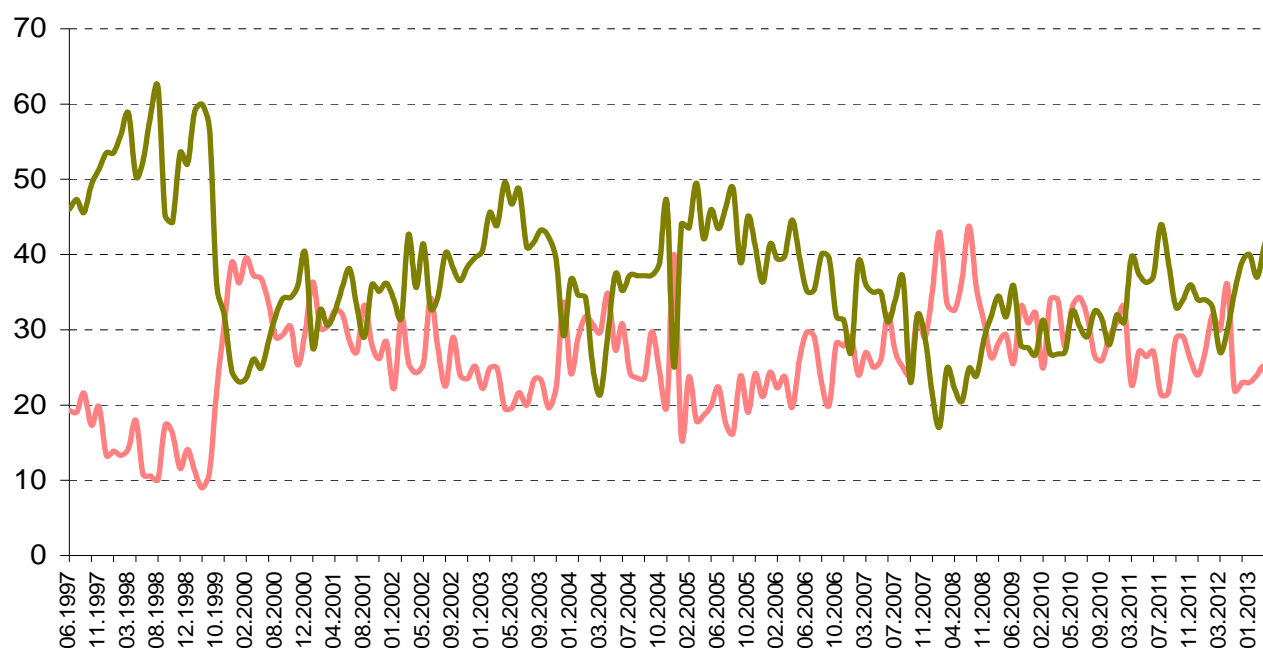
2012, December; N=1600

8.4. GOVERNMENT

Diagram 8.4.1

**Will the current government be able to improve the situation
in the country in the near future?**

(Sum of positive and negative answers)



N=1600

Table 8.4.1

In terms of the economic policy of the government, for instance, the measures it takes to fight the financial crisis, inflation, unemployment, etc., how in your opinion does the Russian government meet the challenges?

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2010	2011	2012	2013
	XI	XI	XI	IX	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	VI	X	IV	X	X	X	VI
Well	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	7	6	5	5	6	5	5
Average	17	24	37	35	32	25	30	39	37	38	46	47	47	45	47	45
Poorly	68	58	51	52	55	62	57	49	47	42	40	42	40	45	41	45
Difficult to answer	14	17	10	11	11	11	12	9	13	13	8	6	7	8	7	5

N=1600

Table 8.4.2

**Which areas of the government's performance
have you been dissatisfied the most?**

(the answers are ranked by the last poll)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	XI	XI	XI	X	XI	VIII	XII	VIII	II	I	XI	XI	VI	II
Can't curb price hikes and personal income decline	44	46	43	48	53	52	52	51	57	41	50	56	46	47
Doesn't care about social support of population	34	37	36	45	43	41	38	42	38	26	32	37	28	31
Is corrupt, mainly pursues its own interests	11	21	17	20	19	22	23	23	21	18	20	30	29	27
Can't ensure people's employment	25	31	24	27	34	36	33	30	26	27	32	37	30	26
Lacks a sound program to beat the recession	20	22	22	15	18	24	18	19	9	17	15	21	19	23
Acts in the interests of big business	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	13	20	16	22
Can't overcome economic crisis and production decline	23	23	25	20	24	30	21	21	25	28	18	21	26	16
Fights crime inefficiently	22	24	26	26	20	23	19	23	16	6	20	19	12	14
Shows little professionalism	4	4	5	5	3	7	6	5	6	5	5	10	8	11
Can't ensure people's safety, can't cope with terrorism	6	8	9	7	8	9	7	8	6	9	9	10	10	10
Acts in the interests of foreign capital	15	20	21	21	23	21	15	13	11	5	12	15	7	8
Is waging a «strange» war in Chechnya / cannot keep the peace in the North Caucasus	13	15	18	9	12	14	8	6	6	4	9	8	4	6
I am satisfied with the way the government operates	6	9	8	7	5	5	9	6	10	10	5	6	5	5

_* the question was not asked

N=1600

Table 8.4.3

How long D. Medvedev will stay Chairman of the Russian Government?

Not more than a few months	3
A year or two	12
Three or four years	14
Until V. Putin ends his Presidential term in 2018	50
Difficult to answer	22

2012, November; N=1600

Table 8.4.4

Would you now be in favor or against Russian government's resignation?

Definitely in favor	10
Rather in favor	28
Rather against	33
Definitely against	8
Difficult to answer	22

2012, November; N=1600

8.5. STATE DUMA

Table 8.5.1

What is your attitude towards the fact that there are so many wealthy individuals and businessmen in Russian State and Federation Council?

(responses are ranked)

Negative: they use their position influence to retain and increase their wealth	36
Negative: they represent and protect the interests of rich people only	31
Negative: you can be rich and a member of Parliament in Russia by fraud, intrigues and scheming only	27
I do not mind that: the problem is not in rich or poor, it is important that everybody worked for the benefit of nation and common people	22
Positive: they already made a fortune and therefore will be less tempted to embezzle and will think more about common people and national cause	11
Positive: these are established and experienced people which run their business well enough to be able to run the country	5
Difficult to answer	5

2012, February; N=1500

Table 8.5.2

How would you rate State Duma's performance?

Very good	3
Rather good	34
Rather poor	35
Very poor	12
Difficult to answer	16

2012, February; N=1500

“SPECIAL” LAWS 2012

Table 8.5.3

What is your attitude to special amendments to law on meetings, demonstrations and assemblies introducing tougher penalties up to 300, 000 Roubles?

Absolutely positive	5
Rather positive	25
Rather, negative	28
Very negative	18
Difficult to answer	24

2012, June; N=1600

Table 8.5.4

Why do think State Duma and Federation Council adopted the amendments so hastily?

Because the authorities are concerned with maintaining order and peace	24
Because the authorities are concerned with growing protests	62
Difficult to answer	15

2012, June; N=1600

Table 8.5.5

Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that controlling Internet / having a list of banned web-sites restricts the freedom of speech in Russia?

Absolutely agree	11
Rather agree	23
Rather disagree	34
Completely disagree	17
Difficult to answer	14

2012, July; N=1600

Table 8.5.6

What are the authorities trying to accomplish by adopting the laws increasing the fines for unsolicited protests, “On libel”, tightening the control over non-profit organisations and regulation of the Internet?

Maintain the order and stability in Russia	30
Stop the protest movement	32
Tighten control of Russian society and opposition	25
These laws do not have any “higher” purpose	5
Difficult to answer	8

2012, July; N=1600

“FOREIGN AGENT”

Table 8.5.7

What is your general perception of the phrase “foreign agent”?

Positive, in general	12
Negative, in general	62
Difficult to answer	26

2012, September; N=1600

Table 8.5.8

What does “foreign agent” phrase mean to you?

(responses are ranked)

A spy, intelligence officer of a different country planted in Russia, an undercover spy	39
Covert enemy from within active in Russia in the interest of other states, a ‘fifth column’	22
Official representative of another state or foreign commercial company, organization openly representing interests of the government, company or corporation in Russia	18
Any non-governmental organization, Russian or foreign, which receives foreign funds to finance the activity in Russia	11
Difficult to answer	10

2012, September; N=1600

Table 8.5.9

What is your attitude towards the tougher law on non-governmental organizations and the requirement to register as a “foreign agent” for any organization receiving funding from abroad?

	2012 VII	2013 VI
Absolutely positive	17	14
Rather positive	28	35
Rather, negative	14	15
Very negative	4	5
Difficult to answer	37	30

N=1600

Table 8.5.10

Do you know what is a “non-profit organisations”?

	2012 VII	2013 VI
I understand the term well	19	16
I heard something about it	49	52
I am not aware	25	29
Difficult to answer	7	4

N=1600

Table 8.5.11

**What, in your opinion,
non-profit organizations primarily do in Russia?**

	2012 VII	2013 VI
Aid to various groups of society	42	35
Deal with various social issues	35	31
Solve local issues	18	15
Defend civil rights	21	20
Political activity	15	15
They do not do any real job but tap into money in grants	7	12
Difficult to answer	19	20

N=1600

Table 8.5.12

**How would you estimate the performance
of non-profit organizations in Russia?**

	2012 VII	2013 VI
Absolutely positive	11	9
Rather positive	39	41
Rather, negative	10	15
Very negative	3	4
Difficult to answer	38	31

N=1600

Table 8.5.13

Which activities from the list below you would classify as political activity?
(Responses are ranked)

Starting political parties and movements	43
Organizing events (rallies, picket rings, strikes) under political slogans (change of political system, etc.)	41
Organizing events (rallies, picket rings, strikes) to protect social rights	29
Organizing events (rallies, picket rings, strikes) to solve local issues	27
Participation in any elections	26
Proposals to improve the social order	22
Aid to various social groups	19
Observation of the elections to eliminate any fraud at various levels	18
Developing proposals to solve any social issues	18
Boosting social activism among Russian citizens	17
Legal defense of civil rights	15
Difficult to answer	12

2012, July; N=1600

Table 8.5.14

What is your attitude to NPOs operating in Russia analyzing the national developmental outlook, civil rights defense and civil society development in Russia and seeking foreign donations?

Absolutely positive	13
Rather positive	42
Rather, negative	12
Very negative	2
Difficult to answer	31

2012, July; N=1600

8.6. THE ARMY

Table 8.6.1

To what extent can the Army be trusted?

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010		2011	2012
	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	III	X	IV	X	IV	VI
Fully trusted	28	28	35	35	33	28	28	30	30	26	30	37	37	38	37	34	39
Not fully trusted	36	34	31	35	31	36	32	34	33	35	33	33	33	34	33	39	38
Not trusted at all	16	19	16	16	18	21	22	20	21	23	19	12	16	15	16	17	15
Difficult to answer	20	19	17	15	19	15	19	16	17	15	18	18	13	13	13	11	8

1997-2008 N=2100; 2009, N=1600

Table 8.6.2

Do you think that at present our army will be able to defend Russia in case of a real military threat from other countries?

	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	I	I	I	I	I	II	II	II	II	I	I	I	II
Definitely yes	19	17	13	16	14	21	21	24	27	18	17	15	13
Yes, rather than no	41	39	42	44	38	41	44	49	46	45	42	47	44
No, rather than yes	23	23	29	24	25	20	19	13	12	15	22	20	21
Definitely no	8	7	8	8	13	8	8	4	4	7	6	7	8
Difficult to answer	9	14	8	8	10	10	9	10	11	15	14	11	15

N=1600

8.7. MILITARY SERVICE

Table 8.7.1

Should we continue with universal military service and compulsory draft for young men of conscription age?

	1997	1998	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005		2006	2007		2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	IV	II	I	I	I	VII	I	VIII	II	II	X	II	III	I	I	I
Should continue with universal military service and compulsory draft	33	35	30	27	31	35	31	39	32	41	34	45	47	39	47	43
Should start forming a contract-based army consisting of contract soldiers who are paid for their service	55	53	63	64	60	53	62	52	62	54	57	48	43	54	47	51
Difficult to answer	12	12	8	9	10	11	7	9	6	5	10	7	9	7	7	7

N=1600

Table 8.7.2

If someone from your family were to be drafted to the army, what would you prefer?

	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012
	II	II	X	III	I	I	I
Would prefer him to serve in the army	52	34	45	50	46	46	46
Would try to find a way to avoid military service	39	53	42	35	42	41	39
Difficult to answer	9	13	13	15	12	13	15

N=1600

Table 8.7.3

**Would you like your son, brother, another close relative
to serve in the army now? If negative, why?**

	1998 II	2000 I	2001 II	2003 I	2004 I	2005 I	2006 II	2007 II	2008 II	2010 I	2011 I	2012 I
Yes, I would...	13	19	26	22	20	28	24	34	36	34	36	36
No, I would not because (of)...												
Possible death, wound in Chechen-type conflicts	30	48	38	44	42	33	32	27	21	23	23	21
«Dedovshina» (hazing), violence	40	34	30	35	42	36	49	42	34	27	29	32
Lawlessness and humiliation of servicemen	20	18	13	19	23	19	24	17	15	13	15	16
Difficult living conditions, bad food, danger for the health	21	27	18	23	24	18	14	12	10	11	14	13
Moral degradation, drinking and drug-abuse	19	15	10	16	13	12	16	10	10	10	10	10
Chaos in the army, the government's irresponsible military policy	25	21	13	20	21	18	16	10	6	8	10	10
Criminalization of the army, servicemen's involvement in criminal offences	15	12	5	10	10	9	10	6	5	7	7	8
The years spent in the army is time wasted	11	8	6	8	9	9	8	7	6	7	5	2
Would not, but cannot give the reason	7	6	4	5	4	6	2	4	4	5	3	5
Difficult to answer	3	6	5	6	3	5	5	6	11	9	10	10

N=1600

Table 8.7.4

**How common is hazing in the military and humiliation of conscripts by older
servicemen and officers?**

	2006 II	2007 II	2008 II	2011 I	2012 I
Isolated cases	2	9	9	11	9
Just a few military units	12	21	23	27	23
Many military units	50	45	42	39	38
Very common	32	20	17	13	20
Difficult to answer	4	6	9	9	9

N=1600

Table 8.7.5

Would you be in favour or against increasing the military service term from one to one and a half years?

Definitely in favour	14
Rather in favour	19
Rather against	29
Definitely against	29
Difficult to answer	8

2012, November; N=1600

Table 8.7.6

Would you be in favor or against getting rid of deferred draft for University students?

Definitely in favor	5
Rather in favor	12
Rather against	32
Definitely against	44
Difficult to answer	7

2012, November; N=1600

8.8. THE LAW ENFORCEMENT BODIES

Table 8.8.1

How did the work of the Militia (police) and other law-enforcement change last year?

Year of evaluation	1989	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Improved	16	9	11	9	10	9	10	7	9	17	10	6	11	8	10
Deteriorated	19	38	30	40	41	36	29	35	25	39	24	34	32	25	23
Did not change	31	29	48	40	38	40	46	45	51	36	48	44	45	52	55
Difficult to answer	34	24	11	11	11	14	15	13	15	11	18	14	13	15	11

N=1600

Table 8.8.2

How did the citizens' personal safety change last year?

Year of evaluation	1989	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Improved	5	3	5	4	8	10	7	5	6	11	6	6	6	6	7
Deteriorated	54	71	41	55	57	47	50	44	33	44	33	41	35	29	28
Did not change	24	13	49	36	31	37	37	45	53	38	48	46	52	57	59
Difficult to answer	16	13	5	6	4	6	6	5	8	8	12	8	7	8	6

N=1600

Table 8.8.3

Do you trust or mistrust the Law Enforcement (police, prosecutor's office)?

Definitely trust	5
Rather trust	26
Rather mistrust	48
Definitely mistrust	15
Difficult to answer	7

2012, April; N=1600

Table 8.8.4

How serious for modern Russia, in your opinion, is the problem of lawlessness and abuse of power of the law-enforcement?

	2004 VII	2005 I	2006 I	2010 I	2012 IV
A very serious problem	40	40	40	34	36
Quite a serious problem	42	42	42	47	47
Not a very serious problem	10	11	10	11	9
There is no such problem	2	2	2	1	2
Difficult to answer	6	6	6	7	5

N=1600

Table 8.8.5

**Do you think the Russian authorities use
the law-enforcement against their political opponents?**

	2004 VII	2005 I	2006 I	2010 I	2012 IV
Do not use	7	6	5	8	6
Use rarely	20	21	20	21	25
Use quite often	34	36	35	28	34
It is a common practice	15	14	14	12	14
Difficult to answer	25	23	26	32	21

N=1600

Table 8.8.6

**Do you think you yourself or your family and friends
can suffer from the abuse of power by the law-enforcement?**

	2004 VII	2005 I	2006 I	2010 I	2012 IV
Constantly abused by the law enforcement	4	3	2	3	2
It may well happen	70	72	71	63	62
It is not really possible	18	19	20	24	25
It is out of the question	3	3	3	3	3
Difficult to answer	4	4	4	6	9

N=1600

Table 8.8.7

**To what extent do you personally feel protected
against abuse by the law-enforcement?**

	2004 VII	2005 I	2006 I	2010 I	2012 IV
Fully protected	3	2	2	5	2
Quite well protected	12	12	12	11	16
Not protected well enough	46	50	52	53	51
Absolutely unprotected	34	31	29	24	22
Difficult to answer	6	6	5	7	9

N=1600

Table 8.8.8

**Do you think that if you become a victim of law enforcement's abuse you will
be defended by other law-enforcement (court, prosecutor's office)?**

	2004 VII	2005 I	2006 I	2010 I	2012 IV
Definitely yes	4	5	5	4	5
Yes, rather than no	26	24	24	24	24
No, rather than yes	43	44	39	39	40
Definitely no	16	17	18	15	15
Difficult to answer	12	10	14	18	17

N=1600

Table 8.8.9

**In your opinion, is it possible in Russia to defend your rights,
violated by the court?**

	2006 XI	2010 I	2012 IV
Definitely yes	6	4	6
Most likely, yes	19	20	22
Most likely, no	36	39	40
Definitely no	21	16	16
Difficult to answer	18	20	17

N=1600

Table 8.8.10

**What do think the increasing number of recent reports
about the police crimes against individuals mean?**

	2010 I	2012 IV
This is a sign of degrading Russian militia which cannot be covered up anymore	62	57
This is an organized campaign with the purpose of discrediting the existing law enforcement officials and Russian government in general	10	11
This is a sign of the free press	9	11
This is a sign of increasingly open law enforcement	10	11
Difficult to answer	9	11

N=1600

POLICE

Table 8.8.11

Did the last year's police reform (militia reformed to police) bring any improvements?

	2012 II	2013 II
Definitely yes	3	5
Rather yes	15	21
Rather no	43	37
Definitely not	29	25
Not aware/ difficult to answer	10	12

*-“In the last years” in 2013

N=1600

Table 8.8.12

What do you think: in the last year or year and a half, did Russian police start working better, worse, or the same?

	1997 X	2007 X	2011 X	2012 II	2013 II
Better	13	12	6	7	12
The same	39	51	75	72	65
Worse	38	28	14	15	14
Difficult to answer	11	8	6	6	9

N=1600

Table 8.8.13

What is militia/police's primary purpose now?

Ensure the public security	23
Protect government interests	33
Protect its own interests	32
Difficult to answer	11

2012, April; N=1600

Table 8.8.14

Are you currently satisfied with the police's performance in your city/district?

	2010 X	2011 III	2012 IV	2013 II
Definitely yes	3	6	5	4
Most likely, yes	24	28	29	33
Most likely, no	37	38	37	35
Definitely no	23	18	15	13
Difficult to answer	13	10	13	16

N=1600

Table 8.8.15

Do you trust or mistrust the local police officers in your city/district?

	2010 XI	2011 III	2012 IV	2013 II
Definitely trust	5	5	3	4
Rather trust	28	30	30	34
Rather mistrust	42	43	45	43
Definitely mistrust	18	17	16	13
Difficult to answer	7	6	6	7

N=1600

Table 8.8.16

What do you feel about police in your city/district?

	2010 XI	2011 III	2012 IV	2013 II
Trust	11	14	10	9
Respect	15	14	16	20
Sympathy	10	8	7	10
Antipathy	20	22	19	20
Concern and fear	15	18	22	14
Indignation	16	12	13	9
Difficult to answer	21	20	20	24

N=1600

Table 8.8.17

Can police in your city/district protect you/your family from the crime?

	2010 XI	2011 III	2012 IV	2013 II
Definitely yes	4	6	4	3
Rather yes	27	31	27	29
Rather no	40	33	39	39
Definitely not	20	17	18	16
Difficult to answer	10	13	13	13

N=1600

Table 8.8.18

Should public assist in police business?

	2010 XI	2011 III	2012 IV	2013 II
Definitely yes	27	33	24	22
Rather yes	49	49	55	52
Rather no	11	8	12	13
Definitely not	4	3	3	5
Difficult to answer	9	7	6	9

N=1600

MAGNITSKY CASE

Table 8.8.19

Who you think is responsible for S.Magnitsky's death?

(responses are ranked)

	2011 VIII	2012 VI	2012 XI
Magnitsky's death was caused by the investigators which he accused of embezzling the public assets	18	11	12
Magnitsky's death was caused by the top government officials which were threatened by Magnitsky's exposures	14	12	12
Negligence of doctors who ignored his illness	9	8	10
Inhuman conditions in Russian prisons and detention facilities	10	8	9
No one did anything wrong, Magnitsky's death was a tragic accident	5	6	5
I haven't heard anything about it	31	43	33
Difficult to answer	13	12	19

August, 2011; N=1600

Table 8.8.20

What do you think of the West's initiative to impose the US and EU visa ban for the officials involved in "Magnitsky's case": those who were implicated by his testimonials and those who were involved in his death?

