



LEVADA ANALYTICAL CENTER

«FROM OPINION TOWARD UNDERSTANDING...»

RUSSIAN PUBLIC OPINION 2013-2015

ANNUAL

Moscow 2016

THE ANALYTICAL CENTRE OF YURY LEVADA (“LEVADA-CENTER”)

Russian Public Opinion – 2013-2015. M.: Levada-Center, 2016. – 365 pp.

This twelfth edition of the annual “Russia Public Opinion 2013-2015” continues a series of publications which present the main findings of socio-political and socio-economic research conducted on the basis of mass surveys. Published materials that previously appeared in periodicals are available on our web pages.

Compiler and person responsible for the edition N. Zorkaya

Involved in preparation of materials – A.Ovakimyan, E.Kochergina.

© Levada-Center, 2016

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface.....	5
1. Public opinion about the year.....	6
2. Public sentiments, expectations	14
3. State and society	33
3.1. Russian prospects	33
3.2. Russian identity.....	41
3.3. Russia and democracy	52
3.4. Political participation	56
3.5. Citizens and the power	62
3.6. Soviet people	72
4. Estimate of the actual economic situation	74
5. Living standard of Russian population.....	80
5.1. Living standard of Russian population	80
5.2. Savings.....	82
Economic crisis.....	84
Index of consumer attitudes	85
6. Estimates of social problems	87
Evaluations of social problems.....	87
Social sentiment index.....	89
Employment	91
Taxes	92
Unemployment.....	93
Social protests.....	97
7. Rating the performance of social institutions	99
7.1. Healthcare	99
Addiction problems	100
7.2. Education	105
School	107
8. Government institutions	111
8.1. Overall assessment of institutions	111
8.2. Putin	115
8.3. Government	126
8.4. State Duma.....	130
8.5. Law enforcement bodies	155
8.6. The Army	159
8.7. Court.....	161
9. Political parties	163
10. Opposition.....	167
11. Government and business.....	181
YUKOS case	184
M. Khodorkovsky. The release of M. Khodorkovsky	186

	Page
12. Corruption and corruption scandals among the top officials	188
Corruption scandals of the higher leadership	193
Doping scandal	195
13. Constitution, Russian laws and human rights	196
Constitution	199
14. Mass media	202
The caricatures on prophet Muhammad	206
Television	207
Censorship	208
15. Religion	209
Religiousness	213
The Lent and Easter	218
Russian orthodox and catholic church	222
16. Family	224
Family problems	226
Upbringing and punishment	227
State and in the family	230
17. Interethnic relations	238
Attitude to immigrants	240
Nationalism	241
18. Chechnya and the Northern Caucasia	245
19. Acts of terror in Russia	250
20. Russia and the CIS countries	255
Belarus	257
Georgia	258
South Ossetia and Abkhazia	259
21. Ukraine	261
Russian-Ukrainian relations	264
The accession of the Crimea	270
The war in Donbass	276
Malasian boing crash	285
22. European and Us sanctions	286
23. Russia and the world	291
Friends – enemies	293
Russia and the West	296
Germany	305
European Union	306
Russia – the USA	309
China	316
Russia and international organizations	318
“Islamic State”¹ and Syria	321
Turkey	330
Olympics	332
24. Memorable dates	335
25. Celebrations	361

¹ The operation of Islamic State (ISIS) is prohibited in Russian Federation.

PREFACE

The current edition of the annual “Russian Public opinion – 2013-2015” is the **twelfth** successive issue. Provided in it are the results of research into public opinion obtained in 2012, for questions, which are regularly asked, we have also added data through August 2013. The findings of the research that were regularly published in specialised and mass publications are available on our web pages.

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

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

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

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

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

1. PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE YEAR

Table 1.1

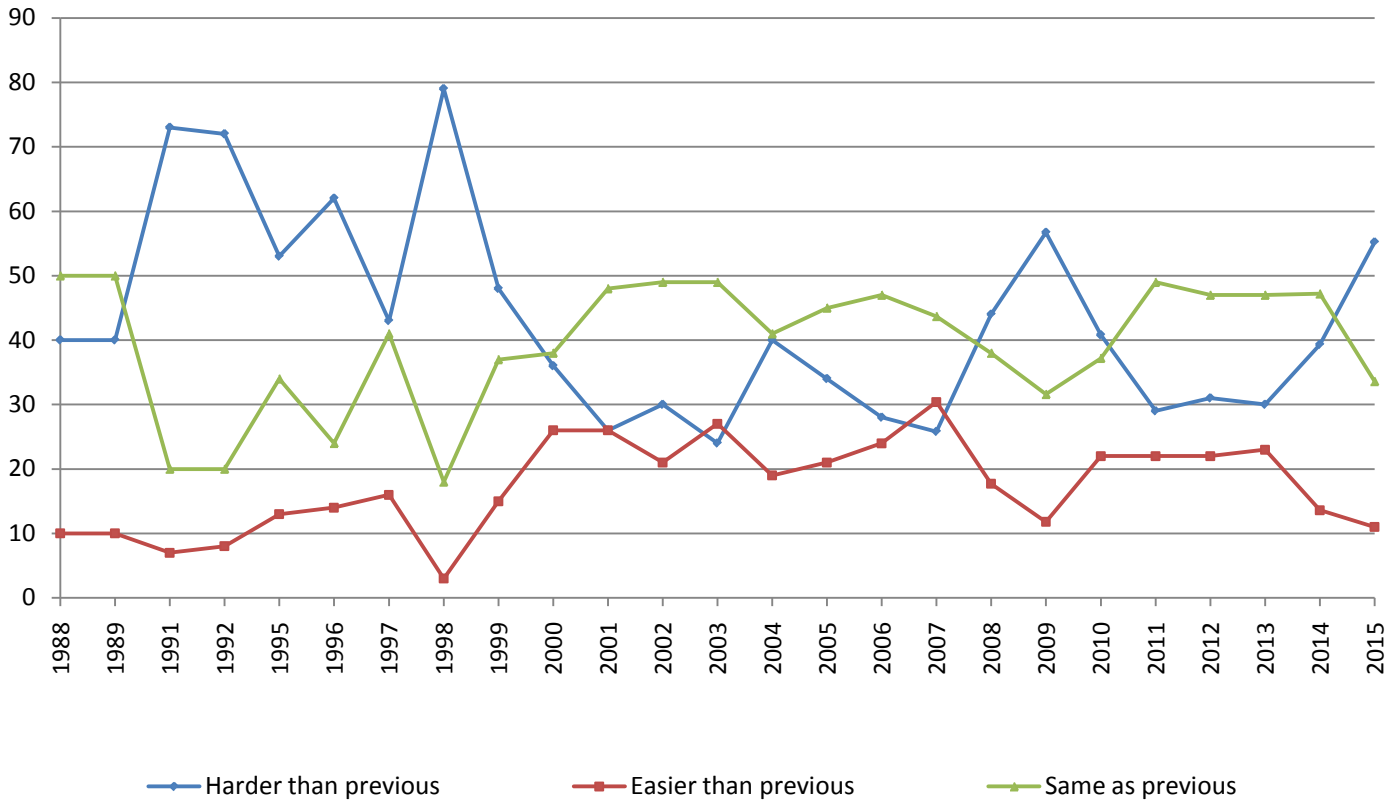
Do you believe the past year was successful or unsuccessful for yourself?

Year of evaluation	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Successful	36	37	42	47	51	42	47	49	52	46	43	48	50	47	51	48	40
Unsuccessful	51	51	38	37	34	37	34	29	28	32	37	29	26	31	24	26	37
Difficult to answer	14	12	20	16	15	21	19	22	20	22	20	23	24	22	25	27	23

N=1600

Diagram 1.1

How was this past year for you and your family?



N=1600

Table 1.2

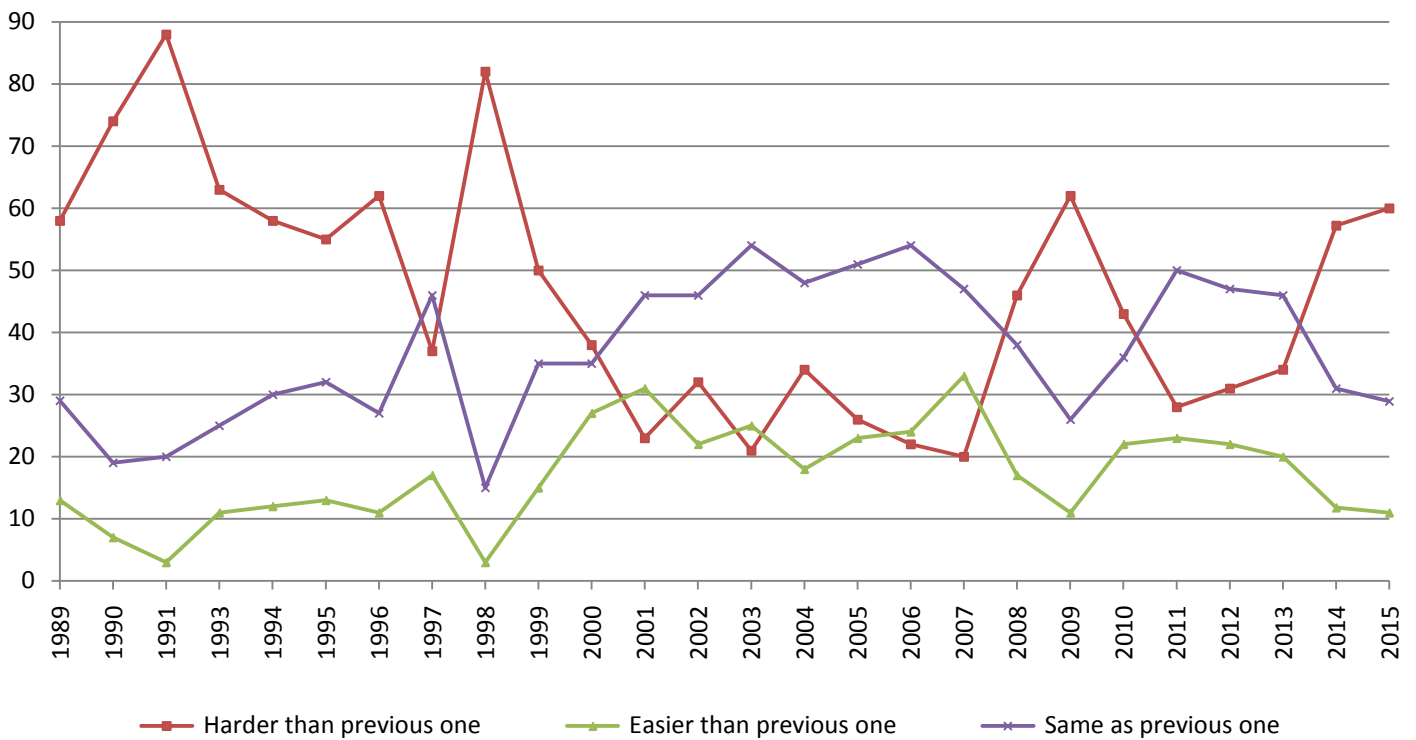
How would you evaluate the past year in general?

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

N=1600

Diagram 1.2

How was this past year for Russia?



N=1600

Table 1.3

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

2013		2014		2015	
Plane crash in Kazan	34	Olympic games in Sochi	54	The crash of Airbus A321, operated by Kogalymavia in Egypt	39
Increase in housing utilities fees	34	Rapid depreciation of Russian currency	52	Turkish air forces downs Russian bomber	34
Flooding in Amur oblast and Khabarovsk Krai	34	Referendum in Crimea and accession of Crimea and Sevastopol to Russia	41	Rapid depreciation of Russian currency	29
Relay race of Olympic flame «Sochi 2014»	30	Continuous decline of oil prices	25	Russia carries airstrikes in Syria	28
Criminal investigation into affairs of Defense service, A. Serdukov	25	Vladimir Putin press-conference	22	70th anniversary of victory in WWII	27
Terroristic act in Volgograd	24	Political changes in Ukraine: President V. Yanukovich stepping away from presidency, a change in the Ukrainian Constitution, Maidan supporters take power in country	18	Decline of oil prices	27
The acts of protest against the postponement of the signing of the ratification of agreements between Ukraine and the European Union	19	The USA and Western Europe countries impose sanctions against Russia	16	The US and EU sanctions against Russia	22
The fall of a meteorite in Chelyabinskaya Oblast	17	Massive riots in Kiev ("Maidan")	16	Terracts in Paris	21
An Amnesty in connection with the 20th anniversary of the acceptance of Russian Constitution	16	Military actions in Donbass	15	The action "Immortal regiment"	17
Disclosures released by Edward Snowden of eavesdropping by the U.S. Special services (NSA) in many countries of the world and his asylum in Russia	15	Russia sends humanitarian help in Ukraine	15	Military actions in Donbass	17
Adoption of laws prohibiting officials from having accounts, property and other assets abroad	15	V.Putin visits China. Russia and China sign 30 years long gas contract	15	Migration crisis in Europe	16
Divorce of Vladimir Putin and Lyudmila Putina	15	Russia bans the import US and EU goods	14	EU prolongs the sanctions against Russia	14
Adoption of a law prohibiting smoking in public places	15	Massive casualties in Trade Unions House fire in Odessa during clashes between Euromaidan and anti-Maidan demonstrators	14	V.Putin's press-conference in December	13
Universiade in Kazan	13	Ebola outbreak in Africa	13	Russian imposes sanctions against Turkey	11
Khodorkovsky's pardon	12	Air Crash of Malaysian airlines Boeing-777 in Ukraine	11	The inclusion of household capital repairs into the household bill	11

* - 15 most frequently mentioned events are cited

N=1600

Table 1.4

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

2011		2012		2013		2014		2015	
V. Putin	28	V. Putin	28	V. Putin	24	V. Putin	57	V. Putin	56
D. Medvedev	17	S. Shoygu	10	S. Shoygu	8	S. Shoygu	9	S. Lavrov	10
V.Zhirinovskiy	5	D.Medvedev	8	D.Medvedev	3	S. Lavrov	8	S. Shoygu	8
M. Prochorov	4	B. Obama	5	E. Snowden	3	D.Medvedev	4	D.Medvedev	4
G. Zyuganov	3	V.Zhirinovskiy	4	M. Khodorkovskiy	3	V. Zhirinovskiy	3	A.Lukashenko	2
S. Mironov	2	M.Prokhorov	4	V. Zhirinovskiy	3	B. Obama	2	S. Axenov	2
Barack Obama	2	G.Zyuganov	2	S. Sobyenin	3	A.Lukashenko	1	V. Zhirinovskiy	1
L.Roshal	2	Ph. Kirkorov	2	M. Galkin	3	R. Kadyrov	1	R. Kadyrov	1
A.Lukashenko	2	A. Malakhov	1	B. Obama	2	S. Sobyenin	1	G. Zyuganov	1
A. Kudrin	2	I. Oleynikov	1	G.Zyuganov	2	G. Zyuganov	1	A. Navalny	1

*) 10 most frequently mentioned positions are cited

N=1600

Table 1.5

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

2011		2012		2013		2014		2015	
V.Matviyenko	13	G.Vishnevskaya	6	A.Pugacheva	11	V.Matviyenko	7	A. Merkel	6
A. Pugacheva	7	A. Pugacheva	5	V. Matviyenko	4	A.Pugacheva	4	V.Matviyenko	6
Y.Timoshenko	6	V. Matvienko	4	Angela Merkel	3	E. Glinka – Doctor Liza	3	P. Gagarina	4
K. Sobchak	3	K. Sobchak	4	K. Sobchak	2	E. Nabiullina	2	A.Pugacheva	2
E. Malysheva	2	Angela Merkel	2	L. Putina	1	Angela Merkel	2	E. Nabiullina	1
A. Merkel	2	Y. Timoshenko	2	E. Isinbaeva	1	Y. Lipnitskaya	1	Ch. Chamatova	1
Ch. Chamatova	1	Elizabeth II	2	I. Khakamada	1	J. Psaki	1	J. Friske	1
I. Khakamada	1	T. Golikova	1	A. Jolie	1	A. Sotnikova	1	N. Poklonskaya	1
S. Rotaru	1	I. Khakamada	1	Y. Timoshenko	1	I. Khakamada	1	J. Psaki	1
R. Markova	1	Y. Malysheva	1	T. Golikova	1	K. Sobchak	1	E. Vasiljeva	1

*) 10 most frequently mentioned positions are cited

N=1600

Table 1.6

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

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Strengthened	13	13	16	24	11	13	16	12	10	7	9
Has not changed	44	52	57	56	51	52	58	59	60	65	48
Weakened	26	21	17	14	32	24	20	22	21	21	32
Never had it	14	12	9	4	6	9	4	7	7	6	7
Difficult to answer	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600

Table 1.7

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

Year of Evaluation	Strengthened	Has not changed	Weakened	Never had it	Difficult to answer
2004	8	59	24	6	3
2005	7	62	21	7	3
2006	8	63	20	6	3
2007	13	67	16	2	2
2008	5	66	23	4	2
2009	7	67	20	4	2
2010	10	64	20	4	2
2011	9	65	19	6	2
2012	7	66	19	6	2
2013	5	73	18	3	2
2014	5	69	18	4	4

N=1600

Table 1.8

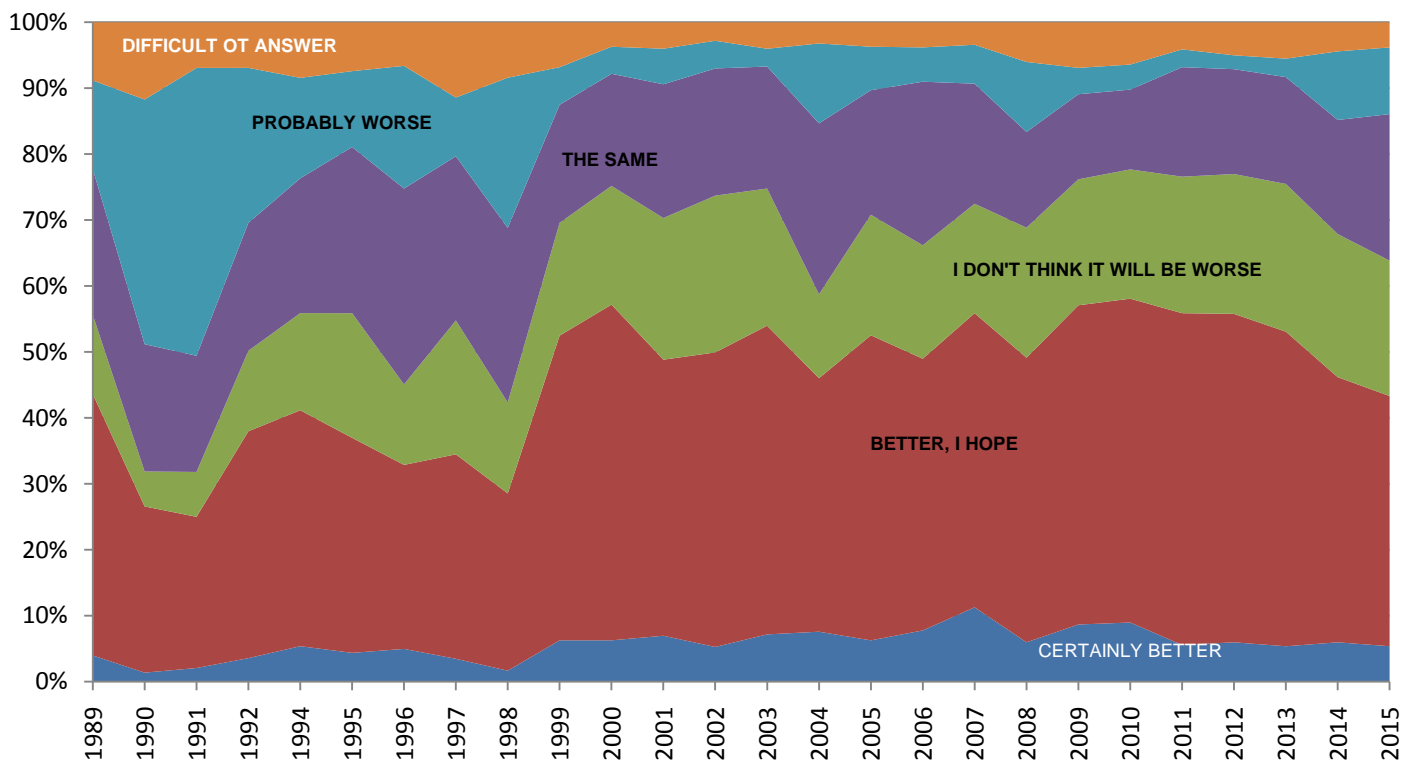
How has your self-confidence changed during the last year?

Year of Evaluation	Strengthened	Has not changed	Weakened	Never had it	Difficult to answer
2004	20	60	15	2	3
2005	22	61	12	3	2
2006	20	66	10	2	3
2007	25	63	9	1	2
2008	15	71	11	1	2
2009	16	69	11	2	2
2010	22	65	9	1	3
2011	18	63	13	3	3
2012	15	71	9	3	3
2013	10	78	10	1	3
2014	11	69	13	2	5

N=1600

Diagram 1.3

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



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

Table 1.10

Do you expect the next year to be calm or tense ...?

	Definitely calm	Most likely, calm	Most likely, tense	Definitely tense	Difficult to answer
For your family and yourself					
2011	13	51	15	4	18
2012	7	48	29	2	14
2013	11	54	15	2	19
2014	9	55	17	1	18
2016	4	33	41	11	11
For Russian economy					
2011	6	40	25	5	25
2012	2	24	48	7	18
2013	7	39	29	3	22
2014	7	41	28	2	22
2016	1	10	52	29	8
For Russian politics					
2011	7	36	27	5	25
2012	2	20	47	14	17
2013	7	38	27	5	24
2014	5	42	27	2	25
2016	3	14	45	26	13

N=1600

Table 1.11

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

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

2006, 2010, N=1600, 2011-2015, N=800

Table 1.12

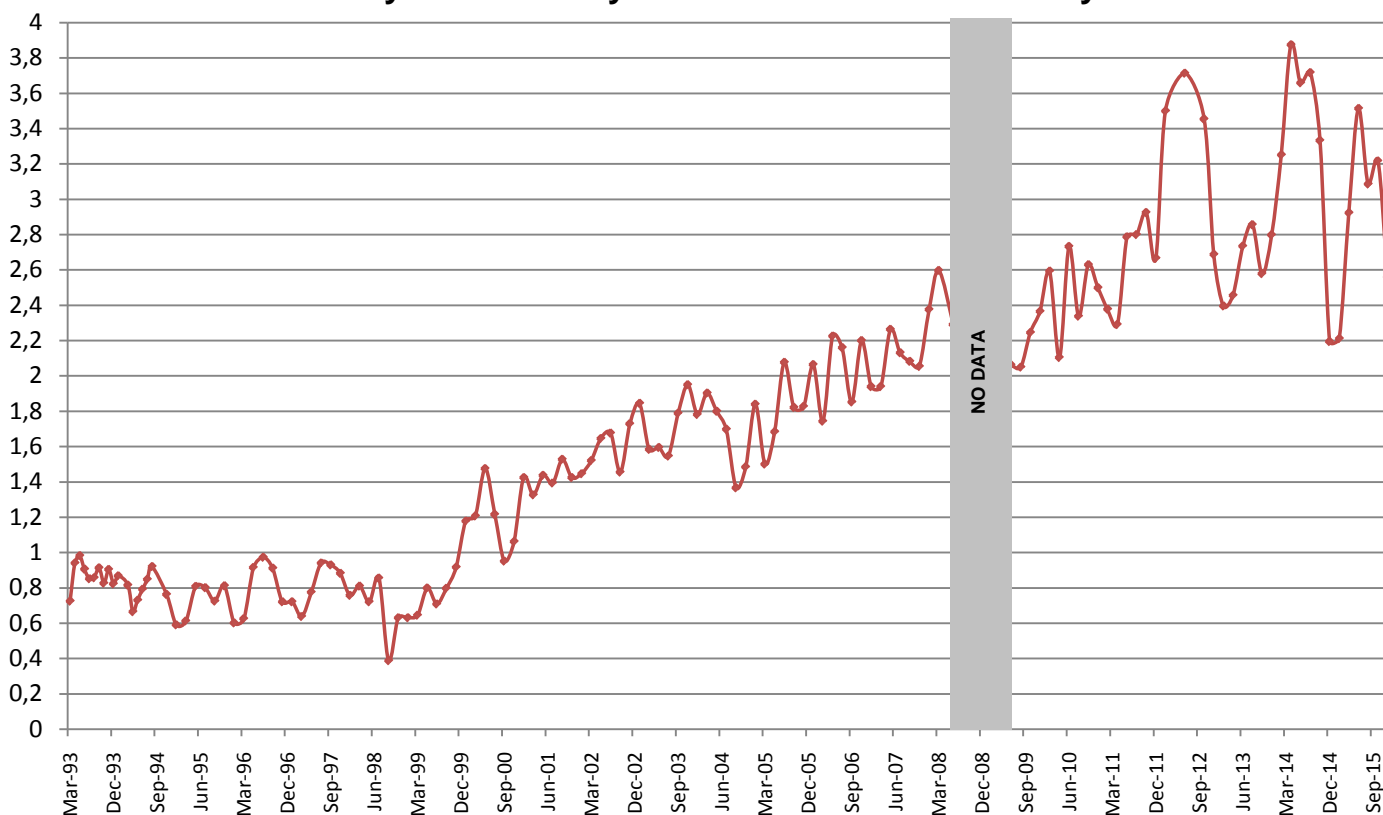
Can Russia potentially face an economic recession similar to the one in 2008?

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Definitely yes	7	2	6	6	20	11
Most likely, yes	28	37	33	32	42	36
Most likely, no	40	34	37	40	20	27
Definitely no	7	7	8	5	5	6
Difficult to answer	19	19	16	17	13	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

2. PUBLIC SENTIMENTS, EXPECTATIONS

Diagram 2.1

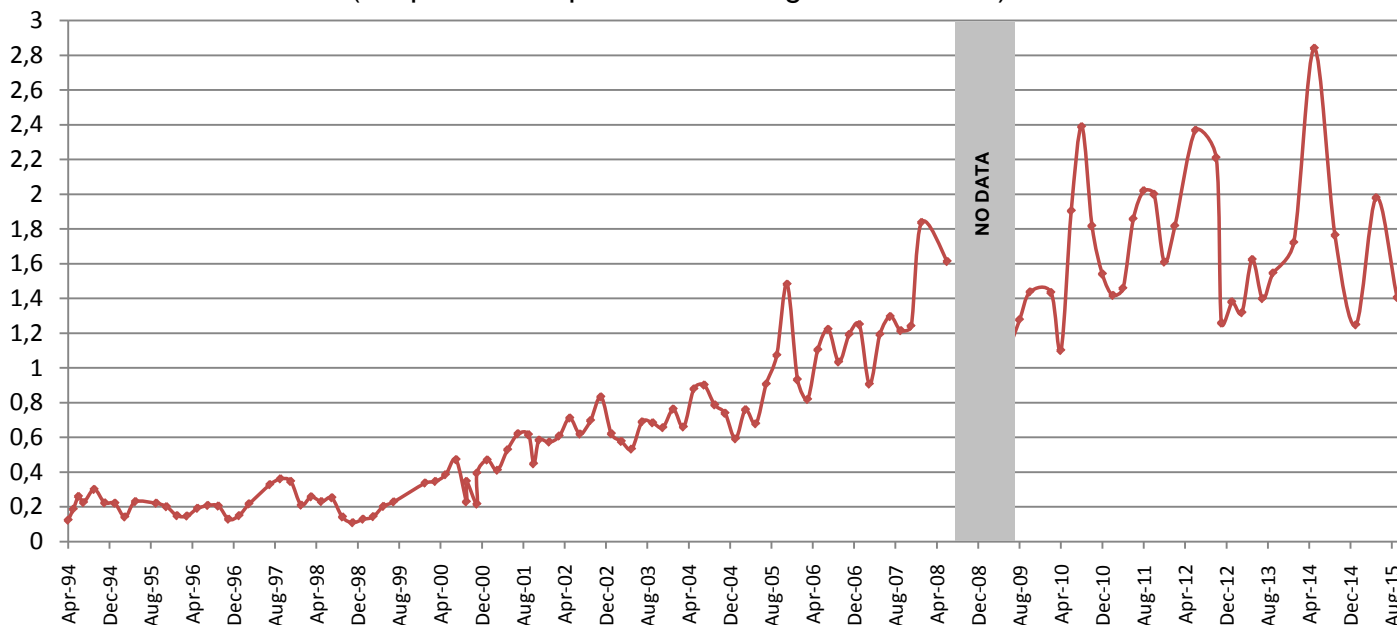
How would you describe your sentiments in recent days?



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

Diagram 2.2

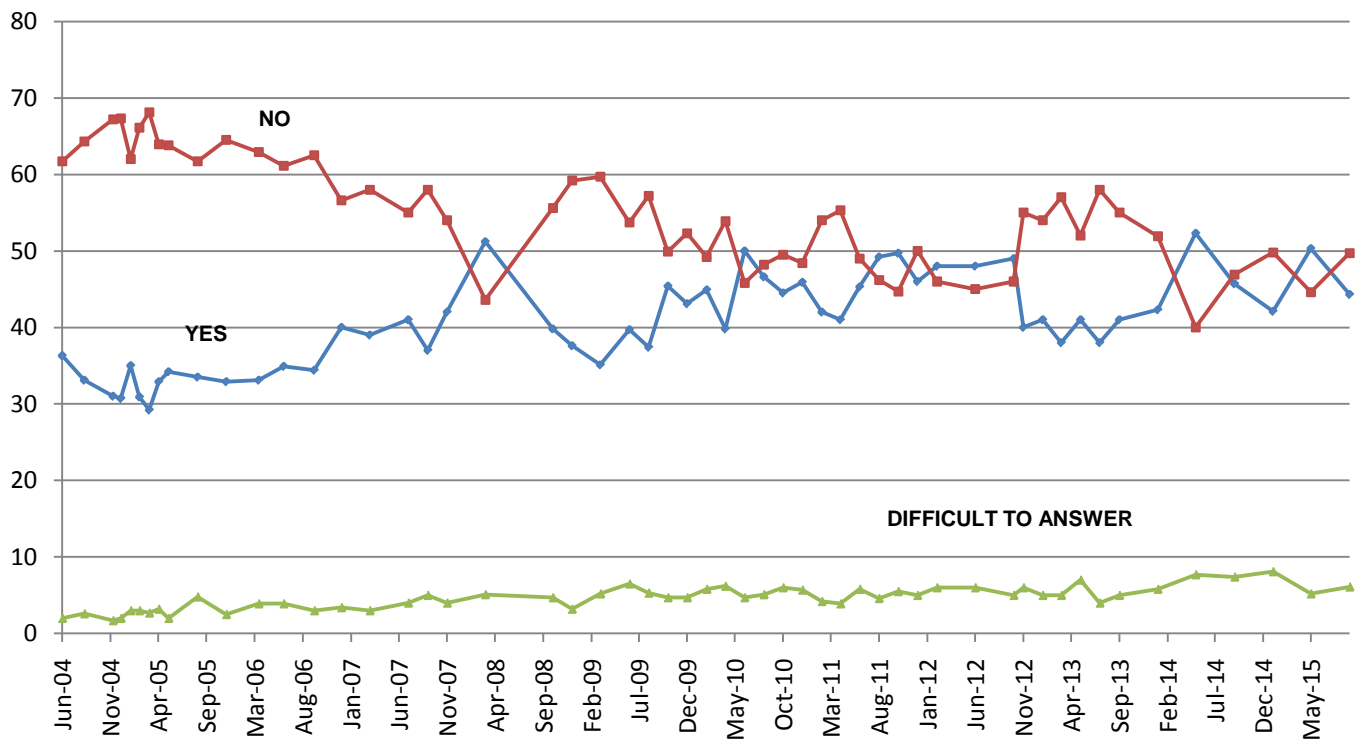
Are you satisfied with your life?
(Proportions of positive and negative answers)



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

Diagram 2.3

Do you feel confident about your future?



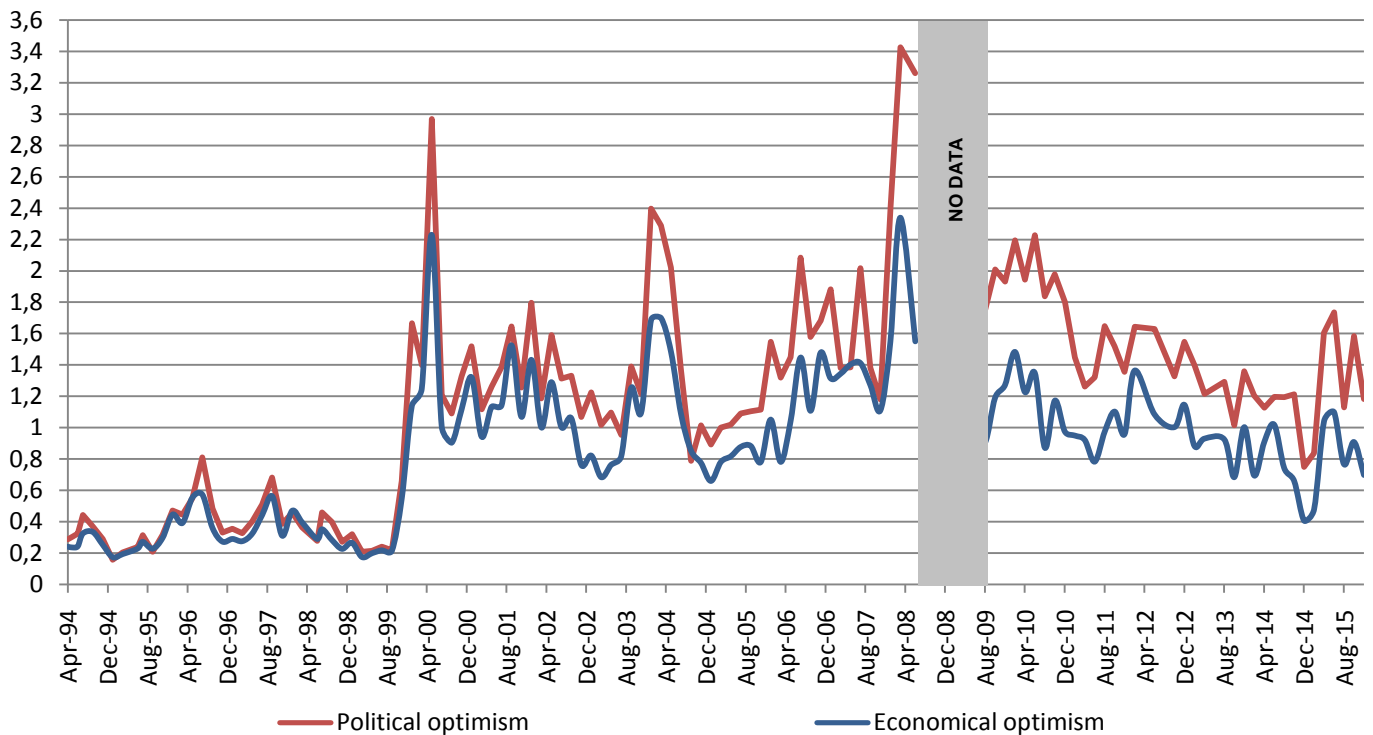
N=1600

Diagram 2.4

Indices of optimism

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

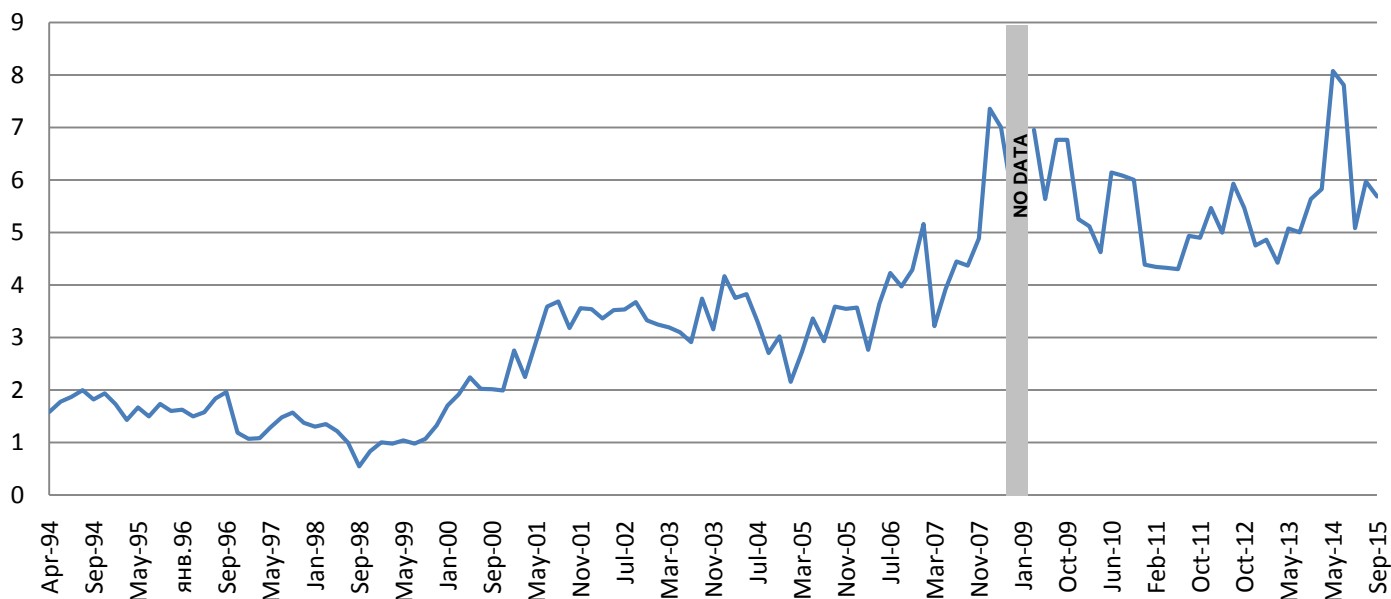
The option «Difficult to answer» was not taken into account



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

Diagram 2.5

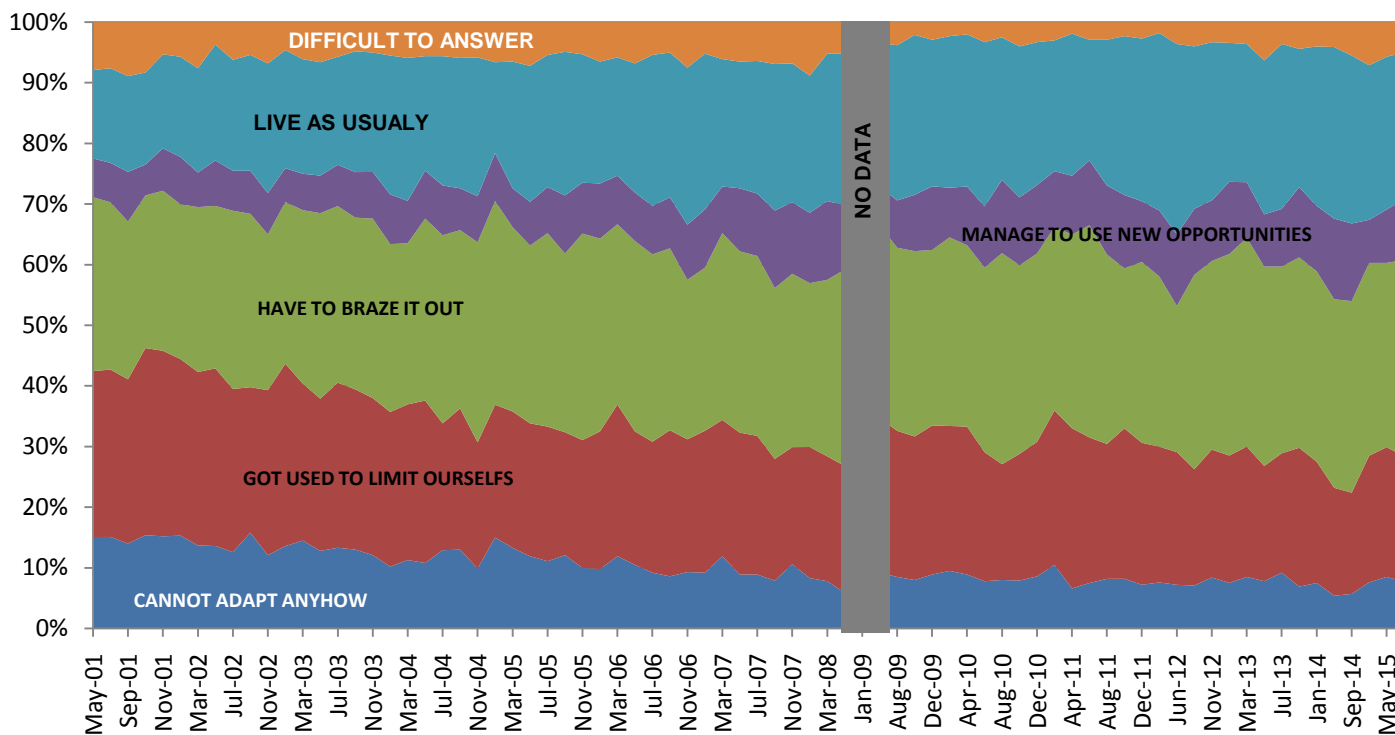
“Margin of safety”?



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

Diagram 2.6

Types of adaptation



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

SOCIAL WELL-BEING

Table 2.1

Do you feel high social stress lately?

	2006 XII	2010 XII	2011 XII	2012 XI	2013 XII	2015 I
Definitely yes	20	15	14	14	8	16
Most likely, yes	34	35	40	44	43	36
Most likely, no	30	35	35	31	35	32
Definitely no	8	7	6	3	3	9
Difficult to answer	8	8	6	7	12	7
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 2.2

What is the cause of the high social stress? (% respondents who feels the stress)

	2006 XII	2010 XII	2011 XII	2015 I
Aggravated international situation	14	9	8	42
Economic hardships the nation is currently facing	60	63	59	74
Aggravated national problems	32	38	19	19
Upcoming State Duma and Presidential elections in Russia	8	4	38*	4
Stronger mutual resentment between people	35	21	22	13
Other circumstances	11	8	11	6
Difficult to answer	2	1	2	2

N=1600

Table 2.3

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

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

PERCEPTIONS OF FUTURE

Table 2.4

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

	1990	1991	2001	2006	2010	2012	2013	2014	2015
Many years ahead	1	2	2	3	4	4	3	3	5
To the nearest five-six years	3	3	6	11	14	15	11	13	11
The next one-two years	17	14	34	34	31	32	36	40	33
Do not know what will happen to me even in the next few months	61	63	53	48	47	45	47	37	46
Difficult to answer	18	18	5	5	5	5	4	7	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2500</i>	<i>2800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 2.5

How do you see...

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

TRUST AND CONFIDENCE

Table 2.6

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

	2005	2009	2010		2011		2012		2013		2014			2015
	V	X	IV	X	IV	X	VI	X	II	VII	IV	VII	XI	XI
Practically, people can be always trusted	1	3	3	4	3	3	3	5	4	4	4	3	5	4
Generally people can be trusted	20	24	24	27	25	25	26	28	30	24	33	26	29	31
Usually caution should be exercised when dealing with people	59	49	51	54	53	53	51	46	50	51	48	52	42	43
Caution should be exercised practically every time when dealing with people	17	17	21	15	18	17	20	17	15	20	15	16	20	20
Difficult to answer	2	7	1	2	1	2	2	5	1	1	2	3	4	2

N=1600

Diagram 2.7

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

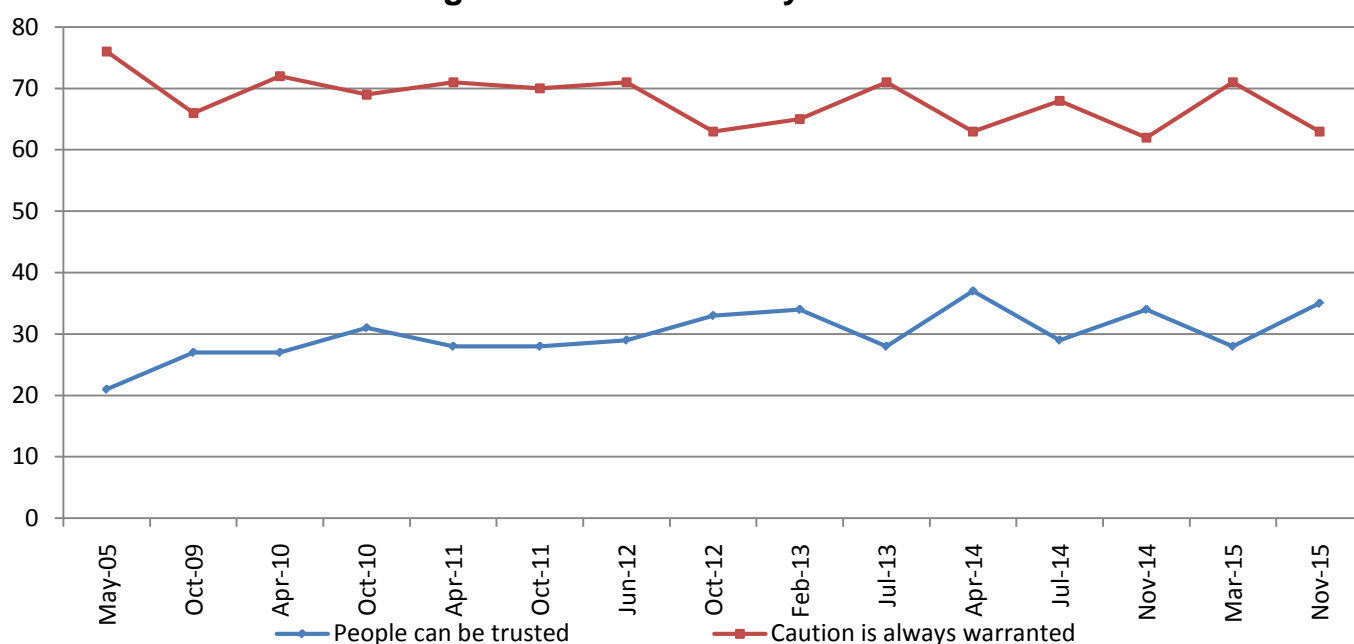


Table 2.8

Do you feel free in our society?

	1990	1997	2000	2005	2006	2007	2011	2013	2014	2015
	XI	V	II	I	VIII	X	X	X	X	XI
Yes	22	18	21	17	20	28	19	13	23	16
Rather yes	17	24	32	36	33	30	39	39	46	50
Rather no	31	28	22	26	26	23	25	30	19	21
No	18	19	18	15	18	15	9	9	3	5
Difficult to answer	12	10	6	6	3	5	9	9	8	8

N=1600

SUCCESS AND WELL-BEING

Table 2.9

Do you think you can change your life for the better by yourself?

	2001 January	2006 March	2010 April	2015 August
Yes	25	31	21	35
Yes, rather than no	32	27	31	34
No, rather than yes	22	25	26	17
No	17	16	15	12
Difficult to answer	4	2	6	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800

Table 2.10

What does human welfare depend on to a greater extent?

	2000	2002	2005	2007	2009	2010	2012	2013	2014	2015	
	II	XI	I	I	I	I	I	III	III	XI	VIII
On the person himself	37	48	37	48	37	41	46	38	46	60	61
On how fairly is society arranged	56	49	58	50	59	54	51	58	48	35	36
Difficult to answer	6	3	5	3	5	5	3	3	6	5	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

N=1600

Table 2.11

What do you primarily rely on?

	1996	1997	1998	2003	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2014	2015
	III	IV	IV	XII	IV	VIII	X	IX	VII	IX	IX
Your own capacities and powers	75	77	78	78	79	74	69	74	72	71	75
Social security and social and state support	20	15	17	19	18	24	28	23	24	25	22
Difficult to answer	5	8	4	3	3	2	3	3	3	4	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

N=1600

Table 2.12

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

	1999	2000	2004	2005	2006	2008	2010	2011	2014	2015
	IX	III	XII	XII	XII	II	XII	X	IX	IX
The state must ensure a normal level of wellbeing for all its citizens	52	61	54	53	59	61	52	47	50	46
The state must help all citizens who find themselves in a difficult situation, for example, if they lose their jobs	25	20	23	23	19	18	27	29	26	29
The state must ensure social security only for those who cannot take care of themselves: pensioners, invalids	17	16	17	18	16	17	14	20	18	19
People should take care of themselves, they should see to it that their life is decent, and the state should not be responsible for that	3	2	4	3	2	2	3	2	4	3
Difficult to answer	2	1	2	3	4	2	4	3	2	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

N=1600

ATTITUDE TOWARD RICHNESS

Table 2.13

Which of the following is the strongest indicator of the material success today?

	1997 IX	1998 X	2008 X	2013 VII
A good home	42	43	62	58
Free expenditure of money, not counting each kopek	53	50	50	51
An opportunity to provide children with a good education	30	37	38	29
A large savings account	24	25	27	29
Good food/nutrition	33	43	28	28
A nice car	13	14	21	25
Vacations abroad, travel	15	15	15	22
A nice dacha, house in the country	7	9	10	16
Nothing but money	6	11	4	5
Stylish clothes	4	4	3	4
Difficult to answer	6	3	1	1

N=1600

Table 2.14

What do you feel about the emergence of the superrich people in our country?

	2003 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 IV	2013 III	2014 III
Pride	3	3	3	3	3
Satisfaction	6	6	5	9	5
Annoyance	21	20	21	26	28
Indignation, hatred	30	25	27	19	12
Calm, indifference	37	43	41	38	45
Difficult to answer	3	2	4	5	6

N=1600

Table 2.15

Which one of these statements would you agree with the most?

	1994 VIII	2001 VIII	2007 IX	2012 I	2013 III	2014 III
I envy richer people	9	8	6	8	11	9
I respect a lot people able to "make money"	32	38	29	28	27	28
Money and personal enrichment – are symbols of our time	20	22	19	24	23	22
To live normally, I must be able to plan a family budget, "counting money"	32	39	31	36	34	39
Money has no value	6	7	4	3	5	4
I would like to live in a society where there is no money	10	10	10	6	9	7
I'm suspicious toward people with a lot of money	27	29	21	23	25	21
Difficult to answer	7	7	5	3	2	3

N=1600

Table 2.16

What is your attitude toward people in our country who are earning millions legally?

	1999	2003	2008	2013	2015
Do not mind	14	17	13	13	11
Favorable, if the money is earned honestly	34	30	30	28	30
Against those people, since this kind of money cannot be earned honestly	42	44	48	48	47
Against that kind of money even if it is earned honestly	4	5	6	8	8
Difficult to answer	6	4	4	3	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	2000	2000	1500	1600	1600

Table 2.17

Do you think it is possible to earn millions of rubles honestly nowadays in Russia?

	2006 XII	2008 I	2013 IV	2015 VI
Yes	26	22	19	20
No	70	70	73	70
Difficult to answer	9	9	7	10

N=1600

Table 2.18

How do you feel about the fact that many Russians spend vacation, buy property, maintain bank accounts, and send their children to study in the West?

	2008 X	2013 IV	2014 IX	2015 V
Positively, this is normal	36	18	26	27
Neutrally, is of no concern	45	48	50	49
Negatively, with annoyance	17	31	21	19
Difficult to answer	2	3	3	5
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1600	800	800	800

N=1600

CHARITY

Table 2.19

What should be done to the drifters, homeless adults and children and beggars abundant in the cities, trains and train stations?

	1998 VIII	2007 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2014 VII
Should be outlawed as vagrancy and panhandling was outlawed before, homeless people should be sent to special camps	20	23	27	21	32
Help people in need, especially homeless kids, in terms of employment, healthcare and housing	66	69	65	69	57
Nothing should be done, because the state has other more important issues to deal with	7	4	4	4	7
Difficult to answer	8	4	5	6	4

N=1600

Table 2.20

Did you or your family provide charitable aid over the past five years? If yes, in what form did you provide this aid?

	2006 IX	2008 V	2012 XI	2013 X	2014 IV
Money transferred on an account in response to a television or radio advertisement addressed to citizens to support any charitable action (child's treatment, performing surgery etc.)	2	3	7	12	16
Work on a voluntary basis, volunteering	4	3	3	5	6
Donation of things in a charity event or in response to a radio or television advertisement	17	17	9	4	12
Participation in charity events (concerts, sales etc.) in favor of specific institutions in need of financial support (orphanages, rural schools, hospitals etc.)	4	4	2	2	5
Free blood donation	4	7	3	3	5
Gave an considerable amount of money to charity	3	2	3	3	3
Did not provide charitable aid	68	67	76	72	62

N=1600

FEARS

Table 2.21

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

	1993 I	2004 I	2007 XI	2012 II	2013 IV
Loss of loved ones	50	48	57	54	52
Wars and massacres	56	42	46	38	38
Old age, illness, being helpless	20	27	27	25	34
Poverty	28	34	31	32	30
Famine	37	25	23	17	20
Abuse of power	22	22	21	20	19
Physical violence	19	14	17	12	12
Wrath of God, The Last Judgment	9	9	9	6	10
Own death	8	7	8	8	9
Public humiliation, insults	6	8	8	6	6
Not afraid of anything	4	8	5	6	9

N=1600

Table 2.22

Are you afraid of World War?

	1994	1999	2003	2008	2013	2014		2015
						III	VIII	
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	21	22	33	44	29	26	21	32
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	14	14	21	16	21	33	26	22
Fear constantly/afraid	51	49	39	30	45	36	51	43
Difficult to answer	14	16	7	10	6	6	2	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 2.23

Are you afraid of natural disasters?

	1994	1999	2003	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	28	28	35	40	34	28	48
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	24	19	25	24	25	28	25
Fear constantly/afraid	33	33	34	27	38	43	25
Difficult to answer	15	20	6	9	3	2	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 2.24

Are you afraid of the tightening of political regime?

	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	42	48	57
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	24	25	22
Fear constantly/afraid	25	24	17
Difficult to answer	10	3	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	1600

Table 2.25

Are you afraid of the return of mass repressions?

	1994	1999	2003	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	26	34	51	47	38	49	53
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	16	14	21	17	23	21	22
Fear constantly/afraid	37	28	19	17	30	26	20
Difficult to answer	20	23	10	19	10	4	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	3000	2000	2000	1500	800	800	800

Table 2.26

Are you afraid of arbitrary rule, lawlessness?

	1994	1999	2003	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	16	13	23	32	27	38	42
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	18	16	26	26	26	19	27
Fear constantly/afraid	51	55	44	30	41	33	29
Difficult to answer	16	16	7	12	6	2	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	3000	2000	2000	1500	800	800	1600

Table 2.27

Are you afraid of public humiliation, insults?

	1994	1999	2003	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	28	31	45	44	35	42	52
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	20	18	24	20	27	26	24
Fear constantly/afraid	37	32	24	26	32	30	22
Difficult to answer	16	19	7	10	6	3	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	3000	2000	2000	1500	800	800	1600

Table 2.28

Are you afraid of criminal attacks/violence?

	1994	1999	2003	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	14	19	19	33	28	32	39
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	15	16	28	25	30	33	30
Fear constantly/afraid	62	52	49	33	39	33	30
Difficult to answer	9	14	5	9	4	2	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	3000	2000	2000	1500	800	800	1600

Table 2.29

Are you afraid of becoming poor, being unemployed?*

	1994	1999	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	21	12	45	37	45	44
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	20	13	18	19	21	21
Fear constantly/afraid	49	66	30	38	30	31
Difficult to answer	10	9	7	6	5	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	3000	2000	1500	800	800	1600

*- in 2008 «unemployment», in 2013 «the possibility of losing work»

Table 2.30

Are you afraid of losing your savings?

	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	40	40	48
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	24	26	22
Fear constantly/afraid	29	32	27
Difficult to answer	7	2	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	1600

Table 2.31

Are you afraid of becoming poor, indigent?

	2008	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	27	41	27	20	28	30
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	23	23	24	24	25	24
Fear constantly/afraid	44	27	45	52	46	44
Difficult to answer	5	10	4	4	2	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1500	1900	2000	800	800	1600

Table 2.32

Are you afraid of becoming sick, of suffering?

	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	22	19	23	26
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	21	21	27	26
Fear constantly/afraid	51	57	48	45
Difficult to answer	6	3	3	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1500	800	800	1600

Table 2.33

Are you afraid of AIDS?

	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	48	44	49	58
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	14	19	23	17
Fear constantly/afraid	27	31	26	20
Difficult to answer	11	6	3	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1500	800	800	1600

Table 2.34

Are you afraid of old age?

	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	43	46	38	48
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	19	22	32	22
Fear constantly/afraid	29	27	28	27
Difficult to answer	10	6	2	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1500	800	800	1600

Table 2.35

Are you afraid of death?

	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	36	33	36	35
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	20	19	28	25
Fear constantly/afraid	32	41	32	36
Difficult to answer	11	6	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1500	800	800	1600

Table 2.36

Are you afraid of illness of loved ones, children?

	1994	1999	2003	2008	2013	2014	2015
Completely unafraid/rather, not afraid	7	3	8	11	7	9	12
Sometimes yes, sometimes no	10	6	13	15	12	17	18
Fear constantly/afraid	78	85	77	70	80	72	68
Difficult to answer	5	6	3	4	3	2	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	3000	2000	2000	1500	800	800	1600

ATTITUDE TOWARD PROHIBITIONS

Table 2.37

Do you support or disapprove the law prohibiting the sale of alcohol to persons under 21?

Completely support	54
Rather support	33
Rather disapprove	8
Completely disapprove	4
Difficult to answer	1

2014, July; N=1600

Table 2.38

Do you support or disapprove the law prohibiting the using of obscene language in literature, movies, television, radio broadcast and public events?

Completely support	45
Rather support	42
Rather disapprove	8
Completely disapprove	4
Difficult to answer	3

2014, July; N=1600

Table 2.39

Do you support or disapprove the law prohibiting the demonstration of scenes of smoking in movies / limiting the exhibitions of films with scenes of smoking

Completely support	30
Rather support	31
Rather disapprove	22
Completely disapprove	9
Difficult to answer	7

2014, July; N=1600

Table 2.40

Do you support or disapprove the law prohibiting gathering alms?

Completely support	24
Rather support	38
Rather disapprove	17
Completely disapprove	5
Difficult to answer	15

2014, July; N=1600

MORES

Table 2.41

Do you think corporal punishment of children is admissible?

	1992	1998	2007	2009	2013	2015
It's OK, admissible	16	27	28	22	29	23
It's not OK, inadmissible	58	63	65	73	63	64
Difficult to answer	26	10	7	6	8	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1800	1600	1600	1800	800	800

Table 2.42

Is it OK to punish children corporally?

	1992	1998	2007	2009	2013	2015
OK, normal	16	27	28	22	29	23
Not OK, not normal	58	63	65	73	63	64
Difficult to answer	26	10	7	6	8	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1800	1600	1600	1800	800	800

Table 2.43

Is it OK to jaywalking?

	1992	1998	2009	2013	2015
OK, normal	22	29	25	24	26
Not OK, not normal	61	67	70	72	64
Difficult to answer	17	4	5	5	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1800	1600	1800	800	800

Table 2.44

Is it OK to criticize the government?

	1992	1998	2013	2015
OK, normal	76	85	80	71
Not OK, not normal	8	9	12	18
Difficult to answer	16	6	8	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1800	1600	800	800

Table 2.44

Is it OK to evade income taxes?

	1992	1998	2013	2015
OK, normal	19	27	26	22
Not OK, not normal	45	60	60	58
Difficult to answer	35	13	14	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1800	1600	800	800

Table 2.45

Is it OK to have sexual relations before marriage?

	1992	1998	2013	2015
OK, normal	42	52	58	54
Not OK, not normal	36	39	31	33
Difficult to answer	23	9	11	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 2.46

Is it OK to have a lover in addition to a husband/wife?

	1992	1998	2009	2013	2015
OK, normal	26	34	36	34	24
Not OK, not normal	47	51	52	50	63
Difficult to answer	28	15	12	16	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 2.47

Is it OK to have sex without love?

	1992	1998	2009	2013	2015
OK, normal	16	26	32	40	33
Not OK, not normal	57	60	51	43	49
Difficult to answer	27	15	16	18	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 2.48

Is it OK to “lift” something from work?

	2013 June	2015 January
OK, normal	24	26
Not OK, not normal	64	60
Difficult to answer	12	14

N=800

Table 2.49

Is it OK to lie for the sake of a good cause?

	1992	1998	2009	2013	2015
OK, normal	33	57	55	61	50
Not OK, not normal	36	32	35	26	29
Difficult to answer	31	11	10	14	23
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 2.50

Do you share the opinion that people in our country are no longer bothered by outrageous events, facts?

I absolutely disagree: people react keenly to all cases of injustice.	17
People care about such facts just as much as before but most of them are unable to communicate their feelings to others	34
People care about such facts just as much as before but they're scared and stay silent: nothing can be changed anyway	27
People have really become cruel, indifferent and callous	16
Difficult to answer	7

2015, December, N=1600

TOLERANCE

Table 2.51

How should homosexuals be dealt with in your opinion?

	1989	1994	1999	2012	2015
Eliminated	7	9	7	5	6
Isolated from society	23	20	15	17	23
Helped	55	59	66	65	56
Left to their own devices	5	5	5	7	9
Difficult to answer	9	7	7	6	6

N=1600

Table 2.52

How should vagabonds, “bums” be dealt with in your opinion?

	1989	1999	2006	2008	2012	2015
Eliminated	10	7	8	5	5	7
Isolated from society	24	15	20	19	17	25
Provided with psychological and other support	42	60	56	63	65	53
Left to their own devices	6	5	8	6	6	8
Difficult to answer	18	12	7	7	8	8

N=1600

Table 2.53

How should prostitutes be dealt with in your opinion?

	1989	1994	1999	2012	2015
Eliminated	30	18	12	16	18
Isolated from society	31	23	20	26	33
Helped	6	12	20	12	7
Left to their own devices	15	30	29	39	29
Difficult to answer	18	16	18	16	13

N=1600

Table 2.54

How should people with AIDS be dealt with in your opinion?

	1989	1994	1999	2012	2015
Eliminated	14	7	8	7	7
Isolated from society	25	20	26	20	26
Helped	53	69	57	66	58
Left to their own devices	1	1	1	2	3
Difficult to answer	8	4	8	6	6

N=1600

Table 2.55

How should drug addicts be dealt with in your opinion?

	1989	1994	1999	2012	2015
Eliminated	31	26	21	20	19
Isolated from society	23	23	24	26	36
Helped	35	38	47	43	34
Left to their own devices	2	5	3	5	6
Difficult to answer	9	8	6	5	6

N=1600

Table 2.56

How should people born with disabilities be dealt with in your opinion?

	1989	1994	1999	2012	2015
Eliminated	23	18	11	3	2
Isolated from society	9	7	9	4	4
Helped	50	56	62	84	82
Left to their own devices	0	1	1	3	4
Difficult to answer	18	18	17	7	8

N=1600

Table 2.57

How should sect members be dealt with in your opinion?

	1989	1994	1999	2012	2015
Eliminated	5	6	14	24	25
Isolated from society	6	12	23	27	32
Helped	5	8	9	10	11
Left to their own devices	53	51	29	20	21
Difficult to answer	32	24	26	19	12

N=1600

Table 2.58

In your opinion, do adults have the right to have consensual sex with people of the same sex?

	2013 February	2015 March
Definitely yes	5	2
More like yes	18	17
More like no	25	23
Definitely no	35	35
Difficult to answer	18	23

N=1600

Table 2.59

How do you feel about legalizing same sex marriages in Russia?

	2010 July	2012 July	2013 February	2015 March
Entirely positively	3	3	1	1
Rather positively	11	7	4	6
Rather negatively	30	28	23	26
Entirely negatively	54	49	62	58
Difficult to answer	4	13	10	9

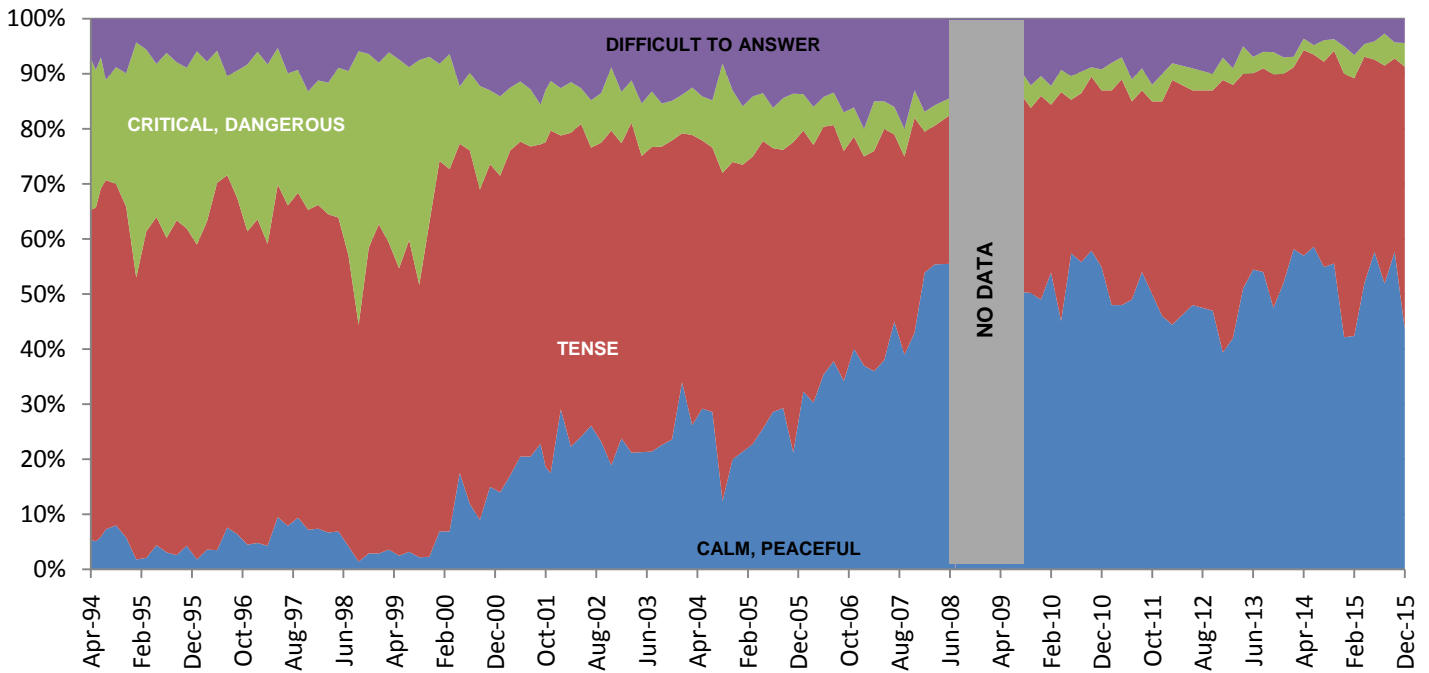
N=1600

3. STATE AND SOCIETY

3.1. RUSSIA'S PROSPECTS

Diagram 3.1

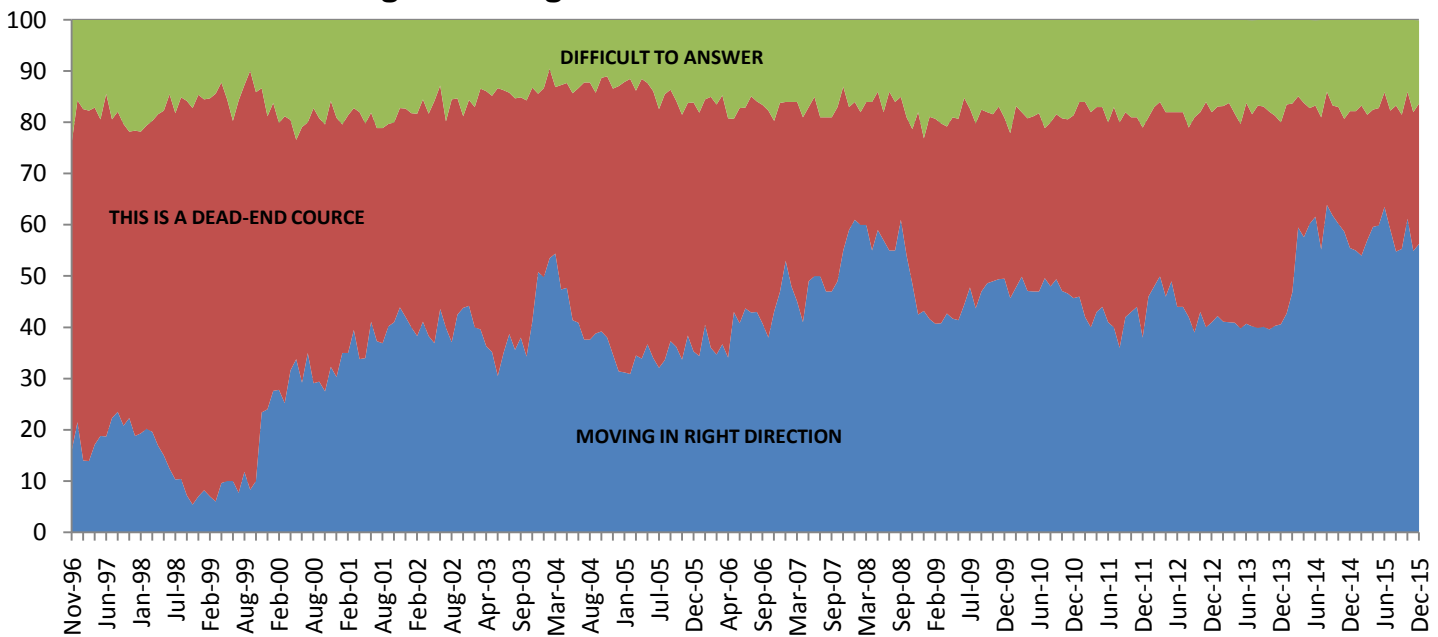
How would you assess the political situation in Russia?



