

## NEW RUSSIA BAROMETER XIX

1. Do you think that things in our country today are moving generally in the right direction or that our country is on the wrong track?

Things are going in the right direction

Things are on the wrong track

[Don't read] Hard to say

1\_1a. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of the performance of Dmitri Medvedev as President of Russia?

Approve

Disapprove

[Don't read] Hard to say/missing

1\_1b. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of the performance of Vladimir Putin as Prime minister of the Russian Government?

Approve

Disapprove

[Don't read] Hard to say/missing

1\_1c. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of the performance of the Government of Russia?

Approve

Disapprove

[Don't read] Hard to say/missing

1\_1d. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of the performance of the Governor of your region/ President of Republic/ in Moscow Mayor?

Approve

Disapprove

[Don't read] Hard to say/missing

14. Do you think the current Government of Russia will be able in the near future to make improvements in the country's situation?

Definitely yes

Probably yes

Maybe yes, maybe no

Probably no

Definitely no

[Don't read] Hard to say

1a. Here is a scale ranking how well an economy works. The top, plus 100, is the best and the bottom, minus 100, is the worst. Where on this scale would you put our economic system before perestroika?

100 best

-100 worst

Don't know

1b. Here is a scale ranking how well an economy works. The top, plus 100, is the best and the bottom, minus 100, is the worst. Where on this scale would you put our current economic system?

100 best  
-100 worst  
Don't know

1c. Here is a scale ranking how well an economy works. The top, plus 100, is the best and the bottom, minus 100, is the worst. Where on this scale would you put our economic system in five years?

100 best  
-100 worst  
Don't know

2. As for your own household, how would you rate its economic situation today?

Very satisfactory  
Fairly satisfactory  
Not very satisfactory  
Very unsatisfactory  
Don't know

3a. Here is a scale ranking how well our system of government works. The top, plus 100, is the best and the bottom, minus 100, is the worst. Where on this scale would you put the political system that we had before the start of perestroika?

100 best  
-100 worst  
Don't know

3b. Here is a scale ranking how well our system of government works. The top, plus 100, is the best and the bottom, minus 100, is the worst. Where on this scale would you put our current system of government?

100 best  
-100 worst  
Don't know

3c. Here is a scale ranking how well our system of government works. The top, plus 100, is the best and the bottom, minus 100, is the worst. Where on this scale would you put our system of government in five years' time?

100 best  
-100 worst  
Don't know

4. Under our present system of government do you think people like yourself are treated equally and fairly by government?

Definitely agree  
Somewhat agree  
Disagree somewhat  
Definitely disagree  
Don't know

5a. Under our present system of government how much influence do you think people like yourself can have on it?

A lot of influence

Some influence  
Not much influence  
No influence  
Don't know

E3. To what extent do you trust each of the following institutions to look after your interests? Please indicate on a scale where 1 indicates no trust at all and 7 great trust.

E3a. The police  
Trusts  
Neutral  
Does not trust  
Don't know

E3b. Political parties  
Trusts  
Neutral  
Does not trust  
Don't know

E3c. The army  
Trusts  
Neutral  
Does not trust  
Don't know

E3d. The State Duma  
Trusts  
Neutral  
Does not trust  
Don't know

7a. How widespread do you think bribe-taking and corruption are?  
Very few public officials are corrupt  
Fewer than half are corrupt  
Most public officials are engaged in it  
Almost all public officials are corrupt  
Don't know

8. Compared to our system of government before perestroika, would you say our current system is better or worse than the old system in terms of whether:

8a. Everybody has a right to say what they think  
Much better  
Somewhat better  
Much the same  
Somewhat worse  
Much worse  
Don't know

8b. One can join any organisation one likes

Much better  
Somewhat better  
Much the same  
Somewhat worse  
Much worse  
Don't know

8c. Everyone can decide individually whether or not to take an interest in politics

Much better  
Somewhat better  
Much the same  
Somewhat worse  
Much worse  
Don't know

8d. Everyone has freedom of choice in religious matters

Much better  
Somewhat better  
Much the same  
Somewhat worse  
Much worse  
Don't know

9a. Some people think this country would be better governed if parliament were closed down and all parties were abolished. How likely do you think this is to happen in the next few years?

Very likely  
Maybe  
Not very likely  
Not likely at all  
Don't know

10a. If Parliament was closed down and parties abolished, would you:

Definitely approve  
Somewhat approve  
Somewhat disapprove  
Definitely disapprove  
Don't know

12a. Here is a scale ranging from a low of 1 to a high of 10, in which 1 represents complete dictatorship and 10 represents complete democracy. Where would you like our political system to be?

1 Complete dictatorship  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8

9

10 Complete democracy

Don't know

12b. Where would you place our country at the present time?