	2011 VIII	2012 VI
I completely support it	18	12
I rather support it	26	24
I rather disapprove it	10	14
Completely disapprove it	3	5
Difficult to answer	44	45

N=1600

Table 8.8.21

What is your attitude towards the recently enforced US law banning US visas/freezing bank accounts of Russian government officials involved in death of S.Magnitsky and human rights abuse in Russia ("Magnitsky List")?

Absolutely positive	16
Rather positive	23
Rather, negative	11
Very negative	3
Difficult to answer	48

2012, November; N=1600

Table 8.8.22

Would you be in favor or against the EU and US arresting the property and banning the entry visas to Russian government officials involved in death of S.Magnitsky and human rights abuse in Russia?

Definitely in favor	12
Rather in favor	31
Rather against	16
Definitely against	6
Difficult to answer	35

2012, December; N=1600

Table 8.8.23

What, in your opinion, guided State Duma when it passed retaliatory measures to Magnitsky Act?

Protection of Russian national interests	36
Protection of private interests of Russian government officials	34
Difficult to answer	30

2012, December; N=1600

9. ELECTIONS

9.1. FOLLOW UP TO STATE DUMA ELECTIONS

Table 9.1.1

How fair was Central Election Commission headed by V.Churov during the election campaign and vote count?

Absolutely fair	4
Rather fair	30
Rather unfair	27
Absolutely unfair	10
Difficult to answer	28

2012, February; N=1600

Table 9.1.2

How fair were polling station commissions on the election campaign and vote count?

Absolutely fair	6
Rather fair	27
Rather unfair	27
Absolutely unfair	13
Difficult to answer	27

2012, February; N=1600

Table 9.1.3

Were the State Duma December 4th election results published by Central Election Commission true?

Absolutely	10
To a large extent	38
Very far from reality	26
Have nothing to do with the reality and were completely rigged	8
Difficult to answer	18

2012, January; N=1600

Table 9.1.4

What is your attitude towards Russian watchdog organizations monitoring the Russian government officials' violation of Russian electoral law?

Very negative	1
Rather, negative	4
Neutral	35
Rather positive	36
Very positive	11
Difficult to answer	13

2012, January; N=1600

Table 9.1.5

Will political movements in opposition to current political regime and rigged elections be able to join forces and take part in upcoming Russian Presidential elections as a united opposition?

Definitely yes	2
Rather yes	15
Rather no	40
Definitely not	18
Difficult to answer	26

2012, January; N=1600

Table 9.1.6

Would you agree or disagree with the proposal to cancel the State Duma election results and schedule re-elections?

Absolutely agree	9
Rather agree	19
Rather disagree	32
Completely disagree	25
Difficult to answer	15

2012, January; N=1600

Table 9.1.7

Would you agree or disagree with the proposal to amend the Electoral Law with the provision to make it illegal for President to stay in the office for more than two terms in total?

Absolutely agree	25
Rather agree	32
Rather disagree	17
Completely disagree	5
Difficult to answer	22

2012, January; N=1600

Table 9.1.8

Does Russia benefit from the foreign observers at the elections?

	2011 September	2012 January
Definitely yes	16	15
Rather yes	39	41
Rather no	25	23
Definitely not	7	9
Difficult to answer	13	13

N=1600

Table 9.1.9

Can public supervision of election campaign and elections enforced by political parties, journalists, foreign observers help minimize the electoral violations?

Yes	70
No	20
Difficult to answer	10

2012, January; N=1600

Table 9.1.10

Would you like to participate in monitoring Russian Presidential elections as an observer during elections and vote count at a polling station?

Definitely yes	7
Rather yes	20
Rather no	31
Definitely not	36
Difficult to answer	6

2012, January; N=1600

9.2. PRESIDENT ELECTIONS

Table 9.2.1

Are you interested in the upcoming presidential elections in Russia?

	2007 X	2008 I	2011 X	2012 I
Definitely yes	37	38	32	30
Most likely, yes	43	38	38	40
Most likely, no	13	15	17	16
Definitely no	5	6	9	10
Difficult to answer	3	3	4	4

N=1600

Table 9.2.2

Can the upcoming presidential election in March 2012 improve your life and the life of others?

	2004 I	2007 X	2011 X	2012 I
Definitely yes	10	9	10	11
Most likely, yes	33	30	32	32
Most likely, no	33	34	29	31
Definitely no	15	12	19	14
Difficult to answer	10	16	10	12

N=1600

Table 9.2.3

What are you primarily expecting from the president you are going to vote for?

(Responses are ranked by the last poll)

	1996 I	1996 IV	2000 I	2004 I	2008 I	2011 IX	2012 I
Restore Russia's superpower status*	54	37	55	58	51	45	57
Ensure the rule of law and order	58	53	54	45	45	55	52
Ensure the fair distribution of wealth in the interest of common people	37	39	43	48	41	57	49
Reinforce the state's role in the economy	37	25	37	39	34	33	37
Continue the reforms but with a greater focus on the social security of the population	35	37	35	38	37	37	34
Reimburse the population for the savings lost in course of reforms	38	39	38	41	28	35	29
End the war in Chechnya/ tensions in North Caucasus	59	58	56	43	23	21	18
Keep Russia on the reform track	13	16	12	11	15	22	16
Pursue the agenda of re-unification of the republics of the former Soviet Union	13	12	10	12	9	11	9
Pursue the agenda of converging with the West	6	6	8	7	6	9	5
Difficult to answer	5	4	3	2	2	3	3

* - since 2011 "maintain Russia's status of a superpower in the international community"

N=1600

Table 9.2.4

Was endorsement of Vladimir Putin – who already has served two Presidential terms - as the Presidential Candidate in line with the letter and spirit of Russian Constitution?

Definitely yes	15
Rather yes	35
Rather no	22
Definitely not	10
Difficult to answer	19

2012, April; N=1600

Table 9.2.5

Why Vladimir Putin decided to become a presidential candidate at March 4th Presidential elections?
(responses are ranked)

He did not have enough time to carry out all of his plans for economic and government development in Russia	39
Power was the ultimate goal for Putin, it is most valuable thing and will hold on to it and protect it no matter what	24
Even if he wanted to go, his supporters and the balance of power and factions in the current system of government would not allow him to do that	16
He cannot go, otherwise he can be criminally prosecuted for multiple abuses	9
Difficult to answer	12

2012, April; N=1600

Table 9.2.6

In light of upcoming Russian Presidential election, do you support the slogan: “Not one vote for Putin”?

Definitely support	9
Rather support	13
Rather do not support	32
Do not support at all	35
Difficult to answer	11

2012, January; N=1600

Table 9.2.7

Will the upcoming Presidential elections be fair or rigged?

	2008	2012
Fair	24	10
Rather fair than unfair	40	39
Rather unfair than fair	14	19
Unfair	5	9
Difficult to answer	17	23

January, N=1600

Table 9.2.8

Will the Presidential elections on March 4th be a real contest between candidates – or just an imitation of contest, and authorities will distribute the votes?

	2008	2012
Will be a real contest between candidates	30	43
Will be just an imitation of contest, and authorities will distribute the votes	58	44
Difficult to answer	13	14

February, N=1600

Table 9.2.9

If majority of voters support a certain candidate, but the polls were rigged slightly in the candidate's favour – would he still be a lawfully elected President?

Yes, he will be	20
No, he will not	57
Difficult to answer	23

2012, June; N=1600

Table 9.2.10

Which issues should V. Putin focus on after he is elected the President of Russia?
(responses are ranked)

Economic growth, Russia's economic recovery	59
Crackdown on corruption	46
Restore social justice and improve quality of life for common people	44
Restore order in the country	42
Ensure both the public and authorities observe the law	28
War on crime	23
Develop National Education, Science and Culture	21
Boost Russian defense potential	19
Improve Russian positions internationally	18
Russia's spiritual regeneration	13
Building of democracy, protection of human rights and individual freedoms	12
Smooth over ethnic conflicts, fight against racism	8
Ensure sanctity of private property and support of local business	7
Protection of the natural environment	7
Difficult to answer	5

2012, March; N=1600

Table 9.2.11

**Do you think that V. Putin concentrating practically all the power
in the country is going to be beneficial for Russia?**

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2012	2013
	III	XII	XI	X	VII	VII	III	III
Will be beneficial for Russia	68	57	59	66	63	52	53	49
Is not going to be beneficial at all	20	29	24	20	16	22	26	33
Difficult to answer	13	15	18	14	21	26	21	18

N=1600

Table 9.2.12

Will Vladimir Putin be able to keep his promise to ... in 6 years' time?

	Definitely yes	Rather yes	Rather no	Definitely not	Difficult to answer
Make a 200-300% increase in the salaries of government employees	11	42	28	9	11
Create 25 million new jobs in innovation industry	5	31	31	15	17
Ensure annual inflation rate is down 3-4%	5	31	34	13	17
Improve production efficiency to European standards	5	28	35	17	15
Rearm the military to NATO military equipment quality standards	12	45	21	9	13
Build new roads on a massive scale and develop the infrastructure across the nation	8	42	27	12	11
Bring the corruption rate by 2 to 3 three times below the current rate	5	20	34	26	14

2012, March; N=1600

Table 9.2.13

**Are you concerned with hardening of political regime following Vladimir Putin's
Presidential re-election?**

Yes, and it may affect me personally	6
Yes, but it will hardly affect me personally	27
No, it is hardly possible	54
Difficult to answer	13

2012, March; N=1600

10. POLITICAL PARTIES

Table 10.1

How many political parties does Russia need now?

	2001 IX	2004 IV	2004 IX	2005 X	2006 VII	2007 IV	2008 VI	2009 X	2010 X	2011 VII	2012 VII	2013 IV
One strong ruling party	34	34	34	38	32	30	32	17	18	23	22	23
Two or three large parties	41	41	44	39	42	46	45	59	58	47	51	46
A lot of relatively small parties	4	8	6	4	5	7	8	9	10	12	12	11
We don't need political parties at all	9	7	6	7	7	6	6	4	3	3	5	7
Difficult to answer	13	11	9	12	14	13	10	11	11	4	11	12

N=1600

Table 10.2

Which of the views on political power struggle between the parties you would rather agree with?

	2008 VII	2012 VII
Political struggle between the parties allows to voice the interests of broad public which, in its turn, drives the decision making supporting the needs of common people	30	31
Parties protect their interests and ignore the public opinion, so common people do not benefit from the political struggle	61	59
Difficult to answer	10	10

N=1600

UNITED RUSSIA

Table 10.3

Which interests, in your opinion, «United Russia» defends: interest of all Russian population or the ones of the government officialdom?

	2011	2012
All Russian population	32	35
Government officialdom	57	52
Difficult to answer	11	13

July, N=1600

Table 10.4

Do you agree with the opinion that “United Russia” is the party of frauds and thieves?

	2011				2012					2013			
	IV	VI	IX	XI	II	IV	VI	VIII	XII	II	IV	V	VI
Definitely yes	8	14	12	13	15	15	17	15	16	16	18	14	14
Most likely, yes	23	19	20	23	21	23	24	30	24	24	33	27	31
Most likely, no	30	29	28	28	30	31	28	30	30	27	24	29	29
Definitely no	15	18	22	17	17	17	12	12	13	14	9	10	9
Difficult to answer	23	19	18	20	17	15	19	13	16	18	16	20	17

N=1600

ELECTION LAW

Table 10.5

Are you personally in favor of or against ...?

	Definitely in favor	Rather in favor	Rather against	Definitely against	Difficult to answer
Reinstating the right to create electoral blocs	15	31	9	4	42
Reinstating the private citizens and public associations with the right to put changes to legislation to a public referendum	27	38	7	2	26

2012, September; N=1600

Table 10.6

Are you personally in favor or against the “against all” box returned to ballot paper?

	2010 VII	2011 VII	2012 IX
Definitely in favor	30	42	37
Rather in favor	37	31	37
Rather against	9	8	10
Definitely against	5	3	5
Difficult to answer	18	16	12

N=1600

11. PROTEST MOVEMENT AND OPPOSITION

Table 11.1

**Do you support the mass protests active since December 2011
("For fair elections", "March of Millions", etc.)?***

	2011	2012												2013	
	XII	I	II	III	IV	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	I	V	
Definitely support	12	10	10	7	12	7	11	10	13	8	11	8	11	5	
Rather support	32	33	28	25	26	30	31	29	26	22	29	28	30	22	
Rather do not support	26	28	26	29	32	30	31	31	25	31	27	30	23	20	
Do not support at all	15	14	19	23	14	14	16	12	21	22	14	16	14	10	
Difficult to answer	15	15	18	17	15	19	11	18	16	17	19	18	22	44	

*- The question offered in January-April was "Mass protests against election fraud and rigged votes"
N=1600

Table 11.2

Will you join such protests if they occur in your city or district?*

	2012										2013
	I	II	III	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	I
Definitely yes	3	3	2	3	5	2	6	4	8	3	5
Rather yes	10	10	6	11	14	11	11	11	14	12	16
Rather no	31	30	30	28	30	31	27	32	30	33	32
Definitely not	47	49	48	48	44	49	47	43	38	42	38
Difficult to answer	9	9	14	10	7	7	9	11	9	9	9

*- The question offered in January-February was "Will you personally join the protests against election fraud and rigged votes"
2012 г., N=1600

Table 11.3

**Will the protest moods in Russian society increase,
remain at the current level or decline in the near future?**

	2011 XII	2012 I*	2012 IV**	2012 VI**	2012 VII**	2012 VIII**	2012 IX***	2012 X
Will increase	23	18	14	17	18	15	15	18
Remain at the current level	35	29	31	42	41	36	37	39
Will decline	29	40	44	32	24	33	29	25
Difficult to answer	13	14	11	9	17	16	20	18

*- Following the Presidential election

** - Summer and Fall this year

*** - Fall

N=1600

Table 11.4

**Have you heard or seen the slogans “Russia without Putin”
and “Putin must go”?**

	2011	2012						2013	
	XII	I	II	IV	VI	IX	XI	IV	V
Often	6	6	6	8	9	9	8	6	9
Occasionally	17	19	28	30	30	27	26	27	23
Once or twice	17	23	26	24	25	25	24	24	23
Never	55	48	35	34	32	34	36	39	38
Difficult to answer	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	8

N=1600

Table 11.5

**Do you support the slogans “Russia without Putin” and
“Putin must go”?**

	2011	2012						2013	
	XII	I	II	IV	VI	IX	XI	IV	V
Definitely support	6	6	6	5	7	5	7	8	9
Rather support	15	15	12	14	14	14	18	16	11
Rather discourage	26	29	29	35	29	30	30	36	33
Absolutely discourage	35	32	38	31	32	31	27	26	27
Difficult to answer	19	17	15	16	17	19	18	14	20

N=1600

Table 11.6

What motivates the public to the protests?

	II	VI	III
Drive to express the indignation with election fraud	-*	23	25
Accumulated discontent with the way things are going in the country / Government policies	38	43	37
Public disappointment with the promised policy of national modernization / disappointment in Medvedev	18	17	15
Public discontents with the reality when the authorities make decisions disregarding the public opinion / public is excluded in the decision making	25	28	22
Support of parties participating in mass protests	13	11	16
Sympathizing with protest organizers	4	4	5
Putin's arrogance towards the voters	4	7	2
Curiosity	8	10	11
It's fun/gives you an adrenaline buzz	7	8	7
A lot of people come to the protests with their friends for company	12	13	11
A lot of people were paid to show up at the protests	20	21	19
Difficult to answer	10	11	12

*- This option was not offered

2012, N=1600

Table 11.7

Do you support the protesters' demand to ...

	Definitely not	Rather no	Rather yes	Definitely yes	Difficult to answer
Fire V.Churov, Head of Central Election Committee	12	31	23	8	27
Overturn the results of State Duma December elections and go back to polls	18	39	17	8	18
Release all political prisoners	12	23	26	8	30

2012, April; N=1600

Table 11.8

What do people participating in rallies protest against?

(responses are ranked)

Bureaucrats abusing the power	34
Social injustice	28
Embezzlement and corruption among high echelons of power	28
Lies and hypocrisy of authorities	22
Putin's authoritarian rule	19
Violations of civil rights and liberties	16
Privileges bureaucrats are entitled to	16
Violation of the Constitution	9
Looming national stagnation	9
They are just bored out of their mind	8
They are paid for by the West/Follow the leaders bought by the West	7
Difficult to answer	11

2012, June; N=1600

Table 11.9

What does "non-system opposition" rallying in the streets miss to be more efficient?

Clear program	24
Good leadership, bright and active leaders	28
A closer cooperation between and unification with "Parliamentary" opposition	11
Popular opposition	33
Difficult to answer	22

2012, October; N=1600

Table 11.10

Were the protests successful, did they improve the situation in the country?

Definitely yes	4
Rather yes	21
Rather no	40
Definitely not	18
Difficult to answer	16

2012, November; N=1600

“BOLOTNAYA SQUARE CASE”

Table 11.11

Are you aware of the upcoming trial against the protesters at Moscow's Bolotnaya square case on 6th of May, 2012?

Yes	30
No	70

2012, December; N=1600

Table 11.12

What is the main reason for this trial?
(for respondents who heard about “Bolotnaya square” case)

Charge the guilty with breach of peace	36
Intimidate the protesters	60
Difficult to answer	5

2012, December; N=1600

Table 11.13

Will this be the first and the last trial, more trials will follow?
(for respondents who heard about “Bolotnaya square” case)

It will be a single “show” trial	29
It will be succeeded by other massive and harsh court cases and repressions	56
Difficult to answer	16

2012, December; N=1600

Table 11.14

How this trial will affect the society?
(for respondents who heard about “Bolotnaya square” case)

There will be more public discontent with the authorities, indignation at unfair sentences and abuse by courts, police and bureaucrats	40
The situation in the country will settle down, and order and discipline will be restored	19
Feelings of apathy and fear will increase in the society	16
The protests will be on the rise and radicalize	12
Difficult to answer	13

2012, December; N=1600

PERSECUTION OF OPPOSITION

Table 11.15

Will toughening of the laws, and attempts to persecute and intimidate the opposition and people who attend protest rallies, intensify or will not continue?

Will intensify	22
Will remain at the same level	37
Will not continue	18
None of these are happening and none will happen later	4
Difficult to answer	19

2012, September; N=1600

Table 11.16

Do you believe that such political persecution is able to affect you personally?

Definitely yes	3
Rather yes	11
Rather no	34
Definitely not	44
Difficult to answer	9

2012, September; N=1600

Table 11.17

Do you view the government's actions against the protest organizers as political repressions or efforts to restore law and order?

Political repressions	27
Efforts to restore law and order	39
Difficult to answer	35

2012, October; N=1600

Table 11.18

Will such political repressions be increasing or will stop soon?
(for respondents who view the events as political repressions)

They will stop soon under the pressure from Russian and International public opinion	9
They will stop as soon as protests stop and the authorities do not feel any threat from the opposition anymore	34
They will happen with the same intensity	38
They will be increasing every month	13
Difficult to answer	7

2012, October; N=1600

Table 11.19

Do you view the recent events in Russia (persecution of protesters, opposition leaders and toughening of the laws) as an onset of political repressions?

Definitely yes	6
Rather yes	21
Rather no	41
Definitely not	15
Difficult to answer	17

2012, August; N=1600

Table 11.20

What does the government pursue by persecuting the opposition?
(among respondents who view the events as political repressions)

Disorganize and cripple the opposition in a long term perspective	44
Re-institutionalize the opposition	26
Government does not pursue anything in particular – following a short spell of liberalism the authorities are turning back to methods of government developed in 2000s.	25
Difficult to answer	5

2012, August; N=1600

Table 11.21

Does Russia need a political opposition to the government now?

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	V	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII
Definitely yes	32	34	27	25	27	25	23	27	29
Yes, rather than no	29	30	29	34	34	32	44	45	43
No, rather than yes	12	9	14	9	14	15	12	19	10
Definitely no	5	5	6	5	7	5	4	7	3
Difficult to answer	22	23	24	27	17	24	16	2	15

N=1600

Table 11.22

Is there real a political opposition to the government in Russia now?

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	V	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII
Definitely yes	18	14	11	20	15	11	11	16	21
Yes, rather than no	24	27	26	33	32	28	28	35	45
No, rather than yes	25	22	27	14	22	26	30	33	18
Definitely no	13	13	12	7	13	12	8	14	6
Difficult to answer	20	24	24	25	19	22	14	2	11

N=1600

Table 11.23

Does the opposition have a sound program to improve the situation in the country, or does it criticize the authorities without any sound program?

	2007 VI	2011 IX	2012 XI
Opposition has have a sound program to improve the situation in the country	23	22	20
Opposition criticizes the authorities without any sound program	39	49	57
Difficult to answer	38	29	23

N=1600

Table 11.24

Why did the authorities use force to disperse the rallies and demonstrations of the opposition?

	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI
To maintain the public order	24	26	30
Authorities are concerned that the protests will transform into the public unrest or an “orange revolution”	27	33	29
This is the result of lack of any public oversight of the authorities and security forces, and their total impunity	16	12	10
It is a show of force designed to suppress any alternatives and civil activism	19	17	17
Difficult to answer	14	12	13

N=1600

Table 11.25

Do you think the use of force in dispersals of rallies and marches organized by the opposition means that the current government feels strong and confident or insecure and weak?

	2007 IV	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI
Definitely strong and confident	9	6	8	9
Probably strong and confident	19	20	22	26
Probably weak and insecure	37	42	40	35
Definitely weak and insecure	14	14	13	10
Difficult to answer	22	20	18	21

N=1600

Table 11.26

Do you think there are political prisoners (people who were convicted for their political views or for an attempt to participate in political life) in Russia now?