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

Diagram 3.2

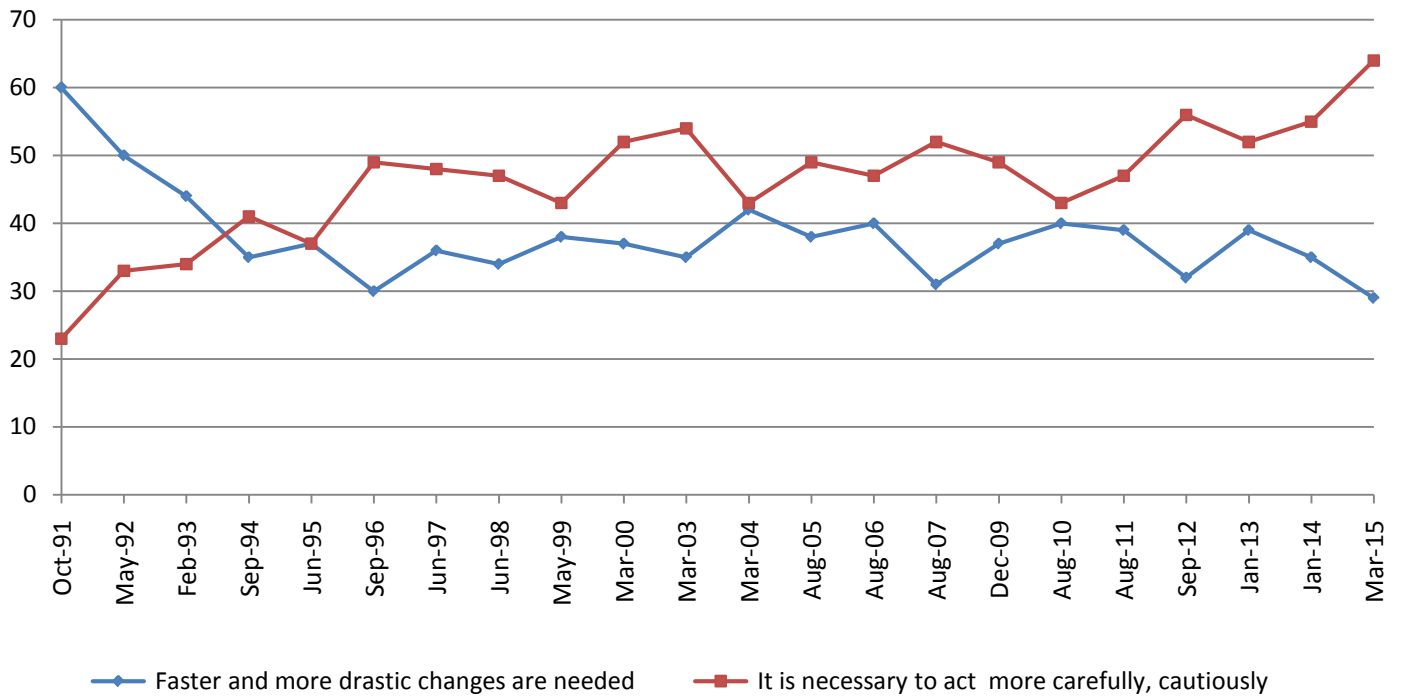
Is Russia moving in the right direction or is this course a dead-end?



N=1600

Diagram 3.3

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



N=1600

PROSPECTS OF THE RUSSIAN POLITICS

Table 3.1.1

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

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	X	V	II	IX	VI	IX	VI	VI	V	III	III	III	VIII	VIII	VIII	XII	VIII	VIII	IX	I	I	III
Faster and more drastic changes are needed	60	50	44	35	37	30	36	34	38	37	35	42	38	40	31	37	40	39	32	39	35	27
It is necessary to act more carefully, cautiously	23	33	34	41	37	49	48	47	43	52	54	43	49	47	52	49	43	47	56	52	55	64
Difficult to answer	17	17	22	23	26	22	16	19	19	11	11	15	12	13	16	13	17	14	12	9	10	8

N=1600

Table 3.1.2

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

(multiple answers given)

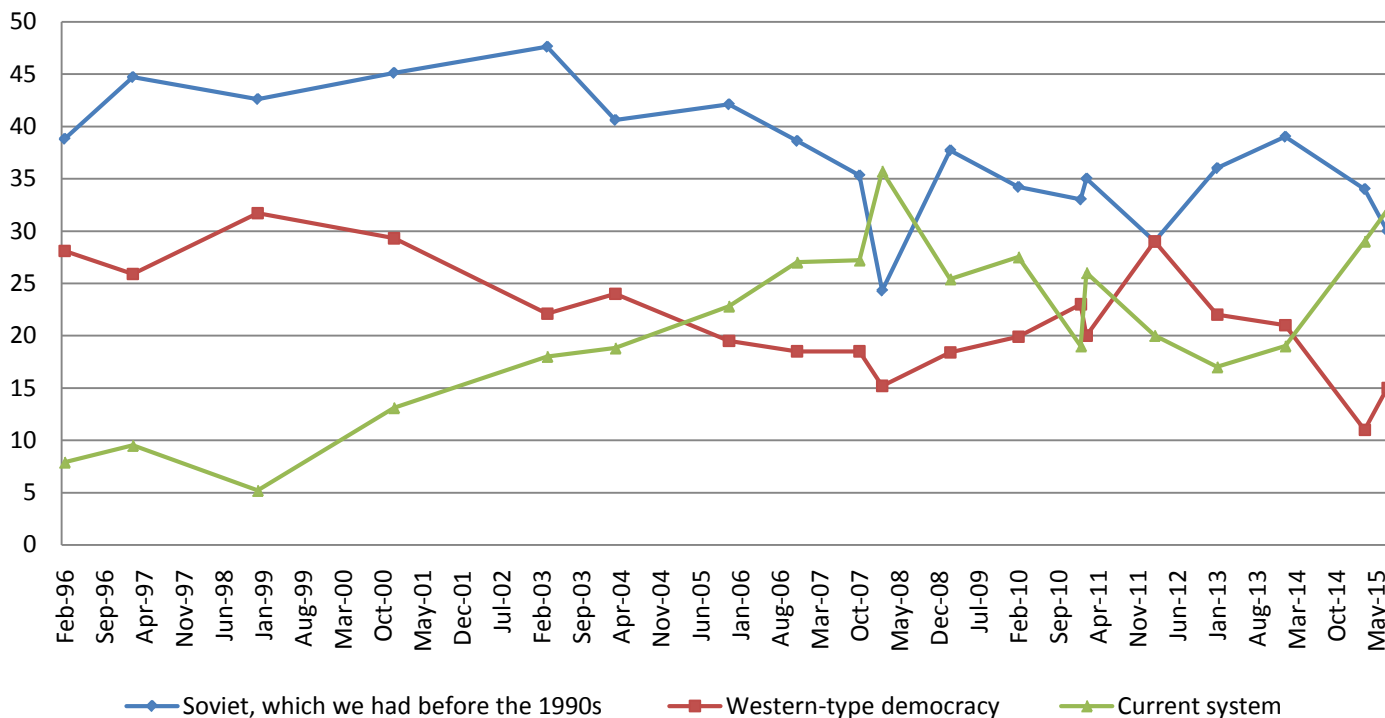
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	II	I	I	I	I	III	I	I
Rise in prices, impoverishment of the general population	51	55	47	62	58	55	49	54
The economic crisis	22	59	39	30	38	26	29	49
Russia's involvement in military conflicts abroad	14	8	7	6	9	6	12	33
Rise in unemployment	30	56	43	42	40	30	31	26
Rising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

* the option ant was not offered

N=1600

Diagram 3.4

Which political system do you think the best?



Before 2011 N=1600, since 2011 N=800

Table 3.1.3

How do you think what is the most important for Russia now?
(answers are ranked)

Addressing social issues: providing a high level of health care, education, social security and pension	67
Boosting the economy, the industry and the agriculture	62
Strengthening the defenses and internal security	31
Developing infrastructures (roads, communications, electricity, oil and gas pipelines...)	29
Developing new technologies	21
Investing in future generations	16
Maintaining the prestige and the international authority of the country	15
Maintaining a high level of culture	15
Difficult to answer	3

2013, January; N=1600

Table 3.1.4

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

	2000	2004	2007	2010	2011	2012	2013
Wrong course of reforms	25	16	18	14	15	17	22
Lack of a well thought out reform program	45	30	39	28	28	30	29
Slow pace of reforms, inconsistency of reforms	12	13	13	13	11	10	9
Pace of reforms too fast, rapidly changing life of the population	17	12	15	13	13	9	15
Incompatibility of the market economy with the Russian way of life	22	21	22	17	21	17	18
Lack of skilled and competent professionals in the government	24	24	23	25	20	16	20
Corruption of the ruling elite	47	42	42	49	47	38	26
Resistance and sabotage of a part of the officials	10	12	16	16	13	9	6
Inability of the population to live in a market economy and in democracy conditions, lack of an initiative and desire to work hard	18	17	14	18	16	11	14
Difficult to answer	9	12	11	12	11	19	20

March, N=1600

Table 3.1.5

In which borders would you like to see Russia in the future?

	1998 IV	2006 IV	2007 IV	2010 VII	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III
In the present borders	19	29	35	43	40	32	57
In the current borders plus Belorussia	3	6	3	4	5	5	8
In the current borders plus Ukraine	2	1	1	2	3	4	1
In the current borders plus Belorussia and Ukraine	11	6	7	6	6	6	3
In the current borders plus Belorussia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan	12	10	9	10	11	13	4
In the borders of the former USSR, minus the Baltic States	19	17	13	11	11	13	8
In the borders of the former USSR, including the Baltic States	28	20	22	13	13	17	8
Difficult to answer	6	9	9	10	11	10	10
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 3.1.6

In which borders would you like to see Russia in the future?

	1998 IV	2006 IV	2007 IV	2010 VII	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III
In the present borders	19	29	35	43	40	32	57
In the current borders plus Belorussia	3	6	3	4	5	5	8
In the current borders plus Ukraine	2	1	1	2	3	4	1
In the current borders plus Belorussia and Ukraine	11	6	7	6	6	6	3
In the current borders plus Belorussia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan	12	10	9	10	11	13	4
In the borders of the former USSR, minus the Baltic States	19	17	13	11	11	13	8
In the borders of the former USSR, including the Baltic States	28	20	22	13	13	17	8
Difficult to answer	6	9	9	10	11	10	10
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 3.1.7

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

	2008 II	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III
Russia will turn into a wealthy and advanced nation as western countries	35	24	30	24
Russia will come back to Socialism and Communism	5	8	9	10
Technology, science and military will be up to Western standards, but people's lives will be different	20	23	21	23
Russia will follow the development pattern of the great Asian nations – China, India	6	6	10	12
Russia will remain a poor backward nation	2	10	3	4
Russia will imminently disintegrate and collapse	1	5	3	2
Difficult to answer	31	25	25	26
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 3.1.8

To what degree do you agree with the following statement: “It’s more important for Russia to be strong economically than militarily?”

	1998 May	2013 July	2015 June
Fully agree	36	22	21
Rather agree	32	37	37
Rather disagree	17	25	28
Totally disagree	5	7	5
Difficult to answer	11	10	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.1.9

**To what degree do you agree with the following statement:
«Economical integration with the West is important for Russia»?**

	1998 May	2013 June	2015 June
Fully agree	29	10	16
Rather agree	38	46	48
Rather disagree	13	19	18
Totally disagree	5	5	3
Difficult to answer	15	20	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.1.10

**To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
«Russia needs market economy»?**

	1998 May	2013 June	2015 June
Fully agree	38	15	21
Rather agree	30	48	48
Rather disagree	14	15	14
Totally disagree	6	5	5
Difficult to answer	12	18	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.1.11

**To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
«We have to spend more on defense even if it creates certain problems for our
economical development»?**

	1998 May	2013 June	2015 June
Fully agree	14	12	15
Rather agree	21	34	38
Rather disagree	35	34	28
Totally disagree	18	7	6
Difficult to answer	13	14	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.1.12

**To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement: «Russia's
internal problems are more serious than any external threats right now»?**

	1998 May	2013 June	2015 June
Fully agree	51	22	21
Rather agree	28	44	38
Rather disagree	9	20	26
Totally disagree	4	3	4
Difficult to answer	8	11	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.1.13

What constitutes the main internal threat for Russia now?

	2008 January	2014 April	2015 April
Possible political instability	16	13	11
Economic problems, slowing economic growth, national debt growth	19	31	36
The authorities not subjected to anybody's control acting lawlessly and irresponsibly	20	13	13
Strife between various corrupt "clans" within the authorities.	12	7	8
Russia's unity weakening, loss of control over local affairs by the central authorities	9	9	9
National separatism, possibility of secession of Chechnya and other North Caucasian republics from Russia	4	2	3
The threat of losing control over Russian territories in the Far East bordering China	4	4	3
Political extremism (Nazism, Muslim radicalism, extreme nationalism)	5	8	8
Difficult to answer	11	11	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	1600

Table 3.1.14

Many Russian economists say that unless the governance system is changed and a judicial reform is undertaken, without real accountability of the authorities to society the country is facing a catastrophe

Fully agree with this point of view: without decisive changes in governance and economy we're facing a total disintegration of the country.	29
Corruption and ineffective governance are acute problems but the catastrophic predictions are clearly blown out of proportion.	37
I consider such claims nothing but "horror stories" aimed at undermining the authority of the country's current administration	18
Difficult to answer	17

2015, December, N=1600

3.2. RUSSIAN IDENTITY

Table 3.2.1

Are you proud to be living in Russia?

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

Table 3.2.2

Are you currently proud of Russia?

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

Table 3.2.3

How proud are you of...?

		Very proud	Somewhat proud	Not very proud	Not proud at all	Difficult to answer
The state of democracy in Russia	1996	3	13	30	39	15
	2003	2	11	33	34	20
	2012	5	26	41	20	9
	2015	6	29	33	16	16
Russia's political influence in the world	1996	5	21	29	30	15
	2003	6	23	30	22	19
	2012	9	37	31	15	8
	2015	22	46	20	7	6
Russia's economic achievements	1996	3	12	26	50	10
	2003	3	11	35	39	12
	2012	7	26	39	23	5
	2015	6	21	42	27	6
Social security system	1996	1	7	21	66	6
	2003	3	8	25	59	6
	2012	6	17	35	39	4
	2015	5	16	37	35	6
Justice and equality of all populace groups in Russia	1996	2	5	23	58	12
	2003	3	8	27	49	13
	2012	6	18	31	38	7
	2015	6	17	34	35	8
Russia's scientific and technical achievements	2003	19	41	19	9	12
	2012	19	47	20	8	7
	2015	22	50	17	6	6
Russia's sports achievements	1996	31	42	12	6	11
	2003	21	45	19	6	9
	2012	29	45	17	6	3
	2015	32	52	10	3	3
Russia's art and culture achievements	1996	33	41	10	6	11
	2003	23	42	16	5	14
	2012	28	45	13	7	7
	2015	35	42	12	4	8
Russia's military forces	1996	13	27	24	26	11
	2003	13	27	29	22	9
	2012	22	37	23	11	7
	2015	40	45	8	3	5
Russia's history	1996	41	34	9	7	10
	2003	34	38	13	5	10
	2012	39	41	12	5	4
	2015	44	44	6	2	4

N=1600

Table 3.2.4

What does it mean to be a «patriot»?

	2007 December	2010 October	2013 October	2014 February	2015 March
Love your country	66	59	59	68	64
Consider your country to be better than others	18	21	21	16	21
Consider that your country does not have any flaws	4	6	6	5	6
Protect your country from any attacks and accusations	21	22	21	18	26
Speak the truth about one's country no matter how bitter it may be	10	13	11	11	12
Work and act for the benefit and prosperity of the country	27	27	21	27	29
Try to change the situation in the country in order to ensure a decent future	21	22	21	22	21
No answer/Difficult to answer	6	9	6	4	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.5

Which historic path should Russia choose?

	2000 IV	2001 III	2008 II	2008 X	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III
The European civilization and generally that of the modern world	15	21	22	21	31	21	17
Return to that of the Soviet Union	18	19	11	14	22	22	19
Choose its own, unique path	60	53	60	58	37	46	56
Difficult to answer	7	7	8	7	10	11	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 3.2.6

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

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

N=1600

Table 3.2.7

How would you like, ideally, to see Russia in the future?

	1998 IV	2006 IV	2007 IV	2013 III	2014 III	2015 XI
Same as now	2	9	10	8	15	14
Same as the developed countries of the West	43	43	50	39	40	36
Same as it was during the USSR	36	32	25	25	27	23
Same as it was before 1917	5	5	4	7	3	3
Difficult to answer	9	6	6	14	10	14

N=1600

Table 3.2.8

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

	1999	2008	2011	2012	2013	2014
A socialist state like the USSR	15	17	23	22	24	24
A state like Western states with a democratic government system and market economy	35	32	30	31	33	28
A state with a special system and a unique course of development	45	39	36	41	33	38
Difficult to answer	6	11	12	7	10	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	2600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 3.2.9

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

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

Table 3.2.10

Do you consider currently Russia to be a superpower?

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

N=1600

Table 3.2.11

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

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

Table 3.2.12

Which events and phenomena in the history of our country make you feel pride?

	1999 III	2008 VIII	2012 X	2014 III	2015 VI
The country becoming one of the world's leading industrial powers in the soviet times	42	37	32	35	36
Victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45.	86	89	82	82	85
The country's leading role in space exploration	60	61	45	46	42
The progressive state system, soviet classless society	14	9	10	10	12
Moral qualities of a Russian – simplicity, patience, stoicism	45	35	32	24	27
Great Russian pathfinders, explorers	33	28	26	21	21
Russian military glory	35	37	31	26	25
The struggle against the Tatar Mongol Yoke, defending Europe from the invasion from the East	22	21	17	13	13
The asceticism of Russian saints	10	13	11	10	11
The achievements of Russian science	52	46	35	34	30
Great Russian literature	46	49	35	39	37
Russian free spirit, love of freedom	12	13	12	10	12
The moral authority of the Russian intelligentsia	12	11	10	9	10
Perestroika, beginning of transition	2	7	5	2	3
The country's stabilization under Putin, economic growth	-*	32	13	12	20
Nothing of the kind makes me particularly proud	3	1	3	3	1
Difficult to answer	3	2	3	2	3

-* The option wasn't given

N=1600

Table 3.2.13

What most of all makes you proud of Russia?

	2014 February	2014 October	2015 March	2015 October
Russia's position on the international scene	24	26	24	30
Modern achievements of Russian science	14	16	15	14
Economic success	5	6	5	4
Russian education system	5	6	6	4
Sports achievements	29	33	32	29
Russian history	38	39	43	38
Russian culture	29	30	34	30
The size of the country	28	28	31	26
Russia's natural resources	39	40	41	39
Healthcare system	2	2	2	2
Military forces	14	24	24	35
Compatriots	8	8	7	9
None of the above	7	3	3	6
Difficult to answer	6	3	3	3

N=1600

Table 3.2.14

What are you ashamed of, what makes you feel shame and regret when you think about Russian history of the 20th century?

	1999 January	2008 August	2012 October	2015 August
We're a great people, a rich country always living in poverty and misery	79	69	56	56
Chronic lag compared to the West	31	22	25	20
Rude manners, boorishness, lack of respect towards each other	45	49	35	31
The desire to force our regime onto other countries and peoples	15	8	6	5
The serfdom legacy, the spirit of slavery, the people being accustomed to bound labour	17	19	12	10
Our stagnation, inertness, laziness	24	27	18	20
Narrow-minded, incompetent, self-interested authorities	28	20	12	12
Destruction of the USSR	48	38	32	28
Russia's military defeats	16	11	8	4
National arrogance	7	7	5	3
Repressions, terror, deportation of peoples in the 1920-50-s	34	35	25	25
Persecution against the Church	21	27	16	12
What perestroika ended up in	-*	-*	16	17
Putin coming to power	-*	-*	5	1
Nothing causes me particular shame	1	3	9	6
Difficult to answer	5	5	6	4

-* The option wasn't given

N=1600

Table 3.2.15

One can often hear that westerners are unable to understand Russia and what's happening with it. Do you agree with it and what does it mainly have to do with, in your opinion?

	2008 October	2015 August
With the fact that our people treat each other differently than westerners, we have different morals, values, faith.	42	37
With the fact that our life is structured very differently than in the West, the relationship between an individual and the state is totally different.	37	34
Historically the West has been treating Russia as a backward strange country not wanting to see its achievements and virtues	26	31
The West has never been able to accept Russia's special spiritual mission, its special historic role in the world.	18	20
I disagree with the idea that a westerner is unable to understand Russia	4	5
Difficult to answer	6	6

N=1600

Table 3.2.16

Russians – are they people just like any others or are they an absolutely special people?

	2000 March	2008 October	2015 August
A people just like the others	63	63	57
An absolutely special people	33	34	40
Difficult to answer	4	2	3

N=1600

Table 3.2.17

**What on the list below reflects your views on the characteristic traits of the Russian people?
(The answers are ranked)**

	2008 October	2015 August
Patience	53	48
Durability	38	41
Affection, warmth	32	36
Spirituality, prevalence of spiritual values over material ones	28	36
The habit of being grateful for small favors	36	28
A heightened sense of fairness	16	22
Collectivism	19	21
Devotion to the state, self-sacrifice	18	21
Obedience	19	17
The inclination to set all hope in the authorities	21	15
Dreaminess	11	10
The habit of living in a hostile environment	8	7
None of the above	2	1
Difficult to answer	2	2

N=1600

Table 3.2.18

Speaking about the country as a whole, what would you like Russia to be like?
(the answers are ranged)

	2014 August	2015 November
Thriving	60	57
Strong	56	57
Rich	49	52
Educated, cultured	38	40
Invincible	36	35
Peaceful	39	31
Fair	27	30
Free	24	21
Smart	16	14
Clean	17	9
Kind	11	8
Diverse, many-faced	7	7
Open	8	5
Difficult to answer	1	1

N=1600

Table 3.2.19

How will Russia most likely live in fifty years?

	2000 March	2008 February	2013 March	2014 March	2015 March	2015 May
Russia will become as rich and developed as western countries	25	35	24	30	24	28
Russia will revert to the socialist and communist way	6	5	8	9	10	9
Science, technology and arms will be on a level with western standards but people's life will be totally different	23	20	23	21	23	25
Russia will develop similarly to the great Asian countries – China, India	7	6	6	10	12	11
Russia will be a poor and backward country	-	2	10	3	4	-
Russia is facing inevitable disintegration and ruin	5	1	5	3	2	3
Difficult to answer	34	31	25	25	26	25
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 3.2.20

**To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement
“It’s better for me to be a citizen of Russia than of any other country in the world”?**

	1996 June	2003 July	2012 October	2014 October	2015 November
Fully agree	42	41	32	38	46
Rather agree	28	31	38	40	39
Neither agree nor disagree	12	13	19	15	10
Rather disagree	8	5	6	4	3
Totally disagree	2	4	2	1	1
Difficult to answer	7	6	4	4	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.21

**To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
«The things that are currently happening in Russia make me feel shame for it»?**

	1996 June	2003 July	2012 October	2014 October	2015 November
Fully agree	41	41	16	5	6
Rather agree	40	39	36	15	12
Neither agree nor disagree	7	10	26	23	21
Rather disagree	4	5	14	28	9
Totally disagree	3	2	5	24	26
Difficult to answer	6	4	4	5	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.22

**To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
« As a whole Russia is better than most other countries »?**

	1996 June	2003 July	2012 October	2014 October	2015 November
Fully agree	18	18	16	25	22
Rather agree	18	26	32	39	37
Neither agree nor disagree	23	23	27	21	22
Rather disagree	17	17	14	8	12
Totally disagree	8	6	3	2	4
Difficult to answer	15	10	7	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 3.2.23

**To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
«People have to support their country even if it's wrong»?**

	1996 June	2003 July	2012 October	2014 October	2015 November
Fully agree	27	24	20	17	17
Rather agree	28	28	33	33	39
Neither agree nor disagree	15	17	24	28	20
Rather disagree	11	15	12	13	12
Totally disagree	8	8	4	3	5
Difficult to answer	11	7	7	7	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	2100	1500	1600	1600

Table 3.2.24

**To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
«The world would be a better place if Russians were
to admit Russia's shortcomings»?**

	2012 October	2014 October	2015 November
Fully agree	15	7	7
Rather agree	29	17	22
Neither agree nor disagree	30	25	25
Rather disagree	9	23	20
Totally disagree	3	15	13
Difficult to answer	14	13	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1500	1600	1600

Table 3.2.25

Which type of government you would like to see in Russia?

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

1998 N=1500, later N=1600

Table 3.2.26

What type of government would you like Russia to have in the future?

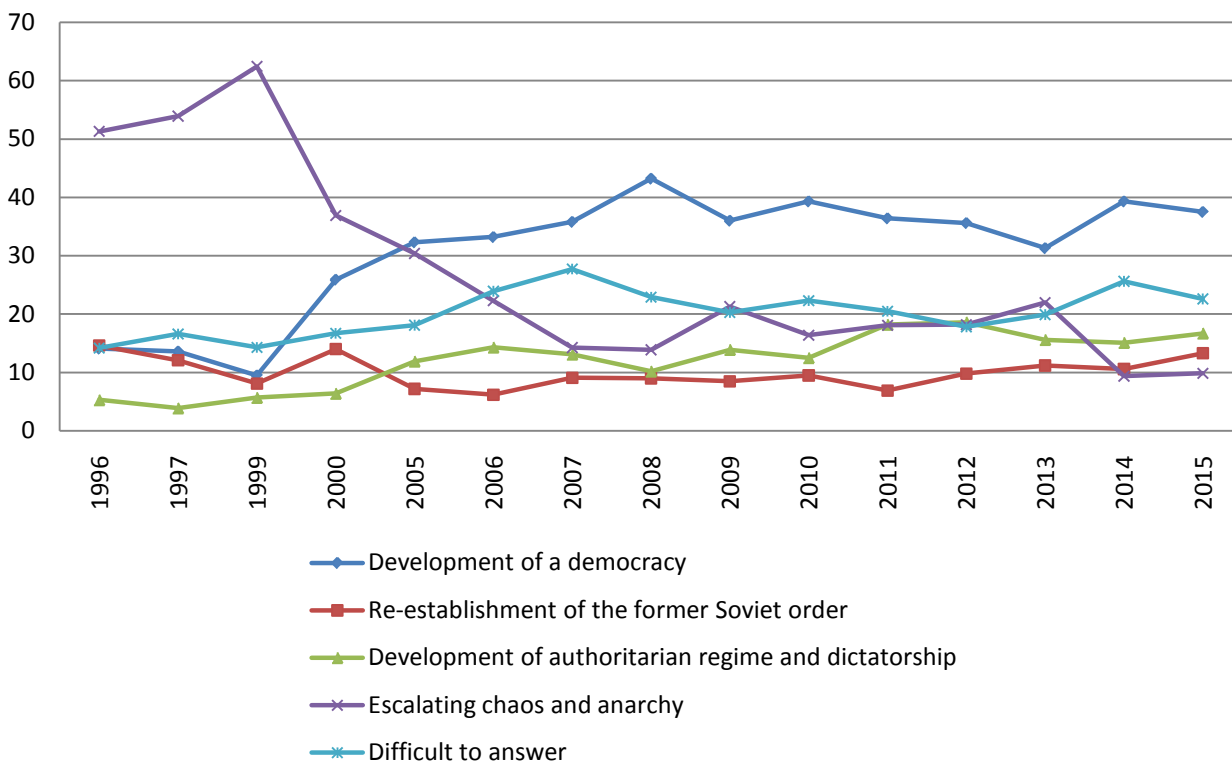
	1998 XII	2000 III	2002 IX	2008 X	2013 IV	2014 IV	2015 XI
Empire, monarchy, the one that Russia was before 1917	3	4	3	3	3	4	3
A socialist country with a communist ideology	17	15	20	10	12	13	10
A country with market economy, democratic principles, observance of human rights, like in the West but with its own way of life	29	23	33	34	33	29	31
A State with its own special infrastructure and a unique development	13	19	14	19	19	21	24
I am unconcerned what type of government will be in Russia as long as my family and I will live well	29	33	27	29	26	29	24
Difficult to answer	9	6	3	5	7	6	5

N=1600

3.3. RUSSIA AND DEMOCRACY

Diagram 3.5

Where is the Russian political life going now?



N=1600, в 2011-2014 гг. N=800

Table 3.3.1

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

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

Table 3.3.2

In your opinion, what is currently going on in Russia?

	2001 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI	2010 XI	2011 XII	2012 XII	2013 XII
Growth and development	22	29	38	24	18	18	15
Stabilization	35	33	31	29	32	33	35
Deceleration and stagnation	31	27	21	32	36	35	35
Difficult to answer	12	11	10	15	14	15	15

N=1600

Table 3.3.3

In the coming years in Russia, could there be increased persecution of dissidents and opposition?

	2008 September	2012 October	2014 November	2015 November
Definitely yes	3	5	3	6
Probably yes	20	29	22	27
Unlikely	35	33	47	36
Definitely no	20	13	21	17
It is difficult to say	23	20	7	13
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1500	2000	1600	1600

N=1600

Table 3.3.4

In the coming years in Russia, could a dictatorship be established?

	2008* September	2012* October	2014 November	2015 November
Definitely yes	6	7	3	6
Probably yes	21	24	15	16
Unlikely	31	35	46	42
Definitely no	25	18	30	26
It is difficult to say	17	16	7	11
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1500	2000	1600	1600

*The question was formulated as follows: "In the coming years in Russia, could a cult of personality emerge around the head of government?"

Table 3.3.5

Currently, do you consider that Russia...

	2008 I	2013 III
Is on a democratic path	33	19
Is halted in this pursuit	30	47
Never even started on the road towards democracy	19	22
Difficult to answer	18	13

N=1600

Table 3.3.6

Do you think Russia needs democracy?

	2005 VI	2006 XII	2007 XII	2008 VI	2009 VI	2009 XII	2010 VI	2011 VII	2011 X	2012 VII	2013 IIX	2014 IX	2015 X
Yes, Russia needs democracy	66	56	67	62	57	57	60	55	61	63	56	62	64
No, the democratic form of government is not for Russia	21	27	16	20	26	23	24	32	25	24	22	24	25
Difficult to answer	13	17	17	18	17	20	16	13	14	13	22	14	11
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 3.3.7

What kind of democracy does Russia need?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2009	2010	2011	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	VI	XII	XII	VI	VI	XII	VI	VII	X	VII	IIX	IX	XI
Like in the developed countries of Europe and America	24	18	22	20	20	23	23	23	19	27	24	13	16
Like in the former Soviet Union	16	13	10	13	18	14	17	16	14	20	17	15	19
A special kind, which suits national traditions and the specific character of Russia	45	48	47	45	39	43	44	45	49	38	34	55	46
Russia does not need democracy	6	10	7	8	10	7	7	7	7	3	8	5	5
Difficult to answer	9	11	14	15	14	13	10	10	11	12	16	11	15

N=1600

Table 3.3.8

What is “democracy” in your opinion?

	2010	2012	2013	2014	2015
	III	I	III	III	III
A social system in which the power cares about the need of people	30	36	31	31	34
A social system, in which all, regardless of their position in the society, obey the law	41	40	32	36	36
A social system, in which citizens can freely express their opinions in public affairs	27	40	31	30	31
A social system in which citizens are protected from the state intervention in their private life and business	16	20	13	14	14
A social system in which all parts of the government are elected during free alternative elections	19	28	15	21	19
A social system in which the citizens can control the activities of the government	29	39	27	26	18
Difficult to answer	7	4	10	10	10

N=1600

Table 3.3.9

What do you think is more important for Russia now?

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2015
	VIII	XI	IV	XI	XII	XII	XII	XI	XII	XII	III
Order, even if it can only be achieved by certain violations of the principles of democracy and restriction of personal freedoms	73	77	81	75	75	74	68	68	59	56	61
Democracy, even if consistency in following democratic principles gives destructive and criminal elements certain freedom of action	14	14	9	8	13	11	11	18	18	23	21
Difficult to answer	13	8	10	17	12	15	21	15	22	21	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800

Table 3.3.10

What does the «order» mean?

	1994	1995	1996	2000	2001	2005	2006	2015
Possibility for everyone to realize their rights	14	11	11	17	16	23	29	18
Political and economical stability of country	37	35	40	45	36	45	44	42
End of power struggle for power and country collapse	20	26	26	32	18	26	29	17
Social protection for pure poor people	10	10	18	26	23	27	32	24
End of stealing and country collapse	21	23	23	33	26	34	38	27
Bringing of army and national defense forces to control criminal	12	9	6	13	8	9	13	4
Strong discipline	14	19	15	22	26	18	25	18
Strict law compliance	31	33	32	35	38	42	40	44
Limitation of democratic rights and freedoms	1	0	1	3	1	2	1	1
Slogan that clear the way for dictatorship	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	2	1	1	3	2	1	3	3

N=1600

Table 3.3.11

What is “democracy” in your opinion?

	2000 I	2001 VI	2004 II	2005 V	2006 XII	2007 XI	2008 I	2009 XII	2010 XII	2012 II	2015 III
Freedom of speech, press and conscience	37	39	44	44	40	44	46	38	35	47	39
Economic prosperity of the country	33	26	31	32	35	26	47	39	27	24	27
Appointment of all top government officials by election	15	14	18	13	12	17	15	13	13	18	20
Opportunity for everyone to do whatever they want	10	10	6	10	7	10	7	7	8	10	7
Submission of the minority to the majority	6	4	3	4	2	3	3	3	6	6	3
Guarantee of rights for the minorities	5	7	6	6	5	6	5	7	8	6	5
Strict rule of law	29	23	24	24	26	21	26	29	21	20	22
Order and stability	28	24	29	30	35	30	41	37	29	24	25
Anarchy and general lawlessness	6	4	6	5	5	4	2	3	4	2	4
Idle talk	10	10	11	9	10	11	1	5	9	10	6
Difficult to answer	8	6	7	6	6	5	2	5	6	5	6
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800

3.4. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Table 3.4.1

Overall, to which extent are you interested in politics?

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

Table 3.4.2

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

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

Table 3.4.3

Are you willing to be more politically active?

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

N=1600

Table 3.4.4

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

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

N=1600

Table 3.4.5

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

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

Table 3.4.6

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

	2008 VI	2010 VI	2011 IV	2011 X	2012 VI	2012 X	2013 VIII	2014 VIII
Definitely yes	7	5	4	5	3	3	3	3
Yes, rather than no	21	21	21	18	17	23	17	15
No, rather than yes	30	28	37	33	33	35	44	35
Definitely no	33	34	30	33	37	31	32	42
Difficult to answer	9	13	8	11	10	8	4	5

N=1600

Table 3.4.7

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

	2010 IV	2011 IV	2011 X	2012 VI	2012 X	2013 VII
Agree absolutely	50	49	50	39	40	37
Rather agree	35	34	32	34	38	43
Rather disagree	7	10	8	12	13	11
Absolutely disagree	1	1	1	3	1	2
Difficult to answer	8	7	8	12	8	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1500	1500	1500	1500	1600

Table 3.4.8

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

	2010 IV	2011 IV	2011 X	2012 VI	2012 X	2013 IX
Agree absolutely	15	15	22	17	15	14
Rather agree	32	36	28	31	32	37
Rather disagree	36	35	34	33	36	34
Absolutely disagree	10	9	8	11	10	8
Difficult to answer	7	5	8	8	7	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1500	1500	1500	1500	1600

Table 3.4.9

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

	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2012 X	2013 VII
Agree absolutely	17	17	19	17	16
Rather agree	30	35	27	31	43
Rather disagree	33	28	33	33	24
Absolutely disagree	12	12	9	10	7
Difficult to answer	9	8	11	10	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1500	1500	1600

Table 3.4.10

Do you influence political or economic life of Russia in any way?

	2006 VIII	2007 X	2011 X	2013 X	2014 X	2015 VII
Yes	1	4	5	3	6	4
Rather yes	9	11	12	14	16	14
Rather no	31	32	32	38	34	31
No	56	48	46	40	33	45
Difficult to answer	3	4	6	5	11	7

N=1600

Table 3.4.11

Can you speak freely about your attitude toward the policies pursued by the government?

	2012 VIII	2013 VII	2014 VII	2015 VII
Yes, always and everywhere	29	33	38	38
Yes, but with some limitations and not everywhere	35	31	28	33
No, I can't (afraid or feel uncomfortable)	12	11	6	10
I don't need it	19	21	26	17
Difficult to answer	4	5	3	2

N=1600

3.5. CITIZENS AND POWER

Table 3.5.1

Which of the following traits are the most characteristic for the majority of contemporary Russian politicians?

	1995 July	2014 January	2015 March
Pursuit of power stooping to use the dirtiest means	39	44	39
Lack of respect for average citizens	34	37	34
Inobservance of law	31	36	31
Self-interest	26	41	26
Unprofessionalism	26	23	26
Dishonorableness, dishonesty	24	30	24
Immorality	19	27	19
Lack of will	15	7	15
Love of Russia	14	7	14
Dislike for Russia	11	12	11
Dullness	11	11	11
High intellect	10	9	10
High professionalism	10	9	10
Strong will	10	8	10
Honesty, honor	8	4	8
Respect for average citizens	7	3	7
Desire to get to power only through fair democratic means	6	3	6
Unselfishness	5	2	5
Strict observance of law	5	2	5
Atheism	5	1	5
High morality	5	1	5
Faith in God	4	2	4
Difficult to answer	19	12	19

N=1600

Table 3.5.2

Please name the qualities which were in your opinion the most characteristic for the former, Soviet administration back in the late 1970-es early 1980-es.
(answers are ranged)

	1998 March	2008 August	2012 October	2015 March
Legitimate	32	23	22	26
Honest, open	14	8	13	25
Criminal, corrupt	13	8	6	24
With a common touch (congenial)	36	27	29	23
Strong, durable	27	24	27	22
Effective, competent	5	5	8	18
Nearsighted	23	13	10	17
Fair	16	15	17	13
Weak, helpless	8	5	4	11
Habitual, familiar	32	18	18	11
Inconsistent	8	5	4	10
Secretive, closed off	17	14	10	9
Pragmatic	2	4	4	8
Parasitical	8	5	4	7
Narrow-minded, unwise	9	7	5	6
Reputable, respected	21	18	19	6
Competent	4	3	5	6
Illegitimate	1	2	1	5
Unprofessional, ignorant	6	6	5	5
Strange, foreign to the people	8	8	5	4
Educated, cultured	8	8	11	4
Bureaucratic	30	24	15	2
Difficult to answer	11	22	24	22

N=1600

Table 3.5.3

Please name the qualities which in your opinion characterize present Government

	1998 March	2001 January	2005 November	2008 August	2015 March
Legitimate	12	8	9	21	41
Honest, open	3	2	3	9	32
Criminal, corrupt	63	57	62	30	27
With a common touch (congenial)	2	4	5	9	18
Strong, durable	2	5	7	16	16
Effective, competent	3	5	6	12	14
Nearsighted	28	22	25	8	14
Fair	3	2	3	7	14
Weak, helpless	31	21	20	5	12
Habitual, familiar	3	4	4	6	12
Inconsistent	32	35	29	9	10
Secretive, closed off	8	9	8	5	9
Pragmatic	4	6	6	7	9
Parasitical	18	12	15	5	9
Narrow-minded, unwise	12	7	8	2	9
Reputable, respected	2	4	7	17	8
Competent	3	6	9	13	7
Illegitimate	13	11	16	5	7
Unprofessional, ignorant	13	12	12	5	6
Strange, foreign to the people	41	33	42	19	5
Educated, cultured	6	10	13	19	5
Bureaucratic	22	26	39	26	5
Difficult to answer	9	5	8	13	13

N=1600

Table 3.5.4

Which of the following statements about the country's administration is closest to your point of view?

	1989 July	2007 December	2014 May	2015 May
The administration is a special group of people, the elite which pursues only its own interests, they don't care about us.	29	26	25	26
The people we elect to govern quickly forget about our problems and do not take the people's interests into account in their work.	45	60	54	55
Our government is of the people; they have the same interests as simple people do.	15	8	11	9
Difficult to answer	11	6	11	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>850</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 3.5.5

What do you think people like you wait for the most from the authorities now?

	2003 August	2008 August	2009 November	2012 October	2014 May	2015 May
Care about citizens' material welfare	50	50	39	46	42	47
Upholding order in society	20	14	21	16	21	13
Defending citizens' legal rights and freedoms	10	15	23	15	14	17
Lower taxes	5	7	4	7	4	7
To be left alone	4	3	3	2	2	3
They don't wait for anything much	10	9	9	12	14	12
Difficult to answer	2	2	1	3	3	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1000</i>	<i>1000</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 3.5.6

How would you describe your relations with the authority?

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

Table 3.5.7

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

	2007	2011	2013	2015
It ensures order and stability in the country	34	25	20	41
It leads to growth of arbitrariness, corruption and abuse of power	20	34	36	18
It leads to stagnation and lagging behind other countries	15	20	20	12
It's not important what people are in power, the most important thing is compliance with the law	19	14	15	19
Difficult to answer	12	7	10	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 3.5.8

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

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

Table 3.5.9

In your opinion, how should the problems that people face in modern Russia be addressed?

	2006 III	2007 X	2009 III	2009 IV	2009 IX	2010 IV	2011 X	2013 XII	2016 V
Exhibit patience and perseverance, adapt to circumstances and wait until the situation improves	21	36	63	50	50	44	35	22	40
Use the next elections to shift the power and choose the leaders who can be better/more effective in governing the country	31	26	13	21	22	26	35	42	32
Organize protests and street demonstrations, in order to force the government to pay attention to the needs and concerns of ordinary Russians	34	24	15	19	18	19	18	18	15
Difficult to answer	14	14	10	11	11	11	13	18	13

N=1600

Table 3.5.10

Which of the following opinions are the closest to your perception of the present government?

	1997 April	2013 January	2015 Marth
The government is needed to ensure the public order, and that order should not depend on the society's perception of it, government should not be controlled by society	17	17	18
The power of the government is needed to ensure the public order, and for that order to exist, it should not exercise its rule over society. Society should control the power of the government	60	66	75
The governing power is needed by those who can exercise it in the pursuit of their personal interests. The control of power by the society is just rhetoric	23	17	7

N=1600

Table 3.5.11

Which concept of relationship between the state and the people would you rather agree with?

	1990	1997	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2011	2013	2014	2015
	XII	V	VI	VII	VIII	VII	VII	X	VIII	VIII	VIII
Citizens should sacrifice their needs for the sake of state interest	7	6	4	5	7	7	5	6	4	11	8
The state should take better care of the citizens	57	68	80	82	79	77	80	83	83	72	73
Citizens should demonstrate initiative and take care of themselves	25	18	13	12	12	12	13	9	9	13	15
Difficult to answer	11	8	3	1	2	4	3	2	5	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	1600

N=1600

Table 3.5.12

Will the majority of the people in Russia be able to live without constant care and protection of the state?

	1990	1997	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
The majority will be able to live without the state's care	21	17	21	15	15	15	19	20	20	19	21
The majority will not be able to live without the state's care	62	72	74	81	80	77	75	75	70	74	69
Difficult to answer	17	11	5	4	5	8	6	4	10	7	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

N=1600

Table 3.5.13

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

	1998	2001	2006	2010	2011	2012	2013	2013	2014	2015
	III	I	II	IV	IV	VI	I	VIII	VIII	III
Performs its duties completely	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	4	3
Performs its duties for the most part	4	8	8	20	20	18	12	15	26	21
Performs as much as it does not	23	29	33	39	39	36	36	38	41	42
Does not perform for the most part	45	41	39	27	27	27	32	27	19	21
Does not perform its duties at all	25	16	15	10	9	12	14	11	6	7
Difficult to answer	2	3	4	3	3	5	4	6	4	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1500	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

N=1600

Table 3.5.14

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

	1998 III	2001 I	2006 II	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2013 I	2013 VIII	2014 VIII	2015 III
Perform their duties completely	4	6	7	6	3	6	9	10	15	9
Perform their duties for the most part	15	33	30	33	39	37	42	33	45	38
Perform as much as they do not	36	38	38	40	43	37	33	35	30	35
Do not perform for the most part	31	16	19	15	10	13	10	15	7	10
Do not perform at all	9	3	4	2	2	2	3	2	1	2
Difficult to answer	5	5	4	4	3	6	3	5	3	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1500	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

1998; N=1500, after 1998 N=1600

Table 3.5.15

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

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

Table 3.5.16

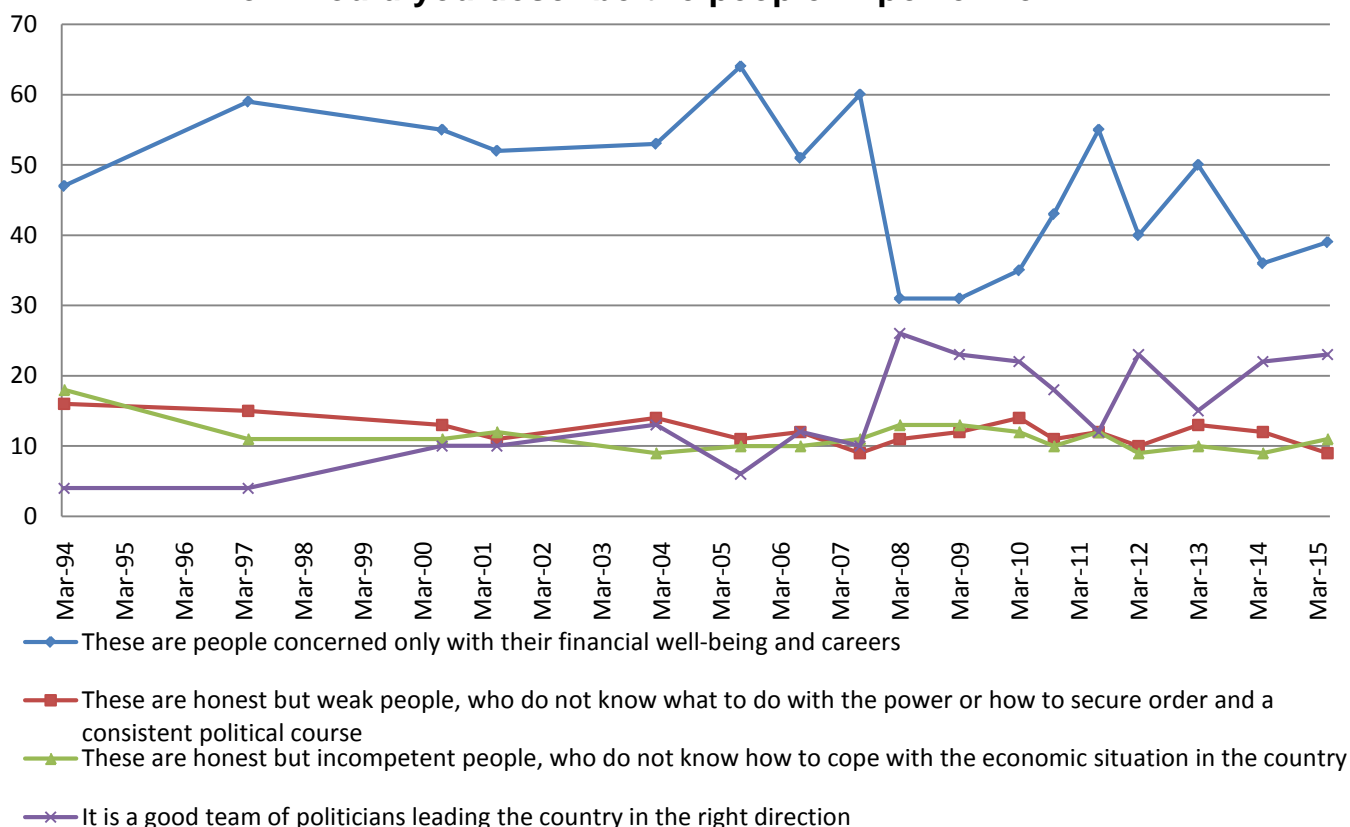
Can people like you influence the political decision made in your region, city or district?

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

N=1600

Diagram 3.7

How would you describe the people in power now?



N=1600

Table 3.5.17

In your opinion, do the interests of the Russian government and society match?

	2007 November	2010 October	2012 October	2013 December
Definitely yes	5	3	3	2
Rather yes	23	23	21	21
Rather no	37	43	44	43
Definitely no	25	22	24	24
Difficult to answer	9	10	8	10

N=1600

Table 3.5.18

In your opinion, what should be the relationship between the citizens and their government?

	2001 I	2006 III	2007 X	2009 X	2011 X	2013 XII	2015 III
The government should interfere as little as possible in the life and the economic activity of the citizens	6	6	7	6	5	6	7
The Government should be the one controlling «the rules of the game» and to monitor that they are complied with	19	24	24	28	34	35	41
The Government should take care of all the citizens and provide a decent level of quality of life	71	66	66	63	58	53	49
Difficult to answer	4	4	3	3	3	7	3
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 3.5.19

What should be the foundations, the principles and the structure of the political doctrine of the authority of the country you would like to live in?
(ranked by the first column)

	2010 July		2012 August		2013 July	
	Should be	Now	Should be	Now	Should be	Now
Adherence to the Constitution	52	14	55	18	59	15
Support of the voters who expect improvements from the authorities	23	26	32	24	26	20
Accountability to society and strict adherence to law	31	4	30	7	32	5
People who came to the government for their professional or personal qualities (talents abilities, initiative)	28	9	28	11	27	9
A system of government created for and functioning in public interests	46	9	26	8	25	6
Support of the voting taxpayers which hire authorities for a certain term to serve the common interests	20	23	24	21	24	22
Free people who cognizant of their interests and are able to defend them	27	9	23	7	23	7
Independence and clear separation of all branches of power and cross checks between the branches	13	3	21	5	22	4
Public opinion support	12	6	19	7	16	5
People who were elected to govern for their loyalty	13	21	11	21	7	21
Free private ownership	4	5	7	5	6	5
Control over the property owners	8	6	7	8	8	7
All government authorities reporting to the head of state	6	24	4	16	4	20
On the power of the state working exclusively for the state's interests	4	30	4	24	4	27
Unaccountability to society and disregard of law	3	23	4	24	3	25
Public's fear of the government and the lack of power to defend its own interests	1	19	3	19	2	24
Cover-up and corruption among the country's bureaucracy	1	33	2	37	2	39
Manipulation of the public opinion	1	16	2	19	1	18

N=1600

Table 3.5.20

How can Russian citizens, in all likelihood, get their problems solved?

	2010 XII	2011 IV	2012 VI	2012 X	2013 VII	2015 III
Appeal to the executive authority with their requests and proposals	21	18	20	22	19	12
Vote for the political entities which are ready to work on solving the problems	10	9	12	13	12	14
Appeal to the court of law	41	40	36	33	33	22
Appeal to the media	23	24	22	24	22	12
Be socially active, participate in public organizations, civic initiative	5	7	6	6	7	4
Appeal to the local counselor	15	13	11	14	9	-*
Participate in public protests: rallies, marches and strikes	15	12	12	9	16	4
Participate in political parties, political movements	-*	4	4	4	7	1
They cannot at all	24	25	24	29	27	17
Difficult to answer	10	8	10	10	7	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

*- option was not offered

Table 3.5.21

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

	1990	1997	1998	2001	2007	2008		2009	2010		2011		2012		2013	2014
	XI	V	III	I	VI	II	VII	VIII	II	VII	VIII	X	I	VII	VIII	IX
Decent people in the government	29	32	33	30	33	37	34	37	34	35	37	40	35	38	32	42
Reliable laws that really work	56	53	54	58	62	57	59	57	62	60	58	56	61	56	62	49
Difficult to answer	15	14	14	12	5	6	7	6	5	5	5	4	4	6	7	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1500	1000	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600

Table 3.5.22

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

	2006 II	2010 II	2012 I	2012 VIII	2013 IV	2014 IV	2015 VI
National prosperity	16	27	28	30	26	35	30
Maintain and consolidate personal power	72	60	59	58	62	52	58
Difficult to answer	12	14	14	12	12	13	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 3.5.23

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

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

Table 3.5.24

What would be better?

	2006 II	2010 II	2012 I	2013 III	2014 III
Centralized power in the country	50	45	38	39	39
Power shared between various structures, keeping each other in check	36	42	46	46	47
Difficult to answer	14	13	17	15	15

N=1600

Table 3.5.25

Will the majority of the people in Russia be able to live without constant care and protection of the state?

	1990	1997	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
The majority will be able to live without the state's care	21	17	21	15	15	15	19	20	20	19	21
The majority will not be able to live without the state's care	62	72	74	81	80	77	75	75	70	74	69
Difficult to answer	17	11	5	4	5	8	6	4	10	7	9

N=1600

Table 3.5.26

How can Russian citizens, in all likelihood, get their problems solved?

	2010 XII	2011 IV	2012 VI	2012 X	2013 VII	2014 IX
Appeal to the executive authority with their requests and proposals	21	18	20	22	19	25
Vote for the political entities which are ready to work on solving the problems	10	9	12	13	12	18
Appeal to the court of law	41	40	36	33	33	41
Appeal to the media	23	24	22	24	22	23
Be socially active, participate in public organizations, civic initiative	5	7	6	6	7	8
Appeal to the local counselor	15	13	11	14	9	12
Participate in public protests: rallies, marches and strikes	15	12	12	9	16	12
Participate in political parties, political movements	-*	4	4	4	7	5
They cannot at all	24	25	24	29	27	20
Difficult to answer	10	8	10	10	7	7

*- the option was not offered

N=1600

Table 3.5.27

What are the people in power mostly concerned with?

	2011 III	2012 III	2013 III	2014 IX	2015 X
Their own interests	27	28	35	19	26
Cling to power	27	29	26	22	21
Country's interests	14	19	13	15	16
National security	10	7	7	23	17
Interests of large corporations	12	6	8	8	9
Well-being of the general public	3	5	5	6	4
Difficult to answer	7	7	6	7	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 3.5.29

What should the President and the government do now?

	2001 I	2006 III	2007 III	2009 X	2012 III	2013 III	2014 III
"Clamp down" and take a tough stance against any "liberties" in politics and economy	53	39	48	37	35	43	42
Give people freedom to take care of their business and only make sure they follow the law	33	47	36	48	48	43	44
Difficult to answer	14	14	17	15	17	14	14

N=1600

Table 3.5.30

Does the "Vertical authority" cause more good or more harm to Russia?

	2005 January	2006 January	2008 January	2011 January	2012 April	2013 April	2014 April
More good	38	38	42	38	30	32	42
More harm	32	28	30	27	35	40	27
Difficult to answer	30	34	28	35	35	28	31
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

3.6. SOVIET PEOPLE

Table 3.6.1

Have the present inhabitants of Russia changed compared with the people of the Soviet Union or have they retained the qualities/characteristics of the Soviet Union's epoch?

	2006	2013
Completely changed	19	23
Largely changed	54	51
Changed little	18	11
Remained practically the same	3	3
Difficult to answer	6	12

N=1600

Table 3.6.2

What is the main difference of the present Russians from those of the Soviet times?

(as a % of those who believe «are different»; answers are ranked by the last poll)

	2007	2013
They became more calculating and cold	47	58
They became less tolerant toward each other	36	35
They became poorer	37	30
They enjoy more freedom	26	29
They became more knowledgeable about the world	25	26
They lost the hope of living better	27	24
They became more dependent on the government and the governing bodies	19	22
They are more level — headed and practical	19	20
They are used to better living conditions than before	16	19
They enjoy more wealth	14	13
They regard other countries in a better way, towards life in other countries	11	10
They regard other countries in a worst way, towards life in other countries	4	8
They treat each other better	1	2

N=1600

Table 3.6.3

Did the government of the present day Russia retain the characteristics of the former Soviet rule or did it change?

	2007	2013
Completely changed	25	22
Changed to a large degree	43	43
Changed a little	23	19
Remained practically the same	3	3
Difficult to answer	7	12

N=1600

Table 3.6.4

What are the main differences between the present rule and those of the Soviet times?

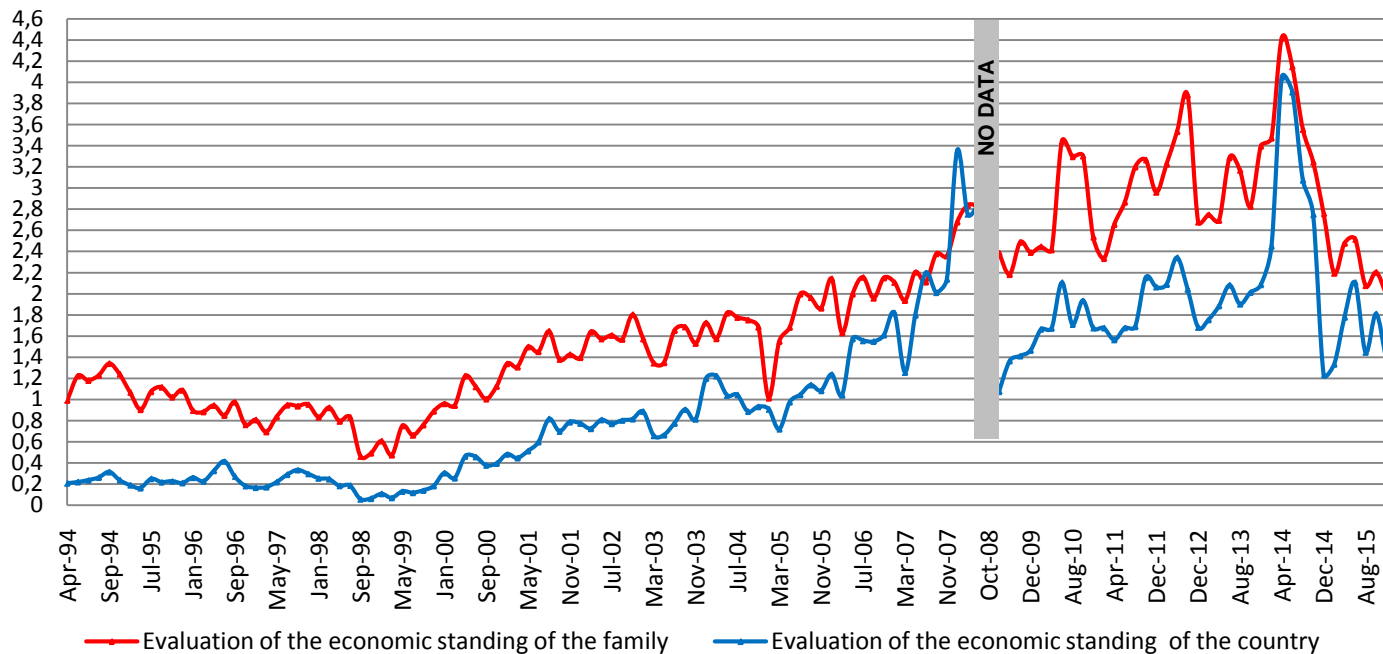
(% of those who answered «different»; answers are ranked by the last poll)

	2007	2013
It completely ignores the interest of the common people for the sake of its own	48	50
It can not deal with the problems in the country	39	43
It normalized the relationship with the West	30	26
It has done a lot to ensure that Russia is being respected throughout the world	27	21
It is incapable of making Russia being respected	17	21
It leads an inept and incompetent foreign policy. It put Russia in conflicts with the rest of the world	9	12
It was able to bring order to the country	9	8
It is concerned more with the common people, it does more for them	5	4
Difficult to answer	3	10

N=1600

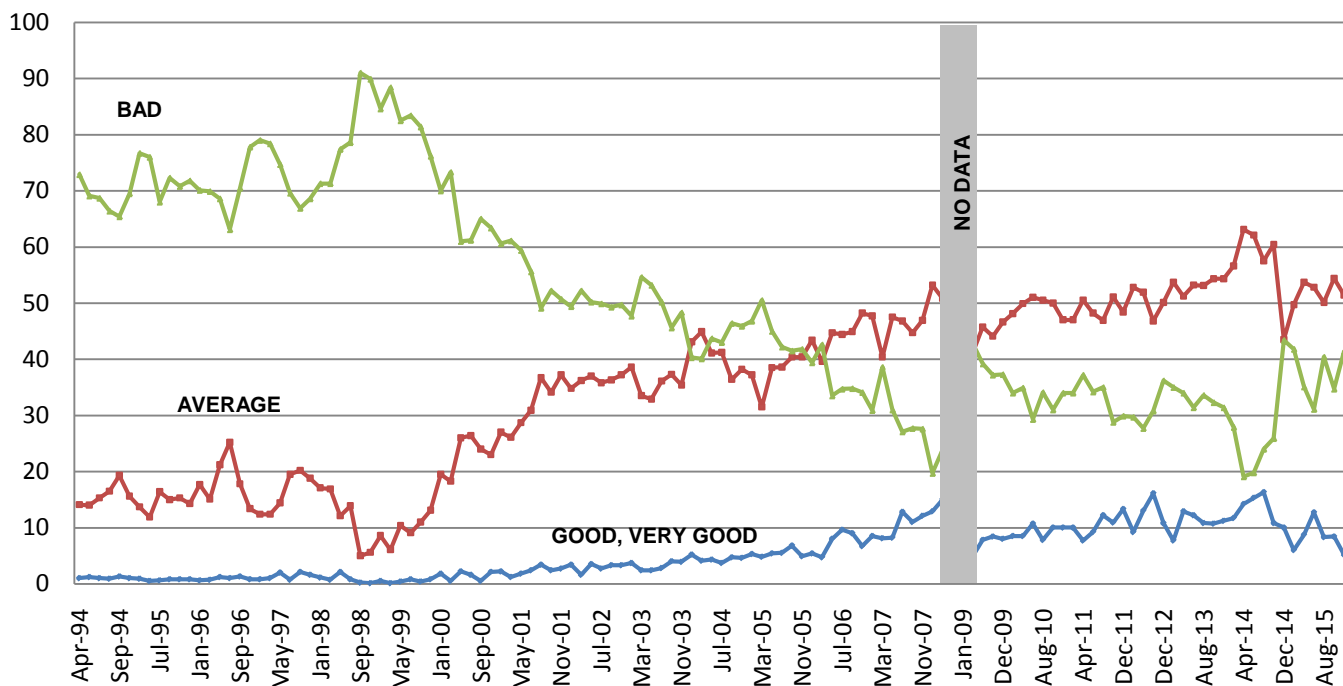
4. ESTIMATE OF THE ACTUAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

Diagram 4.1
Evaluation of the economic conditions in the country and the family



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

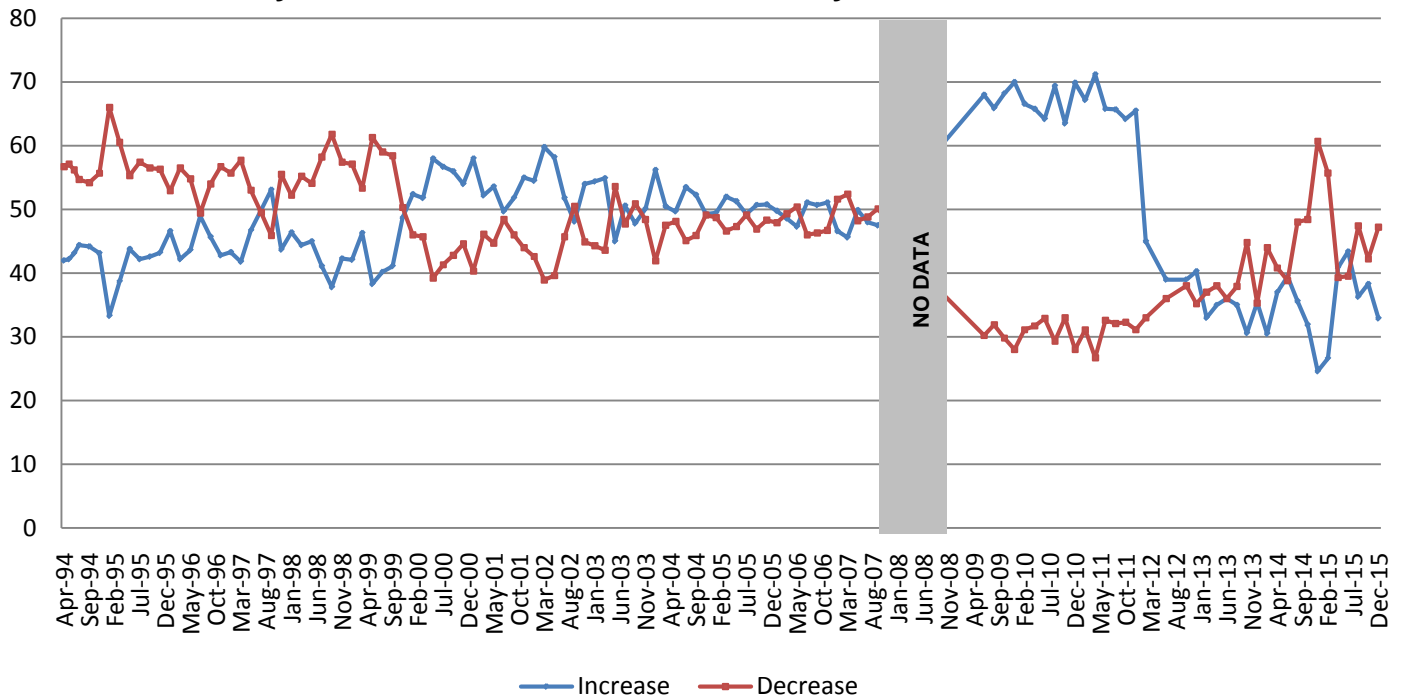
Diagram 4.2
How do you estimate the economic situation in Russia?



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

Diagram 4.3

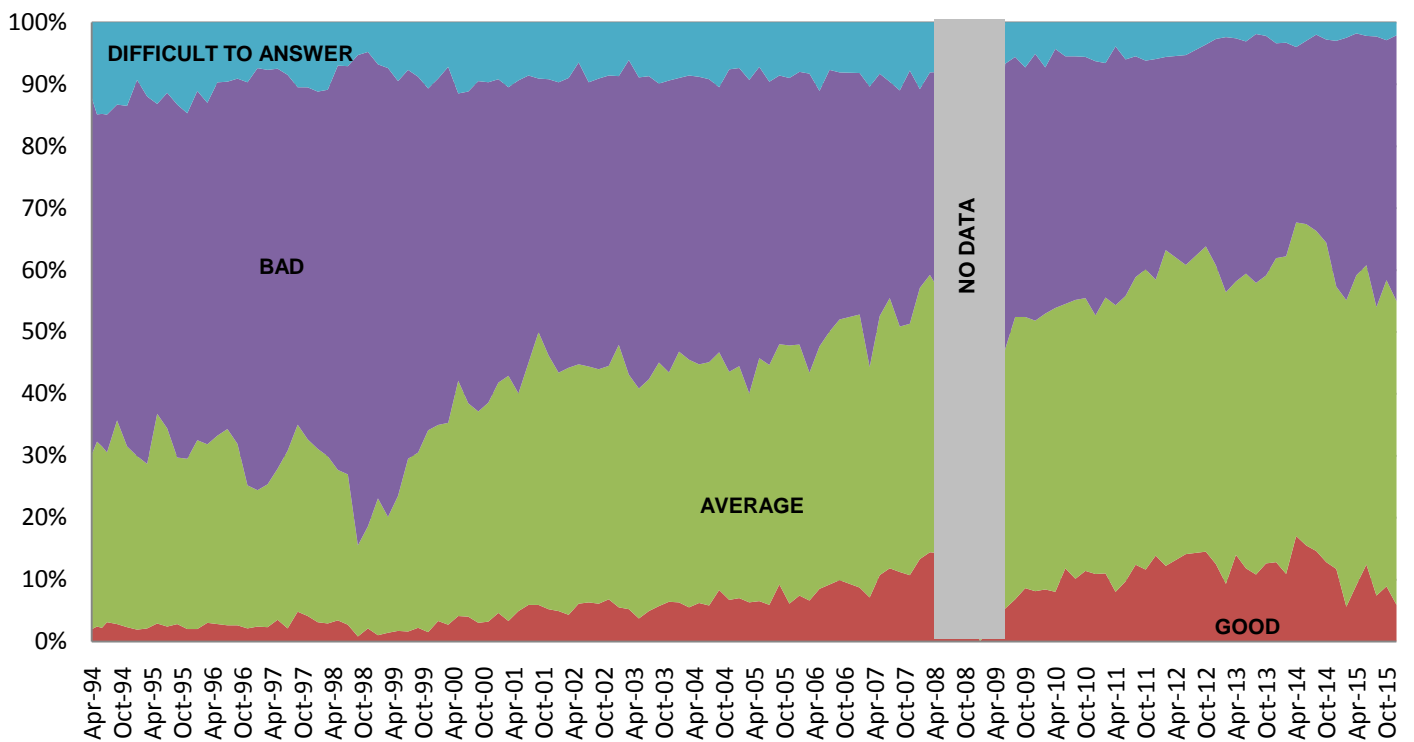
What do you think awaits Russian economy in the next few months*?



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

Diagram 4.4

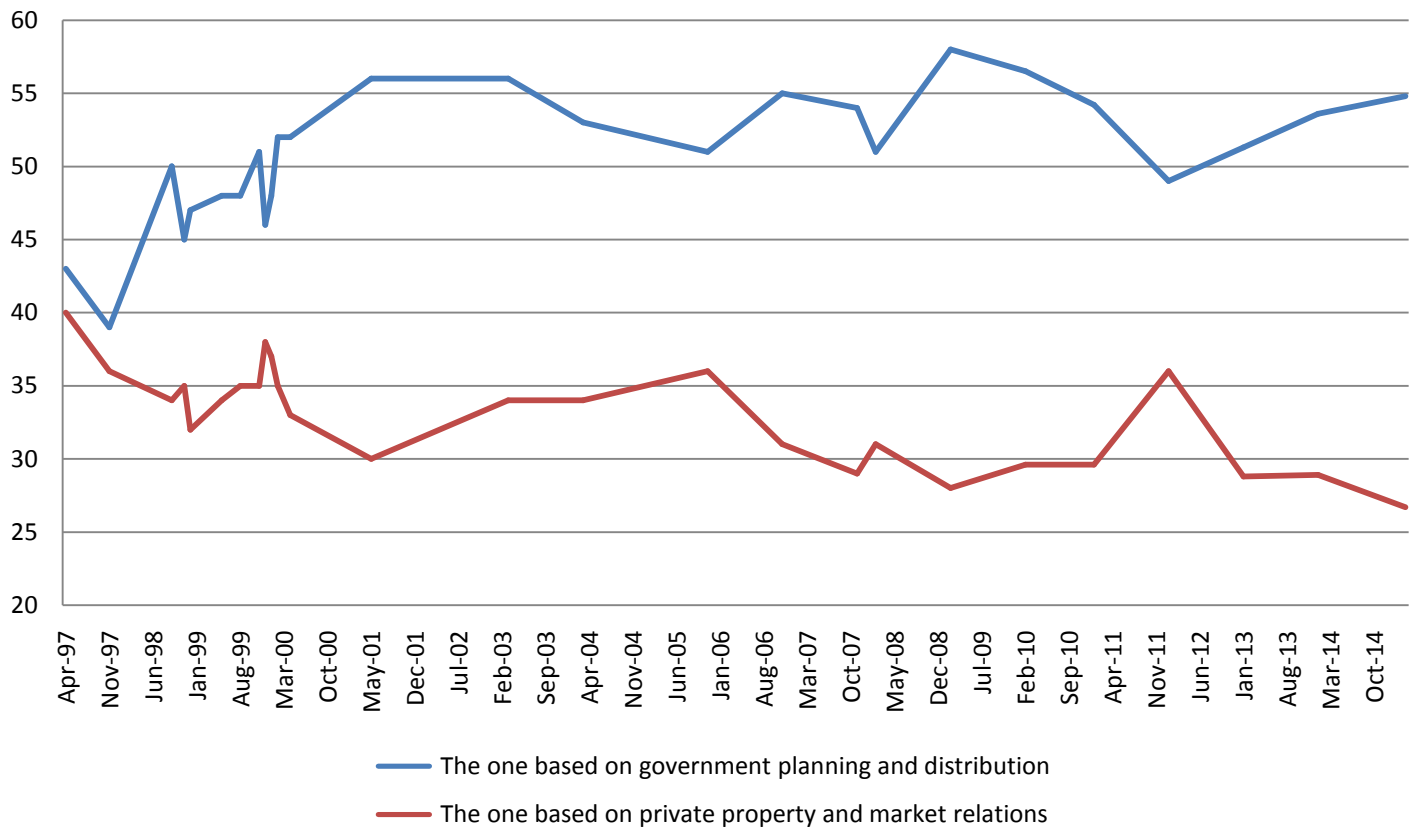
How do you estimate the economic situation in your city, rural area*?