1 Complete dictatorship

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 Complete democracy

Don't know

3. What events of the last four weeks did you remember best of all? [several answers possible]

Victory of Alla Dzhioyeva at election in South Ossetia

United Russia congress confirming Putin as its presidential candidate

The elections to the State Duma

Actions pro-United Russia and Putin

Mass protest actions against falsified election results

The victories of Zenit and CSKA in the Champions' League

Birth of Philip Kirkorov 's baby

Nomination of presidential candidates

Vladimir Putin's 'direct line' call in

Admission of Russia into the WTO

Other

Don't know

5. Do you think that we are experiencing the most difficult times at the moment, are they already behind us or are they still ahead?

Experiencing them now

They are already behind us

They are still ahead

Don't know

6. As for the government's economic policies for combating the financial crisis, inflation, unemployment and so on, how well do you think the government is dealing with these tasks?

Well

Neither well nor badly

Badly

[Don't read] Hard to say

7. Do you think that the present authorities will in the near future be able to make any improvement in the situation of the country?

Definitely yes

Rather yes  
Maybe yes, maybe no  
Rather no  
Definitely no  
[Don't read] Hard to say

8. Name the five or six politicians who inspire most confidence in you ...

- 8\_30. Vladimir Putin
- 8\_21. Dmitry Medvedev
- 8\_7. Vladimir Zhirinovsky
- 8\_10. Gennady Zyuganov
- 8\_42. Sergei Shoygu
- 8\_22. Sergei Mironov
- 8\_26. Patriarch Kirill
- 8\_15. Aleksei Kudrin
- 8\_34. Sergei Sobyenin
- 8\_20. Valentina Matvienko
- 8\_29. Mikhail Prokhorov
- 8\_4. Boris Gрызlov
- 8\_16. Sergei Lavrov
- 8\_28. Yevgeny Primakov
- 8\_44. Grigory Yavlinsky
- 8\_2. Tatyana Golikova
- 8\_39. Irina Khakamada
- 8\_31. Dmitry Rogozin
- 8\_37. Aman Tuleev
- 8\_6. Oksana Dmitrieva
- 8\_11. Sergei Ivanov
- 8\_40. Mikhail Khodorkovsky
- 8\_19. Alexander Lukashenko
- 8\_24. Alexey Navalny
- 8\_25. Boris Nemtsov
- 8\_9. Viktor Zubkov
- 8\_46. Other
- 8\_47. None
- 8\_48. Not interested in politicians, politics
- 8\_49. Don't know  
1% or less

9. Which politicians, in your view, have made the most memorable speeches recently?

- 9\_30. Vladimir Putin
- 9\_7. Vladimir Zhirinovsky
- 9\_21. Dmitry Medvedev
- 9\_10. Gennady Zyuganov
- 9\_22. Sergei Mironov
- 9\_29. Mikhail Prokhorov
- 9\_4. Boris Gрызlov
- 9\_26. Patriarch Kirill
- 9\_42. Sergei Shoygu

- 9\_44. Grigory Yavlinsky
- 9\_46. Other
- 9\_47. None
- 9\_48. Not interested in politicians, politics
- 9\_49. Don't know  
1% or less

10. If a presidential election was held next Sunday, would you vote and if so, which of the current politicians would you vote for?

- Gennady Zyuganov
- Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
- Dmitry Medvedev
- Sergei Mironov
- Mikhail Prokhorov
- Vladimir Putin
- Grigory Yavlinsky
- Other
- Don't know whom I would vote for
- Would not vote
- Don't know if I would vote or not

11. What do you think of Putin's nomination as a candidate in the presidential election?\*

- Absolutely positive
- Rather positive
- Rather negative
- Absolutely negative
- [Don't read] Hard to say

11b. Would you like to see Putin and Medvedev in the top state positions once again?\*

- Only Putin
- Only Medvedev
- Yes, both of them
- Neither of them
- [Don't read] Hard to say

12. In your opinion is Putin now the leader of the nation?\*

- Definitely yes
- Rather yes
- Rather no
- Definitely no
- [Don't read] Hard to say

13. In your opinion, will Putin after his election as President of Russia appoint Medvedev as prime minister?\*

- Definitely yes
- Rather yes
- Rather no
- Definitely no

[Don't read] Hard to say

24. What do you think is taking place right now in the country?\*

Establishment of an authoritarian regime

Introduction of public order

An increase in chaos and anarchy

The establishment of democracy

[Don't read] Hard to say

T1. To what extent do you support each of the following parties?

T1a. United Russia

Support

I am indifferent towards it

Against

I have never heard of this party

Hard to say

T1b. Communists

Support

I am indifferent towards it

Against

I have never heard of this party

Hard to say

T1c. Liberal Democrats

Support

I am indifferent towards it

Against

I have never heard of this party

Hard to say

T1d. Fair Russia

Support

I am indifferent towards it

Against

I have never heard of this party

Hard to say

T1e. Right Cause

Support

I am indifferent towards it

Against

I have never heard of this party

Hard to say

T1f. Yabloko

Support

I am indifferent towards it

Against

I have never heard of this party

Hard to say

T1g. Patriots of Russia

Support

I am indifferent towards it

Against

I have never heard of this party

Hard to say

27b. In which of the following Duma elections did you vote? (Several responses permitted)

1993

1995

1999

2003

2007

2011

[Don't read] Voted, but don't recall when

[Don't read] I have never voted

[Don't read] I don't remember

28a. Are election issues discussed in your family, and with your neighbours and friends, and if so, do you take part?

