



**LEVADA ANALITYCAL CENTER**

**«FROM OPINION TOWARD UNDERSTANDING»**

# **RUSSIAN PUBLIC OPINION**

## **2007**

Moscow, 2008

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## PREFACE

It is the eighth issue of the yearbook «Public Opinion» (2007). It summarise of the results of the 2007 public opinion surveys mostly in tabulations and charts. The surveys' data have been regularly published in specialist publications and mass media, as well as on the Internet sites. Some data was added by the results of surveys were conducted in January, February, March, 2008.

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

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

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

## TECHNICAL NOTES

*Unless stated otherwise, all the data in the tables and comments are presented as percentages of the total number of respondents. If the sum of the answers shown in the table is less than 100%, it means that the option “Difficult to answer” is not included. Where the sum of the answers is more than 100%, the question allowed more than one answer. Minor (1%-2%) difference from 100% results from rounding decimals of one per cent.*

*The data below mainly come from regular surveys using the “Courier” methodology (a national representative survey conducted in 83 localities in 43 regions of Russia; a sample of 1,600 respondents aged 18+ years) or the “Monitoring” methodology (a national representative survey carried out under a standard program in 103 localities in 38 regions of Russia; a sample of 2,100 respondents aged 16+ years).*

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# 1. PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE YEAR OF 2007

Table 1.1

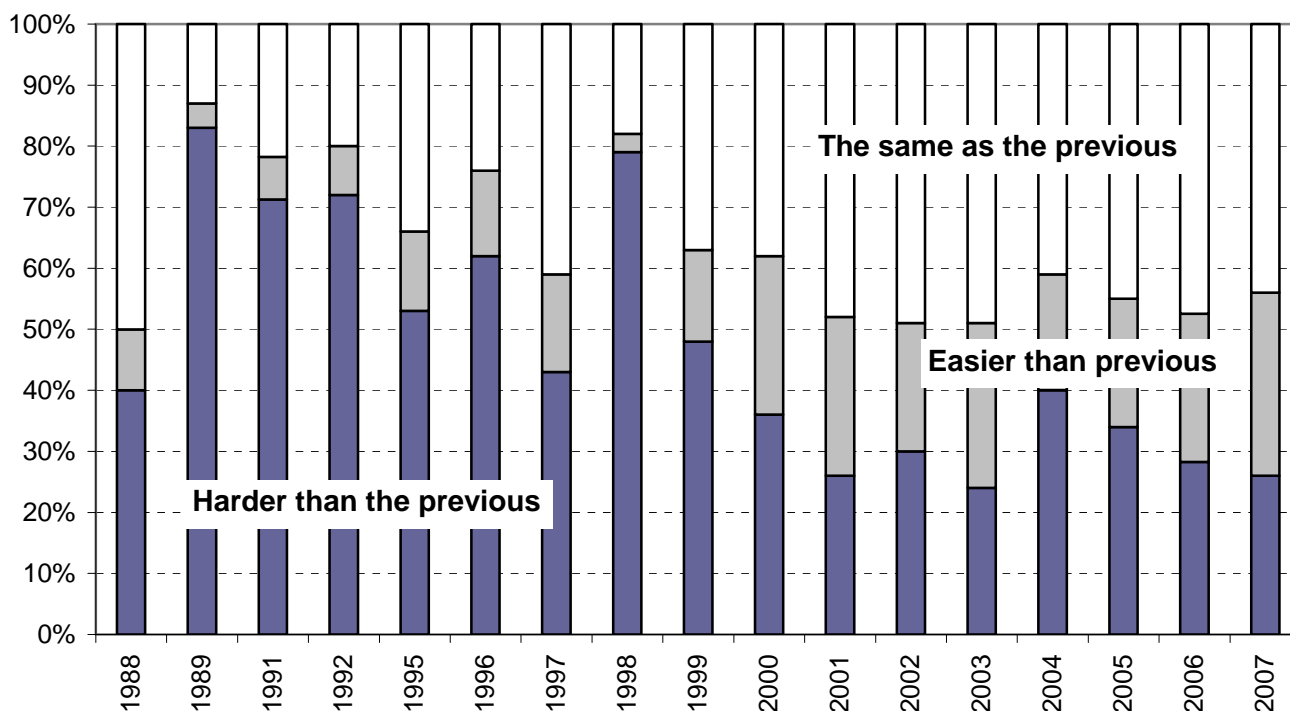
**Do you think this year overall was successful or unsuccessful for you personally?**

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

N=1600

Diagram 1.1

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



N=1600

Table 1.2

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

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

N=1600

Table 1.3

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

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

N=1600

Table 1.4

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

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

N=1600

Table 1.5

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

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

N=1600

Table 1.6

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

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

N=1600

Table 1.7

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

	1992	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Hope	13	13	27	31	33	30	32	24	28	35	41
Tiredness, indifference	43	45	38	39	39	34	39	39	41	39	25
Fear	23	24	19	16	14	19	8	21	13	7	5
Self-respect	4	4	5	7	8	8	7	7	9	10	10
Confusion	18	24	17	13	12	16	10	17	14	12	10
Liberation from lies/freedom	4	3	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	5	7
Bitterness, aggression	40	35	25	20	17	17	17	21	19	15	14
Pride in my nation	3	3	4	1	4	7	6	3	5	6	9
Difficult to answer	7	7	7	5	6	6	7	8	8	8	8

N=1600

Table 1.8

**How has your confidence in the future changed in the past year?**

Year of evaluation	1992	1997	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Strengthened	6	8	23	14	11	16	20	13	13	16	24
Has not changed	21	40	41	48	44	42	44	44	52	57	56
Weakened	39	23	23	24	29	28	21	26	21	17	14
Never had it	25	22	11	12	14	13	12	14	12	9	4
Difficult to answer	9	8	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2

N=1600

Table 1.9

**How has your trust in people changed in the past year?**

Year of evaluation	1992	1997	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Strengthened	3	5	11	7	6	8	10	8	7	8	13
Has not changed	44	53	58	67	57	60	60	58	62	63	67
Weakened	32	22	21	20	28	25	22	25	21	20	16
Never had it	12	14	6	4	6	5	6	6	7	6	2
Difficult to answer	10	7	4	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	2

N=1600

Table 1.10

**How has your trust in yourself changed in the past year?**

Year of evaluation	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Strengthened	17	22	26	21	22	20	25
Has not changed	60	56	57	60	61	66	63
Weakened	16	16	11	14	12	10	9
Never had it	4	3	3	2	3	2	1
Difficult to answer	4	3	3	3	2	3	2

N=1600

Table 1.11

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

2006		2007	
Proposal of introduction of subsidies of 250 000 rubles for having the second baby («federal subsidies of multiple-child families»)	30	The State Duma elections on December 2	40
Airplane crashes in Irkutsk and Sochi	28	Russia won the right to host the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi	39
The case of Andrey Sychev who was crippled because of “old-timers” [second year conscripts] hazing	22	A surge of food prices in September-October	39
«Gas war» between Russia and Ukraine	22	Coal mine accidents in different regions in Russia	25
Winter Olympic Games in Turin	21	V. Putin’s agreement to head «United Russia»’s party list	21
Extermination of Sh. Basayev	18	Scandal connected with the relocation of the Monument to the Unknown Soldier and reburial of soviet soldiers in Estonia	19
«Televised Call-in Show» with RF President V. Putin	17	B. Yeltsin’s death	16
Ban on import of alcoholic beverages and mineral water from Georgia and Moldova	16	Russia-Belarus scandal about gas prices and gas supplies to Europe	16
Arrests of mayors of large cities	15	Resignation of M. Fradkov’s government and appointment of V. Zubkov to the post of Russia’s Prime-Minister	16
The September crisis in Russia-Georgia relations	14	V. Putin’s Munich speech with harsh criticism of the USA and NATO policy with regard to Russia	14

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

Table 1.12

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

2004		2005		2006		2007	
V. Putin	34	V. Putin	37	V. Putin	35	V. Putin	56
V. Zhirinovskiy	6	V. Zhirinovskiy	6	D. Medvedev	8	D. Medvedev	6
S. Shoigu	2	S. Shoigu	6	S. Ivanov	7	V. Zhirinovskiy	6
G. Zyuganov	2	S. Ivanov	3	V. Zhirinovskiy	5	S. Ivanov	5
G. Bush	2	Y. Luzhkov	3	S. Shoigu	4	S. Shoigu	3
A. Lukashenko	2	A. Tuleev	3	A. Lukashenko	2	V. Zubkov	3
V. Yuschenko	2	A. Lukashenko	3	S. Bondarchuk	2	G. Zyuganov	3
V. Yanukovich	2	M. Chodorkovskiy	3	D. Bilan	2	S. Mironov	2
V. Klichko	2	M. Evdokimov	3	G. Zyuganov	2	N. Mikhalkov	1
L. Roshal	2	L. Roshal	3	A. Tuleev	2	A. Tuleev	1

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

Table 1.13

**And who would you call «Person of the year» (women)? \***

2004		2005		2006		2007	
V. Matviyenko	7	V. Matviyenko	10	V. Matviyenko	11	V. Matviyenko	12
I. Khakamada	6	I. Khakamada	6	L. Polishchuk	3	Y. Timoshenko	3
A. Pugacheva	5	A. Pugacheva	4	A. Zavorotnyuk	3	A. Pugacheva	3
S. Savitskaya	4	L. Sliska	3	I. Khakamada	3	I. Khakamada	2
L. Sliska	3	E. Pamfilova	3	K. Sobchak	2	S. Rotaru	2
M. Sharapova	3	Y. Timoshenko	3	A. Pugacheva	2	T. Golikova	2
A. Kabayeva	2	L. Gurchenko	2	A. Politkovskaya	2	K. Sobchak	1
S. Rotaru	1	N. Kadysheva	2	L. Sliska	2	L. Putina	1
S. Sorokina	1	A. Zavorotnyuk	2	Lolita	1	A. Zavorotnyuk	1
L. Putina	1	M. Plisetskaya	1	A. Merkel	1	I. Sluckaya	1

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

Table 1.14

**What are you afraid of most of all?**  
(Answers are ranked by the first measurement)

	1993 January	2004 January	2007 November
War, mass slaughter	56	42	46
Loss of near and dear ones	50	48	57
Starvation	37	25	23
Destitution	28	34	31
Tyranny of the authorities	22	22	21
Old age, illness, feebleness	20	27	27
Physical violence	19	14	17
Visitation, Last Judgment	9	9	9
Own death	8	7	8
Public humiliation, insults	6	8	8
Not afraid of anything	4	8	5

N=1600

Diagram 1.2

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

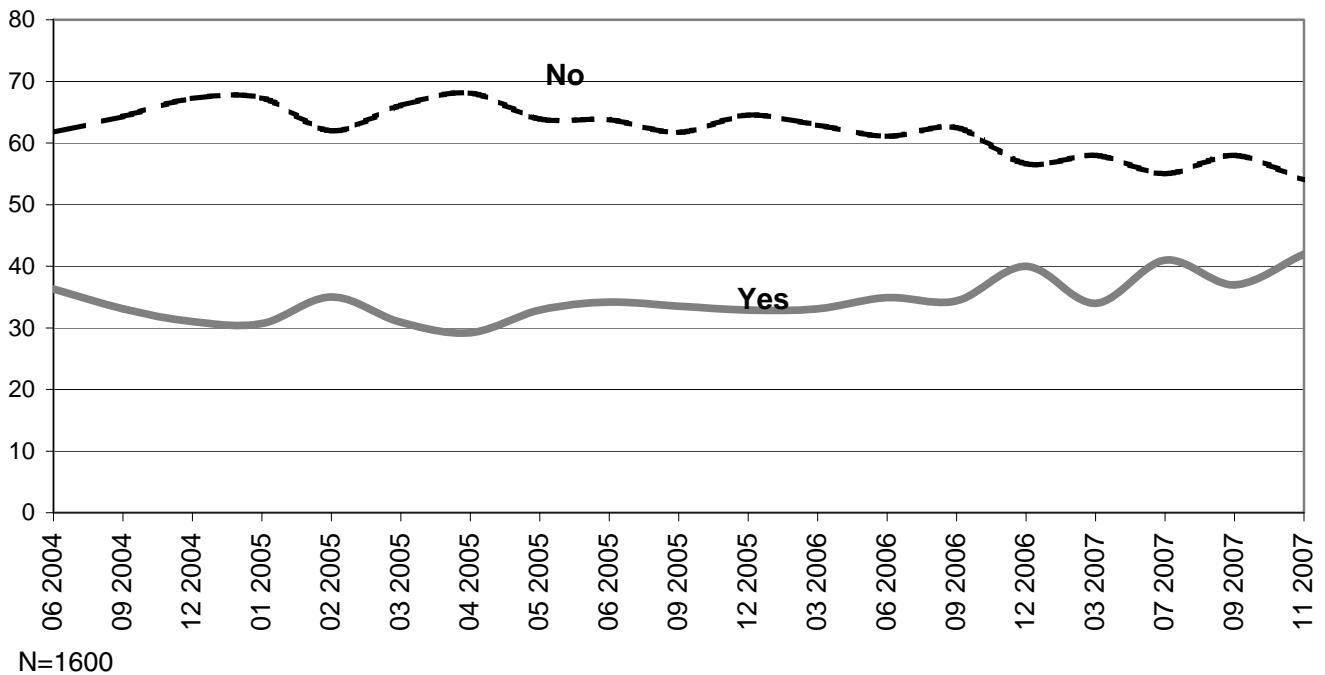


Table 1.15

**How satisfied are you at present with your social position?**

	2000 February	2005 January	2007 January
Completely satisfied	21	23	21
Satisfied rather than dissatisfied	35	43	45
Dissatisfied rather than satisfied	25	23	23
Absolutely dissatisfied	10	7	6
Difficult to answer	8	4	5

N=1600

Table 1.16

**Do you feel yourself a free person in our society?**

	1990 November	1997 May	2000 February	2005 January	2006 August	2007 October
Yes	22	18	21	17	20	28
Yes, rather than no	17	24	32	36	33	30
No, rather than yes	31	28	22	26	26	23
No	18	19	18	15	18	15
Difficult to answer	12	10	6	6	3	5

N=1600

## 2. POLITICS AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Table 2.1

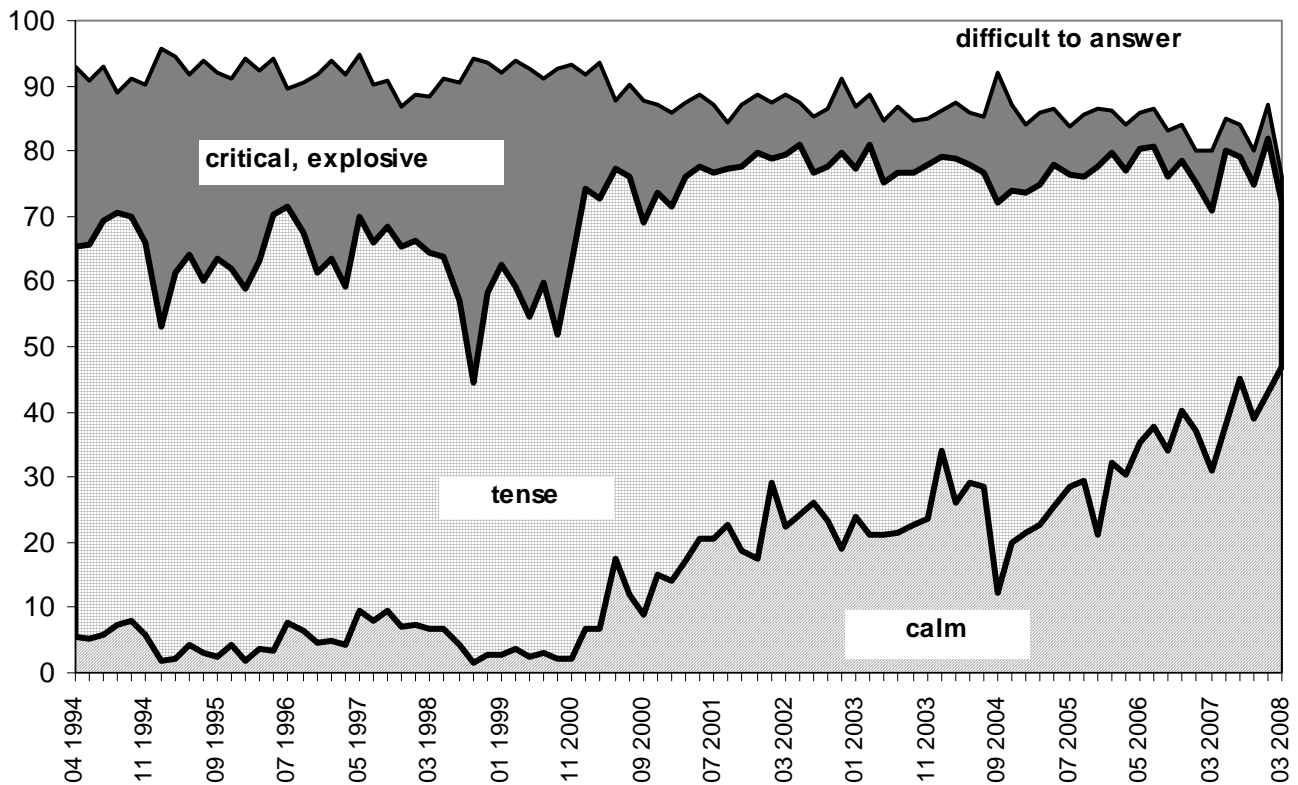
**What is your attitude to the current changes in the country?**

	1991	1992	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Faster, more radical changes are necessary	57	49	36	41	34	33	38	38	37	35	42	21	33	36
More cautious, circumspect measures are necessary	24	32	40	35	48	44	44	43	52	54	43	68	53	53
Difficult to answer	19	19	24	24	18	22	18	19	11	11	15	11	14	12

N=1600

Diagram 2.1

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



N=1600

Table 2.2

**How has the influence of the following values on the behavior of people in Russia changed over the past 10 years:**

	Increased considerably / somewhat		Decreased somewhat / considerably		Hasn't changed / Don't know	
	2000	2007	2000	2007	2000	2007
Respect for authorities	10	44	83	38	6	18
Stability of marriage	5	17	85	70	11	13
Respect for law	4	29	90	55	6	17
Respect for other people	6	20	85	65	8	15
Personal responsibility	11	33	77	49	12	18
Citizenship	9	31	77	44	15	24
Labor morals	12	26	79	54	10	21
Belief in God, religiousness	67	64	21	19	12	17
Care for the needy	16	31	70	46	14	22
Tolerance of people who are different from others	25	26	53	48	20	26

N=1600

Table 2.3

**What does stabilization of the situation in the country first of all mean to you personally?**

	1995 August	2007 August
Production growth	36	38
Coping with inflation and rise in prices	38	46
Curbing crime	34	19
Stability of state power	23	18
Elimination of «hot spots», Resolution of interethnic conflicts	18	11
Overcoming the contrast between the life of «the rich» and «the poor»	12	29
Possibility of living a decent life on salary or pension	32	53
Revival of dignity of the country and Russia's glory	11	10
Revival of spiritual and cultural values	11	14
Difficult to answer	6	2

N=1600

Table 2.4

**In your opinion, how has the ... changed over the past 8 years?**

	Increased	Kept the same	Decreased	This is not exist	Difficult to answer
Gap between the authorities and the people	45	36	11	1	7
Possibility for common citizens to play a role in politics	12	34	21	24	9
Possibility for the citizens to control the activity of government bodies	7	24	21	37	10
Gap between the rich and the poor	77	16	2	0	4

2007, November; N=1600

Table 2.5

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

	2004 March	2005 August	2006 August	2006 December	2007 August	2007 December
Quite a clear idea	18	14	22	18	23	21
Quite a vague idea	43	41	36	42	40	44
No idea	23	22	23	25	21	21
It's clear that they just let matters take their course	14	18	13	9	8	6
Difficult to answer	4	5	5	6	9	8

N=1600

Table 2.6

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

	2005 October	2006 October	2007 October
Democracy development	32	33	36
Reestablishment of the former soviet order	7	6	9
Formation of authoritarianism, dictatorship	12	14	13
Growth of chaos, anarchy, threat of coup d'etat	30	22	14
Difficult to answer	18	24	28

N=1600

Table 2.7

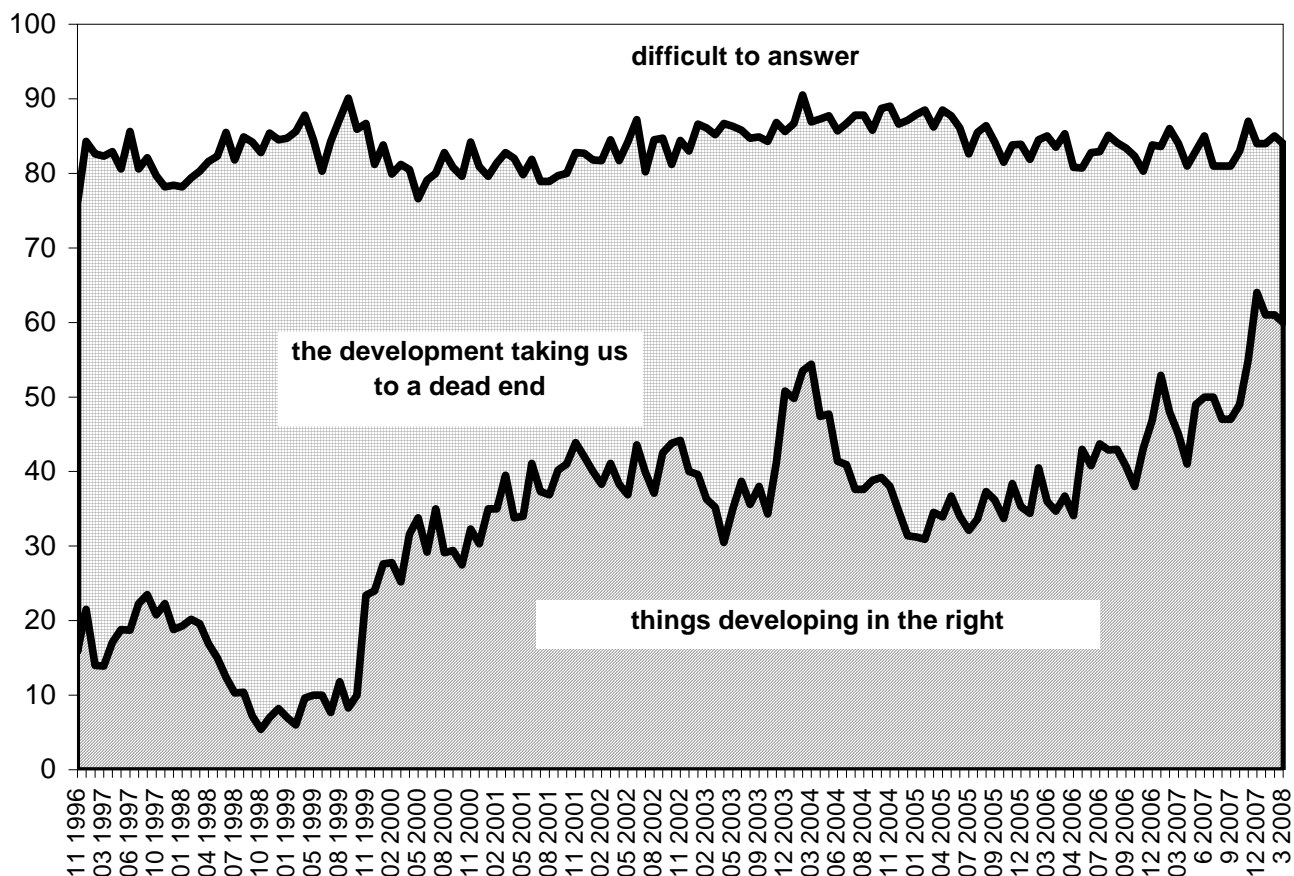
**What, in your opinion, is the main internal threat for Russia?**

	2006 March	2007 April
Political instability related to the transfer of power from President V. Putin to the new President of Russia in 2008	15	24
Economic problems, downfall in the tempo of economic development	37	33
Weakening of the unity of Russia, central power losing control over the situation in the regions	21	19
National separatism, possibility of Chechnya and other North-Caucasus republics breaking away from Russia	11	6
Political extremism (fascism, Islamic radicalism, extreme nationalism)	8	10
Difficult to answer	9	9

N=1600

Diagram 2.2

**Are things developing in the right direction in Russia or the course of events is leading to a dead-end?**



N=1600

Table 2.8

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

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

N=1600

Table 2.9

**What do you think is more important for Russia now:**

	1999	2000	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007
Order, even if it can only be achieved by certain violations of the principles of democracy and restriction of personal freedoms	77	81	75	75	69	68	68
Democracy, even if consistency in following democratic principles gives destructive and criminal elements certain freedom of action	14	9	8	13	18	11	18
Difficult to answer	9	10	17	12	13	21	15

N=1600

Table 2.10

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

	1990 November	1997 May	2007 July
Too little freedom	38	20	12
Enough freedom	30	32	57
Too much freedom	17	34	24
Difficult to answer	16	14	6

N=1600

Table 2.11

**Do you think Russia at present has become a democratic country?  
If not, how long will it take for a lasting,  
effective democracy to be established in Russia?**

	2004 February	2007 October
Russia has already become a democratic country	10	16
No, it'll take about 5 years	9	7
No, it'll take about 10-20 years	23	17
No, it'll take about 20-50 years	13	13
No, it'll take over 50 years	8	10
It'll never happen	18	16
Difficult to answer	20	21

N=1600

Table 2.12

**Which of the following opinions about the reforms which the  
Gaidar government began in 1992 would you be more likely to share?**

	1997 III	2000 III	2002 III	2004 III	2007 III	2008 III
They definitely had a positive impact on Russia's economy	3	1	2	4	5	3
They were painful but necessary	19	19	14	21	21	20
There was no need to have them at all	15	22	17	19	20	21
They had a destructive impact on Russia's economy	41	44	51	36	35	33
Difficult to answer	22	14	16	20	20	23

N=1600

Table 2.13

**What are the primary reasons for problems in the realization  
of democratic and market reforms in Russia?**

	2000 March	2004 March	2007 March
Wrong course of reforms itself	25	16	18
Lack of a thought-out plan of the course of reforms	45	30	39
Slow tempo, inconsistency in the realization of the reforms	12	13	13
Too high a tempo, drastic changes in the lives of people	17	12	15
Incompatibility of market relations with the Russian way of life	22	21	22
Not enough competent, really professional specialists in the government	24	24	23
Corruption of the ruling elite	47	42	42
Resistance, sabotage of bureaucrats	10	12	16
Inability of the population to live in a situation of market economy and democracy, lack of initiative and wish to work	18	17	14
Difficult to answer	9	12	11

N=1600

Table 2.14

**What are the most important reasons for problems in the course of market reforms in Russia?**

	2006 April	2007 April
Wrong course of the reforms	20	13
Inconsistent implementation of reforms	14	15
Incompatibility of market relations and Russian lifestyle	16	21
Lack of professionalism and corruption of the ruling elite	34	28
Inability of the population to live in a market environment	8	11
Difficult to answer	8	12

N=1600

Table 2.15

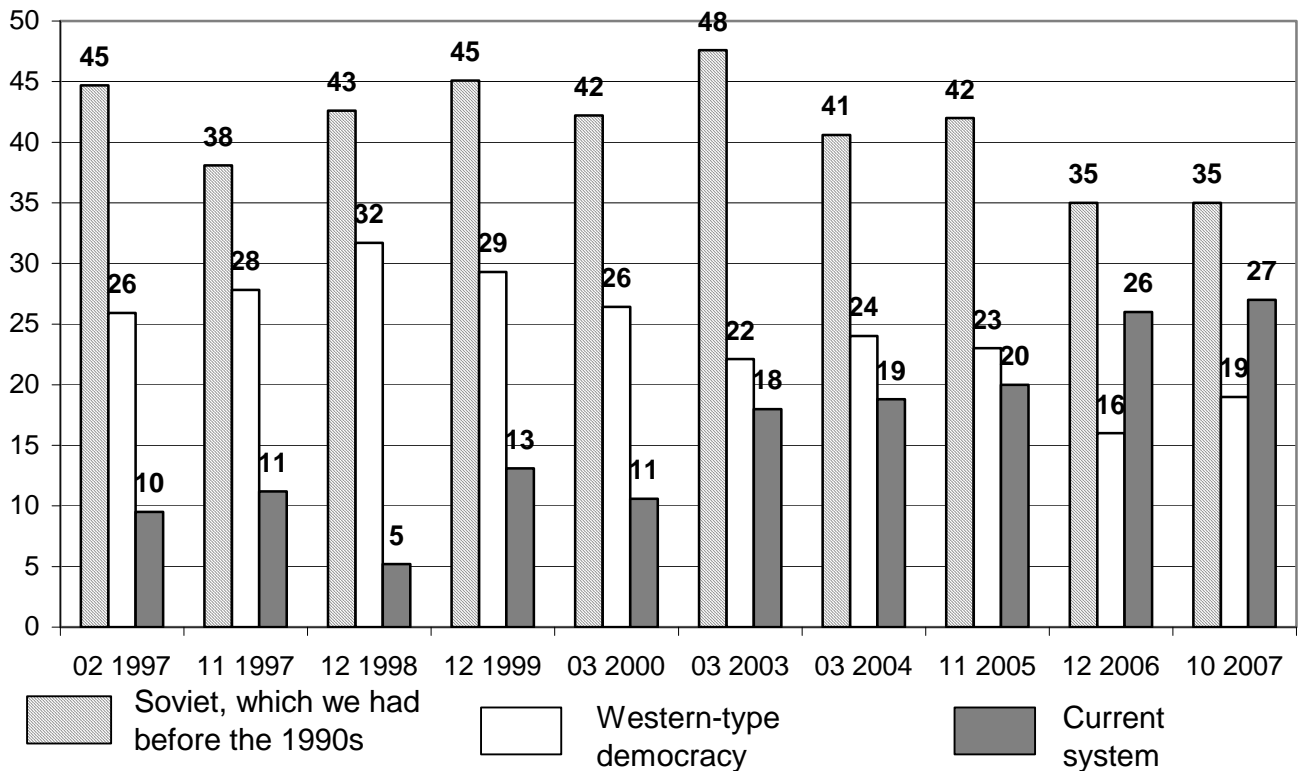
**Speaking about the course Russia can take in the present situation, which of the following courses would you prefer?**

	1998 IV	1999 IX	2001 I	2004 XII	2005 XII	2006 IV	2006 XII	2007 IV
Going back to what we had under Soviet power	27	29	22	24	22	20	21	17
Changing the direction of the reforms by strengthening the role of the government in the economy and ensuring social protection of the population	40	41	40	47	48	43	50	45
Continuing the reforms gradually decreasing the role of the government in the economy and providing entrepreneurs with more opportunities	10	11	10	8	10	12	6	14
Finish the social and economic reforms under way fast and resolutely	13	10	15	13	11	18	13	17
Difficult to answer	10	9	15	8	9	7	10	7

N=1600

Diagram 2.3

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



N=1600

Table 2.16

**Do you like the idea of a comeback of the soviet political system overall?**

Like very much	10
Like somewhat	25
Don't like somewhat	28
Don't like at all	16
Difficult to answer	21

2007, October; N=1600

Table 2.17

**Would you agree or disagree with the opinion that over the past years the political system in Russia has become more and more like the soviet system?**

Completely agree	7
Agree somewhat	17
Disagree somewhat	36
Absolutely disagree	23
Difficult to answer	18

2007, October; N=1600

Table 2.18

**Overall, how much are you interested in politics?**

	2003 XI	2004 X	2005 X	2006 III	2006 VI	2006 X	2007 X
Very interested	6	7	6	5	7	6	7
Somewhat interested	28	37	32	34	30	31	37
Not interested, rather than interested	44	34	36	40	39	41	36
Not interested at all	19	20	24	19	24	21	18
Difficult to answer	2	2	2	2	2	1	2

N=1600

Table 2.19

**Do you personally have any influence on the political and economic life of Russia?**

	2006 August	2007 October
Definitely yes	1	4
Yes, rather than no	9	11
No, rather than yes	31	32
Definitely no	56	48
Difficult to answer	3	4

N=1600

Table 2.20

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

	2006 February	2007 October
Definitely yes	2	3
Somewhat	13	21
No, rather than yes	39	31
Definitely no	45	41
Difficult to answer	2	5

N=1600

Table 2.21

**How did the situation with simple people's influence on government affairs change last year?**

Year of evaluation	1989	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
The situation changed for the better	21	5	4	7	11	4	3	4	12
The situation changed for the worse	6	27	37	36	25	33	32	23	30
The situation did not change	43	60	48	49	54	55	56	61	48
Difficult to answer	29	9	11	9	11	9	10	12	11

N=1600

## CITIZENS AND GOVERNMENT

Table 2.22

**Do you think the interests of the society and of those in power are now the same in Russia?**

Definitely yes	5
Yes, rather than no	23
No, rather than yes	37
Definitely no	25
Difficult to answer	9

2007, November; N=1600

Table 2.23

**Why do you think that the interests of those in power and of the society are now not the same in Russia?**

(% of those who believe «they are not the same»)

There is no «feedback» between those on top who make political decisions and the population	19
Those in power live off the population, so they have to deceive the people	29
The interests of the authorities and the population are the same only at the time of some crisis, when the country is in mortal danger	14
Those in power and the population always have different interests and goals	34
Difficult to answer	4

2007, November; N=1000

Table 2.24

**Is it necessary that power in the country be under the control of its citizens or is it not necessary to control the authorities if they are acting in the interests of the people?**

It is necessary for power to be under the citizens' control	66
If those in power act in the interests of the people, it is not necessary to control them	27
Difficult to answer	7

2007, November; N=1600

Table 2.25

**Has the activity of the government been more balanced and responsible over the past few years or do they more and more often act irresponsibly, arbitrarily?**

Are becoming more and more balanced and responsible	43
The government more and more often acts irresponsibly and arbitrarily	34
Difficult to answer	23

2007, November; N=1600

Table 2.26

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

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

N=1600

Table 2.27

**Will the majority of people in Russia be able to live without being constantly  
taken care of, patronized by the state or will they not?**

	1997 April	2007 July
The majority will be able to live without being taken care of by the state	17	21
The majority will not be able to live without being taken care of by the state	72	74
Difficult to answer	11	5

N=1600

Table 2.28

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

	2001 January	2006 March	2007 October
The state should interfere in the life and economic activity of its citizens as little as possible	6	6	7
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
The state should take care of its citizens providing them with a decent standard of living	71	66	66
Difficult to answer	4	4	3

N=1600

Table 2.29

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

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

N=1600

Table 2.30

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

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

N=1600

Table 2.31

**Which procedure of power transfer would you be more likely to support?**

People in power should be regularly replaced in the course of democratic national elections	51
People in power should appoint their successor after some time and transfer power to him	19
The same people should stay in power as long as possible	18
Difficult to answer	12

2007, April; N=1600

Table 2.32

**What is the main aim of the activity of the highest government officials?**

Securing the interests of the state	20
Securing the interests of the population of the country	12
Securing their own interests	55
Difficult to answer	13

2007, October; N=1600

Table 2.33

**What happens if power in the country is in the hands of the same people for many years?**

It ensures order and stability in the country	34
It leads to growth of arbitrariness, corruption and abuse of power	20
It leads to stagnation and lagging behind other countries	15
It's not important what people are in power, the most important thing is compliance with the law	19
Difficult to answer	12

2007, October; N=1600

Table 2.34

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

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

Table 2.35

**What do you think the President, the government should do now?**

	2001 January	2006 March	2007 March	2007 March
«Tighten the screws» and take a tougher attitude to any «liberties» in the political and economic life	53	39	48	48
Let people have the freedom to do what they want to do and only see to it that the law is not violated	33	47	36	36
Difficult to answer	14	14	16	17

N=1600

## RUSSIAN IDENTITY

Table 2.36

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

	2003 December	2004 March	2005 November	2006 November	2007 November
A great power which other countries respect and are a little afraid of	43	40	36	36	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
Difficult to answer	3	3	3	2	5

N=1600

Table 2.37

**Is Russia a great power at present?**

	1999 III	2000 IV	2001 XI	2004 III	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Definitely yes	12	20	11	8	7	12	17
Yes, rather than no	19	33	29	31	23	31	36
No, rather than yes	34	30	35	42	44	36	31
Definitely no	31	13	22	15	23	16	11
Difficult to answer	4	4	3	3	4	5	5

N=1600

Table 2.38

**What idea, in your opinion, is most likely to unite Russian society now?**

	1995 August	1998 September	2007 August
Wealth, prosperity	4	4	6
Stability	16	22	20
Freedom	3	1	1
Decent life	11	11	22
Strong state	9	10	7
Becoming part of the modern world	2	2	1
Equality and justice	7	6	6
Revival of Russia	8	10	5
Law and order	19	14	9
Strong family	2	1	4
Social safety	8	6	9
Orthodoxy	1	1	1
Communism	1	3	2
Salvation of the fatherland	2	4	1
Difficult to answer	5	6	4

N=1600

Table 2.39

**Are you proud of living in Russia?**

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

N=1600

Table 2.40

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

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

N=1600

Table 2.41

**Would you like our passports to contain information about our ethnicity like in soviet times?**

Yes	46
No	36
Difficult to answer	18

2007, January; N=1600

Table 2.42

**Which, in your opinion, is the better name for the citizens of Russia?**

Russians	40
Rossiyans	54
Difficult to answer	6

2007 г., January; N=1600

Table 2.43

**Ideally, what would you like Russia to be like in future?**

	1998 April	2006 April	2007 April
Like it is now	2	9	10
Like other developed countries in the West	43	43	50
Like it was at the time of the USSR	36	32	25
Like it was before 1917	5	5	4
Difficult to answer	9	6	6

N=1600

Table 2.44

**In what borders would you like to see Russia in future?**

	1998 April	2006 April	2007 April
Current borders	19	29	35
Current borders + Belarus	3	6	3
Current borders + Ukraine	2	1	1
Current borders + Belarus and Ukraine	11	6	7
Current borders + Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan	12	10	9
Former USSR borders except the Baltic countries	19	17	13
Former USSR borders including the Baltic countries	28	20	22
Difficult to answer	6	9	9

N=1600

### 3. ECONOMIC SITUATION IN RUSSIA

Table 3.1

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

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007						2008	
	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	I	III	V	VII	IX	XI	I	III
Good	2	3	3	4	5	5	9	8	8	13	11	12	13	15
Average	23	37	37	35	38	40	48	40	48	47	45	47	53	51
Poor	63	49	50	48	46	42	31	39	31	27	28	27	20	24
Difficult to answer	12	11	10	13	11	13	13	13	13	13	17	13	14	10

N=2100

Table 3.2

**Do you think there have been changes in the country's economy over the past few months? If you do, what kind of changes prevailed, in your opinion?**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007						2008
	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	I	III	V	VII	IX	XI	I
There have been no changes	14	15	14	15	14	14	11	13	16	16	13	7	10
More changes for the better	10	13	13	10	9	11	18	16	15	19	19	19	25
Both, in equal amounts	32	31	32	32	30	31	33	29	34	32	29	34	35
More changes for the worse	24	20	25	19	27	25	16	19	16	12	16	22	13
Difficult to answer	20	21	16	24	20	19	22	22	19	22	23	18	17