	2004 V	2005 VI	2007 III	2007 X	2010 VI	2012 II	2013 IV
Definitely yes	21	14	14	16	11	12	13
Yes, rather than no	29	35	30	24	37	36	31
No, rather than yes	21	22	22	21	22	21	20
Definitely no	9	7	5	8	7	6	9
Difficult to answer	20	22	29	31	22	26	27

N=1600

ALEXEY NAVALNY

Table 11.27

Do you know who is Alexey Navalny?

	2011 IV	2012 III	2012 VI	2013 III
Yes	6	25	35	37
No	94	75	65	64

N=1600

Table 11.28

Is the information about massive syphoning of public money by the government officials and affiliated “businessmen” posted on A. Navalny’s “RosPil” web-site really true?

(% of respondents who know about A. Navalny)

	2011 IV	2012 III	2012 VI	2013 III
Definitely yes	33	27	17	24
I hope it is true	35	23	46	30
Most likely, no	19	11	12	14
Definitely not	4	5	2	5
Difficult to answer	9	33	22	28

N=1600

Table 11.29

Why Alexey Navalny and other “RosPil” employees were called in by the investigators for questioning?

(Responses are ranked)

To intimidate A. Navalny and his supporters to make them stop exposing corrupt government officials	38
In order to launch a formal investigation of corruption cases on the evidence posted on “RosPil” web-site	19
In order to protect the government officials and businessmen against any unsubstantiated public accusations made by A. Navalny and his supporters	8
Because “RosPil” web-site breaks Russian laws	9
Difficult to answer	27

2012, March; N=1600

PUSSY RIOT TRIAL

Table 11.30

Have you heard about Pussy Riot's punk prayer "Mother of God, get rid of Putin" at Moscow's Christ the Savior Cathedral and criminal prosecution of the band members?

	2012				2013
	III	IV	VI	IX	IV
Follow the events closely	4	10	8	13	6
I am aware of that	30	41	48	55	54
I have heard something about it, but do not know what it is about	20	22	24	16	23
I have never heard of it till now	46	27	21	16	18

2012 г., N=1600

Table 11.31

Who was the target of Pussy Riot's event at Christ the Savior Cathedral?

(Offered to respondents aware of who Pussy Riot are)

Orthodox Church and believers	23
Vladimir Putin	19
Church's involvement in politics	20
The first, second and third options are all correct	19
Difficult to answer	19

2012, July; N=1600

Table 11.32

What do you feel towards the Pussy Riot members?

Respect	0
Sympathy	6
I cannot say anything bad about them	5
Neutral, indifferent	20
I cannot say anything good about them	20
Annoyed	14
Dislike	17
Difficult to answer	19

2012, August; N=1600

Table 11.33

What was essentially Pussy Riot's gig at Moscow's Christ the Savior Cathedral?

(offered to respondents aware of Pussy Riot case, responses are ranked)

Simple hooliganism	41
Political move directed at V. Putin the Church's involvement in politics	29
A focused outburst against the Orthodoxy and the Church	19
An art performance and a work of contemporary art	5
Difficult to answer	6

2012, September; N=1600

Table 11.34

What is the main reason for criminal prosecution of Pussy Riot for the gig at Moscow's Christ the Savior Cathedral?

(Offered to respondents aware of Pussy Riot)

They insulted the religion and believers	42
They called for V. Putin resign from power	17
It was a public disorder and disturbing the public peace	29
The first, second and third options are all correct	8
Difficult to answer	6

2012, July; N=1600

Table 11.35

Was it Pussy Riot's intention to insult Russian believers?

(offered to respondents aware of Pussy Riot case)

Definitely yes	17
Rather yes	36
Rather no	24
Definitely not	10
Difficult to answer	13

2012, September; N=1600

Table 11.36

Is 7 year prison sentence Pussy Riot stand to receive adequate or excessive punishment for their action, or you believe such actions should not be criminally punishable?

(offered to respondents aware of Pussy Riot)

	III	IV	VII
Adequate punishment	46	47	33
Excessive punishment	35	32	43
Such actions should not be criminally punishable	9	10	15
Difficult to answer	10	11	9

2012, N=1600

Table 11.37

Is 2 year sentence at general regime penal colony Pussy Riot received for their action at Moscow's Christ the Savior Cathedral an adequate punishment?

(offered to respondents aware of Pussy Riot)

	2012 IX	2013 IV
Adequate punishment	35	56
Light punishment	43	.*
Excessive punishment	14	26
Such actions should not be criminally punishable	2	9
Difficult to answer	7	9

*- option was not offered

N=1600

12. AUTHORITIES AND BUSINESS

Table 12.1

Is the property, which once ended up in private hands in course of 90s privatization, being returned to the country and public – or is it just a redistribution of wealth between the ruling elite?

	2007	2012
The property is actually being returned to the country and public	12	11
The property is being redistributed among the ruling elite	68	72
Difficult to answer	20	17

May, N=1600

Table 12.2

Is the overall activity of large Russian business beneficial or harmful for Russia now?

	2003 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 IV	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 VIII	2013 V
Definitely beneficial	9	9	9	8	8	7	9	4	6
Beneficial, rather than harmful	28	30	34	36	37	33	31	41	37
Harmful, rather than beneficial	35	32	32	28	27	34	33	33	30
Definitely harmful	16	17	12	12	11	8	10	5	7
Difficult to answer	12	13	13	16	17	19	17	17	20

N=1600

TRIAL OF M. KHODORKOVSKY AND P. LEBEDEV IN YUKOS CASE

Table 12.3

Did the authorities put any pressure on the judges in M. Khodorkovsky and P. Lebedev case in order to have a guilty verdict?

	2005				2006	2012
	VI	VII	VIII	IX	VIII	X
Definitely yes	15	10	8	8	13	12
Rather yes	37	32	32	36	31	26
Rather no	15	16	16	17	14	14
Definitely not	2	5	4	3	2	4
Difficult to answer	29	38	40	36	41	44

N=1600

Table 12.4

What would be your attitude towards P. Lebedev, if, after serving 9 years and 1 month of his sentence, is released in a month or two on parole?

Absolutely positive	5
Rather positive	20
Rather, negative	19
Very negative	8
Difficult to answer	48

2012 August; N=1600

Table 12.5

What would be your attitude towards a situation when, in line with the “liberalization” of economic crime laws, YUKOS ex-boss boss M. Khodorkovsky has his sentence considerably reduced?

Absolutely positive	4
Rather positive	25
Rather, negative	22
Very negative	7
Difficult to answer	42

2012 August; N=1600

Table 12.6

Would you, personally, be in favor or against letting out M. Khodorkovsky, who served almost 9 years of his 13 year sentence by now, in a month or two on an early release?

Definitely in favor	6
Rather in favor	25
Rather against	24
Definitely against	7
Difficult to answer	38

2012 August; N=1600

Table 12.7

Will M. Khodorkovsky play a significant role in politics upon his release?

	2005 VIII	2005 IX	2005 XII	2006 VIII	2006 XI	2008 VII	2009 III	2009 X	2010 IX	2012 VIII	2012 X
Definitely yes	7	7	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	3	5
Rather yes	27	27	25	25	19	16	20	18	13	22	26
Rather no	27	28	27	27	27	28	28	31	27	29	23
Definitely not	11	15	19	15	21	19	15	14	28	10	10
Difficult to answer	29	23	24	29	29	34	34	33	30	36	36

N=1600

Table 12.8

Will M. Khodorkovsky, if released, be a threat to the authorities?

Definitely yes	3
Maybe yes	18
Rather no	32
Definitely not	11
Difficult to answer	35

2012, August; N=1600

Table 12.9

Why do you think M.Khodorkovsky still remains imprisoned?

	2010 V	2011 X	2012 X	2013 VI
Because of his political views and because he criticizes the authorities	11	17	18	19
If released, he may create problems for those who laid hands on YUKOS assets	16	27	25	28
Top government officials personally dislike M.Khodorkovsky	9	15	15	13
He is a frequent violator of the prison regime	3	2	2	2
He is a danger to society	4	3	3	3
Because there are more of his crimes yet to be exposed	12	10	10	7
Because he is a defendant in a new case	5	-*	1	1
Difficult to answer	48	38	39	38

* - option was not offered

N=1600

Table 12.10

What do you feel towards Mikhail Khodorkovsky?

	2005 VIII	2005 IX	2006 VIII	2008 X	2012 X
Respect	3	3	2	1	4
Sympathy	5	5	5	6	10
I cannot say anything bad about him	11	10	11	10	13
Neutral, indifferent	38	38	50	40	48
I cannot say anything good about him	14	16	11	10	7
Annoyed	8	7	4	3	2
Dislike	8	8	4	4	2
Difficult to answer	13	12	13	27	16

N=1600

Table 12.11

Did you or your family benefit anything after the government took over YUKOS business from the private owners?

	2009 III	2011 X	2012 X	2013 VI
Yes, absolutely	1	1	2	<1
Yes, though the result was less significant than I expected	3	2	2	3
No, Russia is too big and assets too small to make general population feel any benefit	19	18	21	16
No, except for those who received the company property, no one else benefited	47	56	45	58
It is not about the immediate benefit, it is about restoring the law and order	6	3	7	3
Difficult to answer	24	21	25	20

N=1600

Table 12.12

Who has benefited from the bankruptcy and sale of YUKOS?

	2007 X	2009 I	2009 III	2010 II	2011 X	2012 X	2013 VI
All Russian population	6	6	6	7	4	5	3
A group of businessmen close to government officials and the government officials themselves	53	59	67	63	67	68	71
Difficult to answer	42	35	29	31	29	27	26

N=1600

13. CORRUPTION AND CORRUPTION SCANDALS AMONG THE TOP OFFICIALS

Table 13.1

**Is there more, the same or less corruption and embezzlement than
10-12 years earlier?**

	2012		2013
	I	XI	II
More	50	41	51
Around the same	35	43	33
Less	6	9	8
Difficult to answer	8	7	8

N=1600

Table 13.2

**Did the top officials and members of the government
declare all their incomes sources or just part of them?**

	2010	2011	2012	2013
All income sources	2	1	2	3
The majority of income sources	10	11	13	15
Small part of their income sources	44	43	38	43
Only a tiny fraction of their income sources	34	34	32	28
Difficult to answer	10	11	15	11

April, N=1600

Table 13.3

Do Russia top officials have accounts in the banks abroad?

	2007	2011	2012
Definitely yes	68	65	70
Most likely, yes	24	26	24
Most likely, no	1	2	2
Definitely, no	1	0,4	0,5
Difficult to answer	6	6	3

May, N=1600

Table 13.4

Which of the views on corruption in Russia you would rather agree with?

	2012		2013
	III	XI	IV
Putin will be able to score the victory in fight against the corruption after a profound cleanup of government bureaucracy and issuing tougher sentences	27	27	20
Putin will try to fight corruption, but he will hardly make any significant breakthrough because corruption in Russia is incurable	35	35	35
It is extremely difficult for Putin to fight corruption, because he also heavily relies on corrupt officials	15	21	21
Putin will not put up a serious fight against corruption, because he is also involved	15	12	17
Difficult to answer	8	6	7

N=1600

Table 13.5

Do you agree with the opinion that current anti-corruption campaign's only purpose is to shore up the public confidence in Vladimir Putin and fend off the accusations of him building a corrupt regime in Russia?

	2012 XI	2013 II
Completely agree	22	25
Rather agree	38	34
Rather disagree	21	24
Completely disagree	5	5
Difficult to answer	14	12

N=1600

A. SERDYUKOV'S RESIGNATION

Table 13.6

Have you heard about investigations in financial fraud and abuse of office in the Ministry of Defense and associated agencies and companies?

	November	December
I follow the events closely	14	12
I am aware of them	46	48
I heard something about it, but not sure what it is about	23	24
I have never heard of it till now	17	16

2012, N=1600

Table 13.7

Are the corruption schemes Minister Serdyukov got involved in...?

A random and abnormal phenomena for Russian top leadership	12
Manifestation of overall corruption of authorities	80
Difficult to answer	8

2012, November; N=1600

Table 13.8

Will the scandal, which A.Serdyukov was fired for, develop further, will it help clean up the top echelons of power from people abusing the office?

Definitely yes	10
Rather yes	34
Rather no	30
Definitely not	10
Difficult to answer	15

2012, November; N=1600

Table 13.9

Will the high-ranking officials, recently charged with corruption and scheming , get just a “slap on the wrist”?
(of respondents aware of financial fraud)

They will be held accountable	32
They will just get a “slap on the wrist”	55
Difficult to answer	13

2012, December; N=1600

Table 13.10

Is Vladimir Putin involved in massive scale financial fraud with government property and finances exposed recently?

Not involved at all	22
He is not involved personally, but he must have had the knowledge of it and had to tolerate it, since he relies on the people involved in scheming	39
He is involved in corruption schemes and receives his interest	16
Difficult to answer	23

2012, December; N=1600

Table 13.11

Did your confidence in Vladimir Putin change after the recent scandals involving financial fraud with government property and finances at the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Agriculture and affiliated agencies and companies?

Increased considerably	4
Somewhat increased	13
Did not change	55
Somewhat decreased	15
Fell dramatically	7
Difficult to answer	7

2012, December; N=1600

14. CONSTITUTION, RUSSIAN LAWS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Table 14.1

Which of the following human rights are the most important?

(Answer are ranked by the latest measurement)

	1994 VIII	1999 IV	2001 I	2002 X	2003 X	2004 X	2005 X	2006 X	2007 X	2009 I	2010 I	2010 X	2011 X	2012 XI
The right to have a free education, medical care, maintenance in old age and in illness	64	68	56	70	66	74	76	74	67	68	65	69	70	67
The right to live	63	57	63	52	50	54	61	64	46	58	60	57	67	66
The right to have a well-paid professional job	49	53	51	51	49	51	57	56	51	51	54	51	53	56
Personal immunity	55	46	65	44	45	45	52	50	38	45	52	50	46	54
The right for the «minimum of subsistence» guaranteed by the state	33	33	24	35	38	41	45	40	24	31	36	38	41	40
The right to own property	29	23	41	25	28	30	35	35	28	33	34	36	38	38
Freedom of speech	18	14	38	19	19	24	28	28	21	28	29	34	36	36
The right for information	8	9	26	12	15	17	19	17	13	14	20	22	25	30
Freedom of religion	14	8	20	13	12	13	16	17	11	15	19	22	21	25
The right to elect one's representatives to governing bodies	9	8	17	8	10	14	16	14	10	13	17	20	19	24
The right to go to another country and come back	11	8	24	13	11	13	15	15	11	13	15	17	18	20
Difficult to answer	6	3	0	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1

N=1600

Table 14.2

Which is more important for Russia now: order in the country or observance of human rights?

	1997 IV	2007 IV	2011 VII	2012 VII	2013 VI
Order in the country	60	54	53	53	57
Observance of human rights	27	36	42	42	33
Difficult to answer	13	10	5	5	10

N=1600

Table 14.3

Which of the following statements about Russian laws, individual rights and Constitution you would rather agree with?

	2010	2011	2012
Sometimes the laws conflict the Constitution, but we still need to follow them	21	30	29
If the laws conflict the individual rights and the Constitution, we need to fight for their repeal or revision	65	57	54
Difficult to answer	14	13	17

November, N=1600

Table 14.4

Which of the following opinions about the role of the Constitution in the life of the country would you rather agree with?

	1997	2002	2003	2005	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012
The Constitution guarantees the rights and freedoms of the citizens	12	21	14	21	31	22	38	44	41
The Constitution maintains some order in the activity of the state	20	22	25	22	30	30	22	21	22
The Constitution is a tool allowing the President of Russia to have control over all other government bodies	11	7	11	15	10	11	8	6	22
The Constitution does not play an important role in the life of the country as not many abide by it	45	41	42	35	21	28	25	20	8
Difficult to answer	12	10	8	7	9	10	6	9	9

N=1600

15. MASS MEDIA

Table 15.1

To what extent can today's press, radio and television be trusted?

	1989	1993	1994	1995	1996	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Quite	38	26	27	23	24	24	25	26	30	23	22	26	24	24	25	28	28	29	25	26
Not quite	40	48	38	47	47	44	44	44	47	44	46	45	45	43	39	40	49	51	47	50
Not at all	6	10	17	17	17	18	19	18	17	21	22	18	18	21	22	18	16	15	21	16
Difficult to answer	16	16	18	12	12	14	12	12	6	12	10	11	13	12	14	14	7	5	6	7
Total respondents	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	1600	1600	1600	1500

Table 15.2

Do you trust the reports about the national events broadcasted by major TV channels?

Trust completely	9
Trust to a large extent	38
Trust to some extent	43
Do not trust at all	8
Difficult to answer	3

2012, September; N=1600

Table 15.3

Do you ever get a feeling that when you watch TV, listen to radio or read papers, something is hidden from you, that some information is missing, or you are distracted from important events and discussions?

Very often	9
Fairly often	46
Fairly seldom	28
Very seldom	7
Difficult to answer	10

2012, September; N=1600

Table 15.4

Do you ever get a feeling that when you watch TV, listen to radio or read papers, you are deceived or misinformed?

Very often	7
Fairly often	38
Fairly seldom	32
Very seldom	11
Difficult to answer	12

2012, September; N=1600

Table 15.5

How impartial are Russian mass media in reports about top public officials?

Quite impartial	19
Too biased and critical	13
Too flattering and sugar-coating the reality	38
In depends	21
Difficult to answer	9

2012, August; N=1600

Table 15.6

Are Russian mass media free or still under the government control currently?

	2006 VII	2008 VII	2012 I
Absolutely free	12	12	8
Free to a large extent	31	34	31
Under government control to a large extent	36	35	37
Completely under government control	12	10	10
Difficult to answer	9	9	14

N=1600

Table 15.7

Did, in the last two months, government control of mass media increased, relaxed or remained the same?

Increased	35
Relaxed	8
Still the same	46
Difficult to answer	12

2012, February; N=1600

Table 15.8

Should the government increase, relax or keep the same amount of control of the mass media?

Increase	24
Relax	16
Keep the same	44
Difficult to answer	16

2012, February; N=1600

Table 15.9

Will the government control of mass media following March 4 elections increase, relax or remain the same?

Will increase	25
Will relax	12
Remain the same	44
Difficult to answer	20

2012, February; N=1600

Table 15.10

Do you read any daily papers on regular basis and, if you do, how many dailies you read regularly?

	2003 XI	2008 VII	2012 I
Two or more	18	15	12
One	21	23	20
I cannot say I read papers regularly	59	57	65
Difficult to answer	2	4	4

2012, January; N=1600

TELEVISION

Table 15.11

What is your source of Russian news?

	2011	2012							2013	
	XI	I	II	III	IV	VI	VIII	X	II	VI
Russian state TV channels ("Perviy kanal", "Rossiya", "Kultura", regional channels of VGTRK corporation)	74	72	66	73	73	71	73	69	69	70
Russian private TV channels (NTV, Ren-TV, other private/ commercial channels, including regional and local channels)	10	7	9	8	6	6	6	10	6	5
Internet	6	13	17	13	14	16	16	15	17	17
Foreign news outlets (foreign TV channels, radio, papers and magazines)	1	<1	0,5	<1	<1	<1	<1	0,5	1	<1
State newspapers ("Rossiyskaya gazeta", newspapers of regional and local governments)	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Radio	1	<1	0	<1	<1	<1	0	0	<1	0
Family, friends, neighbors	3	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	2
Private newspapers	1	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	5
Difficult to answer	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1

N=1600

Table 15.12

**Which of the following opinions about Russian television today
are you more likely to agree with?**

	2000 VIII	2007 IX	2010 VIII	2012 VIII
Overall, television gives a full and objective picture of current events	16	15	17	16
It is possible to get a lot of useful and objective information about world events	51	46	51	48
Television gives a scanty and distorted picture of world events	14	16	15	17
Television gives a false idea about world events, it is used to manipulate people's way of thinking	12	13	12	14
Difficult to answer	8	9	5	6

N=1600

Table 15.13

**What should be the primary purpose of the TV:
inform, educate, train or entertain the viewer?**

	2000 VIII	2007 IX	2010 VIII	2012 VIII
Inform	57	48	51	50
Educate	19	23	28	24
Train	14	14	12	15
Entertain	7	10	7	7
Difficult to answer	5	5	2	4

N=1600

Table 15.14

How did the situation with the free expression change last years?

Year of evaluation	1989	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
The situation changed for the better	68	62	19	26	31	29	16	20	14	36	13	8	10	15	10
The situation changed for the worse	4	6	18	19	20	15	18	17	13	17	18	18	23	17	21
The situation did not change	16	17	56	45	42	48	58	55	62	39	59	63	56	58	62
Difficult to answer	12	15	8	11	7	8	8	8	11	9	10	11	11	10	8

N=1600

INTERNET

Table 15.15

Do you personally use Internet at home, at work, in any other place (besides email correspondence)? If you do, how often do you use it?

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Never	95	93	93	91	87	85	81	75	72	64	53	45	41
Every day, several times a week	2	3	2	3	6	7	7	12	18	28	31	48	45
About once a week	1	1	1	2	3	3	6	6	6	3	11	4	11
2-3 times a month	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	2	1	3	2	2
About once a month	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Less often than once a month	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	0,5	1

2001-2008 - N=2100; 2009, N=1600

Table 15.16

How many hours on average do you surf the internet in a week (besides email)?

(in % of those who use internet)?

	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 X
Up to 2 hours	39	39	32	27
3-5 hours	31	22	27	29
6-10 hours	11	15	18	14
11-20 hours	5	11	6	11
21-30 hours	4	2	6	7
More than 30 hours	3	5	6	8
Difficult to answer	7	7	6	4

N=1600

Table 15.17

For what purpose do you most often use the internet?

