



LEVADA ANALYTICAL CENTER

«FROM OPINION TOWARD UNDERSTANDING...»

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This twelfth edition of the annual “Russia Public Opinion 2016” continues a series of publications which present the main findings of socio-political and socio-economic research conducted on the basis of mass surveys. Published materials that previously appeared in periodicals are available on our web pages.

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PREFACE

The current edition of the annual “Russian Public opinion – 2016” is the **thirteenth** successive issue. It contains the results of public opinion surveys conducted in 2016 and in the early 2017.

The materials of 1990-2013 incorporated in the current edition were obtained in VCIOM. The materials of surveys of 2003-2017 were obtained by Levada-Center.

This annual edition presents major trends in Russian public opinion: everyday life attitudes, opinions on major socio-political and socio-economic processes, evaluations of major events in Russia and abroad. The presented materials tell a complex and sometimes conflicting story of the climate of public opinion in Russia over the past year.

Deeper analysis of the presented survey results can be found in the “**Vestnik obshchestvennogo mneniya**” (**The Russian public opinion herald**) journal published by the Levada-Center, and on the Center’s website www.levada.ru

One should consider the following issues when analysing the presented data:

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

1. PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE YEAR

Table 1.1

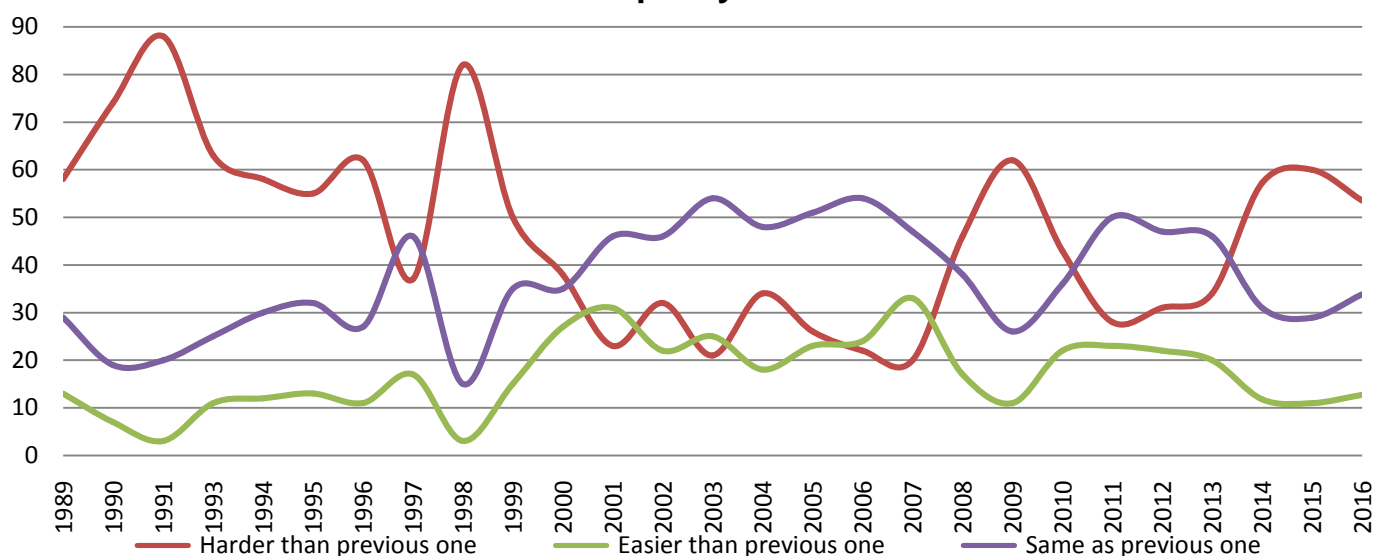
How would you evaluate the past year in general?

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Very good	2	2	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	3
Good	15	12	16	20	22	16	12	19	17	15	19	16	9	10
Average	69	62	66	62	61	60	61	59	67	64	63	63	57	56
Bad	10	19	14	13	11	19	23	17	12	14	13	15	25	25
Very bad	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	3
Difficult to answer	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	3

N=1600

Diagram 1.1

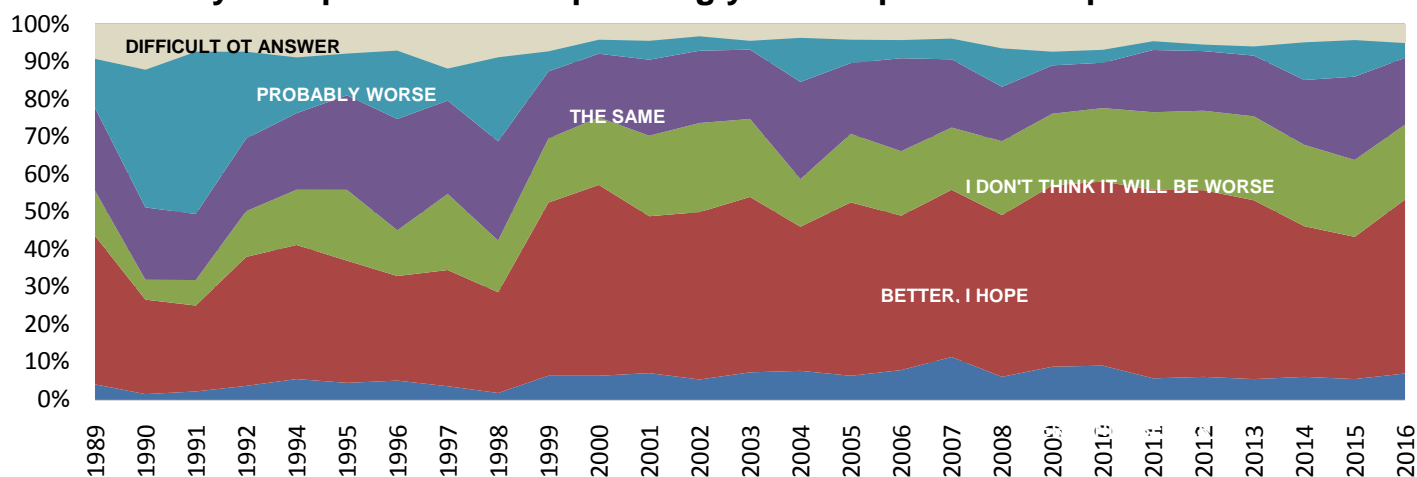
How was this past year for Russia?



N=1600

Diagram 1.2

What do you expect from the upcoming year compared to the previous one?



N=1600, in 1990-1999, N=2500

Table 1.2

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

2014		2015		2016	
Olympic games in Sochi	54	The crash of Airbus A321, operated by Kogalymavia in Egypt	39	Price hikes/ inflation	30
Rapid depreciation of Russian currency	52	Turkish air forces downs Russian bomber	34	Donald Trump wins US presidential elections	28
Referendum in Crimea and accession of Crimea and Sevastopol to Russia	41	Rapid depreciation of Russian currency	29	Russian athletes banned from Olympics/ Paralympics in Rio over doping scandal	23
Continuous decline of oil prices	25	Russia carries airstrikes in Syria	28	Rio Summer Olympics	23
Vladimir Putin press-conference	22	70th anniversary of victory in WWII	27	Syrian conflict	22
Political changes in Ukraine: President V. Yanukovich stepping away from presidency, a change in the Ukrainian Constitution, Maidan supporters take power in country	18	Decline of oil prices	27	Children die in drowning accident on a lake in Karelia	20
The USA and Western Europe countries impose sanctions against Russia	16	The US and EU sanctions against Russia	22	Minister of Economic Development Alexey Ulyukaev arrested over bribe allegations	18
Massive riots in Kiev ("Maidan")	16	Terracts in Paris	21	9 th of May celebrations/ Victory Day Parade/ the Immortal Regiment procession	17
Military actions in Donbass	15	The action "Immortal regiment"	17	President Vladimir Putin's Address to the Federal Assembly	15
Russia sends humanitarian help in Ukraine	15	Military actions in Donbass	17	Armed conflict in Donbass	15
V.Putin visits China. Russia and China sign 30 years long gas contract	15	Migration crisis in Europe	16	Influx of Middle Eastern and African refugees in Europe	14
Russia bans the import US and EU goods	14	EU prolongs the sanctions against Russia	14	Russian State Duma elections	13
Massive casualties in Trade Unions House fire in Odessa during clashes between Euromaidan and anti-Maidan demonstrators	14	V.Putin's press-conference in December	13	Deputy head of anti-corruption agency D.Zakharchenko arrested / 9 billion rubles seized	13
Ebola outbreak in Africa	13	Russian imposes sanctions against Turkey	11	Russia-Turkey relations restored / Russian tourism to Turkey resumed	13
Air Crash of Malaysian airlines Boeing-777 in Ukraine	11	The inclusion of household capital repairs into the household bill	11	Boeing crashes in Rostov-on-Don	12

*- 15 most frequently mentioned events are cited, N=1600

Table 1.3

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

	Definitely yes	Most likely, yes	Most likely, no	Definitely no	Difficult to answer
... anthropogenic disaster ?					
2010	7	36	32	5	20
2011	5	46	26	6	18
2012	8	43	26	6	16
2013	6	38	33	5	19
2014	5	28	38	8	21
2015	6	31	33	10	20
2016	4	23	38	15	21
... mass epidemics?					
2010	6	28	39	8	20
2011	3	34	36	9	19
2012	4	27	37	12	20
2013	4	24	44	9	19
2014	4	19	46	15	15
2015	4	18	43	17	19
2016	4	22	42	15	17
... high profile corruption scandals and resignation of ministers?					
2010	13	47	18	4	19
2011	10	50	21	4	14
2012	16	55	15	4	11
2013	17	48	17	3	16
2014	9	42	26	7	16
2015	10	43	21	9	16
2016	14	46	19	7	14
...coup d'etat					
2010	3	14	40	25	18
2011	3	16	45	20	16
2012	3	16	43	24	15
2013	2	10	51	26	12
2014	2	10	36	40	12
2015	2	8	36	40	15
2016	2	7	42	38	12
... turmoil and mass protests?					
2010	6	40	28	8	18
2011	6	50	25	5	13
2012	5	45	31	8	12
2013	6	37	35	8	15
2014	4	28	38	16	14
2015	4	27	37	18	15
2016	2	19	42	25	13
... armed conflict with one of the neighboring countries?					
2010	4	19	38	18	21
2011	1	22	42	17	19
2012	3	21	40	18	18
2013	2	18	44	15	20
2014	6	21	39	19	15
2015	4	25	34	16	21
2016					
... escalation of the situation in Chechnya and North Caucasus?					
2010	6	32	28	8	26
2011	3	30	34	8	25
2012	5	35	30	9	22
2013	6	36	30	5	23
2014	7	22	38	13	20
2015	5	23	37	12	24
2016	2	20	41	17	20

2011-2015, N=800; 2010, 2016, N=1600,

Table 1.4

Is it possible that Russia will face armed conflict with one of nearest countries next?

	2006 XII	2009 I	2010 II	2011 XII	2013 XII	2014 XII	2015 XII	2016 XII
Definitely yes	2	5	2	1	2	6	4	3
Most likely yes	23	22	21	22	18	21	25	18
Most likely no	38	36	41	42	44	39	34	43
Definitely no	16	8	12	17	15	19	16	20
Difficult to answer	22	29	24	19	20	15	21	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 1.5

Is it possible that Russia will face next year resignation of ministers?

	2014 XII	2015 XII	2016 XII
Definitely yes	3	3	3
Most likely yes	13	13	13
Most likely no	44	42	44
Definitely no	23	25	26
Difficult to answer	17	16	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 1.6

Is it possible that Russia will face next year mass nationality conflicts?

	2013 XII	2014 XII	2015 XII	2016 XII
Definitely yes	6	4	4	2
Most likely yes	42	26	26	15
Most likely no	30	41	38	45
Definitely no	6	15	17	24
Difficult to answer	15	13	15	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 1.7

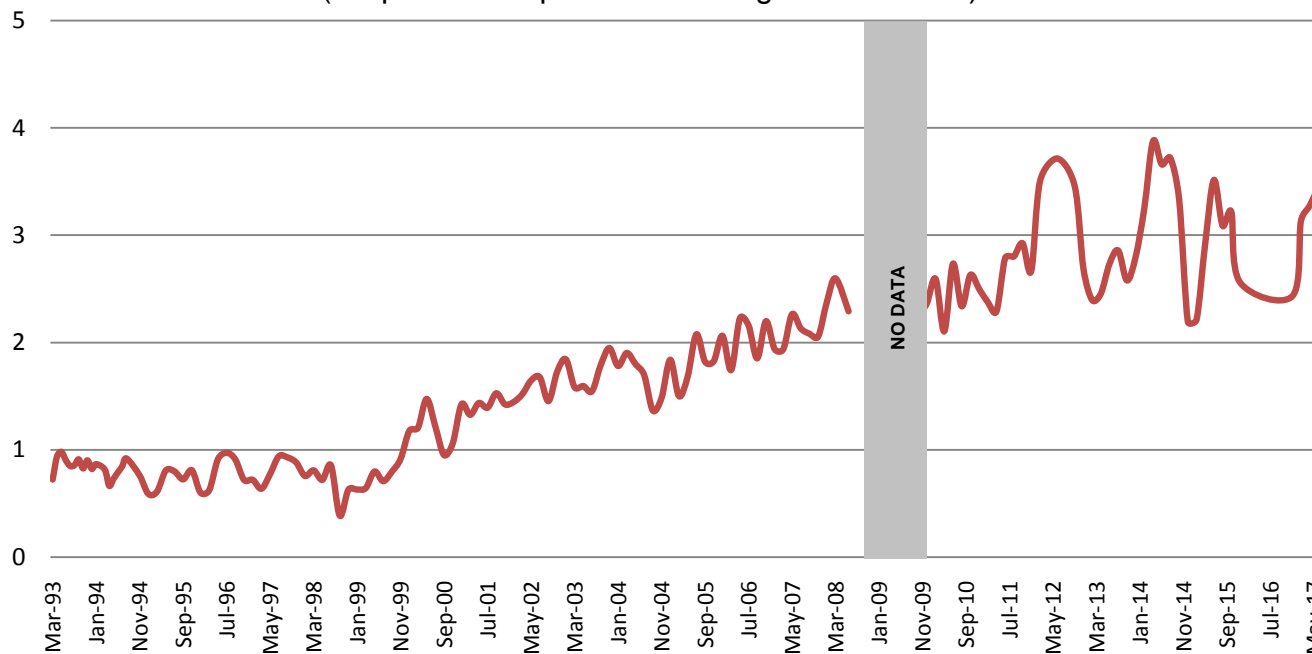
How do you look in coming year: with hope, uncertainty, anxiety?

	2003 I	2013 I	2014 I	2015 I	2016 I	2017 I
With hope	50	51	51	47	43	57
With insecurity (uncertainty)	21	24	25	24	26	23
With anxiety	25	20	19	25	28	17
Difficult to answer	4	5	5	4	4	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

2. PUBLIC SENTIMENTS, EXPECTATIONS

Diagram 2.1

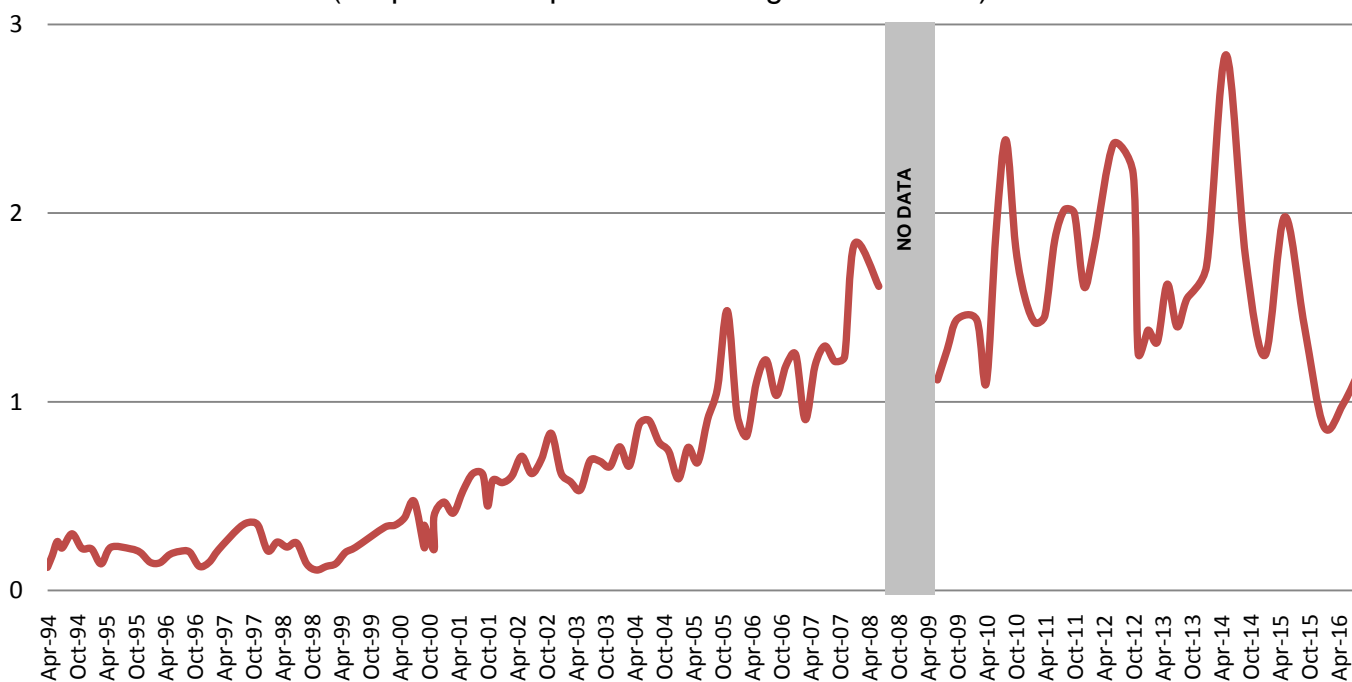
How would you describe your sentiments in recent days?
(Proportions of positive and negative answers)



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

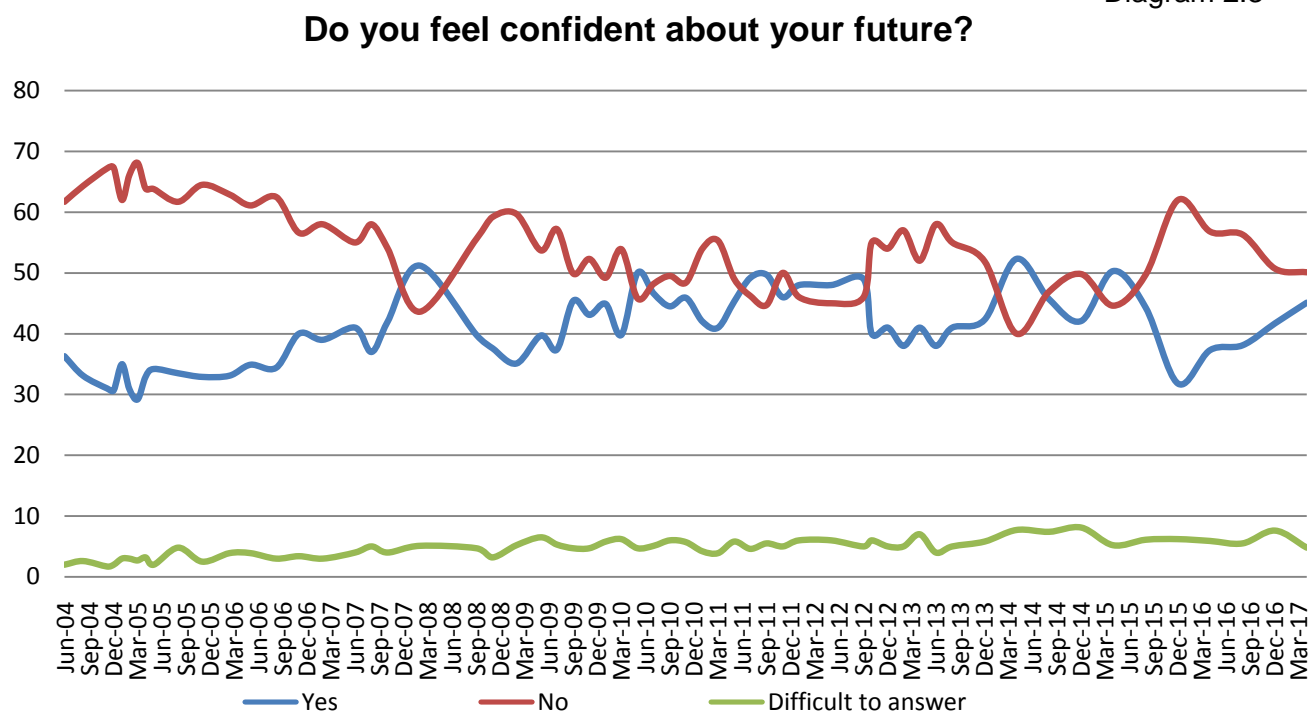
Diagram 2.2

Are you satisfied with your life?
(Proportions of positive and negative answers)



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

Diagram 2.3



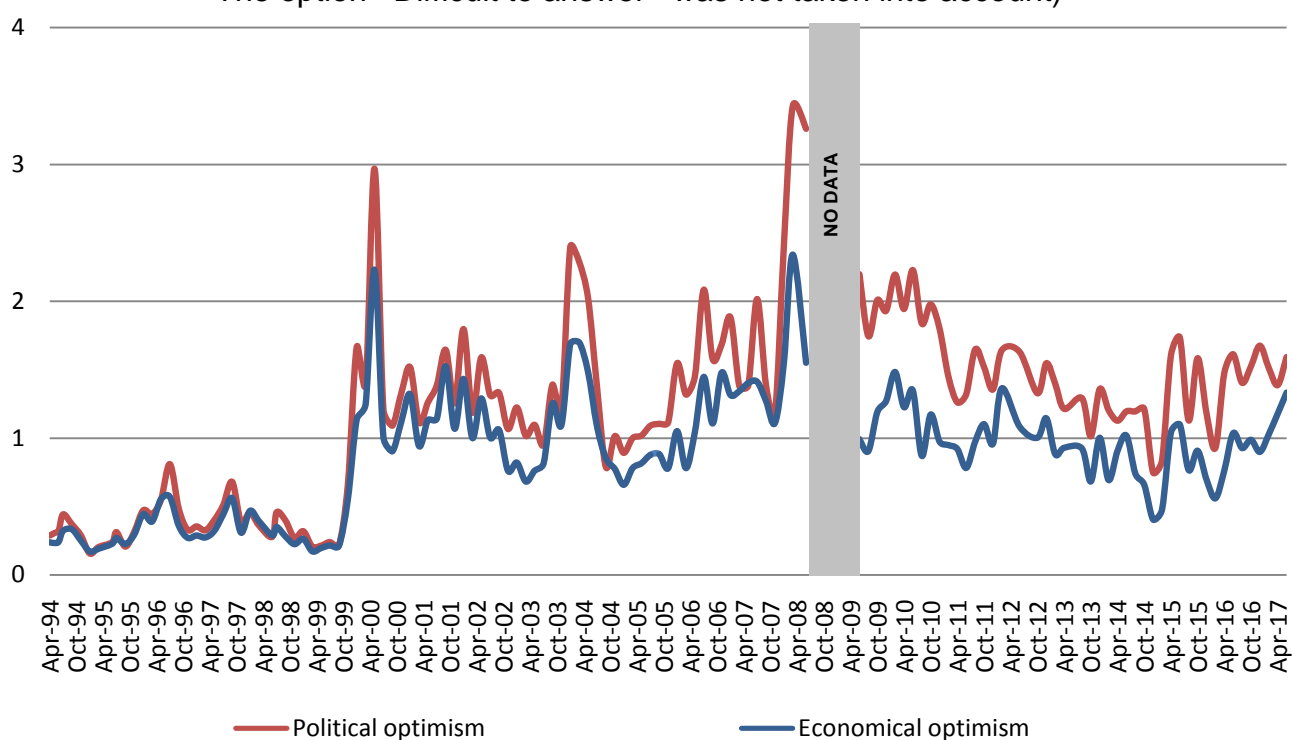
N=1600

Diagram 2.4

Indices of optimism

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

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

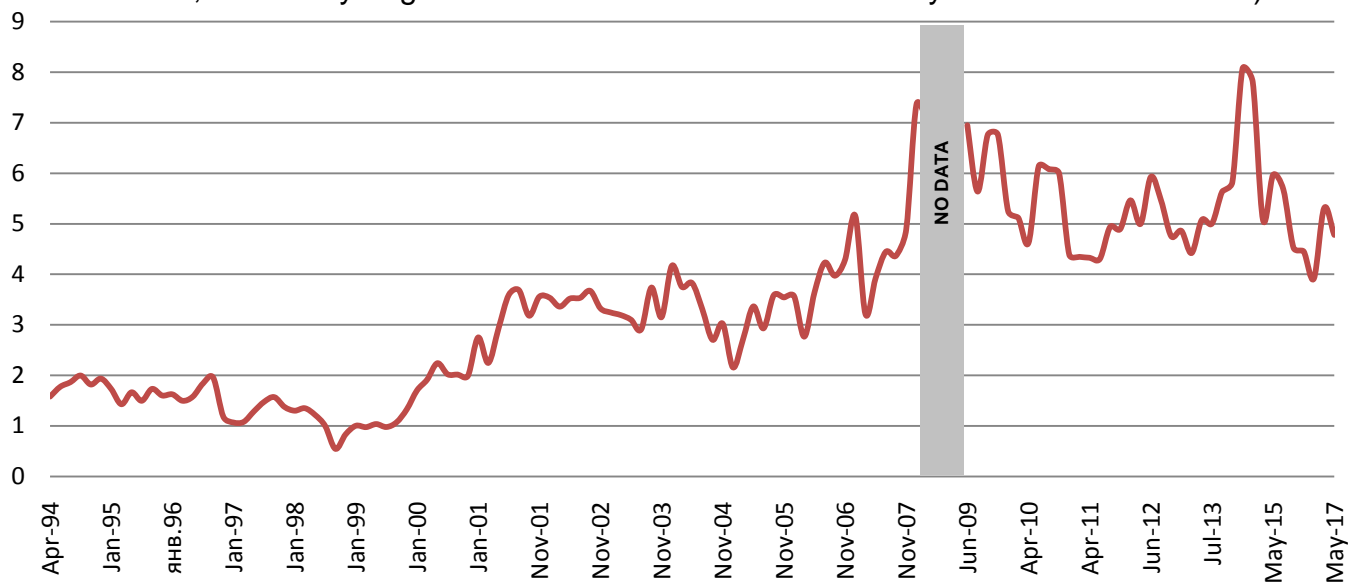


Until June 2008 N=2100; from June 2009 N=1600

Diagram 2.5

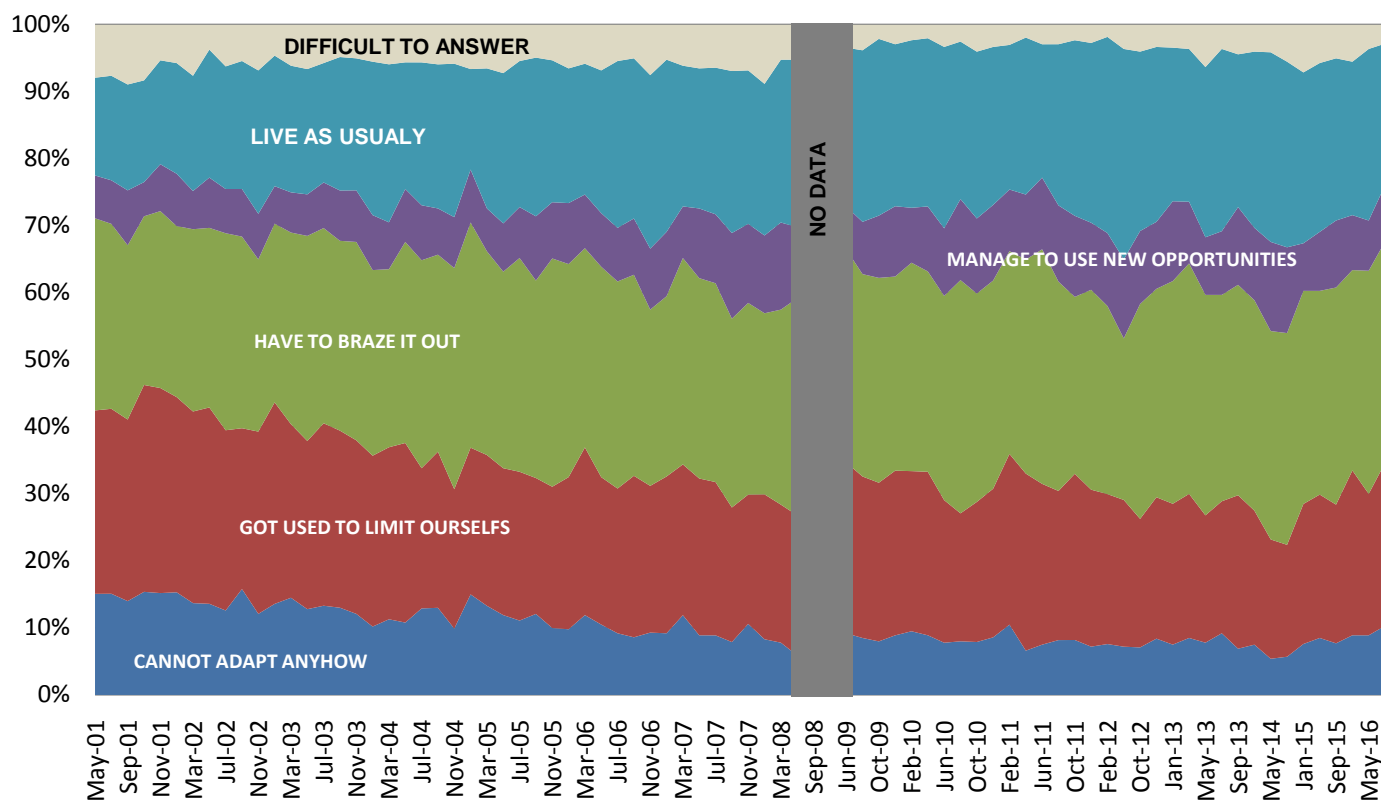
«Margin of safety»?

(the ratio of sum of the positive answers «the situation is not that bad» + «it is tough, but bearable», divided by negative answer «the situation in country became unbearable»)



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

Diagram 2.6

Types of adaptation

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

Table 2.1

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

	1999	2003	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Hope	10	30	34	41	29	34	30	30	25	25	29	22
Tiredness, indifference	52	40	33	27	42	33	36	32	35	25	26	31
Bitterness, aggression	37	18	18	15	19	17	15	18	24	12	14	15
Confusion	24	18	16	12	22	16	10	14	17	16	13	15
Pride in their nation	2	4	6	8	6	7	4	5	4	11	11	12
Fear	29	15	13	9	19	11	8	13	14	12	10	12
Self-respect	3	11	16	18	8	14	10	13	7	12	10	10
Resentment	26	18	18	11	16	14	13	9	13	7	9	9
Desperation	37	14	15	8	17	10	12	10	17	9	8	9
Responsibility for the situation in the country	2	4	9	4	4	7	4	4	5	7	7	8
Confidence in the future	3	11	15	15	7	12	8	10	8	7	6	7
Feeling of freedom	4	14	14	13	7	12	7	13	8	6	6	6
Envy	8	8	13	13	12	9	9	12	9	9	5	6
Loneliness	5	8	13	7	11	11	10	9	7	6	4	5
Difficult to answer	3	11	6	13	10	8	18	15	10	14	15	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

SOCIAL TENSIONS

Table 2.2

How much high is the tension in Russia between rich and poor now?

	2009	2016
Very high	36	41
High	46	35
Not so high	13	14
Without tension	4	7
Difficult to answer	2	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 2.3

How much high is the tension in Russia between the manager (director) and ordinary worker?

	2009	2016
Very high	23	23
High	50	42
Not so high	19	22
Without tension	4	9
Difficult to answer	4	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 2.4

How high are religious tensions in Russia?

	2009	2016
Very high	6	13
There is some tension	29	35
Not very high	32	28
There is no tension	26	16
Difficult to answer	7	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 2.5

Is there any serious controversy in the modern Russian society that could lead to the tension in the future between...

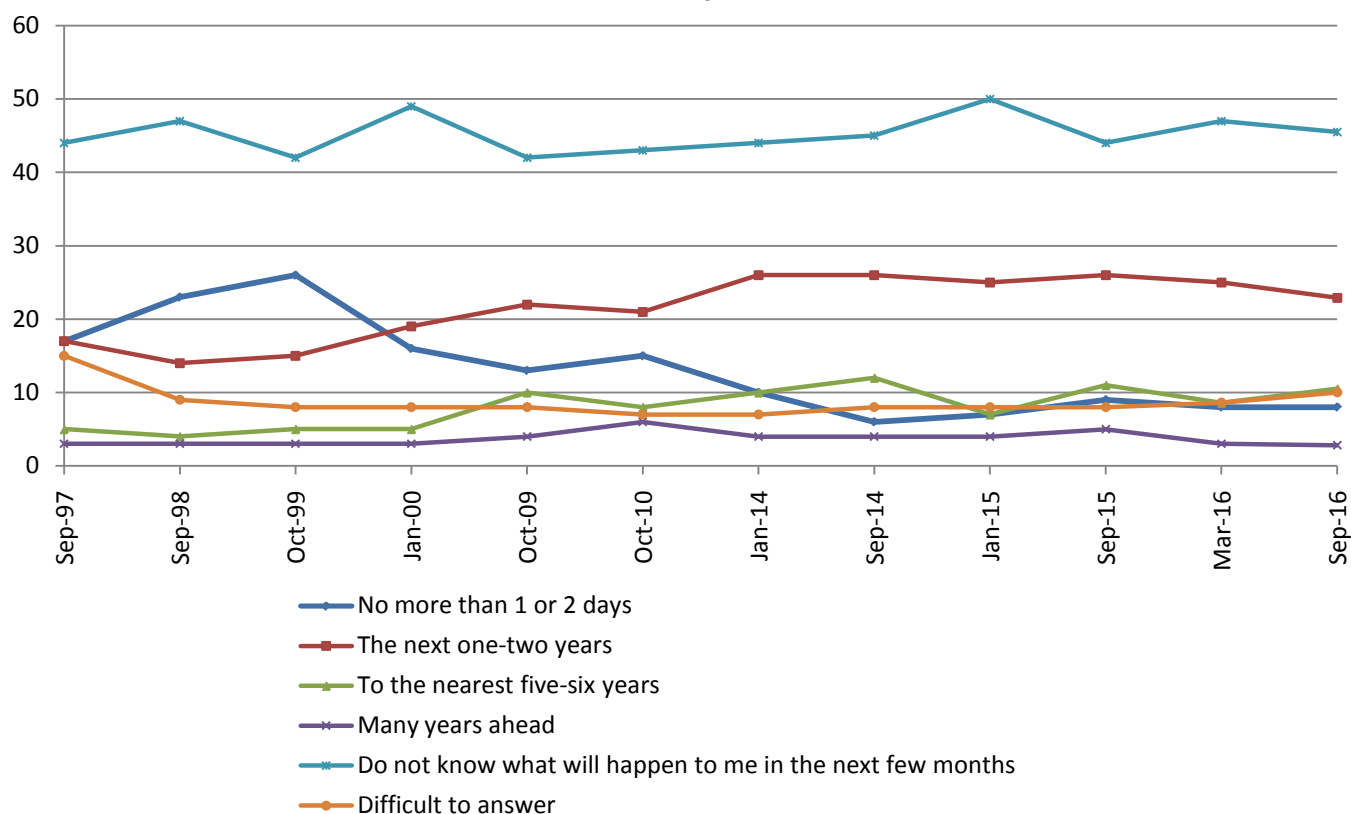
	Definitely yes	Rather yes	Rather no	Definitely no	Such tensions already exist	Difficult to answer
Highly educated and least-educated	13	31	34	14	3	4
Ethnic Russians and other ethnic groups	15	39	26	9	6	5
Patriots and non-patriots	10	27	34	15	4	11
Russian Orthodox and other faiths	10	34	31	14	4	7
Putin supporters and opponents	12	35	26	13	4	11

2016, May, N=800

PERCEPTIONS OF FUTURE

Diagram 2.7

Considering the present situation, for how many upcoming years do you feel confident about your future?



Before 2010 N=1600, 2014 year N=800; 2015-2016 years, N=1600

Table 2.6

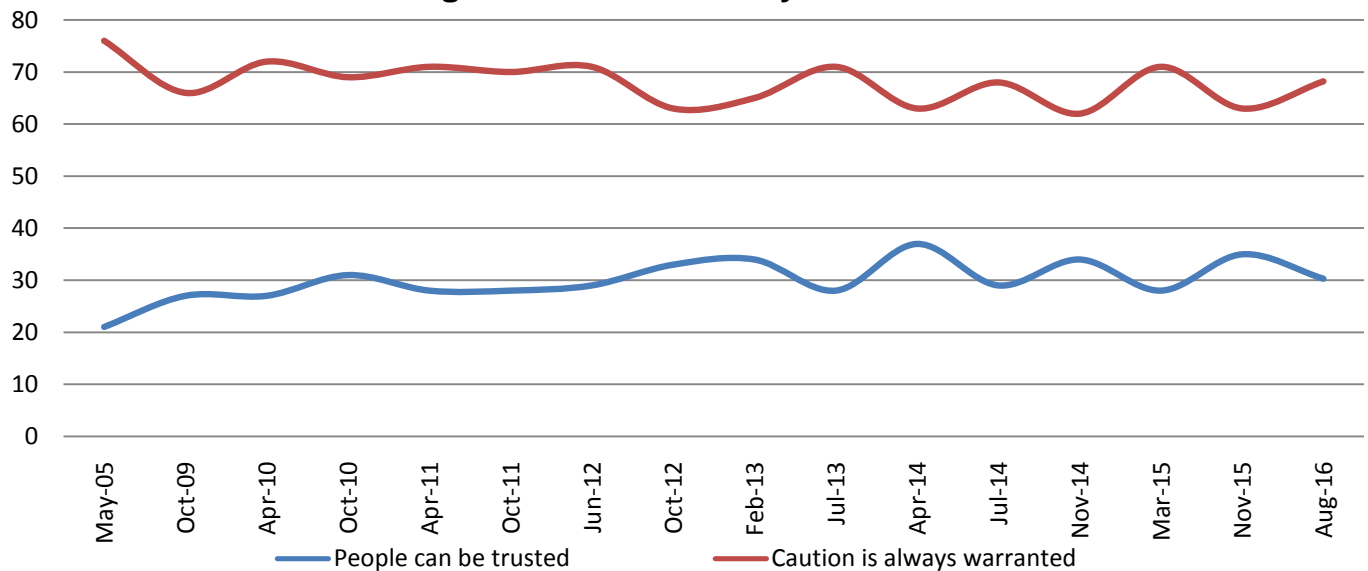
How do you see...

	your own future?				the future of Russia?			
	2013 V	2014 XI	2015 V	2016 V	2013 V	2014 XI	2015 V	2016 V
Rather calmly, with certainty	32	33	42	42	29	33	39	39
Rather with worry/ fears	59	56	47	49	58	55	50	50
Difficult to answer	9	10	11	8	13	12	12	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

TRUST AND CONFIDENCE

Diagram 2.8

On the whole, would you say that people can be trusted or that caution in dealing with others is always warranted?



N=1600

LIFE STRATEGIES

Table 2.7

Which of the views is closest to yours?

	1992 VI	1998 III	2015 XI	2016 XI
Try to change the reality, do not accept it	9	15	8	10
Live by the rules of the world and do not day-dream	12	21	33	34
Shut off yourself from the world, make peace with yourself	3	4	5	9
Live your humble life and do not pay attention to what is going on in the world	11	16	16	21
Be decent regardless of any circumstances	52	39	34	23
Difficult to answer	13	5	3	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 2.8

What do you count on more now?

	1996 III	1997 IV	1998 IV	2003 XII	2008 IV	2009 VIII	2010 X	2011 IX	2012 VII	2014 IX	2015 IX	2016 VIII
Own abilities and strength	75	77	78	78	79	74	69	74	72	71	75	78
Social security and support from the state and society	20	15	17	19	18	24	28	23	24	25	22	18
Hard to say	5	8	4	3	3	2	3	3	3	4	3	5
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 2.9

Which of the following statements about social security of the population would you rather agree with?

	1999 IX	2000 III	2004 XII	2005 XII	2006 XII	2008 II	2010 XII	2011 X	2014 IX	2015 IX	2016 IX
The state must ensure a normal level of wellbeing for all its citizens	52	61	54	53	59	61	52	47	50	46	52
The state must help all citizens who find themselves in a difficult situation, for example, if they lose their jobs	25	20	23	23	19	18	27	29	26	29	25
The state must ensure social security only for those who cannot take care of themselves: pensioners, invalids	17	16	17	18	16	17	14	20	18	19	17
People should take care of themselves, they should see to it that their life is decent, and the state should not be responsible for that	3	2	4	3	2	2	3	2	4	3	4
Difficult to answer	2	1	2	3	4	2	4	3	2	3	2

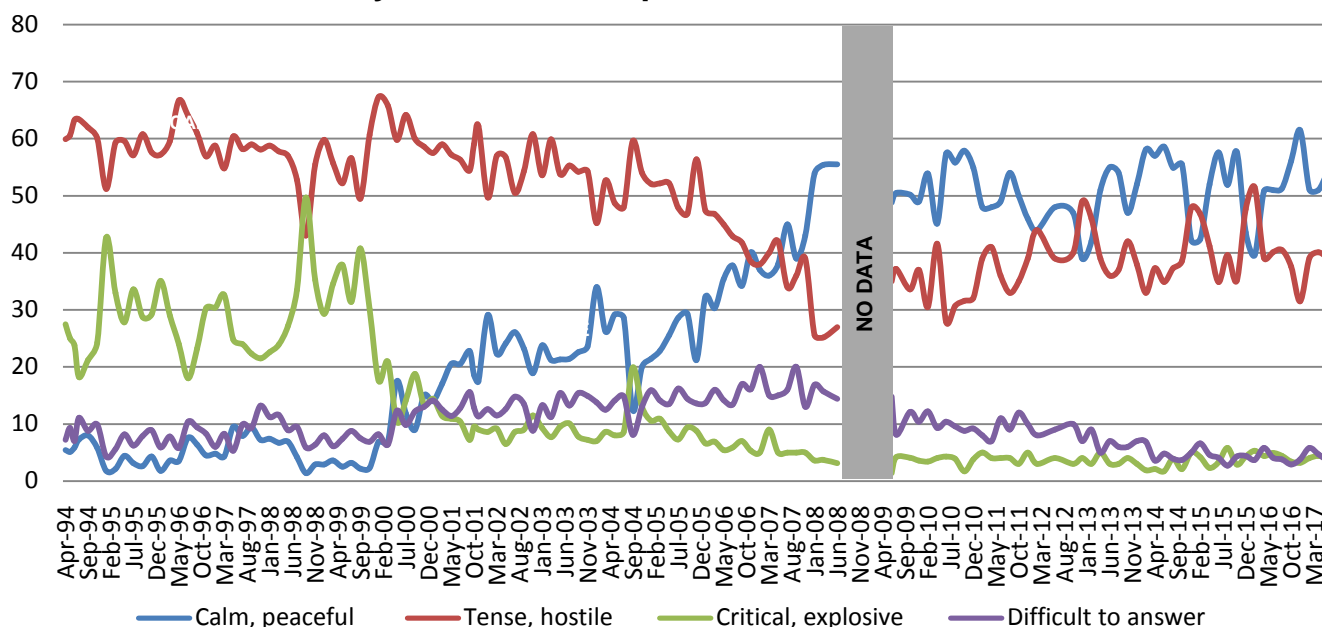
N=1600

3. STATE AND SOCIETY

3.1. PROSPECTS OF THE RUSSIAN POLITICS

Diagram 3.1

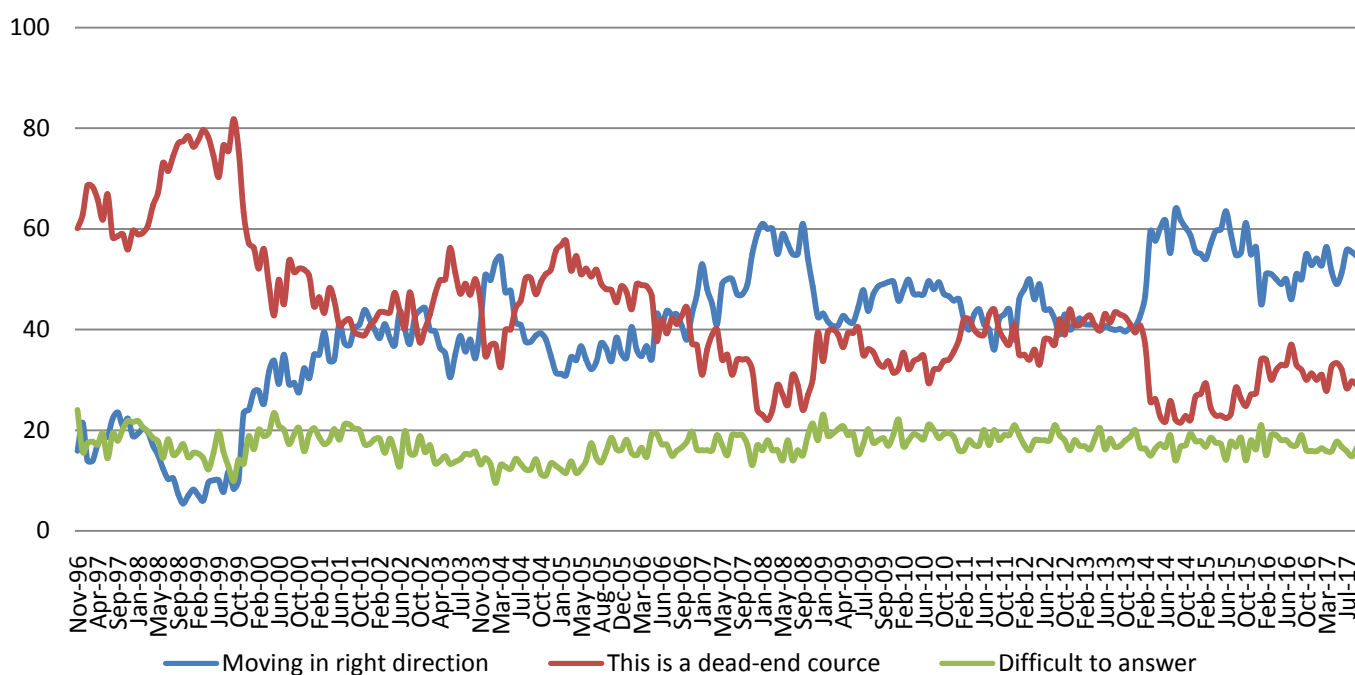
How would you assess the political situation in Russia?



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

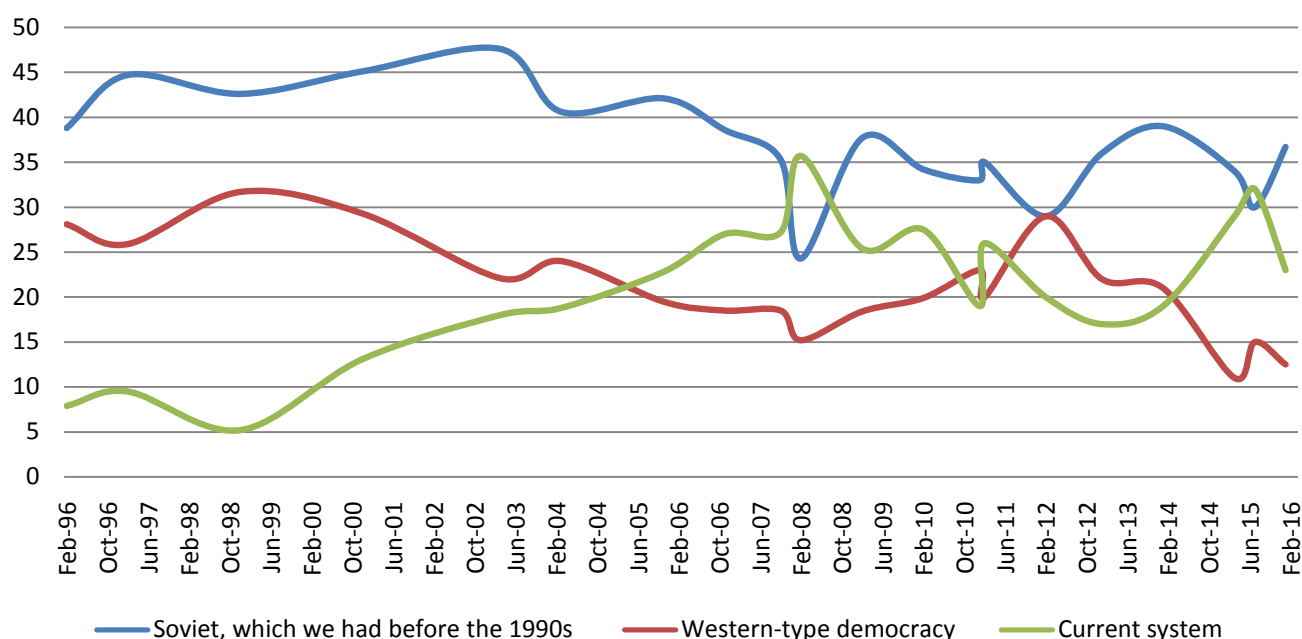
Diagram 3.2

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



N=1600

Diagram 3.3

What is your attitude toward the changes taking place now in the country?

N=1600

Table 3.1.1

Do you have any idea about what direction our country is moving in and what goals its current leaders have set?

	2004 III	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 IX	2013 VIII	2014 VIII	2015 VIII	2016 VII
Quite a clear idea	18	14	22	20	17	16	16	8	22	17	20
Quite a vague idea	43	41	36	43	44	43	40	40	44	41	39
No idea	23	22	23	21	21	22	24	34	25	31	27
It's clear that they just let matters take their course	14	18	13	8	9	14	13	12	3	7	9
Difficult to answer	4	5	5	8	9	5	6	7	7	4	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	1600	800	1600	1600

Table 3.1.2

What do you think is going on in Russia now?

	2013 January	2013 April	2014 January	2014 April	2015 March	2016 March
Stable development	14	10	10	17	4	2
Temporary difficulties	24	26	24	40	50	41
Stagnation, economic glut	12	15	16	15	8	14
Crisis approaching	18	19	23	16	19	17
Increasing chaos	16	17	15	5	8	16
Intensifying repressions, dictatorship formation	5	3	3	1	2	3
Hard to say	11	11	10	7	9	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 3.1.3

In your opinion, what is the greatest threat to Russia right now?

(multiple answers give, sorted by last survey)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
	II	I	I	I	I	III	I	I	I	IV
Rise in prices, impoverishment of the general population	51	55	47	62	58	55	49	54	53	41
Terror attacks	-*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
The economic crisis	22	59	39	30	38	26	29	49	49	29
Rise in unemployment	30	56	43	42	40	30	31	26	27	27
Russia's involvement in military conflicts abroad	14	8	7	6	9	6	12	33	35	24
Rising tensions with the West	12	5	3	3	5	4	7	22	16	17
Increasing crime rates	32	23	29	29	26	27	21	<1	2	13
Weakness and incompetence of the country's leadership	14	7	15	14	20	16	13	9	10	13
An increasingly uncertain future	-	22	14	17	20	22	12	16	15	13
Abuse of power	20	8	17	18	19	18	12	9	10	12
Conflicts with neighboring countries and the CIS	8	13	5	6	6	4	9	13	14	11
Increasing dependence on the West; transformation of Russia into a third-tier power	15	7	11	12	16	15	11	11	13	8
Colonization of Russia; plundering of the nation's wealth by foreigners	17	6	10	14	12	14	12	8	10	8
Collapse of Russia into separate regions	18	5	9	10	10	14	12	6	8	8
Mass riots	-*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Civil war	-*	3	2	3	8	4	5	7	8	4
Aggravation of the situation in the Caucasus	9	5	6	8	5	7	9	2	3	4
Restriction of freedom (freedom of speech, closed borders)	2	<1	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	4
Establishment of a dictatorship	3	1	4	4	5	5	3	2	3	3
Mass repression, the persecution of dissidents	2	1	1	2	2	4	2	3	5	3
Threats to private property, infringement on the interests of business	3	2	4	3	4	4	4	2	3	3
Redistribution of property, seized from those who rightfully earned it	4	2	5	5	4	6	3	2	3	3
Lines, the deficit, food rationing	-*	4	2	4	2	4	3	3	8	3
It is difficult to say	10	5	8	4	5	9	7	6	5	6
Number of respondents	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800	1600	1600

* the option ant was not offered

Table 3.1.4

Can the establishment of a dictatorship take place in Russia in the next few years?