N=2100

Table 3.3

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

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007						2008	
	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	I	III	V	VII	IX	XI	I	III
The situation will be much better	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	3	4	7
The situation will be somewhat better	33	32	26	29	25	25	29	30	31	30	29	28	30	41
The situation will be somewhat worse	21	23	28	21	24	26	18	16	19	19	18	21	17	15
The situation will be much worse	10	8	8	6	10	8	5	8	4	5	6	7	6	5
Difficult to answer	35	36	37	42	39	40	46	44	44	44	44	41	43	32

N=2100

Table 3.4

**What is your appraisal of the economic situation in your city, rural area?**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007						2008	
	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	I	III	V	VII	IX	XI	I	III
Good	3	5	7	6	7	1	9	7	11	12	11	11	13	14
Average	35	41	38	37	37	30	44	37	42	44	40	41	44	45
Poor	52	44	47	47	49	57	39	45	39	35	38	41	32	33
Difficult to answer	10	10	8	10	8	12	8	10	8	10	11	8	11	8

N=2100

Table 3.5

**Do you think market reforms in Russia...**

	2006 April	2007 April
Have been successfully completed	1	1
Are successfully in progress	22	23
Have slowed down	30	29
Have failed	14	13
Have never seriously begun	20	21
Difficult to answer	14	14

N=1600

Table 3.6

**What is the main obstacle for the economic growth in Russia?**

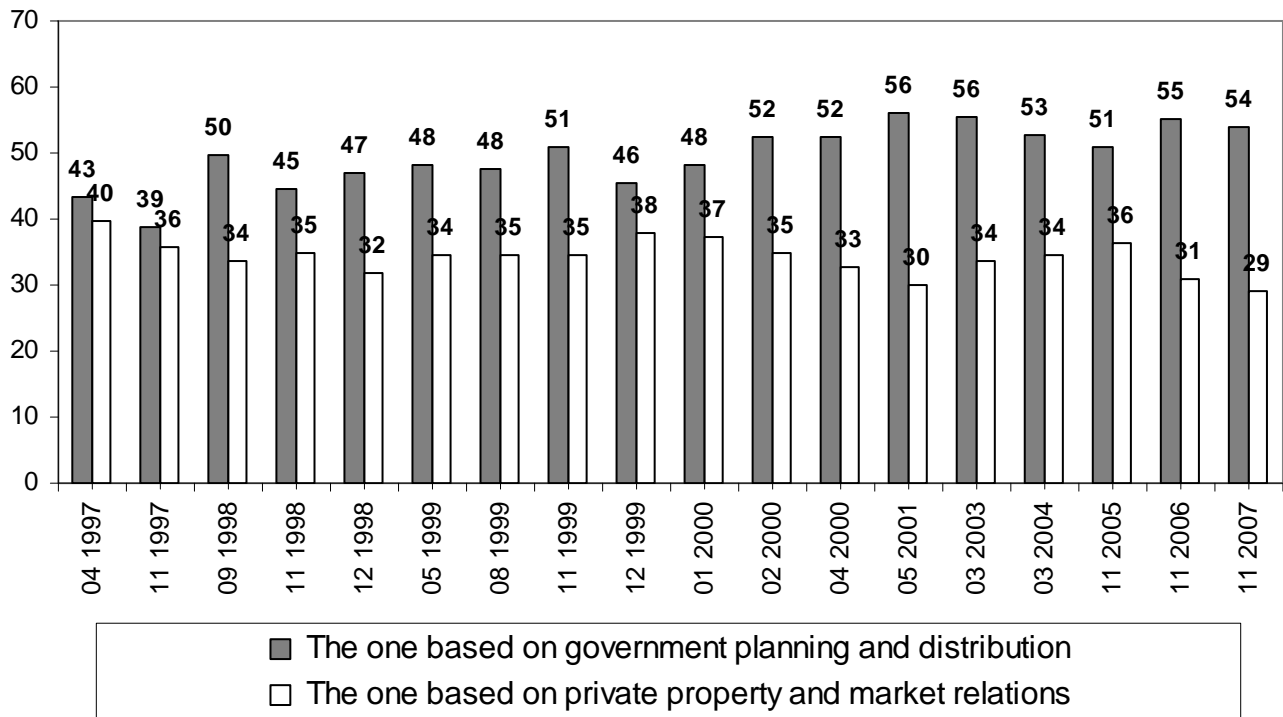
(Answers ranked by the first measurement)

	2000	2005	2006	2007
Corruption, misappropriation of the country's funds and property	44	50	50	43
Resistance of the civil servants, the bureaucracy	26	32	34	29
Weakness of the authorities	26	33	26	25
The laws and decrees are ignored at the local level	25	29	30	28
Lack of a thought-out program of the implementation of the reforms	22	23	19	18
People, they do not know how to work any more	18	22	23	20
Many people are not interested in the transition to market economy, they do not see how it can do them any good	17	15	14	16
Economic incompetence of the current government	13	16	16	17
Lack of enterprising people who like to take the initiative	11	12	13	12
Conflicts between the center and regions, Federation subjects	11	9	7	8
Do not see any special obstacles	7	4	9	13
Difficult to answer	6	6	4	2

N=1600

Diagram 3.1

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



N=1600

Table 3.7

**What economic system would you like to see in Russia?**

	2003 November	2004 October	2005 October	2006 October	2007 October
Market economy	16	20	15	17	15
Mixed economy (with elements of planned and market economies)	45	43	43	44	47
Planned economy	20	23	28	25	24
Difficult to answer	19	10	14	15	10

N=1600

Table 3.8

**Do you feel the economic growth of the country in your life, in the life of your family at present?**

Yes	24
No	67
Difficult to answer	9

2007, March; N=1600

Table 3.9

**What are the prospects of the development  
of Russia mainly connected with?**

Scientific and technical discoveries, new technologies	11
Growth of industrial and agricultural production	44
Trade in arms	2
Sale of oil and gas for high prices	28
Something else	1
Russia has no prospects	4
Difficult to answer	10

2007, October; N=1600

Table 3.10

**Do you think globalization, elimination of borders and development of  
economic ties between countries does Russia more good or more harm?**

	2006 September	2007 October
More good	39	36
More harm	25	27
Difficult to answer	36	37

N=1600

Table 3.11

**Would you be for or against the Russian market being  
more open for foreign goods?**

	2003 August	2006 October	2007 October
Definitely for	18	16	16
For, rather than against	33	41	29
Against, rather than for	31	24	30
Definitely against	13	9	11
Difficult to answer	5	10	13

N=1600

Table 3.12

**Would you be for or against foreign capital having access to Russia?**

	2003 August	2006 October	2007 October
Definitely for	15	13	13
For, rather than against	33	36	29
Against, rather than for	28	26	29
Definitely against	16	10	12
Difficult to answer	8	16	18

N=1600

## OIL REVENUES – STABILIZATION FUND

Table 3.13

**How effectively do you think the current government of Russia is using the additional revenues the country gets because of the high oil prices?**

Very effectively	3
Quite effectively	14
Not very effectively	41
Absolutely ineffectively	28
Difficult to answer	15

2007, November; N=1600

Table 3.14

**What do you think the multibillion oil revenues are spent on;  
where do these revenues go?  
(Ranked answers)**

Are stolen	46
On payments to officials	36
Accumulated in the stabilization Fund	27
Nowhere in particular, just spent on current needs	21
On the realization of national projects	16
On strengthening of the army, purchase of new materiel and weapons	14
On raising salaries of the government-budgeted sector and pensions	11
On development of science and education	7
On development of government-owned corporations	7
Difficult to answer	8

2007, June; N=1600

Table 3.15

**What should the Stabilization Fund surplus be used for?**

	2006 March	2007 March
For advanced repayment of external debt	9	7
For raising salaries of people working in state-owned organizations	35	35
For replenishment of the Pension Fund	36	40
For reimbursement of Sberbank accounts depreciated in 1992	18	17
For building roads, development of infrastructure	21	30
For the reform/modernization of housing and communal services	25	24
For the development of the mortgage lending programme (credits for buying accommodation)	18	19
For subsidies for the agricultural sector	36	32
For investments and forward-looking economic projects/ sectors of industry	20	17
For modernization of the Army	18	11
For the development of education, healthcare, science and culture	45	40
For easing tax burden on business	5	5
Difficult to answer	4	3

2006, March; N=1600

Table 3.16

**Which of the following statements would you agree with most?**

	1994 September	2001 September	2007 September
I envy people with a lot of money	9	8	6
I respect people who know how to «make money»	32	38	29
Money, personal wealth is the symbol of our time	20	22	19
To live a normal life one should know how to plan the family budget, «count money»	32	39	31
Money is not a value for me	6	7	4
I'd like to live in a society where there is no money at all	10	10	10
People with a lot of money seem suspicious to me	27	29	21
Difficult to answer	7	7	5

N=1600

## 4. LIVING STANDARD OF RUSSIAN POPULATION

Table 4.1

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

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007						2008	
	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	I	III	V	VII	IX	XI	I	III
We can hardly make both ends meet, there is not enough money even for food	22	19	15	18	15	13	16	12	12	13	14	12	12
We have enough money for food but buying clothes is a serious problem	44	42	45	41	37	30	33	33	31	28	33	29	28
We have enough money for food and clothes but buying durables is a problem for us	27	32	31	31	37	41	37	43	41	43	37	42	39
Buying durables is not a problem for us but it is difficult to buy really expensive things	7	7	9	10	10	16	14	11	15	16	15	17	21
We can afford to buy quite expensive things – a car, a flat, a dacha and a lot of other things	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1

N=2100

Table 4.2

How do you think your family will live in a year?

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007						2008	
	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	I	III	V	VII	IX	XI	I	III
Better	21	16	18	17	19	20	18	20	22	21	20	23	28
The same as now	38	38	33	33	36	35	30	32	36	30	32	33	33
Worse	16	13	11	15	12	10	15	10	9	10	11	7	10
Difficult to answer	26	33	39	35	33	34	38	38	33	38	36	37	30

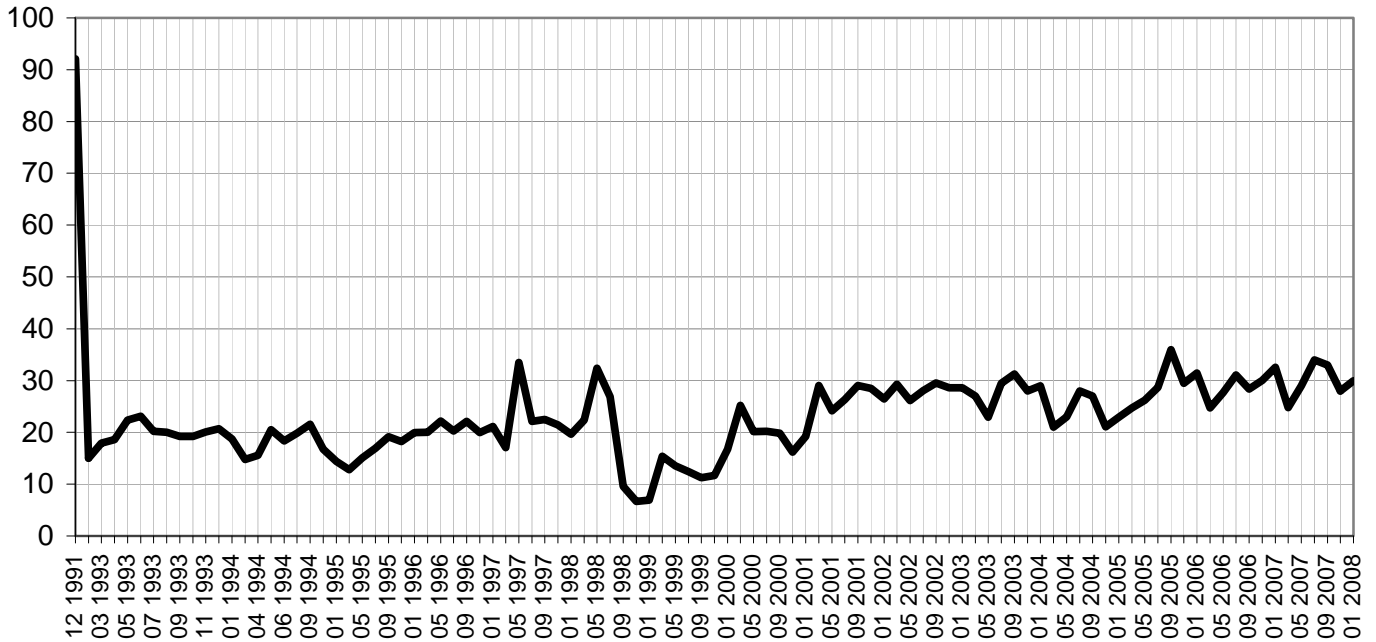
N=2100

## PERSONAL INCOMES

Diagram 4.1

### Assessment of changes in the money incomes of the family versus the changes in consumer prices

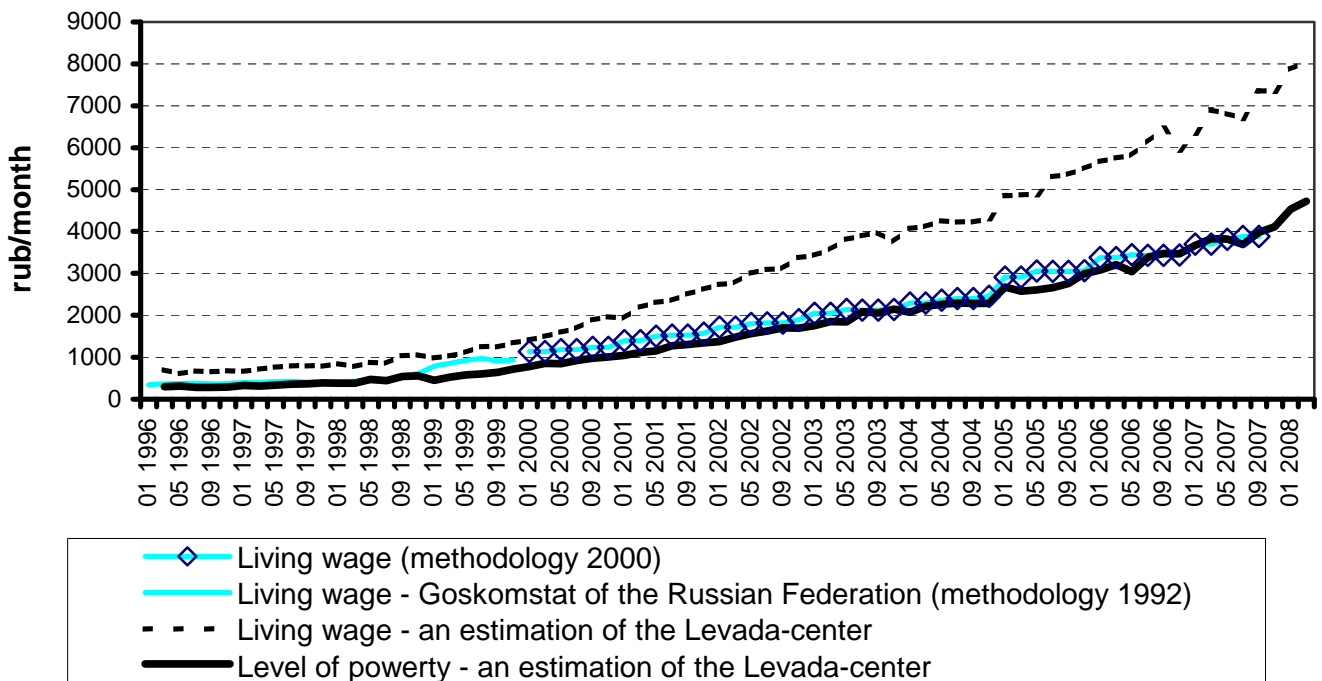
(the index is based on the difference of positive answers «the incomes grew faster than the prices» and negative answers «the incomes grew slower than the prices» plus 100)



N=2100

Diagram 4.2

### Alternative measures of poverty in Russia

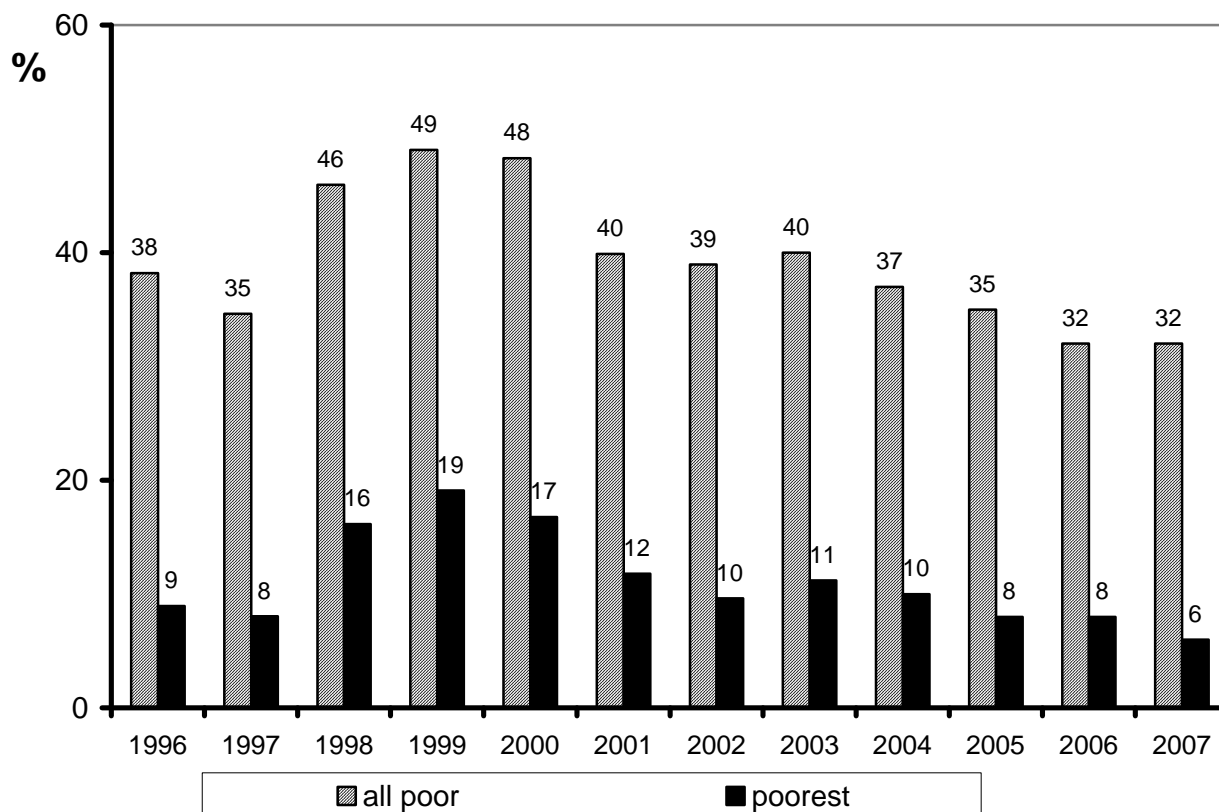


N=2100

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

Diagram 4.3

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



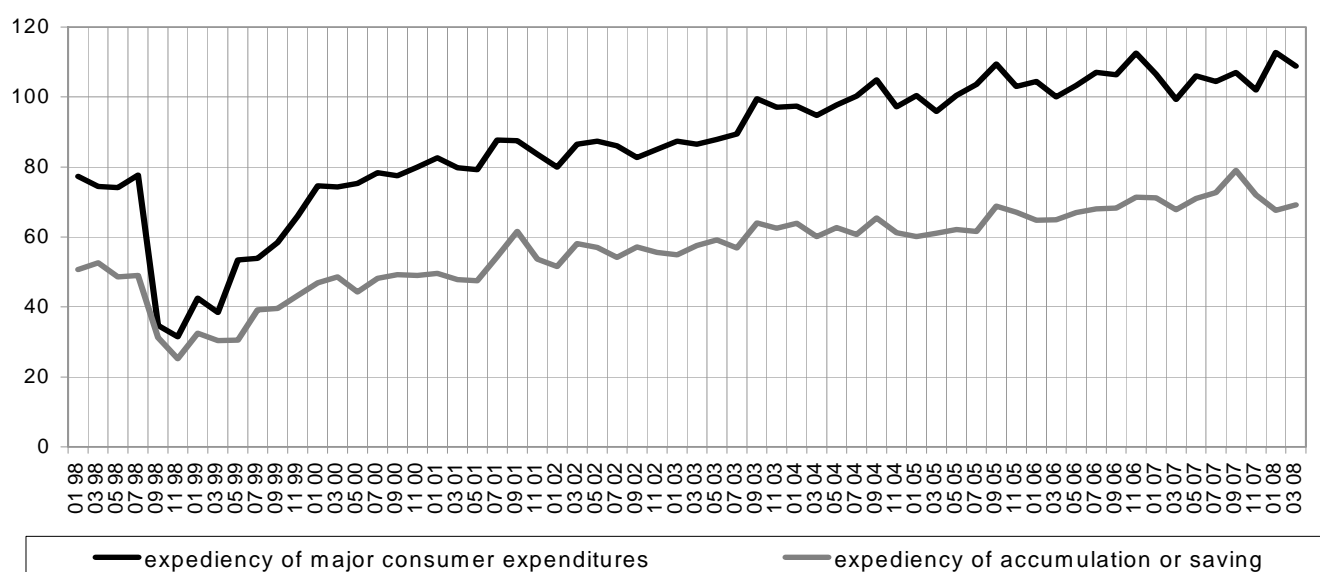
N=2100

## HOUSEHOLD SAVINGS

Diagram 4.4

### People's perceptions of whether it is the right time for major consumer expenditures and savings

(the Index is calculated as the difference between positive and negative answers plus 100)



N=2100

Table 4.3

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

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

N=2100

Table 4.4

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

	2002	2003	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007			
	VII	VII	XII	VII	XII	VII	II	VII	II	VII
Rubles	29	29	46	38	39	35	40	50	50	49
Dollars	33	27	13	17	11	23	15	8	7	5
Euro	18	25	25	28	29	25	21	24	23	30
Difficult to answer	21	19	16	17	21	18	24	18	21	16

N=1600

Table 4.5

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

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII
Yes	26	24	24	21	22	22
No	68	69	68	70	69	66
Don't know/ refused to answer	6	7	8	9	9	13

N=1600

Table 4.6

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

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

N=1600

Table 4.7

**Did/are you or members of your family buy/going to buy shares of some businesses or mutual funds?**

	Bought	Are going to buy
Yes	9	4
No	87	89
Don't want to answer	2	2
Don't know	2	5

2007, September; N=1600

Table 4.8

**Would you be for or against it if foreign banks worked in Russia and simple citizens could keep their savings in them?**

	2003 August	2006 October	2007 October
Definitely for	15	13	16
For, rather than against	31	31	24
Against, rather than for	27	25	26
Definitely against	18	16	14
Difficult to answer	10	16	20

N=1600

Table 4.9

**Do you trust ...**

	Definitely yes	Yes, rather than no	No, rather than yes	Definitely no	Difficult to answer
The Savings Bank of Russia	29	39	15	10	7
Russian commercial banks	4	17	39	28	12
Private pension funds	4	9	36	33	18
Russian insurance companies	7	26	28	24	16
Foreign banks	6	13	23	28	30

2007, October; N=1600

Table 4.10

**Is now a good time for buying on credit? \***

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007						2008
	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	I	III	V	VII	IX	XI	I
Now is a good time for buying on credit	7	11	12	24	29	27	24	24	19	22	17	19	18	23
Neither good, nor bad	17	17	18	18	19	26	25	24	19	24	23	24	26	21
Now is not a good time for taking credit for buying on credit	59	57	50	39	37	33	36	40	47	43	46	42	39	39
Difficult to answer	17	15	20	19	15	14	15	12	15	11	15	15	17	17

\*) The question is asked in the joint project of IPN Fund, NISP and Levada-Center  
N=2100

Table 4.11

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

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
	XI	IX	IX	IX	IX
Haven't bought anything on credit	84	77	71	65	62
<i>Bought:</i>					
Household appliances, video, computer	12	17	22	26	24
Furniture	3	5	5	6	7
Flat, dacha, other realty	1	1	2	4	5
Car	-	2	3	2	3
Other	2	1	2	3	4

\*) The question is asked in the joint project of CSI-Russia Foundation, NISP and Levada-Centre  
N=2100

Table 4.12

**Influence of experience in taking loans on plans  
to participate in credit programs \***

	Took credit to purchase / Bought on credit	Did not take credit to purchase / bought on credit
<i>Number of respondents</i>	767	1238
<i>Are not going to take credit</i>	31	84
<i>Are going to buy on credit</i>		
Household appliances, video, computer, etc.	12	2
Furniture	7	1
Car	7	1
Realty (apartment, dacha [country house], etc.)	6	1
Other	2	0
<i>Do not know if will buy on credit</i>	40	11

\*) The question is asked in the joint project of CSI-Russia Foundation, NISP and Levada-Center  
2007, September; N=2100

## 5. EVALUATIONS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Diagram 5.1.1

What problems of our society worry you most of all?

### Social and economic problems

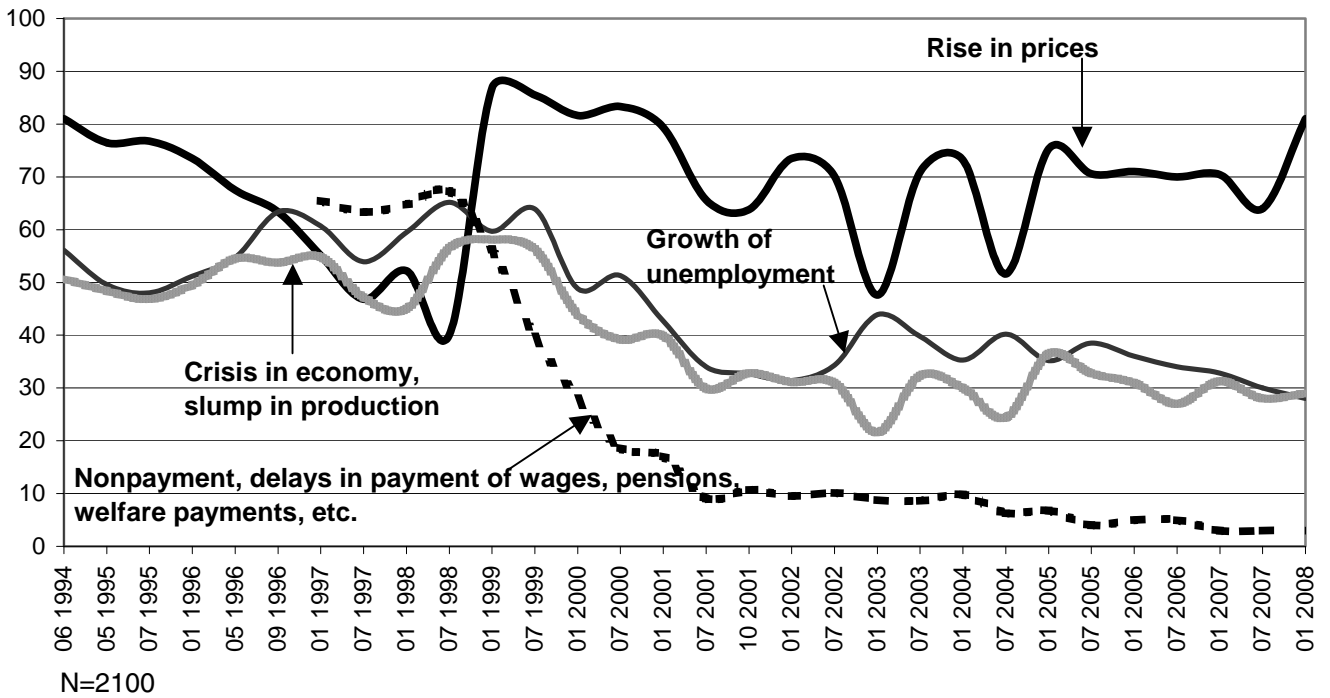


Diagram 5.1.2

### Authority and management

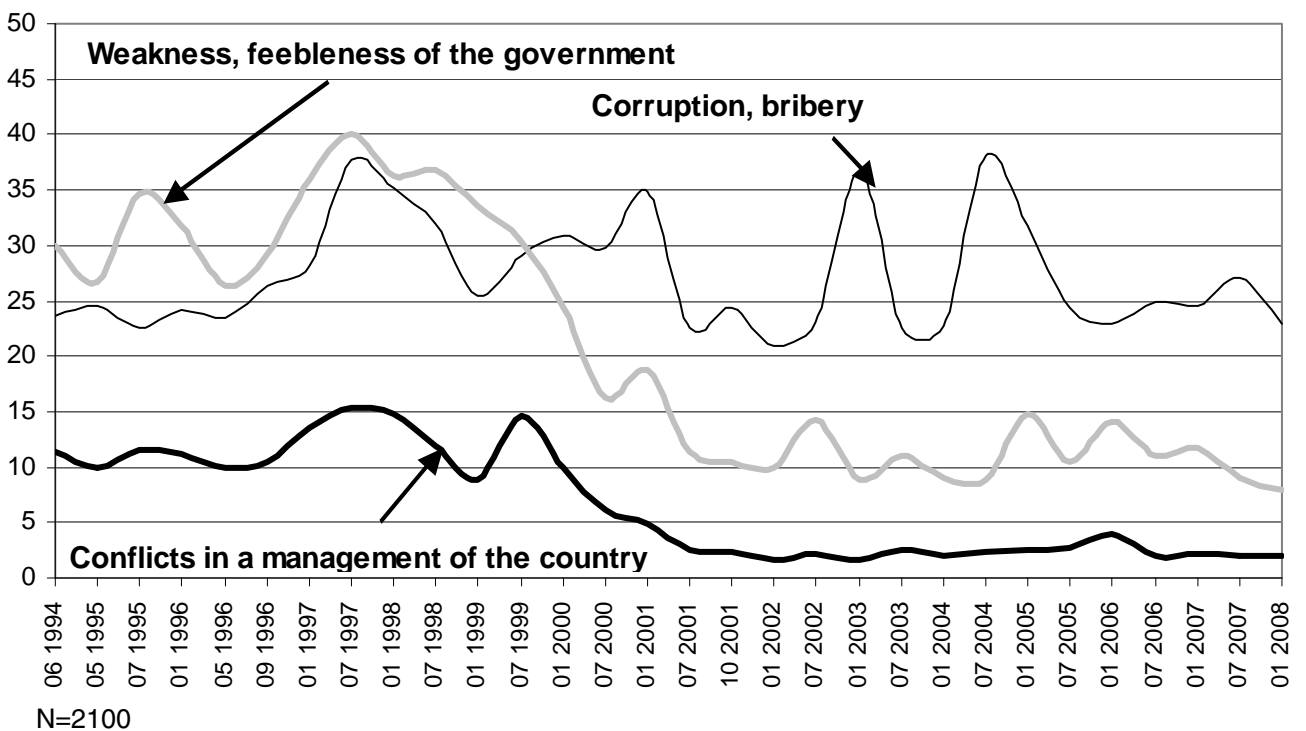


Diagram 5.1.3

**Social life**

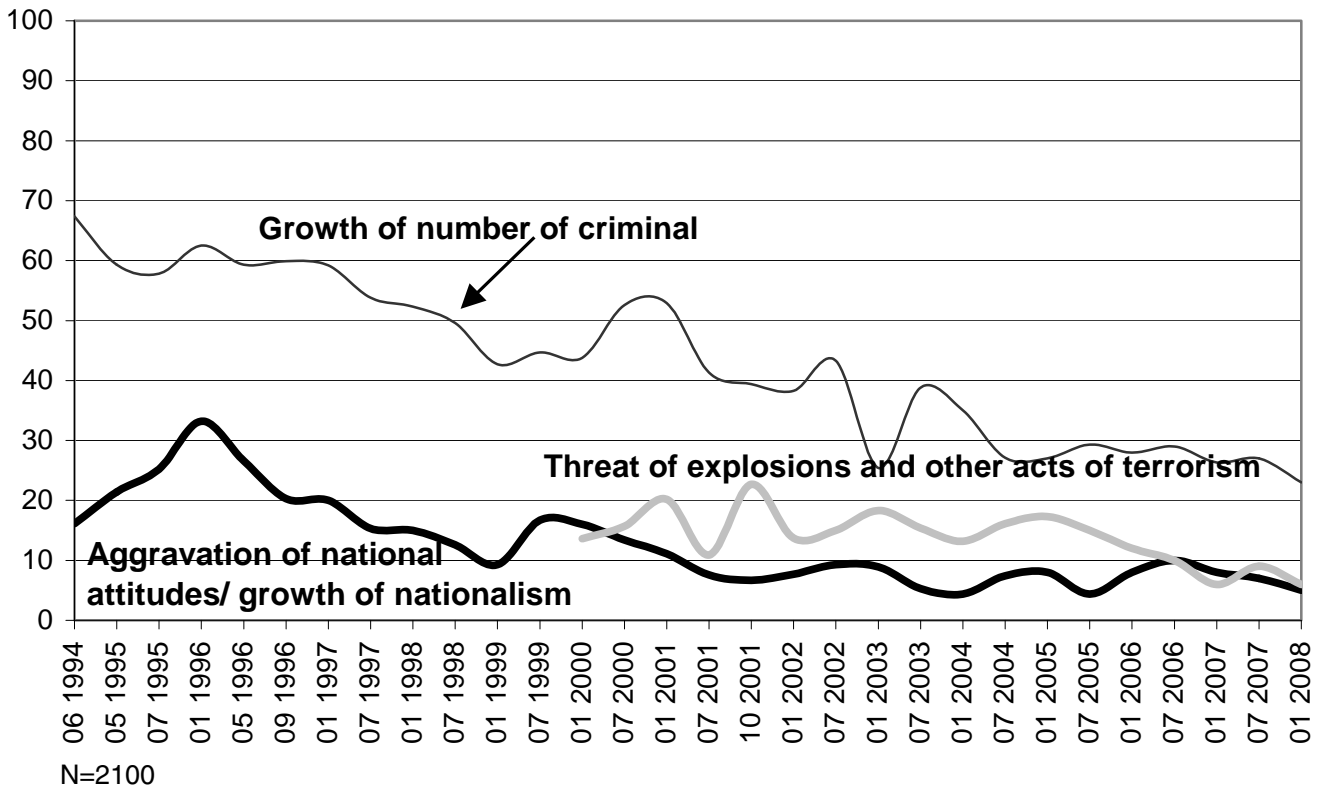


Diagram 5.1.4

**Culture, ecology**

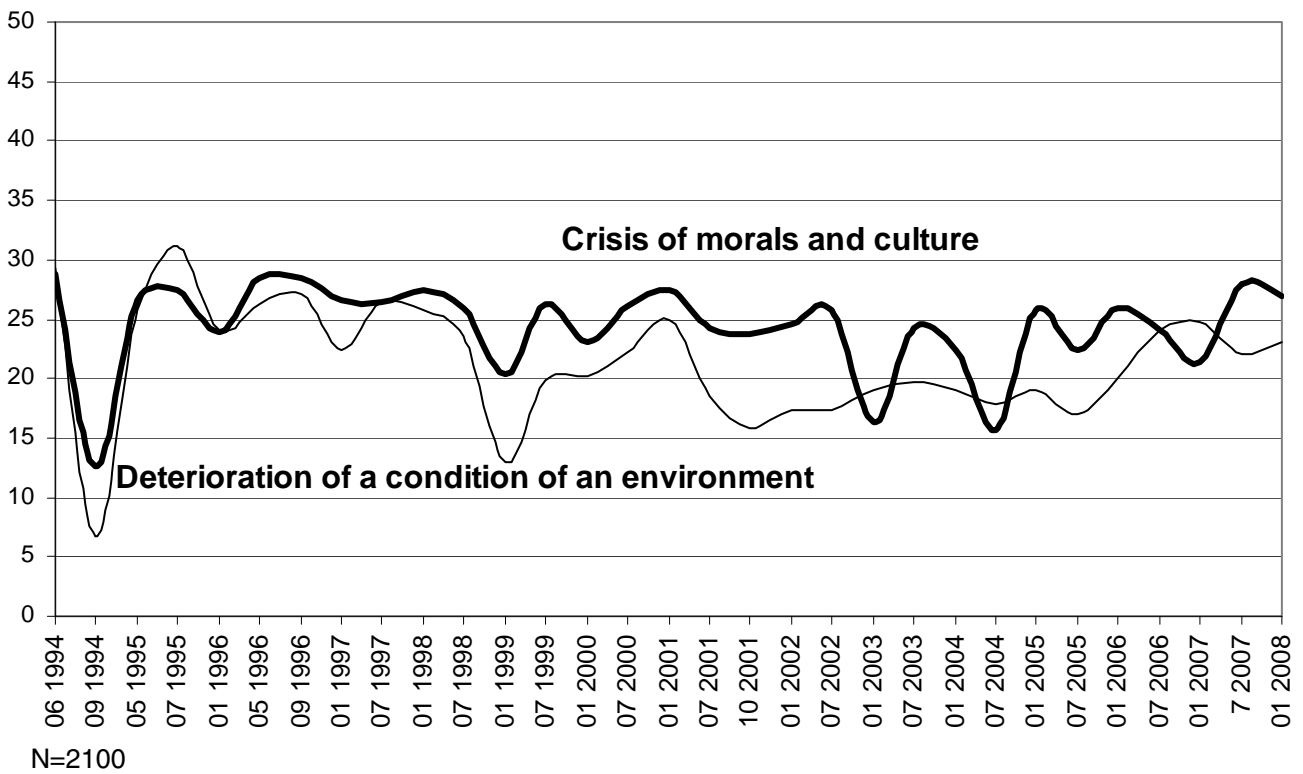


Table 5.1

**Which would you prefer: you and your children having the possibility of receiving free medical services, free education or having enough money to pay for medical and educational services?**

	2002 December	2004 July	2005 July	2007 July
Possibility of receiving free medical services and education	63	68	76	60
Enough money to pay for medical and educational services	33	30	22	35
Difficult to answer	4	2	2	5

N=1600

Table 5.2

**Which would you prefer?**

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

N=1600

Table 5.3

**What did you feel about V. Putin's latest promise of pension rise?**

Gratitude	11
Satisfaction	18
Had mixed feelings	23
Thought it mockery	25
Didn't pay much attention to it	20
Difficult to answer	3

2007, October; N=1600

Table 5.4

**What was the reason for this decision about pension rise, in your opinion?**

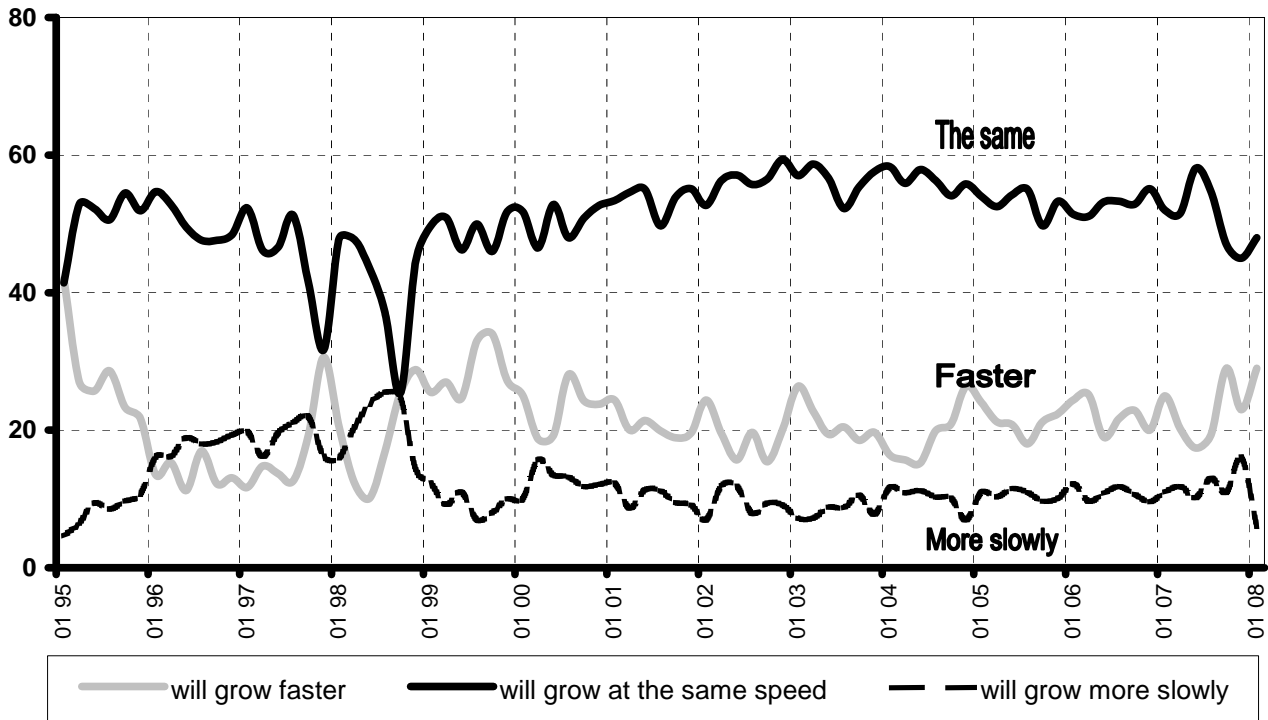
Care for the needs of people	16
Necessity to compensate the sharp rise of prices for food	40
It's simply a PR move in the current election campaign	36
Difficult to answer	8

2007, October; N=1600

## PRICE RISE

Diagram 5.2

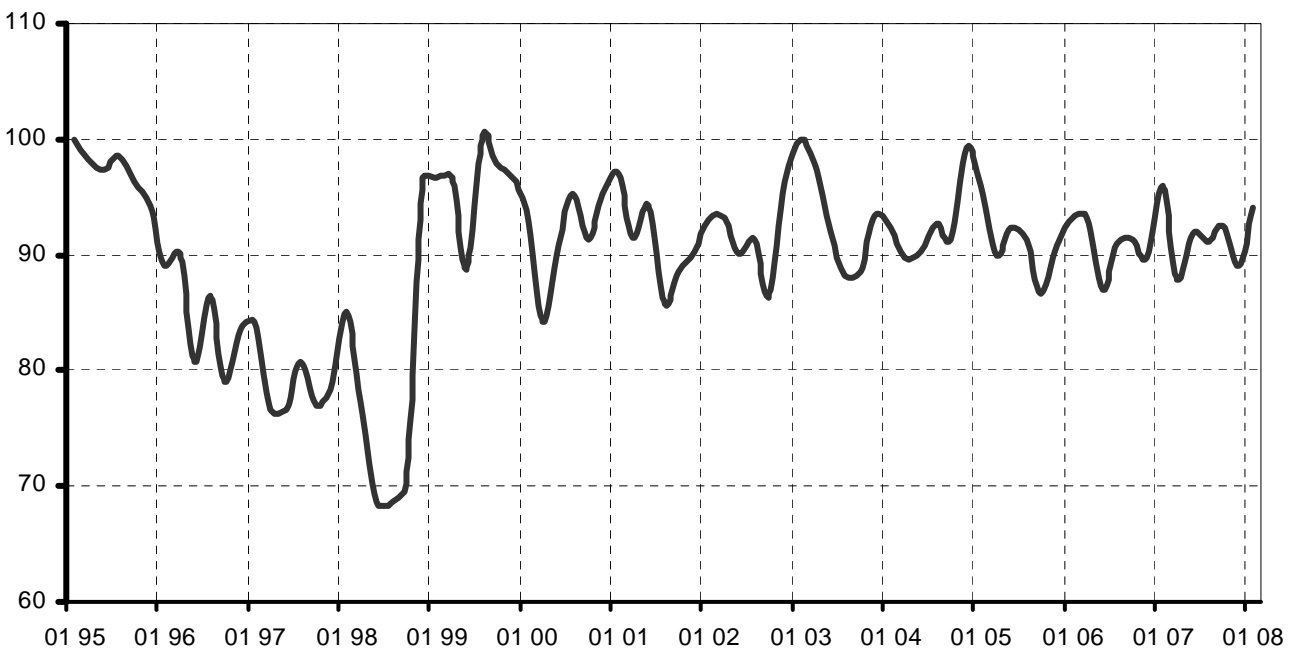
How will the prices for goods and services grow in the near future?