Yes, and I take part in them

Yes, but I don't participate in them

No, they are not discussed

[Don't read] Hard to say

28b. If you hear election issues being discussed in a public place such as a queue, a bus or a train, would you join the conversation and put forward your point of view?

Yes

No

[Don't read] Hard to say

29. Did you take part in the election to the State Duma on 4 December 2011?

Yes [Go to question 31]

No

30. Why didn't you take part in the election? (Several responses permitted. Replies as percentage of non-voters.)

Tired of politics and leadership struggles

Don't trust any of the current politicians

No party represents my interests

Disappointed in party I used to support

My party had no chance of winning

Results did not depend on me voting

Elections would not be honest and results would be falsified

I could not decide whom to vote for

Don't understand, no interest in politics

I never take part in elections

The Duma doesn't have any real influence  
The Duma is useless; deputies just look after themselves  
My polling station is far from where I live  
I couldn't get to the polling station : ill, away on a trip, etc.  
I have no right to vote  
Other  
Hard to say

31. What made you participate in this election? Several responses permitted

Civic duty  
Habit  
Help party I support to enter the Duma  
Stop a party I don't trust entering Duma  
To express my political position  
Pleasant to go with family and friends  
Almost the only chance to take part in the life of the country  
Other  
[Don't read] Hard to say

32a. Did you vote at your polling station on the day of elections, or in advance with an absentee certificate, visited at home, or did your relatives vote for you with your identity card?

At my polling station on election day  
In advance  
With an absentee ballot  
Was visited at home  
Relatives voted for me with my ID card  
Other: in hospital etc

32b. At what time did you vote?

Before 10 am  
10am-12 noon  
12 noon- 2 pm  
2 pm- 4 pm  
4pm-6pm  
6pm-8pm  
Don't know

33. Whom did you vote for at the elections on 4 December or did you spoil your ballot paper?

Fair Russia  
Liberal Democrats  
Patriots of Russia  
Communists  
Yabloko  
United Russia  
Right Cause  
[Don't read] Spoiled the ballot, took it away: Go to Q36  
[Don't read] Don't remember, won't say Go to Q36

34. How would you explain your choice of party? [Several responses permitted]

- I agree with the programme of this party
- It has new, young and active leaders
- For some time have supported the leader (leaders) of this party
- Have supported this party for a long time
- My friends and relatives support it
- It is the strongest party
- Putin supports this party
- Our regional/local authorities support it
- This is a new party with new leaders
- It defends interests of people like me
- It aims to restore the greatness of Russia
- It can ensure a normal, worthwhile life in the country
- This party has a future
- This is the party of the new generation
- I know something about it but nothing about the others
- Other
- Hard to say

35. If you voted for United Russia was it because (only one response)...

- You like this party
- Dmitri Medvedev was at the top of its list
- Vladimir Putin is its leader
- [Don't read] Hard to say

36. When did you decide that you would vote for this party? Or when did you decide that you would not vote at all?

- Long before the campaign began
- At very beginning of the campaign
- Mid September – mid October
- Mid October – mid November
- In the two last weeks before the election
- In the last week before the election
- On the day of the election
- At the polling station
- [Don't read] Hard to say

37. Could you name any other party for whom you thought of voting before you finally made your decision? [For those who did not vote] Can you name a party for which you would have voted if you had taken part in the election?

- Fair Russia
- Liberal Democrats
- Patriots of Russia
- Communists
- Yabloko
- United Russia
- Right Cause
- Other
- There is no such party
- Don't know

38. Who or what had the greatest influence on your choice of party? For those who did not vote: Who or what had the greatest influence on your decision not to take part in the election [Up to three responses permitted]

- Family and immediate circle
- Friends or acquaintances
- Recommendation of knowledgeable people
- TV, radio, newspapers
- Publications of poll ratings of parties
- Public speeches, appearances of party leaders
- Television debates of the party leaders
- Support of parties and blocs by Putin
- Party campaigning prior to the election
- The general atmosphere in which the election took place
- Disappointed with another party or bloc
- I have known this party for a long time and always vote for it
- I know little of this party but it took votes from those I liked even less
- Other
- [Don't read] Hard to say

39. What would you say about the mass media (TV, newspapers, radio) in the pre-election period? [Only one response permitted]

- They made me aware of the election
- Clarified the pre electoral situation
- Helped me to decide if it was worth voting and for which party
- Only confused matters
- Didn't influence me in any way
- I pay no attention because I don't trust the media
- I don't look at such broadcasts or articles as I am not interested in politics
- Other
- [Don't read] Hard to say