	2014 XI	2015 XI	2016 XI
Definitely yes	3	6	3
Rather yes	15	16	15
Rather no	46	42	43
Definitely no	30	26	27
Difficult to answer	7	11	13

N=1600

3.2. RUSSIAN IDENTITY

Table 3.2.1

Are you proud to be living in Russia?

	2006 III	2007 X	2008 X	2010 IV	2013 X	2014 X	2015 IV	2016 V
Definitely yes	48	54	40	44	28	37	42	43
Rather yes	35	32	43	40	42	49	41	39
Rather no	9	8	9	9	17	5	8	8
Definitely no	4	3	3	2	5	2	3	2
Difficult to answer	4	3	5	6	8	8	6	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.2

Are you currently proud of Russia?

	2006 III	2007 X	2008 X	2010 IV	2013 X	2014 X	2015 X	2016 V
Definitely yes	19	27	22	18	13	22	29	28
Rather yes	29	33	40	37	40	47	42	40
Rather no	32	23	23	27	30	13	15	18
Definitely no	16	12	6	7	10	5	5	6
Difficult to answer	5	6	9	11	7	12	9	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.3

Are the terms «Russian national» and «Russian» the same or absolutely different terms?

They mean the same	20
They are close, but somewhat different	50
Are absolutely different terms	26
Difficult to answer	4

2016, May, N=800

Table 3.2.4

What is the first that comes up when you think about your people?

	1994	1999	2003	2008	2012	2015	2016
Our past, our history	37	48	48	43	41	37	46
Our land, the territory where we live	25	26	32	34	34	44	42
Home nature	18	18	23	17	19	30	24
The place where I was born and raised	41	35	43	39	43	41	40
The country I live in	17	19	22	32	28	25	26
The language of my people	19	17	19	23	25	25	21
Great people of my nationality	10	14	14	14	16	20	21
Our military power	5	7	8	8	9	15	18
Russian Orthodox faith	8	7	8	12	10	15	14
The flag, the anthem, the national emblem	2	3	4	8	8	9	10
Our hard work, business skills	6	10	7	6	5	8	11
Our songs, holidays, traditions.	17	19	16	14	13	17	12
Family graves, memorials	9	7	7	7	6	10	9
Moral virtues of my people	16	19	15	14	9	16	16
Difficult to answer	8	4	3	3	3	3	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.5

What most of all makes you proud of Russia?
 (multiple answers given, sorted by last survey)

	2014	2014	2015	2015	2016	2017
	II	X	III	X	V	IV
Russia's natural resources	39	40	41	39	38	40
Russian history	38	39	43	38	44	40
Military forces	14	24	24	35	36	37
The size of the country	28	28	31	26	31	29
Russian culture	29	30	34	30	34	29
Sports achievements	29	33	32	29	21	24
Russia's position on the international scene	24	26	24	30	22	23
Modern achievements of Russian science	14	16	15	14	17	14
Compatriots	8	8	7	9	12	11
Russian education system	5	6	6	4	4	5
None of the above	7	3	3	6	5	4
Difficult to answer	6	3	3	3	3	4
Economic success	5	6	5	4	5	3
Healthcare system	2	2	2	2	2	2
None of the above	7	3	3	6	5	4
Difficult to answer	6	3	3	3	3	4

N=1600

Table 3.2.6

Should Russia be proud or ashamed of...

	Definitely proud	Rather be proud	Should neither be proud or ashamed	Should rather be ashamed	Should definitely be ashamed	Difficult to answer
Soviet history	45	33	14	2	1	4
Afghan war	8	12	34	22	11	14
Chechen wars	7	10	36	23	10	13
Crimea annexation in 2014	54	25	14	2	1	5
Involvement in Syrian war	13	23	34	10	5	16

N=1600

Table 3.2.7

Mark on the list below what you are proud of being, what adds to your self-worth most of all?

Being...	2008	2012	2015	2016
the father/mother of my children	53	48	47	46
the son/daughter of my parents	33	31	25	21
the master of my house	30	28	22	24
the master of my land	11	9	8	5
an inhabitant of my city, village, area	34	26	24	18
a part of my people	30	28	24	18
a professional in my field	22	16	14	10
a soviet man	12	9	8	7
a believer	15	14	11	6
a Russian man	50	40	38	34
a citizen of Russia	47	36	35	24
a member of my circle, group	4	3	3	2
a worker of my company, organization	9	6	3	3
a person of my generation	20	17	12	10
at the top of the ladder	1	2	1	0
a self-made man	20	16	12	10
a member of the human race	8	6	2	2
a veteran of the Great Patriotic War	1	1	1	0
a veteran of the Afghan, Chechnya war	1	1	1	0
a communist	2	2	4	1
a democrat	1	2	1	0
a liberal	0	0	0	0
a patriot of my country	16	12	13	8
a supporter of V. Putin	9	3	7	3
Difficult to answer	4	5	4	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.8

Which of the pair of statements you would rather agree with?

	1992 April	1999 April	2008 August	2016 October
Russia should maintain the super power status	72	78	86	76
Russia should not claim super power status	14	9	6	17
Difficult to answer	13	13	8	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.9

Which of the pair of statements you would rather agree with?

	1992 April	1999 April	2016 October
Russians are a great nation, which has a special mission in the world history *	13	57	57
Russians are a nation as any other	80	36	34
Difficult to answer	7	7	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>

* - 1992 questionnaire. – "the chosen people"

Table 3.2.10

Which of the following statements you would rather agree with?

	1994 November	2000 April	2008 February	2008 October	2016 October
Russia's development is lagging behind from the majority of developed countries	41	50	35	29	26
Russia has always been among the leaders and will never give up this role	8	10	17	20	30
Russia is developing in its own unique way and cannot be compared to other countries	31	34	41	46	38
Difficult to answer	19	6	7	5	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.11

What is your first thought when you hear about Russia's unique course?

	2008	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Discrepancy between the values and traditions of Russia and the West	22	16	18	19	23	20	11
Economic development of the country, caring more about regular people than benefits and interests of the elite	34	39	41	30	31	20	29
Consideration for the spiritual and moral aspects in relations between the State and its citizens in the policy	18	19	20	15	19	15	15
Readiness of the citizens to sacrifice themselves for the sake of Russia's greatness	7	8	7	5	6	8	7
Prevalence of the interests of the Authority over the interests of the population	7	9	6	7	4	5	6
Constant need to consider such factors as hostile international environment and the threat of aggression	9	5	11	8	11	12	9
I can see no unique course here, nothing comes to my mind	16	15	17	17	15	21	19
I have never heard of it	11	11	8	11	13	14	14
I think Russia's development should not differ from the other countries	9	6	8	7	6	6	8
Difficult to answer	9	7	6	8	7	5	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.12

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

	1998 XII	2000 III	2002 IX	2008 X	2013 IV	2014 III	2015 XI	2016 XI
An empire, a monarchy like the one Russia was before 1917.	3	4	3	3	3	2	3	3
A socialist state with communist ideology	17	15	20	10	12	17	10	11
A state with a market economy, democracy, adherence to human rights like the countries of the West but with its own way of life	29	23	33	34	33	37	31	33
A state with an absolutely unique way of government and development path	13	19	14	19	19	18	24	16
I don't care what kind of state Russia is, I only care how well I and my family feel there.	29	33	27	29	26	22	24	33
Difficult to answer	9	6	3	5	7	5	5	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.13

Are there situations where the presence of a strong and authoritative leader, a “strong hand”, is necessary for the people?

	1989 XI	1994 IX	1995 VII	1996 IX	2006 III	2007 III	2008 VII	2009 X	2010 VII	2011 IX	2012 III	2012 IX	2013 III	2014 III	2015 XI	2016 XI
Our people need a «strong hand» at all times	25	35	33	37	42	45	43	40	44	42	35	43	41	31	32	35
There can be situations (like now) where it is necessary to give full power to one person	16	23	27	32	31	29	29	31	33	29	39	31	31	46	39	37
It should never be possible for one person to have full power	44	23	24	18	20	18	18	25	19	22	22	17	20	15	21	21
Difficult to answer	16	18	15	13	8	8	10	5	5	8	5	9	8	7	9	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1500	3000	3000	2500	1600	1600	1500	1600	1600	800	800	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600

Table 3.2.14

Would you prefer Russia to be now first and foremost...?

	2003 XII	2004 III	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI	2010 XI	2011 XI	2014 III	2015 III	2015 XI	2016 XI
A great power which other countries respect and are a little afraid of	43	40	36	36	39	38	42	48	47	38	39
A country with a high living standard even though it may not be one of the most powerful countries in the world	54	57	62	62	56	59	53	47	49	53	58
Difficult to answer	3	3	3	2	5	3	6	5	4	9	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 3.2.15

Do you consider currently Russia to be a superpower?

	1999 III	2000 IV	2001 XI	2004 III	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI	2010 XI	2011 XI	2014 III	2015 III	2016 XI
Definitely yes	12	20	11	8	7	12	17	16	11	17	19	21
Rather yes	19	33	29	31	23	31	36	39	36	46	49	43
Rather no	34	30	35	42	44	36	31	32	35	27	24	23
Definitely no	31	13	22	15	23	16	11	9	11	5	3	4
Difficult to answer	4	4	3	3	4	5	5	4	6	5	6	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600

Table 3.2.16

What, in your opinion, makes a country a «superpower»?

	1999 III	2008 VII	2012 IX	2014 XI	2015 VII	2015 XI	2016 X
The high standard of living of its citizens	63	66	61	60	54	64	64
Economic and industrial potential of the country	64	57	55	60	56	58	58
Military might, including nuclear missiles	30	37	44	44	51	51	50
Great culture, science, and art	31	31	27	23	26	25	23
Freedom and civil rights	15	16	17	13	11	15	11
A wealth of natural resources	14	19	21	20	21	18	17
The size of the country	4	8	10	16	15	9	10
The size of the population	2	5	5	6	4	5	5
A heroic past	7	10	10	13	13	9	10
Respect and authority in the world	35	24	19	19	15	20	18
Difficult to answer	4	2	2	2	2	1	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.17

What should any country have in order to deserve the international respect?

	2014	2016
Advanced culture (art, literature)	10	8
Military power, nuclear weapons	23	22
Abundance of natural resources	12	6
Large territory	2	4
Advanced science and technology	12	11
Advanced educational system	2	2
Respect of human rights	5	4
High living standards	18	26
Mature economy	13	15
Difficult to answer	3	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.18

What makes other countries respect Russia?

	2014	2016
Advanced culture (art, literature)	4	5
Military power, nuclear weapons	33	38
Abundance of natural resources	28	18
Large territory	12	10
Advanced science and technology	4	5
Advanced educational system	1	1
Respect of human rights	2	3
High living standards	3	5
Mature economy	2	3
Russia is not respected internationally now	4	6
Difficult to answer	6	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.19

Where do you think people have happier lives: in small countries like Sweden or Switzerland or in great powers like the US?

	2007 November	2011 November	2014 November	2015 May	2016 May
In small countries like Sweden or Switzerland	49	54	44	44	27
In great powers like the US	10	11	15	14	23
Equally in both	27	24	28	30	39
Difficult to answer	14	11	13	12	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	800	1600	1600

Table 3.2.20

Where would you prefer to live: in a small country or in a great power?

Small country	24
Great power	56
Difficult to answer	21

May, 2016, N=1600

PATRIOTISM

Table 3.2.21

Do you consider yourself a patriot of Russia?

	2000 October	2007 December	2010 October	2013 October	2015 April	2016 April
Yes	77	78	70	69	78	77
No	16	12	19	19	11	13
Difficult to answer	7	9	11	13	11	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	1600

Table 3.2.22

Which of the following statements regarding patriotism would you rather agree with?

	2014 February	2014 October	2015 April	2016 April
Patriotism is a very personal thing, everybody decides for themselves what is patriotic and what isn't.	84	82	80	83
It's up to the state to determine what's patriotic and what isn't	9	11	13	10
Difficult to answer	7	8	7	8

N=1600

Table 3.2.23

Which statements about Russian government patriotism promotion program, you would rather agree with?

	2015 April	2016 April
We need such a program because, under the internal and external threats, the state needs to raise patriots who are willing to defend national interests	49	46
We need such a program, but it has a potential to become "pork barrel" for the bureaucracy, and will not bring any results	19	17
We do not need such a program, because we need to solve more important problems first (corruption, low living standards etc.), and population will be patriotic if these problems are solved	16	16
We do not need such a program, because patriotism is personal, and government should not get involved no matter what	8	14
Difficult to answer	8	8

N=1600

Table 3.2.24

How would you view a law against insulting patriotic feelings?

	2016
Entirely positive	16
Rather positive	41
Rather negative	13
Very negative	6
Difficult to answer	24

April, N=1600

Table 3.2.25

**Which from the list below you consider unpatriotic?
(ranked answers)**

	2016
Dodge the army draft	47
Tax evasion	36
Emigration	33
Disapproval of Crimea annexation	26
Disapproval of the Soviet heritage	19
Criticism of existing Russian authorities	12
Disapproval of 1917 events	11
Engagement in protest events	9
Disapproval of Stalin repressions	8
Disapproval of Gaidar's economic reforms	5
Engagement in pro-government events	4
Criticism of the opposition	4
None of the above	11
Difficult to answer	16

April, N=1600

3.3. POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AND CIVIC ACTIVISM, RESPONSIBILITY AND IMPACT

Table 3.3.1

How responsible are you for your family's life?

	2006 X	2009 VI	2014 XI	2016 VI
To full extent	68	72	57	70
To a great extent	26	20	32	23
To a small extent	4	6	9	6
Absolutely not	1	1	2	1
Difficult to answer	2	1	1	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.2

To what extent can you influence what is happening in your family?

	2006 X	2009 VI	2014 XI	2016 VI
To full extent	57	24	62	65
To a great extent	33	52	26	26
To a small extent	7	17	8	7
Absolutely not	2	4	3	2
Difficult to answer	2	3	2	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.3

To what extent are you responsible for what is happening at your work?

	2006 X	2009 VI	2014 XI	2016 VI
To full extent	15	18	17	21
To a great extent	30	23	35	25
To a small extent	20	16	23	17
Absolutely not	17	13	13	16
Difficult to answer	15	30	13	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.4

To what extent can you influence what is happening at your work?

	2006 X	2009 VI	2016 VI
To full extent	11	12	19
To a great extent	26	18	23
To a small extent	27	23	19
Absolutely not	21	18	20
Difficult to answer	17	30	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.5

**To what extent are you responsible for what is happening
in the house, your block?**

	2006 X	2009 VI	2014 XI	2016 VI
To full extent	13	22	14	19
To a great extent	27	23	28	28
To a small extent	38	31	39	29
Absolutely not	17	20	17	19
Difficult to answer	5	4	2	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.6

To what extent can you influence what is happening in the house, your block?

	2006 X	2008 VI	2009 VI	2016 VI
To full extent	10	12	16	15
To a great extent	22	32	20	26
To a small extent	41	34	35	32
Absolutely can not	23	18	25	23
Difficult to answer	4	4	4	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.7

To what extent are you responsible for what is happening in your city/district?

	2006 October	2009 June	2014 March	2014 November	2015 November	2016 April
To full extent	3	3	2	3	4	4
To a great extent	12	11	18	14	18	14
To a small extent	37	31	39	39	37	34
Absolutely not	43	49	35	41	38	44
Difficult to answer	5	6	5	3	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>950</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.8

To what extent can you influence what is happening in your city/district?

	2006 X	2008 VI	2009 VI	2016 IV
To full extent	1	2	2	2
To a great extent	7	6	3	10
To a small extent	30	31	24	30
Absolutely can not	56	58	67	54
Difficult to answer	5	4	5	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.9

To what extent are you responsible for what is happening in the country?

	2006 October	2009 June	2014 March	2015 November	2016 April
To full extent	2	2	2	3	3
To a great extent	7	5	13	10	8
To a small extent	23	22	36	28	22
Absolutely not	59	62	41	55	64
Difficult to answer	8	9	7	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>950</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.10

To what extent can you influence what is happening in the country?

	2006 X	2008 VI	2009 VI	2016 VI
To full extent	1	1	1	2
To a great extent	3	3	1	3
To a small extent	15	16	10	17
Absolutely can not	75	75	81	73
Difficult to answer	7	5	7	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.11

To what extent are you responsible for what is happening in the world?

	2006 October	2009 June	2014 November	2015 November	2016 April
To full extent	2	2	2	3	4
To a great extent	5	3	6	5	5
To a small extent	17	15	18	23	13
Absolutely not	66	71	69	66	74
Difficult to answer	10	10	5	4	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>950</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.3.12

To what extent can you influence what is happening in the world?

	2006 X	2009 VI	2016 IV
To full extent	1	1	2
To a great extent	2	1	3
To a small extent	11	7	10
Absolutely can not	79	84	81
Difficult to answer	7	7	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>1600</i>

3.4. INTEREST IN POLITICS AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Table 3.4.1

Overall, to which extent are you interested in politics?

	2003 XI	2004 X	2005 X	2006 III	2006 VI	2006 X	2007 X	2010 X	2011 X	2012 X	2013 XI	2014 XI	2015 X	2016 II
Very interested	6	7	6	5	7	6	7	3	3	5	1	5	7	3
Interested to a large extent	28	37	32	34	30	31	37	29	31	27	28	34	30	38
Interested to some extent	44	34	36	40	39	41	36	38	42	42	41	38	38	36
Not too interested	19	20	24	19	24	21	18	26	22	23	26	21	22	22
Not at all interested	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	4	1	2	2	1	2	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1000	1500	1500	1700	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	1600

Table 3.4.2

Do you personally have any influence on Russia's political or economical life?

	2006 August	2007 October	2011 October	2014 October	2015 July	2016 II
Definitely yes	1	4	5	6	4	3
More like yes	9	11	12	16	14	38
More like no	31	32	32	34	31	36
Definitely no	56	48	46	33	45	22
Difficult to answer	3	4	6	11	7	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	1600	1600

Table 3.4.3

Are you willing to be more politically active?

	2006 II	2012 II	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III	2016 VIII
Definitely yes	5	3	3	2	5	3
To a certain extent	14	14	13	17	18	15
Rather not	30	38	35	39	33	34
Definitely not	47	39	45	36	38	46
Difficult to answer	4	6	5	6	7	2
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600

Table 3.4.4

Why are you unwilling to be more politically active?
(as a % of those who do not want to; the answers are ranked by the last poll)

	2006 II	2012 II	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III	2016 VIII
Politics are not for common public, it is the authorities' business	29	30	27	32	36	29
I cannot change anything, and, anyway, "might is right"	32	22	32	23	21	28
I am busy with my routine and I have no time for politics	25	25	24	20	21	21
I do not understand politics, I do not know how it works	22	18	21	18	26	28
Politics is a dirty business and I do not want to have anything to do with it	15	11	15	16	17	13
I do not want to stand out: a majority of people are not interested in politics	4	5	6	7	7	7
I am afraid of the government's persecution, it is better to stay away from politics	3	4	5	3	3	5
Difficult to answer	3	2	2	1	2	5
Numbers of respondents	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 3.4.5

How would you describe your involvement in political life?

	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	2015	2016
Politics doesn't interest me, I am not knowledgeable in politics	14	11	20	26	27	34	38
I think that I still have no ability to influence political events.	19	21	18	18	23	32	27
I've become disappointed in politics lately	11	14	16	16	16	16	15
What matters most for me is the fate of my people	31	25*	27*	24*	17	6	8
I've always taken and will take part in social life	13	7	3	3	4	5	6
I feel that a possibility to really take part in politics has opened up for me now	4	1	1	1	2	4	4
Difficult to answer	19	20	15	12	12	3	3
Number of respondents	1600	2456	2800	1800	3960	1600	1600

*- Not really interested in politics, but still am prepared to defend the interests of my people.

Table 3.4.6

Are you concerned with sociopolitical issues, human rights and democracy in the country?

	2011 July	2016 May
Definitely yes	31	17
Rather yes	41	48
Rather not	14	22
Definitely not	9	6
Difficult to answer	5	7

N=1600

Table 3.4.7

**How satisfied are you with the possibilities you have to participate
in social and political* life?**

	2010 April	2011 April	2011 October	2012 June	2016 May
Pretty satisfied	12	8	9	13	13
More like satisfied	21	25	31	27	34
More like not satisfied	25	25	23	20	24
Not satisfied at all	14	14	10	11	10
Difficult to answer	28	28	28	29	20

*- 2010-2012 - "political life"

N=1600

Table 3.4.8

Which items in the list below have you done in the past year?

	1995 July	2014 September	2015 September	2016 September
Voted	29	30	22	35
Discussed politics with my friends	45	21	19	15
Was at the meeting with a politician or a candidate	8	5	6	4
Signed a petition or address	6	5	3	3
Was at a meeting with government officials	4	2	3	3
Took part in demonstration or rally	5	2	2	4
Sent a letter to editor's office or TV, or some government office	2	3	2	3
Took part in a strike	2	2	2	1
Made a donation to support political party, movement or a candidate	1	2	1	1
Spoke at a meeting or rally	2	1	1	<1
Took part in political party activities	1	3	1	1
Took part in protest activities or insubordination to authority	1	1	<1	1
Did nothing of the kind	34	46	50	49
Difficult to answer	7	3	5	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Table 3.4.9

How has the situation with the freedom of expressing one's opinion freely changed in the last year?

	1989	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
It changed for the better	68	63	19	26	31	29	16	20	14	36	13	8	10	15	10	19	9	7	8
It changed for the worse	4	6	18	19	20	15	18	17	13	18	18	18	23	17	21	18	13	21	21
It hasn't changed	16	17	56	45	42	48	58	55	62	37	59	63	56	58	62	56	70	62	62
Difficult to answer	12	15	8	11	7	8	8	8	11	9	10	11	11	10	8	7	9	11	9
Number of respondents	1600	2500	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 3.4.10

Can you speak freely about your attitude to the policies pursued by the country's authorities?

	2012 August	2013 July	2014 July	2015 July	2016 July
Yes, anytime, anyplace	29	33	38	38	30
Yes, but with certain limitations and not everywhere	35	31	28	33	37
No, I can't (afraid to or feel awkward)	12	11	6	10	12
I don't feel the need to	19	21	26	17	18
Difficult to answer	4	5	3	2	3
Number of respondents	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 3.4.11

Do majority people you know usually tell the truth or hide the truth, lie?

	2010 December	2013 August	2014 September	2015 July	2016 July
Always/ virtually always tell the truth	5	4	6	6	7
Mostly tell the truth	28	24	33	31	32
Sometimes they tell the truth, sometimes they hide the truth/lie	47	47	44	40	39
Mostly hide the truth/lie	14	17	12	15	16
Always/virtually always hide the truth, lie	3	3	1	2	2
Difficult to answer	4	6	5	6	5
Number of respondents	1600	800	800	1600	1600

Table 3.4.12

Do country leaders, top bureaucrats tell the truth when they refer to the state of affairs in the economy, healthcare, pension system, crime prevention and other critical aspects of public administration?

	2010 December	2013 August	2015 July	2016 July
Always/ virtually always tell the truth	6	2	4	2
Mostly tell the truth	15	14	13	12
Sometimes they tell the truth, sometimes they hide the truth/lie	35	42	34	36
Mostly hide the truth/lie	30	30	32	30
Always/virtually always hide the truth, lie	9	7	9	12
Difficult to answer	5	5	8	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.4.13

Are people nowadays outspoken about what they think about the authorities and Vladimir Putin or they keep quiet about what they really think?

	2005 February	2012 January	2013 August	2014 September	2015 July	2016 July
Virtually everyone is outspoken	18	13	7	9	16	12
Majority are outspoken	33	30	23	33	32	30
Half are outspoken, and half are not	23	27	33	32	31	32
Majority keep quiet about what they think	18	19	26	18	14	18
Virtually all keep quiet about what they think	4	5	5	3	3	3
Difficult to answer	5	7	6	5	4	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

4. CITIZENS AND POWER

Table 4.1

Should the government control the views and tastes of the people, religious affairs, child-rearing and family affairs - i.e. the private life of the individual and his/her family?

Yes, I believe that the government and the Church should watch what private individual is doing and control the individual in terms of politics, morals, family and child-rearing.	25
No, the government and the Church should not control the private life and family of an individual, an individual is free to choose what to believe in, what to think of the politics or how to bring up the children.	66
Difficult to answer	9

2016, November; N=1600

Table 4.2

How would you rate your status in the state?

	2008 August	2016 April
A citizen of Russia with full rights, capable of influencing the authorities through voting and media	17	18
I do not feel a citizen with full rights, because my rights are violated too often	23	21
An individual fully dependent on the authorities and the state	17	25
An individual who relies on himself/herself only, not concerned about the rights or the government	35	31
Difficult to answer	9	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 4.3

Does national leadership act as a team pursuing common purpose, or divided into groups, with each group acting in its own self-interest?

National leadership acts as a team pursuing common purpose	39
National leadership is divided into groups with each group acting in its own self-interest	47
Difficult to answer	14

2016, November; N=1600

Table 4.4

In your opinion, what is more important to the people that are currently at power in Russia: the country's welfare or the preservation and consolidation of their own power?

	2006 February	2010 February	2012 January	2012 August	2013 April	2014 April	2015 June	2016 November
The country's welfare	16	27	28	30	26	35	30	30
Preservation and consolidation of their power	72	60	59	58	62	52	58	59
Difficult to answer	12	14	14	12	12	13	12	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 4.5

Please name the qualities which in your opinion characterize present Government

	1998 March	2001 January	2005 November	2008 August	2012 September	2015 March	2016 November
Legitimate	12	10	9	21	22	16	23
Honest, open	3	3	3	9	13	7	7
Criminal, corrupt	63	50	62	30	6	41	31
With a common touch (congenial)	2	3	5	9	29	5	4
Strong, durable	2	4	7	16	27	18	19
Effective, competent	3	3	6	12	8	9	9
Nearsighted	28	17	25	8	10	14	9
Fair	3	3	3	7	17	6	6
Weak, helpless	31	21	20	5	4	7	8
Habitual, familiar	3	2	4	6	18	5	11
Inconsistent	32	25	29	9	4	12	10
Secretive, closed off	8	7	8	5	10	9	8
Pragmatic	4	5	6	7	4	9	7
Parasitical	18	12	15	5	4	12	11
Narrow-minded, unwise	12	4	8	2	5	5	5
Reputable, respected	2	4	7	17	19	14	11
Competent	3	6	9	13	5	10	7
Illegitimate	13	10	16	5	1	7	4
Unprofessional, ignorant	13	9	12	5	5	9	8
Strange, foreign to the people	41	27	42	19	5	27	23
Educated, cultured	6	14	13	19	11	14	8
Bureaucratic	22	32	39	26	15	32	26
Difficult to answer	9	14	8	13	24	13	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 4.6

How would you describe your relations with the authority?

	2006 February	2010 February	2012 February	2013 March	2014 March	2015 March	2016 August
When you come in contact with the authority, you get what you want from it	6	3	6	8	5	10	7
Your life totally depends on the authority	24	27	21	22	28	25	20
You maintain independence and avoid any contacts with the authority	62	62	65	64	59	55	66
Difficult to answer	8	8	8	6	8	10	7
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 4.7

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

	1989	1999	2006	2010	2011	2012	2013	2015	2016
Our state gave us everything we need, we have no right to demand anything else from it	5	1	1	3	4	3	3	8	3
The state provides a lot, but we can still ask for more	11	6	15	22	23	23	26	28	25
The state provides us with so little that we do not owe anything to the state	8	38	39	31	31	31	29	22	27
Our state is in such a condition now that we should help it, even if we need to make a sacrifice	37	17	9	7	5	5	9	16	17
We should make the state serve our interests	25	37	27	24	26	30	23	13	19
Difficult to answer	15	2	9	13	10	9	10	13	9
<i>Number of numbers</i>	1500	2000	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600

Table 4.8

What do you think the relations between the state and its citizens should be like?

	2001 I	2006 III	2007 X	2009 X	2011 X	2013 XII	2015 III	2016 XI
The state should interfere in the lives and economic activities of its citizens as little as possible	6	6	7	6	5	6	7	11
The state should lay down the «rules of the game» which are the same for all and see to it that they are not violated	19	24	24	28	34	35	41	35
The state should take care of its citizens, providing them with a decent standard of living	71	66	66	63	58	53	49	52
Difficult to answer	4	4	3	3	3	7	3	2
<i>Number of numbers</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600

Table 4.9

**Which of the statements about the national leadership
is close to your own point of view?**

	1989 July	2007 December	2014 May	2015 May	2016 November
The people we vote into the government forget our concerns quickly and do not factor in grass-roots interests in their decision making	45	60	54	55	58
National leadership is a special group of people, It is the elite which follows its own interests and do not care about us	29	26	25	26	27
Our authorities are grass-roots, they share the same interests of the common people	15	8	11	9	10
Difficult to answer	11	6	11	10	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>850</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 4.10

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

	1998 III	2001 I	2006 II	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2013 VIII	2014 VIII	2015 III	2016 III	2017 IV
Performs its duties completely	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	4	3	1	4
Performs its duties for the most part	4	8	8	20	20	18	15	26	21	17	18
Performs as much as it does not	23	29	33	39	39	36	38	41	42	37	36
Does not perform for the most part	45	41	39	27	27	27	27	19	21	29	27
Does not perform its duties at all	25	16	15	10	9	12	11	6	7	10	10
Difficult to answer	2	3	4	3	3	5	6	4	7	6	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 4.11

**In your opinion, to which extent do Russian citizens perform their duties
towards the State (comply with the law, pay taxes, etc.)?**

	1998 III	2001 I	2006 II	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2013 VIII	2014 VIII	2015 III	2016 III	2017 IV
Perform their duties completely	4	6	7	6	3	6	10	15	9	10	13
Perform their duties for the most part	15	33	30	33	39	37	33	45	38	39	40
Perform as much as they do not	36	38	38	40	43	37	35	30	35	33	29
Do not perform for the most part	31	16	19	15	10	13	15	7	10	12	10
Do not perform at all	9	3	4	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2
Difficult to answer	5	5	4	4	3	6	5	3	6	5	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 4.12

Nowadays, can people like you influence government decisions in the country?

	2006 II	2007 X	2010 II	2012 II	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III	2016 VIII
Definitely yes	2	3	2	1	3	1	3	1
Somewhat	13	21	12	14	10	12	15	11
No, rather than yes	39	31	34	39	35	38	39	38
Definitely no	45	41	51	42	49	47	40	49
Difficult to answer	2	5	1	4	4	3	4	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 4.13

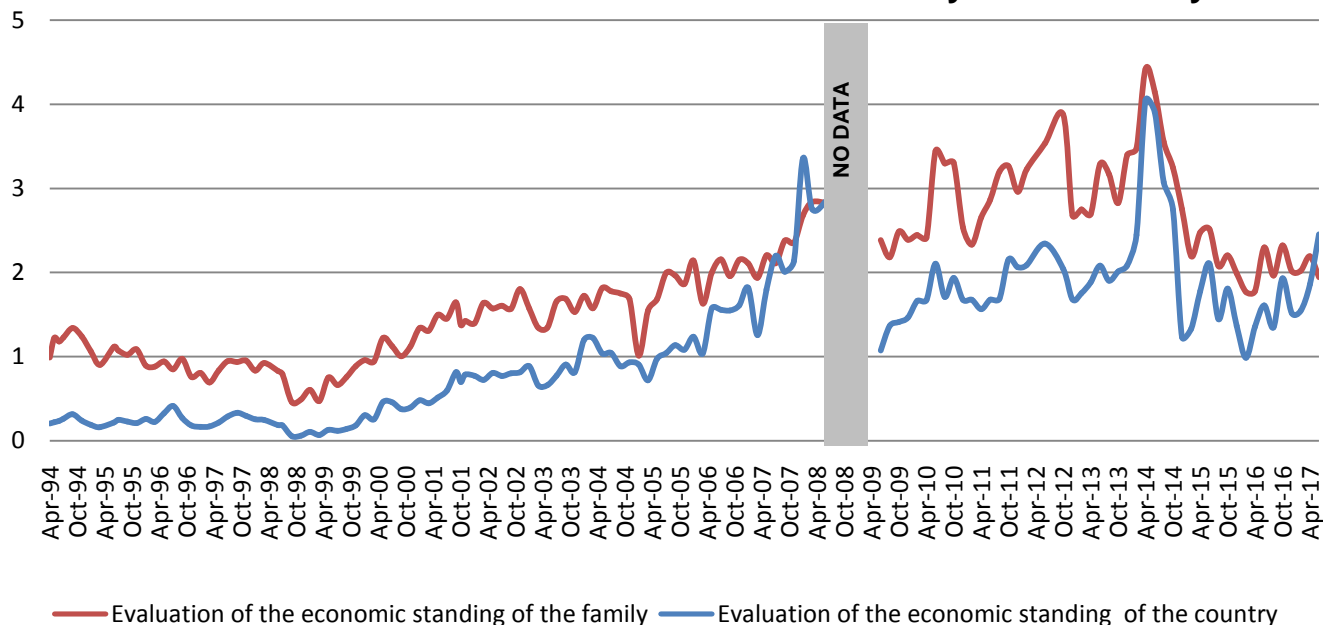
Can people like you influence the political decision made in your region, city or district?

	2006 II	2010 II	2012 II	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III	2016 VIII
Definitely yes	3	2	1	2	1	4	1
Yes, to a certain extent	21	16	21	14	18	18	16
Most likely, no	36	34	38	34	38	35	38
Definitely no	39	46	37	46	41	38	43
Difficult to answer	2	2	4	4	2	4	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

5. ESTIMATE OF THE ACTUAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

Diagram 5.1

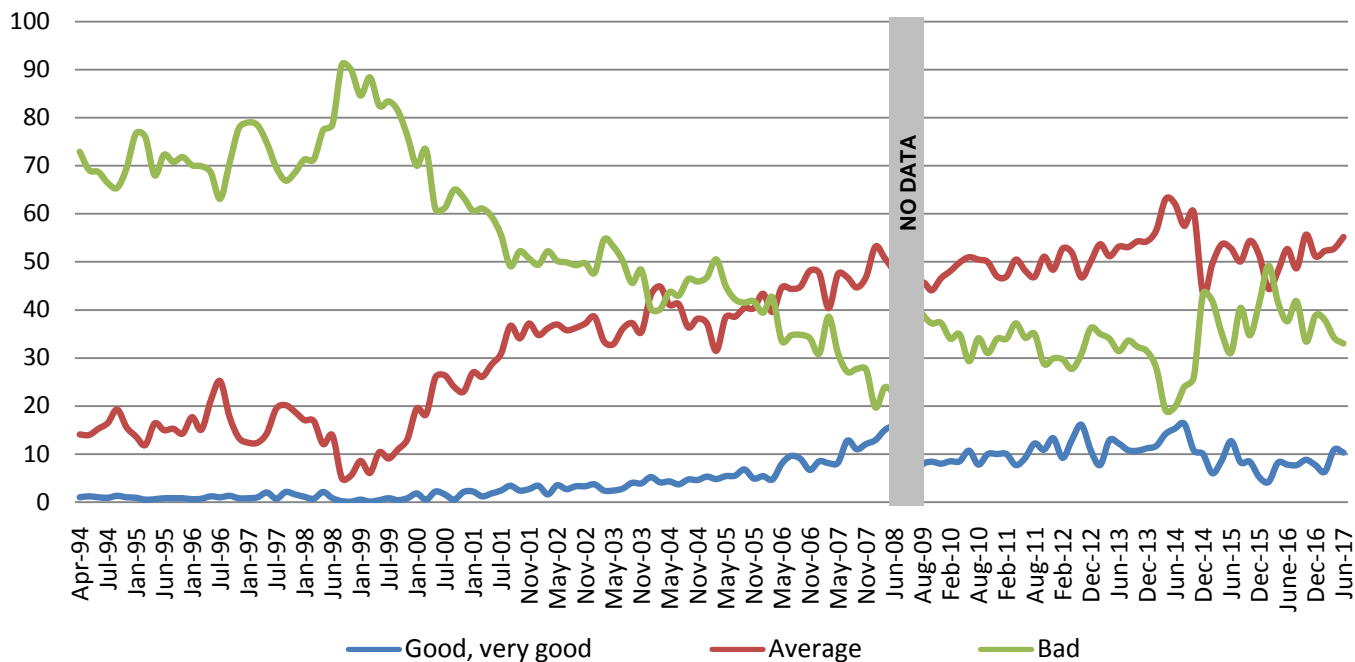
Evaluation of the economic conditions in the country and the family



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

Diagram 5.2

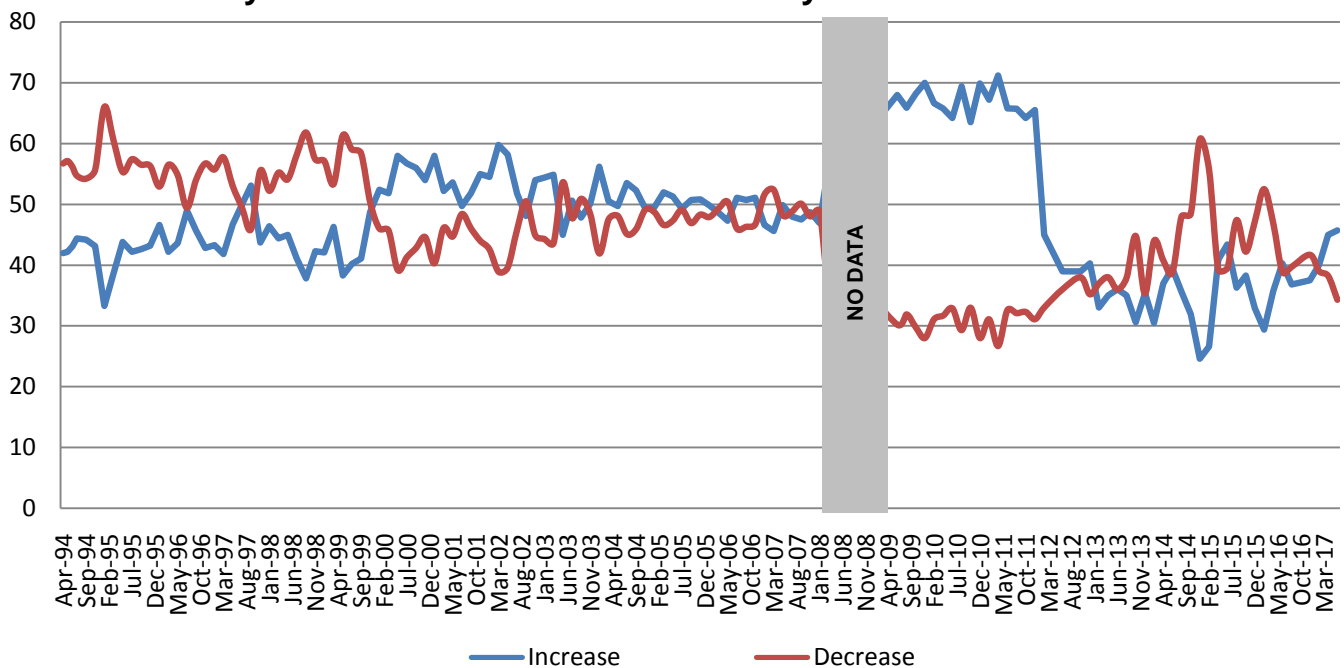
How do you estimate the economic situation in Russia?



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

Diagram 5.3

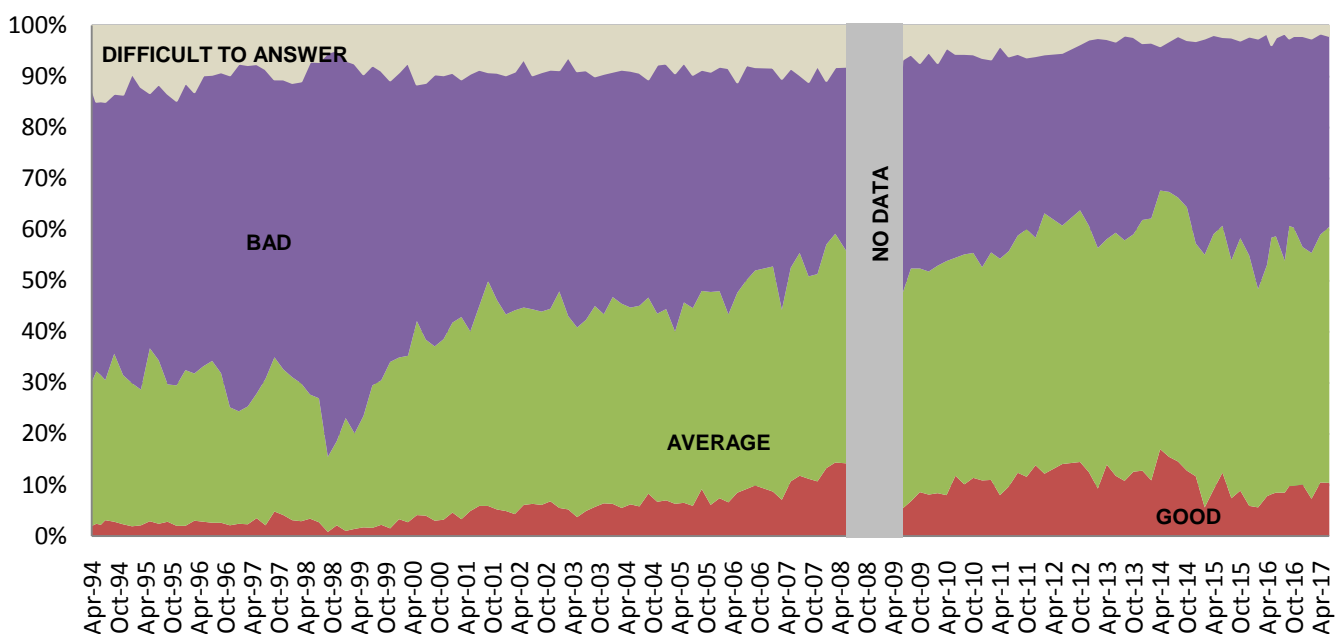
What do you think awaits Russian economy in the next few months*?



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

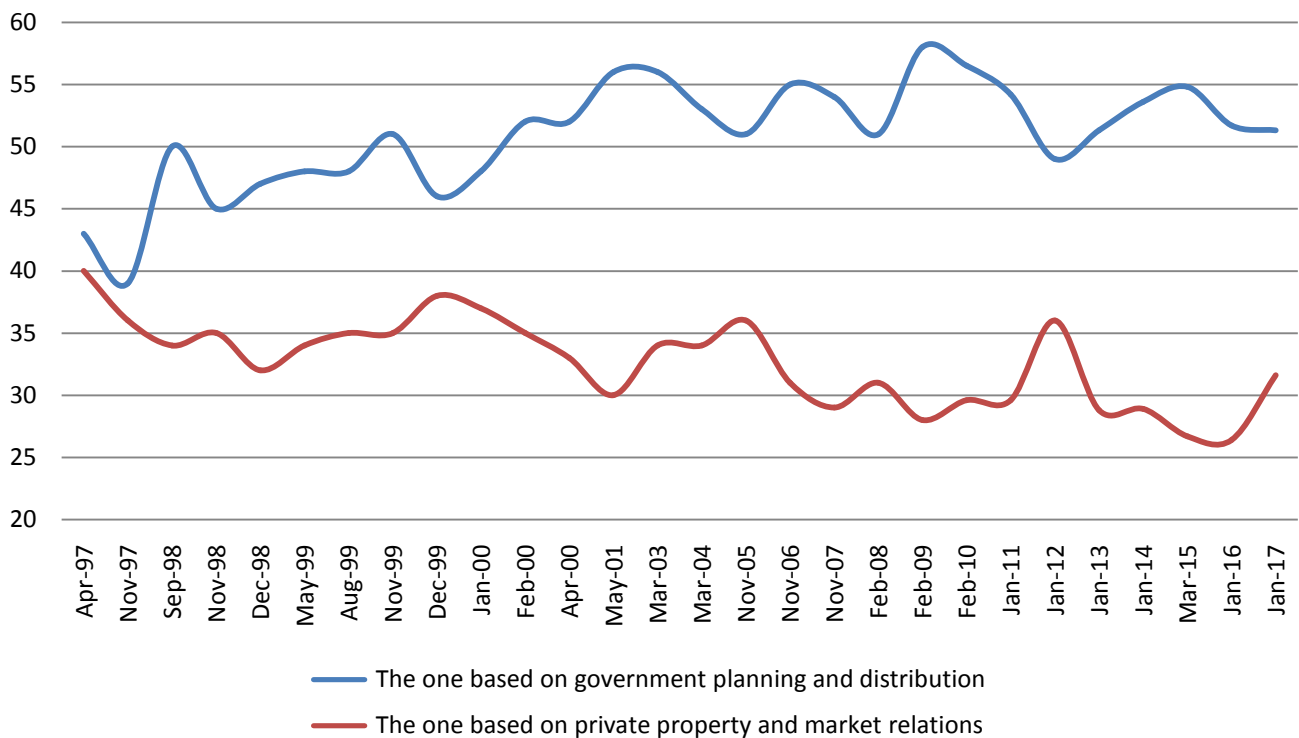
Diagram 5.4

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



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

Diagram 5.5

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

N=1600

Table 5.1

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

	1992	1998	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015		2016		2017
	I	IX	XI	IX	IX	IX	IX	VI	VI	I	I	VIII	I	IV
Living through them now	21	27	25	39	25	24	22	17	23	31	40	36	41	38
They are already in the past	1	6	18	17	30	29	33	32	26	14	9	23	23	19
They are still to come	73	58	45	33	32	33	30	35	35	44	42	29	26	32
Difficult to answer	5	9	12	11	13	15	15	16	17	11	9	12	11	12
Number of respondents	1600	2400	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	1600	1600	1600	1600

PRICE GROWTH AND RUBLE CRASH

Table 5.2

What can you say about the price surge in the last several weeks?

	2014 August	2014 September	2014 December	2015 February	2016 February
I didn't notice a particular price surge	23	14	6	3	12
I noticed a price surge but for the products I rarely/never buy	19	15	11	8	11
I noticed a price surge for the products I usually buy	45	52	59	56	49
The prices on many products have grown so much that I'm forced to deny myself some of the usual ones	10	15	22	32	25
Difficult to answer	4	4	3	1	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 5.3

Do you follow the ruble's exchange rate against the dollar or euro? If yes, how often do you try to find out what the exchange rate is?

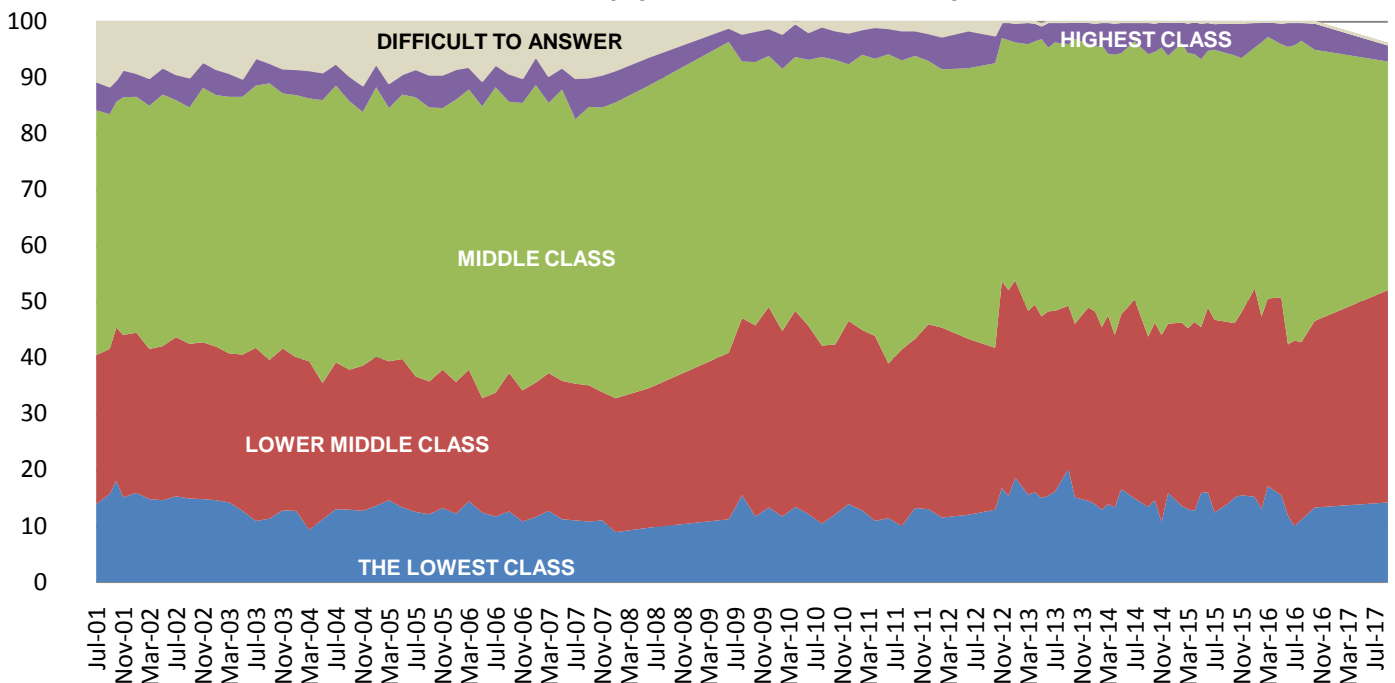
	2008	2009		2010		2013	2014		2015				2016
	XII	II	V	III	IX	VI	II	XI	V	VIII	IX	X	V
A few times a week	10	22	14	9	8	7	12	21	14	20	15	16	12
About once a week	13	18	18	18	13	14	22	22	19	27	27	29	22
About once every two weeks or less	9	10	16	16	12	14	13	12	16	11	17	15	18
I do not follow it	68	50	52	57	68	65	53	45	51	43	41	39	48
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600

6. LIVING STANDARD OF RUSSIAN POPULATION

6.1. LIVING STANDARD OF RUSSIAN POPULATION

Diagram 6.1.1

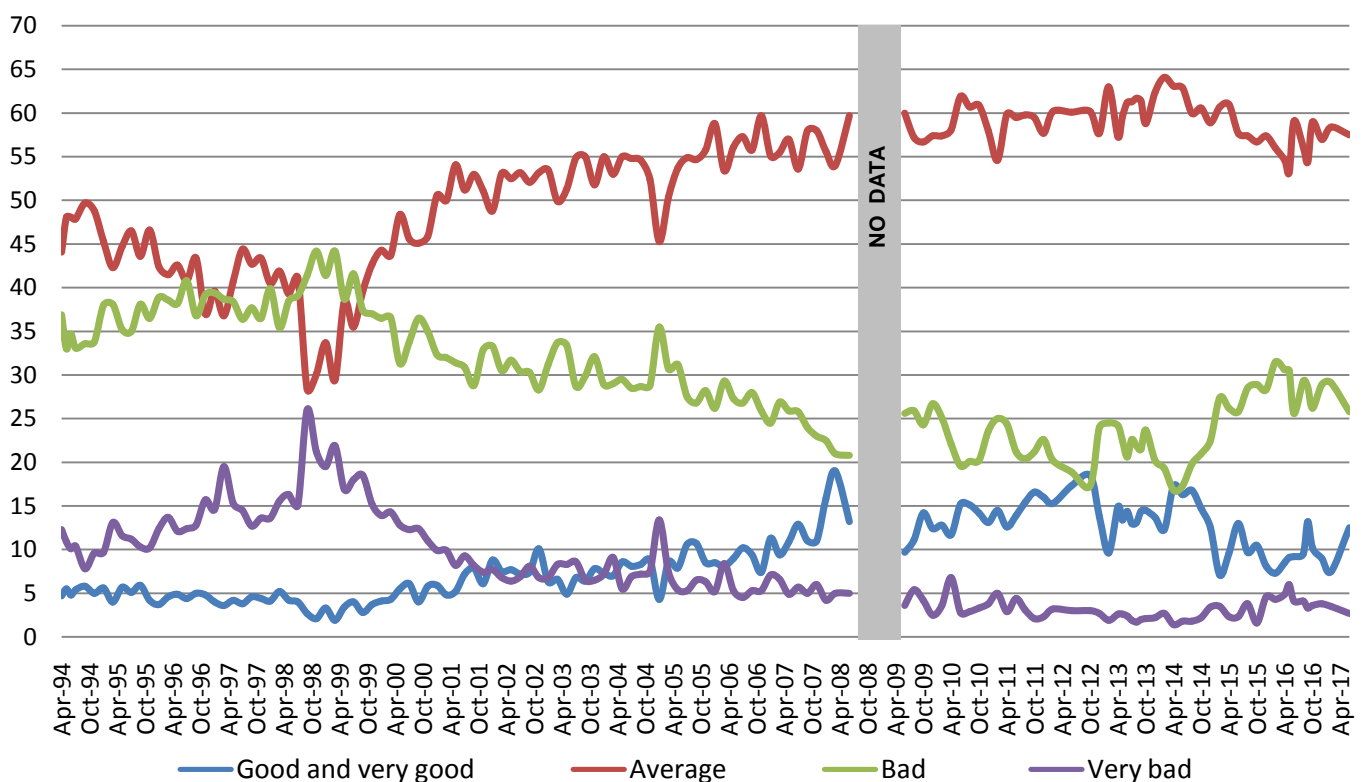
Which class of the society you would affiliate yourself with?



