

NEW RUSSIA XX QUESTIONNAIRE

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
- 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 the 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. Do you think that you and your family have already adjusted to the changes that happened in our country within the last 10 years? (*)
Have adjusted
Will adjust in the near future
Will never adapt
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 2a. As for your own household, how do you rate its economic situation today?
Very satisfactory
Fairly satisfactory
Not very satisfactory
Very unsatisfactory
Don't know
3. Do you think we are currently experiencing the most difficult times or are they already behind or still ahead of us? (*)
We are experiencing them now
They are behind

They are still ahead

[Don't read] Hard to say/ No answer

- 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 former 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 five years in the future?
100 best
-100 worst
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 with 1 for 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. Army
Trusts
Neutral
Does not trust
Don't know
- E3d. The State Duma
Trusts
Neutral
Does not trust
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
- 4a. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of the performance of Dmitry Medvedev as President of Russia?
Approve
Disapprove
Hard to say/ No answer
- 4b. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of the performance of Vladimir Putin as Prime Minister?
Approve
Disapprove
Hard to say/ No answer
- 4c. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of the performance of the government of Russia?
Approve
Disapprove
Hard to say/ No answer
- 4d. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of the performance of the governor of your region (president of republic, mayor of Moscow)?
Approve
Disapprove
Hard to say/ No answer
- 4e. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of the performance of the State Duma?
Approve
Disapprove
Hard to say/ No answer
5. Under our present system of government how much influence do you think people like yourself can have on government?
A lot of influence
Some influence
Not much influence
No influence
Don't know
6. In your opinion, if the governor of your region is elected by the population of the region, how will the situation in your region change?
Will improve

Will change for the worse
Will stay the same
[Don't read] Hard to say/ No answer

7. How widespread do you think bribe-taking and corruption are?
Very public officials are corrupt
Less than half are corrupt
Most public officials are corrupt
Almost all public officials are corrupt
[Don't read] Hard to say
7. In your opinion, why is there no significant economic growth in Russia at the moment? (*) (Several responses allowed)
Wrong government economic policy
Lack of government economic programme
Lack of investment in Russian economy
Capital outflow from Russia
Predatory policy of Russian business, oligarchs; no interest in economic revival
Managerial theft
Bureaucracy, corruption and bribery in highest positions of power
High taxes on entrepreneurial activity
Lack of legal protection for business
Depreciation of fixed assets
Russian goods can't compete with West
Other
Hard to say/ No answer
8. In your opinion, what consequences will the current high oil prices have for the Russian economy? (*) (Several responses allowed)
Russia will get more money for economic development and improve people's lives
Government will have money to pay salaries to state employees and pensions
Rises in prices accelerates
As in the past, will slow down the pace of reform and restructuring of economy
Big profits will be stolen and divided among the bureaucrats and oligarchs
Makes no difference
[Don't read] Hard to say
8. Compared to our system of government before perestroika, would you say our system is better or worse than the old system in whether:
- 8a. Everybody has a right to say what they think
Much better
Somewhat better
Much the same
Somewhat worse
Much worse
[Don't read] 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 read] Don't know

- 8d. Everybody has freedom of choice in religious matters
Much better
Somewhat better
Much the same
Somewhat worse
Much worse
[Don't read] Don't know

9. Do you think that the current government of Russia will be able to improve the situation in the country in the near future?
Definitely yes
Probably yes
Perhaps yes, perhaps no
Probably no
Definitely no
[Don't read] Hard to say

9. Some people think this country would be better governed if parliament was 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 read] Don't know

10. If parliament was closed down and parties abolished, would you...
Definitely approve
Somewhat approve
Somewhat disapprove
Definitely disapprove
[Don't read] Don't know

10. Name five or six politicians who inspire most confidence in you ... (Several responses allowed)
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
Aleksei Kudrin
Sergei Lavrov
Alexander Lukashenko
Valentina Matvienko
Dmitry Medvedev
Sergei Mironov
Patriarch Kirill
Yevgeny Primakov

Mikhail Prokhorov
Vladimir Putin
Dmitry Rogozin
Sergei Sobyanin
Aman Tuleev
Sergei Shoygu
Other
None
Not interested in politicians, politics
Don't know
1% or less