40a. Which parties' TV pre-election videos do you remember best of all? [Several responses permitted]\*

- Fair Russia
- Liberal Democrats
- Patriots of Russia
- Communists
- Yabloko
- United Russia
- Right Cause
- [Don't read] None
- [Don't read] Hard to say

40b. Which parties' pre-election publicity was in your opinion most active in the last week before the elections?\*

- Fair Russia
- Liberal Democrats
- Patriots of Russia
- Communists

Yabloko  
United Russia  
Right Cause  
[Don't read] There are none-other  
[Don't read] Hard to say

41a. Did you see the TV debates of the leaders of the parties during the last ten days before the election?\*

Yes  
No [Go to Q44]  
[Don't read] Hard to say [Go to Q44]

42b. In your opinion which representatives were the most interesting and convincing? (% of those who has seen) (Several responses permitted)

Fair Russia  
Liberal Democrats  
Patriots of Russia  
Communists  
Yabloko  
United Russia  
Right Cause  
[Don't read] Hard to say

43c1-5. Whose performance in the debates you remember best of all?\* (more than one name could be mentioned)

Andrei Bogdanov  
Boris Gрызlov  
Oksana Dmitrieva  
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy  
Gennady Zyuganov  
Sergei Mironov  
Dmitry Medvedev  
Mikhail Prokhorov  
Vladimir Putin  
Grigory Yavlinsky  
Others  
Other representative of United Russia  
Other representative of Communists  
Other representative of Liberal Dem.  
Other representative of Fair Russia  
Representative of other party  
Don't know/Hard to say

44. How much influence did the party leaders' debates have on your decision which party to vote for?\*

A great deal  
A considerable influence  
Not very much  
Very little  
No influence at all

[Don't read] Hard to say

45. What was your reaction to pre-election activities of:

45a. Fair Russia

Want to vote for that party

Vote for any party other than this

Neither

45b. Liberal Democrats

Want to vote for that party

Vote for any party other than this one

Neither

45c. Patriots of Russia

Want to vote for that party

Vote for any party other than this one

Neither

45d. Communists

Want to vote for that party

Vote for any party other than this one

Neither

45e. Yabloko

Want to vote for that party

Vote for any party other than this one

Neither

45f. United Russia

Want to vote for that party

Vote for any party other than this one

Neither

45g. Right Cause

Want to vote for that party

Vote for any party other than this one

Neither

46. If there was the option "Against all" on the ballot paper on 4 December would you have taken part in the election? And if so, how would you have voted?\*

Fair Russia

Liberal Democrats

Patriots of Russia

Communists

Yabloko

United Russia

Right Cause

Against all

[Don't read] Spoil the ballot/take it away

[Don't read] Hard to say

47. In your opinion how honest was the election to the State Duma?

Absolutely honest

Fairly honest

Fairly dishonest

Absolutely dishonest

[Don't read] Hard to say

48. During the election campaign was there any attempt to pressure you to take part in the election and support a particular candidate or party? And if so, by whom?

By the local authorities

By the superiors at my work

By people around me, colleagues at work

Have never noticed anything like that

[Don't read] Hard to say

T2. Has anyone tried to persuade you to vote for a certain party at the elections?

T2a. Somebody from the management at your place of work

Yes

No

Doesn't apply

Hard to say

T2b. An activist from that party

Yes

No

Doesn't apply

Hard to say

T2c. A representative of the local or regional authorities

Yes

No

Doesn't apply

Hard to say

T2e. One of your friends or neighbours

Yes

No

Doesn't apply

Hard to say

T3. Have you attempted in the past month, and if so, how often...

T3a. To persuade one of your friends or colleagues to vote for a particular candidate at the forthcoming presidential election

Every day

Several times a week

About once a week

Only once or twice

Never

T3b. To post a comment on a political issue on the Internet

- Every day
- Several times a week
- About once a week
- Only once or twice
- Never

T3c. To read blogs or Internet discussions of political issues

- Every day
- Several times a week
- About once a week
- Only once or twice
- Never

T3d. To participate in a mass event for a party or candidate

- Every day
- Several times a week
- About once a week
- Only once or twice
- Never

T3e. To watch news programmes on TV

- Every day
- Several times a week
- About once a week
- Only once or twice
- Never

T3f. To look for information on current political issues on Internet sites

- Every day
- Several times a week
- About once a week
- Only once or twice
- Never

49. In your opinion, were there violations in the counting of votes in the Duma election and if so, how significant were they?

- There were no violations
- There were insignificant violations
- There were rather significant violations, but they hardly affected the results
- There were significant violations that substantially affected the results
- [Don't read] Hard to say

50. In your opinion, did the results of the duma election announced by the Central Electoral Commission correspond with reality?