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

Diagram 6.1.2

How would you estimate your family's financial standing?



N=1600

Diagram 6.1.3

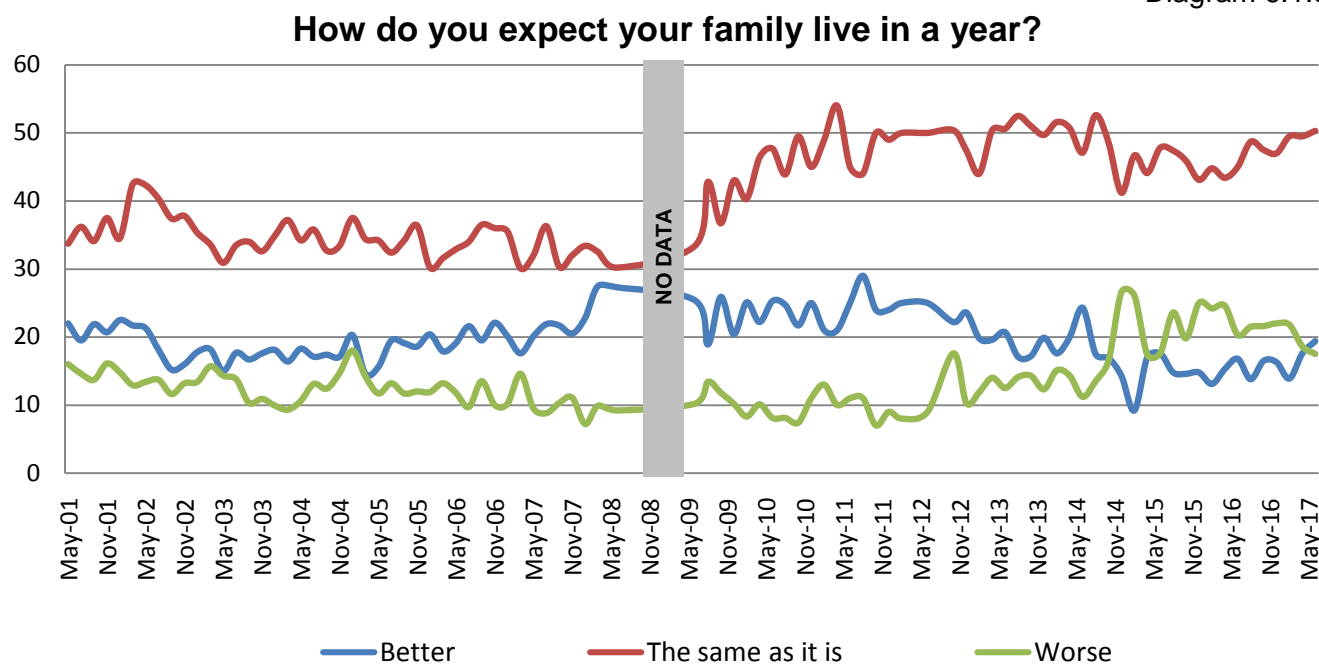
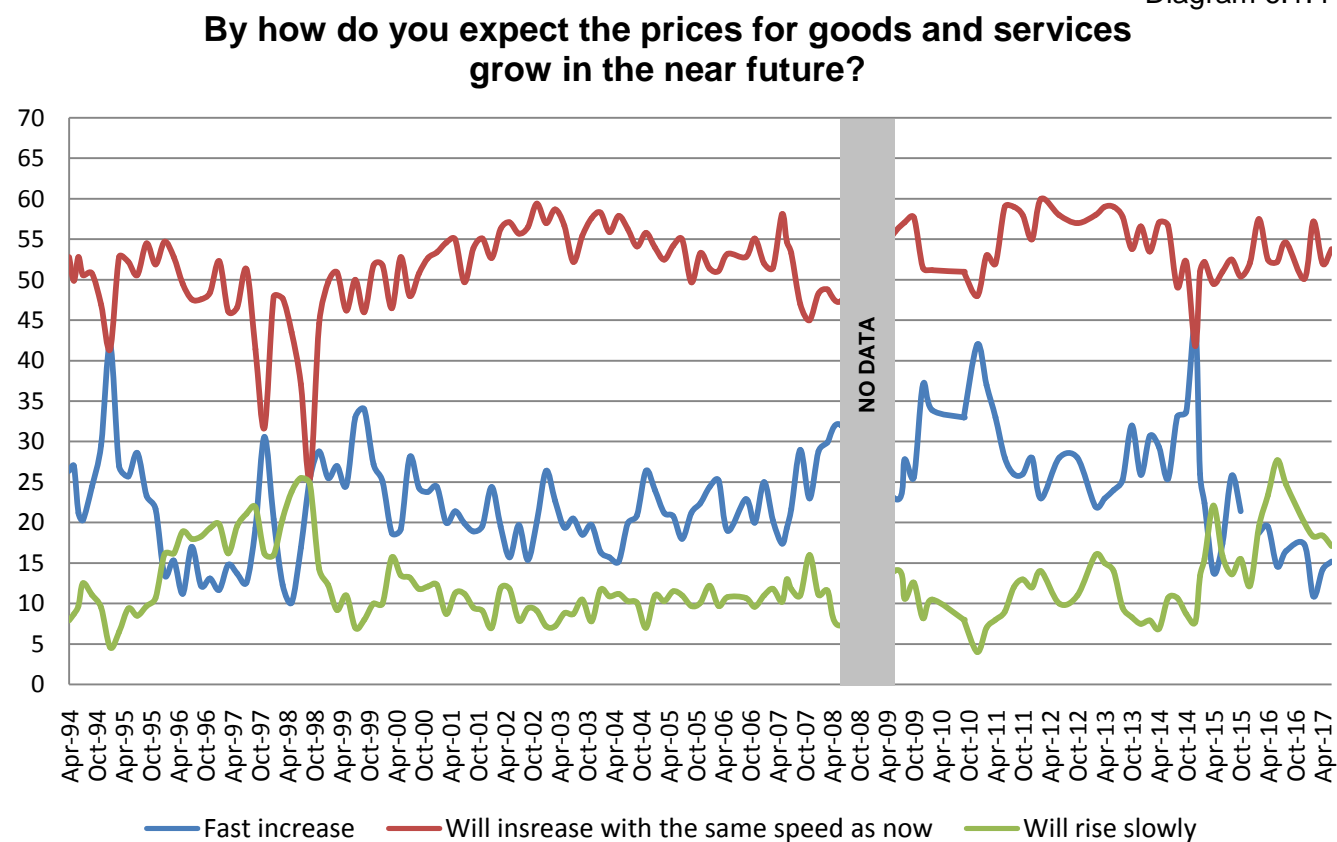


Diagram 6.1.4



6.2. ECONOMIC RECESSION

Table 6.2.1

Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that Russia is falling into an economic crisis now?

	2015			2016								
	IX	X	XII	III	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XII	XII
Definitely agree	38	36	43	46	47	36	42	39	38	33	36	40
Rather agree	39	44	39	39	35	41	34	41	36	42	43	38
Rather disagree	14	13	10	7	11	14	13	11	15	16	14	13
Definitely disagree	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	4	5	4	3	3
Difficult to answer	7	6	6	6	4	7	8	6	6	5	5	7

N=1600

Table 6.2.2

How long do you think this crisis will last for?
(in % of those who think that Russia is falling into an economic crisis now)

	2014 XII	2015		2016	
		III	XII	III	XII
2-3 months	4	4	1	<1	1
Six months	8	5	4	4	6
A year, a year and a half	19	19	18	19	18
At least two years	21	23	23	25	20
The crisis will be a very long one, its consequences will be manifesting for several years	16	17	21	24	24
It's hard to say now how long it's going to last for and how deep it's going to get	21	24	22	20	22
Difficult to answer	12	10	12	8	9

Table 6.2.3

Economic recession in Russia has already had a serious impact on your family – or recession does not have much of an impact on your family?

	2009					2010				2011	2015		2016
	II	V	VII	IX	XII	I	III	V	VII	I	V	VIII	V
Economic recession in Russia has already had a serious impact on my family	49	53	51	62	62	58	63	52	53	63	49	45	56
Economic recession does not have much of an impact on my family yet	46	41	45	33	34	38	33	43	41	33	46	47	38
Difficult to answer	6	6	4	5	4	4	4	6	6	4	6	8	6

N=1600

Table 6.2.4

Given the current affairs in the country, do you have to...?

	2014	2015		2016		
	XII	II	XI	II	V	XI
Buy cheaper durable goods etc., or even do without purchasing them	38	45	57	56	54	56
Save on food and routine costs	37	54	58	59	52	58
Cut back on entertainment, leisure or do without them completely	22	28	28	30	35	35
Refrain from purchasing a car, real estate or cottage	11	12	20	13	20	18
Spend savings	7	7	7	6	10	8
Cut costs of education, healthcare or completely refrain from those	4	7	7	11	14	12
Did not have to do anything of the above	27	14	14	13	12	10

N=1600

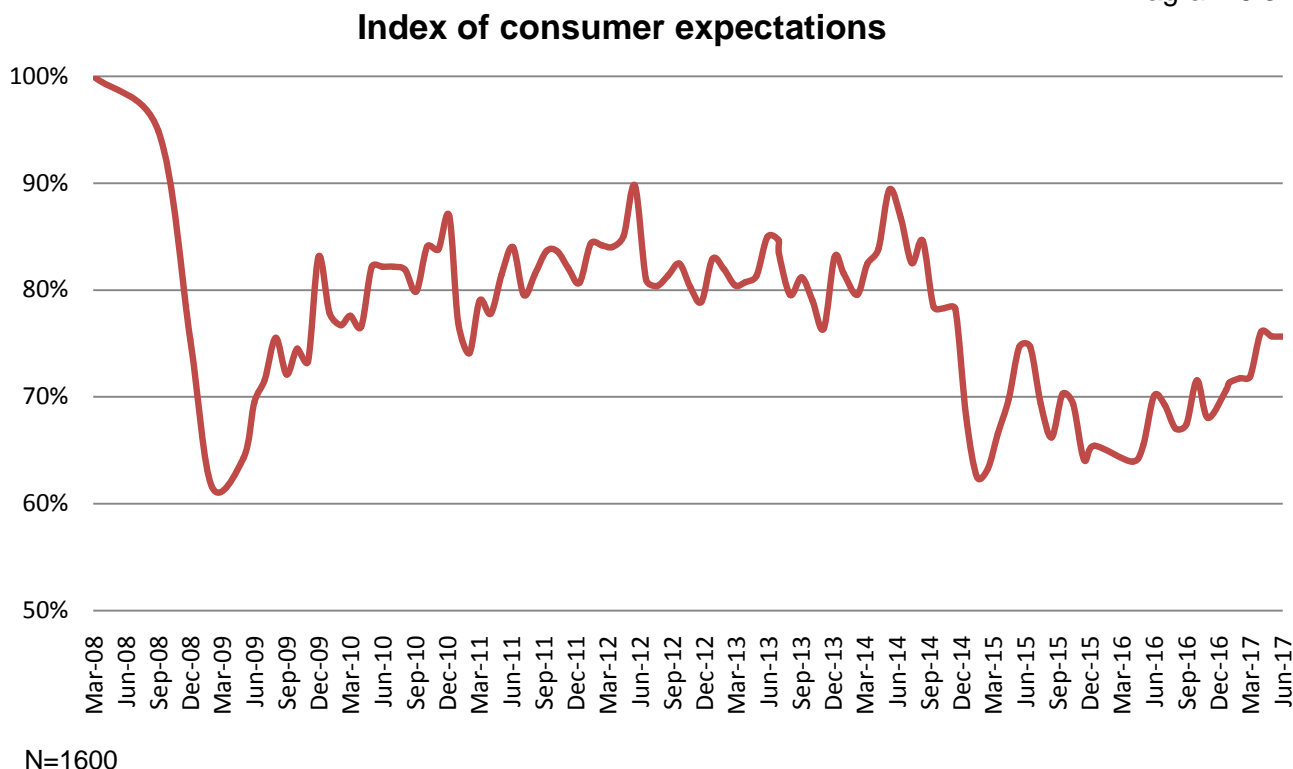
Table 6.2.5

Do you or your family currently have any savings or capital?

	2002 VII	2003 VII	2004 VII	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VII	2008 XII	2009 X	2010 X	2011 X	2012 X	2013 X	2014 XI	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
Yes	26	24	24	21	22	22	18	22	26	24	31	30	30	27	33
No	68	69	68	70	69	66	75	73	69	68	64	60	61	67	57
Don't know/ refuse to answer	6	7	8	9	9	13	7	5	5	8	5	10	9	7	10
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600	1600

6.3. CONSUMPTION

Diagram 6.3.1

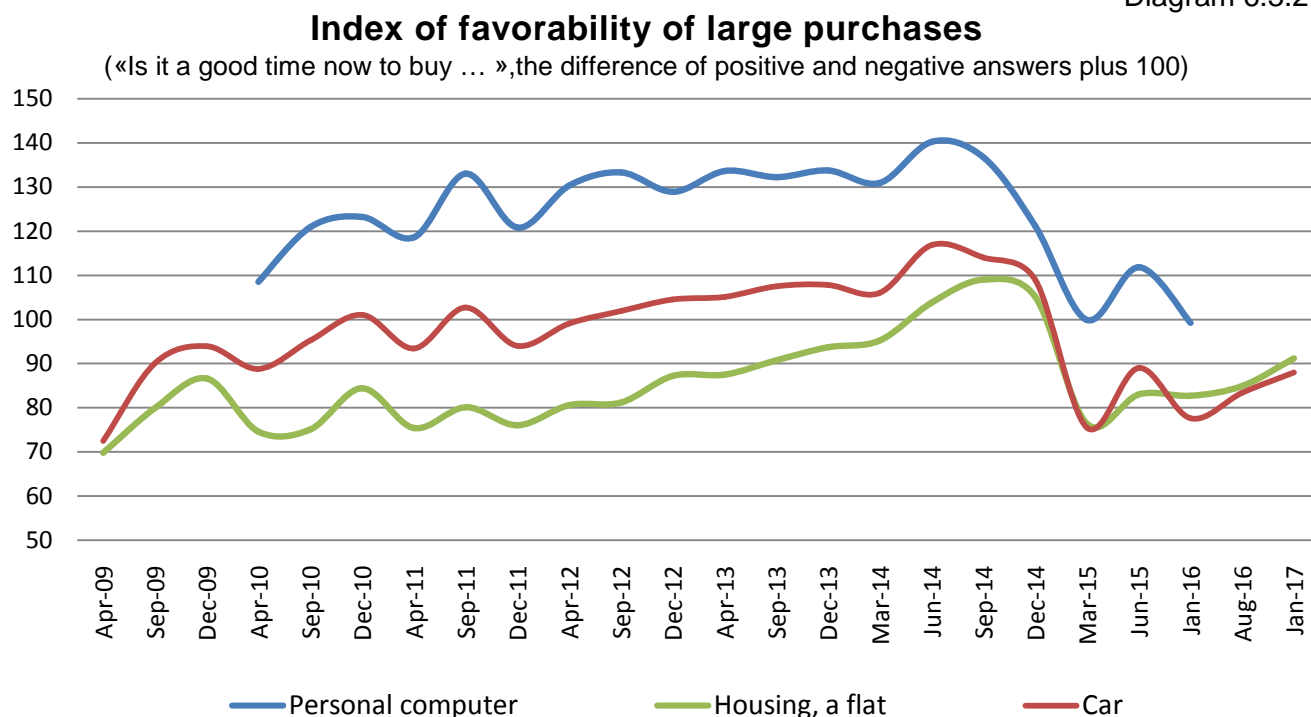


The index of consumer attitudes (ICA) is an important instrument in forecasting consumer behavior. During the development of the market economy in Russia, consumer activity and the level of consumer demand are becoming an important driving force in the economic development of the country. Long-term observations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

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

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

Diagram 6.3.2



N=1600

Table 6.3.1

**Do you have a bank card that allows you to buy things
or withdraw cash on credit?**

(% of those who have a bank card)

	2009 October	2010 October	2011 October	2012 August	2013 August	2014 August	2015 August	2016 August
Yes	24	25	32	30	36	40	39	36
No	74	72	65	69	63	58	60	60
Difficult to answer	2	3	4	1	2	2	2	2
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	1600	1600

7. ESTIMATES OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND EMPLOYMENT

Which problems in our society you are concerned the most?

Diagram 7.1

1. Social and economic problems

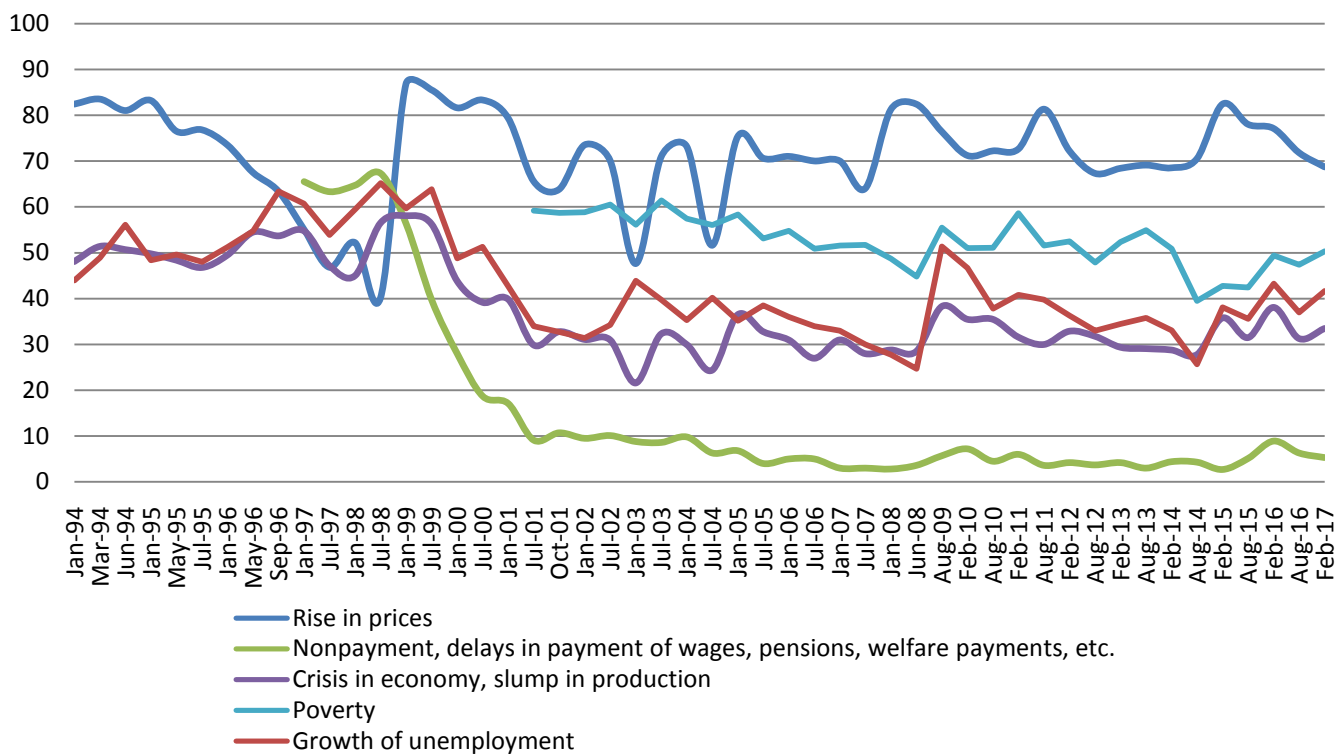


Diagram 7.2

2. Authority and management

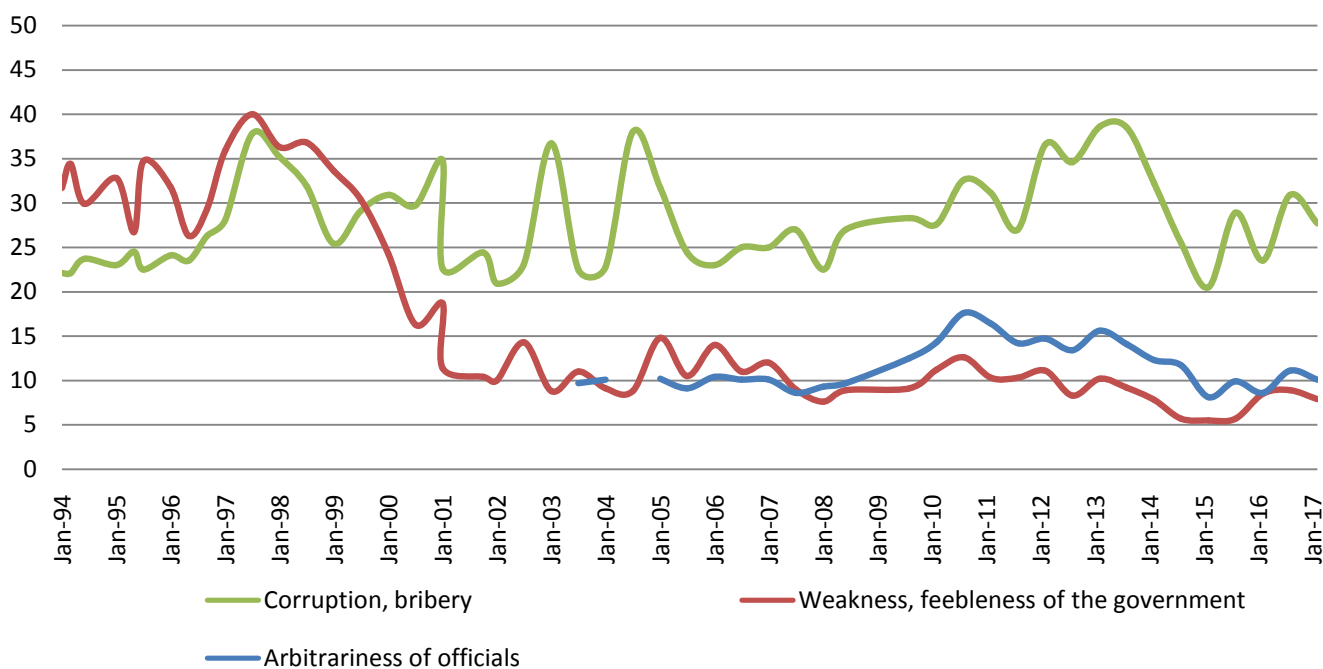
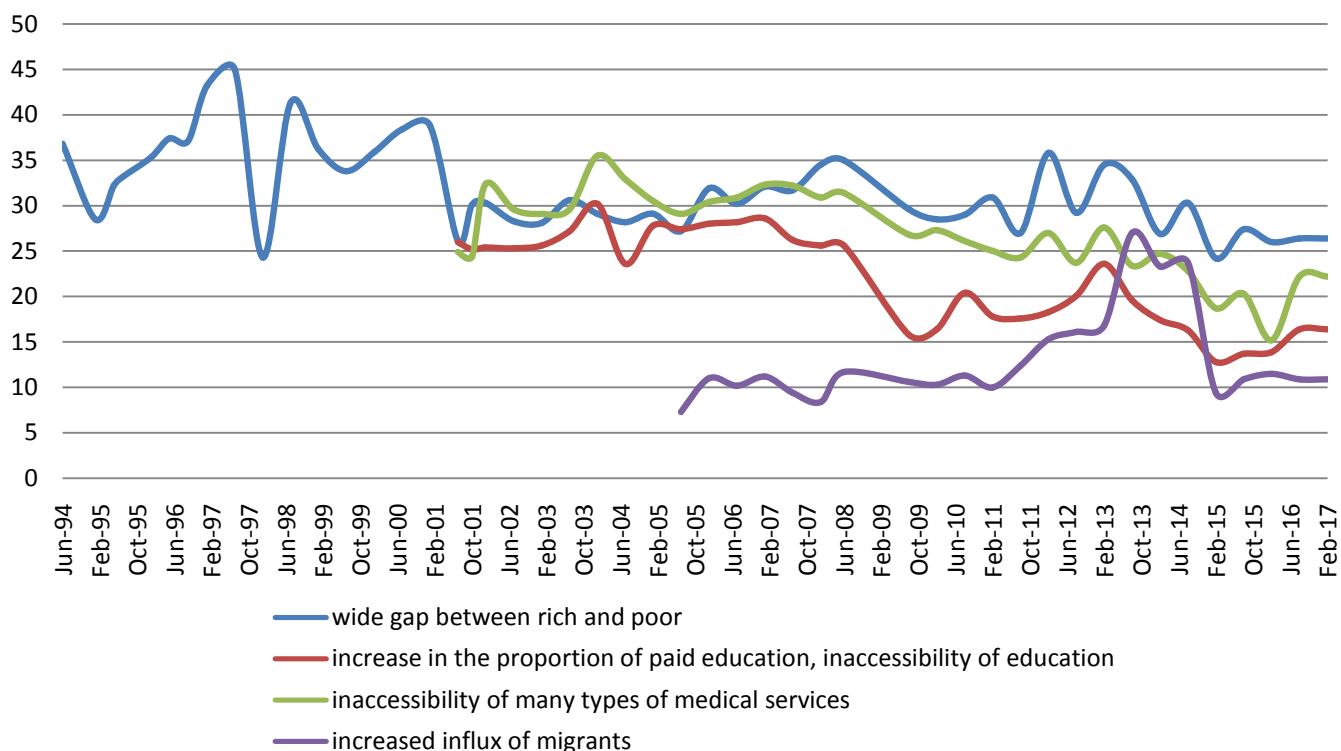


Diagram 7.3

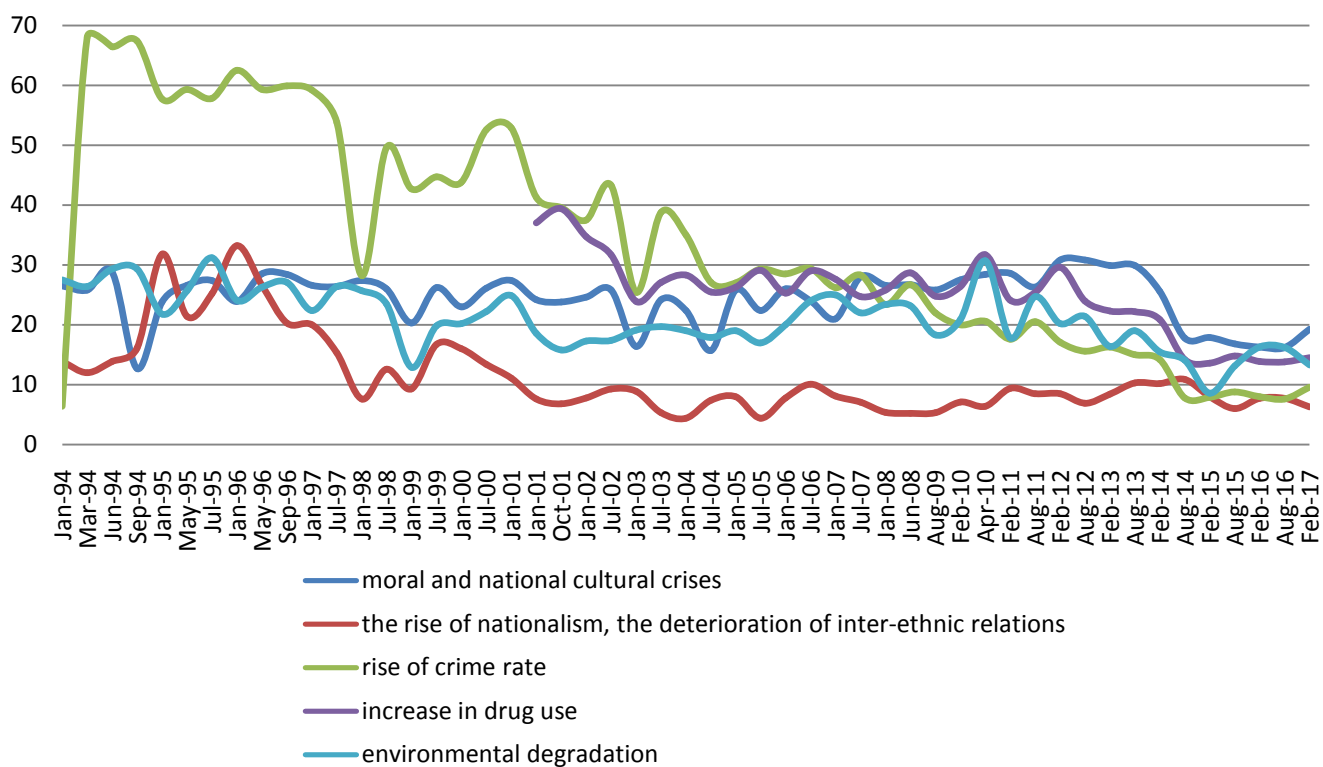
3. Social life



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

Diagram 7.4

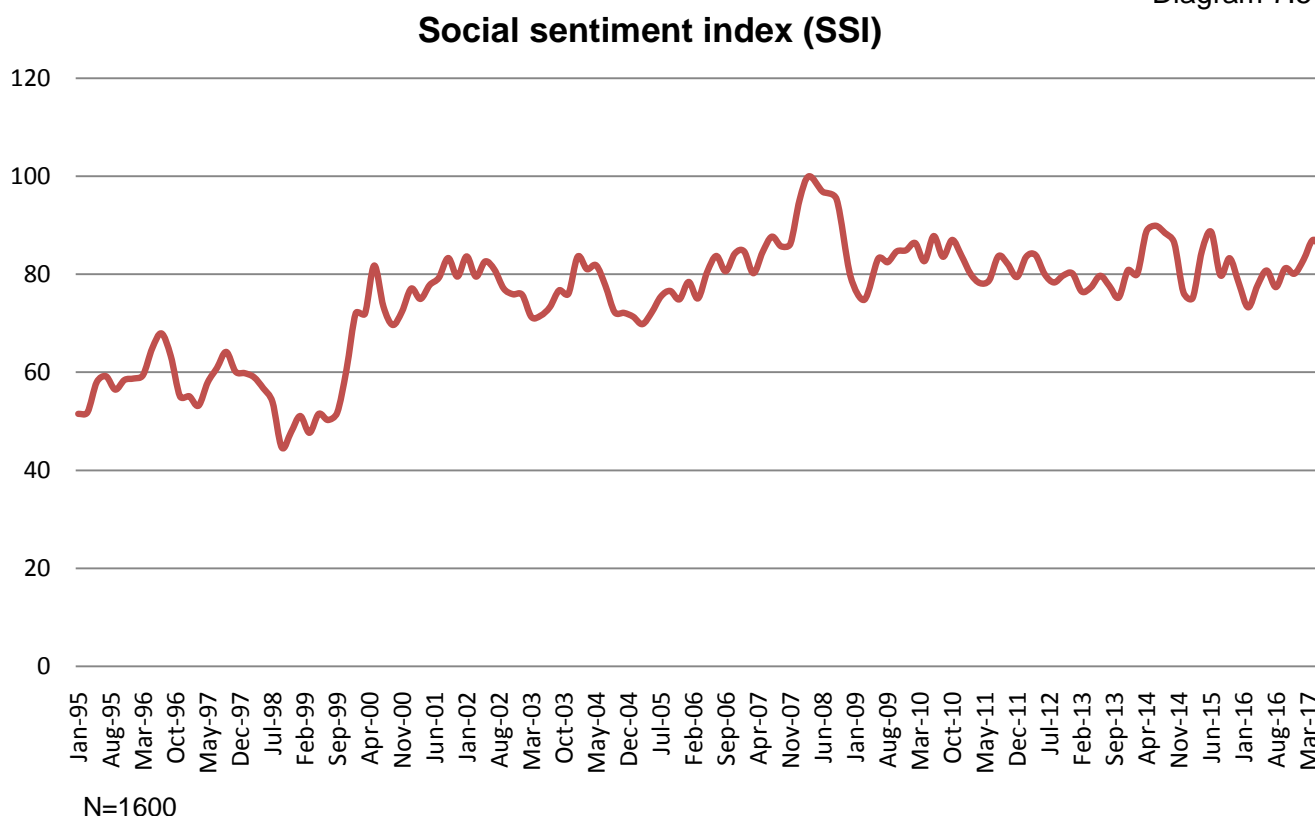
4. Culture and environment



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

SOCIAL SENTIMENT INDEX (SSI)

Diagram 7.5



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

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

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

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

ENVIRONMENT

Table 7.1

To what degree does the state of the environment in your locality and its surrounding area alarm you?

	2011 May	2012 August	2013 May	2014 July	2015 May	2016 May
It alarms me a lot	24	25	21	14	14	17
It rather alarms me	49	49	52	50	47	49
It rather doesn't alarm me	13	14	11	15	17	17
It doesn't alarm me at all	12	10	11	18	19	15
Difficult to answer	2	2	5	3	3	2

N=800

Table 7.2

What do you think of the ecological condition (cleanliness of air and water, noise levels, environment state etc) of the town, area where you live?

	2008 IV	2010 IX	2011 V	2012 VIII	2013 V	2014 VI	2015 V	2015 VIII	2016 V
It's very good	5	5	7	7	3	4	6	3	6
Rather good than bad	28	36	33	33	26	39	37	38	32
Rather bad than good	37	38	43	43	49	40	40	41	39
Very bad	28	15	16	16	16	10	12	15	17
Difficult to answer	2	6	2	2	7	7	5	3	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 7.3

What are specific signs of deteriorating environment in your community and the neighborhood?

	2011 May	2013 May	2014 June	2015 May	2016 May
Disappearing greenbelts	34	35	33	32	29
Natural resources are wasted	33	31	30	25	27
Deteriorating human health	59	62	56	57	61
Course of nature is broken	29	32	28	27	32
Less opportunities for outdoor recreation	22	25	25	21	22
Something else	7	5	3	5	6
Difficult to answer	6	9	10	9	5

N=800

Table 7.4

**What is the most environmental concern for you
in your community and the neighborhood?**

(% of respondents concerned with the environment, ranked by the last survey)

	2012	2013	2015	2016
Pollution of rivers, lakes and seas	59	54	52	52
Air pollution	52	52	49	49
Hazardous chemicals in food items	22	29	25	31
Bad polluted potable water	35	34	35	31
Unhygienic state of the area	36	30	24	25
Climate change	22	21	20	21
Noise pollution	13	14	10	16
Disappearing forest	15	16	12	14
Shallowing of natural water reservoirs, desertification and other abnormalities of hydrology	14	10	13	14
High levels of radiation	16	17	13	11
Acid rains	10	8	10	11
Lack of green spaces	9	9	11	10
Disappearing species of birds, fish, animals, plants, insects or changes in plant and animal life	11	9	9	10
Difficult to answer	3	5	4	2
Water is unusable for plants	3	4	4	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

CHERNOBYL

Table 7.5

What is the most important problem that the Chernobyl disaster revealed and what caused your greatest indignation in this connection?

	2006	2011	2016
Flaws in the nuclear reactor design itself	9	12	9
Technical defects in the reactor control rods	15	21	26
Negligence of the operators, maintenance staff	16	21	19
Ineffective system of decision making in complex technical unit management	12	10	10
Lack of a system of population protection measures in man-made disasters	22	17	14
The authorities' concealment of the fact of the disaster	13	7	9
Lack of public control over the work of nuclear plants	3	3	1
Difficult to answer	10	9	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 7.6

What was the major cause of the problem during Chernobyl catastrophe?

	2008	2016
The actual accident and radioactive pollution of the area and air	36	48
The fact that Soviet leadership tried to hush up the accident, did not evacuate people from the affected areas and did not start emergency response immediately	55	40
Difficult to answer	9	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 7.7

Is it likely that a Chernobyl-like disaster will happen again in Russia in the near future?

	2000 IV	2001 IV	2006 III	2011 III	2016 III
Very likely	26	38	14	16	6
Quite likely	43	38	45	40	28
Not very likely	17	15	25	32	41
Practically unlikely	4	3	4	4	6
Difficult to answer	11	7	12	8	21
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

TAXES

Table 7.8

Would you agree with the statement that people are under no obligations to pay full taxes to the state, and, when given an opportunity, can avoid the taxes?

	1998 I	1999 X	2000 II	2001 III	2002 II	2003 XI	2004 III	2005 III	2006 IV	2007 III	2010 III	2011 III	2013 III	2015 III	2016 III	2017 IV
Fully agree	10	12	8	9	10	11	8	8	5	7	5	9	6	6	5	5
Rather agree	17	19	15	18	20	22	17	16	18	16	25	20	24	18	19	21
Rather disagree	25	28	30	32	31	35	35	32	36	34	37	39	40	44	42	42
Totally disagree	35	31	38	31	29	25	34	39	32	32	23	23	21	17	24	23
Difficult to answer	13	10	9	10	11	7	6	6	10	12	10	10	8	14	10	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 7.9

**What do you think of the managers
who dodge the taxes for their businesses?**

	1999 VII	2001 I	2003 XII	2006 IV	2011 IV	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III	2016 III
Approve them	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	2
Understand them	19	22	22	15	15	16	20	13	14
Disapprove them	52	60	55	65	59	60	57	63	61
Do not care	18	11	14	14	19	19	15	15	16
Difficult to answer	8	5	7	4	5	3	6	6	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 7.10

What do you think of the regular people who dodge taxes?

	1999 VII	2001 I	2003 XII	2006 IV	2011 IV	2013 III	2014 IV	2015 III	2016 III
Approve them	5	3	4	3	2	3	3	4	3
Understand them	37	38	43	33	31	32	33	29	31
Disapprove them	34	43	29	45	40	41	39	45	40
Do not care	14	11	15	14	20	20	18	17	18
Difficult to answer	9	6	9	5	7	4	7	5	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 7.11

How do you feel about employers paying their employees with “black cash” in addition to the salary indicated on the payroll?

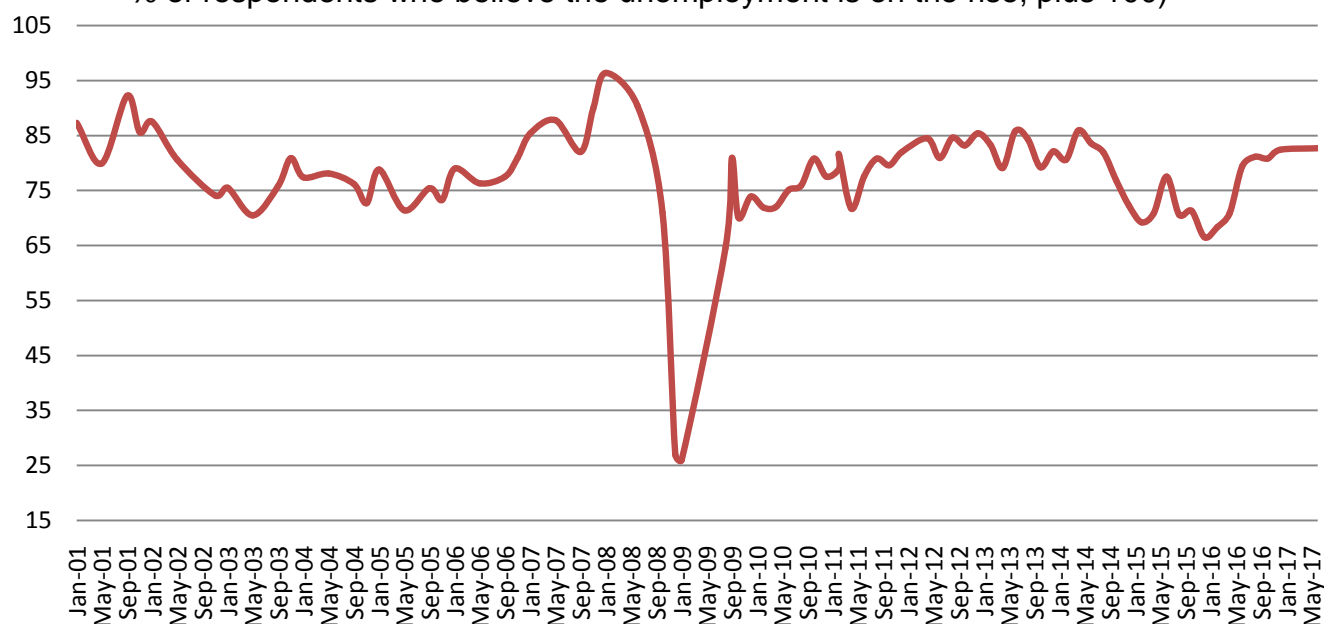
	1999 VII	2001 I	2003 XII	2006 IV	2011 IV	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III	2016 III
Approve them	21	11	10	7	3	7	4	5	3
Understand them	26	28	24	24	20	22	27	19	20
Disapprove them	22	38	36	44	48	42	43	50	43
Do not care	16	15	18	18	21	22	18	18	23
Difficult to answer	15	9	12	7	8	7	9	8	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

UNEMPLOYMENT

Diagram 7.6

Unemployment expectation index

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



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

Table 7.12

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

	1989 X	1991 VII	2000 II	2002 XI	2005 XII	2006 XII	2007 XI	2008 XI	2009 XI	2010 X	2013 VI	2014 XI	2015 X	2016 X
Unemployment can't be allowed in Russia	50	35	62	53	57	56	58	47	58	59	62	44	49	47
Unemployment is quite an acceptable thing in this country	5	23	17	24	24	24	22	30	21	22	21	32	29	31
Some unemployment is actually useful	18	17	14	13	11	12	9	11	13	10	11	13	11	10
Unemployment is needed for efficiency of the economy	8	10	2	4	2	3	3	4	2	3	3	2	4	3
Difficult to answer	19	15	5	6	6	5	8	9	6	6	3	10	8	9
Number of respondents	1000	1000	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

PENSIONS

Table 7.13

Which of the statements about pensions to the working pensioners you would rather agree with?

Working pensioners should keep the right to keep both the salary and pension in full	78
Pensioners should not be paid pension if they work and get paid their salaries	5
Pensioners should be paid a part of their pension if they work and are paid their salaries	7
Pensions should be paid only to the professionals in short supply	5
Difficult to answer	5

2016, April; N=1600

Table 7.14

Should the government spend more or less on the age pensions than it is doing now?

	2007 January	2016 February
A lot more	51	29
Somewhat more	35	41
The same	8	23
Somewhat less	1	4
A lot less	0	1
Difficult to answer	5	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 7.15

Who/what should you rely on to provide for in the old age?

The government	20
The company	2
The family	24
Yourself only	48
Did not think about it	6

2016, May; N=1600

Table 7.16

What do you think you should do to provide for yourself when you are old?

Work as long as you can	49
Have savings in cash or jewelry (gold, antiques), or stock	41
Have income from the property (land or business)	35
Have savings in private pension fund	9

2016, May; N=1600

8. RATING THE PERFORMANCE OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

HEALTHCARE

Table 8.1

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

	2002 XII	2005 I	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 VIII	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 VIII	2013 VIII	2014 VIII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII	2017 VIII
Improved considerably	3	1	3	3	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2
Improved somewhat	11	9	19	20	21	20	9	12	12	12	11	16	12	11	14
Has not changed	37	34	36	44	45	48	45	43	42	46	39	48	43	40	41
Became somewhat worse	28	27	22	22	17	17	17	21	21	26	27	17	25	26	24
Became considerably worse	14	24	16	10	10	7	13	13	16	10	15	13	15	16	15
Difficult to answer	7	5	6	5	6	4	14	9	8	4	6	6	4	5	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 8.2

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

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Definitely yes	7	7	6	5	5	4	6	2	2	3	2	4	4	4	3	5
Yes, rather than no	18	19	19	18	23	20	24	18	20	21	23	23	38	26	25	31
No, rather than yes	47	40	41	39	43	41	40	42	45	42	49	45	37	48	43	37
Definitely no	26	32	31	36	27	31	26	28	25	26	22	22	16	17	24	21
Difficult to answer	2	2	3	2	3	3	4	9	8	8	4	6	5	5	5	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1500	1600	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 8.3

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

	2004 VII	2005 VII	2007 VII	2010 VII	2011 VII	2012 VII	2015 V	2016 VII
Opportunity to have free healthcare and education	68	76	60	73	67	64	73	64
Enough assets to pay for the healthcare and educational services	30	22	35	23	30	33	25	32
Difficult to answer	2	2	5	4	3	3	3	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	1600

EDUCATION

Table 8.4

Are you satisfied with the education system in Russia?

	2004 V	2005 I	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 VIII	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 IX	2013 VIII	2014 IX	2015 IX	2016 V
Definitely yes	5	3	2	3	4	4	2	1	2	3	3	2	4	2
Yes, rather than no	18	15	15	22	21	21	18	18	16	16	18	20	21	18
Neither yes, nor no	20	22	19	22	22	26	23	28	25	24	.*	27	22	29
No, rather than yes	30	29	33	28	29	30	25	26	29	27	46	28	25	27
Definitely no	20	21	25	18	18	13	13	12	16	23	26	12	16	18
Difficult to answer	8	10	6	8	6	6	20	15	13	7	8	11	11	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1500	800	800	800	1600	1600

* - the option was not offered

Table 8.5

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

	2005 I	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 VIII	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 VIII	2013 VIII	2014 VIII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII	2017 VIII
Improved considerably	1	3	3	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	2
Improved somewhat	10	13	17	20	19	9	11	10	11	8	12	10	9	11
Has not changed	35	37	44	45	47	35	38	34	43	41	47	46	41	45
Somewhat declined	23	21	15	15	15	20	21	23	23	27	17	23	24	21
Declined considerably	17	13	7	6	5	9	9	14	9	10	10	7	12	9
Difficult to answer	14	13	14	13	10	26	21	18	13	12	12	12	13	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1500	1600	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 8.6

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

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Definitely yes	7	6	6	6	7	8	7	3	4	4	3	4	5	6	3	5
Yes, rather than no	30	26	30	26	35	31	36	27	32	28	28	23	44	40	30	41
No, rather than yes	38	38	35	35	34	35	36	34	33	35	43	39	27	34	37	31
Definitely no	21	26	25	28	19	21	17	15	14	15	16	18	15	10	22	14
Difficult to answer	4	4	3	5	5	5	5	21	18	18	10	9	9	10	8	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1500	1600	800	800	800	1600	1600

SCHOOL

Table 8.7

To which school subjects should be paid most attention? (responses are ranked)

	2016 August	2017 May
Russian language	68	44
Mathematics	53	38
History	33	52
Native language and literature	32	32
Foreign languages	27	23
Computer literacy and computer science	23	22
Physics, chemistry, biology	21	20
Physical education	18	13
Labor education	13	-*
Geography	10	-*
Social sciences (sociology, economics, politology)	9	10
First aid skills	9	15
Sexual education	7	8
National language and literature (republics and autonomous districts)	7	-*
Creativity, art, music	6	4
Basics of religion, the law of the Lord	5	7
Difficult to answer	4	7

*- Not mentioned

N=1600

Table 8.8

Should the basics of Russian Orthodox faith and culture be taught at school mandatory or be electives based on the choice of the students and their parents?

The basics of Russian Orthodox faith and culture should be mandatory at school	23
The basics of Russian Orthodox faith and culture should be elective based on the choice of the students and their parents	71
Difficult to answer	7

2016, November, N=1600

UNIFIED STATE EXAMINATION

Table 8.9

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

	2001 V	2002 VIII	2003 X	2004 V	2006 VI	2007 VI	2009 VI	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2014 V	2015 V	2016 V
Entirely positive	18	20	19	13	14	12	6	9	10	9	13	12	9	17
Rather positive	32	35	25	31	30	28	22	25	26	29	28	31	28	26
Rather negative	19	18	20	22	22	25	25	31	25	25	23	26	28	29
Very negative	9	12	14	15	10	11	15	12	16	16	12	12	12	13
Difficult to answer	22	15	22	19	24	24	32	23	23	22	24	19	23	15
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

*- formulation since 2009

Table 8.10

In your opinion, how do you think the Unified State Exam assesses the knowledge of school graduates in comparison to the usual exams?

	2004 VI	2006 IV	2009 III	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2014 V	2015 V	2016 V
Better	24	18	16	12	15	14	13	19	10	11
Worse	22	29	36	41	43	45	34	42	48	54
Neither better nor worse	32	31	27	28	25	28	33	25	30	25
Difficult to answer	23	22	21	18	18	14	21	15	13	10
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

Table 8.11

With the introduction of the Unified State Exam, by the time of graduation from secondary school and the entrance to higher education institutions, the number of bribes, use of profitable connections and other corrupt practices will...