(in % of those who use internet)

	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 X
Receive and send messages via electronic mail	52	42	56
I use it for voice/video links (for example, on «Skype»)	17	19	29
I make or accept phone calls though the Internet	9	8	14
I communicate in the «instant messages» (for example ICQ)	20	18	17
Read newspapers, journals, news-portals, internet publications, internet sites of television channels, radio stations, newspapers and journals	26	23	28
Seek information for study	36	38	41
Seek information and obtain information needed for work	34	28	38
Seek information for personal, family or household matter	39	42	49
Seek information in encyclopedias, dictionaries, reference media for personal interest	23	27	31
Download or read fiction texts	11	11	22
Download or read interesting nonfiction texts	6	7	11
Communicate in chats, forums and blogs	21	13	21
I upload/download photos, videos, music, texts	19	17	28
Run a personal site, blog, live journal	2	2	4
Communicate in social networks (eg. «Classmates», «In contact»)	42	45	54
Meet people on dating sites	4	7	7
Post information about myself for the purpose of finding work, income	5	4	7
Run an online business project	2	<1	2
Take part in internet campaigns (charitable, political, human rights)	1	1	1
Look at or download photographs, visual materials	15	15	25
Watch, download films or series	34	31	42
Listen to, download music	37	33	42
Play online games	15	14	18
Download software	12	9	17
Online shopping (goods, tickets, hotels etc.)	8	7	15
Make bank transactions, pay for services (telephone, utilities) ia the internet	2	4	8
I receive the information on activity of the state bodies/ establishments on official sites	14	5	14
Download official document forms	10	8	14
Difficult to answer	3	2	3

N=1600

Table 15.18

Do you visit social networks? If you do, then how often?
(of Internet users)

	2011 VIII	2012 X
Daily/practically daily	28	37
A few times a week	23	27
Approximately once a week	14	12
2-3 times a week	5	4
Approximately once a month	3	2
Less than once a month	4	3
Never	22	15

N=1600

Table 15.19

Which social networks do you use?
(% of social networks users)

	2011 VIII	2012 X
Odnoklassniki.ru	74	74
My World on mail.ru	31	27
Moy krug (my circle)	4	6
Facebook	10	14
V kontakte	49	58
Myspace	1	2
Twitter	3	6
Difficult to answer	2	1

August, 2011; N=1600

16. RELIGION

Table 16.1

How trustworthy is the church?

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	IX	III	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	III	X	X	IV	X
Quite trustworthy	38	35	37	38	38	40	40	43	44	40	41	40	48	54	49	50
Not quite trustworthy	22	20	20	21	21	22	20	22	23	21	19	25	21	24	23	29
Not trustworthy at all	11	13	12	12	12	10	10	8	11	11	12	10	10	6	9	10
Difficult to answer	30	32	31	28	28	28	31	27	22	28	27	25	20	17	18	12

1997-2008 N=2100; 2009 N=1600

Table 16.2

Which role should the Church and religious organizations play in Russian public life?

	1991 VI	1998 IX	2008 I	2012 VII	2013 III
Should not get involved in public life at all	8	11	15	13	22
Support public morals and virtues	50	46	46	50	44
Facilitate public, national and political consensus	27	27	22	21	18
Meet spiritual requirements of the believers	38	36	37	49	43
Help keep cultural traditions	37	28	29	30	33
Support charity and charitable work	37	34	31	32	34
Help poor and disadvantaged	32	39	30	37	36
Help develop the spiritual literature and art	11	14	13	19	16
Difficult to answer	5	10	10	5	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.3

How much influence the Church and religious organizations have on the government's policy in Russia?

	1991 V	1998 IX	2008 I	2012 VII	2013 III
Too much	2	5	4	10	6
Slightly more than they need to	4	11	14	18	19
Just enough	22	27	45	44	48
Slightly less than they need to	16	9	11	8	8
Too little	30	13	7	7	5
Difficult to answer	26	35	19	14	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

Table 16.4

**Do you generally approve or disapprove Russian Orthodox Church
Patriarch Cyril's actions?**

	2012 IX	2013 II
Approve	71	67
Disapprove	29	33

2012, September; N=1600

Table 16.5

**Do you generally approve or disapprove
Russian Orthodox Church performance?**

Approve	75
Disapprove	25

2012, September; N=1600

Table 16.6

Should the Church influence important government decision making?

	2007 IX	2012 VII	2013 III
Definitely should	7	6	5
Rather should	22	20	21
Rather not	33	37	39
Definitely not	28	28	26
Difficult to answer	10	10	10

N=1600

Table 16.7

**How significantly is Russian Orthodox Church involved
with national government?**

Very significant	10
Fairly significant	41
Fairly insignificant	22
Very insignificant	9
Difficult to answer	18

2012, September; N=1600

Table 16.8

**How would you estimate the significance of Russian Orthodox Church's
influence and the government support it receives now?**

Russian Orthodox Church takes part in national affairs and receives just enough support from the state it should	45
Russian Orthodox Church does not have the influence on the nation it should and receives insufficient government support	19
Russian Orthodox Church exercises excessive influence in the national affairs and receives excessive support from the government	14
Difficult to answer	22

2012, September; N=1600

Table 16.9

What caused more more critical materials in press and on Internet about the top hierarchy of Russian Orthodox Church?
(responses are ranked)

Church's involvement in politics, and serving the interests of current authorities	25
Difference and conflicts between preaching the righteousness and adherence to spiritual rather than worldly, and the actual lifestyle of the Church hierarchy with their leanings to gain wealth, luxury and power	16
Enemies of Russian national revival trying to humiliate the Church and break up the unity between the authorities, the church and public	13
Discontent of the liberal community and the increasingly conservative and aggressive Church and its top hierarchy	7
The so called liberal community rejects the Orthodox values	6
Difficult to answer	33

2012, April; N=1600

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Table 16.10

Would you agree with an opinion that nowadays a lot of people want to show their affiliation with the Church, but in reality very few are believers?

	1994 VIII	1997 IV	2012 IX
Agree	68	80	73
Do not agree	11	9	14
Difficult to answer	21	11	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.11

Would you agree with the opinion that the Church in Russia has very little influence on the everyday life and morals?

	1994 VIII	2012 IX
Agree	51	52
Do not agree	19	29
Difficult to answer	31	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.12

Would you personally agree or disagree with the opinion that the Orthodox Christians in Russia should have legally defined privileges over atheists and other Confessions?

	1997 VIII	2007 IX	2012 I	2013 III
Yes	15	8	8	8
Rather yes	12	13	15	17
Rather no	15	25	24	24
No	44	45	43	38
Difficult to answer	14	10	10	12

N=1600

Table 16.13

Would you be in favour or against if fundamentals of religion and the law of the Lord were added to school curriculum?

	2001 IX	2007 IX	2012 I
In favor	46	45	44
Against	39	41	43
Difficult to answer	15	15	13

N=1600

Table 16.14

Would you be in favour or against introducing a tax to the benefit of religious communities in Russia?

	2001 IX	2007 IX	2012 I
In favor	15	14	10
Against	68	68	74
Difficult to answer	18	18	17

N=1600

Table 16.15

Would you support a tougher administrative penalty for insulting the religious feelings?

Definitely yes	19
Rather yes	44
Rather no	16
Definitely not	7
Difficult to answer	14

2012, September; N=1600

Table 16.16

Do you approve of the initiative to introduce criminal prosecution for insulting the religious feelings?

Definitely yes	14
Rather yes	35
Rather no	24
Definitely not	10
Difficult to answer	18

2012, November; N=1600

Table 16.17

Would you support the proposal to make an amendment to the Criminal Code which will introduce tougher punishment for insulting the religious feelings?

Definitely yes	18
Rather yes	39
Rather no	20
Definitely not	9
Difficult to answer	14

2012, September; N=1600

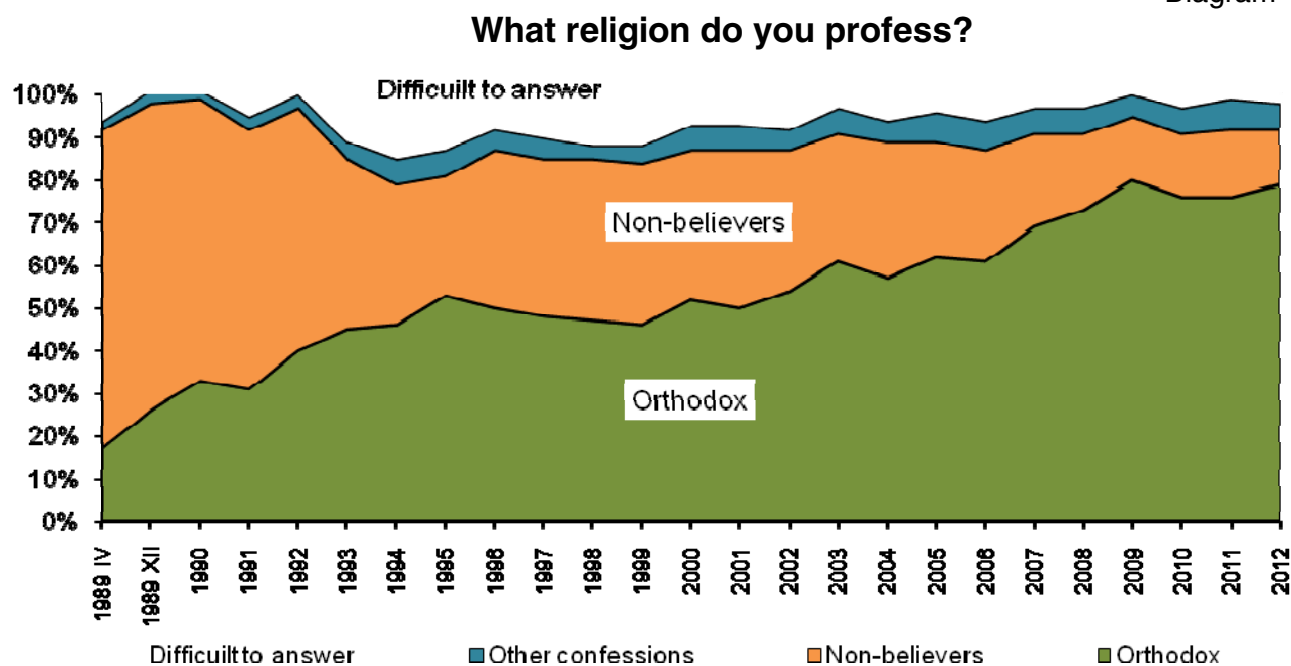
Table 16.18

How important is religion in your life?

	2007 IX	2012 I	2013 III
Very important	6	6	5
Fairly important	26	25	29
Not too important	41	42	43
Religion does not play any role for me	24	21	19
Difficult to answer	3	6	4

N=1600

Diagram 16.1



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Table 16.19

Do you attend religious services? If yes, then how often do you?

	2003 VII	2007 IX	2008 I	2010 XII	2011 XII	2012 X
Several times a week	1	1	0,2	1	2	2
Once a week	1	2	1	2	2	3
Two-three times a month	2	2	2	3	3	4
About once a month	3	3	4	4	5	6
Several times a year	20	24	14	18	19	21
Once a year	10	10	15	11	11	14
Less than once a year	18	18	19	12	12	15
Never	46	39	38	45	45	33

N=1600

Table 16.20

Did you read the Bible?

The Four Gospels	24
Other scriptures in the New Testament	11
Old Testament	16
I did not read the Bible	61
Difficult to answer	6

2012, November; N=1600

Table 16.21

What, do you think, people gain from the religion primarily?

	1991 VI	2008 I	2012 VII
Soul saving and a path to eternal life	12	16	14
Moral standards of everyday life	31	31	26
Purification of soul	12	14	16
Oblivion, comfort, relief from spiritual pain and suffering	5	5	16
Reconciliation with death	2	3	2
Meaning of life	7	7	4
Religion does not give anyone anything significant, however, it does not harm either	19	12	9
Only food for prejudice, superstitions and deceit of ignorant people	2	3	3
Difficult to answer	11	9	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.22

Do you believe in heaven?

	1991 VI	2008 I	2010 VIII	2012 VIII
I believe it exists	14	20	29	22
Most likely it exists	15	25	29	31
Most likely it does not exist	20	21	8	19
I believe it does not exist	32	19	15	10
Difficult to answer	19	14	19	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.23

Do you believe in hell?

	1991 VI	1998 IX	2008 I	2010 VIII	2012 VIII
I believe it exists	11	10	17	21	16
Most likely it exists	13	15	24	30	31
Most likely it does not exist	21	22	22	10	21
I believe it does not exist	35	30	22	17	11
Difficult to answer	20	23	16	21	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.24

Do you believe in religious miracles?

	1991 VI	1998 IX	2008 I	2010 VIII	2012 VIII
I believe it exists	17	10	22	24	17
Most likely it exists	16	19	27	29	35
Most likely it does not exist	19	20	19	12	23
I believe it does not exist	30	29	19	18	10
Difficult to answer	18	22	13	18	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.25

Do you believe in evil eye or hex?

	2010 I	2010 VIII	2012 VIII
I believe it exists	30	29	21
Most likely it exists	36	32	38
Most likely it does not exist	10	9	18
I believe it does not exist	11	15	10
Difficult to answer	13	16	13
<i>Total respondents</i>	<i>1000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.26

Do you consider yourself an atheist?

Definitely yes	5
Rather yes	10
Rather not	36
Definitely not	41
Difficult to answer	9

2012, November; N=1600

THE LENT AND EASTER

Table 16.27

**It is now Lent time before Easter.
Do you observe it and if you do, how strictly?**

	1997	2000	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	III	III	II	II	II	II	II	II	II	II	II	I	III
Keep to my usual diet	73	77	77	78	76	76	79	79	70	73	72	74	69
Already partly observe Lent (do not eat meat, do not drink alcoholic beverages)	20	14	16	13	13	15	15	15	17	19	18	17	21
Not yet, but am going to fast during the last week of Lent	-	2	2	4	5	4	2	2	4	2	4	4	3
Strictly observe Lent	5	3	3	4	4	2	2	2	2	3	3	1	2
Difficult to answer	2	4	2	1	2	3	2	2	5	4	4	4	4

N=1600

Table 16.28

**Will you observe Easter? If you will, then which of the following you or
members of your family will do?**

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2006	2010	2011	2011	2012	2013
Cook the curd Easter cake	17	19	11	13	18	14	18	18	17	18
Bake the Easter cake	38	45	44	43	39	31	33	33	30	29
Will buy Easter cake	16	19	21	21	39	39	41	41	42	43
Paint (dye) the eggs	67	71	74	72	76	70	76	76	70	69
Consecrate the Easter cakes	13	18	14	14	21	19	25	25	21	24
Will attend the Easter vigil service	7	11	8	5	7	8	9	9	7	11
I go visit the cemetery	_*	_*	_*	_*	28	19	27	27	23	25
I will have guests	31	33	27	25	32	23	32	32	28	29
I will go visit my friends	25	25	24	23	26	25	30	30	26	30
I will give presents to my friends and relatives	7	8	6	4	7	7	7	7	8	10
I do not know how I will observe it	10	9	7	11	5	6	4	4	6	5
I will not observe the Easter	8	6	7	4	7	7	4	4	6	7
I am not sure whether I will observe Easter or not	3	2	3	3	2	3	1	1	3	3

* - No answer option was offered

N=1600

Table 16.29

**Did you attend the Easter service in church this year?
Did you watch the TV broadcast of the Easter service in Moscow's Christ the
Savior cathedral?**

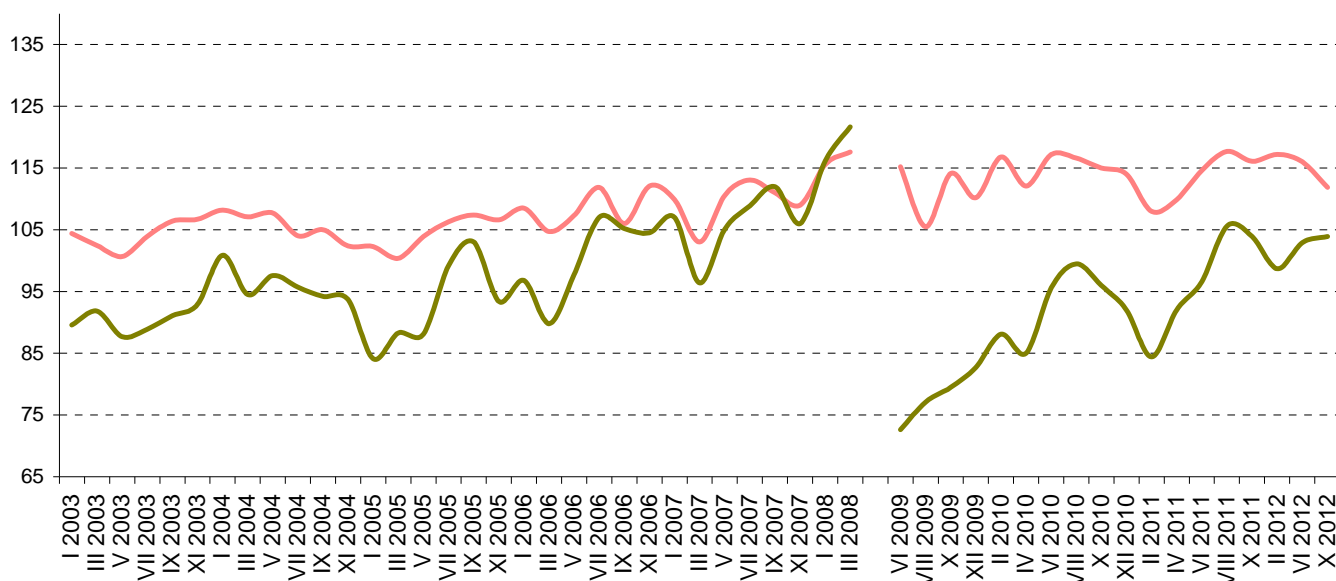
Attended the Easter service in church	15
Watched the TV broadcast of the Easter service	37
Neither	50

2012, April; 1600

17. FAMILY

Diagram 17.1

How has the life of your family changed?



Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagrams calculated as a sum of positive and negative evaluations of the situation of the family in the coming year and in the past year + 100.

FAMILY PROBLEMS

Table 17.1

What makes the life of your family most difficult at present?

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012
	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	VIII	VIII	II
Low incomes, lack of money	72	73	73	66	71	61	60	60	59	61
Fear of losing a job	15	15	20	16	14	17	14	17	17	14
Poor health, problems with medical treatment	35	30	30	32	35	31	32	31	27	30
Inadequate housing	15	12	12	14	12	18	13	15	15	14
Routine difficulties	20	19	21	21	20	20	21	28	27	29
No access to a good education for my children	10	11	11	10	11	9	7	10	10	8
Bad relation within the family	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Drinking or drug addiction of a family members	4	2	3	2	3	3	2	4	4	1
Fatigue and exhaustion	13	16	12	15	16	16	16	19	17	19
Hopelessness and absence of prospects in life	13	15	18	12	13	15	12	11	12	15
Lack of free time	9	8	9	10	10	11	13	19	15	14
Difficult to answer	5	6	7	7	5	9	12	5	7	7

N=2100

Table 17.2

How much of your family income is now spent on food?

	1991	1992	1999	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013		
	VI	XI	II	II	XII	I	VIII	VIII	IV	IX	VIII	IV	X	IV	IX	IV
Less than a half	6	4	5	6	14	14	15	18	18	16	22	17	20	23	22	17
About a half	20	15	15	24	33	32	37	36	39	40	41	36	41	38	41	43
About two thirds	40	24	21	29	28	29	29	26	23	25	20	26	26	24	20	25
Almost all	30	56	55	37	23	22	16	13	14	13	12	15	9	9	10	8
Difficult to answer	5	1	4	4	3	3	4	8	5	5	5	2	4	6	7	7

1991, N=1300; 1992-2009, N=1600

LEISURE

Table 17.3

Where are you, your family going to have your vacation this summer?

	1997	1999	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	V	V	VI	V	V	V	VI	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
At the dacha, garden plot	23	23	26	23	27	27	24	22	21	22	24	25	24	24	22
At the Black Sea (Russia)	3	3	4	4	4	5	7	6	7	7	6	7	7	8	7
In the Crimea	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
In the Baltic countries	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	0,5	<1
In another city/ town/ village in Russia	7	5	5	6	5	7	7	6	6	5	5	4	5	5	7
In other places, territories of the former USSR	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	1	2	2	3	2	1	3
Abroad	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	3	5	4
Will stay at home, will do what we need to do	33	46	36	40	40	32	37	34	34	33	31	29	28	30	27
Not going for a vacation anywhere, have no money	31	26	25	22	17	20	19	17	20	22	20	16	18	15	14
Have not decided yet	10	7	7	6	8	7	3	11	11	15	13	18	14	15	19

N=1600

FOREIGN TRAVEL

Table 17.4

Do you have an international passport?

I do	17
I do not	83

2012, March; N=1600

Table 17.5

How often do you travel abroad (outside the former Soviet Union) on business?

4 times a year or more	≤1
2-3 times a year	2
Approximately once a year	2
Once every 2-3 years	2
Less often	1
Used to travel before, but not anymore	9
I have never been outside the former Soviet Union	78
Difficult to answer	6

2012, March; N=1600

Table 17.6

How often do you travel abroad (outside the former Soviet Union) for leisure or personal trips?

4 times a year or more	≤1
2-3 times a year	2
Approximately once a year	4
Once every 2-3 years	6
Less often	3
Used to travel before, but not anymore	10
I have never been outside the former Soviet Union	70
Difficult to answer	6

2012, March; N=1600

Table 17.7

Did you travel abroad in the last five years?

	2008 VIII	2012 IX
Yes	16	21
No	84	79

N=1600

Table 17.8

Did you travel outside the former Soviet Union in the last five years?

	2008 VIII	2012 IX
Yes	9	12
No	92	88

N=1600

Table 17.9

Do you spent your vacation abroad and, if you do, how often?

	2008 VIII	2011 IX	2012 IX
Twice a year or more	1	1	1
Once a year	4	5	5
Once every two years	3	4	4
Less often	9	9	9
Never	82	78	78
Difficult to answer	2	4	4

N=1600

MARRIAGE

Table 17.10

What is your attitude to the fact that many young people now often prefer to live together without getting married?