N=2100

Diagram 5.3

**Inflation expectations index**  
 (difference of positive and negative evaluations)  
 (January 1995 – 100%)



N=2100

Table 5.5

**Do you think the rise in prices for essential foodstuffs, goods and services is compensated for by the rise of pensions and wages?**

Fully	1
Somewhat	8
Only partly	23
Not compensated at all	64
Difficult to answer	4

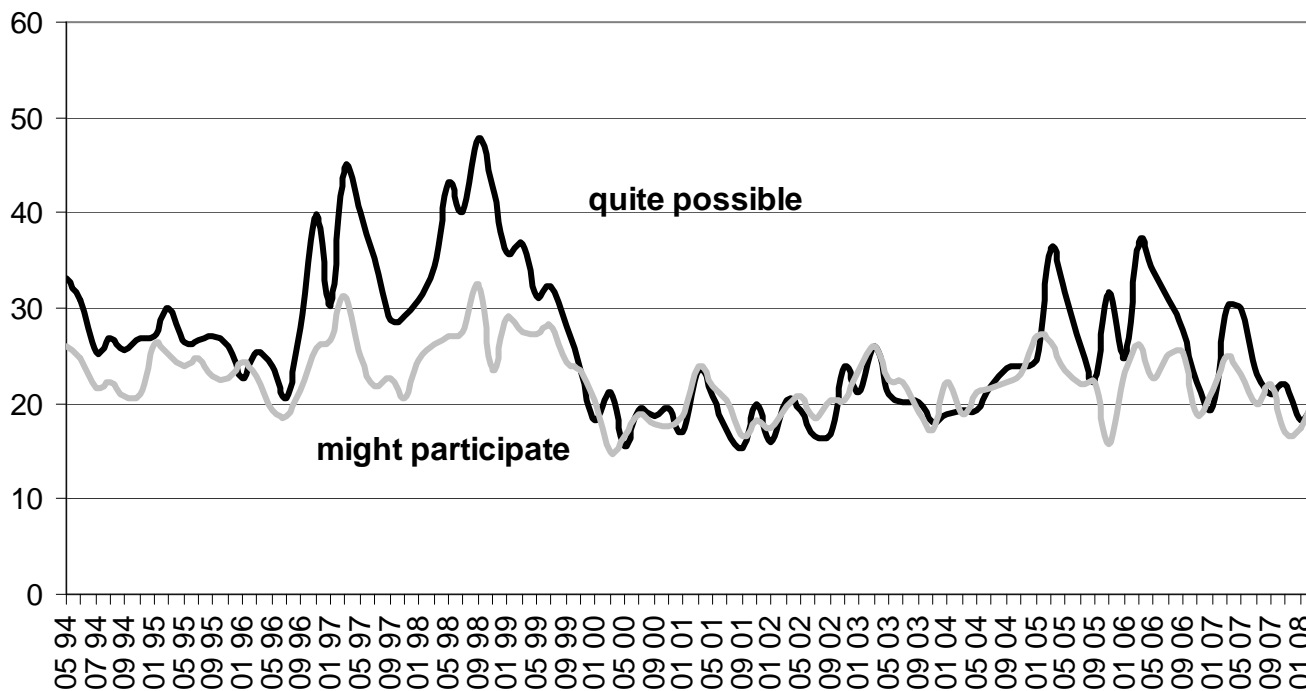
2007, August; N=1600

### SOCIAL PROTESTS

Diagram 5.4

#### Protest potential

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



N=2100

Table 5.6

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

	1989 IX	2001 VI	2003 II	2004 XI	2005 XII	2006 XI	2007 XI
Industrial action is the only way to make sure one's demands are met	17	13	28	14	15	14	14
Industrial action is a legitimate mean of addressing vital problems	12	13	20	19	20	20	21
Industrial action is the last resort but under current conditions it is often impossible to avoid	44	30	32	29	34	30	33
Nothing can be gained by industrial action	5	33	14	29	23	23	17
Industrial action is unacceptable in Russia	14	5	2	4	3	3	6
Difficult to answer	8	6	4	5	4	9	9

N=1600

Table 5.7

**Are strikes extremist actions?**

Definitely yes	8
Yes, rather than no	18
No, rather than yes	37
Definitely no	22
Difficult to answer	15

2007, November; N=1600

## 6. SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL ISSUES «NATIONAL PROJECTS»

Table 6.1

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.2

**Why do you think the national projects were launched?**

	2006 March	2007 March
Because the leaders of the country care for the wellbeing of the people	19	15
To ease social tension in the society	41	42
To compensate the rise of prices and tariffs	16	17
To spend the money accumulated in the Stabilization Fund	13	18
To boost Putin's popularity	18	16
To provide the «party of power» with «what to report about» to the voters before the 2007 State Duma election	24	29
To give D. Medvedev a chance to show his worth before the presidential elections	-*	16
Difficult to answer	20	14

\*) The question was not asked

N=1600

Table 6.3

**Do you think the national projects will have a considerable impact on your life, the life of your family?**

	2006		2007		2008
	March	September	March	September	March
Definitely yes	5	4	4	6	2
Yes, rather than no	24	25	22	25	14
No, rather than yes	36	36	39	37	29
Definitely no	21	23	21	16	33
Difficult to answer	14	13	14	17	21

N=1600

Table 6.4

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

	2006		2007		2008
	March	September	March	September	March
Definitely yes	8	9	6	11	7
Yes, rather than no	36	37	34	37	28
No, rather than yes	32	29	30	26	29
Definitely no	10	10	15	13	16
Difficult to answer	15	14	16	13	20

N=1600

Table 6.5

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.5

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.6

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

	2006		2007		2008
	March	September	March	September	March
Definitely yes	5	5	4	7	2
Yes, rather than no	27	25	20	26	14
No, rather than yes	36	33	31	28	29
Definitely no	16	20	25	23	33
Difficult to answer	17	19	21	16	22

N=1600

Table 6.7

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

	2006		2007		2008
	March	September	March	September	March
Very effectively	1	2	1	2	1
Quite effectively	12	12	12	13	13
Not very effectively	35	35	39	38	38
Absolutely ineffectively	8	12	12	14	15
Will be simply stolen	31	30	27	22	15
Difficult to answer	12	10	10	12	18

N=1600

**HEALTHCARE**

Table 6.8

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.9

**How did the situation in hospitals, polyclinics change last year?**

Year of evaluation	1989	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
The situation changed for the better	5	3	8	11	12	12	13	11	16	18
The situation changed for the worse	40	67	45	52	50	45	39	41	30	47
The situation did not change	36	18	40	32	33	37	39	40	46	29
Difficult to answer	19	10	7	6	5	6	8	8	9	6

N=1600

Table 6.10

**What is the effect of chargeable medical services in government-budgeted polyclinics on free medical care?\***

	2007 July
As a rule having chargeable medical services allows medical institutions to improve free medical care	9
Sometimes it leads to somewhat worse free medical care but it's impossible to do without chargeable services	22
Chargeable services usually lead to corrupt practice and always make free medical care worse	39
Chargeable services in government-budgeted polyclinics have no effect of free medical care	9

\* the question was asked in the joint project of IPN fund, NISP and Levada-center 2007, July; N=2000

Table 6.11

**What would you be most likely to do if you had to undergo a medical examination which you are entitled to have for free, but to have it done you have to be on the waiting list for a long time and it is not too easy to get your name on it?\***

	2007 July
In any case I'll get my name on the waiting list for a free examination	23
Only if the need is urgent will I pay for the examination not to join the waiting list	54
I am prepared to pay for the examination at once not to wait for a free examination	13
Difficult to answer	10

\*) the question was asked in the joint project of IPN Fund, NISP and Levada-center 2007, July; N=2000

Table 6.12

**Do you think it fair that people living in wealthier regions where regional budgets can spend more money on healthcare have a better chance to get medical care than residents of poor regions?\***

	2007 July
Fair	14
Unfair	66
Difficult to answer	20

\*) the question was asked in the joint project of IPN Fund, NISP and Levada-center 2007, July; N=2000

Table 6.13

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.14

**How satisfied are you at present with the state of your health?**

	2000 February	2005 January	2007 January
Completely satisfied	24	24	21
Satisfied rather than dissatisfied	36	35	41
Dissatisfied rather than satisfied	26	29	28
Absolutely dissatisfied	13	12	10
Difficult to answer	1	1	1

2007, January; N=1600

Table 6.15

**Are there people among your family and friends who have an addiction to...**

Gambling games	7
Alcohol	26
Drugs	4
There are no such people among my family and friends	69

2007, March; N=1600

**EDUCATION**

Table 6.16

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.17

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.18

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.19

**How satisfied are you at present with the education you received?**

	1999 June	2000 February	2005 January	2007 January
Completely satisfied	27	27	24	26
Satisfied rather than dissatisfied	28	28	38	40
Dissatisfied rather than satisfied	27	29	27	26
Absolutely dissatisfied	10	13	8	7
Difficult to answer	7	4	3	2

N=1600

Table 6.20

**What level of education do you believe sufficient  
for your children, grandchildren?**

	2002 May	2003 May	2007 June
Basic general education is enough (9 years of secondary school)	1	2	1
Secondary general education is necessary (11 years of secondary school)	7	6	4
Technical secondary education is necessary (technical secondary school, college)	18	14	15
Basic higher education is necessary (3-4 years at a university, Bachelor's degree)	5	5	9
Complete higher education is necessary (5-6 years at university, Specialist's degree)	60	56	47
«Advanced» higher education is necessary (6 and more years at university, Master's degree)	-	8	15
Post-graduate course/ scientific degree is necessary	3	2	3
Difficult to answer	7	7	6

N=1600

## SHOOL

Table 6.21

**Do you think textbooks should be the same for all schools or schools and  
teachers should have the right to choose textbooks themselves?**

Textbooks should be the same for all schools	67
Schools and teachers should have the right to choose textbooks themselves	21
Difficult to answer	12

2007, August; N=1600

Table 6.22

**Why do you think textbooks should be the same for all schools?**

(of those who believe they should be «the same»)

It is necessary to ensure a uniform standard of education	69
It'll guarantee the quality of education	29
It will give schoolchildren equal opportunities including chances to enter higher education institutions	36
Difficult to answer	1

2007, August; N=1100

## HIGHER EDUCATION

Table 6.23

**What is higher education necessary for, why do people go to universities?**  
(answers ranked by the first measurement)

	<b>2003 May</b>	<b>2007 June</b>
To earn more money	47	51
To know more, to receive specialist knowledge	38	44
To have a higher position in society	35	44
To do interesting work	28	36
For intellectual development, to live a richer spiritual life	22	26
To be respected by other people	11	13
Because it is common practice at present	11	9
To avoid doing military service	7	6
Do not think higher education necessary	4	3
To enjoy my young years	3	3
Difficult to answer	4	2

N=1600

Table 6.24

**Which type of higher education institutions gives better education?**

	<b>2004 May</b>	<b>2007 June</b>
Government-budgeted	58	61
Non-governmental	9	5
The same education is given in both	26	24
Difficult to answer	7	11

N=1600

Table 6.25

**What do you have to have now to enter a university:  
knowledge, connections, money?**

	<b>2002 July</b>	<b>2004 July</b>	<b>2005 August</b>	<b>2007 July</b>
Knowledge	16	13	22	17
Connections	11	13	11	13
Money	68	69	63	67
Difficult to answer	5	5	3	3

N=1600

Table 6.26

**What proportion of students, in your opinion,  
enter universities now by paying bribes or using connections?**

	2000 July	2001 July	2003 July	2004 July	2005 August	2007 July
Insignificant proportion	8	6	7	5	4	9
About a third	14	13	14	12	12	18
About a half	23	22	28	27	33	29
About two thirds	19	17	20	24	24	17
Practically all	23	26	18	21	18	16
Difficult to answer	14	17	14	12	9	11

N=1600

Table 6.27

**Which of the following professions, positions do you believe the most  
profitable, giving the highest income?**

(answers ranked by the first measurement)  
(20 most frequently mentioned answers are given)

	1999 August	2007 August
Banker	40	49
Criminal «authority»	28	12
Pop star	23	21
Deputy [MP]	22	26
Government official	18	21
Government minister	15	24
Governor	14	20
Judge, prosecutor, attorney	14	16
Mayor of a big city	13	17
Entrepreneur	13	15
Political figure	11	16
Doctor	3	7
Model	8	6
Actor	2	6
Prostitute	9	3
Sportsman	1	3
Militiaman [policeman]	1	3
Image-maker , elections specialist	4	2
Journalist	2	2
TV host	2	2
Difficult to answer	4	4

N=1600

## 7. GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

### 7.1. OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF INSTITUTIONS

Table 7.1.1

**How important in Russia is the role of ...**  
(average on a 5-point scale, with 5 as «very important» and 1 as «unimportant»)

		2001	2002	2003	2004		2005		2006		2007		2008
		I-II	I-II	I-II	I	VII	I	VIII	II	VII	I	VII	II
1	President	3.90	4.12	3.96	4.11	3.85	3.92	3.91	3.99	4.08	4.25	4.22	4.51
2	President's Administration	2.9	2.84	3.1	-	-	3.28	3.43	3.42	3.44	3.63	3.55	3.96
3	Oligarchs, bankers, financiers	3.79	3.78	3.80	3.89	3.67	3.64	3.71	3.71	3.59	3.74	3.64	3.58
4	Media	3.52	3.57	3.53	3.48	3.40	3.39	3.43	3.49	3.52	3.48	3.53	3.43
5	Government	3.53	3.48	3.38	3.48	3.25	3.22	3.22	3.41	3.30	3.56	3.45	3.84
6	Regional governors	3.42	3.25	3.29	3.32	3.18	3.14	3.27	3.23	3.30	3.34	3.26	3.47
7	Armed forces	3.28	3.25	3.29	3.26	3.30	3.21	3.34	3.21	3.51	3.5	3.47	3.62
8	Federal Security Service	3.21	3.21	3.31	-**	3.40	3.41	3.54	3.50	3.69	3.74	3.65	3.78
9	Top managers of large enterprises	3.35	3.28	3.15	3.40	3.16	3.12	3.21	3.11	3.17	3.18	3.17	3.27
10	Public Prosecutor's Office	2.9	3.08	2.97	-	3.2	3.13	3.2	3.14	3.32	3.36	3.28	3.43
11	Low-Court	2.8	2.73	2.91	-	-	3.01	3.08	3.06	3.13	3.25	3.11	3.27
12	Federation Council	2.99	3.00	2.93	3.10	2.95	2.93	2.93	3.11	3.08	3.23	3.09	3.41
13	Church	2.91	3.08	2.74	2.92	3.02	3.06	2.98	2.89	3.17	3.26	3.00	3.04
14	State Duma	2.81	2.90	2.86	3.01	2.90	2.85	2.80	2.95	2.81	3.07	2.89	3.29
15	Intelligentsia	2.53	2.46	2.44	2.52	2.43	2.42	2.38	2.47	2.49	2.59	2.43	2.67
16	Political parties	2.69	2.68	2.60	2.82	2.56	2.61	2.50	2.75	2.55	2.73	2.64	3.04
17	Trade-unions	1.95	1.85	1.91	1.97	1.91	1.91	1.77	1.91	1.88	1.89	1.93	2.01

\*) «-» the question was not asked

N=1600

## INDICES OF APPROVAL AND TRUST IN GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Diagram 7.1.1

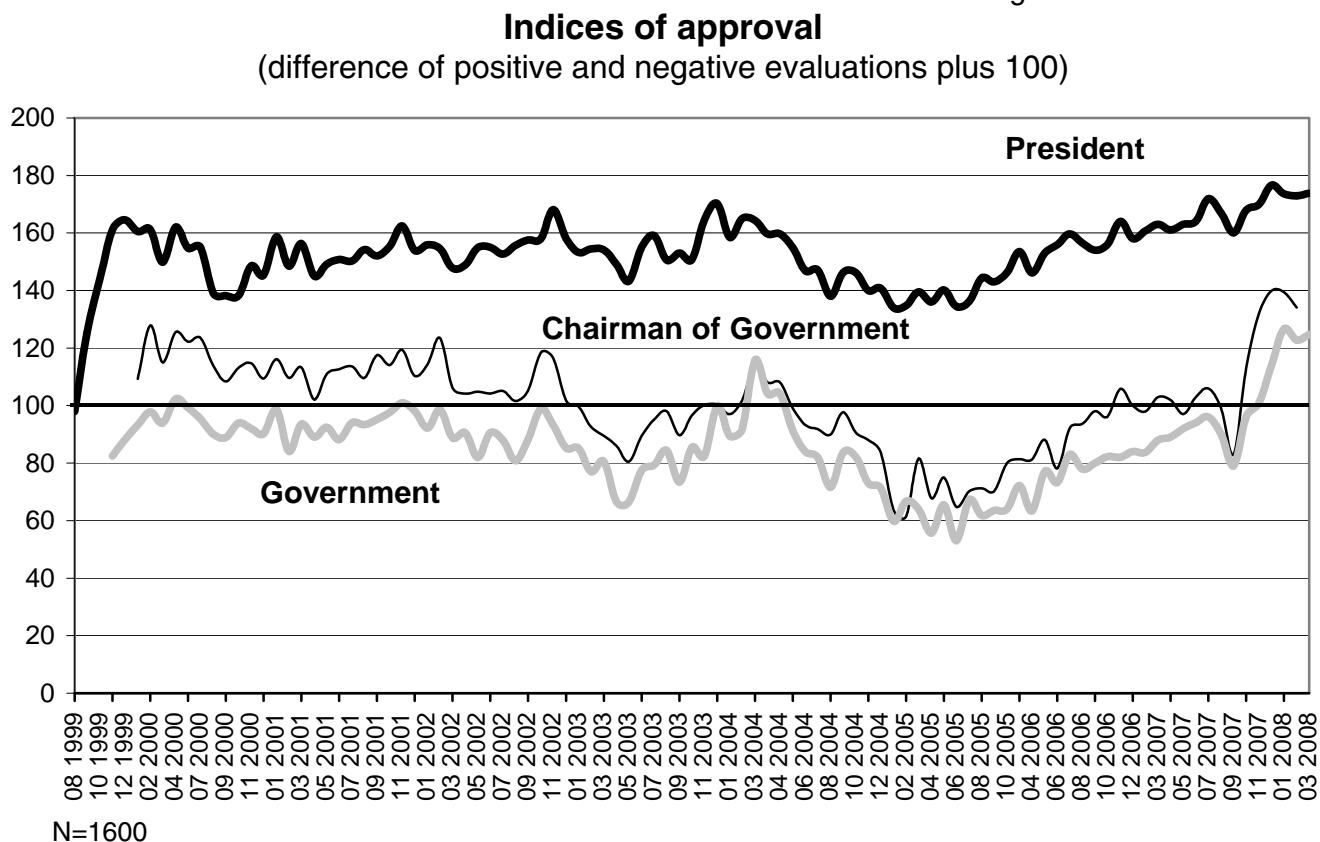
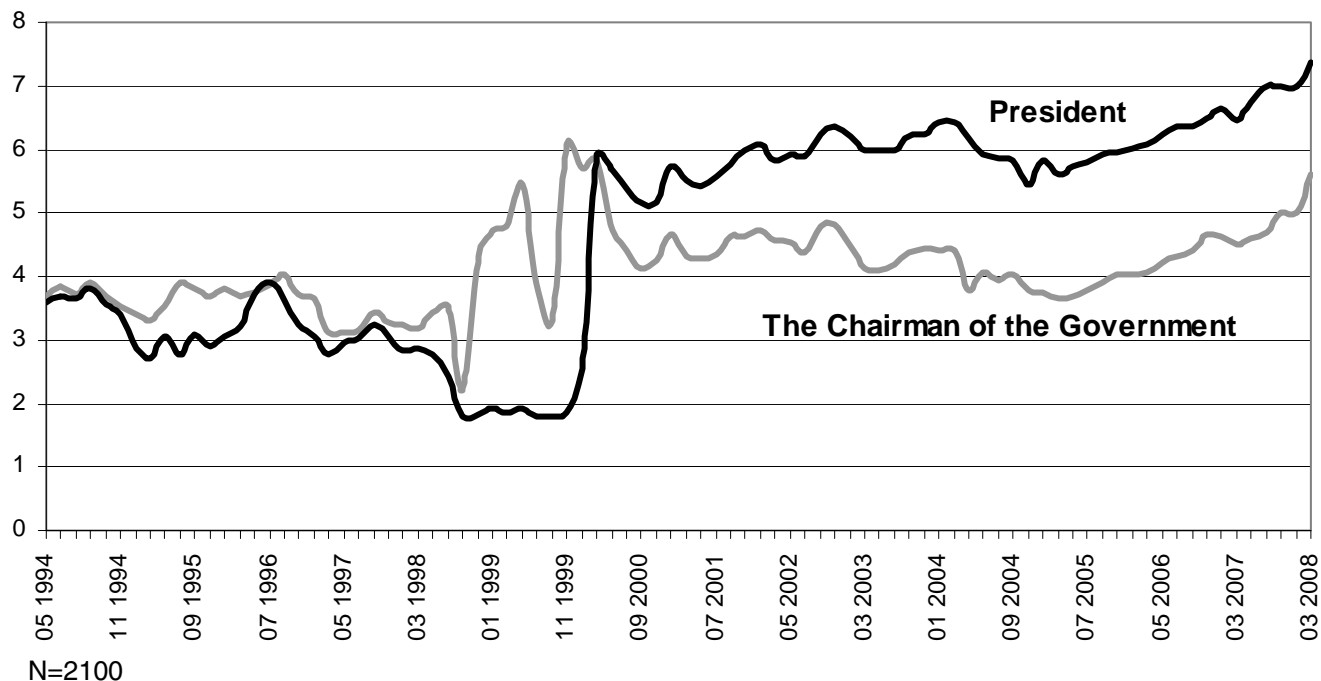


Diagram 7.1.2

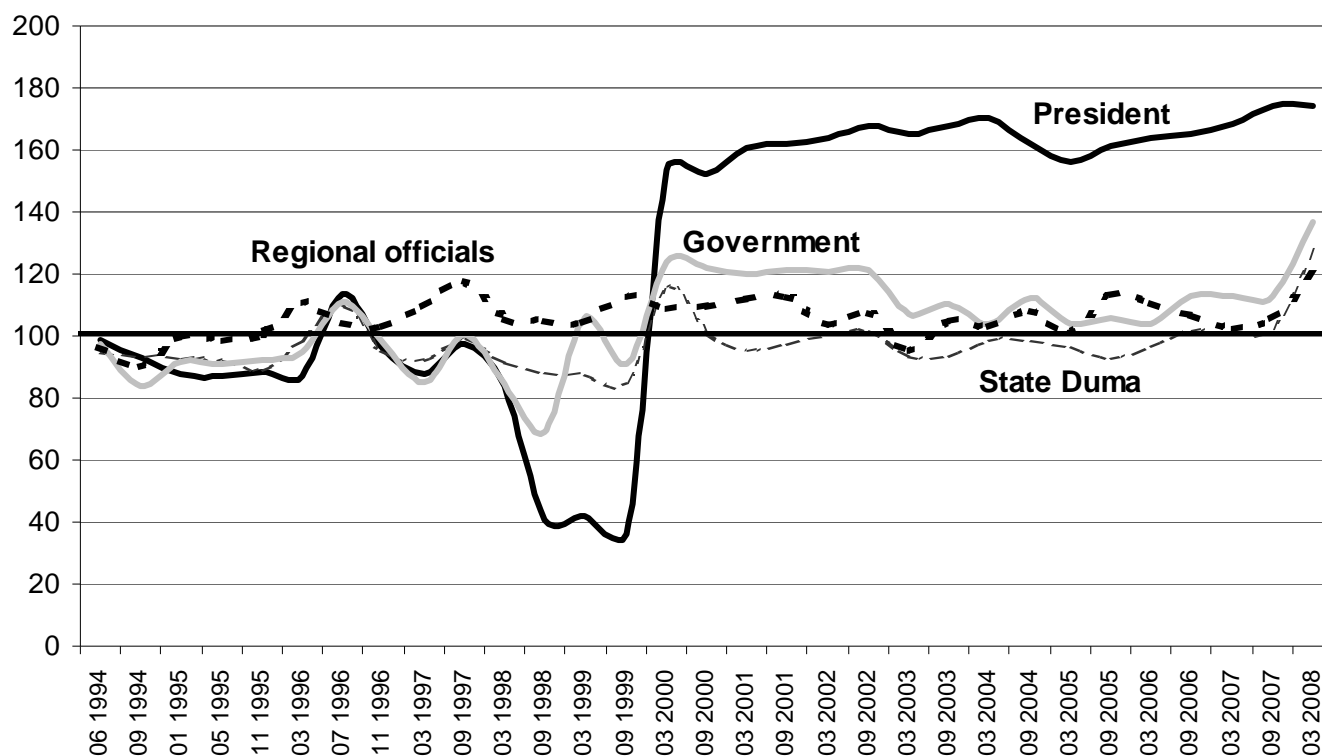
**How would you evaluate the activity of President  
and the chairman or the Government**  
(average on 10-digit the scale)



Indices of diagram 7.1.3 were calculated as the sum of the percentage of those who «have complete confidence» plus half of those who «do not have complete confidence» minus the share of those who «have no confidence» plus 100.

Diagram 7.1.3

**Indices of confidence in public institutions:**



N=2100

Table 7.1.1

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

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
The President	56	59	57	55	62	59	55
The government	30	26	20	28	29	22	27
Others	15	17	15	15	15	20	18
Difficult to answer	11	12	15	12	12	16	14

N=1600

Table 7.1.2

**Who is responsible for rising prices?**

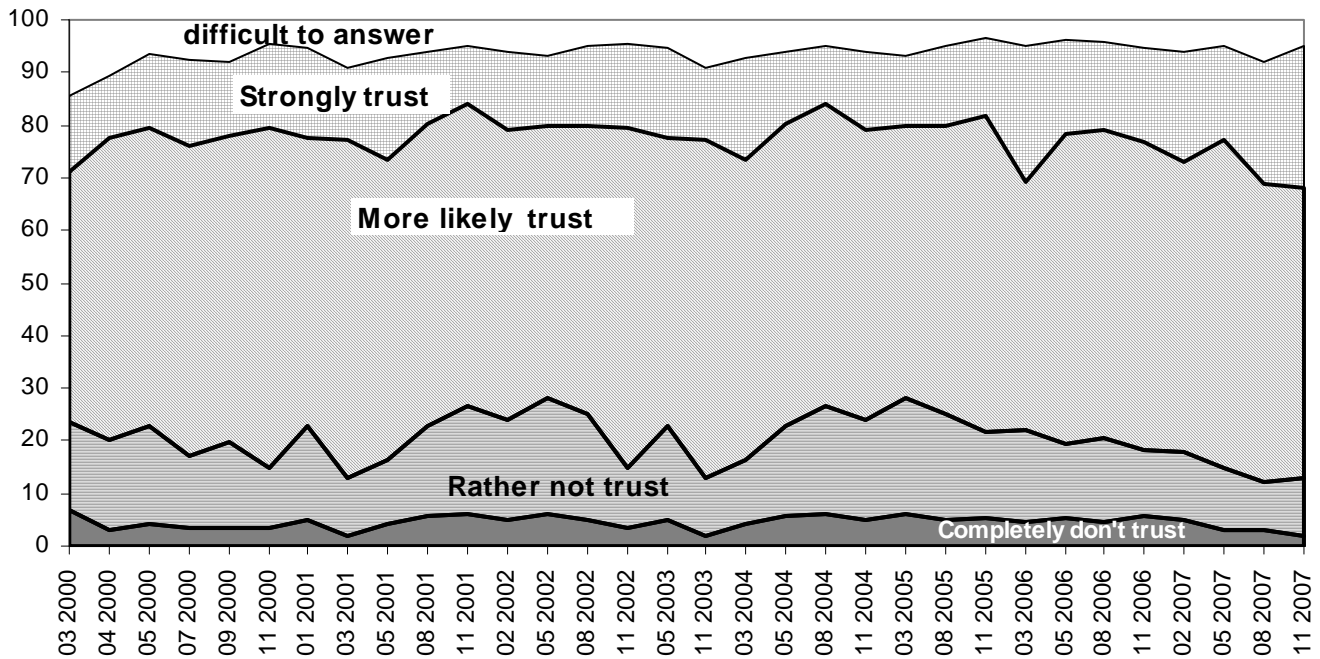
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
President	22	18	18	24	22	25	19
Government	39	44	48	46	48	49	48
Others	48	52	40	39	49	46	47
Difficult to answer	12	9	12	9	12	14	12

N=1600

## 7.2. PRESIDENT

Diagram 7.2.1

### Do you have confidence in V. Putin?



N=1600

Table 7.2.1

### Do you think that V. Putin having practically all the power in the country is going to do Russia good?

	2004 III	2004 V	2004 IX	2005 XII	2006 V	2006 VIII	2006 XI	2007 V	2007 X
Will do Russia good	68	58	51	57	63	61	59	66	66
Is not going to do any good	20	25	29	29	20	24	24	17	20
Difficult to answer	13	17	20	15	17	14	18	17	14

N=1600

Table 7.2.2

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

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

N=1600

Table 7.2.3

**Have hopes that you placed on Putin's election come true?**

	2001	2002		2003		2004		2004	2006	2007
	I	II	VIII	III	VIII	III	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII
Definitely yes	10	10	5	9	7	9	5	7	7	10
Rather yes	34	38	40	38	40	40	33	39	40	48
Rather no	23	22	23	24	23	23	25	22	22	16
Definitely no	10	8	8	11	10	9	12	12	10	6
I have had no such hopes	14	16	16	15	11	14	18	14	15	11
Difficult to answer	9	6	8	3	9	5	6	6	7	9

N=1600

Table 7.2.4

**Does V. Putin get full and reliable information about the situation in the country from his team?**

	2000			2001	2004	2005	2006	2007
	II	III	IX	I	XI	X	X	X
Gets full and reliable information	37	40	32	30	27	26	27	28
Gets incomplete and distorted information	36	32	40	40	46	50	47	44
He is not told the truth about the situation in the country	12	10	14	14	17	15	16	14
Difficult to answer	15	18	14	16	9	9	11	13

N=1600

Table 7.2.5

**To what extent do you support V. Putin?**

	2001 V	2002 V	2003 XII	2004 VIII	2005 VI	2006 V	2006 XII	2007 V
I totally share V. Putin's views and stance	19	17	28	13	18	26	28	27
I will support V. Putin as long as he is willing to implement democratic and market reforms in Russia	28	27	25	30	20	26	22	29
I used to like V. Putin, but have been disappointed in him recently	10	7	8	11	14	9	9	9
So far V. Putin has not appealed to me but I hope he will be useful to Russia in the future	9	10	9	6	7	6	3	3
I support V. Putin, since there are no other worthy political figures	17	18	19	19	22	17	20	17
I am not V. Putin's supporter	10	12	7	14	13	9	10	10
Anyone but Putin is worthy of support	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	0,3
Difficult to answer	7	8	5	7	5	5	7	5

N=1600

Table 7.2.6

**Interests of which groups do you think Vladimir Putin promotes?**

	2000	2001	2003	2005	2006	2007
	X	VII	VII	VII	IX	VIII
Yeltsin's closest associates, the <i>family</i>	25	22	25	20	13	13
<i>Oligarchs</i> , bankers, big business	24	15	27	25	23	18
Top management of large enterprises	16	16	21	23	12	13
Civil servants, bureaucrats	12	15	21	26	21	19
The military and law enforcement agencies	54	43	51	51	34	39
Cultural and academic elite	4	8	9	11	7	10
<i>The middle class</i> : people with incomes above average	10	16	19	23	24	31
Intelligentsia	5	10	9	12	7	10
<i>Common people</i> : white and blue collar workers, farmers	13	15	15	18	18	24
People from poorest groups	0	0	0	1	1	1
All people without exception	5	7	7	5	9	11
Difficult to answer	13	18	11	12	12	13

N=1600

Table 7.2.7

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

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

N=1600

Table 7.2.8

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

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

N=1600

Table 7.2.9

**How have Russia's social problems changed  
(living standard, price rise, unemployment, housing, etc.)  
during the time of V. Putin's presidency?**

	2005 August	2006 August	2007 August
Have become more urgent	7	9	6
Have become somewhat more urgent	21	6	10
Are on the same level	31	30	25
Have been somewhat solved	31	48	45
Have been considerably solved	6	5	4
Difficult to answer	5	2	5

N=1600

Table 7.2.10

**Have the role and influence of the bureaucracy and functionaries increased in the life of the country after V. Putin was elected President?**

	2004 September	2005 September	2006 August	2007 September
Increased	18	22	25	17
Remained the same	51	46	44	45
Decreased	24	25	22	27
Difficult to answer	6	6	8	11

N=1600

Table 7.2.11

**Is there more theft and corruption in the government of the country after V. Putin was elected President of Russia than there was under B. Yeltsin?**

	2000			2001		2002	2003	2005	2006	2006	2007
	III	VI	IX	III	IX	IX	V	IX	IX	XII	IX
More	5	9	11	11	12	15	16	23	28	14	16
About the same	45	44	66	62	58	59	58	49	43	54	48
Less	36	32	15	18	19	20	16	21	22	26	26
Difficult to answer	13	16	9	10	11	6	10	8	7	7	10

N=1600

Table 7.2.12

**Do you think in the time of V. Putin's presidency common citizens have begun to observe the laws...**

more strictly and undeviatingly	36
less strictly and undeviatingly	13
Nothing has changed	40
Difficult to answer	11

2007, September; N=1600

Table 7.2.13

**Do you think in the time of V. Putin's presidency the officials, the authorities have begun to observe the laws ...**

More strictly and undeviatingly	20
Less strictly and undeviatingly	22
Nothing has changed	46
Difficult to answer	12

2007, September; N=1600

Table 7.2.14

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

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

N=1600

Table 7.2.15

**How do you think the population of countries of the West perceives V. Putin?**

As a far-seeing, peace-loving and responsible politician	31
As a resolute advocate of Russia's national interests	26
As an authoritative leader who eliminated the elements of democracy in Russia	10
As a cautious and pragmatic statesman	25
As a former KGB officer	21
Difficult to answer	11

2007, March; N=1600

Table 7.2.16

**Do you think in the years of V. Putin's presidency the relations between Russia and the West improved, became worse or remained the same?**

Improved	66
Became worse	9
Remained the same	19
Difficult to answer	6

2007, August; N=1600

Table 7.2.17

**Do you think in the years of V. Putin's presidency the relations between Russia and the CIS countries improved, became worse or remained the same?**

Improved	39
Became worse	22
Remained the same	29
Difficult to answer	10

2007, August; N=1600

Table 7.2.18

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

	2000	2001	2002		2003		2004		2005			2006			2007			
	V	V	V	XI	VIII	XI	VIII	XI	V	VII	XI	V	VIII	XI	II	V	VIII	IX
Admiration	3	3	4	5	5	4	3	4	5	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	6	9
Liking	28	30	32	37	36	38	27	30	27	30	32	34	31	32	35	36	40	38
Can't say any bad things about him	35	37	40	37	35	39	35	35	36	36	36	36	37	36	34	38	34	34
Neutral, indifferent	8	12	9	9	9	10	17	14	13	13	11	12	15	13	11	10	11	9
Wary, wait-and-see approach	18	11	9	6	5	5	8	7	7	6	5	4	5	4	6	3	3	4
Can't say anything good about him	3	4	4	3	6	3	7	7	9	8	8	6	6	5	5	5	3	2
Dislike, disgust	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	4	1	0	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2

