



LEVADA ANALITYCAL CENTER

*«FROM OPINION TOWARD UNDERSTANDING»*

# **RUSSIAN PUBLIC OPINION**

## **March 2008 – March 2009**

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## PREFACE

It is the 10<sup>th</sup> issue of the yearbook «Public Opinion» (2008). It summarise of the results of the 2008 public opinion surveys mostly in tabulations and charts. The surveys' data have been regularly published in specialist publications and mass media, as well as on the Internet sites. Some data was added by the results of surveys were conducted in January, February, March, 2009.

The materials of the surveys conducted before August 2003 in this issue were obtained and published by VCIOM. In September 2003 all the members of the VCIOM team came to work in ANO (Autonomous Non-Profit Organization) "Analytical Service of VCIOM" (VCIOM-A). In February 2004, the ANO changed its name and was registered as **"The Analytical Centre of Yury Levada" ("Levada-Centre")**.

The yearbook contains the indices of trends in public sentiment, attitudes, evaluations, and interests concerning different aspects of everyday life; processes in the socio-political and socio-economic spheres, events in the life in Russia and in the world. The published materials of different mass surveys present an integral, intricate and sometimes controversial picture of the state of public opinion in Russia last year.

A more thorough analysis of the results of the surveys conducted by the Analytical Centre is available in the journal **"Vestnik Obschestvennogo Mneniya"** (**"The Russian Public Opinion Herald"**) published jointly with the Intercentre, as well as other publications. It is also available on the Internet site **www.levada.ru**.

# 1. PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE YEAR OF 2008

Table 1.1

**Do you think this year overall was successful or unsuccessful for you personally?**

Year of evaluation	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Successful	36	37	42	47	51	42	47	49	52	46
Unsuccessful	51	51	38	37	34	37	34	29	28	32
Difficult to answer	14	12	20	16	15	21	19	22	20	22

N=1600

Diagram 1.1

**What was this year like for you and your family?**

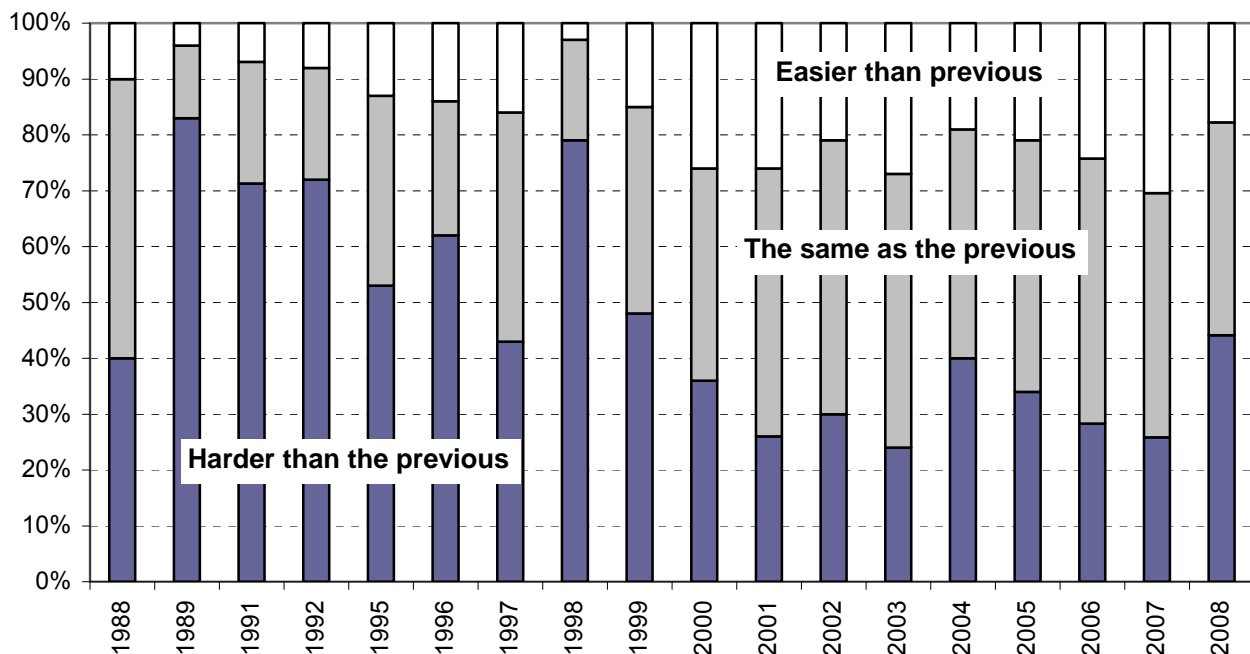


Table 1.2

**The year is coming to an end. What was it like for Russia?**

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

N=1600

Table 1.3

**What were the good things this year brought you?**

	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Growth, stabilization of incomes/high incomes	8	8	7	9	11	11	8
Solution of the housing problem	5	4	6	4	5	5	5
Expensive (important) purchases/presents	7	8	7	10	10	12	10
Success at work (appreciation, promotion/good job	9	10	10	12	15	12	9
Progress in studies (including matriculation, graduation)	4	4	6	7	6	5	5
New acquaintances, friends / good friends / neighbours / relations with other people	9	9	11	10	9	12	10
Success at work / in studies of other members of the family	9	6	8	10	10	9	8
Family joys ( marriage, birth/marriage of children, grandchildren)	13	15	17	16	17	16	20
Had a good rest / had a good time	5	6	6	6	6	9	7
Interesting trips / journeys	3	4	6	6	5	5	7
What is good is that nothing bad happened	24	25	15	31	33	26	29
There were no good things	28	24	28	21	16	17	19
Difficult to answer	7	3	4	3	5	4	5

N=1600

Table 1.4

**What were the bad things this year brought you?**

	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Incomes went down / low incomes	24	13	20	17	17	12	23
Bad housing problem	5	5	4	6	7	5	6
Was a victim of trickery / mugging	3	3	4	3	3	2	4
Lost the job / didn't find a job / bad job / was downgraded	7	7	6	6	5	3	5
Setbacks in studies / did not enter the educational institution I wanted to enter	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
Loss of friends / problems in relations with other people	3	3	5	3	3	2	3
Problems at work / in studies of other members of the family	6	5	8	7	5	5	7
Illness or death of family members or friends	16	16	18	17	14	13	16
Was not able to have a proper rest	6	7	8	9	12	8	8
Own illness	18	16	19	15	14	16	13
What is bad is that there was nothing good	7	8	6	12	9	7	8
There was nothing bad	24	29	25	28	32	34	28
Difficult to answer	7	5	5	5	7	9	7

N=1600

Table 1.5

**How would you evaluate the year that is coming to an end?**

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

N=1600

Table 1.6

**How do you expect to fare in the coming year compared with the past year?**

Year of evaluation	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Certainly better	4	6	5	5	5	4	2	6	6	7	5	7	8	6	8	11	6
Better, I hope	35	42	36	33	28	31	27	46	51	42	45	47	38	46	41	45	43
I don't think I will be worse-off	12	10	15	19	12	20	14	17	18	22	24	21	13	18	17	17	20
The same	21	23	20	25	30	25	27	18	17	20	19	19	26	19	25	18	15
Probably worse	23	11	15	12	19	9	23	6	4	5	4	3	12	7	5	6	11
Difficult to answer	5	8	9	6	6	11	7	7	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	3	6

N=1600



Table 1.7

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

	1990	1991	1993	1999	2003	2008
Hope	13	20	17	10	30	41
Tiredness, indifference	45	35	54	52	40	27
Loneliness	4	5	10	5	8	7
Fear	29	25	26	29	15	9
Self-respect	3	4	6	3	11	18
Resentment	15	19	15	26	18	11
Confusion	23	27	22	24	18	12
Envy	—*	—*	—*	8	8	13
Despair	28	26	18	37	14	8
Confidence in tomorrow	6	6	4	3	11	15
Feeling of freedom	—*	6	7	4	14	13
Permissiveness	16	13	13	—*	—*	—*
Bitterness, aggression	46	32	30	37	18	15
Responsibility for what is happening in the country	8	5	3	2	4	4
Pride in my nation	3	6	3	2	4	8
Difficult to answer	9	8	9	3	11	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2500</i>	<i>2800</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

—\* the variant was not asked

Table 1.8

	Year of evaluation	Strengthened	Has not changed	Weakened	Never had it	Difficult to answer
«How has your confidence in the future changed in the past year?»	<b>2004</b>	13	44	26	14	2
	<b>2005</b>	13	52	21	12	2
	<b>2006</b>	16	57	17	9	2
	<b>2007</b>	24	56	14	4	2
	<b>2008</b>	11	51	32	6	1
«How has your trust in people changed in the past year?»	<b>2004</b>	8	59	24	6	3
	<b>2005</b>	7	62	21	7	3
	<b>2006</b>	8	63	20	6	3
	<b>2007</b>	13	67	16	2	2
	<b>2008</b>	5	66	23	4	2
«How has your trust in yourself changed in the past year?»	<b>2004</b>	20	60	15	2	3
	<b>2005</b>	22	61	12	3	2
	<b>2006</b>	20	66	10	2	3
	<b>2007</b>	25	63	9	1	2
	<b>2008</b>	15	71	11	1	2

N=1600

Table 1.9

**Which of the events of the year do you think the most important?\***

2007		2008	
The State Duma elections on December 2	40	Death of Patriarch of All Russia Alexy II	41
Russia won the right to host the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi	39	Military conflict in South Ossetia	39
A surge of food prices in September-October	39	Election of D. Medvedev President of the Russian Federation	39
Coal mine accidents in different regions in Russia	25	Financial/ banking crisis	38
V. Putin's agreement to head «United Russia»'s party list	21	Death of the actors A. Abdulov, N. Mordyukova, singer M. Magomayev	24
Scandal connected with the relocation of the Monument to the Unknown Soldier and reburial of soviet soldiers in Estonia	19	Summer Olympic Games in Beijing	21
B. Yeltsin's death	16	Reduction of compulsory military service term down to 12 months	20
Russia-Belarus scandal about gas prices and gas supplies to Europe	16	Russia's recognition of the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia	18
Resignation of M. Fradkov's government and appointment of V. Zubkov to the post of Russia's Prime-Minister	16	Approval of V. Putin's candidature for the post of Prime Minister of the Russian Government	17
V. Putin's Munich speech with harsh criticism of the USA and NATO policy with regard to Russia	14	Russia's national team getting to the European Football Championship semi-finals	15

\*) 10 most frequently mentioned positions are cited

N=1600

Table 1.10

**Who can be called «Person of the year» (men)?\***

2006		2007		2008	
V. Putin	35	V. Putin	56	V. Putin	40
D. Medvedev	8	D. Medvedev	6	D. Medvedev	27
S. Ivanov	7	V. Zhirinovskiy	6	Alexy II	8
V. Zhirinovskiy	5	S. Ivanov	5	V. Zhirinovskiy	3
S. Shoigu	4	S. Shoigu	3	D. Bilan	3
A. Lukashenko	2	V. Zubkov	3	A. Solzhenitsyn	3
S. Bondarchuk	2	G. Zyuganov	3	B. Obama	3
D. Bilan	2	S. Mironov	1	A. Lukashenko	2
G. Zyuganov	2	N. Mikhalkov	1	S. Shoigu	2
A. Tuleev	2	A. Tuleev	1	A. Arshavin	1

\*) 10 most frequently mentioned positions are cited

N=1600

Table 1.11

**Who can be called «Person of the year» (women)?\***

2006		2007		2008	
V. Matviyenko	11	V. Matviyenko	12	V. Matviyenko	6
L. Polishchuk	3	Y. Timoshenko	3	A. Pugacheva	3
A. Zavorotnyuk	3	A. Pugacheva	3	K. Sobchak	2
I. Khakamada	3	I. Khakamada	2	S. Rotaru	2
K. Sobchak	2	S. Rotaru	2	E. Isinbaeva	2
A. Pugacheva	2	T. Golikova	2	A. Zavorotnyuk	2
A. Politkovskaya	2	K. Sobchak	1	Y. Timoshenko	2
L. Sliska	2	L. Putina	1	I. Khakamada	1
Lolita	1	A. Zavorotnyuk	1	N. Mordykova	1
A. Merkel	1	I. Sluckaya	1	T. Kandelaki	1

\*) 10 most frequently mentioned positions are cited

N=1600

Table 1.12

**Considering everything about your life, do you think over the past year your life and the life of your family has become...**

	2008 March	2008 June	2008 September	2008 November	2008 December	2009 March
Much better	6	5	5	3	3	2
Somewhat better	32	30	27	23	23	16
Has not changed	46	44	47	48	44	36
Somewhat worse	13	15	17	18	23	35
Much worse	3	4	3	7	6	11
Difficult to answer	1	1	1	1	2	1

N=1600

Table 1.13

**Considering everything about your life, do you think in a year you (your family) will live...**

	2008 March	2008 June	2008 September	2008 November	2008 December	2009 March
Much better	6	4	6	3	4	3
Somewhat better	27	28	22	16	19	14
The same way	43	39	44	38	37	35
Somewhat worse	6	8	11	13	13	14
Much worse	2	3	2	5	3	5
Difficult to answer	17	19	16	26	24	30

N=1600

Table 1.14

**Talking about the country overall,  
do you think in a year life in Russia will be...**

	<b>2008 March</b>	<b>2008 June</b>	<b>2008 September</b>	<b>2008 December</b>	<b>2009 March</b>
Much better	5	4	5	4	3
Somewhat better	31	31	25	21	17
The same as it is nowadays	41	35	43	33	29
Somewhat worse	6	8	9	19	21
Much worse	1	2	2	5	7
Difficult to answer	17	19	16	19	24

N=1600

## 2. OVERALL EVALUATIONS, SENTIMENTS, EXPECTATIONS

Table 2.1

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

	1992	1998	2008			2009	
	I	IX	IV	XI	XII	II	III
Living through them now	21	27	15	25	24	26	23
Are already in the past	1	6	43	18	16	9	11
Are still ahead	73	58	27	45	52	56	55
Difficult to answer	5	9	15	12	8	9	11

N=1600

Table 2.2

**Has Russia undergone great changes  
in the last years after Perestroika (1986-1991)?**

	2002 October	2008 July
There have been great changes	65	71
Things are much as they used to be	8	11
Earlier it seemed that life was changing, but later it became clear that things had not changed	21	9
Don't know	6	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.3

**Compared to what you expected 10 years ago, is your life today...**

	1999 March	2008 July
Much better than expected	2	8
A little better than expected	4	27
About the same as expected	7	15
A little worse than expected	16	14
Much worse than expected	64	18
Difficult to answer	7	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.4

**What do you think people in Russia do not have enough of today?**

	1989	1994	1998	1999	2003	2006	2008
Material well-being	53	54	80	68	83	83	76
Self-confidence	15	25	33	20	42	34	36
A chance to have a rest	7	7	16	5	12	14	18
Political rights	8	5	13	2	8	13	7
Respect for their past	6	13	24	6	16	17	18
Industriousness, thrift	33	13	18	9	23	21	22
Moral principles	11	12	24	12	15	27	21
Culture, good manners	40	20	32	12	30	28	36
Difficult to answer	8	8	1	4	1	1	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.5

**Which would you prefer if you could choose?**

	1989	1994	1995	1998	1999	2003	2008
Having a smaller wage but more leisure time, an easier job	10	3	3	4	3	4	4
Having a steady wage even if it is small and confidence in tomorrow	45	55	60	61	60	54	56
Working a lot and having a good wage even if there are no definite guarantees for the future	26	24	23	22	23	22	21
Having own business and running it at your own risk	7	5	6	5	6	10	8
Difficult to answer	11	12	8	9	8	10	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.6

**Which of the opinions would you be more likely to agree with?**

	1993	1999	2000	2003	2008
The time we are living at is my time	17	17	33	31	37
My time has passed already	36	38	34	36	31
My time hasn't come yet	18	21	23	18	13
Difficult to answer	30	24	10	15	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.7

**Does your life seem interesting to you or does it seem dull?**

	1991	1993	1999	2000	2003	2008
Life seems interesting	37	30	33	50	55	62
Life seems dull	38	40	45	37	27	21
Difficult to answer	25	30	22	13	18	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2800</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.8

**Anything can happen in life, both good things and bad ones, but overall, are you happy?**

	1989	1994	1999	2003	2008
Yes, absolutely	6	6	6	18	14
Yes, rather than no	36	40	43	55	62
Probably not	12	28	28	18	11
Not at all	3	6	9	2	2
I don't think it's the main thing	17	-	-	-	-
Difficult to answer	26	21	14	8	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.9

**What could you say about you mood over the past days?**

	2008				2009
	March	June	September	December	March
Wonderful mood	12	13	11	8	8
Normal, even mood	59	56	57	48	50
Have been feeling strained and irritated	23	25	25	35	34
Have been feeling fear, depression	5	4	4	7	6
Difficult to answer	2	1	3	2	2

2008; N=1600

Table 2.10

**Are you afraid of natural disasters and if you are, how much?**

	1994	1999	2003	2008
Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	28	28	35	40
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	24	19	25	24
Feel constant fear / am afraid	33	33	34	27
Difficult to answer	15	20	6	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.12

**Are you afraid of public humiliation, insults and if you are, how much?**

	1994	1999	2003	2008
Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	21	12	26	45
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	20	13	22	18
Feel constant fear / am afraid	49	66	48	30
Difficult to answer	10	9	4	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

\*- in 2008 «unemployment»

Table 2.12

**Are you afraid of public humiliation, insults and if you are, how much?**

	1994	1999	2003	2008
Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	28	31	45	44
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	20	18	24	20
Feel constant fear / am afraid	37	32	24	26
Difficult to answer	16	19	7	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.13

**Are you afraid of the come-back of mass repressions  
and if you are, how much?**

	1994	1999	2003	2008
Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	26	34	51	47
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	16	14	21	17
Feel constant fear / am afraid	37	28	19	17
Difficult to answer	20	23	10	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.14

**Are you afraid that your family, children might fall ill  
and if you are, how much?**

	1994	1999	2003	2008
Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	7	3	8	11
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	10	6	13	15
Feel constant fear / am afraid	78	85	77	70
Difficult to answer	5	6	3	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>



Table 2.15

**Are you afraid of a world war and if you are, how much?**

	1994	1999	2003	2008
Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	21	22	33	44
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	14	14	21	16
Feel constant fear / am afraid	51	49	39	30
Difficult to answer	14	16	7	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.16

**Are you afraid of criminal attacks and if you are, and how much?**

	1994	1999	2003	2008
Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	14	19	19	33
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	15	16	28	25
Feel constant fear / am afraid	62	52	49	33
Difficult to answer	9	14	5	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.17

**Are you afraid of arbitrariness of the authorities and lawlessness and if you are, how much?**

	1994	1999	2003	2008
Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	16	13	23	32
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	18	16	26	26
Feel constant fear / am afraid	51	55	44	30
Difficult to answer	16	16	7	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 2.18

**Are you afraid of illness, suffering, and how much?**

Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	22
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	21
Feel constant fear / am afraid	51
Difficult to answer	6

2008, July; N=1500

Table 2.19

**Are you afraid of death, and how much?**

Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	36
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	20
Feel constant fear / am afraid	32
Difficult to answer	11

2008, July; N=1500

Table 2.20

**Are you afraid of poverty, misery and if you are, how much?**

Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	27
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	23
Feel constant fear / am afraid	44
Difficult to answer	5

2008, July; N=1500

Table 2.21

**Are you afraid of punishment for sins, and if you are, how much?**

Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	43
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	19
Feel constant fear / am afraid	25
Difficult to answer	14

2008, July; N=1500

Table 2.22

**Are you afraid of curse, the evil eye, and if you are, how much?**

Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	48
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	15
Feel constant fear / am afraid	25
Difficult to answer	12

2008, July; N=1500

Table 2.23

**Are you afraid of old age and if you are, how much?**

Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	43
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	19
Feel constant fear / am afraid	29
Difficult to answer	10

2008, July; N=1500

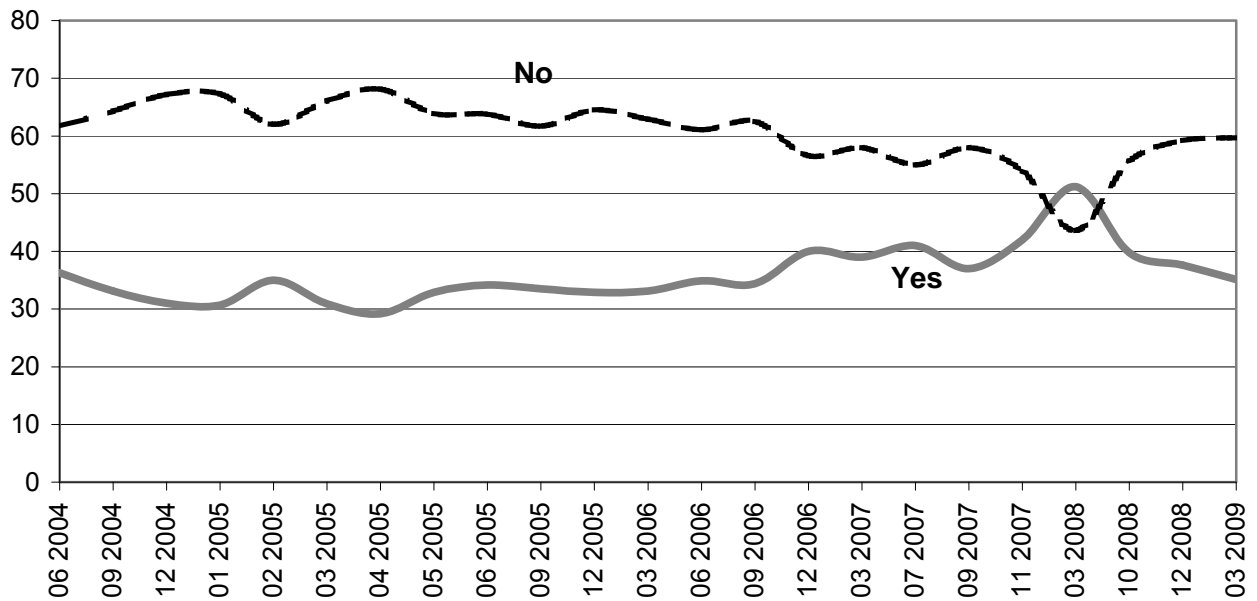
Table 2.24

**Are you afraid of AIDS and if you are, how much?**

Not at all afraid / not afraid, rather than afraid	48
Sometimes I am, sometimes I am not	14
Feel constant fear / am afraid	27
Difficult to answer	11

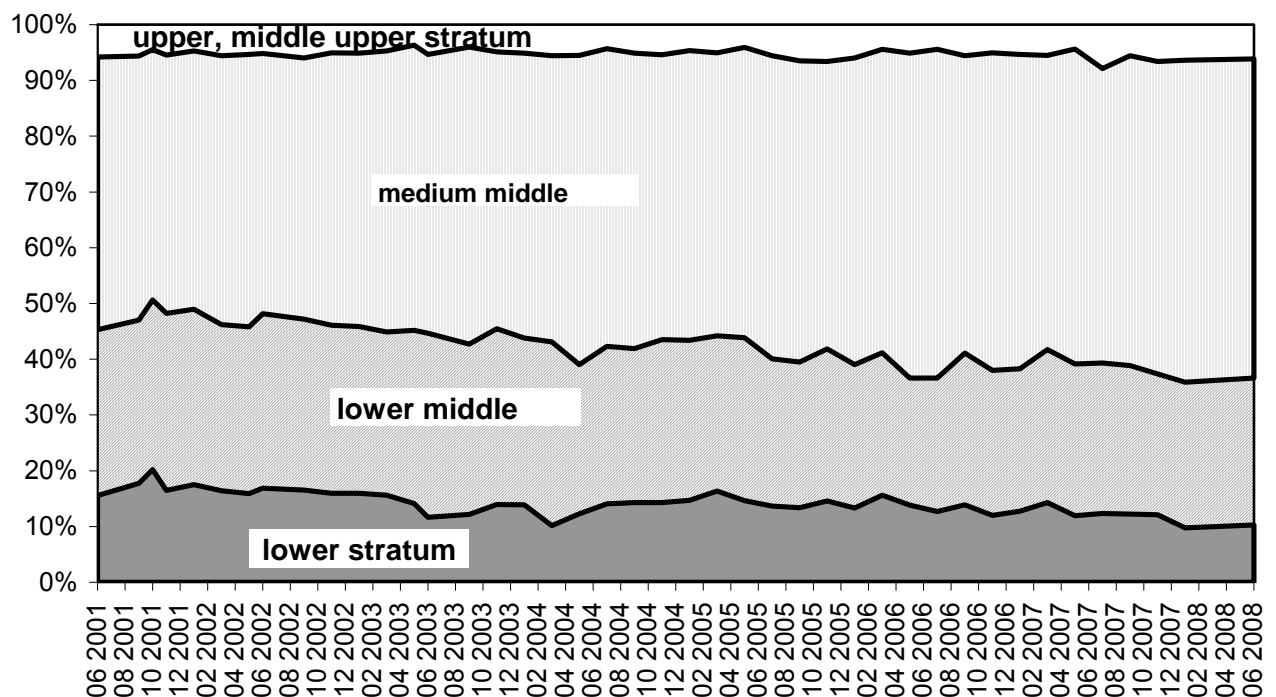
2008, July; N=1500

Diagram 2.1

**Do you feel confident in the future?**

N=1600

Diagram 2.2

**What stratum of the society would you rather ascribe yourself to?**

N=2100

### 3. OVERALL EVALUATIONS OF POLITICAL CHANGES

Table 3.1

**How would you evaluate overall the political situation in Russia?**

	2008 March	2008 June	2008 September	2008 December	2009 March
Problem-free	10	12	7	5	4
Calm	60	59	45	44	44
Tense	23	22	40	40	40
Critical, highly explosive	2	2	2	5	4
Difficult to answer	7	6	6	7	8

N=1600

Table 3.2

**What do you think Russia will be facing in its political life  
in the next few months?**

	2008 March	2008 June	2008 September	2008 December	2009 March
The situation will be much better	8	7	8	5	4
The situation will be somewhat better	53	49	50	37	34
The situation will be somewhat worse	13	13	19	30	29
The situation will be much worse	2	2	2	6	6
Difficult to answer	25	30	21	22	27

N=1600

Table 3.3

**Do you agree or not that the situation in Russia has become stable over  
the past few years?**

Completely agree	13
Agree, rather than disagree	37
Disagree, rather than agree	21
Absolutely disagree	6
Difficult to answer	24

2008, March; N=1600

Table 3.4

**Do you agree or disagree that stabilization in the country is due to giving up democratic transformation and market reforms?**

(in % of those who agree that there was stabilization)

Completely agree	7
Agree, rather than disagree	22
Disagree, rather than agree	35
Absolutely disagree	11
Difficult to answer	24

2008, March; N=804

Table 3.5

**Are you interested in politics and if you are how is this interest manifested?**

	1994 November	1999 March	2008 July
Keep up with political events	31	41	32
Discuss political events with friends	29	35	28
Over the past year have taken part in political actions, marches, rallies, pickets, strikes	1	3	3
Have taken part in election campaigns	2	2	5
Was present at a meeting of a political party or movement	1	1	3
Signed letters and addresses	-	-	2
Voted in elections	-	-	52
Not interested in politics	32	30	27
Difficult to answer	19	11	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 3.6

**How much do the actions of politicians, confrontations of different political forces affect your life, the life of your family?**

	1999 March	2008 July
Considerably	28	17
Somewhat	29	39
Practically do not affect	21	32
Difficult to answer	22	12

N=1600

Table 3.7

**Do you think you can influence the political processes in Russia?**

Definitely yes	1
Yes, rather than no	7
No, rather than yes	36
Definitely no	51
Difficult to answer	5

2008, June; N=1600

Diagram 3.1

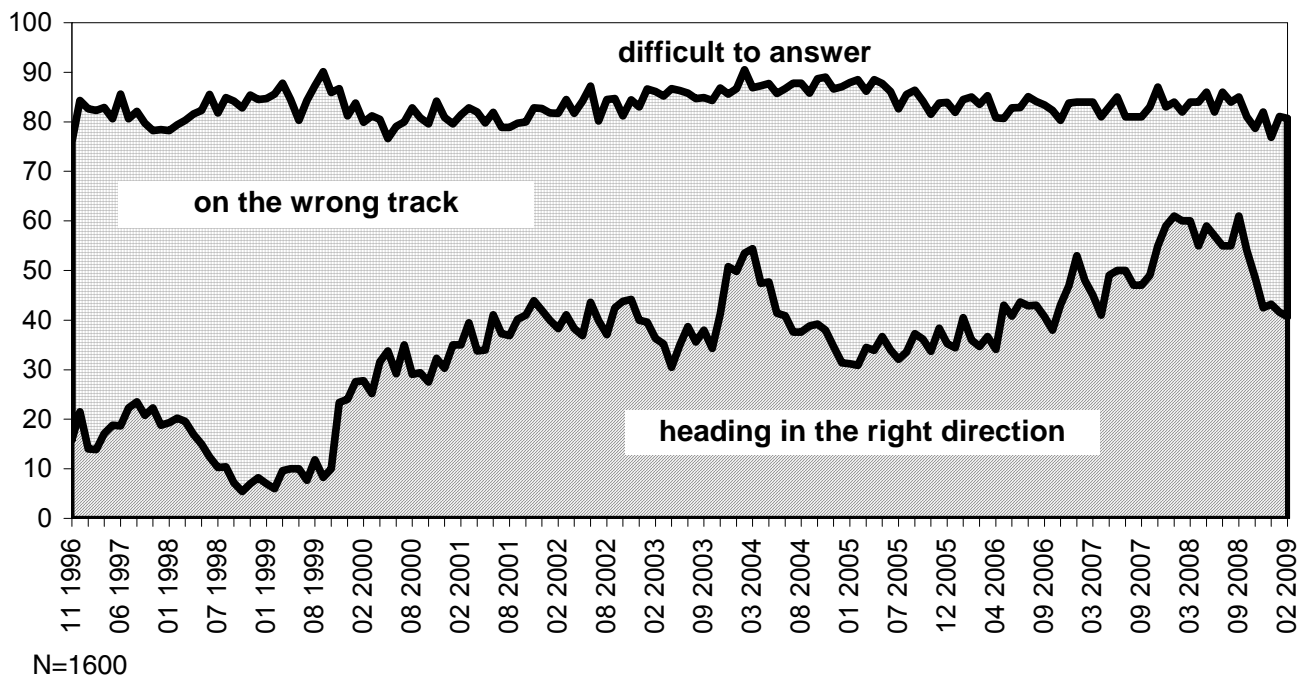
**Is Russia heading in the right direction, or the country is on the wrong track?**