Positive	16
Rather positive	38
Rather, negative	21
Negative	18
Difficult to answer	7

2012, June; N=1600

Table 17.11

What is your attitude to the fact that many people live together without getting married and have children?

Positive	12
Rather positive	31
Rather, negative	30
Negative	20
Difficult to answer	7

2012, June; N=1600

RELATIONSHIP IN THE FAMILY

Table 17.12

How would you describe your current relationship with your parents?

	2007 III	2012 II
We get along really well	31	35
We understand each other even when our views differ	28	30
We do not understand each other very often	6	5
We have bad relationship, we fight all the time	1	0
We do not communicate	1	1
I do not have (I do not know) parents	31	27
Difficult to answer	2	3

N=1600

Table 17.13

How would you describe your current relationship with your children?

	2007 III	2012 II
We get along really well	36	35
We understand each other even when our views differ	32	32
We do not understand each other very often	6	7
We have bad relationship, we fight all the time	1	2
We do not communicate	2	0
I do not have (I do not know) parents / I do not have children	20	19
Difficult to answer	3	4

2007, March; N=1600

Table 17.14

Do you have fights in your family and, if you do, how often?

	2002 II	2003 III	2007 III	2012 II
Almost every day	4	6	3	2
Once or twice a week	12	11	7	7
Once a few times a month	23	25	18	20
Less often	31	34	34	35
Never have fights	23	19	30	30
Refused to answer	7	5	8	7

N=1600

Table 17.16

Did your current or ex-husband or partner beat you / Did your current or ex-wife or partner beat you?

Often	1
A few times	4
Once or twice	7
Never happened	77
Refused to answer	12

2012, February; N=1600

18. INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

Table 18.1

Can you feel ethnic tension in the city, region you live in?

	2005 XI	2006 IV	2006 XI	2007 IV	2008 XII	2010 XII	2011 XII	2012 XI
Definitely yes	5	4	7	4	7	7	3	5
Yes, rather than no	21	18	23	18	20	19	21	24
No, rather than yes	44	44	40	46	41	46	46	46
Definitely no	26	30	24	27	24	20	24	20
Difficult to answer	4	4	6	5	7	8	6	6

N=1600

Table 18.2

Do you at present feel hostility from people of another ethnic origin?

	2002 VII	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 X	2009 XI	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 IX
Very often	2	4	3	2	4	3	1	3	4	4
Quite often	8	10	9	8	11	9	9	13	14	14
Rarely	29	29	26	27	29	26	28	25	27	32
Never/ practically never	60	56	61	60	53	58	60	55	50	44
Difficult to answer	2	1	2	3	3	4	2	4	5	6

N=1600

Table 18.3

Do you at present feel hostility towards people of another ethnic origin?

	2002 VII	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 X	2009 XI	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 IX
Very often	3	4	4	3	3	2	1	4	6	4
Quite often	9	13	9	8	9	8	10	15	14	14
Rarely	29	29	25	27	32	32	30	25	26	32
Never/ practically never	59	53	60	59	53	55	56	52	49	44
Difficult to answer	1	2	2	3	3	4	3	4	6	6

Table 18.4

Are violent ethnic clashes possible in Russia now?

	2002 VII	2007 VII	2008 X	2009 XI	2011 I	2011 XI	2012 XI
Definitely yes	12	13	10	3	15	11	11
Most likely, yes	37	37	29	20	41	28	32
Most likely, no	30	32	32	39	28	39	36
Definitely no	12	8	18	25	6	11	11
Difficult to answer	10	10	10	12	11	11	10

N=1600

Table 18.5

Are violent ethnic clashes possible in your community?

	2002 VII	2007 VII	2008 X	2009 XI	2011 I	2011 XI	2012 XI
Definitely yes	5	6	4	2	8	6	3
Most likely, yes	19	16	16	8	22	14	20
Most likely, no	43	46	41	38	42	40	45
Definitely no	25	22	30	42	21	28	23
Difficult to answer	9	10	10	10	8	12	9

N=1600

Table 18.6

What do you feel towards the residents of the “southern” republics in your city or district?

	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2006 XI	2007 IV	2007 XI	2008 XII	2010 XII	2011 XII	2012 XI
Respect	3	5	3	4	3	6	4	5	1	3
Affection	5	4	4	4	3	5	4	4	4	5
Annoyance	25	18	23	18	19	16	14	14	15	21
Dislike	28	23	24	15	23	18	14	15	20	21
Fear	5	4	4	3	3	4	2	6	3	3
No particular feelings	39	45	46	56	52	54	61	57	57	46
Difficult to answer	4	4	4	3	2	3	2	4	1	3

N=1600

Table 18.7

Do you think that the population of the following ethnic groups living in Russia should be restricted?

	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VII	2012 VIII
YES:								
Vietnamese	39	42	35	34	24	33	21	31
Jews	15	18	13	10	6	11	8	10
People from the Caucasus	44	50	42	44	38	37	39	42
Chinese	39	46	41	41	34	36	30	37
People from the former Central Asian Republics of the USSR	31	31	23	25	20	27	26	35
Ukrainians	8	8	7	6	7	6	5	6
Gypsies	32	30	29	25	22	30	18	29
All ethnic groups except Russians	14	11	11	10	16	16	17	13
There should be no restrictions on the number of people of any ethnicity living in Russia	21	20	25	23	19	21	17	18
Difficult to answer	5	5	6	8	14	12	15	9

NATIONALISM

Table 18.8

What is your attitude to the term “nationalism”?

	2009 X	2012 IX
Positive, in general	9	13
Negative, in general	75	70
Difficult to answer	16	16

N=1600

Table 18.9

Would you agree that “non-Russians” are the cause of many Russian problems?

	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2009 VIII	2012 IX
Definitely yes	16	13	12	7	10	10
Rather yes	26	25	22	25	20	24
Rather no	37	32	33	35	28	37
Definitely not	15	25	25	23	25	21
Difficult to answer	6	6	8	10	16	8

N=1600

Table 18.10

Would you agree with the opinion that minorities have too much power in Russia?

	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2009 VIII	2012 IX
Definitely yes	16	15	12	9	11	12
Rather yes	31	31	26	32	24	31
Rather no	34	30	32	31	27	32
Definitely not	10	17	19	16	20	14
Difficult to answer	8	9	11	12	18	12

N=1600

Table 18.11

What is your attitude to the idea “Russia for Russians”?

	1998	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2009	2010	2011	2012
	XII	I	XI	XII	VII	XII	XI	XI	VIII	X	VIII	XI	VIII	XI	XI
I support it, it should have been put into practice long ago	13	15	16	16	21	16	16	15	14	15	19	18	19	19	15
It would be a good idea to put this into practice but within reasonable limits	30	34	42	38	32	37	37	35	41	42	35	36	35	40	41
Negative, it is pure fascism	30	27	20	26	18	25	23	26	27	25	27	32	21	23	23
I am not interested	14	12	11	9	7	12	12	12	11	12	11	9	16	11	14
Never think about it	7	6	5	3	8	4	5	4	7	7	8	5	9	7	6

N=1600

Table 18.12

Do you support the slogan “Enough to feed Caucasus?”

	2011 XI	2012 I	2012 XI	2013 V
Definitely support	28	22	26	20
Rather support	34	35	39	35
Rather do not support	18	13	17	16
Definitely do not support	6	7	6	16
Difficult to answer	15	23	11	14

N=1600

ATTITUDE TO IMMIGRANTS

Table 18.13

What do you think about the fact that there a lot of migrant workers from Moldova, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and other countries of former USSR employed at the construction sites of Russia?

	1997	1998	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012
	V	XII	I	XI	XII	XII	VIII	IX	VIII	VIII	X	XI	VIII	X
Definitely positive	10	11	10	8	6	7	6	6	6	6	5	4	3	2
Positive, rather than negative	15	18	17	20	16	15	15	16	14	12	16	15	11	9
Neutral	34	33	32	39	44	42	39	42	45	49	46	44	42	39
Negative, rather than positive	19	24	23	22	22	20	25	24	21	25	22	23	29	28
Definitely negative	14	10	15	8	9	12	13	11	12	6	7	11	11	19
Difficult to answer	8	5	3	3	3	5	2	1	2	2	3	2	4	3

* - before 2010: "...migrant workers from Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova and other countries of the Former Soviet Union"

N=1600

Table 18.14

To which extent do you agree with the statement:

	Completely agree	Rather agree	Neither agree, Nor disagree	Rather disagree	Completely disagree	Difficult to answer
Immigrants increase the crime rate	34	37	17	7	1	5
Immigrants generally facilitate Russian economic growth	5	19	29	29	14	6
Immigrants take jobs from Russians	31	36	18	11	1	4
Immigrants enrich Russian society by bringing in new ideas and cultures	4	15	27	29	17	8
Immigrants destroy Russian culture	18	28	28	15	4	7

2012, October; N=1600

Table 18.15

**To which extent do you agree with the statement:
"Legal Immigrants in Russia, although not Russian citizens, should have the same rights as Russian citizens"?**

	2003 VII	2012 X
Completely agree	12	8
Rather agree	24	26
Neither agree or disagree	17	25
Rather disagree	18	20
Completely disagree	12	15
Difficult to answer	17	8

N=1600

Table 18.16

What should the Russian government's policy be like towards migrants?

	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	VII	VIII	IX	VIII	VIII	X	XI	VIII	XI	VIII
Should try to restrict the influx of migrants	45	54	59	52	57	52	61	60	64	70
Should not have any administrative barriers against the influx, should try to use it for the benefit of Russia	44	38	36	39	32	35	30	27	28	20
Difficult to answer	11	7	6	9	11	13	9	13	8	10

N=1600

Table 18.17

What should be done with illegal immigrants from the CIS countries?

	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012
	XI	XI	XII	XII	XII	XI
Legalize them and help them get a job and integrate into the Russian society	31	35	25	27	20	20
Expel them from Russia	53	50	54	52	57	64
Difficult to answer	16	15	21	21	22	15

N=1600

Table 18.18

Would you be in favour of or against limiting access to migrants from other Russian regions to your city/region for permanent residence or work?

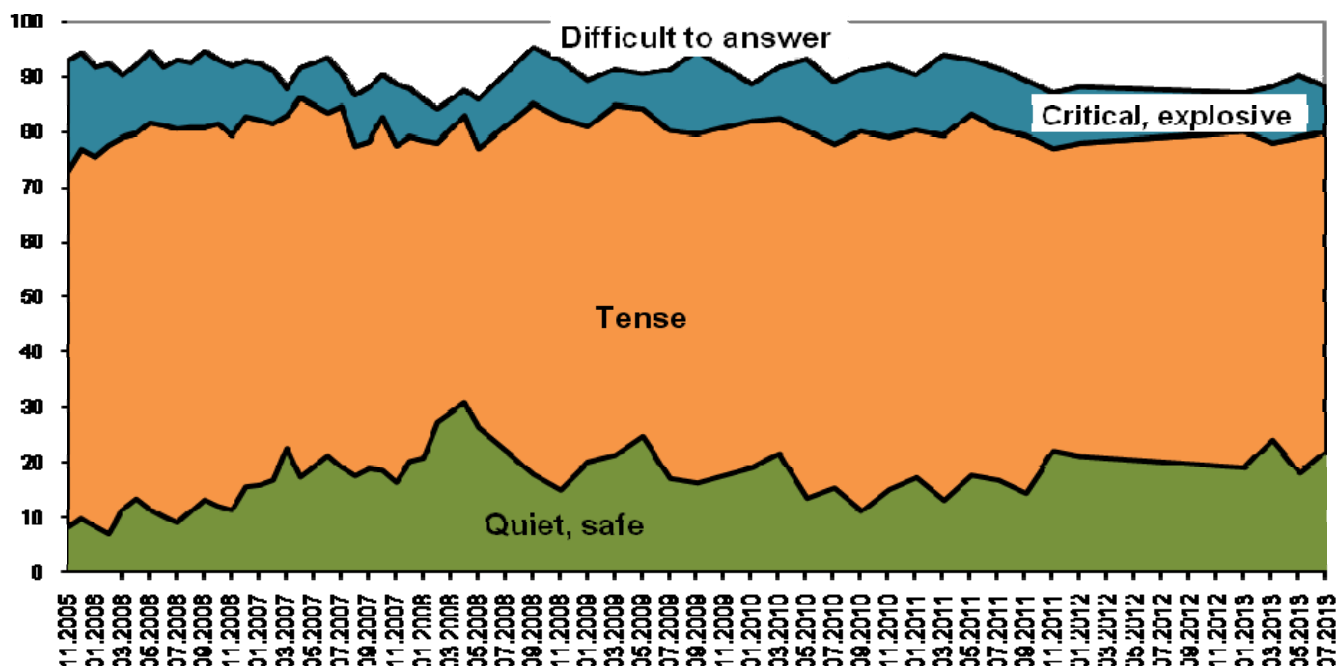
	2012 IX	2013 VI
Definitely in favor	24	34
Rather in favor	33	31
Rather against	25	20
Definitely against	6	8
Difficult to answer	12	8

N=1600

19. CHECHNYA AND THE NORTHERN CAUCASIA

Diagram 19.1

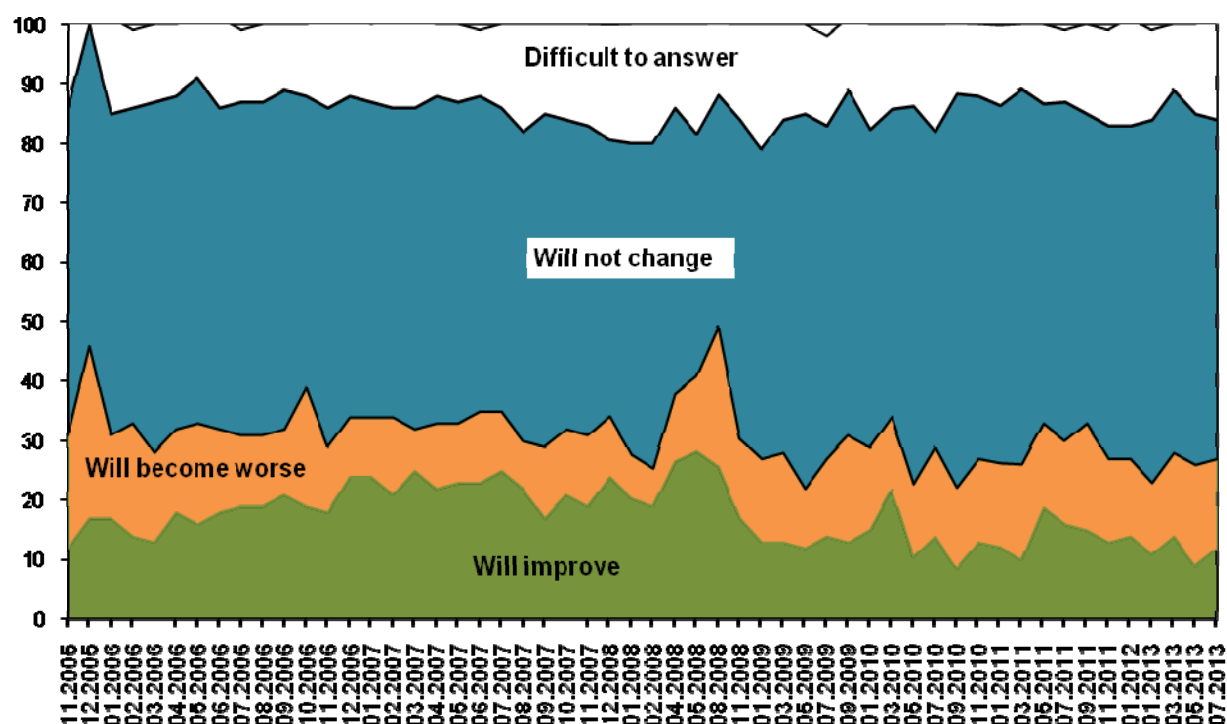
How would you describe the current situation in the Northern Caucasias?



N=1600

Diagram 19.2

How will the situation in the North Caucasus change within the year?



N=1600

Table 19.1

Do you think the Russian authorities will ultimately be able to assure order and peace in North Caucasus?

	2009	2010			2011		2012	
	VIII	IV	VII	VIII	I	IX	I	IX
I think restoring peace will succeed in coming	12	9	11	12	9	11	13	8
I think this will require many years	34	44	37	38	37	38	37	38
I think generally this will fail and Chechnya will remain a source of tension and conflict in Russia for decades	30	28	29	27	30	29	29	27
I think it will fail and sooner or later Chechnya and possibly other republics of North Caucasus will break away from Russia	16	9	13	13	14	13	11	13
Difficult to answer	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	16

N=1600

Table 19.2

If you were a head of state, what program you would offer to fix the issues in the North Caucasus?

(responses are ranked by the last poll)

	2011	2012
Tighten control over the residents of the North Caucasus coming to Russia	36	34
Use any peaceful means available to resolve the issue (negotiate with the separatists and insurgents)	18	26
Use the power of the Russian military to crash the separatist insurgency once and for all	26	24
Create an efficient network of informants warning any potential terror attacks	35	21
Separate the North Caucasus from Russia and resettle those who would chose to live in Russia	18	16
Difficult to answer	13	12

January, N=1600

Table 19.3

Do you approve or disapprove Russian authorities' tactics in response to the recurring acts of violence in the North Caucasus?

	2010				2011				2012			2013
	II	IV	VII	X	II	V	VII	X	I	VI	VIII	VI
Approve completely	17	16	18	13	9	13	10	9	12	9	11	13
Rather approve	42	49	47	47	40	44	43	42	46	40	44	45
Rather disapprove	16	15	13	13	18	18	18	16	17	16	17	18
Absolutely disapprove	6	5	4	5	8	6	5	6	6	5	5	6
Difficult to answer	19	16	19	21	25	19	24	28	20	30	25	19

N=1600

CHECHNYA

Table 19.4

Who is mostly responsible for unleashing the 1999 war in Chechnya?

	1999	2001	2007	2009	2010	2012
	X	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII
Chechen government	22	17	22	19	21	22
Chechen militants, armed gangs	25	25	26	35	37	35
Russian top officials overall	20	16	17	15	16	14
Government of Russia	18	15	14	12	9	10
Prime-minister V. Putin	2	3	2	2	2	2
Russian generals / military departments	7	7	6	5	6	7
President B. Yeltsin	36	29	25	17	18	21
President's associates / the "Family"	10	6	8	5	5	5
A. Lebed	3	1	3	1	2	1
Nobody is to blame / it was impossible to change anything	1	2	4	4	3	5
Difficult to answer	15	15	21	16	19	19

N=1600

Table 19.5

Do you think the second Chechen war achieved its goal or it was not a success considering its violence and gross losses?

	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012
	IX	VII	IX	IX	VII
The goals of the war as the government of Russia saw them have been fully achieved – the separatists are crushed, Chechnya is a part of Russia	8	10	6	6	10
The goals of the war have been partly achieved – the separatists are defeated but the threat of revolts in the Caucasus is still there	35	50	45	34	47
The war was useless, a lot of people were killed but the Caucasus will break away from Russia sooner or later anyway	46	24	35	39	28
Difficult to answer	11	16	14	21	15

N=1600

Table 19.6

Were the victims among the peaceful Chechen population during the course of the “counter-terrorist operation” exonerated?

	2009	2010	2012
	VII	III	VII
To the fullest extent	5	7	7
Yes, to some extent	22	27	20
No	59	51	58
Difficult to answer	15	15	15

N=1600

Table 19.7

How much do you think the federal authorities are controlling the situation in Chechnya at present?

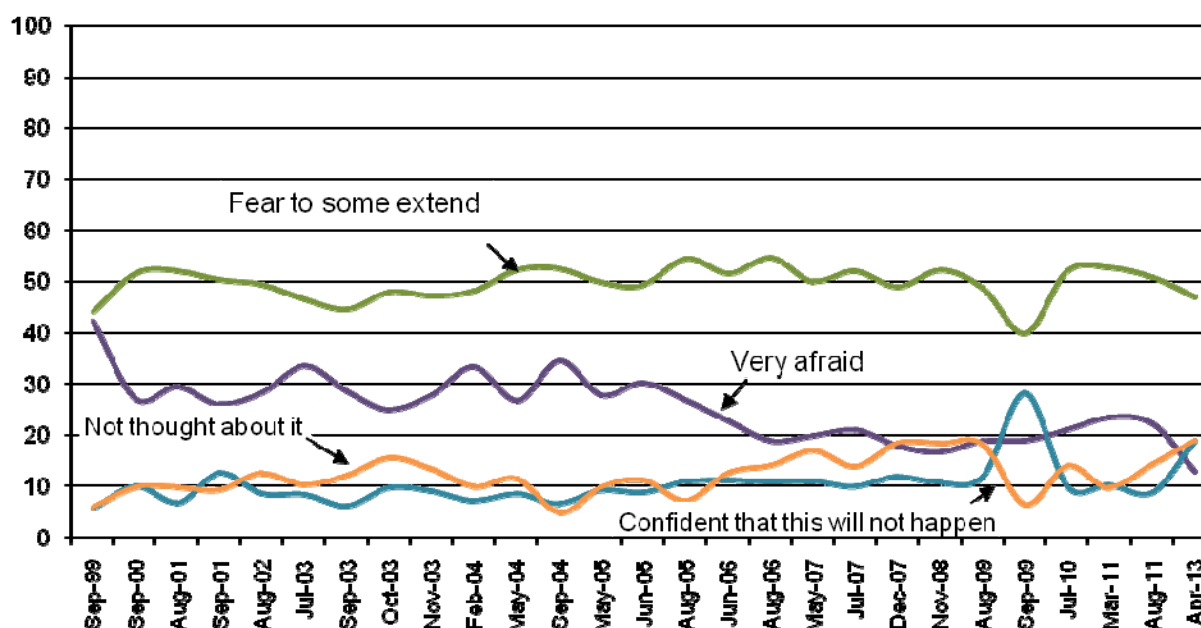
	2006 IX	2007 IX	2009 IV	2009 VII	2010 IX	2011 III	2012 III	2013 III
Fully	5	7	11	7	5	6	8	9
Considerably	29	34	33	41	31	33	44	39
Only partly	43	38	30	33	48	40	32	30
Not at all	16	9	7	8	8	11	5	11
Difficult to answer	7	12	19	11	8	10	12	12

N=1600

20. ACTS OF TERROR IN RUSSIA

Diagram 20.3

Are you afraid that you or your relatives may be victims of acts of terrorism?