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

Diagram 4.5

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



N=1600

Table 4.1

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

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

Table 4.2

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

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2011	2012	2013	2014
Wrong economic policy of the Russian government	27	28	34	32	26	26	25	26
Russian government does not have any clear economic policy	22	22	29	27	19	22	18	16
Lack of investments in Russian economy	11	11	12	12	12	15	15	14
Outflow of capital from Russia/ capital transfers to offshore accounts	25	27	26	26	29	28	37	28
Plundering policies of large Russian businesses and oligarchs, lack of interest among the large business owners in Russia's economic recovery	38	34	29	33	35	33	35	28
Top managers' embezzlement (siphoning off the profits into their own pockets)	28	20	21	24	31	25	33	22
Bureaucratic abuse of power, corruption and bribery in the top echelons of power	34	34	31	34	33	35	42	30
High business taxes	15	10	13	13	13	14	14	11
Lack of legal protection for business owners	9	7	7	9	8	6	9	6
Key assets are worn out	13	11	11	17	16	15	15	15
Inability to compete with the western products	9	10	10	12	14	13	13	14
Difficult to answer	12	12	9	11	11	9	11	12

N=1600

PRICE GROWTH

Table 4.3

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

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

Table 4.4

There's an opinion that a price hike, a noticeable decline of living standards and an economic decline is beginning in Russia. Do you agree with this opinion?

	2014 November	2015 December
Definitely agree	36	36
Rather agree	44	39
Rather disagree	12	13
Definitely disagree	2	3
Difficult to answer	5	10

N=1600

Table 4.5

What is in your opinion the main reason for the price surge, the decline in living standards, the country's economic decline? (in % of those who think that a decline is beginning)

	2014 November	2015 December
Oil prices plummeting	45	47
Corruption in government bodies	26	33
Peculiarities of Russia's economy: an overlarge public sector, ineffective bureaucratic company management, state influence over the economy	21	29
Western sanctions against Russia	33	27
Increase of military, security and bureaucracy expenses to the prejudice of social expenses (healthcare, education, science, support of vulnerable population groups)	16	26
Large expenses on the annexation of the Crimea and the support of PRD and PRL	30	25
Peculiarities of Russia's economy: technological underdevelopment, remnants of Soviet industry structure, priority of the military industry	26	25
Russia's policy towards the Crimea and Ukraine	23	20
Russia's reciprocal sanctions (ban on food and other products import from Western countries)	15	14
Difficult to answer	3	3

N=1600

RUBLE CRASH

Table 4.6

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

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

Table 4.7

Are you worried about the ruble's current decline?

	2014		2015 November
	February	November	
Definitively yes	17	31	23
Mostly yes	41	32	37
Mostly no	20	17	24
Definitively no	13	13	10
It is difficult to say	9	7	7

N=800

Table 4.8

In your opinion, what is the primary cause of the rise in prices for food, goods, and essential services?

Ollapse of the ruble; depreciation of money	51
Falling oil prices	37
Scheming of swindlers and speculators	27
Decline in production	23
Exchange of sanctions between Russia and the West	22
Lack of government oversight	17
High interest rate on loans	10
Low competition in the food and produce markets	10
Insufficient supply of goods and services	8
The state is printing too much currency and it is depreciating the value	4
Rapidly rising incomes	-*
It is difficult to say	6

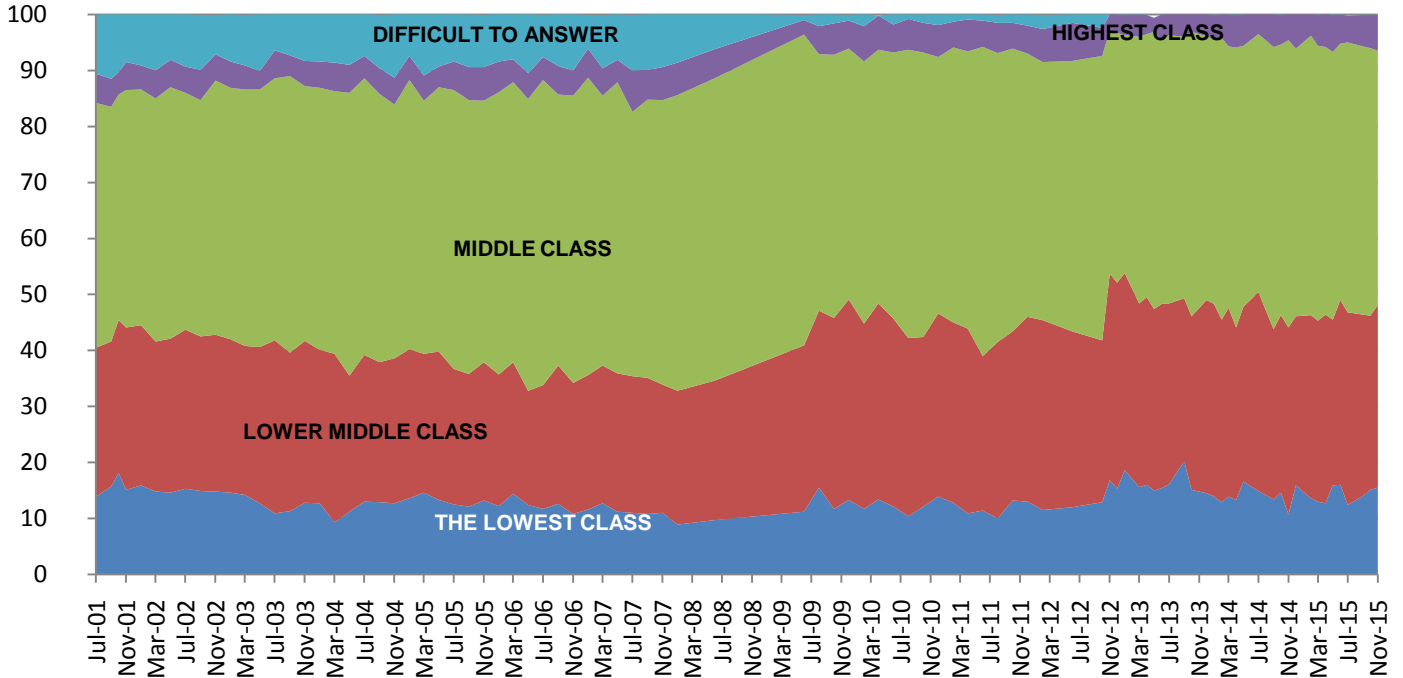
2015, January; N=1600

5. LIVING STANDARD OF RUSSIAN POPULATION

5.1. LIVING STANDARD OF RUSSIAN POPULATION

Diagram 5.1.1

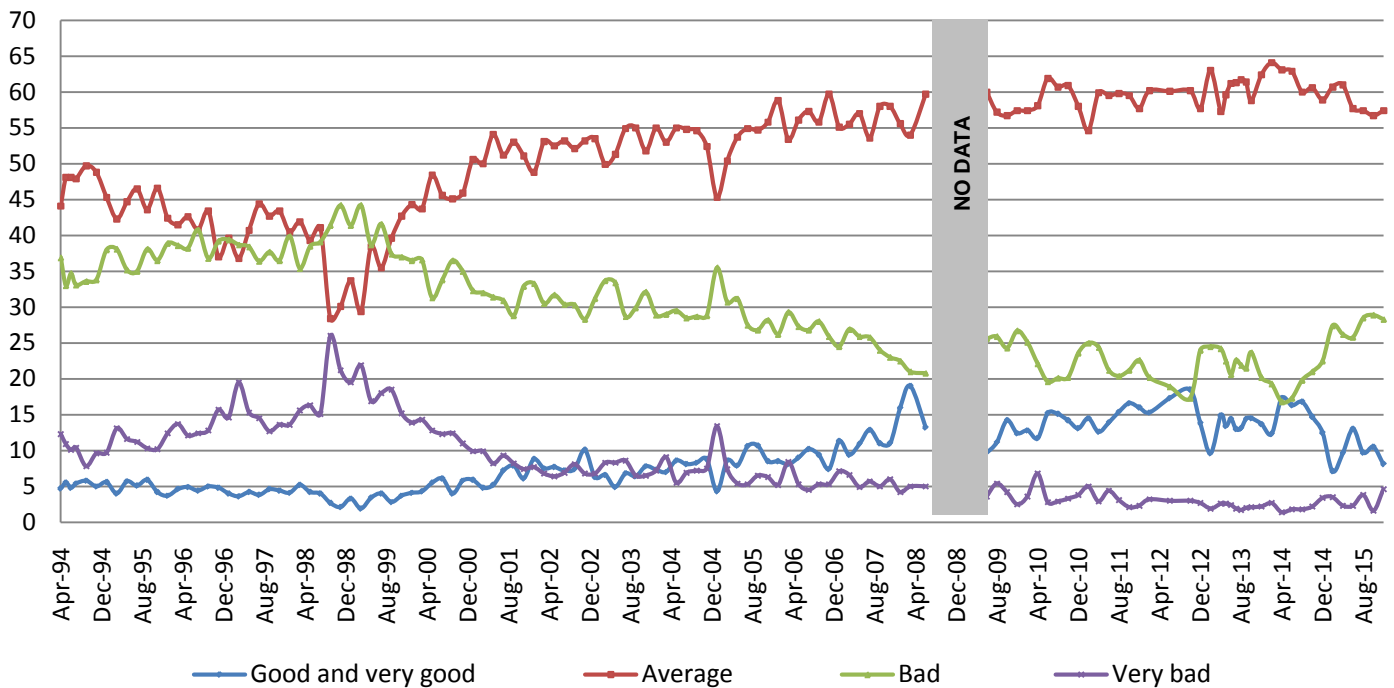
Which class of the society you would affiliate yourself with?



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

Diagram 5.1.2

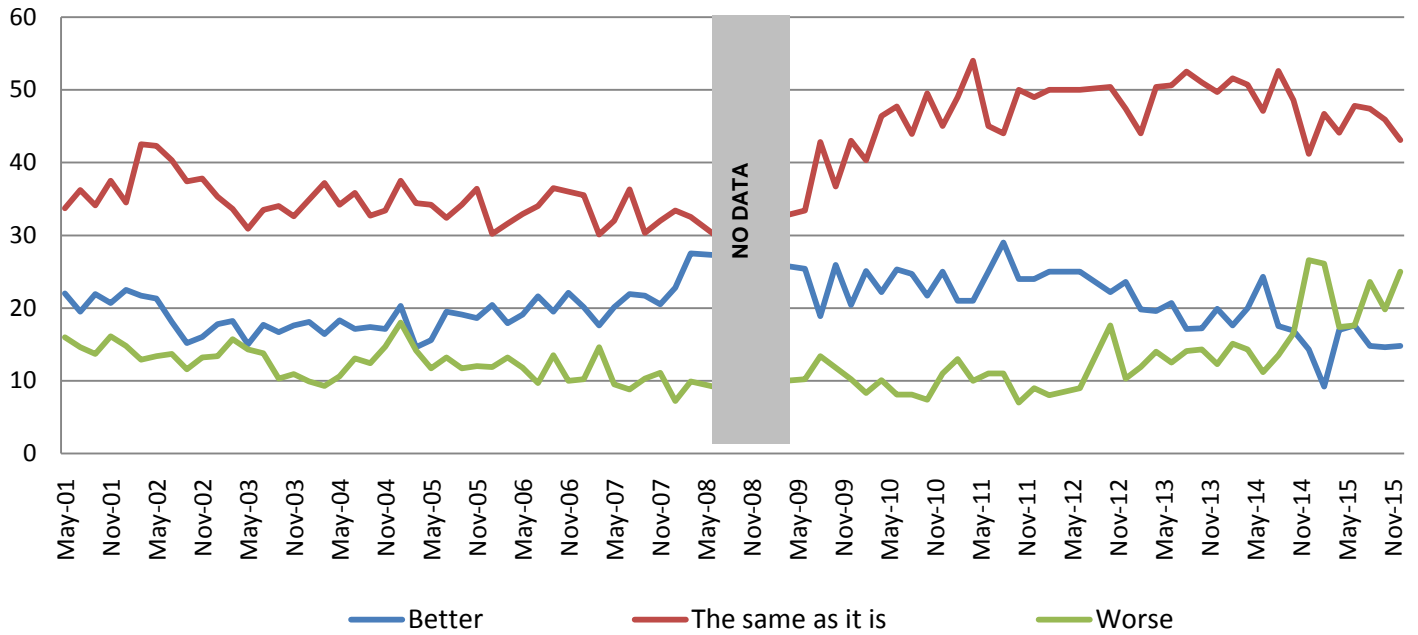
How would you estimate your family's financial standing?



N=1600

Diagram 5.1.3

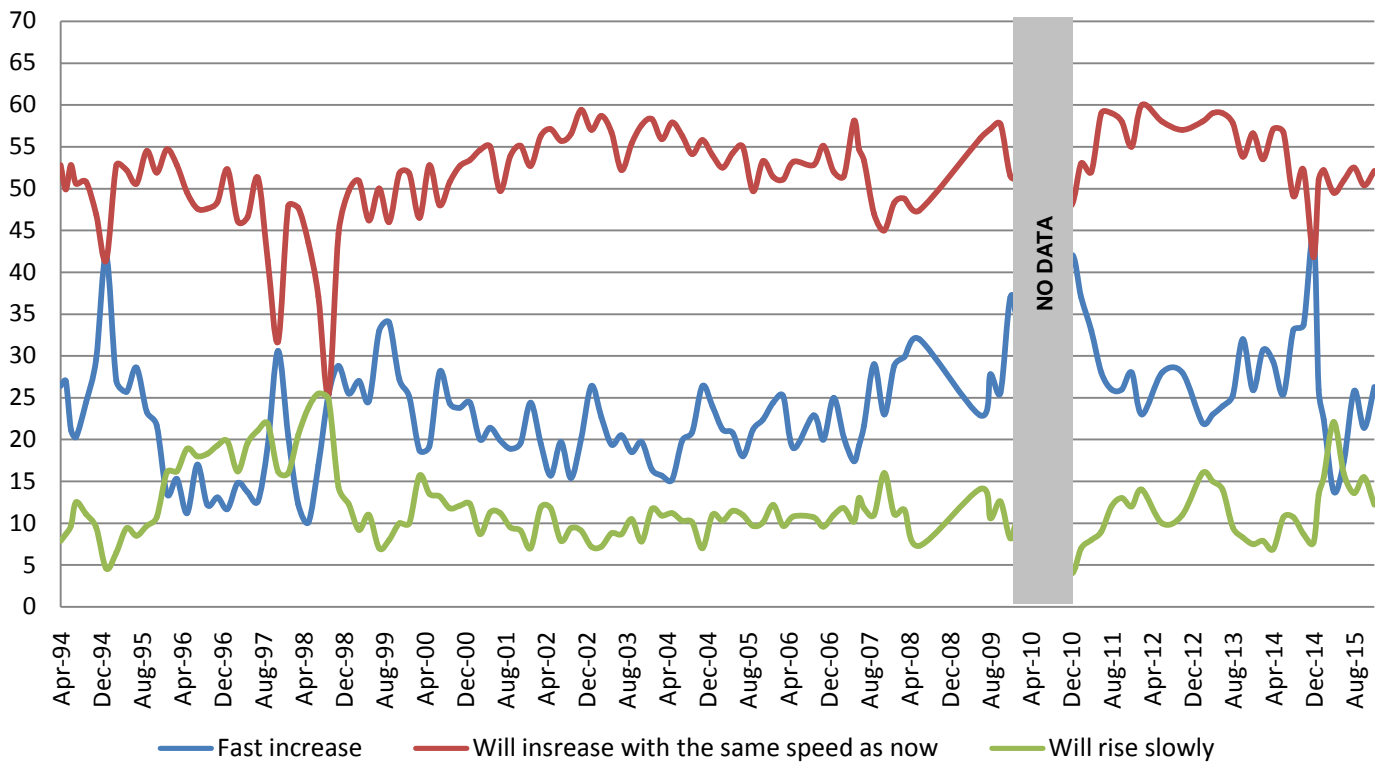
How do you expect your family live in a year?



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

Diagram 5.1.4

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



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

5.2. SAVINGS

Table 5.2.1

Do you or your family have any savings?

	2002 VII	2003 VII	2004 VII	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VII	2008 XII	2009 X	2010 X	2011 X	2012 X	2013 X	2014 XI	2015 VIII
Yes	26	24	24	21	22	22	18	22	26	24	31	30	30	27
No	68	69	68	70	69	66	75	73	69	68	64	60	61	67
Difficult to answer/ refused to answer	6	7	8	9	9	13	7	5	5	8	5	10	9	7
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 5.2.2

For what purposes do you keep your savings in foreign currencies? (a percentage of those who keep their savings in foreign currencies)

	2014 February	2014 November
In order to save up money for some purchase	42	36
I always keep my savings or part of my savings in a foreign currency just in case	31	29
For foreign travel	14	13
In order to keep my savings in case the ruble falls	17	5
Something else	8	8
It is difficult to say	11	16

N=1600

Table 5.2.3

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

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011		2012	2015	
	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VI	VI	III	XII	VI	V	VIII
Rubles	29	29	38	35	50	49	48	33	46	48	47	36	45	37
Dollars	33	27	17	23	8	5	4	9	6	6	6	8	10	16
Euro	18	25	28	25	24	30	35	25	11	19	7	9	10	10
In different currencies/ in several currencies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	19	13	14	22	17	23
Difficult to answer	21	19	17	18	18	16	14	17	19	15	27	25	19	14
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 5.2.4

Is now a good time for buying on credit?

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	X	X	X	X	IX	X	V	X
Now is a good time for buying on credit	5	7	11	12	24	29	27	24	18	9	9	12	15	17	16	15	9	9
Neither good, nor bad	16	17	17	18	18	19	26	25	26	16	20	28	29	35	36	34	29	29
Now is not a good time for buying on credit	64	59	57	50	39	37	33	36	39	67	65	54	50	43	42	45	56	58
Difficult to answer	15	17	15	20	19	15	14	15	17	8	7	6	6	5	6	6	6	5

Till 2009 N=2100, from 2009 survey was conducted by sampling N=1600

Table 5.2.5

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

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2015
	XI	IX	IX	IX	IX	X	X	X	VIII	VIII	VI
Haven't bought anything on credit	84	77	71	65	62	71	68	65	64	61	71
<i>Bought:</i>											
Household appliances, video, computer	12	17	22	26	24	16	19	18	23	24	19
Furniture	3	5	5	6	7	6	6	7	8	9	3
Flat, dacha, other real estate	1	1	2	4	5	3	2	3	2	2	2
Car	-	2	3	2	3	6	6	7	7	8	5
Other	2	1	2	3	4	3	3	3	2	2	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>2100</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

* - the question was asked in the context of a joint project between ICA Endowment, Independent Institute for Social Policy and Levada Center

** - the option was not offered

Till 2009 N=2100, from 2009 survey was conducted by sampling N=1600

Table 5.2.6

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

(as a % of respondents who have a bank card)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	X	X	X	VI	VIII	VIII	VIII
Yes	24	25	32	30	36	40	39
No	74	72	65	69	63	58	60
Difficult to answer	2	3	4	1	2	2	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

ECONOMIC CRISIS

Table 5.2.7

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

	2014 December	2015	
		March	December
Definitely agree	38	29	43
Rather agree	41	46	39
Rather disagree	10	15	10
Definitely disagree	2	4	2
Difficult to answer	9	7	6

N=800

Table 5.2.8

How long do you think this crisis will last for?

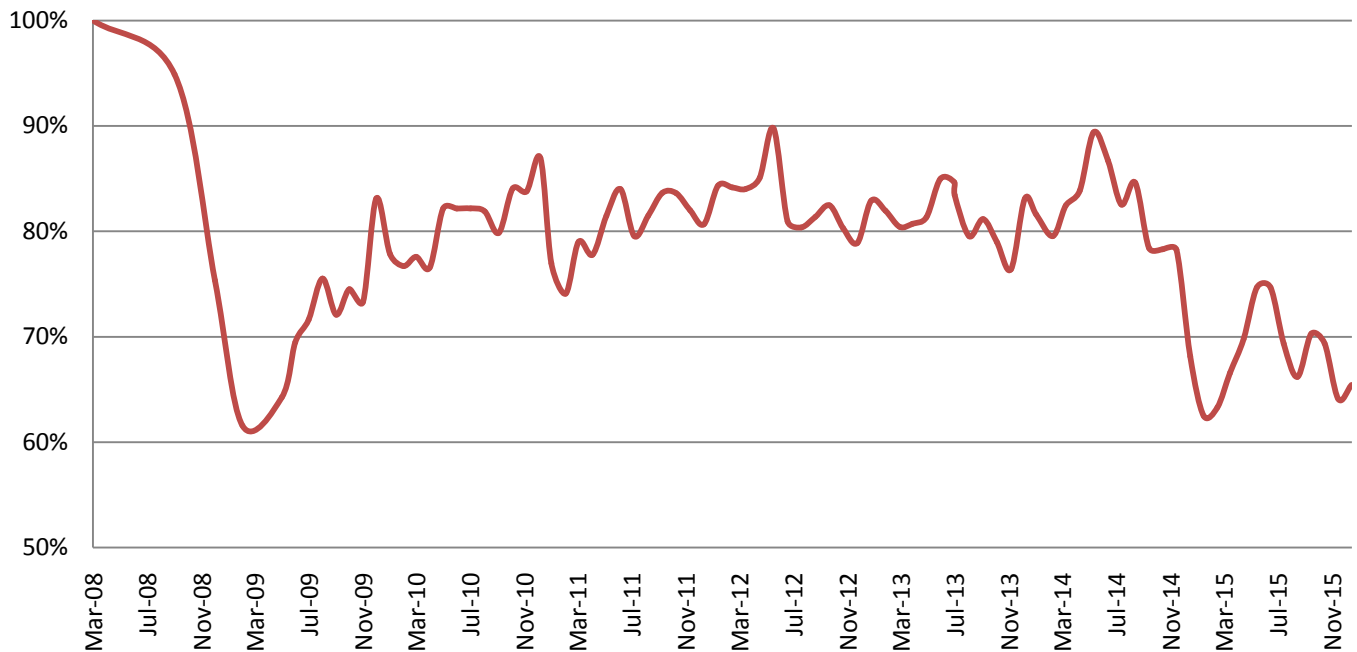
(in % of those who think that Russia is falling into an economic crisis now)

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

N=800

INDEX OF CONSUMER ATTITUDES

Diagram 5.2.1



N=1600

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

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

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

Diagram 5.2.2

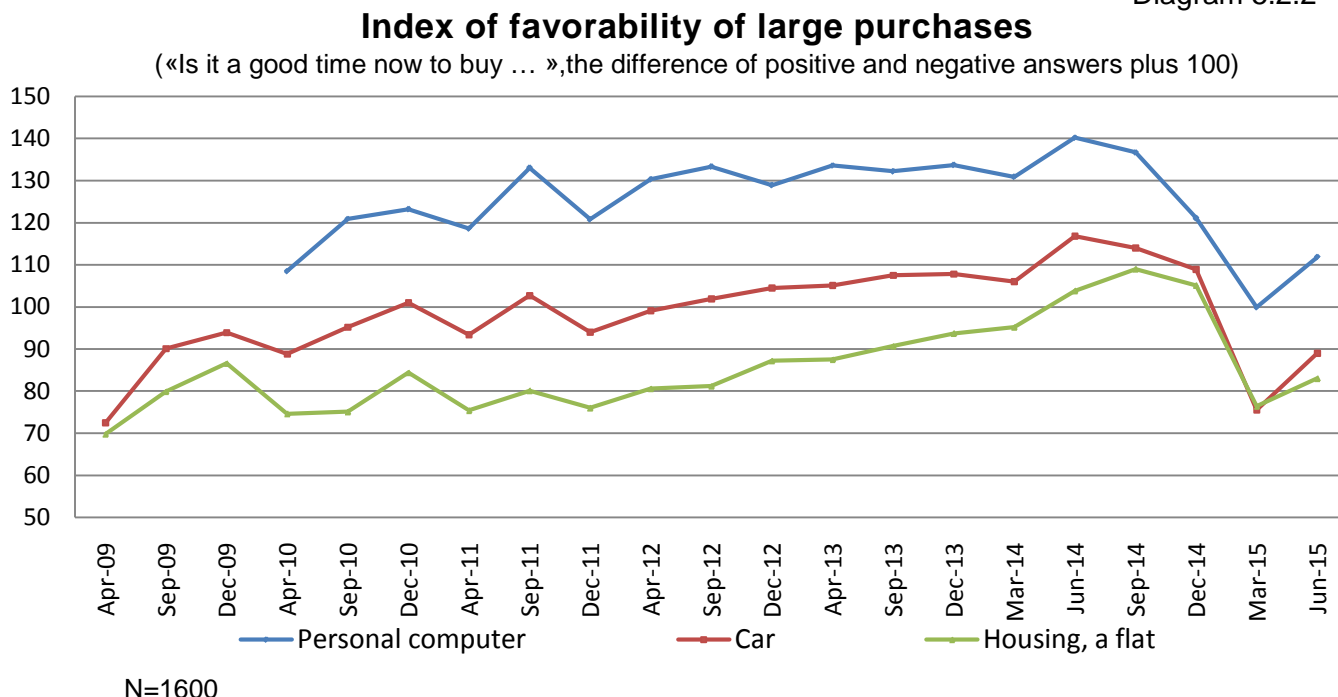
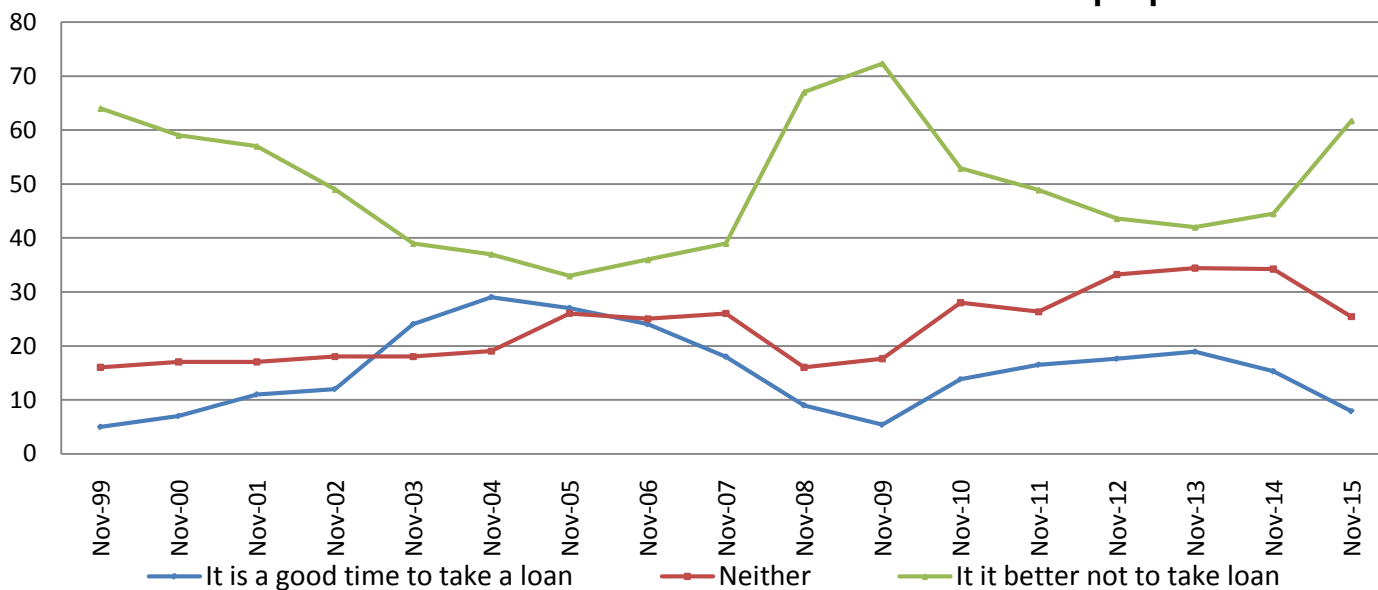


Diagram 5.2.3

Do you think now is a good time for big purchases on credit, a loan, or under current circumstances it is better not to take loan for such purposes?



Before 2008 - N=2100, in 2008 r. N=1800, since 2009 N=1600

Table 5.2.9

What everyday goods do you prefer to use?

	2008	2010	2013	2014	2015
The most expensive products from well-known companies	5	6	3	5	3
Products from known companies with the optimal combination of price and quality	42	44	50	42	32
Products of lesser known foreign companies	6	5	6	5	11
Best quality goods produced in Russia and CIS	42	34	31	32	28
The cheapest goods of local manufacture	19	18	20	16	26
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	1600

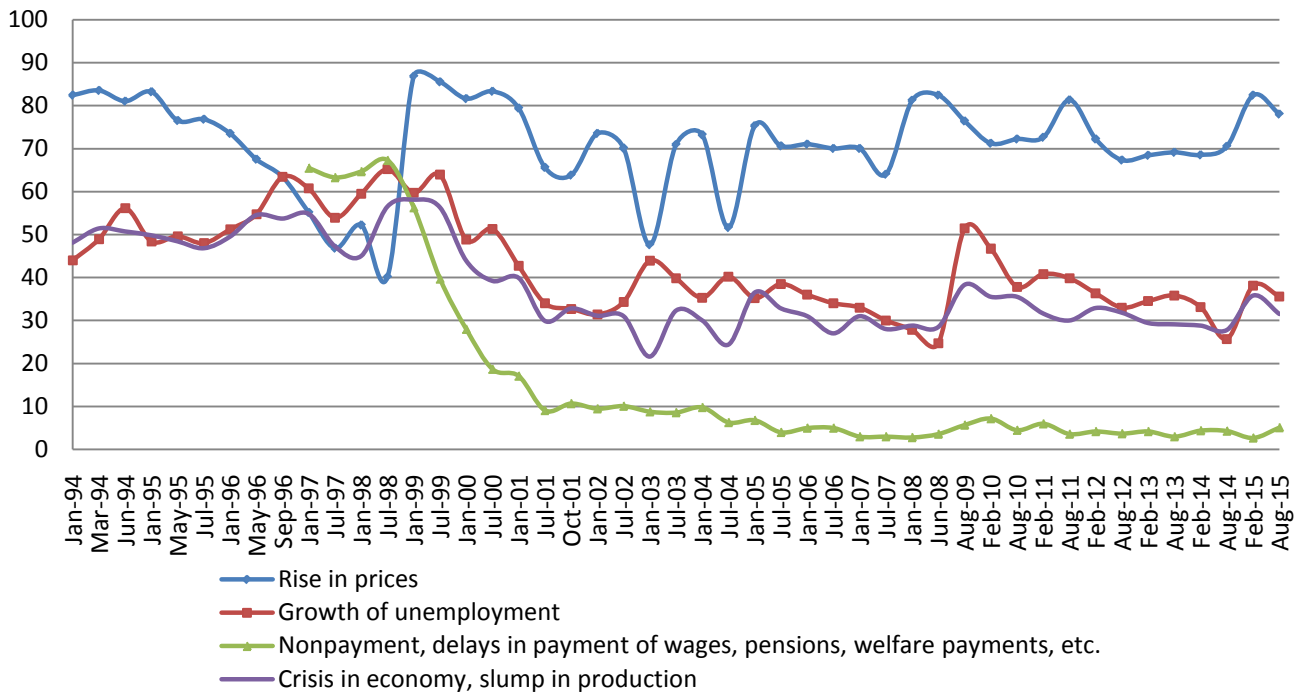
6. ESTIMATES OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND EMPLOYMENT

EVALUATIONS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Diagram 6.1.1

Which problems in our society you are concerned the most?

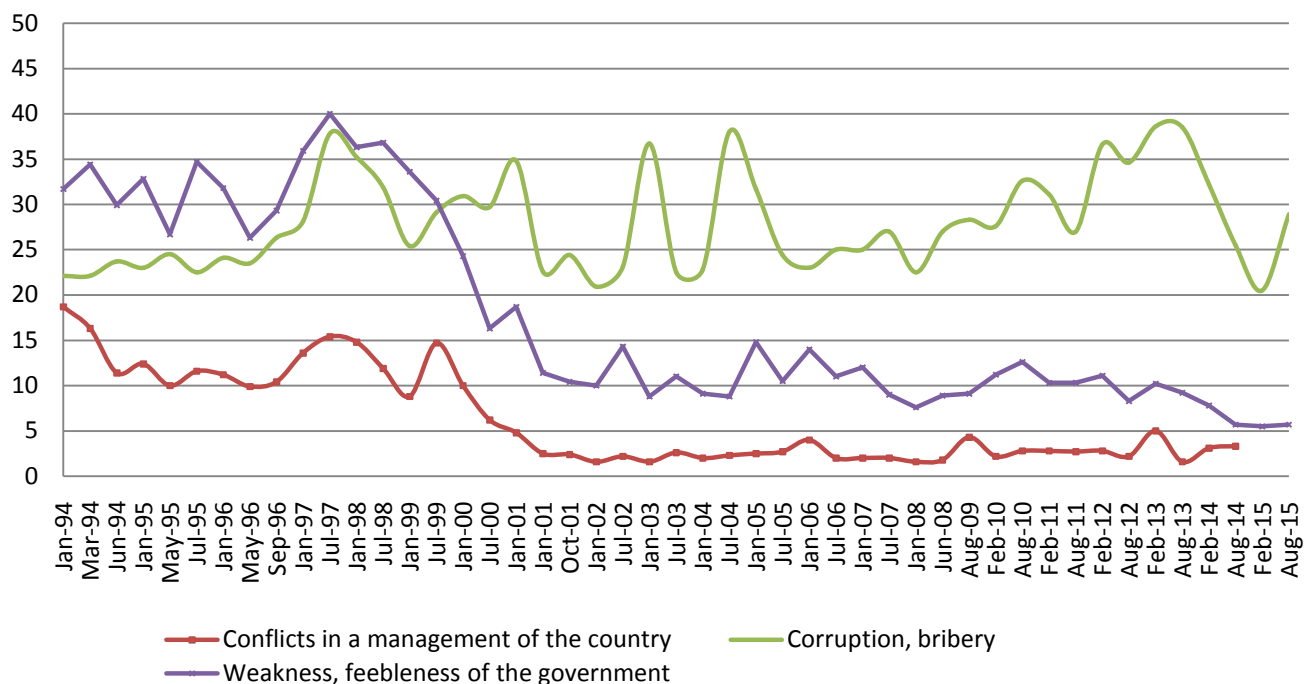
1. Social and economic problems



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

Diagram 6.1.2

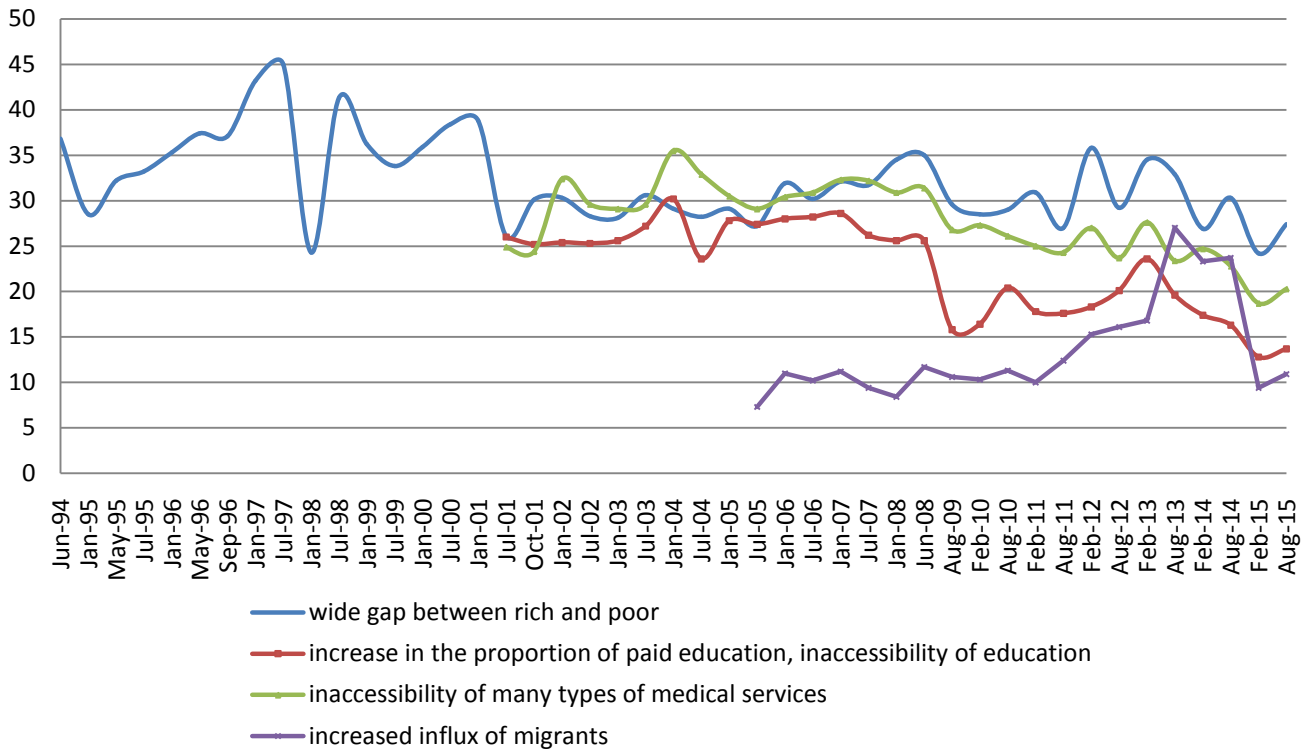
2. Authority and management



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

Diagram 6.1.3

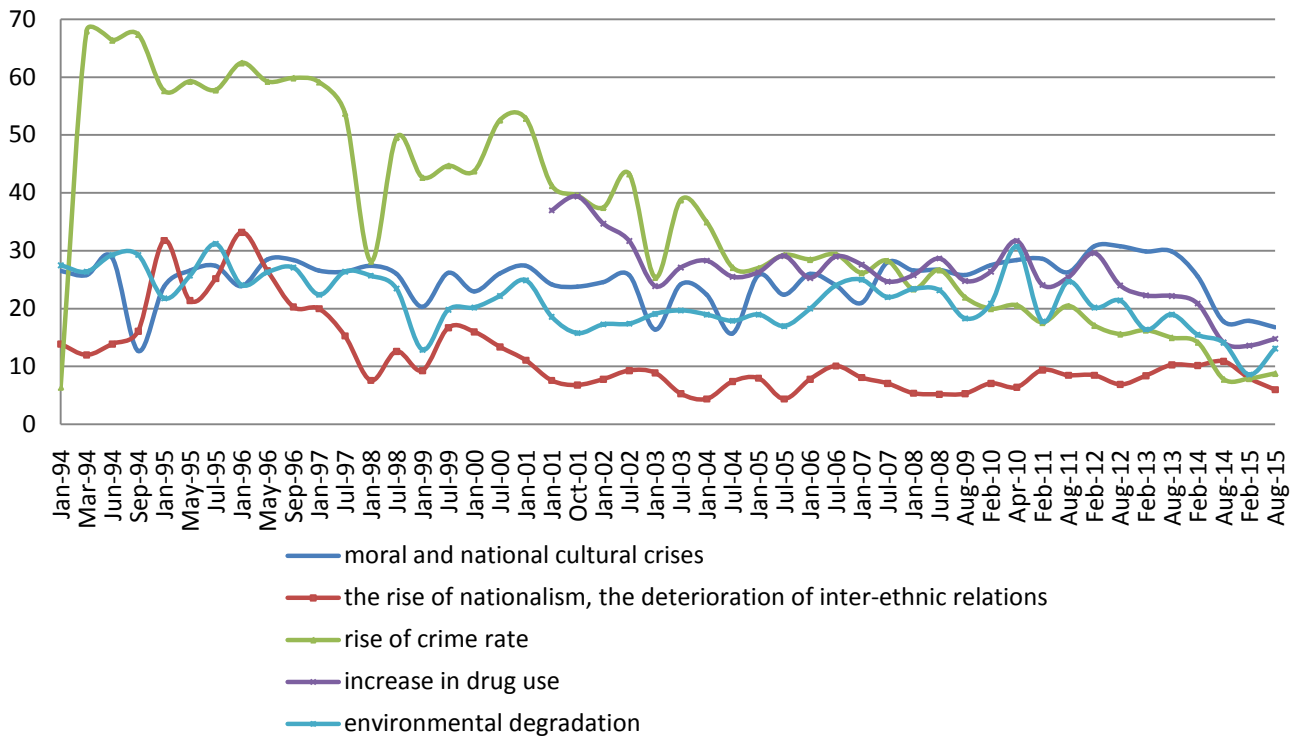
3. Social life



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

Diagram 6.1.4

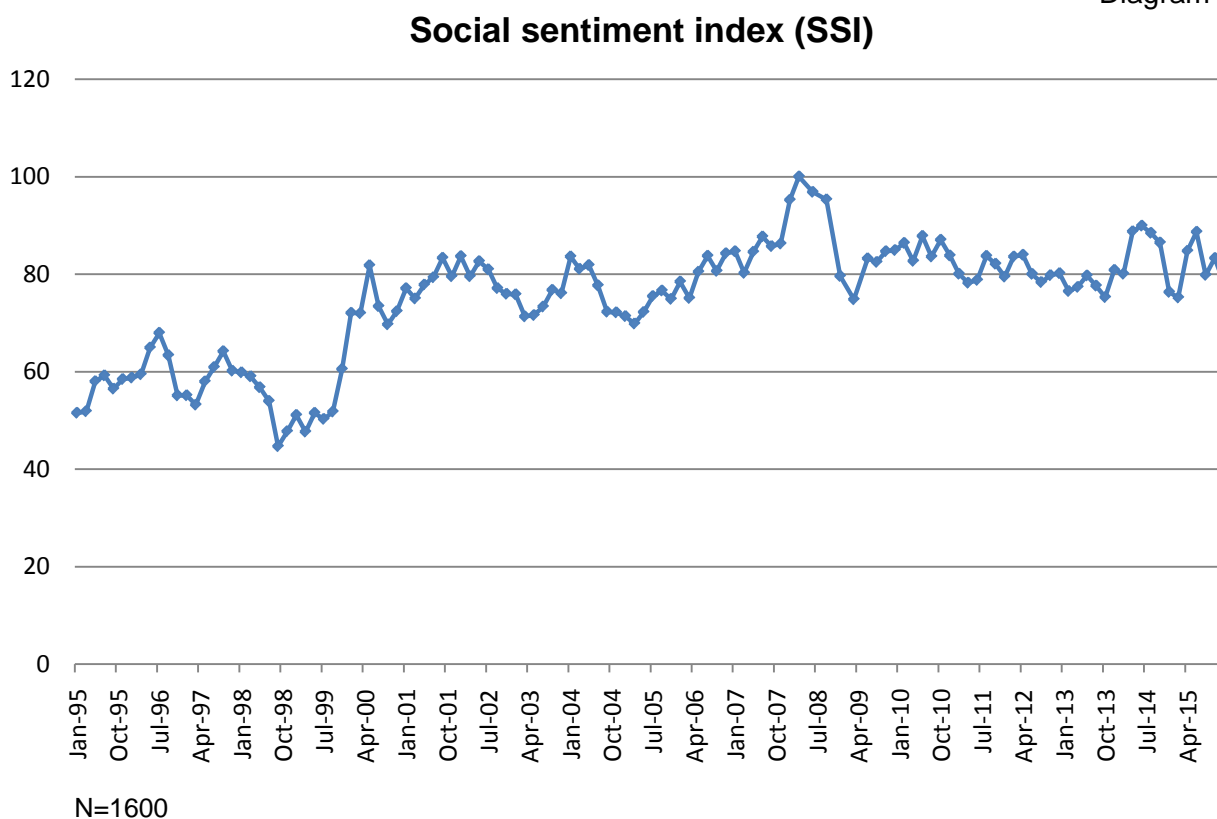
4. Culture and environment



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

SOCIAL SENTIMENT INDEX (SSI)

Diagram 6.2



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

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

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

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

ENVIRONMENT

Table 6.1.

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

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

N=800

Table 6.2

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

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

N=800

EMPLOYMENT

Table 6.3

Which would you prefer?

	2002	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011		2012	2014	2015
	IV	X	IV	IX	X	VII	X	VII	XI	IX
Being the owner of a company (owning a business)	35	39	32	32	37	33	31	37	35	37
Being an employee and receiving a steady wage	56	51	48	52	51	56	54	55	51	48
Difficult to answer	8	10	19	16	12	11	15	9	14	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 6.4

Which would you prefer if you could choose?

	1994	1997	2000	2001	2010	2011	2012	2015
	IV	XI	XI	XI	II	II	II	XII
Having a steady wage even if it is small and confidence in tomorrow	55	54	52	47	50	47	47	41
Working a lot and having a good wage even if there are no definite guarantees for the future	32	33	30	28	26	34	34	42
Having own business and running it at your own risk	7	6	7	10	12	11	11	9
Difficult to answer	6	7	11	14	13	9	8	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	2100	2100	2100	2100	1600	1600	1600	1600

Table 6.5

Which of the following statements about what the work means to an individual is the best fit

	1996	1997	2000	2001	2010	2011	2012	2015
	XI	XI	XI	VII	II	II	II	XII
The work is important to me and interesting for me as such, regardless of the pay	13	12	16	19	14	14	15	10
The work is primarily the source of income for me	63	61	66	62	62	64	66	57
The work is not the most important for me, there are other things in my life more important than work	15	17	8	8	13	12	11	21
The work is an unpleasant duty for me; I would never work if I could	4	6	4	2	3	3	2	4
Difficult to answer	5	5	6	9	10	7	6	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	2100	2100	2100	2100	1600	1600	1600	1600

TAXES

Table 6.6

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.7

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.8

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

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

N=1600

Table 6.9

In your opinion, what should be the income tax in Russia for those receiving more than a \$ 1 million per year?

13%, the same as everybody else	9
20%	8
25%	15
35%	19
50%	22
65%	5
75%	4
85% or above	7

2013, January; N=1600

Table 6.10

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

	1999 July	2001 January	2003 December	2006 April	2011 April	2013 March	2014 March
Approve them	3	2	3	2	2	3	2
Understand them	19	22	22	15	15	16	20
Disapprove them	52	60	55	65	59	60	57
Do not care	18	11	14	14	19	19	15
Difficult to answer	8	5	7	4	5	3	6

N=1600

Table 6.11

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

	1999 July	2001 January	2003 December	2006 April	2011 April	2013 March	2014 March
Approve them	5	3	4	3	2	3	3
Understand them	37	38	43	33	31	32	33
Disapprove them	34	43	29	45	40	41	39
Do not care	14	11	15	14	20	20	18
Difficult to answer	9	6	9	5	7	4	7

N=1600

Table 6.12

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

	1999 July	2001 January	2003 December	2006 April	2011 April	2013 March	2014 March
Approve them	21	11	10	7	3	7	4
Understand them	26	28	24	24	20	22	27
Disapprove them	22	38	36	44	48	42	43
Do not care	16	15	18	18	21	22	18
Difficult to answer	15	9	12	7	8	7	9

N=1600

Table 6.13

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

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

Table 6.14

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

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

Table 6.15

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

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

Table 6.16

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

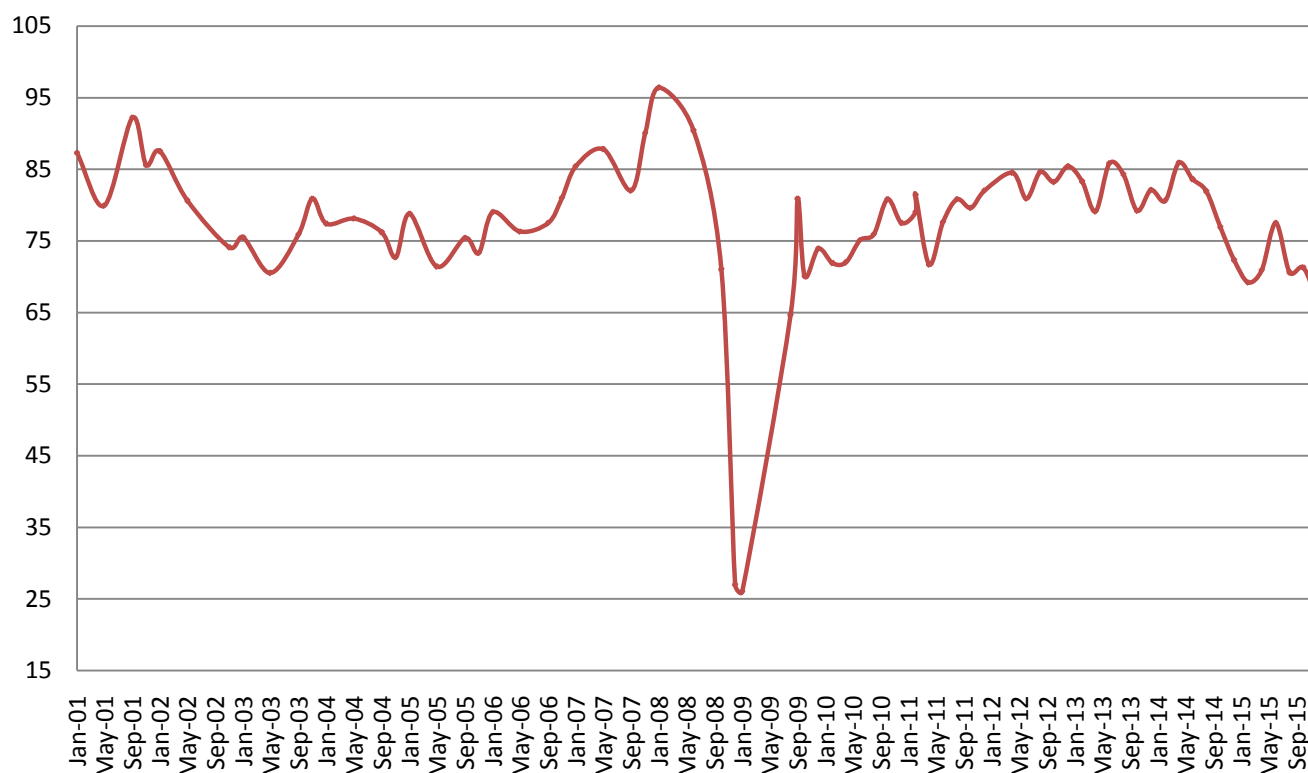
	1999	2001	2003	2006	2011	2013	2014	2015
Approve them	21	11	10	7	3	7	4	5
Understand them	26	28	24	24	20	22	27	19
Disapprove them	22	38	36	44	48	42	43	50
Do not care	16	15	18	18	21	22	18	18
Difficult to answer	15	9	12	7	8	7	9	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

UNEMPLOYMENT

Diagram 6.3

Unemployment expectation index

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



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

Table 6.17

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

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

Table 6.18

Do you think that unemployment assistance should be significant or low?

Low – people should be afraid of layoff, otherwise this system will poorly work	23
Significant – people should not be afraid of layoff	64
Difficult to answer	14

2013, June; N=800

Table 6.19

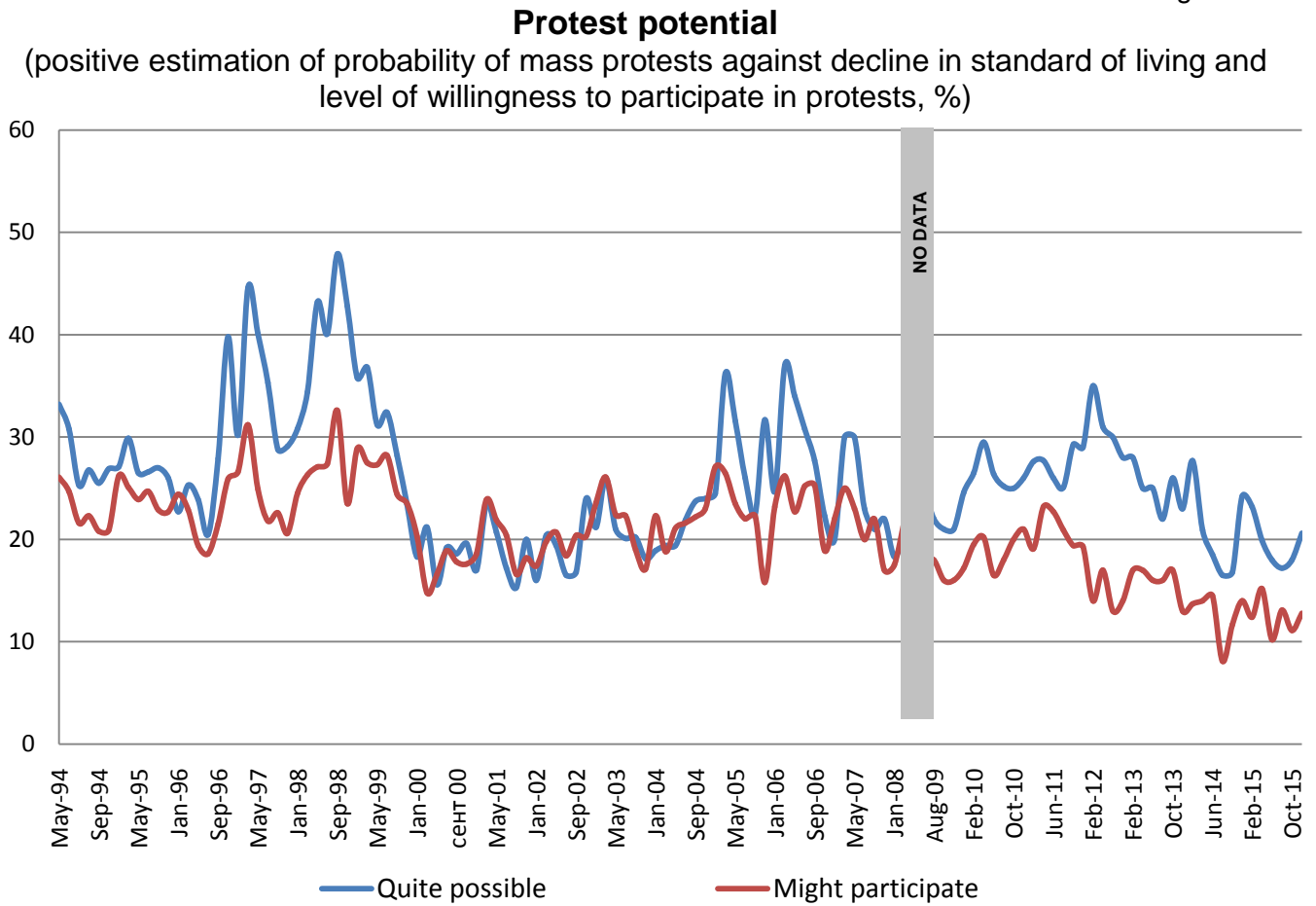
How do you feel about gradually increasing the pension age for women of 60 by the year 2029?

On the whole, positively	1
Rather favorably	6
Rather unfavorably	29
Definitely negatively	56
Difficult to answer	8

2013, August; N=800

SOCIAL PROTESTS

Diagram 6.4



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

Table 6.20

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

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

Table 6.21

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

	2008 V	2010 IV	2011 IV	2012 VI	2012 X	2013 VII	2014 XII	2015 VII
Street rallies and demonstrations are standard democratic means that citizens use to get what they want, and authorities have no right to ban them	55	59	54	51	48	54	48	50
If street rallies and demonstrations disturb the people or incite riots, authorities should ban them	32	27	35	37	39	37	36	40
Difficult to answer	12	14	11	13	13	9	17	10

N=1600

Table 6.22

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

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

Table 6.23

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

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

7. RATING THE PERFORMANCE OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

7.1 HEALTHCARE

Table 7.1.1

Are you satisfied with the healthcare system in Russia?

	2002 XII	2003 VIII	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2008 VIII	2009 VIII	2010 VIII	2011 VIII	2012 IX	2013 VIII	2014 IX	2015 IX
Definitely yes	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	1	1	2	3	2	3
Yes, rather than no	9	11	9	10	14	13	15	13	14	15	13	17	17	15
Neither yes, nor no	23	20	21	19	21	20	23	22	22	22	22	-*	28	21
No, rather than yes	39	36	36	36	34	36	36	35	37	33	32	45	35	31
Definitely no	23	29	29	32	26	27	22	25	22	24	29	32	16	27
Difficult to answer	4	2	3	2	2	3	1	4	4	4	2	4	3	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1500	800	800	800	1600

* - the option was not offered

Table 7.1.2

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

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

Table 7.1.3

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

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

ADDICTION PROBLEMS

SMOKING

Table 7.1.4

**Do you smoke, and if so, how many cigarettes do you smoke per day?
If not, did you smoke in the past?**

	2007 November	2009 May	2012 October	2013 November	2014 November
About a pack or more a day	23	20	22	22	18
A few cigarettes almost every day	13	14	15	14	16
A few cigarettes a week or a month	3	3	1	4	2
Quit smoking and do not smoke since more than three months	7	11	12	12	10
Never smoked	53	52	50	48	53

N=1600

Table 7.1.5

How do you feel about the ban on smoking in public places?

	2007 August	2009 September	2010 June	2011 June	2012 October	2013 November	2014 November
Support it completely	62	60	60	60	56	48	53
Support it but consider it excessive	21	20	21	20	25	32	29
Do not support it and consider it excessive	10	9	11	10	11	11	9
Definitely not supporting it	4	5	5	4	4	6	5
Difficult to answer	4	6	3	6	3	3	5

N=1600

Table 7.1.6

**When we speak of discrimination, we mean the unjustified restriction of rights.
In your opinion, does the law on the regulation of tobacco products and
smoking discriminate against smokers?**

Largely	12
Somewhat	32
Slightly	23
Does not discriminate	22
It is difficult to say	10

2014, October; N=1600

DRUG USE

Table 7.1.7

Is there anyone among your relatives and friends who take narcotics without a medical prescription?

	2003	2005	2006	2009	2011	2013	2014	2015
Yes	15	19	23	18	16	15	13	17
Now	85	80	75	79	80	83	85	80
Refuse to answer	-*	2	2	3	4	2	2	4
<i>Number of respondent</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 7.1.8

Have you ever tried taking drugs (without a medical prescription)?

	2003	2005	2006	2009	2011	2013	2014	2015
Yes	5	5	6	5	6	4	5	8
Now	95	93	93	92	90	95	93	88
Refuse to answer	-*	2	1	3	4	2	3	4
<i>Number of respondent</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 7.1.9

Do you think it is possible for a person, without outside help, to free oneself from addiction?

	2005	2006	2009	2011	2013	2014	2015
Quite possible	7	9	7	8	4	3	4
Maybe possible	11	12	10	12	8	12	12
Unlikely	43	39	40	38	40	44	44
Practically impossible	30	32	34	32	38	35	31
Difficult to answer	9	9	10	10	10	6	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 7.1.10

How do you feel about the suggestion to implement mandatory drug testing of schoolchildren?

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Favorably	75	68	73	67	69
Neutrally	13	18	18	23	20
Negatively	7	10	6	7	6
Difficult to answer	5	4	3	3	5

N=1600

Table 7.1.11

How do you feel about the suggestion to implement drug testing of potential employees and students of universities?

	2006	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Favorably	78	76	68	73	64	67
Neutrally	12	13	20	17	25	21
Negatively	7	7	9	6	8	8
Difficult to answer	3	4	3	3	3	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 7.1.12

How do you feel about criminal prosecution for drug use involving mandatory rehabilitation treatment?

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Favorably	77	68	75	62	72
Neutrally	12	18	13	21	19
Negatively	6	9	7	12	6
Difficult to answer	5	5	5	5	4

N=800

Table 7.1.13

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

	2006	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Favorably	5	11	8	8	14	12
Neutrally	8	10	9	11	12	9
Negatively	85	77	81	79	70	75
Difficult to answer	2	3	3	3	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 7.1.14

Do you think it is possible for a person, without outside help, to free oneself from addiction?

	2005 May	2006 June	2009 June	2011 May	2013 May	2014 June
Quite possible	7	9	7	8	4	3
Maybe possible	11	12	10	12	8	12
Unlikely	43	39	40	38	40	44
Practically impossible	30	32	34	32	38	35
Difficult to answer	9	9	10	10	10	6

N=1600

ABORTION AND MOTHERHOOD

Table 7.1.15

Which opinion is closest to your point of view?

Planned parenthood with the use of contraception	77
Give birth to as many children as God allows without the use of contraceptives	14
Difficult to answer	10

2013, November; N=800

Table 7.1.16

Would you agree or disagree with the opinion that abortion should be prohibited under any circumstances and that it represents a legalized murder?

Definitely yes	10
Yes, most likely	18
No, most likely	35
Definitely no	16
Difficulty in answering	20

2013, November; N=800

Table 7.1.17

In your opinion, should schools teach sex education?

Definitely yes	24
Yes, most likely	40
No, most likely	18
Definitely no	7
Difficulty in answering	11

2013, November; N=800

Table 7.1.18

What is your opinion on «surrogate motherhood»?

Completely acceptable	18
Quite acceptable	32
Rather unacceptable	20
Completely unacceptable	14
Difficulty in answering	16

2013, November; N=800

Table 7.1.19

Do you think the authorities should be taking measures to prevent abortions or do you think the government should leave the decision on such issues to the concerned parties?

	2008 January	2013 June	2015 June
The country's authorities should take measures to prevent abortions	28	21	20
The country's authorities should leave the decision on such issues to the concerned parties	61	67	66
Don't know/Difficult to answer	10	12	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	1600

Table 7.1.20

What measures should the government use first of all to prevent abortions?

(out of those who think that the authorities should take some measures to fight abortions)

	2008 January	2013 June	2015 June
Criminal prosecution: fines or jail time for those who perform abortions and those on whom they are performed	16	17	11
Educational programs, consulting, social assistance – but not criminal prosecution	78	78	84
Don't know/Difficult to answer	6	5	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	1600

Table 7.1.21

Do you think abortions should be permitted and performed whenever a woman wants; permitted but only in certain circumstance or should they be banned in all circumstances?

	1998 April	2013 June	2015 June
They have to be permitted and performed in accordance with the woman's wishes	65	54	51
They should be permitted only in certain circumstances	18	32	35
They should be banned in all circumstances	5	4	3
Difficult to answer	12	9	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	1600

7.2 EDUCATION

Table 7.2.1

How would you rate the system of education in Russia?

	2011 V	2012 IV	2013 V	2015 VIII
Excellent	3	1	2	4
Good	24	23	19	29
Mediocre	48	39	49	33
Bad	16	14	18	12
Very bad	5	14	5	12
Difficult to answer	5	8	8	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800

N=1600

Table 7.2.2

Are you satisfied with the education system in Russia?

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

* - the option was not offered

Table 7.2.3

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

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

Table 7.2.4

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

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

Table 7.2.5

Are you satisfied now with your education?

	1999	2007	2009	2011	2013	2014	2015
Definitely yes	27	26	21	21	27	26	26
Yes, rather than no	28	40	43	47	45	44	46
Neither yes, nor no	27	26	25	22	21	20	20
No, rather than yes	10	7	8	6	4	5	5
Definitely no	7	2	3	4	3	6	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

SCHOOL

Table 7.2.6

What problems in the current schooling system seem most important to you and require solutions in the next 5-10 years?
(the answers are ranked)

	2011 August	2013 May
The rise of additional monetary expenses for education	46	47
Lack of interest among students toward learning	34	38
Disparity between rising cost of education and its quality	30	34
Low discipline and dissoluteness among students	27	34
Low quality of education precluding entrance to universities/ colleges and obtaining a good job	28	31
Rise in the use of drugs and criminal behavior in school	32	30
Low professional preparation among teachers and decline of their authority among students	25	29
Material inequality among students	19	23
Poor material base of schools (poor conditions of buildings; absence / lack of computers; lack of sports equipments, etc.)	22	22
Unfounded innovations in school education (e.g., unified state exam, etc.)	27	20
Weak specialization and lack of professional preparation of students	7	14
Inadequate supply of textbooks	12	12
Poor treatment of students by their teachers, barracks conditions in schools	8	10
Antiquated system of education	4	9
Inadequate and antiquated textbooks, inappropriate for modern education	3	7
Difficult to answer	9	7

N=1600

Table 7.2.7

What kind of people should school prepare nowadays?

	1998	2000	2004	2006	2010	2011	2013	2014
People who are able to think, take the responsibility	35	31	57	58	58	56	57	57
Cultured, educated people	68	66	62	67	57	54	57	52
Qualified specialists	37	35	35	32	33	33	29	32
People who have sound judgment	33	33	31	29	30	26	31	29
Patriots	-*	-*	-*	23	29	26	23	25
A good father, husband, mother, housewife	35	30	27	23	26	21	22	24
People who are able to ensure their wellbeing	29	30	26	25	23	21	23	23
Reliable defenders of the Motherland	25	28	28	21	24	18	21	22
Disciplined workers	19	17	16	17	19	12	15	14
People with a sense of beauty	9	11	9	11	12	11	7	9
Romantics and enthusiasts	5	3	3	5	4	4	3	4
People who do not compromise	5	5	5	4	4	3	3	4
Difficult to answer	2	2	2	1	1	2	4	3

* the option was not offered

N=1600

Table 7.2.8

Do children in modern Russian schools have a normal workload?

	2000 VIII	2001 IX	2002 VIII	2003 X	2006 VIII	2010 VIII	2015 VIII
Have normal workload	30	30	30	28	28	27	24
Overloaded	45	46	47	48	51	52	57
Underloaded	9	7	10	7	7	8	7
Difficult to answer	16	17	13	17	14	14	12

N=1600

Table 7.2.9

How do you feel about creating a single text book on history for schools?

	2013 May	2014 May	2015 May
In general, positively	32	46	52
Rather positively	39	38	27
Rather negatively	8	5	8
Definitely negatively	2	2	2
Difficult to answer	19	9	11

N=800

Table 7.2.10

How do you feel about creating a single text book on literature for schools?

	2014 May	2015 May
In general, positively	45	52
Rather positively	39	29
Rather negatively	4	6
Definitely negatively	3	3
Difficult to answer	9	10

N=800

Table 7.2.11

How do you feel about creating a single text book on mathematic for schools?

	2014 May	2015 May
In general, positively	45	52
Rather positively	38	28
Rather negatively	5	7
Definitely negatively	3	2
Difficult to answer	9	11

N=800

Table 7.2.12

**In your opinion the teaching of which school subjects
should receive the most attention now?**

	2011 April	2015 August
History	42	44
Social sciences (sociology, economics, political science)	13	16
Philosophy	5	5
Religion, Scripture	9	6
Math	52	44
Computer literacy, computer science	32	28
Physics, chemistry, biology	27	20
Native language and literature	34	36
The Russian language	55	51
Foreign languages	28	29
History of art, artistic expression	5	7
Physical culture	14	20
Sex ed	10	7
Manual training	17	21
Household management	9	9
Accounting, book-keeping	3	4
Basic management, production management	4	5
Other subjects	1	1
Difficult to answer	3	5

N=800

UNIFIED STATE EXAM

Table 7.2.13

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

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

*- formulation since 2009

Table 7.2.14

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

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

Table 7.2.15

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

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

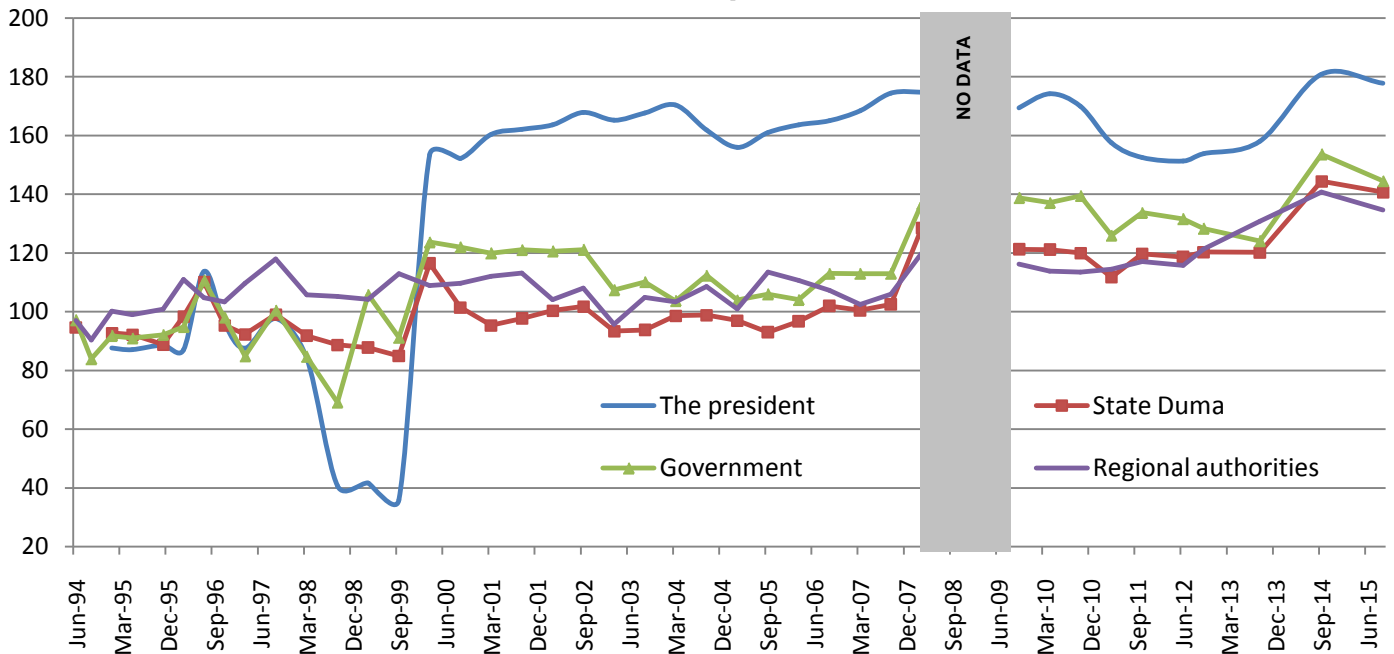
N=1600

8. GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

8.1. OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF INSTITUTIONS

Diagram 8.1.1

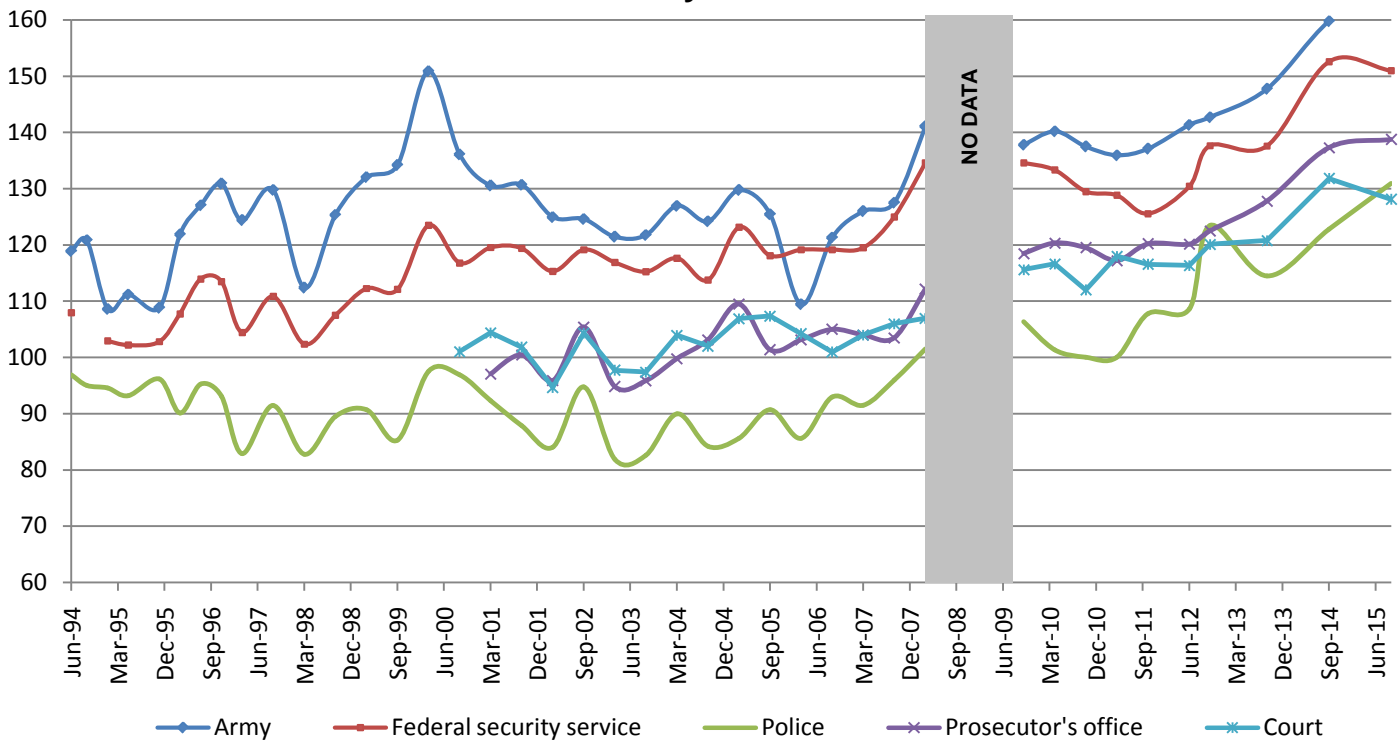
Indices of confidence in public institutions:



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

Diagram 8.1.2

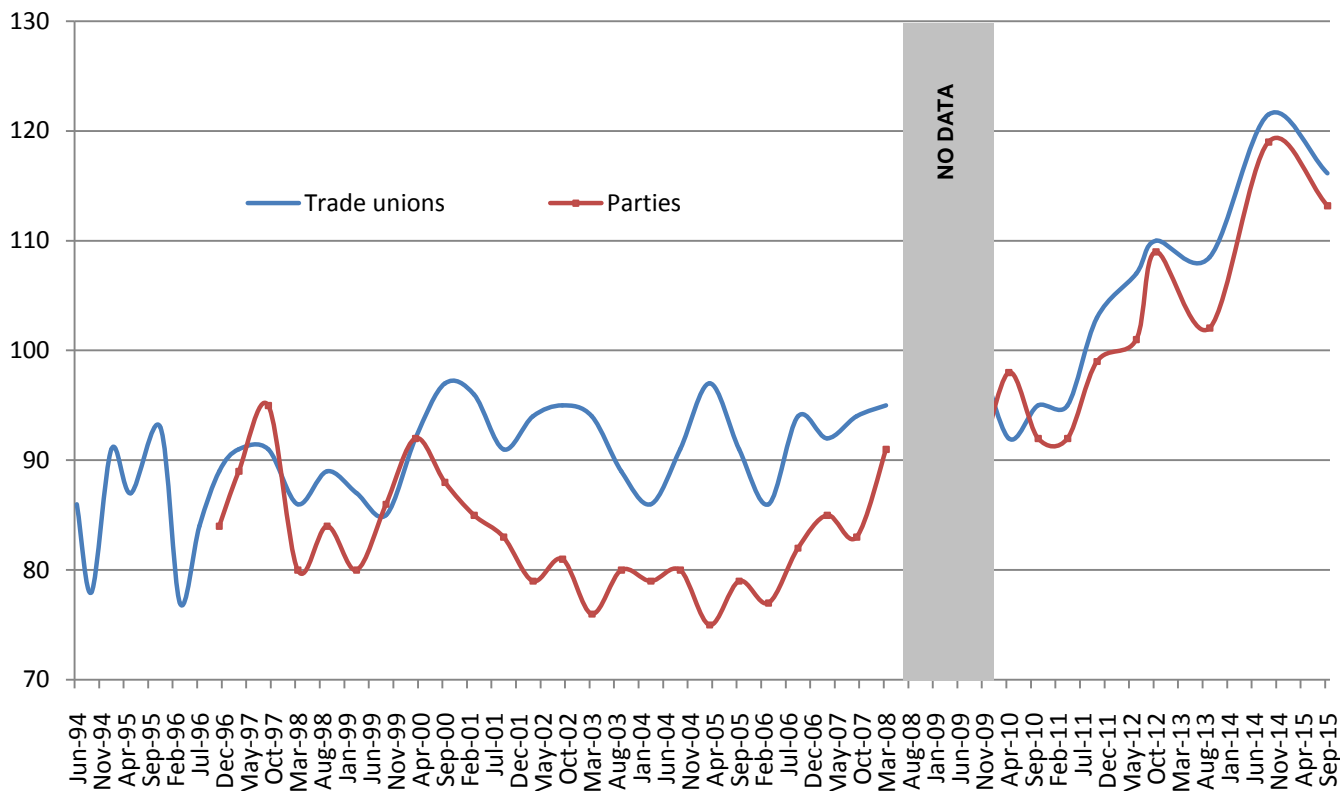
Indices of confidence in security and law enforcement bodies



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

Diagram 8.1.3

Indices of confidence in parties and trade unions



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

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

Table 8.1.1

How important in Russia is the role of ..?*
(the answers are ranked)

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

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

** - «-» the option was not offered

N=1600

Table 8.1.2

In your opinion, whose interests are being protected by the Federal Duma and the president of Russia?