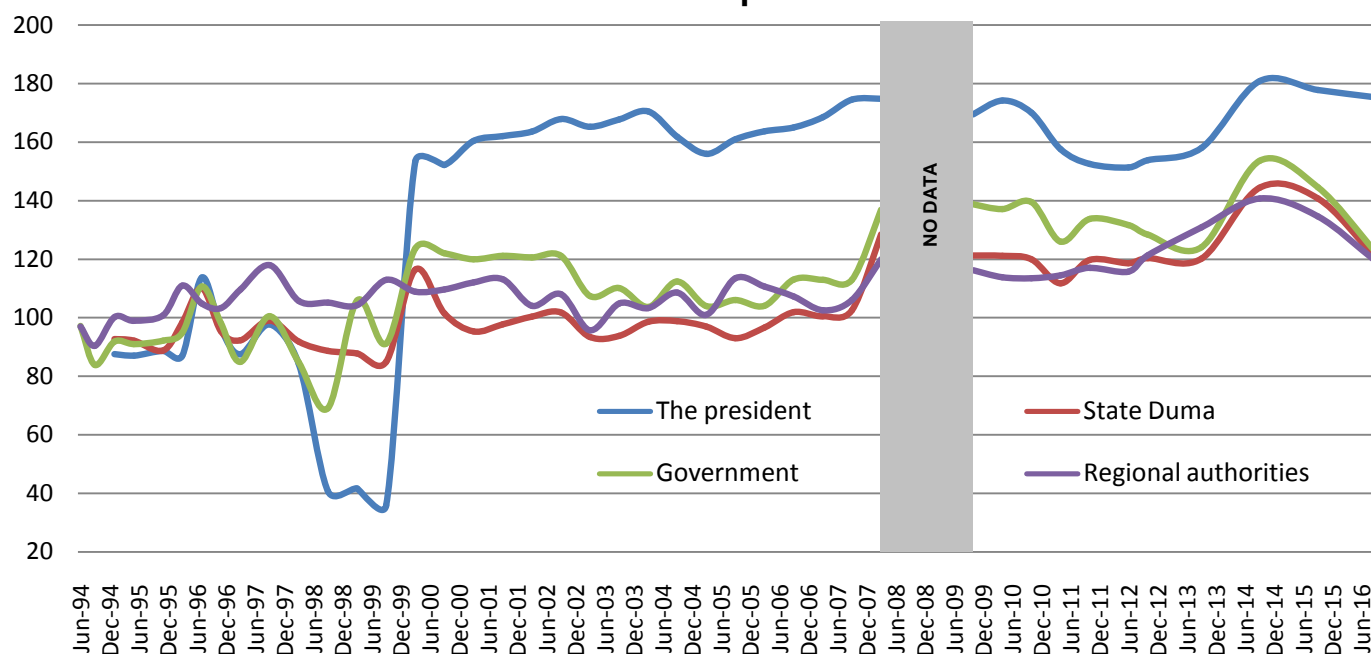
	2004 VI	2006 IV	2009 III	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2014 V	2015 V	2016 V
Increase	21	23	25	27	30	35	30	25	25	23
Decrease	14	13	17	15	17	16	13	15	21	21
Remain the same	48	43	36	31	33	31	34	38	31	38
Difficult to answer	18	21	23	28	20	18	24	22	23	17
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

9. GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

9.1. OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF INSTITUTIONS

Diagram 9.1.1

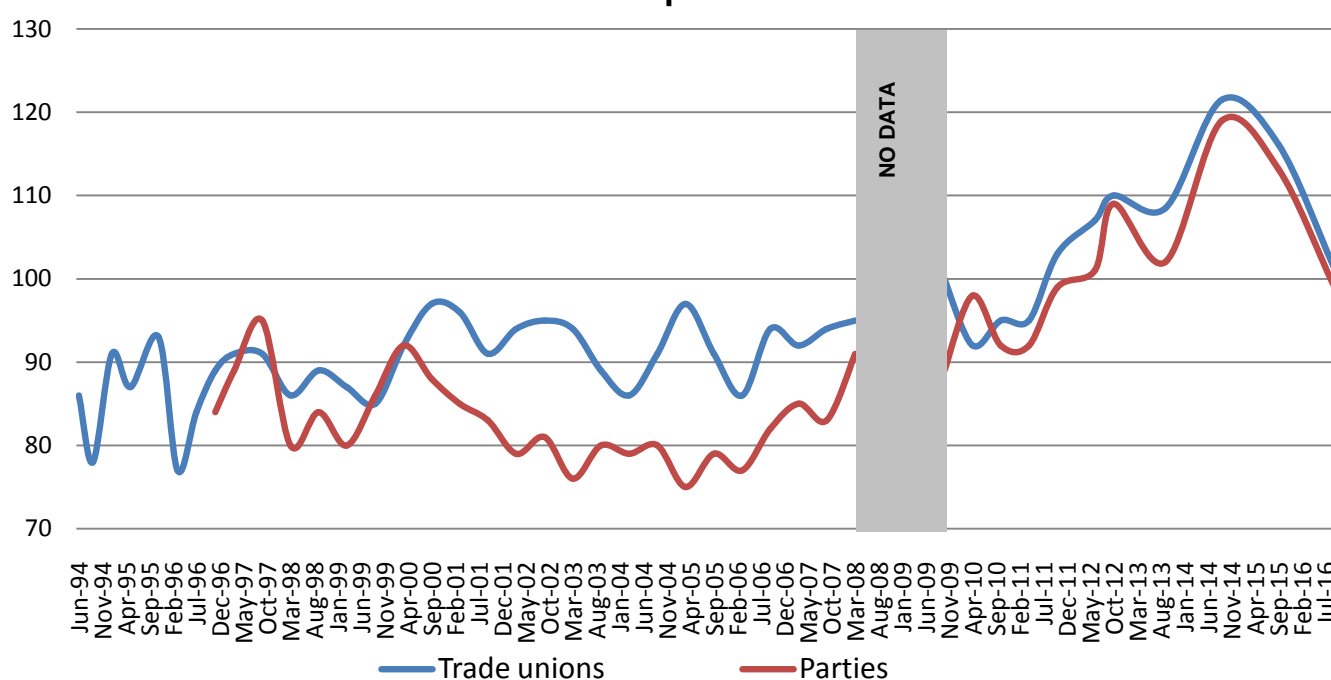
Indices of confidence in public institutions



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

Diagram 9.1.2

Indices of confidence in parties and trade unions



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

Table 9.1.1

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

(the answers are ranked)

		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
		I-II	I-II	I-II	I	I	II	I	VII	II	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
1	President	3,90	4,12	3,96	4,11	3,92	3,99	4,25	4,22	4,51	4,11	4,17	3,87	4,17	4,21	4,5	4,57	4,65
2	Federal Security Service	3,21	3,21	3,31	-**	3,41	3,50	3,74	3,65	3,78	3,73	3,36	3,61	3,68	3,54	3,93	4,09	4,1
3	Armed forces	3,28	3,25	3,29	3,26	3,21	3,21	3,5	3,47	3,62	3,61	3,36	3,42	3,49	3,39	3,91	4,03	4,1
4	President's Administration	2,9	2,84	3,1	-**	3,28	3,42	3,63	3,55	3,96	3,81	3,69	3,51	3,71	3,58	3,8	3,93	4,01
5	Government	3,53	3,48	3,38	3,48	3,22	3,41	3,56	3,45	3,84	3,87	3,78	3,61	3,65	3,47	3,71	3,71	3,8
6	Oligarchs, bankers, Financial officers	3,79	3,78	3,80	3,89	3,64	3,71	3,74	3,64	3,58	3,71	3,63	3,63	3,84	3,66	3,65	3,72	3,73
7	Media	3,52	3,57	3,53	3,48	3,39	3,49	3,48	3,53	3,43	3,48	3,45	3,36	3,46	3,4	3,54	3,52	3,64
8	Federation Council	2,99	3,00	2,93	3,10	2,93	3,11	3,23	3,09	3,41	3,33	3,22	3,10	3,32	3,15	3,49	3,45	3,55
9	Public Prosecutor's Office	2,9	3,08	2,97	-**	3,13	3,14	3,36	3,28	3,43	3,39	3,22	3,26	3,48	3,31	3,48	3,47	3,54
10	Regional governors	3,42	3,25	3,29	3,32	3,14	3,23	3,34	3,26	3,47	3,39	3,25	3,18	3,3	3,24	3,44	3,33	3,48
11	State Duma	2,81	2,90	2,86	3,01	2,85	2,95	3,07	2,89	3,29	3,18	3,09	3,06	3,29	3,05	3,38	3,31	3,47
12	Judicial	2,8	2,73	2,91	-**	3,01	3,06	3,25	3,11	3,27	3,29	3,18	3,17	3,31	3,2	3,3	3,26	3,42
13	Police	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	-**	2,86	3,10	3,21	3,11	3,22	3,36	3,38
14	Church	2,91	3,08	2,74	2,92	3,06	2,89	3,26	3,00	3,04	3,42	3,04	3,04	3,09	3,13	3,08	3,19	3,28
15	Top managers of large corporations	3,35	3,28	3,15	3,40	3,12	3,11	3,18	3,17	3,27	3,30	3,01	3,10	3,23	3,16	3,07	3,26	3,15
16	Political parties	2,69	2,68	2,60	2,82	2,61	2,75	2,73	2,64	3,04	2,84	2,81	2,81	2,87	2,7	2,95	2,93	3,12
17	Intelligentsia	2,53	2,46	2,44	2,52	2,42	2,47	2,59	2,43	2,67	2,56	2,54	2,42	2,58	2,47	2,6	2,61	2,69
18	Trade-unions	1,95	1,85	1,91	1,97	1,91	1,91	1,89	1,93	2,01	2,05	1,92	1,91	1,96	2,12	2,07	2,1	2,17
Number of respondents		1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800	1600

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

** - «-» the option was not offered

N=1600

Table 9.1.2

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

	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 VIII	2013 VIII	2014 VIII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
D. Medvedev	33	30	11	12	10	12	12
V. Putin	44	38	59	62	81	61	56
Russian government/Ministers	14	16	12	12	15	18	20
Governors / local authorities	5	7	3	6	5	8	10
Businessmen	5	6	3	8	4	5	9
No one	9	12	13	12	4	10	13
Difficult to answer	14	17	13	16	7	18	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 9.1.3

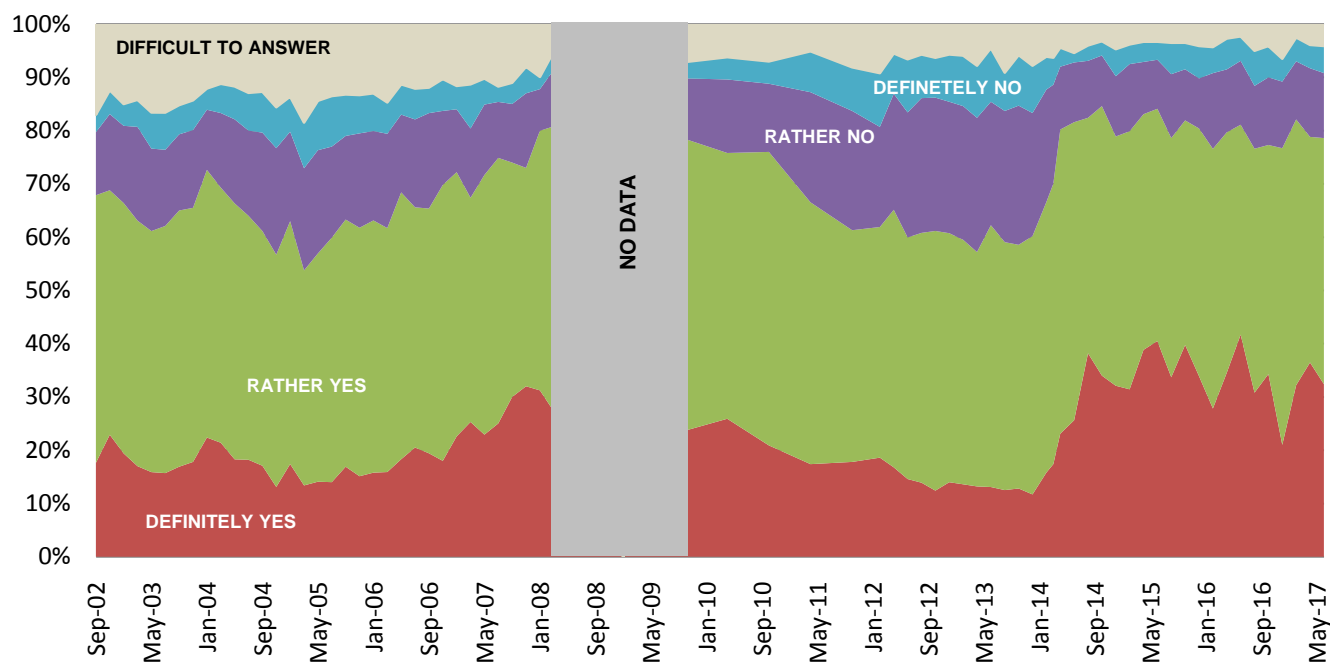
**Who in Russia is primarily responsible for the country's problems and the
increased cost of living?**

	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 VIII	2013 VIII	2014 VIII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
D. Medvedev	36	41	19	26	25	29	32
V. Putin	31	29	51	58	65	44	40
Russian government/Ministers	30	40	31	36	42	45	50
Governors / local authorities	12	16	12	19	22	23	27
Businessmen	7	6	6	9	9	10	10
No one	5	4	5	5	2	3	4
Difficult to answer	14	10	11	11	5	13	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

9.2 PUTIN

Diagram 9.2.1

Do you approve the activities of V. Putin as the President of Russia?*



*- in 2008-2011 – as a Prime Minister
N=1600

Table 9.2.1

How would you describe your feelings toward V. Putin?

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
	V	V	V	XI	XI	XI	VIII	IX	VI	VIII	I	VIII	VIII	III	III	VII	III
Admire him	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	9	9	4	3	2	2	6	10	8	10
Like him	28	30	32	38	30	32	31	38	40	31	28	20	18	31	38	29	32
Can't say anything bad about him	35	37	40	39	35	36	37	34	31	38	36	31	29	29	30	31	27
Neutral, indifferent toward him	8	12	9	10	14	11	15	9	10	11	18	20	20	15	10	17	17
Cautious, wait-and-see approach	18	11	9	5	7	5	5	4	3	7	4	11	11	6	5	4	6
Can't say anything good about him	3	4	4	3	7	8	6	2	3	6	2	8	10	7	3	6	4
Dislike him, disgust by him	1	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	4	4	2	3	2	4
Difficult to answer	4	1	0	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	3	5	4	2	1	1
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 9.2.2

What do you like about V. Putin?

	2009 IX	2011 II	2012 I	2013 I	2014 III	2015 III	2016 III
He's an experienced politician	28	31	30	30	36	41	33
It's an energetic, decisive, strong-willed person	41	34	25	28	32	41	31
It's a farsighted politician	14	16	11	10	16	23	25
It's a true leader capable of steering the people	22	19	13	14	19	25	22
He's the person who insures stability in the country	17	13	12	16	15	17	21
He defends state interests	18	16	14	11	18	23	20
He enjoys the respect of people around me	15	14	9	6	9	11	14
He's capable of compromising, uniting various political forces	9	7	5	6	11	10	9
I support his exterior policy	10	6	10	8	18	15	9
I support his policy in the Northern Caucasus region	5	3	3	3	4	5	7
It's an honest, decent, unselfish person	10	7	7	4	3	5	5
It's a man of principles	8	8	9	7	7	6	4
He knows life, understands the needs of simple people	8	8	5	4	3	3	2
It's an attractive person	9	8	9	12	7	6	2
Nothing/ Difficult to answer	12	16	21	26	15	11	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 9.2.3

What do you dislike about V. Putin?

	2009 IX	2011 II	2013 I	2014 III	2015 III	2016 III
His associations with big capital	11	9	17	19	21	17
His associations with corrupt politicians	5	6	16	18	19	17
He's a stranger to the needs of the people	5	6	10	9	7	11
He's failing at ruling the country	5	5	12	4	4	6
He doesn't have a clear political line	5	4	7	3	8	5
All his actions are only aimed at increasing his personal rating	7	5	12	6	5	5
It's not a farsighted politician	4	3	4	2	2	3
He's incapable of compromises	3	2	3	1	2	3
He doesn't have any vivid political qualities	2	3	4	1	2	2
He's too tough a politician	2	3	4	4	2	2
He's not respected by the people around me	2	4	5	3	3	2
It's a weak indecisive person	2	2	3	2	2	1
He's not capable of steering the people	2	2	3	2	1	1
It's a man without principles	0	1	1	1	1	1
It's not an attractive man	1	2	2	1	1	1
Like everything/ Difficult to answer	62	58	41	49	50	53
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 9.2.4

In the 17 years that have passed since V. Putin was appointed prime-minister of Russia in 1999, have your expectations regarding Putin come true?

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2016
Definitely yes	5	7	5	7	7	10	9	12
More like yes	40	40	33	39	40	48	50	41
More like no	23	23	25	22	22	16	17	16
Definitely no	8	10	12	12	10	6	8	7
There were no such expectations	16	11	18	14	15	11	11	15
Difficult to answer	8	9	6	7	7	9	7	8

N=1600

Table 9.2.5

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

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
People have seen that V. Putin copes with Russia's problems efficiently	14	21	15	16	16	25	31	28	26	26	15	14	38	36	28
People hope that V. Putin will cope with Russia's problems in the future	43	44	46	40	36	32	30	35	34	38	41	36	36	36	39
People do not see anyone else to rely on	34	31	34	41	42	38	35	31	34	29	35	42	23	25	29
Difficult to answer	9	4	5	3	6	5	4	6	6	8	9	8	3	3	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 9.2.6

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

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012	2014	2015	2016
Economic development of the country	10	7	10	18	21	17	12	14	12	13	10
Improvement of the living standards, salaries and pensions	24	18	14	16	16	22	20	14	11	12	7
Raising the level of optimism and hope for an improvement in the country in the near future	13	11	14	10	12	9	10	7	9	8	6
Introducing order in the country, maintaining a calm political situation	6	9	8	6	8	8	8	7	9	9	10
Ensuring the economic and political environment for the development of private business	3	2	2	3	1	2	2	4	2	3	1
«Harnessing» the oligarchs, restraining their ascendancy	6	6	5	4	2	2	3	2	3	3	3
Fight with corruption, bribery	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	3
Fight with crime	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Solving the Chechen problem	2	2	2	4	5	4	3	5	7	7	6
Securing higher military efficiency and reform of the armed forces	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	3	8	10	14
Defending democracy and political freedoms of the citizens	1	2	2	1	1	<1	1	1	<1	1	1
Elimination of the threat of terrorism in the country	<1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	4	3
Cooperation with other CIS countries	3	4	3	2	2	1	4	2	4	2	2
Improvement of the relations between Russia and the West	6	8	6	5	4	5	6	4	1	2	2
Strengthening Russia's position in the world	4	4	7	8	8	7	7	8	13	10	11
Improvement of the relations between people of different ethnic groups in Russia	<1	1	1	<1	1	<1	1	1	<1	1	1
Safeguard of morals of the public	<1	1	1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	1
I don't see any achievements	12	13	13	10	5	8	9	15	8	8	8
Difficult to answer	4	4	8	4	7	8	10	8	6	4	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600

Table 9.2.7

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

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012	2014	2015	2016
Economic development of the country	18	19	16	11	8	12	12	14	11	17	19
Improvement of the living standards, salaries and pensions	21	21	20	19	17	13	13	21	15	15	27
Raising the level of optimism and hope for an improvement in the country in the near future	6	6	7	6	4	5	4	5	4	5	6
Introducing order in the country, maintaining a calm political situation	10	7	8	6	4	6	6	7	5	6	4
Ensuring the economic and political environment for the development of private business	4	4	4	6	3	5	5	7	6	6	8
«Harnessing» the oligarchs, restraining their ascendancy	19	14	16	20	18	23	24	20	15	16	19
Fight with corruption, bribery	28	27	28	33	32	35	37	38	28	29	29
Fight with crime	25	20	18	23	17	19	18	13	7	7	6
Solving the Chechen problem	34	27	18	13	7	9	10	10	5	3	2
Securing higher military efficiency and reform of the armed forces	6	5	6	4	3	5	4	5	3	7	2
Defending democracy and political freedoms of the citizens	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2
Elimination of the threat of terrorism in the country	24	15	9	7	4	4	9	6	4	5	3
Cooperation with other CIS countries	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	5	4	3	4
Improvement of the relations between Russia and the West	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	4	6	9	8
Strengthening Russia's position in the world	3	3	4	4	3	3	2	4	4	7	4
Improvement of the relations between people of different ethnic groups in Russia	7	5	5	10	6	6	4	7	4	6	4
Safeguard of morals of the public	13	13	16	22	14	16	16	16	13	10	10
I don't see any achievements	2	2	4	3	1	3	4	6	6	5	5
Difficult to answer	10	10	12	17	20	19	16	9	18	10	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 9.2.8

Do you believe that V. Putin really cares about materially improving people's lives or is it just words that all politicians say, meaningless political promises?

	2012 V	2014 IX	2015 X	2016 XI
Putin sincerely wants to improve people's welfare and he'll be able to achieve it within the next 6 years	22	28	25	24
Putin sincerely wants to improve people's welfare but he won't be able to do it due to the resistance of the bureaucracy and the lack of a good team	33	42	49	48
Putin says a lot of the right words but is not about to do anything of what he promised to	20	15	15	17
Putin doesn't want to do anything because he is only interested in staying in power and in personal financial gain, he needs the support of those he relies on but he doesn't actually care about the populace	11	6	6	6
Difficult to answer	14	9	5	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	1600	1600

Table 9.2.9

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

	2000	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Definitely yes	20	16	18	20	24	24	15	17	17	19	9	11	11
Most likely, yes	27	31	33	37	39	32	28	35	39	40	29	29	29
Most likely, no	35	32	33	28	27	27	31	34	27	25	36	33	33
Definitely no	14	11	7	9	6	8	9	6	6	5	14	17	15
Difficult to answer	5	10	9	6	4	10	17	8	12	11	12	10	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 9.2.10

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

	2000 X	2001 VII	2003 VII	2005 VII	2006 IX	2007 VIII	2010 X	2011 VII	2012 VII	2013 VII	2014 VIII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
The military and law enforcement agencies	54	43	51	51	34	39	34	33	43	41	39	42	35
Oligarchs, bankers, big business	24	15	27	25	23	18	26	29	39	35	30	31	28
Civil servants, bureaucrats	12	15	21	26	21	19	24	22	32	30	24	28	22
Top management of large enterprises	16	16	21	23	12	13	18	22	26	23	19	24	20
The middle class: people with incomes above average	10	16	19	23	24	31	27	25	21	24	22	23	19
All people without exception	5	7	7	6	10	12	8	12	11	12	14	16	17
Common people: white and blue collar workers, farmers	13	15	15	18	18	24	20	19	14	11	13	14	14
Cultural and academic elite	4	8	9	11	7	10	10	9	10	9	10	13	9
Yeltsin's former closest associates, the Family	25	22	25	20	13	13	11	13	14	14	9	13	8
Intelligentsia	5	10	9	12	7	10	10	10	7	8	9	7	8
Difficult to answer	13	18	11	12	12	13	14	12	7	10	15	10	14

N=1600

Table 9.2.11

Which part of the society will Vladimir Putin rely on ?

(The answers are ranked based on the last poll)

	2000	2001	2003	2005	2010	2011	2014	2016
Law enforcement, officers of security service, military and Ministry of Internal Affairs	54	43	51	51	35	47	45	41
Oligarchs, bankers and big business	24	15	27	25	31	42	37	32
Government officials and bureaucracy	12	15	21	26	25	36	29	27
"Middle class": people with average European incomes	10	16	19	23	21	25	21	21
Directors of major companies	16	16	21	23	23	30	24	20
Everyone without any exception	5	7	7	5	8	8	11	13
Common people: small clerks, workers, farmers	12	15	15	18	17	12	13	12
Art and academic elite	4	8	9	11	8	12	12	11
Intelligentsia: teachers, doctors and engineers	5	10	9	12	9	11	10	11
Governors, Russia's political elite	25	22	25	20	11	15	10	8
Fringe urban population: paupers and degraded people	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	13	18	11	12	12	10	13	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	1600

Table 9.2.12

Do you think that V. Putin bears responsibility for the problems the country faced during his rule?

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Yes, fully	50	48	52	48	43
Yes, to some degree	28	30	30	29	30
No, he did everything right and if something didn't work out it's the negligent and corrupt officials' fault.	12	13	7	14	14
No, he did everything right but if something didn't work out it's due to objective circumstances (the situation the country was in the late 1990-s, the world crisis etc)	6	5	5	7	9
Difficult to answer	5	4	5	3	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 9.2.13

Do you think V. Putin is guilty of the abuse of power that his opponents accuse him of?

	2012 IV	2012 XII	2013 VIII	2014 V IX		2015 VII	2016 IV	2017 IV
He is guilty without a doubt, the multitude of facts provided in the Internet and the free media speak to it	16	11	10	10	6	7	14	11
Probably yes, just like all top-level officials, but I don't know much about it, do not keep track of it	32	37	42	30	34	29	37	31
Even if it's true, what's more important is that the country lived better under him	25	14	18	28	31	31	18	23
No matter what they say, I don't believe that Putin has ever abused power	11	15	13	19	18	22	17	22
Difficult to answer	16	23	17	14	11	12	14	13

N=1600

Table 9.2.14

Is Vladimir Putin responsible for the corruption and financial misconduct in upper echelons of power, to which opposition is consistently referring?

	2016 February	2016 April
To full extent	26	26
To a great extent	40	33
Only partially	21	25
He cannot be responsible for all this	9	9
Difficult to answer	5	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600

Table 9.2.15

Do you know about the movie done by BCC that disclose Putin's personal wealth, his corruption ties and the statements of senior US leaders who agree with the findings of the film?

Watched this movie	3
Read or heard about the movie	29
Don't know anything	68

2016, February; N=1600

Table 9.2.16

What do you think about that film?
(% of those who know about the film)

This is an enemy propaganda against Russia	32
This is a slander against Vladimir Putin	22
The movie seems to be true	20
I'm almost sure that everything in that film is true	7
Difficult to answer	19

2016, February; N=1600

Table 9.2.17

Which of the statements about corruption in Russia you would rather agree with?

	2012 II	2012 XI	2013 IV	2014 IV	2014 IX	2015 V	2016	
							II	IX
Putin can succeed in the fight against corruption by purging the top bureaucracy and making punishments for such crimes more stringent	27	27	20	27	26	31	25	25
Putin will be trying to fight corruption, but he will hardly succeed substantially, because corruption in Russia can never be eradicated	35	35	35	43	38	42	40	40
It is hard for Putin to fight corruption, since he largely relies on corrupt bureaucrats	15	21	21	17	19	16	20	20
Putin will not fight corruption seriously, because he needs it one way or the other	15	12	17	9	8	8	9	9
Difficult to answer	8	6	7	5	9	4	6	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 9.2.18

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

	2005 January	2006 February	2007 January	2008 January	2012 January	2013 April	2016 January
Capable and proactive	39	37	48	63	45	32	38
«Grey» and passive	38	39	29	16	32	46	37
Difficult to answer	23	24	23	21	23	22	26
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	1600

Table 9.2.19

**In your opinion what is the biggest concern of Putin's inner circle: the
problems of the country or personal material interests?**

	2005 January	2007 January	2008 January	2012 January	2013 April	2016 January
Problems of the country	31	48	56	40	33	44
Personal material interests	55	36	29	41	52	38
Difficult to answer	14	16	16	19	16	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	1600

PUTIN AND PRESIDENT ELECTIONS 2018

Table 9.2.20

Which of the statements you would rather agree with?

	2011 October	2015 October	2016 September
All power in Russia is concentrated in the hands of one person, whereas the elections and so called democratic freedoms are not required	33	37	32
Democratic freedoms should always be the basis of any society; under no circumstances should the power be concentrated in the hands of one person	59	51	52
Difficult to answer	8	12	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	1600	1600

Table 9.2.21

**Is Putin ready for open, fair and competitive election – or he will try
to keep the power by manipulating the election?**

Putin is ready for open, fair and competitive election	58
Putin will try to keep the power by manipulating the election	26
Difficult to answer	16

2016, May, N=1600

Table 9.2.22

Would like to see Vladimit Putin the President of Russia again after 2018 year?

	2012	2013	2014	2016			2017
	X	X	XI	V	VIII	X	V
Yes, I would like him to become president again	34	33	58	60	63	63	66
No, I don't want it	40	45	19	21	19	19	20
Difficult to answer	26	23	22	19	19	19	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 9.2.23

Is Russia able to produce a leader capable of replacing Vladimir Putin as Russian President by 2018?

	2012 X	2013 X	2014 XI	2016 V	2016 X	2017 V
Yes	49	45	34	33	26	26
No	23	26	31	42	49	56
Difficult to answer	28	30	35	25	26	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 9.2.24

Would you like Vladimir Putin be re-elected the President in three/two years for another term – or other person should replace him in the office?

	2015 February	2016 February	2017 April
I would like Vladimir Putin be re-elected the President in three/two years for another term	57	65	64
I would like that someone else replaced Vladimir Putin as Russian President in three/two years	25	22	22
Difficult to answer	19	13	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 9.2.25

Would you like to see Vladimir Putin as President of Russia after 2024?

I would like to	49
I would not like to	28
Difficult to answer	23

2016, May; N=800

Table 9.2.26

Will Russia be able to produce a leader who is capable of replacing Vladimir Putin as President of Russia by 2024?

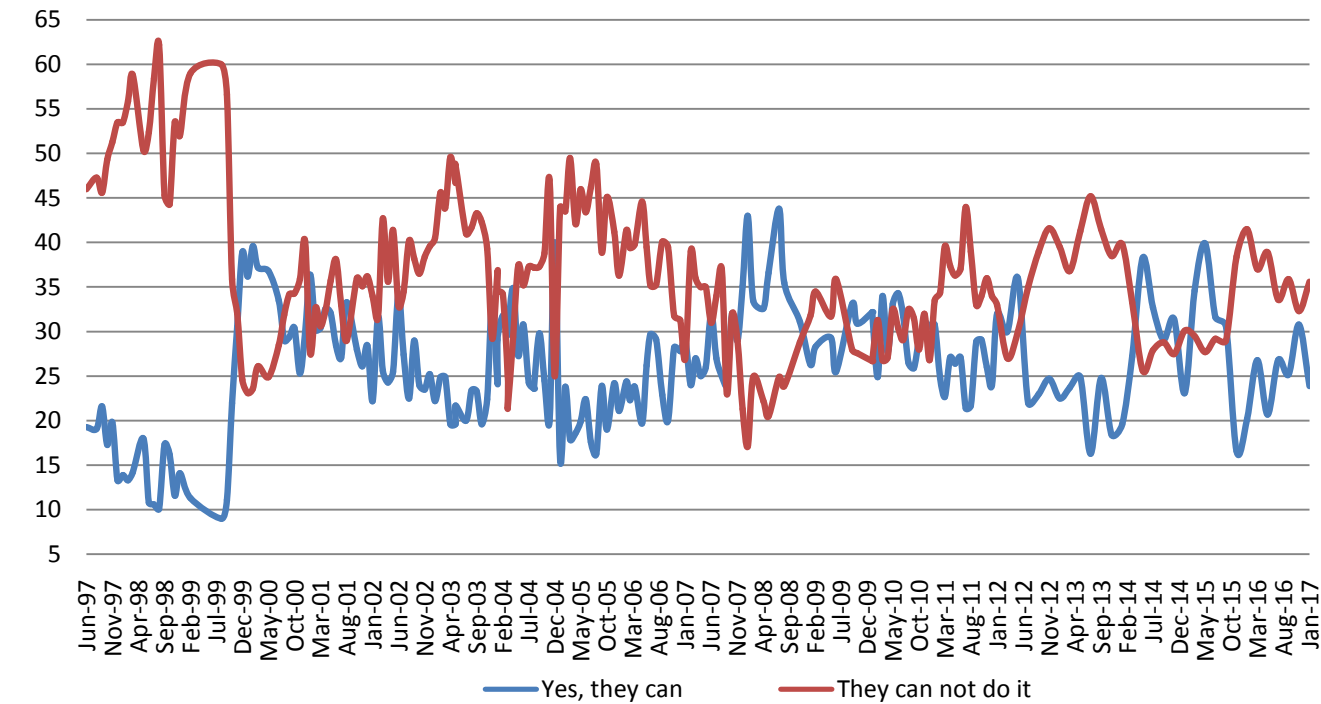
Yes	42
No	30
Difficult to answer	28

2016, May; N=800

9.3. GOVERNMENT

Diagram 9.3.1

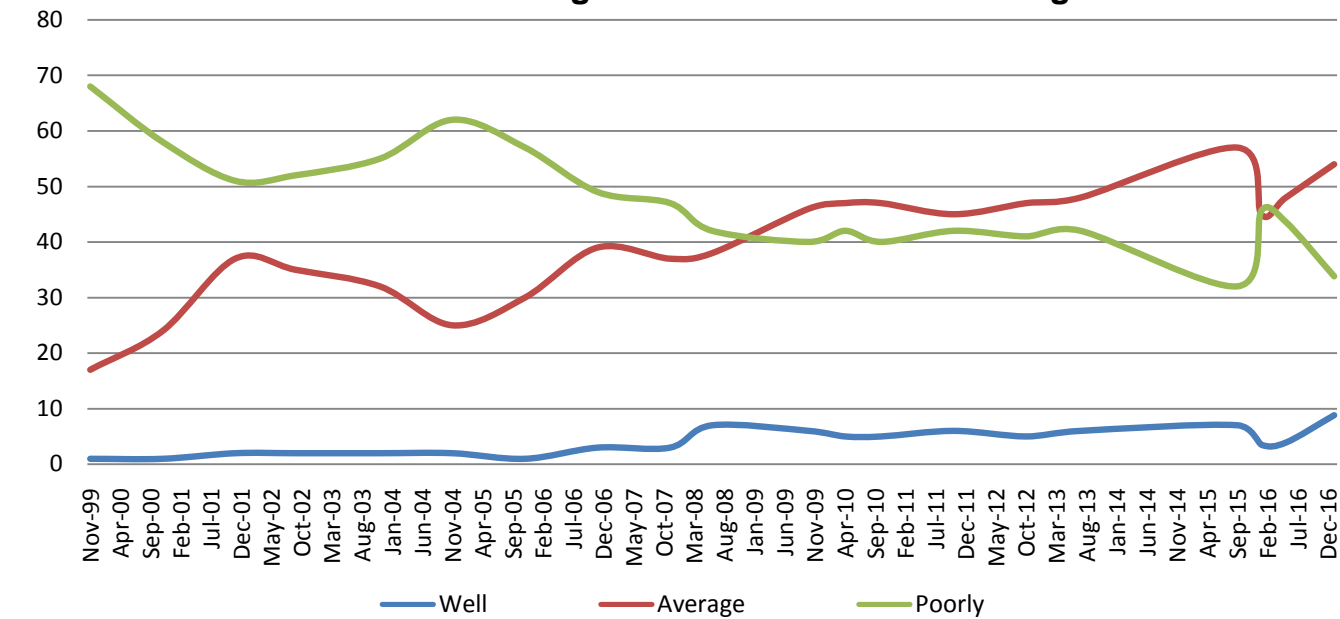
Will the current government be able to improve the situation in the country in the near future?
(Sum of positive and negative answers)



N=1600

Diagram 9.3.2

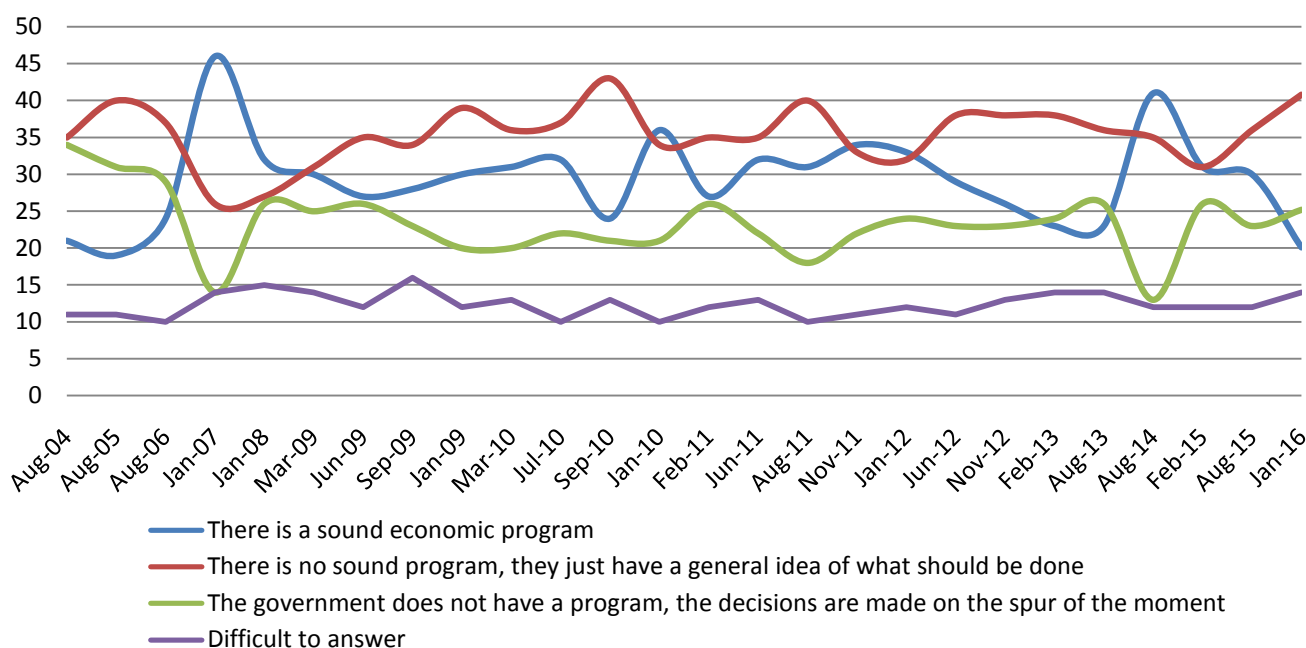
In your opinion, concerning the government's economic policy, for instance, the measures it takes to fight the financial crisis, inflation, unemployment, etc., how does the Russian government meet the challenges?



N=1600

Diagram 9.3.3

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



N=1600

Table 9.3.1

What are your main criticism regarding the activities of the present government? (the answers are ranked by the last poll)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2016
	I	XI	XI	VI	II	III	II	I	VIII
Can not control inflation and the decline of population's personal income	41	50	56	46	47	41	55	42	48
Lacks a sound program to deal with the economic crisis	17	15	21	19	23	26	29	25	28
Can not overcome economic crisis and production declining	28	18	21	26	16	18	23	23	27
Does not care about social security and support of the population	26	32	37	28	31	22	22	23	27
Can't ensure people's employment	27	32	37	30	26	23	20	34	25
Is corrupt, mainly pursues its own interests	18	20	30	29	27	25	19	27	23
Acts in the interests of big businesses	-*	13	20	16	22	20	14	9	16
Does not fight crime effectively	6	20	19	12	14	15	9	11	16
Shows little professionalism	9	9	10	10	11	7	9	8	9
Can't ensure people's safety, can't cope with terrorism	5	12	15	7	10	7	5	5	6
Acts in the interests of foreign capital	5	5	10	8	8	6	3	7	6
Is waging a «strange» war in Chechnya / cannot keep the peace in the North Caucasus	4	9	8	4	6	3	1	7	5
I am satisfied with the way the government operates	10	5	6	5	5	12	10	2	1
Number of respondents	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 9.3.2

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

	2012 XI	2013 IV	2015 I	2016 XI
Definitely in favor	10	12	7	11
Rather in favor	28	27	21	22
Rather against	33	37	34	36
Definitely against	8	9	14	16
Difficult to answer	22	16	24	15
Number of respondents	800	800	800	1600

ALEXEY ULYUKAYEV'S ARREST

Table 9.3.3

Have you heard about the arrest of Minister of Economic Development Alexey Ulyukayev for a two million dollar bribe?

Follow the events closely	30
Heard something about it	48
First time I heard about it	22

2016, November; N=1600

Table 9.3.4

Will Alexey Ulyukayev's arrest cast a shadow over President Vladimir Putin – or it does not affect him personally?

(% of respondents who heard about Alexey Ulyukayev's arrest)

It casts a shadow on him personally	38
This information does not affect him personally	51
Difficult to answer	11

2016, November; N=1600

Table 9.3.5

Does information about Alexey Ulyukayev's arrest cast a shadow over Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev – or it does not affect him personally?

(% of respondents who heard about Alexey Ulyukayev's arrest)

It casts a shadow on him personally	47
This information does not affect him personally	40
Difficult to answer	13

2016, November; N=1600

Table 9.3.6

In your opinion, Alexey Ulyukayev's arrest – is...

(% of respondents who heard about Alexey Ulyukayev's arrest)

A start of serious fight against corruption in the government offices	36
A start of "siloviki" (law enforcers) onslaught on the economic bloc of the government	21
Fallout in the fight for redistribution of spheres of influence between the top officials	30
Difficult to answer	13

2016, November; N=1600

9.4. STATE DUMA

Table 9.4.1

Which of the statements about Russian State Duma's work you would rather agree with ?

	2013 January	2014 January	2016 January	2017 January
State Duma is actively working to pass laws critical for Russia	14	13	12	17
State Duma's work is limited to serving Vladimir Putin's political agenda and primarily passes laws initiated by the Administration of the President of Russia	31	27	23	28
State Duma MPs are primarily busy taking care of their own business	35	37	38	32
I know nothing about State Duma's work	15	15	19	15
Difficult to answer	5	8	8	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	1600

Table 9.4.2

Which are the main qualities a State Duma MP should have? (responses are ranked by the last survey)

	2011 March	2016	
		March	August
Honesty, integrity	59	56	50
Professionalism, competence, adequate education	63	49	45
Being close to the grassroots, availability, openness	41	37	39
Assertiveness, vigor, initiative	44	25	28
Fairness, integrity	40	33	28
Foresight, strategic vision	29	24	25
Wisdom, experience, knowledge of life	26	24	24
Kindness, humanity, concern for people's well-being	38	21	23
Intellect, clear communication	26	27	23
Experience in lawmaking	36	26	21
Resolution, inclemency, strong character	26	17	21
Organizational skills, perfectionism	34	22	19
Resolution, sense of purpose, willpower, persistence	30	17	18
Ability to control the situation, "own" the situation	18	15	17
Authority, leadership	20	17	15
Tact, flexibility, ability to compromise	20	13	14
Reserve, restraint, even temper	18	8	11
Courage	5	6	5
Handsome, manners	4	2	3
Difficult to answer	3	2	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	1600	1600

Table 9.4.3

**How well are you informed about the activities of the deputies,
their political goals and preferences?**

	2011 July	2011 November	2013 November	2016 June
Have a fairly comprehensive idea	6	7	5	7
Just in general terms	49	51	51	44
Know nothing about it	41	39	40	46
Difficult to answer	5	3	5	3

N=800

Table 9.4.4

Are you interested in the activities of the deputies of the current State Duma?

	2011 November	2013 November	2016 June
Yes, certainly	13	8	10
Rather yes	39	33	29
Rather no	30	35	34
Definitely no	14	16	23
Difficult to answer	5	8	5

N=800

Table 9.4.5

**How would you rate the work of the deputies of the State Duma
during their terms in the office?**

	2011 July	2011 November	2013 November	2016 June
Wholly positively	1	2	2	1
Rather positively	18	18	14	15
Rather negatively	39	42	36	41
Categorically/unequivocally negatively	19	17	20	21
Difficult to answer	23	22	29	22

N=800

9.5. LAW ENFORCEMENT BODIES

Diagram 9.5.1

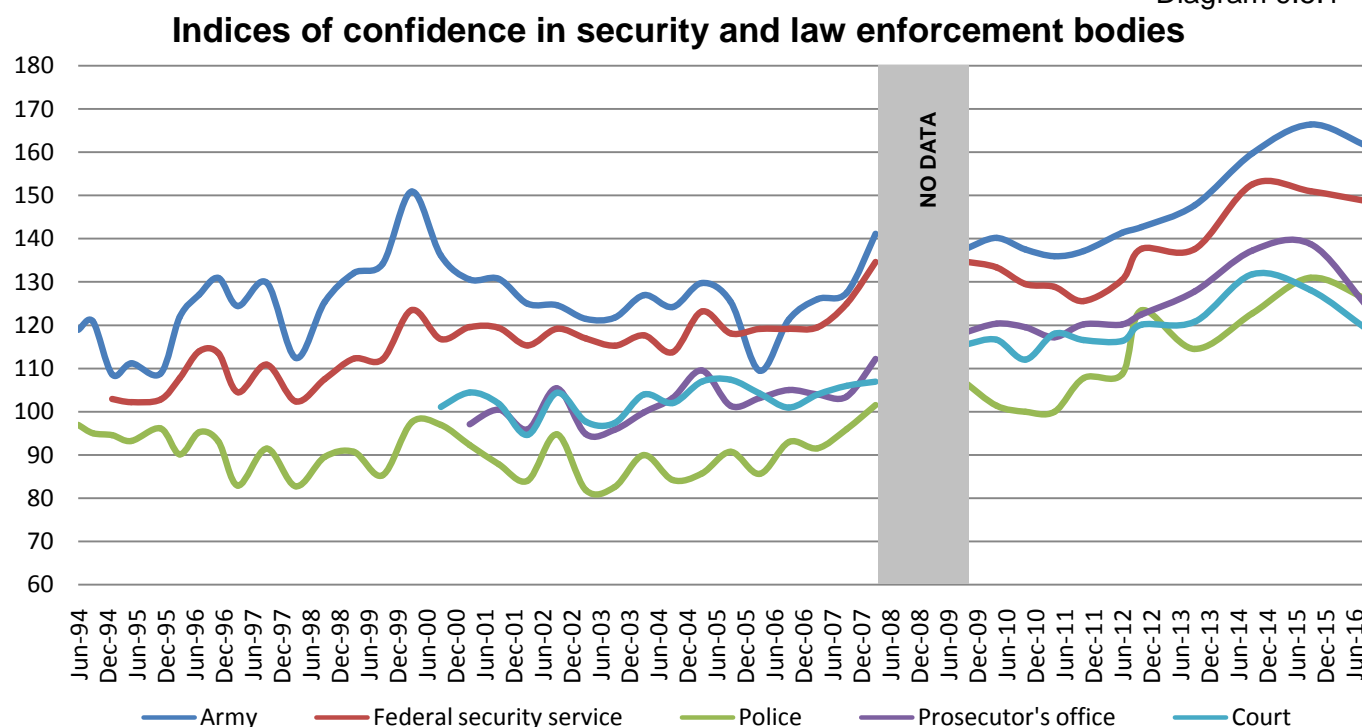


Table 9.5.2

**To what extent do you personally feel protected
against arbitrariness of the law-enforcement bodies?**

	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2014 X	2015 VII	2016 XI
Fully protected	2	2	2	5	5	8
Quite well protected	13	11	11	23	28	30
Not too protected	47	54	49	47	40	39
Not protected at all	34	27	31	12	19	11
Difficult to answer	4	6	7	13	8	12

N=1600

9.6. THE ARMY

Table 9.6.1

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

	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	I	I	I	I	I	II	II	II	II	I	I	I	II	I	I	I
Definitely yes	19	17	13	16	14	21	21	24	27	18	17	15	13	14	40	37
Yes, rather than no	41	39	42	44	38	41	44	49	46	45	42	47	44	46	42	44
No, rather than yes	23	23	29	24	25	20	19	13	12	15	22	20	21	20	7	10
Definitely no	8	7	8	8	13	8	8	4	4	7	6	7	8	4	2	2
Difficult to answer	9	14	8	8	10	10	9	10	11	15	14	11	15	16	9	8
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

SERVICE IN THE ARMY

Table 9.6.2

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

	1997	1998	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2014	2015	2016
	IV	II	I	I	I	VII	I	II	II	II	III	I	I	I	I	I	I
Should continue with universal military service and compulsory draft	33	35	30	27	31	35	31	32	41	45	47	39	47	43	40	50	58
Should start forming a contract-based army consisting of contract soldiers who are paid for their service	55	53	63	64	60	53	62	62	54	48	43	54	47	51	48	37	37
Difficult to answer	12	12	8	9	10	11	7	6	5	7	9	7	7	7	12	13	6
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 9.6.3

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

	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2014	2015	2016
	II	II	X	III	I	I	I	I	I	I
Would prefer him to go to the army	52	34	45	50	46	46	46	48	55	58
Would try to find a way to avoid military service	39	53	42	35	42	41	39	33	28	27
Difficult to answer	9	13	13	15	12	13	15	19	17	15
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 9.6.4

Why, despite the economic recession, national leadership spends a lot of money on army rearmament and modernization?
(responses are ranked)

Because of increasing external threats, aggressive US and Western policies	48
Armament of Russian military is outdated and cannot ensure adequate defense of the country	19
Because of potential war with neighboring countries – former Soviet Union republics	10
Because of the country leadership's business interest in the defense industry	7
Because of the pressure the Russian military and defense industry asserts on the Russian leadership	4
Difficult to answer	12

2016, September; N=1600

NATIONAL GUARD

Table 9.6.5

Why a new law enforcement agency - National Guard - is created to replace the militarized police force of Ministry of Internal Affairs?

To fight terrorism threats more efficiently	24
To suppress potential mass riots, triggered by increasing economic recession and declining living standards	18
To suppress potential mass riots, engineered anti-Russian western actions	15
Because of the corruption, inefficiency and moral decay of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and militarized police force	12
It is created because of potential mass protests during upcoming 2018 presidential elections	6
It is created to suit the needs of Putin's ex chief of security General Zolotov - Putin - does not trust existing law enforcement	6
Difficult to answer	19

2016, April; N=1600

SPECIAL SERVICES

Table 9.6.7

What is the role of special services today in your opinion?

	2007 September	2011 November	2014 November	2015 November	2016 November
Russia's special services play a very important role and their current enforcement powers are in line with it	42	45	56	59	58
Russia's special services have too much unchecked power now	35	33	27	24	23
Difficult to answer/ don't remember	23	23	17	17	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

POLITKOVSKAYA AND LITVINENKO CASES

Table 9.6.8

Do you remember who is...

	Anna Politkovskaya?	Alexandr Litvinenko?
Yes	39	38
No	51	51
Difficult to answer	10	12

2016, September, N=800

Table 9.6.9

**Have you ever heard anything about “Litvinenko case”
(murder of former FSB Lieutenant Colonel in London, who blamed Russian
special services for blasts in Moscow and Volgograd in 1999)?**

Closely follow the events	3
Heard about them	26
Heard something about it, but do not know what it is about	39
First time I heard about him	32

2016, January; N=1600

Table 9.6.10

**Did London court have real grounds to rule that Russian President Vladimir Putin and Head of Russia’s Security Council “probable accessory” to
Alexandr Litvinenko murder ?**

Definitely yes	3
Rather yes	9
Rather not	25
Definitely not	28
Difficult to answer	36

2016, January; N=1600

Table 9.6.11

**Were Russian special services involved in Anna Politkovskaya murder ten
years ago - the journalist fiercely critical of Federal Authorities’ actions in
Chechnya?**

	2006 IX	2007 XI	2010 X	2011 IX	2016 IX
Definitely yes	4	8	6	5	3
Rather yes	14	18	19	23	14
Rather not	25	18	21	17	20
Definitely not	8	7	4	6	17
Difficult to answer	49	50	50	49	47
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	800	800

Table 9.6.12

Will the organizers of A. Politkovskaya's assassination be ever identified?

	2006 December	2007 November	2011 October	2013 September	2016 September
Definitely yes	1	3	3	2	2
Most likely, yes	8	12	9	14	10
Most likely, no	30	27	34	39	33
Definitely no	29	23	23	23	26
Difficult to answer	32	35	32	21	30
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

10. POLITICAL PARTIES

Table 10.1

Which of the following statements you would rather agree with...

Russia should have a common state ideology;	48
Russia should adopt ideological diversity, No ideology should be a state or mandatory ideology	34
Difficult to answer	18

2016, May; N=1600

Table 10.2

How many political parties does Russia need now?

	2001 IX	2004 IV	2004 IX	2005 X	2006 VII	2007 IV	2008 VII	2009 X	2010 X	2011 VII	2012 VII	2013 IV	2015 IV	2016 III
One strong ruling party	34	34	34	38	32	30	32	17	18	23	22	23	27	24
Two or three large parties	41	41	44	39	42	46	45	59	58	47	51	46	43	45
A lot of relatively small parties	4	8	6	4	5	7	8	9	10	12	12	11	8	8
We don't need political parties at all	9	7	6	7	7	6	6	4	3	3	5	7	5	6
Difficult to answer	13	11	9	12	14	13	10	11	11	14	11	12	17	17
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 10.3

**What influence does the party... have
on the social-political life of the country?**

	«United Russia»			CPRF			LDPR			Yabloko			«Fair Russia»		
	2007	2011	2016	2007	2011	2016	2007	2011	2016	2007	2011	2016	2007	2011	2016
Very large impact	48	40	46	6	6	6	5	4	4	1	<1	2	3	2	2
Pretty great impact	33	34	38	22	20	26	19	18	26	5	5	3	13	14	15
Some influence	7	12	8	40	39	42	39	43	43	20	20	19	29	37	38
Does not have much influence	2	4	2	15	20	14	18	19	14	28	32	29	22	24	25
Has no influence	1	2	1	6	5	4	6	6	5	24	25	29	10	10	9
Difficult to answer	9	8	5	13	10	8	14	11	9	23	18	19	23	13	12

N=1600

Table 10.4

Please choose one of the definitions that in your opinion best fits the following party:

	«Russia United»				CPRF				LDPR				«YABLOKO»				«Fair Russia»		
	2004	2007	2011	2016	2004	2007	2011	2016	2004	2007	2011	2016	2004	2007	2011	2016	2007	2011	2016
New and prospective	53	34	15	10	4	3	3	2	11	4	6	4	8	4	21	6	32	21	11
Mature and experienced	25	44	55	61	29	41	45	51	42	36	49	52	24	18	27	10	13	27	35
Outdated, behind the age	5	6	12	14	58	44	39	36	26	35	24	27	41	44	11	41	11	11	24
Number of respondents	1600	1600	800	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	1600	800	1600

Table 10.5

What are your current political views?

	2005	2011	2013	2013	2014	2015	2016
Communist (primarily need to follow the class interests; in favor of state ownership of all production facilities, etc.)	12	14	13	13	12	12	18
Socialist and socialist-democratic views (the state should ensure the social security of the population in the market economy)	28	30	31	28	30	34	33
Agrarian views (focus should on stimulating the agricultural production)	15	14	14	12	8	9	18
Russian national-patriotic (should focus on respecting the rights of ethnic Russians)	10	9	9	7	10	7	13
Liberal views (protection of the private property and promotion of the market economy)	9	9	7	7	7	7	8
A "firm hand" regime (a strong political leader should concentrate all the power)	16	14	13	14	14	14	18
Other	10	10	12	18	19	18	17
Number of respondents	1600	800	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 10.6

Which political views are closer to yours?