Diagram 3.2

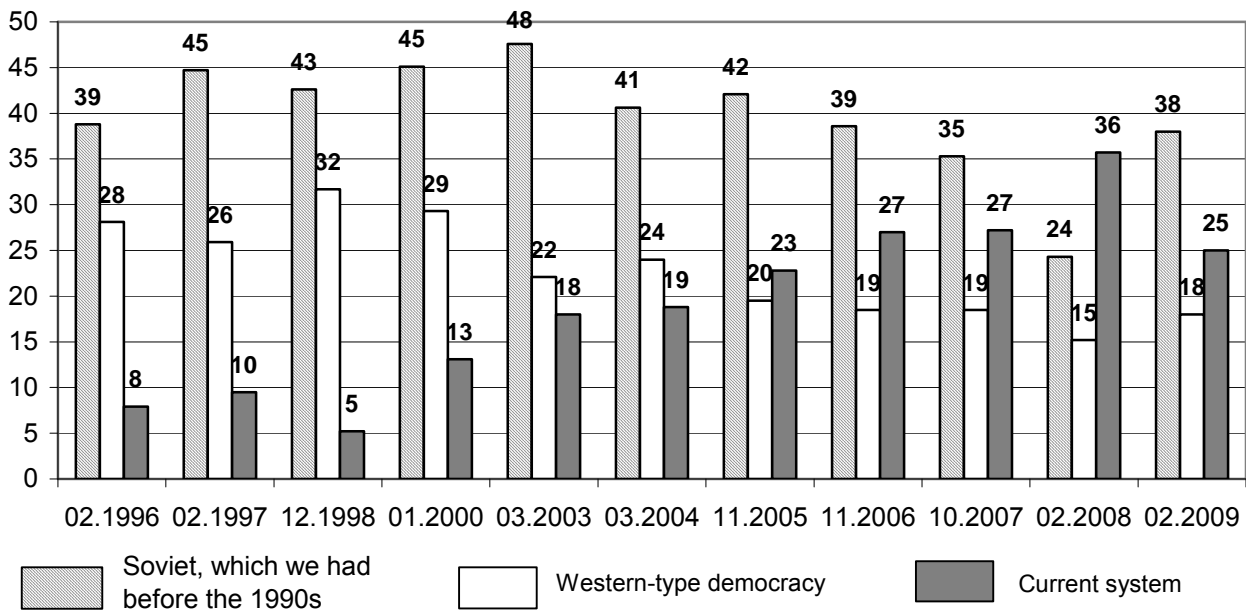
**Which political system do you think the best?**

Table 3.8

**Speaking about the course Russia can take in the present situation,  
which of the following courses would you prefer?**

	1998 IV	1999 IX	2001 I	2004 XII	2005 XII	2006 IV	2007 IV	2008 IV
Going back to what we had under Soviet power	27	29	22	24	22	20	17	11
Changing the direction of the reforms by strengthening the role of the government in the economy and ensuring social protection of the population	40	41	40	47	48	43	45	44
Continuing the reforms gradually decreasing the role of the government in the economy and providing entrepreneurs with more opportunities	10	11	10	8	10	12	14	14
Finish the social and economic reforms under way fast and resolutely	13	10	15	13	11	18	17	20
Difficult to answer	10	9	15	8	9	7	7	12

N=1600

## RUSSIA AND DEMOCRACY

Table 3.9

**In what direction is the political life in Russia moving now?**

	2005 October	2006 October	2007 October	2008 January	2009 January
Democracy development	32	33	36	54	36
Reestablishment of the former soviet order	7	6	9	8	9
Formation of authoritarianism, dictatorship	12	14	13	16	14
Growth of chaos, anarchy, threat of coup d'etat	30	22	14	9	21
Difficult to answer	18	24	28	13	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>

N=1600

Table 3.10

**Do you think Russia at present...**

Is actively moving along the path of democracy	33
Has slowed down in this movement	30
Has never started moving toward democracy	19
Difficult to answer	18

2008, January; N=1600

Table 3.11

**Will the course the country is moving along remain the same  
in the next year or two, will change slightly or will change dramatically?**

Will remain the same	41
Will change slightly	42
Will change dramatically	5
Difficult to answer	11

2008, May; N=1600

Table 3.12

**Which feature do you think is the most important  
for being able to speak of democracy in the country?  
(ranked answers)**

High living standard of the population	60
Order, observance of legality	49
Equality of all citizens before law	45
Observance of citizens' political rights and freedoms	44
Social justice	39
Possibility of the citizens' control of the government's activity	31
Government policy of protecting the poor	16
Government policy pursued in the interest of the largest population strata	20
Division of power, independence of court and legislative power, of the President and the government	12
Pluralism of opinions, absence of total government control over mass media	8
Observance of rights and interests of ethnic and other minorities	6
Difficult to answer	5



Table 3.13

**What is «democracy» in your opinion?**

	2000	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Freedom of speech, press and conscience	37	39	44	44	40	44	46
Economic prosperity of the country	33	26	31	32	35	26	47
Appointment of all top government officials by election	15	14	18	13	12	17	15
Possibility for everyone to do whatever they want	10	10	6	10	7	10	7
De facto equality of citizens before the law	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
Submission of the minority to the majority	6	4	3	4	2	3	3
Guarantee of rights for the minorities	5	7	6	6	5	6	5
Strict rule of law	29	23	24	24	26	21	26
Order and stability	28	24	29	30	35	30	41
Anarchy and general lawlessness	6	4	6	5	5	4	2
Idle talk	10	10	11	9	10	11	2
Difficult to answer	8	6	7	6	6	5	2

N=1600

Table 3.14

**Do you think Russia needs democracy?**

	2005 June	2006 December	2007 December	2008 June
Yes, Russia needs democracy	66	56	67	62
No, the democratic form of government is not for Russia	21	27	16	20
Difficult to answer	13	17	17	18

N=1600

Table 3.15

**What kind of democracy does Russia need?**

	2005 June	2006 December	2007 December	2008 June
Like in the developed countries of Europe and America	24	18	22	20
Like in the former Soviet Union	16	13	10	13
A special kind, suiting national traditions and the specific character of Russia	45	48	47	45
Russia does not need democracy	6	10	7	8
Difficult to answer	9	11	14	15

N=1600

Table 3.16

**Who, in your opinion,...**

	<b>must ensure equality of all citizens before the law in a democratic society?</b>	<b>is capable of ensuring in Russia now equality of all citizens before the law?</b>	<b>is capable of ensuring protection of social and economic rights and freedoms of the Russia now?</b>
The President and the government of the country	57	43	49
Political parties	11	5	6
Legislative power	39	19	19
Independent judicial system	31	14	12
Independent trade unions	8	3	5
Independent social organizations and movements	9	3	5
Independent media	7	3	5
Difficult to answer	9	29	25

2008, January; N=1600

Table 3.17

**Would you like to live in a huge country which other countries respect and are a little afraid of or in a small, cozy and harmless country?**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely the former	34	46
The former, rather than the latter	29	29
The latter rather than the former	20	13
Definitely the latter	7	6
Difficult to answer	10	6

N=1600

Table 3.18

**Would you like to live in a country which actively protects its culture and traditions or in a country which is open to the whole world and all modern trends?**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely the former	28	41
The former, rather than the latter	34	36
The latter rather than the former	17	14
Definitely the latter	7	4
Difficult to answer	14	5

N=1600

Table 3.19

**Would you like to live in a country where religion plays an important role in politics or in a country where the attitude to religion is a private matter and religion does not influence politics?**

Definitely the former	10
The former, rather than the latter	17
The latter rather than the former	40
Definitely the latter	23
Difficult to answer	11

2008, February; N=1600

Table 3.20

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

Socialist state like the USSR	17
A state like Western states with a democratic government system and market economy	32
A state with a special system and a unique course of development	39
Difficult to answer	11

2008, January N=1600

## CITIZENS AND GOVERNMENT

Table 3.21

**What do you think ideal relations between the state power  
and the people should be like?**

	2000 March	2005 January	2006 February	2008 February
The state power should lead the people and use force if necessary	5	3	6	5
The state power should rely on people, the power and the people should have the same goals and aspirations	35	34	38	35
The state power and the people should respect each other and interact according to the principles established by law	37	40	38	41
The state power should execute the will of the people and be under their strict control	15	19	13	14
Difficult to answer	7	3	5	4

N=1600

Table 3.22

**Remembering the whole history of Russia what can you say about the  
relations between power and people in our country?**

(answers ranked by the first measurement)

	2000 April	2008 February
In fact, power and people have different interests but at the difficult time of some disaster, external danger they become united	37	42
Even at the hardest time power lives its own life separately from the people	31	28
Power and the people are always opposed to each other	11	8
Most often power and the people are united in their goals and aspirations	9	11
Difficult to answer	12	11

N=1600

Table 3.23

**What principle of relations between the state and its citizens  
would you support?**

	1990 November	1997 May	2007 July	2008 July
People should make some sacrifices for the benefit of the state	7	6	4	5
The state should care for its citizens more	57	68	80	82
People should show initiative and take care of themselves	25	18	13	12
Difficult to answer	11	8	3	1

N=1600

Table 3.24

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

	1997 April	2007 July	2008 July
The majority will be able to live without protection of the state	17	21	15
The majority will not be able to live without protection of the state	72	74	81
Difficult to answer	11	5	4

N=1600

Table 3.25

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

	1990 November	1997 May	1998 March	2001 January	2006 February	2007 July	2008 July
Decent people in the government	29	32	33	30	37	33	34
Reliable laws that really work	56	53	54	58	57	62	59
Difficult to answer	15	14	14	12	6	5	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

N=1600

Table 3.26

**How would you describe the people in power now?**

	1994 III	1997 IV	2000 V	2000 XII	2001 VI	2004 II	2005 VII	2006 XII	2007 VII	2008 III	2009 III
These are people concerned only with their financial well-being and careers	47	59	38	55	52	53	64	51	60	31	31
These are honest but weak people, who do not know what to do with power and how to secure order and a consistent political course	16	15	11	13	11	14	11	12	9	11	12
These are honest but not too competent people, who do not know how to cope with the economic situation in the country	18	11	11	11	12	9	10	10	11	13	13
It is a good team of politicians leading the country in the right direction	4	4	17	10	10	13	6	12	10	26	23
Difficult to answer	14	10	24	13	15	11	9	15	10	20	21

N=1600

Table 3.27

**Can there be, in your opinion, situations in the life of the country when the people need a strong and authoritative leader, a «powerful hand»?**

	1989 XI	1994 IX	1995 VII	1996 IX	2006 III	2007 III	2007 III	2008 VII
Our people need a «powerful hand» all the time	25	35	34	37	42	45	45	43
There can be situations (like now) when it is necessary to give full authority to one person	16	23	27	32	31	29	29	29
It should never be possible for one person to have full authority	44	23	24	18	20	18	18	18
Difficult to answer	16	18	16	13	8	8	8	10
<i>Number of questioned</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2900</i>	<i>2900</i>	<i>2400</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 3.28

**Overall, do you think that what is happening in the country now is to the benefit of a small group of people who care only for their interests or to the majority of the population?**

	1998 February	2008 June
To the benefit of the majority of the population	8	28
To the benefit of a small group of people who care only for their interests	80	56
Difficult to answer	12	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.29

**What is «power», in your opinion? What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear this word?**

	1999 April	2008 June
Coercion, constraint	18	12
State, government	40	47
Functionaries	22	32
The higher-ups	13	24
Possibility of giving orders to people	15	22
The Constitution, laws	27	26
Management of the life of the society	7	15
Privileges	21	17
Maintaining order	14	15
Abuse, self-interest	29	20
Social protection, supporting the needy	10	10
The guiding, leading force	10	12
People elected by the population and accountable to it	13	13
Difficult to answer	4	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.30

**Who in our country has more power and influence: «securocrats»,  
bureaucrats or businessmen?**

«Securocrats»	15
Bureaucrats	38
Businessmen	18
These are the same people now	18
Difficult to answer	12

2008, February; N=1600

Table 3.31

**Do you agree with the opinion:  
«While everything is OK in the country, I don't care who is in power»?**

	<b>1998 February</b>	<b>2008 June</b>
Agree	56	47
Do not agree	36	45
Difficult to answer	8	9

N=1500

Table 3.32

**How can the citizens of Russia get their problems  
to be solved as soon as possible?**

(The answers are ranked)

Applying to judicial authorities	21
Applying to executive power bodies with their requests and suggestions	17
Supporting in elections the political forces which are ready to work on solving the problems	12
Applying to the media	8
Taking part in acts of protest: rallies, marches, strikes	7
Taking an active part in public activities (activities of parties, trade unions and other public organizations)	5
They cannot	21
Difficult to answer	9

2008, January; N=1600

## ARBITRARY RULE OF THE AUTHORITIES

Table 3.33

**Do you feel protected against potential arbitrariness of the authorities, militia, GIBDD [Road police], tax inspectors, courts and other government structures?**

Definitely yes	4
Yes, rather than no	18
No, rather than yes	44
Definitely no	29
Difficult to answer	6

2008, June; N=1600

Table 3.34

**Do you agree or disagree that top government officials have unlimited power in Russia now: they do whatever they want?**

	2004 January	2008 February
Completely agree	60	45
Agree, rather than disagree	27	38
Disagree, rather than agree	7	8
Absolutely disagree	2	2
Difficult to answer	5	8

N=1600

Table 3.35

**Do you agree with the opinion that many government officials practically do not abide by the law today?**

Definitely yes	31
Yes, rather than no	46
No, rather than yes	13
Definitely no	4
Difficult to answer	7

2008, June; N=1600



## 4. EVALUATION OF ECONOMIC CHANGES AND SITUATION IN THE ECONOMY

Table 4.1

**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
They definitely had a positive impact on Russia's economy	3	1	2	4	5	3
They were painful but necessary	19	19	14	21	21	20
There was no need to have them at all	15	22	17	19	20	21
They had a destructive impact on Russia's economy	41	44	51	36	35	33
Difficult to answer	22	14	16	20	20	23

N=1600

Table 4.2

**Did you personally, your family benefit or lose because of the changes which were started in the country in 1992?**

	1999 December	2002 November	2002 December	2006 December	2007 December	2008 April
Benefited	10	20	22	22	29	36
Lost	74	70	57	57	41	37
Difficult to answer	16	10	21	21	30	27

N=1600

Table 4.3

**What is your appraisal of the economic situation in Russia?**

	2008 March	2008 June	2008 September	2008 December	2009 March
Very good	3	3	2	1	1
Good	18	14	15	8	5
Average	53	55	57	52	43
Poor	18	19	18	31	38
Very poor	2	2	2	5	7
Difficult to answer	7	7	7	4	5

N=1600

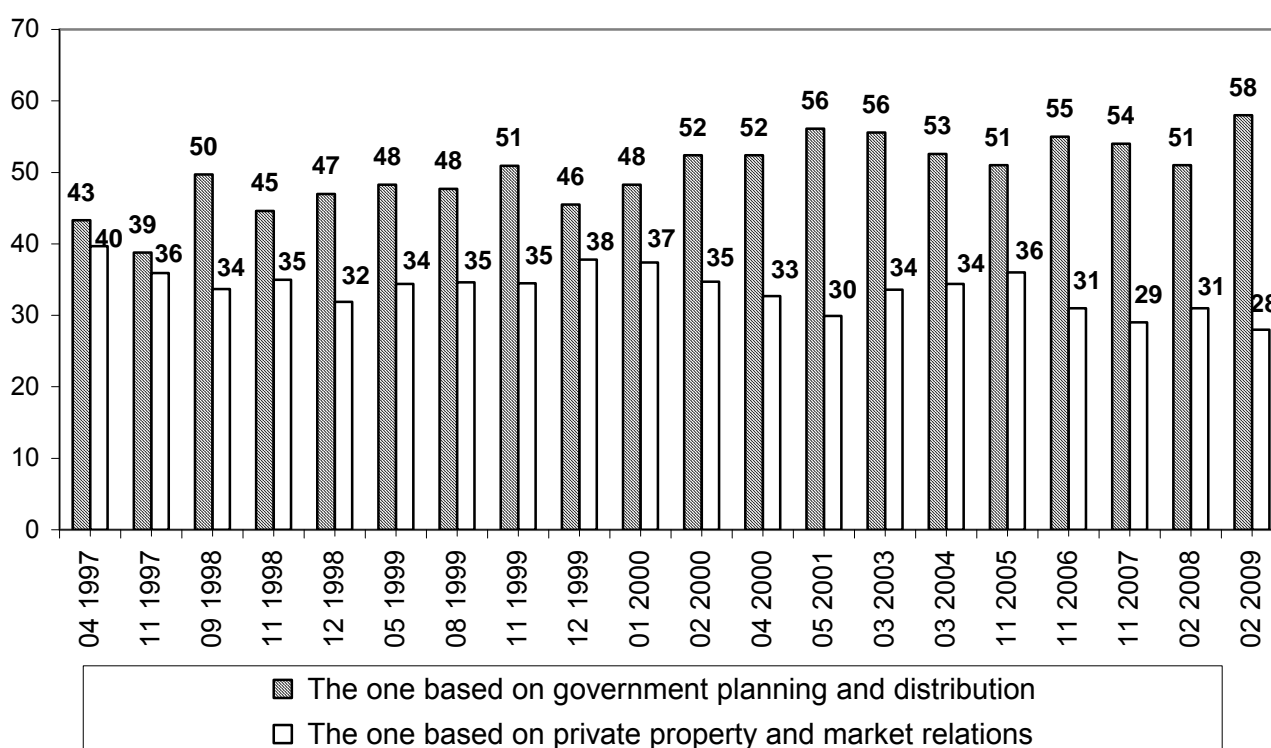
Table 4.4

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

	2008 March	2008 June	2008 September	2008 December	2009 March
The situation will be much better	9	7	7	4	4
The situation will be somewhat better	48	47	45	22	25
The situation will be somewhat worse	17	17	23	42	36
The situation will be much worse	2	4	3	14	14
Difficult to answer	24	26	22	18	21

N=1600

Diagram 4.1

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

\* - «Difficult to answer» option excluded

N=1600

Table 4.5

**Which of the following opinions is closer to you:  
private ownership of land is...**

	2002 April	2008 April
Necessary	21	24
Possible but under the government's control as to how the land is used	50	59
Inadmissible	25	11
Difficult to answer	4	6

N=1600

Table 4.6

**Which of the opinions about government property in industry  
is closer to you?**

	2002 April	2007 December	2008 April	2009 January
All large enterprises must belong to the government	51	46	41	50
Enterprises which are of the greatest importance to the country must belong to the government and others may be private property	43	46	53	41
All large enterprises must be private property	3	2	2	3
Difficult to answer	4	6	4	6

N=1600

## OIL REVENUES – STABILIZATION FUND

Table 4.7

**How should the superprofit from high oil prices be used?**

	2005 July	2006 July	2008 July
Should go to the “moneybox” in case there should be a crisis	10	8	7
For repaying external debts	12	15	8
For developing the economy, financing promising business projects	30	34	29
For developing the infrastructure: building roads, utility lines, power stations, communication lines, etc.	30	36	36
For developing science and education	39	42	36
For strengthening the army, security agencies	22	24	21
For solving housing problems: building cheap housing, extending long-term housing credits	57	59	58
For fighting poverty, raising pensions and salaries of employees of government-financed organizations, for development of the welfare system and free medical service	69	74	78
Difficult to answer	2	1	1

N=1600

Table 4.8

**Do you think the money amassed during the years of high oil prices should  
be invested in securities issued by the governments of leading countries of  
the West or should be used to extend credits to Russian companies?**

Should be invested in securities issued by the governments of leading countries of the West	13
Should be used to extend credits to Russian companies	69
Difficult to answer	19

2008, October; N=1500, 10 cities of Russia (over 1 mln inhabitants)

Table 4.9

**They say that in 20 years the oil and gas reserves in Russia will be exhausted. What do you think can be used instead of them as a source of energy?**

Coal	10
Water resources	18
Nuclear energy	41
Other	5
Difficult to answer	26

2008, April; N=1600

Table 4.10

**Nuclear energy should be...**

	2006 March	2008 April
Actively developed	31	36
Maintained at its current level	40	36
Curtailed	15	10
Given up completely	5	5
Difficult to answer	10	13

N=1600

Table 4.11

**They say that compared to the late nineties the economic situation in Russia is relatively problem-free. What do you think is the reason for it?**

	2007 January	2008 January
People in Russia work better now	10	11
The Russian government is pursuing a wise economic and financial policy	23	31
World oil and gas prices are high now	37	33
Do not think the economic situation in Russia is problem-free	20	18
Difficult to answer	10	7

N=1600

Table 4.12

**What is the reason for the current relatively safe economic situation in the country?**

	2004 February	2008 February
Is due to the right economic policy	14	17
Is due to high oil prices	36	50
It's a propagandistic myth	36	17
Difficult to answer	15	16

N=1600

## 5. LIVING STANDARD OF RUSSIAN POPULATION

### MATERIAL STANDING OF THE FAMILY

Table 5.1

**How would you describe the current circumstances of your family?**

	2008 March	2008 June	2008 September	2009 March
Very good	3	3	2	2
Good	16	14	13	10
Neither good nor bad	58	57	62	58
Bad	20	22	20	26
Very bad	3	3	2	4
Difficult to answer	1	1	1	1

N=1600

Table 5.2

**Which of the features mentioned below gives the strongest indication of material success of a person?**

	1998 September	2008 October
Good nutrition	43	28
Good housing	43	62
Good dacha, country house	9	10
Good car	14	21
A lot of savings	25	27
Vacations abroad, travelling	15	15
Trendy clothes	4	3
Possibility of giving the children a good education	37	38
Easy money spending without having to save every penny	50	50
Nothing but money	11	3

N=1600

Table 5.3

**Which group, is your family more likely to belong to?**

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

N=2100

Table 5.4

**What are you personally prepared to do  
to improve the material situation in your family?**

	<b>1998 December</b>	<b>2008 December</b>
I cannot do anything to improve the material situation in my family	35	31
Work more and better in my current job	13	17
Upgrade my skills without changing my profession or job	7	6
Find another job without changing my profession	5	7
Change my profession	5	5
Find a second job in line with my professional qualifications	15	12
Find any second job	28	20
Start my own business, go into business	9	4
Difficult to answer	2	13

N=1600

Table 5.5

**Which of the following opinions about the difference  
in incomes is closest to you?**

	<b>2002 April</b>	<b>2008 April</b>
Dramatic difference in incomes is useful: people see what they should achieve and work better	8	7
Difference in incomes is acceptable but only if the gap between the rich and the poor is not too wide	61	66
Any difference in incomes is harmful – the goal should be not to have any	28	23
Difficult to answer	3	4

N=1600

## PERSONAL SAVINGS

Table 5.6

**Do you think now is a good or a bad time overall to make expensive  
purchases for the household?**

	<b>1994</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>2008</b>				<b>2009</b>	
	<b>III</b>	<b>XII</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IX</b>	<b>XI</b>	<b>XII</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>
Good	13	7	34	35	26	22	15	16
Neither good, nor bad	23	15	42	44	44	38	42	37
Bad	55	72	14	13	19	27	35	38
Difficult to answer	9	6	10	8	12	13	8	9

N=1600

Table 5.7

**Do you have a plastic card from a bank?**

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
	XI	XI	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	I	I
I do	5	5	10	12	16	26	31	29	37
I don't, but I plan to get one	7	6	7	8	19	13	11	11	13
I don't and I don't plan to have it	88	89	83	80	65	62	58	60	50

N=2100

Table 5.8

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

	2002	2003		2004		2005	2006		2007		2008					2009	
	VII	VII	XII	VII	XII	VII	II	I	II	VII	III	VII	X	XI	XII	I	II
Rubles	29	29	46	38	39	35	40	31	50	49	41	48	52	50	45	31	29
Dollars	33	27	13	17	11	23	15	8	7	5	4	4	4	7	8	8	7
Euro	18	25	25	28	29	25	21	19	23	30	32	35	25	19	20	19	21
In different currencies/ in several currencies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	21
Difficult to answer	21	19	16	17	21	18	24	20	21	16	24	14	20	25	27	20	22

\*the alternative was not set till 2009

N=1600

Table 5.9

**Do you, your family have any savings at present?**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008			
	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	X	XI	XII
Yes	26	24	24	21	22	22	25	21	22	18
No	68	69	68	70	69	66	67	72	78	75
Don't know/ refused to answer	6	7	8	9	9	13	9	7	1	7

N=1600

Table 5.10

**What is the safest and most profitable way of keeping one's savings now?**

	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VII	2008 VII	2008 X
In a Savings Bank account	24	23	27	27	25
In a commercial bank account	2	2	4	3	2
In industrial shares	2	3	3	2	2
In gold, precious stones	8	7	6	9	8
In real estate	36	40	38	35	35
In cash	14	11	10	10	12
Difficult to answer	13	13	11	13	15

N=1600

Table 5.11

**If you have any savings, and, if yes, did you do anything to ensure they are safe under the current circumstances?**

Withdrew from the bank accounts	2
Exchanged for the foreign currency	1
Bought gold	1
Tried to invest in the real estate	5
No, did not anything yet	23
I do not have any savings	65
Difficult to answer	3

2008, September; N=1600

Table 5.12

**Do you or any of your family have an outstanding loan?**

	2008 November	2008 December	2009 February
Yes	33	28	26
No	67	72	74

N=1600

Table 5.13

**How would you characterize the situation with the salaries, pensions, scholarships and benefits in your country or region?**

	1998 September	1999 February	2000 May	2006 December	2007 December	2008 November
The situation has been improving	2	17	56	46	48	19
The situation has been deteriorating	68	26	10	12	11	29
No apparent changes	26	50	31	36	34	45
Difficult to answer	3	8	4	6	6	7

N=1600

## WORLD FINANCIAL CRISIS

Table 5.14

**Are you concerned with the threat of the coming financial and economic crisis?**

Definitely yes	18
Rather yes	32
Rather no	30
Definitely not	10
Difficult to answer	10

2008, April; N=1600



Table 5.15

**Is it possible that Russia will see an economic crisis  
next year similar to the 1998 crisis?**

	2001 July	2002 July	2003 July	2004 July	2005 July	2006 July	2007 July	2008 July
Definitely yes	14	12	10	17	9	14	8	15
Rather yes	33	35	34	39	43	33	28	35
Rather no	24	27	30	24	25	31	36	27
Definitely not	5	5	6	5	6	7	7	8
Difficult to answer	24	21	20	15	17	15	21	16

N=1600

Table 5.16

**Have you heard anything about the current financial crisis in Russia?  
If you have, with which of the statements below you rather agree?**

The Russian economy is in for a serious financial turmoil	31
It is a temporary phenomenon which does not affect the basics of our economy, and soon the situation in the country will improve	42
Have not heard anything about the financial crisis	14
Difficult to answer	14

2008., September; N=1600

Table 5.17

**To which extent the current financial crisis in Russia  
could be considered the consequence of the global financial crisis?**

Practically to the full extent	23
To a great extent	31
To a limited extent	16
I would not say it was a significant cause of the economic crisis	8
Difficult to answer	22

2008, September; N=1600

Table 5.18

**To which extent the current financial crisis in Russia  
could be considered the consequence of the economic policy  
of the Russian government in the last few years?**

Practically to the full extent	11
To a great extent	23
To a limited extent	28
I would not say it was a significant cause of the economic crisis	19
Difficult to answer	21

2008, September; N=1600

Table 5.19

**When the economic situation will start to improve?****This will happen in ...**

(For those who think the crisis is happening or is expected)

One or two months	2
Half a year	9
One year	15
Year and a half or two years	14
More than two years	27
Difficult to answer	32

2008, November; N=1600

Table 5.20

**In your opinion, who is responsible for the crisis or what was the cause of it?**

	2008 XII	2009 II
The economic policy of the Russian government	22	34
The economic policy of the US government and other western governments	39	35
The policy of the largest western banks and corporations	22	20
Human greed	13	13
No one personally, this is the result of the economic legislation in action	12	15
Difficult to answer	16	12

N=1600

Table 5.21

**In terms of you personally and members of your family living with you, do you currently expect any delays in salary payment?**

	2008 X	2008 XI	2008 XII	2009 II	2009 III
This is already happening	8	19	26	24	25
This can happen in the nearest few weeks	7	14	12	9	7
If nothing happens, this can happen in the nearest few months	14	13	15	18	15
I think this will not happen any time soon	44	32	27	28	29
Difficult to answer	12	9	7	8	8
Not applicable: neither the respondent, not anyone living with him/her worked recently	16	14	15	13	15

N=1600

Table 5.21

**In terms of you personally and members of your family living with you, do you currently expect any salary cuts?**

	1998 IX	2008 X	2008 XI	2008 XII	2009 I	2009 II	2009 III
This is already happening	19	5	15	25	27	26	31
This can happen in the nearest few weeks	8	7	14	13	-	9	7
If nothing happens, this can happen in the nearest few months	13	13	14	13	9	16	14
I think this will not happen any time soon	26	47	33	27	36	27	26
Difficult to answer	9	13	11	8	15	9	7
Not applicable: neither the respondent, not anyone living with him/her worked recently	25	16	14	15	13	13	15

\*- In January 2009 the alternative was not set  
N=1600

Table 5.22

**In terms of you personally and members of your family living with you, do you currently expect any downsizing or layoffs at your company?**

	1998 IX	2008 X	2008 XI	2008 XII	2009 II	2009 III
This is already happening	13	6	17	25	20	23
This can happen in the nearest few weeks	10	7	12	11	7	7
If nothing happens, this can happen in the nearest few months	17	15	16	15	18	14
I think this will not happen any time soon	28	45	28	25	31	33
Difficult to answer	8	12	12	9	11	8
Not applicable: neither the respondent, not anyone living with him/her worked recently	24	16	14	15	13	15

N=1600

Table 5.23

**In terms of you personally and members of your family living with you, do you currently expect the closure of your company?**

	1998 September	2008 October
This is already happening	5	3
This can happen in the nearest few weeks	5	5
If nothing happens, this can happen in the nearest few months	15	10
I think this will not happen any time soon	37	50
Difficult to answer	12	15
Not applicable: neither the respondent, not anyone living with him/her worked recently	26	17

N=1600

Table 5.24

**In your opinion, as the result of the global economic crisis, the position of Russia at the global stage will...**

Improve	37
Weaken	13
Remain unchanged	32
Difficult to answer	18

2008, September; N=1600

Table 5.25

**Has the crisis hit Russia unexpectedly in the last 1-2 months, or has it been evolving for a few years now?**

Hit unexpectedly in the last 1-2 months	24
It has been evolving for a few years now	69
Difficult to answer	8