Regular people	9
Government employees	20
Big business	17
Ruling oligarchs	18
Its own economic and political interests	27
Difficult to answer	9

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.1.3

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

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

Table 8.1.4

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

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

Table 8.1.5

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

	2007 May	2012 September	2013 October	2014 November	2015 November
The individuals in power should be regularly replaced in popular democratic elections	51	62	62	60	45
The individuals in power should later name the successor and transfer the power to them	19	14	16	17	22
The same people should remain in power as long as possible	18	12	11	11	19
Difficult to answer	12	62	11	12	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	1600

8.2 PUTIN

Table 8.2.1

In your opinion, on solving what problems should focus V. Putin after his election as the President of Russia?

	2012	2013
Economic growth, the rise of the country's economy	59	53
Bring order in the country	42	42
Compliance with the law by the citizens and the authorities	28	28
Restoration of social justice, improving the lives of the common people	44	39
Consolidation of the democracy, protection of individual's right and freedom	12	9
Strengthen Russia's position in the international arena	18	15
Strengthen the country's defense	19	20
Develop science, culture, education	21	23
Appease ethnic conflicts, fight against national intolerance	8	6
Fight against crime	23	23
Fight against corruption	46	46
Ensure the inviolability of private property, the promotion of private enterprise	7	5
Spiritual renewal of Russia	13	10
Protect the environment	7	7
Difficult to answer	5	4

N=1600

Table 8.2.2

Former president D. Medvedev declared the course for modernization. Is there a clear course for V. Putin?

Definitely yes	7
Rather yes	37
Rather no	26
Definitely no	10
Difficult to answer	21

2013, October; N=1600

Table 8.2.3

How can be characterized a course for the development of the country chosen by V. Putin after being re-elected?

To stay in power and control as long as possible	24
To support society's order and political stability	21
To work towards gradual improvement in the quality of life for Russians	16
To continue with modernizing the country	14
There is no strategy	16
Difficult to answer	10

2013, October; N=1600

Table 8.2.4

Do you approve the current path of the country's development?

Certainly yes	7
Somewhat yes	39
Somewhat no	28
Certainly no	13
Difficult to answer	13

2013, October; N=1600

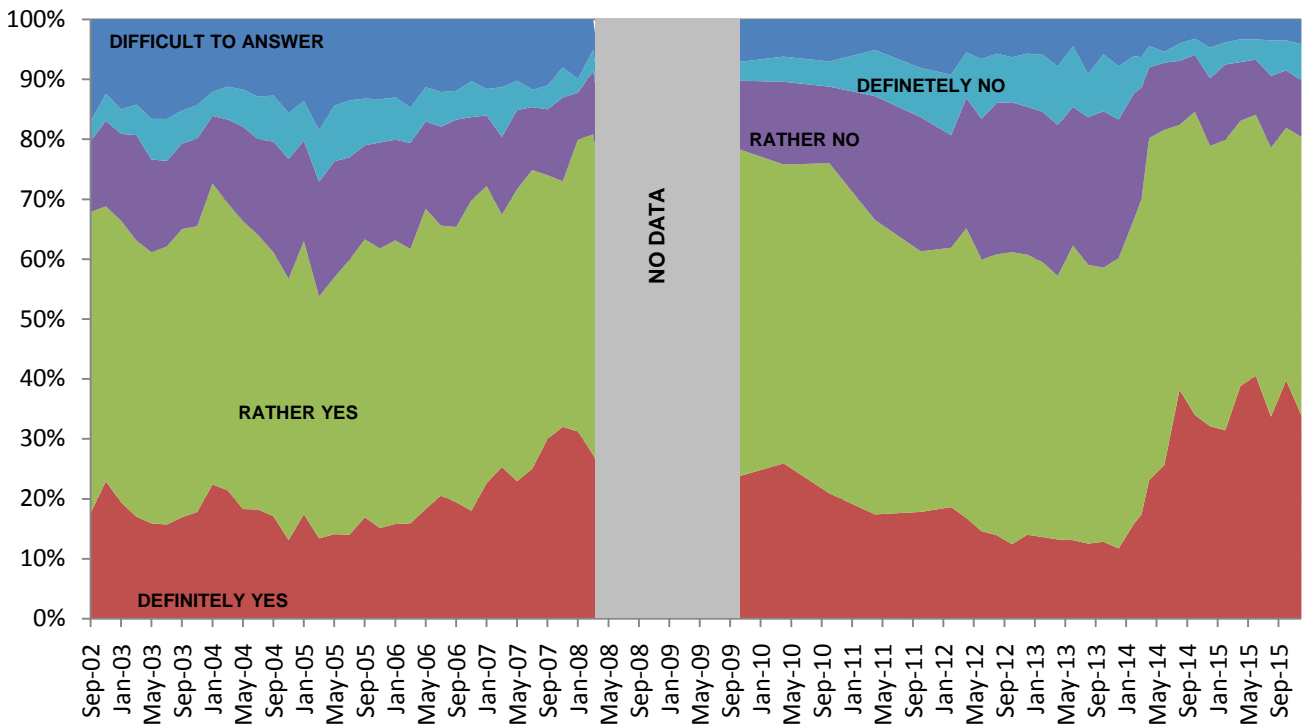
Table 8.2.5

How would you describe your feelings toward V. Putin?

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012		2013	2014	2015
	V	V	V	XI	XI	XI	VIII	IX	VI	VIII	I	I	VIII	VIII	III	III
Admire him	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	9	9	4	3	3	2	2	6	10
Like him	28	30	32	38	30	32	31	38	40	31	28	20	20	18	31	37
Can't say anything bad about him	35	37	40	39	35	36	37	34	31	38	36	32	31	29	29	30
Neutral, indifferent toward him	8	12	9	10	14	11	15	9	10	11	18	19	20	20	15	10
Cautious, wait-and-see approach	18	11	9	5	7	5	5	4	3	7	4	11	11	11	6	6
Can't say anything good about him	3	4	4	3	7	8	6	2	3	6	2	8	8	10	7	3
Dislike him , disgust by him	1	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	5	4	4	2	3
Difficult to answer	4	1	0	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	3	5	4	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

Diagram 8.2.1

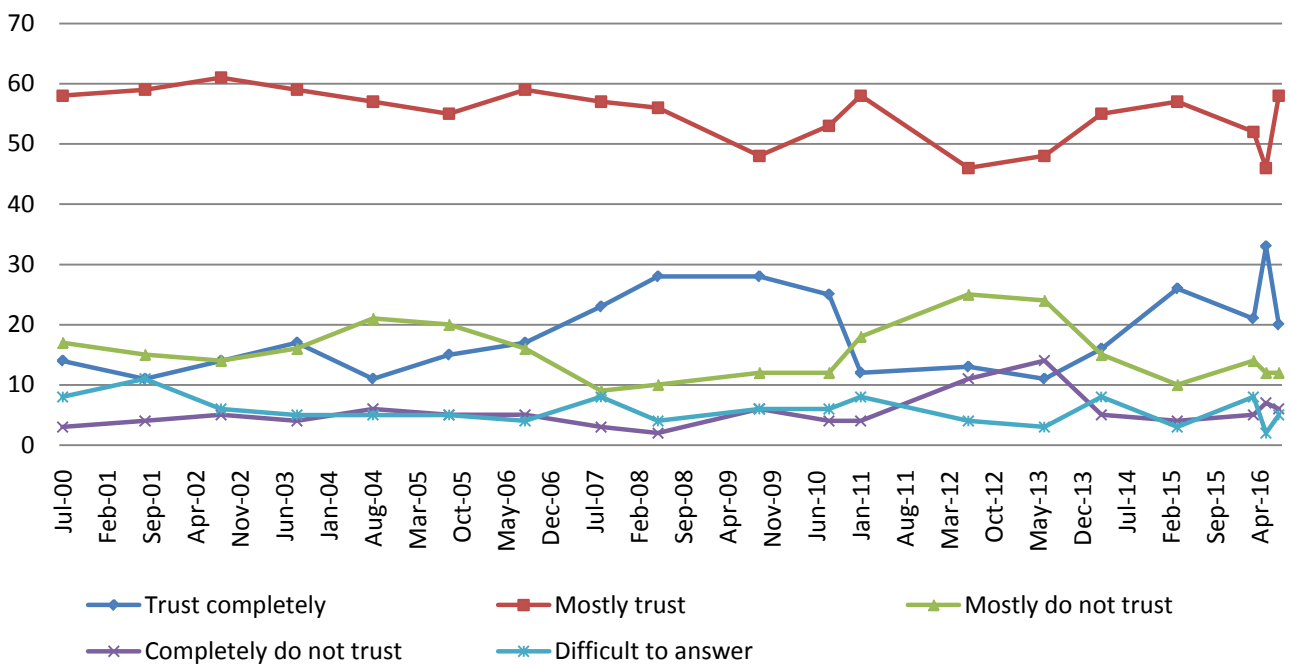
Do you approve the activities of V. Putin as the President of Russia?*



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

Diagram 8.2.2

How much do you trust Vladimir Putin?



N=1600

Table 8.2.6

How would you rate V. Putin as president?

	2001 V	2002 V	2003 XII	2004 VIII	2005 VI	2006 V	2007 XII	2013 VII	2014 IX
I completely agree with the views and positions of V.Putin	19	17	28	13	18	26	38	14	31
I am willing to support Vladimir Putin for as long as he is ready to carry out democratic and market reforms in Russia	28	27	25	30	21	26	24	16	23
I liked V. Putin in the past but lately became disillusioned in him	10	7	8	11	14	9	7	22	8
I support V. Putin for lack of other qualified politicians	17	18	19	19	22	17	12	18	17
I am not a supporter of V. Putin	10	12	7	14	13	9	8	15	9
I did not like V. Putin very much but hope that in the future he will be beneficial for Russia	9	10	9	6	7	6	3	6	6
I think that anyone is better than V. Putin	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	5	<1
Difficult to answer	7	8	5	6	5	5	7	5	5

N=1600

Table 8.2.7

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

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

Table 8.2.8

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

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

Table 8.2.9

Do you really believe that Putin is concerned about seriously improving people's lives, or do his words represent the typical empty promises that all politicians make?

	2012 May	2014 September	2015 October
Putin sincerely wants to improve the well-being of the population, and he will be able to succeed in the next 6 years	22	28	25
Putin sincerely wants to improve the well-being of the population, but he cannot do this because of bureaucratic pushback and the absence of a good team	33	42	49
Putin often says the right things, but he does not follow through on what he promises	20	15	15
Putin does not want to do anything, insofar as he is only interested in controlling power and in his own enrichment; he needs the support of those on whom he relies, and he couldn't care less about the population	11	6	6
Difficult to answer	14	9	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 8.2.10

In your opinion what did V. Putin achieve during his years in power?

	2013 February		2014 March		2015 March	
	achieved	not achieved	achieved	not achieved	achieved	not achieved
To return to Russia the status of a great and respected nation/power	36	20	51	9	49	13
Overcome separatist sentiment, to keep Russia from disintegration	24	8	27	5	32	6
Keep Russia on the path of reforms	22	8	16	5	24	4
To continue reforms but with a greater attention to/emphasis on the social protection of its population	10	16	12	14	14	14
Overcome the crisis in the economy, stop the decline in production	14	22	12	24	10	23
Cope with the consequences of the 2008 crisis	19	10	19	5	30	6
Increase salaries, pensions, stipends and allowances	28	23	25	23	30	15
To strengthen law and order	11	25	9	24	18	22
Ensure convergence between the CIS countries	16	10	13	10	16	10
Stabilize the situation in the North Caucasus	17	22	25	11	34	5
Ensure an equitable distribution of income in the interests of ordinary people	3	43	2	35	4	39
Return to ordinary people the means which they lost in the course of reforms	5	36	3	31	5	34
None of the above	9	4	6	4	5	4
Difficult to answer	8	8	10	15	6	16

N=800

Table 8.2.11

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

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

N=1600

Table 8.2.12

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

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

Table 8.2.13

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

	2000	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2013	2015
Gets full and reliable information	32	30	27	26	27	28	27	31
Gets incomplete and distorted information	40	40	46	51	47	44	42	42
He is not told the truth about the situation in the country	14	14	17	15	16	14	13	14
Difficult to answer	14	16	9	9	11	13	18	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600

Table 8.2.14

**Do you think V. Putin is tough enough, not tough enough
or too tough as a politician?**

	2000 January	2015 March
Tough enough	56	50
Not tough enough	23	38
Too tough	4	3
Difficult to answer	17	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800

Table 8.2.15

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

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

N=800

Table 8.2.16

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

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

Table 8.2.17

Do you think that people today answer frankly about what they think of the authorities, about V. Putin or do they conceal their true feelings about them?

	2005 February	2012 January	2013 August	2014 September	2015 July
Almost everybody answers frankly	18	13	7	9	16
Most answer frankly	33	30	23	33	32
Half answers frankly, half doesn't	23	27	33	32	31
Most hide what they think	18	19	26	18	14
Almost everybody hides what they think	4	5	5	3	3
Difficult to answer	5	7	6	5	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 8.2.18

Do you think there is a cult of personality surrounding Vladimir Putin in Russia?

	2006 March	2007 April	2009 October	2010 July	2011 October	2014 September
Yes, all the signs are already evident	10	15	23	27	25	19
Not yet, but the preconditions for a cult of personality are growing	21	25	26	28	30	31
No, there are no signs of such a cult	57	49	38	33	33	40
Difficult to answer	11	11	12	12	12	10

N=1600

V. PUTIN'S ASSOCIATES

Table 8.2.19

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

	2005	2008	2012	2013	2016
National issues	31	56	40	33	44
Personal material interests	55	29	41	52	38
Difficult to answer	14	16	19	16	19

N=1600

Table 8.2.20

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

	2005 January	2006 February	2007 January	2008 January	2012 January	2013 April	2016 January
Capable and proactive	39	37	48	63	45	32	38
«Grey» and passive	38	39	29	16	32	46	37
Difficult to answer	23	24	23	21	23	22	26

N=1600

Table 8.2.21

**Does V. Putin choose high government officials based
on their ability/competence or according to their loyalty to him?**

	2004 September	2005 December	2006 August	2013 April
According to their ability	37	43	42	30
On the basis of their loyalty	50	44	41	55
Difficult to answer	13	13	17	15

N=1600

2018 YEAR

Table 8.2.22

To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following: “Russia needs a strong leader who can bring it to order, even if it were at the price of temporarily canceling elections and limiting freedom of speech?”

	2013 June	2015 June
Fully agree	39	39
Rather agree	36	33
Rather disagree	17	17
Totally disagree	5	5
Difficult to answer	4	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	1600

Table 8.2.23

Who would you like to see as the President of Russia after the 2018 elections?

	2013 April	2014 March	2014 April	2014 December	2015 June	2015 November
Still V. Putin	26	32	49	55	66	57
Another person who would continue V. Putin's political course	14	22	13	10	8	11
A person who would offer an alternate solution for Russia's problems	41	31	22	18	15	18
Difficult to answer	20	15	16	17	12	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	1600	800	800	1600	1600

Table 8.2.24

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

	2012 December	2013 December	2014 December	2015 November
You can already name a politician who can replace V. Putin	10	12	10	6
Another person can be found who could replace V. Putin, if needed	47	40	24	33
There is no one in Russia who could replace V. Putin	27	31	54	48
Difficult to answer	15	17	13	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	1600

Table 8.2.25

Would you like V. Putin to be reelected president of Russia for another term three years from now – or would you like him to be replaced with another?

I would like Putin to be reelected president of Russia again three years from now	57
I'd like another person to replace Putin as president of Russia three years from now	25
Difficult to answer	19

2015 February, N=800

Table 8.2.26

In your opinion, is V. Putin involved in the massive machinations concerning government properties and finances, which came to light in the recent past?

Not involved in any way	13
Not involved personally but had to know about them, however was compelled to tolerate it since he is dependent on the people who were involved and needs their support	48
He is part of the corruption and has his own «interests»	18
Difficult to answer	21

2013, August; N=1600

Table 8.2.27

Do you think people nowadays openly talk about what they think of V. Putin's power or are they hiding their thoughts?

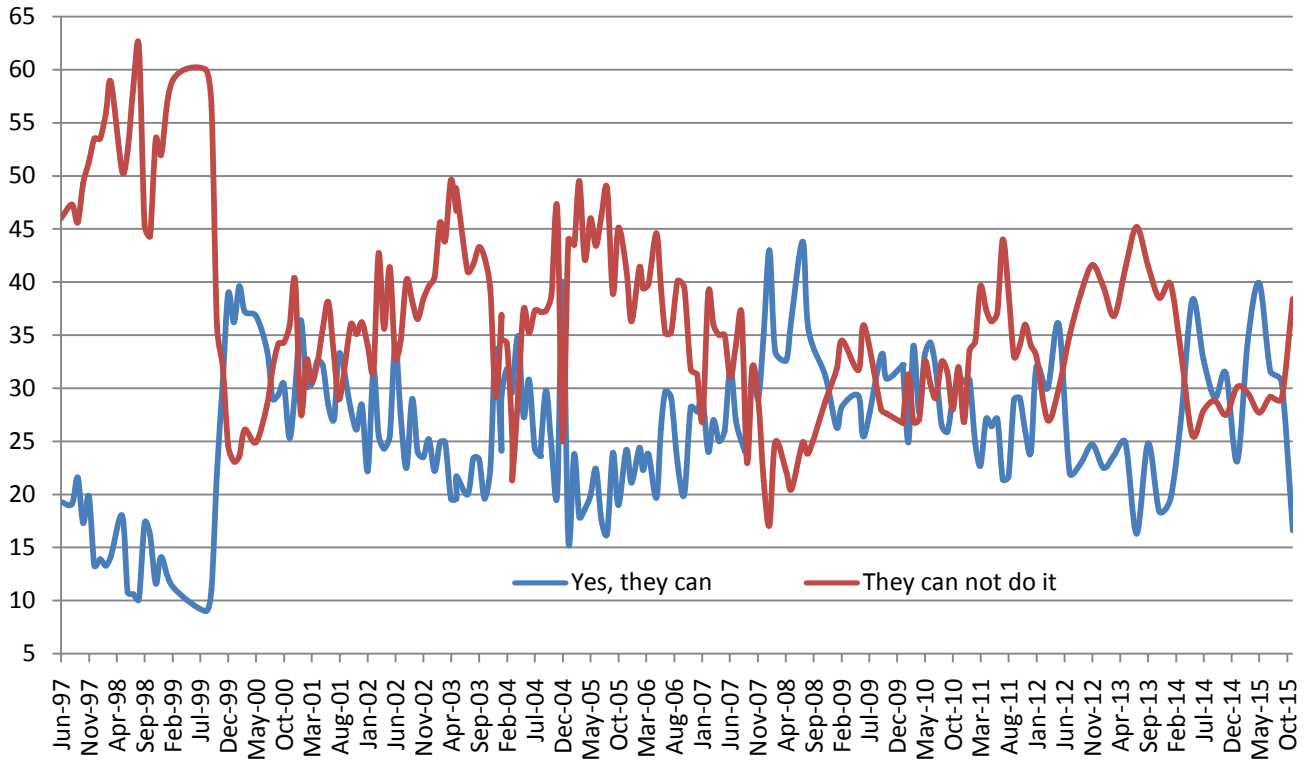
	2005	2012	2013	2014	2015
Almost everyone answer honestly	18	13	7	9	16
Most answer honestly	33	30	23	32	32
Half answer honestly, and the other half don't	23	27	33	32	31
Most hide what they think	18	19	26	18	14
Almost everyone hide what they think	4	5	5	3	3
Difficult to answer	5	7	6	5	4

N=1600

8.3. GOVERNMENT

Diagram 8.3.1

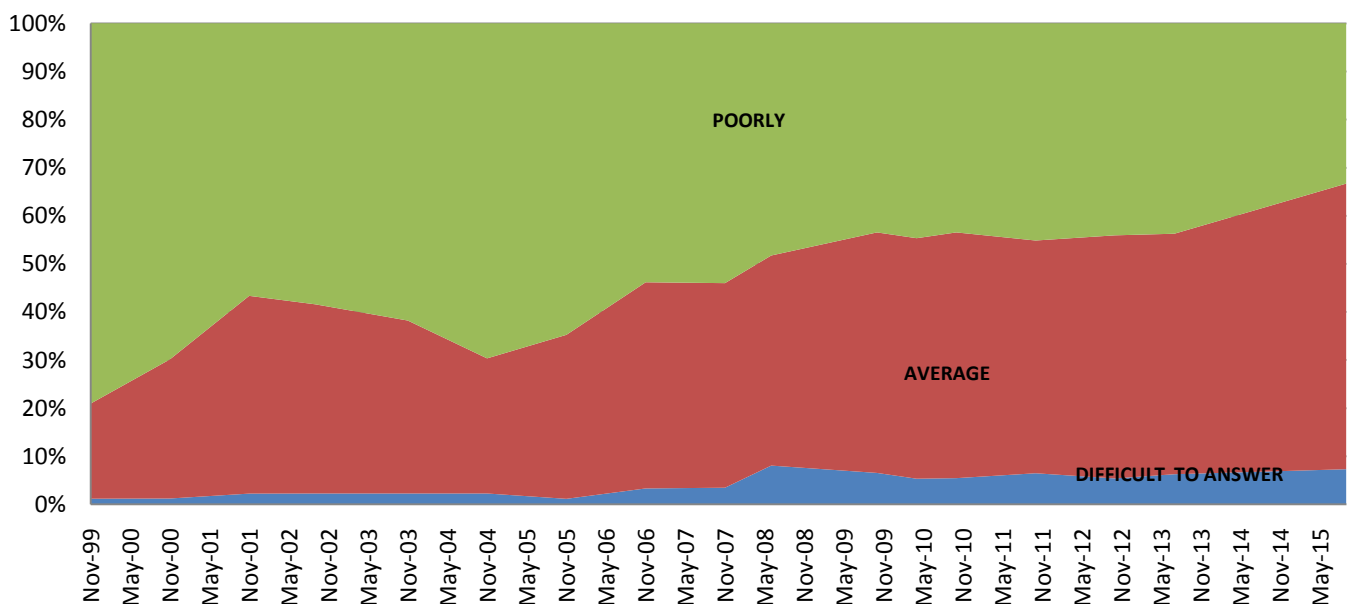
Will the current government be able to improve the situation in the country in the near future?
(Sum of positive and negative answers)



N=1600

Diagram 8.3.2

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



N=1600

Table 8.3.1

Does the current government evoke to you more or less confidence than the previous one of V. Putin?

	2012 XI	2013 IV
More confidence	10	5
As much confidence	46	52
Less confidence	31	33
Difficult to answer	14	10

N=1600

Table 8.3.2

Do you think it is possible that the Russian Government would resign in the near future?

	2013	2014	2015
Definitely yes	3	3	3
Rather yes	13	13	13
Rather no	45	44	42
Definitely no	19	23	25
Difficult to answer	20	17	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 8.3.3

What are your main criticism regarding the activities of the present government?

(the answers are ranked by the last poll)

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

Table 8.3.4

**Financing which areas at the expense of the education
and healthcare budgets do you support?**

Development of the Crimea and Sevastopol	16
Development of the Far East region	11
Payment of loans that mortgage holders are unable to cover	7
Construction of Moscow-Kazan high-speed highway	5
Nuclear research support	5
Increase of wages and pensions in the republic of Abkhazia	3
Financial support of "Rostech"	2
Public loan to A. Konchalovsky and N. Mikhalkov for the creation of a restaurant chain	1
Development of Russia Today TV company	1
Acquisition of helicopters and planes for the country's dignitaries	1
I don't support financing these areas at the expense of the education and healthcare budgets	60
Difficult to answer	9

2015, May; N=800

Table 8.3.5

**What should Russia's government allocate money for
first of all?**

	2010 May	2015 May
Improving the living standards of the majority of the population	64	67
Improving healthcare	60	55
Support of socially vulnerable groups	56	52
Development of education and science	37	26
Road construction/repairs	-*	22
Innovative programs (industry modernization, nanotech etc)	18	14
Rearmament and modernization of the army	16	12
Development of culture and art	13	8
Supporting the country's international prestige, such events as the Sochi Olympic games, Universiade, World Championship	10	5
Development of space programs	6	4
Difficult to answer	3	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

*the option wasn't given

Table 8.3.6

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

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012			2013		2014	2015	
	VIII	VIII	VIII	XII	XII	XI	XI	I	VI	XI	II	VIII	VIII	II	VIII
There is a sound economic program	21	19	24	46	32	36	34	33	29	26	23	23	41	31	30
There is no sound program, they just have a general idea of what should be done	35	40	37	26	27	34	33	32	38	38	38	36	35	31	36
The government does not have a program, the decisions are made on the spur of the moment	34	31	29	14	26	21	22	24	23	23	24	26	13	26	23
Difficult to answer	11	11	10	14	15	10	11	12	11	13	14	14	12	12	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	800	800	800	1600	800	800	1600

Table 8.3.7

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

	2012 XI	2013 IV	2015 I
Definitely in favor	10	12	7
Rather in favor	28	27	21
Rather against	33	37	34
Definitely against	8	9	14
Difficult to answer	22	16	24

N=800

8.4. STATE DUMA

Table 8.4.1

In your opinion, does Russia need the State Duma or the life of the country can proceed as well with just presidential decrees?

	2007 October	2011 August	2013 November
Russia needs State Duma	48	47	39
The life of the country can proceed just as successfully as well with presidential decrees	37	32	43
Difficult to answer	15	21	18

N=1600

Table 8.4.2

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

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

November; N=800

Table 8.4.3

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

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

N=1600

Table 8.4.4

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

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

N=800

Table 8.4.5

How do you assess the activity of the deputies of the State Duma from...?

	«United Russia»	CPRF	«A just Russia»	LDPR
On the whole positively	5	3	1	3
Rather positively	29	22	17	16
Rather negatively	20	26	27	28
Definitely negatively	18	14	16	17
Not aware of what they do at all	19	23	26	22
Difficult to answer	9	12	14	13

2013, March; N=800

Table 8.4.6

In your opinion, to which degree are the deputies of the State Duma dependent on the executive branch of the government?

Completely dependent and comply with all the wishes of Kremlin	37
Listen to the wishes of Kremlin but defend their views and interests	30
Generally are independent and ignore the opinion of the executive branch of the government	17
Difficult to answer	17

2013, March; N=800

Table 8.4.7

In your opinion, is there a real opposition to the government's authority in the present State Duma?

Yes	26
No	47
Difficult to answer	27

2013, March; N=800

Table 8.4.8

What are your main criticisms of the deputies of the State Duma?

Do poor work and do not work hard enough	22
Too dependent on the executive authority	16
Make harmful and erroneous legislations/laws	19
Fail to make necessary and pending legislation	27
In general their work is acceptable to me	8
Difficult to answer	8

2013, March; N=800

Table 8.4.9

What should be done about the deputies who often miss plenary sessions without a valid reason?

Make it public / declare public censure	6
Financial punishment (fine, deprivation of a part of their salary)	29
Deprive them of their mandate	60
Difficult to answer	4

2013, March; N=800

Table 8.4.10

Is it acceptable for the deputies to vote in their faction's colleagues' absence?

Definitely yes	1
Rather yes	6
Rather no	26
Definitely no	60
Difficult to answer	7

2013, March; N=800

Table 8.4.11

Is the current State Duma more or less dependent on the «Kremlin» than the one previously elected?

Much more	12
Somewhat more	17
The same	45
Somewhat less	8
Considerably less	2
Was not and is not dependent	2
Difficult to answer	14

2013, March; N=800

Table 8.4.12

Which representative part of the population, profession must be represented above all in the State Duma?

Workers, peasants	45
Teachers, doctors	39
Engineers, intellectual technicians	35
Lawyers, economists	38
The "Middle Class"	35
Scientists, intellectuals	31
Professional politicians	27
Military, security forces	19
Entrepreneur	18
Executives, managers	11
Difficult to answer	8

2013, April; N=800

Table 8.4.13

In your opinion, what would be better for Russia now?

If the majority in Duma, required to draft various laws, would belong to a single party	17
If none of the parties would have a majority and, in order to draft a law, a consensus would be needed	55
Difficult to answer	28

2013, November; N=800

Table 8.4.14

Are you personally in favor or against the cancellation of the results of last year's elections to the State Duma, the dissolution of the present Duma and holding/conducting new early elections?

	2013 January	2013 January
Certainly yes	8	75
Rather for	18	21
Rather against	37	2
Certainly against	18	2
Difficult to answer	20	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	325*

* - Survey at a rally in Moscow

Table 8.4.15

In your opinion, as compared to the deputies of the parliaments of western countries, are the deputies in Russia more or less dependent on the ruling administration?

More dependent on the ruling administration	42
Less dependent on the ruling administration	13
Neither more nor less dependent on the ruling administration than in the West	27
Difficult to answer	18

2013, March; N=800

«MAGNITSKY ACT»

Table 8.4.16

Do you know about the legislation passed in the U.S. called the «Magnitsky Act»?

	2013	2014
Well aware of it	15	15
Heard something about it	56	52
Heard nothing about it	29	33
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800

Table 8.4.17

Have you heard about the decision in the U.S. regarding the «Law of Sergey Magnitsky», which prohibits the entry into the U.S. territory for a number of Russian officials and representatives of law enforcement agencies involved in the death of Sergei Magnitsky?

Carefully following this situation	5
Heard about it	30
Heard something about it but do not know the essence	33
Hear about it for the first time	32

2013, January; N=800

Table 8.4.18

How do you feel about the «Magnitsky Act» adopted in the U.S.?

	2013	2014
Approval	24	10
Indignation	14	12
No emotion	52	51
Difficult to answer	10	28
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 8.4.19

In your opinion, against whom is the «Magnitsky Act» directed?

	2013	2014
Against Russian officials and representatives of law enforcement agencies violating human rights in Russia	17	16
Against corrupt officials, fleecing the country and «laundering» the money obtained illegally in the U.S.	37	20
Against Vladimir Putin and his policy	9	11
Against Russia and Russian people in general	9	9
Difficult to answer	29	44
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 8.4.20

Do you find it reasonable that the Western countries impose sanctions against officials of other countries on the grounds of infringement of human rights?

Certainly yes	10
Rather yes	26
Rather no	25
Certainly not	7
Difficult to answer	31

2013, January; N=800

Table 8.4.21

In your opinion why did the Russian authorities react sharply to the adoption of "Magnitsky Act" in the U.S.?

Russian authorities are outraged that the U.S. are trying to teach Russia	17
Russian authorities fear that it may adversely affect the international image and prestige of Russia	13
Many officials and deputies hold bank accounts in the U.S. accounts and do not want to lose them	44
Many officials and deputies like to visit and vacation in the U.S. and do not want to stop travelling there	8
Difficult to answer	18

2013, January; N=800

Table 8.4.22

Do you consider it to be equitable/fair that in response to "Magnitsky Act" Russia imposes similar restrictions for U.S. citizens?

Definitely yes	14
Rather yes	43
Rather no	17
Definitely no	3
Difficult to answer	23

2013, January; N=800

Table 8.4.23

Do you consider it to be correct that in response to "Magnitsky Act" Americans are prohibited from participating in the activities of Russian public organizations and their funding?

Definitely yes	17
Rather yes	36
Rather no	18
Definitely no	5
Difficult to answer	25

2013, January; N=800

Table 8.4.24

Do you consider it to be correct that in response to "Magnitsky Act" the Americans are banned from adopting Russian orphans?

Certainly yes	19
Rather yes	28
Rather no	22
Certainly not	9
Difficult to answer	22

2013, January; N=800

Table 8.4.25

Which of the following statements concerning the US' publication of "Magnitsky list" would you rather agree?

This is interfering in the internal affairs of Russia, Magnitsky case should not be discussed outside of our country	23
If the persons mentioned in the "Magnitsky list" are really implicated and took-part in the crimes and human rights violations, the unwillingness of the U.S. to let them into their territory is understandable, but it must be proven in the court of law	23
The "Magnitsky list" should include not only the investigators and judges directly involved in Magnitsky's death and denied entry into the civilized countries but also their high-ranking patrons	14
Do not know anything about it	21
Difficult to answer	19

2013, April; N=800

Table 8.4.26

Which of the following statements about the disclosure of the names of the U.S. officials banned from entering Russia in response to the "Magnitsky list" would you rather agree with?

Russia, in response to an unfriendly act by the United States, should not only make public a retaliatory list, but also stop all forms of cooperation with the United States and introduce trade sanctions on the import of foodstuffs, etc.	13
It is the usual practice of using «symmetrical» response	26
Instead of making the country a laughing stock, it would be better to strengthen the fight against corruption and start a real investigation into Magnitsky's death	23
Not aware of it	21
Difficult to answer	16

2013, April; N=800

PLAGIARISM

Table 8.4.27

Have you heard about the scandals involving the charges of plagiarism in dissertations of some of the deputies of the State Duma and high government officials?

Carefully follow the progress of events/news about it	3
Heard a lot about it	27
Heard something about it but don't really know what it is about	39
Never heard about it	30

2013, July; N=800

Table 8.4.28

Do you agree that if plagiarism is discovered in scientific work, all degrees should be revoked?

Certainly yes	39
Rather yes	43
Rather no	6
Certainly not	1
Difficult to answer	12

2013, July; N=800

Table 8.4.29

Do you agree that if plagiarism is discovered in scientific work, the deputies and officials involved should be fired?

Certainly yes	44
Rather yes	39
Rather no	5
Certainly not	1
Difficult to answer	12

2013, July; N=800

LEGISLATION OF 2013

Table 8.4.30

What do you think about the suggestion to abolish direct elections for the office of mayor in large Russian towns?

On the whole positively	4
Rather positively	17
Rather negatively	36
Very negatively	12
Difficult to answer	30

2013, December; N=1600

Table 8.4.31

How do you feel about the proposal to block, at the request of law enforcement authorities pending and prior to a decision of the court, the sites that call for civil actions, not sanctioned by the authorities?

Definitely positively	8
Rather positively	26
Rather negatively	28
Definitely negatively	8
Difficult to answer	30

2013, December; N=1600

Table 8.4.32

What is your attitude toward the suggestion to return the distribution of alcoholic beverages to the government monopoly?

Definitely positively	22
Rather positively	36
Rather negatively	15
Definitely negatively	4
Difficult to answer	22

2013, December; N=1600

REGISTRATION LAW

Table 8.4.33

Have you heard that V. Putin introduced a bill that increases penalties for improper registration at the place of residence or domicile, as well as imposing criminal penalties for fictitious registration?

Carefully following this	7
Heard something about it	37
Never heard of it	56

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.34

How do you feel about the plans to increase penalties for living without registration up to 2-3 thousand rubles (in Moscow and St.Petersburg – up to 3-5 thousand)?

Definitely positively	11
Rather positively	31
Rather negatively	28
Definitely negatively	12
Difficult to answer	18

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.5.35

How do you feel about the plans to introduce fines for homeowners who provide a domicile for people without registration in the amount of 3-5 thousand rubles (in Moscow and St. Petersburg – 5-7 thousand)?

Definitely positively	12
Rather positively	29
Rather negatively	26
Definitely negatively	14
Difficult to answer	19

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.36

In your opinion, what will be the result of an increase of penalties for residing without registration and for owners of housing who harbor persons without registration?

An increase in rental prices	44
Increasing of the bribes, which will be received by policemen and employees of federal immigration service	40
Problems for Russian citizens not living in a place of permanent registration	39
Decreasing of illegal aliens in Russia	24
Replenishment of the state treasury due to taxes from rents	13
Improvement of legal rights of migrants from foreign countries	2
Difficult to answer	9

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.37

In your opinion, is it necessary to restore the institution of registration that existed in Soviet times?

Yes	57
No	23
Difficult to answer	20

2013, March; N=1600

REPRESSIVE LAWS 2012-2013

Table 8.4.38

In what aim do you think the restrictive laws of 2012 (on rallies, foreign agents, libel, censorship on the Internet) have been put in place?

To provide order in the society	39
To provide economic and political security for the ruling oligarchy	44
Difficult to answer	17

2013, January; N=800

Table 8.4.39

Do you approve the Law regarding...

	Ban of non-traditional relationships propaganda?	Limitations on the Internet - «anti-piracy» legislation?	Non-governmental agencies - foreign agents?	Protection of religious sentiments?	Raised penalties for infringements/disruptive behavior during meetings?
Definitely yes	43	20	14	27	12
Rather yes	25	25	21	28	21
Rather against	5	12	6	5	14
Definitely against	2	6	2	4	10
Difficult to answer	26	38	57	35	44

2013, October; N=1600

Table 8.4.40

In your opinion, what is the general purpose of the adoption and implementation of these laws?

Restrictions on the activities of the opposition and intimidation of opposition-minded citizens	13
Stabilization of socio-political situation	28
Suppression and prevention of social disorder	18
Safety and security of traditional, conservative values	11
Distraction of the population from the real social and political problems	11
Difficult to answer	19

2013, October; N=1600

Table 8.4.41

Who, in your opinion, is the true initiator of these laws?

Duma deputies	43
The administration of the President	32
Law enforcement agencies (MVD, FSB, the Investigative Committee)	14
Supervisory Office (PGO, the Ministry of Justice)	7
The Russian Orthodox Church	7
Difficult to answer	21

2013, October; N=800

“FOREIGN AGENT”

Table 8.4.42

Do you know what a «non-profit organizations» is?

	2012 VII	2013 VI	2014 IV
Have a clear understanding of the subject	19	16	24
Heard something about it	49	52	57
Never heard of it	25	29	15
Difficult to answer	7	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2008</i>

Table 8.4.43

In your opinion, what is the aim of the non-profit organizations in Russia?

	2012 VII	2013 VI
Charity for different contingent groups of citizens	42	35
Solution of various social problems	35	31
Solving various local problems	18	15
Protection of civil rights	21	20
Political activities	15	15
Do not do anything but arrange grants for themselves	7	12
Difficult to answer	19	20

N=1600

Table 8.4.44

To which extent are you aware of the activities of...

	Projects for public control of the non-profit organization «Golos»?	«Memorial» Society?	Y. Roisman's fund «City without drugs»?	«Committee of soldiers' mothers of Russia»?
Rather well aware	2	5	8	29
Heard something about it	24	40	38	53
Haven't heard anything about it	75	56	54	19

2013, April; N=800

Table 8.4.45

How would you rate the activities of the non-profit organizations in Russia?

	2012 VII	2013 VI	2014 IV
On the whole positively	11	9	18
Rather positively	39	41	55
Rather negatively	10	15	8
Definitely negatively	3	4	2
Difficult to answer	38	31	17

N=1600

Table 8.4.46

Which of the following statements about the activities of Russian non-profit organizations would you rather agree with?

They are of great benefit	4
They do more good than harm	15
They bring as much good as harm	23
They do more harm than good	18
They do not bring any benefit or harm	13
Difficult to answer	28

2013, April; N=1600

Table 8.4.47

Is it important for you whether Russian human rights organizations are financed by domestic or foreign funds?

	2013	2015
Very important	10	18
Somewhat important	34	31
Not very important	24	24
Completely unimportant	18	16
Difficult to answer	14	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 8.4.48

What objectives do you think basically the western countries and the organizations which supply the funds to the Russian non-profit organizations are following?

	2013	2014
Struggle against the Russian state	19	28
Promoting influence on the internal Russian policy	43	36
Support of the Russian civil society	8	9
There is no special objective: Russian NPOs are supported alongside with other standard international programs	12	12
Difficult to answer	19	15

N=1600

Table 8.4.49

In your opinion, how many of the non-profit organizations in Russian are foreign agents, pursuing the interests of foreign powers and their intelligence services?

Several hundred	18
Several dozen	26
Just few	12
None of them	4

2013, April; N=1600

Table 8.4.50

According to you, should the organization involved in the protection of citizens' rights and criticizing the government have the right to receive funds from abroad?

They should have the right to obtain funds from abroad	20
They should not get funds from abroad	56
Difficult to answer	24

2013, April; N=1600

Table 8.4.51

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

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

N=1600

Table 8.4.52

Have you heard about the numerous inspections of NPOs held by the Prosecutor's Office, the Federal Security Service and the Internal Revenue Service?

Yes	39
No	52
Difficult to answer	10

2013, April; N=1600

Table 8.4.53

In your opinion, what are the reasons of these investigations?

The desire to neutralize the harmful effect on the public opinion by hidden foreign agents that are subversively working against the Russian state and its leadership	16
The desire to bring order into tax returns and financial non-governmental organizations, cover up their commercial interest	24
The desire to "gag" the political rivals and critics of the current regime, to find incriminating documents and evidence	12
The desire to form a negative public opinion of their political rivals and critics	7
I do not see anything special about those investigations – this topic is overstated by the media	17
Difficult to answer	24

2013, April; N=1600

Table 8.4.54

Do you approve tougher sanctions, to liquidations, for NGOs engaged in political activities and receiving funds from abroad but not registering as “foreign agents”?

	2013 April	2013 June	2015 February
Definitely yes	20	19	26
Rather yes	33	34	30
Rather no	15	17	16
Definitely no	5	5	8
Difficult to answer	28	25	21

N=1600

Table 8.4.55

What do you think about the struggle that Russian authorities are waging against “foreign agents”, the “fifth column” of the West?

	2014 June	2015 November
The struggle is fully justified	36	41
It’s an attempt to protect themselves from criticism, there’s no “fifth column” in the country	27	25
Difficult to answer	38	34
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

THE LAW OF «DIMA YAKOVLEV»

Table 8.4.56

How do you feel about the adoption of the law prohibiting the adoption of Russian children by U.S. citizens ("law of Dima Yakovlev")?

	2013	2014
On the whole positively	21	32
Rather positively	30	25
Rather negatively	23	14
Definitely negatively	7	4
Difficult to answer	19	23

N=800

Table 8.4.57

Do you think a law prohibiting adoption of Russian orphans by Americans

Fully adequate	12
Rather adequate	25
Rather not adequate	16
Completely inadequate	9
Difficult to answer	39

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.58

Which of the two opinions regarding the law of «Dima Yakovlev» would you rather agree with?

It attempts to explain the concerns for the safety of Russian children in regards to their adoption as beneficial to them - it is demagoguery and cynical manipulation of public opinion	40
It really is aimed at protecting the interests of Russian children	38
Difficult to answer	22

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.58

What is the reason, in your opinion, for adopting the law of «Dima Yakovlev»?

Desire to protect Russian orphans from abuse in the U.S.	31
Desire for retaliation for the «Magnitsky Act» adopted by the U.S.	18
The conviction that our children can not on principle be given up for adoption abroad	12
Desire to protect the interests of the corrupt Russian officials, to protect them from sanctions of the "Magnitsky Act", joining the U.S. in a strange "bargaining" act	9
Desire to replace the problem of corruption and arbitrariness of the Russian authorities with the talk about mistreatment of adopted Russian orphans in the U.S.	8
Desire to force Americans to respect Russia and stop interfering in its internal affairs	8
Difficult to answer	14

2013, January; N=800

Table 8.4.59

In your opinion, why was «Dima Yakovlev» legislation was adopted by the Duma in record time?

Duma deputies were outraged by the adoption of the "Magnitsky Act" and took it as an insult to Russia and its leadership	22
"Magnitsky Act" created a real threat to the interests of senior government officials, which required an immediate response	25
Duma deputies voted out of a desire to demonstrate their loyalty to Putin and his entourage	14
Duma deputies voted in fear of Putin and his entourage	5
Authorities tried thus to neutralize the growing support in the Russian society for the "Magnitsky Act"	9
MPs have long been prepared for similar legislation and adopted it without much haste	14
Difficult to answer	27

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.60

Do you believe that the measures that the Russian government is going to take in connection with the adoption of the law of "Dima Yakovlev" will allow us to find foster parents for all the children from the orphanages in Russia?

Yes	22
No	66
Difficult to answer	12

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.5.61

Do you believe that the measures that the Russian Government is going to take in connection with the adoption of the law of "Dima Yakovlev" will significantly improve the situation of children in the orphanages, solve their medical problems, provide them with a happy future?

Yes	24
No	64
Difficult to answer	12

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.62

Do you know that on January 13 a protest march was held in Moscow against the law prohibiting adoption of Russian orphans by U.S. citizens?

Very aware of the subject	10
Heard something about it	33
Never heard of it	57

2013, January; N=800

Table 8.4.63

What is your attitude towards the idea of the participants of this protest march to dissolve the State Duma and the Federation Council for enacting legislation, which prohibits the adoption of Russian orphans by the U.S. citizens?

Mostly positively	5
Rather positively	18
Rather negatively	31
Definitely negatively	15
Difficult to answer	32

2013, January; N=1600

ORPHANHOOD AND ADOPTION

Table 8.4.64

In your opinion, why are there so many orphans and abandoned children?

In the society there are many impoverished, fallen people prone to alcoholism, drug addiction, etc.	55
Too many people are living in poverty and insecurity	42
People lost their moral bearings and their tolerance for one another, people have become heartless	38
Families are being destroyed, people are becoming more egotistical and cynical, concerned about their personal benefits and pleasures	34
In Russia, human life is not valued, - neither adults' nor children's	27
The country has an inadequate social security system, it lacks a health protection system	25
Too many children are born with severe hereditary disorders, congenital abnormalities and other diseases	24
Difficult to answer	2

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.65

What actions concerning orphans should the Russian authorities undertake?

To facilitate the procedure of adoption in Russia	37
To increase funds for children's homes	19
To simplify the procedure of any adoption, regardless of whether it is abroad or not	18
To forbid adoption in the USA	10
To forbid foreign adoption completely	6
To keep a present state of affairs, the problem will be resolved	3
Difficult to answer	7

2013, January; N=800

Table 8.4.66

Are you ready to accept personal responsibility for bringing up a child?

Ready right now	4
Possibly some time in the future, provided the circumstances are right	16
Not ready	75
Difficult to answer	5

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.67

Where do you think sick children left without parental care have better living conditions for the restoration of their health and development?

In the Russian adoptive families	36
In the Western adoptive families	18
In orphanages and homes under the care of the Church	16
In Russian State orphanages and boarding schools	9
In American adoptive families	4
Difficult to answer	18

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.68

Are you aware that under the Russian law foreigners can adopt only those children for whom there were no adoptive parents among the Russian citizens?

Yes	40
No	60

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.69

In your opinion, why do Americans adopt Russian children, including the sick and disabled?

They can provide such children with better medical care and treatment there than here in Russia	33
They want money, wish to receive some sort of benefits	33
For humanitarian reasons, sympathy and compassion for the children	17
With some unseemly or even criminal intentions	16
Out of the desire to have a family with children	15
Know nothing about it/ difficult to answer	17

2013, January; N=1600

Table 8.4.70

Should children from Russian orphanages be allowed to be adopted by parents from the U.S. and Western European countries?

Unequivocally yes	8
Yes, but with a systematic control of the wellbeing of children in their new homes abroad	39
Yes, but only in extreme cases	22
Unequivocally no	25
Difficult to answer	7

2013, January; N=1600

HOMOPHOBIA

Table 8.4.71

What is your attitude towards the State Duma discussing the law banning homosexual propaganda?

Positively	52
Rather positively	15
Rather negatively	6
Negatively	8
Not interested	14
Difficult to answer	5

2013, February; N=1600

Table 8.4.72

In your opinion, what is behind the legislation banning «homosexual propaganda»?

Care for the population's ethics, the strengthening of morals	60
An attempt to split society, to kindle animosity against those who differ from themselves	8
A attempt to distract public attention from the corruption scandals, decreasing confidence in authority and growth in the activity of the opposition	18
Difficult to answer	14

2013, February; N=1600

Table 8.4.73

You personally think homosexuality is...

	2013	2015
A disease that should be treated	34	35
The result of sexual abuse (at home, in the street, in a closed institution)	17	14
The result of bad parenting, promiscuity, a bad habit	23	26
This sexual orientation given at birth has the same right of existence as heterosexual orientation	16	12
Difficult to answer	10	14

N=800

Table 8.4.74

What do you think, is homosexuality basically an illness or an immorality?

	1998 May	2012 July	2013 April
Illness or the result of a psychic trauma	33	31	35
Immorality, bad habit	35	43	43
Sexual orientations have an equal right of existence	18	17	12
Sign of a special gift, talent	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	13	9	10

N=1600

Table 8.4.75

What is your attitude towards gays and lesbians?

	2013	2014
Kindly	1	2
With interest	3	2
Calm with no undue emotions	23	24
Caution	18	21
With irritation	23	23
With disgust or fear	27	24
Difficult to answer	5	5

N=800

Table 8.4.76

In your opinion, do adults, upon mutual consent, have the right to enter a relationship with a person of the same sex?

Certainly yes	5
Rather yes	18
Rather no	25
Certainly no	35
Difficult to answer	18

2013, February; N=1600

Table 8.4.77

In your opinion, what, should be done to homosexuals?

	2005 August	2010 July	2013 February
Treat them	17	21	22
Isolate them from society	12	18	16
Exterminate them physically	3	4	5
Provide them with psychiatric and other forms of help	27	24	27
Leave them alone	30	25	23
Difficult to answer	10	9	7

N=1600

Table 8.4.78

Would you be against or in favor of the gay and lesbian parades conducted in the major cities of Russia?

	2005 August	2010 July	2013 February
Certainly in favour	1	1	2
Rather in favour	5	7	4
Rather against	24	24	25
Certainly against	60	58	62
Difficult to answer	11	10	7

N=800

Table 8.4.79

Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that homosexual couples should have the right to adopt children?

Completely agree	2
Rather agree	3
Hard to say whether agree or not	8
Rather disagree	18
Completely disagree	62
Difficult to answer	6

2013, February; N=1600

Table 8.4.80

Are there any homosexuals or lesbians among those whom you know?

	2013	2015
Yes	6	4
No	89	93
Refusal to answer	5	3

N=1600

Table 8.4.81

How would you feel towards the legalization of same sex marriages in Russia?

	2010 July	2012 July	2013 February	2013 March
Positively, in general	3	3	1	2
Most likely positively	11	7	4	7
Rather negatively	30	28	23	26
Definitely negatively	54	49	62	58
Difficult to answer	4	13	10	7

N=1600

Table 8.4.82

How would you feel if...

		Positively	Indifferently	Warily	Definitely negatively	Difficult to answer
A gay/lesbian couple became your neighbors?	2013	1	27	28	39	6
	2015	0	28	26	41	5
You had to work with gays/lesbians?	2013	1	27	30	36	7
	2015	0	26	23	44	7
One of your close friends turned out to be gay/ lesbian?	2013	1	17	25	47	10
	2015	0	20	20	49	11

N=800

Table 8.4.83

In your opinion, may the following be considered as homosexual propaganda?

		Definitely yes	Rather yes	Rather no	Definitely no	Difficult to answer
Talk shows, television and press about the life of sexual minorities	2013	37	38	14	4	6
	2015	37	41	13	4	5
Personal contact with representatives of sexual minority	2013	24	26	32	8	11
	2015	25	29	24	9	13
Educational shows about the nature of homosexuality	2013	32	33	23	5	8
	2015	33	33	20	7	7
Rallies and actions on behalf and for the rights of sexual minorities	2013	47	34	9	4	5
	2015	49	35	7	4	6
Literature and film, which depict same sex relationships	2013	41	33	15	4	7
	2015	41	38	11	5	6
Gay parades	2013	56	27	7	4	6
	2015	58	29	5	4	4
Family, in which the parents are of the same sex	2013	50	28	9	4	8
	2015	52	29	8	5	7
Free expression of homosexuality in public (kisses, hugs)	2013	54	30	8	5	5
	2015	55	30	7	4	4

N=800

Table 8.4.84

Are you afraid that your children or grandchildren may become the victims of homosexual propaganda?

	2013	2015
Very afraid	30	19
Rather afraid	31	26
Rather not afraid	17	18
Not at all afraid	11	24
Difficult to answer	12	12

N=800

Table 8.4.85

Did you know about the existence of the movement in Russia "Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people" fighting for the rights of sexual minorities?

Don't know about the movement and are not interested	58
Do not know about the movement but would like to find out	4
Heard something about this movement but not interested	28
Heard about the movement and would like to become a part in its activities	1
Know about the movement, are/were participants in its activities, actions	2
Difficult to answer	7

2013, February; N=1600

Table 8.4.86

Would you be in favor or against the law which banned discrimination based on sexual orientation and the incitement of hatred against gays and lesbians?

	2005 April	2013 April
Certainly in favour	14	9
Rather in favour	29	28
Rather against	23	27
Certainly against	14	10
Difficult to answer	21	28

N=1600

Table 8.4.87

Do you agree with the statement that gays and lesbians in Russia should enjoy the same civil rights as the rest of the citizens?

	2005 August	2010 July	2012 July	2013 April	2016 June
Completely agree	17	12	13	7	8
Rather agree	34	33	33	32	31
Rather do not agree	19	22	22	28	22
Completely disagree	16	19	18	19	22
Difficult to answer	14	15	13	15	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

2013, April; N=1600

Table 8.4.88

In your opinion, should the Government intervene and forbid all public displays of homosexuality and its justification?

Certainly yes	48
Rather yes	25
Rather no	8
Certainly no	6
Difficult to answer	14

2013, April; N=1600

Table 8.4.89

Would you change your attitude towards someone you know if he/she admits to being gay?

Relation would improve	2
Nothing will change	29
Relation would deteriorate	50
Difficult to answer	19

2013, June; N=1600

Table 8.4.90

What would you do if your own child confesses to an alternate sexual orientation?

Would love and wish happiness, regardless the sex of the partner	6
Would be upset, but will provide/afford the opportunity to live as he/she thinks is right	11
Would try to discuss this with him/her, to understand the situation	26
Would try to persuade or force to lead a heterosexual lifestyle	8
Would seek professional help (doctors, therapists, psychiatrists)	22
Would throw him/her out of the house, stop all communications	5
Difficult to answer	22

2013, June; N=1600

Table 8.4.91

Do you think it is possible for your sexual orientation to be changed by propaganda?

Certainly yes	3
Probably yes	5
Probably not	17
Certainly not	68
Difficult to answer	7

2013, June; N=1600

Table 8.4.92

In your opinion, do you think it is possible that your sexual orientation during childhood might have changed if subjected to propaganda?

Certainly yes	6
Probably yes	12
Probably not	18
Definitely not	46
Difficult to answer	18

2013, June; N=1600

8.5. LAW ENFORCEMENT BODIES

Table 8.5.1

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

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

N=1600

POLICE

Table 8.5.2

Are you satisfied by work of the police service in your city/neighborhood?

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2013	2014		2015
	X	III	IV	II	X	III	VI	II
Definitely yes	3	6	5	4	4	5	7	6
Rather yes	24	28	29	33	32	38	42	41
Rather no	37	38	37	35	33	31	28	29
Definitely no	23	18	15	13	13	9	9	7
Difficult to answer	13	10	13	16	18	17	14	18

N=1600

Table 8.5.3

Do you trust police* in your town/neighbourhood?

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2013	2014		2015
	X	III	IV	II	X	III	II	VI
Trust completely	5	5	3	4	5	5	5	7
Trust somewhat	28	30	30	34	34	37	42	44
Rather mistrust	42	43	45	43	40	36	35	34
Do not trust at all	18	17	16	13	11	10	9	7
Difficult to answer	7	6	6	7	10	11	9	8

* - before 2011 year «Militia»

N=1600

Table 8.5.4

What do you feel about the police* in your town/neighborhood?

	2010 X	2011 III	2012 IV	2013 II	2013 X	2014		2015
						III	II	VI
Trust	11	14	10	9	9	9	13	15
Respect	15	14	16	20	22	25	25	25
Sympathy	10	8	7	10	10	10	11	11
Anticipation	20	22	19	20	18	16	17	14
Fear	15	18	22	14	13	13	12	12
Irritation, anger	16	12	13	9	9	5	7	7
Difficult to answer	21	20	20	24	27	28	24	25

* - before 2011 year «Militia»

N=1600

Table 8.5.5

How do you think could police* in your town/neighborhood protect you/your family from organize crime?

	2010 X	2011 III	2012 IV	2013 II	2013 X	2014		2015
						III	VI	II
Definitely yes	4	6	4	3	4	5	6	6
Rather yes	27	31	27	29	29	33	40	38
Rather no	40	33	39	39	40	35	32	33
Definitely no	20	17	18	16	13	12	8	9
Difficult to answer	10	13	13	13	14	15	13	14

* - before 2011 year «Militia»

N=1600

Table 8.5.6

How do you think should citizens help the police* in their work?

	2010 X	2011 III	2012 IV	2013 II	2013 X	2014		2015
						III	II	VI
Definitely yes	27	33	24	22	22	19	21	25
Rather yes	49	49	55	52	54	55	54	55
Rather no	11	8	12	13	11	13	13	10
Definitely no	4	3	3	5	4	4	4	3
Difficult to answer	9	7	6	9	9	10	8	7

* - before 2011 year «Militia»

N=1600

CRIME

Table 8.5.7

**You probably already heard of the expression “to live by the criminal law”.
Are you familiar with the codes of the criminal world?**

Not aware of any “codes”	54
Have a general idea about the “codes”	38
Well aware of the “codes”	5
Try to live my life according to the “codes”	2
Live by the “codes”	1

2013, June; N=1600

Table 8.5.8

**Have you heard of the "thieves in law"?
If yes - what do you think about them?**

They are regular criminals just like other representatives of the underworld	41
They are the most dangerous criminals	22
They perform an important social function by safeguarding society from lawlessness	12
There are no real «thieves in law» any more	12
Do not know what a «thief in law» means	8
Difficult to answer	5

2013, June; N=1600

Table 8.5.9

**In your opinion, which methods, should be used
to solve the problem of crime?**

	1999 October	2011 July	2013 June
To toughen the laws concerning criminal acts	51	51	49
To ensure a just and objective investigation in criminal offences	57	47	47
To Stimulate the work of the police and security services, to give them additional powers	26	27	28
To allow citizens possession and use of firearms to protect their lives and property	12	7	6
Difficult to answer	2	4	2

N=1600

Table 8.5.10

How would you feel about allowing all adult citizens to carry firearms in order to improve personal security?

	1991	2001 May	2011 July	2013 June
Positively	13	16	13	15
Negatively	76	76	80	81
Difficult to answer	11	8	7	4

N=1600

Table 8.5.11

How would you feel about prohibiting the sale of traumatic weapon to citizens?

Positively	58
Negatively	34
Difficult to answer	8

2013, June; N=1600

Table 8.5.12

With which of the following comments related to capital punishment would you most agree?

	2007	2009	2012	2013	2015
Capital punishment should be repealed	19	14	10	11	14
The present state should be retained (execution of death penalties is suspended, courts have stopped passing death sentences)	19	20	14	23	27
Capital punishment should be used again in the same way as before (like in the early 90's)	39	37	33	38	31
Capital punishment should be used more often	14	16	28	16	13
Difficult to answer	10	13	15	11	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

SPECIAL SERVICES

Table 8.5.13

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

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

8.6. THE ARMY

Table 8.6.1

How trustworthy the army is?

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	
	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	III	X	IV	X	IV	VI	IX	IX	IX
Quite trustworthy	28	28	35	35	33	28	28	30	30	26	30	37	37	38	36	34	39	43	53	64
Not quite trustworthy	36	34	31	35	31	36	32	34	33	35	33	33	33	34	35	39	38	34	30	21
Not trustworthy at all	16	19	16	16	18	21	22	20	21	23	19	12	16	15	16	17	15	13	9	8
Difficult to answer	20	19	17	15	19	15	19	16	17	15	18	18	13	13	13	11	8	10	8	8

1997-2008 N=2100, 2009 г., N=1600

Table 8.6.2

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

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

SERVICE IN THE ARMY

Table 8.6.3

Imagine that you have a son who is soon reaching conscription age, what would you choose to do?

Would not be against him joining the military	56
Would try to absolve him from military service with health issues, through continuous delays for the duration of ducation and due to family circumstances	24
Would try to bribe his way out of the army	8
Difficult to answer	12

2013, May; N=800

Table 8.6.4

What is your personal opinion on military service?

	1997 August	2000 June	2010 June	2014 September	2015 October
Every real man has to go through military service	41	44	44	41	42
Military service is an obligation to the state that you have to fulfill even if it's not in your interest	28	24	30	41	40
Military service is a pointless and dangerous undertaking and one should do everything to avoid it	24	23	19	15	15
Difficult to answer	8	9	8	4	3

N=1600

Table 8.6.5

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

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

Table 8.6.6

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

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

8.7. COURT

Table 8.7.1

In your opinion, is it possible for a common man in Russia to get a fair trial?

	2006 March	2007 April	2009 June	2011 May	2013 June
Certainly yes	4	3	3	5	2
Rathet yes	25	25	25	25	25
Rather no	39	40	42	42	40
Certainly not	22	23	19	18	21
Difficult to answer	11	9	12	10	12

N=1600

Table 8.7.2

In your opinion, is a trial by jury more impartial than a regular court or it is yield to the outside pressure?

More fair, independent	23
Less knowledgeable, inexperienced, susceptible to outside pressures	32
It is the same as the regular court	26
Difficult to answer	20

2013, June; N=1600

Table 8.7.3

In your opinion, regarding the introduction of trials by jury, are there more or less guilty verdicts than before?

	2011 May	2013 June
More	12	10
Less	25	23
Neither less nor more	45	35
Difficult to answer	19	32

N=1600

Table 8.7.4

How do you feel about the proposal to merge the Supreme Court and the Supreme Arbitration Court?

Positively, in general	6
Rather positively	20
Rather negatively	20
Very negatively	5
Difficult to answer	51

2013, November; N=1600

Table 8.7.5

In your opinion, what is the purpose of the merging the Supreme Court and the Supreme Arbitration Court?

The desire to increase control over the judicial system by the President	19
The desire to increase the efficiency of the judicial system	16
The wish to create an official position for D. Medvedev in the event of his resignation from the post of Prime Minister of Russia	13
The desire of the authorities to exercise more control over business	11
The desire to weaken the position of D. Medvedev, who is close to the current chairman of the Supreme Arbitration Court, A.Ivanov	5
Difficult to answer	44

2013, November; N=1600

Table 8.7.6

Which of the following points of view is more acceptable?

	1997 III	2000 IV	2007 IV	2009 VI	2011 V	2013 VI
Better two innocents incarcerated than one guilty let unpunished	13	17	10	10	13	11
Better one guilty let unpunished than two innocents incarcerated	51	55	63	60	63	61
Difficult to answer	36	28	27	30	25	28

N=1600

MAGNITSKY CASE

Table 8.7.7

Do you think the trial of S. Magnitsky was legitimate, even if, as he died in detention facility, he could not defend himself from accusations made by those whom he has factually accused of embezzlement of public funds?

Completely justified	3
Probably justified	13
Probably unjustified	32
Definitely unjustified	17
Difficult to answer	35

2013, April; N=1600

Table 8.7.8

What do you think the Russian authorities attempts to achieve by to prove that S. Magnitsky was himself engaged in fraud and illegal acts?

To expose the whole chain of frauds and crimes of the Western company whose representative was Magnitsky	19
To divert charges of embezzlement and corruption from the investigators in the Magnitsky case and to "cover up" their influential associates	32
To defend the good reputation of Russia from malicious attacks by the Western politicians	14
Difficult to answer	35

2013, April; N=1600

9. POLITICAL PARTIES

Table 9.1

With what definition about the fight for political power you agree?

	2008 July	2012 July	2013 July	2014 July
The competition among parties allows to take into account interest of different people. This leads to decisions that reflect the citizen's wishes.	30	31	26	24
Parties fight for their own interests, ignore opinion of ordinary people, people do not benefit anything from them	61	59	65	65
Difficult to answer	10	10	9	11

N=1600

Table 9.2

What are your current political views?

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

Table 9.3

To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "It doesn't matter who to vote for, it changes practically nothing anyway"?

	1998 May	1999 April	2013 June	2015 June
Fully agree	24	21	22	14
Rather agree	23	20	34	24
Rather disagree	25	28	31	32
Totally disagree	22	25	9	24
Difficult to answer	5	7	3	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	1600

Table 9.4

Why do people go to elections in your opinion?

Because it's customary	33
To support the party they usually vote for or its candidate	31
To support the candidate or party with the most interesting and well thought-through program who can do a lot of useful things for the people of the town, neighborhood, region	17
Because they don't want to get in trouble with the local authorities	10
Difficult to answer	8

2015 , September, N=1600

Table 9.5

Why do many people think that elections have no influence on the lives of ordinary people and that nothing much can change for the better as a result of them?

Because those who get elected quickly forget their promises to the voters and are only busy with their own personal interests and the citizens have no means of control over those they elect	43
Only those approved by the authorities, those they are interested in win the elections	22
Citizens are badly informed about the work results of the deputies and officials' they elect , about what they do for the people	21
Because it's not elections but a scripted play, a show the results whereof are determined by the authorities from the very beginning.	19
Difficult to answer	12

2015 , September, N=1600

UNITED RUSSIA

Table 9.6

Do you know that since the spring of last year, 50 new political parties in Russia have been established?

Yes, follow it closely	5
Yes, heard something about it	39
No, have not heard anything about it	56

2013, January; N=1600

Table 9.7

At the next elections would you prefer to vote for one of the old parties or for one of the new ones?

For an old one (UR, A Just Russia, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, LDPR, Yabloko, Patriots of Russia, the Right Cause)	61
For a new one	5
Difficult to answer	34

2013, January; N=1600

ELECTION LAW

Table 9.8

Do you think the current changes in the electoral system of the country intend to ensure that the elections in Russia became more “legitimate” or more “puppet”?

More “legit”, fully taking into account the mood of Russian voters	33
More “influenced” (“puppet”), ensuring the ruling party wins regardless of voter sentiment	40
Difficult to answer	27

2013, March; N=1600

Table 9.9

In comparison to the West, are the elections in Russia more honest or less honest?

More honest	10
Less honest	39
No more and no less honest	37
Difficult to answer	13

2013, March; N=1600

ALL-RUSSIA PEOPLE'S FRONT

Table 9.10

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

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

Table 9.11

What do you think the "A-RPF" was mostly created for?

(% of those who've heard something about APF)

	2011			2013	2015
	May	June	December	May	August
To consolidate all of society's healthy forces to resolve the issues the country is facing	16	18	12	12	16
To maintain the falling popularity of "United Russia" party by involving trade unions and other civic and non-governmental organizations	28	28	27	35	35
To insure more votes for "United Russia" during the upcoming elections to the State Duma of Russia	29	28	22	21	19
To strengthen the control of the authorities over parties and social entities	14	11	10	10	14
Difficult to answer	12	15	28	21	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 9.12

What's your attitude towards A-RPF activity?