11. Which politicians, in your view, have made the most memorable speeches recently? (Several responses allowed)

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
Gennady Zyuganov
Dmitry Medvedev
Sergei Mironov
Alexey Navalny
Patriarch Kirill
Mikhail Prokhorov
Vladimir Putin
Sergei Shoygu
Other
None
Not interested in politicians, politics
Don't know
1% or less

12. Name five or six politicians who inspire least confidence in you ... (Several responses allowed)

Tatyana Golikova
Mikhail Gorbachev
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
Gennady Zyuganov
Ramzan Kadyrov
Mikhail Kasyanov
Aleksei Kudrin
Eduard Limonov
Yuriy Luzhkov
Alexander Lukashenko
Dmitry Medvedev
Sergei Mironov
Boris Nemtsov
Mikhail Prokhorov
Vladimir Putin
Vladimir Ryzhkov
Irina Khakamada
Vladimir Churov
Grigory Yavlinsky

Other
None
Not interested in politicians, politics
Don't know
1% or less

11. Here is a scale ranging from a low of 1 to a high 10: 1 means complete dictatorship and 10 means complete democracy.

11a. 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

11b. 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

13. How would you assess the people who are in power at the moment? (*)

They are concerned only with their material well-being and career

Honest but weak people who don't know how to rule and ensure order

Honest but incompetent people who don't know how to lead the country in its crisis

A good team of politicians who are leading the country in the right direction

[Don't read] Hard to say

14. In your opinion, what are the people who are in power now most concerned about? (*)

The development of the country

National security

Welfare of ordinary citizens

Protection of big corporations

Their own advantage

Desire to remain in power

Other
[Don't read] Hard to say

- A1. How has your family's economic situation changed over the last year?
On the whole, improved
Stayed the same
On the whole, worsened
[Don't read] Hard to say
- A2. How do you think your family's economic condition will change over the next year?
On the whole, improve
Stay the same
On the whole, deteriorate
Hard to say/ No answer
- A3. In terms of the economic conditions of the country, will the coming 12 months be good or bad for Russia?
Good
Good, but not in all aspects
Neither bad nor good
Bad, but not in all aspects
Bad
[Don't read] Hard to say
- A4. Speaking about the next 5 years, will they be a good or a bad time for the economy of Russia?
Good
Neither good nor bad
Bad
[Don't read] Hard to say
- A5. In your opinion, is this generally a good or a bad time to make major purchases for the household (such as furniture or a refrigerator)?
Good
Neither good nor bad
Bad
[Don't read] Hard to say
38. The political declarations or participation in the electoral campaign in the past three months of which public figures, scientists, journalists, writers, actors or cultural figures do you remember the most? (Several responses allowed)
Alla Pugacheva
Stanislav Govorukhin
Ksenia Sobchak
Nikita Mikhalkov
Fyodr Bondarchuk
Andrei Makarevich
Leonid Parfenov
Tina Kandelaki

Rimma Markova
Chulpan Khamatova
Irina Prokhorova
Nikolai Rastorguev
Mikhail Leontiev
Sergei Kurginyan
Yuri Shevchuk
Mikhail Efremov
Lia Akhedzhakova
Boris Akunin
Tatyana Lazareva
Oleg Basilashvili
Arkady Mamontov
Anatoly Wasserman
Alexander Prokhanov
Vladimir Mashkov
Other
1% or less
Hard to say

39. Did you vote in the election of the President of Russia on 4 March this year?
Yes
No

40. [Of nonvoters only] Why did you not vote in the presidential election? (Several responses allowed)
Tired of politics, power struggles
Don't trust any of the current politicians
No candidate represents my interests
Disappointed by the candidate previously supported
Candidate I wanted had no chance
It wouldn't affect the result
Thought the elections would be dishonest, and the results would anyway be falsified
Unable to decide for whom to vote
Not interested in politics
I never vote
My polling station far from where I live
Could not get to polling station (e.g. ill, traveling)
I don't have the right to vote
Other
Hard to say

41. (If voted) What motivated you to vote? (several responses allowed)
My civic duty
Habit
Desire to help a candidate I support
Desire not to allow a candidate I do not support receive extra votes
Desire to express my political views
So that my vote was not used without my permission

My boss made me vote for this candidate
It is nice to go with people close to me
Almost only opportunity to participate in the country's life
Other
[Don't read] Hard to say

42a. (If voted) How did you vote?