	2003 VI	2004 III	2007 IV	2007 XII	2008 III	2009 VI	2013 VI	2016 V
Liberals: proponents of the market economy, market relations	24	33	15	25	23	15	11	10
Social-democrats	10	-	9	13	10	10	8	14
Communists	23	18	16	11	14	16	17	18
Patriots - "great power nationalists"	4	6	3	4	3	3	2	4
"Green" (environmentalists)	4	6	5	4	4	6	6	2
None	35	24	39	24	29	35	35	36
Others	2	4	3	3	2	1	3	3
Difficult to answer	-*	10	11	17	15	14	18	13
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600

*- option was not offered

Table 10.7

**Which parts of Russian society does United Russia Party
represent the views and interests of?**
(responses are ranked)

	2003 June	2004 January	2007 October	2011 July	2016 July
"Oligarchs", bankers, big business	18	18	21	40	30
"Siloviks": special services, army, Ministry of Internal Affairs	12	22	16	32	28
Federal and regional government officials, bureaucracy	16	19	20	34	26
All people without exception	5	14	16	20	25
"Directors corp": Powerful business executives	15	19	19	32	23
"Middle class": people with incomes above average	17	22	15	16	13
Intelligentsia: teachers, doctors, engineers, average specialists	10	11	12	12	8
"Common people": office employees, industrial workers, agricultural laborers	16	19	15	11	8
Cultural and science elite	4	5	7	6	8
The poorest, unemployed, destitute	5	5	4	3	3
Difficult to answer	23	13	20	10	15

N=1600

Table 10.8

**Which parts of Russian society does the Communist Party (CPRF)
represent the views and interests of?**
(responses are ranked)

	2003 June	2004 January	2007 October	2011 July	2016 July
"Oligarchs", bankers, big business	37	39	26	40	31
"Siloviks": special services, army, Ministry of Internal Affairs	29	27	20	30	23
Federal and regional government officials, bureaucracy	15	16	11	20	17
All people without exception	10	12	8	14	15
"Directors corp": Powerful business executives	4	6	9	8	15
"Middle class": people with incomes above average	6	8	4	7	8
Intelligentsia: teachers, doctors, engineers, average specialists	2	3	3	4	7
"Common people": office employees, industrial workers, agricultural laborers	5	5	5	6	6
Cultural and science elite	4	7	5	6	6
The poorest, unemployed, destitute	2	3	3	3	3
Difficult to answer	22	21	38	23	24

N=1600

Table 10.9

Which parts of Russian society does the Liberal Democratic Party (LDPR) represent the views and interests of?
(responses are ranked)

	2003 June	2004 January	2007 October	2011 July	2016 July
"Oligarchs", bankers, big business	4	9	9	14	19
"Siloviki": special services, army, Ministry of Internal Affairs	9	22	9	17	17
Federal and regional government officials, bureaucracy	9	15	10	15	16
All people without exception	12	11	12	13	11
"Directors corp": Powerful business executives	4	8	4	10	11
"Middle class": people with incomes above average	13	8	13	14	9
Intelligentsia: teachers, doctors, engineers, average specialists	10	9	9	10	9
"Common people": office employees, industrial workers, agricultural laborers	5	14	5	9	9
Cultural and science elite	10	12	6	7	7
The poorest, unemployed, destitute	3	3	3	5	7
Difficult to answer	39	29	44	26	27

N=1600

ALL-RUSSIA PEOPLE'S FRONT

Table 10.10

Have you heard about the "All-Russia People's Front"?

	2011				2012	2013	2015	2016
	June	August	September	November	May	January	May	August
I keep careful tabs on it	4	3	4	2	6	3	2	4
I've heard a lot about it	17	17	23	20	23	23	17	16
I've heard something but I don't know what the point of it is	30	39	38	36	37	40	39	34
This is the first time I've heard about it	49	41	35	42	34	33	42	45
Number of respondents	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 10.11

What's your attitude towards A-RPF activity?
(% of those who's heard something about APF)

	2015 August	2016 May
Entirely positive	14	14
Rather positive	46	44
Rather negative	11	13
Entirely negative	3	3
Difficult to answer	26	27

N=1600

OPPOSITION AND ELECTIONS

Table 10.12

Should democratic parties reach an agreement and nominate common candidates at single-seat constituencies during upcoming elections – or each party should nominate their own candidates at the elections?

Nominate common candidates	30
Each party should nominate its own candidate	21
Difficult to answer	49

2016, March; N=1600

Table 10.13

Will «PARNAS», «Progress Party», «Yabloko» and other democratic forces reach an agreement and nominate common candidates at State Duma?

Definitely yes	3
Rather yes	18
Rather not	29
Definitely not	11
Difficult to answer	39

2016, March; N=1600

11. STATE DUMA ELECTIONS 2016

Table 11.1

To what degree do you think regular elections make the government of the country do what simple people want it to?

	2000	2003	2004	2005	2007		2008	2010	2011		2016
	IV	VI	III	I	IV	XII	III	III	IV	IX	V
To a high degree	4	5	7	3	3	7	7	6	8	8	4
To some degree	20	27	33	21	28	33	35	31	32	39	30
Not really	35	33	27	39	35	28	26	29	31	33	34
Not at all	40	33	26	37	28	24	27	26	25	16	26
Difficult to answer	<1	2	7	<1	6	7	5	9	5	4	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 11.2

Will the upcoming State Duma elections in Russia change your life, and life of people around you for better?

	2003	2007	2011	2016		
	X	X	X	II	V	VIII
Definitely yes	6	5	7	4	6	5
Rather yes	19	23	26	18	21	19
Rather not	38	38	35	36	34	36
Definitely not	28	23	23	28	26	26
Difficult to answer	9	11	9	14	14	13

N=1600

Table 11.3

Do you expect the upcoming State Duma elections in Russia will improve our life?

	2007	2011			2016	
	March	January	April	December	May	September
Definitely yes	7	7	11	14	6	9
Rather yes	23	27	32	37	25	36
Rather not	38	36	35	26	38	28
Definitely not	25	21	17	15	25	19
Difficult to answer	7	9	5	9	6	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 11.4

**To which extent you would agree with the statement:
«Only voting at the elections we will be able to build a state
that would benefit all citizens»?**

	2003	2007		2016
	XI	X	XI	III
Absolutely agree	35	29	38	19
Rather agree	31	36	34	43
Rather disagree	18	17	15	19
Absolutely disagree	9	9	5	10
Difficult to answer	7	8	8	9

N=1600

Table 11.5

**Are issues related to the upcoming State Duma elections in Russia discussed
by your family, neighbors, colleagues; and if they are, do you participate in
these discussions?**

	2009			2007	2011	2016	
	XI	XI	XII	XI	X	III	VI
Are discussed and I take part in the discussions	55	44	56	38	39	23	30
Are discussed but I don't take part in the discussions	20	22	16	21	23	16	15
Are not discussed	24	31	26	40	37	56	52
Difficult to answer	2	3	3	2	2	6	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	1600

Table 11.6

**If a conversation about the upcoming elections were to start in a public place
such as a queue, a bus, a suburban train, would you join the discussion and
would you express your opinion?**

	1995		1999		2004	2007	2008	2011	2016	
	VI	X	XI	XII	I	XI	II	X	III	VI
I would	29	23	27	24	23	20	20	23	17	21
I wouldn't	54	61	63	67	68	74	73	68	74	69
Difficult to answer	16	16	9	9	9	6	7	10	9	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	1600

Table 11.7

**Will State Duma to be elected at the upcoming elections
represent popular interests?**

	1993 January	2007 November	2016 March
I think it will	32	45	40
I think it will not	38	34	39
Difficult to answer	30	21	21

N=1600

Table 11.8

Will new State Duma assembled following the elections have a party which will represent your views and interests in the Parliament?

	2011 November	2016		
		June	July	August
Yes	47	43	37	47
No	29	32	41	30
Difficult to answer	24	26	22	23

N=1600

Table 11.9

What makes you go to the polls?

	March	June	August
Civic duty	43	39	36
Habit	16	21	14
Ambition to help my party to win seats / more seats in the Duma	10	10	9
Ambition to prevent a party I don't trust to win seats / more seats in the Duma	8	7	7
Ambition to express my political position (even if it doesn't help any party)	17	14	15
Voting is my family's and friends' tradition	10	11	10
It's practically the only chance to participate in the life of the country	12	9	10
Difficult to answer	12	16	18

2016, N=1600

Table 11.10

**To which extent you would agree with the statement:
"I vote in order not to let those who can harm my country to power"?**

	2003	2007		2016
	XI	X	XI	III
Absolutely agree	35	26	33	20
Rather agree	28	32	29	32
Rather disagree	20	19	19	25
Absolutely disagree	9	9	9	11
Difficult to answer	9	13	10	12

N=1600

Table 11.11

**To which extent you would agree with the statement:
"It does not make any sense to vote at the elections, because everything will remain the same no matter who we elect"?**

	2003	2007		2016
	XI	X	XI	III
Absolutely agree	21	19	16	17
Rather agree	21	21	21	22
Rather disagree	29	30	33	33
Absolutely disagree	22	21	23	15
Difficult to answer	8	10	7	13

N=1600

Table 11.12

**Do the majority of your friends and family consider the upcoming
State Duma elections an important event for Russia,
or they consider this event insignificant?**

	2007 November	2016 March
They consider it a significant event	40	33
They consider it an insignificant event	49	55
Difficult to answer	11	12

N=1600

Table 11.13

Do you think the State Duma elections will be fair or rigged?

	2003		2007	2011	2016	
	X	XI	XI	XI	II	V
In general, they will be fair and legal	21	28	45	37	38	44
Most likely rigged (use of libel, pressure on the voters, manipulations with the voting cards, etc.)	57	50	33	42	37	38
Difficult to answer	23	23	22	21	26	19

N=1600

Table 11.14

**Why don't you want to vote or doubt that you will participate
in the State Duma elections?**
(% of those respondents, who are not going to vote or is undecided)

	2003	2007	2011	2016			
	IX	IX	IX	II	III	VI	VIII
I am tired of the politics and the fighting for power among the top political forces	12	15	11	10	8	12	11
I do not trust any of the current politicians and do not want to vote for any of them	23	20	27	27	18	31	21
My vote does not make a difference	24	31	36	31	24	30	26
I have not decided who I should vote for	8	9	11	8	10	8	8
"United Russia" will win the votes anyways	6	14	24	17	16	14	20
The elections will not be fair and the results will be rigged	10	4	9	6	5	7	8
State Duma does not carry any weight	2	2	5	4	7	5	4
State Duma is a useless organization/brings only scandals	4	1	4	5	6	4	5
Duma deputies only care about their own private businesses	8	2	7	10	12	10	10
I do not understand the politics / I am not interested in politics	8	9	10	13	11	11	10
Difficult to answer	21	4	7	11	15	13	15

N=1600

Table 11.15

Will the current State Duma election see a real struggle of parties for power and Duma seats or will it be just an imitation of this struggle, while the seats in the Duma will be distributed by those in the government?

	2006 XI	2007 X	2007 XI	2011 I	2011 IV	2011 VII	2011 X	2011 XI	2016 III
There will be a real struggle for power and seats in the Duma	30	32	34	32	31	35	35	34	42
There will be just an imitation of struggle, while the distribution of seats in the Duma will be the decision of the government	53	52	48	53	54	53	48	51	42
Difficult to answer	17	15	18	15	16	13	17	16	16

N=1600

Table 11.16

Will we see the following violation at the upcoming State Duma elections in December this year?

	2007		2011			2016		
	IV	X	I	VIII	XI	II	VIII	IX
Barring the political parties opposed to the authorities from the elections	26	18	14	15	8	15	9	7
Dropping the candidates opposing to the authorities from the pre-election lists	26	19	14	16	11	16	8	7
Vote buying by the authorities	33	24	16	18	19	13	15	10
Vote buying by the opposition	30	20	16	15	13	14	11	10
Granting "United Russia" and other "parties of power" certain privileges in election campaigns	26	21	22	25	21	22	18	15
Ballot rigging by the local/regional election committees	39	28	23	23	31	22	21	16
Ballot rigging by the Central Election Commission	23	18	14	18	15	11	13	8
There will be no violations	8	14	14	9	18	20	22	22
Difficult to answer	18	21	25	26	27	26	27	35

N=1600

Table 11.17

How much impact these violations will have on the election outcome?
(% of the respondents expecting the violations during the election)

	2007	2011			2016		
	IV	I	VIII	XI	II	VIII	IX
Very serious impact	22	17	14	18	10	14	14
Fairly serious impact	44	49	44	39	34	40	40
Not too much of an impact	23	24	33	30	33	35	31
Will not have any impact	7	5	7	5	13	5	8
Difficult to answer	4	5	3	9	11	6	8

N=1600

Table 11.18

**Can the public oversight of the preparations and the proceedings
of the elections by the political parties, reporters and international observers
mitigate the violations?**

(% of respondents who expect the violations at the elections)

	2007 апрель	2011 сентябрь	2012 январь	2016 март
Yes	43	58	70	56
No	45	27	20	31
Difficult to answer	12	15	10	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 11.19

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

	2010 VII	2011 VII	2016 III
Definitely in favor	30	42	32
Rather in favor	37	31	34
Rather against	9	8	15
Definitely against	5	3	6
Difficult to answer	18	16	13

N=1600

Table 11.20

Do you know the candidate nominated in your single mandate constituency?

	August	September
Yes, I can name the candidates nominated in my constituency	19	27
No, I cannot name any candidate nominated in my constituency	81	74

N=1600

Table 11.21

**What will be critical for you when you vote for the candidate in the single
mandate constituency?**

	March	June	August	September
The party that supports the candidate	19	17	22	25
What we know about the candidate and his/her experience	33	30	33	26
Both mentioned above, equally	23	23	17	19
I am not going to vote	9	14	16	17
Difficult to answer	16	17	12	13

N=1600

Table 11.22

Did you make up your mind which candidate you will vote for in your single mandate constituency? If not, when do you plan to make this decision?

	August	September
Yes, I made up my mind	14	20
I am going to make this decision in the time remaining before the elections	28	25
I am going to make this decision at the voting station	19	19
I am not going to vote	21	20
Difficult to answer	19	17

N=1600

Table 11.23

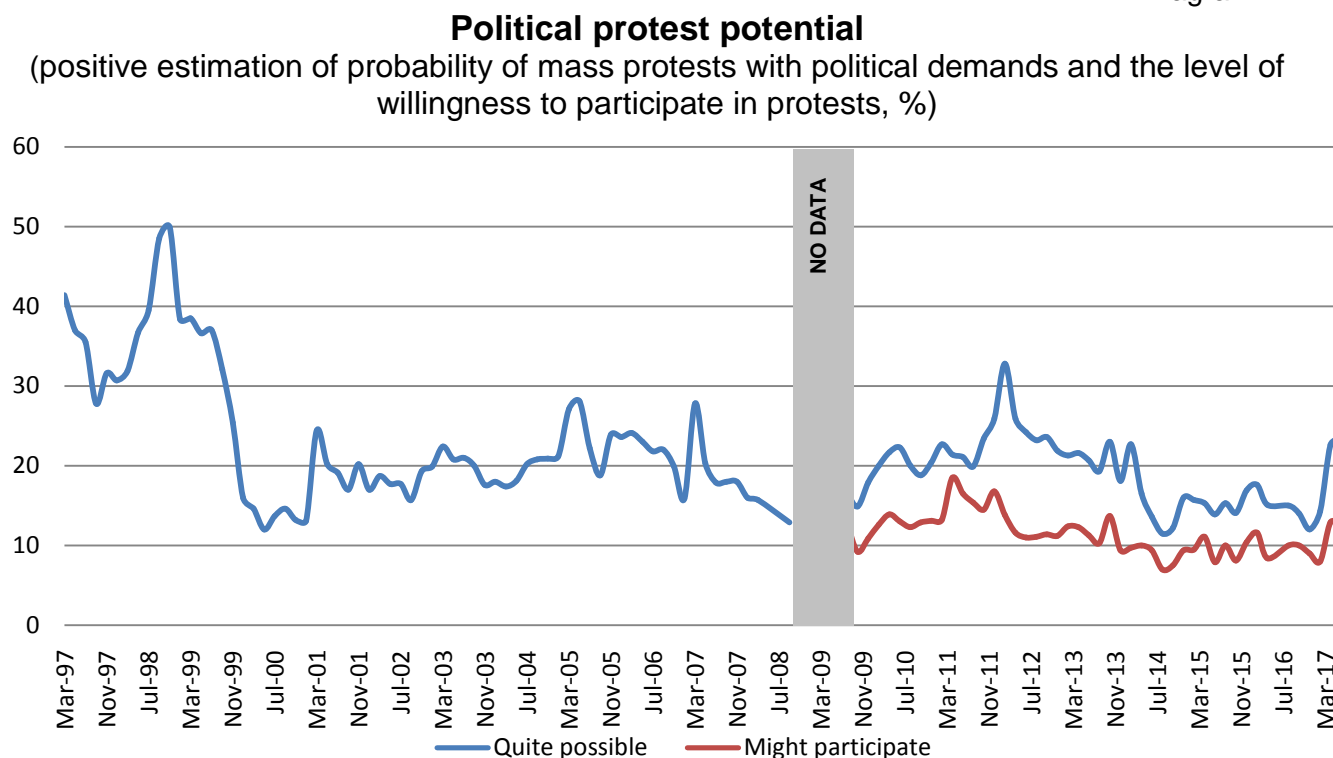
Are you interested in the upcoming presidential elections in Russia?

	2003	2007	2011	2016		
	X	X	XI	II	V	VII
Definitely yes	16	21	22	10	15	13
Most likely, yes	32	34	38	33	29	33
Most likely, no	31	26	26	30	32	33
Definitely no	18	15	11	21	18	16
Difficult to answer	3	5	3	6	6	5

N=1600

12. OPPOSITION AND PROTEST MOVEMENT

Diagram 12.1



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

Table 12.1

**Have you participated in any public protest actions in the last 12 months
(picketing, rallies, marches, demonstrations)?**

	2011 IV	2012 IV	2014 IV	2015 IV	2016 IV	2017 IV
Yes	3	3	4	4	2	4
No	95	95	95	94	95	93
Difficult to answer	2	2	1	2	3	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 12.2

Does Russia need a political opposition to the government now?

	2004 V	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VI	2008 VII	2009 VII	2010 VII	2011 VII	2012 VII	2014 V	2015 VII	2016 II	2017 III
Definitely yes	32	34	27	25	27	25	23	27	29	10	17	19	19
Yes, rather than no	29	30	29	34	34	32	44	45	43	40	35	33	37
No, rather than yes	12	9	14	9	14	15	12	19	10	24	20	16	20
Definitely no	5	5	6	5	7	5	4	7	3	9	10	9	10
Difficult to answer	22	23	24	27	17	24	16	2	15	17	18	24	14

N=1600

Table 12.3

Why do you think Russia needs an opposition?

	2000	2010	2015	2016	2017
To keep authority under public control / so that the authority is careful what it does	47	53	28	41	28
To maintain the authorities and the society	19	27	21	29	37
So that the society could choose between the government and opposition programs	30	27	21	28	30
So that the minority's interests are taken into account when the government makes political decisions	13	20	14	19	18
To ensure the democratic elections and change of power (today's opposition is tomorrow's authority)	22	18	15	13	25
Difficult to answer	5	3	24	2	2

N=1600

Table 12.4

Why do you think Russia does not need an opposition?

	2000	2010	2015	2016	2017
Vladimir Putin's policy represents the interests of wider population	9	18	11	31	28
The opposition interferes with Vladimir Putin's ability to efficiently solve our problems	49	17	8	26	37
Only one person can solve Russia's current problems with a firm hand	23	27	11	22	30
Society can not afford to waste the force on arguments and feuds in a tough time like now	33	31	13	18	18
Selfish interests and low morale of the opposition leaders	6	14	9	11	25
Difficult to answer	6	10	49	3	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 12.5

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

	2008 V	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2012 X	2013 VII	2014 XII	2015 II	2016 II
Street rallies and demonstrations are standard democratic means that citizens use to get what they want, and authorities have no right to ban them	55	59	54	51	48	54	48	54	57
If street rallies and demonstrations disturb people around or incite riots, authorities should ban them	32	27	35	37	39	37	36	34	31
Difficult to answer	12	14	11	13	13	9	17	12	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 12.6

Have you participated in any public protest actions in the last 12 months (picketing, rallies, marches, demonstrations)?

	2011 April	2012 April	2014 April	2015 April	2016 April
Yes	3	3	4	4	2
No	95	95	95	94	95
Difficult to answer	2	2	1	2	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 12.7

Can a crackdown on dissent, opposition occur in Russia in the next several years?

	2008 September	2012 October	2014 November	2015 November	2016 November
Definitely yes	3	5	3	6	4
Possibly yes	20	29	22	27	23
Unlikely	35	33	47	36	40
Definitely no	20	13	21	17	19
Difficult to answer	23	20	7	13	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 12.8

Do you agree with the statement, that, with State Duma and Presidential elections ahead, there is an increased pressure on public organizations and persecution of those who criticize Russian government policies?

Definitely agree	9
Rather agree	33
Rather disagree	28
Definitely disagree	7
Difficult to answer	23

2016, February; N=1600

BORIS NEMTSOV

Table 12.9

What did the news of B. Nemtsov's murder make you feel?

	2015 March	2016 February	2017 March
Indignation, rage	8	4	5
Sympathy, grief	26	22	18
Worry, fear	7	6	5
Confusion	17	19	14
Satisfaction	1	1	1
Nothing in particular	37	40	49
I don't know anything about it	2	3	5
Difficult to answer	3	5	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 12.10

Do you think that the contractors of B. Nemtsov's murder will be found?

Definitely yes	9	6
More like yes	24	23
More like no	28	32
Definitely no	16	20
Difficult to answer	23	19

2015, March; N=800; 2016 February N=1600

Table 12.11

**Do you think we'll ever learn the truth
about the motives and contractors of B. Nemtsov's murder?**

Definitely yes, I trust in the professionalism and objectivity of our investigators	8	10
It's possible that the performers will be established but it's unlikely that the names of the contractors will be discovered, the full picture will remain hidden from us	27	22
More like not - some random people, scapegoats will be labeled "guilty", and the real perpetrators will remain in the shadows	21	25
Definitely not, not a single political murder in Russia has been solved especially if the country's leadership is involved	27	24
Difficult to answer	18	19

2015, March; N=800 2016 February; N=1600

Table 12.12

Do you think Nemtsov's criticism of Putin was justified or not?

	2015 March	2016 February
Definitely yes	3	3
More like yes	18	15
More like no	20	24
Definitely no	10	20
Difficult to answer	48	39
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 12.13

Have you heard about democratic community's intent to have a march on 27 February to mark a year since Boris Nemtsov was gunned down?

Yes	10
No	91
No response	<1

2016, February; N=1600

Table 12.10

Do you support the idea to hold a march in Moscow to commemorate Boris Nemtsov?

	2016 February	2017 March
Definitely support	3	4
Rather, support	14	13
Rather think negatively of it	11	11
Definitely think negatively of it	10	13
I do not care about it	54	49
Difficult to answer	8	11

N=1600

Table 12.13

Do you support the idea to open a memorial plaque in Moscow at the site of Boris Nemtsov's murder on the bridge near Kremlin?

Definitely yes	5
Rather yes	14
Rather not	16
Definitely not	21
I do not care about it	38
Difficult to answer	6

2016, February; N=1600

«BOLOTNOE CASE»

Table 12.14

Have you ever heard about criminal investigation against several participants of protest meeting on May 6th 2012 on Bolotnaya square? (so called “Bolotnoe case”)

	2013 April	2013 May	2013 June	2013 July	2014 September	2016 May
Follow the news on the Internet and Media	2	2	3	5	4	2
Have heard about it a lot	23	23	28	30	26	19
Heard something, but does not remember the content of the case	40	45	42	43	37	43
Never heard about it	36	30	27	23	33	36

N=1600

Table 12.15

In your opinion, what is the reason why «Bolotnoe case» was running?
(% of respondents who know about “Bolotnoe case”)

	2012 XII	2013 IV	2013 V	2013 VI	2013 VII	2014 IX	2016 V
To punish those who is guilty in organizing mass disorder during a protest actions on 6 th May	36	41	38	35	40	46	36
To terrify opposition	60	52	57	58	53	49	54
Difficult to answer	5	7	5	7	7	6	10

N=1600

FOREIGN AGENTS

Table 12.16

What do you think about Russian authorities' fight against «foreign agents» and Western «fifth column»?

	2014 June	2015 November	2016 November
This fight is completely justified	36	41	40
It is an effort to protect the government from the popular criticism, there is no “fifth column” in the country	27	25	25
Difficult to answer	38	34	35
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

YAROVAYA LAW

Table 12.17

Have you heard about recently adopted «Yarovaya anti-terror law package»?

Yes, I followed the adoption of the laws closely	10
Yes, I heard something about them	28
No, it is the first time I heard about it	62

2016, July; N=1600

Table 12.18

Do you support adoption of the «Yarovaya laws» or should they be repealed?

(% respondents, who heard about adoption of “Yarovaya Laws”)

Definitely, support adoption of the laws	10
Rather, support adoption of the laws	23
The laws should be rather repealed	25
The laws should be definitely repealed	16
Difficult to answer	26

2016, July; N=1600

Table 12.19

Do you think it possible that under the guise of fighting extremism all criticism of the authorities will be banned in Russia in the near future?

	2006 July	2006 December	2007 July	2010 July	2010 July	2016 July
Definitely Yes	15	9	8	8	10	10
More like yes	33	30	28	31	32	30
More like no	26	27	28	28	24	31
Definitely no	6	8	6	3	4	8
Difficult to answer	20	26	31	30	31	21

N=1600

Table 12.20

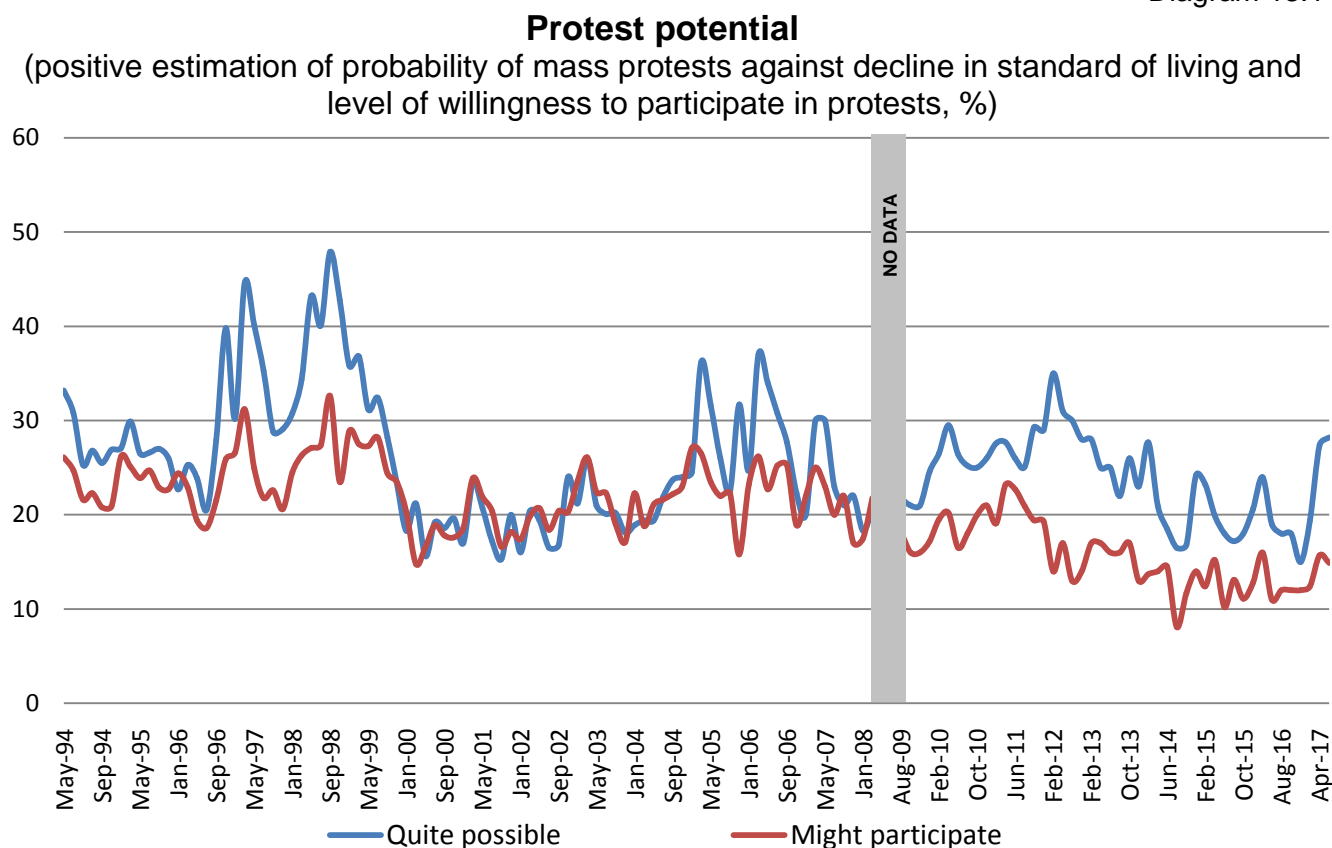
Will the authorities, on the pretext of fighting extremism, try to exclude the opposition politicians they deem dangerous from the elections?

	2006 July	2006 December	2016 July
Definitely yes	18	13	11
Rather yes	40	33	30
Rather not	16	17	27
Definitely not	3	6	8
Difficult to answer	23	32	25

N=1600

13. SOCIAL PROTESTS

Diagram 13.1



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

Table 13.2

Which of the following opinions concerning strikes do you agree with?

	1989	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2013	2014	2015	2016
Striking is the only way to achieve the fulfillment of one's demands	17	13	14	15	14	14	12	13	16	11	8	7	8
A strike is a normal means of solving accumulated problems	12	13	19	20	20	21	16	17	19	22	18	17	16
A strike is a radical measure but in current situation may be unavoidable	44	30	29	34	30	33	29	33	30	29	30	28	26
Strikes do not achieve any results	5	33	29	23	23	17	30	25	25	27	26	30	32
Strikes in our country are unacceptable	14	5	4	3	3	6	5	6	4	6	8	12	8
Difficult to answer	8	6	6	4	9	9	7	6	6	5	10	7	1
Number of respondents	1400	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600

Table 13.3

**Have you participated in any public protest actions in the last 12 months
(picketing, rallies, marches, demonstrations)?**

	2011 April	2012 April	2014 April	2015 April	2016 April
Yes	3	3	4	4	2
No	95	95	95	94	95
Difficult to answer	2	2	1	2	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	1600	800	800	1600

Table 13.4

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

	2004	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Yes	23	20	21	17	26	17	18	17	20	22	17
No	72	70	66	71	63	76	75	71	71	67	73
Difficult to answer	5	10	13	12	11	7	8	12	9	11	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 13.5

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

	2004	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Yes	10	12	10	11	11	11	10	16	7	14	11
No	84	77	75	76	76	80	83	70	84	76	79
Difficult to answer	6	11	15	13	12	10	8	14	9	10	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	1600

14. GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

Table 14.1

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

	2003 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2013 V	2014 V	2015 VIII	2016 V
Definitely beneficial	9	9	9	8	7	7	9	6	7	7	10
Beneficial, rather than harmful	28	30	34	36	33	33	31	37	37	40	33
Harmful, rather than beneficial	35	32	32	28	30	34	33	30	27	22	28
Definitely harmful	16	17	12	12	14	8	10	7	6	11	11
Difficult to answer	12	13	13	16	16	19	17	20	23	19	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1800	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600	800

Table 14.2

**Is the overall activity of middle and small Russian business
beneficial or harmful for Russia now?**

	2003 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2009 IX	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2013 V	2014 V	2015 V VIII		2016 V
Definitely beneficial	15	12	10	11	8	12	11	12	17	11	16
Beneficial, rather than harmful	48	51	49	50	50	52	50	50	44	51	53
Harmful, rather than beneficial	18	17	16	17	18	12	14	11	14	13	12
Definitely harmful	7	6	6	6	3	5	4	4	4	5	3
Difficult to answer	12	14	18	17	21	20	21	24	22	20	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600	800

CORRUPTION

Table 14.3

Where do you stand on...?

I BELIEVE THAT...	Solving routine issues with a bribe	Corruption among Russian authorities
Sometimes it is necessary for the good cause	10	1
You can live with that	10	4
You cannot put up with that	31	27
It is absolutely inexcusable	44	62
Difficult to answer	6	6

2016, February; N=1600

Table 14.4

Is it possible to eradicate corruption and bribery in Russia completely or at least significantly reduce them – or nothing could be done to this “social evil”?

	2000 July	2016 February
It is possible to eradicate corruption and bribery completely	12	15
It is possible to significantly reduce corruption and bribery	52	56
Nothing could be done to this “social evil”	29	24
Difficult to answer	8	6

N=1600

Table 14.5

Do income declarations of Russia’s top officials and government members cover all of their income or only part of it?*

	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 IV	2013 IV	2015 IV	2016 IV
All of it	2	1	2	3	15	5
The greater part	10	11	13	15	8	14
A smaller part	44	43	38	43	40	40
A miniscule part	34	34	32	28	26	29
Difficult to answer	10	11	15	11	12	12
Number of respondents	1600	800	800	800	1600	1600

*2015-1016 . – «officials income declarations»

Table 14.6

Is corruption and other financial crimes, abuse of office to promote official's own business – is...

One-off events, not typical for the top government	17
A typical phenomenon, a sign of Russian authorities' corruption	72
Difficult to answer	11

2016, August; N=1600

Table 14.7

Cases of bribery, large undeclared amounts of cash among the top bureaucrats, their arrests by investigative authorities, which come to light once in a while – are...

One-off events, not typical for the top government	27
A sign of corruption among the authorities	64
Difficult to answer	9

2016, November; N=1600

PANAMA SCANDAL

Table 14.8

Have you heard about the recent «Panama scandal» involving businessmen, politicians and other people from various countries hiding money in offshore accounts, and, if yes, are you interested in it?

Heard about it, interested	14
Heard about it, but not interested	29
Have not heard anything about it	56
Difficult to answer	2

2016, April; N=1600

Table 14.9

Was the information that among Russian businessmen diverting cash offshore are Putin's friends unexpected - or was this information expected for you?
(% of respondents who heard about "Panama scandal")

This information was unexpected for me	30
This information was expected for me	53
Difficult to answer	18

2016, April; N=1600

Table 14.10

**Does this information cast a shadow on President Putin - or
it does not affect him personally?**

(% of respondents who heard about «Panama scandal»)

This information casts a shadow on Putin	40
This information does not affect Putin personally	47
Difficult to answer	13

2016, April; N=1600

Table 14.11

What was the main reason why Panama documents were published?

(% of respondents who heard about «Panama scandal»)

Fight for fairness and transparency in the financial system	12
Fight with businessmen and politicians from various countries hiding their money and fight against tax evasion	26
To discredit politicians from various countries	18
To discredit Vladimir Putin personally	34
Difficult to answer	10

2016, April; N=1600

Table 14.12

**What does Russia need to do in relation to the information
that Russian businessmen siphon their money offshore ?**

(% of respondents who heard about «Panama scandal»)

Investigate such cases	48
Legally limit or completely ban offshore money transfers for Russian citizens	39
Do nothing	9
Difficult to answer	9

2016, April; N=1600

Table 14.13

Will these publications have any repercussions for Russia?

(% of respondents who heard about «Panama scandal»)

It will lead to decline of confidence towards the establishment	16
It will lead to prominent resignations among the establishment	15
The authorities will crack down on regime critics, opposition, independent journalists, in order to prevent active discussion of this information	14
It will not have any repercussions	37
Difficult to answer	18

2016, April; N=1600

ARRESTS AND SEARCHES

Table 14.14

Have you heard anything about recent searches in Investigation Committee of Russia and arrests of their leadership in relation to corruption, searches in Federal Customs and search at the Custom's Head apartment in relation to accusation of contraband?

Follow the developments closely	13
Heard something about it	56
First time I heard about it	31

2016, August; N=1600

Table 14.15

Are the searches and arrests...

A start of a serious fight against corruption in the establishment	19
Aftershocks of a fight to redistribute the spheres of influence among the top officials	24
A demonstrative act before State Duma elections, designed to demonstrate fight against corruption	44
Difficult to answer	11

2016, August; N=1600

Table 14.16

Have you heard about the arrest of Dmitriy Zakharchenko - one of the chief members of MVD Anti-corruption committee, while the search found billions of dollars at his relative's apartments?

Follow the events closely	16
Heard something about it	49
First time I heard about it	35

2016, September; N=1600

Table 14.17

What did you feel when you heard about the money the search found at Zakharchenko relative's apartment?

(% respondents who heard about the events)

Indignation: no one can make such money legally	56
Bewilderment: it is not clear where this money came from and what exactly Zakharchenko is accused of	12
No particular feelings: there are so many similar cases that I stopped paying attention to them	30
Difficult to answer	2

2016, September; N=1600

Table 14.18

Zakharchenko's arrest is...

Start of serious fight against corruption in the government offices	22
Demonstrative action before State Duma elections, designed to demonstrate fight against corruption	46
Fallout in the fight for redistribution of spheres of influence between the top officials	20
Difficult to answer	11

2016, September; N=1600

DOPING SCANDAL

Table 14.19

How do you feel about the use of doping by athletes?

	2014 February	2015 November	2016 June
Wholly positively	2	3	3
Rather positively	4	4	6
Rather negatively	37	38	34
Categorically/unequivocally negatively	52	48	42
Difficult to answer	6	7	15

N=800

Table 14.20

Should anybody be punished for the doping among Russian athletes?

	2015 November	2016 June
The athletes caught using illegal substances should be punished	39	36
The coaches and doctors who gave the athletes doping or did not do anything to stop doping use should be punished	42	49
People in charge of Russian anti-doping laboratory should be punished	18	24
Leaders of the national sports associations should be punished	12	17
People at Russian Ministry of Sport should be punished	11	17
No one should be punished - I am against the fight against doping, because people should be able to make their own choice if they want to sacrifice their own health for the sports career or not	6	10
Difficult to answer	17	10
Number of respondents	800	800

Table 14.21

Do Russian athletes use doping more often, the same or less often than the athletes from other countries?

	2015 November	2016 June
More often	4	3
The same	51	65
Less often	27	19
Difficult to answer	18	13
Number of respondents	1600	800

15. THE CONSTITUTION

Table 15.1

Have you read our Constitution and do you remember what it says?

	2013 November	2014 November	2016 November
Remember it pretty well	11	12	11
Remember it vaguely	26	24	24
Read it but do not remember	25	24	24
Never read it	38	41	41
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 15.2

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

	1997 XI	2002 XII	2003 XII	2005 XII	2007 XI	2008 XI	2010 XI	2011 XI	2012 XI	2013 XI	2014 XI	2015 XI	2016 XI
The Constitution guarantees the rights and freedoms of the citizens	12	21	14	21	31	22	38	44	41	29	38	48	38
The Constitution maintains some order in the activity of the state	20	22	25	22	30	30	22	21	22	23	26	28	25
The Constitution is a tool allowing the President of Russia to have control over all other government bodies*	11	7	11	15	10	11	8	6	8	7	6	5	7
The Constitution does not play an important role in the life of the country as not many abide by it	45	41	42	35	21	28	25	20	22	27	16	13	20
Difficult to answer	12	10	8	7	9	10	6	9	9	15	14	6	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2300</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

*from 2011 the option was formulated as 'The Constitution is a tool allowing the President of Russia to have control over the State Duma'

Table 15.3

In your opinion, do the Russian authorities comply with the country's Constitution?

	2013 November	2014 November	2016 November
Completely	6	9	9
Generally	27	39	35
Somewhat	47	36	37
Disregard completely	13	7	12
Difficult to answer	8	9	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

16. MASS MEDIA

Diagram 16.1

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

(«should be trusted» + the half of «should be trusted carefully » - «should not be trusted» + 100)

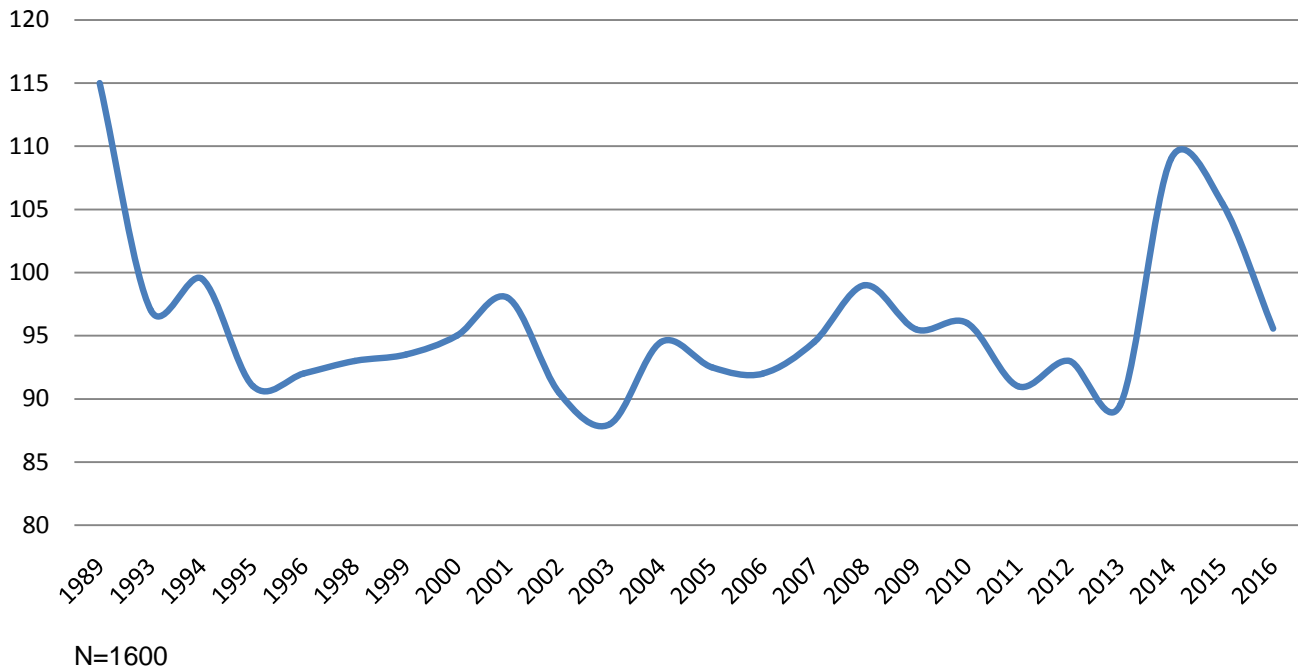


Table 16.1

How often do you read newspapers?

	1990	1994	1996	1998	2002	2008	2009	2010	2011	2016
Everyday	64	27	24	17	24	19	11	11	12	5
Once a week and more often	26	43	44	44	52	56	50	49	45	18
One – three times a month	3	7	10	11	9	9	9	9	8	10
Less than once a month	2	10	9	9	6	6	9	8	8	9
Hardly ever	5	13	13	19	10	9	20	22	27	44
Number of respondents	1600	3000	1700	1800	1800	1500	1600	1600	1600	1600

Table 16.2

How often do you read Russian national newspapers?

	2011 September	2012 December	2014 July	2016 April
Practically all the time	12	7	4	5
Often	21	16	15	13
Not very often	21	18	16	17
Rarely	22	23	28	26
Practically never	25	37	38	39
Number of respondents	2000	2000	1600	1600

Table 16.3

How often do you read the web- sources?

	2009 August	2010 August	2011 August	2016 May
Daily / almost daily	5	5	7	14
2-3 times a week	5	6	5	13
Once a week	3	5	4	8
1-3 times a month	1	4	4	5
Less than once a month	4	4	4	6
Hardly ever / never	78	73	75	48
Difficult to answer	3	3	2	6

N=1600

Table 16.4

Where do you most often find out news in the country and in the world?

	2009 August	2013 June	2014 March	2015 November	2016 July
Television	94	88	90	85	86
Friends, relatives, neighbours	26	24	25	24	27
Internet publications (newspapers, journal, information-portals)	9	21	24	21	33
Other internet sources	6	14	15	13	23
Newspapers	37	20	19	13	19
Radio	41	16	18	13	22
Journals	8	4	5	2	4
Not interesting	<1	1	<1	1	1
Difficult to answer	<1	1	<1	1	2

N=1600

Table 16.5

How often do you... ?

	Watch news on TV	Listen to radio news
Daily / almost daily	60	16
2-3 times a week	22	13
Once a week	9	9
1-3 times a month	3	6
Less than once a month	1	6
Practically never/ never	4	44
Difficult to answer	2	5

2016, May; N=1600

Table 16.6

**What sources of information about news
in the country and in the worlds you trust?**

	2009 August	2013 June	2014 Marh	2015 November	2016 June
TV	79	51	50	41	59
Friends, relatives, neighbours	9	16	19	19	12
Internet (neespapers, informational portals)	7	14	20	18	20
Printed neewspapers	16	12	14	12	9
Radio	23	12	13	11	9
Social media	4	11	9	9	12
Magazins	1	2	1	2	1
Do not trust anything	6	8	4	8	9
Difficult to say	3	6	6	6	6

* In August 2009 -. «Other sources in the Internet».
N=1600

Table 16.7

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

	2012	2015	2016	2016
	September	October	July	October
Trust completely	9	11	17	12
Trust to a large extent	38	49	44	44
Trust to some extent	43	33	28	34
Do not trust at all	8	4	7	7
Difficult to answer	3	3	4	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.8

Do you trust the reports about the national events broadcasted in the Internet?

	2012	2015	2016	2016
	September	October	July	October
Trust completely	5	5	7	8
Trust to a large extent	24	30	27	29
Trust to some extent	30	33	33	36
Do not trust at all	6	7	9	10
Difficult to answer	35	25	23	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.9

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

	2012 September	2015 October	2016 October
Very often	9	7	12
Fairly often	46	34	32
Fairly seldom	28	34	25
Very seldom	7	15	18
Difficult to answer	10	9	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.10

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

	2012 September	2015 October	2016 October
Very often	7	6	9
Fairly often	38	24	26
Fairly seldom	32	35	28
Very seldom	11	22	21
Difficult to answer	12	13	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 16.11

Which aspects of public life does television...?

	Foreign policies	National economics	Internal policies	Public life, life of common Russians	Difficult to answer
Provide the most objective information	58	25	27	25	21
Provide the least objective information	13	33	24	33	30

Table 16.12

Will Internet be able to replace papers, radio and Television in the future?

	2001	2003	2016
I think it will be able to	34	23	34
I think it will not be able to	49	60	53
Difficult to answer	17	16	13

N=1600

MEDIA AND CENSORSHIP

Table 16.13

Which of the following opinions is closest to your views?

	2000 VII	2000 IX	2003 X	2004 X	2005 XII	2006 XII	2007 XI	2010 XI	2016 V
Russian authorities are curtailing freedom of speech and repressing independent media	25	30	28	38	27	27	27	25	21
Russian authorities are in no way curtailing freedom of speech or repressing independent media	58	46	53	46	49	47	56	56	35
Difficult to answer	17	24	19	16	24	26	17	19	44
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800

Table 16.14

**Do you agree or disagree with the statement:
«Russian television needs more diversity of views on sociopolitical issues»?**

	2014 February	2016 May
Definitely agree	19	12
Rather agree	58	48
Rather disagree	12	17
Absolutely disagree	3	3
Difficult to answer	9	20

N=800

Table 16.15

**Do you agree or disagree with the statement:
«There is government censorship at the major Russian TV channels»?**

	2014 February	2016 May
Definitely agree	18	13
Rather agree	51	43
Rather disagree	16	17
Absolutely disagree	2	2
Difficult to answer	12	24

N=800

Table 16.16

**Do you agree or disagree with the statement:
«It is good for a country to have a TV channel which criticizes the authorities
and does not practice censorship»?**

	2014 February	2016 May
Definitely agree	16	13
Rather agree	42	39
Rather disagree	20	17
Absolutely disagree	6	5
Difficult to answer	16	26

N=800

Table 16.17

**What kind of policy towards the television Russian authorities
will exercise in the near future?**

	2014	2016
The authorities will allow more freedom of expression, independent programs and channels	10	13
Authorities will maintain the influence on the TV, nothing will change significantly	44	49
Authorities will step up the censorship and try to shut down independent channels and programs	28	14
Difficult to answer	18	24

N=800

17. READING

Table 17.1

How often do you read fiction?

	2012 X	2014 VII	2016 IV
Practically all the time	7	6	8
Often	13	14	16
Not very often	16	17	19
Rarely	28	26	27
Practically never	37	37	30
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.3

How often do you read non-fiction: non-fiction history, science, culture, art, etc.?

	2012 X	2014 VII	2016 IV
Practically all the time	3	2	4
Often	9	7	10
Not very often	13	15	17
Rarely	20	24	26
Practically never	55	52	44
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.3

Approximately, how many books are there in your home library? (% of respondents, without the difficult to answer)

	2008 VII	2008 IX	2012 IX	2016 IV
Do not have books at home	20	25	30	25
Up to 100 books	40	38	41	46
100-300 books	23	19	18	19
300-500 books	10	9	7	6
500-1000 books	4	3	3	3
Over 1000 books	4	2	2	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.4

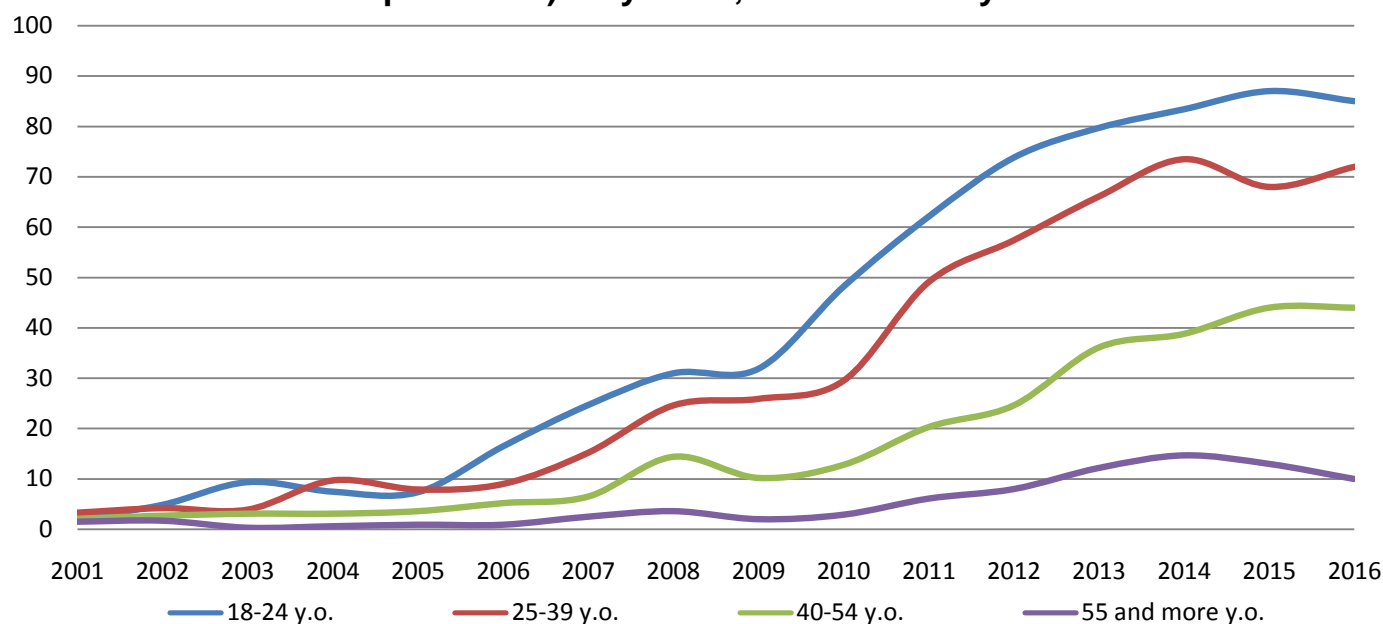
**Do you use Internet, and, if you do, do you read online
(or download) books or any texts?**

	2008 September	2012 October	2016 April
Online versions of papers and magazines	4	11	14
Texts at info-newsportals (polit.ru, news.ru)	3	11	12
Educational material	4	13	8
Special literature, scientific texts	6	13	9
Fiction, books in online libraries	3	14	10
Other books or texts	2	8	7
I do not read online or download books or texts	15	26	38
I dot use Internet	72	40	25
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>

18. INTERNET, SOCIAL NETWORKS

Diagramm 18.1

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



* - Since 2015, the answers c"several times a day" and "about once a day" ombined

Table 18.1

Do you personally use e-mail? If you do, how often do you use it

	2009 I	2009 VII	2011 II	2011 X	2012 II	2013 IV	2014 IV	2015 IV	2016 IV
Daily/practically daily	12	12	22	21	23	23	31	32	34
Approximately once a week	6	7	9	9	13	13	14	15	12
2-3 times a month	3	3	2	3	5	5	6	6	6
Approximately once a month	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	4	3
Less than once a month	3	3	3	4	2	2	3	3	4
Never	74	73	63	61	54	54	43	41	41
Number of respondents	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 18.2

Do you visit social networks? If you do, then how often?