N=1600

Table 7.2.19

**Which of the following qualities do you think are predominant in V. Putin?**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2005	2006	2007
	IX	VI	VI	VII	VII	VI	VII
Clear, consistent policy	16	16	21	24	14	17	34
Professional, intellectual qualities	18	24	29	32	28	30	39
Solving problems in national interests of the country	20	20	25	27	17	24	30
Economic experience	4	3	7	7	5	6	10
Political experience	10	10	16	18	14	20	26
Restraint, prudence	40	39	34	41	34	36	32
Energy	34	34	33	30	28	25	25
Will strong, virility	32	31	26	29	24	23	25
Independence	10	8	8	10	8	8	8
Honesty, decency	17	19	21	24	17	24	22
Personal charm	19	16	21	24	30	23	25
Clear and intelligible speech	30	30	29	35	37	36	34
Openness, accessibility	6	5	9	8	9	10	7
Respect for common people	15	12	16	19	16	15	14
Flexibility, ability to compromise	11	9	13	11	12	14	11
Desire to secure law and order	22	21	18	16	18	18	16
Unselfishness	3	3	3	3	3	4	4
Willingness to safeguard the interests of common people	7	7	11	11	9	11	12
Culture, education	18	20	23	24	32	27	23
Difficult to answer	17	13	10	8	11	9	11

N=1600

Table 7.2.20

**What do you find appealing in V. Putin?**

	1999 X	2000 III	2001 II	2002 III	2003 XII	2004 III	2005 III	2006 X	2007 X
He is an experienced politician	10	6	10	13	18	18	17	24	34
He is a proactive, determined, strong-willed person	44	46	41	41	39	37	35	36	37
He is a far-seeing politician	6	6	7	11	11	10	10	12	15
He is a real leader capable of making people follow him	11	17	12	13	17	14	14	12	22
He is the person who secures stability in the country	9	12	15	14	18	19	15	19	23
He is the person who can introduce order in the country	19	29	21	21	20	19	15	13	18
People I know respect him	7	12	11	16	16	14	15	17	17
He is able to compromise, to unite different political forces	4	10	9	11	10	8	11	12	11
He pursues a policy which is independent of B. Yeltsin's team	6	2	5	5	5	4	9	7	7
I support his policy toward Chechnya	20	21	7	6	3	2	6	4	3
He is an honest, decent, unselfish person	7	7	9	11	13	12	12	12	14
He is a man of principle	8	10	11	12	9	8	9	8	7
He knows life, understands the needs of common people	3	5	8	12	9	7	8	8	8
He looks nice	6	13	16	14	14	12	18	17	13
Nothing / Difficult to answer	22	21	18	18	13	15	16	14	9

N=1600

Table 7.2.21

**What do you not like about V. Putin?**

	1999 X	2000 III	2001 II	2002 III	2003 XII	2004 III	2005 III	2006 X	2007 X
He does not have any outstanding political qualities	5	6	5	7	3	5	7	5	3
He is a weak, indecisive person	1	1	4	4	3	3	5	3	2
He is too tough a politician	3	3	3	3	2	1	4	2	2
He is a short-sighted politician	2	1	2	3	1	1	6	4	3
He is unable to be the leader for people	2	2	2	2	2	1	5	3	1
He does not cope with being the leader of the country	2	2	6	5	4	5	13	11	3
People I know do not respect him	1	3	2	3	1	1	3	3	2
He does not have a clear policy	4	12	12	13	7	8	14	8	4
He is unable to compromise	4	2	1	2	3	2	4	2	2
He is connected with B. Yeltsin and his team	16	39	26	29	19	21	20	15	12
What he is doing in Chechnya is only meant to make him more popular	4	9	7	10	6	9	10	4	4
He is connected with corrupted politicians	2	8	6	7	4	7	9	6	4
He has no principles	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
The interests of people do not mean anything to him	5	3	3	3	3	5	7	7	6
He does not look nice	2	1	3	3	2	1	2	1	1
Like everything / Difficult to answer	60	45	44	42	52	51	38	48	62

N=1600

Table 7.2.22

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

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

N=1600

Table 7.2.23

**Does V. Putin have a clear plan of transformations in the country and an idea of what he wants to achieve with his reforms?**

	2005 January	2006 January	2007 October
Definitely yes	16	15	22
Yes, rather than no	40	42	44
No, rather than yes	25	22	14
Definitely no	8	8	5
Difficult to answer	11	12	15

N=1600

Table 7.2.24

**Which of the following statements about President V. Putin are you more likely to agree with?**

	2001 Vi	2002 Vi	2003 VII	2005 VI	2006 XII	2007 VII
Even now we do not know much about V. Putin	28	35	34	37	34	21
We have learned quite a lot about V. Putin in his term of office	33	45	47	41	38	51
V. Putin is now quite clear to us, both as a person and as a politician	12	16	16	19	21	23
Difficult to answer	7	4	4	3	7	5

N=1600

Table 7.2.25

**What is your attitude to plans to proclaim V. Putin the national leader?**

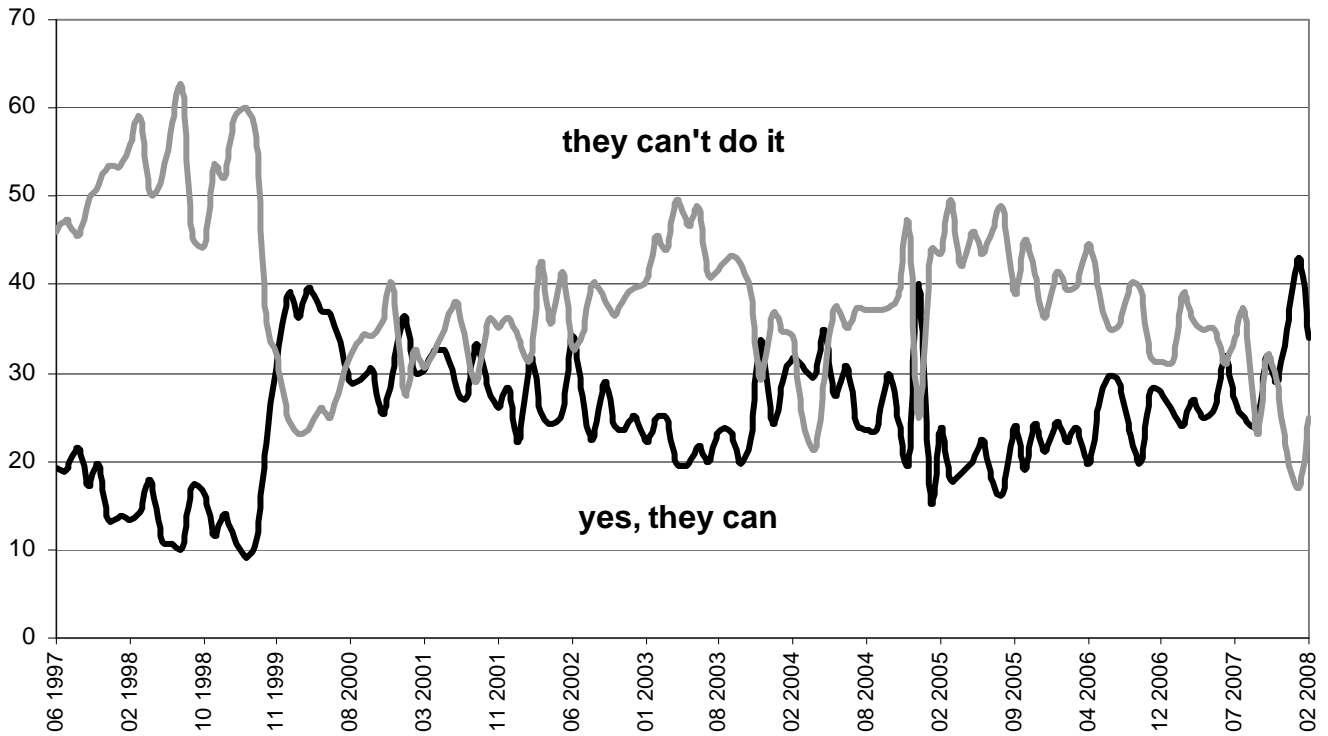
Completely approve	17
Approve, but only if this proclamation is done through a national vote	15
Approve only in case appropriate amendments in the Constitution are made and the powers of the national leader are clearly defined	12
Don't approve, believe it to be very much like personality cult	30
Don't understand what it is about	14
Difficult to answer	12

2007, November, N=1600

### 7.3. GOVERNMENT

Diagram 7.3.1

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



N=1600

Table 7.3.1

**Who should form the government of Russia?**

	<b>2003 May</b>	<b>2007 October</b>
The president himself	54	46
The prime-minister appointed by the President	8	16
The prime-minister appointed by the State Duma	3	7
The party that won the State Duma elections	12	5
All the parties that were elected to the State Duma	10	11
Difficult to answer	14	14

N=1600

## M.FRADKOV'S RESIGNATION AND RESHUFFLES IN THE GOVERNMENT

Table 7.3.2

**Had you ever heard about V. Zubkov before V. Putin nominated him  
for Chairman of the government of Russia?**

Yes, I had	12
No, I hadn't	85
Difficult to answer	4

2007, September; N=1600

Table 7.3.3

**Will the new prime-minister V. Zubkov be an independent politician  
and head of the Cabinet of ministers or will he be  
an obedient executor of the President's will?**

Independent politician and Head of the Cabinet of ministers	14
Obedient executor of V. Putin's will	46
Difficult to answer	40

2007, September; N=1600

Table 7.3.4

**How long will V. Zubkov be Head of the government of Russia?**

Will not last even till the Presidential elections in March, 2008	6
Will stay only till the presidential elections in Russia in March, 2008	28
Will still have this post in the first years after the election of Russia's president in March, 2008	30
Difficult to answer	37

2007, September; N=1600

Table 7.3.5

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

	2004		2005		2006		2007
	IV	VIII	IV	VIII	IV	VIII	IV
There is a well thought-out economic program	33	21	21	19	24	24	29
There is no thought-out program, they have just a most general idea of what should be done	36	35	38	40	33	37	34
The government does not have a program, the decisions are made on the spur of the moment	18	34	32	31	33	29	28
Difficult to answer	13	11	9	11	10	10	10

N=1600

Table 7.3.6

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

(Answer ranked by first measurement)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005		2006				2007
	XI	XI	XI	X	XI	III	VIII	III	IV	VIII	XII	VIII
Can't curb price rises and personal income decline	44	46	43	48	53	47	52	51	47	52	48	51
Doesn't care about social support of population	34	37	36	45	43	35	41	39	37	43	38	42
Can't ensure people's employment	25	31	24	27	34	31	36	33	34	31	33	30
Can't overcome economic crisis and output decline	23	23	25	20	24	22	30	27	24	23	21	21
Fights crime inefficiently	22	24	26	26	20	18	23	20	22	21	19	23
Lacks a thought-out program for pulling out of the crisis	20	22	22	15	18	21	24	22	21	18	18	19
Can't ensure people's safety, can't cope with terrorism	15	20	21	21	23	15	21	19	18	15	15	13
Is waging a «strange» war in Chechnya	13	15	18	9	12	8	14	9	8	6	8	6
Is corrupt, mainly pursues its own interests	11	21	17	20	19	17	22	22	21	18	23	23
Shows low professional level	6	8	9	7	8	9	9	11	9	7	7	8
Acts in the interests of criminal capital	6	11	9	9	7	8	12	10	9	9	9	9
I am satisfied with the way government operates	6	9	8	7	5	5	5	5	6	6	9	6
Acts in the interests of foreign capital	4	4	5	5	3	6	7	7	5	7	6	5

N=1600

Table 7.3.7

**The current stabilization in the country is first of all...**

	2006 September	2007 September
The result of effective activity of the current government	31	24
The result of high oil prices	38	46
The delayed result of the reforms begun in the 90s	12	11
Difficult to answer	20	20

N=1600

## GOVERNORS

Table 7.3.8

**Do you think the federal authorities pay enough attention to the interests of the regions or the rights of the regions are infringed upon by the federal power bodies? Or do you feel no interest in this problem?**

Pay enough attention to the interests of the regions	16
The rights of the regions are infringed upon	60
I feel no interest in this problem	15
Difficult to answer	9

2007, November; N=1600

Table 7.3.9

**Which governors, in your opinion, are more concerned with the needs of their region: elected by the population of their region or appointed by the President of Russia?**

Elected by the population of the region	42
Appointed by the President of Russia	25
Neither are concerned with the needs of their region	24
Difficult to answer	9

2007, November; N=1600

Table 7.3.10

**Do you think it right that many governors hold their posts for 10 and more years?**

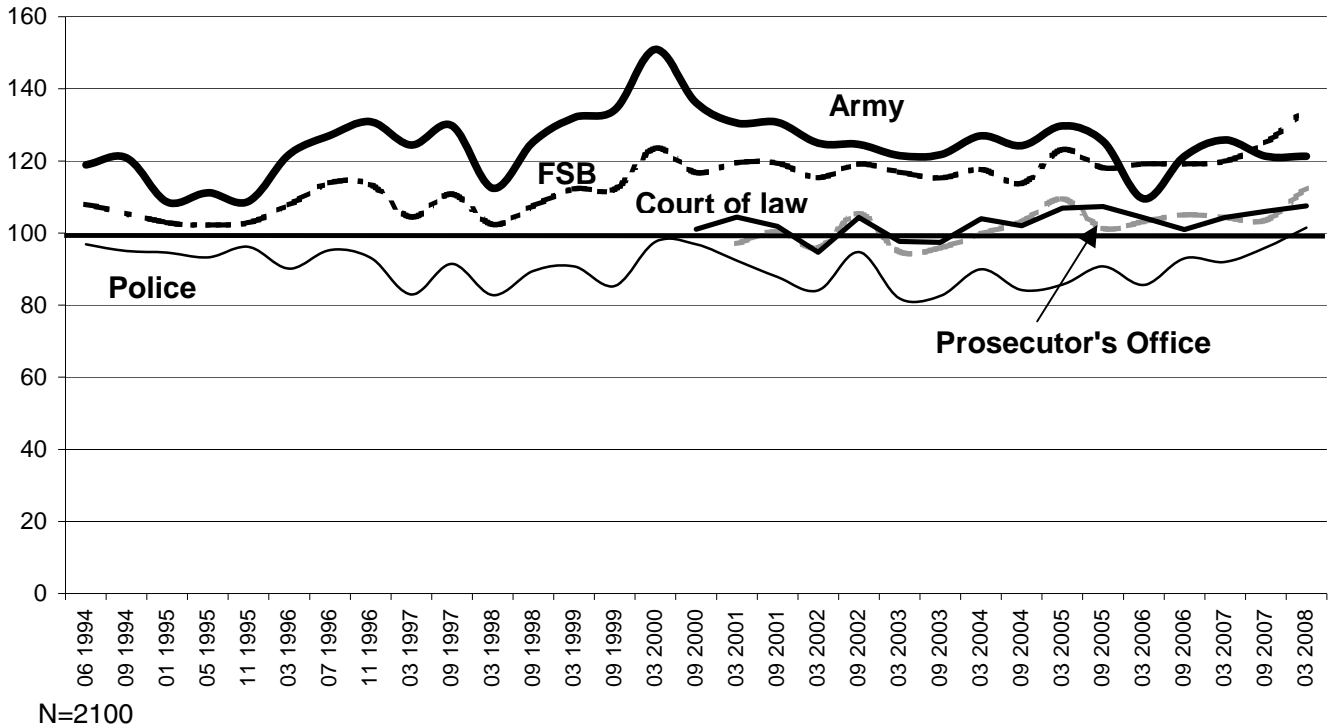
Definitely yes	7
Yes, rather than no	22
No, rather than yes	37
Definitely no	23
Difficult to answer	11

2007, April; N=1600

## 7.4. SECURITY STRUCTURES AND LAW-ENFORCEMENT BODIES

Diagram 7.4.1

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



Indices of diagram 7.4.1 were calculated as the sum of the percentage of those who «have complete confidence» plus half of those who «do not have complete confidence» minus the share of those who «have no confidence» plus 100.

Table 7.4.1

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

Year of evaluation	1989	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
The situation changed for the better	16	9	11	9	10	9	10	7	9	17
The situation changed for the worse	19	38	30	40	41	36	29	35	25	39
The situation did not change	31	29	48	40	38	40	46	45	51	36
Difficult to answer	34	24	11	11	11	14	15	13	15	11

N=1600

Table 7.4.2

**What do you think efforts of ... are mainly devoted to...**

	Special service		Prosecutor General's Office	
	2006	2007	2006	2007
Security of the population of the country	27	29	20	22
Interests of the government	42	42	44	42
Their own interests	20	17	22	22
Difficult to answer	12	12	15	14

N=1600

Table 7.4.3

**What do you think efforts of police are mainly devoted to...**

	2006	2007
Security of the population of the country	24	21
Their own interests	60	65
Difficult to answer	16	14

N=1600

Table 7.4.4

**Do you think inspection of GIBDD (STSI – State Traffic Safety Inspectorate) will result in better performance of GIBDD, in decrease in bribery in this organization or will have no serious effect on the work of this organization?**

Will result in better performance of GIBDD, in decrease of bribery and corruption	30
Will have no serious effect on the work of GIBDD	58
Difficult to answer	12

2007, March; N=1600

Table 7.4.5

**What do you think will be the result of the law envisaging tougher penalties for violations of the Road Code?**

Much fewer road accidents	29
Much larger bribes given to road police officers	57
Difficult to answer	15

2007, March; N=1600

## THE ARMY

Table 7.4.6

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

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

N=1600

Table 7.4.7

### 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
	I	I	I	I	I	II	II	II
Definitely yes	19	17	13	16	14	21	21	24
Yes, rather than no	41	39	42	44	38	41	44	49
No, rather than yes	23	23	29	24	25	20	19	13
Definitely no	8	7	8	8	13	8	8	4
Difficult to answer	9	14	8	8	10	10	9	10

N=1600

## ARBITRARY RULE OF THE LAW-ENFORCEMENT BODIES

Table 7.4.8

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

	2005	2006	2007
	February	February	October
Would prefer him to go to the army	52	34	45
Would try to find a way to avoid military service	39	53	42
Difficult to answer	9	13	13

N=1600

Table 7.4.9

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

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

N=1600

**«HAZING»**

Table 7.4.10

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

	2006 February	2007 February	2008 February
Single cases	2	9	9
In a limited number of military units	12	21	23
In most military units	50	45	42
Everywhere	32	20	17
Difficult to answer	4	5	9

N=1600

Table 7.4.11

**Would you support abolition of most reasons for draft deferment together with the reduction of the length of military service for conscripts down to one year?**

	2006 March	2007 March	2007 October
Definitely yes	22	25	19
Yes, rather than no	32	29	35
No, rather than yes	23	23	19
Definitely no	11	14	9
Difficult to answer	12	9	17

N=1600

Table 7.4.12

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

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

N=1600

## SPECIAL SERVICES

Table 7.4.13

**What is the role of special services in Russia now, in your opinion?**

Russian special services play a very important role and their current powers are appropriate for this role	42
Russian special services have too much uncontrollable power now	35
Difficult to answer	23

2007, October; N=1600

Table 7.4.14

**What is your attitude to the fact that people with a special service background are appointed now to high positions in the country?**

	2000 October	2007 October
Absolutely positive	12	12
Somewhat positive	32	37
Somewhat negative	26	19
Very negative	9	8
Difficult to answer	21	24

N=1600

Table 7.4.15

**Do you agree or disagree with the following opinion:  
«People with a special service background have better  
professional qualities and are more resolute than «civilians»»?**

Definitely yes	26
Yes, rather than no	36
No, rather than yes	16
Definitely no	6
Difficult to answer	16

2007, October; N=1600

Table 7.4.16

**Do you agree or disagree with the following opinion:  
«People with a special service background  
are more honest and incorruptible than «civilians»»?**

Definitely yes	11
Yes, rather than no	26
No, rather than yes	26
Definitely no	15
Difficult to answer	22

2007, October; N=1600

Table 7.4.17

**Do you agree or disagree with the following opinion: «A larger number  
of people with a law-enforcement agency background  
in government bodies pose a threat for democracy in Russia»?**

Definitely yes	10
Yes, rather than no	19
No, rather than yes	28
Definitely no	13
Difficult to answer	29

2007, October; N=1600

Table 7.4.18

**Do you think corruption and financial abuse is more typical of special  
services than of other government bodies, less typical or the same?**

More	10
The same	52
Less	16
Difficult to answer	22

2007, October; N=1600

## COURT

Table 7.4.19

**Do you think an ordinary person can hope for a fair trial?**

	2006 March	2007 April
Definitely yes	4	3
Yes, rather than no	25	25
No, rather than yes	39	40
Definitely no	22	23
Difficult to answer	11	9

N=1600

Table 7.4.20

**Where is a simple person more likely to find justice:  
in a Russian court or in the European Court of Human Rights?**

In a Russian court	14
In the European Court of Human Rights	60
Difficult to answer	26

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.21

**How often can a person go to court about an unjust decision  
of a government body and achieve a positive result?**

	1990 November	1997 May	2007 October
Practically always	2	2	2
Often	8	8	13
Seldom	42	41	50
Practically never	19	33	24
Difficult to answer	29	16	16

N=1600

Table 7.4.22

**Have you heard about our compatriots' applications to the Strasburg Court  
of Human Rights and if you have, which of the following opinions about the  
activity of the Court in Strasburg would you rather agree with?**

Decisions of the Court in Strasburg help people in Russia	37
Russian system of justice should be independent of this kind of interference	17
Difficult to answer	14
Haven't heard anything about the activity of the Strasburg Court	32

2007, April; N=1600

Table 7.4.23

**What measures could reduce bribery and corruption in Russian courts?**

Tougher control of higher bodies	52
Rise of salaries of judges	13
More opportunities for the press and television to cover and criticize the work of courts, public control over the activity of courts	33
Appointment of judges by election – by the residents of places where they work, accountability of judges to the population	27
Higher professionalism, quality of education of judges	18
Difficult to answer	10

2007, June; N=1600

Table 7.4.24

**What does justice try to achieve at present?**

Condemnation of the deed by the society	9
Restoration of justice	19
Punishment of the offender	38
Deterring other possible criminals	17
Isolation of the offender from society	28
Reformation of the offender	10
Compensation (material, moral) for the victim of the criminal or the victim's family	7
There is no justice in Russia now, judges either try to "fill their pockets with money" or act as they are told by the authorities	15
Difficult to answer	10

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.25

**What should justice try to achieve now?**

Restoration of justice	48
Punishment of the offender	31
Isolation of the offender from society	25
Deterring other possible criminals	21
Condemnation of the deed by the society	19
Reformation of the offender	18
Compensation (material, moral) for the victim of the criminal or the victim's family	17
There is no justice in Russia now, judges either try to «fill their pockets with money» or act as they are told by the authorities	4
Difficult to answer	8

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.26

**How frequent are judicial errors in Russia?**

Extremely rare	13
Quite frequent	57
Very frequent	24
There are none	0.3
Difficult to answer	6

2007, July; N=1600

**JURY**

Table 7.4.27

**Many trials by jury are currently held in Russia.  
Do you think compared to a regular trial, trial by jury is ...**

	2004 April	2007 October
More independent and fair	34	28
Less professional, inexperienced, can be influenced	29	30
Is not different from a regular trial	23	25
Difficult to answer	14	18

N=1600

Table 7.4.28

**Do you think with the introduction of trial  
by jury defendants will be found guilty ...?**

	2004 April	2007 October
More often	13	13
Less often	24	24
Neither more, nor less often than before	41	40
Difficult to answer	21	23

N=1600

**CRIME**

Table 7.4.29

**Comparing the crime rate in our country before the disintegration  
of the USSR and today, has it ...?**

Grown	63
Remained the same	25
Become lower	5
Difficult to answer	7

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.30

**How do you think the crime rate in modern Russia compares with that of countries of the West (e.g., France, Germany, Italy and others)?**

It is higher	39
It is about the same	38
It is lower	6
Difficult to answer	17

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.31

**Could you give two-three reasons for growth of the crime rate in the country over the past 15 years?**

(Ranked answers)

Growth of social inequality	54
Cult of money and gain	42
Lack of moral education, low authority of family and school	41
General bitterness, growth of aggressiveness in people	39
Movies, television, newspapers popularize ideals of the criminal world	37
Weakening of the power of the government, law-enforcement bodies	26
Too liberal laws, light sentences, moratorium on the use of capital punishment	17
Ethnic and religious intolerance	11
Aftereffects of the war in Afghanistan and Chechnya	7
I don't think crime in the country has grown in the past 15 years	1
Difficult to answer	2

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.32

**What measures are most likely to bring about decline of the crime rate?**

(Ranked answers)

More severe punishment	31
General growth of the wellbeing of people	23
Teaching people to be tolerant to other people, to respect a human life	17
More professional and effective work of the Militia, law-enforcement bodies	17
Securing independence of courts from the executive power, impartiality of judges	7
None	1
Difficult to answer	3

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.33

**Which population groups pose, in your opinion, the greatest threat to the security of the society, contribute to the overall growth of the crime rate?**

Criminal groups, mafia	37
Non-residents, migrants	5
The homeless, beggars	2
Drug-addicts, alcoholics	13
Neglected teenagers, unsettled young people	13
Skinheads, nationalist groups	5
Corrupted officials who abuse their power	16
Business-elite who do not observe laws	7
Difficult to answer	3

2007, July; N=1600

### ATTITUDE TO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Table 7.4.34

**There is moratorium on capital punishment in Russia. Which of the opinions about it would you rather agree with?**

(Ranked answers)

Capital punishment is possible if it is in the interests of the people, the state	31
Moratorium on capital punishment was imposed on us by the West but the current crime rate in Russia can't be coped with without capital punishment	14
Capital punishment prevents the criminal from realizing his guilt, from repenting and reforming	13
A human life is a greatest value for civilized mankind; Russia should be a civilized country and completely abolish capital punishment	12
I'm against capital punishment because our courts will abuse it	10
«Measure for measure» is the fundamental law of human life and in this case capital punishment is quite justified	7
Compassion for criminals is in the Russian tradition, in our national character and abolition of capital punishment is in accord with this tradition	4
Difficult to answer	9

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.35

**Which of the following statements about capital punishment would you agree with?**

	2002 February	2007 April
Capital punishment should be repealed	12	19
The present state should be retained (execution of death penalties is suspended, courts have stopped passing death sentences)	12	19
Capital punishment should be used again in the same way as before (like in the early 90s)	49	39
Capital punishment should be used more often	19	14
Difficult to answer	8	10

N=1600

Table 7.4.36

**What do you personally think about capital punishment?**

	<b>2003 March</b>	<b>2007 July</b>
It should be completely repealed	12	11
Moratorium on its execution should be retained	23	31
It should be used again in the same way as before	45	40
It should be used in more cases	8	8
Difficult to answer	14	10

N=1600

Table 7.4.37

**Will you feel more protected against crime if capital punishment is used in Russia?**

Definitely yes	12
Yes, rather than no	35
No, rather than yes	27
Definitely no	12
Difficult to answer	14

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.38

**Do you agree with the opinion that «there is no punishment without guilt»?**

Completely agree	11
Agree somewhat	27
Disagree somewhat	39
Absolutely disagree	19
Difficult to answer	5

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.39

**Do you believe that a criminal who committed a grave offense can repent and reform?**

Definitely yes	7
Yes, rather than no	23
No, rather than yes	36
Definitely no	25
Difficult to answer	9

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.40

**Could you personally forgive a criminal who has repented?**

Definitely yes	5
Yes, rather than no	22
No, rather than yes	31
Definitely no	23
Difficult to answer	20

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.41

**Which of the following statements about capital punishment is closest to your opinion about it?**

(Ranked answers)

I support capital punishment for especially grave crimes, it is the only way to reduce crime rate growth	32
I am for capital punishment, evil must be punished as it deserves	16
I am against capital punishment, nobody but God has the right to take a human life	12
Capital punishment is useless, more severe punishment does not lead to the crime rate decline, it just results in general bitterness	12
I am against capital punishment in general	10
I am for capital punishment, the society shouldn't spend money on maintenance of those who committed especially grave crimes	9
Capital punishment should be used, it has always been used in history	5
Difficult to answer	5

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.42

**What is the main idea of capital punishment for you?**

(Ranked answers)

It is an extreme, exceptional measure for confirmed and incorrigible criminals	27
It is a lawful measure of punishment for exceptionally grave crimes	18
It is a deterrent for those who could commit a crime	18
It is a way of purification of the society from inveterate criminals	10
It is a way of rectification of an injustice, retribution for the criminal	10
I don't see any idea in capital punishment that could justify its use	7
It is a way of making the society healthier, of strengthening its morals	4
Difficult to answer	6

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.43

**Will capital punishment help cope with the growth of crime rate in Russia?**

I am sure it will	19
It probably will	38
I don't think it will	32
I am sure it will only make things worse	4
Difficult to answer	7

2007, July; N=1600

Table 7.4.44

**For which of the following offences  
would you suggest using death sentences?  
(Ranked answers)**

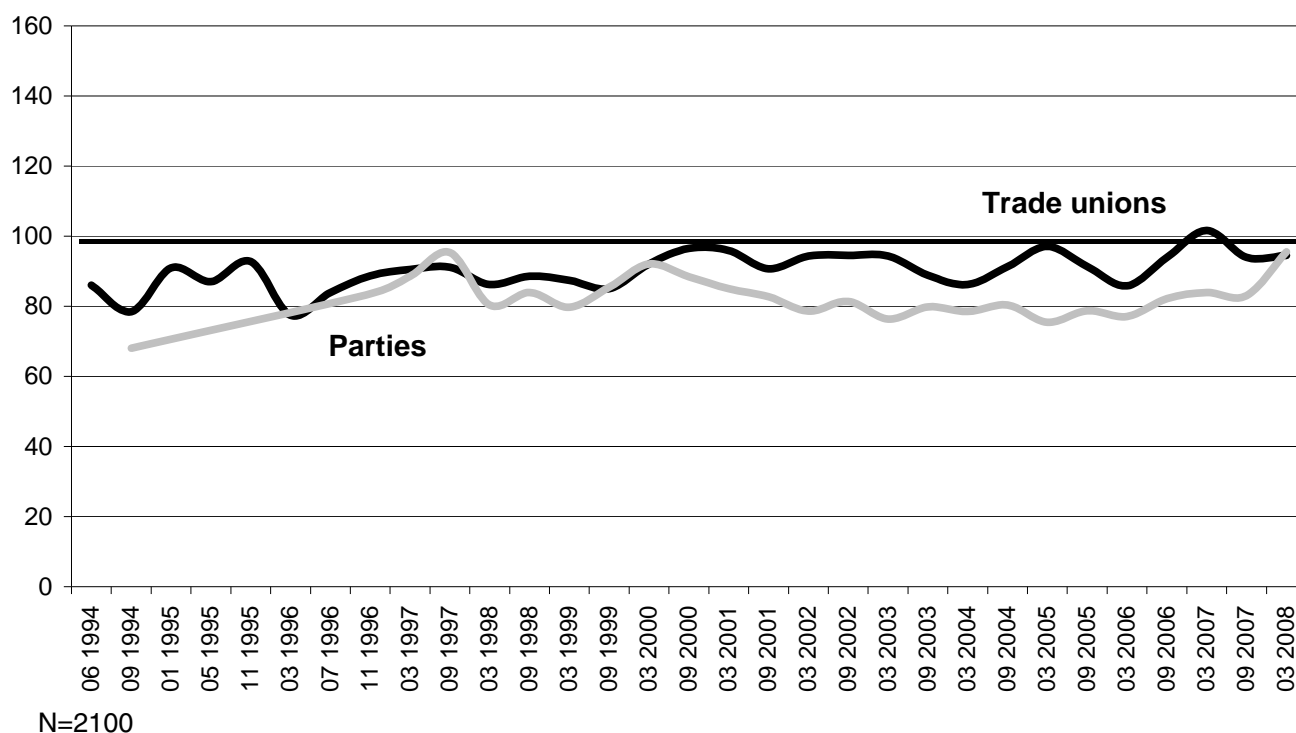
Serial killings	71
Rape of persons under age	65
Willful manslaughter	48
Drug dealing	39
Terrorism, preparation for a coup d'etat	32
Corruption	16
High treason, blackmail (in peace-time)	13
Armed robbery	11
Attempt at the life of Head of the country	9
Capital punishment is not possible in any case	8
Difficult to answer	4

2007, July; N=1600

## 8. PARTIES AND THE STATE DUMA ELECTIONS

Diagram 8.1

### Indices of confidence to parties and trade union



Indices of diagram 8.1 were calculated as the sum of the percentage of those who «have complete confidence» plus half of those who «do not have complete confidence» minus the share of those who «have no confidence» plus 100.

Table 8.1

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

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

N=1600

Table 8.2

**What do you think about RF government ministers' membership in political parties?**

	2003 May	2007 October
All ministers should be members of some party	14	13
Ministers may be members of some party but they don't have to	29	39
Ministers shouldn't be members of a political party	41	33
Difficult to answer	17	15

N=1600

Table 8.3

**What do you think of President of Russia's membership in a political party?**

	2003 May	2007 October
The President must be a member of a political party	16	13
The President may be a member of a political party but he does not have to	19	35
The President should not be a member of any political party	53	40
Difficult to answer	12	13

N=1600

Table 8.4

**Which of the following All-Russia parties and associations are the most active in the political life of your region?**

	2003 May	2003 November	2006 May	2007 May
«Yedinaya Rossiya» («United Russia»)	16	27	34	47
KPRF (CPRF)	18	14	10	14
LDPR	11	14	8	12
Party of Pensioners/Справедливая Россия	-	-	3	6
Agrarian Party	2	3	2	1
«Yabloko»	7	9	2	2
«Soyuz Pravykh Sil» («Union of Right Forces»)	7	9	2	2
None of the above	30	27	30	21
Difficult to answer	26	21	21	20

N=1600

Table 8.5

**Do you think the following parties have some new ideas to develop or not?**

	«United Russia»		CPRF		LDPR		«YABLOKO»		SPS		«Fair Russia»
	2004	2007	2004	2007	2004	2007	2004	2007	2004	2007	2007
Yes	65	67	16	27	32	27	19	12	21	17	32
No	20	15	68	49	49	43	56	48	53	40	29
Difficult to answer	15	19	16	25	19	31	25	41	27	43	40

N=1600

Table 8.6

**What is the influence on the social-political life of the country, in your opinion, of the party...?**

	«United Russia»	CPRF	LDPR	«YABLOKO»	SPS	«Fair Russia»
Very considerable influence	48	6	5	1	1	3
Quite a considerable influence	33	22	19	5	6	13
Some influence	7	40	39	20	25	29
Not much influence	2	15	18	28	28	22
No influence	1	6	6	24	16	10
Difficult to answer	9	13	14	23	25	23

2007, October; N=1600

Table 8.7

**To what extent do you think the following parties are controlled by «the Kremlin» now?**

	«United Russia»	CPRF	LDPR	«YABLOKO»	SPS	«Fair Russia»
Practically fully	44	10	10	6	7	11
Considerably	23	22	24	16	17	27
Not much	7	20	22	20	20	17
Not at all	3	15	12	16	14	7
Difficult to answer	24	32	32	43	42	38

2007, October; N=1600

**«UNITED RUSSIA»**

Table 8.8

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

	<b>2006 July</b>	<b>2007 October</b>
Absolutely positive	13	27
Somewhat positive	21	38
Somewhat negative	28	10
Absolutely negative	15	8
Difficult to answer	23	17

N=1600

Table 8.9

**Do you agree with those who believe that «United Russia» is the CPSU of today?**

	<b>2006 August</b>	<b>2007 October</b>
Definitely yes	6	10
Yes, rather than no	17	24
No, rather than yes	29	28
Definitely no	25	20
Difficult to answer	23	18

N=1600

Table 8.10

**What would your attitude be if «United Russia» became the official leading force of the country like the CPSU in its time, could give the guidelines to all the bodies of power and appoint its people to any high position?**

	<b>2006 July</b>	<b>2007 October</b>
Absolutely positive	15	20
Somewhat positive	26	29
Somewhat negative	25	21
Absolutely negative	18	16
Difficult to answer	16	15

N=1600

## THE STATE DUMA ELECTIONS

Table 8.11

**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?**

	1995 October	1995 November	1999 November	1999 December	2007 November
Are discussed and I take part in the discussions	40	42	55	56	38
Are discussed but I don't take part in the discussions	18	19	20	16	21
Are not discussed	39	36	24	26	40
Difficult to answer	3	3	2	3	2

N=1600

Table 8.12

**Do the coming RF State Duma elections interest you?**

	2003 October	2007 October
Definitely yes	16	21
Yes, rather than no	32	34
No, rather than yes	31	26
Definitely no	18	15
Difficult to answer	3	5

N=1600

Table 8.13

**Do you expect changes for the better in our life from the December RF State Duma elections?**

Definitely yes	7
Yes, rather than no	23
No, rather than yes	38
Definitely no	25
Difficult to answer	7

2007, March; N=1600

Table 8.14

**What, in your opinion, is the purpose of these elections?**

To elect respected and worthy people to determine the guidelines of the internal and the foreign policy of the state	10
To elect representatives of the people who will control the activity of bureaucrats and officials	13
To elect those who will work out laws necessary for the country and its citizens	20
The elections are a pure formality which is necessary for those in power, not for the people	51
Difficult to answer	7

2007, September; N=1600

Table 8.15

**Do you think the coming State Duma elections this December will express the will of the population of Russia?**

Definitely yes	5
Yes, rather than no	35
No, rather than yes	31
Definitely no	13
Difficult to answer	15

2007, April; N=1600

Table 8.16

**Do you think after the threshold for eligibility to win seats in the State Duma was raised to 7%, single-member districts were abolished and the «Against all» option was removed from the ballot the elections have become...?**

More democratic than before	12
Less democratic than before	28
Neither more nor less democratic than before	37
Difficult to answer	23

2007, May; N=1600

Table 8.17

**Do you think the «Against all» option should be returned to ballots in all elections?**

Definitely yes	37
Yes, rather than no	29
No, rather than yes	16
Definitely no	9
Difficult to answer	10

2007, April; N=1600

Table 8.18

**If the election ballot had the «Against all» option, would it have no effect on your decision or would you come to the polls and vote «Against all»?**

It would have no effect on my decision	70
I would come to the polls and vote «Against all»	13
Difficult to answer	18

2007, April; N=1600

Table 8.19

**Are the 2004 amendments to the Law on Political Parties about a larger number of a political party members excessive restrictions which violate the citizens' constitutional right to form political parties?**

Definitely yes	8
Yes, rather than no	20
No, rather than yes	21
Definitely no	10
Difficult to answer	41

2007, April; N=1600

Table 8.20

**What is your attitude to the abolition of the minimum of a 50% voter turnout at the elections, which made the elections valid irrespective of the voter turnout?**

	2000 October	2006 December	2007 October
Very positive	11	7	9
Somewhat positive	18	17	25
Somewhat negative	27	32	27
Very negative	22	28	19
Difficult to answer	22	16	20

N=1600

Table 8.21

**What is your attitude to the ban on political movements' and blocs' participation in elections, which gives only large parties approved by the authorities the right to participate in the elections?**