N=1600

Table 20.1

How successful you believe the Russian Special Forces are fighting the terrorism in Russia?

	2006 VIII	2010 VIII	2012 IX	2013 IV
Very successfully	2	4	4	3
Fairly successfully	31	32	35	39
Without much success	53	48	42	42
Absolutely unsuccessfully	8	8	8	6
Difficult to answer	7	9	11	11

N=1600

Table 20.2

Do you think Russian special services and Ministry of Internal Affairs will be able to protect Russia's population from renewed acts of terrorism?

	2000 VI	2003 VI	2007 VI	2009 VIII	2010 VI	2011 III	2011 VIII	2012 III	2012 IX	2013 IV
Definitely yes	6	7	6	5	3	4	5	4	4	4
Yes, rather than no	31	22	41	40	27	25	33	39	38	36
No, rather than yes	37	44	33	31	42	43	40	35	36	38
Definitely not	19	19	9	9	13	14	12	7	8	9
Difficult to answer	7	9	12	14	15	15	10	15	14	14

N=1600

Table 20.3

Will large Russian cities see new acts of terror, seizures of hostages?

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2011	2012		
	V	V	VIII	V	III	III	V	IX
Definitely yes	39	32	16	17	23	9	13	9
Yes, rather than no	52	50	53	49	50	41	47	44
No, rather than yes	4	8	13	16	13	23	17	20
Definitely no	0,3	1	1	2	2	3	3	4
Difficult to answer	5	10	17	16	13	24	21	23

N=1600

Table 20.4

What is more important if terrorists take hostages and demand that their conditions to authorities?

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2010	2011	2012
Eliminate the terrorists even if the price to pay might be human lives	29	30	25	22	20	16	20
Avoid bloodshed at any cost even if the terrorists' conditions had to be accepted	62	60	65	69	67	74	68
Difficult to answer	9	10	10	9	13	10	12

October, N=1600

Table 20.5

What would Russian authorities try to do, if the terrorists again took hostages and require their demands are met?

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2010	2011	2012
Destroy the terrorists, even if it leads to casualties	34	39	40	30	24	27	31
Will try to avoid bloodshed at all costs, even if it means meeting the terrorists' demands	48	45	41	54	54	49	48
Difficult to answer	18	16	19	17	22	24	21

October, N=1600

Table 20.6

Is it clear to you now who was behind the blasts in residential buildings in Russian cities in the autumn of 1999?

	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012
	IX	VIII	VIII	IX	IX
Yes, I am completely satisfied with the work of our investigation and law-enforcement bodies on this case	5	7	6	4	5
Yes, rather than no; though I still don't have a full picture	22	32	31	20	22
No, rather than yes because even though some of the actual perpetrators were convicted, the idea of the crime itself is still not clear	35	29	32	31	27
No, I am absolutely dissatisfied with both the investigation itself and with the trial	19	13	13	17	12
Difficult to answer	19	19	17	28	35

N=1600

«NORD-OST»

Table 20.7

Are the authorities telling the truth about the circumstances of the seizure of hostages in Moscow («Nord-Ost»)?

	2002 XI	2003 X	2004 X	2005 X	2006 X	2007 X	2010 X	2011 X	2012 X
All the truth	9	7	6	4	5	8	9	8	11
Only a part of the truth	58	50	57	48	51	48	52	42	47
They are withholding the truth	23	27	25	34	25	25	19	24	22
They are lying and shifting	5	8	7	8	9	8	3	4	5
Difficult to answer	5	8	6	5	11	11	17	21	16

N=1600

Table 20.8

How dignified and responsible, in your opinion, was Vladimir Putin during Nord-Ost hostage crisis in Moscow in 2002?

Completely	12
To a large extent	34
Not much	18
You cannot tell	9
Difficult to answer	26

2012, September; N=1600

BESLAN

Table 20.9

Did the authorities do everything to release the hostages at Beslan school – or they just tried to “save the face” and they did not care about the hostages?

	2004 X	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2012 VIII
Authorities did everything to release the hostages	54	52	53	49
Authorities just tried to “save the face” and they generally did not care about the hostages	34	34	34	27
Difficult to answer	12	14	14	25

N=1600

Table 20.10

Do the authorities tell the truth about the events related to the Beslan hostage tragedy?

	2004 IX	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 VIII
All the truth	13	6	5	8	10	12	11	12
Only a part of the truth	56	53	50	51	50	52	48	41
They are withholding the truth	22	28	28	24	25	19	24	22
They are lying and shifting	5	7	8	6	5	5	5	5
Difficult to answer	4	6	8	11	11	12	12	21

N=1600

21. RUSSIA AND THE CIS COUNTRIES

Table 21.1

Did the relations between Russia and CIS countries improve, deteriorated or remained the same while V. Putin and D. Medvedev were in the office?

	2011 I	2012 I
Improved	38	42
Deteriorated	21	18
Remained the same	35	33
Difficult to answer	7	6

N=1600

Table 21.2

**How would you describe the current relations
Between Russian and CIS countries?**

	1998 IV	1999 XII	2000 XII	2001 XII	2002 XII	2004 XI	2007 XII	2011 XI	2012 XII
Friendly	6	8	9	11	7	8	8	6	5
Good, neighborly	7	14	7	13	12	16	13	9	16
Normal, calm	23	33	30	35	29	34	41	42	40
Cool	31	25	28	25	35	22	24	27	26
Tense	21	10	16	9	11	12	8	7	6
Hostile	4	2	4	2	1	2	1	<1	1
Difficult to answer	9	8	7	5	5	6	4	9	6

N=1600

Table 21.3

**Which form of relations between
the former USSR republics would you support?**

	2002 XII	2003 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI	2008 XI	2009 XI	2010 XI	2011 XI	2012 XII
Re-establishment of the USSR as it used to be	21	25	18	16	13	16	15	14	16
Maintaining the CIS in its current form	12	10	17	12	15	13	17	16	21
Forming closer unions of several republics if they wish to do so	29	25	23	23	28	27	26	25	24
Closer union of the former USSR republics like the European Union	20	19	19	23	21	22	19	18	16
Independent existence of all the republics	10	12	12	17	14	14	13	12	11
Difficult to answer	8	9	12	10	10	9	12	15	12

N=1600

BELARUS

Table 21.4

What is your overall attitude to the Belarus now?

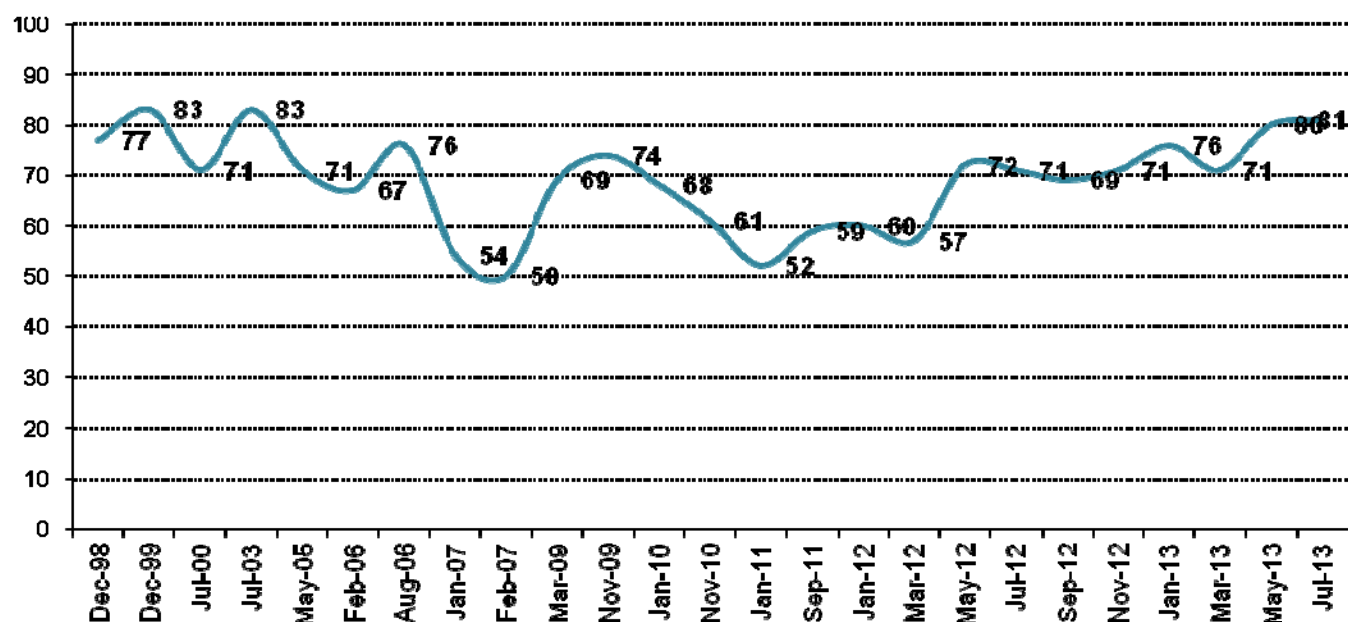
	1998	1999	2000	2003	2005	2006		2007		2009		2010		2011		2012			2013		
	XII	XII	VII	VII	V	II	VII	I	II	III	XI	I	XI	I	IX	I	V	IX	I	V	VII
Very good	30	27	25	30	16	15	15	9	9	12	11	12	7	9	8	8	9	10	14	18	16
Mostly good	55	61	57	60	66	65	70	64	61	68	72	67	69	62	67	66	72	70	68	67	72
Mostly bad	6	4	9	6	9	11	7	16	15	8	7	9	12	15	13	12	8	9	9	6	6
Very bad	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	5	3	2	2	3	4	3	2	1	2	2	1	1
Difficult to answer	7	8	5	3	7	7	7	9	11	9	8	10	9	10	9	12	9	9	8	8	5

N=1600

Diagram 21.1

Index of attitude to Belarus

(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)



N=1600

UKRAINE

Diagram 21.2

Index of attitude to Ukraine
(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)

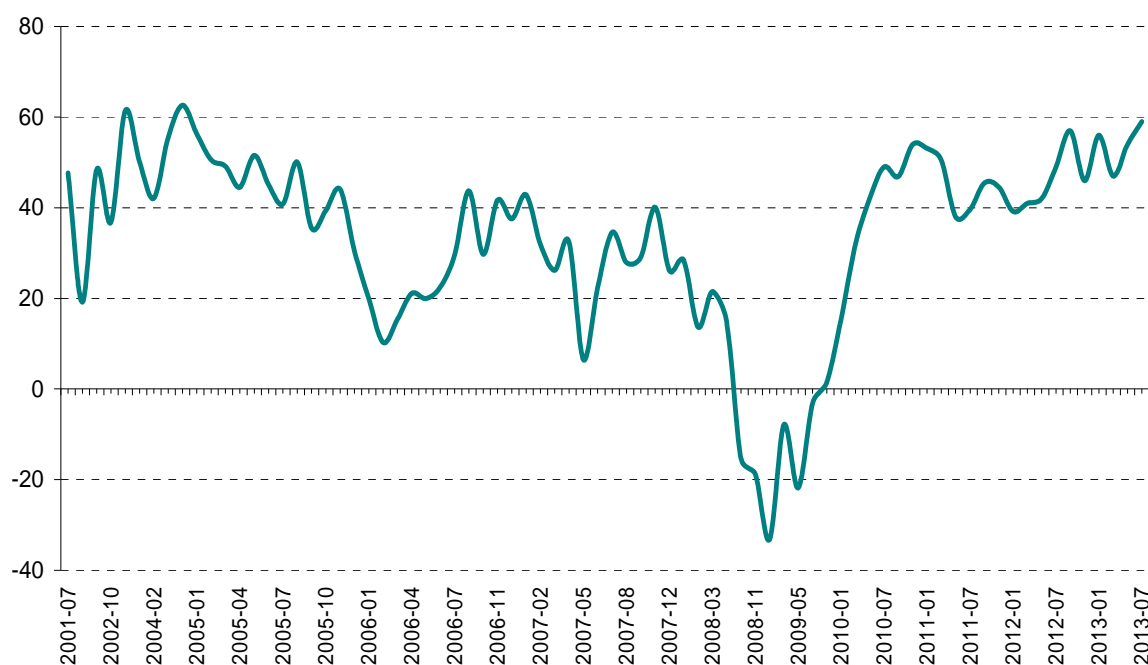


Table 21.5

How would you rate current relations between Russia and Ukraine?

	2012 II	2013 I
Friendly	4	4
Good neighborly	10	12
Normal and peaceful	27	34
Chilly	30	34
Tense	19	9
Hostile	4	1
Difficult to answer	6	6

N=1600

Table 21.6

**Which of the following views on relations
between Russian and Ukraine would you most agree with?**

	2008		2009			2010			2011			2012			2013	
	III	IX	I	V	IX	I	V	IX	I	V	IX	I	V	IX	I	V
Relations between Russia and Ukraine should be the same as with other 18 countries – with closed borders, visas, customs	19	24	29	25	25	25	17	16	20	16	16	16	17	14	13	19
Russia and Ukraine should be independent but friendly states – with open borders, no visas and no customs	56	52	51	55	55	55	64	60	61	64	63	61	62	60	64	58
Russia and Ukraine shall unite to make one state	19	13	12	14	13	14	13	18	13	15	14	16	14	20	18	15
Difficult to answer	6	11	8	6	7	6	6	6	6	5	6	8	7	6	6	8

N=1600

Table 21.7

Which direction is Ukraine heading now?

	2011 I	2012 XI
Gradually gravitates towards closer ties with Russia	29	19
Gradually gravitates towards closer ties with the West (European Union, USA) and drifts further away from Russia	21	32
Maneuvers between Russia and the West	38	36
Difficult to answer	12	14

N=1600

Table 21.8

Which would be more beneficial for Russia?

	2004 XII	2006 VIII	2007 X	2010 II	2011 X	2012 XI
Ukraine becoming an independent country that has good-neighborly, mutually beneficial relations with Russia	48	44	41	55	53	47
Ukraine being under economic and political control of Russia	38	41	36	33	32	39
Difficult to answer	14	15	23	12	15	14

N=1600

Table 21.9

How relations between Russia and Ukraine be changing in the next few years?

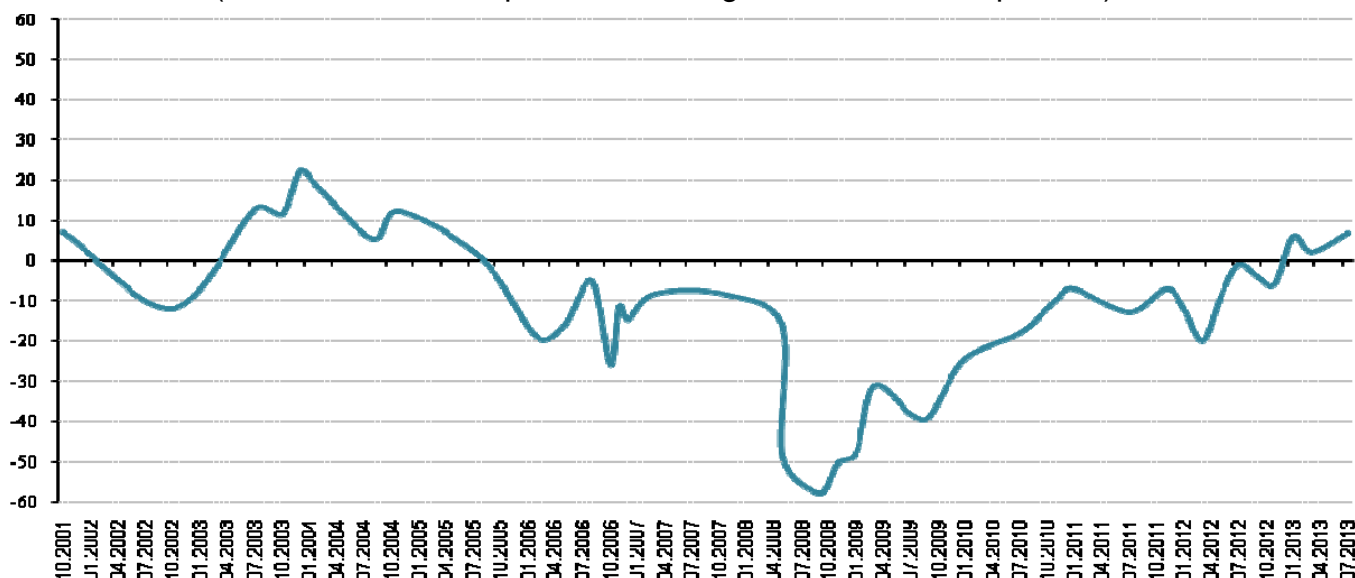
	2006 IV	2007 X	2011 X	2012 XI
Will improve	28	14	24	28
Remain the same as they have been recently	42	43	51	50
Will deteriorate	20	18	11	10
Difficult to answer	10	24	14	12

N=1600

GEORGIA

Diagram 21.3

Index of attitude to Georgia
(difference between positive and negative evaluations, percent)



N=1600

Table 21.10

**Georgia recently declared it reinstates the visa-free entry for Russian citizens.
Should Russia reciprocate with visa free entry for Georgian citizens?**

Definitely yes	7
Rather yes	19
Rather no	32
Definitely not	24
Difficult to answer	19

2012, March; N=1600

SOUTH OSSETIA AND ABKHAZIA

Table 21.11

Do you think South Ossetia is ...

	2004	2006	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	IX	II	VIII	VIII	VI	III	VII
A part of Georgia	17	18	8	13	11	11	13
A part of Russia	46	36	29	29	27	30	27
An independent state	17	22	51	43	47	43	45
Difficult to answer	21	25	12	15	15	16	16

N=1600

Table 21.12

Should South Ossetia be part of Georgia, part of Russia or an independent state?

	2004	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	VII	IV	VII	VIII	VII	VIII	VI	VII	VII
Should be part of Georgia	12	12	9	4	6	5	6	8	7
Should be part of Russia	34	40	34	46	35	30	23	35	29
Should be an independent state	30	26	32	34	40	46	53	43	43
Difficult to answer	24	22	25	16	19	20	18	15	20

N=1600

Table 21.13

Do you think Abkhazia is ...

	2004	2006	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	IX	II	VIII	VIII	VI	III	VII
A part of Georgia	27	22	9	17	10	9	11
A part of Russia	32	31	26	27	25	28	28
An independent state	17	21	52	44	49	45	48
Difficult to answer	24	26	13	16	16	18	14

N=1600

Table 21.14

Should Abkhazia be part of Georgia, part of Russia or an independent state?

	2003	2004	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	III	VII	IV	VII	VII	VIII	VI	VII	VII
Should be part of Georgia	15	14	13	7	6	4	6	9	9
Should be part of Russia	40	32	41	34	35	32	25	34	30
Should be an independent state	20	29	27	32	41	46	53	41	42
Difficult to answer	25	26	19	27	19	19	17	16	19

N=1600

22. RUSSIA AND THE WORLD

Table 22.1

Did Russia-West relations improved, deteriorated or remained the same while Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev were in the office?

	2011 I	2012 I
Improved	60	55
Deteriorated	9	12
Remained the same	25	29
Difficult to answer	6	4

N=1600

Table 22.2

Does Russia have a sound foreign policy or is its foreign policy reduced to responding to immediate issues only?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Has a sound foreign policy	41	41	45	60	49	48	49	50
Foreign policy is responding to immediate issues only	40	36	33	21	27	27	31	33
Difficult to answer	19	23	22	19	24	25	19	21

January, N=1600

Table 22.3

Which countries do you think Russia should seek to cooperate with in implementing its foreign policy?

(Answer are ranked by the last measurement)

	2001	2003	2004	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Germany, France, UK, other West-European countries	49	51	54	53	46	49	45	50	48	49	48
Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, other CIS countries	53	38	49	48	44	48	42	46	43	50	46
India, China	22	21	21	24	26	28	32	29	23	36	30
Japan	27	23	26	20	19	24	22	23	22	19	22
US	31	27	30	24	15	18	15	30	22	19	18
Iraq, Libya, Cuba, Northern Korea	11	11	7	7	11	12	12	9	8	11	16
Difficult to answer	10	15	15	16	16	17	18	15	16	12	10

N=1600

ENEMIES

Table 22.4

Does Russia have any enemies?

	1994	1999	2003	2008	2009	2011	2012
Yes	41	65	78	68	69	70	63
No	22	14	9	14	18	19	18
Difficult to answer	37	22	14	18	13	11	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2000</i>

Table 22.5

Who would you term enemies of Russia?