(% of those who's heard something about APF)

Entirely positive	14
Rather positive	46
Rather negative	11
Entirely negative	3
Difficult to answer	26

2015 , August; N=800

10. OPPOSITION

Table 10.1

Does Russia need a political opposition to the government now?

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

N=1600

Table 10.2

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

	2004 V	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VII	2008 VII	2009 VII	2010 VII	2011 VII	2012 VII	2014 V	2015 II
Definitely yes	18	14	11	20	15	11	11	16	21	10	20
Yes, rather than no	24	27	26	33	32	28	38	35	45	40	46
No, rather than yes	25	22	27	14	22	26	30	33	18	24	14
Definitely no	13	13	12	7	13	12	8	14	6	9	6
Difficult to answer	20	24	24	25	19	22	14	2	11	17	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 10.3

Why do you think Russia needs an opposition?

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

N=1600

Table 10.4

Why do you think Russia does not need an opposition?

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

Table 10.5

Who is the real opposition in Russia in your opinion?

Only the parliamentary opposition parties	11
Only some parties and unions outside the parliament	14
Both	26
Neither	26
Difficult to answer	23

2015 , March, N=800

ALEXEY NAVALNY

Table 10.6

Do you know who Alexey Navalny is?

	2011	2012		2013		2014			2015
	IV	III	VI	III	X	I	IV	IX	I
Yes	6	25	35	37	54	45	49	48	50
No	94	75	65	64	46	52	51	52	50
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	1600	800

Table 10.7

**Is the information about massive siphoning of public money by the government officials and affiliated "businessmen" posted on A. Navalny's "RosPil" web-site really true?
(% of respondents who know about A. Navalny)**

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

N=1600

Table 10.8

In your opinion, what is the reason for instigating a criminal case against Alexey Navalny?

(in % of those who have heard about the case of «Kirovles»)

	2013	2014
His unlawful activities while acting as an advisor to the Governor of Kirov region	28	37
His public work on exposing the corrupt practices of state officials and large corporations	47	38
Difficult to answer	25	25

Table 10.9

In your opinion, what is the point of the «Kirovles» case?

(in % of those who have heard about the case of «Kirovles»)

To punish Navalny and his partners guilty of corruption and larceny	23
To shut Navalny and his supporters from accusing high government officials of corruption	44
To prevent Navalny's candidacy for the mayor of Moscow	13

2013, June; N=800

Table 10.11

If A. Navalny put up his candidacy for presidential elections, would you vote for him or not?

(in % of those who heard of Alexei Navalny)

Certainly yes	1
Possibly yes	13
Probably not	28
Certainly not	38
Difficult to answer	21

2013, March; N=800

Table 10.12

In your opinion, will the authorities put pressure on the judges concerning the case of «Kirovles» in order to achieve a guilty verdict for A. Navalny?

Certainly yes	16
Rather yes	38
Rather no	18
Certainly no	4
Difficult to answer	25

2013, April; N=800

Table 10.13

In your opinion, is A. Navalny being charged because of his political activity and opposing viewpoints?

Yes	17
Probably yes	42
Probably no	14
No	5
Difficult to answer	21

2013, May; N=800

Table 10.14

How would you describe your attitude towards A.Navalny?
(in % of those who know who Navalny is)

	2013 October	2014 April	2015 January
Respect	6	3	5
Sympathy	7	5	5
Can't say anything bad about him	17	11	7
Neutral, don't care	43	39	39
Can't say anything good about him	12	20	21
Annoyance	5	9	8
Dislike	3	5	8
Difficult to answer	6	9	7

N=800

MIKHAIL PROKHOROV

Table 10.15

What opinion have you formed about the Russian businessman M.Prokhorov?

Positive	17
Negative	18
Neutral	38
Don't have an opinion about him/ do not know who that is	21
Difficult to answer	6

2013, March; N=1600

Table 10.16

In your opinion, is M. Prokhorov a real political figure or a puppet, manipulated by the «Kremlin»?

	2012 I	2012 III	2013 III
A real politician	30	36	30
A puppet, governed by the Kremlin	36	40	40
Difficult to answer	34	24	31

N=1600

Table 10.17

If the elections to the State Duma were to take place on next Sunday, would you vote for M.Prokhorov's party, the « Civil Platform»?

Certainly yes	4
Possibly yes	17
Probably not	27
Definitely not	36
Difficult to answer	17

2013, March; N=1600

Table 10.18

Do you in general sympathize with the leaders of the “non-system opposition” such as M. Kassianov, A. Navalny, B. Nemtsov, V. Ryzhkov etc?

	2011 December	2012 January	2015 February
Definitely yes	2	3	3
More like yes	10	12	12
More like no	31	33	37
Definitely no	28	33	31
Difficult to answer	28	19	18

N=800

Table 10.19

Which of the opposition’s demands would you support?

Adoption of legislation against unlawful enrichment of officials	32
Guarantees fair elections	30
Cessation of military action against Ukraine	23
Committal of the corrupt members of Putin's inner circle	19
Reduction of state corporations' financing (Rosneft, VEB, VTB, Gasprombank etc.)	15
Resumption of the investment part of pension	15
Redistribution of funds in favor of the regions and local governments	14
Guarantees of courts' independence from other branches of power	12
Admission of opposition parties and candidates to elections	10
Abolition of food counter sanctions	10
Reduction of expenses on army and police and redistribution of those funds into education and healthcare	9
End of information war against the West and Ukraine	5
Abolition of censure in media	5
Decentralization of power	2
Freeing all political prisoners	2
There's not a single demand on this list that I would support	18
Difficult to answer	10

2015, February;N=1600

Table 10.20

Could prosecution of dissidents, opposition intensify in Russia in the coming years?

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

POLITICAL PERSECUTION OF THE OPPOSITION

Table 10.21

Are the administrative and criminal cases brought against the leaders of the opposition based on facts?

They are based on facts	30
They are initiated on frivolous grounds or falsified in order to intimidate the leaders of the "protest movement" and force them to renounce their political aims	31
Difficult to answer	40

2013, July; N=1600

Table 10.22

Name the people who, within the last ten years, were persecuted or were convicted on political grounds.
(percentage of respondents)

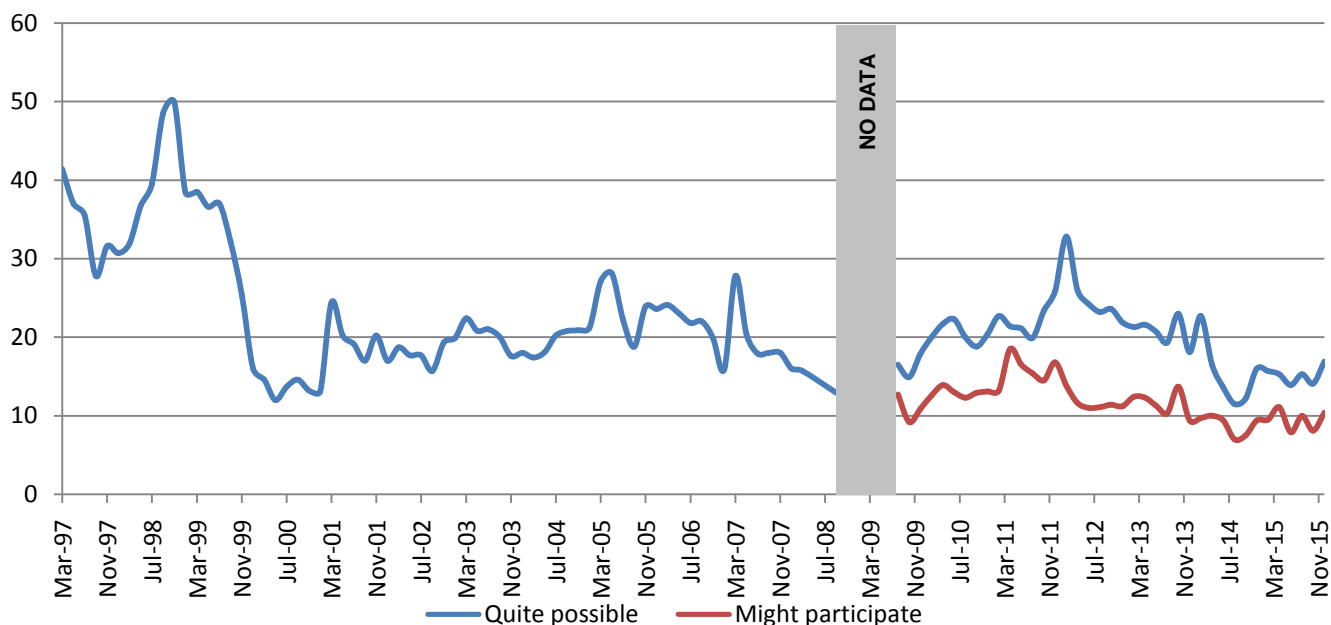
Mikhail Khodorkovsky	37
Alexey Navalnyj	20
Sergey Magnitsky	13
Platon Lebedev	12
Edward Limonov	10
Participants of group Pussi Riot (Tolokonnikova, Samyzevich, Aliokhina)	10
Sergey Udaltsov	10
Boris Nemtsov	9
Other participants of "Bolotnaya Square case"	8
Other participants in the "Yukos case"	6
Garry Kasparov	4
Ilya Yashin	4
Other "NBP" / activists from "Other Russia"	2
Alexei Pichugin	1
Vasily Aleksanyan	1
Taisiya Osipova	1
Leonid Razvozzhaev	1
Sergei Mokhnatkin	1
Igor Sutyagin	<1
Difficult to answer	46

2013, April; N=1600

PROTEST MOVEMENTS 2011-2013

Diagram 10.1

Political protest potential
(positive estimation of probability of mass protests with political demands and the level of willingness to participate in protests, %)



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

Table 10.23

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

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

Table 10.24

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

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

Table 10.25

In your opinion, what are the main results of the mass protests of the recent months?

The active members of the society have woken up; a sense of civic duty appeared	12
People feel solidarity among different societal layers, and begin to feel their own power	13
Protesters have received the support of a wider stratum of the Russian population	12
The protesters have achieved actual concessions and initiation of reforms from the authorities	5
The authorities got scared but did not fulfill the promises made, the reforms were not implemented and a "crackdown" began	16
Protests have no serious influence on the life of Russia	38
The opposition leaders have shown their inability to come up with ideas / actions / programs capable of attracting the masses and to begin to reform society "from below"	15
Difficult to answer	20

2013, January; N=1600

Table 10.26

Why do you think the opposition is appealing to governmental and non-governmental organizations in the Western countries concerning the findings of abuse of power and violation of civil rights?

Because it shares the values of Western democracy	8
Because democracy has no national borders	12
Because they are funded by the West	23
Because nobody in Russia will investigate the abuses of power / nor can resort to anyone's protection against the violation of civil rights	28
Difficult to answer	28

2013, April; N=1600

BOLOTNOE CASE

Table 10.27

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

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

N=1600

Table 10.28

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

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

N=1600

PUSSY RIOT

Table 10.29

Would you be personally for or against an early release of the members of the band Pussy Riot?

Definitely for	6
Rather for	22
Rather against	28
Definitely against	19
Difficult to answer	25

2013, February; N=1600

Table 10.30

In your opinion, what should be done with the member of the group «Pussy Riot» Tolokonnikova, who appealed for a conditional early release?

To release and exonerate her because «Pussy Riot» were wantonly convicted	7
To release her immediately, the verdict was uncommonly cruel	8
To grant her of conditional early release, she did enough time	35
She should complete her sentence	36
Difficult to answer	13

2013, March; N=1600

Table 10.31

Have you heard what «Pussy Riot» did in the Christ the Savior Cathedral last spring?

Yes	78
No	22

2013, August; N=1600

Table 10.32

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

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

N=1600

Table 10.33

Who was the target of Pussy Riot’s event at Christ the Savior Cathedral?
(Offered to respondents aware of who Pussy Riot are)

	2012		2013
	VII	VIII	VIII
Orthodox Church and believers	23	14	23
Vladimir Putin	19	13	19
Church’s involvement in politics	20	16	17
The first, second and third options are all correct	19	20	20
Difficult to answer	19	36	22

N=1600

Table 10.34

What do you feel towards the Pussy Riot members?
(Offered to respondents aware of who Pussy Riot are)

	2012 VIII	2013 VIII
Respect	<1	<1
Sympathy	6	6
I cannot say anything bad about them	5	2
Neutral, indifferent	20	20
I cannot say anything good about them	20	23
Annoyed	14	19
Dislike	17	27
Difficult to answer	19	4

N=1600

Table 10.35

Were the Court's proceedings against Pussy Riot handled in a just, objective and impartial manner?
(in % of those who heard about «Pussy Riot»)

	2012	2013
Certainly yes	11	20
Rather yes	33	35
Rather no	13	20
Certainly not	4	4
Difficult to answer	39	22

N=1600

Table 10.36

Was the verdict for the members of the band «Pussy Riot» handed down in accordance with evidence of guilt in the Court of Law or handed down from «above»?
(in % of those who heard about «Pussy Riot»)

In accordance with their proven guilt	42
On the order from «above»	22
Both, in equal measure	21
Difficult to answer	15

2013, August; N=1600

Table 10.37

Do you think is the 2 years of imprisonment adequate punishment for the the members of the band «Pussy Riot»?
(offered to respondents aware of Pussy Riot)

	2012			2013
	III	IV	VII	IV
Adequate punishment	46	47	33	56
Excessive punishment	35	32	43	26
Such actions should not be criminally punishable	9	10	15	9
Difficult to answer	10	11	9	9

* - in 2012 the question was formulated as «Is 7 year prison sentence Pussy Riot stand to receive adequate or excessive punishment for their action, or you believe such actions should not be criminally punishable?»

N=1600

UKRAINE AND CREMIA 2014

Table 10.38

Do you know that mass protest actions against Russian interference in Ukraine’s internal affairs take place in Russia?

	2014 September	2015 February
I do	14	6
I’ve heard about it	36	30
This is the first time I hear about it	44	60
Difficult to answer	7	4

N=800

Table 10.39

Do you support the mass protest action against Russia’s interference in Ukraine’s internal affairs that take place in Russia now (“Peace marches”)?

	2014 March	2014 September	2015 February
Definitely support	8	6	5
Rather support	20	23	22
Rather do not support	27	27	33
Definitely do not support	27	22	23
Difficult to answer	18	23	18

N=800

Table 10.40

If new mass protest actions against Russia’s interference into Ukraine’s internal affairs take place in your town (neighborhood) will you participate in them?

	2014 March	2014 September	2015 February
Definitely yes	2	2	2
Rather yes	11	10	8
Rather no	28	27	39
Definitely no	48	52	44
Difficult to answer	11	10	8

N=800

NEMTSOV'S MURDER

Table 10.41

Do you know who Boris Nemtsov is? (answers are ranked)

A well-known Russian politician	50
Killed the night of February 27 th in Moscow	42
Was governor of Nizhny Novgorod region	31
One of the leaders of the opposition in Russia	22
Was a member of the State Duma of Russia	16
Was considered Yeltsin's successor for a time	14
Was first vice-premier in Russia's government	12
Supported the Maidan in Kiev	10
Was a deputy in Yaroslavl regional Duma	8
Was one of the organizers of "Marches of the Discontent", "Strategy 31" "For fair elections" rallies	5
Was one of the founders, head of political council of "Union of Right Forces" Party	5
Was one of the organizers of "Marches of the Discontent"; protest actions against military action in Ukraine	5
Was co-chairman of "RPR-Parnas" party	3
Author of "Luzhkov, sum total", "Putin, sum total, 10 years" reports etc	2
Was one of the founders of "Solidarity" movement	1
I've heard something about him but can't say what it was exactly	6
I haven't heard of him	4

2015, March; N=800

Table 10.42

What did the news of B. Nemtsov's murder make you feel? (answers are ranked)

Nothing in particular	37
Sympathy, grief	26
Confusion	17
Indignation, rage	8
Worry, fear	7
I don't know anything about it	2
Satisfaction	1
Difficult to answer	3

2015, March; N=800

Table 10.43

Do you keep tabs on the investigation of B. Nemtsov's murder?

Yes, very closely	10
Yes, but not very closely	32
No, I don't keep tabs on it, but hear things about it	48
No, I don't hear anything about it	10

2015, March; N=800

Table 10.44

Do you think Russia’s authorities had something to do with B. Nemtsov’s murder?

Definitely yes	5
More like yes	10
More like no	30
Definitely no	28
Difficult to answer	26

2015, March; N=800

Table 10.45

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

Definitely yes	9
More like yes	24
More like no	28
Definitely no	16
Difficult to answer	23

2015, March; N=800

Table 10.46

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

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

2015, March; N=800

Table 10.47

Do you know about B. Nemtsov’s reports (“Putin. Sum total.10 years”, “Putin. Corruption”)?

Yes, I’ve read them	5
I haven’t read them but I know the main points	6
I’ve heard something, but I don’t know what they are about	21
I haven’t heard anything about them	64
Difficult to answer	3

2015, March; N=800

Table 10.48

Do you think Nemtsov’s criticism of Putin is justified or not?

Definitely yes	3
More like yes	18
More like no	20
Definitely no	10
Difficult to answer	48

2015, March; N=800

11. GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

Table 11.1

Which of the points of view regarding private ownership of land is closer to your own?

	2011 October	2013 June
Private ownership of land is essential	24	25
Private ownership of land is possible but only with the monitoring by the government of its use	57	55
Private ownership of land is impermissible	16	15
Difficult to answer	3	4

N=1600

Table 11.2

Which of the opinions in regards to governmental property rights in industry is more acceptable?

	2002	2007	2008	2009	2011	2013
	IV	XII	IV	I	X	VI
All large enterprises should belong to the state	51	46	41	50	49	45
The most important of the country's enterprises should belong to the state and the rest may be privately owned	43	46	53	41	42	48
All large enterprises should be privately owned	3	2	2	3	2	3
Difficult to answer	4	6	4	6	6	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800

N=1600

Table 11.3

In your opinion, should individual businessmen/women and small businesses pay the same taxes as medium-sized and large enterprises (in percent) or less?

The same percentage as the middle-sized and large enterprises	17
A lower percentage than the middle-sized and large enterprises	69
Difficult to answer	14

2013, May; N=1600

Table 11.4

Do you support the idea of amnesty for people convicted of economic crimes?

Certainly yes	7
Rather yes	25
Rather not	29
Certainly yes	18
Difficult to answer	21

2013, May; N=1600

Table 11.5

In your opinion to what degree have the authorities “fused” with large business – compared to the late 1990-s?

	2010 July	2014 September	2015 September
To a noticeably greater degree	30	23	23
To a somewhat greater degree	29	23	19
To the same degree	20	30	29
To a somewhat smaller degree	6	10	7
To a noticeably smaller degree	1	2	3
Difficult to answer	14	13	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	800

Table 11.6

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

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

Table 11.7

In your opinion to what degree does the state control the activities of the largest state-owned corporations?

	2010 July	2014 September	2015 September
Fully	7	7	9
To a large degree	23	40	34
To a small degree	36	26	29
It practically doesn't	18	9	14
Difficult to answer	17	20	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	800

Table 11.8

**In your opinion to what degree have the authorities “fused”
with large business – compared to the late 1990-s?**

	2010 July	2014 September	2015 September
To a noticeably greater degree	30	23	23
To a somewhat greater degree	29	23	19
To the same degree	20	30	29
To a somewhat smaller degree	6	10	7
To a noticeably smaller degree	1	2	3
Difficult to answer	14	13	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 11.9

**In your opinion, which qualities are characteristic of Russian businessmen?
(the answers are ranked based on the last survey)**

	1991	1994	2001	2010	2013
The lure of money, gain, profit	50	54	48	51	53
Propensity to perform various scams and perpetrate fraud	45	37	36	41	35
Business acumen	20	20	22	33	29
Unscrupulousness in achieving their goals	21	19	22	26	28
Unwillingness to work honestly	20	25	27	26	28
Adventurism	26	16	21	24	26
Low level of culture	20	15	16	20	20
Initiative, determination to achieve a set goal	15	7	11	18	18
Rational assessment, good judgment	6	9	12	19	18
Work ethic	8	8	12	18	16
Lack of professionalism, incompetence	-	12	13	12	14
Lack of business skills	-	11	14	14	13
High degree of competence and professionalism	3	3	4	7	8
Generosity, nobility, philanthropy	-	2	2	7	7
High level of culture	1	1	2	4	6
Honesty, decency	5	5	3	5	4
Difficult to answer	14	22	12	12	13

N=1600

YUKOS CASE

Table 11.10

Were M. Khodorkovsky and P. Lebedev convicted on the basis of proven evidence or on the order from «above»?

	2011	2013
In accordance with the proof of guilt	10	9
On the order from «above»	27	38
Both, in equal measure	11	13
Did not follow the issue	26	20
Difficult to answer	26	20

N=1600

Table 11.11

Do you believe that the money raised at the time from the sale of the company "Yukos" went to develop Russian housing and communal utilities?

	2009 December	2011 October	2013 June
Believe	10	4	3
Do not believe	65	79	78
Difficult to answer	26	18	19

N=1600

Table 11.12

Do you think Russia should abide by the rulings of the Arbitration court in The Hague?

Definitely yes	9
More like yes	37
More like no	21
Definitely no	7
Difficult to answer	25

2015, N=800

Table 11.13

Do you think Russia should abide by the ruling of the arbitration court in The Hague about the payment of 50 billion Euro of compensation to former YUKOS shareholders?

Definitely yes	4
More like yes	22
More like no	28
Definitely no	13
Difficult to answer	34

2015, N=800

Table 11.14

Do you think that the ruling of the Arbitration court in The Hague about the payment of 50 billion Euro of compensation to former YUKOS shareholders was reasonable and impartial or politically motivated?

Reasonable and impartial	10
Politically motivated	60
Difficult to answer	30

2015, N=800

Table 11.15

What's your attitude towards the ruling of The Hague court according to which Russia has to pay 50 billion Euro to the aggrieved YUKOS shareholders?

	2014 August	2015 July
In essence this means international recognition that the trial of the YUKOS company management was unjust, Russia should obey and abide by this ruling	12	13
The ruling of the court in The Hague was politically motivated, was made under pressure from Western countries so Russia shouldn't abide by it	55	54
Difficult to answer	34	33

N=1600

Table 11.16

How will the situation around this ruling of The Hague court develop in your opinion?

	2014 August	2015 July
Russia will pay the 50 billion Euro in full	3	5
Russia will manage to come to an agreement with the former "YUKOS" shareholders about paying a smaller sum	11	10
Russia will refuse to pay compensations to former "YUKOS" shareholders and the issue will "die down" on its own	23	20
Russia will refuse to pay compensations to former "YUKOS" shareholders and the situation will come down to the sequestration of the properties of "Rosneft" and other companies that profited from "YUKOS" bankruptcy abroad.	12	11
Russia will refuse to pay compensations to former "YUKOS" shareholders and the situation will come down to the sequestration of Russia's property and bank accounts abroad	7	10
Difficult to answer	45	44

N=1600

**MIKHAIL KHODORKOVSKY
THE RELEASE OF MIKHAIL KHODORKOVSKY**

Table 11.16

Have you heard that V. Putin agreed to pardon M. Khodorkovsky?

Yes	66
No	34

2013, December; N=1600

Table 11.17

How do you feel about V. Putin's decision to pardon M. Khodorkovsky?

Definitely positively	14
Rather positively	33
Rather negatively	9
Definitely negatively	5
Difficult to answer	40

2013, December; N=1600

Table 11.18

Do you think M. Khodorkovsky asked to be pardoned?

Certainly yes	18
Probably yes	37
Probably no	6
Certainly not	1
Difficult to answer	38

2013, December; N=1600

Table 11.19

**In your opinion, does the request for a pardon constitute
an admission of guilt?**

Certainly yes	11
Probably yes	22
Probably no	17
Certainly not	7
Difficult to answer	43

2013, December; N=1600

Table 11.20

**Would you personally support or disapprove an early release
for M. Khodorkovsky after the years he spent in prison?**

	2006 August	2007 February	2007 October	2009 April	2011 October	2012 October	2013 June
Definitely support	7	5	5	4	8	6	9
Would rather support	19	14	17	16	23	24	24
Would rather disapprove	22	22	21	17	15	16	13
Definitely disapprove	10	22	11	15	5	7	3
Difficult to answer	42	36	46	48	49	48	52

N=1600

Table 11.21

What do you feel towards Mikhail Khodorkovsky?

	2005 VIII	2005 IX	2006 VIII	2008 X	2012 X	2015 I
Respect	3	3	2	1	4	3
Sympathy	5	5	5	6	10	3
I cannot say anything bad about him	11	10	11	10	13	8
Neutral, indifferent	38	38	50	40	48	40
I cannot say anything good about him	14	16	11	10	7	14
Annoyed	8	7	4	3	2	8
Dislike	8	8	4	4	2	8
Difficult to answer	13	12	13	27	16	17

N=1600

Table 11.22

**Do you follow the fate of M. Khodorkovsky, the former head
of the oil company "Yukos"?**

	2009 March	2011 October	2012 October	2013 June
Very closely	1	2	1	0
Quite closely	4	7	7	7
Yes but without special attention	23	24	23	23
Did not follow	49	45	47	49
Never heard anything about it	19	16	16	18
Difficult to answer	4	6	5	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

N=800

Table 11.23

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

	2006					2007		2008	2013
	I	III	V	VIII	XI	IV	VI	I	VI
Definitely yes	1	1	2	3	3	1	2	2	2
Yes, rather than no	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	6	9
No, rather than yes	26	20	25	22	20	22	21	18	29
Definitely no	52	63	51	59	56	56	60	58	38
Difficult to answer	16	11	18	13	17	16	14	16	22

N=1600

12. CORRUPTION AND CORRUPTION SCANDALS AMONG THE TOP OFFICIALS

Table 12.1

To what extent is the adoption of crucial State decisions in Russia influenced by the business interests of the inner circle of the country's leading people?

	2011 May	2013 May
To a large extent	31	27
Somewhat materially	35	47
Immaterially	14	9
Not influenced at all	4	3
Difficult to answer	15	15

N=1600

Table 12.2

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

	2012		2013	2015
	I	XI	II	III
More	50	41	51	30
Around the same	35	43	33	46
Less	6	9	8	13
Difficult to answer	8	7	8	12

N=1600

Table 12.3

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

	2010	2011	2012	2013
All income sources	2	1	2	3
The majority of income sources	10	11	13	15
Small part of their income sources	44	43	38	43
Only a tiny fraction of their income sources	34	34	32	28
Difficult to answer	10	11	15	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 12.4

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

	2012		2013	2014		2015
	III	XI	IV	IV	IX	V
Putin will be able to score the victory in fight against the corruption after a profound cleanup of government bureaucracy and issuing tougher sentences	27	27	20	27	26	31
Putin will try to fight corruption, but he will hardly make any significant breakthrough because corruption in Russia is incurable	35	35	35	43	38	42
It is extremely difficult for Putin to fight corruption, because he also heavily relies on corrupt officials	15	21	21	17	19	16
Putin will not put up a serious fight against corruption, because he is also involved	15	12	17	9	8	8
Difficult to answer	8	6	7	5	9	4

N=800

Table 12.5

Do you think there has been ... corruption and abuse of power among the top echelons of power in the last fifteen years?

	2007 May	2010 July	2014 September	2015 September
More	49	60	39	45
Less	11	10	20	15
The same	32	23	33	30
Difficult to answer	8	8	8	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

*in 2010 «last ten years», in 2007 «last three-four years»

Table 12.6

Who are more to blame – those who take bribes or those who give them?

	2005	2007	2015
Those who take bribes	35	34	31
Those who give bribes	9	9	8
Both are equally to blame	53	55	59
Difficult to answer	4	3	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 12.7

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

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

N=1600

Table 12.8

In your opinion, if a government official or a deputy is very wealthy, this is:

Normal	13
Indecent	33
Criminal	44
Difficult to answer	11

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.9

Do you think that we should set property qualifications (the maximum amount of revenues) for those wishing to enter the civil service?

Yes, government officials and deputies should be aware of the conditions in which regular people live	62
Yes, a person without business interests is independent in making decisions	20
No, a wealthy person is not going to steal/accept bribes	6
No, a wealthy person has managerial experience	4
Difficult to answer	8

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.10

How do you think is the real highest level of corruption which the political opposition constantly speaks of?

Considerably less than being referred to	4
About the same as mentioned	34
Even more than mentioned	58
Difficult to answer	5

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.11

In your opinion, why was the law prohibiting government officials, deputies of the State Duma and members of the Federal Assembly from owning property and bank accounts abroad adopted?

To prevent laundering of illegal profits	34
To protect Russia from the possibility of influencing its policy by threatening the property and funds of the Russian Government officials and Deputies abroad	27
To provide Putin with total control over Government officials and Deputies	21
To protect Russian Deputies and officials from the possibility of property and money confiscation by politically motivated courts in the West	9
Difficult to answer	9

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.12

In your opinion, will the law prohibiting Government officials and the State Duma deputies from owning real estate and bank accounts abroad be effective?

Yes, fully	12
Yes, but selectively, some will be affected ,some will not	41
No, it will be forgotten in a few months and everything will remain as it was before	37
Difficult to answer	10

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.13

In your opinion, if it becomes known that a deputy of the State Duma owns an undeclared piece of foreign real estate, should he/she be disciplined and if so, in what manner?

We need to introduce criminal liability for this	50
It would be sufficient to deprive them of the position of deputy of the State Duma	34
We should not impose any punishment for it - the requirements of the new law are excessive, everyone is free to dispose of their property and funds the way they want	6
Difficult to answer	10

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.14

Which opinion regarding undeclared property of many staunch fighters against corruption and immorality would you rather agree with?

I believe these "revelations" are an attempt to discredit decent and respected people	6
I support the actions of bloggers tracing concealed ownership and exposing the hypocrisy of the Deputies	63
Difficult to answer	30

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.15

Do you think that all violations committed by the deputies of the Duma and senior officials will be investigated objectively and honestly?

Unequivocally yes, as the leaders of the country (V. Putin, D. Medvedev) repeatedly mentioned	10
Some major and most scandalous cases will possibly be looked into and investigated but in general, the majority of the deputies and unscrupulous officials will remain in place and the system will not change	41
Nobody in the country's leadership seriously wants to investigate these affairs, since all high-ranking officials and leaders are tied by mutual responsibility and mutual interests of enrichment	37
Difficult to answer	11

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.16

The deputies of what parliamentary fractions in the State Duma, do you think conceal the more often their businesses, real estate holdings and bank accounts abroad?

Deputies from the "United Russia"	24
Deputies from the "A Just Russia"	9
MPs from the Liberal Democratic Party	8
Deputies from the Communist Party	7
All in equal measure	54
Difficult to answer	13

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.17

Do you think that V. Putin...

	2013	2014	2015
Panders to the bureaucracy, seeking to take advantage of the wealth of Russia?	34	60	64
Limits the appetites of bureaucracy seeking to take advantage of Russian wealth?	49	24	20
Difficult to answer	18	16	16

N=1600

CORRUPTION SCANDALS OF THE HIGHER LEADERSHIP

OBORONCERVICE CASE

Table 12.18

Do you think that the former Defense Minister A. Serdyukov should be prosecuted because of the larcenies that took place in the Ministry of Defense?

Certainly yes	58
Rather yes	30
Rather no	3
Certainly not	<1
Difficult to answer	9

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.19

Do you think that because of embezzlements in the Ministry of Agriculture, its Minister Elena Skrynnik should be prosecuted?

Certainly yes	54
Rather yes	32
Rater no	3
Certainly not	1
Difficult to answer	10

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.20

Should the financial malfeasance of the heads of Russian ministries be under the responsibility of...?

	The Prime Minister of Russia	The President of Russia
Certainly yes	43	40
Rather yes	42	38
Rather no	8	12
Certainly not	1	2
Difficult to answer	6	7

2013, March; N=1600

Table 12.21

Is V. Putin a part of the grand manipulations of governmental property and finances that came to light lately?

	2012 December	2013 August
Not in any way	22	13
Personally not involved, but had to be aware of it and had to tolerate them as he is dependent on the people that were involved	39	48
He is part of it and gets his share	16	18
Difficult to answer	23	21

N=1600

ATTORNEY GENERAL Y. CHAIKA

Table 12.22

Have you heard about the investigative film made by A. Navalny's "Anti-Corruption foundation" about Russia's Attorney General Y. Chaika's family members being corrupt and connected to organized crime?

Have seen the film themselves	5
Know what the film is about but haven't seen it	10
Heard something about it	23
Haven't ever heard of it before	62

2015, December; N=1600

Table 12.23

Which of the opinions regarding the accusations against Russia's Attorney General Y. Chaika's family would you agree with most?
(% of those who's at least heard something about "Chaika" film)

These accusations are baseless, the authors of the investigation are only trying to once again cast aspersions on people in office	7
It looks like the truth although it's hard to evaluate the credibility of these accusations	39
I'm sure that it's all true and I was really shaken by these facts	27
I didn't learn anything new from these accusations	12
Difficult to answer	15

2015, December; N=1600

Table 12.24

Are the involvement in corrupt practices and links to organized crime, which, according to the Anti-corruption Foundation accusations, Yuri Chaika's family is involved in, typical or isolated incidents?

(% of respondents who believe the facts in the investigative documentary Chaika are credible)

An isolated incidents not typical for the government officials	10
A typical demonstration of the corruption among the Russian authorities	82
Difficult to answer	9

2015, December; N=1600

Table 12.25

What kind of consequences will these accusations have?

Yuri Chaika will need to resign	7
An investigation will be opened and if accusations of Y. Chaika and other officials in the Prosecutor's office involvement with the organized crime prove to be true, they will need to resign	21
The authors of the report on corruption in Chaika's circles will be persecuted and a criminal investigation will be opened against them	13
There will be no ramifications, the system will cover it up	28
Difficult to answer	32

2015, December; N=1600

DOPING SCANDAL

Table 12.26

Are the accusations of the World Anti Doping Agency against Russia are true or is it an attempt to politically discredit Russian sports organizations and Russia in general?

These accusations are based on facts	9
These accusations are quite credible	20
There are some isolated incidents which are not typical	31
These accusations are baseless and are caused by Russo-phobia	25
Difficult to answer	16

2015, November; N=800

Table 12.27

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

More often	4
The same	51
Less often	27
Difficult to answer	18

2015, November; N=800

Table 12.28

Should anybody be punished for the doping among Russian athletes?

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

2015, November; N=800

Table 12.29

Was International Association of Athletics Federations' decision to ban Russian athletes from competing due to systematic doping use fair?

Definitely yes	10
Rather yes	23
Rather no	27
Definitely no	15
Difficult to answer	24

2015, November; N=800

13. CONSTITUTION, RUSSIAN LAWS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Table 13.1

Which of the following approaches toward the human rights issue would you consider to be more appropriate?

	1999	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2013	2015
The interests of the state should be placed above the rights of an individual	11	12	10	12	8	11	11	9	7	8
The interests of the state, in some cases, should prevail over the rights of the individual citizens	16	15	19	16	16	18	15	14	17	25
People have the right to fight for their rights, even if it goes against the interests of the state	43	44	45	47	48	49	46	52	46	47
The rights of an individual should be placed higher than the State's interests	16	21	16	14	19	12	16	15	15	8
Difficult to answer	12	9	10	11	10	10	11	10	16	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 13.2

Do you personally feel protected by law?

	2006 December	2010 December	2015 March
Yes	25	33	41
No	68	58	47
Difficult to answer	7	9	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800

Table 13.3

Why do you feel not protected by law?
(% of those who feel being protected)

	2006 December	2010 December	2015 March
Because laws change all the time	23	17	15
Because laws get interpreted at will by those in power	37	32	45
Because laws are not written for everyone, there are too many people now who feel they are above the law (dignitaries, law enforcement, rich people)	45	46	44
Because everybody is corrupt and I cannot expect my case to be tried fairly and objectively in court	42	35	37
Because people have no means of influencing the authorities	20	16	11
Difficult to answer	4	5	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800

Table 13.4

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

	1994 VIII	1999 IV	2001 I	2002 X	2003 X	2004 X	2005 X	2006 X	2007 X	2009 I	2010 I	2010 X	2011 X	2012 XI	2013 XII	2014 XI	2015 X
The right to live	63	57	63	52	50	54	61	64	46	58	60	57	67	67	69	65	67
The right to have a free education, medical care, maintenance in old age and in illness	64	68	56	70	66	74	76	74	67	68	65	69	70	66	65	64	65
Personal immunity	55	46	65	44	45	45	52	50	38	45	52	51	53	56	52	50	47
The right to have a wellpaid professional job	49	53	51	51	49	51	57	56	51	51	54	50	46	54	53	43	40
The right to own property	29	23	41	25	28	30	35	35	28	33	34	38	41	38	37	39	33
Freedom of speech	18	14	38	19	19	24	28	28	21	28	29	34	38	40	39	30	32
The right for the «minimum of subsistence»	33	33	24	35	38	41	45	40	24	31	36	36	36	36	37	27	31
The right for information	8	9	26	12	15	17	19	17	13	14	20	22	25	30	27	20	29
Freedom of religion	14	8	20	13	12	13	16	17	11	15	19	22	21	25	26	22	22
The right to elect one's representatives to governing bodies	9	8	17	8	10	14	16	14	10	13	17	20	18	20	21	19	17
The right to go to another country and come back	11	8	24	13	11	13	15	15	11	13	15	17	19	24	20	16	17
Difficult to answer	6	3	<1	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	4	1	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 13.5

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

	1997 IV	2007 IV	2008 IV	2009 VI	2011 VII	2012 VII	2013	
							VI	VIII
Order in the country	60	54	51	54	53	53	57	55
Observance of human rights	27	36	39	38	42	42	33	38
Difficult to answer	13	10	10	9	5	5	10	7

N=1600

Table 13.6

Do you agree with the opinion: "If I would be guaranteed the normal salary and a decent pension, I would be ready to give up the freedom of speech and the right to freely travel abroad?"

	2002 April	2008 April	2013 June	2015 June
Completely agree	26	16	16	16
Rather agree	17	22	27	26
Rather not agree	23	25	26	29
Totally disagree	25	27	20	20
Difficult to answer	9	11	11	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	1600

Table 13.7

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

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

CONSTITUTION

Table 13.8

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

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Sometimes the laws conflict with the Constitution, but we still need to follow them	21	30	29	18
If the laws conflict with the individual rights and the Constitution, we need to fight for their repeal or revision	65	57	54	64
Difficult to answer	14	13	17	18

N=1600

Table 13.9

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

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

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

Table 13.10

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

	2013	2014
Remember it pretty well	11	12
Remember it vaguely	26	24
Read it but do not remember	25	24
Never read it	38	41

N=800

Table 13.11

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

Completely	6
Generally	27
Somewhat	47
Disregard completely	13
Difficult to answer	8

2013, November; N=1600

**AMNESTY COMMEMORATION THE 20th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION**

Table 13.12

In your opinion, is the amnesty, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, including the pardon of prisoners and people who are under investigation for non- violent crimes, useful or harmful?

Definitely needed, useful	10
Most likely needed, useful	36
Most likely not needed, harmful	23
Unequivocally not needed, harmful	8
Difficult to answer	23

2013, December; N=1600

Table 13.13

How would you feel if in the course of this amnesty M. Khodorkovsky would be released?

Positively, in general	10
Rather positively	33
Rather negatively	19
Definitely against	7
Difficult to answer	31

2013, December; N=1600

Table 13.14

How would you feel if in course of this amnesty members of «Pussy Riot» would be freed?

Positively, in general	6
Rather positively	34
Rather negatively	28
Definitely negatively	13
Difficult to answer	20

2013, December; N=1600

Table 13.15

How would you react if this amnesty stops the prosecution of S. Udaltsov and drops charges against A. Navalny?

Wholly positively	6
Rather positively	27
Rather negatively	21
Very negatively	7
Difficult to answer	39

2013, December; N=1600

Table 13.16

How would you react if this amnesty stopped the prosecution and released from detention the accused and convicted in "Bolotnoe" case?

Wholly positively	6
Rather positively	33
Rather negatively	19
Very negatively	6
Difficult to answer	37

2013, December; N=1600

Table 13.17

How would you react if, during the course of this amnesty, the prosecution of ecologists protesting against oil exploration in the North and Barents seas would be discontinued?

Would welcome it	8
Positively, most likely	40
Negatively, most likely	18
Very negatively	6
Difficult to answer	28

2013, December; N=1600

Table 13.18

How would you react if, in the course of this amnesty, the court proceedings against the former Minister of Defense A. Serdyukov and his assistant E. Vasilieva were dropped?

Absolutely positively	3
Rather positively	11
Rather negatively	25
Very negatively	43
Difficult to answer	18

2013, December; N=1600

14. MASS MEDIA

Diagram 14.1

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

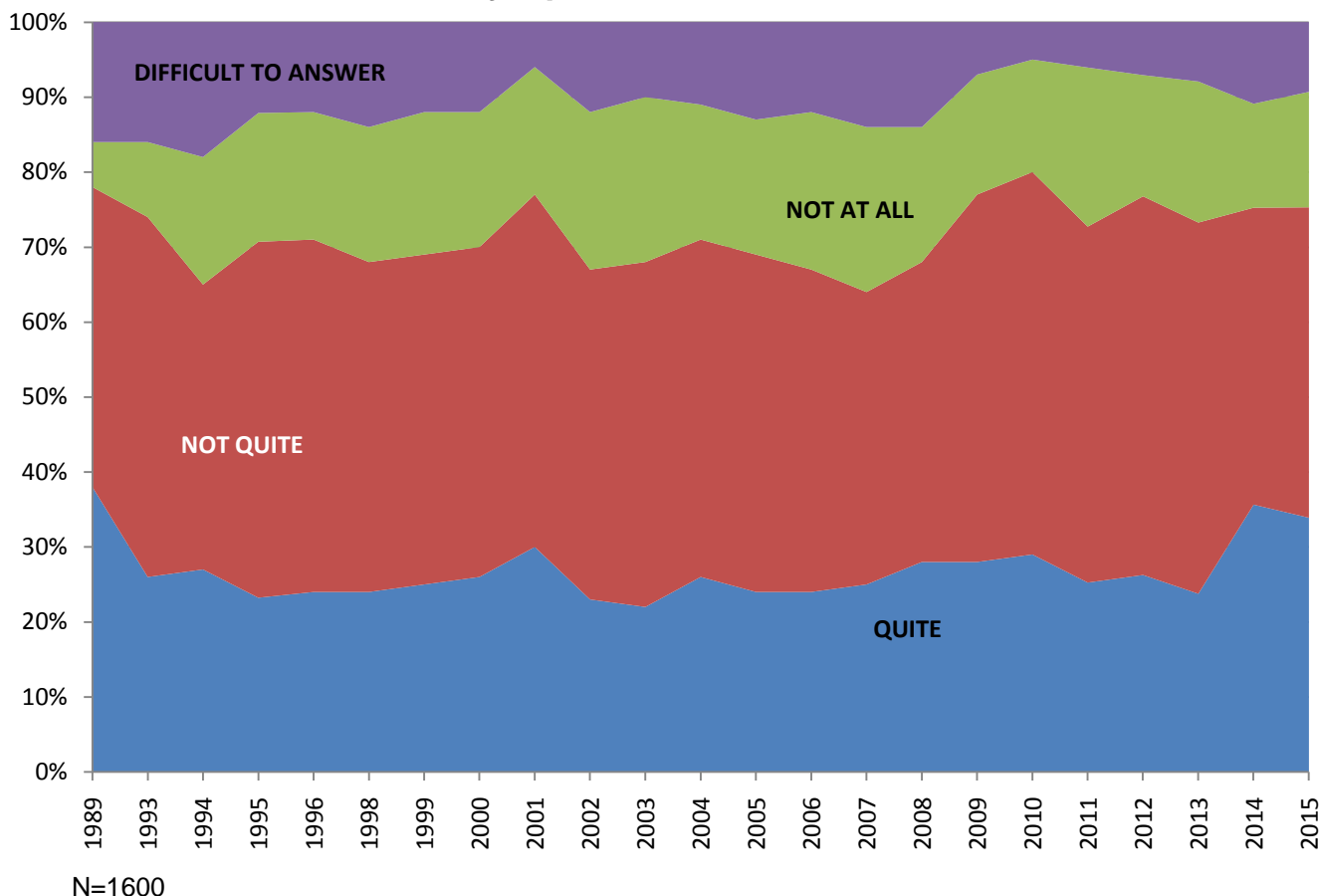


Table 14.1

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

	1989	1993	1994	1995	1996	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Quite	38	26	27	23	24	24	25	26	30	23	22	26	24	24	25	28	28	29	25	26	24
Not quite	40	48	38	47	47	44	44	44	47	44	46	45	45	43	39	40	49	51	47	50	50
Not at all	6	10	17	17	17	18	19	18	17	21	22	18	18	21	22	18	16	15	21	16	19
Difficult to answer	16	16	18	12	12	14	12	12	6	12	10	11	13	12	14	14	7	5	6	7	8
Number of respondents	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	1600	1600	1600	1500	1600

Table 14.2

**What is your source of Russian news?
(first mentions)**

	2011	2012								2013	2014			2015			
	XI	I	II	III	IV	VI	VIII	X	VI	III	VI	IX	III	VII	VIII	X	
Russian state TV channels ("Perviy kanal", "Rossiya", "Kultura", regional channels of VGTRK corporation)	74	72	66	73	73	71	73	69	70	74	75	71	70	70	67	69	
Russian private TV channels (NTV, Ren-TV, other private/commercial channels, including regional and local channels)	10	7	9	8	6	6	6	10	5	4	4	5	3	4	4	3	
Internet	6	13	17	13	14	16	16	15	17	15	10	17	19	18	20	20	
Foreign news outlets (foreign TV channels, radio, papers and magazines)	1	<1	1	<1	<1	<1	<1	1	<1	<1	<1	<1	1	0	1	0	
State newspapers ("Rossiyskaya gazeta", newspapers of regional and local governments)	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	
Radio	1	1	<1	2	2	1	1	2	2	<1	1	2	2	1	2	2	
Family, friends, neighbors	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	5	4	5	4	3	3	5	4	
Private newspapers	1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	1	1	<1	0	0	0	0	
Difficult to answer	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	

N=1600

Table 14.3

**How objectively do the news releases on major television channels
("Channel One Russia", Channel "Rossiya", NTV)
describe the events in our country and in the world?**

Completely objectively	12
Objectively, for the most part	53
Biased for the most part	24
Absolutely biased	3
Difficult to answer	9

2013, June; N=1600

Table 14.4

How often do you think the truth is being told by the journalists from...

	Channel One Russia	Channel «Rossiya»	NTV
Always the truth	12	12	11
More often the truth but not always	27	26	24
Equally the truth and lies	28	30	25
More often a lie, but sometimes the truth	13	12	15
Always a lie	4	6	5
Do not watch the news on this channel	8	6	10
Difficult to answer	8	9	11

2013, August, N=1600

Table 14.5

Which sources of information do you trust the most as far as domestic and international news goes?

	2009 August	2013 June	2014 March	2015 November	2016 July
Television	79	51	50	41	59
Internet media (newspapers, magazines, news portals)	7	14	20	18	20
Friends, family, neighbors	9	16	19	19	12
Social networks*	4	11	9	9	12
Newspapers	16	12	14	12	9
Radio	23	12	13	11	9
Magazines	1	2	1	2	1
I don't trust anybody	6	8	4	8	8
Difficult to answer	3	6	6	6	6

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

Table 14.6

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

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

Table 14.7

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

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

Table 14.8

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

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

Table 14.9

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

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

THE CARICATURES ON PROPHET MUHAMMAD

Table 14.10

**Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
«Publishing caricatures on the prophet Muhammad
is intolerable since they are offensive to Muslims»?**

Fully agree	39
Rather agree	33
Rather disagree	9
Absolutely disagree	3
Difficult to answer	16

2015, January, N=800

Table 14.11

**Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
«Freedom of speech and opinion is the most important principle
of a democratic society and by backing down from publishing caricatures on
the Prophet the media do the terrorists' bidding»?**

Fully agree	6
Rather agree	20
Rather disagree	31
Absolutely disagree	19
Difficult to answer	24

2015, January, N=800

Table 14.12

**How do you feel about the Federal Service for Supervision in the Sphere of
Telecom, Informational Technologies and Communications recommendation
urging Russian media not to publish caricatures on religious topics?**

Entirely positively	27
Rather positively	36
Don't care	22
Rather negatively	5
Entirely negatively	2
Difficult to answer	10

2015, January, N=800

Table 14.13

What is this recommendation really about in your opinion?

The Russian authorities wanting to protect the feelings of the faithful and prevent interconfessional conflicts	65
Yet another phase of freedom limitations in Russia for which this caricature scandal is nothing but an excuse	16
Difficult to answer	18

2015, January, N=800

TELEVISION

Table 14.14

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

	2000	2007	2010	2012	2015
Overall, television gives a full and objective picture of current events	16	15	17	16	21
It is possible to get a lot of useful and objective information about world events	51	46	51	48	46
Television gives a scanty and distorted picture of world events	14	16	15	17	20
Television gives a false idea about world events, it is used to manipulate people's way of thinking	12	13	12	14	8
Difficult to answer	8	9	5	6	6

N=1600

Table 14.15

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

	2000	2007	2010	2012	2015
Inform	57	48	51	50	55
Educate	19	23	28	24	23
Train	14	14	12	15	10
Entertain	7	10	7	7	10
Difficult to answer	5	5	2	4	2

N=1600

CENSORSHIP

Table 14.16

Does the increase of state control over media worry you?

Definitely yes	11
More like yes	27
More like no	30
Definitely no	25
Difficult to answer	7

2015, October, N=1600

Table 14.17

Which of the following points of view would you tend to agree with?

	2002 April	2007 April	2008 April	2010 July	2013 June	2015 June
Any censorship is unacceptable. People should have the right to decide for themselves what to read and watch	24	19	18	20	18	17
The state should ban books and movies that offend morality	43	43	44	45	53	44
The books and movies of questionable content do not need to be prohibited, just restricted in their distribution	32	35	34	32	26	35
Difficult to answer	2	3	5	3	3	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 14.18

How would you react to the State Duma passing laws limiting Russians' access to the worldwide internet?

	2014 September	2015 October
Definitely negatively	13	18
Rather negatively	24	21
Neutrally, without much interest	38	40
Rather positively	10	9
Definitely positively	5	3
Difficult to answer	10	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

15. RELIGION

Table 15.1

How trustworthy is the church?

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	IX	III	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	III	X	X	IV	X	IX	IX	IX
Quite trustworthy	38	35	37	38	38	40	40	43	44	40	41	40	48	54	49	50	48	54	53
Not quite trustworthy	22	20	20	21	21	22	20	22	23	21	19	25	21	24	23	29	25	20	22
Not trustworthy at all	11	13	12	12	12	10	10	8	11	11	12	10	10	6	9	10	10	7	9
Difficult to answer	30	32	31	28	28	28	31	27	22	28	27	25	20	17	18	12	17	19	17

1997-2008 N=2100; N=1600

Table 15.2

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

	1991	1998	2008	2012	2013	2016
	VI	IX	I	VII	III	II
Should not get involved in public life at all	8	11	15	13	11	15
Support public morals and virtues	50	46	46	50	44	47
Facilitate public, national and political consensus	27	27	22	21	18	20
Meet spiritual requirements of the believers	38	36	37	49	43	41
Help keep cultural traditions	37	28	29	30	33	30
Support charity and charitable work	37	34	31	32	34	29
Help poor and disadvantaged	32	39	30	37	36	29
Help to develop the spiritual literature and art	11	14	13	19	16	14
Difficult to answer	5	10	10	5	6	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 15.3

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

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

Table 15.4

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

	2007 IX	2012 VII	2013 III
Definitely should	7	6	5
Rather should	22	20	21
Rather not	33	37	39
Definitely not	28	28	26
Difficult to answer	10	10	10
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

N=1600

Table 15.5

Do you think that the Church in Russia should be separated from the State or the State should take an active part in the affairs of the Church and vice versa (the Church - in the affairs of State)?

	2013 April	2014 March
The State should not interfere in the affairs of the Church and the Church should not interfere in the State's affairs	57	56
The State should take a very active part in the affairs of the Church and the Church - in the affairs of the State	30	30
Difficult to answer	14	15

N=1600

Table 15.6

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

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

N=1600

Table 15.7

In your opinion, who should punish people who offend religious shrines and profane religious sentiment?

The State	42
The Church/ religious community	22
It's better to leave it to God	23
Difficult to answer	12

2013, April; N=1600

Table 15.8

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

	2012 September	2013 February
Approve	75	66
Disapprove	25	32

N=1600

Table 15.9

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

	1997 VIII	2007 IX	2012 I	2013 III	2016 II
Yes	15	8	8	8	7
Rather yes	12	13	15	17	14
Rather no	15	25	24	24	24
No	44	45	43	38	45
Difficult to answer	14	10	10	12	10
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

N=1600

Table 15.10

What's your general attitude towards Muslims?

	2015	2016
Pretty positive	11	14
Rather positive	18	13
Neutral/don't care	51	48
Rather negative	12	16
Entirely negative	2	6
Difficult to answer	5	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 15.11

How would you react if they built a mosque in your town/neighborhood?

Pretty positively	13
Rather positively	17
Neutral/don't care	36
Rather negatively	16
Entirely negatively	11
Difficult to answer	6

2015, January; N=800

Table 15.12

How would you react if they were to build another Russian Orthodox church in your town/neighborhood?

Pretty positively	31
Rather positively	29
Neutral/don't care	29
Rather negatively	4
Entirely negatively	3
Difficult to answer	5

2015, January; N=800

Table 15.13

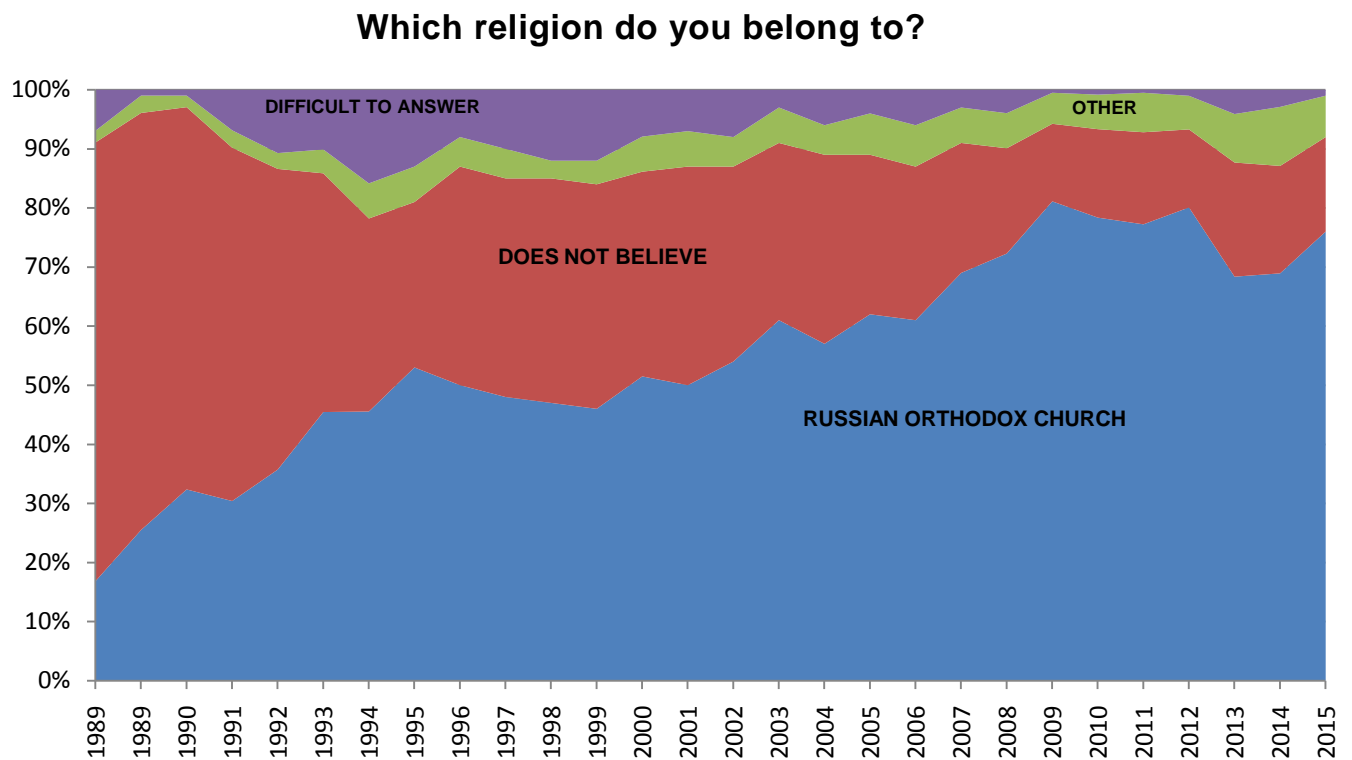
Do you generally approve or disapprove Russian Orthodox Church Patriarch Cyril's actions?

	2012 IX	2013 II	2014 I	2015 I
Approve	71	67	71	71
Disapprove	29	33	30	30

N=1600

RELIGIOUSNESS

Diagram 15.1



Before June 2008 N=2100; after June 2009 N=1600

Table 15.14

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

	1994 VIII	1997 IV	2012 IX
Agree	68	80	73
Do not agree	11	9	14
Difficult to answer	21	11	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 15.15

How important is religion in your life?

	2007	2012	2013	2014	2015
Very important	6	6	5	4	4
Fairly important	26	25	29	31	36
Not too important	41	42	43	37	32
Religion does not play any role for me	24	21	19	26	23
Difficult to answer	3	6	4	3	5

N=1600

Table 15.16

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

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

Table 15.17

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

	1991	1998	2008	2009	2014	2015
	VI	IX	I	II	VIII	XII
I don't believe in God	18	19	10	6	7	8
I don't know whether there is a God and I don't believe there is any way to find out	18	11	9	8	10	10
I don't believe in a personal God, but I do believe in a Higher Power of some kind	18	13	11	11	14	16
I find myself believing in God some of the time, but not others	11	12	14	13	15	15
While I have doubts, I feel that I do believe in God	15	16	21	21	19	17
I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it	14	24	32	36	29	25
Difficult to answer	5	5	4	5	7	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	3000	1700	1600	1600	1600	1600

N=1600

Table 15.18

Do you go to communion? If yes, how often?
(% of respondents who are baptized)

	1998	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007	2009	2010	2011	2013	2015
	XI	VII	VII	I	VII	VII	VII	II	VIII	VIII	XI	XII
Do not go	68	80	76	70	75	75	78	62	71	65	62	61
Once a week	1	1	1	1	1	1	<1	1	<1	1	2	<1
Once a month	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	4	1
Several times a year	12	6	8	7	10	8	8	10	7	6	8	9
Once a year or rarer	17	12	13	21	13	15	12	19	10	23	13	24

N=2100; 1600

Table 15.19

Do you attend church services?

	as a rule	often	sometimes	never
... at Easter	16	9	28	47
... on other Great Feasts	6	8	28	54
... on Sundays	2	4	26	68
... on Weekdays	1	3	23	74
Difficult to answer	14	16	18	19

N=1600

RELIGIOUS BELIEVES

Table 15.20

How long would you like to live?

	2007 October	2011 November	2013 November
As long as possible	22	25	22
As long as I have strength and clarity of mind	34	37	48
As long as God wills	43	34	26
Difficult to answer	2	4	5

N=1600

Table 15.21

Would you like to live forever?

	2007 October	2011 November	2013 November
Yes	20	17	20
No	68	68	62
Difficult to answer	12	15	18

N=1600

Table 15.22

Have you thought about your death and if so, do you think you are ready for it?

	2007 October	2011 November	2013 November
Ready	15	12	15
Not ready	34	44	38
Haven't thought about it	44	37	39
Difficult to answer	7	8	8

N=1600

Table 15.23

Do you believe in life after death?

	1991	1998	2008	2015
I believe it exists	15	12	20	12
Most likely it exists	18	19	25	27
Most likely it does not exist	21	20	22	24
I believe it does not exist	30	26	20	19
Difficult to answer	16	23	14	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 15.24

Do you believe in a «Eternal life»?

	1992	1998	2000	2006	2007	2008	2011	2015
Yes	20	22	21	16	20	29	21	26
No	43	60	66	72	62	56	67	58
Difficult to answer	37	18	13	12	18	15	12	17

N=1600

Table 15.25

Do you believe in Devil?

	1991	2008	2011	2015
I believe it exists	11	16	14	9
Most likely it exists	14	24	21	27
Most likely it does not exist	20	24	13	25
I believe it does not exist	37	22	33	21
Difficult to answer	17	14	19	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 15.26

Do you believe in Heaven?

	1991	2008	2010	2012	2015
I believe it exists	14	20	29	22	11
Most likely it exists	15	25	29	31	29
Most likely it does not exist	20	21	8	19	23
I believe it does not exist	32	19	15	10	19
Difficult to answer	19	14	19	18	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 15.27

Do you believe in Hell?

	1991	1998	2008	2010	2012	2015
I believe it exists	11	10	17	21	18	10
Most likely it exists	13	15	24	30	31	27
Most likely it does not exist	21	22	22	10	21	25
I believe it does not exist	35	30	22	17	11	20
Difficult to answer	20	23	16	21	19	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 15.28

Do you believe in religious miracles?

	1991	1998	2008	2010	2012	2015
I believe it exists	17	10	22	24	17	13
Most likely it exists	16	19	27	29	35	34
Most likely it does not exist	19	20	19	12	23	22
I believe it does not exist	30	29	19	18	10	16
Difficult to answer	18	22	13	18	16	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 15.29

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

	1991	2008	2012	2015
Soul saving and a path to eternal life	12	16	14	13
Moral standards of everyday life	31	31	26	28
Purification of soul	12	14	16	11
Oblivion, comfort, relief from spiritual pain and suffering	5	5	16	5
Reconciliation with death	2	3	2	5
Meaning of life	7	7	4	9
Religion does not give anyone anything significant, however, it does not harm either	19	12	9	12
Only food for prejudice, superstitions and deceit of ignorant people	2	3	3	5
Difficult to answer	11	9	9	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

THE LENT AND EASTER

Table 15.30

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

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

Table 15.31

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

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2006	2010	2011	2012	2013	2015
Cook the curd Easter cake	17	19	11	13	18	14	18	17	18	17
Bake the Easter cake	38	45	44	43	39	31	33	30	29	27
Will buy Easter cake	16	19	21	21	39	39	41	42	43	42
Paint (dye) the eggs	67	71	74	72	76	70	76	70	69	65
Consecrate the Easter cakes	13	18	14	14	21	19	25	21	24	20
Will attend the Easter vigil service	7	11	8	5	7	8	9	7	11	6
I go visit the cemetery	.*	.*	.*	.*	28	19	27	23	25	24
I will have guests	31	33	27	25	32	23	32	28	29	23
I will go visit my friends	25	25	24	23	26	25	30	26	30	28
I will give presents to my friends and relatives	7	8	6	4	7	7	7	8	10	6
I do not know how I will observe it	10	9	7	11	5	6	4	6	5	9
I will not observe the Easter	8	6	7	4	7	7	4	6	7	6
I am not sure whether I will observe Easter or not	3	2	3	3	2	3	1	3	3	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

* - No answer option was offered

N=1600

SUPERSTITIONS

Table 15.32

Do you believe...?

	Yes				No				Difficult to answer			
	2000	2006	2013	2015	2000	2006	2013	2015	2000	2006	2013	2015
In omens	57	54	52	59	39	41	43	35	4	5	5	6
In prophetic dreams	51	42	43	56	44	52	52	37	5	6	5	7
In predictions of astrologers	33	29	28	36	57	63	64	52	10	8	8	12
That aliens visit the Earth	31	22	26	32	55	62	56	49	14	16	18	19

N=1600

Table 15.33

Do you believe in evil eye or hex?

	2010	2012	2015
I believe it exists	29	21	15
Most likely it exists	32	38	40
Most likely it does not exist	9	18	18
I believe it does not exist	15	10	15
Difficult to answer	16	13	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

RELIGIOUS UPBRINGING

Table 15.34

Are you personally in favor or against the religious education of children? If in favour - then who, in your opinion, should be primarily responsible for it?

Family, parents	54
The school, educational institutions	11
The Church	9
Against religious education for children	20
Difficult to answer	7

2013, February; N=1600

Table 15.35

Do you think it is proper to conduct religious education as well as general education of children in schools?

Yes, in all secondary schools	22
Yes, but rather in special Sunday schools, which should be attended by every child, than in the secondary schools	31
No, this is not necessary	43
Difficult to answer	5

2013, February; N=1600

Table 15.36

Do you think that the course "Basics of religious culture and secular ethics" should be taught in schools and if so, why?

It broadens the mind and increases the cultural level of the students	26
It helps support the morale and the ethics of the students	26
It teaches understanding of people belonging to other cultures	10
I am against this course being taught in schools	29
Difficult to answer	9

2013, February; N=1600

Table 15.37

Why do you think that schools should not introduce the course "Basics of religious culture and secular ethics"?
(in % from those who are against)

This creates alienation of schoolchildren on the basis of religion	23
That means an imposition of a predetermined religion	32
This violates the constitutional provision on the secular nature of the Government	24
I am an atheist	10
Difficult to answer	8

2013, February; N=1600

Table 15.38

Which of the following programs would you choose for your child?
(in % from those who agree)

«The fundamentals of Orthodox culture»	41
«The fundamentals of Islamic culture»	5
«The fundamentals of Buddhist culture»	1
«The fundamentals of Jewish culture»	<1
«The fundamentals of religious cultures»	18
«The fundamentals of secular ethics»	17
Neither one	4
Difficult to answer	14

2013, February; N=1600

Table 15.39

Do you think that the subjects related to religion, if taught in schools, should be mandatory or voluntary, according to the wishes of their parents?

Mandatory	20
Voluntary, according to the wishes of the parents	74
Difficult to answer	6

2013, February; N=1600

Table 15.40

Do you think that religious education should be included in the public school curriculum?

	1991 May	2013 March
School is not a place for religion	10	17
At the request of students or their parents, a school may teach the history of religion, the religious foundations of morality	59	60
The teaching of Bible chairs must be restored in secondary schools for everyone	20	15
Difficult to answer	10	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>1600</i>

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX AND CATHOLIC CHURCH

Table 15.41

Which of the churches, in your opinion, has more Christians, the Orthodox Church or the Catholic Church?

	2005 April	2013 March
Orthodox	59	56
Catholic	26	19
Difficult to answer	15	25

N=1600

Table 15.42

How would you rate the current relationship between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches?

	2005 April	2013 March	2016 February
Close and friendly enough	32	29	26
It should be closer and more friendly	45	40	43
Too close to each other	6	6	7
Difficult to answer	17	25	24
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

N=1600

Table 15.43

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

	2005 April	2013 March
	John Paul II	Benedict XVI
Only the head of Roman-Catholic church	40	43
One of the world's leaders of the present time, a moral authority for many people from different countries and confessions	49	26
Difficult to answer	11	31

N=1600

Table 15.44

Have you been following the elections of the new head of the Roman Catholic Church?

Yes, with great interest	7
Have been following somewhat	28
Heard something about it	47
Have not heard anything about it	18

2013, March; N=1600

Table 15.45

**How important an event as the election of the new head
of the Roman Catholic Church is for today's world?**

Very important	11
Somewhat important	45
Not very important	24
Absolutely unimportant	9
Difficult to answer	12

2013, March; N=1600

Table 15.46

**How would you characterize the present state of affairs
between Russian Orthodox church and Roman Catholic church?**

Close and friendly	9
Normal working relationship	58
Cool, strained	14
Hostile	2
Difficult to answer	17

2013, March; N=800

Table 15.47

**With Pope Francis, might the relationship between Russian Orthodox and
Roman Catholic Churches be improved?**

Certainly yes	5
Very likely	38
Unlikely	15
Certainly no	3
Difficult to answer	40

2013, March; N=1600

Table 15.48

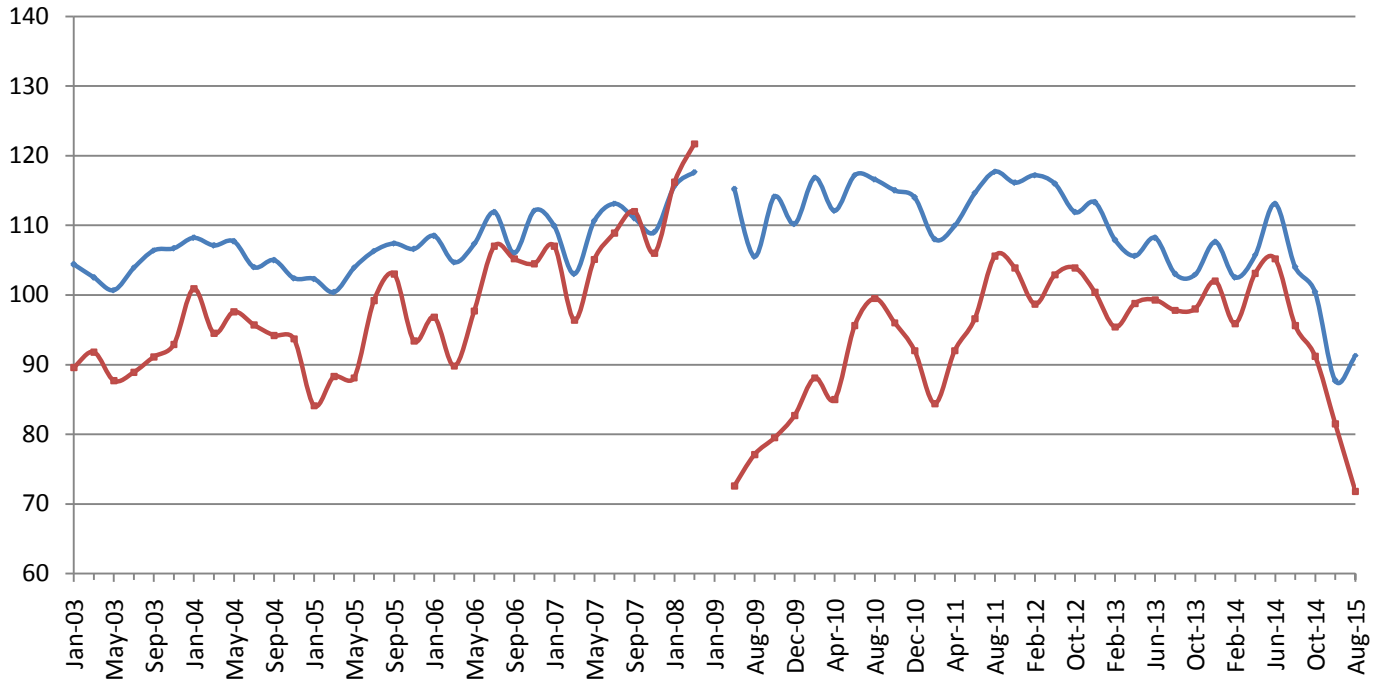
Would you be for or against the Pope visiting Russia?

	2003 May	2013 March
Certainly for it	17	19
Most likely for	37	52
Rather against	13	8
Definitely against	11	1
Difficult to answer	21	20
Number of respondents	1600	800

16. FAMILY

Diagram 16.1

How has the life of your family changed?



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

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

Table 16.1

Did you personally, your family gain or lose due to the changes happening in our country in the last few years?