(of Internet users)

	2013 VII	2014 III	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
Daily/practically daily	27	30	24	28	32
A few times a week	15	15	20	19	17
Approximately once a week	7	6	6	7	7
2-3 times a month	3	3	3	3	2
Approximately once a month	2	1	2	2	2
Less than once a month	2	3	2	2	2
Never	44	40	43	39	37
Difficult to answer	1	2	1	1	1
Number of respondents	800	1600	1600	1600	1600

Table 18.3

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

	2013 VII	2014 III	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 II	2016 VIII
Odnoklassniki.ru	76	76	77	73	70	65
V kontakte	58	55	55	57	58	58
My World on mail.ru	30	23	19	16	17	12
Facebook	18	18	16	15	13	19
Google+	11	16	11	11	10	10
Instagram	9	4	5	8	9	17
Twitter	3	7	8	6	8	9
Live Journal	2	3	6	5	3	3
Difficult to answer	3	3	1	1	4	3

Table 18.4

**Is there censorship (denial of access to particular sites and material)
on the Internet?**

	2012 October	2016 October
Definitely yes	38	24
Rather yes	30	36
Rather not	10	19
Definitely not	13	6
Difficult to answer	10	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 18.5

**Can banning access to particular Internet sites be used to restrict civil activists,
crack down on civil rights and freedoms?**

Definitely yes	7
Rather yes	25
Rather not	34
Definitely not	10
Difficult to answer	24

2016, October; N=1600

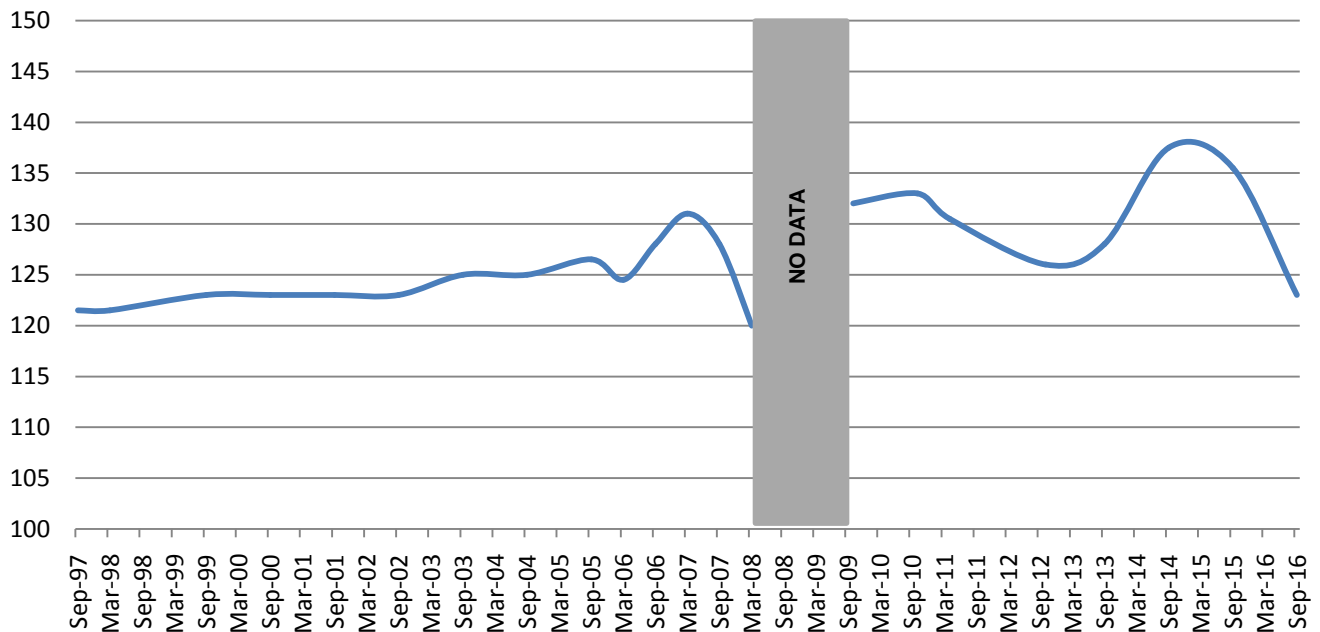
19. RELIGION

Diagram 19.1

To what extent does the Church should be trusted?

(«should be trusted» + the half of «should be trusted carefully»

- «should not be trusted» + 100)



N=1600

Table 19.1

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

	2012 IX	2013 II	2014 I	2016 I
Approve	71	67	71	73
Disapprove	29	33	30	27

N=1600

Table 19.2

Should the Church influence the government's decision-making process?

	2007 IX	2012 VII	2013 III	2016 II
Definitely should	7	6	5	6
Rather should	22	20	21	18
Rather not	33	37	39	38
Definitely not	28	28	26	28
Difficult to answer	10	10	10	9
Numbers of respondents	1600	800	800	800

N=1600

Table 19.3

**Should the Russian authorities be guided
by their religious beliefs in their activity?**

	2005 September	2007 September	2012 January	2013 April	2016 February
Definitely yes	13	6	5	4	7
Yes, rather than no	30	23	22	30	24
No, rather than yes	26	31	31	32	31
Definitely no	20	27	26	21	26
Difficult to answer	11	14	15	13	13

N=1600

Table 19.4

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

	1991 V	1998 IX	2008 I	2012 VII	2013 III	2014 VIII	2016 II
Too much	2	5	4	10	6	7	5
Slightly more than they need to	4	11	14	18	19	16	12
Just enough	22	27	45	44	48	42	56
Slightly less than they need to	16	9	11	8	8	6	10
Too little	30	13	7	7	5	5	6
Difficult to answer	26	35	19	14	14	25	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 19.5

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

	1991 V	1998 IX	2008 I	2012 VII	2013 III	2016 II
Should not get involved in public life at all	8	11	15	13	11	15
Support public morals and virtues	50	46	46	50	44	47
Facilitate public, national and political consensus	38	36	37	49	43	41
Meet spiritual requirements of the believers	32	39	30	37	36	29
Help keep cultural traditions	37	34	31	32	34	29
Support charity and charitable work	37	28	29	30	33	30
Help poor and disadvantaged	27	27	22	21	18	20
Help develop the spiritual literature and art	11	14	13	19	16	14
Difficult to answer	5	10	10	5	6	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2960</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 19.6

Should religious knowledge be taught at school?

	1991 May	2013 March	2016 February
Religion should not be taught at school	10	17	19
By choice of students and their parents, schools can teach basics of religion and religious moral	59	60	61
The law of the Lord should be reinstated at schools for all students who would like to study it	20	15	13
Difficult to answer	10	9	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2960</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 19.7

How inter-faith and inter-confessional relations changed in Russia in the last 25 years?

	2015 January	2016 March
Changed for better	17	13
Changed for worse	28	41
Did not change	39	35
Difficult to answer	16	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 19.8

What is your attitude towards Muslims?

	2015 January	2016 March
Quite positive	11	14
Rather positive	18	13
Neutral/indifferent	51	48
Rather negative	12	16
Deeply negative	2	6
Difficult to answer	5	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 19.9

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

	1991 May	1997 August	2003 May	2007 September	2012 January	2013 March	2016 February
Yes	9	15	13	8	8	8	7
Rather yes	6	12	14	13	15	17	14
Rather no	18	15	29	25	24	24	24
No	50	44	34	45	43	38	45
Difficult to answer	17	14	10	10	10	12	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES

Table 19.10

Are the current relations between the Orthodox and the Catholic churches close and friendly enough?

	2005 IV	2013 III	2016 II
Quite close and friendly	32	29	27
Should be closer and friendlier	45	40	43
They have become too close	6	6	7
Difficult to answer	17	25	24
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 19.11

How would you describe the current relations between Russian Orthodox Church and Roman Catholic Church?

	2013 March	2016 February
Close and friendly relations	9	11
Normal, working relations	58	57
Lukewarm, strained relations	14	14
Hostile relations	2	1
Difficult to answer	17	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 19.12

For you, what did represent the figure of the Pope?

	2005 April	2013 March	2016 February
	John Paul II	Benedict XVI	Francis
Only the head of Roman-Catholic church	40	43	40
One of the world's leaders of the present time, a moral authority for many people from different countries and confessions	49	26	38
Difficult to answer	11	31	22
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 19.13

**Is Pope the head of Roman Catholic Church - or is he, above all,
one of the leaders of the modern world, the moral authority for people of
various countries and faiths?**

	2005 April	2013 March	2016 February
	John Paul II	Benedict XVI	Francis
Just the head of Roman Catholic Church	40	43	40
One of the leaders of the modern world, the moral authority for people of various countries and faiths	49	26	38
Difficult to answer	11	31	22
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 19.15

What is your attitude to Pope's visit to Russia?

	2001 June	2013 March	2016 February
	John Paul II	Benedict XVI	Francis
Definitely positive	22	19	20
Rather positive	40	52	56
Rather negative	12	8	6
Absolutely negative	5	1	1
Difficult to answer	22	20	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

RELIGIOUSNESS

Table 19.16

How important is religion in your life?

	2007	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Very important	6	6	5	4	4	6
Fairly important	26	25	29	31	36	28
Not too important	41	42	43	37	32	40
Religion does not play any role for me	24	21	19	26	23	22
Difficult to answer	3	6	4	3	5	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 19.17

When you hear or think about faith, which of the below comes to mind first of all?

	1989 November	2016 August
Christ	18	38
Prayer	9	28
Guardian angel	5	18
Omnipotence of God	10	16
Paradise, hell	6	13
Punishment for sins	11	13
Church ceremonies	13	12
Miracle	7	8
Ten commandments	5	8
Holy books	6	6
There is no God	20	4
Eternal life	5	4
Prophet Mohammad	0	3
Fight against superstitions	4	2
Religious art	9	2
Never think about it	40	26
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 19.20

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

	2003 VII	2007 IX	2008 I	2010 XII	2011 XII	2012 X	2013 XI	2014		2015		2016
								III	VII	VIII	III	XII
Several times a week	1	1	0,2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
Once a week	1	2	1	2	2	3	4	3	3	2	2	2
Two-three times a month	2	2	2	3	3	4	3	4	3	4	2	3
About once a month	3	3	4	4	5	6	6	6	4	6	5	5
Several times a year	20	24	14	18	19	21	17	22	21	23	20	20
Once a year	10	10	15	11	11	14	16	15	15	13	16	13
Less than once a year	18	18	19	12	12	15	13	14	15	15	16	14
Never	46	39	38	45	45	33	35	30	37	33	32	38
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

THE LENT AND EASTER

Table 19.21

Are you willing, due to upcoming Lent, to limit...

	Definitely yes	Rather yes	Rather not	Definitely not	I do not practice that on regular days	Difficult to answer
...alcohol consumption?						
March 2013	7	18	17	15	38	5
February 2016	10	24	18	11	30	6
...smoking?						
March 2013	2	7	17	17	54	4
February 2016	7	13	19	12	43	7
...sex?						
March 2013	2	8	25	26	24	15
February 2016	5	14	29	20	18	14
...entertainment, consumption of entertaining information?						
March 2013	3	13	28	27	22	8
February 2016	7	19	31	19	15	10
...business, consumption of business information?						
March 2013	2	5	28	37	22	7
February 2016	4	9	36	28	13	10

Table 19.22

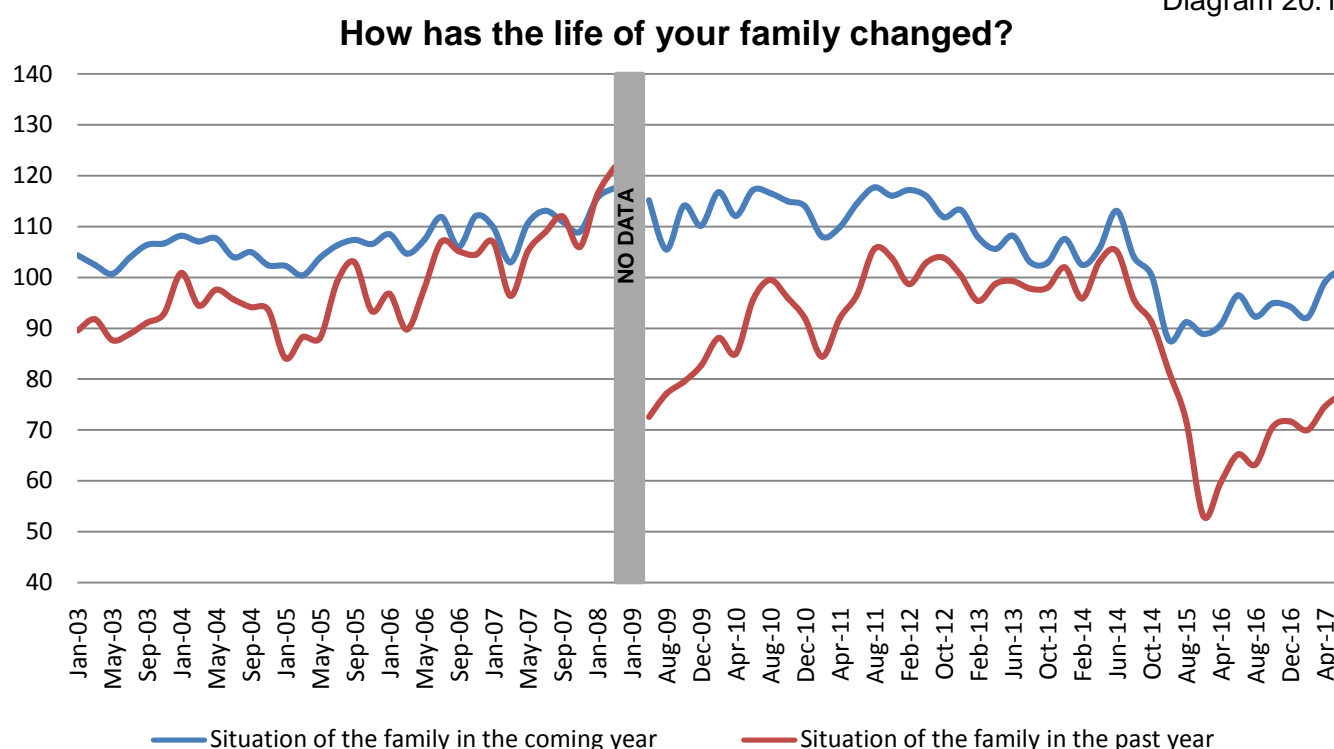
It is now Lent time before Easter.

Do you observe it and if you do, how strictly?

	1997	2000	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	III	III	II	II	II	II	II	II	II	II	II	I	III	II	II	II
Keep to my usual diet	73	77	77	78	76	76	79	79	70	73	72	74	69	71	71	75
Already partly observe Lent (do not eat meat, do not drink alcoholic beverages)	20	14	16	13	13	15	15	15	17	19	18	17	21	18	20	16
Not yet, but am going to fast during the last week of Lent	-	2	2	4	5	4	2	2	4	2	4	4	3	4	5	4
Strictly observe Lent	5	3	3	4	4	2	2	2	2	3	3	1	2	2	2	3
Difficult to answer	2	4	2	1	2	3	2	2	5	4	4	4	4	4	2	2
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

20. FAMILY

Diagram 20.1



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

Table 20.1

If you were to describe your family's life style, what goals do you or your family members set for themselves?

	1998 XI	1999 III	2001 XI	2003 III	2004 IV	2005 IV	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2009 III	2010 III	2011 III	2015 I	2016 I	2016 X
To survive, if on the most basic level of existence	28	22	18	16	18	15	15	20	21	23	21	13	14	12
To live no worse than most families in my town, neighborhood	48	55	48	55	50	58	56	55	55	55	54	58	58	58
To live better than most families in my town, neighborhood	12	10	17	17	21	15	20	17	16	15	17	20	20	23
To live like an average family does in Western Europe, the US	9	10	13	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	7	6	6	6
To live better than an average family does in Western Europe, the US	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	1	3	2	1
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	1600	1600

Table 20.2

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

	1991	1992	1999	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2016
	VI	XI	II	II	XII	I	VIII	VIII	IV	IX	VIII	VI	IX	IV	IV	X	I	IX
Less than a half	6	4	5	6	14	14	15	18	18	16	22	20	22	17	31	27	24	21
About a half	20	15	15	24	33	32	37	36	39	40	41	41	41	43	38	39	37	40
About two thirds	40	24	21	29	28	29	29	26	23	25	20	26	20	25	19	19	22	23
Almost all	30	56	55	37	23	22	16	13	14	13	12	9	10	8	7	7	11	8
Difficult to answer	5	1	4	4	3	3	4	8	5	5	5	4	7	7	5	7	7	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1300	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	1600	1600	1600

FAMILY PROBLEMS AND FAMILY REPLATIONSHIP

Table 20.3

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

	2008 August	2016 July
Lack of money	53	58
Large pressure, too much work	19	20
Sick relatives	19	18
Red tape, rudeness in government offices	14	15
Situation at work	6	10
Critical condition of the house or apartment	6	7
Problems with children	10	7
Transit operation	5	5
Relations with parents	4	5
Breakdown of home appliances	3	5
Conflicts with bosses	3	4
Irregular supply of water, heat, electricity	5	4
Relations with neighbors	3	3
Arguments with husband or wife	6	3
Difficult to answer	18	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1500	1600

Table 20.4

Do you think over the past five years the relations in the majority of Russian families have become better or worse?

	1992 June	1998 December	2000 June	2007 March	2010 March	2016 July
Has become somewhat better	6	16	8	25	19	27
Has become somewhat worse	58	50	70	43	50	42
Difficult to answer	37	34	22	33	31	31

N=1600

Table 20.5

Do you think children of 18-25 years old who are not married should live together with their parents or separately?

	2003 January	2007 October	2011 February	2016 July
Definitely together	18	11	9	9
Probably together	23	23	25	21
Probably separately	34	35	35	42
Definitely separately	18	20	19	18
Difficult to answer	8	12	12	10

N=1600

Table 20.6

If you did not have a family of your own when you were 18-25 years old but had a chance to have/purchase an apartment, would you prefer to live together with your parents or separately?

	2003 March	2016 July
Definitely separately	68	47
Rather separately	14	28
Rather together	9	13
Definitely together	4	4
Difficult to answer	4	9

N=1600

Table 20.7

Why would you not like to live separately from your parents?
(% respondents who would not like to live separately)

	2003 March	2016 July
Parents would be absolutely against that, I would not like any conflict with them	4	15
Would be hard to manage household chores	13	18
Would be no one to talk to and lonely	22	17
Parents need constant care	40	17
I need parent's support and advise	24	16
Living separately means additional cost which could be otherwise avoided	12	27
No need, I have no problem living with parents	16	29
Did not even think about living separately	9	15
Difficult to answer	3	7

N=1600

Table 20.8

Why do you think children of 18-25 years old who are not married should live separately from their parents?

(% of those who believe they should live separately)

	2003 January	2007 October	2016 July
Children become self-dependent, learn to be responsible for what they do and to make decisions	64	64	68
Children begin to take more notice of their parents' advice	11	13	11
Children become independent earlier, they start working	38	31	36
Children free themselves from their parents' strict control, which results in fewer conflicts between them	20	18	15
Difficult to answer	1	2	1

N=1600

Table 20.9

Why do you think children of 18-25 years old who are not married should live together with their parents?

(% of those who believe «should live together»)

	2003 I	2007 X	2011 II	2016 VII
Children are not ready for independent life, do not have the skills to organize their life	53	44	37	44
Parents' control over children who live separately is weaker and they may take "the wrong route" in life	47	43	49	42
If children live separately from their parents it may lead to estrangement from their parents	19	20	16	25
If children live separately from their parents the latter may not have financial support from their children later	8	10	5	11
Difficult to answer	2	4	5	5

N=1600

Table 20.10

Practically every family has occasional misunderstandings and conflicts. Does your family ever have quarrels, scandals and if it does, how often?

	2002 II	2003 III	2007 III	2012 II	2016 VI
Almost every day	4	6	3	2	3
Once or twice a week	12	11	7	7	8
Once or several times a month	23	25	18	20	21
Less often	31	34	34	35	31
Never	23	19	30	30	26
Difficult to answer	7	5	8	7	8

N=1600

Table 20.11

What causes quarrels in your family?
Name the cause of the most serious quarrels
 (% families where quarrels happen, ranked by the last survey)

	2011 February	2016 July
Lack of money	32	37
Different views, lack of understanding	35	32
Distribution of household chores	22	28
Who decides what to spend money on	13	16
Problems with children	16	15
Problems with parents or relatives	9	12
Jealousy or unfaithfulness	4	7
Drinking problem of one of the family members	9	6
Sex problem	2	2
Refused to answer	-*	6
Difficult to answer	6	5

*- Response option was not offered

N=1600

Table 20.12

Do family quarrels or conflicts ever escalate into insults or verbal abuse?
 (% families where quarrels happen)

	2011 February	2016 July
Very often	3	2
Fairly often	8	11
Rarely	28	39
Never/ Practically never	55	42
Refused to answer	5	4
Difficult to answer	1	2

N=1600

Table 20.13

Do family quarrels or conflicts ever escalate into physical assault?
 (% families where quarrels happen)

	2011 February	2016 July
Very often	<1	<1
Fairly often	1	<1
Rarely	6	9
Never/ Practically never	88	82
Refused to answer	5	6
Difficult to answer	1	2

N=1600

Table 20.14

Who are the most frequent parties to quarrels, conflicts or scandals in your family?

(% families where quarrels happen, responses are ranked by the last survey)

	2002 February	2007 March	2011 February	2012 February	2016 July
Between me and my husband/wife	42	35	53	34	50
Between me and my kids	12	17	17	14	18
Between me and my parents	10	12	11	16	16
Between my husband/wife and the kids	9	6	4	5	8
Between me and other members of my family (in-laws, brothers or sisters, grandmother/grandfather)	5	1	7	6	7
Between kids	2	3	3	4	4
Varies	14	16	9	15	4
Between my parents	2	2	3	3	3
All members of my family conflict with each other	3	1	1	1	3
Between my husband/wife and other members of my family (our parents, brothers or sisters, grandmother/grandfather)	1	1	3	1	3
Difficult to answer	1	4	4	3	9

N=1600

Table 20.15

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

	2003 March	2012 February	2016 July
Often	2	1	2
A few times	7	4	3
Once or twice	8	7	6
Never happened	76	77	80
Difficult to answer	7	12	10

N=1600

Table 20.16

Which of the following statements about family and marriage you would rather agree with?

	1989 May	2007 December	2016 August
Everyone should marry / start a family sooner or later	85	77	78
People do not necessarily need to marry / start a family	12	19	18
Difficult to answer	3	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>2500</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 20.17

What is preferable nowadays?

	1989 May	2007 December	2016 August
It is preferable to marry and live as a family	89	81	80
It is preferable not to marry and live single	4	11	12
Difficult to answer	7	8	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>2500</i>	<i>1600</i>

N=1600

Table 20.18

Why do people marry and start a family?

	1989 May	2007 December	2016 August
To have kids and procreate	57	58	52
In order to have a person by your side who would understand and support you in any circumstances	41	49	44
In order to feel that someone needs you and to have someone to take care of	37	33	32
To have a comfortable home and convenient household	26	25	28
To have family and kids is the moral obligation of humanity	25	28	26
Not to be alone	27	29	25
Not to part with the loved one	20	16	20
It is common to get married, everybody does that, although not everyone manages to have a good family	6	13	20
To have a constant sex partner	6	10	15
Difficult to answer	2	1	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>2500</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 20.19

What are the negative sides of a family life?

	1989 May	2007 December	2016 August
One has to work too much in order to ensure financial well-being of the family	42	35	26
Household routines - pots, nappies, shopping - mean a lot in a family life	39	24	24
Family life imposes excessive responsibility to ensure well-being of others	14	23	23
Family limits personal freedom	20	21	19
There is too much monotony in the family life: same faces, same chores day in and day out	17	12	12
Kids bring a lot of anxiety and grief in the family	18	13	12
One cannot avoid deceit, unfaithfulness, conflicts	13	18	11
Family life hinders professional growth	8	8	8
It is impossible to keep love alive living in a family	3	3	4
Difficult to answer	18	19	24
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>2500</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 20.20

What is the best place to raise kids before school?

	1991 June	2004 June	2010 March	2016 August
At home with granddad and grandma	10	7	10	13
At home with the mother	43	25	24	26
At home with the nanny/ governess	-*	-	2	2
Kindergarten	33	66	60	54
Difficult to answer	14	2	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1250</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

*- response option was not offered

Table 20.21

What would you like your son, daughter, grandchild to be?

(Answer ranked by the first measurement)

	2004	2006	2007	2010	2014	2015	2016
Lawyer, economist, financier	24	23	23	23	20	16	13
Programmer, high tech specialist	18	21	20	23	15	11	17
Doctor	17	19	17	22	14	18	17
Entrepreneur, businessman	14	16	17	17	13	13	10
Bank director	11	11	13	14	11	10	11
Military, officer	8	13	9	13	11	11	9
Engineer	10	13	12	12	8	11	8
Sportsman	8	10	7	8	8	10	5
Store owner	5	6	7	8	6	5	4
Actor, musician, painter, writer. journalist	6	8	7	8	5	7	5
Politician, minister	4	5	6	5	5	4	3
Professor, scientist, lecturer	6	6	7	8	5	7	7
Skilled worker	12	15	14	16	4	6	5
School teacher	4	5	4	6	3	3	3
Sociologist, marketologist, political scientist,	4	4	5	4	2	2	1
Farmer	4	3	2	4	1	1	2
Clergyman	1	1	1	1	<1	<1	0
Difficult to answer	15	12	13	12	20	23	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

LEISURE

Table 20.22

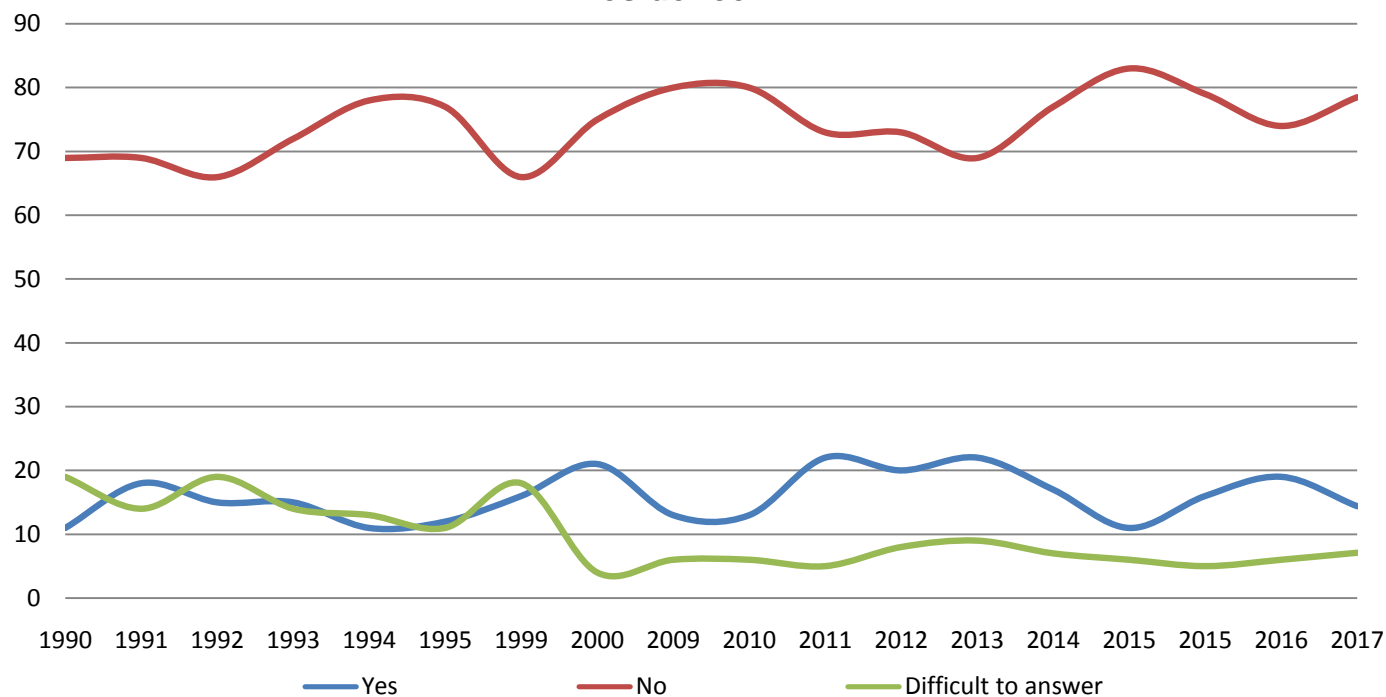
Where are you, your family going to have your vacation this summer?

	1997	1999	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	V	V	VI	V	V	V	VI	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
At the dacha, garden plot	23	23	26	23	27	27	24	22	21	22	24	25	24	24	22	22	22	21
At the Black Sea (Russia)	3	3	4	4	4	5	7	6	7	7	6	7	7	8	7	12	5	5
In the Crimea	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	5	4
In the Baltic countries	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	1	1	<1	1	2	1	<1	<1	1	1
In another city/ town/ village in Russia	7	5	5	6	5	7	7	6	6	5	5	4	5	5	7	6	7	7
In other places, territories of the former USSR	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	1	2	2	3	2	1	3	2	2	1
Abroad	1	1	<1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	3	5	4	5	6	3
Will stay at home, will do what we need to do	33	46	36	40	40	32	37	34	34	33	31	29	28	30	27	21	27	20
Not going for a vacation anywhere, have no money	31	26	25	22	17	20	19	17	20	22	20	16	18	15	14	16	19	26
Have not decided yet	10	7	7	6	8	7	3	11	11	15	13	18	14	15	19	17	14	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	1600

LEAVING THE COUNTRY

Diagram 20.2

Would you like to go abroad (outside the former USSR) for permanent residence?



Before 2000, N=2000; since 2009-2010 N=1600; from 2011, N=800

Table 20.23

How ready are you now to go outside the former USSR borders for permanent residence?

	2009 May	2011 May	2012 May	2013 May	2014 May	2015 March	2015 May	2016 May
Gathering documents, filing expatriation paperwork	1	1	1	<1	1	1	1	1
Determined to go	1	2	3	3	3	2	1	1
Figuring out the possibilities to go	3	6	5	5	5	4	4	7
Sometimes think about it	19	21	17	13	13	10	16	16
Never thought about it	78	69	68	73	76	82	76	73
Difficult to answer	-	-	6	4	3	2	3	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 20.24

What first of all makes you think about emigrating?
 (% of those who've thought about it)

	2013 May	2014 May	2015 May	2016 May
Better living conditions, greater comfort abroad	49	46	44	42
Unstable economic situation in Russia	32	29	31	41
Desire to insure a decent and reliable future for the kids	31	31	28	28
Lack of protection in Russia against lawless acts committed by the authorities, officials	18	16	22	17
Business climate in Russia	14	16	11	11
Chance of getting better medical assistance abroad	10	14	10	14
Lack of professional growth opportunities in Russia	12	9	7	10
Family circumstances (a family member is already living abroad)	4	7	7	7
Crime, terrorism, danger to life in Russia	12	12	6	9
The feeling that most people around don't share your values	4	6	6	5
Current political situation in Russia	10	11	4	11
Difficult to answer	6	8	7	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

21. INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

Table 21.1

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

	2005 XI	2006 IV	2006 XI	2007 IV	2008 XII	2010 XII	2011 XII	2012 XI	2013 X	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
Definitely yes	5	4	7	4	7	7	3	5	10	3	6	3
Yes, rather than no	21	18	23	18	20	19	21	24	33	20	16	15
No, rather than yes	44	44	40	46	41	46	46	46	39	50	45	46
Definitely no	26	30	24	27	24	20	24	20	13	21	28	33
Difficult to answer	4	4	6	5	7	8	6	6	6	5	6	4

N=1600

Table 21.2

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

	2002 VII	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 X	2009 XI	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 IX	2013 X	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 XI
Very often	2	4	3	2	4	3	1	3	4	4	4	4	4	2
Quite often	8	10	9	8	11	9	9	13	14	13	13	10	12	9
Rarely	29	29	26	27	29	26	28	25	27	31	35	30	31	36
Never/ practically never	60	56	61	60	53	58	60	55	50	45	45	53	51	51
Difficult to answer	2	1	2	3	3	4	2	4	5	7	4	3	3	3

N=1600

Table 21.3

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

	2002 VII	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 X	2009 XI	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 IX	2013 X	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
Very often	3	4	4	3	3	2	1	4	6	4	6	4	4	3
Quite often	9	13	9	8	9	8	10	15	14	14	14	10	12	16
Rarely	29	29	25	27	32	32	30	25	26	32	39	30	31	41
Never/ practically never	59	53	60	59	53	55	56	52	49	44	37	53	51	38
Difficult to answer	1	2	2	3	3	4	3	4	6	6	4	3	3	3

N=1600

Table 21.4

Are violent ethnic clashes probable in your community?

	2002 VII	2007 VII	2008 X	2009 XI	2011 I	2011 XI	2012 XI	2013 X	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
Definitely yes	5	6	4	2	8	6	3	6	2	3	3
Most likely, yes	19	16	16	8	22	14	20	19	11	11	9
Most likely, no	43	46	41	38	42	40	45	45	45	43	46
Definitely no	25	22	30	42	21	28	23	19	31	35	38
Difficult to answer	9	10	10	10	8	12	9	12	11	9	5

N=1600

Table 21.5

Are violent ethnic clashes probable in Russia now?

	2008 VIII	2012 X	2014 XI	2015 XI	2016 XI
Definitely yes	5	6	2	5	2
Most likely, yes	34	36	19	21	15
Most likely, no	29	33	45	38	42
Definitely no	19	14	27	24	29
Difficult to answer	13	11	7	12	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

N=1600

ATTITUDE TO IMMIGRANTS

Table 21.6

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

	2002 VII	2004 VIII	2005 IX	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 X	2009 XI	2010 VIII	2011 XI	2012 VIII	2013 X	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
Should try to restrict the influx of migrants	45	54	59	52	57	52	61	60	64	70	78	76	68	66
Should not have any administrative barriers against the influx, should try to use it for the benefit of Russia	44	38	36	39	32	35	30	27	28	20	14	16	23	23
Difficult to answer	11	7	6	9	11	13	9	13	8	10	8	8	9	11

N=1600

Table 21.7

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

	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2006 XI	2007 IV	2007 XI	2008 XII	2010 XII	2011 XII	2012 XI	2013 III	2013 X	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2015 XI	2016	
																VIII	XI
Respect	3	5	3	4	3	6	4	5	1	3	3	3	6	4	4	2	3
Affection	5	4	4	4	3	5	4	4	4	5	4	3	6	4	5	3	3
Annoyance	25	18	23	18	19	16	14	14	15	21	23	25	17	18	18	15	13
Dislike	28	23	24	15	23	18	14	15	20	21	25	30	20	16	19	18	16
Fear	5	4	4	3	3	4	2	6	3	3	7	6	5	3	7	5	4
No particular feelings	39	45	46	56	52	54	61	57	57	46	43	39	54	55	48	60	59
Difficult to answer	4	4	4	3	2	3	2	4	1	3	3	2	1	3	4	1	5

N=1600

Table 21.8

**To which extent do you agree with the statement:
Immigrants increase the crime rate**

	1996 VI	2003 VII	2012 X	2016 VIII
Completely agree	29	35	34	26
Rather agree	25	24	37	38
Neither agree, nor disagree	13	12	17	21
Rather disagree	11	10	7	8
Completely disagree	6	5	1	3
Difficult to answer	16	14	5	4

N=1600

Table 21.9

**To which extent do you agree with the statement:
Immigrants generally facilitate Russian economic growth**

	1996 VI	2003 VII	2012 X	2016 VIII
Completely agree	4	4	5	1
Rather agree	11	12	19	11
Neither agree, nor disagree	20	17	29	31
Rather disagree	24	28	29	34
Completely disagree	17	18	14	17
Difficult to answer	23	22	6	5

N=1600

Table 21.10

**To which extent do you agree with the statement:
Immigrants take jobs from Russians**

	1996 VI	2003 VII	2012 X	2016 VIII
Completely agree	21	32	31	27
Rather agree	27	26	36	35
Neither agree, nor disagree	14	15	18	22
Rather disagree	15	11	11	11
Completely disagree	8	5	1	2
Difficult to answer	15	10	4	3

N=1600

Table 21.11

**To which extent do you agree with the statement:
Immigrants enrich Russian society by bringing in new ideas and cultures**

	2012 X	2016 VIII
Completely agree	4	1
Rather agree	15	11
Neither agree, nor disagree	27	29
Rather disagree	29	33
Completely disagree	17	21
Difficult to answer	8	5

N=1600

Table 21.12

**To which extent do you agree with the statement:
Immigrants destroy Russian culture**

	2012 X	2016 VIII
Completely agree	18	16
Rather agree	28	23
Neither agree, nor disagree	28	28
Rather disagree	15	19
Completely disagree	4	8
Difficult to answer	7	6

N=1600

Table 21.13

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

	2012 IX	2013 VI	2013 X	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
Definitely in favor	24	34	28	27	20	27
Rather in favor	33	31	35	36	34	36
Rather against	25	20	20	20	21	18
Definitely against	6	8	7	7	9	6
Difficult to answer	12	8	10	10	12	12

XENOPHOBIA

Table 21.14

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

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014		2015	2016	2017
	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	X	III	VII	VIII	VIII	VII
YES:														
Vietnamese	39	42	35	34	24	33	21	31	32	9	27	6	22	12
Jews	15	18	13	10	6	11	8	10	8	3	8	34	7	4
People from the Caucasus	44	50	42	44	38	37	39	42	54	24	38	24	29	22
Chinese	39	46	41	41	34	36	30	37	45	13	29	29	24	15
People from the former Central Asian Republics of the USSR	31	31	23	25	20	27	26	35	45	20	33	13	29	19
Ukrainians	8	8	7	6	7	6	5	6	5	1	8	21	14	8
Gypsies	32	30	29	25	22	30	18	29	32	9	23	18	22	17
All ethnic groups except Russians	14	11	11	10	16	16	17	13	14	16	14	15	5	17
NO:														
There should be no restrictions on the number of people of any ethnicity living in Russia	21	20	25	23	19	21	17	18	11	25	21	25	20	28
Difficult to answer	5	5	6	8	14	12	15	9	8	9	10	10	10	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	800	1600	1600	1600

N=1600

Table 21.15

What is your attitude towards the idea of «Russia for Russians»?

	1998	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
	XII	I	XI	XII	VII	XII	XI	XI	VIII	X	VIII	XI	VIII	XI	XI	X	VII	VIII	VIII	VII
I support it, it should have been put into practice long ago	13	15	16	16	21	16	16	15	14	15	19	18	19	19	15	23	18	16	14	10
It would be a good idea to put this into practice but within reasonable limits	30	34	42	38	32	37	37	35	41	42	35	36	35	40	41	43	36	35	38	30
Negative, it is pure fascism	30	27	20	26	18	25	23	26	27	25	27	32	21	23	23	19	27	25	21	27
I am not interested	14	12	11	9	7	12	12	12	11	12	11	9	16	11	14	9	14	16	21	24
Never think about it	7	6	5	3	8	4	5	4	7	7	8	5	9	7	6	6	5	8	6	9

N=1600

«RUSSIAN MARCHES»

Table 21.16

Have you heard that on November 4, in Russia, a «Russian march» is held under the banner of protecting the rights of the Russians in Russia?

	2010 December	2011 October	2013 October	2014 October	2015 November	2016 October
Yes	31	16	20	23	28	24
No	59	78	75	70	65	71
Difficult to answer	11	6	5	8	8	5

N=1600

Table 21.17

What is your attitude to the idea of the «Russian March»?

	2006 November*	2007 November	2010 December	2011 October	2013 October	2014 October	2015 November**	2016 October
Definitely positive	5	5	8	7	11	7	30	10
Somewhat positive	9	12	20	19	29	24		29
Somewhat negative	15	9	24	20	19	22	30	22
Definitely negative	13	5	12	10	7	9		7
Undecided anything about it / difficult to answer	58	70	36	45	35	37	40	32
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600	800

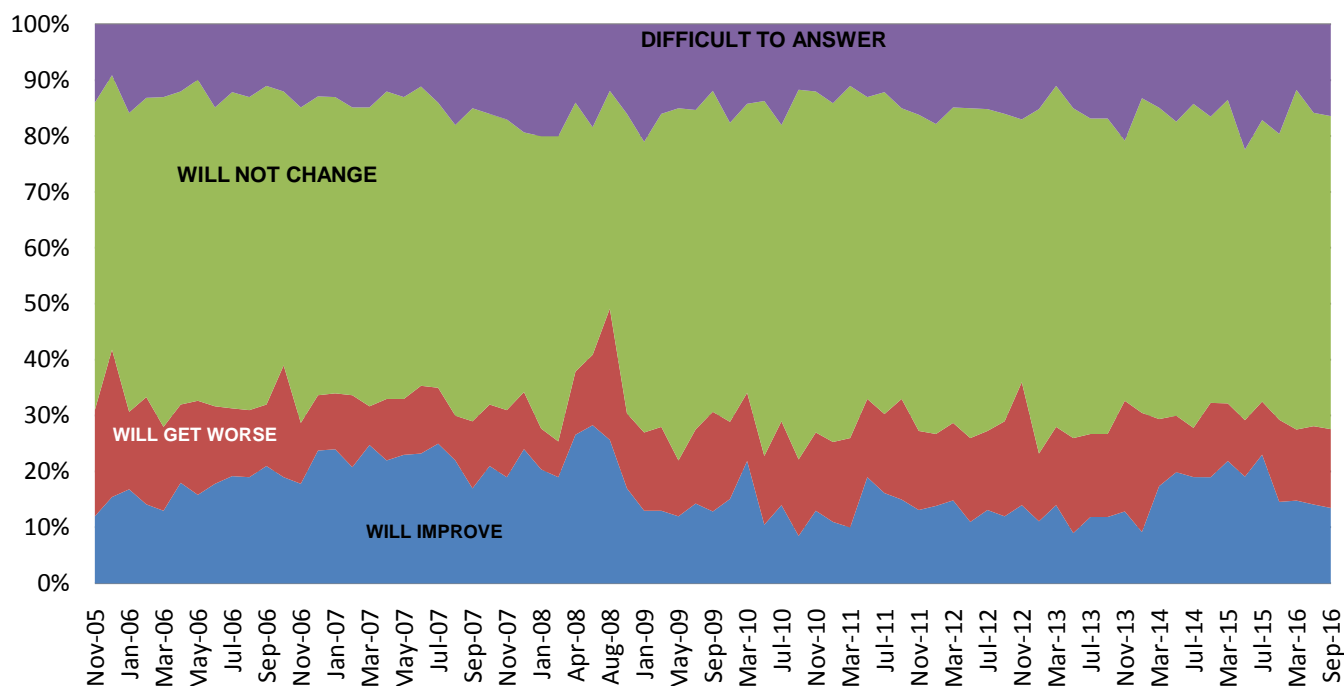
*- The question was asked as follows: "Have you heard about the attempt to hold the "Russian March" in the cities of Russia on November 4, and if so, how do you feel about the idea of the "Russian march"?"

*- - In 2015 only answers "Positive" and "Negative" were offered»

22. CHECHNYA AND THE NORTHERN CAUCASIA

Diagram 22.1

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



N=1600

Table 22.1

How would you rate the policies of the federal government towards the North Caucasus?

	2011 February	2011 May	2013 June	2014 July	2016 March
Too lenient	37	31	36	23	13
Too harsh	8	8	8	7	53
Proper	35	43	40	55	20
Difficult to answer	20	18	17	15	12

N=1600

Table 22.2

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

	2006 IX	2007 IX	2009 IV	2009 VII	2010 IX	2011 III	2012 III	2014 VII	2016 III
Fully	5	7	11	7	5	6	8	14	18
Considerably	29	34	33	41	31	33	44	50	47
Only partly	43	38	30	33	48	40	32	21	20
Not at all	16	9	7	8	8	11	5	3	3
Difficult to answer	7	12	19	11	8	10	12	12	13
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

RAMZAN KADYROV

Table 22.3

What's your attitude towards Ramzan Kadyrov? (Answers are ranked)

	2015 I	2016 I	2017 V
Neutral, don't care	25	36	33
Can't say anything bad about him	21	22	24
Respect	21	10	15
Sympathy	14	7	10
Can't say anything good about him	7	6	6
Dislike	3	3	2
Annoyance	2	7	3
Difficult to answer	8	10	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 22.4

Should Vladimir Putin extend the term of Ramzan Kadyrov as the head of Chechen republic or not?

Yes	69
No	13
Difficult to answer	18

2016, March; N=800

Table 22.5

What does Ramzan Kadyrov mean for you?

Glory of Russia	10
Disgrace for Russia	9
Better Kadyrov than a war in Chechnya	52
Difficult to answer	29

2016, January; N =1600

Table 22.6

Is it acceptable that persons in the position of authority call politicians and public figures criticizing current Russian authorities «enemies of the people» and threat with reprisals?

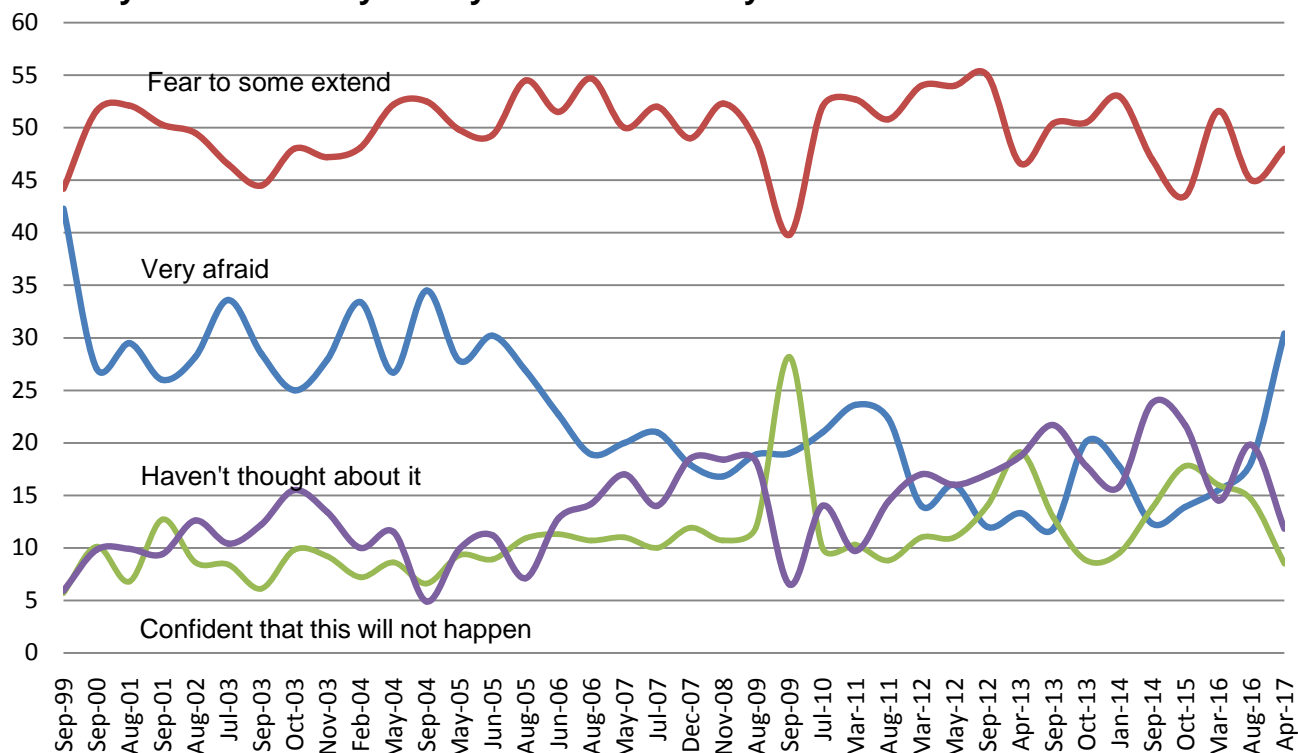
Quite acceptable	4
Rather acceptable	11
Rather unacceptable	39
Absolutely unacceptable	20
Difficult to answer	27

2016, January; N =1600

23. ACTS OF TERROR IN RUSSIA

Diagram 23.1

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



N=1600, 2011-2014 N=800

Table 23.1

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

	2000 VII	2003 IX	2004 IX	2005 IX	2006 VIII	2007 VII	2009 VIII	2010 VII	2011 VIII	2013 IX	2014 IX	2015 IX	2016 VIII
Definitely yes	6	6	4	3	3	6	5	4	5	4	6	8	9
Yes, rather than no	31	20	14	17	28	41	40	27	33	39	29	41	51
No, rather than yes	37	41	48	48	44	33	31	42	40	34	28	28	24
Definitely not	19	20	28	24	15	9	9	13	12	10	7	4	4
Difficult to answer	7	14	6	8	10	12	14	15	10	13	29	19	12
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 23.2

Is there enough security measures in place in Russia now in connection with ISIS threat?

	2015 November	2016 August
Enough	36	54
Not enough	39	25
Excessive	2	2
Nothing is done	-	5
Difficult to answer	23	14

N=1600

24. RUSSIA AND THE FORMER USSR REPUBLICS

Table 24.1

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

	2002 XII	2003 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI	2008 XI	2009 XI	2010 XI	2011 XI	2012 XII	2014 XI	2016 XI
Re-establishment of the USSR as it used to be	21	25	18	16	13	16	15	14	16	13	12
Maintaining the CIS in its current form	12	10	17	12	15	13	17	16	21	19	21
Forming closer unions of several republics if they wish to do so	29	25	23	23	28	27	26	25	24	29	25
Closer union of the former USSR republics like the European Union	20	19	19	23	21	22	19	18	16	18	21
Independent existence of all the republics	10	12	12	17	14	14	13	12	11	11	13
Difficult to answer	8	9	12	10	10	9	12	15	12	10	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 24.2

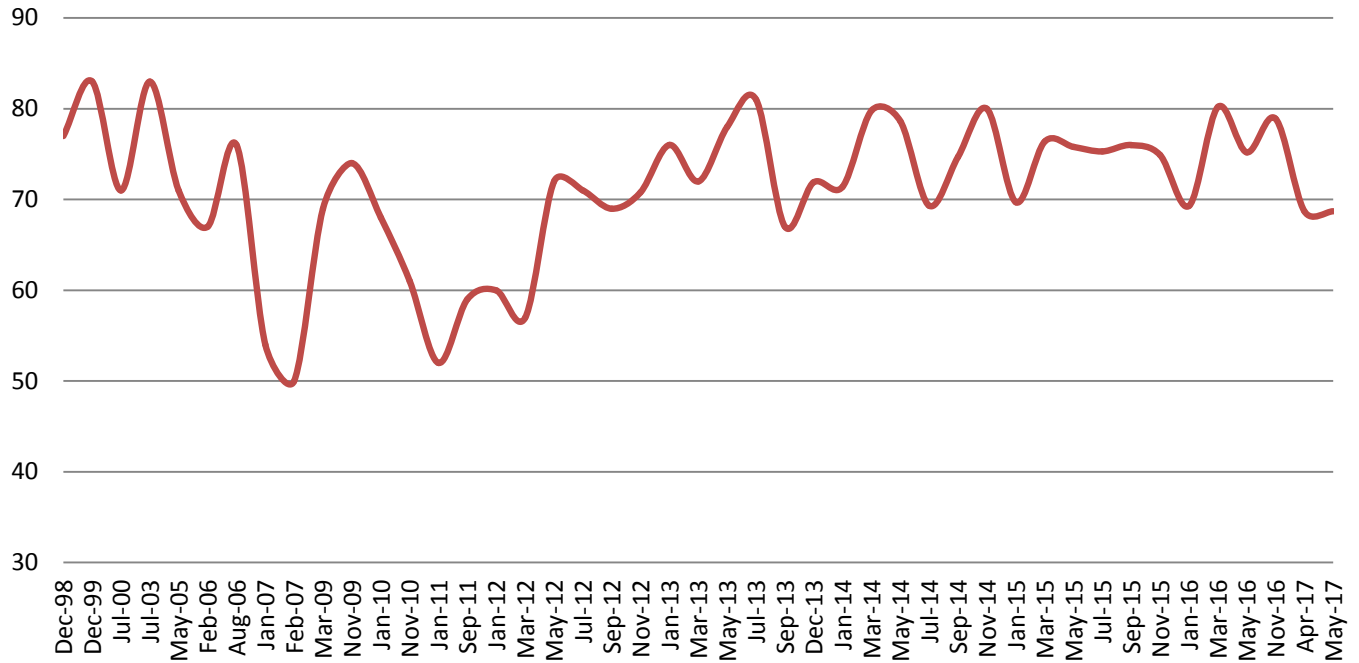
**How would you describe the current relations
Between Russian and CIS countries?**

	1998 IV	1999 XII	2000 XII	2001 XII	2002 XII	2004 XI	2007 XII	2011 XI	2012 XII	2014 XI	2016 XI
Friendly	6	8	9	11	7	8	8	6	5	8	5
Good, neighborly	7	14	7	13	12	16	13	9	16	15	16
Normal, calm	23	33	30	35	29	34	41	42	40	49	44
Cool	31	25	28	25	35	22	24	27	26	17	23
Tense	21	10	16	9	11	12	8	7	6	5	7
Hostile	4	2	4	2	1	2	1	<1	1	<1	14
Difficult to answer	9	8	7	5	5	6	4	9	6	6	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

BELARUS

Diagram 24.1

Index of attitude to Belarus
(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)



N=1600

GEORGIA

Diagram 24.2

Index of attitude to Georgia
(difference between positive and negative evaluations, percent)



N=1600

SOUTH OSSETIA AND ABKHAZIA

Table 24.3

Do you think South Ossetia is ...