- Entirely
- Largely
- They were far from reality
- They had nothing in common with reality and

were totally falsified  
[Don't read] Hard to say

51. On the whole, are you satisfied with the results of the election?

Entirely  
Largely satisfied  
Largely dissatisfied  
Entirely dissatisfied  
[Don't read] Hard to say

52. In your opinion, does the current composition of the Duma correspond to the preferences of citizens?\*

Entirely  
Largely  
Largely not  
Definitely not  
[Don't read] Hard to say

53. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?\*

53a. Among the parties that took part in the election to the Duma there was none for which I would really have wished to vote\*

Certainly agree  
Rather agree  
Rather disagree  
Certainly disagree  
Hard to say

53b. Among the parties and movements that were not allowed to participate in the election to the State Duma there was one for which I could have voted

Certainly agree  
Rather agree  
Rather disagree  
Certainly disagree  
Hard to say

53e. Generally speaking do you sympathise with the leaders of the 'non-systemic opposition' such as Boris Nemtsov, Vladimir Ryzhkov, Garri Kasparov, Aleksei Navalny and others?\*

Definitely yes  
Mostly yes  
Mostly no  
Definitely no  
[Don't read] Hard to say

54. Do you expect changes for the better in our life after the last elections?\*

Definitely yes  
Mostly yes  
Mostly no  
Definitely no  
[Don't read] Hard to say

55. Do you think the Duma that has just been elected will work better or worse than the previous one?\*

- Significantly better
- Somewhat better
- Neither better nor worse
- Somewhat worse
- Significantly worse
- [Don't read] Hard to say

T4. Do you know of any Russian NGO that attempted to ensure that elections were conducted entirely in accord with the law and with official results that corresponded to the way citizens actually voted? If so, which?

- Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia
- College of advocates Kucherena & partners
- Volzhsky Information Resource Center
- Freedom/Liberty
- Golos/Voice
- Foreign observers
- Solidarity
- Ours
- Independent observers
- Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation (CEC)
- Have heard about such an organisation but can't remember its name
- Never heard about such an organisation

T5. What is your view of the Russian organisations that are attempting to ensure that state officials observe Russian election laws?

- Very negative
- Somewhat negative
- Neutral
- Somewhat positive
- Very positive
- [Don't read] Hard to say

56. Do you agree or disagree with the view that United Russia is a 'party of crooks and thieves'?\*

- Entirely agree
- Largely agree
- Largely disagree
- Entirely disagree
- [Don't read] Hard to say

57a. At the last Duma election United Russia won substantially fewer votes in some regions than its national average. What do you think this means?\*

- Governors and regional authorities in these regions worked less effectively
- Elections there were more honest
- [Don't read] Hard to say

57b. At the Duma election United Russia won a lot more votes in some regions than

its national average. What do you think this means?\*

- Governors and regional authorities in these regions worked more effectively
- Elections were less honest
- [Don't read] Hard to say

58a. How would you characterise the 'All-Russian Popular Front'?\*

- The same as United Russia
- A pre election scheme to secure support for United Russia and Vladimir Putin
- An association as the basis for creating a new political party
- [Don't read] Hard to say

58b. Whom do you trust more: United Russia or the All-Russian Popular Front?\*

- United Russia
- All-Russian Popular Front
- Both
- Neither
- [Don't read] Hard to say

59a. Why do you think the All-Russian Popular Front was created?

- To consolidate healthy forces of society
- To support falling popularity of United Russia and Vladimir Putin by engaging public and non-state organisations
- To get United Russia more votes at the Duma election and Putin for president
- To strengthen the authorities' control over parties and public organisations
- Other
- [Don't read] Hard to say

59b. In your opinion, for whose benefit was the All-Russian Popular Front created?\*

- The entire Russian people
- United Russia
- The ruling bureaucracy
- Vladimir Putin directly
- [Don't read] Hard to say

P1. Are you aware of critical Western assessments such as by observers, the resolution of the OSCE, the statement of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton about the Duma election?\*

- Know about them
- Have heard something about them
- First time I have heard about them
- [Don't read] Hard to say

P2. With which of these statements about such assessments would you be most in agreement?\*

- They are realistic assessments
- Trying to support democratic forces in hopes of strengthening their position
- An attempt to discredit the Duma election and interfere in Russia's affairs
- [Don't read] Hard to say

T6. Have you heard about the mass street protests against violations during the elections and falsifications of the results? If yes, what feelings do you have towards the participants in these protests?

No, I haven't heard about these protests

Yes, and I sympathise with participants

Yes, but I don't agree with participants

Yes, but I neither sympathise nor reject participants

[Don't read] Hard to say

P3. In your opinion, which of the following explains why people went into the streets of the big cities? Several responses permitted.]\*

More violations and fraud in this election than in earlier ones

Smart phones, mobile Internet, social networks etc helped detect such violations quickly and inform the public

After the crisis of 2008 Russians are more critical of government

People unable to tolerate the lawlessness of government any longer

People alarmed by another 12 years of Putin governing

People provoked by a 'non-systemic' opposition financed by the West

Scale of actions exaggerated; we should not pay them any particular attention

Other

[Don't read] Hard to say

60. Generally speaking, do you support street protests against violations in the conduct of the election and fraud in results?\*