	1999 XII	2002 XI	2002 XII	2006 XII	2007 XII	2008 IV	2009 XII	2010 X	2011 IX	2014 IV	2014 IX	2015 III
Gained	10	20	22	22	29	36	23	19	29	32	42	19
Lost	74	70	57	57	41	37	50	51	50	38	33	51
Difficult to answer	16	10	21	21	30	27	27	30	22	30	25	30
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 16.2

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

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

Table 16.3

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

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

FAMILY PROBLEMS

Table 16.4

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

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2016
	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	VIII	VIII	II	VIII	VIII	VIII
Low incomes, lack of money	72	73	73	66	71	61	60	60	59	61	64	55	61
Fear of losing a job	15	15	20	16	14	17	14	17	17	14	21	19	17
Poor health, problems with medical treatment	35	30	30	32	35	31	32	31	27	30	23	20	19
Inadequate housing	15	12	12	14	12	18	13	15	15	14	13	14	13
Routine difficulties	20	19	21	21	20	20	21	28	27	29	20	22	21
No access to a good education for my children	10	11	11	10	11	9	7	10	10	8	8	7	6
Bad relation within the family	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3
Drinking or drug addiction of a family members	4	2	3	2	3	3	2	4	4	1	3	6	3
Fatigue and exhaustion	13	16	12	15	16	16	16	19	17	19	15	14	16
Hopelessness and absence of prospects in life	13	15	18	12	13	15	12	11	12	15	16	10	11
Lack of free time	9	8	9	10	10	11	13	19	15	14	15	17	15
Difficult to answer	5	6	7	7	5	9	12	5	7	7	7	8	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2000	1600	1500	1600	1600	1600	1600

Table 16.5

What makes your life accomplished/complete, more interesting and meaningful?

	1998 February	2007 February	2010 July	2013 February	2015 May
Hobbies, diversions	12	21	14	25	59
Work, business	25	34	31	33	42
Sports	4	6	5	9	36
Education, Science, Research	4	6	5	7	34
Wealth, high financial status	11	19	8	12	29
Children, grandchildren	36	39	42	41	23
Political, social activities	1	1	1	1	12
Household, taking care of the family	17	22	27	12	12
Family, kinship	43	54	55	52	8
Religion, spiritual perfection	5	6	6	4	6
Friends, fellowship	32	39	35	31	4
Nothing	4	4	4	3	2
Difficult to answer	5	2	4	2	4

N=1600

UPBRINGING AND PUNISHMENT

Table 16.6

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

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

Table 16.7

How would you feel if children and adolescents would work in order to earn a wage during their free time from school?

	1990 June	2000 June	2004 June	2010 March	2013 May	2015 May
Favourably	83	76	61	62	42	40
Rather favorably than negatively	11	17	27	28	42	39
Rather unfavorably than favourably	3	4	8	8	8	9
Negatively/unfavourably	1	2	4	4	4	5
Difficult to answer	2	2	1	2	4	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1400	1600	1600	1600	800	800

Table 16.8

Do the parents of the 13-14 year-olds have the right to punish them physically?

	2000 June	2004 June	2010 March	2013 May	2015 May
Certainly yes	8	10	5	7	7
Rather yes	19	27	23	38	31
Rather no	32	35	43	34	33
Certainly no	37	26	25	15	20
Difficult to answer	4	2	4	6	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1800	1600	1800	800	800

Table 16.9

Do you think that the parents of a 13-14 year olds teenagers have the right to review their personal correspondence, personal belongings, the contents of the pockets?

	2000 June	2010 March	2013 May	2015 May
Certainly yes	5	5	12	12
Rather yes	16	29	41	40
Rather no	30	39	29	25
Certainly no	45	22	12	16
Difficult to answer	4	4	7	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1800	1800	800	800

Table 16.10

In your opinion, do the parents of the 13-14 year-olds have the right to limit their associations with their friends?

	2000 June	2004 June	2010 March	2013 May	2015 May
Certainly yes	5	12	4	9	9
Rather yes	31	42	34	44	41
Rather no	30	30	40	27	25
Certainly no	30	13	16	11	15
Difficult to answer	5	3	6	9	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1800	1600	1800	1600	1600

Table 16.11

Do the parents have the right to take a 13-14 year old teenager's earned money into the common family budget?

	2000 June	2004 June	2010 March	2013 May	2015 May
Certainly yes	5	7	5	3	4
Rather yes	22	28	23	23	19
Rather no	34	33	43	42	36
Certainly no	34	26	25	24	31
Difficult to answer	5	6	4	10	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1800	1600	1800	800	800

N=1600

Table 16.12

Have you ever punished your child, even a little bit?

	2007 June	2013 May
Often	8	5
Sometimes	35	39
Rarely, in extreme cases	25	27
Never	9	12
I never had children	24	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800

Table 16.13

What were the types of punishments to which you resorted even in the rare and exceptional cases?

	2007 June	2013 May
A smack on the butt or a hand	59	59
Vigorous spanking	13	9
Deprive of the right to watch TV	18	25
Deprive of a pleasure, recreation	35	31
Slap on a face	2	2
Take away a toy	7	11
Take away the pocket money	13	18
Deprive of a desert	10	11
Lock in a room	5	5
Send to bed without supper	1	1
Stop talking to them	18	16
Other	12	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800

Table 16.14

How do you usually feel after punishing your child: guilty or relief?

	2007 June	2013 May
Rather a sense of guilt	37	40
A sense of relief	8	6
Simultaneously a sense of guilt and relief	25	18
Neither	30	36
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800

THE STATE AND THE FAMILY

Table 16.15

What do you think about introducing an additional tax for a divorce?

Wholly favourably	6
Rather favourably	15
Rather unfavourably	37
Very unfavourably	33
Difficult to answer	10

2013, May; N=1600

Table 16.16

What do you think about establishing new limitations on performing abortions?

Positively	7
Rather positively	19
Rather negatively	33
Very negatively	26
Difficult to answer	15

2013, May; N=1600

Table 16.17

What do you think about the suggestion to rear at least three children per family?

Positively	32
Rather positively	41
Rather negatively	13
Very negatively	7
Difficult to answer	6

2013, May; N=1600

Table 16.18

How would you feel about the suggestion to encourage the sharing of living accommodations between grandmas/grandpas, children, grandchildren?

Positively	13
Rather positively	33
Rather negatively	27
Very negatively	16
Difficult to answer	12

2013, May; N=1600

Table 16.19

**What is your attitude toward the barriers to common law marriages
(without the official marriage registration)?**

Positively	6
Rather positively	23
Rather negatively	37
Very negatively	24
Difficult to answer	11

2013, May; N=1600

Table 16.20

**How would you feel about increasing the influence and the participation of
the Church in adopting legislation related to families?**

Positively	11
Rather positively	37
Rather negatively	21
Very negatively	13
Difficult to answer	18

2013, May; N=1600

Table 16.21

**Do you think the State has the right to take a child away from parents who
beat their child and place this child with social services?**

Certainly yes	12
Rather yes	36
Rather no	32
Certainly no	6
Difficult to answer	15

2013, May; N=1600

Table 16.22

**Do you think the State has the right to take a child away
from the parents who do not feed, clothe or otherwise provide
for a child's needs and place this child with social services?**

Certainly yes	25
Maybe yes	52
Probably no	14
Definitely no	2
Difficult to answer	7

2013, May; N=1600

LEISURE

Table 16.23

**If not for the holidays how do you basically relax
in your spare time at home?**
(the answers are ranked)

Watch TV/video (including while doing other things) or films and broadcasts on the Internet	61
Interact with friends (including by telephone, «Skype»)	38
Spend time with the family/wife/husband	34
Play/interact/busy with the children	18
Have a «hobby» (including cooking, knitting, tinkering with something «for the soul», horticulture)	17
Don't do much of anything: dream, lay in bed, snooze	17
Play on the Internet	14
Surf the Internet	14
Listen to music (including while doing other things)	13
Read books (including the reader or the Internet)	12
Read magazines, newspapers (including the Internet's electronic editions)	12
Play/ busy with pets, take care of the flowers	8
Practice physical exercises, fitness, yoga, etc. at home	7
Other	6
Difficult to answer	3

2013, May; N=1600

Table 16.24

**Excepting holidays/vacations,
where do you generally relax outside your home?**
(the answers are ranked)

Pay visits	46
Leave town/enjoy nature	37
Walk around town	28
Go to the movies	11
Attend concerts	5
Attend sporting events	5
Practice sports/attend an athletic club	5
Go to disco/dance clubs	5
Go to restaurants/night clubs	5
Attend theatre	3
Other	19
Difficult to answer	8

2013, May; N=1600

Table 16.25

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

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

Table 16.26

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

	2008	2011	2012	2014	2015
Twice a year or more	2	1	1	2	2
Once a year	4	5	5	9	6
Once every two years	3	4	4	6	5
Less often	9	9	9	14	14
Never	82	78	78	68	71
Difficult to answer	2	4	4	2	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	800	800	800

N=1600

LEAVING THE COUNTRY

Table 16.27

Would you like to go abroad to study?

	2011 October	2014 September	2015 September
Definitely yes	6	4	5
More like yes	10	12	9
More like no	29	23	24
Definitely no	51	55	56
Difficult to answer	4	6	6

N=800

Table 16.28

Would you like to go abroad to work?

	2011 October	2014 September	2015 September
Definitely yes	10	5	5
More like yes	18	17	15
More like no	24	22	22
Definitely no	45	50	52
Difficult to answer	4	7	7

N=800

Table 16.29

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

	2008	2014	2015
Definitely yes	6	4	5
Yes, rather than no	18	14	18
No, rather than yes	30	34	30
Definitely no	37	36	36
Difficult to answer	9	12	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 16.30

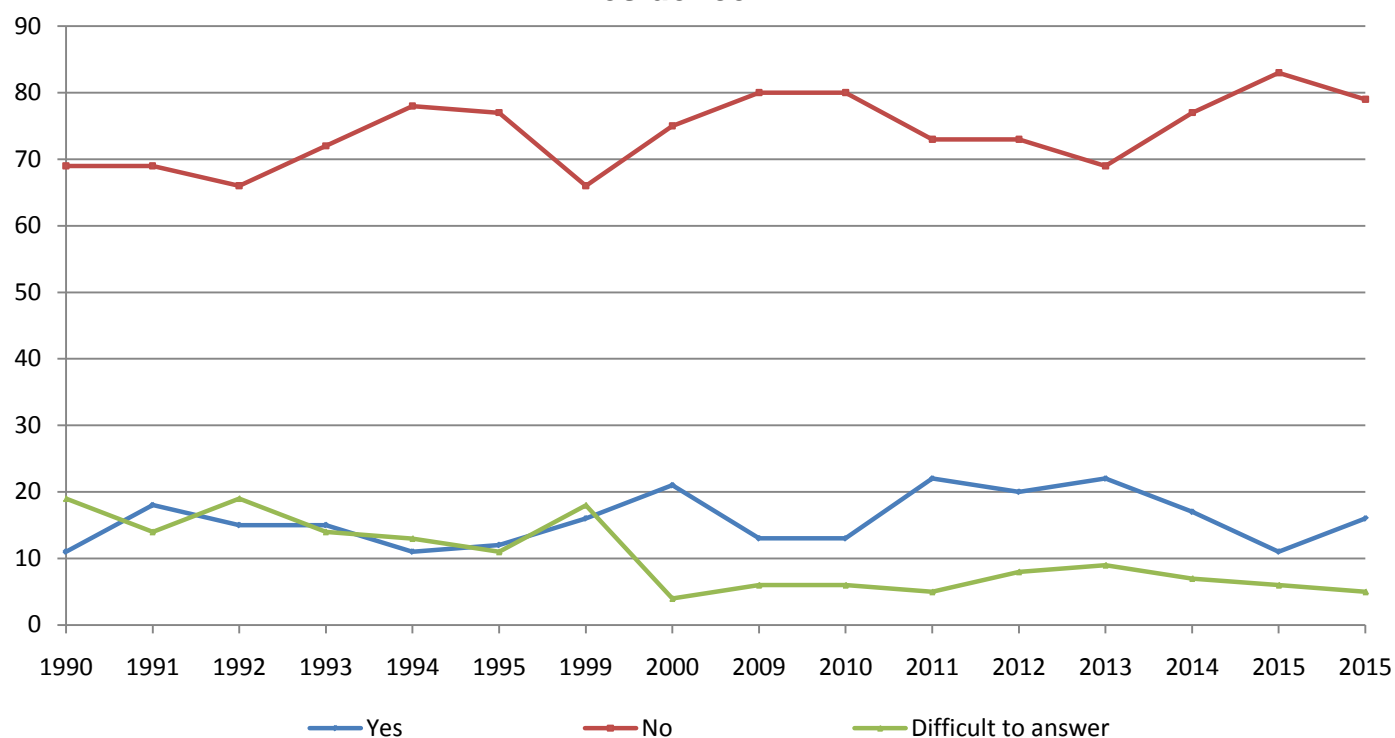
What makes you think of living and working in the West first of all?

	2008	2014	2015
Living conditions abroad:			
...better conditions of life, necessary facilities	25	20	20
...intent to give children better and sustainable future	17	19	15
...better self-actualization and occupational options, more reliable job	15	14	14
...more guarantees for qualified medical care, retirement insurance	13	14	14
...free country, constitutional state that protects your rights and freedoms	10	5	7
...more environmental awareness; protection, clean environment	7	6	7
Russian problems:			
...lack of good protection against autocratic rule of authorities, officials	16	15	10
...poor conditions of work, business	16	14	13
...criminality, terrorism and other dangers to life	11	7	6
...threat of political and economic destabilization	9	6	9
...current political system	4	4	4
Nothing attracts to living and working in the West	36	43	44
Difficult to answer	12	8	6

N=1600

Diagram 16.2

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



N=1600

Table 16.31

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

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

Table 16.32

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

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

Table 16.33

Does potential restriction of foreign travel alarm you?

	2014 September	2015 October
Definitely yes	10	12
More like yes	28	24
More like no	31	29
Definitely no	28	31
Difficult to answer	3	4

N=1600

Table 16.34

Are you more or less fluent in at least one foreign language?

	2008 July	2011 October	2012 September	2014 September	2015 September
Yes	15	14	9	15	14
No	85	86	91	85	86
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

17. INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

Table 17.1

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

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

N=1600

Table 17.2

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

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

N=1600

Table 17.3

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

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

N=1600

Table 17.4

Are violent ethnic clashes probable in Russia now?

	2002 VII	2007 VII	2008 X	2009 XI	2011 I	2011 XI	2012 XI	2013 X	2014 VII	2015 VIII
Definitely yes	12	13	10	3	15	11	11	17	5	5
Most likely, yes	37	37	29	20	41	28	32	45	19	20
Most likely, no	30	32	32	39	28	39	36	24	46	42
Definitely no	12	8	18	25	6	11	11	5	20	23
Difficult to answer	10	10	10	12	11	11	10	9	10	11

N=1600

Table 17.5

Are violent ethnic clashes probable in your community?

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

N=1600

Table 17.6

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

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

N=1600

ATTITUDE TO IMMIGRANTS

Table 17.7

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

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

N=1600

Table 17.8

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

	2006	2007	2008	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	XI	XI	XII	XII	XII	XI	X	VII	VIII
Legalize them and help them get a job and integrate into the Russian society	31	35	25	27	20	20	15	19	41
Expel them from Russia	53	50	54	52	57	64	73	64	43
Difficult to answer	16	15	21	21	22	15	13	17	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 17.9

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

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

N=1600

NATIONALISM

Table 17.10

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

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

N=1600

Table 17.11

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

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

N=1600

Table 17.12

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

	2011 XI	2012 I	2012 XI	2013 V	2013 X	2014 VII	2014 VII	2015 VIII
Definitely support	28	22	26	20	35	17	5	5
Rather support	34	35	39	35	36	45	19	20
Rather do not support	18	13	17	16	15	24	46	42
Definitely do not support	6	7	6	16	3	5	20	23
Difficult to answer	15	23	11	14	11	9	10	11

N=1600

Table 17.13

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

	2004 VIII	2005 VIII	2006 VIII	2007 VIII	2009 VIII	2012 IX	2014 II
Definitely yes	16	13	12	7	10	10	8
Rather yes	26	25	22	25	20	24	26
Rather no	37	32	33	35	28	37	36
Definitely not	15	25	25	23	25	21	18
Difficult to answer	6	6	8	10	16	8	12

N=1600

Table 17.14

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

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

N=1600

“RUSSIAN MARCHES”

Table 17.15

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

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

N=1600

Table 17.16

How do you feel about the idea of holding such «Russian Marches»?

	2010 December	2011 October	2013 October	2014 October	2015 November
Favourably*	28	26	40	31	30
Unfavourably **	36	30	26	31	30
Do not know about it /Difficult to answer	36	45	35	37	40
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

N=1600

POGROMS IN BIRYULEVO

Table 17.17

Have you heard about the recent mass street protests, riots and clashes with police in Moscow's district of Biryulevo?

Yes	77
No	23

2013, October; N=1600

Table 17.18

What do you think led to the massive surge of discontent in Biryulevo?
(in % of those who have heard of the massive discontent in Biryulevo; the answers are ranged)

The murder of the local Egor Sherbakov by one of the newcomers	54
Corruption of the law enforcement agencies and of local authorities providing "protection" for illegal migration	43
The arrogant behavior of migrants	41
The fear and dislike towards the migrants	30
A complex, crime engendering situation in the area	27
A social injustice and vulnerability of the regular people	23
Weakness, ineffectiveness of the executive branch of the State	16
Poverty and poor living conditions in the area	11
Difficult to answer	2

2013, October; N=1600

Table 17.19

Do you think that these mass protests emerged and developed spontaneously, were provoked by nationalists or progressed with the tacit approval of the police?

Emerged and developed spontaneously	43
Were provoked by nationalists	21
Developed with the tacit approval police	20
All of it	10
Difficult to answer	7

2013, October; N=1600

Table 17.20

Do you think that similar events can happen where you live?

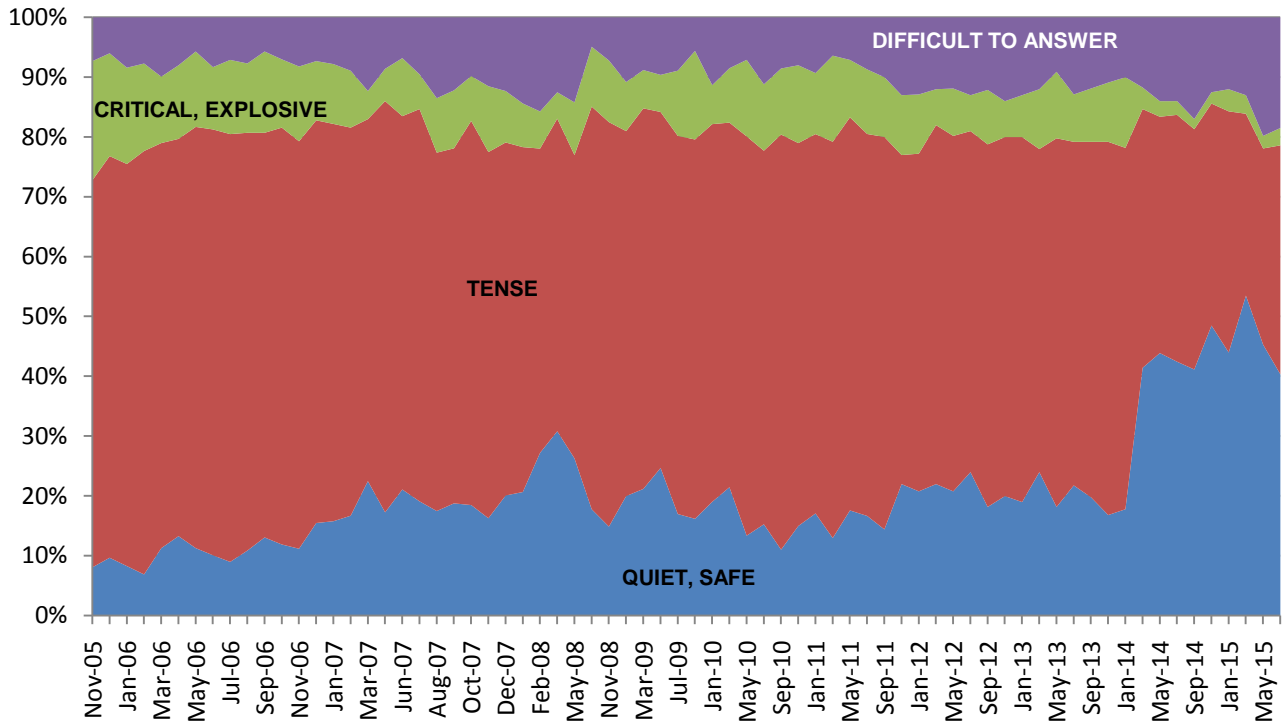
Yes	43
No	43
Difficult to answer	14

2013, October; N=1600

18. CHECHNYA AND THE NORTHERN CAUCASIA

Diagram 18.1

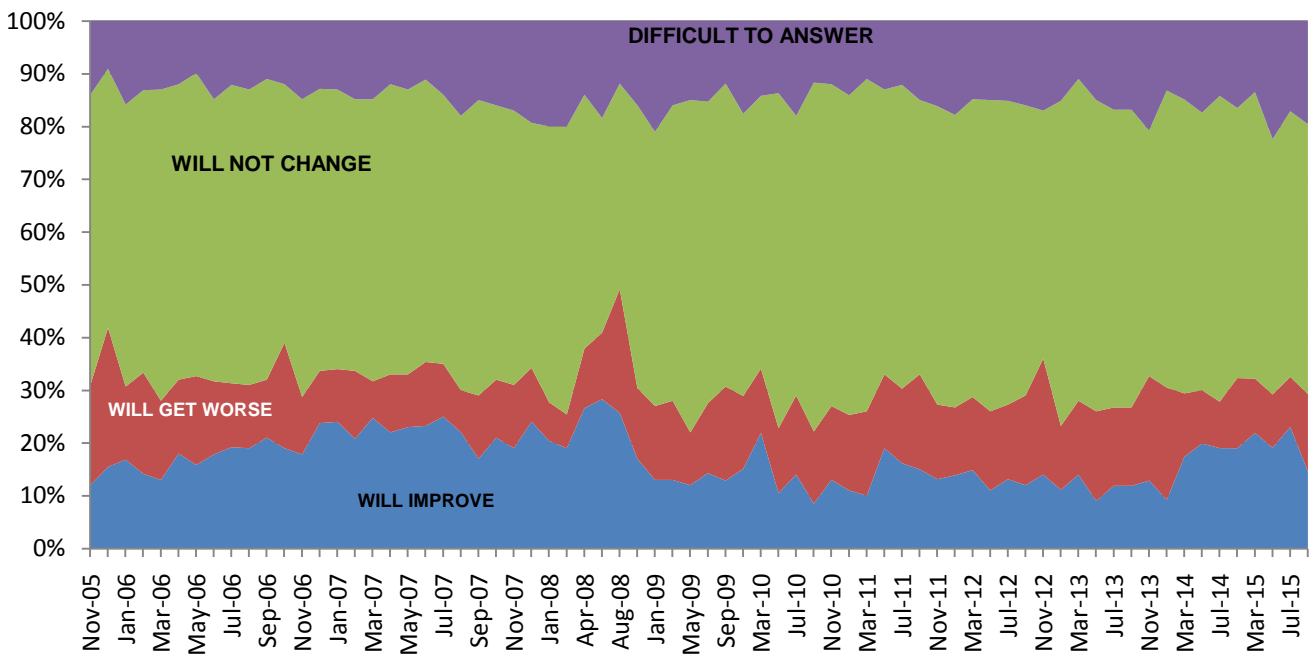
How would you describe the current situation in the Northern Caucasias?



N=1600

Diagram 18.2

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



N=1600

Table 18.1

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

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

N=1600

Table 18.2

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

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

N=1600

Table 18.3

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

	2009	2010	2010	2010	2011	2011	2012		2013	2015
	VIII	IV	VII	VIII	I	IX	I	IX	I	I
I think restoring peace will succeed in coming years	12	9	11	12	9	11	13	8	10	32
I think this will require many years	34	44	37	38	37	38	37	38	31	28
I think generally this will fail and Chechnya will remain a source of tension and conflict in Russia for decades	30	28	29	27	30	29	29	27	37	20
I think it will fail and sooner or later Chechnya and possibly other republics of North Caucasus will break away from Russia*	16	9	13	13	14	13	11	13	7	5
Difficult to answer	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	16	15	16

* - in 2013, variant was formulated as "I think that it will not succeed, Russia will have to recognize the independence of Chechnya and possibly of others republics of the North Caucasus"

N=1600

Table 18.4

Do you think that over the last 10 years the level of terrorism in the North Caucasus has increased, decreased or remained the same as in the 1990s?

	2011 May	2013 May	2014 June	2015 June
Increased	26	19	9	10
Decreased	27	40	53	48
Remained the same	40	33	29	29
Difficult to answer	7	8	9	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	1600

N=1600

Table 18.5

Are you worried about the spread of terrorism from the North Caucasus to other regions in Russia?

	2011 May	2013 May	2014 July	2015 July
Yes, very much	60	49	29	32
Yes, but not very much	27	30	36	35
Not worried	6	12	22	20
Don't think about it	4	6	10	9
Difficult to answer	3	3	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	1600

N=1600

Table 18.6

How effectively in your opinion are the funds allocated for the North Caucasus republics being used compared to other regions of Russia?

	2011 May	2013 June	2014 July	2015 June
Way more effectively	3	4	5	4
Somewhat more effectively	11	12	8	15
Just as effectively	16	15	22	22
Less effectively	22	21	20	16
Absolutely ineffectively, they mostly get stolen	26	28	19	15
Difficult to answer	21	21	27	28
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	1600

CHECHNYA

Table 18.7

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

	2006 IX	2007 IX	2009 IV	2009 VII	2010 IX	2011 III	2012 III	2013 III	2014 III
Fully	5	7	11	7	5	6	8	9	11
Considerably	29	34	33	41	31	33	44	39	49
Only partly	43	38	30	33	48	40	32	30	25
Not at all	16	9	7	8	8	11	5	11	3
Difficult to answer	7	12	19	11	8	10	12	12	12

N=1600

Table 18.8

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

	2007 IX	2009 VII	2010 IX	2011 IX	2012 VII	2014 VIII	2015 VIII
The goals of the war as the government of Russia saw them have been fully achieved – the separatists are crushed, Chechnya is a part of Russia	8	10	6	6	10	20	19
The goals of the war have been partly achieved – the separatists are defeated but the threat of revolts in the Caucasus is still there	35	50	45	34	47	35	40
The war was useless, a lot of people were killed but the Caucasus will break away from Russia sooner or later anyway	46	24	35	39	28	21	25
Difficult to answer	11	15	14	21	15	24	16
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	1600

Table 18.9

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

	1996 XI	2000 I	2001 X	2002 XI	2003 VII	2004 IX	2005 VI	2006 VI	2007 IV	2009 IV	2011 V	2013 VI	2014 III	2015 VI
I think that Chechnya's secession has already taken place	-*	9	15	12	11	11	13	13	12	10	11	12	16	6
I would be only happy if that happened	35	23	19	25	28	30	24	19	15	14	23	24	19	11
That would not impress me too much	24	15	14	14	14	17	17	19	18	21	28	27	27	32
I object to it but am prepared to put up with it	21	20	15	15	20	16	15	16	22	19	12	13	16	20
It should be prevented by any means, including military operations	8	27	25	26	17	17	23	20	18	22	13	10	8	16
Difficult to answer	12	6	12	8	10	10	9	12	14	15	13	14	13	15

N=1600

RAMZAN KADYROV

Table 18.10

What's your attitude towards Ramzan Kadyrov?

Neutral, don't care	25
Can't say anything bad about him	21
Respect	21
Sympathy	14
Can't say anything good about him	7
Dislike	3
Annoyance	2
Difficult to answer	8

2015, January; N=800

Table 18.11

Do you approve of V. Putin awarding R. Kadyrov with an "Order of Honor"?

Yes	20
No	33
Difficult to answer	46

2015, March; N=800

Table 18.12

Do you think R. Kadyrov can be trusted?

	2006 December	2015 March
Definitely yes	6	18
More like yes	27	38
More like no	22	15
Definitely no	14	6
Difficult to answer	32	24
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

19. ACTS OF TERROR IN RUSSIA

Diagram 19.1

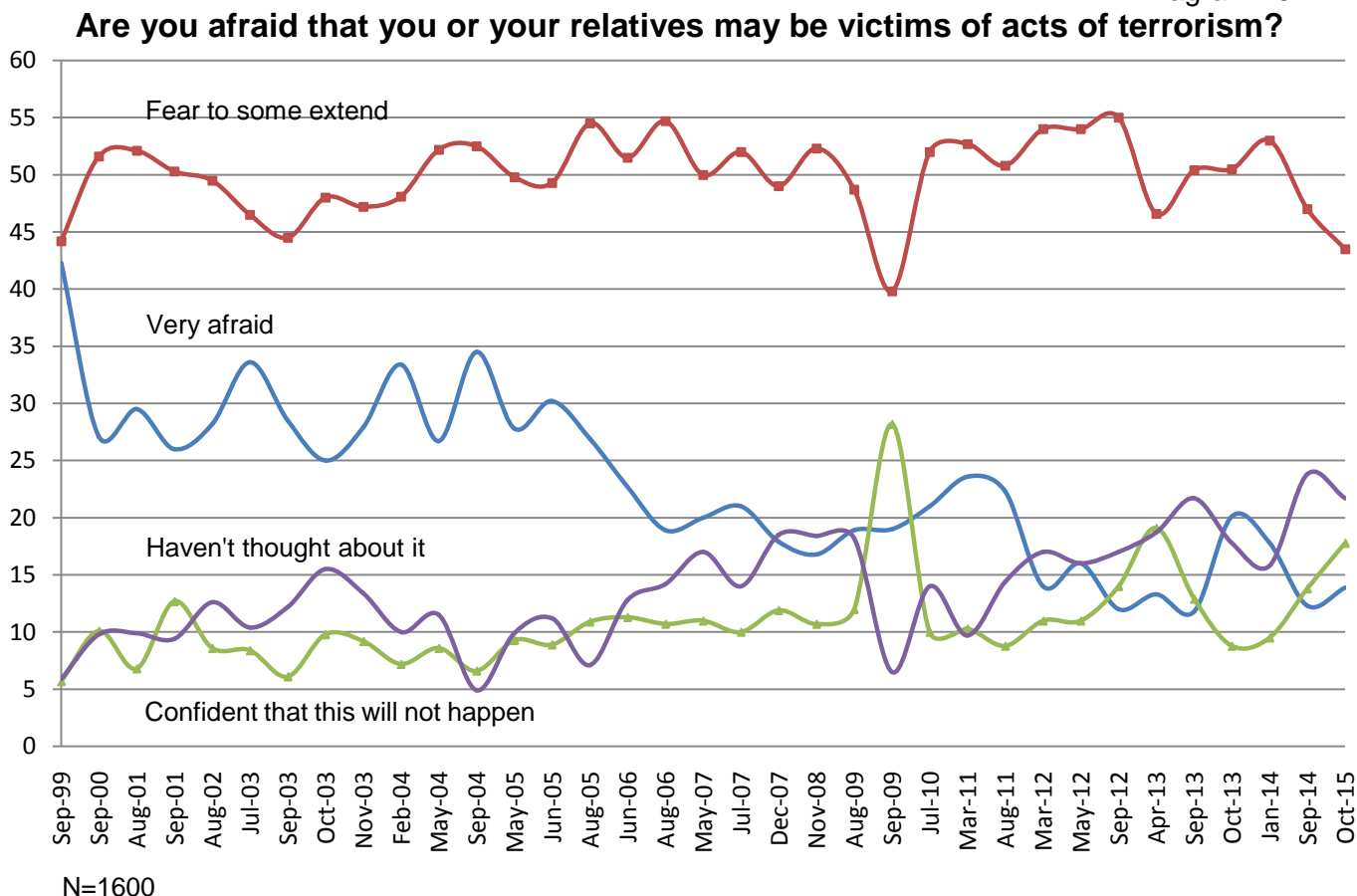


Table 19.1

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

	2004 V	2005 V	2006 VIII	2007 V	2011 III	2012 III	2012 V	2012 IX	2014 IX	2015 X
Definitely yes	39	32	16	17	23	9	13	9	4	7
Yes, rather than no	52	50	53	49	50	41	47	44	35	41
No, rather than yes	4	8	13	16	13	23	17	20	20	28
Definitely no	0	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	6	6
Difficult to answer	5	10	17	16	13	24	21	23	36	18

N=1600

Table 19.2

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

	2006 VIII	2010 VIII	2012 IX	2013 IV	2014 IX	2015 IX
Very successfully	2	4	4	3	7	6
Fairly successfully	31	32	35	39	40	42
Without much success	53	48	42	42	33	31
Absolutely unsuccessfully	8	8	8	6	3	3
Difficult to answer	7	9	11	11	18	18
Number of respondents	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 19.3

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

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

Table 19.4

Do you think it is possible that there will be terrorist attacks in the major Russian cities in the near future?

Certainly yes	5
Probably yes	42
Probably no	29
Certainly no	6
Difficult to answer	18

2013, April; N=1600

Table 19.5

Do you think it is possible for terrorist acts to take place in the North Caucasus in the near future?

Certainly yes	19
Probably yes	53
Probably no	13
Certainly no	2
Difficult to answer	13

2013, April; N=1600

Table 19.6

Do you think that the organizers of the terrorist attack in Volgograd will be planning other attacks in Russia some time soon?

Definitely yes	14
Yes, rather than no	52
No, rather than yes	13
Definitely not	2
Difficult to answer	19

2013, October; N=1600

Table 19.7

Do you think it is possible now that there will be terrorist attacks in Russia?

Certainly yes	20
Probably yes	53
Probably no	14
Certainly no	3
Difficult to answer	10

2015r, November; N=800

NORD-OST

Table 19.8

Why Chechen rebels were able to organize the Nord Ost siege in Moscow's theater in the fall of 2002?

	2004	2010	2014	2015
Due to Security Service negligence and inadequate work	37	31	31	31
Due to corruption of the militia sand other authorities	49	34	24	20
Such terror attacks can not be prevented in principle	24	21	24	29
Due to militia's negligence and inadequate work	28	13	8	19
Difficult to answer	6	1	20	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 19.9

Why a lot of people died in the Nord Ost theater hostage release operation?

	2003	2003	2004	2010	2014	2015
Because of badly organized evacuation and rescue of people suffering from the effects of gas	6	8	11	6	6	33
Because it is essentially impossible to avoid casualties in this sort of missions	18	15	26	30	23	35
Because the hostage release mission was performed unprofessionally	36	41	37	34	33	19
Why the authorities were not willing to negotiate with the terrorists	49	41	42	27	25	8
Difficult to answer	6	6	7	15	18	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

BESLAN

Table 19.10

Who do you think bears the greatest responsibility for the events in Beslan, for the death of the hostages?

	2006 September	2014 August	2015 August
Nobody but the terrorists	28	39	29
Federal authorities	19	17	22
Local/republican authorities	23	13	15
Commanders in charge of the operation	11	8	10
Executing officers (special ops)	3	4	3
Beslan inhabitants who interfered in the operation	2	2	2
Difficult to answer	14	18	19

N=1600

Table 19.11

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	2014 August	2015 August
These acts of terrorism were absolutely unexpected for the Russian special services	35	29	22	22	42	35
The special services knew about their preparation but were unable to prevent them	33	35	39	37	24	33
The special services knew about their preparation but didn't do anything about it	13	22	18	18	6	11
Probably the special services encouraged preparation of these acts of terror	2	5	5	4	4	4
Difficult to answer	16	10	16	20	23	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 19.12

Do you have a clear understanding of who was behind the explosions in residential buildings in Russian towns in the fall of 1999?

	2014 August	2015 August
Yes	6	6
More like yes	15	20
More like no	29	28
No	32	37
Difficult to answer	18	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

CHARLIE HEBDO

Table 19.13

Have you heard about the terrorist attack in Paris in the office of “Charlie Hebdo” satirical magazine and the events that followed?

Kept close track of those events	11
Heard a lot about it	49
Heard something about it but do not remember what it was about	25
Haven't heard anything about it	15

2015, January; N=800

Table 19.14

What do you think could have caused this terrorist attack?
(in % of those who've heard something definite about the attack)

Provocative caricatures offensive to the faithful published in “Charlie Hebdo” magazine	59
Weakness of the French authorities, ineffective in their counter-terrorism activity	19
Dissemination of Islamic fanaticism and the increasing number of Islamist groups in the world clamoring against democratic rights and freedoms	19
Consequences of French migration policy which is conducive to the influx of migrants to the country and low adaptation degree thereof	16
High share of Muslim migrants in the population of France	14
Multiculturalism and tolerance policy pursued by European countries	13
France's tough foreign policy in the Middle East (Syria, Iran etc)	8
Discrimination of Muslims in France, growth of islamophobia	4
It's an accident, the attack could have happened anywhere	2
Difficult to answer	6

2015, January; N=800

TERRORIST ATTACKS IN PARIS

Table 19.15

Have you heard about last Friday's terrorist attacks in Paris and if so, what did those attacks make you feel?

Satisfaction	2
Confusion	6
Sympathy	48
Indignation	30
Worry	37
Fear	19
Nothing in particular	5
Haven't heard anything about those terrorist attacks	1
Difficult to answer	1

2015, November; N=1600

20. RUSSIA AND THE CIS COUNTRIES

Table 20.1

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

	1998	2006	2007	2010	2013	2014	2015
Current borders	19	29	35	43	40	32	57
Current borders + Belarus	3	6	3	4	5	5	8
Current borders + Ukraine	2	1	1	2	3	4	1
Current borders + Belarus and Ukraine	11	6	7	6	6	6	3
Current borders + Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan	12	10	9	10	11	13	4
Former USSR borders except the Baltic countries	19	17	13	11	11	13	8
Former USSR borders including the Baltic countries	28	20	22	13	13	17	8
Difficult to answer	6	9	9	10	11	10	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 20.2

Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that Russia should by all means and, if necessary, by force keep the former republics of the USSR under its control?

	2009	2011	2014	2015	
	August	September	September	March	September
Absolutely agree	8	7	4	5	7
Agree, rather than don't agree	26	20	19	18	28
Do not agree, rather than agree	34	41	39	39	34
Absolutely disagree	22	24	27	25	15
Difficult to answer	11	9	12	13	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 20.3

Do you think Russia has the right to annex the territories of former Soviet republics on the basis of declarations that the Russians living there might be or are already suffering impairment of their rights?

	2014					2015
	March	April	May*	June	July	March
Russia has the right to do it, it has to protect its people	58	54	41	41	43	34
Actually Russia has no right to do it but in the case of integration of the Crimea Russia is acting decently and legally, in accordance with the standards of international law	28	34	42	41	41	47
Russia has no right to do it at all, Russia's actions can be viewed by the international community as nothing but annexation of foreign territory and military intervention against a sovereign state	4	4	7	7	6	10
Difficult to answer	10	8	10	12	11	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800

Table 20.4

What policy should Russia pursue towards the CIS countries?

	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VII	2010 VII	2011 VII	2014 IX	2015 IX
Support the democratic forces and progressive changes in these countries	23	20	18	18	18	16	13
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	15	15	13	15
Observe own economic and political interests and not interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbors	55	57	60	54	57	55	51
Prevent foreign countries (USA, China, Turkey and others) from exerting dangerous pressure on these countries	30	38	32	31	26	28	23
Difficult to answer	11	8	9	8	8	8	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

BELARUS

Table 20.5

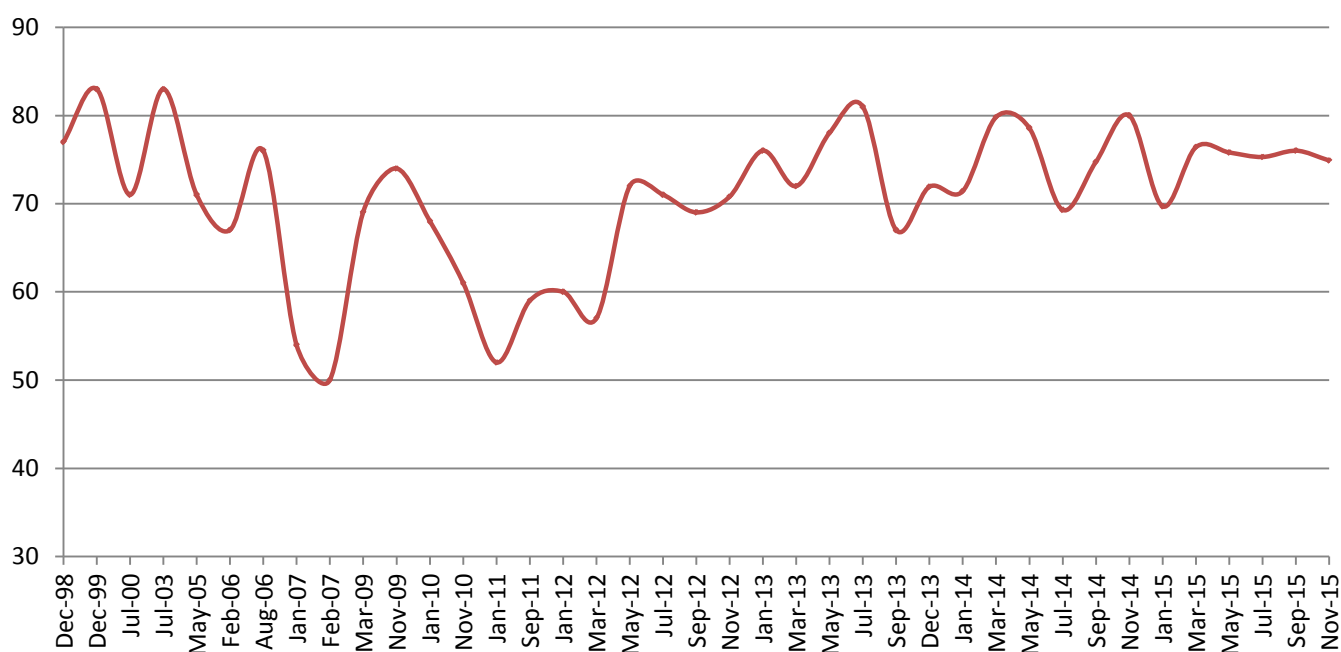
What is your overall attitude to the Belarus now?

	1998	1999	2000	2003	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	XII	XII	VII	VII	V	VIII	II	XI	XI	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX
Very good	30	27	25	30	16	15	9	11	7	8	10	14	22	23
Mostly good	55	61	57	60	66	70	61	72	69	67	70	67	61	61
Mostly bad	6	4	9	6	9	8	15	7	12	13	9	11	7	5
Very bad	2	1	2	1	2	2	5	2	3	3	2	2	2	3
Difficult to answer	7	8	5	3	7	7	11	8	9	9	9	7	9	8

N=1600

Diagram 20.1

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



N=1600

Table 20.6

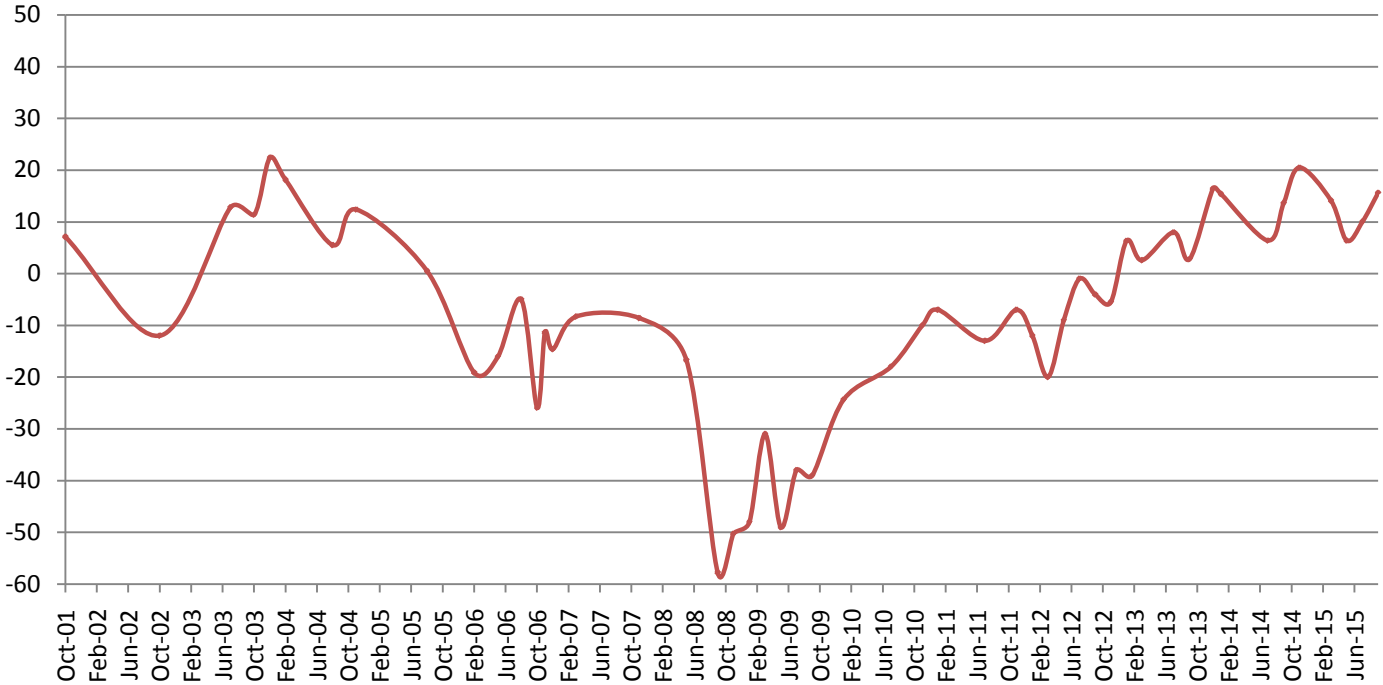
Do you consider Belorussia to be a foreign country?

	2006	2007	2007	2009	2013	2014	2015
Yes	29	36	30	36	34	32	32
No	67	61	66	62	63	64	67
Difficult to answer	4	3	4	2	3	5	1
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

GEORGIA

Diagram 20.2

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



N=1600

Table 20.7

Are you personally in favor or opposed to the restoration of diplomatic relations between Russia and Georgia?

Definitely for	13
Rather for	51
Rather against	13
Certainly against	4
Difficult to answer	18

2013, December; N=1600

Table 20.8

Do you consider Georgia to be a foreign country?

	2007	2009	2013	2014	2015
Yes	55	60	58	49	46
No	38	34	36	45	50
Difficult to answer	6	6	5	6	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

SOUTH OSSETIA AND ABKHAZIA

Table 20.8

Do you think South Ossetia is ...

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

Table 20.9

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

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

Table 20.10

Do you think Abkhazia is ...

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

Table 20.11

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

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

Table 20.12

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

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

DISPUTED TERRITORIES

Table 20.13

Do you think Transdniester should be a part of Moldavia or should it be an independent state?

	2014 August	2015 August
It should be a part of Moldavia	20	17
It should be an independent state	50	49
Difficult to answer	30	34

N=800

Table 20.14

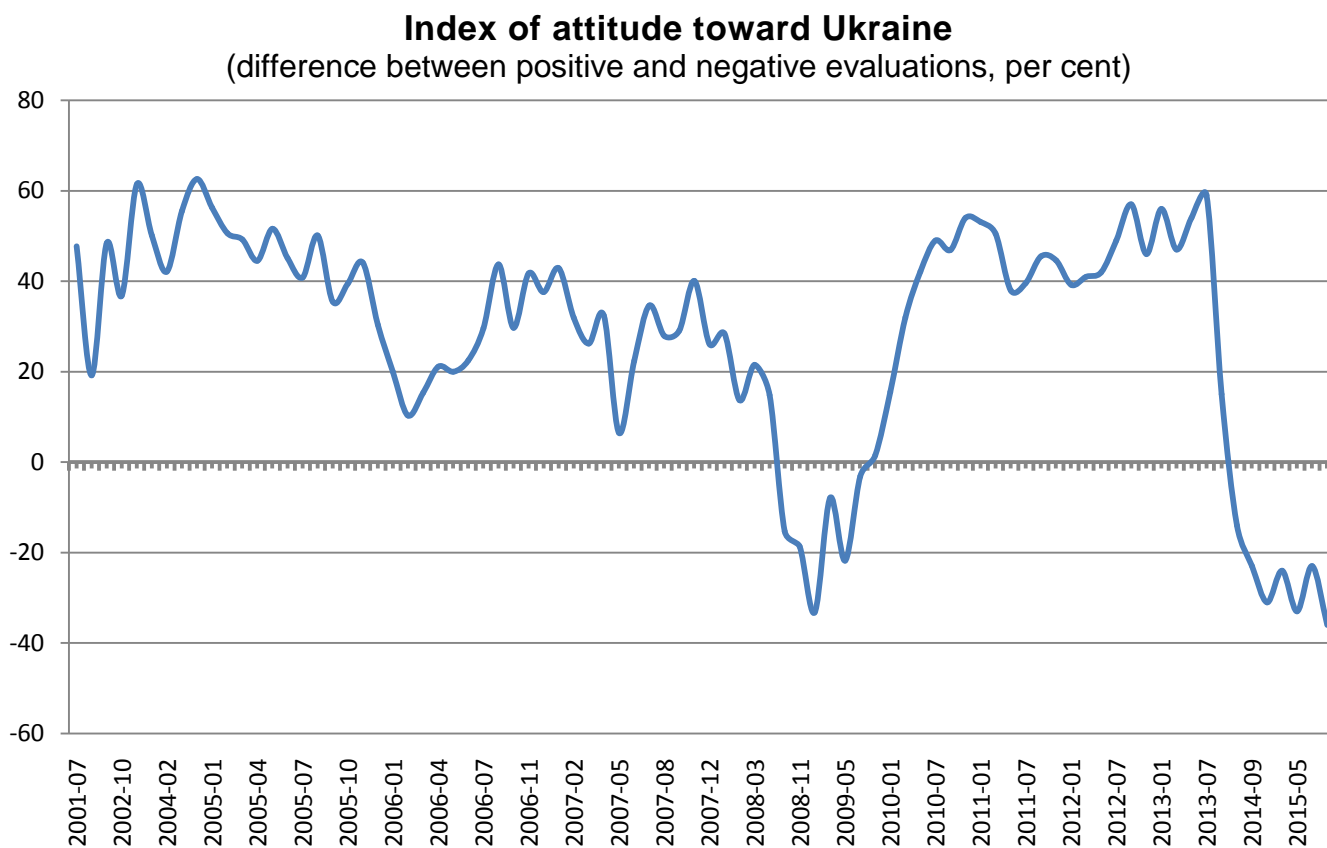
Do you think Mountainous Karabagh should be a part of Azerbaijan, a part of Armenia or an independent state?

	2014 August	2015 August
It should be a part of Azerbaijan	9	10
It should be a part of Armenia	13	9
It should be an independent state	35	42
Difficult to answer	43	39

N=800

21. UKRAINE

Diagram 21.1



N=1600

EUROMAIDAN

Table 21.1

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

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

* - the option was not offered

N=1600

Table 21.2

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

Very carefully	4
With some interest	21
Not very closely	40
Do not follow them at all	17
Never heard about it	18

2013, December; N=1600

Table 21.3

To what extent do you trust the information about the events in Ukraine, which are broadcasted by the Russian federal central television and radio stations?
(in % of those who had heard of Maidan)

Trust completely	9
Trust somewhat	52
Rather mistrust	22
Do not trust at all	3
Difficult to answer	15

2013, December; N=1600

Table 21.4

How do you feel about the actions of those protesting on Maidan?
(in % of those who heard about Maidan)

Admiration	2
Approval	6
Surprise, confusion	19
Irritation	13
Indignation	13
No special feelings	41
Difficult to answer	6

2013, December; N=1600

Table 21.5

Do you feel apprehension, irritation, indignation or outrage by the actions of any side of this conflict, and if so, which?
(in % of those who had heard of Maidan)

I do not have any apprehension, irritation or resentments over developments in Ukraine	35
Actions of the Western countries to exert political pressure on Ukraine	28
Actions of the Ukrainian authorities, maneuvering between Russia and the West	21
Actions of the Ukrainian opposition, trying to achieve their goals by street protests	13
Actions of the Russian leadership exerting political and economic pressures on Ukraine	8
Difficult to answer	11

2013, December; N=1600

Table 21.6

How do you think will the confrontation between the Ukrainian authorities and those who came to «Maidan» end?

(in % of those who have heard of Maidan)

The Ukrainian leadership and the opposition will arrived at a compromise, EU and the government will renew negotiations about the European integration of Ukraine	34
Rallies will be dispersed by force, and the current Ukrainian authorities will continue their policies	29
The President and the Government of Ukraine will resign, early elections will be announced	11
Difficult to answer	27

2013, December; N=1600

Table 21.7

Do you think it is possible that Ukraine will split into separate parts (east and west) in the near future?

	2007 April	2013 December
Certainly yes	7	2
Probably yes	27	21
Probably no	33	36
Certainly no	13	11
Do not know	20	30

2013, December; N=1600

Table 21.8

Do you think it is possible that Putin, one way or another, will make an agreement with Yanukovych and Ukraine will be integrated with Russia in the near future?

Certainly yes	12
Probably yes	53
Probably no	9
Certainly no	2
Do not know	24

2013, December; N=1600

Table 21.9

What do you think about the decision of the authorities to...

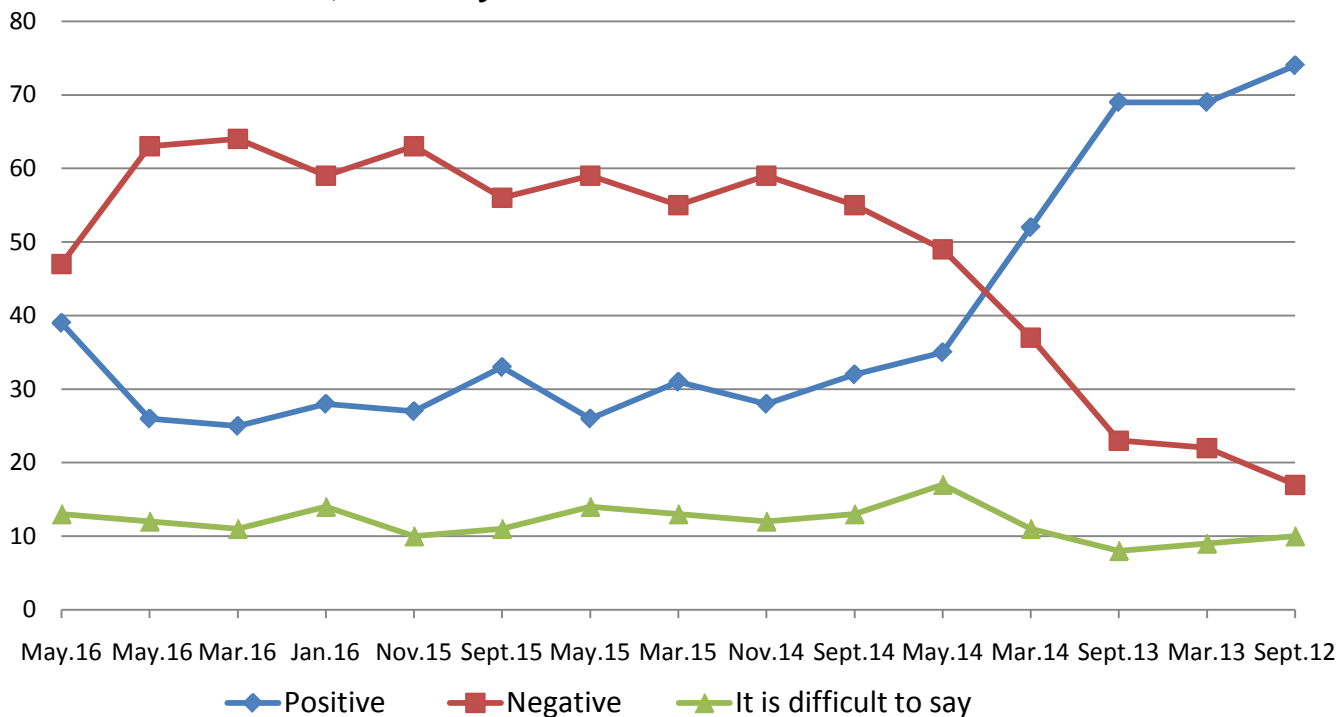
	Reduce the cost of gas exports to Ukraine by one third	Sign a plan for the normalization of trade and economic relations between Russia and Ukraine	Invest 15 billion dollars from the National Welfare Fund of Russia in Ukrainian economy
Entirely positively	5	8	4
Rather positively	25	54	16
Rather negatively	40	14	37
Very negatively	16	6	28
Difficult to answer	15	19	16

2013, December; N=1600

RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN RELATIONS AFTER MAYDAN AND ACCESSION OF THE CRIMEA

Diagram 21.2

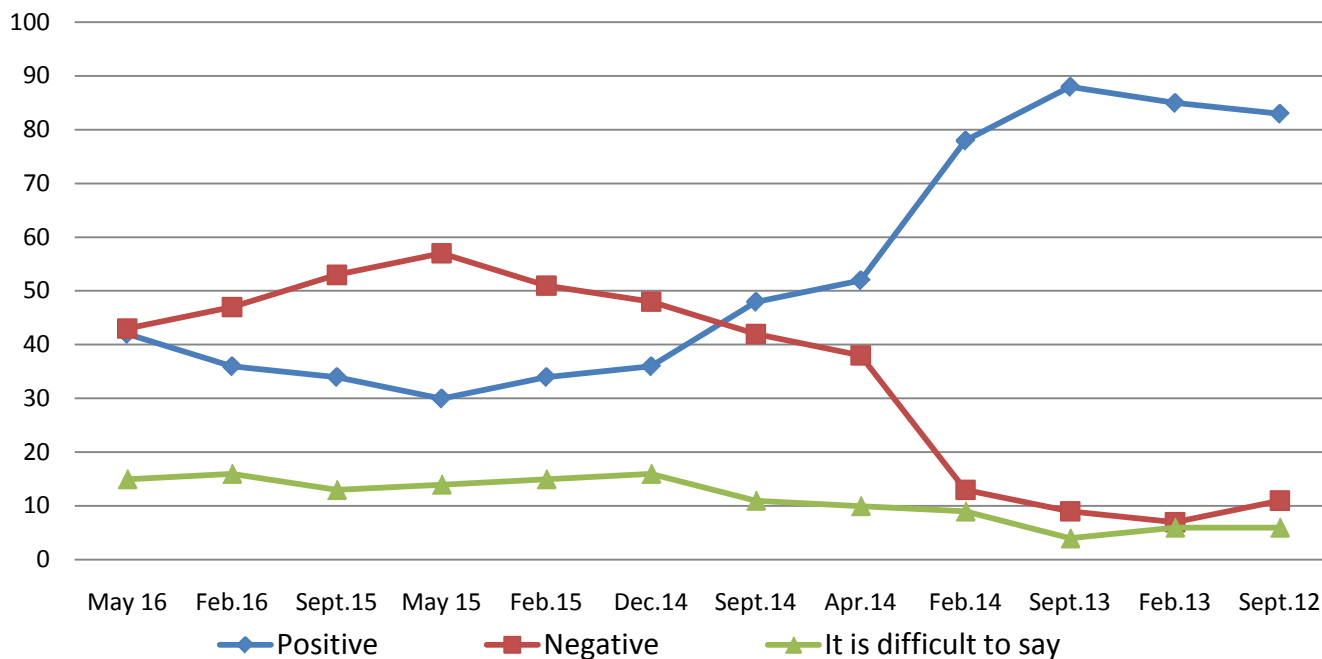
Overall, what is your current attitude toward Ukraine?



N=1600

Diagram 21.3

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

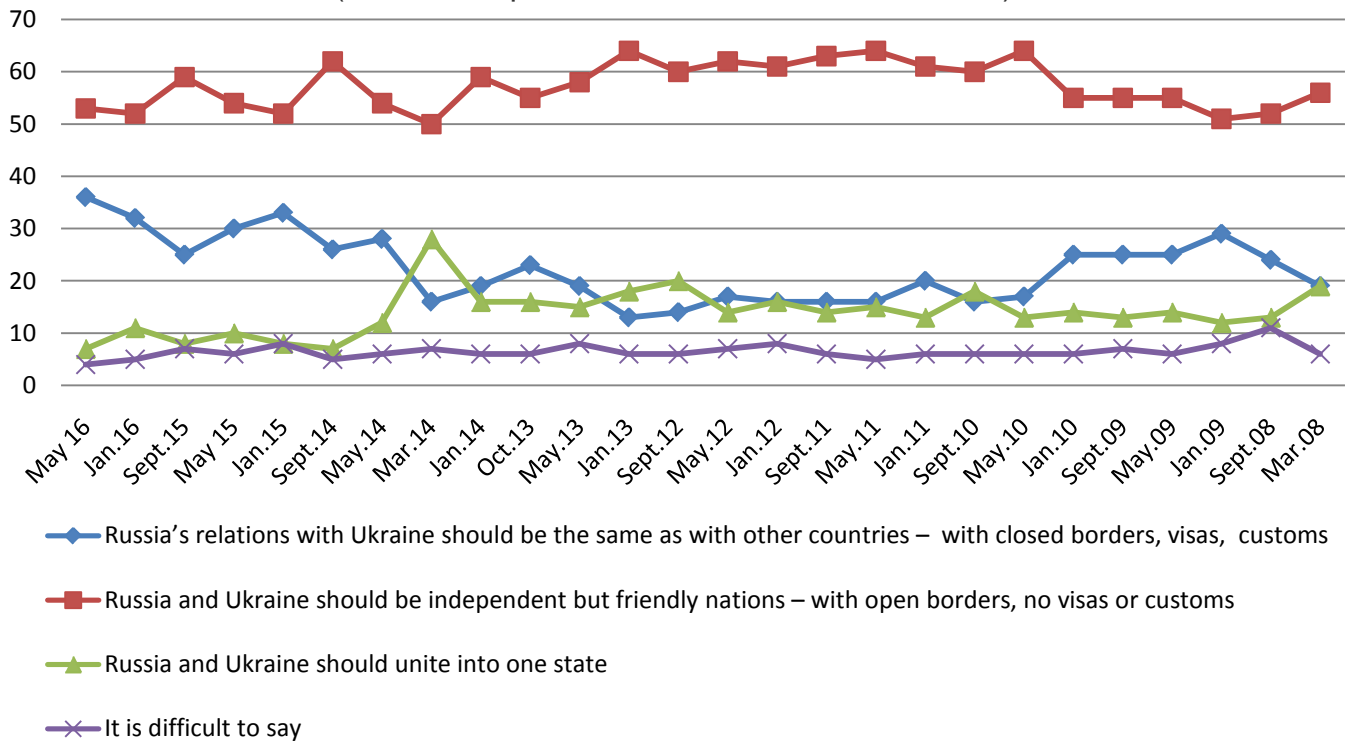


N=2000

Diagram 21.4

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

(Russians' opinions – data from Levada-Center)

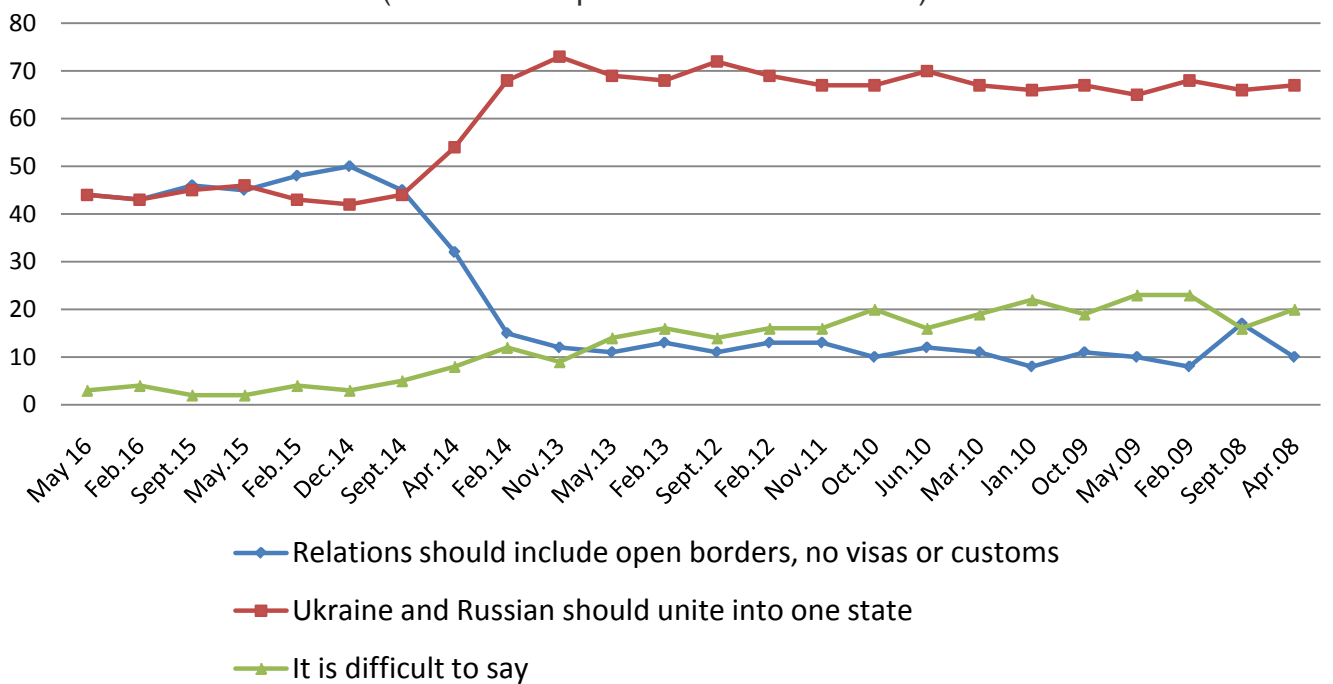


N=1600

Diagram 21.5

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

(Ukrainians' opinions – data from KIIS)



N=2000

Table 21.10

Which of the following opinions on Russian-Ukrainian relations would you rather agree with?

They have to be the same as with other states – with closed borders, visas, customs	
Russia and Ukraine have to be independent but friendly – with open borders and without visas	
Russia and Ukraine have to unite into one state	
Difficult to answer	

Table 21.11

What would you like Russia and Ukraine’s relationship to be like? (KMIS data)

It has to be the same as with other states – with closed borders, visas, customs	
Russia and Ukraine have to be independent but friendly – with open borders and without visas	
Russia and Ukraine have to unite into one state	
Difficult to answer	

Table 21.12

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

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

* - from 2002 to January 2007, question was formulated as: “Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians – two different peoples or three branches of a same nation?”
N=1600

Table 21.13

Do you consider Ukraine to be a foreign country?

	2001	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2011	2013	2014	2015
Yes	31	28	32	37	40	44	37	37	39	38
No	65	68	63	59	57	54	60	61	56	59
Difficult to answer	4	4	5	4	3	3	3	2	5	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 21.14

How would you rate the current relations between Russia and Ukraine?

	2008 VIII	2009			2010	2012	2013	2014			2015	
		I	VI	IX	II	II	I	I	III	VII	I	XI
Friendly	1	1	1	1	3	4	4	4	7	2	1	3
Good neighborly	2	1	2	3	10	10	12	10	7	1	1	3
Normal and peaceful	12	7	9	11	32	27	34	26	12	6	2	7
Chilly	36	20	33	32	29	30	34	31	14	8	9	14
Tense	36	48	43	42	20	19	9	21	43	39	33	41
Hostile	10	19	10	9	3	4	1	2	12	40	48	30
Difficult to answer	4	4	3	3	3	6	6	6	6	2	5	2
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 21.15

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

	2006 October	2009 May	2014		2015		
			May	September	February	May	September
Very good	10	7	22	9	13	14	11
Mostly good	71	68	59	52	50	50	52
Mostly bad	11	15	10	21	19	18	18
Very bad	2	3	2	5	6	7	7
Difficult to answer	6	7	7	14	12	11	12

N=1600

Table 21.16

**What explains the ambition of Ukraine's current administration to have
a closer relationship with Europe and to be independent from Russia?**

	2014 August	2015 November
Ukraine has become a puppet in the hands of the West and the USA who pursue an anti-Russian policy	52	49
Ukrainians believe that getting closer to Europe will make their country democratic, thriving and free	26	29
Ukrainians have never liked Russians	10	10
Ukrainians want to overcome their Soviet past, cannot forget about Famine-Genocide, repressions, oppression of the Ukrainian culture and language, and the union with Russia is dragging it back into that past	6	7
Russia has turned into a non-democratic, non-developing country	3	2
Difficult to answer	3	5

N=1600

Table 21.17

Which direction is Ukraine heading now?

	2007 XI	2008 XI	2009 XI	2011 I	2012 XI	2013 XII	2014 III
Gradually gravitates towards closer ties with Russia	8	5	9	29	19	16	14
Gradually gravitates towards closer ties with the West (European Union, USA) and drifts further away from Russia	53	63	46	21	32	30	35
Maneuvers between Russia and the West*	27	22	32	38*	36	41	44
Difficult to answer	13	11	14	12	14	13	7

* Before 2011, option was formulated as: "Neither one nor the other"

N=1600

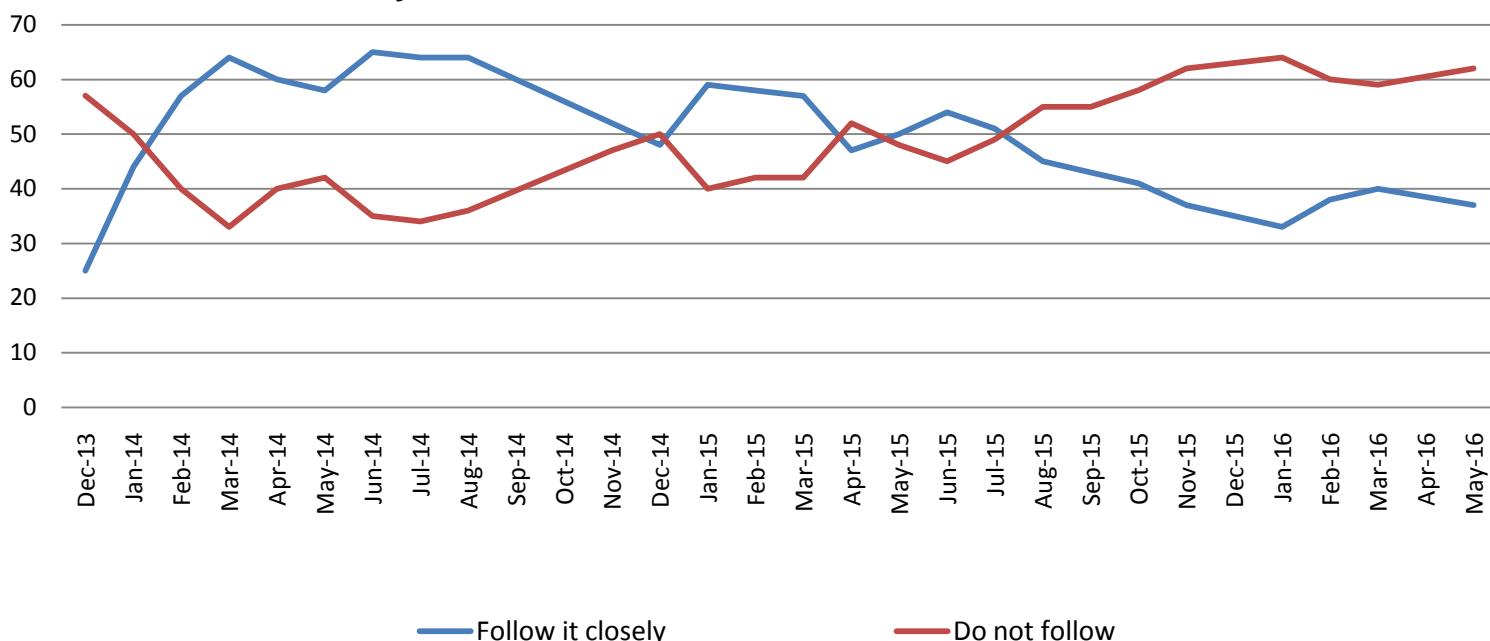
Table 21.18

Which would be more beneficial for Russia?