Very positive	11
Somewhat positive	29
Somewhat negative	23
Very negative	12
Difficult to answer	24

2007, October; N=1600

Table 8.22

**What is your attitude to the threshold for eligibility to win seats in the Duma being raised from 5 to 7%?**

Very positive	14
Somewhat positive	35
Somewhat negative	16
Very negative	8
Difficult to answer	28

2007 г., October; N=1600

Table 8.23

**What makes you go to the polls?**  
(% of those who answered)

	2003 October	2007 October
Civic duty	57	61
Habit	21	16
Wish to help my party to win seats / more seats in the Duma	14	11
Wish to prevent a party I don't trust to win seats / more seats in the Duma	6	5
Wish to express my political position (even if it doesn't help any party)	18	20
Voting in elections is my family's and friends' tradition	6	11
It's practically the only chance to participate in the life of the country	20	16
Difficult to answer	2	3

N=1600

Table 8.24

**How serious an effect do you think these corrupt practices will have on the results of the elections?**

(% of those who expect corrupt practices during the elections)

Very serious	22
Quite serious	44
Not serious	23
Will have practically no effect	7
Difficult to answer	4

2007, April; N=1600

Table 8.25

**Will the coming RF State Duma elections be honest,  
without the administrative resource used,  
without tampering with and riggings of the results?**

	July	September	October
Absolutely honest	3	3	13
Mostly honest	26	28	22
With tampering and riggings	44	37	39
With very serious tampering and riggings	14	20	9
Difficult to answer	13	13	17

2007, N=1600

Table 8.26

**Do you expect the following violations and tampering during the preparation  
for and the course of the elections?**

Different possibilities for parties to use the mass media	26
Biased coverage of the election campaign by the main TV channels	22
Bias of election committees during registration of electoral party-lists	13
«Dirty» election campaign technologies («throw-in» of compromising information, etc.)	35
Parties bribing voters	30
Top government officials making comments in favor of certain parties	20
Pressure on voters exercised by local authorities to make them vote for a certain party	21
Tampering with electoral lists and ballots at polling stations	27
Rigging the results in election committees of different levels	28
Do not expect any violations or tampering	13
Difficult to answer	13

2007, July; N=1600

Table 8.27

**For the benefit of which party or parties  
will this tampering and rigging of the results be done?**

	July	October
«United Russia»	46	42
«Fair Russia»	9	6
LDPR	16	8
CPRF	9	6
«Union of Right Forces»	7	3
«Yabloko»	6	3
Other	1	1
Difficult to answer	40	47

2007; N=1600

Table 8.28

**Will you protest if the party you intended to vote for is not allowed to take part in the elections for a far-fetched reason or if its votes are «stolen» during vote counting?**

Am ready to take part in street protests	4
Will protest but in a quieter way	7
There is no use in protesting, so I won't do anything	59
I am absolutely sure there will be no such violations	11
Difficult to answer	18

2007, October; N=1600

Table 8.29

**What is your attitude to the fact that some party-lists for the State Duma elections are headed by people who are not members of these parties?**

Don't see any problem in it	29
Think it wrong	53
Difficult to answer	18

2007, October; N=1600

Table 8.30

**Should deputies have the right to vote in the Duma as they want or should they vote only according to the position of their faction?**

Should have the right to vote as they feel appropriate	53
Should vote only according to the position of their faction	31
Difficult to answer	16

2007, October; N=1600

Table 8.31

**How well do you know what the Duma deputies do, what their political goals and preferences are?**

Very well	5
Approximately	50
Don't know at all	42
Difficult to answer	3

2007, September; N=1600

Table 8.32

**Do you think the Duma deputies and parties keep their election pledges?**

Keep practically all pledges	2
Keep most pledges	14
Don't keep most pledges	42
Don't keep any pledges	33
Difficult to answer	10

2007, September; N=1600

Table 8.33

**Why do you think the deputies and the parties  
do not keep their election pledges?**

They are unable to do what they promised though they are honestly doing their best	8
Officials and bureaucrats are in their way	9
They cannot do anything by themselves	19
Their aim is to defend the interests of the authorities or large corporations, not of simple people	21
They strive for power only to become rich, make a career	57
In our country deputies and politicians are not accountable to people in any way	36
They are used to lying	21
Difficult to answer	1

2007, September; N=1600

Table 8.34

**Should leaders of party-lists be obliged to participate in TV debates before  
the elections or do you think it is not obligatory?**

Leaders of party-lists should be obliged to take part in TV debates	60
TV debates between leaders of party-lists are not obligatory	22
Difficult to answer	18

2007, October; N=1600

Table 8.35

**Have you seen any election debates between party-leaders  
on TV over the past 10 days?**

Yes	29
No	64
Difficult to answer	7

2007, November; N=1600

Table 8.36

**Do you believe «United Russia» did the right thing when it refused  
to participate in election debates?**

Right	37
Wrong	27
Difficult to answer	36

2007, November; N=1600

Table 8.37

**Why do you think «United Russia» refused to take part in TV debates?**

Its leaders have nothing to say/they don't have any positive program	6
Its leaders don't know how to debate / they were afraid to have an open debate	4
Its leaders try to avoid open criticism of their activity	13
Its leaders didn't want to take part in scandals, squabbles	15
There are no people of the same status its leaders can debate with	15
These debates are senseless / they decided to save the voters' money	21
Difficult to answer	29

2007 г., November; N=1600

Table 8.38

**Will the 2007 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 government?**

	2006 November	2007 October	2007 November
There will be a real struggle for power and seats in the Duma	30	32	34
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
Difficult to answer	17	15	18

N=1600

Table 8.39

**Have you or your family found yourself in a situation when representatives of the local administration, your superiors at work, election committee staff or other officials used threats or bribes to make you go to the polls?**

Yes	17
No	76
Difficult to answer	7

2007, November; N=1600

Table 8.40

**Should representatives of local administrations, superiors at work, election committee staff and other officials be punished if they use threats or bribes to make people go to the polls?**

Yes	78
No	11
Difficult to answer	11

2007, November; N=1600

Table 8.41

**Do you think the State Duma formed after the next elections will express the interests of the society?**

I think it will	45
I don't think it will	34
Difficult to answer	21

2007, November; N=1600

Table 8.42

**Will you think that the State Duma formed after these elections is a lawful and competent body of power?**

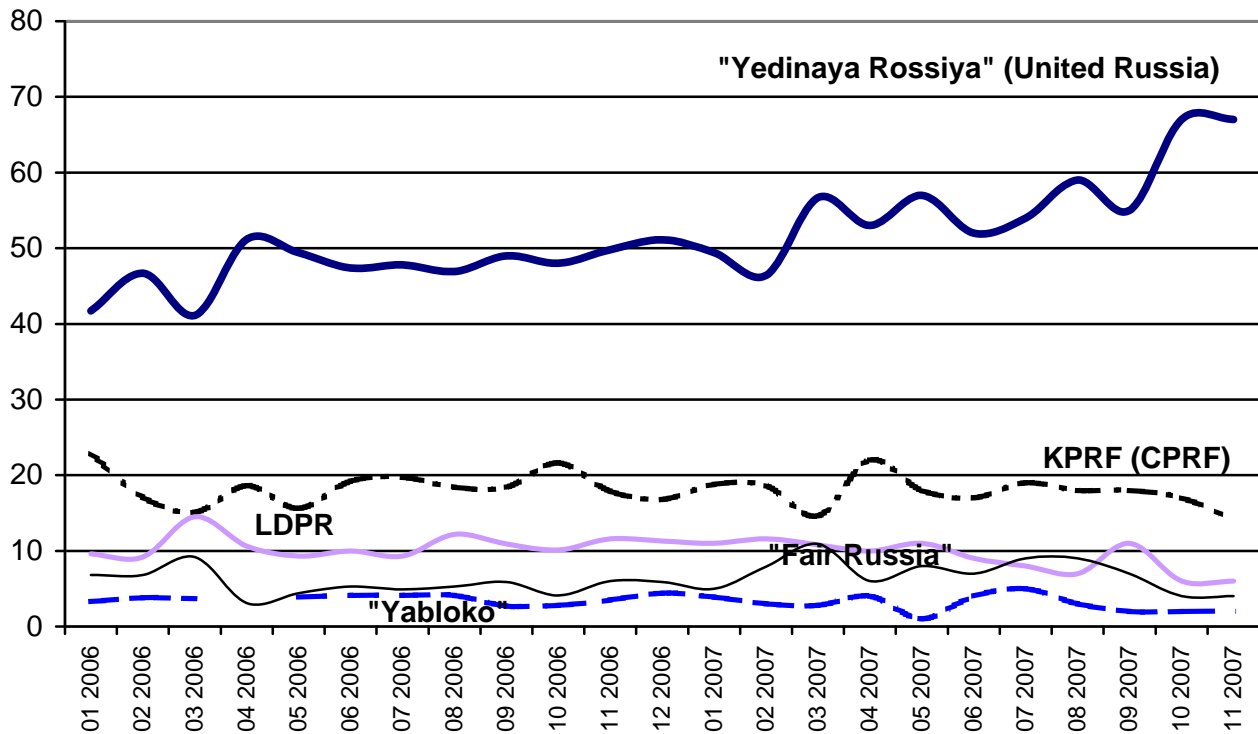
Definitely yes	10
Yes, rather than no	39
No, rather than yes	22
Definitely no	10
Difficult to answer	20

2007, April; N=1600

Diagram 8.2

**If the State Duma election were held next Sunday, would you go to the polls?  
If you did, which of these parties would you vote for?**

(In % of those who decided)



N=1600

## V. PUTIN AND ELECTIONS

Table 8.43

**On whom, in your opinion, does it first of all depend what parties will win seats in the State Duma in the December, 2007 elections?**

	May	November
On the present President of Russia V. Putin	23	24
On the Administration, the President's associates	22	16
On the parties themselves, their activity and programs	28	23
On the voters' will	15	25
Difficult to answer	12	12

2007, N=1600

Table 8.44

**Making a decision about the party you are going to vote for, which party would you prefer?**

A party fully supporting the course pursued by V. Putin	37
A party which is in opposition to this course	9
A party which mostly agrees with this course but suggests some alternative approaches to solutions of problems	28
Difficult to answer	25

2007, September; N=1600

Table 8.45

**Had you intended to vote for «United Russia» in the State Duma elections before October 1?**

Decided to vote for «United Russia» a long time ago	27
Considered this possibility	21
Decided to vote for another party a long time ago	18
Decided not to vote in these elections a long time ago	17
Difficult to answer	17

2007, October; N=1600

Table 8.46

**Is «United Russia» an independent political force or is it just a tool in V. Putin's and his associates' hands?**

Independent political force	40
Just a tool in the hands of V. Putin and his associates	38
Difficult to answer	22

2007, October; N=1600

Table 8.47

**Do you think the authorities are right in refusing  
to register for the elections...?**

	<b>M. Kasianov's National- Democratic Union</b>	<b>E. Limonov's National-Bolshevik party</b>	<b>D. Rogozin's «Great Russia» party</b>
Definitely yes	17	24	12
Yes, rather than no	17	18	17
No, rather than yes	14	10	15
Definitely no	6	6	8
Difficult to answer	45	42	47

2007, August; N=1600

## OPPOSITION

Table 8.48

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

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

N=1600

Table 8.49

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

	<b>2004 May</b>	<b>2005 July</b>	<b>2006 July</b>	<b>2007 June</b>
Definitely yes	18	14	11	20
Yes, rather than no	24	27	26	33
No, rather than yes	25	22	27	14
Definitely no	13	13	12	7
Difficult to answer	20	24	24	25

N=1600

Table 8.50

**Does the opposition have a thought-out program of improving the situation in the country or does it only criticize the authorities without having any constructive program?**

They have a thought-out program of improving the situation in the country	23
They just criticize the authorities without having any constructive program	39
Difficult to answer	38

2007, June; N=1600

Table 8.51

**How do the Russian authorities deal with those who do not agree with what they are doing and criticize them?**

	2006 March	2007 April
Too toughly	15	17
Too gently	15	13
Appropriately	39	41
Difficult to answer	31	29

N=1600

Table 8.52

**Is it possible to freely criticize the authorities in Russia now, without any consequences for the critic?**

Definitely yes	18
Yes, rather than no	37
No, rather than yes	21
Definitely no	8
Difficult to answer	16

2007, November; N=1600

Table 8.53

**Does the current criticism of the authorities bring any considerable results?**

Definitely yes	7
Yes, rather than no	25
No, rather than yes	31
Definitely no	18
Difficult to answer	20

2007, November; N=1600

Table 8.54

**Would you vote for an integrated list of democratic parties  
in the next State Duma election?**

	2004 IX	2004 XII	2005 X	2005 XII	2006 II	2006 III	2006 XII	2007 III	2007 VI
Definitely yes	5	6	4	5	5	5	5	5	3
Yes, rather than no	25	25	24	18	17	22	17	20	21
No, rather than yes	20	22	21	28	19	26	25	20	23
Definitely no	21	20	23	25	27	24	22	23	24
Difficult to answer	28	27	28	4	33	23	31	34	29

N=1600

### PUBLIC CHAMBER

Table 8.55

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

	2006 February	2006 July	2007 January	2008 February
Will have real political weight	19	22	14	17
Ornamental body which will have no influence at all	40	40	29	23
Don't know anything about the RF Public Chamber	22	21	41	41
Difficult to answer	19	17	16	19

N=1600

Table 8.56

**Do you think it is enough to have bodies like the Public Chamber  
for the authorities to pay attention to the citizens' problems or  
other measures and actions such as marches and  
independent associations of citizens are also necessary?**

	2006 July	2007 July
Such bodies as the Public Chamber are enough	24	21
Some other measures are necessary	46	43
Difficult to answer	30	36

N=1600

## MARCHES OF «HOSE WHO DON'T AGREE»

Table 8.57

**Have you heard of the movement «The Other Russia» which organizes «Marches of Those Who Don't Agree» and if you have, with which of the following opinions would you be more likely to agree?**

It is a political opposition necessary for normal functioning of the society	13
It is a collection of fringe individuals who should not have any power	11
Haven't heard anything about the movement «The Other Russia»	61
Difficult to answer	15

2007, July; N=1600

Table 8.58

**Have you heard about «Marches of Those Who Don't Agree» in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod and other cities of Russia in which people who do not agree with V. Putin's policy took part; and if you have, what is your attitude to these actions?**

Generally positive	6
Somewhat positive	11
Somewhat negative	11
Very negative	7
Haven't heard anything about these actions	55
Difficult to answer	12

2007, April; N=1600

Table 8.59

**Do you think the opposition should have the right to organize mass rallies and marches?**

	2007 March	2007 June
Definitely yes	37	30
Yes, rather than no	39	44
No, rather than yes	8	8
Definitely no	3	3
Difficult to answer	14	16

N=1600

Table 8.60

**Do you think violence, the riot police should be used  
to disperse unapproved rallies and marches?**

	2007 March	2007 June
Definitely yes	4	4
Yes, rather than no	15	16
No, rather than yes	32	26
Definitely no	33	36
Difficult to answer	16	18

N=1600

Table 8.61

**Do you think it is acceptable in a democratic country ...**

	Absolutely acceptable	Somewhat acceptable	Somewhat unacceptable	Absolutely unacceptable	Difficult to answer
To use preventive detention of possible participants in marches, rallies, demonstrations	4	18	32	38	8
To beat participants in peaceful marches, rallies, demonstrations during dispersals	2	5	22	66	5
To detain journalists reporting from marches, rallies, demonstrations	2	6	26	61	5

2007, April; N=1600

Table 8.62

**What feelings do you have about the actions  
of the opposition parties and movements?**

Sympathy	2
Interest	10
Irritation	5
Indignation	4
No special feelings	61
Difficult to answer	18

2007, April; N=1600

Table 8.63

**What impression do «Marches of Those Who Don't Agree» make on you?**

Positive, overall	7
Negative, overall	11
Don't make any impression	23
Haven't heard anything about these marches	53
Difficult to answer	6

2007, June; N=1600

Table 8.64

**Why do you think the authorities started to use force in dispersals of rallies and marches of the opposition?**

To maintain order	27
Because they are afraid these actions may grow into mass disturbances, an «orange revolution»	31
It is the result of lack of public control over the authorities and law-enforcement bodies, their absolute impunity	16
It is a provocation to make the society believe that V. Putin should stay in office longer	7
Difficult to answer	18

2007, April; N=1600

Table 8.65

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

Definitely strong and confident	9
Probably strong and confident	19
Probably weak and insecure	37
Definitely weak and insecure	14
Difficult to answer	22

2007, April; N=1600

Table 8.66

**Is the use of force in the dispersals of «Marches of Those Who Don't Agree» justified?**

Definitely yes	3
Yes, rather than no	14
No, rather than yes	25
Definitely no	21
Haven't heard anything about these marches / rallies	21
Difficult to answer	16

2007, May; N=1600

## 9. «PROBLEM OF 2008»

Table 9.1

### What are the most important personal traits the President of Russia should have?

	1996 January	1997 August	2000 January	2004 January	2005 December	2007 October
Intellect	60	60	66	69	74	67
Expertise of a politician	49	47	48	51	49	49
Expertise in executive management	38	40	37	36	38	37
Strong will	34	35	38	41	40	34
Ability to be the leader	30	24	29	37	36	39
Balanced, calm disposition	20	12	17	19	16	18
Ability to listen to others, to compromise	30	26	31	28	28	26
Unselfishness	18	20	19	15	16	17
Culture, education	23	23	20	20	28	28
Personal charm	7	8	5	10	9	10
Firm ideological principles	13	12	8	11	12	12
Honesty, decency	57	69	63	61	58	58
Difficult to answer	5	3	1	1	2	2

N=1600

Table 9.2

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

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

N=1600

Table 9.3

**To what extent are you interested in the election of President of Russia to be held in 2008?**

	2006 May	2007 May
Very interested	35	35
Somewhat interested	40	44
Little or not interested at all	22	18
Difficult to answer	3	3

N=1600

Table 9.4

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

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

N=1600

Table 9.5

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

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

N=1600

Table 9.6

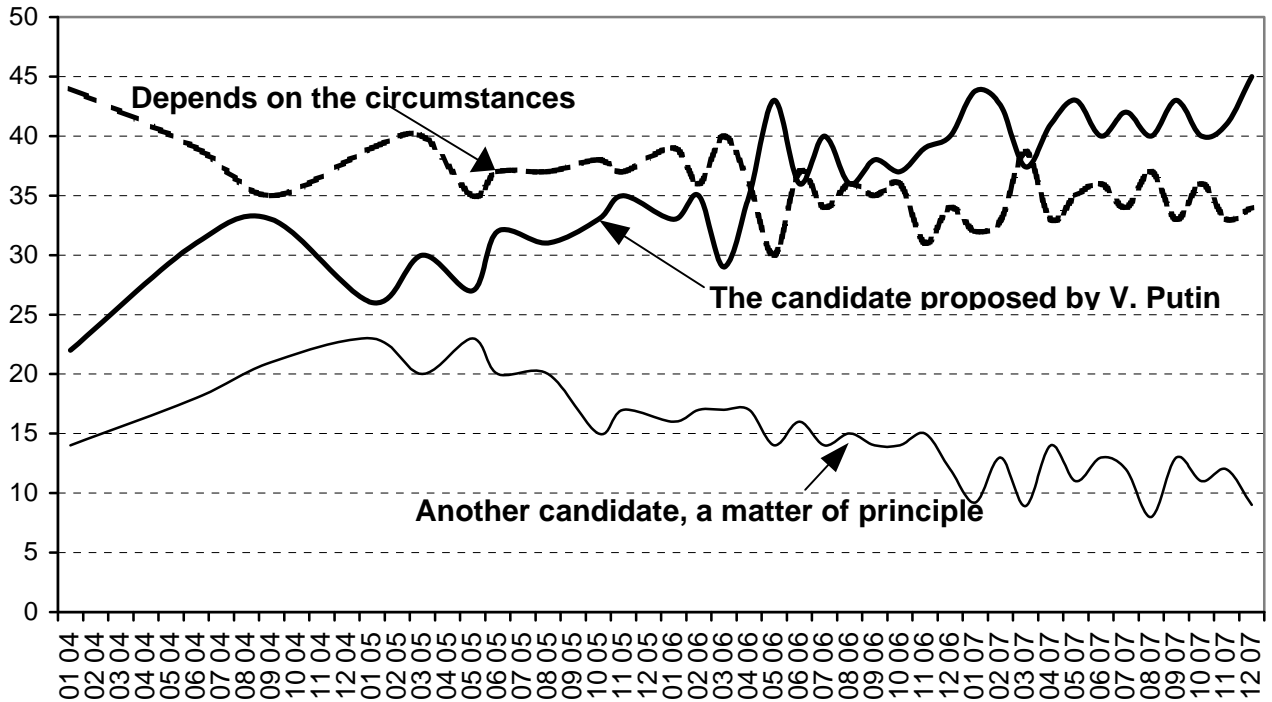
**Whom do you think it will depend on who will become President of Russia after the elections in March, 2008?**

On the present President of Russia V. Putin	41
On the presidential administration / the president's closest associates	22
On the candidates themselves, their activity and programs	16
On the voters' will	15
Difficult to answer	6

2007, May; N=1600

Diagram 9.1

**Under the Constitution V. Putin will not be able to run for president in the 2008 presidential election. Who are you more likely to vote for?**

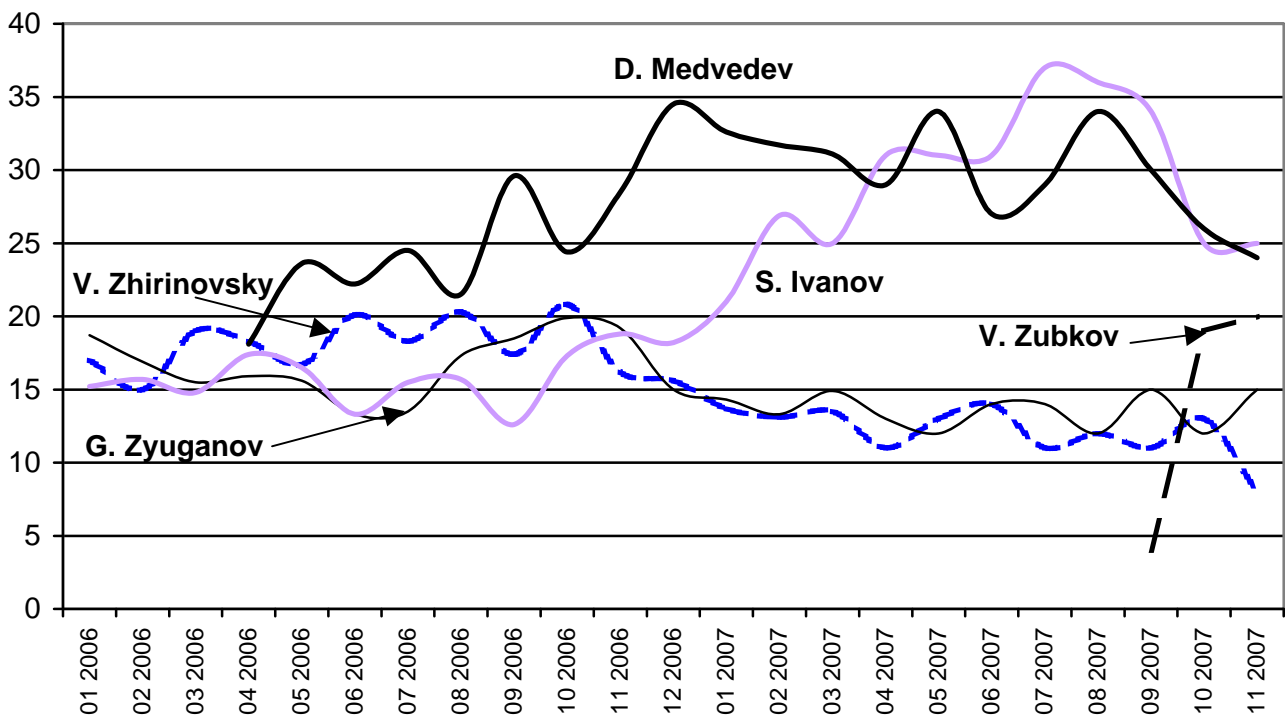


N=1600

Diagram 9.2.1

**Which of these people would you vote for in the election of the President of Russia if it were held next Sunday?**

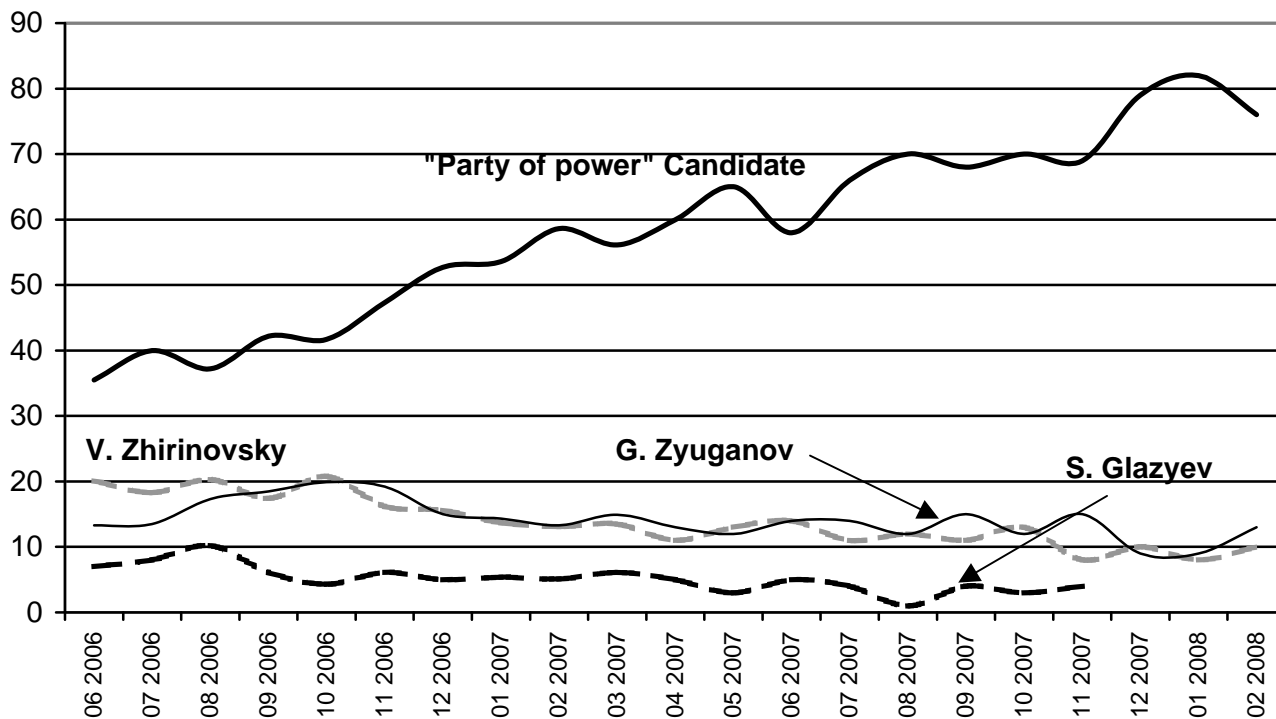
(In % of those who have decided)



N=1600

Diagram 9.2.2

**Which of these people would you vote for in the election of the President of Russia if it were held next Sunday?**  
 (In % of those who have decided)

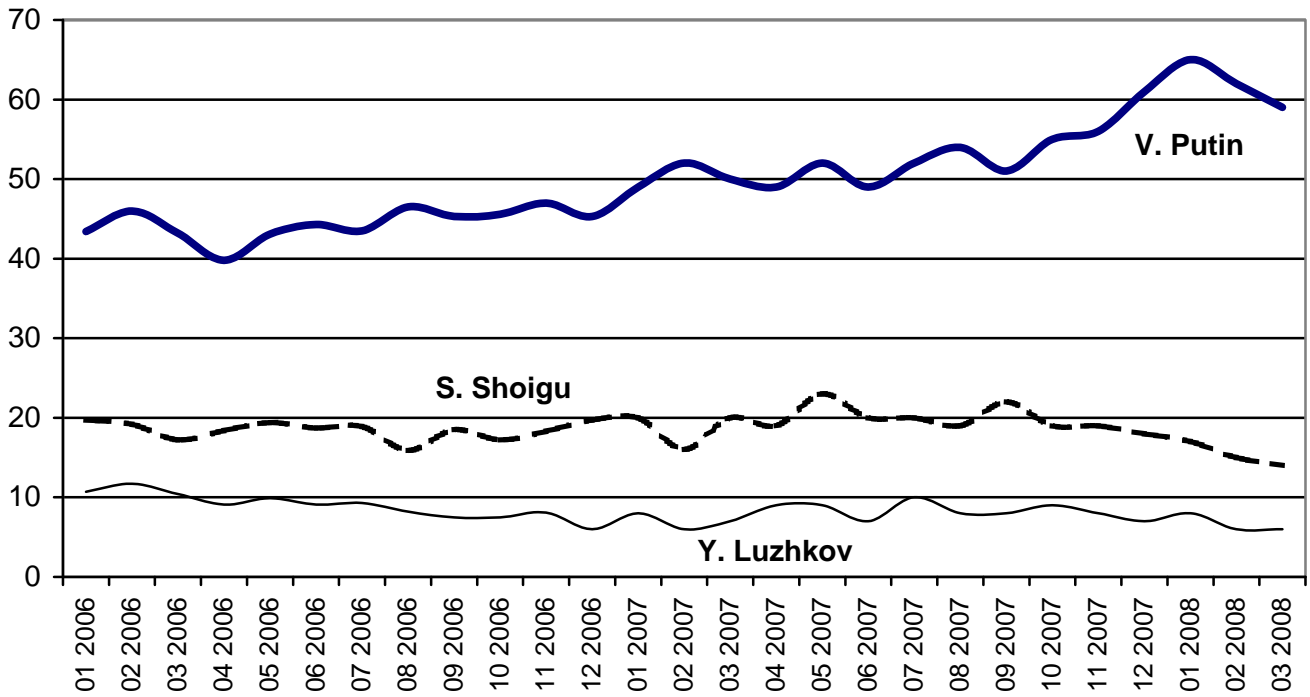


N=1600

Diagram represents a joint rating of «party of power» candidate (summarized ratings of D. Medvedev, S. Ivanov and V. Zubkov – each of them had seemingly equal chances to be announced the successor of V. Putin). Thus any chosen «party of power» candidate was supposed to win a landslide victory, which D. Medvedev did on 2<sup>nd</sup> March.

Diagram 9.3

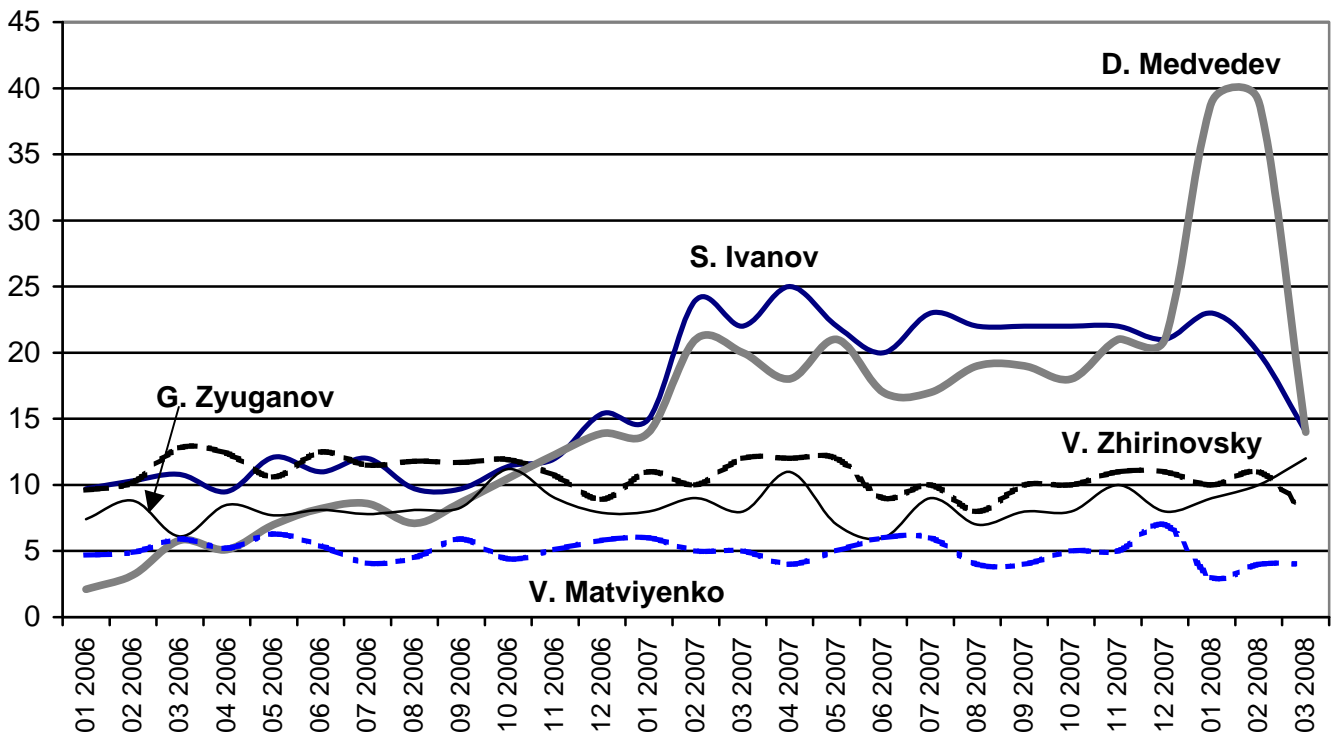
**Dynamics of trust in the most popular politicians**



N=1600

Diagram 9.4

**Dynamics of trust in the most popular politicians**



N=1600

Table 9.7

**According to the Constitution V. Putin cannot run for President in 2008. What should he do in this situation?**

	2004 November	2005 April	2006 August	2007 August
Organize amendments to the Constitution and stay in office	17	11	18	14
Appoint a successor as B. Yeltsin did	19	18	15	20
Secure an honest presidential election in 2008 without trying to influence its results	53	60	57	56
Difficult to answer	11	11	10	10

N=1600

Table 9.8

**What would be your feeling if the Constitution of Russia were amended so that V. Putin could be elected president for the third term of office and the following terms?**

	2004	2005	2005	2006	2007
	September	August	September	May	May
Absolutely positive	17	13	19	23	24
Positive, rather than negative	31	28	25	36	35
Negative, rather than positive	22	19	21	18	20
Absolutely negative	15	23	17	11	11
Difficult to answer	15	17	19	12	10

N=1600

Table 9.9

**What would your attitude be if it were proposed that V. Putin should be Russia's President-for-life?**

	2004 January	2005 February	2007 April	2007 October
Absolutely positive	7	4	9	6
Somewhat positive	9	6	26	11
Somewhat negative	31	29	30	30
Very negative	42	53	24	36
Difficult to answer	11	8	12	18

N=1600

Table 9.10

**What would your attitude be if the President of Russia who will be elected next March resigned in a year or a year and a half and pre-term elections were called in which, according to the Constitution, V. Putin can run again?**

Absolutely positive	13
Somewhat positive	21
Somewhat negative	26
Very negative	17
Difficult to answer	24

2007, October; N=1600

Table 9.11

**Do you think V. Putin has a plan the realization of which will make Russia a strong, rich and happy country?**

Definitely yes	15
Yes, rather than no	44
No, rather than yes	15
Definitely no	9
Difficult to answer	17

2007, October; N=1600

Table 9.12

**Do you agree with those who believe that without V. Putin Russia will see devastation and anarchy?**

Definitely yes	7
Yes, rather than no	19
No, rather than yes	33
Definitely no	26
Difficult to answer	15

2007, October; N=1600

Table 9.13

**Do you support the idea of appointing V. Putin Prime-minister of Russia after the end of his term as President?**

Definitely yes	28
Yes, rather than no	35
No, rather than yes	13
Definitely no	9
Difficult to answer	17

2007, October; N=1600

Table 9.14

**Do you think the current initiative to give V. Putin the right to run for the third term of presidency is spontaneous and voluntary or is it organized by the authorities?**

Is spontaneous and voluntary	33
Is organized by the authorities	43
Difficult to answer	24

2007, November; N=1600

Table 9.15

**Do you think power will still be in the hands of the same people as in V. Putin's time if he leaves the office of President of Russia or it will change hands?**

	2007 February	2007 June
Definitely in the hands of the same people	23	19
Probably will be in the hands of the same people	34	37
Probably will change hands	20	19
Definitely will change hands	6	8
Difficult to answer	17	17

N=1600

Table 9.16

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

	2006 November	2007 November
Practically fully	15	20
To a considerable extent	32	40
To some extent	29	23
He will play practically no role	12	5
Difficult to answer	12	13

N=1600

Table 9.17

**Do you think the choice of a successor made by the incumbent president of a country is a legitimate and lawful procedure or it is non-democratic and anti-constitutional?**

	2006 November	2007 November
Quite a legitimate and lawful procedure	40	43
A non-democratic and anti-constitutional procedure	34	29
Difficult to answer	27	28

N=1600

Table 9.10

**What do you think the policy of the new President of Russia who is to change V. Putin in his office in 2008 will be like?**

	2006 November	2007 November
Will continue V. Putin's policy in everything	38	42
Will try to get all the aspects of life in the country under even more rigorous government control	26	20
Will ease the government control over the life of the country somewhat, will give more freedom to private initiative	8	7
Difficult to answer	29	31

N=1600

## 10. PRIVATISATION, AUTHORITIES AND BUSINESS

Table 10.1

**Which of the following views on privatisation of state-owned assets in 1991–1999 would you agree with?**

	2003 VII	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 VIII
Accept privatisation results as they are today	12	15	12	13	11
Revise privatisation results where companies have shown worse performance/ paid less taxes/ have wage arrears	19	20	18	18	17
Revise privatisation results for large companies/ major sectors of the economy	23	26	29	26	28
Completely revise privatisation results	35	32	30	28	30
Difficult to answer	11	7	10	15	14

N=1600

Table 10.2

**Revision of the privatization results of the 90s would you agree with?**

	2003 July	2004 July	2005 July	2007 July
The state should get back all the property that it lost in those years	37	40	43	37
It can be done only in some cases provided it is proved that privatization was not within the law	31	30	32	37
This question should not be raised at all now	20	22	17	15
Difficult to answer	12	7	8	11

N=1600

Table 10.3

**Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that with all its minuses privatization of large industrial enterprises in Russia in the 1990s was necessary?**

Agree absolutely	6
Agree somewhat	16
Disagree somewhat	27
Disagree absolutely	33
Difficult to answer	20

2007, October; N=1600

Table 10.4

**Is the property which became private as a result of privatization in the 1990s really being returned to the country and the people or is it only being redistributed among the ruling elite?**

This property is really being returned to the country and the people	12
This property is being redistributed among the ruling elite	68
Difficult to answer	20

2007, May; N=1600

Table 10.5

**Do you remember what you did with your voucher?**

Bought the shares of the company I or my family were working in	7
Bought shares of some other company	7
Bought shares of an investment fund	10
Sold it to have cash	26
Gave it to someone as a gift	4
Didn't manage to do anything with it, still have it	8
Didn't receive a privatization receipt('voucher')	5
Didn't receive a privatization receipt (voucher) – for reasons of age	16
Don't remember	12