2008, October; N=1600

Table 5.26

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

	2008 October	2008 November	2009 January	2009 March
Well	13	8	6	6
Average	52	65	52	49
Poorly	27	33	36	39
Difficult to answer	9	6	6	5

N=1600

## 6. EVALUATIONS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Diagram 6.1.1

**What problems of our society worry you most of all?**

**Social and economic problems**

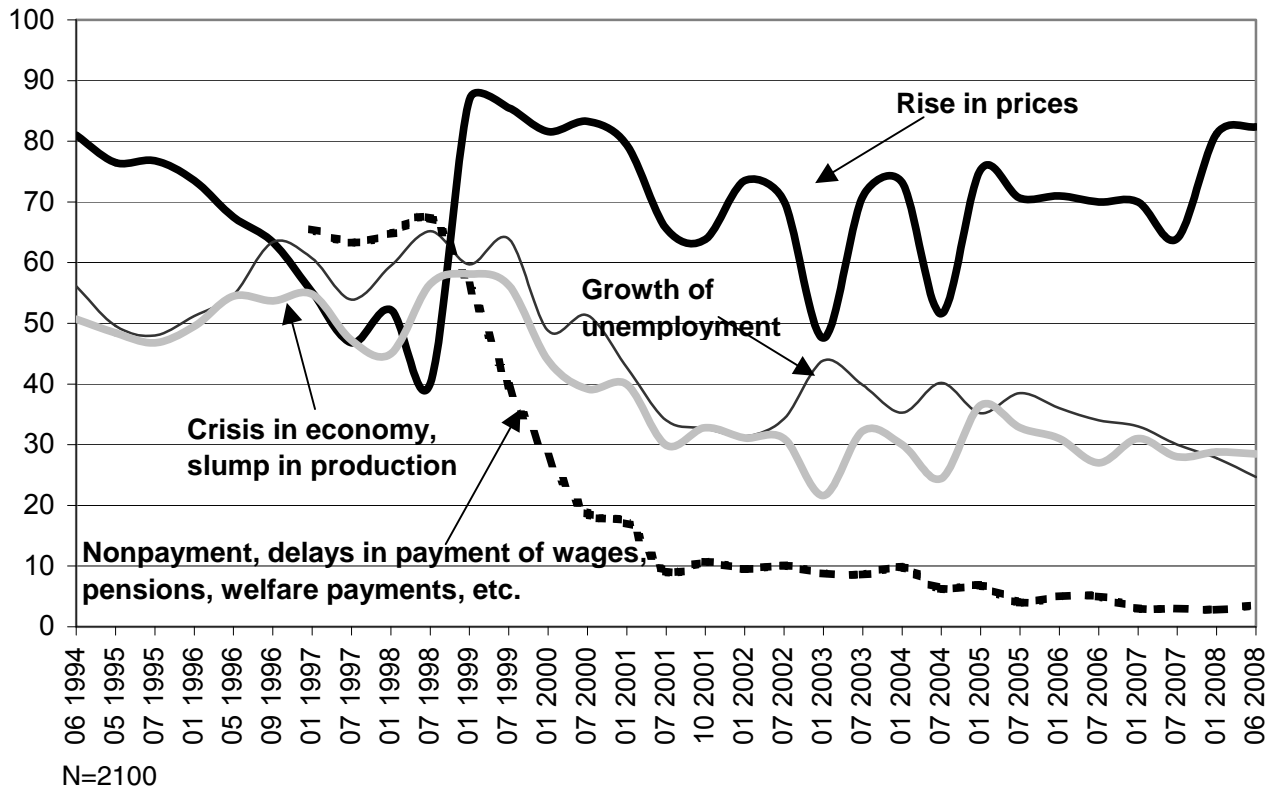


Diagram 6.1.2

**Authority and management**

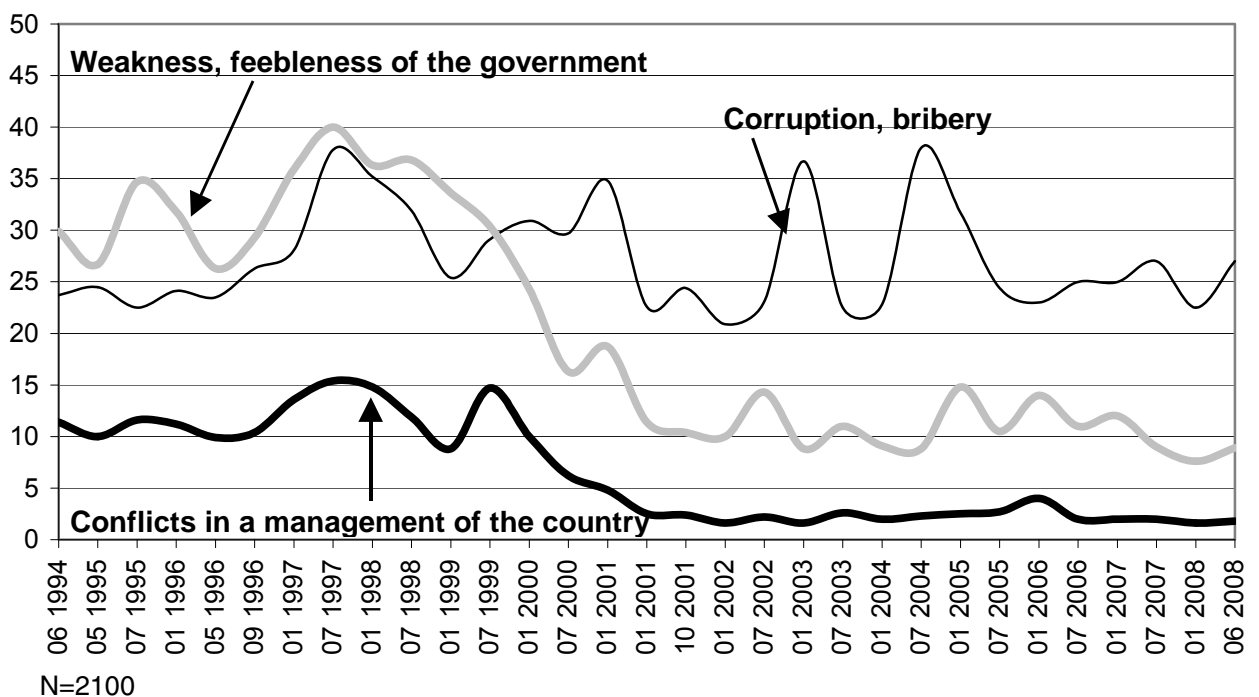


Diagram 6.1.3

### Social life

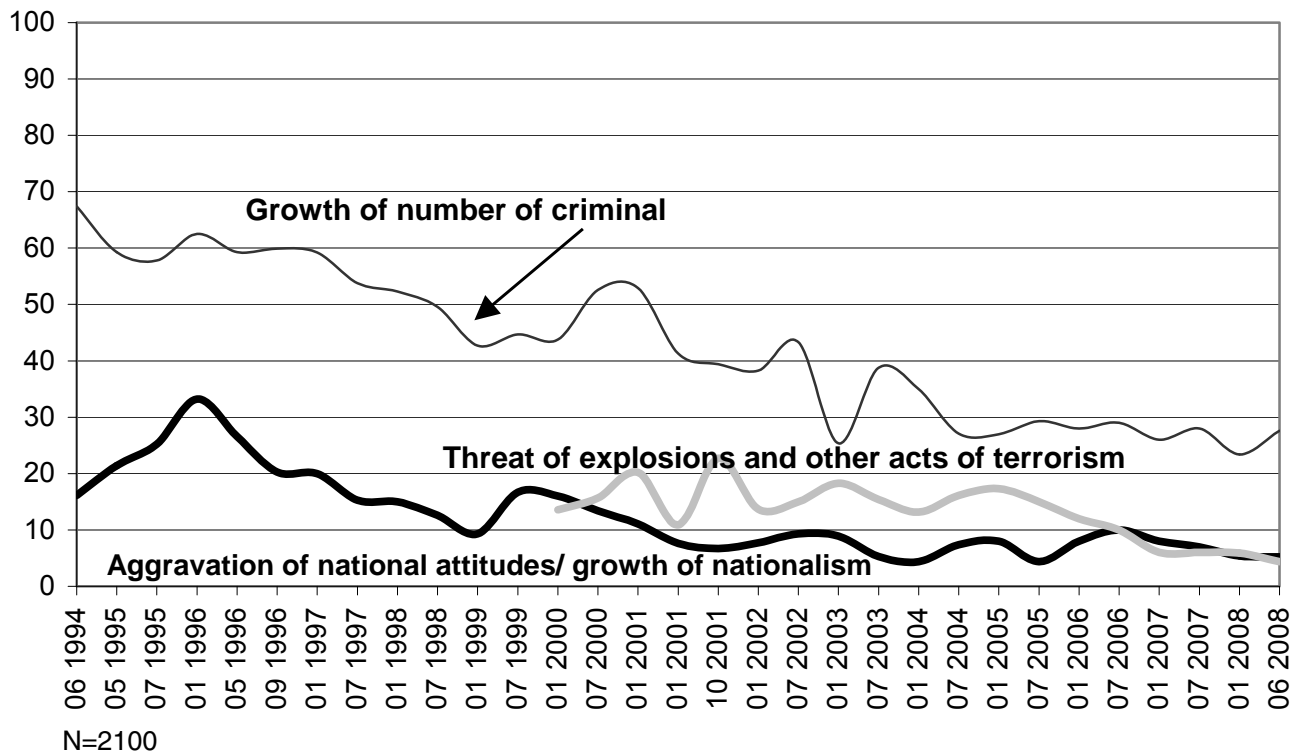


Diagram 6.1.4

### Culture, ecology

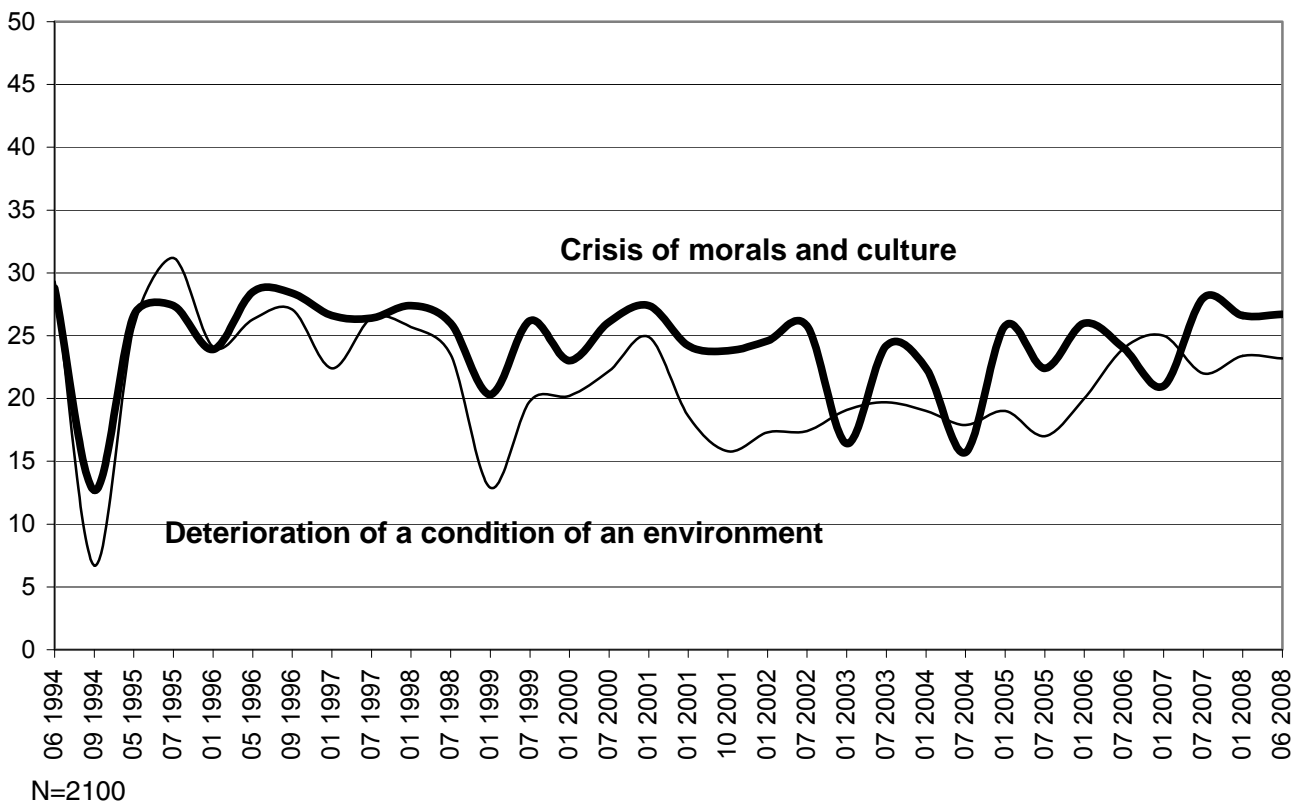


Table 6.1

**Can people living in your city, region find a good job  
according to their profession?**

	2002 VIII	2002 XII	2003 VIII	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 VIII
Definitely yes	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	4
Yes, rather than no	15	13	17	14	11	14	16	20
No, rather than yes	40	40	39	37	31	38	39	39
Definitely no	34	36	36	41	52	40	36	30
Difficult to answer	6	8	4	6	4	4	5	8

N=1600

Table 6.2

**In your opinion, unemployment relief should be...**

	2002 April	2008 April
Low – employees should be beware of dismissal, otherwise he backslides	30	26
High – employees should not be beware of dismissal	55	60
Difficult to answer	15	15

N=1600

Table 6.3

**In your opinion, for the upcoming 12 months,  
will the unemployment be higher, the same as now, or less than now?**

	2008 October	2008 November	2008 December	2009 January	2009 February
Higher	34	61	75	76	76
Approximately the same	46	29	20	16	18
Less	5	2	2	2	2
Difficult to answer	16	8	8	6	4

N=1600

Table 6.4

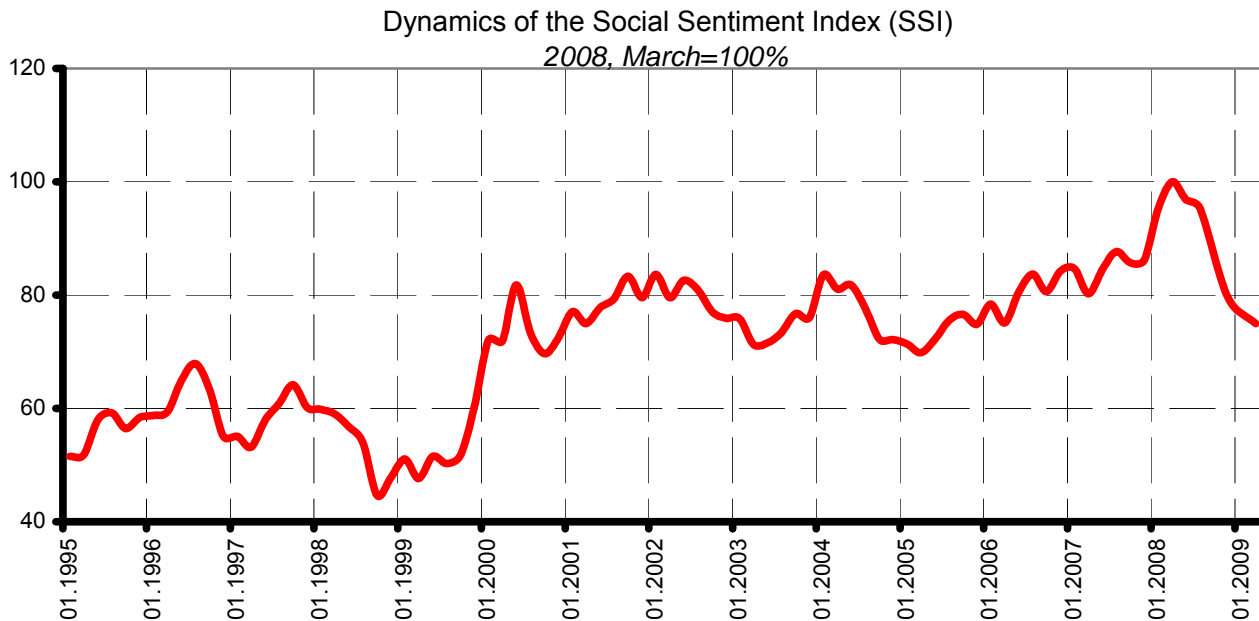
**Which would you prefer?**

	2002 April	2007 October	2008 April
Being the owner of a company (owning a business)	35	39	32
Being an employee and receiving a steady wage	56	51	48
Difficult to answer	8	10	19

N=1600

**SOCIAL SENTIMENT INDEX (SSI)**

Diagram 6.2



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

SSI summarizes the answers of the respondents on 12 questions, each of them intends for exposure of positive or negative appraisals. On each question individual index is calculated as a difference of percentage of positive and negative answers. Total SSI is calculated as arithmetical mean of individual indexes.

Since autumn 2008 Levada Centre has been publishing the dynamics of SSI, calculated according to a renewed procedure, that retains all the basic principles of SSI building and that keeps succession of measurement. This renewal is connected with an increase in importance of prognostic component reflecting people's expectations from the near future. Also, this renewed SSI takes into account appraisals of population assessment of basic governmental institutions. Besides the method of data collection has been changed and now an interview method is applied, sampling reflects the opinion of adult rural and urban population (18+), N = 1600.

New procedure was introduced in the beginning of 2008; data on the graph continue the information collected since 1995.



While calculating SSI its components (sub-indices) are still designed. They combine a group of individual indexes that describe major characteristics of public consciousness. Four subindices are singled out:

- Family situation index, (FI), reflecting subjective value of respondents families' material situation
- Current situation in Russia index (RI), that includes appraisals of the economic and political situation of Russia as a whole
- Expectations index (EI), reflecting people's appraisals of their own near future and Russia's near future
- Index of Government institutions, reflecting the level of approval of governmental authorities' actions in the country (GI)

## SOCIAL PROTESTS

Diagram 6.3

### Protest potential

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

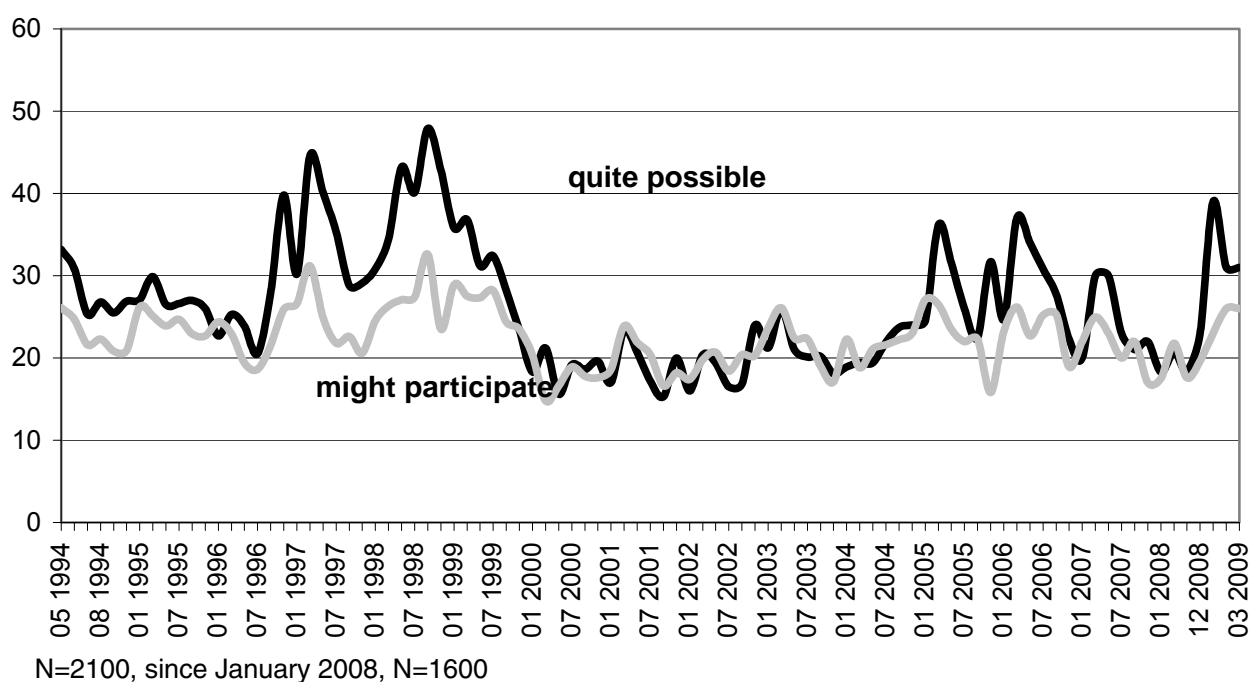


Table 6.5

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

	2004 April	2006 April	2008 April
Yes	23	20	21
No	72	70	66
Difficult to answer	5	10	13

N=1600

Table 6.6

**If there is a mass demonstration taking place in your town on May 1<sup>st</sup>,  
would you like to participate in the demonstration  
in protest at authorities` policy?**

	<b>2004 April</b>	<b>2006 April</b>	<b>2008 April</b>
Yes	10	12	10
No	84	77	75
Difficult to answer	6	11	15

N=1600

Table 6.7

**Which of the following statements about unemployment  
do you subscribe to?**

	<b>1989 X</b>	<b>1991 VII</b>	<b>2000 II</b>	<b>2002 XI</b>	<b>2005 XII</b>	<b>2006 XII</b>	<b>2007 XI</b>	<b>2008 XI</b>
Unemployment can't be allowed in Russia	50	35	62	53	57	56	58	47
Unemployment is quite an acceptable thing in this country	5	23	17	24	24	24	22	30
Some unemployment is even useful	18	17	14	13	11	12	9	11
Unemployment is needed for efficiency of the economy	8	10	2	4	2	3	3	4
Don't know	19	15	5	6	6	5	8	9
Difficult to answer	1000	1000	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600

Table 6.8

**Which of the following views on industrial action do you share?**

	<b>1998 X</b>	<b>2001 VI</b>	<b>2004 XI</b>	<b>2005 XI</b>	<b>2006 XI</b>	<b>2007 XI</b>	<b>2008 XI</b>
Industrial action is the only way to make sure one's demands are met	17	13	14	15	14	14	12
Industrial action is a legitimate mean of addressing vital problems	12	13	19	20	20	21	16
Industrial action is the last resort but under current conditions it is often impossible to avoid	44	30	29	34	30	33	29
Nothing can be gained by industrial action	5	33	29	23	23	17	30
Industrial action is unacceptable in Russia	14	5	4	3	3	6	5
Difficult to answer	8	6	6	4	9	9	7

N=1600

## 7. EVALUATIONS OF SOCIAL POLICY

Table 7.1

**Which of the following opinions about social protection of the population would you rather agree with?**

	1999 IX	2000 III	2004 XII	2005 XII	2006 XII	2008 II
The state must ensure a normal level of wellbeing for all its citizens	52	61	54	53	59	61
The state must help all its citizens who find themselves in a difficult situation, for example, if they lose their jobs	25	20	23	23	19	18
The state must ensure social protection only for those who cannot take care of themselves: pensioners, invalids	17	16	17	18	16	17
People should take care of themselves, they should see to it that their life is decent, and the state should not have any responsibility	3	2	4	3	2	2
Difficult to answer	2	1	2	3	4	2

N=1600

Table 7.2

**What do you rely on most now?**

	1996 March	1997 April	1998 April	2003 December	2008 April
My own capabilities and opportunities	75	77	78	78	79
Government's social support	20	15	17	19	18
Difficult to answer	5	8	4	3	3

N=1600

### «NATIONAL PROJECTS»

Table 7.3

**Have you heard of the national projects started in the autumn of 2005 which concern education, healthcare, agriculture and housing for the population?**

	2006		2007		2008
	March	September	March	September	March
Well aware of these projects	13	16	18	17	17
Have heard something about them	57	58	63	64	67
Haven't heard anything about them	30	26	19	20	16

N=1600

Table 7.4

**Will the implementation of the national projects result  
in a considerable improvement in education?**

	2006		2007		2008
	March	September	March	September	March
Definitely yes	8	9	6	11	7
Yes, rather than no	36	37	34	37	28
No, rather than yes	32	29	30	26	29
Definitely no	10	10	15	13	16
Difficult to answer	15	14	16	13	21

N=1600

Table 7.5

**Will the implementation of the national projects result  
in a considerable improvement in healthcare?**

	2006		2007		2008
	March	September	March	September	March
Definitely yes	7	8	5	10	6
Yes, rather than no	36	36	27	33	25
No, rather than yes	31	31	34	31	32
Definitely no	13	12	21	15	22
Difficult to answer	13	14	13	12	15

N=1600

Table 7.6

**Will the implementation of the national projects result  
in a considerable improvement in housing for the population?**

	2006		2007		2008
	March	September	March	September	March
Definitely yes	4	5	3	6	3
Yes, rather than no	21	22	18	22	15
No, rather than yes	40	36	35	30	32
Definitely no	20	24	30	30	35
Difficult to answer	14	13	14	13	16

N=1600

Table 7.7

**Will the implementation of the national projects result  
in a considerable improvement in agricultural production**

	2006		2007		2008
	March	September	March	September	March
Definitely yes	5	5	4	7	2
Yes, rather than no	27	25	20	26	14
No, rather than yes	36	33	31	28	29
Definitely no	16	20	25	23	33
Difficult to answer	17	19	21	16	21

N=1600

Table 7.8

**Do you think the money allocated to the national  
projects will be spent/ have been spent ...?**

	2006		2007		2008
	March	September	March	September	March
Very effectively	1	2	1	2	1
Quite effectively	12	12	12	13	13
Not very effectively	35	35	39	38	38
Absolutely ineffectively	8	12	12	14	15
Will be simply stolen	31	30	27	22	15
Difficult to answer	12	10	10	12	19

N=1600

## HEALTHCARE

Table 7.9

**Are you satisfied with the healthcare system in Russia?**

	2002	2003	2004	2005		2006	2007	2008
	December	August	August	January	August	August	August	August
Definitely yes	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	3
Yes, rather than no	9	11	9	10	10	14	13	15
Neither yes, nor no	23	20	21	16	19	21	20	23
No, rather than yes	39	36	36	35	36	34	36	36
Definitely no	23	29	29	35	32	26	27	22
Difficult to answer	4	2	3	2	2	2	3	1

N=1600

Table 7.10

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

	2002	2005		2006	2007	2008
	December	January	August	August	August	August
Improved considerably	3	1	3	3	2	3
Improved somewhat	11	9	19	20	21	20
Has not changed	37	34	36	44	45	48
Became somewhat worse	28	27	22	22	17	17
Became considerably worse	14	24	16	10	10	7
Difficult to answer	7	5	6	5	6	4

N=1600

Table 7.11

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

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	August	August	August	August	August	August	August
Definitely yes	7	7	6	5	5	4	6
Yes, rather than no	18	19	19	18	23	20	24
No, rather than yes	47	40	41	39	43	41	40
Definitely no	26	32	31	36	27	31	26
Difficult to answer	2	2	3	2	3	3	4

N=1600

## EDUCATION

Table 7.12

**Are you satisfied with the education system in Russia?**

	2004 May	2005 January	2005 August	2006 August	2007 August	2008 August
Definitely yes	5	3	2	3	4	4
Yes, rather than no	18	15	15	22	21	21
Neither yes, nor no	20	22	19	22	22	26
No, rather than yes	30	29	33	28	29	30
Definitely no	20	21	25	18	18	13
Difficult to answer	8	10	6	8	6	6

N=1600

Table 7.13

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

	2005		2006	2007	2008
	January	August	August	August	August
Improved considerably	1	3	3	2	4
Improved somewhat	10	13	17	20	19
Has not changed	35	37	44	45	47
Became somewhat worse	23	21	15	15	15
Became considerably worse	17	13	7	6	5
Difficult to answer	14	13	14	13	10

N=1600

Table 7.14

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

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	August	August	August	August	August	August	August
Definitely yes	7	6	6	6	7	8	7
Yes, rather than no	30	26	30	26	35	31	36
No, rather than yes	38	38	35	35	34	35	36
Definitely no	21	26	25	28	19	21	17
Difficult to answer	4	4	3	5	5	5	5

N=1600

Table 7.15

**Why do you think the rates on communal services and transport  
are skyrocketing nowadays while the government gets its scoops  
from oil and gas export?**

	2006 January	2008 January
This income must be not be so considerable as it's spoken about	2	5
This income is spent on solving other important goals	8	11
The government aims to make citizens get used to live within their means and spare	4	6
The government can't manage such considerable profits effectively	18	14
This profit is sacked by officials and tycoons that are close to authority	42	32
The skyrocketing rates on communal support and transport are the result of outrage of monopolist companies	17	23
Difficult to answer	8	9

N=1600

## 8. GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

### 8.1. OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF INSTITUTIONS

Table 8.1.1

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

		2001	2002	2003	2004		2005		2006		2007		2008	2009
		I-II	I-II	I-II	I	VII	I	VIII	II	VII	I	VII	II	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
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	Oligarchs, bankers financiers	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
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
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
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
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
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
9	Top managers of large enterprises	3.35	3.28	3.15	3.40	3.16	3.12	3.21	3.11	3.17	3.18	3.17	3.27	3,3
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
11	Low-Court	2.8	2.73	2.91	-	-	3.01	3.08	3.06	3.13	3.25	3.11	3.27	3,29
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
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
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
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
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
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

\*) 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

**Do you think the Federation Council have real political weight or not?**

Have real political weight	21
Ornamental body which will have no influence at all	22
Don't know anything about the council of state	40
Difficult to answer	18

2008, February; N=1600



Table 8.1.3

**What does Putin's «vertical of power» mean for the country?**

	<b>2005 January</b>	<b>2006 January</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
More good	38	38	42
More harm	32	28	30
Difficult to answer	30	34	28

N=1600

Table 8.1.4

**Are you personally in favor or against the extension of the presidency from four to six years term in the office?**

Definitely in favor	21
Rather in favor	39
Rather against	17
Definitely against	9
Difficult to answer	14

2008, November; N=1600

Table 8.1.5

**Are you personally in favor or against the extension of the term in the office for the State Duma from four to five years?**

Definitely in favor	12
Rather in favor	29
Rather against	23
Definitely against	18
Difficult to answer	18

2008, November; N=1600

Table 8.1.6

**Are you personally in favor or against the idea of a return to the direct popular election of the governors in the regions?**

Definitely in favor	30
Rather in favor	31
Rather against	13
Definitely against	6
Difficult to answer	18