(of those, who think there are enemies; answers are ranged to the last measurement)

	2008	2009	2011	2012
	VI	VII	I	X
USA	51	51	40	56
Chechen militants	45	47	48	39
NATO	39	34	32	35
Special political forces of the West	28	19	30	27
Islamist, radical Islamic supporters	17	15	27	20
Former union republics of USSR (the Baltic States, Ukraine, Georgia etc.)	27	38	18	14
Oligarchs, bankers	19	19	20	14
China	8	13	13	11
Those in power today	7	7	7	10
Separatists within Russia	13	10	15	9
Zionists	5	4	8	5
Russophobes, pro-western forces	4	2	6	4
National patriots	3	2	4	4
Countries of the former social camp (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic etc.)	5	7	9	3
Communists	4	3	2	3
Democratic-reformers	5	3	4	2
Liberals	3	2	1	2
Difficult to answer	5	5	3	5
<i>Total number of answer</i>	<i>280</i>	<i>276</i>	<i>297</i>	<i>262</i>

N=1600

Table 22.6

Name five countries that you could call the closest friends, allies of Russia*...
(answers are ranged to the last measurement)

	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Belarus	46	47	38	50	49	35	34	46
Kazakhstan	20	33	39	38	32	33	28	31
China	12	24	19	18	16	18	16	20
Ukraine	17	10	11	3	20	21	13	16
Germany	23	22	24	17	24	20	17	14
Armenia	9	14	15	15	15	11	11	12
Bulgaria	11	10	9	9	8	9	7	10
Cuba	-	-	8	11	10	13	8	9
Azerbaijan	5	7	5	10	8	9	9	8
India	16	15	14	12	14	16	9	7
Venezuela	-	-	2	8	10	6	5	6
Moldavia	2	4	4	5	5	4	4	6
Tajikistan	3	3	7	9	4	5	4	5
Turkey	2	3	3	4	5	7	4	5
Uzbekistan	4	6	6	9	5	7	5	5
Italy	6	7	8	5	8	6	7	5
Kyrgyzstan	5	7	7	9	4	6	5	5
Japan	4	6	5	5	5	5	4	4
USA	11	5	6	2	7	5	2	4
France	13	8	9	9	11	9	9	4
Poland	5	4	3	2	5	3	3	4
Finland	6	6	6	5	5	7	6	4
Serbia	3	4	3	5	3	4	4	3
Israel	5	3	3	3	4	5	4	3
Czech Republic	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	3
Mongolia	-	-	3	5	4	5	2	3
Great Britain	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	2
Syria	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Egypt	2	1	2	2	2	5	2	2
Slovakia	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	2
Turkmenistan	2	2	8	5	1	3	2	2
South Korea	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2
Georgia	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	2
Sweden	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	2
Hungary	3	2	1	2	1	2	2	2
North Korea	3	3	2	1	2	4	1	1
Iran	2	4	3	2	2	1	2	1
Latvia	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Iraq	2	2	1	1	1	0,2	1	1
Canada	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
Lithuania	1	1	2	1	1	1	0,3	1
Romania	0,4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Australia	3	1	3	2	3	2	1	1
Afghanistan	1	1	1	0,4	1	2	1	1
None	10	13	10	13	11	11	17	15
Difficult to answer	14	15	18	14	12	15	18	14

* -supplied are countries named by no less than 2% of respondents

May, N=1600

Table 22.7

**Name five countries that you could call unfriendly
or hostile in relation to Russia?***

(answers are ranged to the last measurement)

	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
USA	23	37	35	45	26	33	35	38
Georgia	38	44	46	62	57	50	41	33
Latvia	49	46	36	35	36	35	26	21
Lithuania	42	42	32	35	35	34	25	17
Estonia	32	28	60	30	28	30	23	16
Ukraine	13	27	23	41	13	20	15	11
Afghanistan	12	12	11	7	14	15	8	10
Great Britain	3	5	3	8	6	8	7	9
Poland	4	7	20	10	14	20	8	8
Japan	6	4	3	3	3	9	6	7
Iraq	10	9	8	5	9	9	8	7
Iran	6	7	7	3	7	7	7	5
China	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	5
North Korea	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	4
Azerbaijan	5	4	4	2	3	5	2	3
Germany	3	2	2	3	1	4	3	3
Israel	3	4	3	3	2	3	3	3
Syria								3
Arabia								2
South Korea								2
Egypt								2
Turkey	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
France	<1	1	1	1	<1	1	1	2
Tajikistan	2	3	2	1	1	3	2	2
Romania	2	2	2	3	3	3	1	2
Belarus	2	2	5	2	3	8	3	2
Serbia	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Armenia	4	3	2	1	3	4	1	1
Kazakhstan	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	1
Canada	1	1	0	1	<1	1	1	1
South Africa	-	-	1	1	1	2	1	1
Finland	1	1	0	1	<1	1	1	1
Uzbekistan	1	2	1	1	1	1	<1	1
Moldavia	6	9	3	1	2	3	2	1
Italy	1	<1	<1	1	0	<1	1	0,4
Czech Republic	1	1	2	1	<1	1	1	0,4
Cuba	-	-	-	1	<1	1	<1	0,4
Difficult to answer /None	20	23	19	18	21	15	28	31

* - supplied are countries named by no less than 1% of respondents

May, N=1600

Table 22.8

Do you think there is a military threat to Russia from other countries?

	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	I	I	I	I	I	II	II	II	II	I	I	I	II
Definitely yes	14	15	14	11	12	10	15	15	18	14	15	18	13
Yes, rather than no	33	27	33	26	32	30	33	37	32	33	38	38	38
No, rather than yes	37	37	38	48	35	39	33	31	30	33	31	29	33
Definitely no	8	6	7	7	9	12	11	7	11	9	6	7	6
Difficult to answer	8	16	8	7	11	9	8	10	9	11	10	8	11

N=1600

Table 22.9

What line of action should Russia take toward the Muslim world?

	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V
Strengthen mutually beneficial ties with the Muslim world	54	62	65	62	64	52
Distance itself from the Muslim world	29	18	17	25	21	30
Difficult to answer	18	20	18	13	16	18

N=1600

RUSSIA AND THE WEST

Table 22.10

Do you think that Russia should...

	1999	2000	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	IX	II	III	XII	XII	XI	XI	X	X	V	V	V	V
Strengthen mutually beneficial relations with Western Countries	61	74	77	70	70	77	75	57	61	78	74	76	71
Distance itself from the West	22	13	11	16	16	11	14	26	27	11	16	13	16
Difficult to answer	17	13	12	14	14	12	11	17	12	11	11	12	13

N=1600

Table 22.11

Do you think we should care about the Western criticism of Russia?

	2007	2010	2012
Yes	46	42	38
No	38	45	50
Difficult to answer	16	12	12

February, N=1600

Table 22.12

Why do you believe we should not care about the Western criticism?

(% of negative responses)

	2007	2010	2012
The West has a vague understanding of our life, but still tries to educate us	38	36	29
The West is unfriendly towards Russia, the Western criticism is hostile	24	22	26
The West sees Russia as a competitor and tries to weaken it	39	35	40
The West criticizes Russia for something it has often been found guilty of ("double standards")	22	14	17
Difficult to answer	4	3	5

February, N=1600

MIDDLE EAST

ISRAEL

Table 22.13

What is your overall attitude to Israel now?

	2003	2006	2008	2011	2012	2012
	VIII	III	V	II	V	VII
Very good	7	3	4	7	4	6
Mostly good	58	43	52	63	57	56
Mostly bad	13	24	20	13	14	16
Very bad	4	7	4	2	3	3
Difficult to answer	19	22	20	15	22	20

N=1600

Table 22.14

Which side do you sympathize with in the Palestine-Israeli conflict?

	1997	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	X	VII	V	I	VI	IV	XI
The Palestinians	10	10	9	12	14	6	8
The Israelis	13	10	12	10	9	12	15
Neither side	53	56	61	57	64	71	53
Difficult to answer	24	23	18	21	14	11	24

N=1600

IRAN

Table 22.15

Do you think Iran is a threat to peace and security in the world now?

	2006 VIII	2012 IX
Definitely yes	8	10
Rather yes	27	26
Rather no	34	27
Definitely not	11	8
Difficult to answer	21	30

N=1600

Table 22.16

Do you think Iran's nuclear program is a threat to Russia?

	2006 IX	2009 IX	2011 XI	2012 III
Very grave threat	10	4	11	8
A fairly large threat	27	24	30	26
Small threat	24	33	25	26
No threat at all	21	22	17	17
Difficult to answer	18	18	18	23

N=1600

Table 22.17

Should Russia continue nuclear cooperation with Iran and sell weapons to it?

	2007 IV	2012 III
Definitely yes	11	6
Rather yes	28	20
Rather no	21	22
Definitely not	10	12
Difficult to answer	31	40

N=1600

ARAB SPRING REVOLUTIONS

Table 22.18

**What do you feel about the events in North Africa and Middle East:
Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain and other states?**

	2011 III	2012 II
Interest	10	5
Satisfaction	3	3
Concern, worry	47	45
Fear	9	10
No particular feelings	27	30
Difficult to answer	4	8

N=1600

SYRIA

Table 22.19

Which of the opinions on the Syrian events you would rather agree with?

	2012		2013
	III	VII	VI
Bashar Assad's regime massacres anyone who is opposing it	6	7	6
Terrorists are encouraged by the West and lead a bloody fight against the lawfully elected government	28	29	26
There is a civil war in Syria now	29	36	37
Difficult to answer	37	28	31

N=1600

Table 22.20

What would be the scenario of the political conflict in Syria?

(answers ranged by the last poll)

	2011	2012		2013
	VIII	II	VII	VI
NATO will interfere in the conflict	21	28	28	23
The civil war will go on	18	18	25	22
I know nothing about it	21	16	9	15
Syrian authorities will get rid of the opposition	5	6	8	12
The authorities and the opposition will find a compromise solution	11	14	10	11
The opposition will win	4	6	3	3
Difficult to answer	27	23	26	23

August, 2011; N=1600

Table 22.21

Would you support Russia joining the West's economic sanctions against Bashar Assad's regime in order to protect the civilians in Syria?

Definitely yes	6
Rather yes	17
Rather no	21
Definitely not	14
Difficult to answer	42

2012, March; N=1600

Table 22.22

Would you support a military operation in Syria, similar to a military campaign in Libya last year, in order protect the civilians in Syria?

	III	VII
Definitely yes	3	3
Rather yes	9	15
Rather no	20	27
Definitely not	25	22
Difficult to answer	44	34

2012, N=1600

Table 22.23

Were Russian representatives in UN right when they blocked the sanctions against Syrian government?

Definitely yes	16
Rather yes	31
Rather no	8
Definitely not	3
I do not know anything about it/ difficult to answer	43

2012, February; N=1600

Table 22.24

What stance should Russia take now towards the Syrian government, which the West is accusing of human rights violation and brutal repression of opposition?

	2012		2013
	II	VII	VI
Syria is historically one of Russia's allies and Russia should support Syria in the standoff with the West	23	29	21
Because of the human rights violations in Syria, Russia should support the sanctions the West is proposing against Syria	13	14	11
Russia should not support any side in a standoff between Syria and the West, but should try to gain maximum benefits from it	29	28	34
Difficult to answer	35	29	34

N=1600

Table 22.25

Which side do you sympathize with in the current Syrian conflict?

	2012 VII	2013 VI
Bashar Assad's government	11	19
Insurgents	9	7
Neither side	52	51
Difficult to answer	28	24

N=1600

RUSSIA – THE USA

Diagram 22.1

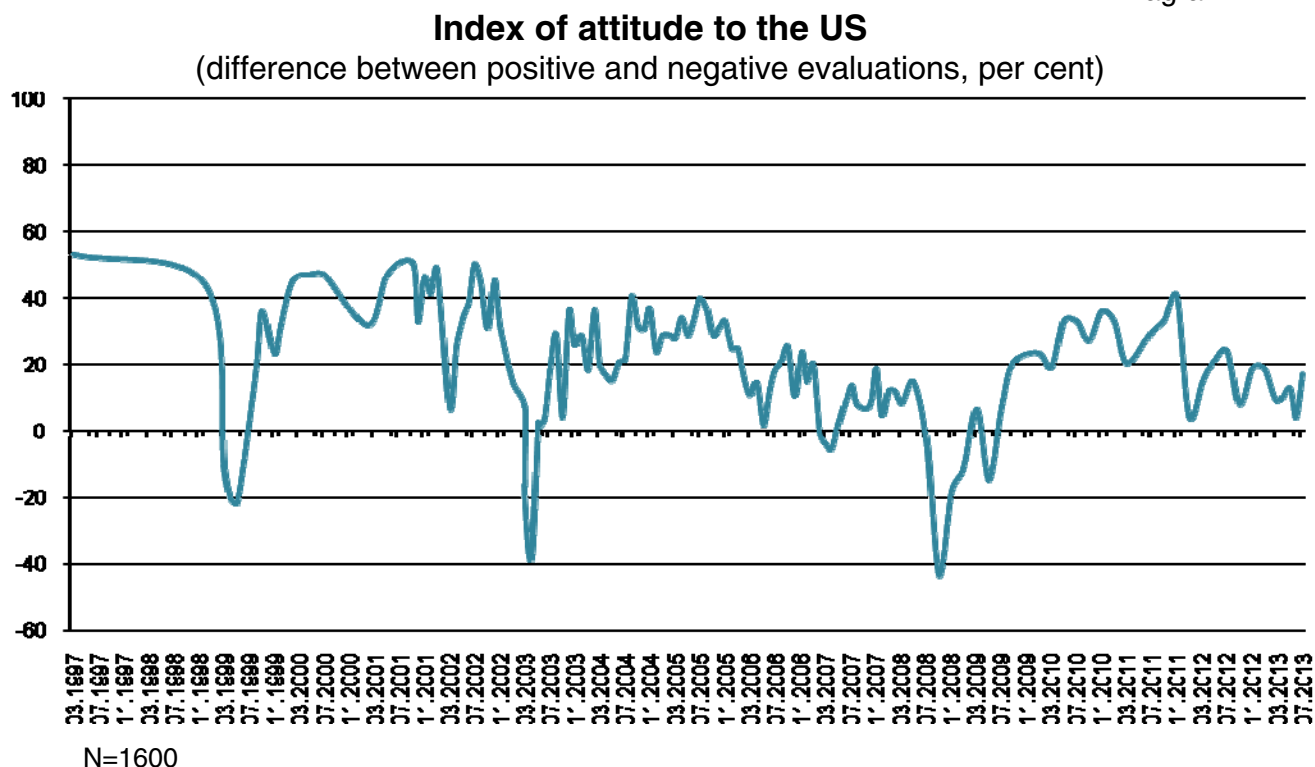


Table 22.26

What is your attitude to the word “USA”?

	1999 X	2009 X	2012 IX
Positive, in general	41	39	35
Negative, in general	34	42	46
Difficult to answer	25	20	19

N=1600

Table 22.27

**Regarding Russia’s foreign policy within the next few years,
do you think, Russian government should ...**

	2003 II	2010 II	2010 II	2011 I	2012 II	2013 IV
Move closer with the US	24	16	14	20	15	12
Keep a distance in relations with the US	38	39	36	33	39	43
Maintain the existing relations with the US	29	33	40	34	34	31
Difficult to answer	10	12	11	12	12	14

N=1600

Table 22.28

The USA for you now is...

	2003 II	2007 II	2010 II	2011 I	2012 I
Advocate for peace, democracy and order all over the world	9	8	8	11	8
Aggressor which is trying to establish control over all the countries of the world	75	76	73	65	75
Difficult to answer	16	17	19	24	17

N=1600

Table 22.29

What role does the United States of America have in the modern world?

	2008 VII	2012 IX
Generally positive	12	10
Generally negative	53	43
Sometimes positive and sometimes negative	25	33
Neither positive nor negative / neutral	3	5
Difficult to answer	7	9

N=1600

Table 22.30

Which of the following statements you would rather agree with?

	2008 VII	2009 V	2012 IX
The US hypocritically tries to make other countries follow the International Law, although the US does not always comply	76	76	67
The US is a good role model for other countries because they always comply with the International Law	10	13	14
Difficult to answer	15	12	19

N=1600

Table 22.31

At the inter-government level, does the US usually treat Russia with respect or tries to put pressure on Russia to make it do what the US wants?

	2008 VII	2009 V	2012 IX
Treat with respect	19	12	17
Put pressure	69	75	68
Difficult to answer	12	13	15

N=1600

Table 22.32

What will be best for Russia - if Barack Obama or Mitt Romney wins the Presidential elections?

Barack Obama	41
Mitt Romney	8
Difficult to answer	51

2012, October; N=1600

RUSSIA AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

NATO

Table 22.33

What is your attitude towards the word “NATO”, in general?

Positive, in general	21
Negative, in general	61
Difficult to answer	18

2012, September; N=1600

Table 22.34

Which of the following is in the interests of Russia, in your opinion?

	2003	2004	2008	2009	2010	2011		2012
	I	I	II	II	II	I	III	II
Russia's accession to NATO	5	8	4	3	3	5	5	3
Development of cooperation with NATO	43	33	25	23	26	29	39	26
Establishment of a defense pact to counter NATO	14	10	21	25	25	21	16	23
Russia's non-participation in any military blocs	22	31	32	36	37	31	27	36
Difficult to answer	16	18	17	14	10	14	12	12

N=1600

Table 22.35

Are closer relations between Russia and NATO generally in the interests of Russia overall?

	2002	2003	2004	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	V	IX	IV	VI	VII	IV	IV	IV	V	X	VI	VI
Are in the interests of Russia	48	35	33	44	34	26	28	24	23	22	27	25
Are contrary to the interests of Russia	23	35	39	36	36	46	42	49	49	45	42	47
Difficult to answer	30	30	28	20	30	29	31	27	28	33	31	29

N=1600

Table 22.36

What is your attitude towards the intention to set up a NATO Transit base in Ulianovsk oblast for NATO cargoes shipped to Afghanistan?

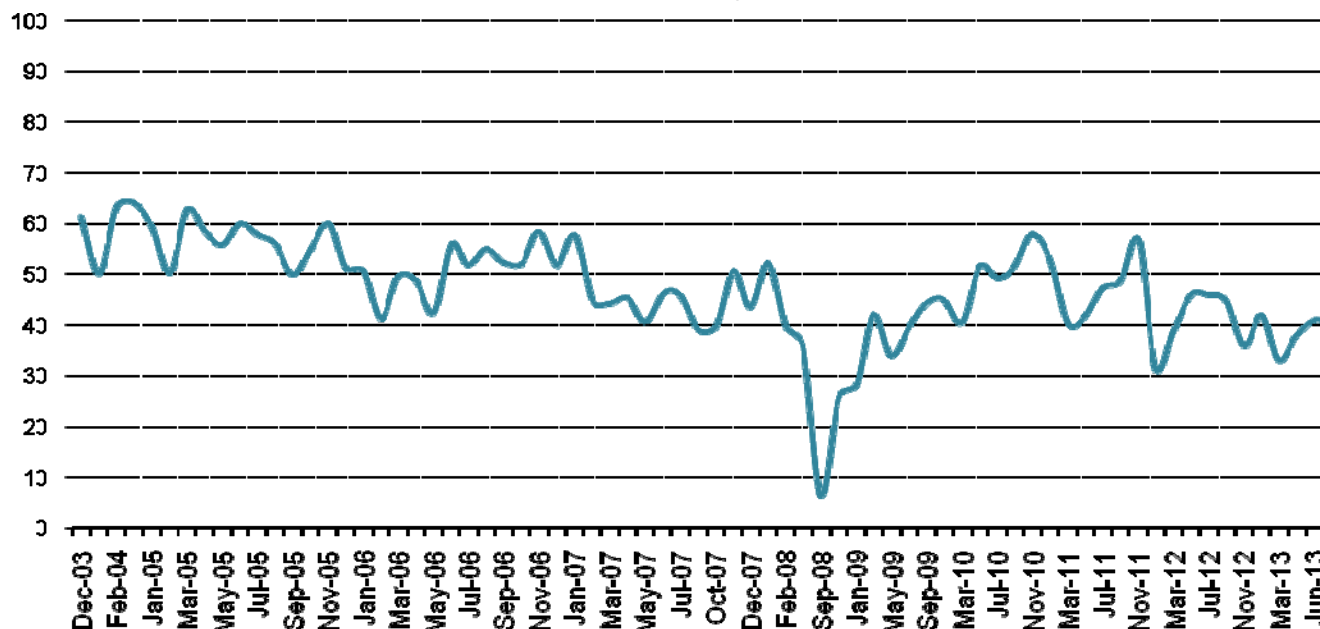
Absolutely positive	2
Rather positive	7
Rather, negative	32
Very negative	40
Difficult to answer	19

2012, April; N=1600

EUROPEAN UNION

Diagram 22.2

Index of attitude to the European Union
(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)



N=1600

Table 22.37

What is your attitude towards the words “European Union”, in general?

	1999 X	2009 X	2012 IX
Positive, in general	54	65	62
Negative, in general	13	13	20
Difficult to answer	34	23	18

N=1600

Table 22.38

Should Russia try to join the European Union in future?

	2000 VIII	2001 III	2004 XII	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI	2010 X	2011 VI	2012 VI
Definitely yes	23	21	26	19	19	23	20	14	8
Yes, rather than no	31	36	33	34	36	29	36	37	35
No, rather than yes	19	17	14	16	14	16	16	21	24
Definitely no	6	7	6	8	9	7	7	8	8
Difficult to answer	22	19	21	22	22	26	22	20	25

N=1600

WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

Table 22.39

Do you think joining the World Trade Organization is in the interests of Russia?

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	IV	IX	VI	VI	IV	IV	IV	V	V	VI	VI
Is in the interests of Russia	53	47	58	55	45	50	48	47	49	44	38
Is contrary to the interests of Russia	18	22	22	21	27	21	27	28	21	27	35
Difficult to answer	29	31	20	24	28	29	25	26	30	29	28

N=1600

Table 22.40

Do you approve or disapprove of Russia joining WTO?

Approve completely	8
Rather approve	35
Rather disapprove	21
Absolutely disapprove	11
I am not aware of that	8
Difficult to answer	18

2012, July; N=1600

23. MEMORABLE DATES

WORLD WAR II

Table 23.1

Was the aggression of Germany against the USSR on June 22, 1941 unexpected for the leaders of the Soviet Union?

	2005 I	2010 V	2011 VI	2012 V
Definitely yes	16	23	14	16
Yes, rather than no	22	28	32	34
No, rather than yes	30	29	31	27
Definitely no	25	11	17	16
Difficult to answer	7	9	6	7

N=1600

Table 23.2

Do Russian authorities give attention to the problems the veterans of Great Patriotic war face?