Definitely support

Mostly support

Mostly oppose

Entirely oppose

[Don't read] Hard to say

60a. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?\*

60a1. The current ruling bureaucracy has distorted elections to make them a means to maintain their own position

Definitely disagree

Mostly disagree

Mostly agree

Definitely agree

Hard to say

60a2. By voting for parties other than United Russia people were protesting against a corrupt governing bureaucracy and its party

Definitely disagree

Mostly disagree

Mostly agree

Definitely agree

Hard to say

P4. Do you think past protests against violations in the conduct of elections and fraud were caused by...\*

A “non-systemic’ opposition that is constantly criticising the government  
The initiative of people who didn’t want to accept violation of their rights and a  
lack of respect for their opinions  
[Don’t read] Hard to say

61a. Have you heard or seen the slogans ‘Russia without Putin’ or ‘Putin must go’?\*

Often  
From time to time  
Once or twice  
Never  
[Don’t read] Hard to say

62b. Do you support those slogans?\*

I definitely support them  
I mostly support them  
I mostly oppose them  
I definitely oppose them  
[Don’t read] Hard to say

63a. Do you think that people should have the right to express their dissatisfaction  
with the current government publicly?\*

Definitely yes  
Mostly yes  
Mostly no  
Definitely no  
[Don’t read] Hard to say

63b. Do you think the Russian opposition depends on financial support from abroad  
and instructions of Western political consultants?\*

Definitely yes  
Mostly yes  
Mostly no  
Definitely no  
[Don’t read] Hard to say

64. Do you support or oppose the following statements?\*

64a. The Duma results should be recounted in all the polling stations where violations  
were identified

Definitely not  
Probably not  
Probably yes  
Definitely yes  
Hard to say

64b. The head of the Central Electoral Commission, Vladimir Churov, should be  
dismissed

Definitely not  
Probably not  
Probably yes  
Definitely yes

Hard to say

64c. The CEC should be dissolved and a new commission formed

Definitely not  
Probably not  
Probably yes  
Definitely yes  
Hard to say

64d. Regional and territorial electoral commissions should be dissolved and new ones formed

Definitely not  
Probably not  
Probably yes  
Definitely yes  
Hard to say

64e. Everyone involved in falsifying election results should be brought to justice including members of local electoral commissions

Definitely not  
Probably not  
Probably yes  
Definitely yes  
Hard to say

64f. The election result should be annulled and a new election held

Definitely not  
Probably not  
Probably yes  
Definitely yes  
Hard to say

64g. If massive fraud is confirmed, the whole government should be dismissed

Definitely not  
Probably not  
Probably yes  
Definitely yes  
Hard to say

65. Do you think street actions should be agreed with the authorities? Or should organisers just give the authorities advance information about the time and place?\*

Agreed with the authorities  
Just give authorities advance information  
[Don't read] Hard to say

66a. If new mass protests were held in your city or district against violations and fraud, would you be prepared to participate?\*

Definitely yes  
Probably yes  
Probably no

Definitely no  
[Don't read] Hard to say

66b. Do you think the wave of election protests will increase or soon diminish?\*

- Will soon diminish
- Will remain the same for some time and then diminish
- If the authorities don't meet protestors' expectations they will increase
- [Don't read] Hard to say

66c. If mass street actions against election fraud increase, will government make concessions and at least partially review the results of the election or make every effort to prevent this?\*

- In the end it will make concessions
- It will take whatever action is necessary not to review the results
- [Don't read] Hard to say

66d. If the government takes extreme measures to stop protests, will opposition leaders continue protests or make concessions so that their supporters are not beaten and repressed?\*

- They will continue the protests
- They will make concessions
- [Don't read] Hard to say

T7. Some Russian politicians say that people in Russia protest against the election results because they are encouraged to do so by the USA. Others say Russians protest because they want more democracy. What do you think?

- They are encouraged by the USA
- They want more democracy here
- [Don't read] Hard to say

And now about the presidential elections that will take place later this year

67. If a presidential election was held next Sunday, which statement most closely reflects your intention?

- I am sure I will not vote
- I doubt I will vote
- I don't know if I will vote
- I will probably vote [Go to D69]
- I am sure I will vote [Go to D69]
- [Don't read] Hard to say

68. Why are you not planning to vote or doubtful about doing so? [Several responses permitted] As percent of those unlikely to vote

- Tired of politics and leadership struggles
- I don't trust any of politicians
- Candidates don't represents my interests
- Disappointed in the candidate I had earlier intended to support
- My candidate has no chance of winning
- Putin will not be taking part
- The person Putin selects will win
- The result will not at all depend on my vote

I don't believe the election will be honest  
I haven't yet decided whom to vote for  
Don't understand politics, no interest  
I never take part in elections  
Polling station is far from where I live  
I have no right to vote  
Other  
Hard to say