2008, November; N=1600

# INDICES OF APPROVAL AND TRUST IN GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Diagram 8.1.1

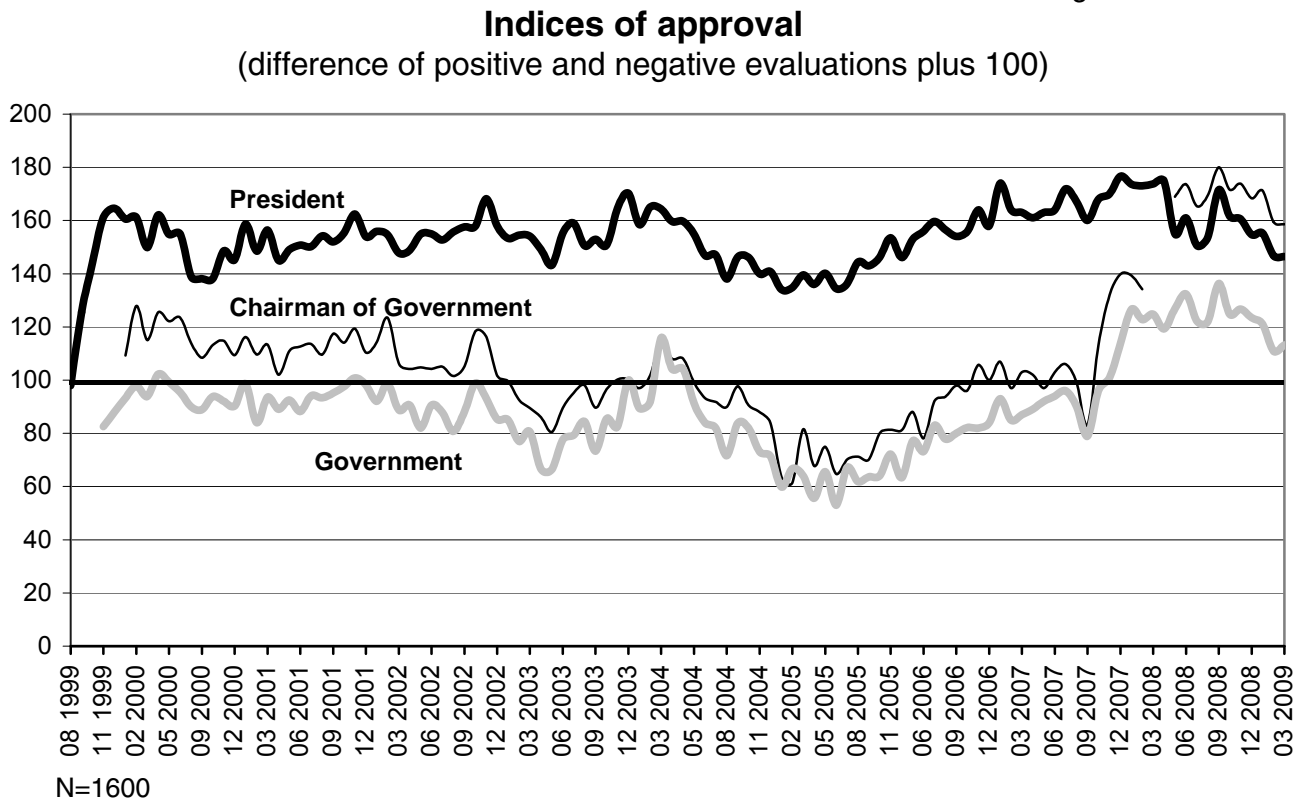


Diagram 8.1.2

## How would you evaluate the activity of President and the chairman or the Government (average on 10-digit the scale)

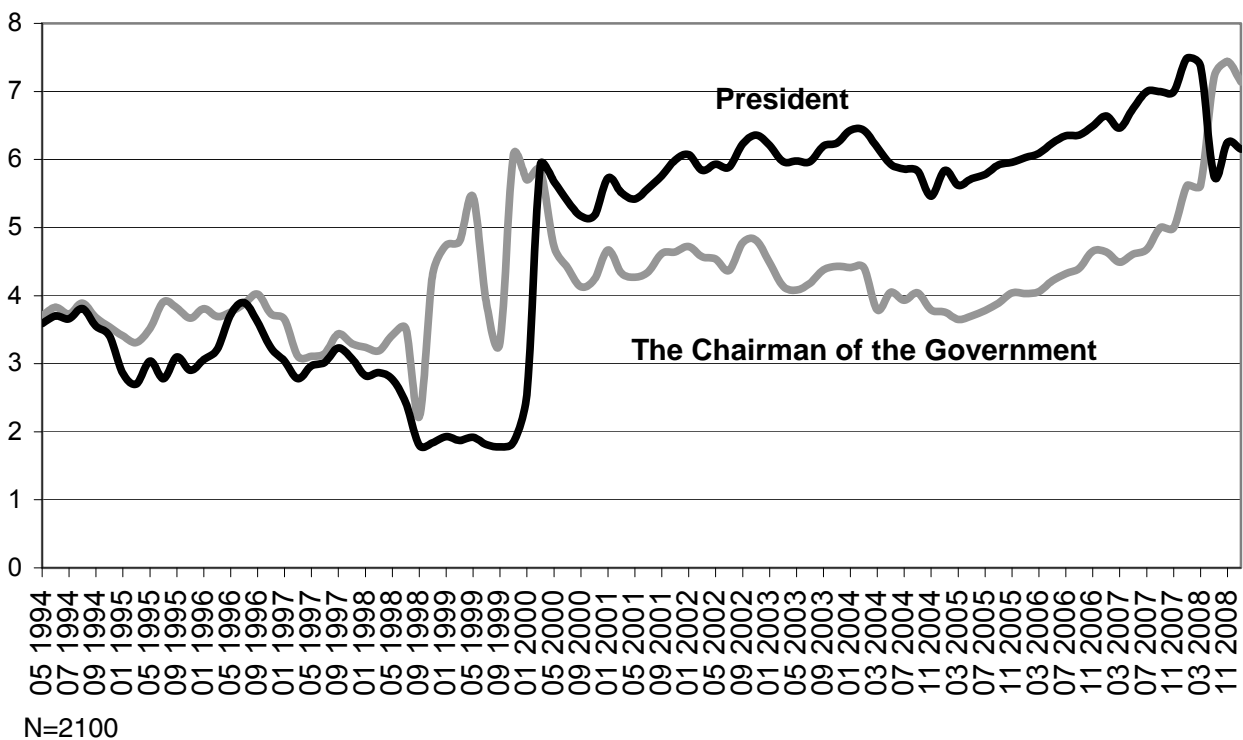


Table 8.1.7

**Who, in your opinion, should hold the power in Russia:  
the president, head of government or State Duma?**

President	68
Head of government	11
State Duma	9
Difficult to answer	12

2008, May; N=1600

Table 8.1.8

**Who is most responsible for the recent rise in wages,  
pensions, welfare payments?**

President D. Medvedev	26
Prime minister V. Putin	42
Government	25
Regional officials, governors	4
Difficult to answer	11

2008, July; N=1600

Table 8.1.9

**Who is responsible for rising prices?**

President D. Medvedev	20
Prime minister V. Putin	19
Government	38
Regional officials, governors	13
Producers (the industrial enterprises, businessmen)	14
Dealers, service providers	15
Difficult to answer	10

2008, July; N=1600

## 8.2. PRESIDENT V. PUTIN

Table 8.2.1

**What would you call V. Putin's main achievement during his period in office and what would you call V. Putin's deal with the least successfully?**

	Achievements					Failures				
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Economic development of the country	21	14	15	31	35	18	19	16	11	8
Raising the citizens' living standards, raising salaries and pensions	37	29	28	30	36	21	21	20	19	17
Raising the level of optimism and hope for a better situation in the country in the near future	27	21	24	25	27	6	6	7	6	4
Introducing order in the country, keeping up a quiet political situation	18	19	19	23	24	10	7	8	6	4
Creating the economic and political conditions for the development of private business	11	8	7	13	10	4	4	4	6	3
«Harnessing» the oligarchs, restraining their ascendancy	18	15	13	11	8	19	14	16	20	18
Fight with corruption, bribery	14	12	8	14	8	28	27	28	33	32
Fight with crime	8	10	7	9	8	25	20	18	23	17
Solving the Chechen problem	10	10	10	21	20	34	27	18	13	7
Securing higher military efficiency and reform of the armed forces	11	13	9	14	14	6	5	6	4	3
Defending democracy and political freedoms of the citizens	6	5	8	8	4	3	3	2	3	3
Elimination of the threat of terrorism in the country	3	6	6	10	10	24	15	9	7	4
Cooperation with other CIS countries	15	16	16	15	14	3	3	4	4	3
Improvement of the relations between Russia and the West	21	26	25	28	20	3	1	3	3	3
Strengthening Russia's position in the world	19	22	25	32	26	3	3	4	4	3
Improvement of the relations between people of different ethnic groups in Russia	3	5	7	5	5	7	5	5	10	6
Safeguard of morals public	2	3	3	3	3	13	13	16	22	14
I don't see any failures/ Achievements	24	26	28	20	1	2	2	4	3	1
Difficult to answer	19	15	20	14	10	10	10	12	17	2

N=1600

Table 8.2.2

**Do you think in the time of V. Putin's presidency the gap between the rich and the poor has become wider, narrower or remained the same compared to the period of B. Yeltsin's rule?**

	2006 March	2007 March	2008 March
Wider	64	65	53
Narrower	11	9	13
The same	21	22	27
Difficult to answer	4	4	7

N=1600

Table 8.2.3

**How would you describe your attitude to Vladimir Putin?**

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

N=1600

Table 8.2.4

**Is V. Putin surrounded now by capable and proactive or «grey» and passive people?**

	2005 January	2006 February	2007 January	2008 February
Capable and proactive	39	37	48	63
«Grey» and passive	38	39	29	16
Difficult to answer	23	24	23	21

N=1600

Table 8.2.5

**What is of greatest importance for V. Putin's team?**

	2005 January	2007 January	2008 January
Problems of the country	31	48	56
Personal interests	55	36	29
Difficult to answer	14	16	16

N=1600

Table 8.2.6

**In your opinion, is the current Putin's circle consolidated or it consists of the rival «clans»?**

Putin's circle is consolidated	41
Putin's circle consists of the rival «clans»	26
Difficult to answer	33

2008, February; N=1600

Table 8.2.7

**Do you think V. Putin will retain/have retained his influence on the political life in Russia after he leaves his post of the President of the country in 2008?**

	2006 November	2007 November	2008 February	2009 February
Practically fully	15	20	25	45
To a considerable extent	32	40	49	42
To some extent	29	23	14	9
He will play/does play practically no role	12	5	2	1
Difficult to answer	12	13	9	3

N=1600

Table 8.2.8

**How long will Putin stay the head of Russian government?**

Will resign before the end of 2008	3
Will state in the office for a year or year and a half	7
Will state in the office for two to three years	9
Will state in the office until the next presidential election in Russia in 2012	45
Will state in the office after 2012	11
Difficult to answer	25

2008, May; N=1600

### 8.3. GOVERNMENT

Table 8.3.1

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

	2008 III	2008 IV	2008 IX	2008 XII	2009 I	2009 II	2009 III
Definitely yes	8	9	8	6	4	5	4
Yes, rather than no	43	42	45	38	22	24	33
No, rather than yes	30	28	29	34	36	32	36
Definitely no	6	8	5	9	25	26	10
Difficult to answer	12	14	14	13	7	8	16

N=1600

Table 8.3.2

**Do you think the government of Russia has a well thought-out economic program?**

	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 XII	2008 XII	2009 III
There is a well thought-out economic program	21	19	24	46	32	30
There is no thought-out program, they have just a most general idea of what should be done	35	40	37	26	27	31
The government does not have a program, the decisions are made on the spur of the moment	34	31	29	14	26	25
Difficult to answer	11	11	10	14	15	14

N=1600

Table 8.3.3

**With which of the following statements regarding the recent changes in the government you would rather agree?**

One could hope for the improvement in government's addressing the issues the country is facing	44
These are superficial changes, which would not improve the government's addressing the issues the country is facing	28
These changes will only make the government function worse, which will aggravate the country's problems	5
I do not know anything about the changes in the government	11
Difficult to answer	12

2008, May; N=1600

Table 8.3.4

**Which of the following areas of government activities  
should be regarded as top priority now?**

(The answers are ranged according to the interrogation of 2000)

	2000 IX	2001 IX	2002 IX	2003 IX	2004 IX	2005 III	2005 IX	2006 VI	2006 IX	2007 VI	2007 IX	2008 IV
Industrial output growth	61	56	46	47	46	50	51	53	49	44	44	49
Elimination of wage and pension arrears	36	34	31	28	32	31	30	25	23	23	28	9
Return to government regulation of the economy	31	29	32	27	27	26	30	29	27	27	25	24
Social orientation of current reforms	30	31	29	32	32	36	42	41	39	42	45	39
Alleviation of tax burden on households and businesses	27	23	27	28	27	29	26	28	25	26	24	22
Government support of core sectors of the economy	26	22	25	26	26	24	29	27	26	25	29	22
Revision of privatization of major government-owned assets	25	23	27	28	23	26	26	25	25	23	21	23
Improvement of tax collection	19	15	12	8	12	12	12	9	11	10	10	9
Closing down of loss-making companies	13	12	12	9	11	9	10	9	9	10	12	7
Provision of incentives to development of private business and lending to new entrepreneurs	12	14	17	14	17	17	15	16	16	16	13	10
Curtailment of influence of natural monopolies and new financial-industrial groups on Russia	10	16	13	13	11	11	13	11	13	13	14	10
Expansion of reforms, consolidation of positions of private capital	10	10	11	9	14	11	10	10	10	11	13	7
Continuation of privatizations, transfer of land to private owners	8	8	9	6	8	8	7	8	10	11	8	6
Difficult to answer	6	9	6	7	6	4	7	12	8	6	7	62

N=1600



Table 8.3.5

**On what main counts are you dissatisfied with government performance?**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008			2009
	XI	XI	XI	X	XI	VIII	XII	VIII	II	IV	XI	II
Can't curb price rises and personal income decline	44	46	43	48	53	52	52	51	57	57	61	41
Can't overcome economic crisis and output decline	23	23	25	20	24	30	21	21	25	23	26	28
Can't ensure people's employment	25	31	24	27	34	36	33	30	26	25	29	27
Doesn't care about social support of population	34	37	36	45	43	41	38	42	38	37	38	26
Is corrupt, mainly pursues its own interests	11	21	17	20	19	22	23	23	21	27	22	18
Lacks a thought-out program for pulling out of the crisis	20	22	22	15	18	24	18	19	9	13	15	17
Shows low professional level	6	8	9	7	8	9	7	8	6	7	7	9
Fights crime inefficiently	22	24	26	26	20	23	19	23	16	22	19	6
Can't ensure people's safety, can't cope with terrorism	15	20	21	21	23	21	15	13	11	8	16	5
Acts in the interests of foreign capital	4	4	5	5	3	7	6	5	6	7	6	5
Is waging a «strange» war in Chechnya	13	15	18	9	12	14	8	6	-	-	8	4
Can't overcome illegal migration and growth of international intensity in the country	-*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Acts in the interests of criminal capital	6	11	9	9	7	12	9	9	-	-	8	-
I am satisfied with the way government operates	6	9	8	7	5	5	9	6	10	7	7	10

-\* The question was not asked

N=1600

Table 8.3.6

**The new Russian government is a consolidated and a well-coordinated team or the majority of the key figures in the government affiliate only in terms of the close links to V.Putin, and there is very little chance they are capable of a coordinated teamwork?**

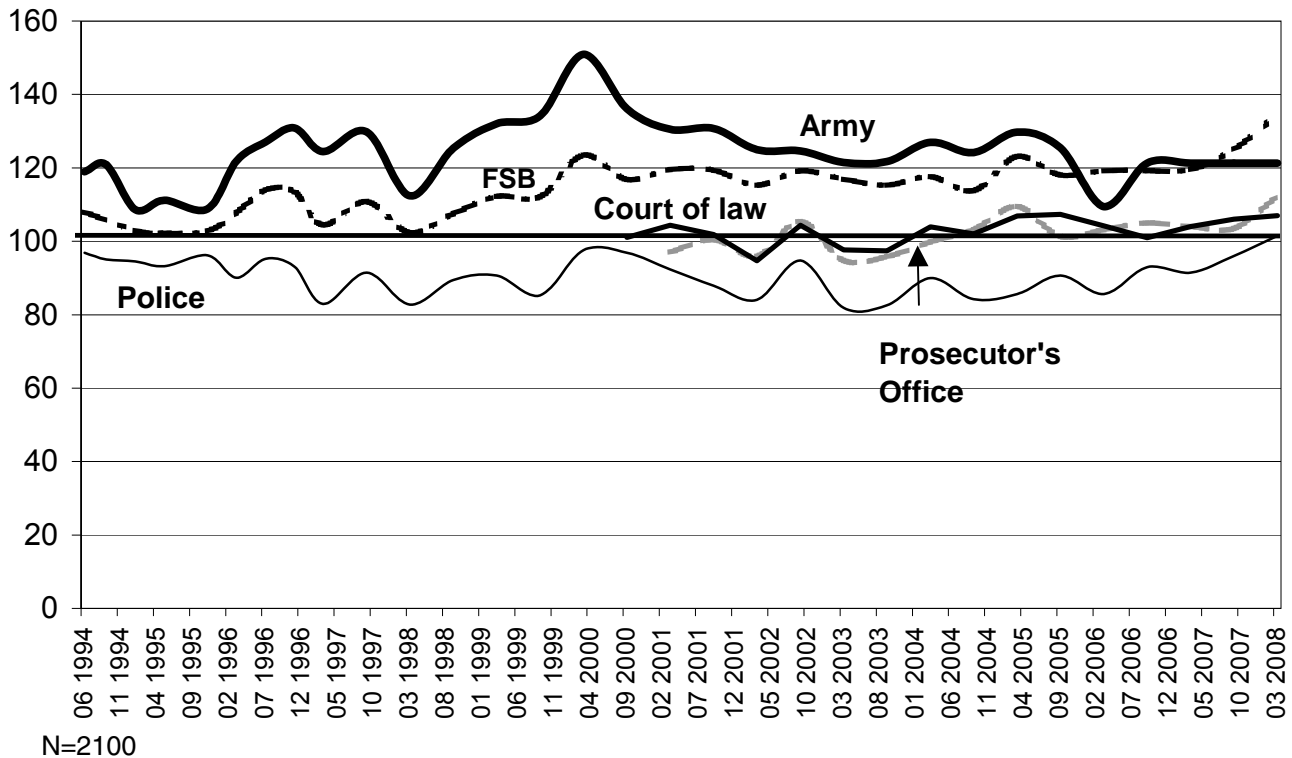
The new Russian government is a consolidated and a well-coordinated team	45
The majority of the key figures in the government affiliate only in terms of the close links to V.Putin, and there is very little chance they are capable of a coordinated teamwork	33
Difficult to answer	22

2008, May; N=1600

## 8.4. SECURITY STRUCTURES AND LAW-ENFORCEMENT BODIES

Diagram 8.4.1

### Index of trust in security and law enforcement bodies



Indices of diagram 8.4.1 were calculated as the sum of the percentage 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.

### THE ARMY

Table 8.4.1

#### To what extent can the Army be trusted?

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	III
Fully trusted	28	28	35	35	33	28	28	30	30	26	30	37
Not fully trusted	36	34	31	35	31	36	32	34	33	35	33	33
Not trusted at all	16	19	16	16	18	21	22	20	21	23	19	12
Difficult to answer	20	19	17	15	19	15	19	16	17	15	18	18

N=2100

Table 8.4.2

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

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

N=1600

Table 8.4.3

**You like your son, brother, another close relative  
to be 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
<b>Yes, I would...</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>36</b>

**No, I would not because (of)...**

Possible death, wound in Chechen-type conflicts	30	48	38	44	42	33	32	27	21
«Dedovschina» (hazing), violence	40	34	30	35	42	36	49	42	34
Lawlessness and humiliation of servicemen	20	18	13	19	23	19	24	17	15
Difficult living conditions, bad food, danger for the health	21	27	18	23	24	18	14	12	10
Moral degradation, drinking and drug-abuse	19	15	10	16	13	12	16	10	10
Chaos in the army, the government's irresponsible army policy	25	21	13	20	21	18	16	10	6
Criminalization of the army, servicemen's involvement in criminal offences	15	12	5	10	10	9	10	6	5
The years spent in the army is time wasted	11	8	6	8	9	9	8	7	6
Would not, but cannot give the reason	7	6	4	5	4	6	2	4	4
Difficult to answer	3	6	5	6	3	5	5	6	11

N=1600

## «HAZING»

Table 8.4.4

**How wide-spread in the army are «hazing» and harassment of first-year conscripts by officers and «old-timers» at present?**

	2006 February	2007 February	2008 February
Single cases	2	9	9
In a limited number of military units	12	21	23
In most military units	50	45	42
Everywhere	32	20	17
Difficult to answer	4	6	9

N=1600

Table 8.4.5

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

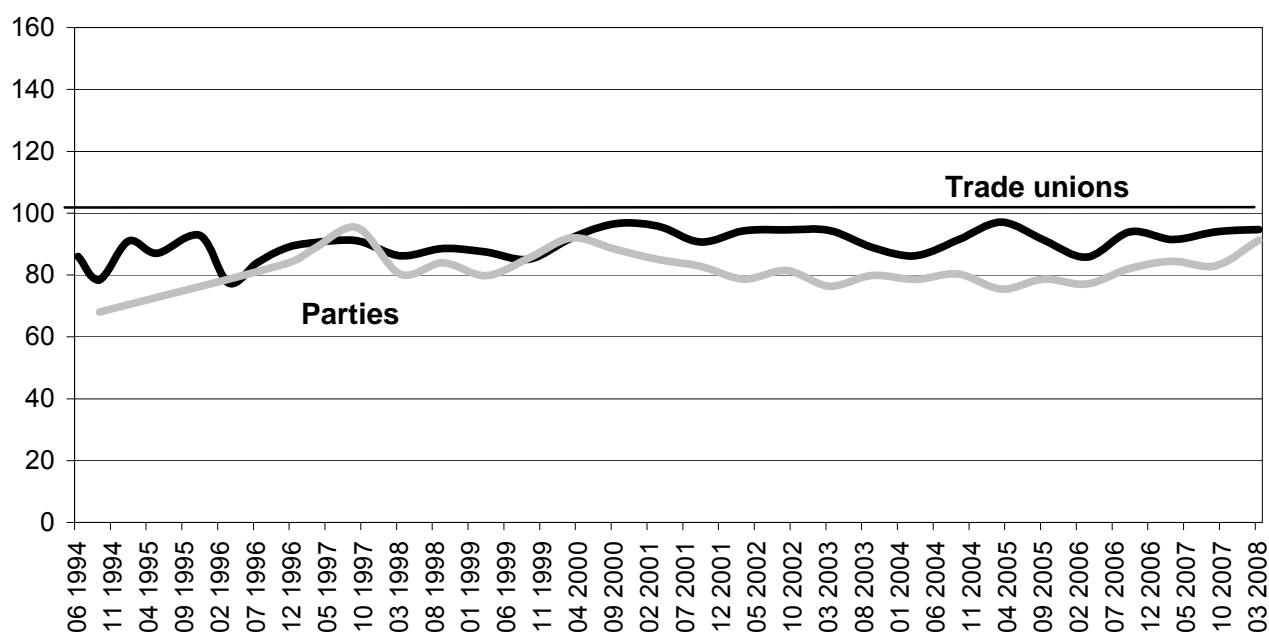
	1997 IV	1998 II	2000 I	2002 I	2003 I	2004 VII	2005 I	2005 VIII	2006 II	2007 II	2007 X	2008 II	2009 III
Should go on with universal military service and compulsory draft	33	35	30	27	31	35	31	39	32	41	34	45	47
Should start forming a contract-based army consisting of contract soldiers who are paid for their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

N=1600

## 9. PARTIES AND THE STATE DUMA ELECTIONS

Diagram 9.1

### Indices of confidence to parties and trade union



N=2100

Indices of diagram 9.1 were calculated as the sum of the percentage 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 9.1

### How many political parties does Russia need now?

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

N=1600

## «UNITED RUSSIA»

Table 9.2

### Why do you think the «United Russia» has won at the elections for the State Duma?

It has put forward the most attractive election agenda	10
It has made active use of “administrative resources”	18
It has gained support of V. Putin	66
Difficult to answer	7

2008, February; N=1600

Table 9.3

### What would your attitude be if V. Putin became the leader of the party «United Russia»?

	2006 July	2007 October	2008 April
Absolutely positive	13	27	31
Somewhat positive	21	38	42
Somewhat negative	28	10	8
Absolutely negative	15	8	3
Difficult to answer	23	17	15

N=1600

## 10. ELECTIONS 2008

Table 10.1

### What would be better for Russia in 2008?

	2005 September	2006 August	2007 September	2008 February
If V. Putin stayed in the post of President of Russia	44	51	49	47
If V. Putin proposed that the citizens of Russia elect his «successor» (someone close to him)	12	10	12	20
If V. Putin left the post of President of Russia and let the citizens elect the new president without being «prompted»	34	29	28	23
Difficult to answer	10	10	11	10

N=1600

Table 10.2

### What is the main thing you expect from the president you could vote for? (Answers ranked by the first measurement)

	1996 January	1996 April	2000 January	2004 January	2007 October	2008 January
To put an end to the war in Chechnya / Northern Caucasia tensions	59	58	56	43	23	23
To ensure strengthening of law and order	58	53	54	45	51	45
To regain the status of a great and respected power for	54	37	55	58	49	51
To give back to the simple people the money they lost in the course of the reforms	38	39	38	41	38	28
To ensure fair distribution of revenues in the interests of simple people	37	39	43	48	58	41
To strengthen the role of the state in the economy	37	25	37	39	35	34
To continue the reforms but pay more attention to the social protection of the population	35	37	35	38	39	37
To keep Russia on the path of reforms	13	16	12	11	17	15
To pursue the policy aimed at reuniting the former USSR republics	13	12	10	12	13	9
To continue the policy aimed at closer relations with western countries	6	6	8	7	8	6
Difficult to answer	5	4	3	2	3	3

N=1600

Table 10.3

**Should the high ranking state officials, if they run for the presidency, suspend their duties at the office or resign for the period of the election campaign?**

Definitely yes	13
Yes, rather than no	28
No, rather than yes	25
Definitely no	9
Difficult to answer	26

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.4

**It is a general idea, that, since it is obvious about who will win the presidential election, it does not make sense to waste the time and vote. Do you agree with this idea?**

Absolutely agree	14
Agree, rather than don't agree	24
Do not agree, rather than agree	29
Absolutely disagree	24
Difficult to answer	9

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.5

**Will the contenders in the 2008 presidential election really fight for presidency?**

	2005 IV	2005 X	2006 IV	2007 IV	2007 V	2007 IX	2007 X	2008 I	2008 II
Presidential contenders will really fight for presidency	29	29	33	34	29	27	32	37	32
It will be a make-believe fight but the one V. Putin decides on will be accepted as president	57	53	51	49	54	53	54	48	55
Difficult to answer	14	18	17	17	17	20	14	15	14

N=1600

Table 10.6

**Whom do you think it will depend on who will become President of Russia after the elections in March, 2008?**

	2007 May	2008 January
On the present President of Russia V. Putin	41	47
On the presidential administration / the president's closest associates	22	17
On the candidates themselves, their activity and programs	16	7
On the voters' will	15	19
On mass media	-	3
Difficult to answer	6	8

N=1600



Table 10.7

**In your opinion, can you be persecuted for your political beliefs if you do not vote or you vote differently from what the authorities expected from you?**

Definitely yes	4
Yes, rather than no	11
No, rather than yes	35
Definitely no	35
Difficult to answer	16

2008, March; N=1600

## D. MEDVEDEV – SUCCESSOR

Table 10.8

**Should D.Medvedev take part in the televised debates on eve of the presidential election, like any other candidate?**

Should do it	73
Should not do it	14
Difficult to answer	12

2008, January; N=1600

Table 10.9

**D.Medvedev – is the best candidate for the president of Russia from Putin's circle, or you would prefer to see some other person from Putin's circle in his place?**

D.Medvedev – is the best candidate for the president of Russia from Putin's circle	47
I would prefer to see some other person from Putin's circle in D.Medvedev's place	18
Difficult to answer	35

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.10

**How your decision top vote for D.Medvedev was influenced by his work implementing the national projects «Education», «Public health service», «Affordable housing» and «Farming sector»?**

Heavily	47
Averagely	34
Did not influence at all	8
Difficult to answer	11

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.11

**Which of the following qualities  
do you think are predominant in D. Medvedev?**

(The answers are ranged)

Close to V.Putin/V. Putin trusts him	53
Culture/ intelligence	36
Businesslike approach / activity / vitality	31
Education / professional qualities	29
Pleasantness / attractiveness / personal charm	25
Cleverness / talent	21
Seriousness / responsibility	20
Qualities of a leader /he is capable to make other people follow him	12
Honesty/ decency /not corrupted	12
Experience of the political/state activity	11
Will strong/virility	10
Has consecutive political line	9
He is able to compromises/ constructive dialogues	9
Independence	9
Mature / proficiency	7
Other	2
Difficult to answer	18

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.12

**Which of the following qualities  
do you think are D. Medvedev's weak points are?**

(The answers are ranged)

He has recommended nothing himself/ He has not made anything serious	13
He has no experience of the state activity	12
Controllability/dependence	9
He speaks a lot, but does a little	5
Ambition/self-admiration	4
He is «grey»/insensibility	4
He is the official/bureaucrat	4
Passivity/lack of initiative	3
He does not have consecutive political line	3
Irresponsibility/lightness	1
He is unable to compromises/ constructive dialogues	1
Weakness/he has weak will	1
Craftiness/vindictiveness	1
He is connected with mafia/corrupted	1
He is harsh/ violent / has bad manners	0
Other	3
Difficult to answer	63

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.13

**Interests of which groups do you think D. Medvedev promotes**

	2008	2009
	II	II
Putin's closest associates	42	36
Yeltsin's former closest associates, <i>the family</i>	4	5
Oligarchs, bankers, big business	14	25
Top management of large enterprises	10	16
Civil servants, bureaucrats	14	18
The military and law enforcement agencies	16	22
Cultural and academic elite	9	9
The middle class: people with incomes above average	24	24
Intelligentsia	7	7
Common people: white and blue collar workers, farmers	19	13
People from poorest groups	1	1
All people without exception	8	9
Difficult to answer	21	14