2007, August; N=1600

Table 10.6

**Which of the following opinions about vouchers are you more likely to agree with?**

It was an attempt to give people financial support	4
It was a step towards creating a class of property owners	13
It was simply a show which served as a cover for misappropriation of the government property	68
Difficult to answer	15

2007, August; N=1600

Table 10.7

**How do you feel about people who have made money over the past 10-15 years?**

	2003 November	2004 November	2005 November	2006 November	2007 November
Respect	14	15	12	13	10
Affinity	2	1	2	2	2
Interest	16	13	15	13	13
Irritation	14	18	14	17	19
Contempt	7	7	6	7	5
Hatred	7	8	8	5	3
No special feelings	37	37	41	40	44
Difficult to answer	3	2	2	4	3

N=1600

Table 10.8

**Who do you think does more harm to Russia?**

Domestic entrepreneurs who use weak points of Russian legislation to strengthen their business	13
Government officials who use their position for own material gain	78
Difficult to answer	9

2007, May; N=1600

Table 10.9

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

	2003 August	2005 August	2006 August	2007 August
Definitely beneficial	9	9	9	8
Beneficial, rather than harmful	28	30	34	36
Harmful, rather than beneficial	35	32	32	28
Definitely harmful	16	17	12	12
Difficult to answer	12	13	13	16

N=1600

Table 10.10

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

	2003 August	2005 August	2006 August	2007 August
Definitely beneficial	15	15	12	10
Beneficial, rather than harmful	48	47	51	49
Harmful, rather than beneficial	18	18	17	16
Definitely harmful	7	7	6	6
Difficult to answer	12	14	14	18

N=1600

## END OF YUKOS

Table 10.11

**Do you follow the developments related to the oil company Yukos  
and its former head M. Khodorkovsky?**

	2007 April	2007 July
Very attentively	2	1
Quite attentively	8	6
Not very attentively	31	28
Do not follow at all	35	47
Have never heard about it	20	14
Difficult to answer	4	4

N=1600

Table 10.12

**Not long ago the prosecutor’s office brought new charges against the ex-head of Yukos M. Khodorkovsky. Why do you think new charges were brought against M. Khodorkovsky?**

	2007 April	2007 October
Because of the newly discovered evidence of financial crimes committed by M. Khodorkovsky	23	14
It was done not to give M. Khodorkovsky a chance to get a grant of parole in 2007 and to prevent him from influencing the coming State Duma elections and the elections of President of Russia	13	12
It was done not to give M. Khodorkovsky a chance to get his freedom and to claim the property taken from him	11	11
It was done to impede the consideration of M. Khodorkovsky’s case which began in the European Court of Human Rights in Strasburg	6	9
Difficult to answer	47	54

N=1600

Table 10.13

**At present there is a new case against M. Khodorkovsky and P. Lebedev who are charged with embezzlement and money laundering. Do you think they are guilty of what they are accused of now?**

Definitely guilty	21
It is for the court to decide	36
Don’t think they are guilty	7
Difficult to answer	35

2007, July; N=1600

Table 10.14

**Are M. Khodorkovsky and P. Lebedev really guilty of the offences they were convicted for in 2005?**

Definitely guilty	23
Since the court found them guilty, they are guilty	26
Doubt they are guilty	13
Definitely not guilty	3
Difficult to answer	35

2007, July; N=1600

Table 10.15

**The new charges against M. Khodorkovsky mean he may have to spend up to twenty two and a half years in a maximum security penal colony. Do you think this punishment is proportional to the economic crimes he is accused of?**

Definitely yes	8
Yes, rather than no	23
No, rather than yes	17
Definitely no	8
Difficult to answer	44

2007, April; N=1600

Table 10.16

**What is the real goal of the authorities in the «YUKOS» case?**

	2004 December	2005 January	2005 June	2007 October
To levy the unpaid taxes from the company	26	24	37	17
To destroy the company selling out the factories and oilfields	17	17	17	15
To bargain the company to «loyal people» away	29	32	22	19
Difficult to answer	28	27	23	49

N=1600

Table 10.17

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

M. Khodorkovsky's case is unique in Russia	13
Any businessman can be deprived of his business and property and sent to prison if the authorities wish so	40
Neither	13
Difficult to answer	35

2007, April; N=1600

Table 10.18

**Are the authorities trying / have they managed to distract public attention from «M. Khodorkovsky's case», to make people forget about it?**

	2005 December	2007 October
Да	37	40
Нет	34	19
Difficult to answer	29	41

N=1600

Table 10.19

**Who will benefit from the bankruptcy and sale of YUKOS?**

	2004 September	2004 November	2007 October
The whole of the population	7	13	6
A group of businessmen close to the government officials and the government officials themselves	69	67	53
Difficult to answer	24	20	41

N=1600

Table 10.20

**What are the billions received from the planned sale of the company YUKOS going to be spent on?**

	2004 November	2007 October
On dealing with social problems	12	4
On the development of the state sector of oil-production	8	6
On the development of the economy overall	12	5
On the needs of the “enforcement” and security bodies	12	7
On strengthening the State machinery	15	9
They will be simply stolen	51	42
Difficult to answer	13	37

N=1600

**M. Khodorkovsky**

Table 10.21

**Would you personally be for or against it if M. Khodorkovsky were granted parole?**

	2007 February	2007 October
For	19	22
Against	45	32
Difficult to answer	36	46

N=1600

Table 10.22

**Who in the eyes of the future generations will win a moral victory in the confrontation between M. Khodorkovsky and the Kremlin officials?**

	2005	2006	2007
M. Khodorkovsky	13	14	8
Kremlin officials	19	18	17
Neither	33	28	33
Difficult to answer	35	40	42

N=1600

Table 10.23

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

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

N=1600

**CORRUPTION**

Table 10.24

**Over the past 3-4 years has corruption and abuse of power in the top echelons of power of the country...?**

Grown	49
Declined	11
Neither grown, nor declined	32
Difficult to answer	8

2007, May; N=1600

Table 10.25

**What do the recent arrests of federal bodies' and regional administrations' officials, city mayors for bribes and malfeasances in office indicate first of all?**

That the authorities are immersed in arbitrariness and corruption	59
That the law-enforcement bodies are fighting with arbitrariness and corruption in the government bodies successfully	27
Difficult to answer	14

2007, May; N=1600

Table 10.26

**Do Russian top officials have bank accounts in other countries?**

Definitely yes	68
Yes, rather than no	24
No, rather than yes	1
Definitely no	1
Difficult to answer	6

2007, May; N=1600

Table 10.27

**Are government corruption cases initiated each time there is information to the effect or only when there is struggle for a post or a show anti-corruption campaign?**

Each time there is information about such malpractices	20
Only when there is struggle for a post or a show anti-corruption campaign	67
Difficult to answer	13

2007, May; N=1600

Table 10.28

**Why is corruption in the country still not eliminated irrespective of all the appeals and attempts?**

	2006 September	2007 September
Corruption has struck the whole system of government from top to bottom - bribes, «lollies» are the most important source of income	52	54
Solving daily and business problems with the help of bribes is much faster and cheaper than doing it officially	42	39
Difficult to answer	6	7

2007, May; N=1600

## 11. CHECHNYA AND THE NORTHERN CAUCASIA

Diagram 11.1  
**What must be done in Chechnya: military actions or negotiations?**



\* These alternatives have been posed in questions since the March 2003. Before that the question was put with alternatives "continue federal forces attack" and "enter into negotiations with Chechnya leaders" N=1600

Table 11.1  
**Do you think that Russian troops should have been brought into Chechnya in the autumn of 1999?**

	2000 I	2000 II	2000 VII	2000 XII	2003 VIII	2004 VII	2006 VIII	2007 VII
Yes	46	50	44	42	27	26	29	26
It would have been sufficient to seal of the border with Chechnya	43	36	44	43	53	51	48	46
Difficult to answer	11	14	12	15	20	23	23	29

N=1600

Table 11.2  
**Do you think the second Chechen war achieved its goal or it was not a success considering its violence and gross losses?**

The goals of the war as the government of Russia saw them have been fully achieved – the separatists are crushed, Chechnya is a part of Russia	8
The goals of the war have been partly achieved – the separatists are defeated but the threat of revolts in the Caucasus is still there	35
The war was useless, a lot of people were killed but the Caucasus will break away from Russia sooner or later anyway	46
Difficult to answer	11

2007, September; N=1600

Table 11.3

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

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

N=1600

Table 11.4

**Why did it become possible for Chechen militants to attack Dagestan in August, 1999, which initiated the second Chechen war?**

	2004 July	2007 July
Because of incompetence of Russian special services who overlooked the preparation of the invasion	22	22
Because of the Russian authorities' policy of appeasement of Chechen separatists	22	26
Because of provocations / connivance of Russian special services / law-enforcement bodies which were interested in unleashing a new war in the Caucasus	11	16
Because of the economic interests of those who wanted to profit by this war	42	41
Because of corruption among the military / security forces	15	20
Difficult to answer	17	19

N=1600

Table 11.5

**How much do the federal authorities control the situation in Chechnya at present?**

	2006 September	2007 September
Fully	5	7
Considerably	29	34
Only partly	43	38
Not at all	16	9
Difficult to answer	7	12

N=1600

Table 11.6

**What is your attitude to a possibility of Chechnya's secession from Russia?**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
	I	X	XI	VII	IX	VII	VI	IV
I think that Chechnya's secession has already taken place	9	15	12	11	11	13	13	12
I would be only happy if that happened	23	19	25	28	30	24	19	15
That would not impress me too much	15	14	14	14	17	17	19	18
I object to it but prepared to put up with it	20	15	15	20	16	15	16	22
It should be prevented by any means, including military operations	27	25	26	17	17	23	20	18
Difficult to answer	6	12	8	10	10	9	12	14

N=1600

Table 11.7

**What is your attitude to the idea of amnesty for those Chechen militants who surrendered voluntarily and were not suspected of terrorism, murder, banditry and kidnapping?**

	2000 February	2000 March	2003 May	2007 January
Definitely positive	14	10	9	14
Somewhat positive	29	27	32	32
Somewhat negative	27	27	27	24
Very negative	21	26	25	13
Difficult to answer	9	10	7	18

N=1600

Table 11.8

**Do you feel hatred for Chechens now?**

	2000 III	2000 VIII	2001 IX	2003 X	2004 X	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Definitely yes	13	18	14	8	8	7	5	5
Rather yes	22	26	26	16	20	19	15	16
Rather no	37	31	36	41	38	43	45	44
Definitely no	20	20	19	28	28	26	27	26
Difficult to answer	8	5	5	7	6	5	8	10

N=1600

Table 11.9

**Do you think the next generation of Chechens will be...**

	2002 VII	2003 VII	2004 IX	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Friendlier towards Russia, more aware of the need for Chechnya to remain part of Russia	14	16	20	24	28	24
More hostile, vindictive towards Russia	68	65	58	57	46	45
Difficult to answer	18	19	22	20	25	31

N=1600

Table 11.10

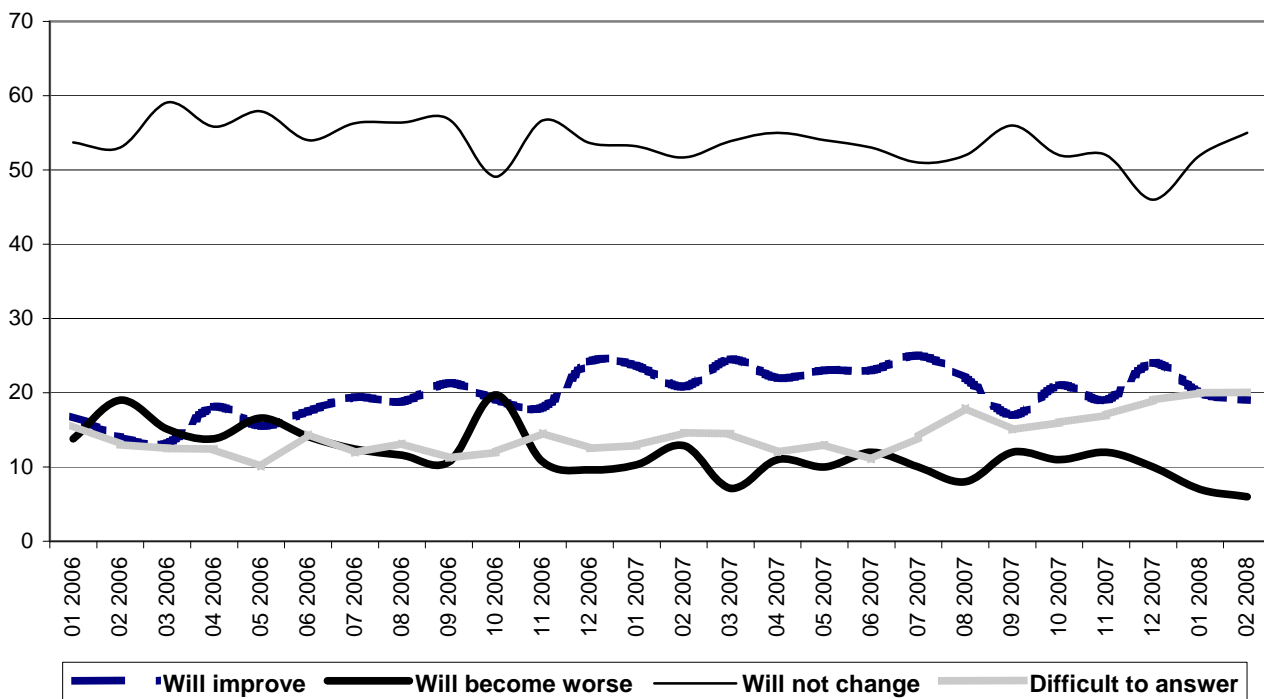
**Will the Russian authorities succeed in straightening things out in Chechnya, achieve order and peace there?**

	2001	2002	2003		2004		2005	2006	2007
	II	II	III	X	III	IX	X	III	IX
I think they will be able to achieve peace in the next few years	15	13	21	19	18	12	19	16	16
I think it will take many years	45	42	44	41	40	51	38	45	36
I don't think they will ever achieve that, and Chechnya will remain a source of tension and conflicts in Russia for decades	26	27	21	21	24	25	24	26	29
I think they will fail and Russia will have to recognize Chechnya's independence	8	9	8	9	11	8	9	9	15
Difficult to answer	6	9	6	10	8	4	10	4	5

N=1600

Diagram 11.2

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



N=1600

Table 11.11

**Who do you think is now trying to aggravate the situation in Ingushetia and is behind the numerous murders and acts of terror which have taken place in this republic over the past few months?**

Chechen militants	26
Political opponents of the present President of Ingushetia Marat Zyazikov	14
Federal special forces who are keeping up the hotbed of tension in the North Caucasus	12
Ramzan Kadyrov's people whose aim is to unite Chechnya and Ingushetia and create a unified territory	8
There is no aggravation of the situation in Ingushetia, it is just the work of journalists' imagination	2
Difficult to answer	38

2007, October; N=1600

### RAMZAN KADYROV

Table 11.12

**What is your attitude to the fact that R. Kadyrov has become President of Chechnya?**

Positive	29
Indifferent	40
Negative	10
Don't know anything about it	9
Difficult to answer	12

2007, March; N=1600

Table 11.13

**Which of the following opinions about R. Kadyrov would you rather agree with? In your opinion, he is probably a...**

Clever politician	25
Puppet in the hands of Moscow	18
Bandit, criminal	17
Difficult to answer	41

2007, April; N=1600

Table 11.14

**What will R. Kadyrov's appointment to the post of President of Chechnya result in, in your opinion?**

Complete conciliation and establishment of peaceful life in Chechnya	18
Establishment of full control of R. Kadyrov's clan over Chechnya	27
Intensification of conflicts between R. Kadyrov's clan and other Chechen clans	15
Aggravation of chaos and disturbances in Chechnya	6
Growth of anti-Russian sentiment in Chechnya	7
Gradual isolation of Chechnya from Russia and new attempts of its separation from Russia	11
Difficult to answer	35

2007, April; N=1600

## 12. ACTS OF TERROR IN RUSSIA

Table 12.1

### Has the international fight with terrorism achieved its goal?

It was successful overall and international terrorism is now much weaker even if it hasn't been crushed	12
The effect is the opposite, it has caused aggravation of tension and more terrorist attacks in different countries	22
It's impossible to talk about success in this type of fight in terms of unambiguous victory; it is only possible to restrain and restrict international terrorism	55
Difficult to answer	12

2007, September; N=1600

Table 12.2

### This May Russia's special services reported that large-scale acts of terror in Moscow and St. Petersburg had been prevented. Had acts of terror really been planned in these cities or was it make-believe?

Acts of terror had really been planned in Moscow and St. Petersburg	32
It was make-believe staged by the special services to demonstrate that they are active	26
Difficult to answer	42

2007, July; N=1600

Table 12.3

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

Yes, I am completely satisfied with the work of our investigation and law-enforcement bodies on this case	5
Yes, rather than no; though I still don't have a full picture	22
No, rather than yes because even though some of the actual doers were convicted, the idea of the crime itself is still not clear	35
No, I am absolutely dissatisfied with either the investigation itself, or with the trial	19
Difficult to answer	19

2007, September; N=1600

Table 12.4

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

	2004 May	2005 May	2006 August	2007 May
Definitely yes	39	32	16	17
Yes, rather than no	52	50	53	49
No, rather than yes	4	8	13	16
Definitely no	0,3	1	1	2
Difficult to answer	5	10	17	16

N=1600

Table 12.5

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

	2004 October	2005 October	2006 October	2007 October
Eliminate the terrorists even if the price to pay might be human lives	29	30	25	22
Avoid bloodshed at any cost even if the terrorists' conditions had to be accepted	62	60	65	69
Difficult to answer	9	10	10	9

N=1600

Table 12.6

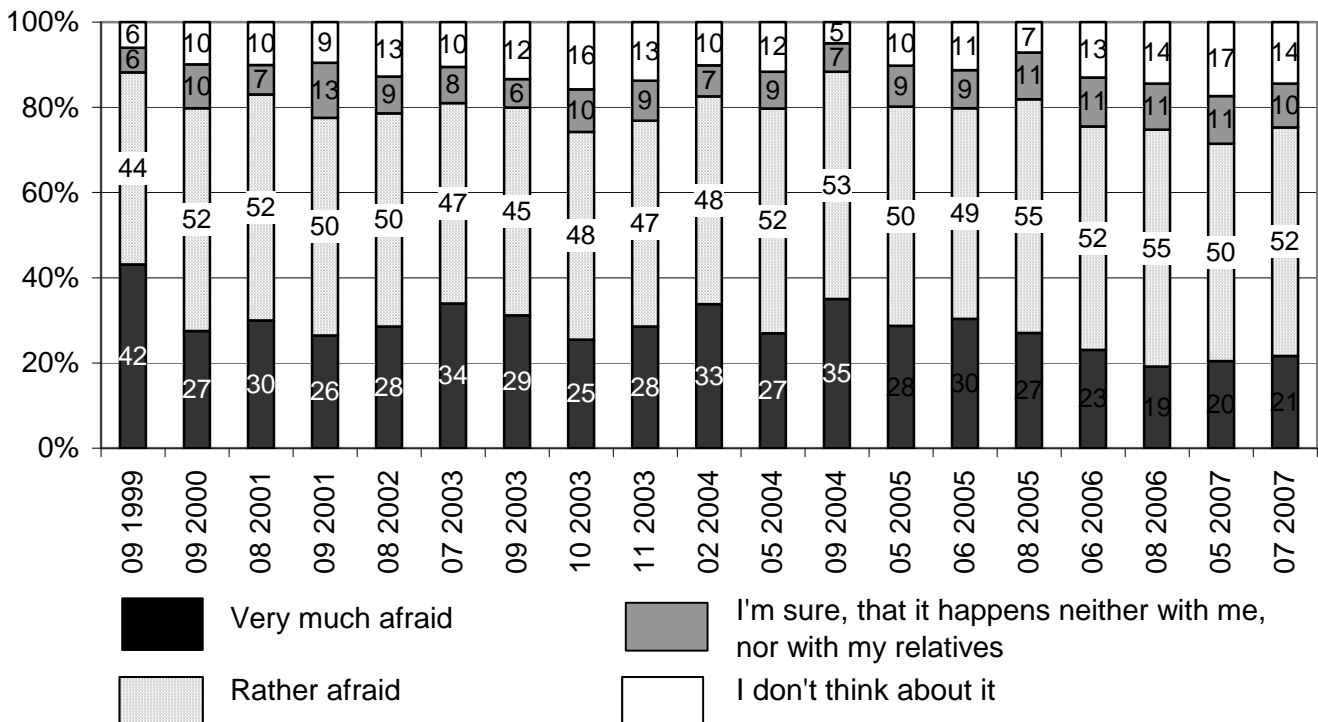
**Will the Russian authorities be able to protect the population of Russia from new acts of terror?**

	1999 X	2002 XII	2003 X	2004 IX	2005 IX	2006 VIII	2007 VII
Definitely yes	10	3	5	4	3	3	6
Yes, rather than no	28	16	20	14	17	28	41
No, rather than yes	36	46	45	48	48	44	33
Definitely no	15	30	21	28	24	15	9
Difficult to answer	11	6	10	6	8	10	12

N=1600

Diagram 12.1

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



N=1600

Table 12.7

**Do you think the Russian special services knew about the preparation of the much publicized acts of terrorism of the past few years?**

	2004 September	2005 September	2006 October	2007 October
These acts of terrorism were absolutely unexpected for the Russian special services	35	29	22	22
The special services knew about their preparation but were unable to prevent them	33	35	39	37
The special services knew about their preparation but didn't do anything about it	13	22	18	18
Probably the special services encouraged preparation of these acts of terror	2	5	5	4
Difficult to answer	16	10	16	20

N=1600

Table 12.8

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

	2002 November	2003 October	2004 October	2005 October	2006 October	2007 October
All the truth	9	7	6	4	5	8
Only a part of the truth	58	50	57	48	51	48
They are withholding the truth	23	27	25	34	25	25
They are lying and shifting	5	8	7	8	9	8
Difficult to answer	5	8	6	5	11	11

N=1600

Table 12.9

**Do the authorities tell the truth about the events related to the Beslan hostage tragedy?**

	2004 September	2005 August	2006 August	2007 August
All the truth	13	6	5	8
Only a part of the truth	56	53	50	51
They are withholding the truth	22	28	28	24
They are lying and shifting	5	7	8	6
Difficult to answer	4	6	7	11

N=1600

Table 12.10

**Three years have passed since militants seized a school in Beslan. Do you think the authorities did everything possible to save the hostages in the school in Beslan at that time?**

Definitely yes	11
Yes, rather than no	34
No, rather than yes	25
Definitely no	10
Difficult to answer	20

2007, July; N=1600

### 13. FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Table 13.1

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

	1989	1993	1994	1995	1996	1998	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Quite	38	26	27	23	24	24	26	30	23	22	26	24	24	25	28
Not quite	40	48	38	47	47	44	44	47	44	46	45	45	43	39	40
Not at all	6	10	17	17	17	18	18	17	21	22	18	18	21	22	18
Difficult to answer	16	16	18	12	12	14	12	6	12	10	11	13	12	14	14

N=2100

Table 13.2

When were the newspapers, radio, television in our country  
more interesting? When did they attract people's attention more?

In Soviet times (before 1985)	24
In the years of Perestroika (1987-1991)	9
In the 1990s	10
In 2000-2007	34
Difficult to answer	24

2007, September; N=1600

Table 13.3

Do you think enhancement of government control over media  
would generally benefit or harm Russia?

	2000 VII	2000 IX	2003 X	2004 X	2005 XII	2006 XI	2007 XI
Benefit	38	31	36	29	29	34	26
Harm	27	27	24	26	25	25	21
Neither benefit nor harm much	25	29	24	35	35	28	38
Difficult to answer	10	13	16	10	12	14	15

N=1600

Table 13.4

Do you think criticism of the authorities in media  
benefits or harms the country?

	2000 September	2003 September	2004 October	2005 December	2006 November	2007 November
Definitely benefits	18	16	22	16	20	15
Rather benefits	37	42	43	41	42	41
Rather harms	22	16	18	20	14	13
Definitely harms	5	4	3	4	3	1
Difficult to answer	18	22	14	19	22	30

N=1600

Table 13.5

**How did the situation in the work of print media and radio change last year?**

Year of evaluation	1989	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
The situation changed for the better	70	56	24	27	36	36	25	23	24	36
The situation changed for the worse	4	13	16	21	24	15	19	19	14	18
The situation did not change	13	17	52	42	36	39	50	51	53	37
Difficult to answer	12	14	8	10	5	10	6	7	9	9

N=1600

Table 13.6

**Some people think that Russia's authorities are now curtailing freedom of speech; others think that the authorities are not threatening freedom of speech at all. Which of the two opinions do you share?**

	2000 VII	2000 IX	2003 X	2004 X	2005 XII	2006 XII	2007 XI
Russian authorities are curtailing freedom of speech and repressing independent media	25	30	28	38	27	27	27
Russian authorities are in no way curtailing freedom of speech or repressing independent media	58	46	53	46	49	47	56
Difficult to answer	17	24	19	16	24	26	17

N=1600

Table 13.7

**How would you describe the coverage of the current situation in Ukraine in the Russian mass media (TV, newspapers)?**

Objective, detailed, helping to understand the situation	23
Insufficient, superficial, not giving a clear idea of what is happening	41
Biased, disguising the real situation	16
Difficult to answer	21

2007, April; N=1600

Table 13.8

**To what extent do you trust Russian media reports from Chechnya?**

	1999 December	2001 April	2001 September	2003 May	2007 August
Trust them completely	10	7	6	7	5
Rather trust them	28	20	24	25	28
Don't trust them much	46	50	47	46	49
Don't trust them at all	12	16	20	19	13
Don't know	4	7	3	3	6

N=1600

Table 13.9

**How would you describe the coverage of the current situation  
in Chechnya in the Russian mass media?**

	2000 I	2000 II	2001 X	2002 XII	2007 III
Objective, detailed, helping to understand the situation	14	18	13	12	12
Insufficient, superficial, not giving a clear idea of what is happening	38	38	37	42	45
Biased, disguising real problems	40	35	37	36	25
Difficult to answer	8	9	13	10	18

N=1600

Table 13.10

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

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

N=1600

Table 13.11

**How often have you read politics-related materials in newspapers  
and magazines, seen political programs on TV?**

	2006 February	2007 September
Very often, practically every day	12	10
Often, but not every day	30	23
Rarely, occasionally	40	42
Practically never	17	23
Difficult to answer	1	2

N=1600

Table 13.12

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

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

N=1600

## 14. HUMAN RIGHTS

Table 14.1

**Which of the following human rights  
are the most important?**  
(Answer are ranked by the first measurement)

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

N=1600

Table 14.2

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

	2004 May	2005 June	2007 March	2007 October
Definitely yes	21	14	14	16
Yes, rather than no	29	35	30	24
No, rather than yes	21	22	22	21
Definitely no	9	7	5	8
Difficult to answer	20	22	29	31

N=1600

Table 14.3

**Where do you think the value of human life is higher, the right to live is more fully realized: in Russia or in countries of the West?**

In Russia	13
In countries of the West	69
Difficult to answer	19

2007, April; N=1600

Table 14.4

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

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

N=1600

Table 14.5

**Is it possible to live in (the USSR) Russia now not violating the law?**

	1990 November	1997 May	2001 January	2007 July
Yes	33	26	30	36
No	48	59	60	54
Difficult to answer	19	15	10	10
<i>Number of those interviewed</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 14.6

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

	1997	2002	2003	2005	2007
The Constitution guarantees the rights and freedoms of the citizens	12	21	14	21	31
The Constitution maintains some order in the activity of the state	20	22	25	22	30
The Constitution is a tool allowing the President of Russia to have control over all other government bodies	11	7	11	15	10
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
Difficult to answer	12	10	8	7	9

N=1600

Table 14.7

**Do you think human rights are violated in Russia now?**

Definitely yes	30
Yes, rather than no	41
No, rather than yes	13
Definitely no	3
Difficult to answer	14

2007, October; N=1600

Table 14.8

**Do you think over the past few years there have been more, fewer cases of violation of human rights or nothing has changed in this respect?**

More	25
Fewer	22
Nothing has changed	36
Difficult to answer	17

2007, October; N=1600

Table 14.9

**Do you think tortures of suspects are used in Russia now to «beat them into» admitting that they have committed the crime?**

Definitely yes	24
Yes, rather than no	33
No, rather than yes	13
Definitely no	5
Difficult to answer	25

2007, October; N=1600

Table 14.10

**Do you believe that it is justified to use tortures of suspects to «beat them into» admitting that they have committed the crime?**

Definitely yes	4
Yes, rather than no	8
No, rather than yes	22
Definitely no	47
Difficult to answer	18

2007, October; N=1600

Table 14.11

**Do you have property you can be worried about and if you do,  
how well is it protected?**

Very well	2
Quite well	12
Not too well	24
Not protected at all	15
I don't have property I can worry about	44
Difficult to answer	3

2007, June; N=1600

Table 14.12

**Who do you think is the greatest threat to your property?  
(of those who are worried)**

Thieves, bandits, swindlers, fraudsters	67
Unfair competitors	3
Business partners	2
The government, officials	36
Family, friends, neighbors	8
Others	4
Difficult to answer	4

2007, June; N=1600

Table 14.13

**How did the situation with the possibility  
of expressing one's opinion freely change last year?**

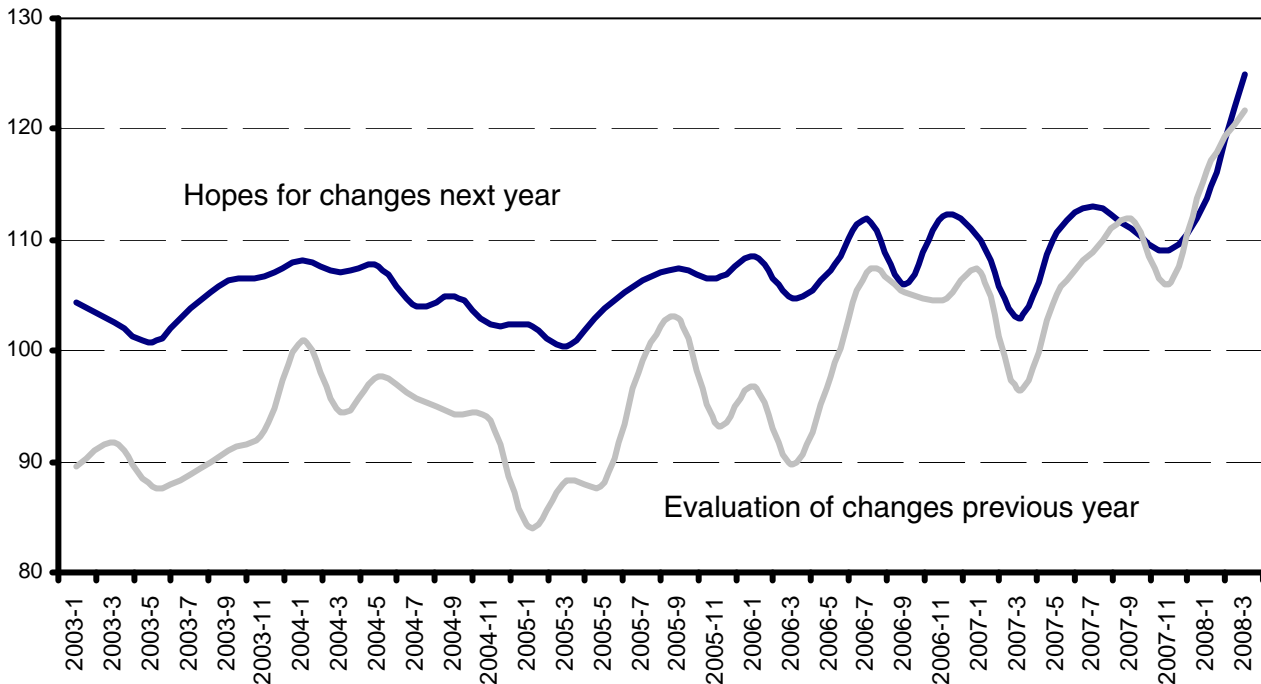
Year of evaluation	1989	1990	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
The situation changed for the better	68	63	19	26	31	29	16	20	14	36
The situation changed for the worse	4	6	18	19	20	15	18	17	13	18
The situation did not change	16	17	56	45	42	48	58	55	62	37
Difficult to answer	12	15	8	11	7	8	8	8	11	9

N=1600

## 15. FAMILY DAILY ISSUES

Diagram 15.1

### How has the life of your family changed?



N=1600

Table 15.1

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

	2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008
	I	VII	I	VII	I	I	VII	VII	I	VII	I	VII	I
Low incomes, lack of money	72	71	73	72	73	66	66	63	71	69	61	62	60
Fear of losing a job	15	14	15	13	20	19	16	18	14	13	17	14	14
Poor health, problems with medical treatment	35	31	30	34	30	31	32	30	35	29	31	29	32
Bad dwelling	15	12	12	12	12	15	14	14	12	15	18	13	13
Every-day live difficulties	20	17	19	25	21	22	21	21	20	21	20	19	21
Impossibility of giving good education to children	10	11	11	11	11	10	10	8	11	10	9	10	7
Bad relation within the family	3	4	2	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
Drinking or drug addiction of a family members	4	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	4	2
Fatigue and exhaustion	13	18	16	17	12	14	15	15	16	17	16	15	16
Hopelessness and absence of prospects in life	13	14	15	16	18	11	12	12	13	14	15	13	12
Lack of free time	9	9	8	9	9	12	10	11	10	10	11	13	13
Difficult to answer	5	7	6	7	7	7	7	9	5	8	9	8	12

N=2100

Table 15.2

**What are your goals and the goals of your family?**

	1998 XII	1999 III	2001 XI	2003 III	2004 IV	2005 IV	2006 VIII	2007 VIII
To survive, even at the most primitive level of existence	32	22	18	16	18	15	15	20
To live not worse than most families in your city, region	44	55	48	55	50	58	56	55
To live better than most families in your city, region	13	10	17	17	21	15	20	17
To live like an average family in Western Europe and the USA	9	10	13	9	8	8	7	7
To live better than an average family in Western Europe and the USA	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	2

N=2700; 1600

**NUTRITION**

Table 15.3

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

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

1991 г., N=1300; 1992-2007, N=1600

Table 15.4

**Does your family consume enough ...**  
(the data are given without «Don't know» answers)

	Quite enough	Enough, rather than not enough	Not enough, rather than enough	Absolutely not enough
Meat and meat products	18	32	38	11
Fish and fish products	16	34	38	13
Dairy products including butter and cheese	20	40	30	10
Grocery products including pasta and cereals	35	53	10	3
Potatoes and vegetables	40	48	10	2
Fruit, berries and juices	20	31	33	16

2007, November; N=1600

## HOUSING

Table 15.5

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

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

N=1600

## FAMILY RELATIONS «PARENTS AND CHILDREN »

Table 15.6

### Could you tell me, over the past four years your life, the life of your family...

Has become much better	7
Has become somewhat better	34
Hasn't changed	37
Has become somewhat worse	16
Has become much worse	5
Difficult to answer	1

2007, September; N=1600

Table 15.7

### How much are you satisfied with the relations in your family now?

	2005 January	2007 January
Quite satisfied	46	44
Rather satisfied	34	43
Rather dissatisfied	10	7
Absolutely dissatisfied	3	2
Does not apply (no family)	6	4
Difficult to answer	1	2

N=1600

Table 15.8

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

	<b>1998 December</b>	<b>2000 June</b>	<b>2007 March</b>
Better	16	8	25
Worse	50	70	43
Difficult to answer	34	21	33
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 15.9

**When you have spare time, whom do you prefer to spend it with?**

	<b>1994 July</b>	<b>2007 March</b>
Husband /wife	36	46
Children, grandchildren	41	50
Parents	5	13
Friends	27	34
Person I love	10	8
New, interesting company	4	4
Doesn't matter whom	3	4
Alone	11	10
Difficult to answer	9	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 15.10

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

	<b>2002 February</b>	<b>2003 March</b>	<b>2007 March</b>
Almost every day	4	6	3
Once or twice a week	12	11	7
Once or several times a month	23	25	18
Less often	31	34	34
Never	23	19	30
Refused to answer	7	5	8

N=1600

Table 15.11

**List of qualities many parents would like to develop in their children.**  
(Answers ranked by the first measurement)

	1998	2000	2006	2007
Ability to achieve one's goal	40	43	49	47
Ability to communicate with people	34	35	32	33
Sense of responsibility	32	37	40	37
Good manners and ability to behave in society	32	40	31	34
Aspiration for knowledge	32	22	29	28
Ability to defend oneself	31	32	37	38
Conscientiousness in work	30	30	33	31
Tolerance and respect for people	23	24	26	27
Independence	19	16	16	21
Aspiration for success	15	14	20	22
Loyalty and devotion	11	11	14	14
Belief in God	8	7	12	12
Prudence	7	7	9	10
Obedience	7	5	10	7
Imagination	5	2	3	7
Difficult to answer	4	2	2	1

N=1600

Table 15.12

**What would you like your son, daughter, grandchild to be?**  
(Answer ranked by the first measurement)

	2004	2006	2007
Lawyer, economist, financier	24	23	23
Programmer, high tech specialist	18	21	20
Doctor	17	19	17
Entrepreneur, businessman	14	16	17
Skilled worker	12	15	14
Bank director	11	11	13
Engineer	10	13	12
Military, officer	8	13	9
Professor, scientist, lecturer	6	6	7
Sportsman	8	10	7
Store owner	5	6	7
Actor, musician, painter, writer, journalist	6	8	7
Politician, minister	4	5	6
Sociologist, marketologist, political scientist, advertising specialist	4	4	5
School teacher	4	5	4
Farmer	4	3	2
Clergyman	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	15	12	13

N=1600

Table 15.13

**Do you think corporal punishment of children is admissible?**

	<b>1998 April</b>	<b>2007 March</b>
It's OK, admissible	27	28
It's not OK, inadmissible	63	65
Difficult to answer	10	7

N=1600

Table 15.14

**How much do you personally agree with the statement ...**

	<b>Agree absolutely</b>	<b>Agree somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree somewhat</b>	<b>Absolutely disagree</b>	<b>Difficult to answer</b>
I am more successful in my career than my parents when they were my age	17	35	27	7	13
I am more financially independent than my parents when they were my age	15	34	29	10	12
I am more well-off than my parents when they were my age	16	36	28	9	11
I am happier than my parents when they were my age	11	25	28	10	27

2007, October; N=1600

Table 15.15

**Whom can you mostly rely on in a difficult situation in life?**

	<b>1996 July</b>	<b>2004 April</b>	<b>2007 October</b>
Only myself	40	66	71
My family, friends	47	60	54
The company, organization I work (worked) in	5	4	2
The government (social service)	7	4	3
Non-government organization (trade-union, etc.)	1	0.3	1
Charitable organizations	1	0.2	1
The Church	1	2	2
Difficult to answer	2	1	2

N=1600

Table 15.16

**Do you think children of 18-25 y.o. who are not married  
should live together with their parents or separately?**

	<b>2003 January</b>	<b>2007 October</b>
Definitely together	18	11
Probably together	23	23
Probably separately	34	35
Definitely separately	18	20
Difficult to answer	8	12

N=1600

Table 15.17

**Why do you think children of 18-25 y.o. who are not married  
should live separately from their parents?**

(% of those who believe they should live separately)