69. Would you vote in the presidential election, and if so for which of the following possible candidates?

Vladimir Putin  
Gennady Zyuganov  
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy  
Sergei Mironov  
Mikhail Prokhorov  
Grigory Yavlinsky  
Leonid Ivashov  
Nikolay Levashov  
Eduard Limonov  
Dmitry Mezentsev  
Viktor Cherepkov  
[Don't read] Spoil or take away the ballot  
[Don't read] Would vote but don't know for whom  
[Don't read] I wouldn't take part  
[Don't read] Don't know if I would vote

[Questions 70a-70d only for those who in Q69 identified a particular candidate]

70a. Why are you intending to vote this candidate? [Multiple responses permitted]

Favours rapid economic reforms and against state interference in the economy  
Favours restoring social protection as before perestroika  
Represents the political party I support  
Stands for fair distribution of wealth and a reduction in wealth of the super-rich  
Protects the interests of Russians  
Resists increasing influence of the West  
Resists authoritarianism and brave enough to criticise Putin  
Personal qualities, eg honesty, sincerity  
Favours stronger state role in economy  
Better for guaranteeing public order  
Better for resolving problem of Chechnya  
Better for resolving problem of terrorism  
There is nobody better  
He is in opposition  
Other  
[Don't read] Hard to say

70b. How sure are you that you will vote for that particular candidate?

Absolutely sure  
Sure unless unexpected happens  
Not quite sure  
Absolutely unsure  
[Don't read] Hard to say

70c. What are the chances of your candidate winning?  
Certainly become President  
Certainly reach the second round  
Has some chance to reach second round  
Unlikely to reach the second round  
[Don't read] Hard to say

[Only for those who identified a particular candidate in Q69]

70d. If that candidate was not on the ballot paper, which of the others would you vote for, or would you not vote at all?

Gennady Zyuganov  
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy  
Leonid Ivashov  
Nikolay Levashov  
Eduard Limonov  
Dmitry Mezentsev  
Sergei Mironov  
Mikhail Prokhorov  
Vladimir Putin  
Viktor Cherepkov  
Grigory Yavlinsky  
[Don't read] None or another candidate  
[Don't read] Hard to say

70e. Let's forget for a moment whether you are intending to vote in the election on 4 March. Which of the candidates do you think would best be able to resolve the problems that Russia is facing? [As a percent of those not choosing a candidate at Q69].

Gennady Zyuganov  
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy  
Leonid Ivashov  
Nikolay Levashov  
Eduard Limonov  
Dmitry Mezentsev  
Sergei Mironov  
Mikhail Prokhorov  
Vladimir Putin  
Viktor Cherepkov  
Grigory Yavlinsky  
[Don't read] None or another candidate  
[Don't read] Hard to say

70f. And now please tell me which of the candidates you would never vote for in the presidential election? [Unlimited responses permitted]

Gennady Zyuganov  
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy  
Leonid Ivashov  
Nikolay Levashov  
Eduard Limonov  
Dmitry Mezentsev  
Sergei Mironov  
Mikhail Prokhorov  
Vladimir Putin  
Viktor Cherepkov  
Grigory Yavlinsky  
[Don't read] None or another candidate  
[Don't read] Hard to say

70g. Who would you like to see as President after the presidential election on 4 March next year? [as a percent of those who didn't choose any candidate at Q69]

Putin  
Any other well-known politician  
A new, previously unknown politician  
[Don't read] Hard to say

71a. Should the 'non-systemic opposition' parties put forward a single candidate at the presidential election or should each put forward its own candidate, or make no nomination at all?\*

Put forward a single candidate  
Each should have its own candidate  
Make no nomination at all  
[Don't read] Hard to say

71b. Who would you like to see as a single candidate of the 'non-systemic opposition' at the 2012 Russian presidential election?\*

Zhirinovskiy  
Zyuganov  
Kasparov  
Kasyanov  
Medvedev  
Mironov  
Nemtsov  
Navalny  
Prokhorov  
Putin  
Sobyanin  
Yavlinsky  
Other  
None  
[Don't read] Hard to say

71c. Do think that falsification of results will be greater, about the same or less at the presidential election than at the Duma election, or do you think there was none for the Duma and will be none for the presidential election?\*

There will be more falsification  
Same amount as at the Duma election  
Less falsification than the Duma election  
No falsification at Duma or other election  
[Don't read] Hard to say

72a. Who in your opinion will become President in 2012?

Vladimir Putin  
Gennady Zyuganov  
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy  
Leonid Ivashov  
Another well-known politician  
A new and still unknown person  
Less than 1%  
[Don't read] Hard to say

72b. Do you think Vladimir Putin will win a majority on the first round or on the second round, or that he will lose the election?