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.14

**What forces D. Medvedev will rely on?**

Governors, political elite of the country	45
Oligarchs, bankers, big business	25
Top management of large enterprises	21
Civil servants, bureaucrats	26
The military and law enforcement agencies	38
Cultural and academic elite	11
The middle class: people with incomes above average	16
Intelligentsia	11
Common people: white and blue collar workers, farmers	11
People from poorest groups	1
All people without exception	7
Difficult to answer	17

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.15

**Which of the following statements about D. Medvedev  
are you more likely to agree with?**

We do not know much about D. Medvedev	58
We have learned quite a lot about D. Medvedev in his term of his being the prime minister	27
D. Medvedev is now quite clear to us, both as a person and as a politician	10
Difficult to answer	5

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.16

**In what direction is the political life in Russia will move after D.Medvedev's  
election on a post of the president of Russia?**

Democracy development	50
Formation of authoritarianism, dictatorship	7
Preservation of former (Yeltsin) order	10
Reestablishment of the former soviet order	2
Growth of chaos, anarchy, threat of coup d'etat	2
Difficult to answer	29

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.17

**Would you agree with the view, that regardless of the fact, that D.Medvedev  
is holding the presidency, V.Putin and his circle still hold all the power in  
the country?**

Definitely yes	14
Rather yes	47
Rather no	20
Definitely not	2
Difficult to answer	17

2008 , February; N=1600

Table 10.18

**In your opinion, how long will D.Medvedev stay in the presidential office?**

Incomplete presidential term	9
One complete presidential term	44
Two presidential terms	16
More than two presidential terms	2
Difficult to answer	29

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.19

**How, in your opinion, election of D.Medvedev for the president  
will change the conditions in Russia in the sphere of....**

	Improve significantly	Improve slightly	Will not change	Will change for worse slightly	Will get worse significantly	Difficult to answer
...economy	7	36	33	4	1	19
...order and rule of law in the country	5	29	42	4	1	19
...material wellbeing of the citizens	6	30	36	8	1	18
...inter-ethnic relations	4	24	42	5	1	24
...crime	3	19	48	6	1	23
...corruption	3	19	47	7	2	22
...democratic rights and freedoms	4	23	44	4	1	24
...Russia's position at the global stage	6	26	39	4	1	24

2008, February; N=1600

**D. MEDVEDEV – PRESIDENT**

Table 10.20

**What problems should the new President of Russia  
focus on, in your opinion?**

	2006 April	2008 March
Economic growth, upturn of the economy of the country	73	59
Introducing order in the country, consolidation of law	55	43
Observance of laws by citizens and the power	-	30
Reestablishment of social justice, improving simple people's life	62	53
Strengthening of democracy, protection of rights and freedoms of an individual	13	10
Strengthening the position of Russia on the international arena	19	16
Strengthening the defence capacity of the country	24	14
Development of science, culture, education	31	23
Smoothing out inter-ethnic conflicts, fight with ethnic intolerance	12	8
Fight against crime	39	28
Fight against corruption	-	35
Securing inviolability of private property, stimulating entrepreneurship	7	5
Spiritual rebirth of Russia	17	11
Protection of the environment	16	10
Difficult to answer	1	2

N=1600

Table 10.21

**In your opinion, the Russian presidential election  
on March 2 took part in a climate of...?**

General enthusiasm	33
General indifference	13
No particular sentiment	43
Difficult to answer	11

2008, March; N=1600

Table 10.22

**Who brought D.Medvedev to the post of Russian president:  
the common voters or the people currently in power?**

The common voters	13
The people currently in power	80
Difficult to answer	7

2008, March; N=1600

Table 10.23

**Who will favor from D.Medvedev becoming Russian president:  
the common voters or the people currently in power?**

The common voters	21
The people currently in power	62
Difficult to answer	16

2008, March; N=1600

Table 10.24

**Does D.Medvedev cope with his duties as the president?**

Definitely yes	18
Rather yes	58
Rather no	7
Definitely not	2
Difficult to answer	15

2008, May; N=1600

Table 10.25

**How would you describe your attitude to D. Medvedev?**

	<b>2008 March</b>	<b>2008 May</b>
Admiration	3	3
Liking	23	23
Can't say any bad things about him	39	37
Neutral, indifferent	16	15
Wary, wait-and-see approach	8	10
Can't say anything good about him	4	5
Dislike,	1	1
Disgust	1	0
Difficult to answer	5	6

2008, May; N=1600

Table 10.26

**In your opinion, who will have the actual power in the country when D. Medvedev is elected the president?**

	<b>2008 February</b>	<b>2008 March</b>	<b>2008 April</b>	<b>2008 May</b>
V. Putin's	23	20	22	17
D. Medvedev's	20	21	27	32
They will share the equal power	41	47	36	40
Difficult to answer	16	12	15	11

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.27

**Who should have the actual power in the country now?**

V. Putin's	38
D. Medvedev's	19
They should have the equal power	34
Difficult to answer	8

2008, February; N=1600

Table 10.28

**In your opinion, who have the actual power in the country now?**

	<b>2008 July</b>	<b>2008 August</b>	<b>2008 December</b>	<b>2009 January</b>	<b>2009 February</b>
V. Putin's	9	14	10	11	12
D. Medvedev's	36	26	32	32	34
They share the equal power	47	49	49	50	50
Difficult to answer	8	10	8	8	4

N=1600

Table 10.29

**Will D.Medvedev act independently or under control of V.Putin and his circle?**

	2008 February	2008 April	2008 May
Will act independently	17	22	16
Will act under control of V.Putin and his circle	67	67	75
Difficult to answer	16	11	9

N=1600

Table 10.30

**D.Medvedev will continue / continues V.Putin's policy –  
or does he conduct a completely new policy?**

	2008 II	2008 III	2008 IV	2008 V	2008 VII	2008 VIII	2008 IX	2008 XII	2009 I	2009 II
Will continue / continues the exact V.Putin's policy	25	26	24	21	31	31	30	27	29	38
Will largely continue / continues V.Putin's policy	54	51	55	52	51	55	54	53	55	48
Will gradually change / is changing the political course	10	10	11	11	11	7	8	12	8	8
Will conduct / conducts a completely new policy	1	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1
Difficult to answer	10	10	8	13	5	6	6	5	7	4

N=1600

Table 10.31

**V.Putin can again run for the presidency at the next election. Would like  
to have V.Putin elected the president of Russia at the next election?**

I would like to	55
Would not like to	19
Difficult to answer	26

2008, March; N=1600

Table 10.32

**If D.Medvedev runs for the presidency at the next election (in 2012),  
will you vote for him or will you vote for a different candidate on principle?**

Will vote for D.Medvedev	28
Will vote for a different candidate on principle	14
Depends on the circumstances	41
Difficult to answer	17

2008, August; N=1600



## 11. «CIVIL SOCIETY»

### DEMOCRATS

Table 11.1

**Will the political forces of «democratic attitude» join successfully in a couple of coming years and stand for the next elections united?**

Definitely yes	3
Rather yes	19
Rather no	29
Definitely not	11
Difficult to answer	38

2008, April; N=1600

### OPPOSITION

Table 11.2

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

	2004 May	2005 July	2006 July	2007 June	2008 July
Definitely yes	18	14	11	20	15
Yes, rather than no	24	27	26	33	32
No, rather than yes	25	22	27	14	22
Definitely no	13	13	12	7	13
Difficult to answer	20	24	24	25	19

N=1600

Table 11.3

**Does Russia need a political opposition to the government now?**

	2004 May	2005 July	2006 July	2007 June	2008 July
Definitely yes	32	34	27	25	27
Yes, rather than no	29	30	29	34	34
No, rather than yes	12	9	14	9	14
Definitely no	5	5	6	5	7
Difficult to answer	22	23	24	27	17

N=1600

## PUBLIC CHAMBER

Table 11.4

**Do you think the recently set-up Public Chamber of the Russian Federation will have real political weight or not?**

	2006 February	2006 July	2007 January	2008 February	2009 January
Will have real political weight	19	22	16	17	12
Ornamental body which will have no influence at all	40	40	48	23	23
Don't know anything about the RF Public Chamber	22	21	19	41	51
Difficult to answer	19	17	17	18	14

N=1600

## VIEWS OF RUSSIAN PEOPLE ON SOCIETY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Table 11.5

**Can you say that you feel free?**

	1990	1997	1999	2003	2008
Definitely yes	25	18	14	35	28
Yes, rather than no	15	24	22	31	42
No, rather than yes	30	28	27	21	19
Definitely no	17	19	24	8	4
Difficult to answer	13	10	13	5	7
Number of respondents	1700	1600	2000	2000	1500

N=1600

Table 11.6

**How can you influence things that happen...**

	Fully / significantly		Insignificantly / absolutely no way		Difficult to answer	
	2006	2008	2006	2008	2006	2008
To your family	89	76	8	21	2	3
To your children	-*	59	-*	26	-*	15
To the place you live in	32	44	64	52	4	4
To your city, village, region	8	8	86	88	6	4
To your country	3	4	90	91	7	5

\* In 2006 the alternative was not set

N=1600

Table 11.7

**In your opinion, in the last 5 years have the Russian society  
got more or less ...?**

	<b>Definitely more</b>	<b>Rather more</b>	<b>Rather less</b>	<b>Definitely less</b>	<b>Difficult to answer</b>
...freedom	17	49	17	4	14
...justice	2	24	45	19	10
...solidarity of people	3	19	46	22	10
...law	3	27	40	19	11
...order	3	32	36	22	8
...mutual trust	1	14	47	27	11
...civic engagement	4	22	35	25	15

2008, June; N=1600

Table 11.8

**Would you agree with the following statement:  
You can trust nobody nowadays except for the hostages to fortune?**

	<b>1994 November</b>	<b>2001 January</b>	<b>2008 June</b>
Absolutely agree	38	41	33
Agree, rather than don't agree	36	37	40
Do not agree, rather than agree	14	16	19
Absolutely disagree	4	4	3
Difficult to answer	7	3	5
Number of respondents	3000	1600	1600

N=1600

Table 11.9

**Which statement would you rather agree with?**

	<b>1989</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>
You can trust people	52	34	23	22	26	26	26
You should take heed of people	41	42	74	76	72	68	70
Difficult to answer	6	24	4	2	2	5	5
Number of respondents	1400	2400	1700	1800	1600	2000	2000

Table 11.10

**Do/does... treat you mostly right or wrong in your life?**

	<b>Mostly right</b>	<b>Mostly wrong</b>	<b>Difficult to answer</b>
Your family	84	11	5
Your teachers, lecturers	78	15	8
Your colleagues	75	14	11
Your superiors	57	30	14
Officials, public authorities	24	43	33

2008, June; N=1600

Table 11.11

**Do people in Russia have sufficient freedom,  
too little freedom or too much freedom?**

	<b>1990 November</b>	<b>1997 May</b>	<b>2007 July</b>	<b>2008 July</b>
Too little freedom	38	20	12	18
Sufficient freedom	30	32	57	56
Too much freedom	17	34	24	20
Difficult to answer	16	14	6	7

N=1600

Table 11.12

**Is a person morally responsible for  
the policy of his/her country in the past?**

Certainly, he/she is	9
Anywise, he/she is	29
Certainly, he/she is not	50
Difficult to answer	12

2008, July; N=1500

Table 11.13

**Is a person morally responsible for the actions of his/her government?**

	<b>1989</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>
Certainly, he/she is	15	8	9	9	5	11	10	7
Anywise, he/she is	29	31	38	31	14	35	45	31
Certainly, he/she is not	30	42	45	43	70	44	37	50
Difficult to answer	27	19	8	17	11	10	9	12
Number of respondents	1500	3000	1500	2000	1600	2000	1600	1500

Table 11.14

**Is a person morally responsible for operation of his/her business?**

	<b>1989</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2008</b>
Certainly, he/she is	46	20	25	27	31	24	26
Anywise, he/she is	39	49	51	46	52	49	48
Certainly, he/she is not	5	17	17	14	11	20	19
Difficult to answer	9	13	6	13	6	7	8
Number of respondents	1500	3000	1500	2000	1600	2000	1500

Table 11.15

**Is a person morally responsible for actions  
of people belonging to the same ethnic group?**

	1989	1998	1999	2003	2008
Certainly, he/she is	18	14	10	12	11
Anywise, he/she is	29	36	34	38	33
Certainly, he/she is not	27	39	35	40	44
Difficult to answer	26	11	21	10	13
Number of respondents	1500	1500	2000	2000	1500

Table 11.16

**Is a person morally responsible for the events in his/her country?**

	1989	1994	1998	1999	2001	2003	2006	2008
Certainly, he/she is	20	9	11	10	11	12	11	10
Anywise, he/she is	38	35	43	40	43	45	50	45
Certainly, he/she is not	18	33	34	27	39	33	29	32
Difficult to answer	23	23	12	23	8	10	10	13
Number of respondents	1500	3000	1500	2000	1600	2000	1600	1500

Table 11.17

**Is a person morally responsible for the actions of his/her near of kin?**

	1989	1994	1998	1999	2003	2008
Certainly, he/she is	44	39	44	42	43	44
Anywise, he/she is	32	42	43	43	43	41
Certainly, he/she is not	14	11	9	9	9	11
Difficult to answer	11	8	4	6	5	4
Number of respondents	1500	3000	1500	2000	2000	1500

Table 11.18

**Is a person morally responsible for the future of his/her children?**

	1999	2008
Certainly, he/she is	88	79
Anywise, he/she is	9	17
Certainly, he/she is not	1	2
Difficult to answer	2	2
Number of respondents	2000	1500

Table 11.19

**Is a person morally responsible for the actions of his/her ancestors?**

	1989	2008
Certainly, he/she is	7	10
Anywise, he/she is	10	29
Certainly, he/she is not	62	51
Difficult to answer	22	10
Number of respondents	1500	1500

Table 11.20

**In your opinion, what type of state ensures more freedom?**

State that provides its citizens with comprehensive care, extended guarantees and regulates economy	78
State that mostly keeps out of economic affairs and provides its citizens with minimum social protection	14
Difficult to answer	9

2008, June; N=1600

Table 11.21

**What is your primary understanding of word «freedom»?**

	2006 December	2008 June
Right to speak free in Mass Media and demonstrations, hold public activities	29	28
Right to unite in social and political organizations based on your interests without state intervention	24	26
Right to criticize authorities on all the levels	26	36
Right to practice any religion	20	23
Right to move free and live anywhere in the country and beyond	35	40
Right to do what one wants except harming or injuring others	33	34
Containment of power abuse by state and officials on different strata	17	31
Difficult to answer	7	6

N=1600

Table 11.22

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

Definitely yes	7
Yes, rather than no	21
No, rather than yes	30
Definitely no	33
Difficult to answer	9

2008, June; N=1600

Table 11.23

**In your opinion, most social movements and initiatives  
in modern Russian society are caused...**

By citizens, at grassroots initiative, regardless of authorities or other political forces	14
On the initiative of the authority	32
On the initiative of other political forces opposed to the authority	21
By outside forces holding stake in a particular development scenario for Russia	11
Difficult to answer	22

2008, June; N=1600

Table 11.24

**Which view of street meetings and demonstrations you would rather share?**

Street meetings and demonstrations are standard democratic means that citizens use to get what they want, and authorities may not prohibit them	55
If street meetings and demonstrations disturb people around or incite riots, authorities should prohibit them	32
Difficult to answer	12

2008, May; N=1600

Table 11.25

**What keeps people from combining their efforts, acting jointly  
to tackle their problems and issues of social significance?**

Most people are not able to unite, negotiate, reach the consensus	20
Most people do not have organizational skills, experience to meet real challenges	23
Most people do not have power (weigh, influence) enough to meet real challenges	20
Most people are tired, exhausted. They have neither the resources nor spare time	25
Most people are lazy, passive and spiritless	18
Most people pursue their self-interest and do not care about the problems of others	18
Most people are indifferent and do not care about other people's problems	29
Most people give no credit to social active people, think that they have an interest	15
Most people do not believe that such an activity can lead to any significant result	31
Most people prefer to dissociate from any unofficial activities not supported by the authorities	8
Most people fear to be persecuted by the government	14
Difficult to answer	7

2008, June; N=1600

## 12. AUTHORITIES AND BUSINESS

Table 12.1

**Is the overall activity of large Russian business  
beneficial or harmful for Russia at present?**

	<b>2003 August</b>	<b>2005 August</b>	<b>2006 August</b>	<b>2007 August</b>	<b>2008 June</b>
Definitely beneficial	9	9	9	8	8
Beneficial, rather than harmful	28	30	34	36	37
Harmful, rather than beneficial	35	32	32	28	27
Definitely harmful	16	17	12	12	11
Difficult to answer	12	13	13	16	17

N=1600

Table 12.2

**Can you agree that tycoons in Russia exert absolute power nowadays;  
do what they want?**

	<b>2004 January</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Absolutely agree	63	46
Agree, rather than don't agree	21	35
Do not agree, rather than agree	8	10
Absolutely disagree	3	2
Difficult to answer	5	7

N=1600

### M. KHODORKOVSKY

Table 12.3

**Which of the following opinions is closest to yours?**

	<b>2007 April</b>	<b>2008 April</b>
M. Khodorkovsky's case is unique in Russia	13	11
Any businessman can be deprived of his business and property and sent to prison if the authorities wish so	40	35
Neither	13	19
Difficult to answer	35	35

N=1600



Table 12.4

**Do you sympathize with M. Khodorkovsky?**

	2004		2005				2006				2007		2008		2009
	IX	XII	V	IX	X	XII	I	III	V	XI	II	IV	IV	VII	III
Definitely yes	2	7	6	5	5	5	4	3	4	4	5	5	4	4	2
Yes, rather than no	12	14	12	13	11	20	16	11	16	10	13	15	17	17	10
No, rather than yes	35	30	27	33	25	33	28	32	34	30	30	28	32	28	29
Definitely no	28	28	36	34	44	26	28	37	25	32	33	27	21	27	34
Difficult to answer	23	22	20	15	15	16	24	17	21	24	19	26	27	25	25

N=1600

Table 12.5

**If M. Khodorkovsky decided to run for President of Russia, would you vote for him?**

	2006					2007		2008
	I	III	V	VIII	XI	IV	VI	I
Definitely yes	1	1	2	3	3	1	2	2
Yes, rather than no	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	6
No, rather than yes	26	20	25	22	20	22	21	18
Definitely no	52	63	51	59	56	56	60	58
Difficult to answer	16	11	18	13	17	16	14	16

N=1600

### 13. MASS MEDIA, FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Table 13.1

**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
Quite	38	26	27	23	24	24	25	26	30	23	22	26	24	24	25	28
Not quite	40	48	38	47	47	44	44	44	47	44	46	45	45	43	39	40
Not at all	6	10	17	17	17	18	19	18	17	21	22	18	18	21	22	18
Difficult to answer	16	16	18	12	12	14	12	12	6	12	10	11	13	12	14	14

N=2100

Table 13.2

**In your opinion, should the government  
have absolute control over TV coverage of social and political events?  
Do they need independent TV broadcasting channels?**

The government should have absolute control over TV coverage of social and political events	31
There should be TV broadcasting channels independent from the government and covering social and political events at home and abroad	60
Difficult to answer	9

2008, January; N=1600

Table 13.3

**Which of the following opinions is closer to you?**

	2002 April	2007 April	2008 April
Any censorship is inadmissible. It is for the person to decide what to read and view	24	19	18
The state should ban books and films which insult morals	43	43	44
Questionable books and films should be restricted, not banned	32	35	34
Difficult to answer	2	3	5

N=1600

Table 13.4

**Do you think the mass media are free from government control  
now or are they controlled by the state?**

	2006 July	2008 July
Absolutely free	12	12
Mostly free	31	34
Mostly controlled	36	35
Fully controlled	12	10
Difficult to answer	9	9

2008, July; N=1600

Table 13.5

**Do you think that Russian Mass Media furnish objective coverage of contestants for Russian presidency during elections?**

Definitely yes	11
Yes, rather than no	38
No, rather than yes	29
Definitely no	11
Difficult to answer	12

2008, February; N=1600

Table 13.6

**Would you like to see election debates with all the Russian presidential candidates as participants?**

Definitely yes	23
Yes, rather than no	38
No, rather than yes	20
Definitely no	10
Difficult to answer	9

2008, February; N=1600

Table 13.7

**Central television and radio provided all the candidates with equal opportunities to express their views before elections, or did they give some candidate greater preference? Who in particular?**

Andrey Bogdanov	1
Vladimir Zhirinovsky	3
Gennady Zyuganov	2
Dmitri Medvedev	27
Everyone had equal opportunities	52
Difficult to answer	17

2008, March; N=1600

## 14. HUMAN RIGHTS

Table 14.1

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

	1997 April	2007 April	2008 April
Order in the country	60	54	51
Observance of human rights	27	36	39
Difficult to answer	13	10	10

N=1600

Table 14.2

**In your opinion, what rights are not respected or violated in Russia today?**

	1998	2008
Right to free education, health care	42	53
Guaranteed occupation and compensation for work	61	40
Right to housing	16	30
Right to life, security	41	26
Right to guaranteed minimum wage	29	26
Right to social security	27	24
Inviolability of person and residence	13	14
Right to property	9	13
Free choice of residence	4	6
Right to freedom of expression and speech	2	4
Right to elect one's representatives for bodies of power	2	4
Right to leave one's country (and come back)	2	3
Right to information	2	3
Right of conscience and religious freedom	2	2
Difficult to answer	5	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 14.3

**In your opinion, are you able to defend your interests and rights  
in Russia if they've been violated?**

Definitely yes	3
Yes, rather than no	22
No, rather than yes	37
Definitely no	25
Difficult to answer	13

2008, June; N=1600

Table 14.4

**If your superiors at your current or future job commit gross violation of your labor rights, what would you rather do?**

Nothing, I will live with that	11
I will transfer	35
I will address trade union organization	6
I will litigate the decision	22
I will go to Mass Media	2
I will go to extremes (hunger strike, protests)	2
I am no employed and I am not going to work	11
Difficult to answer	11

2008, June; N=1600

Table 14.5

**Do you agree with the following statement: «If I have guaranteed sufficient salary and high retirement benefits, I can waive my right to speech and freedom to go abroad»?**

	2002 April	2008 April
Absolutely agree	26	16
Agree, rather than don't agree	17	22
Do not agree, rather than agree	23	25
Absolutely disagree	25	27
Difficult to answer	9	11

N=1600

Table 14.6

**In your opinion, if the court reviews a case of the common citizen against public officer, in whose favor will be the court ruling?**

	2005 August	2008 June
By justice, according to the law	8	13
They would rather rule in favor of the public officer, no matter who is actually right	34	35
In any case, in favor of the public officer, no matter who is actually right	28	22
In favor of that person who will give greater bribe, no matter who is actually right	22	18
Difficult to answer	9	12

N=1600

Table 14.7

**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
The Constitution guarantees the rights and freedoms of the citizens	12	21	14	21	31	22
The Constitution maintains some order in the activity of the state	20	22	25	22	30	30
The Constitution is a tool allowing the President of Russia to have control over all other government bodies	11	7	11	15	10	11
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
Difficult to answer	12	10	8	7	9	10

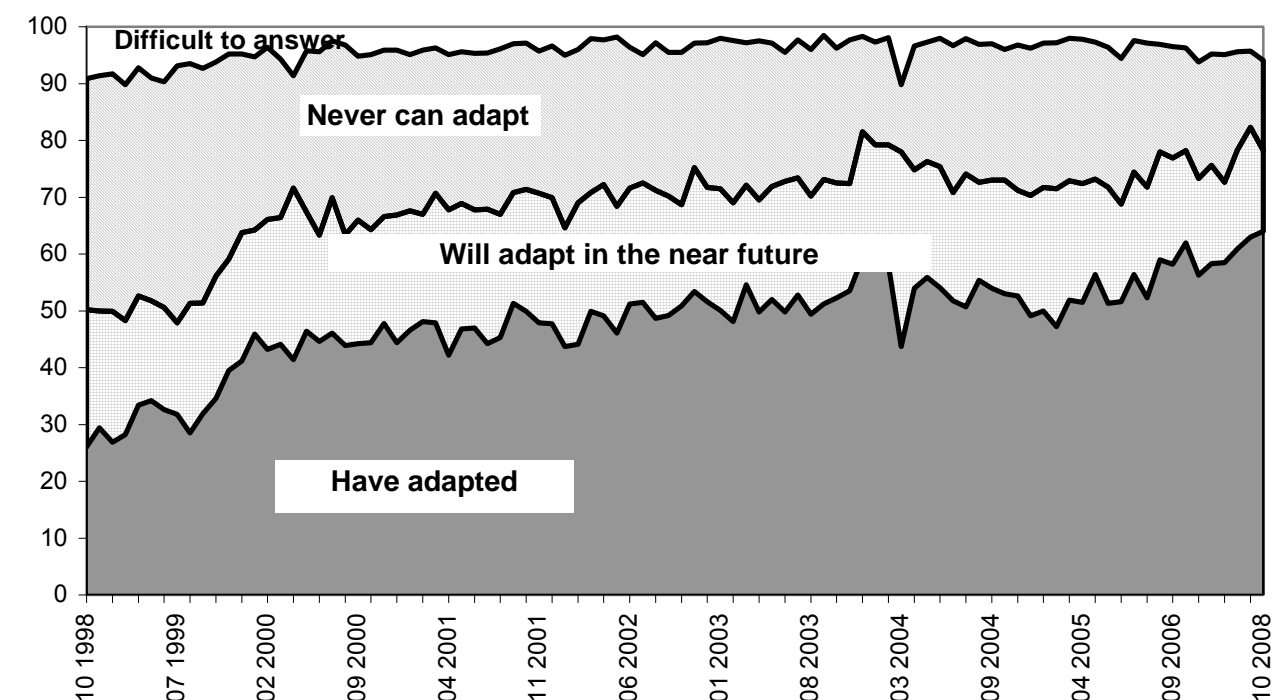
N=1600

## 15. FAMILY

### DAILY ISSUES

Diagramm 15.1

**Have you, your family adapted to the changes in the country that have happened of late years?**



N=1600

Table 15.1

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

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
Low incomes, lack of money	72	73	73	66	71	61	60
Fear of losing a job	15	15	20	16	14	17	14
Poor health, problems with medical treatment	35	30	30	32	35	31	32
Bad dwelling	15	12	12	14	12	18	13
Every-day live difficulties	20	19	21	21	20	20	21
Impossibility of giving good education to children	10	11	11	10	11	9	7
Bad relation within the family	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Drinking or drug addiction of a family members	4	2	3	2	3	3	2
Fatigue and exhaustion	13	16	12	15	16	16	16
Hopelessness and absence of prospects in life	13	15	18	12	13	15	12
Lack of free time	9	8	9	10	10	11	13
Difficult to answer	5	6	7	7	5	9	12

N=2100

## FAMILY RELATIONS

Table 15.2

### For what are you primarily grateful to your parents?

(The responses are ranked by first poll)

	1989	1999	2008
Life	51	57	35
Example to follow in your life	38	29	31
Emotional support	34	28	18
Upbringing, education	27	28	22
Personality traits	23	18	14
Material aid	19	20	13
Occupation, training	12	16	13
Freedom	10	5	2
Circle of friends and your family	3	2	2
Comfort and safety	3	5	5
Acquisition of faith in God	2	4	2
Endurance, survivability, adaptive capacity	-	-	11
Business ties, connections	1	1	1
Optimism, self-confidence	-	-	5
Nothing to be grateful for	2	2	1
I don't know. I do not remember my parents	2	1	1
Difficult to answer	4	3	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 15.3

### What would you like to pass, develop in your children or grandchildren?

(The responses are ranked by first poll)

	1999	2008
Upbringing, education	37	26
Occupation, training	34	22
Sincere delicacy / warm-hearted support	34	17
Material aid, support	32	18
Example to follow in your life	24	24
Life	19	35
Safety	18	10
Personality traits	15	12
Internal freedom/ freedom	9	3
Faith in God	7	4
Business ties, connections	5	2
Circle of friends and your family	3	2
Endurance, survivability, adaptive capacity	-	10
Optimism, self-confidence	-	17
I have nothing to pass	2	0.5
Difficult to answer	13	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 15.4

**What steps do you or members of your family take to improve your financial situation?**

	<b>1993 March</b>	<b>2008 July</b>
We do nothing for that	17	17
We are looking for a well-paid job	14	28
We have alternative job (part-time work, contract work, employment on verbal agreement basis, etc.)	22	29
We moonlight anyway (trading on the street, odd-jobbing, etc.)	11	14
We are trying to do everything ourselves (till our summer cottage plot, garden, build, repair, sew)	60	38
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 15.5

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

	<b>1991 VI</b>	<b>1992 II</b>	<b>1992 XI</b>	<b>1999 II</b>	<b>2002 II</b>	<b>2004 IV</b>	<b>2004 XII</b>	<b>2005 I</b>	<b>2006 III</b>	<b>2006 VIII</b>	<b>2007 IV</b>	<b>2007 VIII</b>	<b>2008 IV</b>
Less than a half	6	3	4	5	6	11	14	14	17	15	19	18	18
About a half	20	18	15	15	24	32	33	32	35	37	38	36	39
About two thirds	40	21	24	21	29	28	28	29	27	29	25	26	23
Almost all	30	55	56	55	37	27	23	22	17	16	14	13	14
Difficult to answer	5	3	1	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	8	5

1991, N=1300; 1992-2008, N=1600

Table 15.6

**Do you earn enough now to support yourself and your family?**

	<b>1992 January</b>	<b>2008 April</b>
Generally yes	19	40
Generally no	59	48
Difficult to answer	21	12

N=1600

Table 15.7

**What type of income do you count on most of all when you think of your family's future?**

	<b>1991 June</b>	<b>1993 January</b>	<b>2008 April</b>
On salary, retirement benefit, scholarship	75	76	84
On fringe earnings	-	10	18
On trading, business income	8	6	4
On our own savings	9	1	5
On the aid from your relatives	5	3	10
On public relief, material assistance of charitable organizations	5	1	7
Difficult to answer		3	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>



## HOUSING

Table 15.8

### How would you evaluate your current living conditions?

	2002 August	2002 December	2003 August	2004 August	2005 August	2006 August	2007 July	2008 August
Very good	4	2	3	2	2	3	2	3
Rather good	27	23	25	23	22	27	26	27
Average	48	52	48	50	50	49	50	51
Rather bad	13	13	16	14	17	14	15	13
Very bad	8	8	7	10	8	7	7	6
Difficult to answer	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1