	2004 XII	2006 VIII	2007 X	2010 II	2011 X	2012 XI	2013 X	2014		2015 XI
								X	XII	
Ukraine becoming an independent country that has good-neighborly, mutually beneficial relations with Russia	48	44	41	55	53	47	49	70	64	59
Ukraine being under economic and political control of Russia	38	41	36	33	33	39	35	19	22	27
Difficult to answer	14	15	23	12	13	14	16	12	15	14
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	1600

Diagram 21.6

Do you follow the latest events in Ukraine?



N=1600

Table 21.19

Which goals do you think should Russia set first of all regarding Ukraine?
(answers are ranked)

Restoration of good neighborly relations with Ukraine	40
Securing of the Crimea within Russia	26
Development of economic cooperation between Russia and Ukraine	21
Preventing Ukraine from joining NATO	20
Fixing gas prices for Ukraine on the same level as for other European countries	19
Removing Ukraine's current administration from power	16
Insuring normal delivery of gas from Russia to Europe	13
Diving Ukraine into Eastern and Western regions	8
Uniting Russia and Ukraine into a union state	7
Putting a brake on the admittance of Ukraine into the EU	6
Difficult to answer	13

2015 г., April, N=1600

Table 21.20

**How will the relations between Russia and Ukraine
be changing in the next few years?**

	2005 I	2006 IV	2007 X	2011 X	2012 XI	2013 X
Will improve	28	28	14	24	28	17
Remain the same as they have been recently	40	42	43	51	50	47
Will deteriorate	18	20	18	11	10	19
Difficult to answer	14	10	24	14	12	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 21.21

How will Russia and Ukraine's relations develop in the coming years?

	2014 October	2015 October
They'll recover quickly	6	6
They'll recover but very slowly	49	44
They'll stay as they are now or will worsen	30	41
Difficult to answer	16	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	1600

Table 21.22

What's your personal attitude towards the possibility of Ukraine's associated membership in the European Union?

	2013 December	2014 December	2015 October
Positive, integration into the EU will stimulate Ukraine's socio-economical and political development	6	5	5
Neutral, it's Ukraine's internal affair	51	60	54
Negative, it's a betrayal of the Slavic unity, Ukraine was supposed to join the Customs Union with Russia	24	22	27
Difficult to answer	19	14	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 21.23

What would be the best way to act in this situation?

Put pressure on Ukraine to achieve a change in its political course	36
Help Ukraine recover its feet, provide it with technological assistance and energy in order to make peace and defuse the conflict	28
Difficult to answer	36

2015 , October, N=1600

THE ACCESSION OF THE CRIMEA

Table 21.24

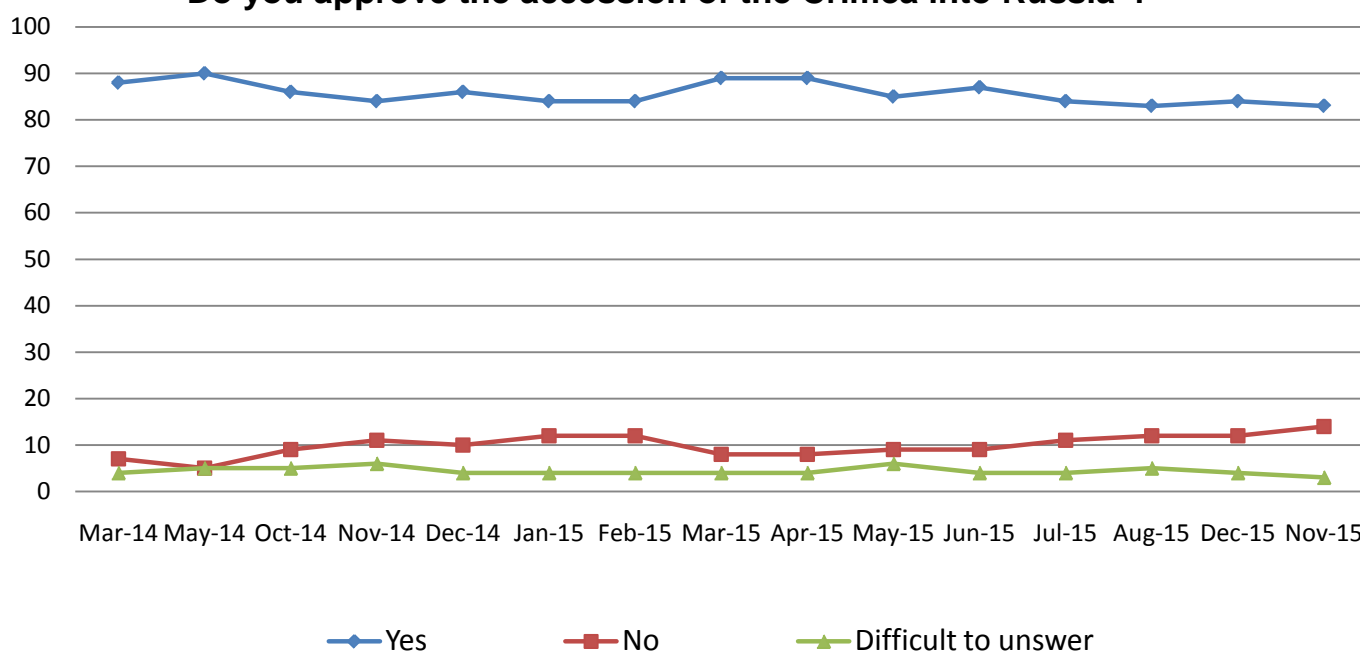
Do you approve of the accession of the Crimea into Russia?*

	2014					2015									
	III	V	X	XI	XII	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	XI
Definitely yes	57	54	55	53	50	50	52	56	55	56	53	51	50	54	48
More like yes	31	36	31	31	36	34	32	33	34	29	34	33	33	30	35
More like no	6	4	7	6	7	8	9	6	6	7	7	8	10	9	11
Definitely no	1	1	2	5	3	4	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	3
Difficult to answer	4	5	5	6	4	4	4	4	4	6	4	4	5	4	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

* - in March and May 2014 : «Are you personally for or against the accession of the Crimea into Russia?»

Diagram 21.7

Do you approve the accession of the Crimea into Russia*?



* - in March and May 2014: «Are you personally for or against the accession of the Crimea into Russia?»
N=1600

Table 21.25

Do you agree with the opinion that Russia annexed Crimea through the use of military force and threats of military intervention?

Definitively yes	3
Mostly yes	10
Mostly against	35
Definitively against	44
Difficult to answer	8

2014, October; N=1600

Table 21.26

What does the decision made by Russian authorities to take the Crimea into the Russian Federation make you feel?

	2014			2015 March
	March	April	August	
Triumph of justice	31	30	30	28
Pride for the country	34	38	37	32
Joy	19	23	16	14
Approval	47	46	40	44
Disapproval	3	3	3	4
Protest, indignation	1	<1	2	<1
Shame, desperation	<1	<1	1	1
Worry, fear	3	3	3	3
Nothing in particular	7	11	9	12
Difficult to answer	1	2	2	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 21.27

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

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

Table 21.28

What first of all is behind the actions of the Russian authorities regarding the Crimea and Ukraine in your opinion?

	2014		2015
	March	May	March
The desire to protect the Russian population of the Crimea and Ukraine from impairment of their rights and threats to their safety and welfare.	62	54	55
The desire to establish order and stabilize the situation amidst the political chaos and power vacuum in Ukraine	32	36	33
The desire to restore historical justice, return Russia's territories	38	34	40
The desire to protect the corrupt regime, prevent consolidation of discontent in society by playing on the populace's great-power complexes	3	3	4
Russia's imperial ambitions up to annexing the territories on a neighboring state	4	2	4
Difficult to answer	5	8	4

N=1600

Table 21.29

What kind of feelings does the accession of the Crimea to Russia cause in the Ukraine in your opinion?

	2014					2015
	March	April	May	July	August	March
It doesn't cause any particularly negative feelings towards Russia	17	19	16	15	9	9
Some negative feelings which however don't turn into hate towards Russia and its administration	25	29	22	15	15	19
Hate towards Russia's administration but not Russia as a whole	18	19	20	20	23	24
Hate towards Russia as a whole	24	29	26	37	38	38
Difficult to answer	17	4	16	12	15	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 21.30

**Which of the following opinions regarding the accession
of the Crimea into Russia is closest to yours?**

	2014 August	2015 March
The annexation of the Crimea is an irrecoverable mistake	6	6
The accession of the Crimea to Russia is a great achievement of the Russian authorities, the positive consequences of which Russians will feel in the future	85	81
Difficult to answer	9	13

N=1600

Table 21.31

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

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

Table 21.32

**Does it bother you that the majority of the people in the West and in Ukraine
think
that by annexing the Crimea Russia broke all the post-war and post-soviet
international agreements and international law?**

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

Table 21.33

What economical and political consequences will the accession of the Crimea have for Russia?

	2014			2015
	March	May	July	March
Solely positive ones	27	28	21	19
Rather positive than negative ones	46	51	48	50
Rather negative than positive ones	10	9	13	13
Solely negative ones	3	1	3	4
No consequences	3	4	6	5
Difficult to answer	10	8	9	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 21.34

To what degree are you personally prepared to pay for the accession of the Crimea?

	2014 April	2015 March
To the full degree	5	5
To a great degree	12	11
To some degree	29	34
Not prepared at all	30	32
I don't think this burden will fall on ordinary citizens	19	12
Difficult to answer	5	7

N=1600

Table 21.35

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

	2015		
	March	August	November
More good	70	59	59
More harm	18	23	22
Difficult to answer	12	18	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

«CRIMEA IS OURS»

Table 21.36

**One can hear the expression “Crimea is ours” a lot these days.
What does this expression mostly mean for you?**

A symbol of triumph and pride due to the Crimea becoming part of Russia again	52
A symbol of Russia's renaissance	16
A symbol of victory over Ukrainian nationalists	9
A meaningless expression	7
A propagandist slogan from the Kremlin	5
Difficult to answer	10

2015, November; N=1600

Table 21.37

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

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

Table 21.38

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

The Crimea has always been Russian	57
The people of the Crimea voted at the referendum a year and a half ago for its accession into Russia	20
The Crimea has had strong ties with Russia and its history for over two centuries	11
Russia conquered the Crimea 230 years ago	10
Difficult to answer	2

2015, November; N=1600

Table 21.39

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

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

THE WAR IN DONBASS

Table 21.40

In your opinion, what goals is Vladimir Putin pursuing in his policy towards Ukraine? (various answers possible)

	2014		
	July	September	October
Protect military-strategic and geopolitical interests of Russia, save the naval base in Sevastopol, prevent the expansion of NATO	51	43	46
Protect the Russian population in the southern and eastern regions of Ukraine that is threatened by Ukrainian nationalists	44	38	43
Prevent mass unrest, social destabilization, and the weakening of the Russian state, as happened in Ukraine	27	25	31
Protect the economic interests of Russia, prevent the economic integration of Ukraine into Europe	30	30	29
Prevent the development of similar events in Russia as happened in Ukraine - a popular uprising against the corrupt regime	22	20	28
Difficult to answer	5	7	6

N=1600

Table 21.41

With whom do you think Kiev authorities are fighting in eastern Ukraine?

With the people of Donbass	58
With Russia	18
With separatists who want to secede from Ukraine	14
Difficult to answer	10

2014 г., November; N=1600

Table 21.42

Who do you think is resisting Kiev authorities in eastern Ukraine?

With the people of Donbass	61
With Russia	17
With separatists who want to secede from Ukraine	6
Difficult to answer	16

2014 г., November; N=1600

Table 21.43

Do you think Russian troops are currently in Ukraine?

	2014		2015	
	September	November	February	July
Yes	29	25	25	26
No	49	53	53	52
Difficult to answer	23	22	22	22

N=800

Table 21.44

**Do you think that Russia is responsible for bloodshed and death
of people in eastern Ukraine?**

	2014			2015
	VIII	X	XI	XI
Definitely yes	5	5	6	3
Mostly yes	12	15	12	10
Mostly no	25	32	29	32
Definitely not	50	38	44	47
Difficult to answer	8	10	10	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 21.45

**Do you personally feel responsibility for bloodshed and death
of people in eastern Ukraine?**

	2014			2015
	VIII	X	XI	XI
Definitely yes	2	3	4	3
Mostly yes	7	5	6	5
Mostly no	22	27	27	25
Definitely not	64	58	56	60
Difficult to answer	5	7	9	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 21.46

When do you think will the fighting end in Donbass?

It's practically over already	
Before the end of March	4
Before summer	7
Before fall	12
Later	26
It will continue for years and years	24
Difficult to answer	23

2015, March; N=800

Table 21.47

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

Definitely yes	4
More like yes	24
More like no	45
Definitely no	6
Difficult to answer	21

2015, February; N=800

Table 21.48

Do you think today's military clashes in the east of Ukraine could grow into a war between...?

	Russia and Ukraine	Russia and Western countries/world war
It's inevitable	4	2
It's quite likely	28	22
It's unlikely	48	51
It's absolutely out of the question	14	18
Difficult to answer	6	8

2015, May; N=800

Table 21.49

Does the possibility of a war between Russia and the Ukraine scare you?

	Russia and the Ukraine	Russia and Western countries/ world war
It scares me a great deal	19	22
It scares me to a degree	33	33
It doesn't scare me too much	29	25
It doesn't scare me at all	12	12
Difficult to answer	7	8

2015, May; N=800

Table 21.50

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

	2014		2015
	April	August	February
Yes	34	26	34
No	57	59	60
Difficult to answer	9	15	7

N=800

Table 21.51

Which of the opinions as to why the war in the east of Ukraine continues do you prefer?

The war in the east of Ukraine continues because the US/Western countries authorities need this conflict in order to blame it on Russia and keep its influence worldwide in check and force their values on Russia	56
The war in the east of Ukraine continues because Ukraine's current administration needs the war atmosphere in order to distract the populace of the country from real economic and social problems and stay in power	27
The war in the east of Ukraine continues due to the interference of Russia's authorities into the conflict by supporting PRD and PRL with manpower, weapons and military equipment.	6
Difficult to answer	11

2015, April; N=800

Table 21.52

**Will you support Russia's administration in case
of a military conflict between Russia and Ukraine?**

	2014				2015
	March	May	July	August	February
Definitely yes	36	30	17	13	15
More like yes	38	39	38	28	29
More like no	11	11	18	23	23
Definitely no	2	5	11	20	16
Difficult to answer	13	14	16	16	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 21.53

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

	2014		2015	
	September	November	February	July
Yes	29	25	25	26
No	49	53	53	52
Difficult to answer	23	22	22	22

N=800

Table 21.54

Do you think Russia is taking military action against Ukraine now?

	2015	
	March	August
Definitely yes	4	4
More like yes	13	16
More like no	36	40
Definitely no	35	30
Difficult to answer	11	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 21.55

**Do you think a marked aggravation of the military conflict in Donbass
is possible in the coming months?**

It's practically inevitable	16
It's quite likely	54
It's unlikely	19
It's practically out of the question	2
Difficult to answer	10

2015, August, N=800

Table 21.56

Do you think Russian troops should be brought in if military action begins anew in the east of Ukraine?

	2014		2015
	September	November	February
Definitely yes	5	6	3
More like yes	16	17	22
More like no	36	32	32
Definitely no	27	26	28
Difficult to answer	16	20	16

N=800

Table 21.57

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

	2015	
	October	November
Safe	1	4
Calm	11	10
Tense	64	60
Critical, explosive	15	19
Difficult to answer	9	7

N=1600

Table 21.58

What should the Ukrainian government do in your opinion regarding Donbass?

Grant DNR and LNR independence	54
Retain the region as part of the Ukraine but grant it a special economic and political status	21
Retain the region as part of the Ukraine no matter the cost without changing its status	5
Difficult to answer	20

2015, January; N=800

Table 21.59

What do you think the military conflict in Donbass will end with?

Supporters of PRD and PRL independence will be crushed and all of Donbass will be reinstated as part of Ukraine	6
PRD and PRL will retain their current borders as independent states	26
PRD and PRL will become part of Russia	8
The conflict will become protracted and will spread to other regions of Ukraine	33
Difficult to answer	28

2015, January; N=800

Table 21.60

What do you think, are there any Russian citizens fighting on the side of Donetsk and Lugansk republics?

Russian citizens who went to defend Lugansk and Donetsk Republics of their own volition due to their ideological views	48
Russian citizens who went to fight for PRL and PRD for money (mercenaries)	24
Russian contract soldiers sent there by their commanders	14
Russian conscript soldiers sent there by their commanders	6
Russian citizens do not participate in the military action in Donetsk and Lugansk Republics	11
Difficult to answer	16

2015, April; N=800

Table 21.61

Which of the opinions regarding Russia's support of the Donbass volunteer corps would you rather agree with?

Russian leaders are saying the truth, there are no Russian troops or military equipment in Ukraine	37
Even if there are Russian troops or military equipment in Ukraine, given the current international situation denying these facts is the right policy for Russia	38
There are Russian troops and military equipment in Ukraine and denying this only leads to the escalation of the international situation and prevents the normal settlement of the situation in Ukraine	11
Difficult to answer	16

2015, April; N=800

Table 21.62

Do you think Russia should compromise with the West and limit its support of Donetsk and Lugansk Republics, the militia troops in the east of Ukraine?

	2014 September	2015 October
Definitely yes	4	4
More like yes	12	16
More like no	41	39
Definitely no	27	33
Difficult to answer	17	9

N=800

Table 21.63

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

	2014									2015		
	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	XI	XII	I	II	VI
I'd like the east of Ukraine to become a part of the Russian Federation	48	35	26	25	23	21	16	17	13	19	15	19
I'd like the east of Ukraine to become an independent state	12	25	36	39	41	40	46	43	40	43	41	39
I'd like for the east of Ukraine to remain a part of Ukraine but to receive a greater independence from Kiev	17	21	17	19	17	18	21	18	25	17	21	24
I'd like it to be a part of Ukraine under the same conditions as before the crisis	8	6	6	5	7	6	5	6	6	4	7	4
Difficult to answer	15	13	15	12	12	16	13	16	16	17	16	15
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 21.64

Do you think Russia should provide PRD and PRL with...?

		Definitely yes	More like yes	More like no	Definitely no	Difficult to answer
...humanitarian aid?						
2014	May	53	37	5	2	3
	July	47	39	8	3	3
2015	August	40	44	10	3	4
...diplomatic support?						
2014	May	34	55	7	<1	4
	June	47	45	3	2	3
	July	46	42	6	2	5
2015	August	40	48	6	2	4
...economic aid?						
2014	May	22	48	15	5	9
	June	42	37	12	4	5
	July	36	37	14	6	7
2015	August	26	39	17	8	9
...technical military support (consultations, weapons)?						
2014	May	17	41	20	12	10
	June	29	35	17	8	11
	July	26	32	19	12	11
2015	August	19	31	21	17	12
...direct military support (troops)?						
2014	May	11	20	32	24	14
	June	16	24	24	21	16
	July	10	16	34	27	14
2015	August	8	12	5	37	9
...aid to refugees?						
2014	July	41	40	12	4	4
2015	August	22	46	15	10	9

N=800

Table 21.65

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

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

N=1600

Table 21.66

With which of the following opinions would you most likely agree?

	2014	
	August	October
The Russian government should focus primarily on solving social and economic problems in Russia itself, and not to interfere in events in Ukraine	55	50
Geopolitical and strategic interests of Russia today are more important than domestic economic and social problems in Russia	31	36
Difficult to answer	14	14

N=1600

THE DEATH OF PARATROOPERS OF THE PSKOV AIREBORNE DIVISION

Table 21.67

Have you heard reports that paratroopers of the Pskov airborne division have been killed and wounded in fighting on Ukrainian territory?

	2014 September	2014 October
Yes, I have heard and read a lot about it	7	8
Yes, I heard about it, but without details	39	35
No, I have not heard about it	50	52
Difficult to answer	4	5

N=1600

Table 21.68

With which of the following opinions regarding these reports would you agree most?

	2014 September	2014 October
They were military personnel, sent there by commanding officers	12	14
They were volunteer fighters, who independently went to aid militias in eastern Ukraine	37	29
This is a "decoy," disinformation from the Internet	23	24
Difficult to answer	28	33

N=1600

Table 21.69

What is your attitude toward the fact that Russian non-profit organizations are currently compiling a list of Russian soldiers and officers who died or were wounded within recent months?

Positive, we should know the truth about the death of Russian soldiers and whether they are connected with military operations in eastern Ukraine	41
Not very positive, it may hurt Russia in the current political situation	14
Negative, they are engaging in anti-Russian activity	9
In general, I do not believe that our soldiers are dying in Ukraine	12
Difficult to answer	23

2014, October; N=1600

MALAYSIAN BOEING CRASH

Table 21.70

Who in your opinion bears the responsibility for the death of the people on board the Malaysian Boeing that was shot down over the area of military action in Ukraine?

(in% of those who've heard about the catastrophe)

	2014 July	2014 September	2015 July
DNR militia troops	2	3	3
Ukrainian military	45	42	44
Ukraine's administration, continuing the military action in the west of Ukraine	50	44	41
Russia, helping the militia with weapons and trained troops	1	2	2
USA	20	22	17
Difficult to answer	11	9	14

Table 21.71

How do you feel about the suggestion to initiate an international tribunal about the Malaysian Boeing shot down in the military action area in the Ukraine?

Entirely positively	14
Rather positively	33
Rather negatively	14
Entirely negatively	5
Difficult to answer	34

2015, July; N=800

Table 21.72

Who do you think this tribunal will deem guilty of the crash of the Malaysian Boeing?

PRD militia troops	9
Ukrainian military	22
Ukrainian authorities continuing the military action in the west of the Ukraine	14
Russia helping the militia with weapons and trained troops	19
Difficult to answer	37

2015, July; N=800

22. EUROPEAN AND US SANCTIONS

Table 22.1

Are you concerned about....

		Very concerned	Rather concerned	Not too concerned	Not concerned at all	Difficult to answer
... The international isolation of Russia due to the stance that Russia's administration took regarding Ukraine?						
2014	March	5	28	48	1	5
	April	7	35	43	12	3
	May	9	29	40	18	4
	July	10	28	42	16	4
	August	6	26	40	25	3
	December	13	33	38	13	3
2015	July	8	30	40	18	4
... western political and economical sanctions against Russia?						
2014	March	5	31	42	17	4
	April	8	34	40	16	3
	May	8	29	39	21	3
	July	10	26	43	18	4
	August	7	25	39	27	3
	December	16	35	33	13	3
2015	July	10	31	37	19	4
... possible cessation of goods and food deliveries from western countries?						
2014	March	4	22	45	23	6
	April	7	29	40	21	3
	May	7	26	37	27	3
...the possibility of severance of diplomatic relations between Russia and Ukraine?						
2014	March	5	31	42	15	8
	April	9	36	35	17	4
	May	8	28	37	23	5
... possible impediments when traveling to the western countries?						
2014	March	6	25	39	27	5
	April	7	27	37	26	3
	May	7	23	38	29	3

N=1600

Table 22.2

What do you think Western countries are trying to achieve first of all by toughening the sanctions against Russia?

	2014		2015		
	September	December	February	June	October
Stop the war, destruction and loss of life in the east of Ukraine	4	6	7	5	6
Restore the geopolitical balance disrupted by the annexation of the Crimea to Russia	18	14	17	21	17
Weaken and humiliate Russia	71	72	72	66	69
Difficult to answer	8	7	5	8	7
Number of respondents	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 22.3

How do you think should Russia react to Western sanctions?

	2014		2015					
	IX	XII	I	II	III	VI	VIII	XI
Stay true to its policy despite the sanctions	68	66	69	66	72	70	68	65
Search for a compromise, make concessions to get the sanctions lifted	22	24	21	23	21	20	20	26
Difficult to answer	10	11	11	11	6	10	12	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800	800	800	800	800	1600	1600

Table 22.4

In your opinion, how should Russia act in response to the sanctions from western countries?

	2014		2015
	September	December	January
Continue its policies despite the sanctions	68	66	69
Find a compromise and make concessions to avoid the sanctions	22	24	21
Difficult to answer	10	11	11

N=1600

Table 22.5

What in your opinion should the Russian authorities do given that Western countries have imposed tough economic sanctions against Russia due to the government's policy regarding the Crimea and Ukraine?

	2015	
	January	June
Ignore those actions and continue pursuing the same internal and foreign policy	32	37
Introduce tough counter sanctions against those countries	34	38
Refuse to pay external debts	5	7
Try to find a compromise, review its stance regarding the accession of the Crimea, and supporting the militia in Donbass	10	10
Increase the military budget, allocate additional funds for strengthening the country's defensive capacity	18	16
Strengthen economical and military ties with Middle Eastern countries, China, India	32	42
Difficult to answer	10	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	800

Table 22.6

Who is in your opinion, a reach victim of Western sanctions in Russia?

	2014				
	May	June	September	December	May
Only a small circle of people responsible for Russian policies concerning Ukraine	63	52	59	53	29
The general population of Russia	24	34	34	38	62
Difficult to answer	13	14	9	9	9

N=1600

Table 22.7

At whom are current Western sanctions aimed in your opinion?

	2014				2015	
	V	VI	IX	XII	II	VI
Against Russia's people at large	27	31	41	54	26	29
Solely against a narrow circle of people responsible for Russia's policy regarding Ukraine	42	35	30	15	48	46
Western authorities don't think about the impact of their sanctions on Russia's populace	19	22	21	21	21	19
Difficult to answer	13	12	8	10	6	7

N=800

Table 22.8

Do you think Western sanctions against Russia can create problems for you and your family?

	2014		2015			
	IX	XII	I	II	VI	VIII
Yes, very serious ones	5	7	10	5	7	5
Yes, rather serious ones	21	38	37	31	25	24
No, they won't create serious problems	41	35	33	42	39	48
No, they won't create any problems	21	10	10	8	14	13
Difficult to answer	12	10	10	14	15	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 22.9

Have Western sanctions against Russia created problems for you and your family?

	2014		2015			
	IX	XII	I	II	VI	VIII
Yes, very serious ones	2	8	7	5	8	5
Yes, rather serious ones	14	23	27	28	25	22
No, they haven't created any serious problems	44	47	45	52	49	53
No, they haven't created any problems	35	13	12	8	13	14
Difficult to answer	5	10	9	8	5	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 22.11

Are you prepared for a material decline in your family's welfare due to the "sanctions exchange" between the West and Russia?

	2014		2015
	September	December	July
Definitely yes	3	6	4
More like yes	25	24	20
More like no	42	41	40
Definitely no	20	21	23
Difficult to answer	10	8	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 22.12

How do you feel in general about the ban on food and agricultural products imports from the European Union and the USA imposed by Russia's government in retaliation to the sanctions imposed on Russia by those countries?

	2014 August	2014 October	2015 March	2015 August	2015 August
Definitely positively	36	29	19	30	25
Rather positively	42	44	48	38	42
Rather negatively	8	13	21	17	17
Definitely negatively	5	2	4	7	4
Difficult to answer	9	12	9	9	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	1600	1600

Table 22.13

Have any problems arisen in terms of nourishment for your family due to the ban on food import from the European Union countries and the US?

	2014 August	2014 October	2015 March	2015 August
Practically none	63	52	38	43
Nothing too serious	27	35	40	39
Rather serious	5	8	18	13
Very serious	1	1	2	1
Difficult to answer	4	4	2	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	1600

Table 22.14

Which consequences of this political step of Russia do you see as especially unfavorable, grievous for you, your family?

Food price growth	71
Food quality decline	14
Food variety reduction, fewer choices	12
I don't see any negative consequences of this step for my family	16
Difficult to answer	3

2015, March; N=800

Table 22.15

Which of the opinions on the food import from the EU and the US ban would you rather agree with?

The ban on food import from Europe and the US policy is effective and has already brought some positive political results, Russia is more respected in the world and its interests are taken into account more	58
The ban on food import from Europe and the US policy is pointless, absurd and harmful, our country's populace suffers from it most of all	24
Difficult to answer	19

2015, March; N=800

Table 22.16

What is your attitude towards the decision to liquidate the food which is subject to Russian “counter sanctions”?

Definitely positive	17
Rather positive	23
Rather negative	33
Definitely negative	15
Difficult to answer	13

2015, August; N=800

Table 22.17

What would be the best way for Russia to deal with the “sanction” food in your opinion?

Send it to orphanages, homeless shelters, hospitals	43
Give it away to Russians in need: retirees, disabled persons, families with many children	41
Give it to charitable organizations	27
Send it to Donbass	24
Liquidate it	15
Send it to the starving in Africa	12
Use it as cattle feed/fertilizer after processing	10
Difficult to answer	8

2015, August; N=800

Table 22.18

How do you feel about the suggestions to ban state purchases of high-tech medical equipment in the West: x-ray machines, ultrasound scanners, lung ventilators, infant incubators etc?

Entirely positively	7
Rather positively	19
Rather negatively	37
Entirely negatively	26
Difficult to answer	12

2015, August; N=1600

23. RUSSIA AND THE WORLD

Table 23.1

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

	2000 I	2002 I	2003 I	2004 I	2005 I	2006 II	2007 II	2008 II	2009 II	2010 I	2011 I	2012 I	2013 II	2014 I	2015 I
Definitely yes	14	15	14	11	12	10	15	15	18	14	15	18	13	14	27
Yes, rather than no	33	27	33	26	32	30	33	37	32	33	38	38	38	42	41
No, rather than yes	37	37	38	48	35	39	33	31	30	33	31	29	33	26	19
Definitely no	8	6	7	7	9	12	11	7	11	9	6	7	6	7	3
Difficult to answer	8	16	8	7	11	9	8	10	9	11	10	8	11	12	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 23.2

What kind of role does Russia play now in solving the international issues?

	2010 November	2011 November	2014 March	2015 March
Decisive	9	7	11	11
Fairly important	53	44	56	57
Not a very important one	27	34	26	24
Minor	8	11	3	5
Difficult to answer	3	4	3	4

N=800

Table 23.3

In your opinion, what influence does Russia have now in international affairs?

	2003	2004	2007	2010	2014	2015	
	VII	VIII	VII	VII	IX	II	IX
Very big	4	7	11	14	11	17	19
Quite big	43	32	56	54	54	53	50
Quite small	38	43	22	21	24	21	21
Practically none	8	12	4	4	4	3	3
It is difficult to say	7	6	7	8	7	6	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 23.4

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

	2003 IV	2004 V	2005 VI	2006 IV	2008 IV	2013 IV	2014 XII
The USA	13	13	12	8	7	9	4
China	9	9	7	13	12	21	46
Countries of Western Europe (such as France, Germany)	32	25	26	25	28	20	8
CIS countries/former Soviet Union republics (such as Ukraine, Belarus)	27	34	40	39	35	28	12
Islamic countries	1	1	2	2	2	3	1
Difficult to answer	16	14	11	10	13	19	27

N=1600

Table 23.5

**Which countries do you think Russia should seek to cooperate
with in implementing its foreign policy?**

(answers are ranked by the last measurement)

	2001 I	2003 I	2004 I	2006 II	2007 II	2008 II	2009 II	2010 IV	2011 I	2012 I	2013 I	2014 III	2015 X
India, China	22	21	21	24	26	28	32	29	23	36	30	36	52
Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, other CIS countries	53	38	49	48	44	48	42	46	43	50	46	46	39
Germany, France, UK, other West-European countries	49	51	54	53	46	49	45	50	48	49	48	38	32
Japan	27	23	26	20	19	24	22	23	22	19	22	18	18
Cuba, Venezuela, Siria, Iran, Northern Korea	11	11	7	7	11	12	12	9	8	11	10	14	18
USA	31	27	30	24	15	18	15	30	22	19	18	10	9
Difficult to say	10	15	15	16	16	17	18	15	16	12	16	17	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	1600

Table 23.6

**How is Russia perceived by the majority
of the developed countries of the world?**

	2007 I	2008 I	2009 I	2013 I	2014 III	2015 I
As a friend	4	6	3	3	3	2
As a partner	32	34	39	32	27	21
As a competitor	33	33	32	35	40	37
As an enemy	7	7	9	8	16	27
Do not pay much attention to Russia	15	10	9	15	8	4
Difficult to answer	8	10	8	7	7	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 23.7

What line of action should Russia take toward the Muslim world?

	2005 XI	2006 XI	2007 XI	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2015 I
Strengthen mutually beneficial ties with the Muslim world	54	62	65	62	64	52	56
Distance itself from the Muslim world	29	18	17	25	21	30	18
Difficult to answer	18	20	18	13	16	18	26
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

FRIENDS – ENEMIES

Table 23.8

Do you think that Russia is really threatened by multiple internal and external enemies or is it just talk to scare the population and make it an obedient puppet for the authorities?

	2007 December	2014 August	2015 March	2015 August
Russia is really threatened by multiple internal and external enemies	42	61	63	54
The talk about enemies is all about scaring the population and turning it into an obedient puppet for the authorities.	30	27	23	30
Difficult to answer	28	12	14	16

N=1600

Table 23.9

Does Russia have any enemies?

	1994	1999	2003	2008	2009	2011	2012	2013	2014 IX	2015 IX
Yes	41	65	78	68	69	70	63	78	84	80
No	22	14	9	14	18	19	18	13	8	10
Difficult to answer	37	22	14	18	13	11	19	9	8	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1500</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.10

**Name five countries that you could call the closest friends,
allies of Russia*...**

(answers are ranged to the last measurement)

	2005 V	2006 V	2007 VIII	2009 III	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2014 V	2015 V
Belarus	46	47	38	50	49	35	34	46	51	55
China	12	24	19	18	16	18	16	20	40	43
Kazakhstan	20	33	39	38	32	33	28	31	37	41
India	16	15	14	12	14	16	9	7	13	18
Armenia	9	14	15	15	15	11	11	12	15	18
Cuba	-	-	-	8	10	13	8	9	10	14
Azerbaijan	5	7	5	10	8	9	9	8	9	11
Kyrgyzstan	5	7	7	9	4	6	5	5	6	10
Venezuela	-	-	2	8	10	6	5	6	5	9
Serbia	3	4	3	5	5	4	4	3	5	8
Turkey	2	3	3	4	5	7	4	5	4	8
Uzbekistan	4	6	6	9	5	7	5	5	6	8
Tajikistan	3	3	7	9	4	5	4	5	8	7
Mongolia	-	-	-	3	4	5	2	3	3	6
Bulgaria	11	10	9	9	8	9	7	10	8	4
Egypt	2	1	2	2	2	5	2	2	2	4
Turkmenistan	2	2	8	5	1	3	2	2	3	4
Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	1	3
Czechia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
North Korea	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	1	3	3
Slovakia	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	3
Germany	23	22	24	17	24	20	17	14	4	2
Israel	5	3	3	3	4	5	4	3	4	2
Japan	4	6	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	2
Iran	2	4	3	2	2	1	2	1	2	2
Moldova	4	4	4	5	3	4	4	6	7	2
Italy	6	7	8	5	8	6	7	5	3	1
Poland	5	4	3	2	5	3	1	4	2	1
Finland	6	6	6	5	5	7	6	4	3	1
Sweden	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	1
Hungary	3	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	1
France	13	8	9	9	11	9	9	4	1	1
South Korea	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	3	1
Australia	3	1	3	2	3	2	1	1	2	1
Canada	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	<1	1
Ukraine	17	10	11	3	20	21	13	16	1	1
USA	11	5	6	2	7	5	2	4	<1	1
Great Britain	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	<1
None/ Difficult to answer	24	28	28	27	23	26	35	29	29	25

* -supplied are countries named by no less than 2% of respondents in most surveys+
N=1600

Table 23.11

**Name five countries that you could call unfriendly or hostile
in relation to Russia***

(answers are ranged to the last measurement)

	2005 V	2006 V	2007 VIII	2009 III	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2014 V	2015 V
USA	23	37	35	45	26	33	35	38	69	73
Ukraine	13	27	23	41	13	20	15	11	30	37
Latvia	49	46	36	35	36	35	26	21	23	25
Lithuania	42	42	32	35	35	34	25	17	24	25
Poland	4	7	20	10	14	20	8	8	12	22
Great Britain	3	5	3	8	6	8	7	9	18	21
Germany	3	2	2	3	1	4	3	3	18	19
Estonia	32	28	60	30	28	30	23	16	21	19
Georgia	38	44	46	62	57	50	41	33	19	11
Canada	1	1	<1	1	<1	1	1	1	7	8
France	<1	1	1	1	<1	1	1	2	5	7
Japan	6	4	3	3	3	9	6	7	5	6
Afghanistan	12	12	11	7	14	15	8	10	5	4
Romania	2	2	2	3	3	3	1	2	2	3
Italy	1	<1	<1	1	<1	<1	1	<1	1	3
Australia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Cuba	-	-	-	1	<1	1	<1	-	1	3
Israel	3	4	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	2
Iran	6	7	7	3	7	7	7	5	2	2
Finland	1	1	<1	1	<1	1	1	1	1	2
Iraq	10	9	8	5	9	9	8	7	3	2
Saudi Arabia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Czechia	1	1	2	1	<1	1	1	<1	1	2
None/Difficult to answer	20	23	19	18	21	15	28	31	20	17

* - supplied are countries named by no less than 2% of respondents

N=1600

Table 23.12

**How do you think the attitude towards Russia
and Russians changed abroad in the last six months?**

	2014 October	2015 March
We became more loved	1	2
We became more respected	10	16
We became better understood	11	8
We became more feared	30	35
We became more despised	9	11
We became more hated	24	26
Nothing's changed	13	17
Difficult to answer	15	10

N=800

RUSSIA AND THE WEST

Table 23.13

**Which of the following opinions regarding the “West”
best fit your own opinion about it?
(answers are ranged by the last survey)**

	2008 October	2015 February
The west is a different civilization, a strange world with its own laws, different people and relationships between them	48	44
The west is states and political forces which will always be hostile to our country	16	25
The west is nothing more than a place name for the countries which are situated to the west of Russia	16	19
The west is a rational, cold world, with formal, egotistical relationships between people	20	19
The west is the richest and most problem-free countries where people live well and at peace	28	19
The west means the highest achievements of the western culture, science, philosophy, art etc	13	8
The west is the democratic countries, civil states, which are an example of modern development	16	6
Difficult to answer	6	4

N=1600

Table 23.14

**To what degree do you agree or disagree with the statement:
“Western culture has a negative influence on life in Russia?”**

	1998 V	2002 VI	2006 VI	2013 VI	2015 VI
Definitely agree	37	39	34	24	28
Rather agree	25	28	29	41	39
Rather disagree	22	22	24	23	20
Definitely disagree	11	6	7	6	6
Difficult to answer	6	6	5	6	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.15

**To what extent do you perceive your self-identity
to be aligned with western values?**

	1993	2008	2014
Western self-identity is my permanent state of mind	1	3	2
Self-identification as a person of western values is reasonably important to me	5	7	12
Self-identification as a person of western values is not very important to me	16	32	37
I don't perceive myself as a person of western values at all	50	54	43
Difficult to answer	28	4	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.16

To what degree do you currently feel like a person of the western culture?

	1993 February	2008 October	2014 September	2015 September
I remember about it all the time	1	3	2	2
It's rather important to me	5	7	12	10
It's not very important to me	16	32	37	28
I don't feel that at all <i>этого</i>	50	54	43	53
Difficult to answer	28	4	6	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1700	1600	800	800

Table 23.17

What is your overall attitude to "western way of life": positive or negative?

	1991 June	2008 October	2014 September	2015 September
Positive	62	46	34	30
Negative	10	30	42	45
Difficult to answer	28	25	25	25
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1000	1600	1600	800

Table 23.18

Do you think that Russia should...

	1999 IX	2000 II	2003 III	2004 XII	2005 XII	2006 XI	2007 XI	2008 X	2009 X	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2013 V	2014 IV	2015 I
Strengthen mutually beneficial relations with Western Countries	61	74	77	70	70	77	75	57	61	78	74	76	71	41	40
Distance itself from the West	22	13	11	16	16	11	14	26	27	11	16	13	16	39	36
Difficult to answer	17	13	12	14	14	12	11	17	12	11	11	12	13	21	24
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800

Table 23.19

In your opinion, are the most important western countries (USA, Germany, Japan, Great Britain and others) Russia's partners or opponents?

	1997 VIII	2003 VII	2007 VII	2010 VII	2014 IX	2015 X
Russia's partners, which share common interests (for example, in the fight against crime and terrorism, in environmental disasters, in developing science, culture, and in the economy)	29	42	42	44	8	17
Russia's opponents, which strive to solve their problems at its expense and, when possible, damage its interests	51	42	46	44	79	75
Difficult to answer	21	15	13	12	13	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800

Table 23.20

Do you agree or disagree that Russia is currently experiencing international isolation?

	2014 November	2015 November
Definitely yes	14	16
Mostly yes	33	38
Mostly no	32	31
Definitely no	13	8
Difficult to answer	8	8

N=800

Table 23.21

Does the international isolation of Russia worry you?
(share of those who agree that Russia is in isolation)

	2014 November	2015 November
Definitely yes	21	16
Mostly yes	42	42
Mostly no	26	32
Definitely no	9	7
Difficult to answer	8	8

N=1600

Table 23.22

Does it worry you that, over the past year, Russia has become more and more isolated from the western world?

	2014 September	2015 September
It worries me very much	6	7
It worries me quite a bit	30	29
It does not worry me much	39	36
It does not worry me at all	20	21
There is no isolation, everything is now returning to how it was before the crisis	1	2
It is difficult to say	3	5

N=1600

Table 23.23

In your opinion, does the commonality of western countries' opinions on Russia's policies towards Ukraine testify to the fairness of criticism of Russia's actions or to the aspirations of the USA and the west to suppress Russia and to weaken its influence in the world?

Definitely to the fairness of criticism of Russia's actions	4
Mostly to the fairness of criticism of Russia's actions	9
Mostly to the aspirations of the USA and the West to suppress Russia and to weaken its influence in the world	38
Definitely to the aspirations of the USA and the West to suppress Russia and to weaken its influence in the world	41
It is difficult to say	9

2014, September; N=1600

Table 23.24

How do you think will the relationship between Russia and the West develop after the current conflict around Ukraine and the Crimea?

	2014 June	2014 September	2015 February	2015 September
An increase of tension, a new round of "cold war" awaits us.	37	40	42	33
Everything will be allowed to "slide" bit by bit, and our relationship will slowly return to what it was before the incident.	43	45	45	52
Difficult to answer	20	15	13	15

Table 23.25

Do you think we should care about the Western criticism of Russia?

	2007 February	2010 February	2012 February	2014 December	2015 October
Yes	46	42	38	27	29
No	38	45	50	57	62
Difficult to answer	16	12	12	16	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.26

Why do you believe we should not care about the Western criticism?
(% of negative responses)

	2007 February	2010 February	2012 February	2014 December	2015 October
The West has a vague understanding of our life, but still tries to educate us	38	36	29	40	28
The West is unfriendly towards Russia, the Western criticism is hostile	24	22	26	43	34
The West sees Russia as a competitor and tries to weaken it	39	35	40	40	37
The West criticizes Russia for something it has often been found guilty of ("double standards")	22	14	17	22	25
Difficult to answer	4	3	5	6	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.27

Do you think that Russia needs to repair its relations with the United States and western countries?

	2014 September	2015 February	2015 September	2015 November
Definitely yes	13	16	17	23
Mostly yes	53	53	49	52
Mostly no	18	16	16	14
Definitely no	6	2	4	2
It is difficult to say	10	16	13	10

N=1600

Table 23.28

Are you concerned that within the last year Russia has become more and more isolated from the West?

	2014 September	2015 September
Very concerned	6	7
Rather concerned	30	29
Not too concerned	39	36
Not concerned at all	20	21
There's no isolation, everything is going back to the pre-crisis state now	1	2
Difficult to answer	3	5

N=1600

Table 23.29

The change of the country's foreign policy in the late 1980-s caused us to lose the confrontation with the West or did we win no less than everybody else did from the end of that confrontation?

	2007 April	2010 July	2011 May	2015 June
We lost the confrontation with the West	31	27	29	29
We won no less than all the others from the confrontation ending	33	43	42	36
Difficult to answer	36	29	29	35
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.30

How do you think Europe perceives Russia?
(answers are ranked)

	2006 December	2015 August
As the West's raw-material appendage	40	33
As a potential military opponent, a nuclear state	12	30
As a backwards, unpredictable and aggressive country	17	27
As a place of profitable investment	24	20
As a country whose people come and throw money about	14	19
As a "free hunting" territory where there's no law for those with money	20	18
As a source of "brains" for western companies and research centers	25	17
As a great state, the cradle of a rich culture	8	12
As a neighbor and partner they have to strengthen and deepen ties with	15	10
As a country flooding Europe with unwanted migrants	9	6
As a country controlled by the KGB	4	6
Difficult to answer	12	10

N=1600

Table 23.31

How do you think Russia perceives European countries?

	2006 December	2015 August
As a potential aggressor, united by NATO military block	8	23
As an example in everything about high living standards	29	20
As a center of cultural and historical values	10	12
As an attractive place for work and potential migration for Russians	23	16
As the main trade partner	24	24
As the proxy of US policy on the Eurasian continent	7	23
As neighbors and partners that we need to strengthen and deepen ties with	32	28
Difficult to answer	16	13

N=1600

Table 23.32

How do you think Western people perceive V. Putin?

	2007 March	2015 June
As a long-sighted, peaceful and responsible politician	31	19
As a principled defender of Russia's national interests	26	39
As an authoritarian leader who eliminated the rudiments of democracy in Russia	10	23
As a careful and pragmatic statesman	25	21
As a former KGB agent	21	19
Difficult to answer	11	12

N=1600

Table 23.33

Do you think western leaders respect V. Putin?

	2007 March	2015 June
Definitely yes	31	24
More like yes	55	51
More like no	5	14
Definitely no	1	2
Difficult to answer	9	10

N=1600

Table 23.34

What is the attitude towards Russia in the west, in your opinion?

	2000 August	2005 December	2006 December	2007 July	2014 July	2015 February
Respect	8	7	13	20	22	8
Sympathy	24	16	14	9	5	4
Alarm	12	13	12	12	18	20
Contempt	21	16	14	11	15	21
Fear	5	7	6	7	13	19
No particular attitude	19	32	28	27	19	14
Difficult to answer	13	9	13	14	8	13

N=1600

Table 23.35

What does the majority of people in Russia feel about the western countries, in your opinion?

	2000 August	2005 December	2006 December	2007 July	2014 July	2015 February
Respect	34	30	40	32	24	19
Sympathy	3	2	2	3	5	9
Alarm	10	13	11	10	19	18
Contempt	3	5	2	5	7	6
Fear	4	3	2	2	4	3
No particular feelings	35	39	34	38	33	33
Difficult to answer	11	7	10	9	8	12

N=1600

Table 23.36

Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that western countries pursue a hostile policy towards Russia now?

	2014 December	2015 October
Definitely agree	53	32
Rather agree	34	50
Rather disagree	6	10
Definitely disagree	2	2
Difficult to answer	7	6
<i>Number of respondents</i>	800	1600

Table 23.37

How does the hostile policy of western countries towards Russia manifest in your opinion?

	2014 December	2015 October
Sanctions against Russia's economy, business	51	55
An informational war is being waged against Russia	42	44
Attempts to gain control of Russia's economy and natural resources	40	35
Forcing Russia out of the post-soviet space and establishing control over the former USSR republics and former socialist countries	31	32
Attempts to replace Putins' regime with another, more manageable for them	31	31
Sanctions against the country's top leadership	30	27
Attempts to force foreign values, culture, way of thinking, customs on the Russian population	25	26
Preparation for a large scale war to repartition the world taking place, military bases are being built in proximity to Russian borders	23	21
Supporting the opposition and independent non-governmental organizations that criticize Putin	12	20
Difficult to answer	1	2

N=1600

Table 23.38

Do you think that relations between Russia and the West...

	1994* V	1999* XI	2002 IV	2003 V	2004 III	2005 VI	2006 IV	2008 X	2014 IX	2015 VI
They can be truly friendly	60	52	39	39	44	44	35	34	26	24
They will always be built on mistrust	38	38	51	47	42	42	54	52	64	62
Difficult to answer	2	10	11	14	14	14	11	14	10	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	3000	3000	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800

The question was asked in the following way: "Which of the statements do you relate to most closely: relations between Russia and the west can be truly friendly, or relations between Russia and the west will always be based on mistrust?"

The following options were totaled: "completely agree with first statement" and "mostly agree with first statement," "mostly agree with second statement" and "completely agree with second statement."

Table 23.39

What is the main reason behind the West's reaction to the events in the Crimea and Ukraine in your opinion?

Hostile attitude towards Russia, the desire to seize the moment to pressure Russia	49
Lack of understanding of the real situation in Ukraine	26
Disapproval of the annexation of sovereign territory by Russia, a breach of international law.	17
Difficult to answer	8

2015, October; N=1600

Table 23.40

What do western countries want to achieve first of all by toughening sanctions against Russia in your opinion?

	2014		2015		
	September	December	February	June	October
To weaken and humiliate Russia	71	72	72	66	69
To restore the geopolitical balance broken by the annexation of the Crimea to Russia	18	14	17	21	17
To stop the war, destruction and loss of life in the east of Ukraine	4	6	7	5	6
Difficult to answer	8	7	5	8	7
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.41

What kind of policy towards the western countries would you rather support?

	1997	1999	2014	2015	
	April	November	November	March	July
Further deepening of economical, political, cultural ties with western countries, closer relations	67	69	57	60	50
Cutting ties, relations, distancing from western countries	16	13	30	29	37
Difficult to answer	17	18	13	11	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

GERMANY

Table 23.42

What's your attitude to Germans now?

	2005 June	2015 May
Sympathy, interest	10	7
Indifference, just like about any others, no particular feeling	78	72
Annoyance, Dislike	6	8
Distrust, fear	4	7
Difficult to answer	2	5

N=1600

Table 23.43

How would you evaluate the relationship between Russia and Germany in general?

	2008 V	2008 VIII	2009 XI	2015 V	2015 X
Friendly	9	8	9	3	3
Good, good-neighborly	26	28	24	6	7
Normal, stable	50	46	49	39	30
Chilly	7	10	10	33	38
Tense	1	2	2	12	15
Hostile	0.3	1	1	2	3
Difficult to answer	7	5	5	7	4

N=1600

Table 23.44

How do you feel about the unification of Germany that took place in 1989?

Entirely positively	15
Rather positively	33
Rather negatively	11
Entirely negatively	3
Don't care	28
Difficult to answer	10

2015, October; N=1600

EUROPEAN UNION

Diagram 23.1

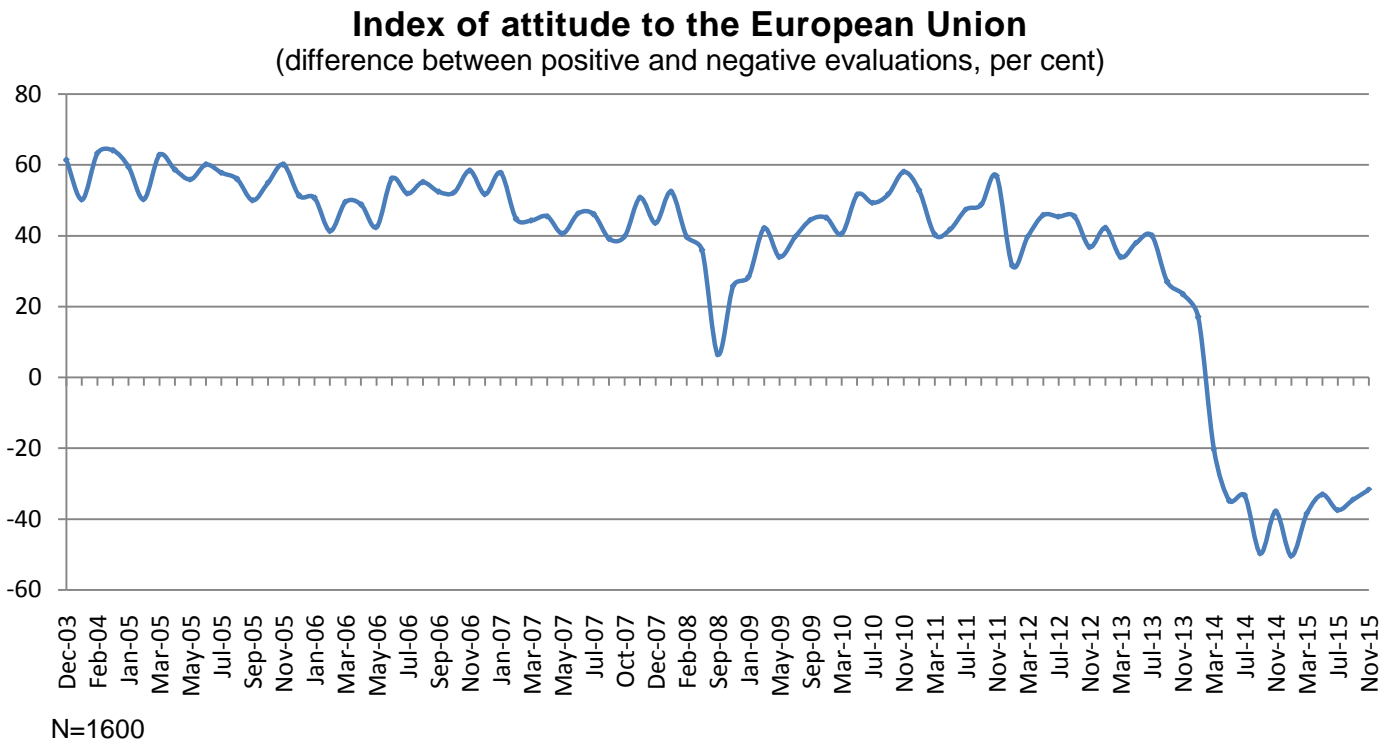


Table 23.45

How would you evaluate the relationship between Russia and EU (European Union) in general?

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007	2008	2009	2013	2014			2015	
	XII	X	X	VIII	II	IX	VIII	VIII	I	I	III	IX	I	X
Friendly	6	7	8	6	5	5	4	6	4	3	3	1	<1	1
Good, good-neighborly	22	14	13	16	13	11	9	13	14	9	4	2	3	1
Normal, stable	49	46	44	50	49	45	40	47	44	36	25	3	5	7
Chilly	9	20	20	14	18	21	28	22	24	34	31	25	21	32
Tense	1	4	4	3	4	7	9	4	4	9	27	50	41	42
Hostile	1	1	1	<1	1	1	2	1	1	1	5	16	24	12
Difficult to answer	12	8	10	11	10	10	8	7	10	8	6	4	6	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800	800

Table 23.46

How important is it, in your opinion, to establish a visa-free regime between the European Union and Russia?

Very important	6
Rather important	42
Not very important	25
Completely unimportant	12
Difficult to answer	15

2013, December; N=1600

Table 23.47

Do you consider yourself to be an European?*

	1999 III	2006 XII	2007 I	2008 I	2013 III
Yes	30	21	34	32	25
No	54	71	54	59	68
Difficult to answer	16	8	12	9	7

* - in 1999 and 2007 the question was formulated as «Do you feel yourself an European? Do you feel that you are part of the culture and history of the European community?»
N=1600

Table 23.48

Do you think Russia should strive to be reinstated as part of the “Group of eight” of the most powerful countries of the world whose leaders meet all the time to discuss world problems?

Yes	49
No	29
Difficult to answer	22

2015, January; N=800

Table 23.49

Would you like Russia to join European Union in near future?

Certainly yes	2
Rather yes	19
Rather no	33
Certainly no	20
Difficult to answer	26

2014, April; N=1600

USA AND IRAQ

Table 23.50

In your opinion, was it right or wrong of the US to engage its military against Saddam Hussein in Iraq 10 years ago?

Right	14
Wrong	55
Difficult to answer	32

2013, April; N=1600

Table 23.51

In your opinion, do the people of Iraq now live better or worse than during the reign of Saddam Hussein?

Much better	2
Somewhat better	7
Neither better nor worse	28
Somewhat worse	15
Considerably worse	14
Difficult to answer	35

2013, April; N=1600

Table 23.52

Will the United States continue with the policy of ousting regimes they consider «undemocratic» by military means?

Certainly yes	22
Probably	45
Probably no	9
Certainly no	2
Difficult to answer	22

2013, April; N=1600

RUSSIA – THE USA

Diagram 23.2

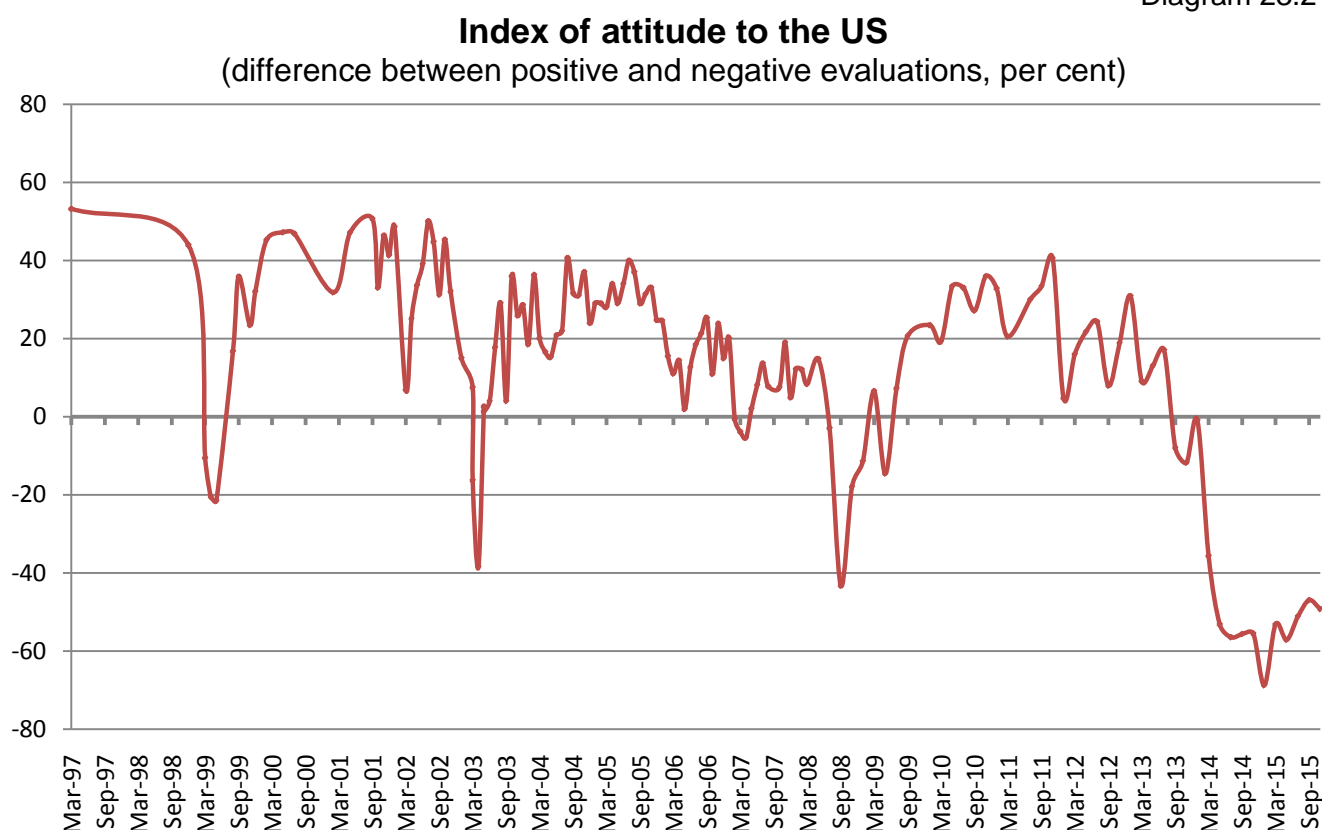


Table 23.53

Choose from the list three or four definitions most suitable for the US?
(answers are ranked based on the first)

	2010 October	2003 April	2015 February
Rich country	61	48	16
Seeks to get hold of all the world's riches	40	62	57
Strong military power	51	43	17
Arrogantly intervenes in other countries' affairs, imposes its rules and values on them	51	61	56
Democratic country	19	10	4
Country of social inequality, exploitation	8	5	8
World's leader of science and technology progress	17	11	5
Spreads profit-seeking and greed, bad taste, immorality	15	18	16
Russia's ally in combating world terrorism	17	10	2
Supports reactionary regimes and terrorism in various countries	4	5	19
Safeguards peace on Earth	3	1	1
Deadly enemy of developing (Arab, Moslem, African, Latin American) countries	11	15	25
Russia's main military and political opponent	18	17	34
Difficult to answer	2	1	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800

Table 23.54

How would you generally describe the current relations between Russia and the United States of America?

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008		2009	2013	2014			2015	
	IX	VIII	X	VIII	X	VIII	IX	V	VIII	VIII	I	I	III	IX	I	X
Friendly	7	6	8	6	12	8	8	10	4	8	8	4	2	2	1	<1
Good, neighborly	13	16	14	15	9	9	7	10	2	11	7	4	4	1	1	1
Normal, stable	42	45	46	45	39	43	36	38	16	42	25	31	14	2	2	4
Chilly	25	20	18	21	25	24	27	27	39	26	38	40	30	11	13	18
Tense	8	6	8	7	10	8	14	8	28	7	15	13	35	43	37	45
Hostile	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	8	2	2	4	12	39	42	29
Difficult to answer	4	6	4	5	3	6	5	6	4	4	5	4	4	3	4	3

N=1600

Table 23.55

What is your attitude to the Americans in general?

	2000	2000	2001	2001	2002	2003	2004	2006	2009	2013	2014	2015
	II	V	V	IX	V	III	III	X	V	VI	IX	IX
Totally positive	12	15	11	10	8	7	12	6	4	9	3	5
Rather positive	66	63	71	72	69	68	65	69	64	49	39	48
Rather negative	8	8	8	9	13	14	11	14	17	24	27	24
Extremely negative	2	2	1	1	3	4	3	2	5	7	9	8
Difficult to answer	12	12	9	8	7	7	8	9	10	11	21	15

N=1600

Table 23.56

After Barack Obama replaced George Bush as president of the USA, how did relations change between Russia and the USA?

	2009 June	2014 October
Significantly improved	4	1
Improved somewhat	25	8
Stayed the same	57	16
Worsened somewhat	4	31
Significantly worsened	<1	36
Difficult to answer	11	8

N=1600

Table 23.57

Do you think the United States is trying to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia?

	2007 April	2015 February
Yes, very actively	32	56
Yes, somewhat	48	37
No, it doesn't	12	4
Difficult to answer	8	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 23.58

What role does the United States of America have in the modern world?

	2008 VII	2012 IX	2013 IX
Generally positive	12	10	10
Generally negative	53	43	50
Sometimes positive and sometimes negative	25	33	29
Neither positive nor negative / neutral	3	5	3
Difficult to answer	7	9	8

N=1600

Table 23.59

Which of the following statements you would rather agree with?

	2008 VII	2009 V	2012 IX	2013 IX
The US hypocritically tries to make other countries follow the International Law, although the US does not always comply	76	76	67	71
The US is a good role model for other countries because they always comply with the International Law	10	13	14	11
Difficult to answer	15	12	19	18

N=1600

Table 23.60

At the inter-government level, does the US usually treat Russia with respect or tries to put pressure on Russia to make it do what the US wants?

	2008 VII	2009 V	2012 IX	2013 IX
Treat with respect	19	12	17	12
Put pressure	69	75	68	71
Difficult to answer	12	13	15	17
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 23.61

Regarding Russia's foreign policy within the next few years, you think, Russian government should ...

	2003 II	2010 II	2010 II	2011 I	2012 II	2013 IV	2014 IV
Move closer to the US	24	16	14	20	15	12	14
Keep a distance in it's relations with the US	38	39	36	33	39	43	48
Maintain the existing relations with the US	29	33	40	34	34	31	26
Difficult to answer	10	12	11	12	12	14	12

N=1600

Table 23.62

Do you think there's currently a threat to the safety of other countries of the world from the United States of America?

	2006 March	2007 March	2015 February
Definitely yes	31	37	29
More like yes	42	39	48
More like no	13	12	11
Definitely no	3	3	2
Difficult to answer	11	9	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800

Table 23.63

What is the danger of the United States of America to other countries?
(% of those who consider the US a threat)

	2006 March	2007 March	2015 February
The very fact of their military power, which surpasses that of any other state	32	30	25
Their desire to dominate the world's economy	58	43	64
Their desire to push their way of life, democracy American style.	33	33	25
Financing subversive activities in various countries under the guise of supporting NGOs	17	19	31
Spreading their culture with its images of sex and violence	21	26	14
The possibility of using nuclear weapons first	17	16	16
Their alliance with Israel	4	5	2
NATO expansion and the desire to spread their influence onto former USSR republics	32	31	41
The possibility of military attack on Russia	9	13	17
The possibility of a USA-China conflict	4	7	3
Difficult to answer	4	2	2

N=1600

Table 23.64

Do you think the USA poses any threat for Russia now?

	2007 V	2015 IV	2015 VII
Definitely yes	16	19	23
Yes, rather than no	31	40	37
No, rather than yes	32	26	27
Definitely no	10	6	6
Difficult to answer	11	9	7

N=1600

Table 23.65

What kind of threat does the United States pose for Russia now?
(% of those who answered «Yes»)

	2007 IV	2015 IV	2015 VII
Possibility of military invasion, occupation	21	31	31
Establishing control over Russian economy	51	40	48
Establishing control over the political course of the country	38	24	31
Creating obstacles for the development of Russia	39	48	54
Imposing alien ideas and values on Russia	44	36	42
Difficult to answer	3	1	1

N=1600

Table 23.66

Do you think V. Putin could order the Russian military to use nuclear weapons first in case of a war with the West?

Very likely	7
Quite possible	25
Unlikely	42
Out of the question	13
Difficult to answer	14

2015, April; N=1600

Table 23.67

Does V. Putin's declaration about readiness to use nuclear weapons scare you?

1 Doesn't scare at all	25
2	14
3	21
4	17
5 Scares a lot	16

2015, October; N=1600

EDWARD SNOWDEN

Table 23.68

How do you feel about Edward Snowden revealing the existence of wiretapping of telephones and monitoring of e-mails by the U.S. special services of political and public figures in Europe and other parts of the world?

Positively	15
Rather positively	36
Rather negatively	14
Very negatively	3
Difficult to answer	32

2013, July; N=1600

Table 23.69

Should Russia provide political asylum for Edward Snowden?

Certainly yes	13
Probably yes	30
Probably no	19
Certainly no	10
Difficult to answer	28

2013, July; N=1600

KOREA

Table 23.70

How do you feel about North Korea in general?

Very favourably	3
Generally, favourably	46
Generally, not favourably	21
Not favourably at all	5
Difficult to answer	26

2013, March; N=1600

Table 23.71

How do you feel about South Korea in general?

Very favourably	3
Generally, favourably	54
Generally, not favourably	15
Not favourably at all	3
Difficult to answer	25

2013, March; N=1600

Table 23.72

Who, in your opinion, is responsible for the current heightened tensions on the Korean Peninsula?

The leadership of the US	24
The leadership of North Korea	18
The leadership of China	10
The government of South Korea	4
Other influences	5
Difficult to answer	39

2013, March; N=1600

Table 23.73

How do you feel about the leadership of North Korea's appeals to prepare for victorious wars and threats to use nuclear arms against South Korea and the USA?

Fears that it could become a reason for a big war	26
Apprehension about the rise of the tensions in the region	24
Irritation with the North Korean leadership threat for losing a sense of reality	13
Puzzlement, incomprehension	10
No special feelings, do not pay it any attention	14
Difficult to answer	14

2013, March; N=1600

CHINA

Diagram 23.3

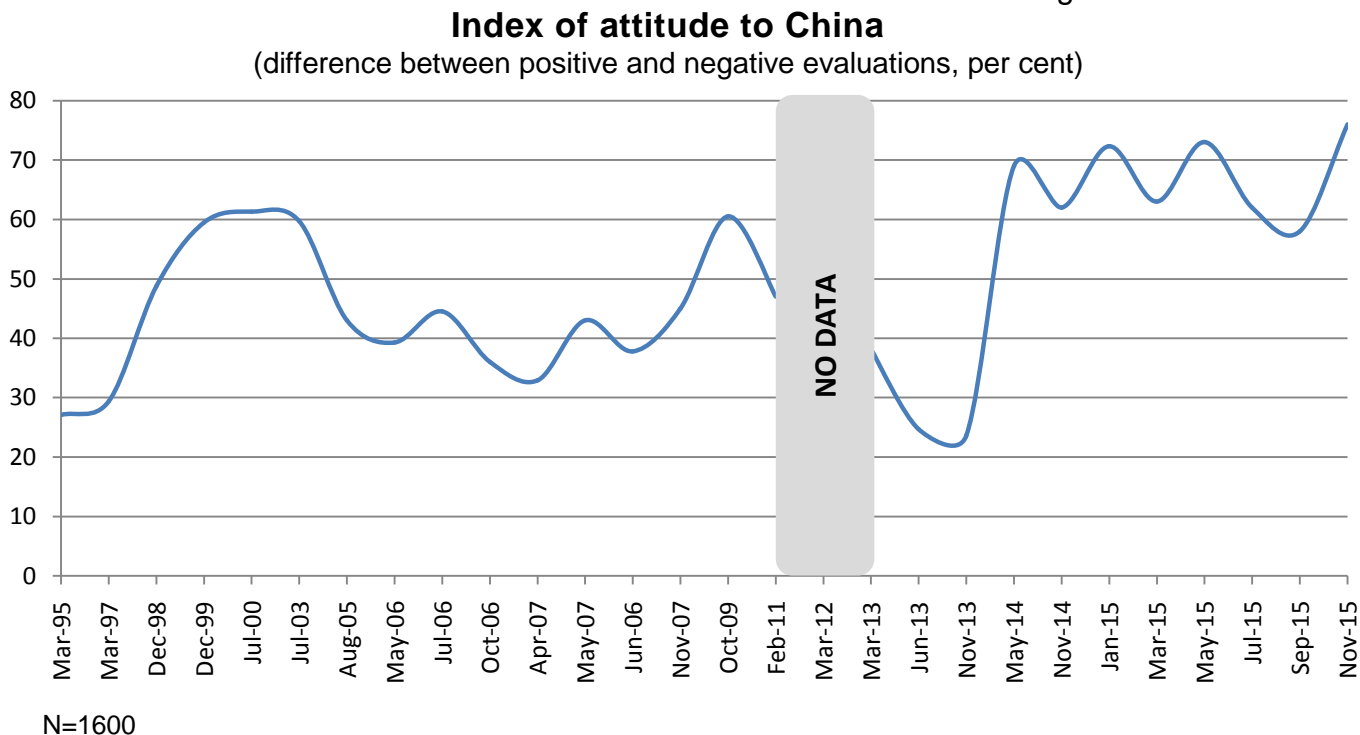


Table 23.74

How would you describe today's relationship between Russia and China in general?