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

N=1600

Table 15.18

**Why do you think children of 18-25 y.o. who are not married  
should live together with their parents?**

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

	<b>2003 January</b>	<b>2007 October</b>
Children are not ready for independent life, do not have the skills to organize their life	53	44
Parents' control over children who live separately is weaker and they may take "the wrong route" in life	47	43
If children live separately from their parents it may lead to estrangement from their parents	19	20
If children live separately from their parents the latter may not have financial support from their children later	8	10
Difficult to answer	2	4

N=1600

## 16. LEISURE TIME AND DAILY MATTERS

Table 16.1

### How often do you read books?

All the time, practically every day	18
Sometimes, occasionally	37
Never, very rarely	44
Difficult to answer	1

2007, September; N=1600

Table 16.2

### Do you read fiction? If you do, what kind of fiction do you prefer? (% of those who read)

Russian thrillers and crime fiction	18
«Women's » crime and detective fiction	26
Classic foreign crime and detective fiction	14
New western crime and detective fiction bestsellers	9
Traditional science fiction	9
Fantasy	9
Mystic, horror, Gothic fiction	5
Classic historical fiction and adventure novels	20
Modern historical novels about pre-revolution Russia, reprint of historical novels of the past	18
Soviet prose and epic novels	9
Books about the Great Patriotic War	15
«Women's prose», love novels	19
Russian Soviet classics	14
Russian pre-Revolution classics	10
Foreign classics	10
Modern Russian prose	7
Modern foreign prose	6
Russian and translated poetry	3
Other fiction	2
Do not read fiction	7

2007, September; N=1600

## DAILY LIFE

Table 16.3

## What did you do in the past 24 hours?

	1997 March	2005 December	2007 February
Brushed my teeth	77	79	86
Took a shower	28	32	40
Took a bath	16	14	15
Washed my hair	20	21	23
Got up before 6 in the morning	17	15	16
Took an afternoon nap	24	18	22
Went to bed after midnight	18	9	14
Was at work	14	27	27
Went to a restaurant	2	1	1
Used public transport	27	22	26
Was more than 50 km away from home	4	5	4
Made an international call	2	1	1
Sent or received a fax	0	1	1
Used a computer at home	2	8	10
Used a computer at work	1	5	4
Went to a church/mosque/another religious place	3	2	2
Went to a store	44	55	57
Drew a check on a personal account	0	2	1
Used a credit card	1	1	1
Made love (had sex)	9	6	9
Read a newspaper	28	25	28
Read a magazine	13	10	15
Listened to the radio	40	29	29
Kissed	-	11	15
Yelled at someone	14	11	10
Felt happy	16	13	18
Felt guilty for something	8	5	4
Felt cheerful	23	22	26
Felt sad	21	18	16
None of the above	4	4	1

N=1600

Table 16.4

**Do you like...**

Cooking food	46
Cleaning your home	24
Washing clothes, linen	15
Renovating your home, decorating it	30
Helping your children to do their homework / in their studies	11
Playing / entertaining with your children	23
Taking a shower / a bath	41
Doing daily shopping	22
Receiving guests	44
Watching TV	67
Listening to music	45
Reading books	39
Sleeping	43
Other	2
None of the above	2

2007, February; N=1600

Table 16.5

**What do you value most in men?**

	1993 January	2000 January	2001 January	2007 February
Intellect	65	58	57	58
Good looks	14	8	8	6
Decency	57	53	53	57
Thrift	33	34	38	29
Temperament	3	5	7	6
Knowing how to cope with problems	21	23	26	27
Ability to be compassionate	9	9	8	5
Sex appeal	-	3	2	3
Easy-going personality	6	5	6	5
Being considerate	22	24	27	31
Independence	14	19	17	17
Faithfulness	30	27	30	30
Difficult to answer	5	4	3	2

N=1600

Table 16.6

**What do you value most in women?**

	1993 January	2000 January	2001 February	2007 February
Intellect	32	29	29	38
Good looks	53	40	35	30
Decency	37	30	35	39
Thrift	39	44	53	46
Temperament	3	6	6	4
Knowing how to cope with problems	13	14	20	11
Ability to be compassionate	17	16	17	12
Sex appeal	-	10	7	11
Easy-going personality	13	12	17	12
Being considerate	24	31	33	33
Independence	6	8	7	7
Faithfulness	41	33	33	37
Difficult to answer	5	3	3	2

N=1600

Table 16.7

**Where do you feel that you are yourself?**

At home, with my family	63
At work	5
With friends	15
On vacation	6
Where I am alone	10
Other	1
Nowhere	1
Difficult to answer	1

2007, February; N=1600

Table 16.8

**What makes your life full and meaningful?**

	<b>1998 February</b>	<b>2007 February</b>
Hobby, entertainment	12	21
Work, business	25	34
Sport	4	6
Studies, scientific research	4	6
Enough money, good financial position	11	19
Children, grandchildren	36	39
Political, social activity	1	1
Housekeeping	17	22
Family, family ties	43	54
Religion, spiritual development	5	6
Friends, communication	32	39
Other	2	1
Nothing	4	4
Difficult to answer	5	2

N=1600

Table 16.9

**Do you know how to...**

	<b>1998 April</b>	<b>2001 February</b>	<b>2007 February</b>
Drive a car	32	34	36
Use a computer	19	24	33
Use a video-camera	21	24	26
Fix a dripping tap	47	48	40
Cook lunch	86	87	82
Sew	53	54	43
Knit	39	40	32
Dance classic dances	16	21	14
Sing	41	42	31
Play the piano, guitar, other musical instruments	16	18	12
Drink without getting drunk	27	29	20
Tell a lie without blushing	16	20	15
Kiss	56	54	47
None of the above	1	1	2

N=1600

Table 16.10

**How often do all your family get together at lunch or dinner,  
i.e. all the people who live in your household?**

Every/almost every day	55
3-5 times a week	14
1-2 times a week	11
1-2 times a month	5
Less often	4
Practically never	3
Live alone	7
Difficult to answer	1

2007, February; N=1600

**THE INTERNET**

Table 16.11

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

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

N=2100

Table 16.12

**Do you or any member of your household have access to the Internet?  
If yes, is it at home or at work?**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
No Internet access	76	81	83	79	78	76	76	73
Have access only at home	1	1	1	3	4	6	8	10
Have access only at work	2	6	5	6	7	6	6	7
Have access both at home and at work	0	1	1	2	2	4	4	4
Know practically nothing about this net	20	11	10	10	9	9	6	6

N=2100

## FASHION

Table 16.13

**How important is it for you to follow the latest fashion,  
to be considered a fashionable person?**

	1997 April	2007 April
Very important	6	4
Rather important	23	23
Not very important	33	35
Not at all important	35	35
Difficult to answer	4	3

N=1600

Table 16.14

**What do you personally understand by «being fashionably dressed»?**

	1997 April	2007 April
Wearing the latest models	7	8
Looking bright, eye-catching, attracting attention	5	7
Wearing what people around me wear	22	25
Wearing expensive and good quality clothes	13	20
Wearing items from famous brands	7	8
Wearing items that no one else has	8	7
Other	10	8
Difficult to answer	27	18

N=1600

Table 16.15

**What or who is the standard of fashion for you, the main source  
of information about what is new there?**

	1997 April	2007 April
Illustrated / fashion magazines	17	12
TV shows, TV fashion shows	8	9
Celebrities, pop and movie stars	6	9
Heroes of foreign movies, their life	2	2
People who have been to other countries	1	2
People who have come from a big city	1	2
Someone I know	11	13
Am the standard for others myself	5	7
Not interested in fashion	35	38
Difficult to answer	14	8

N=1600

## 17. RELIGION

Table 17.1

**Do you consider yourself a religious person?  
If you do, which of the religions do you practice?**

	1996 VII	1997 XI	1998 VII	1999 III	2000 V	2001 VII	2002 VII	2003 I	2004 VII	2005 VII	2006 XI	2007 II	2007 XI
Do not consider myself a believer	43	45	38	38	35	37	34	30	32	30	26	33	23
Orthodoxy	44	45	47	46	52	50	57	61	57	59	61	56	66
Islam	3	2	2	3	4	4	5	5	4	6	6	3	3
Another religion	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	1	2	1	1
Difficult to answer	9	7	12	12	8	7	4	3	6	4	5	6	7

N=2100

Table 17.2

**How often do you attend religious services?**

	2003 July	2007 September
Several times a week	1	1
Once a week	1	2
Two-three times a month	2	2
About once a month	3	3
Several times a year	20	24
Once a year	10	10
Less than once a year	18	18
Never	46	39

N=1600

Table 17.3

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

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

N=2100

Table 17.4

**Have you been christened?**  
(of all those polled except Muslims and Jews)

	1998 November	2001 July	2002 July	2003 January	2004 July	2005 July	2007 July
Yes	76	79	81	85	80	80	79
No	17	18	17	12	17	17	18
Difficult to answer	7	4	3	3	3	3	3

N=2100

Table 17.5

**Do you go to the communion? If you do, how often?**  
(of the respondents who have been christened)

	1998 November	2001 July	2002 July	2003 January	2004 July	2005 July	2007 July
Do not receive communion	68	80	76	70	75	75	78
Once a week	1	1	1	1	1	1	0,2
Once a month	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
Several times a year	12	6	8	7	10	8	8
Once a year and less often	17	12	13	21	13	15	12

N=2100

Table 17.6

**How often do you feel guilty, have the feeling of guilt?**

All the time	3
Occasionally	33
Rarely	40
Practically never	22
Difficult to answer	2

2007, April; N=1600

Table 17.7

**What do you think usually prevents people from doing wrong?**

Upbringing, habits	49
Fear of punishment	29
Wish to look good in other people's eyes	5
Wish not to look bad in other people's eyes	4
Feeling ashamed	9
Difficult to answer	5

2007, August; N=1600

Table 17.8

**You would like to live...**

As long as possible	22
As long as you feel physically and mentally strong	34
As long as God lets you	43
Difficult to answer	2

2007, October; N=1600

Table 17.9

**Have you ever thought about your death and if you have do you think you are ready for it?**

Ready	15
Not ready	34
Have not thought about it	44
Difficult to answer	7

2007, October; N=1600

Table 17.10

**Would you like to live forever?**

Yes	20
No	68
Difficult to answer	12

2007, October; N=1600

Table 17.11

**What is the role of religion in your life?**

	2002 July	2005 September	2007 September
Very important	8	11	6
Quite important	21	27	26
Not too important	36	39	41
Does not play any role	32	20	24
Difficult to answer	3	2	3

N=1600

Table 17.12

**Should the church influence the decisions which are important for the state?**

	2005 September	2007 September
Definitely yes	16	7
Yes, rather than no	26	22
No, rather than yes	27	33
Definitely no	24	28
Difficult to answer	8	10

N=1600

Table 17.13

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

	2005 September	2007 September
Definitely yes	13	6
Yes, rather than no	30	23
No, rather than yes	26	31
Definitely no	20	27
Difficult to answer	11	14

N=1600

Table 17.14

**Do you personally agree or disagree with the opinion that members  
of the Orthodox Church should have legally approved advantages  
over atheists and believers of other religions?**

	1997 August	2007 September
Yes	15	8
Yes, rather than no	12	13
No, rather than yes	15	25
No	44	45
Difficult to answer	14	10

N=1600

Table 17.15

**Would you be for or against it if children at school  
were taught Elements of Religion and God's Law?**

	2001 September	2007 September
For	46	45
Against	39	41
Difficult to answer	15	14

N=1600

Table 17.16

**Would you be for or against a tax for the needs  
of religious communities in Russia?**

	2001 September	2007 September
For	15	14
Against	68	68
Difficult to answer	18	18

N=1600

## 18. ETHNIC ISSUES

Table 18.1

What is your attitude to people  
of the following nationalities and ethnic groups...?

### Americans

	1996 VII	1998 XI	2000 XI	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Liking, interest	16	13	9	6	6	7	7	6	5
Even, like to any others	75	75	81	77	79	78	74	77	75
Annoyance, dislike	5	7	7	12	11	11	13	11	13
Distrust, fear	4	5	3	5	4	5	6	6	7

### Arabs

	2000 XI	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Liking, interest	3	2	3	4	4	3	3
Even, like to any others	82	70	75	72	74	79	78
Annoyance, dislike	10	16	15	14	13	10	11
Distrust, fear	5	12	7	10	9	8	7

### Azerbaijanians

	1996 VII	1998 XI	2000 XI	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Liking, interest	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	1	4
Even, like to any others	69	63	69	60	65	67	65	73	71
Annoyance, dislike	22	26	23	29	25	23	25	20	18
Distrust, fear	7	9	6	10	8	7	8	6	7

### Chechens

	1996 VII	1998 XI	2000 XI	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Liking, interest	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
Even, like to any others	51	48	46	33	46	46	47	55	57
Annoyance, dislike	27	29	31	36	29	26	27	24	22
Distrust, fear	20	21	22	30	24	27	24	19	19

### Estonians

	1996 VII	1998 XI	2000 XI	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Liking, interest	6	4	2	4	3	5	5	3	4
Even, like to any others	82	83	84	81	83	85	81	86	78
Annoyance, dislike	9	9	11	10	11	8	11	8	13
Distrust, fear	3	4	3	5	3	2	3	3	5

**Germans**

	2000 XI	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Liking, interest	9	9	9	10	9	10	9
Even, like to any others	85	80	83	84	82	84	82
Annoyance, dislike	4	8	5	5	7	4	5
Distrust, fear	2	3	3	2	2	2	3

**Gipsies**

	1996 VII	1998 XI	2000 XI	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Liking, interest	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3
Even, like to any others	55	50	55	46	48	45	47	50	54
Annoyance, dislike	28	28	27	32	31	30	31	30	25
Distrust, fear	12	20	16	20	19	23	20	19	18

**Japanese**

	2000 XI	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Liking, interest	10	9	11	11	10	12	11
Even, like to any others	85	82	82	83	80	81	81
Annoyance, dislike	3	6	4	4	7	4	4
Distrust, fear	2	3	3	3	2	3	4

**Jews**

	1996 VII	1998 XI	2000 XI	2002 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Liking, interest	7	6	5	7	5	6	6	5	6
Even, like to any others	83	81	83	78	84	83	80	84	84
Annoyance, dislike	8	10	9	10	8	9	10	7	6
Distrust, fear	2	3	3	5	3	3	3	4	4

**Negroes**

	2000 XI	2003 XI	2004 XI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI
Liking, interest	6	6	7	4	6	5
Even, like to any others	85	84	83	81	85	83
Annoyance, dislike	7	7	7	11	7	8
Distrust, fear	3	3	3	5	2	4

N=2100

Table 18.2

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

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

N=1600

Table 18.3

**Have there been any inter-ethnic clashes in your city, region recently?**

Yes	14
No	65
Difficult to answer	21

2007, June; N=1600

Table 18.4

**Are the Russians in Russia much richer than other ethnic groups?**

	2004 August	2005 August	2006 August
Much richer	2	1	2
Somewhat richer	7	7	5
Neither richer, nor poorer	41	41	46
Somewhat poorer	26	25	23
Much poorer	19	21	18
Difficult to answer	5	5	6

N=1600

Table 18.5

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

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

N=1600

Table 18.6

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

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

N=1600

Table 18.7

**Do you think the inter-ethnic clashes in Kondopoga, Stavropol, Moscow this year are...**

Single incidents which will not bring about serious results	44
Forebodings of future mass disturbances caused by inter-ethnic differences	33
Difficult to answer	24

2007, August; N=1600

Table 18.8

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

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

N=1600

Table 18.9

**Do you share the opinion that it is people of a «non-Russian» origin that are to blame for many of the misfortunes Russia has to suffer?**

	2004 August	2005 August	2006 August	2007 August
Definitely yes	16	13	12	7
Yes, rather than no	26	25	22	25
No, rather than yes	37	32	33	35
Definitely no	15	25	25	23
Difficult to answer	6	6	8	10

N=1600

Table 18.10

**Do you share the opinion that ethnic minorities have too much power in our country?**

	2004 August	2005 August	2006 August	2007 August
Definitely yes	16	15	12	9
Yes, rather than no	31	31	26	32
No, rather than yes	34	32	32	31
Definitely no	10	17	19	16
Difficult to answer	8	9	11	12

N=1600

Table 18.11

**Do you share the opinion that Russians in Russia suffer from discrimination, infringements and wrongs?**

	2006 November	2007 April
Definitely yes	11	10
Yes, rather than no	22	20
No, rather than yes	42	37
Definitely no	15	16
Difficult to answer	11	17

N=1600

Table 18.12

**How are these discrimination, infringement and offences manifested?**

(% of those who gave an affirmative answer)  
(Answer are ranked by the first measurement)

	2006 November	2007 April
Sell more at open markets and do not let local people sell there	63	45
Do not feel grateful for living on the Russian territory	45	36
Demonstrate insulting behaviour towards Russians	44	42
Do not show proper respect for Russians	40	56
Do not observe our traditions	28	38
Can buy better housing	26	26
Have more connections in the Militia (police), law-enforcement bodies	24	32
Have more access to supreme power bodies	20	26
Are paid more than Russians for the same work	18	18
Have more access to education	10	10
Russians are not allowed to say that they are proud of being Russian	10	3
Get better medical service	6	10
Difficult to answer	3	3

N=1600

Table 18.13

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

	1998 VIII	1998 XII	2000 I	2001 XI	2002 XII	2003 VII	2004 XII	2005 VI	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 IV
I support it, it should have been put into practice long ago	15	13	15	16	16	21	16	19	16	15	15
It would be a good idea to put this into practice but within reasonable limits	31	30	34	42	38	32	37	39	37	35	35
Negative, it is pure fascism	32	30	27	20	26	18	25	23	23	26	26
I am not interested	10	14	12	11	9	7	12	9	12	12	12
Never think about it	5	6	6	6	8	14	5	7	7	8	9
Difficult to answer	7	7	6	5	3	8	4	3	5	4	3

N=1600

Table 18.14

**Are there more Russians with extreme nationalistic views (unfriendliness, hatred towards people who come from the Northern Caucasia, Central Asia and other southern countries) than 5-6 years ago?**

	2005 November	2006 November	2007 November
More	55	47	55
Less	8	10	10
The same	24	25	25
Difficult to answer	13	18	10

N=1600

Table 18.15

**Would you support or not the following measures to prevent inter-ethnic conflicts in Russia: to state officially that Russia is a state of the Russian people where all non-Russians and non-citizens can live and work only on certain terms and their influence will be clearly restricted?**

	2006 September	2007 November
Definitely yes	28	24
Yes, rather than no	25	30
No, rather than yes	25	22
Definitely no	15	13
Difficult to answer	7	11

N=1600

Table 18.16

**Have you heard about the problem of the Armenian genocide in the Ottoman Empire in 1914-1923 and if you have, do you think it is true that in those years the whole Armenian nation was being purposefully exterminated in Turkey?**

In those years the whole nation was really being exterminated	37
Stories about it are considerably exaggerated	13
Haven't heard anything about it	33
Difficult to answer	17

2007, October; N=1600

Table 18.17

**Have you heard about the Holocaust problem and if you have, do you think in those years in Germany and in the occupied territories the Jewish nation was really being purposefully exterminated?**

In those years the whole nation was really being exterminated	63
Stories about it are considerably exaggerated	12
Haven't heard anything about it	13
Difficult to answer	12

2007, October; N=1600

## ATTITUDE TO IMMIGRANTS

Table 18.18

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

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

N=1600

Table 18.19

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

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

N=1600

Table 18.20

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

	2004	2005	2006	2007
<b>Yes:</b>				
Vietnamese	39	42	35	34
Jews	15	18	13	10
People from the Caucasus	44	50	42	44
Chinese	39	46	41	41
People from the former Central Asian Republics of the USSR	31	31	23	25
Ukrainians	8	8	7	6
Gypsies	32	30	29	25
All ethnic groups except Russians	14	11	11	10
There should be no restrictions on the number of people of any ethnicity living in Russia	21	20	25	23
Difficult to answer	5	5	6	8

N=1600

Table 18.21

**Do you agree with the opinion that the negative attitude to people who come from the CIS countries can be partly explained by the behaviour of the newcomers themselves?**

	2006 April	2007 April
Definitely yes	22	35
Yes, rather than no	40	43
No, rather than yes	22	11
Definitely no	7	4
Difficult to answer	9	7

N=1600

Table 18.22

**Is there anything that irritates you personally in the people who came from the CIS countries? If there is, what exactly?**

	2006 April	2007 April
They are unduly familiar, behave as if they own the place, do not observe the traditions of our country	36	45
They take the jobs available, agree to work for a very low pay	21	17
They've flooded all the markets	37	31
They are involved in crime	28	30
They are hostile towards Russians	21	25
Nothing irritates me	27	2
Difficult to answer	3	23

N=1600

Table 18.23

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

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

N=1600

Table 18.24

**Are you prepared to report illegal migrants living in your district to official bodies?**

Definitely yes	6
Yes, rather than no	15
No, rather than yes	38
Definitely no	26
Difficult to answer	16

2007, August; N=1600

Table 18.25

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

	2002 VII	2004 VIII	2005 IX	2006 VIII	2007 VIII
Should try to restrict the influx of migrants	45	54	59	52	57
Should not have any administrative barriers against the influx, should try to use it for the benefit of Russia	44	38	36	39	32
Difficult to answer	11	7	6	9	11

N=1600

Table 18.26

**Do you think a ban on foreigners selling goods in Russia's retail markets will result in prices going down, up or it will have no effect on them?**

	2007 January	2007 April
Will result in prices going down	10	7
Will result in prices going up	51	58
Will have no effect on prices	27	27
Difficult to answer	13	8

N=1600

### DPNI-RUSSIAN MARCHES

Table 18.27

**Have you ever heard about the Movement against Illegal Immigration (DPNI) and if you have, do you think it is a Russian patriotic organization or an extremist pro-fascist organization?**

	2006 November	2007 November
Russian patriotic organization	7	8
Extremist pro-fascist organization	7	10
Have not heard anything about DPNI	73	70
Difficult to answer	14	12

N=1600

Table 18.28

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

Definitely positive	5
Somewhat positive	12
Somewhat negative	9
Definitely negative	5
Don't know anything about it / difficult to answer	70

2007, November; N=1600

## 19. RUSSIA AND THE CIS COUNTRIES

### THE CIS

Table 19.1

#### What policy should Russia pursue towards the CIS countries?

	2005 July	2006 July	2007 July
Support the democratic forces and progressive changes in these countries	23	20	18
Try to help the current leaders of these countries, no matter what they are like, to stay in power if they are loyal to Russia	14	13	9
Observe own economic and political interests and not interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbours	55	57	60
Prevent foreign countries (USA, China, Turkey and others) from exerting dangerous pressure on these countries	30	38	32
Difficult to answer	11	8	9

N=1600

Table 19.2

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

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

N=1600

Table 19.3

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

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

N=1600

## BELARUS

### «Gas» conflict with Belarus

Table 19.4

#### Who is mostly responsible for the «gas» conflict between Russia and Belarus?

Government of Russia	9
Government of Belarus	24
Governments of both countries	38
Oligarchs, not politicians	18
Difficult to answer	11

2007, January; N=1600

Table 19.5

#### What should a fair price for Russian gas for Belarus be?

The same as in the domestic Russian market	18
Higher than in the domestic Russian market but lower than for Ukraine	15
The same as for Ukraine	31
The same as for Western Europe	21
Difficult to answer	15

2007, January; N=1600

Table 19.6

#### Do you approve of doubling the prices for Russian gas for Belarus as of January, 2007?

Definitely yes	25
Yes, rather than no	26
No, rather than yes	20
Definitely no	9
DK / difficult to answer	20

2007, January; N=1600

Table 19.7

#### What do you think the Russian government should do if Belarus continues this kind of actions (uncoordinated introduction of duties, siphoning oil and gas from the pipelines, etc.)?

Go to the international court, arbitration	16
Use diplomatic sanctions	23
Use economic sanctions	38
Use military force	2
Difficult to answer	28

2007, January; N=1600

Table 19.8

**What is your overall attitude to Belarus?**

	1998	1999	2000	2003	2005		2006			2007
	XII	XII	VII	VII	V	IX	VII	II	V	II
Very good	30	27	25	30	16	14	30	15	15	15
Mostly good	55	61	59	60	66	64	60	65	66	69
Mostly bad	6	4	9	6	9	11	6	11	10	7
Very bad	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	1	2
Difficult to answer	7	7	5	3	7	9	3	7	8	7

N=1600

Table 19.9

**Do you consider Belarus a foreign country?**

	2006 August	2007 January	2007 August
Yes	29	37	30
No	67	60	66
Difficult to answer	4	3	4

N=1600

Table 19.10

**What is Belarus for Russia now?**

Ally country	31
Sponger country	25
Hostile country	7
Ordinary neighboring country	31
Difficult to answer	6

2007, January; N=1600

Table 19.11

**Where is life better now: in Russia or in Belarus?**

In Russia	54
In Belarus	18
Difficult to answer	29

2007, January; N=1600

Table 19.12

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

	2001 May	2004 October	2005 October	2006 August	2006 February	2007 February
Friendly	16	8	12	15	6	6
Good, good neighbourly	32	23	23	28	12	12
Normal, calm	38	36	35	35	32	32
Cool	8	18	17	12	29	29
Tense	2	9	8	3	13	13
Hostile	1	1	0	1	2	2
Difficult to answer	4	5	5	6	6	5

N=1600

Table 19.13

**If there were a referendum in Russia now about the unification  
of Russia and Belarus to form a union-state as soon as possible,  
would you vote for or against this unification?**

	1999 October	2007 January
For	69	64
Against	14	17
Wouldn't vote in the referendum	6	7
Difficult to answer	12	12

N=1600

Table 19.14

**What is good in Russia and Belarus becoming closer?  
(Answers ranked by the first measurement)**

	1999 October	2007 January
Restoration of a single country / former unity	41	27
Restoration of economic ties / easier communication with European countries / stimulus for revival of economy	32	34
Restoration of family and humanitarian ties	30	27
Restoration of a strong power/ strengthening of positions on the international arena	28	22
Strengthening of defense capacity / military power	21	20
There is nothing good	11	9
A. Lukashenko as a possible political leader of Russia	4	4
Difficult to answer	11	16

N=1600

Table 19.15

**And what is bad about Russia and Belarus becoming closer?**  
(Answers ranked by the first measurement)

	1999 October	2007 January
There is nothing bad in it	44	35
Economic problems/possible worsening of the economic situation in Russia	18	17
Political ambitions of A. Lukashenko/ possibility of A. Lukashenko becoming our President	15	18
Shortages, queues and other phenomena of the stagnation period in Belarus	6	6
Possible worsening of relations with the West/ worse reputation of Russia in the West	5	6
Violations of democratic freedoms, human rights in Belarus	4	5
Difficult to answer	22	23

N=1600

Table 19.16

**Will the economic situation in Russia change if it merges with Belarus  
and if it does, will it change for the better or for the worse?**

	1999 October	2007 January
Will change for the better	35	33
Will change for the worse	18	18
Will not change	28	31
Difficult to answer	19	18

N=1600

Table 19.17

**Which is more in the interests of Russia: A. Lukashenko remaining President  
of Belarus or another person becoming President?**

	2006 February	2007 January	2007 April
A. Lukashenko remaining President of Belarus	48	34	44
Another person becoming President of Belarus	22	35	17
Difficult to answer	30	32	39

N=1600

Table 19.18

**Which of the following opinions about Belarus President A. Lukashenko  
would you rather agree with?**

Respected leader of the Belorussian people	30
The last dictator in Europe at present	10
The only real friend of Russia	5
A sly and artful politician who will not stop at anything	31
Difficult to answer	24

2007, January; N=1600

Table 19.19

**Have you heard about the actions of Belorussian opposition  
and if you have, what feelings do you have about them?**

Respect	1
Sympathy	4
Interest	8
Irritation	7
Indignation	4
Don't have any feelings	24
Haven't heard anything about the actions of Belorussian opposition	43
Difficult to answer	9

2007, April; N=1600

Table 19.20

**Which of the following statements best describes the current situation  
in Belarus now, in your opinion?**

	1997 April	1998 March	2007 April
Establishment of dictatorship	20	19	15
Preservation of the former political system under new names	10	23	28
Development of democracy	7	10	10
Loss of order, growing anarchy	21	12	12
Difficult to answer	43	36	35

N=1600

## UKRAINE

Table 19.21

**What is your overall attitude to Ukraine now?**

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	X	XI
Very good	6	7	5	4	3	6	7	5	7	7
Mostly good	61	54	53	57	45	49	56	53	52	58
Mostly bad	20	23	25	23	34	26	22	25	24	19
Very bad	4	6	7	7	7	7	6	5	6	6
Difficult to answer	9	10	10	9	11	12	9	12	11	9

2007; N=1600

Table 19.22

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

	2001 May	2004 October	2005 October	2006 August	2007 February	2007 September
Friendly	7	8	7	3	5	4
Good, good neighbourly	18	22	10	9	11	6
Normal, calm	31	38	27	27	31	23
Cool	27	19	30	35	35	35
Tense	12	8	19	19	13	22
Hostile	1	2	2	2	2	6
Difficult to answer	4	4	5	5	3	4

N=1600

Table 19.23

**Do you consider Ukraine as foreign country?**

	2001 September	2004 November	2005 November	2006 August	2007 January	2007 August
Yes	31	28	32	37	40	35
No	65	68	63	59	57	62
Difficult to answer	4	4	5	4	3	3

N=1600

Table 19.24

**Which would be more beneficial for Russia?**

	2006 August	2007 October
Ukraine becoming an independent country that has good-neighbourly, mutually beneficial relations with Russia	44	41
Ukraine being under economic and political control of Russia	41	36
Difficult to answer	15	23

N=1600

Table 19.25

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

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

N=1600

Table 19.26

**Do you think Russians and Ukrainians are ...?**

	1997 October	2006 December	2007 November
One people	56	53	49
Two different peoples	37	41	46
Difficult to answer	7	6	5

N=1600

Table 19.27

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

	2006 April	2007 April
Serious threat	25	33
Some threat	28	28
Little threat	15	14
No threat	18	10
Difficult to answer	15	15

N=1600

Table 19.28

**In the near future the relations between Russia and Ukraine...**

	2005 January	2006 April	2007 October
Will develop, improve	28	28	14
Will remain the same as over the past several years	40	42	43
Will become less active, worsen	18	20	18
Difficult to answer	14	10	25

N=1600

**GEORGIA**

Table 19.29

**Overall, what is your attitude to Georgia now?**

	2001	2002	2003		2004			2005	2006			2007	
	X	X	VII	XI	II	II	XI	VIII	XI	II	V	III	XI
Very good	4	4	8	4	5	5	6	5	6	2	2	2	4
Mostly good	43	36	46	52	50	50	46	44	46	33	34	37	35
Mostly bad	30	35	29	27	28	28	30	30	30	37	39	35	35
Very bad	10	16	11	7	8	8	10	14	10	18	13	12	13
Difficult to answer	13	10	6	11	9	9	8	7	8	10	12	14	14

N=1600

Table 19.30

**In what direction is Georgia moving now**

Democracy	6
Old Soviet system	5
Authoritarianism, dictatorship	25
Chaos, disorder	37
Difficult to answer	27

2007, November; N=1600

Table 19.31

**Do you consider Georgia as foreign country?**

Yes	55
No	38
Difficult to answer	7

2007, August; N=1600

Table 19.32

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

	2006 April	2007 April
Serious threat	27	36
Some threat	27	27
Little threat	15	14
No threat	16	9
Difficult to answer	16	14

N=1600

**PROBLEM OF ABKHAZIA AND SOUTH OSETIA**

Table 19.33

**What should Russia do about Abkhazia and South Ossetia?**

Recognize Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent states	30
Promote return of Abkhazia and South Ossetia to Georgia	5
Neither, but keep its peace-keeping forces in these regions	45
Difficult to answer	20

2007, April; N=1600

Table 19.34

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

	2003 March	2004 April	2006 April	2007 July
Should be part of Georgia	15	14	13	7
Should be part of Russia	40	32	41	34
Should be an independent state	20	29	27	32
Difficult to answer	25	26	19	27

N=1600

Table 19.35

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

	2004 July	2006 April	2007 July
Should be part of Georgia	12	12	9
Should be part of Russia	34	40	34
Should be an independent state	30	26	32
Difficult to answer	24	22	25

N=1600

## 20. RUSSIA AND THE WORLD

Table 20.1

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

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

2007, January; N=1600

Table 20.2

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

	2007 January	2008 January
More open for other countries	18	17
Neither more nor less open than now	35	39
Let other countries into its life less	38	36
Difficult to answer	10	8

2007, January; N=1600

Table 20.3

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

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

2007, January; N=1600

Table 20.4

### Are the relations between Russia and most foreign countries better now?

Worse	10
Neither better, nor worse	49
Better	32
Difficult to answer	9

2007, July; N=1600

Table 20.5

**Who is to blame for the worsening of relations between Russia and other foreign countries?**  
(% of those who answered «worse»)

Present Russian government	16
Governments of other countries	32
Nobody is to blame, it just happened	18
Difficult to answer	34

2007, July; N=1600

Table 20.6

**Do you think there is a threat to the security of other countries of the world coming from Russia?**

	2006 March	2007 March
Definitely yes	2	4
Yes, rather than no	7	7
No, rather than yes	40	37
Definitely no	44	47
Difficult to answer	6	6

N=1600

Table 20.7

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

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

N=1600

Table 20.8

**What is the greatest threat of the security of Russia now?**

	2007 March	2007 June
Iran's nuclear program	9	8
North Korea having nuclear weapons	6	8
Deployment of American anti-missile defense system in Russia neighboring countries	62	60
Difficult to answer	23	24

N=1600

Table 20.9

**Who do you think is more unfriendly, hostile toward the counterpart?**

Russia – toward such countries as Estonia, Poland, Georgia, Ukraine	3
Such countries as Estonia, Poland, Georgia, Ukraine – toward Russia	78
Both, equally	10
Difficult to answer	8

2007, May; N=1600

Table 20.10

**What are the largest western countries (USA, Germany, Japan, Great Britain and others) for Russia?**

	1997 August	2003 July	2007 July
Russia's partners who have common interests with Russia (e.g. fight with crime and terrorism, ecological disasters, development of science, culture and economy)	29	42	42
Enemies of Russia who want to solve their problems at its expense and if there is a chance to damage its interests	51	42	46
Difficult to answer	20	16	14

N=1600

**RUSSIA AND EUROPA**

Table 20.11

**Which of the following opinions would you rather side with?**

	2003 August	2006 October	2007 July
Russia is a part of the West, it should try to establish closer relations with European countries and the USA, should introduce «western» traditions in the country	12	9	11
Russia is a Eurasian state, which has a unique way of development in history	76	76	74
Russia is an «eastern» country, it should be oriented to cooperation with its neighbours in Asia	5	6	7
Difficult to answer	6	8	9

N=1600

Table 20.12

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

	1999 March	2007 January
Yes	30	35
No	54	54
Difficult to answer	16	11

N=1600

Table 20.13

**Do you think that Russia should ...**

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

N=1600

Table 20.14

**What is the primary cause of dissatisfaction with Russia on the part of the West?**

Growth of authoritarian tendencies, restriction of freedom of speech, violation of human rights in Russia	8
Activities of the federal authorities in Chechnya	8
Independent policy of Russia's current government, its course of protecting Russia's economic and political interests	31
Growth of Russia's influence in the world	35
Difficult to answer	17

2007, June; N=1600

Table 20.15

**Are accusations of violations of democracy in Russia made by the West justified?**

Definitely yes	8
Yes, rather than no	21
No, rather than yes	32
Definitely no	14
Difficult to answer	25

2007, August; N=1600

Table 20.16

**Do you think we should pay attention to criticism of Russia by the West?**

Yes	46
No	38
Difficult to answer	16

2007, February; N=1600

Table 20.17

**Why do you think we should not pay attention  
to criticism coming from the West?**

(% of those who answered «No»)

The West doesn't understand our life and still they want to teach us	38
The West is unfriendly towards Russia, criticism of the West is hostile	24
The West sees Russia as its competitor and they want to make it weaker	39
Western critics often criticize what they are guilty of themselves («double standard»)	22
Difficult to answer	4

2007, February; N=1600

Table 20.18

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

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

N=1600

Table 20.19

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

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

N=1600

Table 20.20

**Please, name five countries which you can call the closest friends, allies of Russia and five countries which are the most unfriendly and hostile to Russia?**

(Answer are ranked by the last measurement, 20 most frequent answer are listed)

Friends				Unfriendly			
	2005	2006	2007		2005	2006	2007
	V	V	VIII		V	V	VIII
Kazakhstan	20	33	39	Estonia	32	28	60
Belorus	46	47	38	Georgia	38	44	46
Germany	23	22	24	Latvia	49	46	36
China	12	24	19	USA	23	37	35
Armenia	9	14	15	Lithuania	42	42	32
India	16	15	14	Ukraine	13	27	23
Ukraine	17	10	11	Poland	4	7	20
France	13	8	9	Afghanistan	12	12	11
Bulgaria	11	10	9	Irak	10	9	8
Italy	6	7	8	Iran	6	7	7
Turkmenia	2	2	8	Belarus	2	2	5
Kirghizia	5	7	7	Azerbaijan	5	4	4
Tajikistan	3	3	7	Japan	6	4	3
USA	11	5	6	Moldova	2	9	3
Finland	6	6	6	China	4	3	3
Uzbekistan	4	6	6	Great Britain	3	5	3
Azerbaijan	5	7	5	Israel	3	4	3
Japan	4	6	5	Armenia	4	3	2
Moldova	2	4	4	Germany	3	2	2
Great Britain	5	4	3	Tajikistan	2	3	2
None	10	13	10	None	5	4	2
Difficult to answer	14	15	18	Difficult to answer	15	19	17

N=1600

## «FORMER NEIGHBORS»

## BALTIC COUNTRIES

Table 20.21

**Annexation of Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia)  
to the Soviet Union in 1940 was the result of ...**

	2005 May	2007 May
Voluntary expression of the will of the peoples of these countries	31	37
Pressure from the USSR	29	26
Secret agreement between Stalin and Hitler	17	12
Difficult to answer	23	25

N=1600

Table 20.22

**Should Russia admit its guilt for the occupation  
and the repressions of that time and repent?  
(% of those who agree it was «occupation»)**

Definitely yes	14
Yes, rather than no	26
No, rather than yes	28
Definitely no	21
Difficult to answer	11

2007, May; N=1600

Table 20.23

**Was disintegration of the «socialist camp» inevitable in 1989 or  
could this disintegration have been avoided?**

Was inevitable	28
Could have been avoided	50
Difficult to answer	22

2007, March; N=1600

Table 20.24

**Was the disintegration of the socialist camp good or bad of Russia?**

Good	13
Bad	43
Good in one way, bad in another	32
Difficult to answer	12

2007, March; N=1600

Table 20.25

**Was this disintegration good or bad for other countries of the socialist camp?**

Good	15
Bad	31
Good in one way, bad in another	34
Difficult to answer	20

2007, March; N=1600

Table 20.26

**Have these countries achieved success in the development of market economy and establishment of a democratic society since that time?**

Yes	35
No	32
Difficult to answer	33

2007, March; N=1600

Table 20.27

**Compared to these countries, has Russia achieved more, less or about the same success in the development of market economy and establishment of a democratic society during the same period of time?**

More	15
Less	27
About the same	30
Russia has not even begun moving along this route, so I don't see any significant success	4
Russia shouldn't follow this route, it has its unique way	5
Difficult to answer	19

2007, March; N=1600

Table 20.28

**Is life in Russia now better or worse than in the former socialist countries (such as Poland, Czechia, Hungary)?**

Better	18
Worse	35
Neither better, nor worse	30
Difficult to answer	17

2007, March; N=1600

## RELATIONS WITH POLAND

Table 20.29

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

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

N=1600

Table 20.30

### How would you evaluate the current Russian-Polish relations?

	2001 December	2007 March
Friendly	7	5
Normal, calm	57	39
Tense	18	30
Hostile	2	4
Difficult to answer	17	22

N=1600

Table 20.31

### Do you think Poland for Russia is now first of all a...

	2001 December	2007 March
Partner	40	26
Ally	24	18
Opponent	8	20
Enemy	1	2
Difficult to answer	27	3

N=1600

Table 20.32

### Have there been any events in the history of Russian-Polish relations Russia should feel its guilt before Poland about?