N=1600

## VOCATION

Table 15.9

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

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

N=1600

## 16. READING AND THE INTERNET

### FREQUENCY AND ACTIVITY OF READING TODAY

Diagramm 16.1

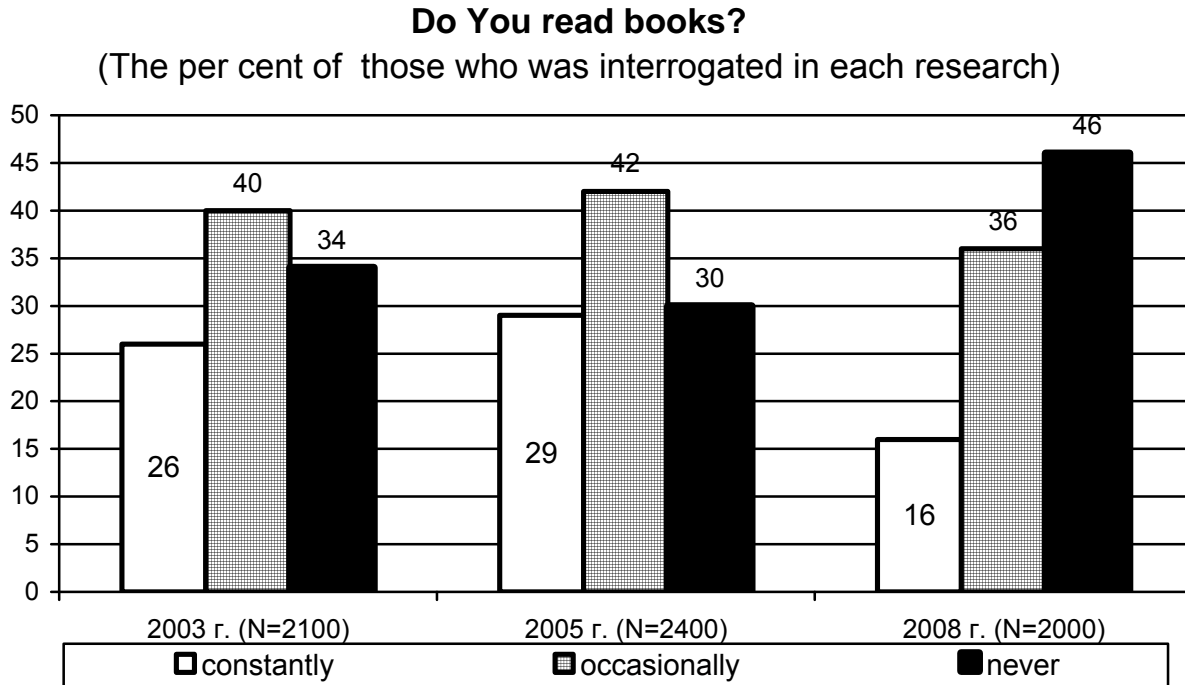


Diagramm 16.2

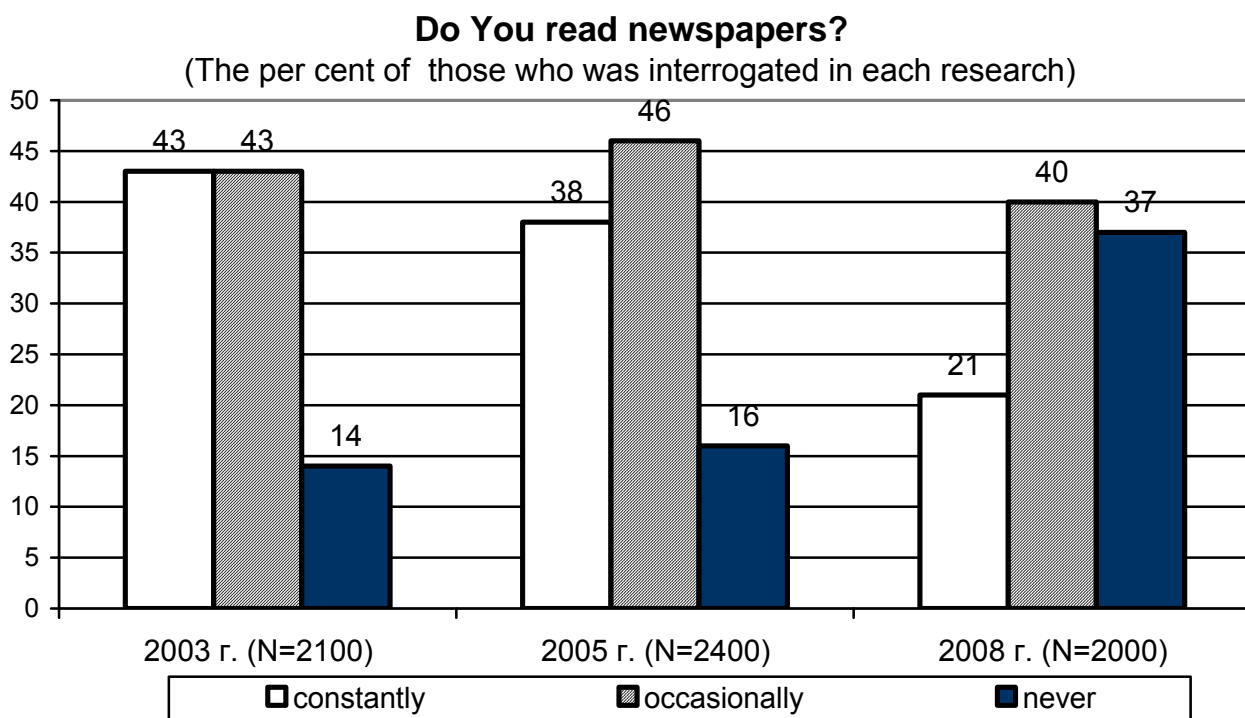
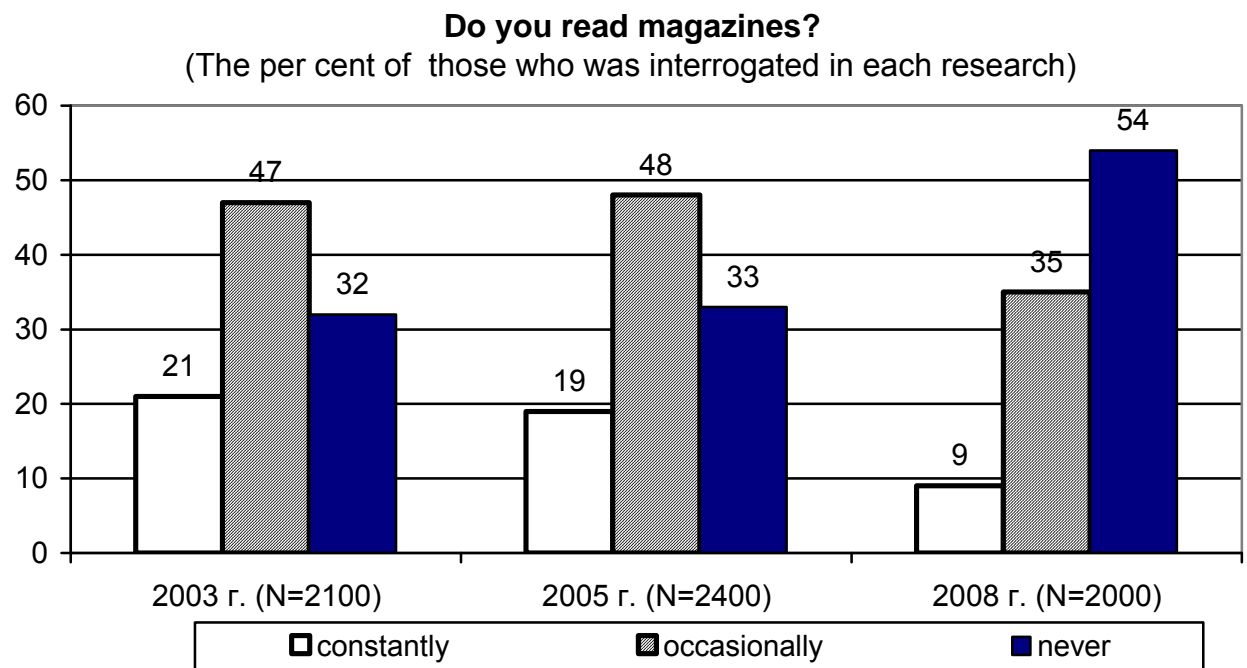


Diagramm 16.3



## HOME LIBRARIES

Table 16.1

**Approximately, how many books are there in your home library?**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000	2002	2005	2008
Do not have books at home	24	28	27	32	34	30	27	24
Up to 100 books	34	34	37	35	35	37	37	39
100-300 books	21	22	21	20	18	21	21	21
300-500 books	11	8	9	7	8	7	8	10
500-1000 books	6	5	4	3	3	3	4	4
Over 1000 books	4	2	2	2	2	1	3	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2400</i>	<i>2400</i>	<i>2400</i>	<i>2400</i>	<i>2400</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>2400</i>	<i>2000</i>

Table 16.2

### Use of libraries

	1999	2003	2005	2008
People use one or several libraries	18	18	24	23
Never use any library	82	68	76	77
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2400</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>2400</i>	<i>2000</i>

## READING AND LEISURE

Table 16.3

**How often do you ...**  
(in % to relevant group by the line)

	Once a week and more often	1–3 times a month	Less than once a month	Actually never
Go to the movies	6	11	23	61
Go to the theatre, to the concert	3	7	27	64
Go to a party or give a party	40	33	21	7
Meet with your friends outdoors	51	22	18	9

2008, July; N=1500

Table 16.4

**How often do you do anything from mentioned below...**

(in percentage to the corresponding group in a line,  
answers are ranged according to the first column)

	Everyday	Once a week and more often	One – three times a month	Rarely than once a month	Hardly ever
Watch TV	83	13	1	1	2
Listen to the radio	42	22	3	9	24
Read newspapers	19	56	9	6	9
Read fiction	14	26	17	22	20
Read magazines	6	39	22	16	17

2008, July; N=1500

## THE INTERNET

Table 16.5

**Do you personally use a PC (at home, at work, in any other place)?**  
**If you do, how often do you use it?**

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Never	87	83	81	78	77	71	65	64
Every day, several times a week	5	11	12	14	16	18	24	25
About once a week	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	6
2-3 times a month	2	1	2	1	1	3	2	2
About once a month	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Less often than once a month	2	1	1	2	2	2	3	2

N=2100

## 17. RELIGION

Table 17.1

### How trustworthy is the church, religious organizations?

	1997 IX	1998 III	1999 IX	2000 IX	2001 IX	2002 IX	2003 IX	2004 IX	2005 IX	2006 IX	2007 III	2007 IX	2008 III
Quite trustworthy	38	35	37	38	38	40	40	43	44	40	42	41	40
Not quite trustworthy	22	20	20	21	21	22	20	22	23	21	17	19	25
Not trustworthy at all	11	13	12	12	12	10	10	8	11	11	12	12	10
Difficult to answer	30	32	31	28	28	28	31	27	22	28	29	27	25

N=2100

Table 17.2

### What religion do you profess?

	2007 October	2008 February
No religion	16	16
Orthodox	69	70
Catholic	1	1
Protestant (including the baptist, The evangelist, the Lutheran, etc.)	0,3	0,4
Judaism	0	0,1
Muslim	6	7
The Buddhism	0	0,1
I am the atheist	6	5
Difficult to answer	2	2

N=1600

Table 17.3

### How often do you attend religious services?

	2003 July	2007 September	2008 January
Several times a week	1	1	0,2
Once a week	1	2	1
Two-three times a month	2	2	2
About once a month	3	3	4
Several times a year	20	24	14
Once a year	10	10	15
Less than once a year	18	18	19
Never	46	39	38

N=1600

Table 17.4

**Would you describe yourself as ...**

	<b>1998 December</b>	<b>2000 June</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
Very religious	6	6	5
Somewhat religious	42	45	37
Somewhat non-religious	27	26	33
Very non-religious	19	20	20
Depends on circumstances	-	2	2
Don't know\ Difficult to answer	5	1	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.5

**Please indicate which statement below comes closest to expressing what you believe about God.**

	<b>1991 June</b>	<b>1998 September</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
I don't believe in God	18	19	10
I don't know whether there is a God and I don't believe there is any way to find out	18	11	9
I don't believe in a personal God, but I do believe in a Higher Power of some kind	18	13	11
I find myself believing in God some of the time, but not at others	11	12	14
While I have doubts, I feel that I do believe in God	15	16	21
I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it	14	24	32
Difficult to answer	5	5	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.6

**About how often do you pray?**

	<b>1991 June</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
Never	69	34
Several times a day	5	7
Once a day	6	9
Several times a week	2	7
Every week	1	3
Nearly every week	1	5
2-3 times a month	2	6
About once a month	2	5
Several times a year	4	9
About once or twice a year	2	4
Less than once a year	2	5
Difficult to answer	4	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.7

**Do you believe in life after death?**

	<b>1991 June</b>	<b>1998 September</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
Definitely yes	15	12	20
Probably yes	18	19	25
No, probably not	21	20	22
No, definitely not	30	26	20
Difficult to answer	16	23	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.8

**Do you believe in a devil?**

	<b>1991 June</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
Definitely yes	11	16
Probably yes	14	24
No, probably not	20	24
No, definitely not	37	22
Difficult to answer	17	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.9

**Do you believe in heaven?**

	<b>1991 June</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
Definitely yes	14	20
Probably yes	15	25
No, probably not	20	21
No, definitely not	32	19
Difficult to answer	19	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.10

**Do you believe in hell?**

	<b>1991 June</b>	<b>1998 September</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
Definitely yes	11	10	17
Probably yes	13	15	24
No, probably not	21	22	22
No, definitely not	35	30	22
Difficult to answer	20	23	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.11

**Do you believe in religious miracles?**

	1991 June	1998 September	2008 January
Definitely yes	17	10	22
Probably yes	16	19	27
No, probably not	19	20	19
No, definitely not	30	29	19
Difficult to answer	18	22	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.12

**Do you believe in signs?**

	1990 March	1992 April	1998 December	2000 January	2006 February	2008 January
Yes	51	51	56	57	54	63
No	26	23	36	39	41	31
Difficult to answer	23	26	8	4	5	6

N=1600

Table 17.13

**Do you believe in prophetic dreams?**

	1992 April	1998 December	2000 January	2006 February	2008 January
Yes	44	49	51	43	59
No	29	39	44	52	33
Difficult to answer	27	12	5	5	8

N=1600

Table 17.14

**Whether you trust predictions of astrologists?**

	1992 January	1997 January	1998 December	2000 January	2006 February	2008 January
Yes	32	32	30	33	30	33
No	38	54	55	57	63	54
Difficult to answer	30	14	15	10	7	14

N=1600

Table 17.15

**Do you believe in «an eternal life»?**

	1992 April	1998 December	2000 January	2006 February	2007 December	2008 January
Yes	20	22	21	16	20	29
No	43	60	66	72	62	56
Difficult to answer	37	18	13	12	18	15

N=1600



Table 17.16

**Do you believe that on the earth there are aliens?**

	1992 April	1998 December	2000 January	2006 February	2008 January
Yes	35	27	31	21	33
No	28	49	55	63	47
Difficult to answer	37	14	14	16	20

N=1600

Table 17.17

**Do you think that churches and religious organizations in this country have too much power or too little power?**

Far too much power	4
Too much power	14
About the right amount of power	45
Too little power	11
Far too little power	7
Difficult to answer	19

2008, January; N=1600

Table 17.18

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

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

N=1600

## 18. ETHNIC ISSUES

Table 18.1

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

	2005 November	2006 April	2006 November	2007 April	2008 December
Definitely yes	5	4	7	4	7
Yes, rather than no	21	18	23	18	20
No, rather than yes	44	44	40	46	41
Definitely no	26	30	24	27	24
Difficult to answer	4	4	6	5	7

N=1600

Table 18.2

### What do you personally feel about people who come from Southern republics but live in your city, district?

	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI	2007 XI	2008 XII
Respect	3	5	3	4	3	6	4
Sympathy	5	4	4	4	3	5	4
Irritation	25	18	23	18	19	16	14
Dislike	28	23	24	15	23	18	14
Fear	5	4	4	3	3	4	2
No special feelings	39	45	46	56	52	54	61
Difficult to answer	4	4	4	3	2	3	2

N=1600

Table 18.3

### Are mass bloody inter-ethnic clashes possible in Russia now?

	2002 July	2007 July	2008 October
Definitely yes	12	13	10
Yes, rather than no	37	37	29
No, rather than yes	30	32	32
Definitely no	12	8	18
Difficult to answer	10	10	10

N=1600

Table 18.4

**Are bloody inter-ethnic clashes possible now in the place where you live?**

	2002 July	2007 July	2008 October
Definitely yes	5	6	4
Yes, rather than no	19	16	16
No, rather than yes	43	46	41
Definitely no	25	22	30
Difficult to answer	9	10	10

N=1600

Table 18.5

**Do you at present feel hostility...**

	From people of another ethnic origin						Towards people of another ethnic origin					
	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Very often	2	4	3	2	4	3	3	4	4	3	3	2
Quite often	8	10	9	8	11	9	9	13	9	8	9	8
Rarely	29	29	26	27	29	26	29	29	25	27	32	32
Never/ Practically never	60	56	61	60	53	58	59	53	60	59	53	55
Difficult to answer	2	1	2	3	3	4	1	2	2	3	3	4

N=1600

Table 18.6

**What is your attitude to the idea «Russia for [ethnically] Russians»?**

	1998	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	XII	I	XI	XII	VII	XII	XI	XI	VIII	X
I support it, it should have been put into practice long ago	13	15	16	16	21	16	16	15	14	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
Negative, it is pure fascism	30	27	20	26	18	25	23	26	27	25
I am not interested	14	12	11	9	7	12	12	12	11	12
Never think about it	6	6	6	8	14	5	7	8	-	-
Difficult to answer	7	6	5	3	8	4	5	4	7	7

\* - In 2007 and 2008 the alternative was not set

N=1600

## ATTITUDE TO IMMIGRANTS

Table 18.7

**What is your attitude to the fact there a lot of workers from Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova and other countries of former USSR on the construction sites of Russia?**

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

N=1600

Table 18.8

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

	2002 June	2004 August	2005 September	2006 August	2007 August	2008 October
Should try to restrict the influx of migrants	45	54	59	52	57	52
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
Difficult to answer	11	7	6	9	11	13

N=1600

Table 18.9

**What should be done with illegal immigrants from the countries of the former Soviet Union?**

	2006 November	2007 November	2008 December
Provide them with jobs and normal living conditions in Russia obliging them to abide by Russian laws and pay taxes	31	35	25
Expel them from Russia	53	50	54
Difficult to answer	16	15	21

N=1600

## 19. RUSSIA AND THE CIS COUNTRIES

Table 19.1

**Which form of relations between  
the former USSR republics would you support?**

	2002 December	2003 November	2006 November	2007 November	2008 November
Reestablishment of the USSR as it used to be	21	25	18	16	13
Maintaining the CIS in its current shape	12	10	17	12	15
Forming closer unions of several republics if they wish to do so	29	25	23	23	28
Closer union of the former USSR republics like the European Union	20	19	19	23	21
Independent existence of all the republics	10	12	12	17	14
Difficult to answer	8	9	12	10	10

N=1600

Table 19.2

**What do you think the future of the CIS is going to be like?**

	1998 XII	1999 XII	2000 XII	2001 XI	2002 XII	2003 XI	2004 XII	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 IV	2008 XI
Integration, strengthening of ties between the countries	23	29	24	24	22	25	25	12	21	14	19
Long and difficult search for consensus	33	31	38	34	36	32	33	37	37	35	36
Aggravation of conflicts between the countries	8	10	9	10	12	13	9	16	11	12	14
Collapse of the CIS	13	12	11	16	14	9	16	18	12	16	11
Difficult to answer	23	18	18	17	16	21	17	17	19	24	21

N=1600

Table 19.3

**In your opinion, what principled stand should Russia maintain on ethnic conflicts in other countries of the former USSR?**

Assertively get involved in these conflicts engaging armed forces to settle them	6
Do not interfere with these events and keep neutral	39
Employ diplomatic methods to reach peace deals between the adversaries at the negotiation table	47
Difficult to answer	8

2008, May; N=1600

## UKRAINE

Table 19.4

**What of the following views on relations  
between Russian and Ukraine would you rather agree with?**

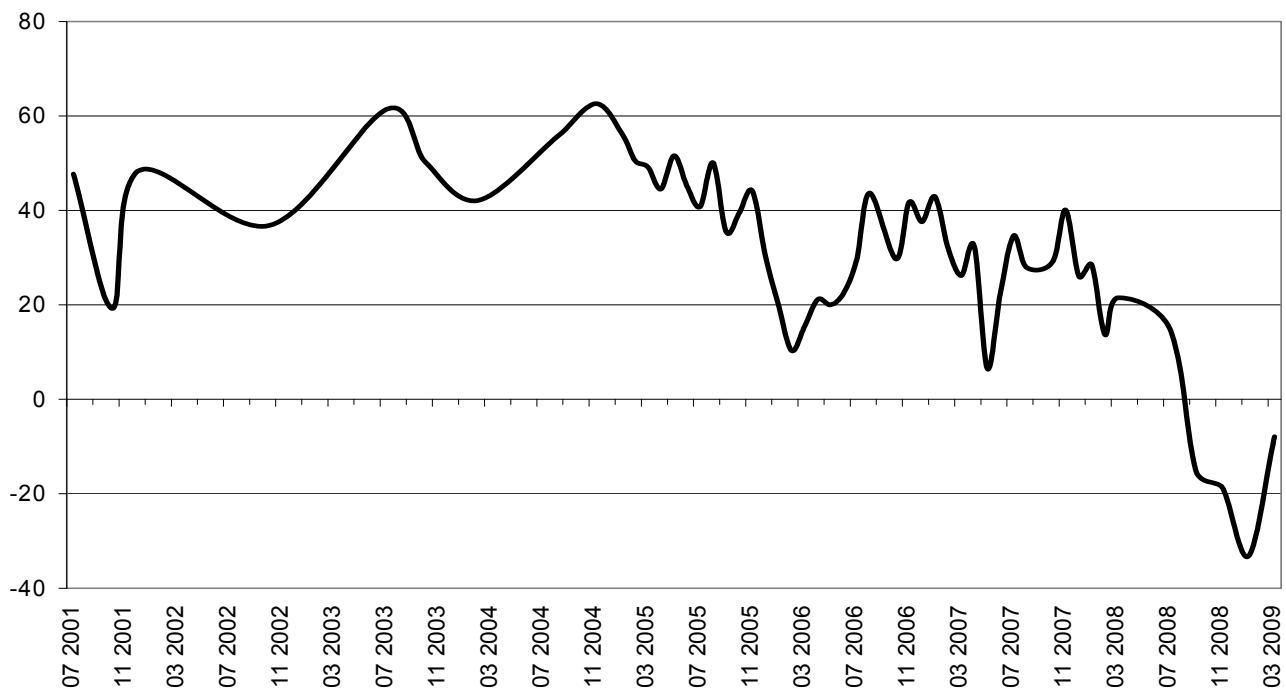
	2008 March	2008 September	2009 January
Relations between Russia and Ukraine should be the same as with other countries – with closed borders, visas, customs	19	24	29
Russia and Ukraine should be independent but friendly states – with open borders, no visas and no customs	56	52	51
Russia and Ukraine shall unite to make one state	19	13	12
Difficult to answer	6	11	8

2008, March; N=1600

Diagramm 19.1

### Index of attitude to Ukraine

(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)



N=1600

Table 19.5

**How would you describe overall the current relations  
between Russia and Ukraine?**

	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007	2007	2008	2009
	V	X	X	VIII	II	IX	X	VIII	I
Friendly	7	8	7	3	5	4	5	1	1
Good, good neighbourly	18	22	10	9	11	6	8	2	1
Normal, calm	31	38	27	27	31	23	9	12	7
Cool	27	19	30	35	35	35	22	36	20
Tense	12	8	19	19	13	22	33	36	48
Hostile	1	2	2	2	2	6	15	10	19
Difficult to answer	4	4	5	5	3	4	4	4	4

N=1600

Table 19.6

**In what direction is Ukraine moving now?**

	2005 November	2007 November	2008 November
Gradually getting closer with Russia	10	8	5
Gradually getting closer with countries of the West (the European Union, the USA) and distancing itself from Russia	49	53	63
The country is immersing into chaos, disorder	27	27	22
Difficult to answer	15	13	11

N=1600

Table 19.7

**How much of a threat for Russia would it be if Ukraine joined NATO now?**

	2006 April	2007 April	2008 Mart	2008 September
Serious threat	25	33	30	36
Some threat	28	28	30	32
Little threat	15	14	14	12
No threat	18	10	12	8
Difficult to answer	15	15	13	11

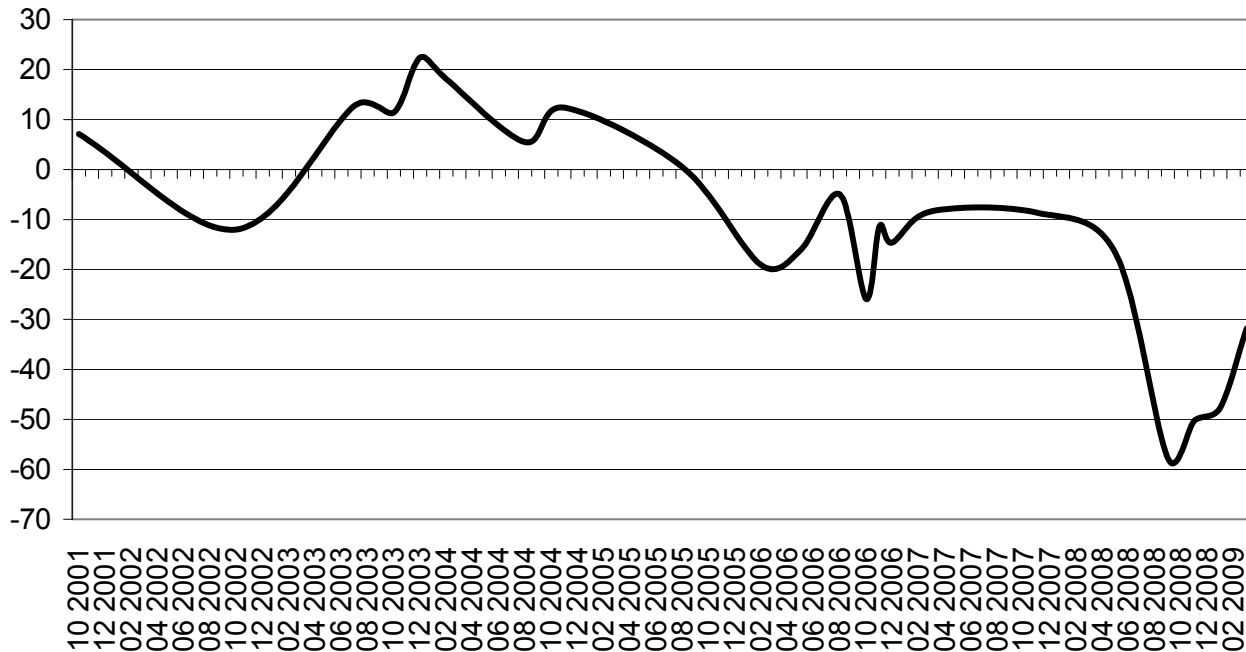
N=1600

**GEORGIA**

Diagramm 19.2

**Index of attitude to Georgia**

(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)



N=1600

Table 19.8

**How would you describe overall the current relations between Russia and Georgia?**

	2006 November	2008 May	2008 August
Friendly	1	2	1
Good, good neighbourly	4	5	<1
Normal, calm	13	14	1
Cool	26	27	9
Tense	28	38	41
Hostile	10	8	44
Difficult to answer	8	6	3

N=1600

Table 19.9

**How much of a threat for Russia would it be if Georgia joined NATO now?**

	2006 April	2007 April	2008 March	2008 September
Serious threat	27	36	36	45
Some threat	27	27	28	29
Little threat	15	14	13	10
No threat	16	9	11	7
Difficult to answer	16	14	13	10

N=1600



Table 19.10

**What national status should South Osetia and Abkhazia have?**

	2005 January	2007 March	2008 March
Should reunite with Georgia	15	9	11
Should become an independent state	27	32	26
Should become part of Russia	36	39	33
Difficult to answer	23	21	31

N=1600

Table 19.11

**Should South Osetia be part of Georgia, part of Russia or be an independent state?**

	2006 April	2007 July	2008 August
Should be part of Georgia	12	9	4
Should be part of Russia	40	34	46
Should be an independent state	26	32	34
Difficult to answer	22	25	16

N=1600

**WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND GEORGIA**

Table 19.12

**Do you understand what is currently happening in South Ossetia?**

Very good	50
Not so good	37
I don't understand at all	10
Difficult to answer	3

2008, August; N=1600

Table 19.13

**In your opinion, what is the ultimate cause of the ongoing conflict in South Ossetia?**

Georgian government pursues the policy of discrimination against people of Ossetia and Abkhazia	32
Authorities of unrecognized Republics of Ossetia and Abkhazia tries to stay in power causing tensions all the time	5
Russian officials conduct divide-and-rule policy to maintain its authority in Caucasus	5
US Administration seeks to spread its influence over countries neighboring Russia	49
Difficult to answer	10

2008, August; N=1600

Table 19.14

**In your opinion, why did Georgia use the force in South Ossetia?**

It was an effort to restore territorial integrity of the country	15
Georgia is through with attacks and acts of provocation on the part of South Ossetia	4
Georgia should fix its territorial issues in order to be admitted as NATO member	43
M. Saakashvili launched this campaign to boost his authority in Georgia and keep Presidential seat	38
Difficult to answer	11

2008, August; N=1600

Table 19.15

**Do you think that Georgia and Georgian people are hostages to geopolitical aspiration of the US Administration?**

Absolutely agree	36
Agree, rather than don't agree	38
Do not agree, rather than agree	10
Absolutely disagree	4
Difficult to answer	13

2008, August; N=1600

Table 19.16

**Do you agree that South Ossetia is a hostage to the conflict between authorities of Russia and Georgia?**

Absolutely agree	11
Agree, rather than don't agree	20
Do not agree, rather than agree	25
Absolutely disagree	27
Difficult to answer	17

2008, August; N=1600

Table 19.17

**Do you agree that conflict in South Ossetia should be settled by international institutions, with UN and EU assistance?**

Absolutely agree	28
Agree, rather than don't agree	31
Do not agree, rather than agree	14
Absolutely disagree	7
Difficult to answer	20

2008, August; N=1600

Table 19.18

**Which of the following statements regarding actions of the Russian authorities on the conflict between Russia and Georgia would you rather agree with?**