	2014 September	2015 October
Friendly	19	19
Good, neighborly	25	26
Normal, peaceful	35	42
Cool	9	6
Tense	7	2
Hostile	1	<1
Difficult to answer	4	4
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.75

Speaking of China's policy towards Russia, how did it influence the situation in Russia in the last few years?

	2010 February	2012 April	2012 October	2014 November	2015	
					March	July
Very positively	3	2	3	19	8	9
Rather positively	34	29	27	25	48	49
Rather negatively	17	22	25	35	9	11
Very negatively	4	6	8	9	4	5
No influence	21	17	14	7	13	11
Difficult to answer	22	25	23	4	18	15

N=1600

JAPAN

Table 23.76

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

	2008 V	2014 IX	2015 X
Friendly	7	4	4
Good, neighborly	15	6	11
Normal, stable	49	28	31
Chilly	13	33	31
Tense	3	18	11
Hostile	1	4	3
Difficult to answer	12	8	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	1600

ISRAEL

Table 23.77

What is your overall attitude to Israel now?

	2003 VIII	2006 III	2008 V	2011 II	2012 V	2012 VII	2014			2015 I
							V	VII	XI	
Very good	7	3	4	7	4	6	7	6	5	6
Mostly good	58	43	52	63	57	56	55	46	55	52
Mostly bad	13	24	20	13	14	16	9	14	16	13
Very bad	4	7	4	2	3	3	2	8	5	4
Difficult to answer	19	22	20	15	22	20	26	26	19	24
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800

WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

Table 23.78

Do you think that joining the World Trade Organization benefits or harms our country?

Benefits	23
Harms	42
Difficult to answer	35

2013, August; N=800

NATO

Table 23.79

What do you think if European countries include in NATO have any reasons to beware of Russia?

	1997 IV	2000 VIII	2001 II	2002 II	2006 IV	2007 IV	2008 VIII	2014 III	2015 XI
Definitely yes	11	8	8	7	9	7	12	14	13
Yes, rather than no	16	20	16	22	25	21	21	30	26
No, rather than yes	32	38	40	38	37	33	36	30	30
Definitely no	27	19	25	20	20	24	24	15	21
Difficult to answer	13	14	12	14	9	15	8	10	10
<i>Numbers of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.80

What do you think if Russia has any reasons to beware of European countries include in NATO?

	1997 IV	1999 V	2000 VIII	2001 II	2002 II	2006 IV	2007 IV	2008 VIII	2011 III	2014 III	2015 XI
Definitely yes	26	27	16	25	14	15	14	23	21	17	16
Yes, rather than no	34	36	38	33	42	43	35	39	42	45	38
No, rather than yes	18	22	25	22	23	26	27	21	21	22	26
Definitely no	10	7	7	8	7	8	8	8	3	5	10
Difficult to answer	13	10	14	13	14	9	16	10	12	11	11

THE UNITED NATION ORGANIZATION

Table 23.81

How important of a role do you think the UN plays in the modern world?

Very important	11
Rather important	36
Not too important	27
It plays almost no role	10
Difficult to answer	15

2015 , September, N=800

Table 23.82

Do you agree with the opinion that Russia has to be prepared to follow the UN policy in resolving international matters even if UN decisions don't fully fit with Russia's interests?

Agree	24
Disagree	47
Difficult to answer	29

2015 , September, N=800

THE ARREST OF GREENPEACE ACTIVISTS

Table 23.83

In your opinion, what is «Greenpeace»?

Environmental protection organization, which often uses controversial methods in their struggle for the protection of the environment	54
It is a lobbying business structure which, under the guise of environmental slogans, is trying to eliminate the competition for those who sponsor it	28
Difficult to answer	19

2013, October; N=1600

Table 23.84

How do you feel about the activities of the members of “Greenpeace” organizing worldwide massive actions to protect the environment?

With approval	18
With interest	32
With condemnation	14
With indignation	8
Difficult to answer	28

2013, October; N=1600

Table 23.85

Have you heard about the arrest of the activists from “Greenpeace” trying to board an oil platform in the Barents Sea in protest against polluting the Arctic because by the oil production in the region?

Follow it carefully on Internet and the media	10
Know about it only in general terms	38
Remember something about it but not the gist of it	15
Have not heard anything about it	35
Difficult to answer	3

2013, October; N=1600

Table 23.86

Which of the following statements about the arrest and prosecution of activists from “Greenpeace” on the charges of piracy brought against them by Murmansk prosecutor's office would you rather agree with? (in % of those who have heard about it)

It is justified, they created a real danger for the safety of the platform and the working conditions on it	26
It is justified, the Arctic is a zone of Russia's national interests and it should be protected by all means	30
It is not justified, it was not a crime but a peaceful form of protest of environmentalists against polluting the environment	15
It is not justified, Russian law enforcement agencies only protect the interests of Russian oil oligarchs who don't care about the preservation of the environment or public health	12
Difficult to answer	17

2013, October; N=1600

“ISLAMIC STATE”² AND SYRIA

Table 23.87

Do you think that the so-called "Islamic state" on the border of Syria and Iraq poses a threat to regional and international security?

Absolutely	23
Mostly yes	32
Mostly no	15
Definitely not	5
This is the first time I've heard about it	9
Difficult to answer	17

2014, September, N=1600

Table 23.88

Do you approve of the missile strikes, conducted by the United States, against strategic sites facilities under control of the "Islamic state"?

Absolutely	8
Mostly yes	15
Mostly no	21
Definitely not	33
This is the first time I've heard about it	8
Difficult to answer	15

2014, September, N=1600

Table 23.89

Do you follow the events in Syria and if so, how closely?

	2013		2015		
	VI	IX	IX	X	XI
I follow the events very carefully	8	16	15	25	25
I know a little about the latest developments in Syria, but I do not follow them closely	52	57	54	64	64
I do not know about the latest developments in Syria	39	27	30	11	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>

Table 23.90

With which of the following opinions on the confrontation between the regime and the opposition in Syria would you agree with most?

	2012 III	2013 VI	2013 IX	2014 IX	2015 IX
Bashar al-Assad's regime is conducting a bloody massacre of those who oppose him	6	6	7	6	7
Terrorists, encouraged by the West, are waging a bloody battle with the country's legitimate government	28	26	38	40	35
There is a civil war in Syria	29	37	39	26	30
It is difficult to say	37	31	17	28	28

² The operation of Islamic State (ISIS) is prohibited in Russian Federation.

Table 23.91

In what ways will the scenario of this political conflict in Syria evolve?

	2011 VIII	2012 II	2013 VI	2013 IX	2014 IX
US and NATO will interfere in the conflict on the side of the opposition	21	28	22	20	23
There will be a long and drawn-out/prolonged civil war	18	18	19	15	21
The Syrian authorities will crack down on the opposition	5	6	12	14	7
The authorities and the opposition will find a compromise through mediation between the parties and the international community	11	14	11	9	7
The opposition will win	4	6	3	1	2
I know nothing about this	21	16	15	27	14
It is difficult to say	27	23	23	16	29

N=1600

Table 23.92

Which side do you sympathize with in the current Syrian conflict?

	2012	2013		2015
	XI	VI	IX	IX
Bashar Assad's government	11	19	25	26
Insurgents	9	7	6	8
Neither side	52	51	33	44
Difficult to answer	28	24	13	22

N=800

Table 23.93

Would you support a military operation in Syria, similar to a military campaign in Libya last year, in order protect the civilians in Syria?

	2012		2013	
	III	VII	VI	IX
Definitely yes	3	3	4	2
Rather yes	9	15	18	10
Rather no	20	27	22	22
Definitely not	25	22	18	21
Difficult to answer	44	34	38	18

N=1600

Table 23.94

What stance should Russia take now towards the Syrian government accused of human rights violation and brutal repression of opposition by the West?

	2012		2013	
	II	VII	VI	IX
Syria is historically one of Russia's allies and Russia should support Syria in the standoff with the West	23	29	21	27
Because of the human rights violations in Syria, Russia should support the sanctions the West is proposing against Syria	13	14	11	6
Russia should not support any side in a standoff between Syria and the West, but should try to gain maximum benefits from it	29	28	34	23
Difficult to answer	35	29	34	17

N=1600

Table 23.95

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

	2015	
	October	October
Russia should join the western coalition to fight against ISIS and Bashar Al-Assad's regime	8	7
Russia should support Bashar Al-Assad in his struggle against ISIS and the Syrian opposition	47	50
Russia shouldn't interfere in these military conflicts at all	28	23
I don't know anything about it	8	7
Difficult to answer	10	14

N=1600

Table 23.96

Do you think Russia should provide the Syrian government with...

	Definitely yes	More like yes	More like no	Definitely no	Difficult to answer
...political and diplomatic support					
September 2015	24	43	12	8	14
October 2015	31	43	8	7	10
...humanitarian aid...					
September 2015	18	37	16	13	15
October 2015	20	39	18	11	13
...military technical support (consulting, weapons)-					
September 2015	16	27	26	15	17
October 2015	23	39	13	12	13
...economic aid					
September 2015	13	28	25	15	20
October 2015	16	32	24	15	14
.....direct military support (airstrikes)					
October 2015	21	33	14	17	15
...direct military support (send troops)					
September 2015	6	8	30	39	18
October 2015	7	12	29	37	16
...welcome and aid refugees					
September 2015	4	17	30	27	22
October 2015	7	17	29	31	17

N=1600

Table 23.97

Are you interested in Russia’s policy in Syria and if so do you approve of it?

	2015	
	September	October
Fully approve	11	15
Rather approve	28	38
Rather disapprove	8	15
Definitely disapprove	3	7
I don’t care about Russia’s policy in Syria	33	18
Difficult to answer	17	8

N=1600

Table 23.98

What goals does Russia’s government pursue by cooperating with B. Al-Assad in your opinion?

(% of those who’re interested in Russia’s policy regarding Syria)

Protecting Russia’s interests in the Middle East, insuring the safety of Russian companies in the region	30
Trying to strengthen Russia’s position in the world, it’s authority and independence from the West	28
Preventing the spread of ISIS and radical Islam in the world, defending Russia’s southern borders	22
Defending the last of the pro-Russian regimes in the Middle East	19
Protecting Syria’s populace from Islamic terrorists and extremists	14
Difficult to answer	19

2015, September; N=1600

Table 23.99

What goals do you think Russia’s government pursues by participating in the war in Syria?

	2015	
	October	November
Protecting the economic interests of Russian companies in the Middle East	18	16
Trying to neutralize and eliminate the threat of Islamic radicals and terrorists bringing the military action to Russian soil	47	49
Defending B. Al-Assad’s regime in order to prevent a chain of “color revolutions” provoked by the US all over the world	29	24
Supporting B. Al-Assad’s regime in its struggle with the opposition since it’s afraid of sedition itself	15	11
Trying to break up the coalition of western countries in order to minimize the threat of full isolation of Russia and further toughening of sanctions	13	8
Trying to distract Russia’s populace from the economic crisis, the authorities’ inability to overcome the welfare decline, corruption and incompetence	7	5
I don’t understand why Russia participates in this war	17	15
Difficult to answer	8	8

N=1600

Table 23.100

Do you think the US and western countries on the one hand and Russia and the Syrian authorities on the other will manage to find common ground regarding the reconciliation in Syria?

	2015	
	2-5 October	23-27 October
Definitely yes	5	4
More like yes	44	35
More like no	25	29
Definitely no	5	6
Difficult to answer	21	26

N=1600

Table 23.101

How do you feel about the airstrikes against ISIS forces in Syria by Russia's air force?

	2015	
	September	October
Entirely positively	31	21
Rather positively	41	34
Rather negatively	10	19
Entirely negatively	4	8
Difficult to answer	14	19

N=1600

Table 23.102

Do you support the decision of the Federation Council permitting the use of Russian troops abroad?

Definitely yes	10
More like yes	36
More like no	21
Definitely no	12
Don't know anything about it	13
Difficult to answer	9

2015, October; N=1600

Table 23.103

Do you think it's possible that Russia's military participation in the Syrian conflict could become another Afghanistan for Russia?

	2015	
	2-5 October	23-27 October
This is without a doubt what will happen	7	6
Quite likely	39	29
Unlikely	32	41
Out of the question	6	9
I don't care about it	4	3
Difficult to answer	13	13

N=1600

Table 23.104

Have you heard reports of Russian citizens participating in ISIS actions in Syria and if so are you concerned about it?

Very concerned	14
Somewhat concerned	27
Not too concerned	12
Not concerned at all	5
Haven't heard anything about Russian citizens participating in ISIS actions	35
Difficult to answer	8

2015, September; N=800

Table 23.105

Whose positions do Russian air forces perform airstrikes against?

ISIS	48
Syrian opposition	13
Both	21
Difficult to answer	19

2015, October; N=1600

Table 23.106

Do you think the information about victims of Russian airstrikes among Syrian civilians which is being spread by western media is true?

Definitely yes	5
More like yes	17
More like no	31
Definitely no	22
Difficult to answer	25

2015, October; N=1600

Table 23.107

What good do you think could Russia's military operation in Syria bring Russia?

Lessening of the terrorist threat to Russia from ISIS	40
Strengthening Russia's authority in the Middle East/on the international arena	34
Normalization of the situation, cessation of the bloodshed in Syria	22
Combat tests of Russian military equipment	14
Russia's economic interests in Syria will be protected	13
Improvement of relations with the US and other western countries	3
Don't see anything good for Russia in it	18
Difficult to answer	10

2015, October; N=1600

Table 23.108

How do you think can the Russian military operation in Syria harm Russia?

Taking away the money necessary for Russia's economy and resolving social problems	41
Casualties among Russian soldiers during the operation proper and as a result of terrorist attacks on them	39
Russia will get bogged down in this conflict for a long time and won't be able to extricate itself for a while	18
Greater terrorist threat to Russia from ISIS and other radical Islamic groups	17
Deterioration of relations with the US and other western countries	11
Deterioration of relations with Turkey, Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries	8
Deepening, protraction of the bloodshed in Syria	7
Loss of respect Russia in the Middle East	5
Don't see any harm for Russia in it	11
Difficult to answer	10

2015, October, N=1600

Table 23.109

Do you think major clashes of Russian military forces and ISIS outside of Russia are possible in the next ten years?

Yes	59
No	22
Difficult to answer	19

2015, November; N=800

Table 23.110

Do you think major clashes of Russian military forces and ISIS inside Russia are possible in the next ten years?

Yes	33
No	46
Difficult to answer	21

2015, November; N=800

Table 23.111

How would you feel about a boots on the ground operation by Russian troops in Syria?

Entirely positively	9
Rather positively	23
Rather negatively	32
Entirely negatively	21
Don't know anything about it/ Difficult to answer	15

2015, November; N=1600

PLANE CRASH IN EGYPT

Table 23.112

Have you heard about the crash of a Russian plane in Egypt which caused the death of the 224 people on board?

Keep careful track of it and the events that followed	47
Heard a lot about it	47
Heard something about it but don't know what it is really about	5
First time I heard about it	1

2015, November; N=1600

Table 23.113

What caused the crash of the Russian plane in Egypt in your opinion? (% of those who've heard about the plane crashing in Egypt)

Technical reasons (improper repairs and service, bad fuel etc)	20
Pilot mistakes	5
Terrorist attack on board	57
Difficult to answer	19

2015, November; N=1600

Table 23.114

Why didn't V. Putin made any public announcements about the plane crash in Egypt for two days in your opinion? (% of those who've heard about the Russian plane crashing in Egypt)

He didn't have full info about what happened	40
He didn't want to admit the possibility it was a terrorist attack by ISIS in retaliation to Russian airstrikes in Syria	22
He was busy with other state matters	11
He made an announcement only after the media paid a lot of attention to the crash	8
Difficult to answer	19

2015, November; N=1600

Table 23.115

Why do you think Russian leaders try to avoid discussing the connection of this catastrophe with Russian airstrikes in Syria?

(% of those who've heard about the crash of the Russian plane in Egypt)

The authorities are afraid that the approval levels of V. Putin who made the decision to start the airstrikes might plummet	22
V.Putin wants to wait for objective investigation conclusions and to not allow any political speculation on the matter	62
Difficult to answer	17

2015, November; N=1600

Table 23.116

Do you think V. Putin should have addressed the nation and expressed condolences to the families of the deceased right after the crash?

(% of those who've heard about the crash of the Russian plane in Egypt)

Definitely yes	37
Probably yes	36
It's not necessary	10
There was absolutely no need	4
Difficult to answer	12

2015, November; N=1600

Table 23.117

Who do you think bears the most political and moral responsibility for the terrorist attack on the Russian plane in Egypt?

(% of those who've heard about the terrorist attack)

Airport security who failed to prevent it	32
Egyptian special services who failed to prevent it	25
Nobody but the terrorists who committed it/terrorist organizations they belong to bears responsibility for it	11
The USA	8
Western special services who contributed to the creation of radical Islamic organizations, using them to overthrow regimes in Middle and Near East and Northern African countries	7
Russian authorities who began the airstrikes on Syria thus dragging Russia into the war on ISIS	7
Russian special services who failed to prevent it	4
Difficult to answer	6

2015, November; N=1600

TURKEY

Table 23.118

Who do you think is the most to blame for the downing of the Russian plane participating in the military operation in Syria by the Turkish fighter jets?

Turkey's administration, president Erdogan	56
US authorities and NATO which oppose Russia in Syria	25
Turkish pilots	17
Russian authorities who sent troops to Syria	7
Russian pilots who have breached Turkey's airspace	3
Nobody is to blame, it's an accident that could happen in times of military action	5
Difficult to answer	9

2015, December; N=1600

Table 23.119

Do you personally think that the retaliation for the Russian plane downed by Turkish pilots is adequate or not?

Pretty adequate	49
Rather adequate	32
Rather inadequate	8
Totally inadequate	1
Difficult to answer	9

2015, December; N=1600

Table 23.120

Why do you consider these measures inadequate?
(% of those who consider Russia's sanctions against Turkey inadequate)

These measures will have a negative impact on Russia's economy and its citizens, will exacerbate the economic crisis	43
These measures only lead to the escalation of the military conflict in Syria and could drag Russia into a protracted war	28
These measures only deepen Russia's international isolation	16
Russia has breached Turkey's airspace itself and should bear responsibility for it	9
Difficult to answer	4

2015, December; N=1600

Table 23.121

What threat does the confrontation with Turkey present to Russia?

Mutual economic and trade sanctions that the populace will suffer from	34
Further international isolation of Russia, toughening of western sanctions against Russia	14
Escalation of armed conflict, separate incidents growing into a local war	13
Military clashes between Russia and NATO troops, risk of large-scale war	10
There's no threat, Turkey presents no threat for Russia	30
Difficult to answer	8

2015, December; N=1600

Table 23.122

What do you think about the authorities insisting on Russians refusing to vacation in Turkey in retaliation for the downed Russian bomber aircraft.

I support it because Turkey was acting hostile towards Russia	42
I support it because vacationing in Turkey is dangerous now	32
I support it because Russians should vacation in their own country	9
I don't support it because there are no vacationing options in Russia with comparable quality and price	8
I don't support it because Russia breached Turkey's airspace and bears responsibility for trespassing on another state's territory	3
Difficult to answer	6

2015, December; N=1600

OLYMPICS

Table 23.123

**Are you proud of Russia holding the Winter Olympics in Sochi in 2014
and the FIFA World Cup in 2018?**

	2012 VI	2013 VI
Definitely yes	25	23
Rather yes	43	39
Rather no	16	22
Definitely no	6	7
Difficult to answer	10	10

N=1600

Table 23.124

**In your opinion, are the funds, taken from the federal budget
for the Olympic Games, being used effectively?**

Very effectively	23
Somewhat effectively	39
Not really effectively	22
Completely ineffectively	7
Just being stolen	10
Difficult to answer	23

2013, June; N=1600

Table 23.125

**Do you think that the investment of funds by Russia to prepare for such high
profile projects as the Winter Olympics in Sochi in 2014 and the FIFA World
Cup in 2018 will pay off in economic terms?**

	2011 IV	2013 VI
Certainly yes	15	11
Probably yes	34	32
Probably no	25	29
Certainly no	11	17
Difficult to answer	16	12

N=1600

Table 23.126

Do you think that Russia should spend its funds on high profile projects such as the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi, the FIFA World Cup in 2018, etc.?

	2011 IV	2013 VI
Certainly should	16	14
Probably should	36	31
Probably should not	22	29
Certainly should not	10	15
Difficult to answer	14	12

N=1600

Table 23.127

Do you think it is possible for the following events to take place during the forthcoming Winter Olympics in Sochi?

Boycotting the Olympic Games by some countries because of the infringement of the civil rights in Russia	16
Demonstrations of LGBT representatives and athletes because of the adoption of the law on banning the dissemination of information on homosexuality	13
Speeches by environmentalists against uncontrolled development of protected areas during the construction of Olympic venues	12
Acts of terrorism	25
Sure that none of these events will take place	37
Difficult to answer	18

2013, October; N=1600

24. MEMORABLE DATES

Table 24.1

Have you heard about the genocide of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1914-1923 and if so do you think back then Turkey was intentionally exterminating the Armenian nation or are the stories about it blown out of proportion?

A whole nation was indeed being exterminated back then	51
The stories about it are blown out of proportion	11
Haven't heard anything about it	22
Difficult to answer	17

2015, May; N=800

Table 24.2

Have you heard about the Holocaust and if so do you personally think that back then the Jewish nation was being intentionally exterminated in Germany and on the territories it occupied or are the stories about it blown out of proportion?

	2007 October	2015 May
A whole nation was indeed being exterminated back then	63	74
The stories about it are blown out of proportion	12	6
Haven't heard anything about it	13	8
Difficult to answer	12	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

WORLD WAR II NON-AGGRESSION PACT “MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT”

Table 24.3

Did you hear about the secret minutes at the signing of the non-aggression pact in August 1939 between fascist Germany and the USSR (“Molotov-Ribbentrop”), in which provisions are made for the division of Poland and division of spheres of influence in Europe?

	2005	2009	2010	2014	2015
A whole nation was indeed being exterminated back then	43	38	36	39	38
The stories about it are blown out of proportion	9	11	11	14	17
Haven't heard anything about it	31	39	41	33	32
Difficult to answer	17	13	12	14	12
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800

Table 24.4

Do you support or condemn the signing of the non-aggression pact between Nazi Germany and the USSR?

	2005	2009	2010	2014	2015
Definitely support	14	11	9	13	19
Somewhat support	26	23	24	32	31
Somewhat condemn	18	17	17	15	10
Definitely condemn	6	6	5	3	3
I know nothing about this/ difficult to answer	37	44	46	38	37
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800

Table 24.5

Who, in your opinion, was responsible for starting WWII?

	2013 May	2014 August
Hitler and the leadership of fascist Germany exclusively	45	59
Political mistakes and Stalin's strategic miscalculations at the end of 30s - the beginning of 40s	18	6
Stalin and Hitler's arrangement «Pact of Molotov- Ribbentrop» (The nonaggression pact between the USSR and fascist Germany)	11	10
«The Munich Agreement» of 1938 (an arrangement between Great Britain and France on annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany)	10	12
Do not know / difficult to answer	16	14

N=800

Table 24.6

Which was the main factor that gave Hitler a free hand in his plans to unleash World War II?

	2005	2010	2015
"The Munich Betrayal " (consent of Great Britain and France to Germany annexing Czechoslovakia) in1938	24	26	31
"The Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty " (Treaty of Nonaggression between the USSR and fascist Germany)	28	33	19
Undecided anything about it; difficult to answer	49	41	50
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800

Table 24.7

In your opinion, would the Soviet Union have been able to win that war without the aid of the allies?

	1991 V	1997 VI	2001 IV	2003 IV	2005 IV	2006 VI	2007 IV	2008 IV	2009 IV	2010 III	2013 VI	2014 IV	2015 III
Think so	62	71	71	67	60	65	64	64	63	57	61	69	67
Do not think so	26	21	21	26	32	28	28	26	27	30	32	22	23
Difficult to answer	12	8	8	7	8	7	8	10	10	13	7	9	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1000	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 24.8

In your opinion, what are the main outcomes of the WWII victory?

	2005	2008	2010	2013	2014	2015
Destruction of the Hitler's regime	68	74	64	69	71	70
Liberation of the European countries from Nazi occupation	54	52	49	54	63	54
Triumph of the ideas of freedom, democracy, human rights over the fascist ideology and national suppression	21	23	20	23	30	31
Peaceful development and rapprochement of European nations	23	20	22	15	14	16
Creation of socialist camp	16	17	11	14	12	15
Creation of the UN	9	12	10	7	5	8
Expansion of the Stalin regime's influence on East European Countries	7	7	4	5	4	5
Increase of the USA role in life and politics of European nations	4	3	6	3	2	4
Difficult to answer	3	4	6	3	2	3
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Table 24.9

Was the aggression of Germany against the USSR on June 22, 1941 unexpected for the leaders of the Soviet Union?

	2005 II	2010 V	2011 V	2012 V	2015 III
Definitely yes	16	23	14	16	25
Yes, rather than no	22	28	32	34	39
No, rather than yes	30	29	31	27	21
Definitely no	25	11	17	16	8
Difficult to answer	7	10	6	7	8
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 24.10

Why did the Red Army suffer of heavy losses in the first months of the Great Patriotic War?

	2005	2010	2011	2013	2014	2015	
						III	V
The Red Army suffered from the surprise attack	41	34	39	37	36	38	44
The Soviet Union did not prepare for a war not to provoke the German attack	31	28	35	33	38	37	33
The leadership of the Red Army was "decimated" after Stalin's purges of the late 30s	40	36	33	30	26	31	31
Low combat spirit of the Red Army	32	27	25	25	18	20	20
The Red Army was much worse trained and armed than the German troops	37	21	30	25	24	27	25
The USSR had not had time to adjust the economy for military needs, was not ready for the war	6	3	3	6	2	5	4
Difficult to answer	3	5	4	7	4	7	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 24.11

What would you do if a war, as in 1941, would start now?

	2012	2013
Go to the front at the call	23	29
Volunteer to go to the front	21	20
Look for an opportunity to go to one of the safest country	10	9
I probably would not go to the front at the call	26	19
Difficult to answer	20	23

N=1600

Table 24.12

In your opinion, who should get the most credits for the victory in the Great Patriotic War?

	2012	2013	2014	2016
The Soviet people	62	52	53	51
Joseph Stalin	8	6	7	9
The Communist Party and the Soviet leadership	4	5	3	4
Everybody	23	33	36	33
Nobody, this war was won miraculously	2	1	1	1
Difficult to answer	1	3	1	2

N=1600

Table 24.13

Which opinion regarding the truth about the Great Patriotic War and the responsibility of the Soviet leadership for the terrible price we paid for the victory would be more acceptable for you?

	2013 May
If we do not deal with those who are to blame for the war, why the Soviet Union was the ally of Nazi Germany on the eve of war, why the country lost millions of people in that war, we will be doomed to repeat such disasters in the future	37
No need to stir up the past, we will never learn the whole truth but must continue to live anyway	52
Do not know anything about that / Difficult to answer	12

N=800

Table 24.14

In your opinion, who is responsible for the many millions losses of our people in this war?

	2012	2013	2014	2016
Nobody except our enemy	28	37	51	47
Joseph Stalin	30	21	17	21
The Communist Party and the Soviet leadership	20	13	12	10
All the nations	6	5	1	3
Everybody	11	13	11	11
Difficult to answer	5	11	8	8

N=1600

Table 24.15

How would you react if J.Stalin's monument was opened for the anniversary of the Great Victory?

	2005	2010	2015
Completely positively	11	6	9
Most likely positively	18	18	28
Indifferent	28	28	29
Most likely negatively	19	24	16
Completely negatively	18	12	9
Difficult to answer	6	12	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 24.16

Can you say that any of your relatives ... in Great Patriotic War.

	2010 III	2015 III
Was killed	50	52
Was wounded	33	32
Went missing in action	16	20
Was taken prisoner or taken for forced labor in Germany	7	7
Was persecuted for that after the war	3	2
Stayed abroad after the war	2	1
Nothing like this ever happened	14	11
Do not know/ difficult to answer	10	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

VICTORY DAY

Table 24.17

Which of the following opinions regarding the celebration of the events in WWII is more acceptable?

Parades and celebrations are necessary for our people to remember the victory over Germany, to make them proud of our country, for our youth to grow as Russian patriots	72
Realistically, behind the loud speeches of the government officials during the great celebrations and commemorations are the indifference to veterans and to the memory of those who died in those years and the desire to ensure that people never ask about who is responsible for our sacrifices in that war	24
Do not know anything about that / Difficult to answer	4

2013, May; N=1600

Table 24.18

What do you feel about the Victory Day?

	2010 III	2015 III
I am happy that my country won the great war	39	59
Grief over millions who perished in this war	26	18
Both in equal measure	34	21
Difficult to answer	2	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 24.19

In your opinion the 9th of May is first of all...?

	2005 April	2010 March	2015 March
A state, official holiday	26	26	31
A people's holiday celebrated by the citizens of Russia and other former USSR countries	27	31	31
A holiday of the war veterans	25	23	16
A holiday of all the countries in the anti-Hitler coalition	10	8	11
A holiday of all the peoples in the world, including the countries that opposed us in that war.	12	8	10
Difficult to answer	1	3	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 24.20

What is the May 9th holiday for you?
(answers are ranked)

	2013 May	2015 May
The day of victory of the Soviet people over German Nazism	59	67
The day of victory of the USSR (Russia) over Germany	15	15
A day to commemorate all the friends and family that died in the war	11	7
The day of victory of the anti-Hitler coalition countries over Nazi Germany	4	4
A day of mourning those who died in the great Patriotic War	6	4
A day to commemorate victims of Nazism	4	3
Difficult to answer	1	1

N=800

Table 24.21

What do you think is the main point of the 9th of May parade?
(answers are ranked)

To remind about the people's heroism during the great Patriotic War	46
To pay the tribute of memory to those who died in the war	23
To demonstrate Russia's military power	14
To congratulate the living war veterans	8
To attract the attention of the youth to the country's heroic history.	6
Difficult to answer	3

2015, May; N=800

Table 24.22

What did the refusal of the majority of western leaders to participate in the Victory Day celebration in Moscow make you feel?

Approval	4
Lack of understanding	22
Regret	16
Disapproval	19
Indignation	14
No particular feelings	22
Difficult to answer	3

2015, May; N=800

Table 24.23

Do you wear a St. George ribbon?

	2014 May	2015 May
Yes	49	60
No	50	40

N=800

BREZHNEV ERA

Table 24.24

In your opinion, was the Brezhnev era a period of well-being or a period of “stagnation” which eventually led to the break-up of the Soviet Union?

	2007 XII	2009 XII	2010 XII	2011 X	2011 XII	2014 XI	2015 XI
This was a period of well-being	17	19	20	24	16	22	20
This was a period of stagnation” which eventually led to the break-up of the Soviet Union	24	22	20	20	24	18	18
First it was a period of relative well-being, then it turned into the “stagnation” that led to the breakup of the Soviet Union	26	24	24	18	28	28	24
The country faced some serious problems at the time, but it was Gorbachev and “democrats” who really led to the demise of the USSR	18	19	17	18	17	19	25
Difficult to answer	15	16	19	21	16	14	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	1600

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE EVENTS OF 1968

Table 24.25

Have you heard of the "1968 events" that began with the student riots of May 1968 in France and swept all the countries of the West, and if so, from what sources?

	2008	2013
From the eyewitnesses of those days	2	2
From contemporaries of those events	3	3
From Soviet newspapers and broadcasts from those days	8	8
From Western radio broadcasts and other unofficial sources of those days (samizdat, Western literature)	3	3
From newspapers, telecasts, other sources of Perestroika and later years	8	8
From textbooks, history references	4	9
From literature, cinema	2	3
Heard about it but do not remember from where	10	12
Never heard about these events	53	42
I find it difficult to say if I've heard or not	12	18

N=1600

Table 24.26

What changed in the West because of the events of 1968?

	2008	2013
What took place was the transition from the "industrial" to the "post-industrial" society	3	3
The authorities started paying more attention to social problems	9	6
The educational system has changed, especially that of the higher learning	5	4
Civil liberties and individual rights have been strengthened and the citizens' participation in the government increased	8	6
Massive grassroots movements were created (Ecological, etc.)	6	5
Public morality has changed as well as the relationship between the sexes	5	5
The relationships between the generations has changed	3	4
The society became more free	8	7
The society became more tolerant	3	2
The society became more aggressive	3	4
Did not produce any serious influence	9	11
Difficult to answer	63	60

N=1600

45 YEARS SINCE "PRAGUE SPRING"

Table 24.27

Do you know what was taking place in Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1968 (the "Prague Spring")?

	2008	2013
Yes, I know it well	10	7
I've heard, read about it	18	20
I've heard something but cannot tell for sure	19	23
No, I know nothing about it	55	50

N=1600

Table 24.28

In your opinion, what has been happening at that time in Czechoslovakia? (in % of the respondents who heard about the "Prague Spring")

	2008	2013
People's rebellion against the regime imposed by the Soviet Union	31	27
Attempt of democratic renewal of the Socialism	14	8
Attempted coup by Anti-Soviet and revisionist groups in the government of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to break country away from socialist camp	15	27
Subversive activity of the Western countries aimed to break Socialist countries	13	16
Spontaneous actions of unconscientious and misled people against Communist leaders of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	4	4
Difficult to answer	21	18

N=1600

Table 24.29

What do you think about the incursion of the Soviet troops and the troops of the Warsaw Pact into Czechoslovakia in 1968? (in % of the respondents who heard about the "Prague Spring")

	2008	2013
It was a response to a request by progressive forces in the leadership of Czechoslovakia	16	15
It was an act of suppressing the people's movement against socialism and intimidation of possible opposition in other socialist countries	21	31
It was an attempt to keep Czechoslovakia in the socialist camp by any means	39	36
Difficult to answer	22	3

N=1600

Table 24.30

On the night of August 21st, 1968, the Soviet armies invaded Czechoslovakia. Do you think that Soviet Union acted properly by having its armed forces enter Czechoslovakia?

	2003	2013
Certainly yes	11	7
Most likely yes	23	20
Most likely no	18	18
Certainly not	14	11
Difficult to answer	34	44

N=1600

Table 24.31

Which of the following points of view is closer to your own?

	2003	2013
It was necessary to keep the order and to prevent bloodshed in Czechoslovakia	14	14
It was necessary and if that was not done Czechoslovakia would have been invaded by American troops	13	10
It was necessary in such conditions in order to save the socialist system in Czechoslovakia	16	9
It was the result of the conflict within Czechoslovakian leadership	5	3
It was the result of the conflict between the leadership of Czechoslovakia and USSR	6	3
It was a criminal aggression against a neighboring country, an interference in its internal affairs	7	7
It has conclusively proved that the socialism of the Soviet type is incompatible with democracy	4	7
Do not remember/ Do not know anything about it	14	23
Difficult to answer	23	23

N=1600

“PERESTROIKA”, M. GORBACHEV

Table 24.32

Nowadays, how would you evaluate your sentiments towards M. Gorbachev?

	2002 XII	2004 XII	2005 XII	2006 XII	2007 XII	2009 XII	2010 XII	2011 XII	2013 IV
Very positive	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
Rather positive	10	11	12	8	11	11	12	12	8
Neutral	39	37	38	41	43	45	41	43	35
Rather negative	26	24	24	25	24	22	24	22	28
Very negative	20	23	20	18	14	12	14	16	21
Difficult to answer	2	4	4	6	7	7	7	5	7

N=1600

Table 24.33

What is your overall attitude to M. Gorbachev now?

	2005 I	2006 II	2010 III	2011 IV	2015 III
Admiration	<1	<1	1	2	2
Respect	9	8	8	9	6
Gratitude	2	2	2	3	2
Sympathy	6	8	6	4	3
Indifference	45	49	47	47	44
Irritation	11	9	10	9	11
Dislike	12	11	13	10	14
Contempt	4	3	3	5	4
Disgust, hatred	7	5	3	4	7
Difficult to answer	5	5	7	8	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 24.34

Did the policy of Perestroika started 20 years ago do Russia more good or harm, overall?

	2005 IV	2006 III	2010 III	2011 III	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III
More good	20	16	26	16	19	23	24
More harm	70	67	57	56	60	56	55
Difficult to answer	10	17	17	28	21	21	21
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 24.35

**What role did the Perestroika reforms initiated by M. Gorbachev
in 1985 play in the life of our country?**

	2005	2006	2010	2011	2013	2015
Important positive role	3	4	3	3	2	2
Positive role, overall	18	18	21	20	18	13
Unimportant role	12	11	16	12	15	12
Negative role, overall	37	35	32	32	35	35
Important negative role	19	20	14	16	17	16
Difficult to answer	11	12	15	17	13	22
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 24.36

**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	2000 IV	2005 I	2006 I	2007 I	2008 II	2009 XII	2010 III	2011 III	2015 III
Absolutely agree	31	25	26	23	21	12	13	18	18	17
Agree, rather than don't agree	22	25	22	20	21	19	25	27	24	24
Do not agree, rather than agree	20	27	24	29	29	34	34	28	26	26
Absolutely disagree	15	13	16	16	17	18	11	11	10	8
Difficult to answer	13	10	12	12	12	17	17	16	21	25
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800

Table 24.38

**What do you think would have happened in the country
if Perestroika had not been started in 1985?**

	2005 I	2006 II	2010 III	2011 IV	2015 III
Life in the country would have become better, even if it had been a slow process	35	28	30	31	26
We would have managed to avoid dramatic conflicts and shocks, keeping the united great country intact	36	30	32	30	31
Nothing special would have happened, there would have been the same order as we had in Brezhnev's times	20	16	20	18	16
The USSR would have been unable to compete with developed countries and would inevitably have lost the status of a world great power	12	13	16	15	9
There could have been dangerous international conflicts	6	5	6	6	5
The growing social and inter-ethnic conflicts in the country would have resulted in a general crisis and collapse anyway	16	17	12	14	12
Difficult to answer	11	15	17	15	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800

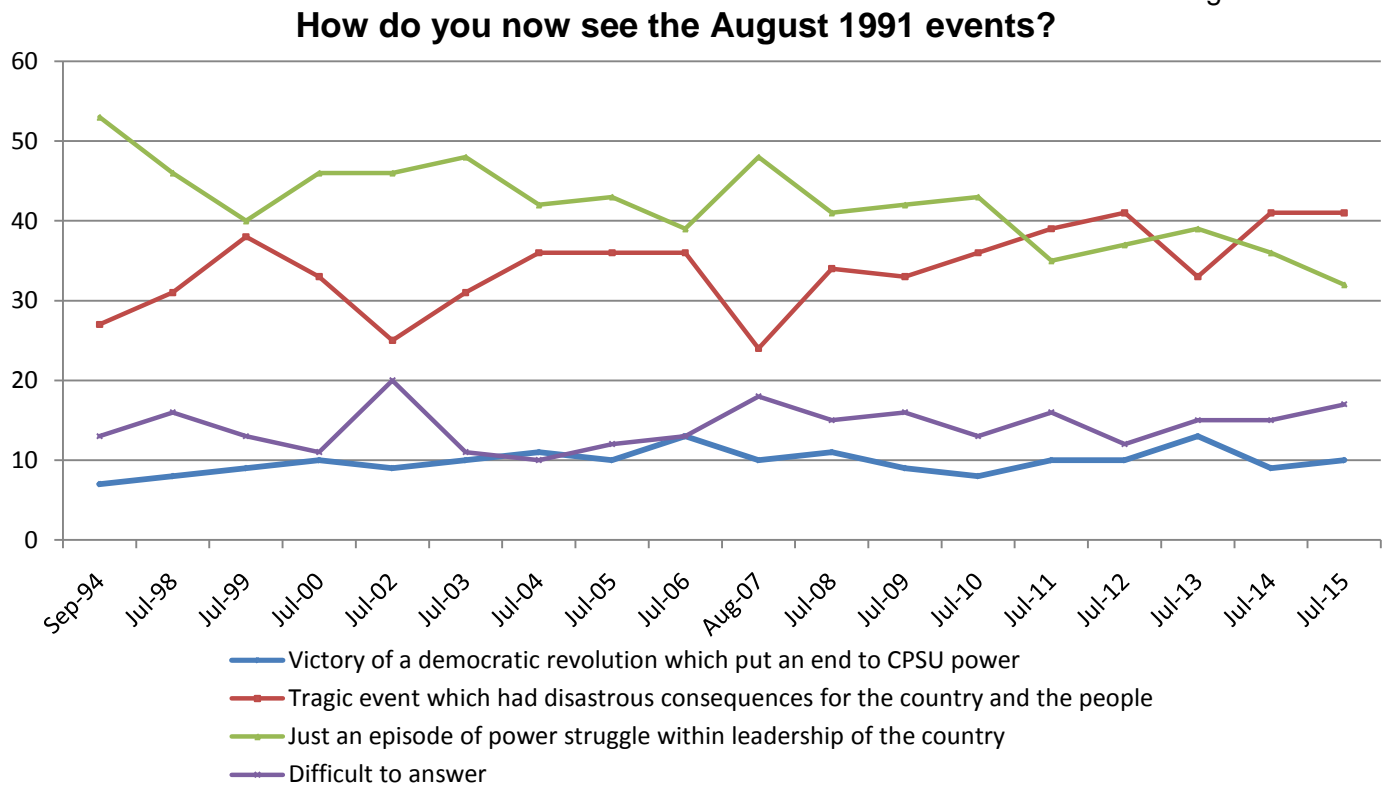
Table 24.37

Which of the events and changes that which happened in the years of perestroika and Gorbachev time you believe to be the most significant?
(Statements are ranked by last poll)

	2005	2010	2011	2013	2015
Ability to leave the country freely	34	38	41	36	35
Ability to speak freely ("glasnost")	40	38	40	33	32
Threat of USSR break-up	34	31	28	27	30
Escalation of economic crisis and deficit in the country	24	22	20	22	20
Spread of co-ops and small private businesses	23	20	21	17	20
Upgrade of country's government, younger and more energetic people in leading positions	21	28	26	19	17
Armed conflict in Nagorny Karabakh (since 1988)	16	12	11	13	15
Intensive political debates on TV and in the press	19	14	17	15	14
End of political repressions, release of dissidents, rehabilitation of A.D.Sakharov and other human rights activists	22	19	24	18	13
Independence movement in a number of republics of the USSR (Baltic republics, Ukraine),	12	11	12	16	13
Bloody ethnic conflicts in a few regions of Central Asia	17	14	12	13	13
Political changes in the Eastern Europe, break up of Warsaw pact, unification of Germany	14	11	10	11	13
Article 6 of the USSR Constitution on the guiding role of the Soviet Communist Party was abolished	13	14	10	14	12
Citizenship was restored to many people who were earlier forced to leave USSR	18	13	18	12	11
Elections to government on a competitive basis	15	15	12	10	11
Escalation of conflicts within the USSR government	12	13	12	9	11
Rapidly growing interest to the printed media, millions of papers and magazines copies in print	12	10	9	10	9
Real-time TV broadcast of Congress of Peoples' Deputies in the USSR in 1989-1990	7	7	8	8	9
Use of the military force against national movements in Tbilisi (a989), Baku (1990), Vilnius and Riga (1991)	8	10	12	11	9
Economic and political affiliation with the West	12	14	12	10	8
Emergence of democratic movements, clubs and parties	11	9	10	10	8
Difficult to answer	9	12	13	14	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

AUGUST COUP OF 1991

Diagram 24.1



Before 2011 N=1600, since 2011 N=800

Table 24.39

To which side was going your sympathy in august 1991?

	2006	2007	2008	2013	2016
To the State Committee for the State of Emergency	12	8	11	14	8
To the opponents of the State Committee for the State of Emergency	22	21	23	10	13
Did not have the time to understand the situation	32	33	34	29	27
At that time I was too young to understand	20	20	19	30	30
Difficult to answer	14	18	13	17	23

N=1600

Table 24.40

What were the primary objectives of the State Emergency Committee

	2001	2016
To prevent the disintegration of the USSR	16	18
To keep the Communist Party in power	15	12
To restore order in the country	8	8
To strengthen their own positions	27	22
Did not have a clearly delineated program	9	13
Difficult to answer	25	28

N=1600

Table 24.40

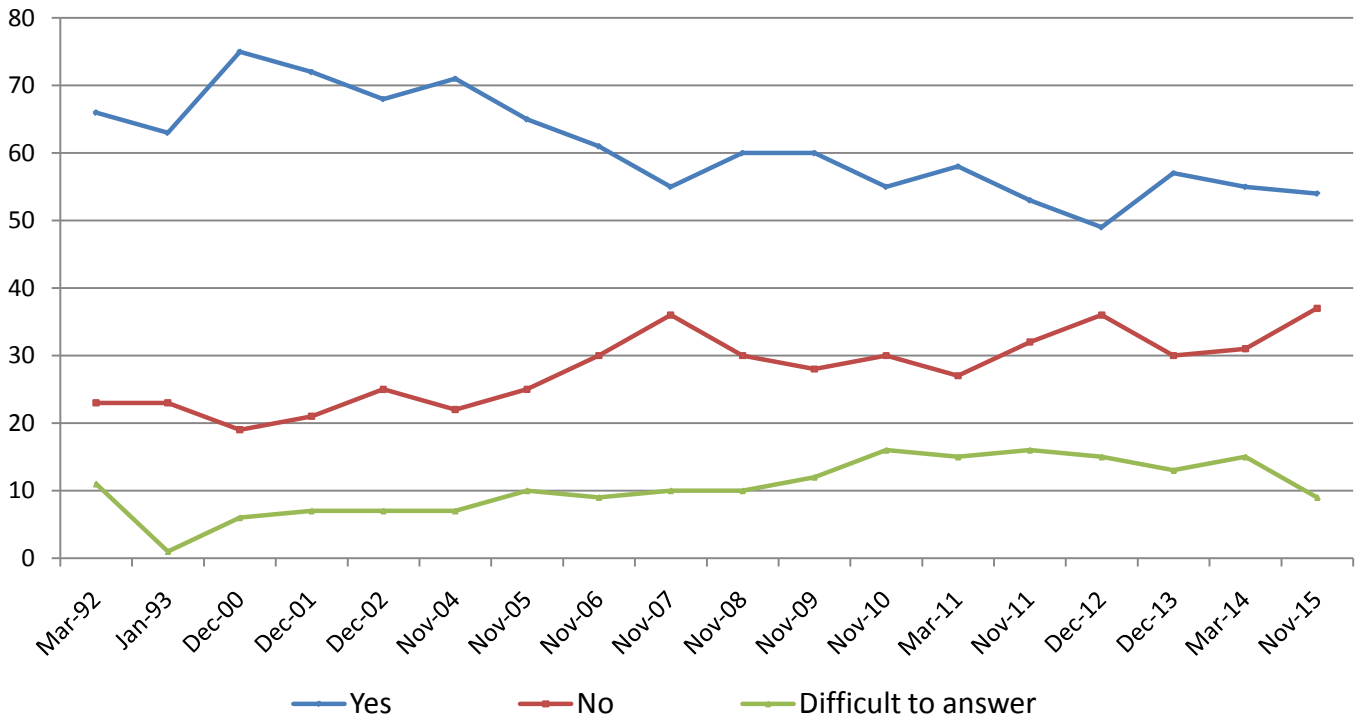
**Do you think the country started to develop in the right or
the wrong direction in August 1991?**

	2003 VIII	2004 VII	2005 VII	2006 VII	2007 VIII	2008 VII	2010 VII	2011 VII	2012 VII	2013 VII	2014 VII	2015 VIII
In the right direction	30	27	25	30	28	33	30	27	26	25	27	34
In the wrong direction	47	49	50	44	37	40	37	49	46	44	47	37
Difficult to answer	23	24	25	26	35	27	33	24	27	31	26	28
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800

COLLAPSE OF USSR

Diagram 24.2

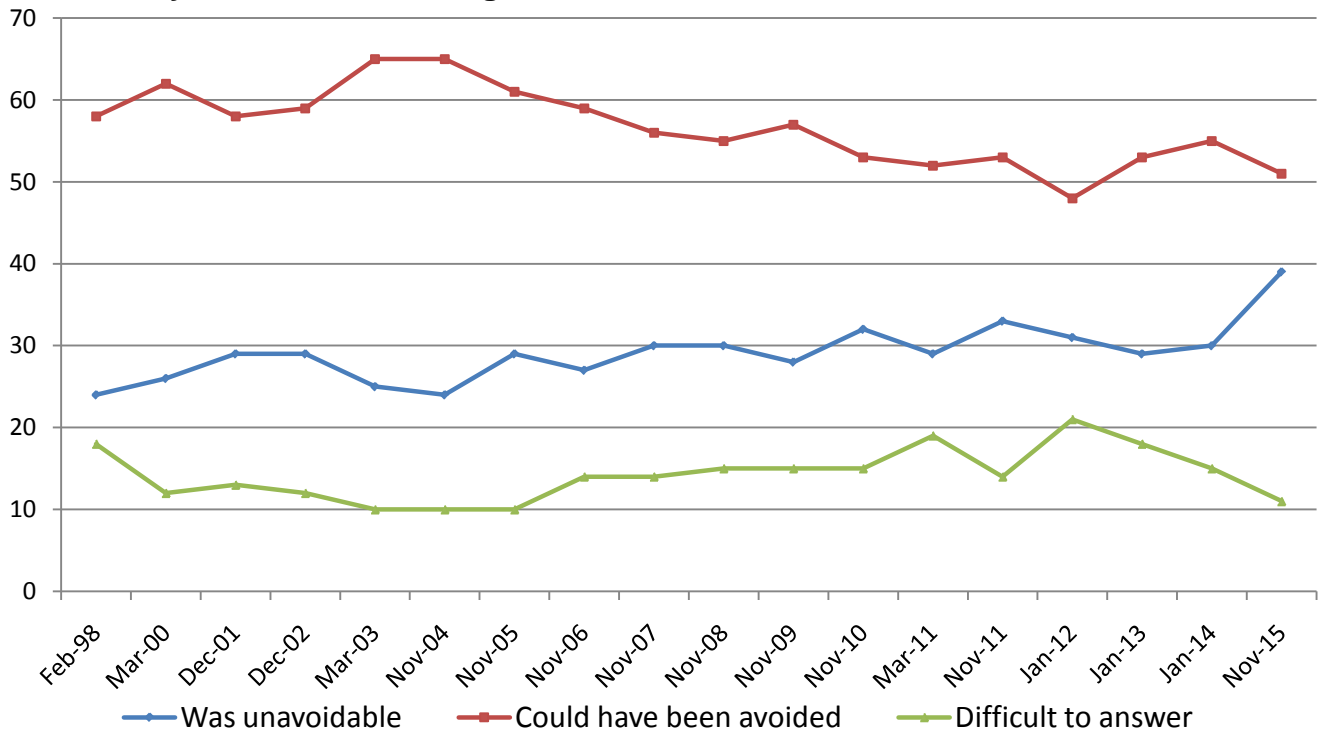
Do you regret the collapse of the USSR?



Before 2011 N=1600, since 2011 N=800

Diagram 24.3

Do you think the disintegration of the Soviet Union was unavoidable?



Before 2011 N=1600, since 2011 r. N=800

YELTSIN'S ERA

Table 24.42

How would you describe your attitude towards B. Yeltsin now?

	2000 XII	2001 XII	2002 XII	2003 XII	2004 XII	2005 XII	2006 XII	2007 V	2009 XI	2010 XII	2011 XII	2013 IV	2014 XII	2015 XII
Very positive	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	3	3	2	2	4	4
Somewhat positive	7	8	8	6	9	8	7	16	14	14	10	9	7	10
Neutral	32	31	34	35	32	33	39	51	42	42	38	37	38	37
Somewhat negative	29	26	28	32	27	29	28	17	23	21	30	28	24	21
Very negative	27	30	26	23	29	26	20	10	11	14	13	19	16	15
Difficult to answer	4	4	2	2	2	3	5	4	7	7	7	6	11	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 24.43

From a historical perspective, do you think B. Yeltsin's era did Russia more good or more harm?

	2000 I	2000 XII	2001 VI	2001 XII	2002 XII	2003 XI	2004 XII	2005 XII	2006 XII	2007 V	2009 XII	2010 XII	2015 XII
More good	15	15	17	15	14	13	16	13	15	26	17	20	18
More harm	67	75	66	67	69	71	69	70	64	47	63	59	56
Difficult to answer	18	11	17	18	17	16	15	17	21	27	20	22	26
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600

Table 24.44

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

	1997 III	2000 III	2002 I	2004 III	2007 III	2008 II	2009 XII	2011 III	2012 III	2013 III	2014 III	2015 III
They definitely had a positive impact on Russia's economy	3	1	2	4	5	3	7	5	4	6	7	3
They were painful but necessary	19	19	14	21	21	20	31	21	20	18	23	18
There was no need to have them at all	15	22	17	19	20	21	19	22	18	23	22	24
They had a destructive impact on Russia's economy	42	44	51	36	35	33	24	24	29	31	26	28
Difficult to answer	21	14	16	20	20	23	19	29	28	22	21	27
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800

Table 24.45

What's your attitude today towards Gaidar's reforms of 1992?

	2000 January	2015 December
Entirely positive	2	1
Rather positive	6	10
Rather negative	34	27
Entirely negative	43	31
Difficult to answer	16	31

N=1600

Table 24.46

**What's your attitude today
towards Russia's independence declaration of 1990?**

	2000 January	2015 December
Entirely positive	13	5
Rather positive	24	24
Rather negative	19	22
Entirely negative	9	12
Difficult to answer	35	39

N=1600

Table 24.47

**What's your attitude today towards B. Yeltsin being elected President of Russia
in 1991 when he was opposed by N. Ryzhkov and V. Zhirinovskiy?**

	2000 January	2015 December
Entirely positive	12	4
Rather positive	25	21
Rather negative	29	28
Entirely negative	19	19
Difficult to answer	15	29

N=1600

Table 24.48

What's your attitude today towards the dissolution of the USSR in 1991?

	2000 January	2015 December
Entirely positive	4	3
Rather positive	8	12
Rather negative	29	31
Entirely negative	48	32
Difficult to answer	12	23

N=1600

Table 24.49

**What's your attitude today towards the dissolution
of The Supreme Soviet of Russia in 1993?**

	2000 January	2015 December
Entirely positive	3	2
Rather positive	12	12
Rather negative	26	25
Entirely negative	20	19
Difficult to answer	39	43

N=1600

Table 24.50

**What's your attitude today towards B. Yeltsin being elected
President of Russia in 1996 when he was opposed by Zyuganov?**

	2000 January	2015 December
Entirely positive	7	3
Rather positive	20	17
Rather negative	28	27
Entirely negative	32	22
Difficult to answer	13	32

N=1600

Table 24.51

**Which of the following points of view on the reasons
for B. Yeltsin's resignation do you prefer?
(answers are ranged)**

	2000 January	2015 December
Yeltsin resigned due to illness and inability to fulfill his duties as president of Russia	40	35
Yeltsin resigned because of the pressure of being criticized by almost all the political forces in Russia	14	19
Yeltsin resigned because he decided to make room for young politicians capable of leading Russia out of crisis	13	16
Yeltsin resigned in order to insure the best chances for V. Putin during the upcoming presidential campaign	28	14
Difficult to answer	4	13

N=1600

ON THE EVENTS OF 3-4 OCTOBER 1993

Table 24.52

What was the primary cause of the 3-4 October 1993 events in Moscow?

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2011	2012	2013	2014
Ambition of A. Rutskoy and R. Khasbulatov to cling to power by any means	19	15	17	20	16	22	14	16	14	18	14	15	12	11	10	12
Irresponsible policy of B. Yeltsin and his associates	24	31	32	34	31	32	29	32	32	28	23	24	18	20	19	24
The indecision of B. Yeltsin and the government in suppressing the unrest	11	8	8	11	9	8	7	9	9	9	7	6	6	5	6	8
Willingness of communists and extremists to stage a coup	8	5	9	4	12	11	10	11	11	11	11	10	13	12	7	10
Hesitation of the army and internal security forces	5	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	5	3	3	6	5	6	5
General decline of the country initiated by M. Gorbachev	37	31	25	24	35	36	31	33	35	35	32	32	29	29	30	30
The herd mentality of the crowd	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	1	3	3	2	2	5	3	3	3
Difficult to answer	17	23	28	27	27	15	23	16	21	19	25	25	31	31	31	27
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 24.53

Was the use of military force during the unrest in Moscow in October 1993 justified?

	1993	1999	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2011	2012	2013	2014
Yes	51	18	22	20	21	17	19	26	17	15	17	15	16
No	30	56	59	57	58	60	60	49	60	55	54	58	62
Difficult to answer	19	25	18	23	21	23	21	25	23	30	29	27	22
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

Table 24.54

Who do you think was right in October 1993?

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2011	2012	2013	2014
B. Yeltsin's supporters	9	8	9	9	7	7	7	7
Supporters of the Supreme Soviet	10	11	11	10	10	8	11	11
To some extent, both	20	16	19	19	22	17	18	16
Neither one nor the other	39	38	28	34	30	35	35	36
Difficult to answer	22	27	32	28	32	32	29	30
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800

LENIN

Table 24.55

How will people remember Lenin in 40-50 years?

	1995 IV	2000 IV	2005 IV	2006 IV	2007 IV	2011 IV	2013 III
No one will remember him but historians	25	36	41	32	45	39	31
As the founder of the Soviet state	30	34	26	29	30	37	28
As a leader to whom the interests of the working people always came first	17	18	20	18	16	19	17
As a great thinker who could foresee the future	10	11	12	13	9	12	13
As a scheming politician who managed to impose his will on a huge country	19	13	14	12	9	10	9
As a lucky political adventurer	12	6	6	8	8	6	7
As a cruel dictator who was ready to sacrifice millions of lives	12	7	9	8	6	5	5
As a person who did not understand and did not love Russia	5	2	5	4	3	3	2
Difficult to answer	14	8	5	7	6	8	9
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800

Table 24.56

Would you be for or against returning the name «Leningrad» to St. Petersburg?

For	30
Against	53
Difficult to answer	17

2014, March; N=1600

Table 24.57

Which of the following statements regarding Lenin's role in Russian history you would agree with?

(Statements are ranked by last poll)

	1998 VI	2000 I	2004 I	2008 I	2010 III	2011 I	2013 I	2015 III
Lenin will always be remembered in history, but no one will ever follow his path	44	39	36	35	29	34	32	31
Lenin's ideas have been distorted by his followers	37	34	26	26	22	22	20	21
Lenin tried to appeal to the best hopes and dreams of the people to lead them to a brighter future	28	26	21	18	16	15	17	18
Lenin led our country to progress and justice	25	23	24	19	20	17	15	17
Lenin was wrong in his expectations regarding the revolution and communism	21	24	13	14	14	14	13	10
Lenin led our country the wrong way which is reason for many disasters and miseries	19	19	16	18	18	16	12	10
Lenin was a cruel person who tried to reform the country by violence	14	11	14	11	11	10	12	7
Lenin foreseen the future victory of communism around the globe.	7	8	6	6	8	5	6	6
Lenin's ideas will keep on shining in the new century and show the path to a brighter future	10	8	9	7	6	5	7	5
Difficult to answer	10	8	9	12	14	12	15	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

JOSEPH STALIN

Table 24.58

What kind of role did J. Stalin play in the life of our country?

	2003	2008	2009	2010	2011	2013	2014
	III	X	XII	XII	III	II	XII
Definitely a positive one	18	8	10	11	8	9	16
A rather positive one	35	33	39	40	37	40	36
A rather negative one	21	27	23	21	25	22	21
Definitely a negative one	12	10	9	9	10	10	9
Difficult to answer	14	21	19	19	20	19	19
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 24.59

What is your overall attitude to J. Stalin now?

	2001	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2015
Admiration	4	5	1	2	1	3	2
Respect	27	23	22	23	21	28	30
Sympathy	7	8	8	7	6	9	7
Indifference	12	19	37	38	33	30	30
Dislike	18	18	12	12	12	10	9
Fear	16	15	7	7	7	6	6
Disgust, hatred	9	5	4	5	4	3	5
Difficult to answer/no answer	6	8	10	7	16	11	11
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800

Table 24.60

In your opinion, Stalin's time brought our country...?

	1999 December	2015 December
Only good things	3	3
More good than bad	19	25
Equal parts good and bad	44	45
More bad than good	21	13
Only bad things	5	3
Difficult to answer	9	12

N=1600

Table 24.61

Which of the following views on Stalin do you tend to share?

(Statements are ranked by last poll)

	1998 II	1999 XII	2003 II	2004 XII	2005 XII	2007 XII	2015 XII
Whatever mistakes or faults are ascribed to Stalin the most important thing is that under his leadership our people won the Great Patriotic War	31	32	36	29	32	28	34
Stalin was a cruel and inhuman tyrant guilty of murdering millions of innocent people	27	32	27	31	29	29	21
Stalin was a wise leader, who brought Russia to power and prosperity	16	20	20	21	21	14	20
Only a tough ruler could have maintained order in Russia in a situation of intense class struggle and external threats	15	21	20	16	22	15	15
Due to Stalin's policies (destruction of the military personnel, collusion with Hitler) Russia turned out to be unprepared for the war	14	18	18	15	18	17	13
Our people would never do without leaders such as Stalin. Sooner or later such a leader will come and straighten things out	13	18	16	16	15	9	12
We do not know the whole truth about Stalin and his actions	28	30	27	33	35	30	11
Stalin took over the cause of Lenin and other revolutionaries bolsheviks	7	6	5	8	8	5	6
Stalin distorted Lenin's ideas, establishing a regime which was far from the ideals of genuine socialism	10	8	9	9	9	9	5
Stalin is reviled by people who do not care about interests of Russian people and Russia	4	5	6	5	4	4	5
Difficult to answer	10	8	6	5	5	9	10

N=1600

Table 24.62

March 5th is the anniversary of Josef Stalin's death. What are your personal associations with his death?

	2010 II	2013 II	2015 III
End of terror and mass repressions, release of millions of innocent people from the prisons	47	55	46
Loss of a great leader and mentor	19	18	24
Difficult to answer	29	23	27
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>800</i>

Table 24.63

Do great objectives, special status of the country over that period and shortly gained results justify victims of Soviet people in the era of Stalin?

	2008 October	2010 February	2011 April	2012 November	2015 Murch
Definitely yes	3	5	4	4	7
Yes, to some extent	24	29	26	21	38
No, they cannot be justified anything	60	58	61	60	41
Difficult to answer	13	9	10	15	13
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 24.64

Did any of your family suffer in mass repressions before or after the Great Patriotic War?

	2010 II	2011 IV	2015 III
Yes	22	28	21
No	63	54	59
Difficult to answer	15	18	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800	800

Table 24.65

Do you agree or disagree with the people who say J.Stalin should be considered a state criminal?

	2010 II	2015 III
Agree absolutely	11	9
Rather agree	21	16
Rather disagree	37	40
Absolutely disagree	13	17
Difficult to answer	19	18
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800

Table 24.66

Why do you think the country's leaders speak more and more about J. Stalin as an outstanding statesman?

	2010	2013
Russian authorities are trying to use the cult of Stalin in order to justify their own policies and abuses of power	16	19
Russian authorities are trying to use the cult of Stalin to enhance their own credibility as heirs of the glory of former victories	23	21
Russian authorities are trying to use the cult of Stalin for the gradual reversion to the Soviet system	8	6
Russian authorities are trying to use the cult of Stalin out of desperation, as a substitute for the missing "national idea"	20	19
Difficult to answer	33	36
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	800

Table 24.67

What, in your opinion, is the reason behind local and senior government officials' initiative to return to Volgograd the name of "Stalingrad"?

Desire to perpetuate the memory of the participants of the Battle for Stalingrad	31
The desire to return the name of Stalin as a winner in the war and thus drown the memory of Stalin's repressions and crimes of the regime	18
Desire to divert public's attention from corruption scandals, declining trust in the authorities and the increasing growth of active opposition	25
Other	4
Difficult to answer	22

2013, February; N=800

Table 24.68

Which opinion would you rather agree with?

	2013	2014
Volgograd should keep its current name	55	57
Volgograd should be returned to its historic name of Stalingrad	23	24
Volgograd should be returned to its historic name of Tsaritsyn	6	5
Difficult to answer	16	15

N=800

Table 24.69

How would you feel if the monument to F. Dzerzhinsky be brought back to Lubyanskaya Square in Moscow?

	2002 October	2005 October	2015 July
Absolutely positive	20	22	16
Positive, rather than negative	21	31	33
Negative, rather than positive	23	17	15
Absolutely negative	27	7	3
Difficult to answer	9	23	33
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800

Table 24.70

Why do you think that about restoring the monument to Dzerzhinsky to Lubyanka square?

(% of those who are “for” it)

No matter what kind of man Dzerzhinsky was it's a monument to an era in Russia's history that we shouldn't reject	29
Restoration of historical justice towards a major figure of the Soviets who did a lot of good	22
The monument was created by a famous sculptor and has big cultural, artistic value	7
The monument fits well into the square's ensemble, without it the square looks desolate	5
Other arguments “for”	2
It would be an insult to the memory of the Communist regime victims	3
Dzerzhinsky was not a man worthy of monuments, he did a lot of evil to Russia	6
This is against the principles of democracy and freedom that Muscovites stood for during the putsch of 1991	3
Other arguments “against”	7
Difficult to answer	30

2015, July; N=800

25. CELEBRATIONS

NEW YEAR'S CELEBRATIONS

Table 25.1

**With the New Year vacation approaching,
which holidays do you intend to celebrate?**

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011*	2012	2013	2014	2015
Western Christmas 25 December	13	13	17	17	11	18	16	6	4	6	6	4	5	5	7	5	5	3
New Year	92	89	94	92	92	93	87	93	93	95	92	92	93	96	96	95	96	96
Orthodox Christmas 7 January	58	59	67	62	74	69	59	60	69	67	66	68	61	65	65	67	58	57
Old New Year	53	49	57	57	61	62	44	47	56	53	54	52	47	51	52	48	43	49
Epiphany	.*	.*	.*	.*	.*	.*	.*	.*	.*	.*	.*	.*	.*	41	43	42	41	40
Will not mark these holidays	4	6	4	3	3	4	5	3	4	3	6	4	2	1	2	2	1	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

* Option was not offered
December; N=1600

Table 25.2

How would you like to celebrate the New Year?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
At home with relatives and loved ones	72	74	74	74	73	68	73	70	71	73	70
Visiting friends, with friends	19	16	17	16	19	21	21	20	22	21	24
At a holiday home, with new unknown people	1	2	2	2	2	3	1	3	2	2	1
Abroad, away from home	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	4	2	1	2
Alone	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2
Don't celebrate the New Year	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
Difficult to answer	2	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	1
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 25.3

How are you going to use the New Year’s “holiday”?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Go to relax/go on a trip/ to relatives or friends abroad	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	4	3	3	4
Go on a trip/ to relax at a resort, holiday home in Russia	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	1	2	2	4
Go to visit relatives or friends in another region of Russia	9	10	10	8	11	14	11	9	12	13	12
Relax at home	61	58	56	54	58	56	56	62	58	58	58
Do things around the house, repairs etc.	26	24	18	24	22	25	24	22	21	25	24
Continue working	14	16	14	18	14	10	14	9	9	13	9
Other	3	3	4	4	3	5	3	4	5	3	4
Difficult to answer	5	6	4	5	4	4	3	6	7	4	5
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

MASLENITSA FESTIVAL

Table 25.4

How are you going to mark Maslenitsa in your family?

	1997	2000	2003	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Plan to make pancakes	68	72	80	75	75	79	79	78	74	64	65
Plan to eat meat	48	27	31	27	26	30	31	33	44	24	25
Plan to visit people or receive guests	37	35	40	37	30	33	38	42	34	33	34
Plan to go to folk festivals	16	19	21	25	22	21	24	27	21	27	26
Will celebrate Maslenitsa in an alternative way	10	4	4	3	2	3	4	3	4	3	3
Don't plan to celebrate Maslenitsa	16	15	11	14	17	12	10	10	11	16	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 25.5

It'll be February 14 soon – Saint Valentine’s Day, patron saint of lovers, are you in love with anyone now?

	2003	2007	2011	2013	2014
Yes	51	50	52	50	48
No	42	42	40	38	43
Difficult to answer	7	9	8	12	10
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	800	800	800

Table 25.6

Have you heard of the day of «St. Valentine» and if so, do you celebrate it?

	2006	2013	2015
Heard of and celebrate it	37	34	37
Heard of it but do not celebrate it	50	62	58
Have not heard about it	6	3	4
<i>Difficult to answer</i>	1600	800	800

Table 25.7

Have you heard of the "day of Peter and Fevronia" (Day of Love, Family and Faithfulness), and if so, do you celebrate it?

Heard of and celebrate it	12
Heard of it but do not celebrate it	65
Have not heard about it	22

2013, June; N=800

MAY HOLIDAYS

Table 25.8

Do you intend to celebrate 1st May or Victory Day this year?

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Intend to celebrate 1 st May	58	57	53	58	59	52	55	51
Intend to celebrate Victory Day	75	63	75	72	65	70	70	65
Do not intend to celebrate 1 st May, nor Victory Day	17	23	16	17	18	19	18	20
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

RUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Table 25.9

12 June is a public holiday. Do you know exactly what is celebrated in Russia on this day?

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Anniversary of the election of the first President of Russia	8	7	6	5	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	4	2	2	1	1
Anniversary of adopting the Declaration of Independence of Russia	7	8	6	9	9	5	6	6	8	5	6	5	4	4	6	5	3	6	6
Russian Independence Day	51	47	50	51	57	58	65	60	63	47	53	40	44	42	41	36	30	33	33
Russia Day	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	-*	23	21	37	38	34	40	40	50	49	50
Don't consider this day a holiday	25	25	28	28	20	23	22	23	18	17	16	12	10	14	11	11	9	8	10
Don't consider this day a holiday	11	12	10	6	8	8	4	7	5	6	4	3	3	5	3	6	7	4	5

* - the option was not offered

1997-2010 гг. N=1600; 2011-2015 гг. N=800

Table 25.10

Was the independence beneficial or harmful for Russia?

	2003	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Definitely beneficial	7	12	14	15	14	13	10	9	9	18	18
Rather beneficial	32	40	40	46	45	38	48	46	44	53	43
Rather harmful	22	21	16	13	15	15	16	12	17	10	11
Definitely harmful	12	6	6	4	4	4	4	3	5	2	4
Difficult to answer	26	20	24	22	21	30	22	30	25	18	25
Number of respondents	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

4 NOVEMBER

Table 25.11

Do you know which holiday will be observed on 4th of November?

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Day of consensus and reconciliation	33	27	22	26	26	25	24	25	22	22	19
National unity day	8	20	23	28	31	36	41	43	49	54	55
Day of liberation from Polish-Lithuanian invaders	5	3	4	2	2	2	4	3	2	3	4
October revolution day	-	5	1	3	6	5	2	4	4	5	5
Other	3	3	2	4	4	3	2	2	5	<1	2
Don't know/difficult to answer	51	43	47	37	33	29	28	23	17	16	16
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

Table 25.12

Do you intend to celebrate...

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
National unity day on 4 th of November?	12	15	18	15	14	16	16	15	19	22
October revolution day on 7 th of November?	23	23	21	17	17	18	18	17	12	14
Neither	58	59	52	63	61	59	61	62	59	55
Don't know/difficult to answer	12	11	18	11	13	15	9	10	14	14
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1600	1600	1600	1600	1600	800	800	800	800	800

HALLOWEEN

Table 25.13

Do you know about the holiday «Halloween» and do you intend to celebrate it?

	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
	XI	X	X	X	X	X	X
Know about and intend to celebrate	4	5	4	5	6	9	6
Know about but don't intend to celebrate	50	54	61	62	67	64	71
Don't know about this holiday	46	41	35	33	27	27	23

N=1600