At my polling station on election day
In advance
Using lists at my place of work
Using an absentee ballot
Ballot box was brought to my house
Relatives or those close to me voted with my passport
Other (at the hospital, etc.)

42b. (If voted) What time did you vote?

Before 10 a.m.
10-12
12-14
14-16
16-18
18-20 p.m.
[Don't read] Hard to say

43. (If voted) Whom did you vote for in the election on 4 March or did you spoil the ballot or take it away with you?

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
Gennady Zyuganov
Sergei Mironov
Mikhail Prokhorov
Vladimir Putin
[Don't read] Spoiled the ballot/ took it with me
[Don't read] Don't remember/ Refused

44. (If voted) What influenced your decision to vote for this candidate? [More than one answer possible]

His speeches on TV, radio, in the press
Liked candidate's programme, what his election as President would lead to
His recent actions, campaigning
Most reasonable choice in the situation
He was supported by the party I voted for
My boss made me vote for this candidate
Convinced by experts and poll results
Liked candidate's campaign materials
People who are close to me, I respect were going to vote for this candidate
Wanted to protest against the falsification of results of election to the Duma
Other
Hard to say

45. When did you decide how to vote in the election of the President?

Long before the beginning of campaign, in summer 2011 or earlier
During the Duma electoral campaign (September - November 2011)
Just after the Duma election
In January 2012
During the first two weeks of February
During last two weeks before the election
During last week before the election
On election day
At the polling station itself
[Don't read] Hard to say

46. Was there another candidate for whom you were going to vote or could have voted for before you made your final decision?
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
Gennady Zyuganov
Sergei Mironov
Mikhail Prokhorov
Vladimir Putin
Other
No such candidate; made my choice at the very beginning
Hard to say
47. Who or what was the decisive influence on your decision how to vote in the election of the President? (Several responses allowed)
Family, people close to me
Friends or acquaintances
Views of knowledgeable people
TV, newspapers, radio
Publication of candidates' ratings
Speeches of the candidates
TV debates
Electoral campaigns of candidates
General atmosphere of election
I was disappointed by another candidate
Have supported candidate for long time/
Don't like this candidate very much, but he took votes from those I like even less
Other
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 49a. What candidates, in your view, had advantages over others during the electoral campaign? (*) (Several responses allowed)
Vladimir Putin
Gennady Zyuganov
Sergei Mironov
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
Mikhail Prokhorov
[Don't read] Everyone was equal
[Don't read] Hard to say

- 49b. Which candidates experienced the greatest administrative pressure and 'dirty' technologies? (*) (Several responses allowed)
Vladimir Putin
Gennady Zyuganov
Sergei Mironov
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
Mikhail Prokhorov
[Don't read] Everyone was equal
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 50a. What candidates were supported by your local authority during the electoral campaign? (*) (Several responses allowed)
Vladimir Putin
Gennady Zyuganov
Sergei Mironov
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
Mikhail Prokhorov
[Don't read] Everyone was equal
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 50b. Do you think the election result was falsified by the Central Electoral Commission or local commissions in favour of some candidates? If yes, in whose favour? (*) (Several responses allowed)
Vladimir Putin
Gennady Zyuganov
Sergei Mironov
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy
Mikhail Prokhorov
[Don't read] Everyone was equal
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 51a. During the campaign, did you notice any outside pressure to take part in the election and vote for Vladimir Putin? (*) (Several responses allowed)
From the mass media
From bosses at work
From local authorities
From the internet
From the people I meet and at work
Other
[Don't read] Didn't experience pressure
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 51b. During the electoral campaign this year, did you notice any outside pressure to motivate you NOT to vote for Vladimir Putin? (*) (Several responses allowed)
From the internet
From people around me, colleagues
From mass media
From bosses at work
From local authorities