Russian authorities did their best to prevent escalation of conflict and slaughter	70
Russian authorities rose to it and got involved in this conflict that will backfire Russia	16
Russian authorities instigated conflict between Georgia and South Ossetia to achieve its geopolitical goals	4
Difficult to answer	9

2008, August; N=1600

Table 19.19

**In your opinion, what repercussions will the South Ossetian conflict have?**

Ossetia and Georgia will enter into negotiations after all	31
Conflicting parties will revert to the starting point but confrontation will go on	36
There will be new parties to the conflict, there is a prospect of major war in Caucasus	19
Difficult to answer	14

2008, August; N=1600

Table 19.20

**In your opinion, why do governments of the West support Georgia in South Ossetia conflict?**

Because Russia infringed sovereignty bringing its armed forces into the territory of Georgia	7
Because shelling military targets Russian troops killed civilians	8
Because actions on the part of Russia drove conflict to other countries, and specifically, to Abkhazia	5
Because they want to impair Russia and force it out of Transcaucasia	66
Difficult to answer	14

2008, August; N=1600

Table 19.21

**In your opinion, should Russia keep armed forces in South Ossetia or withdraw them?**

Keep its forces in South Ossetia	56
Withdraw its troops from South Ossetia	27
Difficult to answer	17

2008, September; N=1600

Table 19.22

**In your opinion, will independence recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia by Russia be beneficial or harmful to Russia, or will it bring neither harm, nor benefit?**

Beneficial	40
Harmful	15
Neither beneficial, nor harmful	28
Difficult to answer	18

2008, September; N=1600

Table 19.23

**What is your stand if Russian Federation annexes South Ossetia and Abkhazia?**

It should be done as soon as possible	20
It may be done, but later, when everything is settled down	26
Need to consider if it should be done	25
It should not be done	12
Difficult to answer	18

2008, September; N=1600

Table 19.24

**In your opinion, will the current situation with South Ossetia affect relationships between Russia and the West?**

Improve substantially	5
Improve to some extent	12
Continue unchanged	47
Go down to some extent	17
Go down substantially	4
Difficult to answer	16

2008, August; N=1600

Table 19.25

**In your opinion, is there any possibility that sanctions threats for Russia from the West in response to Russia's Georgian policy will affect Russia significantly?**

Definitely yes	6
Yes, rather than no	24
No, rather than yes	41
Definitely no	12
Difficult to answer	17

2008, September; N=1600

## 20. «WAYS OF RUSSIA – RUSSIAN IDENTITY»

Table 20.1

### Are you proud of living in Russia?

	2006 March	2007 October	2008 October
Definitely yes	48	54	40
Yes, rather than no	35	32	43
No, rather than yes	9	8	9
Definitely no	4	3	3
Difficult to answer	4	3	5

N=1600

Table 20.2

### Are you proud of today's Russia?

	2006 March	2007 October	2008 October
Definitely yes	19	27	22
Yes, rather than no	29	33	40
No, rather than yes	32	23	23
Definitely no	16	12	6
Difficult to answer	5	6	9

N=1600

Table 20.3

### What is the major internal threat for Russia now?

(the answers are ranged)

Abuse of power and irresponsibility of authorities controlled by none	20
Economic issues and slowdown, national debt growth	19
Political turmoil during transfer of power from Putin to newly elected Russian President in 2008	16
Rivalries between various corrupted dominating "clans"	12
Weakening of the united Russia, loss of control by central authorities over situation in the regions	9
Political extremism (fascism, Muslim radicalism, ultranationalism)	5
Domestic nationalism, possibility that Chechnya and other North Caucasus republics break away from Russia	4
Risk to lose control over the Russian territories next to China in the Far East	4
Difficult to answer	11

2008, February; N=1600

Table 20.4

**What are the major threats to Russia nowadays?**  
(the answers are ranged)

	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>
	<b>II</b>	<b>I</b>
Economic crisis	22	59
Growth of unemployment	30	56
Price increase, mass impoverishment	51	55
Rise in crime	32	23
No confidence about the future	-	22
Conflicts with CIS countries / neighboring countries	8	13
Arbitrary rule	20	8
Russia's embroilment in military conflicts abroad	14	8
Growing dependence on the West dependence, Russia is turning into an insignificant nation	15	7
Inertia, incompetence of the future country's authorities	14	7
Colonization of Russia, plunder of national wealth by foreigners	17	6
Russia's breakup into separate regions	18	5
Escalating tensions between Russia and the West	12	5
New Caucasus war / escalation in the North Caucasus	9	5
Queues, deficit, ration tickets	-	4
Civil war	-	3
Illegal property redistribution, they will repossess your belongings by right	4	2
Threat to private property, impairment of private business interests	3	2
Establishment of dictatorship	3	1

N=1600

Table 20.5

**Does Russia have any enemies?**

	<b>1994</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2008</b>
Yes	41	65	78	68
No	22	14	9	14
Difficult to answer	37	22	14	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 20.6

**With which of the following statements would you rather agree?**

	<b>1994 November</b>	<b>2000 April</b>	<b>2008 February</b>	<b>2008 October</b>
Russia fell behind most of the advanced countries	41	50	35	29
Russia has always been one of the advanced countries and will never give it up	8	10	17	20
Russia goes its own special way of development and you should not compare it to other countries	31	34	41	46
Difficult to answer	19	6	7	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 20.7

**What is Russia likely to be in about fifty years?**

	<b>1994 November</b>	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Russia will turn into the wealthy and advanced nation like countries in the West	24	25	35
Russia will come back to Socialism and Communism	7	6	5
Technology, science and armament will be up to Western standards, unlike people's life	20	23	20
Russia will follow the development pattern of the great Asian nations – China, India	4	7	6
Russia will remain poor backward nation	-	-	2
Russia will imminently fall and collapse	5	5	1
Difficult to answer	40	34	31

N=1600

## RUSSIA AND RUSSIANS

Table 20.8

**Are Russians a nation like any other nation is it very specific nation?**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 October</b>
A nation like any other	63	63
Very specific nation	33	34
Difficult to answer	4	2

N=1600

Table 20.9

**Which concept of the listed below is the most representative of your understanding of Russian national character?**

(the answers are ranged)

Endurance	53
Resilience	38
Habit to be grateful for small favors	36
Moral virtues, warm hearts	32
Spirituality, spiritual values dominate over material ones	28
Habitude to put their trust in the authority	21
Submission	19
Team spirit	19
State allegiance, self-devotion	18
Sense of justice	16
Reverie	11
Habitude to live in the hostile environment	8
None of the mentioned above	2
Difficult to answer	2

2008, October; N=1600

Table 20.10

**Do you agree with the following statement: People in Russia got used to being trustful to each other keeping in mind no personal gain**

	<b>1994</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2008</b>
Absolutely agree	22	23	27	12
Agree, rather than don't agree	36	43	37	36
Do not agree, rather than agree	25	22	25	31
Absolutely disagree	5	6	5	13
Absolutely agree	12	6	6	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>



Table 20.11

**Do you agree with the following statements: «Sooner or later Russia will follow the way shared by all civilized countries»**

	<b>1994</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2008</b>
Absolutely agree	21	23	20
Agree, rather than don't agree	37	36	45
Do not agree, rather than agree	11	16	14
Absolutely disagree	4	6	4
Absolutely agree	27	20	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

**«Russia has always been a country of the great spiritual tradition»**

	<b>1994</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2008</b>
Absolutely agree	36	49	42
Agree, rather than don't agree	37	34	40
Do not agree, rather than agree	9	8	8
Absolutely disagree	3	2	3
Absolutely agree	14	8	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

**«I don't think that people in Russia differ in any respect from people in other countries»**

	<b>1994</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2008</b>
Absolutely agree	27	24	19
Agree, rather than don't agree	35	30	33
Do not agree, rather than agree	17	25	26
Absolutely disagree	4	11	10
Absolutely agree	18	10	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

Table 20.12

**Do you agree that...?**

**«Our country is notable for specific national identity and spiritual culture surpassing all other countries»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	34	34
Yes, rather than no	38	46
No, rather than yes	15	13
Definitely no	5	2
Difficult to answer	9	5

N=1600

**«Our country follows the same path of development, with some deviations and mistakes, that followed other countries in the world»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	14	9
Yes, rather than no	34	35
No, rather than yes	28	32
Definitely no	9	9
Difficult to answer	16	16

N=1600

**«Russia has always been one of the backward and reactionary countries in the world»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	5	4
Yes, rather than no	11	12
No, rather than yes	39	40
Definitely no	39	40
Difficult to answer	6	5

N=1600

**«Russia is a great country which you only understand if you believe in its great purpose»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	38	35
Yes, rather than no	41	47
No, rather than yes	8	8
Definitely no	3	1
Difficult to answer	10	9

N=1600

Table 20.13

**Do you agree that...?**  
**«No matter how we treat past political leaders of our country,  
 we have always had authorities we deserved»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	19	13
Yes, rather than no	29	40
No, rather than yes	25	23
Definitely no	12	10
Difficult to answer	16	14

N=1600

**«Ethnic Russians should have certain advantages  
 over other people in Russia»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	19	14
Yes, rather than no	28	33
No, rather than yes	25	28
Definitely no	17	15
Difficult to answer	11	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>500</i>	<i>1600</i>

**«Russians have a particular soulfulness not common  
 to the people in the West»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	47	38
Yes, rather than no	40	46
No, rather than yes	6	8
Definitely no	2	2
Difficult to answer	6	6

N=1600

**«Russians do not have the mercantilism of the Western people»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	36	24
Yes, rather than no	41	50
No, rather than yes	12	14
Definitely no	3	3
Difficult to answer	9	9

N=1600

Table 20.14

**Do you agree that...?**  
**«Only Russians can sacrifice themselves for the higher purpose»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	31	25
Yes, rather than no	39	46
No, rather than yes	14	14
Definitely no	6	4
Difficult to answer	10	11

N=1600

**«Russians can't do without autocratic leaders, «powerful hand»  
that can lead them»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	32	21
Yes, rather than no	41	45
No, rather than yes	14	19
Definitely no	5	4
Difficult to answer	9	12

N=1600

**«Russians are a religious nation  
that preserved Christianity in original purity»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	15	12
Yes, rather than no	30	38
No, rather than yes	32	24
Definitely no	13	8
Difficult to answer	11	18

N=1600

**«Russia has always provoked animosity from other countries,  
and nowadays nobody means well by us»**

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
Definitely yes	28	22
Yes, rather than no	38	43
No, rather than yes	21	22
Definitely no	5	5
Difficult to answer	7	8

N=1600

## RUSSIA'S SPECIAL PATH

Table 20.15

### Problems that are facing our country now first of all result from...

	2000 April	2008 February
Longstanding policy conducted by Soviet authorities	25	26
Amateurish attempts of Democrats to follow course of development of the Western nations	47	35
Rollback of democracy and market-oriented reforms	-	4
Conspiracy of the «dark forces» against our country	13	9
Difficult to answer	15	26

N=1600

Table 20.16

### Which historical way should Russia go?

	2000 April	2001 March	2008 February	2008 October
Way of the European civilization shared by the contemporary world	15	21	22	21
It revert to the way of the Soviet Union	18	19	11	14
It should follow its own, special way	60	53	60	58
Difficult to answer	7	7	8	7

N=1600

Table 20.17

### What is your first association when you hear of Russia's special path?

(the answers are ranged)

Economical development of the country, caring more about people than benefits and interests of the "life masters"	34
Discrepancy between the values and traditions of Russia and the West	22
Accounting for the spiritual and moral aspects in relations between State and its citizens in the policy	18
I can see no Sonderweg here, nothing comes to my mind	16
I have never heard of that	11
Necessity to keep always in mind such factors as hostile environment of the country and aggressive threats	9
I doubt that Russia should develop in a way that differs from one of other countries	9
Citizens are ready to sacrifice themselves for the glory of the State of Russia	7
Interests of the Authority dominate over those of the people	7
Difficult to answer	9

2008, January; N=1600

Table 20.18

**What do you mean first of all when you speak of Russia's special path?**  
(the answers are ranged)

Special role of the State that takes care of its people, leads them and guarantees their development	36
Discrepancy of values and traditions of Russia and the West	33
Historical path full of hardships, martyrdom that brought forth a specific human type	23
Position of Russia in between Europe and Asia, Eurasian civilization	21
Specific leading role of the State in the modernization of the country	18
Mission of Russia destined to accomplish in the world today and in future	14
«Third Rome», Russian Orthodox civilization	5
Difficult to answer	12

2008, October; N=1600

Table 20.19

**It has been often said that Western people can not conceive Russia and ongoing events there. Do you agree with that?**  
**In your opinion, why is it so?**

Because our people treat each other in a different way unlike those in the West. We possess other morality, other values and belief	42
Because our life arranged unlike in the West. Relations between an individual and the State are arranged in an absolutely different manner	37
The West got historically accustomed to treat Russia as a backward alien country, ignoring its values and accomplishments	26
The West never could and never will recognize special spiritual mission of Russia in the world	18
I do not agree that a Westerner can not conceive Russia	4
Difficult to answer	6

2008, October; N=1600

## 21. RUSSIA AND THE WORLD

Table 21.1

**Does Russia have a thought-out foreign policy or is its foreign policy reduced to reacting to the issues of the moment?**

	2005 January	2006 January	2007 January
Has a thought-out foreign policy	41	41	45
Foreign policy is reduced to reacting to issues of the moment	40	36	33
Difficult to answer	19	23	22

N=1600

Table 21.2

**Which statement about the relations between Russia and other countries you share?**

Russia should flex muscle in relationships with other countries now and then	39
Russia should settle the issues with other countries only through negotiations without resorting to force	52
Difficult to answer	10

2008, September; N=1600

Table 21.3

**How open is Russia for other countries and the world now?**

	2007 January	2008 January
Completely open for other countries	28	22
Mostly open for other countries	54	58
Mostly closed for other countries	8	9
Absolutely closed for the world	1	1
Difficult to answer	10	10

N=1600

Table 21.4

**Would you prefer Russia to be more open for other countries in future?**

	2007 January	2008 January
More open for other countries	18	17
Neither more nor less open than now	35	39
Let other countries into its life less	38	36
Difficult to answer	10	9

N=1600

Table 21.5

**What is the attitude of the majority of developed countries to Russia now?**

	2007 January	2008 January	2009 January
Consider it a friend	4	6	3
Consider it a partner	32	34	39
Consider it a competitor	33	33	32
Consider it an enemy	7	7	9
Do not pay much attention to Russia	15	10	9
Difficult to answer	8	10	8

N=1600

Table 21.6

**Do you think there is a military threat for Russia from other countries?**

	2003 January	2004 January	2005 January	2006 February	2007 February	2008 February	2009 February
Definitely yes	14	11	12	10	15	15	18
Yes, rather than no	33	26	32	30	33	37	32
No, rather than yes	38	48	35	39	33	31	30
Definitely no	7	7	9	12	11	7	11
Difficult to answer	8	7	11	9	8	10	9

N=1600

Table 21.7

**Talking about long-term prospects, which of the following countries should Russia strengthen relations with first of all?**

	2003 April	2004 May	2005 June	2006 April	2008 April
The USA	13	13	12	8	7
China	9	9	7	13	12
Countries of Western Europe (such as France, Germany)	32	25	26	25	28
CIS countries/former Soviet Union republics (such as Ukraine, Belarus)	27	34	40	39	35
Islamic countries	1	1	2	2	2
Difficult to answer	16	14	11	10	13

N=1600



## RUSSIA AND THE WEST

Table 21.8

### Do you think that Russia should ...

	1999	2000	2003	2004	2005		2006	2007	2008
	IX	II	III	XII	I	XII	XI	XI	X
Strengthen mutually beneficial relations with Western Countries	61	74	77	70	70	70	77	75	57
Distance itself from the West	22	13	11	16	15	16	11	14	26
Difficult to answer	17	13	12	14	15	14	12	11	17

N=1600

Table 21.9

### Do you think the relations between Russia and the West..?

	1994 V	1999 XI	2002 IV	2003 V	2004 III	2005 VI	2006 VI	2008 X
Can be really friendly	60	52	39	39	44	44	35	34
Will be always based on distrust	38	38	51	47	42	42	54	52
Difficult to answer	2	10	11	14	14	14	11	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 21.10

### Shall we consider criticism by the community and politicians in the West of situation in Russia in the field of democracy and observance of human rights as intervention in the internal affairs of Russia?

Definitely yes	16
Yes, rather than no	35
No, rather than yes	21
Definitely no	6
Difficult to answer	22

2008, March; N=1600

Table 21.11

### Democracy in the West...

...is imperative for Russia's development	9
...is suitable for Russia but needs significant nation-specific adjustments	44
...is not good, disruptive for Russia	35
Difficult to answer	13

2008, October; N=1600

Table 21.12

**In your opinion, is Western democratic social model good for Russia?**

Definitely yes	7
Yes, rather than no	28
No, rather than yes	36
Definitely no	15
Difficult to answer	14

2008, January; N=1600

Table 21.13

**In your opinion, how can citizens of the developed Western countries  
Control activity of the State authorities?**

Definitely yes	12
Yes, rather than no	45
No, rather than yes	15
Definitely no	8
Difficult to answer	19

2008, January; N=1600

Table 21.14

**In your opinion, how can Russian citizens control activity  
of the State authorities?**

Practically to the full extent	6
To a great extent	18
To a limited extent	28
Can not do it at all	39
Difficult to answer	10

2008, January; N=1600

Table 21.15

**In your opinion, who should ensure the social and economic rights  
and freedoms of the citizens in democratic society are protected?**

President and the government of the country	68
Political parties	14
Legislative authority	36
Independent judicial system	23
Independent trade unions	12
Independent public organizations and movement	11
Independent Mass Media	8
Difficult to answer	9

2008, January; N=1600

Table 21.16

**Which views of the «West» represent your personal views most of all?  
The West is...**

(the answers are ranged)

Only the concept in terms of geography that denotes countries lying westwards of Russia	16
Different civilization, alien world with laws of its own, other people and relations between them	48
Most wealthy and secure countries that provide comfort and well-being to their people	28
Countries of Democracy, constitutional states that are models of contemporary development	16
Masterpieces of the Western culture, science, philosophy, art, etc.	13
Rational, cold world, formal, selfish relations between people	20
Nations and political forces that will always be adverse to our country	16
Difficult to answer	6

2008, October; N=1600

Table 21.17

**Is it important for you personally what people in the West think of Russia?**

	<b>1999 November</b>	<b>2007* December</b>
Definitely yes	17	18
Yes, rather than no	26	36
No, rather than yes	31	28
Definitely no	16	12
Difficult to answer	10	6

\*- Data for 2007 in the Year-book «Public opinion – 2007» was not given

N=1600

Table 21.18

**What feelings do you think they have about Russia in the West?**

	<b>2000 August</b>	<b>2005 December</b>	<b>2006 December</b>	<b>2007* December</b>
Respect	8	7	13	20
Sympathy	24	16	14	9
Anxiety	12	13	12	12
Contempt	21	16	14	11
Fear	5	7	6	7
No special feelings	17	32	28	27
Difficult to answer	14	9	13	14

\*- Data for 2007 in the Year-book «Public opinion – 2007» was not given

Table 21.19

**What do you think most people in Russia feel about countries of the West?**

	<b>2000 December</b>	<b>2005 December</b>	<b>2006 December</b>	<b>2007* December</b>
Respect	34	30	40	32
Sympathy	3	2	2	3
Anxiety	10	13	11	10
Contempt	3	5	2	5
Fear	4	3	2	2
No special feelings	35	39	34	38
Difficult to answer	11	7	10	9

\* - Data for 2007 in the Year-book «Public opinion – 2007» was not given, N=1600

Table 21.20

**Do you feel yourself a European? Do you feel that you are part of the culture and history of the European community?**

	<b>1999 March</b>	<b>2007 January</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
Yes	30	35	32
No	54	54	59
Difficult to answer	16	11	9

N=1600

Table 21.21

**Do you feel that you are a person that belongs to the Western culture?**

	<b>1993</b>	<b>2008</b>
I always remember that	1	3
It is pretty important for me	5	7
It is not so important for me	16	32
I don't feel that	50	54
Difficult to answer	28	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 21.22

**What is your general attitude to the Western way of life?**

	<b>1991 June</b>	<b>2008 October</b>
Positive	62	46
Negative	10	30
Difficult to answer	28	25
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 21.23

**Have you ever thought of going abroad from Russia for a while?  
If affirmative, then how often?**

I keep always thinking about it	4
I think about it quite often	8
I think about it but seldom	20
I don't think about it at all	64
Difficult to answer	5

2008, July; N=1600

Table 21.24

**Have you ever thought of leaving Russia for permanent residence in other country? If yes – how often?**

I think about it permanently	2
I think about it rather often	5
I think about it rarely	10
I do not think about it	78
Difficult to answer	5

2008, July; N=1600

Table 21.25

**If you had a choice, would you like to live and work in the West?**

Definitely yes	6
Yes, rather than no	18
No, rather than yes	30
Definitely no	37
Difficult to answer	9,2

2008, October; N=1600

Table 21.26

**What makes you think of living and working in the West first of all?**

<b>Living conditions abroad:</b>	
...better conditions of life, necessary facilities	25
...intent to give children better and sustainable future	17
...better self-actualization and occupational options, more reliable job	15
...more guarantees for qualified medical care, retirement insurance	13
...free country, constitutional state that protects your rights and freedoms	10
...more environmental awareness; protection, clean environment	7
<b>Russian problems:</b>	
...lack of good protection against autocratic rule of authorities, officials	16
...poor conditions of work, business	16
...criminality, terrorism and other dangers to life	11
...threat of political and economic destabilization	9
...current political system	4
Nothing attracts to living and working in the West	36
Difficult to answer	12

2008, October; N=1600

Table 21.27

**If we speak about life of ordinary people, where the life was better ... in 1970s – 80s – in the USSR or in the West?**  
(% of those who answered)

	USSR		West		Same level		Difficult to answer	
	2000	2008	2000	2008	2000	2008	2000	2008
Educational system	70	66	14	11	4	8	12	16
Healthcare system	56	52	28	23	3	8	13	17
Employment system	78	61	11	14	3	8	9	17
Social security services	51	44	29	28	3	8	17	20
Situation in science	64	55	16	14	6	14	14	18
Situation in culture and art	61	54	16	14	6	13	15	19
Observance of civic rights	35	29	41	37	4	10	20	24
Life of ordinary people in general	49	38	29	30	6	10	16	23

N=1600

Table 21.28

**If we speak about life of ordinary people, where was life of ordinary people generally better in 1970s – 80s: in the USSR or in the West?**

	2000 April	2008 February
In USSR	49	38
In Western countries	29	30
On the same level	6	10
Difficult to answer	16	23

N=1600

Table 21.29

**Why do you think that life of ordinary people generally was better in the West in 70s-80s?**

(of those respondents who think that life was better in the West)

	2000 March	2008 February
There was democracy, political liberties, right to speak and write	24	21
There was market economy, competition	24	23
High level of health care, education	21	16
Everyone had his own opportunity to come up in the world	32	23
Living standards of the people were higher	59	62
People got substantial compensation for their work	40	37
There was actual progress in manufacturing and social life	16	15
Every person had his guarantees for future	25	15
There was more order	19	14
These are civilized countries	24	27
Difficult to answer	1	2

N=1600

Table 21.30

**Why do you think the life of ordinary people was generally better in the Soviet Union than in the West in 70s-80s?**

(% of those who think that "life of ordinary people" was better in USSR, answers graded by the first measurement)

	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2008 February</b>
There was no unemployment	69	60
Free health care and education	65	70
Every person had guarantees for future	36	43
Old people had more respect	35	42
We were strong, powerful country. All countries in the world considered us	32	38
There was more order	31	39
There was more care of the poor	30	29
In the country there was the rule of the people, fair social structure	28	27
Planned socialist economy persisted	26	29
All people were equal	23	36
Relations between people were more warm-hearted and humanistic	20	40
Every person had substantial compensation for his/her work	15	19
There was actual progress in manufacturing and social life	10	14
We have been isolated from the West	2	9
Difficult to answer	2	2

N=1600

Table 21.31

**Can you agree with the following statement:  
«75 years of the Soviet rule transformed our people into new men, differing from those in the West, and nothing can change it anymore»?**

	<b>1994 November</b>	<b>2000 March</b>	<b>2003 August</b>	<b>2008 July</b>
Absolutely agree	20	29	23	12
Agree, rather than don't agree	34	39	34	41
Do not agree, rather than agree	24	16	24	25
Absolutely disagree	5	5	8	8
Absolutely agree	17	11	11	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>

## POLAND

Table 21.32

### What is your overall attitude to Poland now?

	2000 IX	2001 XII	2003 VIII	2004 XII	2006 XII	2007 III	2007 VI	2007 XI	2008 II
Very good	9	5	10	9	4	4	3	5	3
Mostly good	67	63	68	68	50	50	45	51	46
Mostly bad	11	14	13	10	20	21	28	21	24
Very bad	2	2	2	3	7	8	8	5	7
Difficult to answer	11	16	7	11	20	18	15	18	21

N=1600

## GERMANY

Table 21.33

### What is your overall attitude to Germany now?

	2000 July	2001 October	2002 October	2003 October	2004 November	2008 May
Very good	11	12	13	13	15	7
Mostly good	70	64	71	69	68	67
Mostly bad	9	9	7	8	10	12
Very bad	2	2	2	2	2	2
Difficult to answer	8	13	7	9	5	12

N=1600

Table 21.34

### How would you generally describe the current relations between Russia and Germany?

	2008 May	2008 August
Friendly	9	8
Good, neighborly	26	28
Normal, even	50	46
Lukewarm	7	10
Tense	1	2
Hostile	0.3	1
Difficult to answer	7	5

N=1600



## THE DATA OF THE COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF RUSSIANS AND GERMANS

In 2008 Levada Center and institute Demoscope (Allensbach) conducted the survey in Russia and Germany through the representative sample of people aged 16 years and older (Russia, August, N=1600; Germany, April, N=1820).

Table 21.35

**Generally speaking, do you consider Russia to be a European country or  
is Russia not a European country?**

	Russia	Germany
Is a European country	53	41
Not a European country	35	43
Difficult to answer	12	16

Table 21.36

**How would you describe the relations between Russia and Germany  
Would you say that the relations are currently...**

	Russia	Germany
Very good / good	78	55
not so good / not good at all	15	33
Difficult to answer	7	12

Table 21.37

**Generally speaking, do you like the Russians/Germans,  
or don't you like them very much?**

	Russia	Germany
Like them	45	25
Don't like them very much	27	35
Difficult to answer	21	40

Table 21.38

**And speaking about the Germans? Do you think that the Germans  
like the Russians, or don't the Germans like the Russians very much?**

	Russia
Like the russians	29
Don't like them very much	38
Difficult to answer	24
No answer	9

Table 21.39

**Is Russia still a world power today,  
or can Russia no longer be called a world power?**

	<b>Russia</b>
Is a world power	77
Can no longer be called a World power	18
Difficult to answer	5

Table 21.40

**Is Germany still a world power today,  
or can Germany no longer be called a world power?**

	<b>Russia</b>
Is a world power	43
Can no longer be called a World power	41
Difficult to answer	16

Table 21.41

**In your opinion, which of the following statements suit Russia / Germany?**

<b>Positive statements</b>	<b>Russia about Germany</b>	<b>Germany about Russia</b>
A strong sense of national pride	35	59
Plays an important role in world politics	35	72
Beautiful, impressive landscapes	24	60
A wealth of mineral resources	10	81
Good location for companies, businesses	25	21
Firmly established democracy	30	2
Great cultural tradition	33	64
Religion plays an important role	14	35
Everything is kept neat and clean	61	2
Outstanding athletes	16	59
The people are very hospitable	13	50
A reliable partner	24	11
The people are hardworking	43	22

Table 21.42

**In your opinion, which of the following statements suit Russia / Germany?**

<b>Negative statements</b>	<b>Russia about Germany</b>	<b>Germany about Russia</b>
You cannot rely on the legal system there	2	57
A country that poses a threat	5	36
There is a lot of corruption	2	80
The economy is doing poorly	1	36
There are a lot of newly rich people there	6	78
Human rights are not respected enough	2	67
The secret service has a lot of influence	8	74
Cumbersome, everything proceeds very slowly	2	47
There is no middle class there, just a few rich people and a lot of poor people	2	70
There is a lot of crime there	3	73
The political situation is precarious, unstable	2	47

Table 21.43

**Do you think that the democracy we have here in Russia is the best form of government or is there a different form of government that is better?**

	<b>Russia</b>
Best form of government	29
There is a different form of government that is better	44
Difficult to answer	26

Table 21.44

**Do you think that the democracy we have here in Germany is the best form of government or is there a different form of government that is better?**

	<b>Germany</b>
Best form of government	55
There is a different form of government that is better	23
Difficult to answer	22

Table 21.45

**Which of the freedoms on the list  
are especially important to you personally?**

	<b>Russia</b>	<b>Germany as a whole</b>	<b>East Germany</b>
Being free to choose my own profession	43	65	51
Freedom of religion, being free to practice my religious faith	26	46	27
Being free to travel wherever I want	32	76	70
Being free to express my opinion	37	83	74
Being free to choose between different political parties	16	62	49
Equal opportunities, having the same chances in life and at work as others do	42	51	45
Being able to buy whatever I want	46	59	55
Having a say in how my company operates	0	23	20
Being able to live wherever I want	42	69	59
Being able to buy property, for example, a car, a piece of land, a condominium, etc.	35	62	55
No state surveillance, not being watched by the state	18	64	56
Being free to take part in political gatherings and demonstrations	9	38	31
Having sufficient state protection against illness, unemployment and poverty	50	55	52
Being able to raise my children however I want to	35	55	41
Being able to go to court when I have suffered an injustice	36	69	51

Table 21.46

**And what do you think: Which of these freedoms  
do you believe we have here in Russia?**

	<b>Russia</b>
Being free to choose my own profession	40
Freedom of religion, being free to practice my religious faith	53
Being free to travel wherever I want	27
Being free to express my opinion	29
Being free to choose between different political parties	28
Equal opportunities, having the same chances in life and at work as others do	7
Being able to buy whatever I want	19
Having a say in how my company operates	4
Being able to live wherever I want	22
Being able to buy property, for example, a car, a piece of land, a condominium, etc.	21
No state surveillance, not being watched by the state	9
Being free to take part in political gatherings and demonstrations	23
Having sufficient state protection against illness, unemployment and poverty	6
Being able to raise my children however I want to	23
Being able to go to court when I have suffered an injustice	24
None of the above	8
No response	11