	2007 V	2010 III	2012 V
With great attention	16	15	18
With fair amount of attention	39	47	38
Without much attention	32	29	34
Do not pay any attention	7	3	5
Difficult to answer	6	6	6

N=1600

“PERESTROIKA” (TRANSFORMATION), M. GORBACHEV

Table 23.3

What are your main grievances against those who started Perestroika in the late 1980s? Which of the following opinions reflects your position best of all?

	2001	2006	2011
They started the reformation of the country not realizing what it can lead to	48	45	36
They did not think of how simple people live and what they need	40	36	30
They overestimated their strength, turned out to be too weak to carry out the reforms	35	26	22
They only criticized the past without proposing any constructive program	25	23	17
They acted in their own interests only	37	24	16
They challenged the fundamental values of the Soviet society	16	16	12
Their actions were inconsistent and lacked determination	17	14	10
Their actions were too blunt and radical	16	12	7
I do not have any grievances against them	6	6	14
Difficult to answer	3	3	7

March, N=1600

YELTSIN'S ERA

Table 23.4

Which of the following opinions about the reforms which the Gaidar government began in 1992 would you be more likely to share?

	1997 III	2000 III	2002 III	2004 III	2007 III	2008 II	2009 XII	2011 III	2012 III	2013 III
They definitely had a positive impact on Russia's economy	3	1	2	4	5	3	7	5	4	6
They were painful but necessary	19	19	14	21	21	20	31	21	20	18
There was no need to have them at all	15	22	17	19	20	21	19	22	18	23
They had a destructive impact on Russia's economy	41	44	51	36	35	33	24	24	29	31
Difficult to answer	22	14	16	20	20	23	19	29	28	22

N=1600

Table 23.5

What is your primary problem with Yegor Gaidar and his associates who started the reforms in 1992?

	2011	2012
They started the reforms without a clue where they can lead	27	27
They did not care about the lives and needs of the regular people	26	21
They overrated their powers and were too weak to pursue the reforms	16	14
They pursued their own interests only	15	16
They just criticized the past without offering any constructive program	11	10
They proceeded too roughly and radically	9	11
They impinged upon the foundations and values of the Soviet society	8	11
They were too inconsistent and half hearted	7	7
I have no problem with them	17	14
Difficult to answer	15	18

March, 2011; N=1600

AUGUST COUP OF 1991

Table 23.6

How do you now see the August 1991 events?

	1994 IX	1998 VII	1999 VII	2000 VII	2001 VII	2002 VII	2003 VII	2004 VII	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VIII	2008 VII	2009 VII	2010 VII	2011 VII	2012 VII	2013 VII
Victory of a democratic revolution which put an end to CPSU power	7	8	9	10	10	9	9	11	10	13	10	11	9	8	10	10	13
Tragic event which had disastrous consequences for the country and the people	27	31	38	33	25	25	31	36	36	36	24	34	33	36	39	41	33
Just an episode of power struggle within leadership of the country	53	46	40	46	43	46	50	42	43	39	48	41	42	43	35	37	39
Difficult to answer	13	15	13	11	22	20	10	10	12	12	18	15	16	13	16	12	15

N=1600

Table 23.7

Do you think the country started to develop in the right or the wrong direction in August 1991?

	2003 VIII	2004 VII	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VIII	2008 VII	2010 VII	2011 VII	2012 VII	2013 VII
In the right direction	30	27	25	30	28	33	30	27	26	25
In the wrong direction	47	49	50	44	37	40	37	49	46	44
Difficult to answer	23	24	25	26	35	27	33	24	27	31

N=1600

COLLAPSE OF USSR

Table 23.8

Do you regret the collapse of the USSR?

	1992	1993	2000	2001	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011		2012
	III	I	XII	XII	XII	XI	XI	XI	XI	IX	XI	XI	III	XI	XII
Yes	66	63	75	72	68	71	65	61	55	60	60	55	58	53	49
No	23	23	19	21	25	22	25	30	36	30	28	30	27	32	36
Difficult to answer	11	1	6	7	7	7	10	9	10	10	12	16	15	16	15

N=1600

Table 23.9

What is the main reason why you regret the collapse of the USSR?

(In % of those who regret)

	1999 IV	2006 XII	2007 XI	2011 XI	2012 XII
People no longer feel they belong to a great power	29	55	44	45	51
A single economic system is destroyed	60	49	49	48	49
It is now a problem to travel freely, go on a vacation	10	23	21	18	19
Ties with relatives and friends are broken	29	35	38	34	26
One no longer has the feeling of being at home everywhere	10	25	18	20	18
There is more mutual distrust, bitterness	32	36	36	41	39
Difficult to answer	7	3	2	1	1

N=1600

Table 23.10

Do you think the disintegration of the Soviet Union was unavoidable or it could have been avoided?

	1998	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2011	2012
	II	III	XII	XII	III	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	III	XI	XII
Was unavoidable	24	26	29	29	25	24	29	27	30	30	28	32	29	33	31
Could have been avoided	58	62	58	59	65	65	61	59	56	55	57	53	52	53	48
Difficult to answer	18	12	13	12	10	10	10	14	14	15	15	15	19	14	21

N=1600

ON THE EVENTS OF 3-4 OCTOBER 1993

Table 23.11

What was the primary cause of the 3-4 October events 1993 in Moscow?

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2011	2012
Ambition of A. Rutskoy and R. Khasbulatov to cling to power by any means	19	15	17	20	16	22	14	16	14	14	14	15	12	11
Irresponsible policy of B. Yeltsin and his associates	24	31	32	34	31	32	29	32	32	32	23	24	18	20
The indecision of B. Yeltsin and the government in suppressing the unrest	11	8	8	11	9	8	7	9	9	9	7	6	6	5
Willingness of communists and extremists to stage a coup	8	5	9	4	12	11	10	11	11	11	11	10	13	12
Hesitation of the army and internal security forces	5	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	3	5	5
General decline of the country initiated by M. Gorbachev	37	31	25	24	35	36	31	33	35	35	32	32	29	29
The herd mentality of the crowd	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	1	3	3	2	2	5	3
Difficult to answer	17	23	28	22	27	15	23	16	21	21	25	25	31	31

N=1600

Table 23.12

Was the use of military force during the unrest in Moscow in October 1993 justified?

	1993	1999	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2011	2012
Yes	51	18	22	20	21	17	19	26	17	15	17
No	30	56	59	57	58	60	60	49	60	55	54
Difficult to answer	19	26	19	23	21	23	21	25	23	30	29

N=1600

Table 23.13

Who do you think was right in October 1993?

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2011	2012
B. Yeltsin's supporters	9	8	9	9	7	7
Supporters of the Supreme Soviet	10	11	11	10	10	8
To some extent, both	20	16	19	19	22	17
Neither one nor the other	39	38	28	34	30	35
Difficult to answer	22	27	32	28	32	32

N=1600

THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION OF 1917

Table 23.14

Which of the following views on the Russian monarchy's collapse in 1917 you would rather agree with?

	1997 III	2012 III
Collapse of the monarchy was a breakthrough for the country	16	9
Collapse of the monarchy brought Russia on the path of declining national and statehood greatness	23	25
The good and bad consequences of monarchy collapse compensate each other	19	18
Never thought about it	29	36
Difficult to answer	14	12

N=1600

Table 23.15

Which of the views on abdication of Nicholas II you would rather agree with?

	1997 III	2012 III
Nicholas II did the right thing because he could not rule the empire anymore	24	17
Nicholas II did the right thing because he wanted to avoid the bloodshed	28	29
Nicholas II was wrong, because he had no right to avoid the responsibility for the nation	19	19
Difficult to answer	29	35

N=1600

LENIN

Table 23.16

Vladimir Lenin's birthday is coming up on April 22. What is the role Vladimir Lenin had in Russian history?

Completely positive	13
Rather positive	36
Rather negative	23
Completely negative	7
Difficult to answer	22

2012, April; N=1600

Table 23.17

What should be done with the body of V. Lenin?

	1997	2000	2005	2006	2008	2011	2012
	VIII	XII	X	IV	I	I	XII
The body should be buried in the Volkov Cemetery in St. Petersburg	37	34	36	44	31	40	34
It should be buried by the Kremlin Wall	13	16	15	11	21	16	19
Should be left in the Mausoleum	38	44	40	38	34	31	25
Do not know/ difficult to answer	11	8	10	7	14	14	23

N=1600

Table 23.18

What should be done with the Mausoleum in this case?

	1997	2000	2005	2006	2008	2011	2012
	VIII	XII	X	IV	I	I	XII
Leave it in Red Square	74	82	80	75	64	66	52
Move it to another place	9	6	6	9	8	13	14
Demolish	9	6	6	6	12	8	12
Do not know/ difficult to answer	8	6	9	10	16	13	22

N=1600

Table 23.19

What is your attitude to the proposal that all the graves of the Soviet party officials should be moved from Red Square to cemeteries?

	2005	2006	2011	2012
	X	IV	I	XII
Positive	32	37	38	35
Negative	51	47	40	37
Do not know/ difficult to answer	17	16	22	29

N=1600

STALIN

Table 23.20

What is your overall attitude to J. Stalin now?

	2001	2006	2008	2010	2012
Admiration	4	5	1	2	1
Respect	27	23	22	23	21
Sympathy	7	8	8	7	6
Indifference	12	19	37	38	33
Dislike and annoyance	18	18	12	12	12
Fear	16	15	7	7	7
Loathing and indignation	9	5	4	5	4
I do not know who Stalin was	_*	_*	-	-	1
Refused to answer	-	-	-	-	5
Difficult to answer	6	8	10	7	11

* -Option was not offered

N=1600

Table 23.21

Would you, personally, like to live and work under a leader like Stalin?

	2008	2012
Definitely yes	3	5
Rather yes	13	13
Rather no	31	33
Definitely not	43	34
Difficult to answer	10	9
Refused to answer	-	6

N=1600

Table 23.22

To which extent you would agree with the statement that Stalin was a wise leader who made the USSR a powerful and prosperous nation?

	2008	2011	2012
Completely agree	13	12	15
Rather agree	37	35	32
Rather disagree	26	22	25
Completely disagree	11	10	13
Difficult to answer	14	21	10
Refused to answer	-	-	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1200</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.23

To which extent you would agree with the statement that, regardless of any mistakes or flaws Stalin was attributed to, the most important is that the Soviet Union emerged the winner in Great Patriotic War?

	2008	2012
Completely agree	26	20
Rather agree	42	40
Rather disagree	15	18
Completely disagree	4	9
Difficult to answer	13	8
Refused to answer	-	5

N=1600

Table 23.24

To which extent would agree with the statement that Stalin is a cruel and ruthless tyrant guilty of killing millions of innocent lives?

	2008	2012
Completely agree	24	26
Rather agree	44	40
Rather disagree	15	14
Completely disagree	4	6
Difficult to answer	13	10
Refused to answer	-	6

N=1600

Table 23.25

To which extent would you agree with the statement that our nation cannot succeed without a leader like Stalin, who will come and restore the order?

	2008	2012
Completely agree	10	10
Rather agree	24	20
Rather disagree	31	27
Completely disagree	19	25
Difficult to answer	17	10
Refused to answer	-	8

N=1600

Table 23.26

Would you be in favour or against renaming Volgograd back to Stalingrad?

	2001 September	2002 December	2010 February	2012 October
In favor	22	31	17	18
Against	54	52	59	60
Difficult to answer	24	17	24	23

N=1600

Table 23.27

Would you be in favor or against erecting a monument to Stalin in Moscow?

In favor	23
Against	56
Difficult to answer	22

2010 , October; N=1600

STALINIST REPRESSION

Table 23.28

Do you know about the repressions of 1937-1938?

	2007	2011	2012
	VIII	IV	VIII
Know a lot and in detail	13	17	13
Have a general idea	44	46	47
Know about it, but very little	27	24	25
Know practically nothing about it	13	11	12
Difficult to answer	2	2	3

N=1600

Table 23.29

Which of the following opinions about these repressions would you rather agree with?

	2007	2011	2012
They were politically necessary and justified historically	9	14	22
It was a political crime and it cannot be justified	72	70	51
I don't know anything about it	_*	_*	6
Difficult to answer	19	17	13
Refuse to answer	_*	_*	8

*- Option was not offered

N=1600

Table 23.30

Who do you mainly suffered from the repressions in 1937-1938?

	2007	2011	2012
	VIII	IV	VIII
Those who were openly or secretly opposed to the Soviet rule	11	11	10
The most devoted supporters of the Soviet rule	6	8	8
The most capable and respected people	27	23	25
Anybody because of the arbitrariness of the authorities or by a tip from a hater	44	48	45
Difficult to answer	13	10	12

N=1600

Table 23.31

**How many people in the USSR do you think suffered
in the repressions of 1937-1938?**

	2007	2011	2012
	VIII	IV	VIII
Hundreds of people	1	2	1
Thousands	3	5	6
Tens of thousands	8	11	10
Hundreds of thousands	21	21	21
About a million	15	14	13
Several million	21	22	21
Tens of millions	6	10	8
Difficult to answer	24	15	21

N=1600

Table 23.32

What motivated the organizers and perpetrators of the repressions?

	2007	2012
Ideology	19	21
Sense of duty and orders	23	22
Fear to be repressed	55	47
Selfish motives	18	18
Sadism	6	9
Did not have any motives, they were indifferent and did not question the orders	9	20
Difficult to answer	13	15

August, N=1600

Table 23.34

Does it make sense to look for the guilty of the repressions?

	2007	2012
Yes	18	21
No	68	64
Difficult to answer	14	16

August, N=1600

Table 23.35

Should someone repent for the repressions and, if yes, who should repent?

	2007	2012
Current Russian political leaders	9	8
Current leadership of the Communist Party	8	7
Current leadership of the law enforcement: FSB, Ministry of Interior and General Prosecutor office	7	7
Surviving leaders who gave the orders to execute	24	23
Surviving perpetrators: investigators, prosecutors and guards	20	21
All nation	9	11
We do not need any repentance	30	28
Difficult to answer	20	23

August, N=1600

Table 23.36

Do you think...

	2007	2011	2012
	VIII	IV	VIII
It is necessary to actively discuss what happened in those years, not to forget our history	42	44	49
It is better to discuss the repressions less, we shouldn't rake up the past	39	42	37
Difficult to answer	18	14	15

N=1600

Table 23.37

Is it possible that similar repressions will be used again in the foreseeable future?

	2007	2011	2012
	VIII	IV	VIII
Definitely yes	5	4	3
Yes, rather than no	14	19	21
No, rather than yes	42	44	37
Definitely no	14	15	14
Difficult to answer	25	18	25

N=1600

Table 23.38

Do great objectives, special status of the country over that period and shortly gained results justify victims of Soviet people in the era of Stalin?

	2008 X	2010 II	2011 IV	2012 XI
Definitely yes	3	5	4	4
Yes, to some extent	24	29	26	21
No, they cannot be justified anything	60	58	61	60
Difficult to answer	13	9	10	8
Refuse to answer	-*	-*	-*	7

*- Option was not offered

N=1600

24. CELEBRATIONS

Table 24.1

Which of the following holidays are the most important for you?

	1998 III	2000 IV	2002 II	2004 XII	2005 XII	2010 III	2012 II
New Year	82	81	79	83	81	78	81
Birthdays/patron saint days of friends and acquaintances	38	34	28	35	30	37	36
May 9th – Victory Day	29	34	30	29	32	36	33
Your birthday	37	37	37	30	31	33	39
Easter	29	32	26	23	28	31	29
January 7th – Orthodox Christmas	23	16	19	22	26	19	19
March 8th – International Women's Day	28	23	27	20	23	18	20
February 23rd - Defender of the Fatherland Day	--	--	12	10	12	9	12
May 1st – Spring and Labor Day	5	5	13	8	6	4	6
Your patron saint day	--	--	2	3	2	4	2
Wedding anniversary	--	--	4	4	5	2	5
Kurban-Bayram	--	--	3	2	3	3	3
June 12th – Russia Day	2	2	3	3	3	3	3
Russian Constitution Day	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
November 4th – National Unity Day	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
December 25 th – Western Christmas	--	--	--	--	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	2	3	2	2	2	2	1

N=1600

NEW YEAR'S CELEBRATIONS

Table 24.2

**With the New Year vacation approaching,
which holidays do you intend to celebrate?**

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011*	2012
Western Christmas 25 December	13	13	17	17	11	18	16	6	4	6	6	4	5	5	7
New Year	92	89	94	92	92	93	87	93	93	95	92	92	93	96	96
Orthodox Christmas 7 January	58	59	67	62	74	69	59	60	69	67	66	68	61	65	65
Old New Year	53	49	57	57	61	62	44	47	56	53	54	52	47	51	52
Epiphany	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	41	43
Will not mark these holidays	4	6	4	3	3	4	5	3	4	3	6	4	2	1	2

* Option was not offered
N=1600

Table 24.3

How would you like to celebrate the New Year?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
At home with relatives and loved ones	72	74	74	74	73	68	73	70
Visiting friends, with friends	19	16	17	16	19	21	21	20
At a holiday home, with new unknown people	1	2	2	2	2	3	1	3
Abroad, away from home	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	4
Alone	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1
Don't celebrate the New Year	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	1
Difficult to answer	2	3	3	3	2	2	1	2

December; N=1600

Table 24.4

How are you going to use the New Year's "holiday" 1-10 January?

	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Go to relax/go on a trip/ To relatives or friends abroad	2	2	2	2	2	3	4
Go on a trip/ to relax at a resort, vacation home in Russia	2	1	1	2	3	2	1
Go to visit relatives or friends in another region of Russia	9	10	8	11	14	11	9
Relax at home	61	58	54	58	56	56	62
Do things around the house, repairs etc.	26	24	24	22	25	24	22
Continue working	14	16	18	14	10	14	9
Difficult to answer	5	6	5	4	4	3	6

December; N=1600

MASLENITSA FESTIVAL

Table 24.5

Do you plan make pancakes; eat meat or meat products; visit people or receive guests; go to folk festivals to celebrate Maslenitsa or will you mark Maslenitsa in another way in your family?

	1997	2000	2003	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	III	III	III	II	II	I	II	I	III
Plan to make pancakes	68	72	80	75	75	79	79	78	74
Plan to eat meat	48	27	31	27	26	30	31	33	44
Plan to visit people or receive guests	37	35	40	37	30	33	38	42	34
Plan to go to folk festivals	16	19	21	25	22	21	24	27	21
Will celebrate Maslenitsa in an alternative way	10	4	4	3	2	3	4	3	4
Don't plan to celebrate Maslenitsa	16	15	11	14	17	12	10	10	11

N=1600

8th MARCH

Table 24.6

8th of March for you is ...

	2003 III	2004 II	2005 II	2007 II	2010 II	2011 III	2012 II
International Working Women's Day	9	8	10	11	9	12	10
Women's holiday	66	69	64	63	66	65	70
Start of spring holiday	13	13	14	14	15	15	14
Just an extra day off	8	6	9	4	6	5	4
I do not consider this day a holiday	4	3	3	3	4	3	2
Difficult to answer	0	1	0	1	1	2	1

N=1600

MAY HOLIDAYS

Table 24.7

Do you intend to celebrate 1 May this year? Victory Day?

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Intend to celebrate 1 May	58	57	53	58	59	52
Intend to celebrate Victory Day	75	63	74	72	65	70
Don't intend to celebrate 1 May, nor Victory Day	17	23	16	17	18	19

April, N=1600

Table 24.8

What does the 1st of May signify to you personally?

	2003	2007	2009	2011	2012
Spring and Labor Day	42	44	43	43	45
International day of working-class solidarity	21	19	20	20	18
Extra-long weekend	27	25	26	26	23
Usual week day	10	11	9	8	12
Difficult to answer	1	1	2	3	2

N=1600

RUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Table 24.9

12 June is a public holiday.

Do you know exactly what is celebrated in Russia on this day?

	1997 VI	1998 V	1999 V	2000 V	2001 V	2002 V	2003 V	2004 V	2005 V	2006 V	2007 V	2008 V	2009 V	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V
Anniversary of the election of the first President of Russia	8	7	6	5	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	4	2	2
Anniversary of adopting the Declaration of Independence of Russia	7	8	6	9	9	5	6	6	8	5	6	5	4	4	6	5	3
Russian Independence Day	51	47	50	51	57	58	65	60	63	47	53	40	44	42	41	36	30
Russia Day	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	21	37	38	34	40	40	50
Other	2	3	2	3	3	4	3	3	3	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	1
Do not know, difficult to answer	25	25	28	28	20	23	22	23	18	17	16	12	10	14	11	11	9
Don't consider this day a holiday	11	12	10	6	8	8	4	7	5	6	4	3	3	5	3	6	7

N=1600

4 NOVEMBER

Table 24.10

Do you know which holiday will be observed on 4th of November?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Day of accord and reconciliation	33	27	22	26	26	25	24	25
National unity day	8	20	23	28	31	36	41	43
Day of liberation from Polish-Lithuanian invaders	5	3	4	2	2	2	4	3
October revolution day	-	5	1	3	6	5	2	4
Don't know/ difficult to answer	51	43	47	37	32	29	28	23

October, N=1600

Table 24.11

Are you intending to celebrate...

	2006 X	2007 X	2008 X	2009 X	2010 X	2011 X
National unity day on 4 th of November	12	15	18	15	14	16
October revolution day on 7 th of November	23	23	21	17	17	18
Neither	58	59	52	63	61	59
Don't know/ difficult to answer	12	11	18	11	13	15

N=1600

HALLOWEEN

Table 24.12

**Do you know about the holiday «Halloween»
and do you intend to celebrate it this day?**

	2006 X	2007 X	2009 X	2010 X	2011 X	2012 X
Know about and intend to celebrate	4	5	4	5	6	9
Know about but don't intend to celebrate	50	54	61	62	67	64
Don't know about this holiday	46	41	35	33	27	27

N=1600