	2004 IX	2006 II	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VI	2012 III	2013 VII	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
A part of Georgia	17	18	8	13	11	11	13	11	10	13
A part of Russia	46	36	29	29	27	30	27	22	21	22
An independent state	17	22	51	43	47	43	45	55	47	48
Difficult to answer	21	25	12	15	15	16	16	12	22	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

Table 24.4

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

	2004 VII	2006 IV	2007 VII	2008 VIII	2009 VII	2010 VII	2011 VI	2012 VII	2013 VII	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
Should be part of Georgia	12	12	9	4	6	5	6	8	7	8	7	7
Should be part of Russia	34	40	34	46	35	30	23	35	29	24	23	28
Should be an independent state	30	26	32	34	40	46	53	43	43	51	48	45
Difficult to answer	24	22	25	16	19	20	18	15	20	17	23	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

Table 24.5

Do you think Abkhazia is ...

	2004 IX	2006 II	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VI	2012 III	2013 VII	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
A part of Georgia	27	22	9	14	10	9	11	9	9	9
A part of Russia	32	31	26	27	25	28	28	22	20	22
An independent state	17	21	52	44	49	45	48	58	49	52
Difficult to answer	24	26	13	16	16	18	14	10	21	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 24.6

Should Abkhazia be part of Georgia, part of Russia or an independent state?

	2003 III	2004 VII	2006 IV	2007 VII	2009 VII	2010 VII	2011 VI	2012 VII	2013 VII	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
Should be part of Georgia	15	14	13	7	6	4	6	9	9	8	8	7
Should be part of Russia	40	32	41	34	35	32	25	34	30	25	22	27
Should be an independent state	20	29	27	32	41	46	53	41	42	52	47	46
Difficult to answer	25	26	19	27	19	19	17	16	19	15	23	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

Table 24.7

The recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia by Russia would be a benefice, a prejudice or neither a benefice nor a prejudice to Russia?

	2008 IX	2009 VII	2010 VII	2011 VI	2012 VII	2013 VII	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VIII
A benefice	40	29	25	23	28	20	23	23	22
A prejudice	15	15	14	15	11	11	10	10	17
Neither a benefice nor a prejudice	28	40	41	44	48	49	54	47	44
Difficult to answer	18	16	19	18	13	21	13	20	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

MILITARY CONFLICT IN NAGORNO-KARABAKH

Table 24.8

Do you think Mountainous Karabagh should be a part of Azerbaijan,

a part of Armenia or an independent state?	2013 July	2014 August	2015 August	2016 May
It should be a part of Azerbaijan	5	9	10	6
It should be a part of Armenia	14	13	9	11
It should be an independent state	44	35	42	44
Difficult to answer	37	43	39	40

N=800

Table 24.9

How do you generally feel about Armenia now?

	1999 January	2016 May
Very positive	9	13
Mostly positive	46	66
Mostly negatively	17	8
Very negatively	7	1
Difficult to answer	23	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 24.10

How do you generally feel about Azerbaijan now?

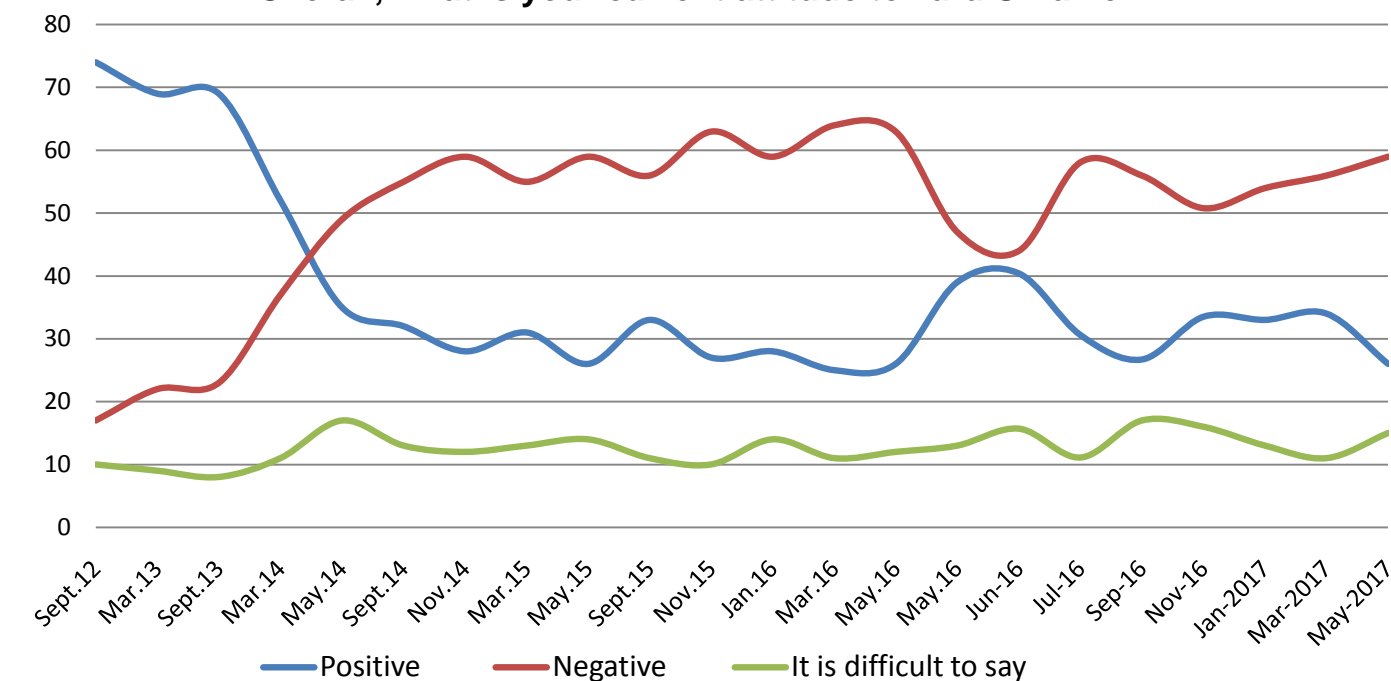
Very positive	9
Mostly positive	61
Mostly negatively	15
Very negatively	2
Difficult to answer	13

2016, May; N=800

25. UKRAINE¹

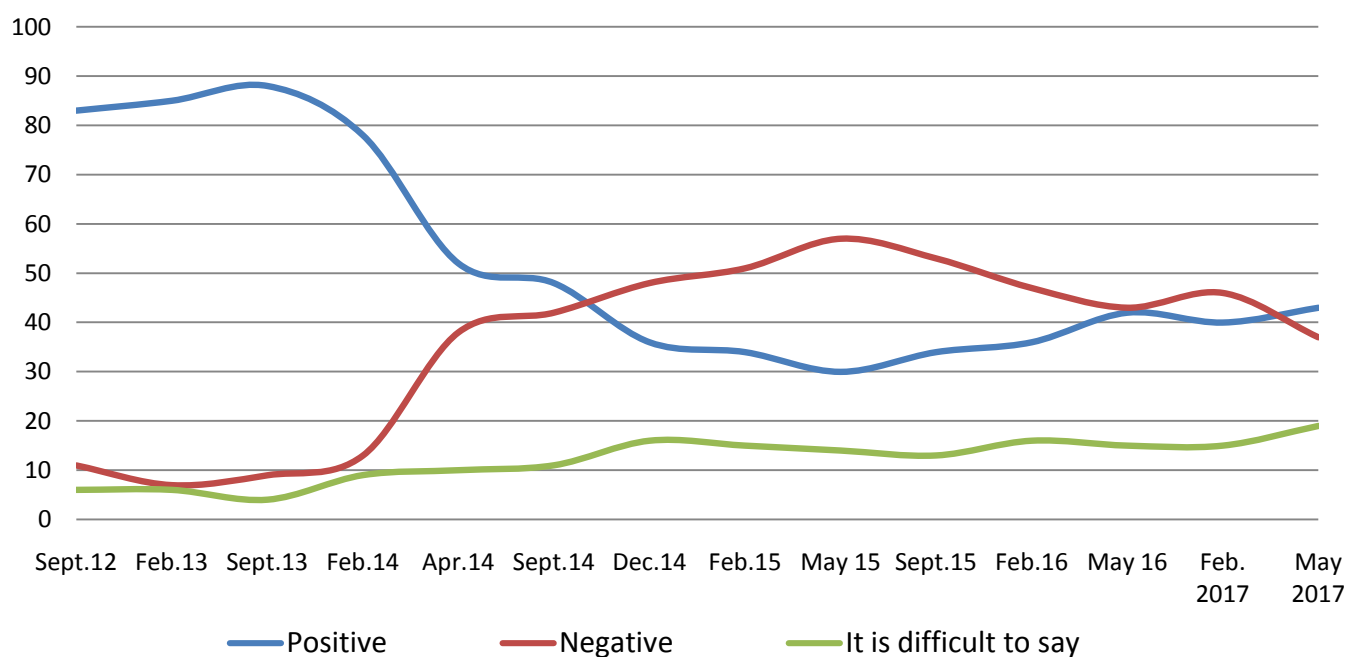
Diagram 25.1

Overall, what is your current attitude toward Ukraine?



N=1600

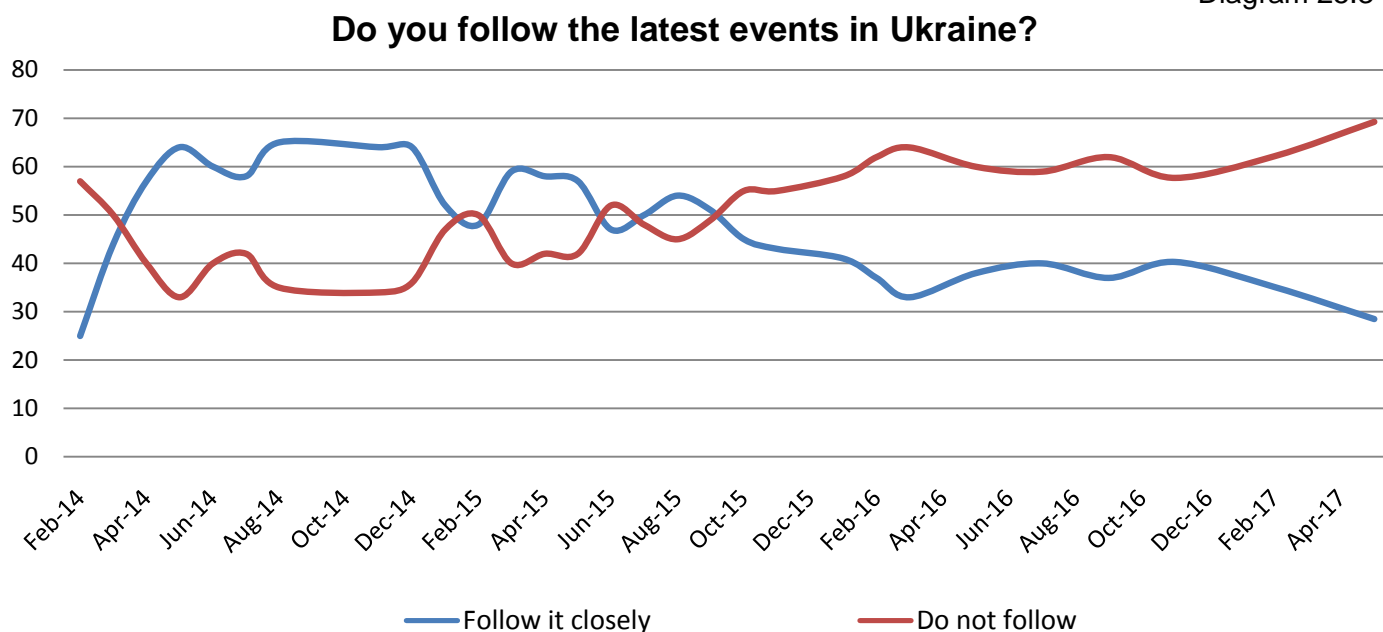
Diagram 25.2

Overall, what is your current attitude toward Russia?
(Ukrainians' opinions – data from KIIS)

N=2000

¹ In the section 'Ukraine', among others, we publish the data of joint research with the Ukrainian Sociological Institute KIIS (Kiev), the Levada Center expresses its sincere gratitude to the director of the Institute Dr. V.I. Paniotto.

Diagram 25.3



N=1600

EUROMAIDAN

Table 25.1

Did you follow the events in Ukraine caused by the Ukrainian leadership's refusal to sign the agreement on the partnership between Ukraine and the European Union, and attempts to disperse the protesters?

	2013 December	2014 January	2016 January
Very carefully	4	9	13
With some interest	21	35	36
Not very closely	40	40	35
Do not follow them at all	17	10	11
Never heard about it	18	6	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 25.2

Did you follow the protest actions in the center of Kiev two years ago («on the Maidan»)?

	2013 December	2014 January	2016 March
Followed very closely	4	9	12
Fair closely	21	35	33
Followed without special attention	40	40	35
Did not follow at all	17	10	15
Haven't heard about those protests	18	6	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.3

What really happened in Kiev?
(% respondents who followed the protests)

	2014 January	2016 January
Peaceful protest	4	8
An attempt of violent coup	84	80
Difficult to answer	12	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.4

In your opinion, what is the main reason bringing the protesters to «Maidan»?

	2013 XII	2014			2016 I
		I	II	XII	
Influence of the West, seeking to draw Ukraine into the orbit of their political interests	41	44	45	54	46
Nationalistic attitudes	27	35	32	31	27
Indignation at the corruption of Yanukovych's regime	9	14	17	22	21
The desire to make Ukraine civilized country, like others in Europe	13	8	12	16	15
The sense of civil dignity, not settling for the arbitrariness of authority	9	7	12	8	15
The desire to free Ukraine from Russia's political and economic dictatorship, to become independent	12	10	12	8	10
The protest against police brutality	.*	5	4	.*	4
Difficult to answer	16	13	14	10	9

.* - the option was not offered

N=1600

Table 25.5

**What is your attitude towards Ukrainians in general now
(inhabitants of Ukraine)?**

	2006 X	2009 V	2014		2015			2016	
			V	IX	III	VIII	II	V	IX
Very good	10	7	22	9	8	6	13	14	11
Mostly good	71	68	59	52	51	49	50	50	52
Mostly bad	11	15	10	21	19	24	19	18	18
Very bad	2	3	2	5	8	8	6	7	7
Difficult to answer	6	7	7	14	14	12	12	11	12

N=1600

Table 25.6

**Would you say that Russians and Ukrainians
are a single nation or two different peoples?**

	2007		2013	2014		2015		2016
	I	XI	XII	III	V	IX	III	IX
A single nation	21	49	43	56	49	42	52	46
Two different people	76	46	50	38	43	47	40	47
Difficult to answer	3	5	7	6	8	11	9	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

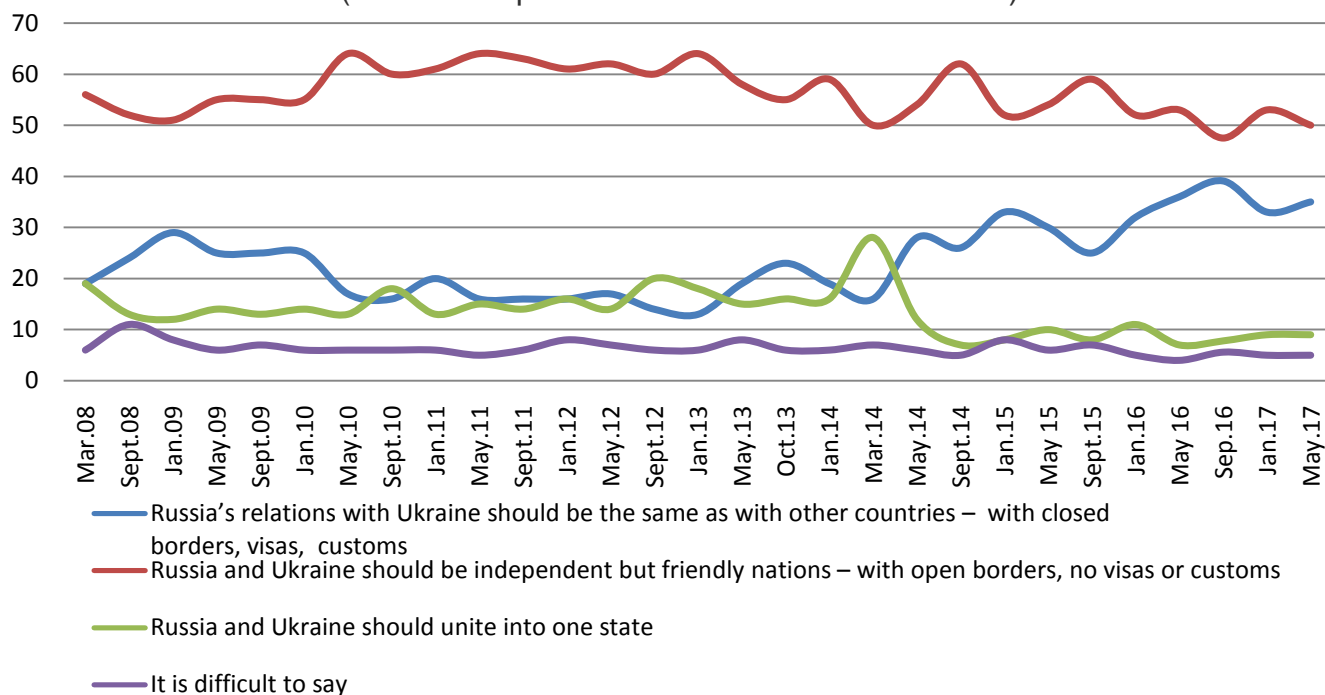
* - from 2002 to January 2007, question was formulated as: "Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians – two different peoples or three branches of a same nation?"

N=1600

Diagram 25.4

With which of the following opinions on Russian-Ukraine relations would you most agree?

(Russians' opinions – data from Levada-Center)

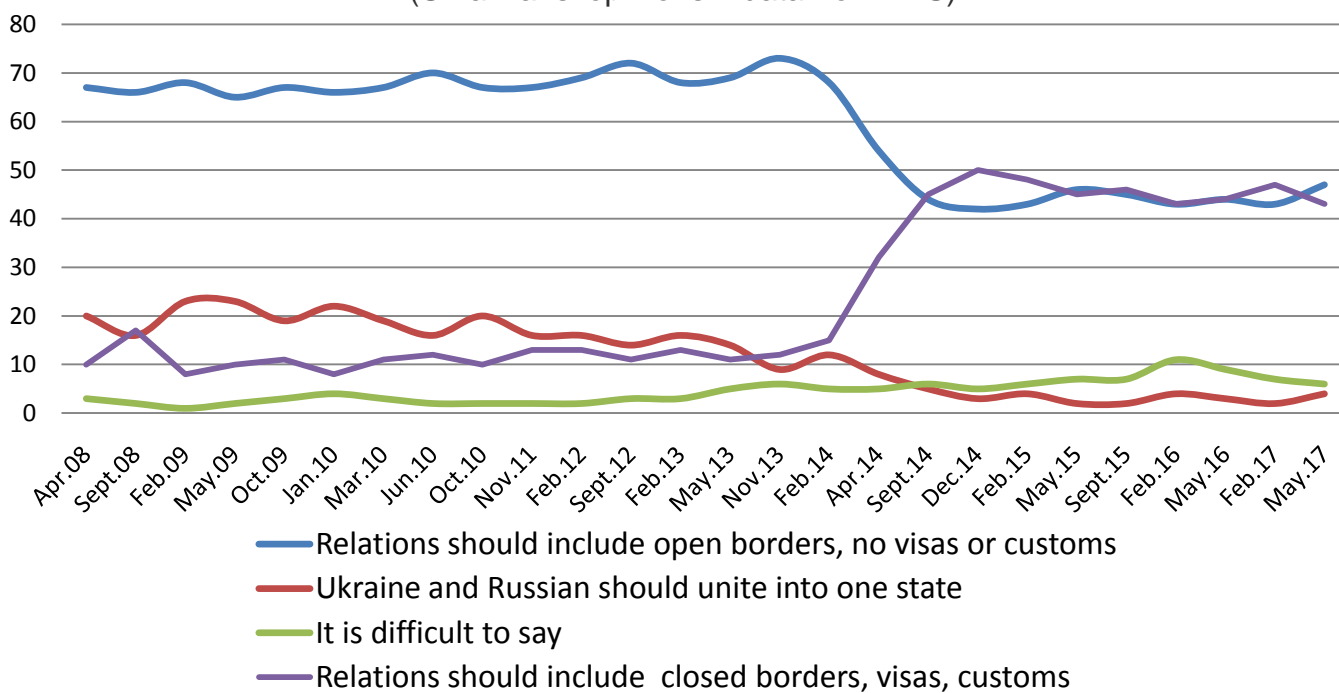


N=1600

Diagram 25.5

How would you like to see Ukraine's relations with Russia?

(Ukrainians' opinions – data from KIIS)



N=2000

THE ACCESSION OF THE CRIMEA

Table 25.7

What does the accession of the Crimea into Russia indicate in your opinion?

	2014			2015	2016
	March	March	May	March	March
That Russia is returning to its traditional role of a “great power”, promoting its interests in the post-soviet area	79	75	79	80	72
The growing adventurism of the Russian authorities, aiming to distract the populace from real social and economic problems, corruption, discontent with the authorities inside of Russia itself	9	15	9	9	14
Difficult to answer	13	11	12	11	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.8

Do you agree that by annexing the Crimea Russia broke all the post-war and post-soviet international agreements and international law?

	2014 November	2015 November	2016 March
Definitely yes	4	3	1
More like yes	6	8	8
More like no	29	33	29
Definitely no	49	48	52
Difficult to answer	12	9	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.9

Do you agree that by annexing the Crimea Russia broke all the post-war and post-soviet international agreements and international law?

	2014 November	2015 November	2016 March
Definitely yes	6	6	5
More like yes	14	15	14
More like no	26	31	31
Definitely no	40	40	40
Difficult to answer	13	8	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.10

Do you think that the accession of the Crimea brought more harm or more good to Russia?

	2015			2016	
	March	August	November	January	February
More good	70	59	59	61	62
More harm	18	23	22	20	20
Difficult to answer	12	18	18	19	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.11

Are you personally willing to endure the limitation to wages and pensions increase, reduction of education and healthcare budgets, price hikes etc., in connection with Crimea annexation?

To full extent	4
To a great extent	10
To some extent	32
Absolutely not willing	30
I do not think common people carry this burden	19
Difficult to answer	6

2016, March; N=1600

Table 25.12

Do you think the Crimea should be part of Russia or part of the Ukraine or would it be better if the Crimea was an independent state like Abkhazia, South Ossetia or Transdniestria?

	2014 August	2015 November	2016 March
It should to be a part of Russia	73	87	87
It should to be a part of the Ukraine	4	3	3
It should to be an independent state	15	5	4
Difficult to answer	8	6	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.13

Why do you think that the Crimea should be a part of Russia?

(in % of those who think that the Crimea should be a part of Russia)

	2015 November	2016 March
The Crimea has always been Russian	57	64
The people of the Crimea voted at the referendum a year and a half ago for its accession into Russia	20	9
The Crimea has had strong ties with Russia and its history for over two centuries	11	8
Russia conquered the Crimea 230 years ago	10	18
Difficult to answer	2	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.14

What would you most likely do if someone mentions in a conversation that Crimea has to be returned to Ukraine?

I would agree with the person	3
I would not pay attention to that because I do not care	15
I would not argue with him/her / I would avoid this topic later in order not to sour relations	18
I will argue with him/her, because I do not agree with him/her	45
I will stop any communication with the person	6
Difficult to answer	14

2016, April; N=1600

Table 25.15

How would you react to the idea of returning the Crimea to the Ukraine?

	2014 September	2015 October	2016 March
Entirely positively	7	8	6
Rather positively	7	7	6
Rather negatively	28	25	25
Entirely negatively	51	58	58
Difficult to answer	8	3	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

THE WAR IN DONBASS

Table 25.16

Is it possible that today's confrontation in the east of Ukraine will grow into a military conflict between Russia and Western countries?

	2015 February	2016 February
Definitely yes	4	2
More like yes	24	18
More like no	45	51
Definitely no	6	13
Difficult to answer	21	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.17

Do you agree with the opinion that a war is going on between Russia and Ukraine?

	2014		2015	2016
	April	August	February	January
Yes	34	26	34	25
No	57	59	60	65
Difficult to answer	9	15	7	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.18

Do you think there are Russian armed forces in Ukraine now?

	2014		2015	2016
	September	November	February	July
Yes	29	25	25	27
No	49	53	53	52
Difficult to answer	23	22	22	21
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

N=800

Table 25.19

How would you describe the current situation in the east of Ukraine?

	2015		2016			
	X	XI	I	II	V	VII
Safe	1	4	2	1	1	1
Calm	11	10	10	7	8	8
Tense	64	60	65	70	66	62
Critical, explosive	15	19	14	18	17	20
Difficult to answer	9	7	9	5	8	9

N=1600

Table 25.20

What do you think about the political future of eastern Ukraine (Donetsk and Lugansk regions)? Which of the following options do you prefer?

	2014 V	2014 VIII	2015 I	2015 II	2015 VI	2016 V
I'd like the east of Ukraine to become a part of the Russian Federation	26	21	19	15	19	22
I'd like the east of Ukraine to become an independent state	36	40	43	41	39	38
I'd like for the east of Ukraine to remain a part of Ukraine but to receive a greater independence from Kiev	17	18	17	21	24	20
I'd like it to be a part of Ukraine under the same conditions as before the crisis	6	6	4	7	4	6
Difficult to answer	15	16	17	16	15	15

N=1600

Table 25.21

Are you afraid that current military clashes in the east of Ukraine that Russian volunteers participate in might grow into...

	2014		2015		2016
	June	July	June	July	July
	...protected civil war?				
Really afraid	36	36	-	22	23
Somewhat afraid	48	46	-	48	44
Not particularly afraid	9	10	-	19	18
Not afraid at all	2	3	-	6	7
Difficult to answer	6	5	-	5	7
	...war between Russia and Ukraine?				
Really afraid	26	26	11	13	11
Somewhat afraid	42	40	38	38	29
Not particularly afraid	19	23	33	31	36
Not afraid at all	7	6	13	13	17
Difficult to answer	6	5	5	5	7
	...the third world war?				
Really afraid	21	21	10	13	7
Somewhat afraid	33	31	37	30	22
Not particularly afraid	23	27	31	30	36
Not afraid at all	15	13	14	19	25
Difficult to answer	9	8	7	9	11

N=1600

Table 25.22

How will the situation in the eastern Ukraine change in the coming year?

	2015 XI	2016			
		I	III	V	VII
Will improve	14	13	13	9	11
Will deteriorate	24	27	22	25	28
Will remain the same	46	44	51	52	47
Difficult to answer	15	16	13	14	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 25.23

Should (Russia) make concessions to Ukraine at the negotiations in order to stop the bloodshed in Donbass and normalize relations with Ukraine?

Yes, it needs to make concessions	19
No, it should not make any concessions	62
Difficult to answer	19

2016, July; N=1600

NADEZHDA SAVCHENKO

Table 25.24

Do you keep track of the trial of N. Savchenko who is accused of involvement in the death of Russian journalists?

Very attentively	6
Rather attentively	19
Not really attentively	38
Do not keep track at all	22
Haven't heard about it	14
Difficult to answer	2

2016, March; N=1600

Table 25.25

What did you feel about the way N. Savchenko protested against her trial (hunger strike, appeals to the court, the media and the public)?
(% of those who've heard about the trial)

Admiration	1
Respect	2
Sympathy	2
Annoyance	18
Contempt	16
Indignation	12
Nothing in particular	43
Difficult to answer	6

2016, March; N=1600

Table 25.26

Do you think this case is being tried in a fair, objective and impartial way?

(% of those who've heard about the trial)

Definitely yes	29
More like yes	43
More like no	7
Definitely no	3
Difficult to answer	19

2016, March; N=1600

Table 25.27

**What do you think about the verdict in Savchenko's case?
(22 years of imprisonment in a general regime penal colony)?**

(% of those who've heard about the trial)

It's fair and objective	51
It's too soft	22
It's too harsh and unfair	5
It's not a court verdict but a case of Jedwood justice against the Ukrainian officer	6
Difficult to answer	17

2016, March; N=1600

Table 25.28

Do you think N. Savchenko should have served her entire sentence in a Russian jail or was it really preferable to swap her with the Russians sentenced in the Ukraine?

(% of those who've heard about Savchenko)

	20-23 May 2016	27-30 May 2016
Nadezhda Savchenko should have served her entire sentence in Russia	48	34
It was preferable to swap Nadezhda Savchenko with the Russians sentenced by the Ukrainian court	38	56
Difficult to answer	14	11

N=1600

Table 25.29

Have you heard about the pardon and exchange of N. Savchenko, sentenced in Russia for the Russians A. Alexandrov and E. Erofeev, sentenced in the Ukraine and if so, how do you feel about it?

Fully positively	11
More like positively	32
More like negatively	16
Strongly Negatively	11
Haven't heard about it	20
Difficult to answer	9

2016, May; N=1600

26. EUROPEAN AND US SANCTIONS

Table 26.1

Are you concerned about...

		Very concerned	Rather concerned	Not too concerned	Not concerned at all	Difficult to answer
...The international isolation of Russia due to the stance that Russia's administration took regarding Ukraine?						
2014	March	5	28	48	1	5
	April	7	35	43	12	3
	May	9	29	40	18	4
	July	10	28	42	16	4
	August	6	26	40	25	3
	December	13	33	38	13	3
2015	July	8	30	40	18	4
2016	August	6	34	38	20	1
... western political and economical sanctions against Russia?						
2014	March	5	31	42	17	4
	April	8	34	40	16	3
	May	8	29	39	21	3
	July	10	26	43	18	4
	August	7	25	39	27	3
	December	16	35	33	13	3
2015	July	10	31	37	19	4
2016	August	7	32	38	21	2

N=1600

Table 26.2

What do you feel with regards to sanctions against Russia introduced by the majority of European countries and the US?

	2014		2016
	March	April	March
Approval	3	4	2
Bewilderment	27	28	25
Indignation	35	40	35
Anxiety and fear	8	9	7
No particular feelings	26	25	34
Difficult to answer	7	4	4

N=1600

Table 26.3

Will European Union extend sanction against Russia this summer?

	2015	2016
Definitely yes	15	23
Rather yes	49	48
Rather not	17	13
Definitely not	3	2
Difficult to answer	16	14

N=1600

Table 26.4

How do you think should Russia react to Western sanctions?

	2014		2015						2016	
	IX	XII	I	II	III	VI	VIII	XI	V	VIII
Stay true to its policy despite the sanctions	68	66	69	66	72	70	68	65	75	70
Search for a compromise, make concessions to get the sanctions lifted	22	24	21	23	21	20	20	26	17	21
Difficult to answer	10	11	11	11	6	10	12	9	8	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 26.5

Who is in your opinion, a reach victim of Western sanctions in Russia?

	2014					2016
	May	June	September	December	May	June
Only a small circle of people responsible for Russian policies concerning Ukraine	63	52	59	53	29	20
The general population of Russia	24	34	34	38	62	69
Difficult to answer	13	14	9	9	9	11

N=1600

ANTISANCTIONS

Table 26.6

Which of the opinions on the food import from the EU and the US ban would you rather agree with?

	2015 March	2016 March
The ban on food import from Europe and the US policy is effective and has already brought some positive political results, Russia is more respected in the world and its interests are taken into account more	58	58
The ban on food import from Europe and the US policy is pointless, absurd and harmful, our country's populace suffers from it most of all	24	23
Difficult to answer	19	19

N=800

Table 26.7

Is the reduced choice of food items at the stores and growing food prices -the result of Western sanctions against Russia and Russian counter-sanctions?

Western sanctions	35
Russian counter-sanctions	16
Is not the result of either	40
Difficult to answer	9

2016, May; N=800

Table 26.8

Is it possible to... in the coming years?

	To full extent	To a significant extent	To some extent	To a very little extent	Absolutely will not be able to	Difficult to answer
Achieve food import substitution	30	44	18	4	2	3
Achieve medication import substitution	14	30	35	12	4	5
Achieve clothes and footwear import substitution	21	31	29	12	4	4
Achieve import substitution in terms of household appliances, computers and telecommunications	12	21	33	18	8	8

2016, May; N=800

27. RUSSIA AND THE WORLD

Table 27.1

**What kind of role does Russia play now
in solving the international issues?**

	2010 November	2011 November	2014 March	2015 March	2016 November
Decisive	9	7	11	11	13
Fairly important	53	44	56	57	57
Not a very important one	27	34	26	24	21
Minor	8	11	3	5	5
Difficult to answer	3	4	3	4	2

N=800

Table 27.2

In your opinion, what influence does Russia have now in international affairs?

	2003	2004	2007	2010	2014	2015		2016
	VII	VIII	VII	VII	IX	II	IX	IX
Very big	4	7	11	14	11	17	19	21
Quite big	43	32	56	54	54	53	50	53
Quite small	38	43	22	21	24	21	21	17
Practically none	8	12	4	4	4	3	3	4
It is difficult to say	7	6	7	8	7	6	8	6
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600

Table 27.3

What line of action should Russia take toward the Muslim world?

	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2015 I	2016 I
Strengthen mutually beneficial ties with the Muslim world	54	62	65	62	64	52	56	50
Distance itself from the Muslim world	29	18	17	25	21	30	18	31
Difficult to answer	18	20	18	13	16	18	26	19
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

FRIENDS – ENEMIES

Table 27.4

**Do you think there is a threat to the security
of other countries coming from Russia?**

	2006 March	2007 March	2016 June
Definitely yes	2	4	5
Yes, rather than no	7	7	8
No, rather than yes	40	37	25
Definitely no	44	47	52
Difficult to answer	6	6	10

N=1600

Table 27.5

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

	2000 I	2002 I	2003 I	2004 I	2005 I	2006 II	2007 II	2008 II	2009 II	2010 I	2011 I	2012 I	2013 II	2014 I	2015 I	2016 I
Definitely yes	14	15	14	11	12	10	15	15	18	14	15	18	13	14	27	25
Yes, rather than no	33	27	33	26	32	30	33	37	32	33	38	38	38	42	41	40
No, rather than yes	37	37	38	48	35	39	33	31	30	33	31	29	33	26	19	23
Definitely no	8	6	7	7	9	12	11	7	11	9	6	7	6	7	3	5
Difficult to answer	8	16	8	7	11	9	8	10	9	11	10	8	11	12	10	7
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

Table 27.6

**Do you think that Russia is really threatened by multiple internal and external
enemies or is it just talk to scare the population and make it an obedient puppet
for the authorities?**

	2007 December	2014 August	2015 March	2015 August	2016 November
Russia is really threatened by multiple internal and external enemies	42	61	63	54	52
The talk about enemies is all about scaring the population and turning it into an obedient puppet for the authorities.	30	27	23	30	29
Difficult to answer	28	12	14	16	19

N=1600

Table 27.7

Does Russia have any enemies?

	1996 V	1999 IV	2003 VIII	2008 VIII	2009 VIII	2011 I	2012 X	2013 XI	2014 IX	2015 IX	2016 XII
Yes	41	65	78	68	69	70	63	78	84	80	68
No	22	14	9	14	18	19	18	13	8	10	18
Difficult to answer	37	22	14	18	13	11	19	9	8	10	14
Number of respondents	3000	2000	2000	1500	1600	1600	2000	1600	1600	1600	1600

Table 27.8

**Name five countries that you could call
the closest friends, allies of Russia*...**

(answers are ranged to the last measurement)

	2005 V	2006 V	2007 VIII	2009 III	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2014 V	2015 V	2016 V
Belarus	46	47	38	50	49	35	34	46	51	55	50
Kazakhstan	20	33	39	38	32	33	28	31	37	41	39
China	12	24	19	18	16	18	16	20	40	43	36
India	16	15	14	12	14	16	9	7	13	18	18
Armenia	9	14	15	15	15	11	11	12	15	18	13
Cuba	-	-	-	8	10	13	8	9	10	14	10
Syria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	10
Uzbekistan	4	6	6	9	5	7	5	5	6	8	9
Azerbaijan	5	7	5	10	8	9	9	8	9	11	7
Kyrgyzstan	5	7	7	9	4	6	5	5	6	10	7
Venezuela	-	-	2	8	10	6	5	6	5	9	6
Serbia	3	4	3	5	5	4	4	3	5	8	6
Tajikistan	3	3	7	9	4	5	4	5	8	7	6
Japan	4	6	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	2	5
Bulgaria	11	10	9	9	8	9	7	10	8	4	4
Mongolia	-	-	-	3	4	5	2	3	3	6	3
Egypt	2	1	2	2	2	5	2	2	2	4	3
North Korea	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	1	3	3	3
Israel	5	3	3	3	4	5	4	3	4	2	3
Italy	6	7	8	5	8	6	7	5	3	1	3
Туркмения	2	2	8	5	1	3	2	2	3	4	2
Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	1	3	2
Czech Republic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
Germany	23	22	24	17	24	20	17	14	4	2	2
Франция	13	8	9	9	11	9	9	4	1	1	2
Украина	17	10	11	3	20	21	13	16	1	1	2
Иран	2	4	3	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2
Moldova	4	4	4	5	3	4	4	6	7	2	2
Turkey	2	3	3	4	5	7	4	5	4	8	1
Slovakia	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	3	1
Iraq	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
South Korea	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	3	1	1
Afganistan	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	1	1	1
USA	11	5	6	2	7	5	2	4	<1	1	1
Great Britain	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	<1	1
South Africa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<1	1
Poland	5	4	3	2	5	3	1	4	2	1	1
Finland	6	6	6	5	5	7	6	4	3	1	1
Sveden	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	1
Hungary	3	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	1
Australia	3	1	3	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	1
Canada	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	<1	1	<1
None	10	13	10	13	11	11	17	15	13	11	14
Difficult to answer	14	15	18	14	12	15	18	14	16	14	11

N=1600

Table 27.9

**Name five countries that you could call unfriendly or hostile
in relation to Russia***

(answers are ranged to the last measurement)

	2005 V	2006 V	2007 VIII	2009 III	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2014 V	2015 V	2016 V
USA	23	37	35	45	26	33	35	38	69	73	72
Ukraine	13	27	23	41	13	20	15	11	30	37	48
Turkey	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	29
Poland	4	7	20	10	14	20	8	8	12	22	24
Latvia	49	46	36	35	36	35	26	21	23	25	23
Lithuania	42	42	32	35	35	34	25	17	24	25	23
Germany	3	2	2	3	1	4	3	3	18	19	19
Great Britain	3	5	3	8	6	8	7	9	18	21	18
Estonia	32	28	60	30	28	30	23	16	21	19	16
Georgia	38	44	46	62	57	50	41	33	19	11	10
Canada	1	1	<1	1	<1	1	1	1	7	8	6
South Africa	-	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	5
Japan	6	4	3	3	3	9	6	7	5	6	5
France	<1	1	1	1	<1	1	1	2	5	7	4
Egypt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<1	3
Syria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Finland	1	1	<1	1	<1	1	1	1	1	2	3
Australia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
Azerbaijan	5	4	4	2	3	5	2	3	2	1	2
Afganistan	12	12	11	7	14	15	8	10	5	4	2
Israel	3	4	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2
Iraq	10	9	8	5	9	9	8	7	3	2	2
Iran	6	7	7	3	7	7	7	5	2	2	2
Moldova	6	9	3	1	2	3	2	1	1	<1	2
Hungary	2	2	2	3	3	3	1	2	2	3	2
Saudi Arabia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Armenia	4	3	2	1	3	4	1	1	<1	1	1
Belarus	2	2	5	2	3	8	3	2	<1	1	1
Bulgaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Italy	1	<1	<1	1	<1	<1	1	<1	1	3	1
China	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	1	<1	1
North Korea	1	<1	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	1	1
Serbia	1	1	<1	1	1	1	1	1	1	<1	1
Tajikistan	2	3	2	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	1
Turkmenistan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<1	1
Czech republic	1	1	2	1	<1	1	1	<1	1	2	1
South Korea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<1	1
Venezuela	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<1	<1
India	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<1	<1
Kazakhstan	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	<1
Kyrgyzstan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<1	<1
Cuba	-	-	-	1	<1	1	<1	-	1	3	<1
Uzbekistan	1	2	1	1	1	1	<1	1	1	<1	<1
None / Difficult to answer	20	23	19	18	21	15	28	31	20	17	15

N=1600

RUSSIA AND THE WEST

Table 27.10

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

	2007 I	2008 I	2009 I	2013 I	2014 III	2015 I	2016	
							I	III
Consider it a friend	4	6	3	3	3	2	4	7
Consider it a partner	32	34	39	32	27	21	15	18
Consider it a competitor	33	33	32	35	40	37	42	26
Consider it an enemy	7	7	9	8	16	27	30	27
Do not pay much attention to Russia	15	10	9	15	8	4	5	17
Difficult to answer	8	10	8	7	7	9	5	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 27.11

How do you think will the relationship between Russia and the West develop after the current conflict around Ukraine and the Crimea?

	2014 June	2014 September	2015 February	2015 September	2016 February	2016 September
An increase of tension, a new round of "cold war" awaits us.	37	40	42	33	32	27
Everything will be allowed to "slide" bit by bit, and our relationship will slowly return to what it was before the incident	43	45	45	52	49	48
Difficult to answer	20	15	13	15	19	25

N=1600

Table 27.12

Do you think that Russia needs to repair its relations with the United States and western countries?

	2014 September	2015 February	2015 September	2015 November	2016 September
Definitely yes	13	16	17	23	15
Mostly yes	53	53	49	52	47
Mostly no	18	16	16	14	18
Definitely no	6	2	4	2	6
It is difficult to say	10	16	13	10	14

N=1600

Table 27.13

Do you think that Russia should...

	1999 IX	2000 II	2003 III	2004 XII	2005 XII	2006 XI	2007 XI	2008 X	2009 X	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2014 IV	2015 I	2016 I
Strengthen mutually beneficial relations with Western Countries	61	74	77	70	70	77	75	57	61	78	74	76	71	41	40	54
Distance itself from the West	22	13	11	16	16	11	14	26	27	11	16	13	16	39	36	31
Difficult to answer	17	13	12	14	14	12	11	17	12	11	11	12	13	21	24	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 27.14

Do you think we should care about the Western criticism of Russia?

	2007 February	2010 February	2012 February	2014 December	2015 October	2016 October
Yes	46	42	38	27	29	30
No	38	45	50	57	62	59
Difficult to answer	16	12	12	16	10	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	1600	1600

Table 27.15

Why do you believe we should not care about the Western criticism?

(% of negative responses)

	2007 II	2010 II	2012 II	2014 II	2015 X	2016 X
In the West they do not understand us, but ready to teach us	38	36	29	40	28	21
In the West they are unfriendly towards Russia, Western criticism is hostile towards Russia	24	22	26	43	34	35
In the West they see Russia as a rival and aim at weakening Russia	39	35	40	40	37	43
In the West they criticize Russia for what they do themselves (double standards)	22	14	17	22	25	25
Difficult to answer	4	3	5	6	4	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	1600	1600

Table 27.15

**What do western countries want to achieve first of all
by toughening sanctions against Russia in your opinion?**

	2014		2015			2016
	IX	XII	II	VI	X	X
To weaken and humiliate Russia	71	72	72	66	69	74
To restore the geopolitical balance broken by the annexation of the Crimea to Russia	18	14	17	21	17	13
To stop the war, destruction and loss of life in the east of Ukraine	4	6	7	5	6	5
Difficult to answer	8	7	5	8	7	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 27.16

**Are you concerned that within the last year Russia
has become more and more isolated from the West?**

	2014 September	2015 September	2016 September
Very concerned	6	7	6
Rather concerned	30	29	23
Not too concerned	39	36	37
Not concerned at all	20	21	25
There's no isolation, everything is going back to the pre-crisis state now	1	2	3
Difficult to answer	3	5	6

N=1600

Table 27.17

Does it matter for you what the West thinks about Russia?

	1999 XI	2007 XII	2014 XI	2016 XI
Definitely yes	17	18	11	9
Rather yes	26	36	35	35
Rather not	31	28	33	33
Definitely not	16	12	17	18
Difficult to answer	11	6	4	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

N=1600

Table 27.18

**What kind of Russian authorities' policy
towards western countries you would rather support?**

	2014 XI	2015		2016 XI
		III	VII	
Further extension of economic, political and cultural ties, rapprochement with Western countries	57	60	50	71
Cutting links, relations and steering away from the western countries	30	29	37	17
Difficult to answer	13	11	14	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 27.19

**Which of the following opinions regarding the «West»
best fit your own opinion about it?**

	2008 X	2015 II	2016 III
The west is a different civilization, a strange world with its own laws, different people and relationships between them	48	44	44
The west is states and political forces which will always be hostile to our country	28	19	24
The west is nothing more than a place name for the countries which are situated to the west of Russia	16	19	19
The west is a rational, cold world, with formal, egotistical relationships between people	16	25	18
The west is the richest and most problem-free countries where people live well and at peace	20	19	18
The west means the highest achievements of the western culture, science, philosophy, art etc	13	8	10
The west is the democratic countries, civil states, which are an example of modern development	16	6	10
Difficult to answer	6	4	5

N=1600

Table 27.20

What is the attitude towards Russia in the west, in your opinion?

	2000 August	2005 December	2006 December	2007 July	2014 July	2015 February	2016 March
Respect	8	7	13	20	22	8	12
Sympathy	24	16	14	9	5	4	5
Alarm	12	13	12	12	18	20	22
Contempt	21	16	14	11	15	21	19
Fear	5	7	6	7	13	19	19
No particular attitude	19	32	28	27	19	14	15
Difficult to answer	13	9	13	14	8	13	9

N=1600

Table 27.21

**What does the majority of people in Russia feel about
the western countries, in your opinion?**

	2000 August	2005 December	2006 December	2007 July	2014 July	2015 February	2016 March
Respect	34	30	40	32	24	19	16
Sympathy	3	2	2	3	5	9	8
Alarm	10	13	11	10	19	18	18
Contempt	3	5	2	5	7	6	7
Fear	4	3	2	2	4	3	3
No particular feelings	35	39	34	38	33	33	37
Difficult to answer	11	7	10	9	8	12	11

N=1600

USA

Diagram 27.1

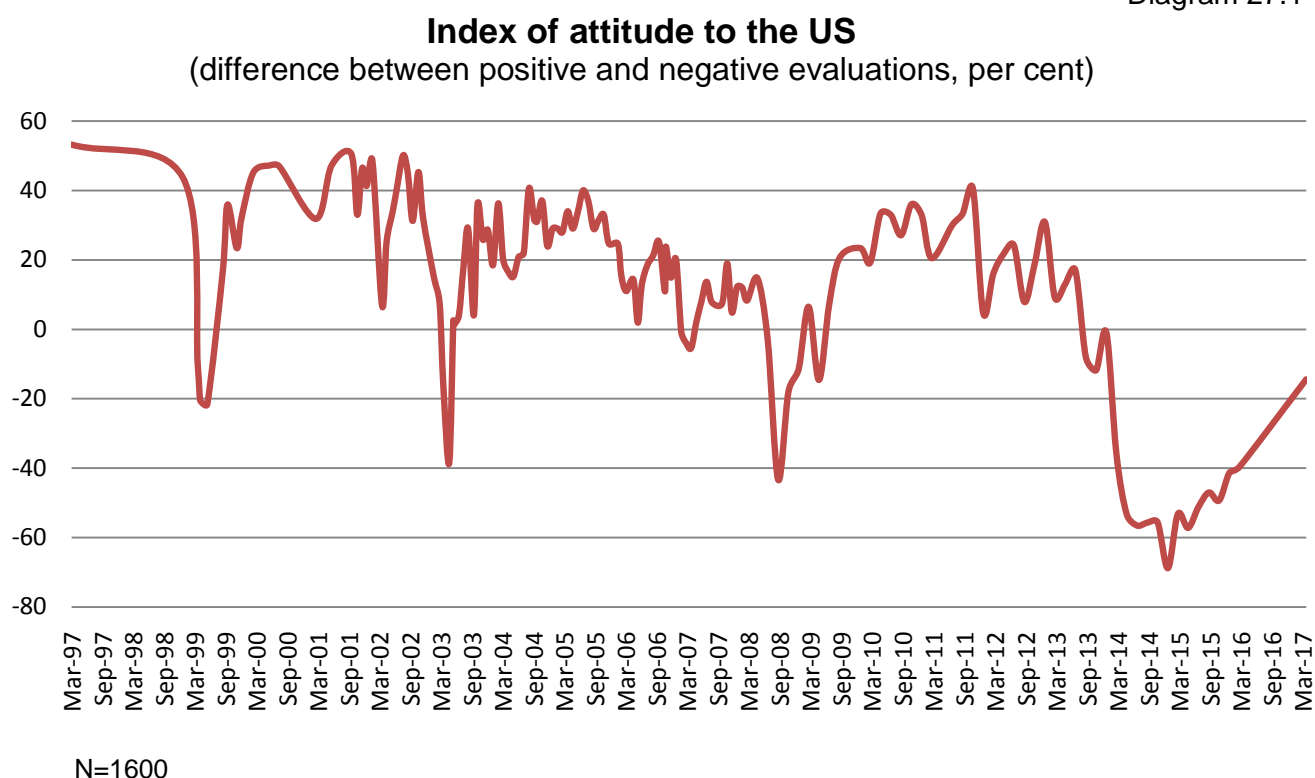


Table 27.22

In your opinion, Russia should...

Be open to cooperate with the United States	32
Try to curb the international influence of the United States	68

July 2016, N=1600

Table 27.23

What is your attitude to the Americans in general?

	2000 II	2000 V	2001 V	2001 IX	2002 V	2003 III	2004 III	2006 X	2009 V	2013 VI	2014 IX	2015 IX	2016 VIII	2016 XII
Totally positive	12	15	11	10	8	7	12	6	4	9	3	5	3	7
Rather positive	66	63	71	72	69	68	65	69	64	49	39	48	47	45
Rather negative	8	8	8	9	13	14	11	14	17	24	27	24	28	26
Extremely negative	2	2	1	1	3	4	3	2	5	7	9	8	8	12
Difficult to answer	12	12	9	8	7	7	8	9	10	11	21	15	15	11

N=1600

Table 27.24

**Do you think there's currently a threat to the safety of other countries
of the world from the United States of America?**

	2006 March	2007 March	2015 February	2016 June
Definitely yes	31	37	29	29
More like yes	42	39	48	40
More like no	13	12	11	12
Definitely no	3	3	2	5
Difficult to answer	11	9	11	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

US PRESIDENT ELECTIONS

Table 27.25

**To which extent does the person serving as
the President of the United States affect the lives of Russians?**

To a large extent	16
To some extent	38
To little extent	24
Does not affect absolutely	16
Difficult to answer	5

2016, November; N=1600

Table 27.26

**Who would be a better president of the US for Russia –
Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton?**

	August	October	November
Donald Trump	35	38	60
Hillary Clinton	13	9	5
Difficult to answer	52	52	36

2016, N=1600

Table 27.27

**Why do you think it would be better for Russia that this particular candidate
won presidential elections in the US?**

(% respondents who named Clinton or Trump)

A more experienced and predictable politician	12
Has a fresh view of the world issues	32
Is not trying to interfere in other countries	21
Friendly towards Russia	60
Is better off professionally	9
Difficult to answer	3

2016, November; N=1600

Table 27.28

Will Russia-US relations change after Donald Trump* is elected the President of the US, and, if they will, how will they change?