Other

[Don't read] Didn't experience pressure

[Don't read] Hard to say

52. During the campaign, did the people in power try to manipulate the minds of people using state mass media? (*)
- They didn't try to manipulate minds of people
 - They tried, but had little effect
 - They tried, and this had significant, but probably not decisive consequences
 - They tried, and this had significant consequences for the election?
- [Don't read] Hard to say
- 53a. What would you say about TV, newspapers, radio before the election of the President of Russia on 4 March 2012? (*)
- Attracted my attention to the election
 - Clarified the pre-electoral situation
 - Helped me decide whether, how to vote
 - They only confused me
 - They didn't influence me in any way
 - I don't believe such programmes
 - I don't watch what they say as not interested in politics
 - Other
- [Don't read] Hard to say
- 53b. What could you say about the internet and social media/networks on the internet before the election of the President of Russia on 4 March 2012? (*)
- Attracted my attention to the election
 - Clarified the pre-electoral situation
 - Helped me decide whether, how to vote
 - They only confused me
 - They didn't influence me in any way
 - I don't believe such programmes
 - I don't watch what they say as not interested in politics
 - Other
- [Don't read] Hard to say
54. In your opinion, how honest were the presidential elections on 4 March 2012? (*)
- Completely honest
 - Fairly honest
 - Rather dishonest
 - Completely dishonest
- [Don't read] Hard to say
55. Are you satisfied with the results of this election? (*)
- Completely satisfied
 - Rather satisfied
 - Rather dissatisfied

Completely dissatisfied
[Don't read] Hard to say

- 56a. Do you think the elections of the President of Russia and Duma are really secret, and no one knows how each citizen votes? (*)
Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 56b. Do you think you could be prosecuted because of your political views if you were not to vote or didn't vote in a way which was not approved by the authorities? (*)
Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 57a. Are questions related to the elections discussed in the circle of your relatives, neighbours and colleagues, and if they are, do you participate in these conversations?
Discussed, and I participate in them
Discussed, but I don't participate
They are not discussed
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 57b. If there was a conversation about the elections in a public place, such as queue, bus, or train, would you participate in such a conversation?
Yes
No
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 58a. In your opinion, were there any violations in the voting procedure in these elections and if yes, how significant were they? (*)
There were no violations
Insignificant violations
Significant violations but no affect result
Significant violations that changed result
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 58b. In your opinion, were there any violations in the counting votes procedure in these elections and if yes, how significant they were? (*)
There were no violations
Insignificant violations
Significant violations, but no affect result
Significant violations that changed result
[Don't read] Hard to say
59. In your opinion, do the results of the presidential election announced by the

CEC correspond to reality? (*)

Completely

To a large extent

They are unrealistic

Nothing in common with reality

[Don't read] Hard to say

60a. Whose candidate's election TV ads do you remember most? (*) (Several responses allowed)

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy

Vladimir Putin

Gennady Zyuganov

Mikhail Prokhorov

Sergei Mironov

[Don't read] No such candidate

[Don't read] Hard to say

60b. Whose candidate's campaign was the most active in the last week before the election? (*) (Several responses allowed)

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy

Vladimir Putin

Mikhail Prokhorov

Gennady Zyuganov

Sergei Mironov

No such candidate

[Don't read] Hard to say

61a. Did you watch the TV debates among the candidates or their representatives in the last two weeks before the election? (*)

Yes

No

Hard to say/ No answer

61b. In your opinion, which candidates or their representatives performed more interestingly and convincingly than others? (% of those who said 'yes' in Q61a) (Several responses allowed)

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy; his representatives

Representatives of Vladimir Putin

Mikhail Prokhorov; his representatives

Gennady Zyuganov; his representatives

Sergei Mironov; his representatives

[Don't read] Hard to say

63a. Do you support the mass protests taking place since December 2011 against violations in the conduct of elections and falsification of their results? (*)