Putin will win on the first round  
Putin will win on the second round  
Putin will lose  
[Don't read] Hard to say

73a. Are you familiar with Vladimir Putin's 'direct line' answers on air to the questions of Russians that took place last Thursday, 16 December?\*

Watched it on TV  
Read Putin's answers on internet, papers  
Read a discussion in papers or internet, papers but haven't seen it or read it  
Heard about it but don't know exactly what it was all about  
This is news to me

73b. Were you interested in the 'direct line' of Vladimir Putin?\* (As percent of those who have heard of direct line)

Very much  
Somewhat  
Not very much  
Not at all  
[Don't read] Hard to say

73c. Do you think the 'direct line' is a real live dialogue of the prime minister with ordinary people, or some kind of show?\*

A real live dialogue  
A show  
[Don't read] Hard to say

D1. Did you vote at the March 2008 presidential election? If so, how?

Bogdanov  
Zhirinovskiy  
Zyuganov  
Medvedev

Spoiled or took away ballot paper  
[Don't read] Did not vote  
[Don't read] Don't remember, hard to say

D2. Did you vote at the December 2007 Duma election? If so, how?

Agrarian Party of Russia  
Citizens Force party  
Democratic Party of Russia  
Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF)  
Union of Right Forces  
Party of Social Justice  
Liberal Democratic Party (LDPR)  
A Just Russia  
Patriots of Russia  
United Russia  
Yabloko  
[Don't read] Spoiled or took away ballot  
[Don't read] Didn't vote  
[Don't read] Don't remember

D4a. What is your occupation?

Independent entrepreneur  
Manager  
Specialist  
Law enforcement official  
Clerical / Non-manual worker  
Manual worker in industry, agriculture  
Student  
Non-working pensioner  
Disabled pensioner  
Housewife  
Unemployed

D5. What is your marital status?

Married  
Cohabiting  
Widowed  
Divorced  
Separated  
Single - never married

D7a. How many people live with you, including yourself and all children?

Live alone  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7 or more

D7b. And how many children under 16 live together with you?

1

2

3

4

Don't have children under 16

D8. To what category of people would you say you belong?

We haven't enough money even for food

Only enough for food but not clothes

Enough for food and clothes but buying expensive things like a TV is a problem

We can buy some expensive things such as a TV but not a car

We can buy a car; not short of money

We can buy anything we want

D9. What was the income of your family last month from all sources?

<4,000 rubles

4,000-5,999 rbs

6,000-7,999 rbs

8,000-9,999 rbs

10,000-11,999 rbs

12,000-13,999 rbs

14,000-15,999 rbs

16,000-17,999 rbs

18,000-19,999 rbs

20,000-24,999 rbs

25,000-29,999 rbs

30,000-49,999 rbs

50,000+ rbs

[Don't read] Hard to say

[Don't read] Refuse to answer

D9a. What is the income of your family on the following scale (% of those who refused to answer in D9)

5,000 rubles or less

5,001 - 10,000 rbs

10,001 - 15,000 rbs

15,001 - 20,000 rbs

20,001 - 30,000 rbs

30,001 - 40,000 rbs

40,001 - 50,000 rbs

50,001 - 100,000 rbs

More than 100,000 rbs

[Don't read] Refused, hard to say

D10. To which of the following social groups do you and your family belong? (missing values added to DKs)

Upper

Upper middle

Medium middle  
Low middle  
Low  
Don't know/Hard to say

D11. Who in your family is responsible for buying food and looking after the household? (missing values added to DKs)

Mainly the respondent  
The respondent equally with other members of the family  
The respondent takes a part  
The respondent takes no part  
Don't know/Hard to say

D13\_1. Where do you mostly get news and information about what is taking place in the country?(First choice)

Russian state TV channels  
Russian private TV channels  
Internet  
Foreign news sources  
State newspapers  
Private newspapers  
Radio  
Family, friends, neighbours  
Other  
[Don't read] Hard to say

D13\_2. Where do you mostly get news and information about what is taking place in the country? (Second choice)

Russian state TV channels  
Russian private TV channels  
Internet  
Foreign news sources  
State newspapers  
Private newspapers  
Radio  
Family, friends, neighbours  
Other  
[Don't read] Hard to say

D14. Do you use the internet? If so, for what purposes? [multiple answers]

To follow the latest news  
To know what's going on in Russia, abroad  
To find needed information  
To find and read books  
To watch films  
To listen to music  
To buy goods and services  
For entertainment  
For communication  
Other

Don't use the internet

D15. Do you take part more or less regularly in social networks, and if so, in which?  
[Unlimited number of responses]

V Kontakte  
My Circle (Moi krug)  
My World  
Odnoklassniki.ru  
LiveJournal  
Facebook  
Twitter  
Other  
I don't use social networks

S1. Gender of respondent

Male  
Female

S2. Your age

Mean

S3. Your education

Primary  
Incomplete secondary school  
Technical college  
Secondary school  
Technical college and secondary school  
Professional education  
Incomplete higher  
Higher education

D16. Region

North-Western  
Central  
Volga  
Southern  
North Caucasus  
Ural  
Siberian  
Far Eastern

D17. Size of town

Moscow  
More than 1 million  
500-999,000  
250-499,000  
100-249,000  
20-99,000  
Less than 20,000