Table 21.47

**Which of these statements, that other people have said,  
would you agree with?**

	<b>Russia</b>	<b>Germany</b>
Here in our country, a few people have too much freedom and most people have too little freedom	24	19
There are a lot of people here who abuse their freedom	27	52
There is not enough freedom here. The state meddles too much in people's personal affairs	9	22
It would be better if we had less freedom and more social justice instead	37	30
We can be quite content with the level of freedom we have in our society. There is neither too much nor too little freedom	17	44
In order to be protected better from crime and terrorism, we will have to limit our freedoms in future	16	19

Table 21.48

**How do you feel about your life today:  
Do you feel free or don't you feel free?**

	<b>Russia</b>	<b>Germany</b>
Substantially	45	60
In average degree	40	31
In insignificant degree	13	9

Table 21.49

**Which of these countries should we work together  
with as closely as possible?**  
(the answers are ranged according the Russian interrogation)

	<b>Russia</b>	<b>Germany</b>
Belarus	50	13
Germany/Russia	51	45
China	47	30
France	45	69
Japan	37	36
Italy	25	39
Great Britain	24	53
Turkey	23	13
Ukraine	21	12
Spain	20	39
Austria	18	52
Poland	17	30
Israel	17	17
Czechia	16	24
The USA	14	56
Iran	14	7
Saudi Arabia	11	20
Lithuania	7	13
Georgia	5	8

Table 21.50

**And are there any countries on the list that you feel are  
Germany's/Russia's enemies?**

(the answers are ranged according the Russian survey)

	<b>Russia</b>	<b>Germany</b>
Georgia	68	2
The USA	65	5
Ukraine	50	3
Lithuania	40	2
Poland	27	10
Great Britain	8	2
Israel	5	11
Belarus	5	5
Iran	4	26
Turkey	4	13
China	4	8
Czechia	3	4
Saudi Arabia	2	6
Germanija/Rossija	2	5
Japan	2	2
France	1	2
Spain	1	1
Italy	1	1
Austria	1	1

Table 21.51

**Thinking about the somewhat more distant future, specifically,  
about the next 10 years, is it with hopes  
or with fears that you view the next 10 years?**

	<b>Russia</b>	<b>Germany</b>
With hopes	59	40
With fears	27	24
With skepticism	9	25
Difficult to answer	5	11

Table 21.52

**In your opinion, should Russia use its position as an energy supplier  
to put pressure on the Western European countries  
and thus achieve its own goals, or should Russia not do that?**

	<b>Russia</b>
Should achieve its own goals	59
Should not do that	29
Difficult to answer	12

Table 21.53

**This list shows a number of things that people may consider to be important and desirable in life. Could you please tell me all of the things that you believe are especially important?**

	Russia	Germany
Having good friends, close relationships with other people	52	83
Upward mobility	25	34
Accomplishing a lot	33	26
A good all-around education	28	63
Keep on learning new things	21	48
Social justice	48	67
High income, material wealth	53	33
Helping people in need	19	50
Having a family	60	74
Actively participating in political life, being politically active	4	11
As much personal responsibility as possible, no more government than necessary	14	36
Having children	45	59
Being successful in my job/at work	32	54
Independence, being able to decide how to lead your own life	24	61
Experiencing nature, being outdoors a lot	24	34
A lot of variety in life, keep experiencing new things	24	45
Having a lot of fun, enjoying life	25	54

Table 21.54

**What do you imagine our society will be like ten years from now? Which of the items hereon this list will probably apply to our society in ten years' time?**

	Russia
The family will become more important	25
The family will become less important	9
The rich will keep getting richer and the poor will keep getting poorer	38
There will be more solidarity, people will stick together and cooperate more	11
Society will become colder, more egotistical	23
There will be more unemployment	18
People will be more willing to help each other	11
Russia will play an increasingly important role internationally	30
There will be greater prosperity, we will be able to afford more	20
The future will be more uncertain, everything will be less predictable	17
People will have more freedom of choice, greater freedom to make their own decisions	14
Older people will find it increasingly difficult to understand society	24
Money will become more and more important, people will become more materialistic	34
A growing number of people will not be able to keep up financially and socially	24
There will be increasing global tensions	18

## KOSOVO'S INDEPENDENCE

Table 21.55

### What should Russian do in terms of the Kosovo conflict?

Act to find solution coordinated with other Western countries	29
Try to take its own special line of action	40
Difficult to answer	32

2008, February; N=1600

Table 21.56

### What will Kosovo's declaration of independence lead to?

To stabilization of the situation	9
To escalation of tensions	51
It will have no serious consequence	10
Difficult to answer	30

2008, February; N=1600

## JAPAN

Table 21.57

### What is your overall attitude to Japan now?

	1991 November	1992 August	2000 July	2003 July	2004 August	2005 August	2008 May
Very good	21	17	10	15	10	9	8
Mainly good	42	44	72	66	68	63	59
Mainly bad	8	9	6	9	10	13	13
Very bad	3	3	1	2	3	3	2
Difficult to answer	26	27	10	8	9	13	18

N=1600

Table 21.58

### How would you describe overall the current relations between Russia and Japan?

Friendly	7
Good, good neighbourly	15
Normal, calm	49
Cool	13
Tense	3
Hostile	1
Difficult to answer	12

2008, May; N=1600



## MIDDLE EAST

Table 21.59

**Which side do you sympathize with in the Palestine-Israeli conflict?**

	1997 October	2007 July	2008 May	2009 January
The Palestinians	10	10	9	12
The Israelis	13	10	12	10
Neither side	53	56	61	57
Difficult to answer	24	23	18	21

N=1600

Table 21.60

**What is your overall attitude to Israel now?**

	2003 August	2006 March	2008 May
Very good	7	3	4
Mainly good	58	43	52
Mainly bad	13	24	20
Very bad	4	7	4
Difficult to answer	19	22	20

N=1600

Table 21.61

**How would you describe overall the current relations between Russia and Israel?**

Friendly	5
Good, good neighbourly	14
Normal, calm	48
Cool	15
Tense	4
Hostile	1
Difficult to answer	14

2008, May; N=1600

Table 21.62

**Would you like to go to Israel?**

	1992 March	1997 October	2008 May
Yes	52	54	31
No	36	35	64
Difficult to answer	13	11	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>

**RUSSIA – THE USA**

Diagramm 21.1

Index of attitude to the US  
(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)

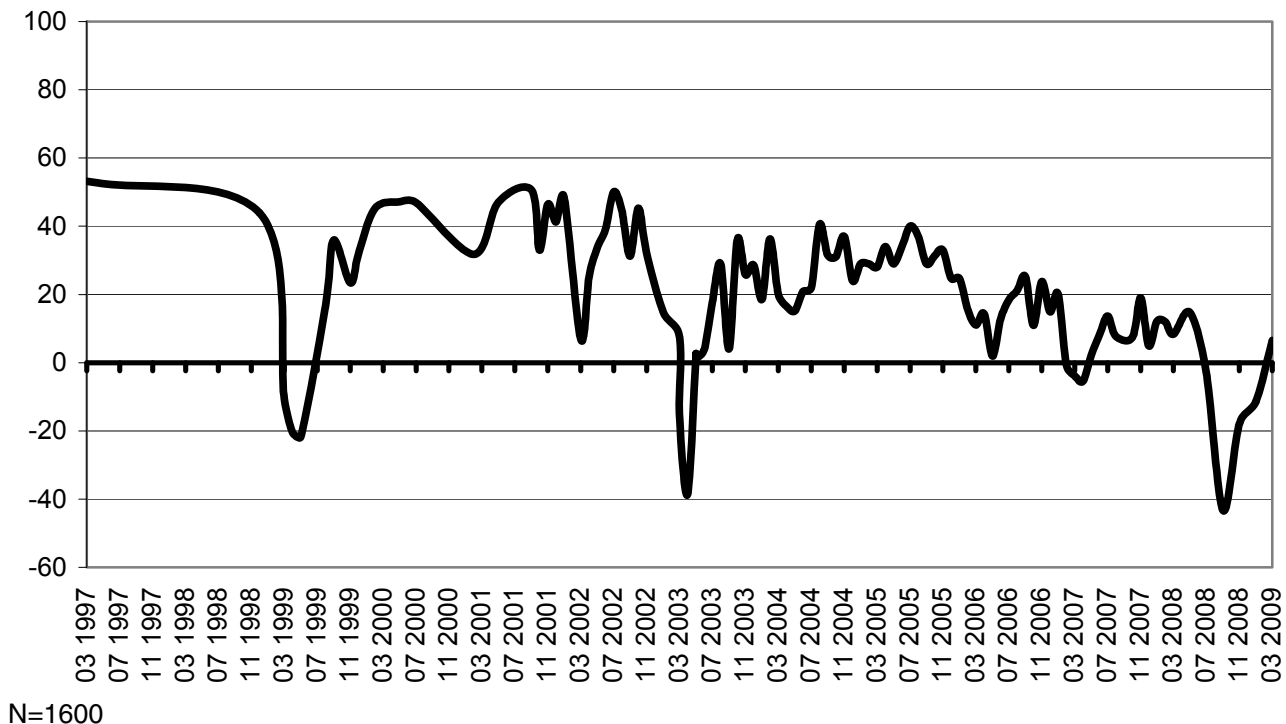


Table 21.63

**How would you generally describe the current relations  
between Russia and the United States of America?**

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008		2009
	IX	VIII	X	VIII	X	VIII	IX	V	VIII	I
Friendly	7	6	8	6	12	8	8	10	4	4
Good, neighborly	13	16	14	15	9	9	7	10	2	5
Normal, even	42	45	46	45	39	43	36	38	16	26
Lukewarm	25	20	18	21	25	24	27	27	39	34
Tense	8	6	8	7	10	8	14	8	28	20
Hostile	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	8	4
Difficult to answer	4	6	4	5	3	6	5	6	4	7

N=1600

Table 21.64

**Which of the following statements would you rather agree with?**

The United States hinder democratic processes in Islamic nations	27
The United States support democratic processes in Islamic nations only if their governments are loyal to the United States	17
The United States support democratic processes in Islamic nations no matter if their governments are loyal to the United States or not	6
If governments of the Islamic nations are loyal to the United States, USA do not draw attention to the state of democracy in these countries	24
Difficult to answer	27

2008, August; N=800

Table 21.65

**With which of the following statements would you rather agree?**

USA hypocritically try to make other nations follow International Laws though they not always follow the laws	76
USA set good example for other countries and always comply with International Laws	10
Difficult to answer	14

2008, July; N=800

Table 21.66

**Which one of the following views on the US Islamic World policy would you share most?**

In general, USA shows respect to Muslim countries	5
USA quite often treat Muslim countries with disrespect though rather diplomatically	35
USA seek to humiliate Islamic World	41
Difficult to answer	18

2008, July; N=800

**US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**

Table 21.67

**How closely do you follow the current election campaign in the United States of America?**

Very close	6
Rather negligent	29
Do not follow at all	64
Difficult to answer	1

2008, October; N=1600

Table 21.68

**Which of the US presidential candidates you sympathize the most?**  
(of those who follow the election campaign)

John McCain	14
Barack Obama	35
Neither	37
Difficult to answer	14

2008, October; N=1600

Table 21.69

**What are your feelings towards the victory of Barack Obama, a representative of African-American minority, in USA president elections?**

Admiration	5
Content	15
Surprise	16
Envy	0,4
Irritation	2
Indignation	1
No special feelings	57
Not sure	3

2008, October; N=1600

## RUSSIA AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

### NATO

Table 21.70

#### How important is signing a peace treaty with Japan for Russia?

	2003 January	2004 January	2008 February	2009 February
Russia's accession to NATO	5	8	4	3
Development of cooperation with NATO	43	33	25	23
Establishment of a defense pact to counter NATO	14	10	21	25
Russia's non-participation in any military blocs	22	31	32	36
Difficult to answer	16	18	17	14

N=1600

Table 21.71

#### Are closer relations between Russia and NATO in the interests of Russia overall?

	2002 V	2003 IX	2004 IV	2004 VI	2005 VI	2006 IV	2007 IV	2008 IV
Are in the interests of Russia	48	35	33	44	34	26	28	24
Are contrary to the interests of Russia	23	35	39	36	36	46	42	49
Difficult to answer	30	30	28	20	30	29	31	27

N=1600

Table 21.72

#### What do you think if European countries include in NATO have any reasons to beware of Russia?

	1997 IV	2000 VIII	2001 II	2002 II	2006 IV	2006 VI	2007 IV	2008 VII
Definitely yes	11	8	8	7	9	10	7	12
Yes, rather than no	16	20	16	22	25	21	21	21
No, rather than yes	32	38	40	38	37	38	33	36
Definitely no	27	19	25	20	20	22	24	24
Difficult to answer	13	14	12	14	9	10	15	8

N=1600

Table 21.73

#### What do you think if Russia has any reasons to beware of European countries include in NATO?

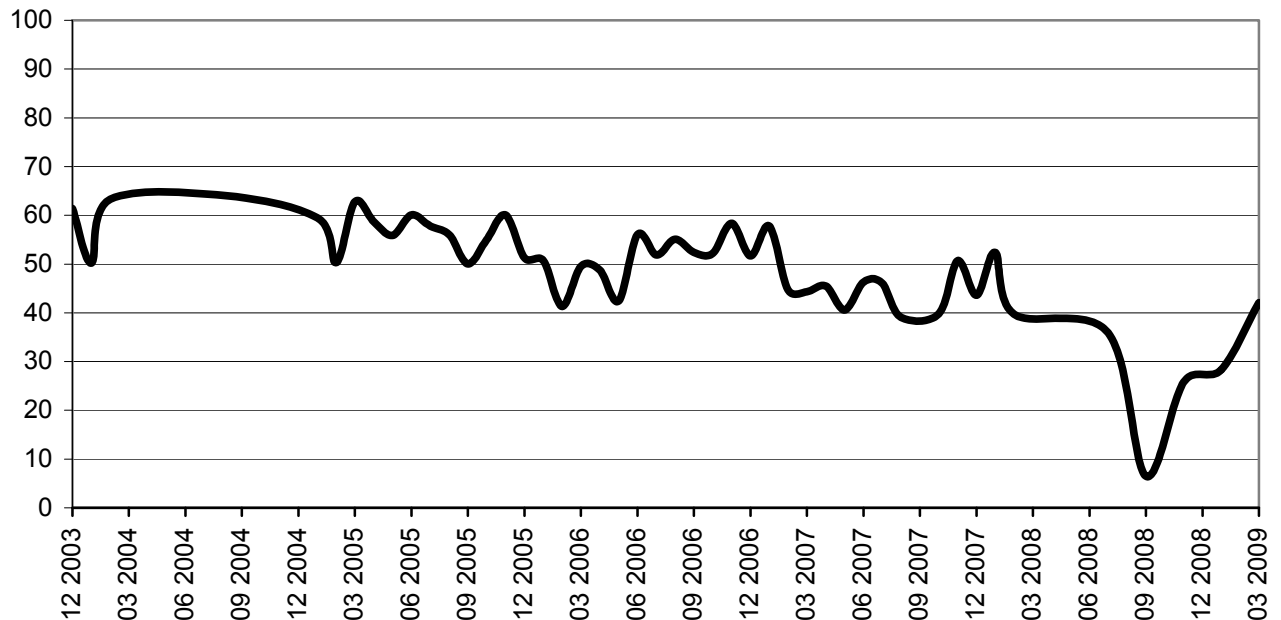
	1999 V	2000 VIII	2001 II	2002 II	2006 IV	2006 VI	2007 IV	2008 VII	2009 III
Definitely yes	27	16	25	14	15	22	14	23	22
Yes, rather than no	36	38	33	42	43	40	35	39	40
No, rather than yes	22	25	22	23	26	22	27	21	21
Definitely no	7	7	8	7	8	7	8	8	6
Difficult to answer	10	14	13	14	9	10	16	10	12

N=1600

## EUROPEAN UNION

Diagramm 21.2

**Index of attitude to the European Union**  
(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)



N=1600

Table 21.74

**How would you evaluate as a whole the relationship  
between Russia and EU (European Union)?**

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007	2008	2009
	XII	IX	IX	VIII	II	IX	VIII	I
Friendly	6	7	8	6	5	5	4	4
Good, good-neighborly	22	14	13	16	13	11	9	9
Normal, even	49	46	44	50	49	45	40	37
Cool	9	20	20	14	18	21	28	27
Tense	1	4	4	3	4	7	9	11
Hostile	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	1
Difficult to answer	12	8	10	11	10	10	8	10

N=1600

## GROUP OF EIGHT

Table 21.75

**Should Russia try to remain a permanent member of the «Group of Eight»?**

	2001 V	2002 I	2003 V	2005 I	2006 IV	2007 I	2007 VI	2008 I	2009 III
Yes	69	63	69	62	69	64	68	72	68
No	12	12	10	15	13	14	11	11	11
Difficult to answer	19	25	21	24	18	22	21	17	21

N=1600

Table 21.76

**Has Russia really become a «full member' of G8 – eight most influential world powers?» What is the main reason for this opinion?**

	2001 V	2002 I	2003 V	2005 I	2006 IV	2007 I	2007 VI	2008 I	2009 III
Yes, it has become a full member of G8	25	27	26	24	34	42	41	45	37

**No:**

Because it lags behind the leading countries in its economic development	23	21	28	26	21	17	12	15	12
Because it lags behind the leading countries in terms of democracy	5	4	3	4	3	2	3	3	3
Because of the unstable political situation in Russia	9	5	5	6	4	2	4	2	3
Because of the resistance of western countries	5	5	6	6	8	4	6	4	7
Difficult to say if it has become a G8 member or not	31	37	30	33	27	30	32	30	36

N=1600

## WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION

Table 21.77

**Do you think joining the World Trade Organization is in the interests of Russia?**

	2002 IV	2003 IX	2004 IV	2004 VI	2005 VI	2006 IV	2007 IV	2008 IV
Is in the interests of Russia	53	47	50	58	55	45	50	48
Is contrary to the interests of Russia	18	22	21	22	21	27	21	27
Difficult to answer	29	31	29	20	24	28	29	25

N=1600

## 22. MEMORABLE DATES

### ANNIVERSARY OF 1968 EVENTS

Table 22.1

**Have you heard of «Events of 1968» that launched with student riots in May, 1968, in France, and then, flooded other countries in the West, and, if affirmative, please, from which sources?**

From witnesses of these events	2
From contemporaries of these events	3
From Soviet newspapers, TV newscasts of that time	8
From "Western" radiobroadcasts and other unaccredited sources of that time (samizdat, Western literature)	3
From newspapers, telecasts, other sources of Perestroika and later years	8
From textbooks, history references	4
From fiction, movies	2
I've heard but cannot remember where	10
I've heard nothing about these events	53
I find it difficult to say if I've heard or not	12

2008, May; N=1600

### 40 YEARS OF PRAGUE SPRING

Table 22.2

**This year events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia, also known as Prague Spring, turn 40. Do you know what has been happening at that time in Czechoslovakia?**

Yes, I know it well	10
I've heard, read about it	18
I've heard something but cannot tell for sure	19
No, I know nothing about it	55

2008, February; N=1600

Table 22.3

**Wherefrom did you learn about the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia?**  
(% of those who answered)

I took part in these events. Members of my family participated. Eyewitnesses	4
From Soviet newspapers, TV newscasts of that time	33
From "Western" radiobroadcasts and other unaccredited sources of that time (samizdat, Western literature)	6
Elder people that are contemporaries of these events told me about it	19
From newspapers, telecasts, other sources of Perestroika and later years	33
From textbooks, history references	18
Difficult to answer	6

2008, February; N=1600

Table 22.4

**In your opinion, what has been happening at that time in Czechoslovakia?**

People's rebellion against the regime imposed by the Soviet Union	31
Attempt of democratic renewal of the Socialism	14
Attempted coup by Anti-Soviet and revisionist groups in the government of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to break country away from socialist camp	15
Subversive activity of the Western countries aimed to break Socialist countries	13
Spontaneous actions of unconscientious and misled people against Communist leaders of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	4
Other	2
Difficult to answer	21

2008, February; N=1600

Table 22.5

**In your opinion, was there actual threat of NATO military intervention in Czechoslovakia then?**

I think, yes	39
I think, no	27
Difficult to answer	34

2008, February; N=1600

Table 22.6

**Who had your sympathies at that time?**

Prague Spring activists	7
Soviet officials	25
I was a little boy/girl / I was not born then	56
Difficult to answer	11

2008, February; N=1600

Table 23.7

**Which participant of those events has your sympathies nowadays?**

Prague Spring activists	26
Soviet officials	31
Difficult to answer	43

2008, February; N=1600



Table 22.8

**What is your assessment of the events when the Soviet Union and members of its Warsaw pact invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968?**

That was a response to request of the rightful authorities to facilitate control over Czechoslovakia	16
It was an act of suppression of people's movement against Socialism and intimidation of possible opposition in other countries	21
It was an attempt to keep Czechoslovakia within the socialist camp in every way possible	39
Difficult to answer	22

2008, February; N=1600

Table 22.9

**In your opinion, what did the Soviet authorities fear the most then?**

Split in the socialist camp	58
Crash of Communism in USSR and other socialist countries	16
Crisis escalates into World War	12
Difficult to answer	14

2008, February; N=1600

Table 23.10

**In your opinion, did only Czechoslovakia or other socialist countries as well want to modify socialist system in 1968?**

Only Czechoslovakia	10
Other socialist countries as well	47
All the socialist countries, USSR included	14
Difficult to answer	29

2008, February; N=1600

Table 22.11

**Do you know that a protest against Soviet invasion in Czechoslovakia took place on the Red Square on August, 1968?**

Yes, I know it well	6
I've heard, read about it	21
I've heard something but cannot tell for sure	30
Difficult to answer	43

2008, February; N=1600

Table 22.12

**Which statement on what happened in Czechoslovakia after Soviet army had invaded, would you rather agree with?**

Order was restored in the country, routine and peaceful life began	22
Best, most active and honest people were repressed. Country came down to stagnation and apathy	18
That froze the country for a while but didn't change historical course of events	30
Difficult to answer	30

2008, February; N=1600

Table 22.13

**In your opinion, what was the impact of Prague Spring 1968 upon the life of people of Czechoslovakia in the end?**

Positive	24
Negative	28
No impact	14
Difficult to answer	33

2008, February; N=1600

Table 22.14

**In your opinion, what was the impact upon socialism popularity in West Europe after Soviet troops had invaded Czechoslovakia?**

Positive	14
Negative	45
No impact	12
Difficult to answer	29

2008, February; N=1600

Table 22.15

**In your opinion, should Russia be morally responsible for Prague Spring suppression as a successor to the USSR?**

Definitely yes	6
Yes, rather than no	18
No, rather than yes	30
Definitely no	30
Difficult to answer	16

2008, February; N=1600

## GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Table 22.16

**Do you think the Soviet Union would have won this war without its allies?**

	1991 May	1997 June	2001 April	2003 April	2005 April	2006 June	2007 April	2008 April
I think it could	62	71	71	67	60	65	64	64
I don't think it could	26	21	21	26	32	28	28	26
Difficult to answer	12	8	8	7	8	7	8	10

1991, N=1000; 1997-2007, N=1600

Table 22.17

**What do you think the main results of the victory in World War II are?**

	2005 May	2008 April
Freeing the European countries from fascist occupation	54	52
Destruction of the Hitler's regime	68	74
Triumph of the ideas of freedom, democracy, human rights over the fascist ideology and national suppression	21	23
Peaceful development and rapprochement of European nations	23	20
Creation of socialist camp	16	17
Expansion of the Stalin regime's influence on East European Countries	7	7
Increase of the USA role in life and politics of European nations	4	3
Creation of the UN	9	12
Difficult to answer	3	4

N=1600

## «PERESTROIKA» (TRANSFORMATION)

Table 22.18

**Do you agree that it would be better if everything in the country were the same as it used to be before the beginning of Perestroika?**

	1995 X	1996 II	1997 II	1998 II	2000 III	2001 III	2003 III	2004 III	2005 I	2006 I	2007 I	2008 II	2009 II
Absolutely agree	31	27	34	29	25	29	35	22	26	23	21	19	22
Agree, rather than don't agree	22	22	18	22	25	25	21	24	22	20	21	19	22
Do not agree, rather than agree	20	22	23	22	27	23	23	24	24	29	29	34	27
Absolutely disagree	15	18	18	17	13	16	15	19	16	16	17	19	14
Difficult to answer	13	11	8	10	10	8	7	10	12	12	12	17	15

N=1600

## AUGUST PUTSCH OF 1991

Table 22.19

### 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
Victory of a democratic revolution which put an end to CPSU power	7	8	9	10	10	9	9	11	10	13	10	11
Tragic event which had disastrous consequences for the country and the people	27	31	38	33	25	25	31	36	36	36	24	34
Just an episode of power struggle within leadership of the country	53	46	40	46	43	46	50	42	43	39	48	41
Difficult to answer	13	15	13	11	22	20	10	10	12	12	18	15

N=1600

Table 22.20

### Who do you think was right in those days?

	2006 July	2007 August	2008 July
GKChP	13	8	11
B. Yeltsin and the democrats	12	17	17
Neither side	52	46	49
Difficult to answer	23	29	23

N=1600

Table 22.21

### Do you think the country started to develop in the right or the wrong direction in August 1991?

	2003 August	2004 July	2005 July	2006 June	2007 August	2008 July
In the right direction	30	27	25	30	28	33
In the wrong direction	47	49	50	44	37	40
Difficult to answer	23	24	25	26	35	27

N=1600

## THE USSR COLLAPSE

Table 22.22

### Do you regret the collapse of the USSR?

	1992	1993	2000	2001	2002	2004	2005	2006			2007	2008
	III	I	XII	XII	XII	XI	XI	III	XI	XII	XI	IX
Yes	66	63	75	72	68	71	65	62	61	61	55	60
No	23	23	19	21	25	22	25	28	30	32	36	30
Difficult to answer	11	1	6	7	7	7	10	10	9	8	10	10

N=1600

Table 22.23

### 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
	II	III	XII	XII	III	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI
Was unavoidable	24	26	29	29	25	24	29	27	30	30
Could have been avoided	58	62	58	59	65	65	61	59	56	55
Difficult to answer	18	12	13	12	10	10	10	14	14	15

N=1600

## THE LEADERS

### V. LENIN

Table 22.24

### Which of the opinions about the role of Lenin in our history could you share?

(Answers ranked by the first measurement)

	1998	2000	2004	2005	2008
The memory about Lenin will be part of history but no one will follow his path	44	39	36	40	35
Lenin's ideas were distorted by his successors	37	34	26	27	26
Lenin tried to use the best ideas and hopes of people to lead them to a bright future	28	26	21	22	18
Lenin took our country to the path leading to progress and justice	25	23	24	22	19
Lenin was wrong in his expectations about the revolution and communism	21	24	13	18	14
Lenin led our country in the wrong direction and it resulted in many misfortunes and disasters	19	19	16	23	18
Lenin was a cruel man, who tried to reform the country with the help of violence	14	11	14	14	11
Lenin's ideas will light the path to a better life for people in the next century too	10	8	9	9	7
Lenin foresaw the coming victory of communism all over the world	7	8	6	6	6
Difficult to answer	10	8	9	7	12

N=1600

Table 22.25

**What should be done with the body of V. Lenin?**

	<b>1997 August</b>	<b>2000 December</b>	<b>2005 October</b>	<b>2006 April</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
The body should be buried in the Volkov Cemetery in St. Petersburg	37	34	36	44	31
It should be buried by the Kremlin Wall	13	16	15	11	21
Should be left in the Mausoleum	38	44	40	38	34
Do not know/ difficult to answer	11	8	10	7	14

N=1600

Table 22.26

**What should be done with the Mausoleum in this case?**

	<b>1997 August</b>	<b>2000 December</b>	<b>2005 October</b>	<b>2006 April</b>	<b>2008 January</b>
Leave it in Red Square	74	82	80	75	64
Move it to another place	9	6	6	9	8
Demolish	9	6	6	6	12
Do not know/ difficult to answer	8	6	9	10	16

N=1600

**J. STALIN**

Table 22.27

**What part did J. Stalin play in the life of our country?**

	<b>2003 March</b>	<b>2008 October</b>
Definitely positive	18	8
Rather positive	35	33
Rather negative	21	27
Definitely negative	12	10
Difficult to answer	14	21

N=1600

Table 22.28

**Which of the following views on Stalin do you tend to share?**

	<b>Absolutely agree/ Agree, rather than don't agree</b>	<b>Do not agree, rather than agree/ Absolutely disagree</b>	<b>Difficult to answer</b>
Stalin was a wise leader, who brought Russia to power and prosperity	50	37	14
Stalin was a cruel and inhuman tyrant guilty of murdering millions of innocent people	68	15	13
Whatever mistakes or faults are ascribed to Stalin the most important thing is that under his leadership our people won the Great Patriotic War	68	16	13
Due to Stalin's policies (destruction of the military personnel, collusion with Hitler) Russia turned out to be unprepared for the war	58	22	20
Stalin took over the cause of Lenin and other revolutionaries-bolsheviks	56	26	18
Stalin distorted Lenin's ideas, establishing a regime which was far from the ideals of genuine socialism	34	50	17
Only a tough ruler could have maintained order in Russia in a situation of intense class struggle and external threats	32	42	26
Our people would never do without leaders such as Stalin. Sooner or later such a leader will come and straighten things out	68	14	19

2008, October; N=1600

Table 22.29

**What is your overall attitude to J. Stalin now?**

	<b>2001 April</b>	<b>2006 April</b>	<b>2008 October</b>
With administration	4	5	1
With respect	27	23	22
With sympathy	7	8	8
With indifference	12	19	37
With dislike	18	18	12
With fear	16	15	7
With disgust, hatred	9	5	4
Difficult to answer	6	8	10

N=1600

Table 22.30

**Can Stalin be brought into line with such outstanding figures that created powerful empires as Peter the Great or Bismark?**

Definitely yes	10
Yes, rather than no	28
No, rather than yes	26
Definitely no	21
Difficult to answer	15

2008, October; N=1600

Table 22.31

**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?**

Definitely yes	3
Yes, to some extent	24
No, they cannot be justified anything	60
Difficult to answer	13

2008, October; N=1600

Table 22.32

**Will people in Russia still remember J.Stalin in 50 years?  
If affirmative, then with what feelings– good, bad or mixed?**

With good feelings	7
With bad feelings	9
With mixed feelings	45
I won't be thinking about it	23
Difficult to answer	16

2008, October; N=1600

Table 22.33

**Would you personally like to live and work under such a leader of the country as J.Stalin?**

Definitely yes	3
Yes, rather than no	13
No, rather than yes	31
Definitely no	43
Difficult to answer	10

2008, October; N=1600