Definitely support

Mostly support

Mostly oppose

Entirely oppose

[Don't read] Hard to say

- 63b. In your opinion, what motivates people to participate in these protests? (*)
(Several responses allowed)
- Discontent with falsification of election
 - Accumulated dissatisfaction with situation in the country and government policy
 - Disappointment with the promise of modernization by Medvedev
 - Discontent with authorities ignoring the people and main decisions taken without their participation
 - To support parties participating in protest
 - Sympathy with organisers of protests
 - Putin's disdainful attitude to the voters
 - Interest or curiosity
 - This is fun
 - To accompany their friends, acquaintances
 - Many were paid to do so
 - Other
 - [Don't read] Hard to say
- 64a. Do you support the demands of protestors to dismiss the head of the Central Electoral Committee, Vladimir Churov? (*)
- Definitely no
 - Probably no
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
 - Hard to say
- 64b. Do you support the demands of protestors to cancel the results of the election to the State Duma and schedule a new election soon? (*)
- Definitely no
 - Probably no
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
 - Hard to say
- 64c. Do you support the demands of the protestors to ease the registration procedure of political parties? (*)
- Definitely no
 - Probably no
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
 - Hard to say
- 64d. Do you support the demands of protestors to ease requirements for the nomination of parties and candidates and to lower the threshold of votes for parties to enter the State Duma? (*)
- Definitely no
 - Probably no
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
 - Hard to say

- 64e. Do you support demands of protestors to return to having governors of regions elected and not appointed by the president? (*)
- Definitely no
 - Probably no
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
 - Hard to say
- 64f. Do you support demands of protestors to free political prisoners? (*)
- Definitely no
 - Probably no
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
 - Hard to say
- 65a. Do you think that the demand to dismiss the head of the CEC Vladimir Churov will be satisfied in the near future? (*)
- Definitely no
 - Probably no
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
 - Hard to say
- 65b. Do you think the demand to cancel the Duma result and schedule a new election soon will be satisfied in the near future? (*)
- Definitely no
 - Probably no
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
 - Hard to say
- 65c. Do you think the demand to ease requirements for the registration of political parties will be satisfied in the near future? (*)
- Definitely no
 - Probably no
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
 - Hard to say
- 65d. Do you think the demand to ease requirements for nominating parties and candidates and lowering the threshold for parties to enter the will be satisfied in the near future? (*)
- Definitely no
 - Probably no
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes
 - Hard to say
- 65e. Do you think the demand to return to the election of regional governors will be

satisfied in the near future? (*)

Definitely no

Probably no

Probably yes

Definitely yes

Hard to say

65f. Do you think the demand to free political prisoners will be satisfied in the near future?

Definitely no

Probably no

Probably yes

Definitely yes

Hard to say

66a. In your opinion, have these protests brought any positive result, have they changed the situation in the country for the better? (*)

Definitely yes

Probably yes

Probably no

Definitely no

[Don't read] Hard to say

66b. If in the near future there were mass protests against violations in the conduct of elections, would you be prepared to participate? (*)

Definitely yes

Probably yes

Probably not

Definitely not

[Don't read] Hard to say

66c. Would you be prepared to participate in these protests if they were not approved by the authorities? (*)

Definitely yes

Probably yes

Probably no

Definitely no

[Don't read] Hard to say

67a. Generally speaking, do you support the recent mass meetings in favour of Vladimir Putin and his policies? (*)

Definitely support

Probably support

Probably oppose

Definitely oppose

[Don't read] Hard to say

67b. In your opinion, what makes people join mass actions in support of Vladimir Putin and his policies? (*) (Several responses allowed)

Want an honest election without pressure and involvement of outside forces

Satisfaction with Putin's policies
Fear of changes in the country
Fear of an 'Orange revolution'
Coercion/ pressure/ threats at work
Personal sympathy for Putin
Dissatisfaction with opposition, offensive slogans towards Putin at its meeting
Interest/curiosity
This is fun
To accompany friends and acquaintances
They were paid to do so
Other
[Don't read] Hard to say

67c. If in the near future there were new mass actions in support of Vladimir Putin and his policies, would you be ready to join them? (*)

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

68a. Do you think that the opposition should have the right to conduct mass meetings and protests? (*)

Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
Hard to say

68b. Do you think that the authorities should have right to forbid mass meetings and demonstrations by opposition parties?

Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
Hard to say

68c. Do you think the authorities should use special police forces to disperse the demonstrators? (*)

Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
Hard to say

69. Do you think street protests should have to be approved by the authorities or should the organisers just inform them? (*)

Should be approved by the authorities
Organisers should only have to inform them in advance about the time, place of protest

[Don't read] Hard to say

70. In your opinion, after returning to the presidency of Russia will Vladimir Putin continue the policies that he pursued for the last 12 years or adopt completely different policies? (*)
- Continue with his previous policies
 - In part pursue his previous policies
 - Gradually change his policies
 - Adopt completely different policies
 - [Don't read] Hard to say
71. What problems do you think Vladimir Putin should focus on after his election? (Three or four responses allowed) (*)
- Economic growth, revive the economy
 - Fight against corruption
 - Restore social justice, improve lives of ordinary people
 - Establish order in the country
 - Make citizens and authorities obey law
 - Fight against crime
 - Develop science, culture and education
 - Strengthen the country's defence
 - Strengthen Russia's position in the world
 - Spiritual revival of Russia
 - Strengthen democracy, protect individual rights and freedoms
 - Moderate interethnic conflicts, intolerance
 - Ensure property rights, help entrepreneurs
 - Environmental protection
 - [Don't read] Hard to say
72. In your opinion, in the next six years will Vladimir Putin keep his promise to:
- 72a. Increase salaries of state employees by 2 to 3 times? (*)
- Definitely yes
 - Probably yes
 - Probably no
 - Definitely no
 - Hard to say
- 72b. Create 25 million new jobs in innovative economic sectors? (*)
- Definitely yes
 - Probably yes
 - Probably no
 - Definitely no
 - Hard to say
- 72c. Reduce inflation to 3 to 4 per cent a year? (*)
- Definitely yes
 - Probably yes
 - Probably no
 - Definitely no
 - Hard to say

- 72d. Increase labour productivity to the level of European countries? (*)
 Definitely yes
 Probably yes
 Probably not
 Definitely not
 Hard to say
- 72e. Re-equip the army with the newest military equipment comparable in quality to NATO? (*)
 Definitely yes
 Probably yes
 Probably no
 Definitely no
 Hard to say
- 72f. Initiate large-scale road building and develop the infrastructure?
 Definitely yes
 Probably yes
 Probably no
 Definitely no
 Hard to say
- 72g. Reduce the level of corruption by at least 2 to 3 times?
 Definitely yes
 Probably yes
 Probably no
 Definitely no
 Hard to say
73. Do you think concentrating nearly all power in Putin's hands will be beneficial for Russia or not promise anything good? (*)
 Russia will benefit from it
 It will not bring to Russia anything good
 [Don't read] Hard to say
74. Will Putin rely on his previous associates during his new term, or appoint energetic and honest people in his government? (*)
 He will rely on his former associates
 He will introduce new energetic people
 [Don't read] Hard to say
75. If Putin does not fulfill his election promises, what will be the cause of that? (*)
 Interrupted by events such as a new world financial crisis
 Even in the most favourable conditions, the Russian economy will not allow him
 Initiatives will be sabotaged by corrupt bureaucrats
 They are just election promises; nobody believes he intends to fulfil them
 [Don't read] Hard to say
76. With which of the following judgments about corruption in Russia would you be

inclined to agree? (*)

Putin can succeed in fighting corruption if he purges top-level bureaucrats and corruption penalties are more severe

Putin will try but he won't achieve much because corruption in Russia is incurable

Hard for Putin to fight corruption as he depends on corrupt bureaucrats

Putin will not even try to fight corruption as he himself is associated with it

[Don't read] Hard to say

77a. Should Putin discuss his actions with representatives of the public, protest movements and leaders of opposition parties? (*)

Definitely yes

Probably yes

Probably no

Definitely no

[Don't read] Hard to say

77b. Will Putin discuss his actions with representatives of the public, protest movements and leaders of opposition parties? (*)

Definitely yes

Probably yes

Probably no

Definitely no

[Don't read] Hard to say

78. Will Putin try to dialogue with representatives of the protest movement and opposition parties or take revenge for their criticism of his actions during the electoral campaign? (*)

Putin will try to start a dialogue

Putin will try to take revenge

[Don't read] Putin will do neither

[Don't read] Hard to say

79. Are you concerned about increasing regime repressiveness after Putin's return to the presidential post? (*)

Yes, and it might affect me personally

Yes, but unlikely to affect me personally

No, this is very unlikely

[Don't read] Hard to say

80. In your opinion, what is more important? (*)

Respect for civil rights of political, ethnic, religious, sexual and other minorities