	November	December
Will improve significantly	10	8
Will somewhat improve	44	40
Will not change	27	22
Will somewhat deteriorate	2	8
Will deteriorate significantly	<1	3
Difficult to answer	17	9

* - The question was included in December in the following wording "Will Donald Trump affect Russia-US relations"

2016, November; N=1600

NATO

Table 27.29

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	2007 IV	2008 VIII	2014 III	2015 XI	2016 XI
Definitely yes	11	8	8	7	9	7	12	14	13	10
Yes, rather than no	16	20	16	22	25	21	21	30	26	27
No, rather than yes	32	38	40	38	37	33	36	30	30	29
Definitely no	27	19	25	20	20	24	24	15	21	23
Difficult to answer	13	14	12	14	9	15	8	10	10	10
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	1600

Table 27.30

What do you think if Russia has any reasons to beware of European countries include in NATO?

	1997 IV	1999 V	2000 VIII	2001 II	2002 II	2006 IV	2007 IV	2008 VIII	2011 III	2014 III	2015 XI	2016 XI
Definitely yes	26	27	16	25	14	15	14	23	21	17	16	15
Yes, rather than no	34	36	38	33	42	43	35	39	42	45	38	42
No, rather than yes	18	22	25	22	23	26	27	21	21	22	26	24
Definitely no	10	7	7	8	7	8	8	8	3	5	10	7
Difficult to answer	13	10	14	13	14	9	16	10	12	11	11	12

Table 27.31

Which of the following is in the interests of Russia, in your opinion?

	2003	2004	2008	2009	2010	2011	2011	2012		2016
	I	I	II	II	II	I	II	I	II	VII
Russia's accession to NATO	5	8	4	3	3	5	5	5	3	3
Development of cooperation with NATO	43	33	25	23	26	29	39	27	26	20
Establishment of a defense pact to counter NATO	14	10	21	25	25	21	16	23	23	34
Russia's non-participation in any military blocs	22	31	32	36	37	31	27	31	36	35
Difficult to answer	16	18	17	14	10	14	12	13	12	7
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

N=1600

Table 27.32

Is a war between Russia and USA/NATO possible in the coming year?

	2014 December	2015 December	2016 December
Definitely yes	5	2	2
Rather yes	11	11	8
Rather not	41	40	46
Definitely not	27	27	31
Do not know	16	21	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	1600	1600

Table 27.33

Have the relations ... been changing recently, and, if they have, how?

	Between Russia and USA	Between Russia and European Union
Definitely change for better	2	2
Looks like like they are changing for better	10	14
I do not see any changes	49	47
Looks like they are changing for worse	23	21
Definitely they are changing for worse	8	7
Difficult to answer	8	10

2016, May; N=1600

EUROPEAN UNION

Diagram 27.2

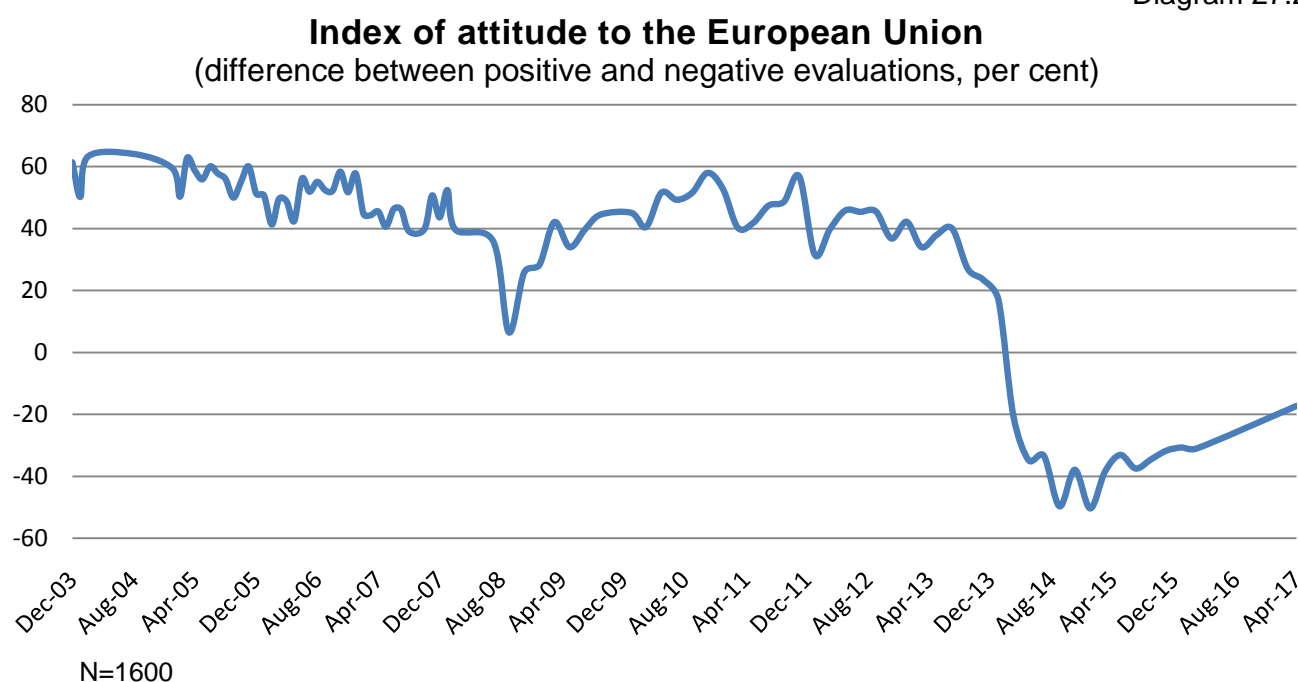


Table 27.34

How much influence does European Union currently have?

Strong influence	18
Some influence	40
Insignificant influence	26
Does not have any influence	6
Do not know/No response	11

2016, May; N=1600

Table 27.35

If Russia had a chance to become a full-fledged member of the European Union, would you be in favor of or against it ?

	2009 August	2016 May
Definitely in favor of it	12	5
Rather in favor of it	41	19
Rather against it	15	37
Definitely against it	6	19
Difficult to answer	27	21

N=800

Table 27.36

Are you concerned with the risk of European Union breakup caused by the influx of refugees from North Africa and Middle East?

Definitely yes	4
To a certain extent yes	23
Rather not	33
Definitely not	32
Difficult to answer	9

2016, May; N=800

CHINA

Diagram 27.3

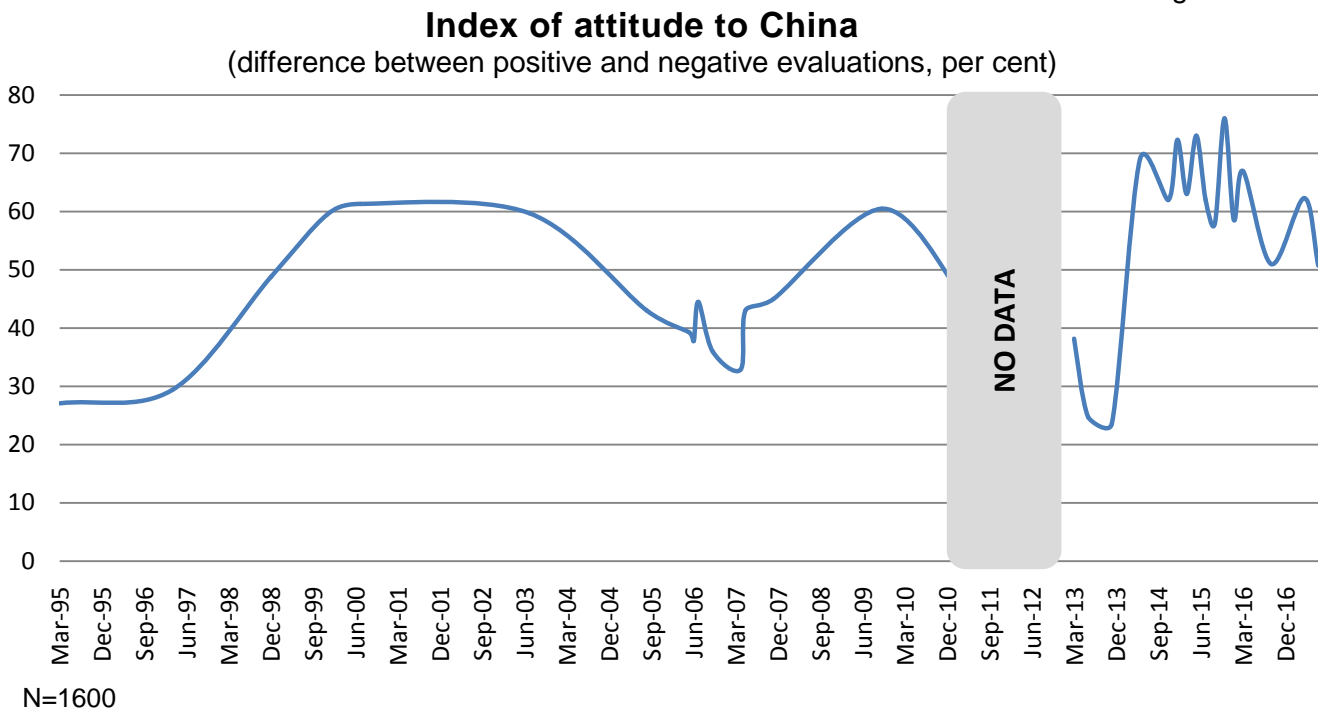


Table 27.37

What are your personal feelings about China?

Respect	39
Wariness	8
Admiration	6
Fear	3
Envy	3
Sympathy	2
Disappointment	1
Contempt	1
Don't care	36

2016, April; N=1600

Table 27.38

In your opinion, what attitude the world has towards China?
(responses are ranked ascending)

Respect	36
Wariness	16
Don't care	13
Fear	7
Envy	7
Admiration	4
Contempt	3
Sympathy	1
Difficult to answer	20

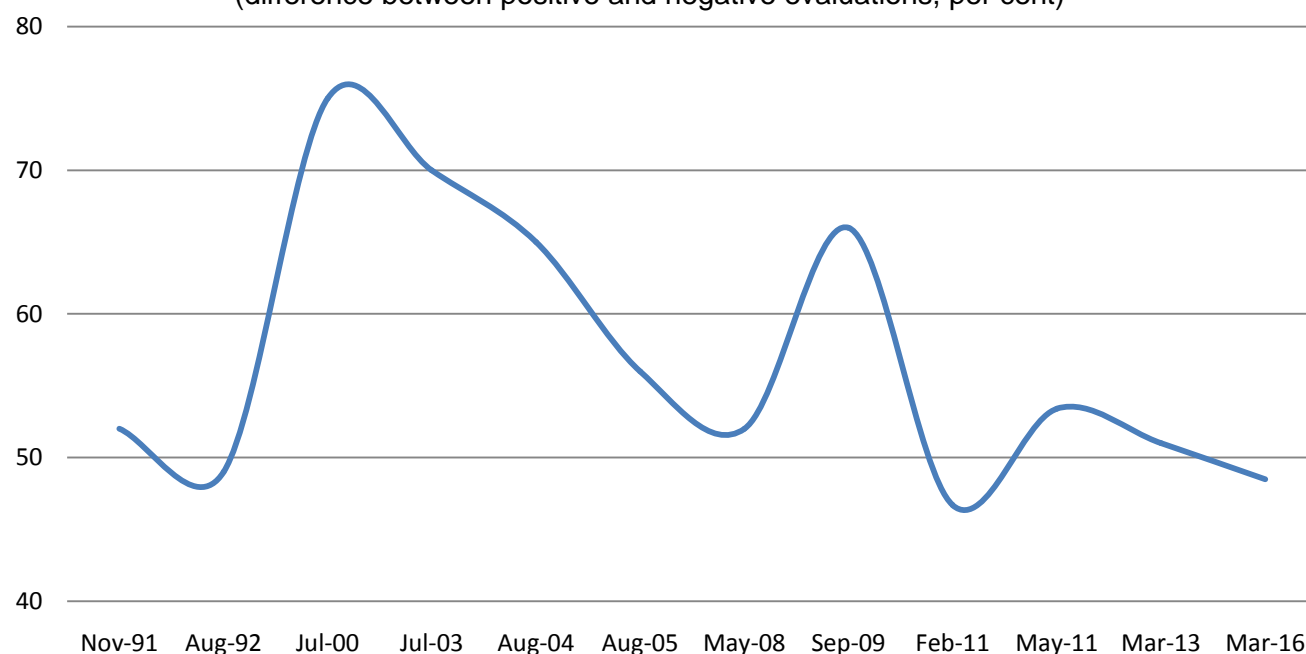
2016, April; N=1600

JAPAN

Diagram 27.4

**How would you generally describe the current relations
between Russia and Japan?**

(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)



N=1600

Table 27.39

How important for Russia is the peace treaty with Japan?

	2005 August	2009 August	2016 May
Very important	27	16	14
Fairly important	46	39	34
Not very important	12	19	23
Does not matter much	7	11	15
Difficult to answer	8	15	14
Number of respondents	1600	1600	800

Table 27.40

How should Kuril Islands dispute be handled?

Russia should return all four islands	4
Russia may return the four islands in the future, when the time is right	4
Russia can return two islands of the four disputed: Khabomai and Shikotan (all the more so that they will not give Japan access to the Sea of Okhotsk)	9
These four islands should be the joint property of Russia and Japan	8
Russia should not return any islands	56
Difficult to answer	18

2016, May; N=800

Table 27.41

What is more important to Russia:
Sign the peace treaty with Japan and get access to Japanese loans and technologies or keep the disputed Kuril islands ?

	1992 February	2016 May
Sign the peace treaty and get access to loans and technologies	15	21
Keep the islands	66	56
Difficult to answer	19	24
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

WAR IN SYRIA

Table 27.42

Do you follow the events in Syria and if so, how closely?

	2013		2015			2016		
	VI	IX	IX	X	XI	I	X	XI
I follow the events very carefully	8	16	15	25	25	18	18	18
I know a little about the latest developments in Syria, but I do not follow them closely	52	57	54	64	64	69	64	64
I do not know about the latest developments in Syria	39	27	30	11	12	13	17	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 27.43

Did Russian leadership make the right decision when it started air and missile strikes in Syria?

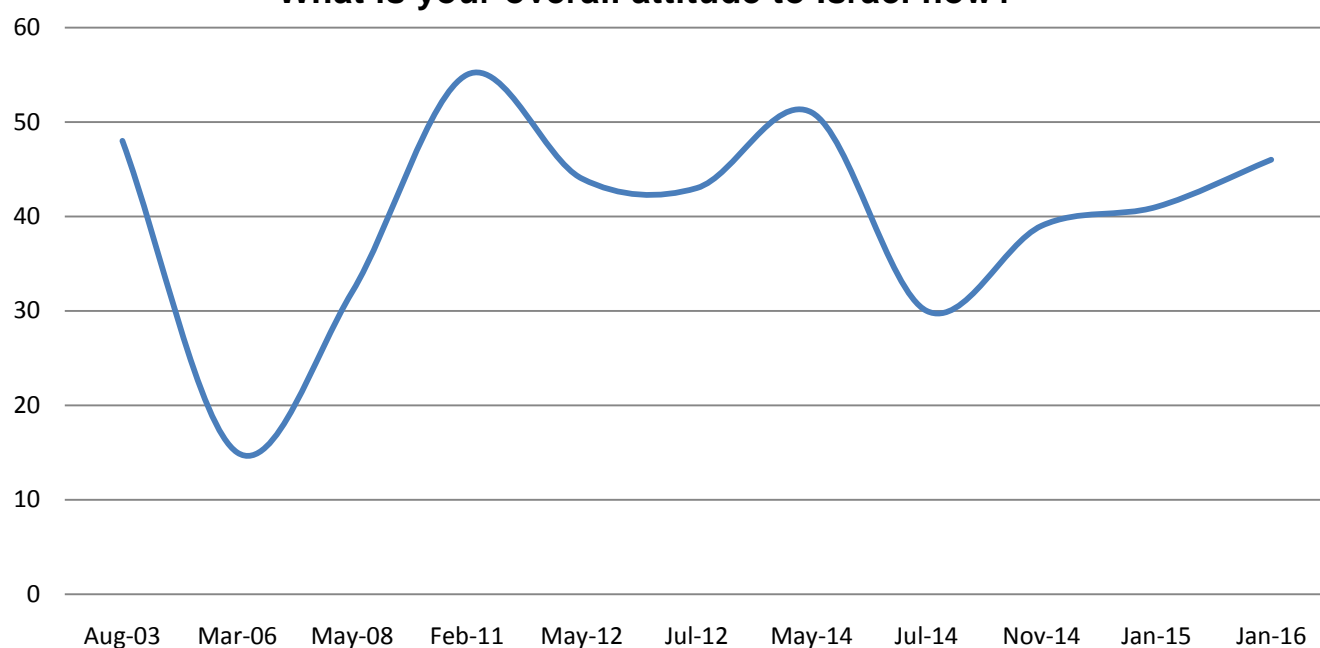
Definitely yes	26
Rather yes	42
Rather not	12
Definitely not	4
Difficult to answer	16

2016, March; N=1600

ISRAEL

Diagram 27.5

What is your overall attitude to Israel now?



N=1600

TURKEY

Table 27.43

Will current tensions between Russia and Turkey potentially grow into a military conflict with Turkey?

Definitely yes	1
Rather yes	22
Rather not	51
Definitely not	10
Difficult to answer	15

2016, February; N=1600

Table 27.44

Now that President Erdogan apologized for the shot Russian plane, should Russia be actively restoring relations with Turkey, wait or should not restore relations at all?

Should be actively restoring relations with Turkey	19
Should wait before restoring relations with Turkey	47
Russia should not restore relations with Turkey	23
Difficult to answer	11

2016, July; N=1600

Table 27.45

Have you heard about recent coup attempt in Turkey?

Yes, I follow the events closely	31
Yes, I heard something about it	56
No, first time I heard about it	13

2016, July; N=1600

28. MEMORABLE DATES

Table 28.1

Have you heard about the genocide of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1914-1923 and if so do you think back then Turkey was intentionally exterminating the Armenian nation or are the stories about it blown out of proportion?

	2015 May	2016 May
A whole nation was indeed being exterminated back then	51	50
The stories about it are blown out of proportion	11	13
Haven't heard anything about it	22	22
Difficult to answer	17	15

N=800

WORLD WAR II

Table 28.2

Could WWII be avoided in the 30s - or was the war inevitable?

	2001 June	2016 May
The war could be avoided	35	23
The war was inevitable	47	61
Difficult to answer	19	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 28.3

Annexation of Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia) to the Soviet Union in 1940 was the result of ...

	2005 V	2007 V	2010 VI	2011 VI	2016 V
Voluntary expression of the will of the peoples of these countries	31	37	26	27	34
Pressure from the USSR	29	26	32	31	30
Secret agreement between Stalin and Hitler	17	12	15	17	10
Difficult to answer	23	25	27	25	26
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 28.4

Have you heard about the Holocaust and if so do you personally think that back then the Jewish nation was being intentionally exterminated in Germany and on the territories it occupied or are the stories about it blown out of proportion?

	2007 October	2015 May	2016 May
A whole nation was indeed being exterminated back then	63	74	69
The stories about it are blown out of proportion	12	6	10
Haven't heard anything about it	13	8	9
Difficult to answer	12	12	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Table 28.5

Some people say that German attack on USSR on June 22nd, 1941 was unexpected, the others are saying the unexpected nature of the attack was invented later to cover up Stalin's political failures, which left USSR unprepared for the war. Which of the view you would rather agree with?

	2001 June	2016 May
German attack on USSR was unexpected	32	52
The unexpected nature of the attack was invented later to cover up Stalin's political failures	58	38
Difficult to answer	9	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 28.6

In your opinion, who should get the most credits for the victory in the Great Patriotic War?

	2010 V	2013 V	2014 V	2016 V
Joseph Stalin	8	6	7	9
The Communist Party and the Soviet leadership	4	5	3	4
The Soviet people	62	52	53	51
Everybody	23	33	36	33
Nobody, this war was won miraculously	2	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	2	3	1	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 28.7

In your opinion, who is responsible for the many millions losses of our people in this war?

	2010 V	2013 V	2014 V	2016 V
Joseph Stalin	30	21	17	21
The Communist Party and the Soviet leadership	20	13	12	10
All the nations	6	5	1	3
Everybody	11	13	11	11
Nobody except our enemy	28	37	51	47
Difficult to answer	6	11	8	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 28.8

Was the post-war deportation of Chechens, Ingush, Karachai, Balkarian, Kalmyk, Crimean Tatars and other ethnic groups on collaboration charges a crime committed by Stalin's regime or was it the right decision?

It was a crime committed by Stalin's regime	38
It was a right decision	30
Difficult to answer	32

2016, May; N=1600

Table 28.9

What is your attitude to the idea of erecting in Russia a memorial to people killed in WW II on both sides?

	1991 V	1997 VI	2001 IV	2003 IV	2006 VI	2007 IV	2011 VI	2016 VI
Positive	51	48	57	50	57	53	45	30
Negative	27	34	32	35	31	34	37	45
Difficult to answer	22	17	11	15	13	13	18	26

1991, N=1000; 1997-2016 N=1600

50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLT IN 1956

Table 28.10

Do you know about Hungarian events of 1956?

Yes, I know very well of them	7
I heard or read about them	19
I heard something about them, but do not know any specifics	24
No, I do not know anything	51

2016, November; N=1600

Table 28.11

Was Soviet government right when it crushed the rebellion in Hungary?

Definitely yes	15
Rather yes	35
Rather not	18
Definitely not	6
Difficult to answer	27

2016, September; N=1600

Table 28.12

What really happened in Hungary then?

(% respondents who heard about Hungarian events of 1956, responses are ranked)

It was an attempt by the West to split Socialist camp	37
An attempt of the anti-Soviet elements in Hungarian government to make a coup and split the country from the socialist bloc	23
A popular uprising against a regime enforced by Soviet Union	16
An attempt to build a democratic socialism	4
Difficult to answer	20

2016, November; N=1600

VICTORY DAY

Table 28.13

What is the May 9th holiday for you?
(answers are ranked)

	2013 May	2015 May	2016 May	2017 May
The day of victory of the Soviet people over German Nazism	59	67	63	63
The day of victory of the USSR (Russia) over Germany	15	15	16	17
A day to commemorate all the friends and family that died in the war	11	7	6	7
A day of mourning those who died in the great Patriotic War	6	4	5	6
The day of victory of the anti-Hitler coalition countries over Nazi Germany	4	4	5	4
A day to commemorate victims of Nazism	4	3	3	3
Difficult to answer	1	1	2	1

N=800

Table 28.14

Do you know about the «Immortal Regiment» action that took place on May 9 in many Russian cities, and if so, what impression did this action have on you?

	2015 May	2016 May
Completely positive	63	72
Rather positive	26	19
Rather negative	3	4
Completely negative	<1	1
Don't know about this action	6	2
Difficult to answer	2	2

N=800

Table 28.15

Which of the following opinions about the action «Immortal Regiment» is closer to your own opinion?
(%% of those who know about the action)

	2015 May	2016 May
This action is a tribute to people who fought in the Great Patriotic War	82	88
This action supports of the current leadership of Russia	8	8
Difficult to answer	4	3

N=800

Table 28.16

Do you wear a St. George ribbon?

	2014 V	2015 V	2016 V	2017 V
Yes	49	60	55	53
No	50	40	45	47

N=800

25 ANIVERSAIRE OF GKChP – AUGUST 1991

Table 28.17

Do you remember the events of August 19-21, 1991?

Yes: a coup, GKChP (State Committee on the State of Emergency)	50
Yes: other	2
Do not remember/Do not know	48

2016, July; N=1600

Table 28.18

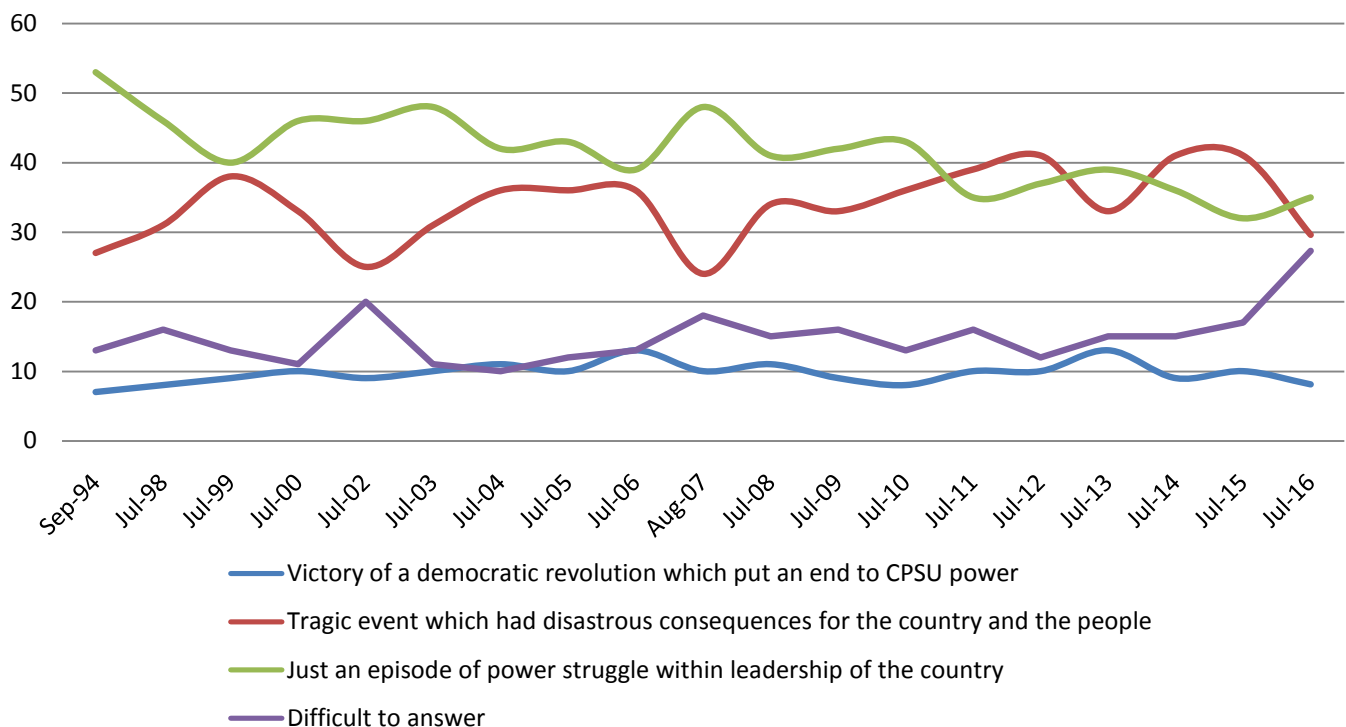
This year is the 25th anniversary of the events of August 19-22, 1991. Please recall, which side were your sympathies with back then?

	2001 July	2002 July	2006 July	2007 August	2008 February	2011 July	2013 July	2016 July
With the State Committee of the State Emergency	14	16	12	8	11	9	14	8
With the side opposing the Committee	28	18	22	21	23	16	10	13
Didn't have the time to figure out the situation	31	41	32	33	34	33	29	27
I was too little back then to understand what was going on	26	25	20	20	19	25	30	30
Difficult to answer	14	16	14	18	13	16	17	23

N=1600

Diagram 28.1

How do you now see the August 1991 events?



Before 2011 N=1600, since 2011 N=800

Table 28.19

Still, if GKChP committee seized and retained the power, would you be better off, worse or about the same as now?

	2001 July	2011 July	2016 July
I would be better off than now	20	14	16
I would be worse than now	17	15	19
I would be the same as now	27	27	23
Difficult to answer	36	45	43
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	1600

Table 28.20

What were the primary objectives of the State Emergency Committee

	2001 July	2013 July	2016 July
To prevent the disintegration of the USSR	16	13	22
To keep the Communist Party in power	15	11	18
To restore order in the country	8	10	12
To strengthen their own positions	27	13	8
Did not have a clearly delineated program	9	11	13
I was too young	—*	30	28
Difficult to answer	25	12	22
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	1600

*- this option was not available

Table 28.21

Who do you think was right in those days?

	2001 July	2002 July	2016 July
The State Emergency Committee	14	21	15
B. Yeltsin and the democrats	24	17	13
I haven't figured out what happened yet	18	32	39
Difficult to answer	45	31	33

N=1600

Table 28.22

Do you think the country started to develop in the right or the wrong direction in August 1991?

	2003 VIII	2004 VII	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VIII	2008 VII	2010 VII	2011 VII	2012 VII	2013 VII	2014 VII	2015 VIII	2016 VII
In the right direction	30	27	25	30	28	33	30	27	26	25	27	34	33
In the wrong direction	47	49	50	44	37	40	37	49	46	44	47	37	40
Difficult to answer	23	24	25	26	35	27	33	24	27	31	26	28	28
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600

Table 28.23

**What was the major obstacle for The State Emergency Committee
success in August 1991?**

	1991 November	2001 July	2011 July	2016 July
Popular resistance	57	20	15	16
Resolute actions of Russian government	55	9	13	11
M.Gorbachev's refusal to support the conspirers	16	12	14	15
Poor organization of the coup	34	37	28	26
A split in the army, Ministry of internal affairs and KGB	23	20	19	17
The State Emergency Committee was not supported in the province	-	15	9	9
Difficult to answer	7	30	26	33
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1054</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 28.24

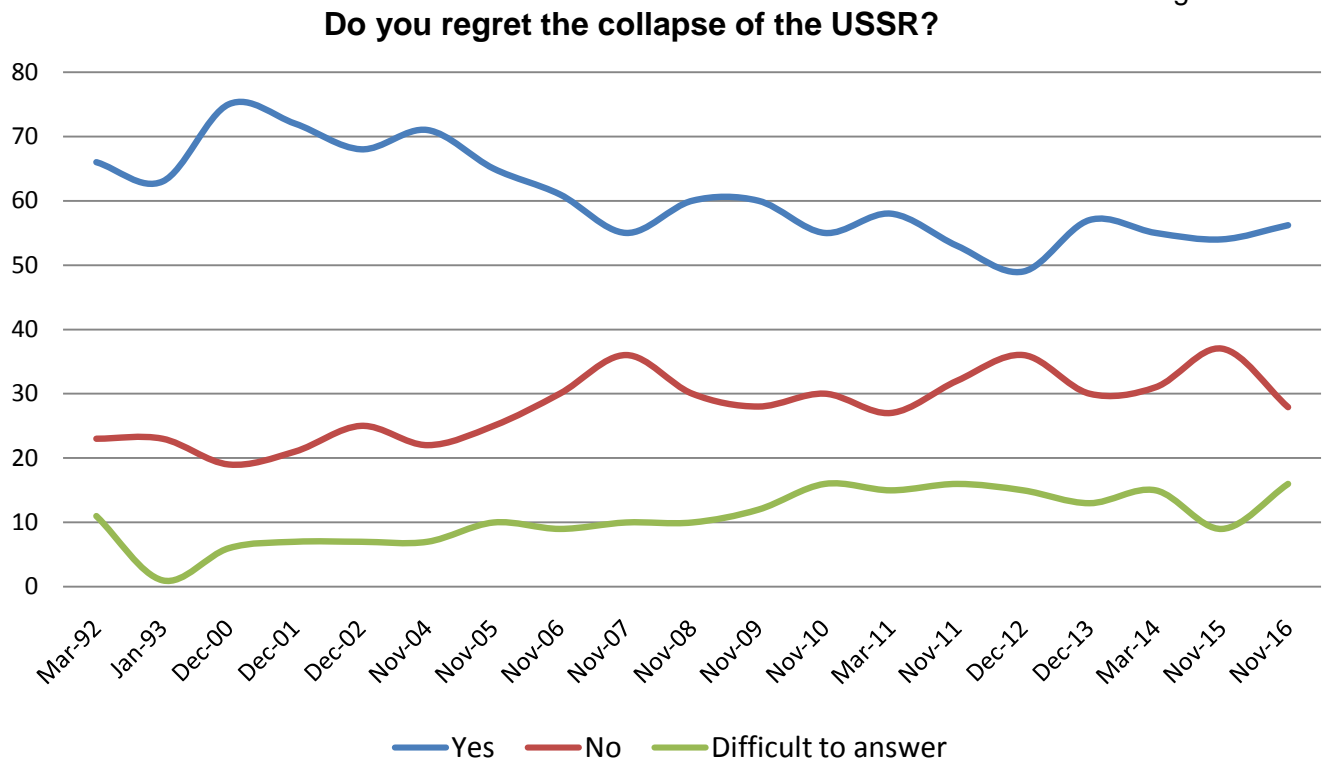
**If similar events
(an attempt to return to Soviet order) happened today,
will you defend Russian democracy?**

Yes	16
No	44
Do not know	41

2016, July; N=1600

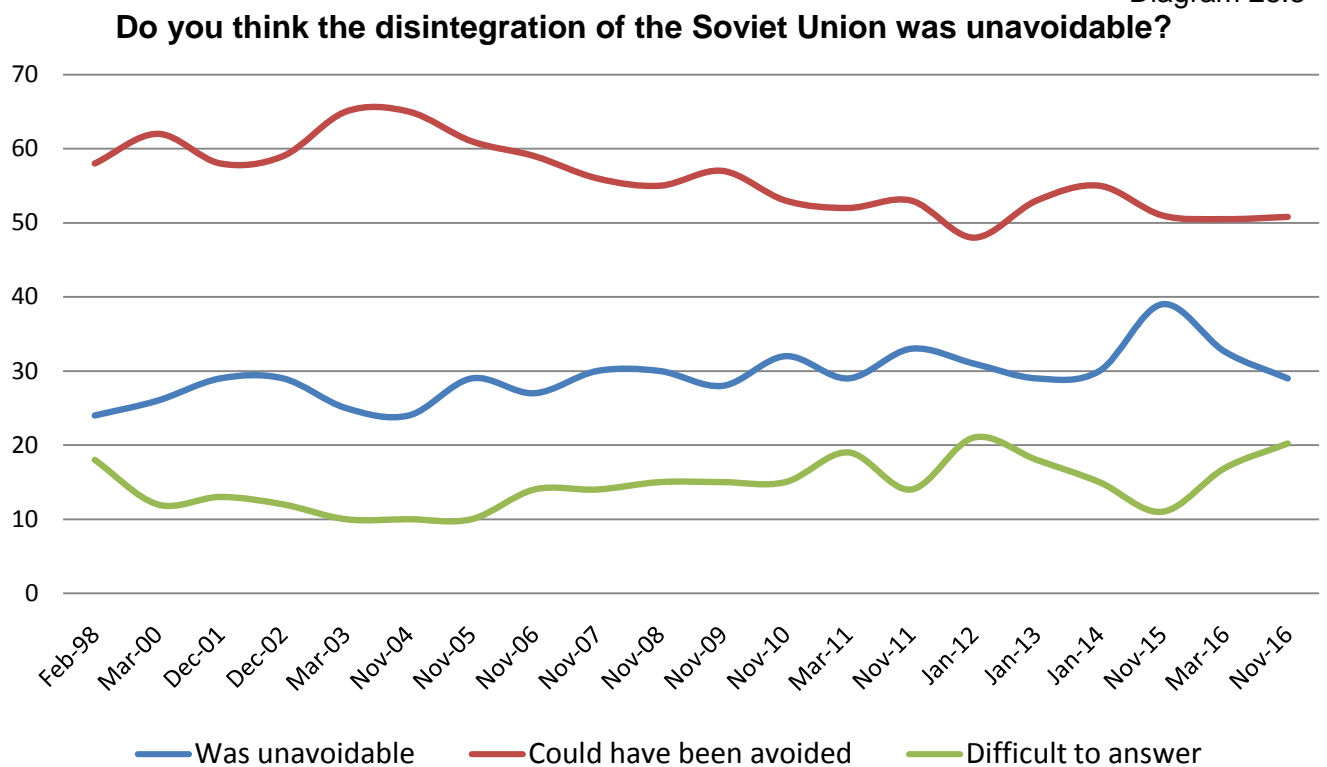
25 YEARS SINCE THE USSR COLLAPSE

Diagram 28.2



Before 2011 N=1600, since 2011 N=800. 2015-2016 N=1600

Diagram 28.3



Before 2011 N=1600, since 2011 N=800. 2015-2016 N=1600

Table 28.25

Would you like the Soviet Union and the socialist system re-established?

	2006 March	2016 March
Yes, and I think it quite real	12	14
Yes, but I think that now it is unreal	48	44
No, I would not	31	31
Difficult to answer	9	10

N=1600

Table 28.26

What is the main reason why you regret the collapse of the USSR?

(In % of those who regret)

	1999 IV	2006 XII	2007 XI	2011 XI	2012 XII	2014 XI	2016 XI
People no longer feel they belong to a great power	29	55	44	45	51	56	43
A single economic system is destroyed	60	49	49	48	49	55	53
It is now a problem to travel freely, go on a vacation	10	23	21	18	19	12	15
Ties with relatives and friends are broken	29	35	38	34	26	29	28
One no longer has the feeling of being at home everywhere	10	25	18	20	18	24	30
There is more mutual distrust, bitterness	32	36	36	41	39	41	31
Difficult to answer	7	3	2	1	1	1	3

N=1600

Table 28.27

What is the main reason why you regret the collapse of the USSR?

(In % of those who regret)

	2006 XII	2007 XI	2011 XI	2014 XI	2016 XI
Irresponsible and unjustified "Belavezha deal" between B.Yeltsin, L.Kravchuk and S.Shushkevich	32	25	20	30	29
A conspiracy of western forces hostile to the USSR	18	16	19	28	23
Public discontent with the government of the USSR, M.Gorbachev and his associates	-	21	18	19	21
The Soviet republics were discontent with the "Union's center"	14	17	17	15	12
Absolute decline of the communist ideology	16	15	15	18	13
The removal of the Communist party from leadership position and decline of the "Union's center" during "perestroika"	16	12	15	14	12
Technical and economic underdevelopment of the country	14	13	13	12	12
Ambitions of the elites in the Soviet republics	14	12	13	16	13
A heavy military burden on the country's economy, which led to the stagnation and impoverishment of the population	15	12	12	12	14
Inadequate national policy of the "Union's center" and the tendency to solve any ethnic problems by force	12	11	10	12	10
Difficult to answer	16	16	21	16	22

N=1600

YELTSIN'S ERA

Table 28.28

From a historical perspective, do you think B. Yeltsin's era did Russia more good or more harm?

	2005 XII	2006 XII	2007 XII	2008 IV	2009 XII	2010 X	2015 III	2016 XII
More good	22	22	29	36	23	19	19	32
More harm	57	57	41	37	50	51	51	43
Difficult to answer	21	21	30	27	27	30	30	25
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600

1993 YEAR EVENTS

Table 28.29

What was the primary cause of the 3-4 October 1993 events in Moscow?

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2011	2012	2013	2014	2016
Ambition of A. Rutskoy and R. Khasbulatov to cling to power by any means	19	15	17	20	16	22	14	16	14	18	14	15	12	11	10	12	10
Irresponsible policy of B. Yeltsin and his associates	24	31	32	34	31	32	29	32	32	28	23	24	18	20	19	24	22
The indecision of B. Yeltsin and the government in suppressing the unrest	11	8	8	11	9	8	7	9	9	9	7	6	6	5	6	8	8
Willingness of communists and extremists to stage a coup	8	5	9	4	12	11	10	11	11	11	11	10	13	12	7	10	9
Hesitation of the army and internal security forces	5	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	5	3	3	6	5	6	5	4
General decline of the country initiated by M. Gorbachev	37	31	25	24	35	36	31	33	35	35	32	32	29	29	30	30	20
The herd mentality of the crowd	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	1	3	3	2	2	5	3	3	3	3
Difficult to answer	17	23	28	27	27	15	23	16	21	19	25	25	31	31	31	27	36
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 28.30

**Was the use of military force during the unrest
in Moscow in October 1993 justified?**

	1993	1999	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2011	2012	2013	2014	2016
Yes	51	18	22	20	21	17	19	26	17	15	17	15	16	15
No	30	56	59	57	58	60	60	49	60	55	54	58	62	54
Difficult to answer	19	25	18	23	21	23	21	25	23	30	29	27	22	31
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 28.31

Who do you think was right in October 1993?

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2011	2012	2013	2014	2016
B. Yeltsin's supporters	9	8	9	9	7	7	7	7	6
Supporters of the Supreme Soviet	10	11	11	10	10	8	11	11	12
To some extent, both	20	16	19	19	22	17	18	16	17
Neither one nor the other	39	38	28	34	30	35	35	36	32
Difficult to answer	22	27	32	28	32	32	29	30	33
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

RUSSIAN LEADERS

IVAN IV THE GREAT

Table 28.32

What did Ivan the Terrible do more for Russia - good or bad?

Definitely more good	27
Rather more good	22
Rather more bad	11
Definitely more bad	2
Difficult to answer	37

2016, October; N=1600

Table 28.33

Do you welcome a monument to Ivan the Terrible in the city of Oryol?

Definitely yes	18
Rather yes	35
Rather not	15
Definitely not	4
Difficult to answer	27

2016, October; N=1600

Table 28.34

Do you think the time of Nikolai II brought with it more good or bad?

	1999 IV	2003 VII	2008 VII	2012 X	2016 II
More good than bad	18	20	21	25	30
More bad than good	12	16	15	14	19
Didn't bring about anything special	16	17	17	16	20
Difficult to answer	55	47	47	45	31
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>

REVOLUTION

Table 28.35

Do you think the first years after the 1917 revolution brought with them more good or bad?

	1994 VIII	1999 IV	2003 VIII	2012 X	2016 II
More good than bad	27	28	28	18	19
More bad than good	38	36	39	42	48
Didn't bring about anything special	7	5	6	9	11
Difficult to answer	28	30	27	31	22
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2957</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>

LENIN

Table 28.36

What is the role Vladimir Lenin had in Russian history?

	2012 March	2014 March	2016 March
Completely positive	13	13	13
Rather positive	36	38	40
Rather negative	23	21	21
Completely negative	7	5	6
Difficult to answer	22	23	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

JOSEPH STALIN

Table 28.37

In your opinion does Joseph Stalin time brought with it more good or bad?

	1994 VIII	1999 IV	2003 VII	2012 X	2016 II
More good than bad	18	26	29	27	40
More bad than good	57	48	47	42	38
Didn't bring about anything special	5	4	4	5	6
Difficult to answer	20	22	21	25	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2957</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 28.38

What is your overall attitude to J. Stalin now?

	2001 IV	2006 IV	2008 X	2010 II	2012 X	2014 III	2015 III	2016 III
Admiration	4	5	1	2	1	3	2	2
Respect	27	23	22	23	21	28	30	28
Sympathy	7	8	8	7	6	9	7	7
Indifference	12	19	37	38	33	30	30	32
Dislike and annoyance	18	18	12	12	12	10	9	9
Fear	16	15	7	7	7	6	6	5
Loathing and indignation	9	5	4	5	4	3	5	3
I do not know who Stalin was	_*	_*	_*	_*	1	1	_*	1
Difficult to answer	6	8	10	7	16	11	11	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600

_* option was not available

Table 28.39

Do you think Khrushchev's time brought with it more good or bad?

	1994 VIII	1999 IV	2003 VII	2012 X	2016 II
More good than bad	33	30	28	34	31
More bad than good	14	14	25	19	29
Didn't bring about anything special	33	32	24	20	23
Difficult to answer	21	24	22	27	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	3000	2000	2000	2000	1600

Table 28.40

Do you think Brezhnev's time brought with it more good or bad?

	1994	1999	2003	2012	2016
More good than bad	36	51	47	42	51
More bad than good	16	10	15	16	18
Didn't bring about anything special	33	25	22	19	19
Difficult to answer	16	15	15	23	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	3000	2000	2000	2000	1600

GORBACHEV and YELTSIN

Table 28.41

Do you think Gorbachev's time brought with it more good or bad?

	1999 IV	2003 VII	2012 X	2016 II
More good than bad	9	14	14	12
More bad than good	61	60	50	67
Didn't bring about anything special	16	15	16	12
Difficult to answer	14	12	20	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 28.42

Do you think Yeltsin's time brought with it more good or bad?

	1999 IV	2003 VII	2012 X	2016 II
More good than bad	5	10	12	11
More bad than good	72	63	55	68
Didn't bring about anything special	13	17	17	13
Difficult to answer	10	9	17	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>

29. CELEBRATIONS

Table 29.1

Which of the following holidays are the most important for you?
(ranked by last survey)

	1998 III	2000 IV	2002 II	2004 XII	2005 XII	2010 III	2012 II	2014 I	2015 III	2016 II
New Year	82	81	79	83	81	78	81	76	80	83
Birthdays/patron saint days of friends and acquaintances	38	34	28	35	30	37	36	48	44	44
May 9th –Victory Day	29	34	30	29	32	36	33	36	42	38
Your birthday	37	37	37	30	31	33	39	43	42	41
Easter	29	32	26	23	28	31	29	33	27	25
March 8th – International Women's Day	28	23	27	20	23	18	20	18	19	19
January 7th – Orthodox Christmas	23	16	19	22	26	19	19	20	15	15
February 23rd - Defender of the Fatherland Day	-*	-*	12	10	12	9	12	12	10	10
May 1st – Spring and Labor Day	5	5	13	8	6	4	6	6	7	6
Kurban-Bayram	-*	-*	3	2	3	3	3	3	5	3
Your patron saint day	-*	-*	2	3	2	4	2	5	4	5
Wedding anniversary	-*	-*	4	4	5	2	5	6	3	3
June 12th – Russia Day	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	2
Russian Constitution Day	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	≤1	1	1
November 4th – National Unity Day	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	1	1	1	1	≤1
December 25 th – Western Christmas	-*	-*	-*	-*	1	1	1	1	1	≤1
Difficult to answer	2	3	2	2	2	2	≤1	1	1	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

* - Option was not offered

December

NEW YEAR'S CELEBRATIONS

Table 29.2

**With the New Year vacation approaching,
which holidays do you intend to celebrate?**

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011*	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Western Christmas 25 December	13	13	17	17	11	18	16	6	4	6	6	4	5	5	7	5	5	3	4
New Year	92	89	94	92	92	93	87	93	93	95	92	92	93	96	96	95	96	96	95
Orthodox Christmas 7 January	58	59	67	62	74	69	59	60	69	67	66	68	61	65	65	67	58	57	58
Old New Year	53	49	57	57	61	62	44	47	56	53	54	52	47	51	52	48	43	49	47
Epiphany	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	41	43	42	41	40	39
Will not mark these holidays	4	6	4	3	3	4	5	3	4	3	6	4	2	1	2	2	1	1	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

* - Option was not offered
December

Table 29.3

How would you like to celebrate the New Year?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
At home with relatives and loved ones	72	74	74	74	73	68	73	70	71	73	70	70
Visiting friends, with friends	19	16	17	16	19	21	21	20	22	21	24	21
At a holiday home, with new unknown people	1	2	2	2	2	3	1	3	2	2	1	2
Abroad, away from home	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	4	2	1	2	3
Alone	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2
Don't celebrate the New Year	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	1
Difficult to answer	2	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

Table 29.4

How are you going to use the New Year's "holiday"?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Go to relax/go on a trip/ to relatives or friends abroad	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	4	3	3	4	5
Go on a trip/ to relax at a resort, holiday home in Russia	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	1	2	2	4	4
Go to visit relatives or friends in another region of Russia	9	10	10	8	11	14	11	9	12	13	12	15
Relax at home	61	58	56	54	58	56	56	62	58	58	58	60
Do things around the house, repairs etc.	26	24	18	24	22	25	24	22	21	25	24	17
Continue working	14	16	14	18	14	10	14	9	9	13	9	8
Other	3	3	4	4	3	5	3	4	5	3	4	4
Difficult to answer	5	6	4	5	4	4	3	6	7	4	5	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

MASLENITSA FESTIVAL

Table 29.5

How are you going to mark Maslenitsa in your family?

	1997	2000	2003	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Plan to make pancakes	68	72	80	75	75	79	79	78	74	64	65	70
Plan to eat meat	48	27	31	27	26	30	31	33	44	24	25	24
Plan to visit people or receive guests	37	35	40	37	30	33	38	42	34	33	34	30
Plan to go to folk festivals	16	19	21	25	22	21	24	27	21	27	26	23
Will celebrate Maslenitsa in an alternative way	10	4	4	3	2	3	4	3	4	3	3	3
Don't plan to celebrate Maslenitsa	16	15	11	14	17	12	10	10	11	16	14	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

MAY HOLIDAYS

Table 29.6

Do you intend to celebrate 1st May or Victory Day this year?

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Intend to celebrate 1 st May	58	57	53	58	59	52	55	51	52
Intend to celebrate Victory Day	75	63	75	72	65	70	70	65	63
Do not intend to celebrate 1 st May, nor Victory Day	17	23	16	17	18	19	18	20	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

Table 29.7

What does the 1 May signify to you personally?

	2009	2011	2014	2015	2016
Spring and Labour Day	43	43	43	52	56
International day of working-class solidarity	20	20	20	22	19
Extra long weekend	26	26	25	19	16
Usual week day	9	8	10	6	7
Difficult to answer	2	3	2	2	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 29.8

What is important to you personally about the holiday on 1 May: the opportunity to...?

	2007	2009	2011	2012	2014	2015	2016
Have a lounge for a few days	15	16	17	16	27	20	36
Meet with friends and loved ones	35	37	35	30	33	37	25
Sit at the festival table	19	21	21	16	14	18	21
Go for a stroll through town	18	16	18	14	15	19	20
Go away for a few days	10	9	6	9	15	11	19
Go to see nature	22	23	23	22	19	26	17
Do the gardening at the dacha or on a household plot	24	21	24	28	21	18	11
It is the day of the 1 May demonstrations	11	8	7	6	6	9	6
It is the day of working-class protest against the actions of the government	3	3	3	0	1	1	1
Other	4	3	3	4	3	4	2
Difficult to answer	5	6	6	3	5	6	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

RUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Table 29.9

12 June is a public holiday. Do you know exactly what is celebrated in Russia on this day?

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Anniversary of the election of the first President of Russia	8	7	6	5	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	4	2	2	1	1	8
Anniversary of adopting the Declaration of Independence of Russia	7	8	6	9	9	5	6	6	8	5	6	5	4	4	6	5	3	6	6	8
Russian Independence Day	51	47	50	51	57	58	65	60	63	47	53	40	44	42	41	36	30	33	33	29
Russia Day	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	_*	23	21	37	38	34	40	40	50	49	50	44
Don't consider this day a holiday	25	25	28	28	20	23	22	23	18	17	16	12	10	14	11	11	9	8	10	10
Don't consider this day a holiday	11	12	10	6	8	8	4	7	5	6	4	3	3	5	3	6	7	4	5	5

* - the option was not offered

1997-2010 rr. N=1600; 2011-2015 rr. N=800

Table 29.10

Was the independence beneficial or harmful for Russia?

	2003	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Definitely beneficial	7	12	14	15	14	13	10	9	9	18	18	13
Rather beneficial	32	40	40	46	45	38	48	46	44	53	43	43
Rather harmful	22	21	16	13	15	15	16	12	17	10	11	14
Definitely harmful	12	6	6	4	4	4	4	3	5	2	4	7
Difficult to answer	26	20	24	22	21	30	22	30	25	18	25	22
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

4th NOVEMBER

Table 29.11

Do you know which holiday will be observed on 4th of November?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Day of consensus and reconciliation	33	27	22	26	26	25	24	25	22	22	19	16
National unity day	8	20	23	28	31	36	41	43	49	54	55	56
Day of liberation from Polish-Lithuanian invaders	5	3	4	2	2	2	4	3	2	3	4	3
October revolution day	-	5	1	3	6	5	2	4	4	5	5	6
Other	3	3	2	4	4	3	2	2	5	<1	2	2
Don't know/difficult to answer	51	43	47	37	33	29	28	23	17	16	16	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 29.12

Do you intend to celebrate...

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
National unity day on 4 th of November?	12	15	18	15	14	16	16	15	19	22	20
October revolution day on 7 th of November?	23	23	21	17	17	18	18	17	12	14	14
Neither	58	59	52	63	61	59	61	62	59	55	58
Don't know/difficult to answer	12	11	18	11	13	15	9	10	14	14	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>