	2001 December	2007 March
Yes	23	11
No	46	52
Difficult to answer	32	37

N=1600

Table 20.33

**Have there been any events in the history of Russian-Polish relations Poland should feel its guilt before Russia about?**

	2001 December	2007 March
Yes	30	31
No	34	27
Difficult to answer	36	42

N=1600

Table 20.34

**In connection with what historical events, in your opinion, can Russia have grievances against Poland?**

	2003 December	2007 March
Polish intervention in the beginning of the 17th century/raising False Dmitry to the tsar's throne in Moscow	7	9
War with Poland in 1920 when Russia was defeated	7	6
Attitude of Poles to Red Army soldiers who were taken prisoners in 1920	11	7
Lack of gratitude for the liberation of Poland by the Red Army in 1945	21	29
Activity of "Solidarnosc" which promoted the disintegration of the socialist system and the Soviet Union	7	8
Activity of Pope John Paul II who was Polish	2	2
Activity of Chechen information centers in Poland	22	14
Poland joining NATO	14	20
Poland's veto on the beginning of negotiations on a new agreement between Russia and the European Union	-*	17
Attempts to arrange oil and gas deliveries to Europe without Russia's participation	-*	17
Difficult to answer	43	43

\*- no variants of answers were given

N=1600

Table 20.35

**What is your personal attitude to the Polish?**

	2001 December	2007 March
Friendly	27	25
Respectful	16	10
Indifferent	46	54
Ironic	3	4
Hostile	2	2
Difficult to answer	6	5

N=1600

## MIDDLE EAST

Table 20.36

### What line of action should Russia take toward the Moslem world?

	2005 November	2006 November	2007 November
Strengthen mutually beneficial ties with the Moslem world	54	62	65
Distance itself from the Moslem world	29	18	17
Difficult to answer	18	20	18

N=1600

Table 20.37

### Which side do you sympathize with in the Palestine-Israeli conflict?

The Palestinians	10
The Israelis	10
Neither side	56
Difficult to answer	23

2007, June; N=1600

Table 20.38

### Iran is openly hostile towards Israel. Do you think Israel will have the right to strike on Iran's nuclear plants if the latter tries to develop nuclear weapons?

Definitely yes	3
Yes, rather than no	13
No, rather than yes	23
Definitely no	34
Difficult to answer	28

2007, April; N=1600

## IRAN

Table 20.39

### Do you think Russia should continue its cooperation with Iran in nuclear technologies and in sales of weapons to Iran?

Definitely yes	11
Yes, rather than no	28
No, rather than yes	21
Definitely no	10
Difficult to answer	31

2007, April; N=1600

Table 20.40

**Do you think Iran should go on with its nuclear program or it should stop it?**

Iran should go on with its nuclear program	17
Iran should stop its nuclear program	54
Difficult to answer	29

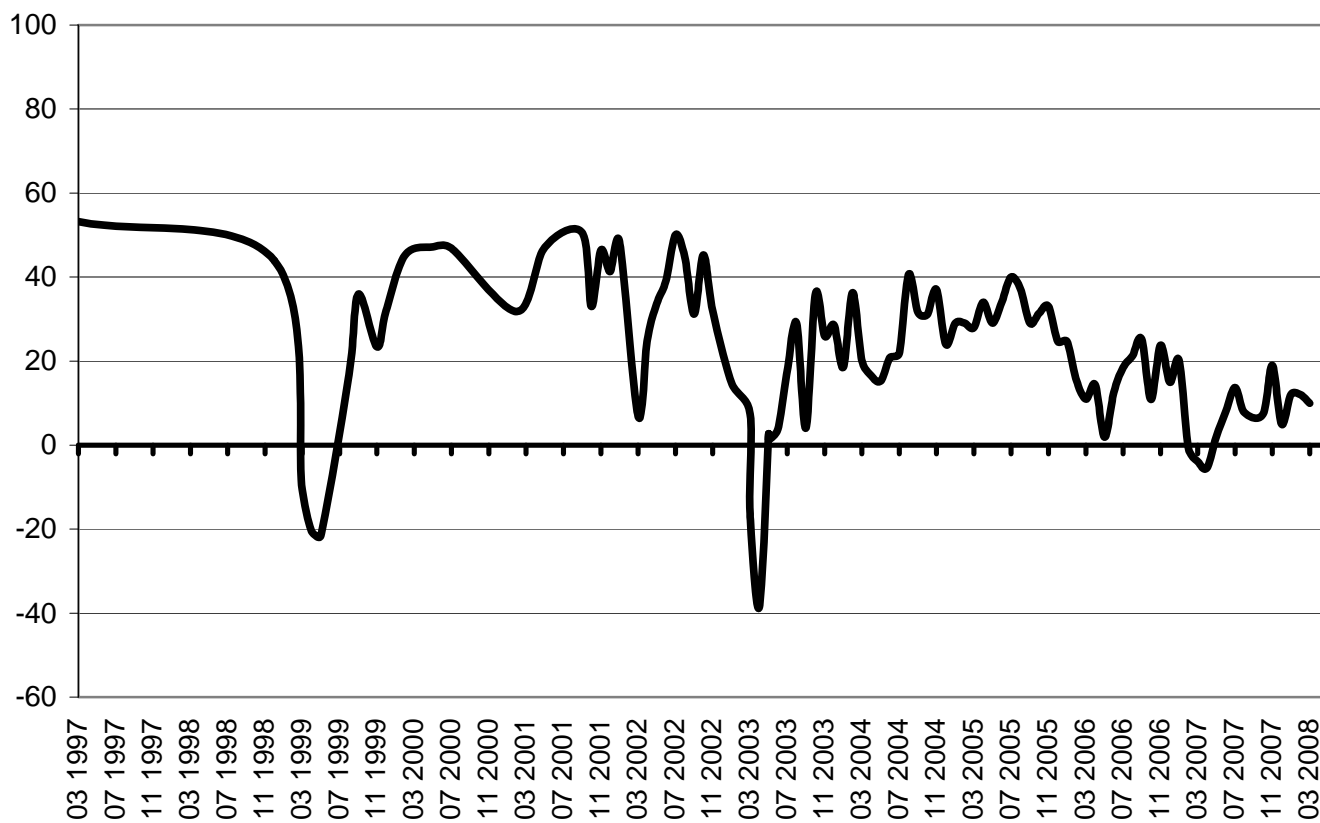
2007, April; N=1600

**RUSSIA – THE USA**

Diagram 20.1

**Index of attitude to the US**

(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)



N=1600

Table 20.41

**How would you generally describe the current relations  
between Russia and the United States of America?**

	2001		2002			2003	2004		2005	2006	2007		
	V	IX	III	V	VIII	X	III	VIII	X	VIII	II	VI	IX
Friendly	5	7	3	8	6	8	8	6	12	8	7	4	8
Good, neighborly	8	13	10	12	16	14	13	15	9	9	6	7	7
Normal, even	38	42	29	45	45	46	45	45	39	43	34	31	36
Lukewarm	30	25	30	18	20	18	22	21	25	24	34	33	27
Tense	13	8	18	12	6	8	8	7	10	8	12	17	14
Hostile	1	1	4	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	3	3
Difficult to answer	5	4	6	3	6	4	3	5	3	6	4	5	5

N=1600

Table 20.42

**What are the most dangerous things about the United States of America for  
other countries of the world?**

(Answer are ranked)

(% of respondents said quite possible)

	2006 March	2007 March
Yearning for economic global domination	58	56
Desire to impose their lifestyle, American-style democracy on others	33	43
The very fact of their military power, which exceeds the power of any other country	32	39
Expansion of NATO and desire to extend its influence on the former USSR republics	32	40
Dissemination of their culture with its scenes of undisguised sex and violence	21	34
Continuing occupation of Iraq	20	26
Possibility of strikes on nuclear sites in Iran	18	23
The fact that under the pretext of supporting non-commercial organizations they fund subversive activities in different countries	17	24
Possibility of being the first to use nuclear weapons	17	21
Possibility of a military attack against Russia	9	17
Cooperation with aggressive Israel	4	7
Possibility of a conflict between the USA and China	4	9
Difficult to answer	4	2

N=1600

Table 20.43

**Do you think there is a threat to the security of other countries of the world coming from the United States of America?**

	2006 March	2007 March
Definitely yes	31	37
Yes, rather than no	42	39
No, rather than yes	13	12
Definitely no	3	3
Difficult to answer	11	9

N=1600

Table 20.44

**Did V. Putin do the right thing supporting the USA in the struggle with international terrorism?**

	2002 August	2005 October	2006 August	2007 August
Definitely yes	33	39	42	48
Yes, rather than no	43	43	42	38
No, rather than yes	11	9	5	4
Definitely no	2	2	2	0
Difficult to answer	11	7	8	10

N=1600

Table 20.45

**The USA for you now is...**

	2003 February	2007 February
Advocate for peace, democracy and order all over the world	9	8
Aggressor which is trying to establish control over all the countries of the world	75	76
Difficult to answer	16	17

N=1600

Table 20.46

**Do you think the USA poses any threat for Russia now?**

Definitely yes	16
Yes, rather than no	31
No, rather than yes	32
Definitely no	10
Difficult to answer	11

2007, May; N=1600

Table 20.47

**What kind of threat does the United States pose for Russia now?**  
(% of those who answered «Yes»)

Possibility of military invasion, occupation	21
Establishing control over Russian economy	51
Establishing control over the political course of the country	38
Creating obstacles for the development of Russia	39
Imposing alien ideas and values on Russia	44
Difficult to answer	3

2007, May; N=746

Table 20.48

**Do you think the United States is trying to interfere  
in the internal affairs of Russia?**

Yes, very actively	32
Yes, somewhat	48
No, it doesn't	12
Difficult to answer	8

2007, May; N=1600

Table 20.49

**How much do you think the United States influences  
the Russian policy at present?**

Influences considerably	18
Influences somewhat	48
Does not influence much	17
Does not influence at all	7
Difficult to answer	11

2007, May; N=1600

Table 20.50

**Has the recent «informal» meeting of V. Putin and G. Bush resulted in relaxation  
of tension in the relations between Russia and the United States?**

Resulted in relaxation of tension	24
Made the relations more difficult	8
Had no effect on the relations between the countries	51
Difficult to answer	17

2007, July; N=1600

Table 20.51

**Should V. Putin be firmer or more pliable than now in the negotiations with the USA?**

Firmer	47
More pliable	5
His policy is just right, he should be neither firmer nor more pliable	31
Difficult to answer	16

2007, July; N=1600

Table 20.52

**Speaking about the foreign policy of Russia in the near future, do you think the Russian government should...**

Try to establish closer relations with the USA	16
Distance itself farther from the USA	39
Maintain the current relations with the USA	33
Difficult to answer	12

2007, February; N=1600

**ABM**

Table 20.53

**Is there a threat to Russia from the deployment of elements of the American Anti-Ballistic Missile System in the countries of Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechia)?**

Serious threat	32
Some threat	35
Little threat	13
There is no threat	7
Difficult to answer	14

2007, March; N=1600

Table 20.54

**Do you think in case the American ABM system is deployed in Eastern Europe Russia should re-target its missiles to European countries?**

Definitely yes	21
Yes, rather than no	28
No, rather than yes	12
Definitely no	8
Difficult to answer	31

2007, June; N=1600

## USA AND IRAQ

Table 20.55

### What is your overall attitude to the US military campaign in Iraq?

	2003 March	2003 April	2004 May	2004 July	2007 April
Approve	2	3	3	5	1
Am indignant	83	80	60	57	59
Neither approve, not condemn	9	11	23	19	21
Don't know about it enough	5	4	10	13	13
Difficult to answer	1	2	4	6	6

N=1600

Table 20.56

### What do you think the development of events in Iraq is most likely to result in?

Establishment of a democratic regime and withdrawal of American troops	6
Occupation of Iraq by American troops lasting a long time	43
Power in the country will be seized by Islamic radicals	9
Iraq will fall apart to form several separate states	13
Difficult to answer	27

2007, April; N=1600

Table 20.57

### What is your attitude to the possibility of a military operation against Iran conducted by the United States if it refuses to discontinue its nuclear program?

	2006 March	2007 March	2007 June
Absolutely positive	2	1	2
Somewhat positive	8	4	7
Somewhat negative	37	31	32
Very negative	34	51	46
Difficult to answer	19	12	13

N=1600

Table 20.58

**What is your attitude to the possibility of the United States' pin-point strikes on nuclear plants or camps of the Iranian Islamic Revolution Guards Corps in Iran?**

Absolutely positive	3
Somewhat positive	5
Somewhat negative	28
Very negative	41
Difficult to answer	22

2007, October; N=1600

**EVALUATIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY**

Table 20.59

**What is the influence of Russia on international affairs now?**

	2003 July	2004 August	2007 July
Very significant	4	7	11
Rather significant	43	32	56
Rather insignificant	38	43	22
Practically zero	8	12	4
Difficult to answer	7	6	7

N=1600

Table 20.60

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

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

N=1600

Table 20.61

**Are you satisfied with Russia's current foreign policy?**

Definitely yes	12
Yes, rather than no	54
No, rather than yes	18
Definitely no	5
Difficult to answer	11

2007, March; N=1600

Table 20.62

**What foreign policy priorities do you think  
the government of Russia should have?**

Restoration of the authority of Russia as one of the most influential countries of the world whose vote is a must for making a decision about any important question	56
Securing a peaceful and safe life in the country	59
Protection of domestic manufacturers	39
Maintaining friendly relations with the most developed countries	28
Expanding Russia's influence in the world	21
Policy of containment of the expansion of the West, growth of the US influence	22
Settling conflicts in «crisis spots», counteracting the threat of terrorism together with other countries	25
Difficult to answer	6

2007, March; N=1600

Table 20.63

**Are you worried about the more and more frequent sharp anti-Western  
rhetoric in the official speeches of Russian top officials?**

Very worried	9
Somewhat worried	35
Not too worried	30
Not worried at all	18
Difficult to answer	9

2007, May; N=1600

Table 20.64

**Which of the following opinions about the anti-Western rhetoric  
in the Russian top officials' speeches would you agree with?**

It is a manifestation of the current government's policy which is independent of the West	39
It is a manifestation of weakness of the government which uses political blackmail as a means of self-assertion	21
It is a return to the Soviet policy, rejection of openness, rapprochement with and integration in the world community	6
Difficult to answer	35

2007, May; N=1600

Table 20.65

**Should the Russian government use the dependence of European countries  
on Russian oil and gas to achieve its foreign policy goals?**

Definitely yes	23
Yes, rather than no	36
No, rather than yes	16
Definitely no	4
Difficult to answer	20

2007, August; N=1600

## RUSSIA AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

### NATO

Table 20.66

**Are closer relations between Russia and NATO  
in the interests of Russia overall?**

	2002 V	2003 IX	2004 IV	2004 VI	2005 VI	2006 IV	2007 IV
Are in the interests of Russia	48	35	33	44	34	26	28
Are contrary to the interests of Russia	23	35	39	36	36	46	42
Difficult to answer	30	30	28	20	30	29	31

N=1600

Table 20.67

**What do you think if European countries include in NATO  
have any reasons to beware of Russia?**

	1997 IV	2000 VIII	2001 II	2002 II	2006 IV	2006 VI	2007 IV
Definitely yes	11	8	8	7	9	10	7
Yes, rather than no	16	20	16	22	25	21	21
No, rather than yes	32	38	40	38	37	38	33
Definitely no	27	19	25	20	20	22	24
Difficult to answer	13	14	12	14	9	10	15

N=1600

Table 20.68

**What do you think if Russia has any reasons to beware  
of European countries include in NATO?**

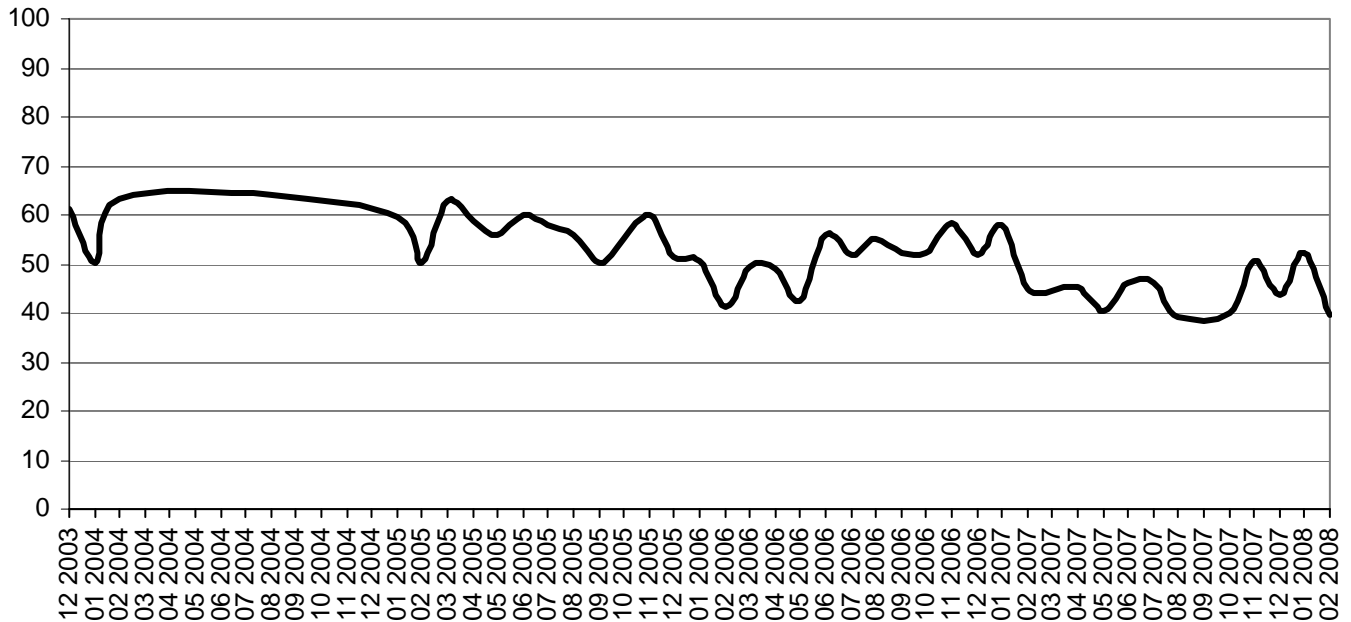
	1999 V	2000 VIII	2001 II	2002 II	2006 IV	2006 VI	2007 IV
Definitely yes	27	16	25	14	15	22	14
Yes, rather than no	36	38	33	42	43	40	35
No, rather than yes	22	25	22	23	26	22	27
Definitely no	7	7	8	7	8	7	8
Difficult to answer	10	14	13	14	9	10	16

N=1600

## EUROPEAN UNION

Diagram 20.2

**Index of attitude to the European Union**  
(difference between positive and negative evaluations, per cent)



N=1600

Table 20.69

**How would you evaluate as a whole the relationship between Russia and EU (European Union)?**

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007
	December	October	October	August	February	September
Friendly	6	7	8	6	5	5
Good, good-neighborly	22	14	13	16	13	11
Normal, even	49	46	44	50	49	45
Cool	9	20	20	14	18	21
Tense	1	4	4	3	4	7
Hostile	1	1	1	0	1	1
Difficult to answer	12	8	10	11	10	10

N=1600

Table 20.70

**Should Russia try to join the European Union in future?**

	2000	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007
	August	March	December	November	November	November
Definitely yes	23	21	26	19	19	23
Yes, rather than no	31	36	33	34	36	29
No, rather than yes	19	17	14	16	14	16
Definitely no	6	7	6	8	9	7
Difficult to answer	22	19	21	22	22	26

N=1600

## GROUP OF EIGHT

Table 20.71

**Should Russia try to remain a permanent member of the «Group of Eight»?**

	2001 May	2002 January	2003 May	2005 January	2006 April	2007 January	2007 January
Yes	69	63	69	62	69	64	68
No	12	12	10	15	13	14	11
Difficult to answer	19	25	21	24	18	22	21

N=1600

## WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION

Table 20.72

**Do you think joining the World Trade Organization is in the interests of Russia?**

	2002 April	2003 September	2004 April	2004 June	2005 June	2006 April	2007 April
Is in the interests of Russia	53	47	50	58	55	45	50
Is contrary to the interests of Russia	18	22	21	22	21	27	21
Difficult to answer	29	31	29	20	24	28	29

N=1600

Table 20.73

**Do you think joining the WTO and elimination of barriers for foreign goods coming into Russia and Russian goods going abroad will do Russian economy good or harm now?**

	2001 November	2002 September	2006 September	2007 September
Will do good	29	34	38	31
Will do harm	22	18	22	21
Don't know what the WTO is	36	34	26	33
Difficult to answer	13	15	15	16

N=1600

## 21. MEMORABLE DATES

### B.N. YELTSIN

Table 21.1

**What feelings did you have when you heard about B. Yeltsin's death?**

Sorrow	11
Regret	24
Irritation	3
Satisfaction	4
Mixed feelings	14
No particular feelings	43
Difficult to answer	2

2007, May; N=1600

Table 21.2

**How would you describe your attitude to B. Yeltsin now?**

	2000 XII	2001 XII	2002 XII	2003 XII	2004 XII	2005 XII	2006 XII	2001 V
Very positive	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2
Somewhat positive	7	8	8	6	9	8	7	17
Neutral	32	31	34	35	32	33	39	57
Somewhat negative	29	26	28	32	27	29	28	11
Very negative	27	30	26	23	29	26	20	6
Difficult to answer	4	4	2	2	2	3	5	7

N=1600

Table 21.3

**From a historical perspective,  
do you think B. Yeltsin's era did Russia more good or more harm?**

More good	26
More harm	47
Difficult to answer	27

2007, May; N=1600

Table 21.4

**Do you think after some decades the attitude of the population of Russia to  
the activity of B. Yeltsin will be better, worse or  
neither better nor worse than now?**

Better	12
Worse	14
Neither better, nor worse	57
Difficult to answer	17

2007, May; N=1600

Table 21.5

**When do you think there was more freedom in our country?**

Under L. Brezhnev	20
Under M. Gorbachev	6
Under B. Yeltsin	13
Under V. Putin	42
Difficult to answer	19

2007, May; N=1600

**TALLINN**

Table 21.6

**Which of the following opinions about the plans to relocate the monument to Soviet soldiers in Tallinn would you rather agree with?**

The Estonian authorities discriminate the Russian-speaking population and provoke aggravation of relations with Russia	59
This problem is intentionally boosted by Russian politicians and mass media	7
Both sides in this conflict could be cleverer and more reserved	20
There is nothing special in moving the remains of the killed soldiers to the Defense Forces cemetery	5
Haven't heard anything about it / Difficult to answer	8

2007, April; N=1600

Table 21.7

**What feelings did you have about the Monument to Soviet Soldiers being moved from Tõnismägi square to the Defense Forces cemetery?**

Indignation	41
Resentment	27
Regret	15
Concern about the future of Russian-Estonian relations	7
Didn't have any special feelings	8
Difficult to answer	3

2007, April; N=1600

Table 21.8

**How do you think Russia looks in the conflict with Estonia about the relocation of the Monument to Soviet Soldiers: strong and confident or weak and insecure?**

Strong and confident	33
Weak and insecure	35
Neither	21
Difficult to answer	11

2007, May; N=1600

**MURDER OF ANNA POLITKOVSKAYA**

Table 21.9

**Do the Russian special services have anything to do with the assassination of journalist Anna Politkovskaya?**

	2006 December	2007 November
Definitely yes	4	8
Yes, rather than no	14	18
No, rather than yes	25	18
Definitely no	8	7
Difficult to answer	49	50

N=1600

Table 21.10

**Will those who ordered the assassination of journalist Anna Politkovskaya be found?**

	2006 December	2007 November
Definitely yes	1	3
Yes, rather than no	8	12
No, rather than yes	30	27
Definitely no	29	23
Difficult to answer	32	35

N=1600

**MURDER OF A. LITVINENKO**

Table 21.11

**Have you heard about the poisoning of A. Litvinenko in London last year and if you have, who do you think organized his murder?**

A. Lugovoy, who is accused of it by Great Britain's law-enforcement bodies	4
Russian special services	10
British special services	12
B. Berezovsky	13
A. Litvinenko's former business-partners	17
Difficult to answer	45

2007, June; N=1600

Table 21.12

**Do the Russian special services have anything to do with the murder of ex-KGB colonel A. Litvinenko?**

	2006 December	2007 November
Definitely yes	7	7
Yes, rather than no	18	20
No, rather than yes	21	16
Definitely no	9	9
Difficult to answer	45	49

N=1600

Table 21.13

**Has the British law machinery managed to collect convincing evidence of the fact that the murder of A. Litvinenko was committed by A. Lugovoy or is their claim accounted for by political reasons?**

Managed to collect convincing evidence of the fact that the murder of Litvinenko was committed by Lugovoy	7
Their claim is accounted for by political reasons	45
Difficult to answer	48

2007, June; N=1600

Table 21.14

**Should the Russian authorities extradite A. Lugovoy to the UK?**

Definitely yes	2
Yes, rather than no	8
No, rather than yes	29
Definitely no	24
Difficult to answer	37

2007, June; N=1600

Table 21.15

**Will the instigators of A. Litvinenko's assassination be found?**

	2006 December	2007 November
Definitely yes	2	4
Yes, rather than no	13	11
No, rather than yes	33	27
Definitely no	27	24
Difficult to answer	25	35

N=1600

## EXECUTION OF SADDAM HUSSEIN

Table 21.16

**What feelings did you have when you learned about Saddam Hussein's execution?**

Approval	7
Resignation	4
Grief	15
Indignation	22
No special feelings	47
Difficult to answer	5

2007, January; N=1600

Table 21.17

**Should national leaders of Saddam Hussein's level be tried for what they did according to the laws of the time or are they not to be tried by their contemporaries?**

Should be tried according to the laws of their time	64
Are not to be tried by their contemporaries	17
Difficult to answer	19

2007, January; N=1600

## MEMORABLE DATES

### GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Table 21.18

**Do you think the Soviet Union would have won this war without its allies?**

	1991 May	1997 June	2001 April	2003 April	2005 April	2006 June	2007 April
I think it could	62	71	71	67	60	65	64
I don't think it could	26	21	21	26	32	28	28
Difficult to answer	12	8	8	7	8	7	8

1991, N=1000; 1997-2007 N=1600

Table 21.19

**What is your attitude to the idea of erecting in Russia a memorial to people killed in WW II on both sides?**

	1991 May	1997 June	2001 April	2003 April	2006 June	2007 April
Positive	52	48	57	50	57	53
Negative	26	34	32	35	31	34
Difficult to answer	22	18	11	15	13	13

1991, N=1000; 1997-2007 N=1600

Table 21.20

**Should wide coverage be given of the joint parade of German and Soviet troops after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty was signed in September 1939 and after the defeat of Poland?**

Yes, young people don't know the history of their country with all its positive and negative aspects	31
Yes, for nothing of the kind to happen again	19
Yes, since there is nothing bad in it, because of these actions I. Stalin had a temporary respite which allowed him to delay the war and get ready for it better	9
No, you can't undo the past and there are enough dark moments in the history of any country	21
Don't know, not interested in it	12
Don't know anything about it	7
Difficult to answer	9

2007, October; N=1600

**«PERESTROIKA»(TRANSFORMATION)**

Table 21.21

**Do you agree that it would be better if everything in the country were the same as it used to be before the beginning of Perestroika**

	1995 X	1996 II	1997 II	1998 II	2000 III	2001 III	2003 III	2004 III	2005 I	2006 I	2007 I
Absolutely agree	31	27	34	29	25	29	35	22	26	23	21
Agree, rather than don't agree	22	22	18	22	25	25	21	24	22	20	21
Do not agree, rather than agree	20	22	23	22	27	23	23	24	24	29	29
Absolutely disagree	15	18	18	17	13	16	15	19	16	16	17
Difficult to answer	13	11	8	10	10	8	7	10	12	12	12

N=1600

**AUGUST PUTSCH OF 1991**

Table 21.22

**How do you now see the August 1991 events?**

	1994 IX	1998 VII	1999 VII	2000 VII	2001 VII	2002 VII	2003 VII	2004 VII	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VIII
Victory of a democratic revolution which put an end to CPSU power	7	8	9	10	10	9	9	11	10	13	10
Tragic event which had disastrous consequences for the country and the people	27	31	38	33	25	25	31	36	36	36	24
Just an episode of power struggle within leadership of the country	53	46	40	46	43	46	50	42	43	39	48
Difficult to answer	13	15	13	11	22	20	10	10	12	12	18

N=1600

Table 21.23

**Who do you think was right in those days?**

	2006 July	2007 August
GKChP	13	8
B. Yeltsin and the democrats	12	17
Neither side	52	46
Difficult to answer	23	29

N=1600

Table 21.24

**Do you think the country started to develop in the right or the wrong direction in August 1991?**

	2003 August	2004 July	2005 July	2006 June	2007 August
In the right direction	30	27	25	30	28
In the wrong direction	47	49	50	44	37
Difficult to answer	23	24	25	26	35

N=1600

Table 21.25

**What is the main reason for the country to have started developing in the wrong direction?  
(of those who chose this variant in the previous question)?**

	2003 August	2004 July	2007 August
The country was weak due to the 70-year-long rule of communists	3	3	5
M. Gorbachev's myopic policy	6	8	22
Incompetence and mistakes of B. Yeltsin and his associates	32	27	37
Cupidity of soviet «nomenclature» (top party and civil officials) who wanted to "pocket" the riches of Russia	39	29	20
Intrigues of the USA and other countries of the West	11	24	4
A tragic concourse of circumstances	5	3	3
Difficult to answer	4	6	7

N=1600

## THE USSR COLLAPSE

Table 21.26

### Do you regret the collapse of the USSR?

	1992	1993	2000	2001	2002	2004	2005	2006			2007
	III	I	XII	XII	XII	XI	XI	III	XI	XII	XI
Yes	66	63	75	72	68	71	65	62	61	61	55
No	23	23	19	21	25	22	25	28	30	32	36
Difficult to answer	11	1	6	7	7	7	10	10	9	8	10

N=1600

Table 21.27

### What is the main reason why you regret the collapse of the USSR?

(In % of those who regret)

	1999 April	2006 December	2007 November
People no longer feel they belong to a great power	29	55	44
A single economic system is destroyed	60	49	49
It is now a problem to travel freely, go on a vacation	10	23	21
Ties with relatives and friends are broken	29	35	38
One no longer has the feeling of being at home everywhere	10	25	18
There is more mutual distrust, bitterness	32	36	36
Difficult to answer	7	3	2

N=1600

Table 21.28

### Do you think the disintegration of the Soviet Union was unavoidable or it could have been avoided?

	1998	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006		2007
	II	III	XII	XII	III	XI	XI	III	XI	XI
Was unavoidable	24	26	29	29	25	24	29	31	27	30
Could have been avoided	58	62	58	59	65	65	61	59	59	56
Difficult to answer	18	12	13	12	10	10	10	11	14	14

N=1600

Table 21.29

### The Soviet Union disintegrated over 15 years ago. Are the people living in Russia now different from the people of the Soviet era?

Completely different	19
Different in many ways	54
Not much different	18
Are practically the same	3
Difficult to answer	6

2007, July; N=1600

Table 21.30

**What is the main difference between the people living in Russia now  
and the people living in the Soviet era?**

(% of those who believe «are different»; ranked answers)

Are more calculating and cold now	47
Are poorer	37
Are more intolerant of others	36
Have lost hope that they will be able to live better	27
Are more liberated	26
Know more about the world	25
Are more dependent on the authorities, superiors	19
Are more sensible and practical	19
Have got used to living better than before	16
Are better-off	14
Are more positive about other countries, life abroad	11
Are more negative about other countries, life abroad	4
Are friendlier towards each other	1
Difficult to answer	2

2007, July; N=1600

Table 21.31

**Are the top authorities in Russia today different or  
do they still have some characteristics of the former Soviet authorities?**

Completely different	25
Mostly different	43
The same in many respects	23
Practically the same	3
Difficult to answer	7

2007, July; N=1600

Table 21.32

**What is the main difference between the present-day authorities and the  
authorities of the Soviet era?**

(% of those who answered «different»; ranked answers)

Don't think about simple people at all now, think only about their own interests	48
Are unable to cope with problems in the country	39
Have established normal relations with the West	30
Have done a lot for Russia to be respected in the world today	27
Are unable to do anything for Russia to be respected all over the world today	17
Managed to establish order in the country	9
Are pursuing incompetent and wrong foreign policy, as a result, Russia has quarreled with the whole world	9
Think more about simple people, are doing more for them now	5
Difficult to answer	3

2007, July; N=1600

## 90 YEARS SINCE THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Table 21.33

**There are different opinions about what this revolution brought to the peoples of Russia. Which of the following opinions do you subscribe to?**  
(the answers are ranked based on the first measurement)

	1990	1997	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
It gave a boost to social and economic development of Russia's peoples	24	26	32	33	32	27	31	28	31
It started a new era in the history of Russia's peoples	22	23	27	27	20	30	26	30	24
It stalled their development	19	19	18	19	19	16	16	16	17
It was a catastrophe for them	13	15	12	9	14	14	15	10	9
Difficult to answer	22	17	11	12	15	13	13	17	19

N=1600

Table 21.34

**What would you do if the October Revolution were happening in front of your eyes?**  
(Answers ranked by the first measurement)

	1990	1997	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007
Would cooperate with the Bolsheviks in some things	26	16	19	20	16	18	17	13
Would actively support the Bolsheviks	23	15	22	23	19	15	17	17
Would try to wait till it's over; would not take part in these events	12	27	24	28	22	26	28	23
Would leave the country	7	15	13	16	14	15	14	18
Would fight against the Bolsheviks	5	7	6	8	9	8	7	6
Difficult to answer	26	18	15	5	21	19	17	24

N=1600

Table 21.35

**What was the main reason for the October revolution, in your opinion?**

	1990 October	1997 October	2001 November	2007 October
Difficult situation of the working people	66	57	56	57
Weak government	36	40	39	35
Extremism of political adventurers	16	14	15	17
Spontaneous aggression of the mob	15	15	14	12
Conspiracy of enemies of the Russian people	6	11	11	13
Difficult to answer	12	11	9	9

N=1600

Table 21.36

**Which of the following figures of the Revolution time  
do you have sympathies for most of all?**

(Answers ranked by the first measurement)

	1990 October	1997 October	2002 October	2007 October
V. Lenin	67	28	36	27
F. Dzerzhinsky	45	25	28	21
N. Bukharin	21	13	9	7
L. Trotsky	15	5	8	4
N. Makhno	8	3	4	6
I. Stalin	8	15	22	15
Nikolas II	4	17	18	11
A. Kerensky	3	4	4	3
A. Kolchak	3	8	8	7
P. Milyukov	2	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	12	26	19	37

N=1600

Table 21.37

**Which of the following figures of the Revolution time  
do you dislike most of all?**

(Answers ranked by the first measurement)

	1990 October	1997 October	2002 October	2007 October
I. Stalin	49	15	30	29
A. Kolchak	22	8	15	9
A. Kerensky	19	4	10	8
N. Makhno	19	3	26	11
Nikolas II	10	17	6	4
L. Trotsky	10	5	10	13
V. Lenin	5	28	11	11
P. Milyukov	5	1	3	2
F. Dzerzhinsky	4	25	6	7
N. Bukharin	3	13	3	3
Difficult to answer	25	26	26	42

N=1600

## ANNIVERSARY OF THE YEAR 1937

Table 21.38

**In which of the following events did the greatest number of people suffer?**  
(Ranked answers)

Political repressions in the late 1930s	24
The 1918-1922 Civil War	15
Repressions of returned prisoners-of-war/those who found themselves in the occupied territories in the middle-end of the 1940s	8
Repressions in villages during collectivization in the late 1920s-early 1930s	7
Famine in the early 1930s	7
Deportation of the repressed peoples in 1930s-1940s	6
Fight against anti-soviet elements in Western Ukraine and the Baltic republics in the late 1940s -early 1950s	2
Fight within the Party in the late 1920s – the mid 1930s	1
Difficult to answer	29

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.39

**Do you know about the repressions of 1937-1938?**

Know a lot and in detail	13
Have a general idea	44
Know about it, but very little	27
Know practically nothing about it	13
Difficult to answer	2

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.40

**Which of the following opinions about these repressions would you rather agree with?**

They were politically necessary, they are justified historically	9
It was a political crime and it cannot be justified	72
Difficult to answer	19

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.41

**Who do you think was mainly subject to repressions in 1937-1938?**

Those who were openly or secretly opposed to the Soviet Power	11
The most devoted supporters of the Soviet power	6
The most capable and authoritative people	27
Anybody at all because of the arbitrariness of the authorities or denunciations due to envy	44
Difficult to answer	13

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.42

**How many people in the USSR do you think suffered  
in the repressions of 1937-1938?**

Hundreds of people	1
Thousands	3
Tens of thousands	8
Hundreds of thousands	21
About a million	15
Several million	21
Tens of millions	6
Difficult to answer	24

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.43

**What were the reasons for the actions of the organizers and executors  
of these repressions, in your opinion?**

(Ranked answers)

They were afraid to come under the repressions themselves	55
A sense of duty , they followed orders	23
Ideological reasons	19
Greed	17
No special reasons, they were indifferent and didn't think of it	9
Sadism	6
Difficult to answer	13

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.44

**Do you think those in power in Russia now...**

Give an accurate assessment of the scale of Stalinist repressions	27
Try to exaggerate the scale of Stalinist repressions	10
Try to underrate the scale of Stalinist repressions	7
Try to withhold the scale of Stalinist repressions, to distract the public from this subject	8
They don't think about it at all	25
Difficult to answer	23

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.45

**Do you think...**

It is necessary to actively discuss what happened in those years, not to forget our history	42
It is better to discuss the repressions less, we shouldn't rake up the past	39
Difficult to answer	18

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.46

**Who needs these repressions to be remembered?**  
(Ranked answers)

All of our people	39
Victims of the repressions and their families	25
The young generation who didn't suffer from them	24
Historians	23
All the peoples of the world	13
The older generation who lived in Soviet times	13
Politicians who pursue their own goals	13
Nobody	7
Enemies of our country who want to blacken our history	6
Difficult to answer	8

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.47

**Is there any point in trying to find those who are to blame for the repressions of that time?**

Yes	18
No	68
Difficult to answer	13

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.48

**Is repentance for the repressions of those years necessary and if it is who should repent?**  
(Ranked answers)

No repentance is necessary	30
Officials who are still alive – those who ordered people to be shot	24
Executors who are still alive: investigators, public prosecutors, security guards	20
Today's political leaders of the country	9
The whole of the people	9
Today's political leaders of the CPRF	8
Today's top security officials: FSB, MVD, Prosecutor General's Office	7
Difficult to answer	20

2007, August; N=1600

Table 21.50

**Is it possible that similar repressions will be used again in the foreseeable future?**

Definitely yes	5
Yes, rather than no	14
No, rather than yes	42
Definitely no	14
Difficult to answer	25

2007, August; N=1600