OR

Subordination of minorities to the majority

[Don't read] Hard to say

80a. Are there times in our country's life when the people require a strong and powerful leader, a 'strong hand'? (*)

Our people always require a strong hand

There are certain situations, as now, when all power should be concentrated in

one pair of hands

Under no circumstances should all power to be concentrated in one pair of hands

[Don't read] Hard to say

80b. What, in your opinion, should the government and president undertake right now? (*)

'Tighten the screws' and treat 'liberties' in politics and economics more strictly
OR

Provide people with the freedom to mind their own business and ensure that the laws are enforced

[Don't read] Hard to say

81. Personally, would you be in favor or against an early release of Mikhail Khodorkovsky who has been in jail since 2003 and already served almost two thirds of the term given by the court? (*)

Definitely in favour

Probably in favour

Probably against

Definitely against

[Don't read] Hard to say

82. Which out of the following scenarios do you consider as the most probable after the elections on 4 March? (*)

People in power will gradually improve the situation in the country without shocks or conflicts

Protests will increase that will force the introduction of necessary changes

Protest movement will result in a new strong political party that will come to power in the next or early election

People in power now will try to take the initiative away from the protestors and initiate some changes to remain in power

After the elections, the authorities will begin to 'tighten the screws' and use force in order to stop the protests

Mass protests will lead to anarchy and mass disorders; authorities will need to use force to stabilize the situation

Protests will calm down and eventually disappear, and life in the country will continue as in the last dozen years

[Don't read] Hard to say

83. Would you like Putin to be re-elected as the President of Russia for another term in 6 years, or that in 6 years he should be replaced by Medvedev – or someone else? (*)

Re-elected in 6 years

Replaced by Medvedev

Replaced by another person in 6 years

[Don't read] Hard to say

86a. How would you assess your family's material condition compared to what it was before *perestroika* (before 1985)? (*)

Much better than now

Slightly better than now
The same as now
Slightly worse as now
Much worse than now
[Don't read] Hard to say

86b. What will be the material condition of your family in five years time? (*)

Much better than now
Slightly better than now
The same as now
Slightly worse as now
Much worse than now
[Don't read] Hard to say

87a. With which out of the following statements about the reforms of the government of Gaidar in 1992 would you agree? (*)

Definitely had a positive impact on the Russian economy
Painful but necessary
Not needed
They had a negative/destructive impact on the Russian economy
[Don't read] Hard to say

87b. What is your opinion of Egor Gaidar and his colleagues who initiated the reforms in 1992? (*) (Several responses allowed)

Started to reform the country without knowing what it could lead to
Did not think about the lives of ordinary people and what they needed
Acted only in their own interests
Did not take enough account of their own limitations and too weak to lead reforms
Offended the values of Soviet society
Acted too harshly and radically
Only criticising the Soviet past without offering any constructive programme
Acted inconsistently and indecisively
Other
I don't have any issues with them
[Don't read] Hard to say

88. What is the primary reason of the problems with democratic and market reforms in Russia? (*) (Up to 3 responses)

Governing elite is corrupt
Lack of considered programme of reform
Mistaken nature of the reforms themselves
Incompatibility of market reforms with the Russian way of life
Lack of competent and professional specialists in the government
Population unsuited to a market economy and democracy, lack of the initiative and willingness to work
Slow pace and inconsistency of reforms
Rapid and radical nature of changes in peoples' lives
Reluctance, sabotage by bureaucrats
Other

[Don't read] Hard to say

89. In your opinion, how great an influence does the intelligentsia have on what is happening in Russia now? (*)
- None
 - Not very large
 - Quite large
 - Very large
 - [Don't read] Hard to say
90. Whom does the Russian intelligentsia consist of now? (*) (Several responses allowed)
- Professors, academics, scientists, scholars
 - Teachers
 - Writers
 - Doctors
 - Artists, actors, other creative professions
 - People with a high level of education
 - Cultured people
 - Decent people, people with a conscience
 - Journalists
 - People with independent views
 - People who criticise the government or oppose it
 - [Don't read] Other
 - [Don't read] Hard to say
- 91a. Do you agree that the intelligentsia is responsible for all the problems in the country that appeared as a result of *perestroika*? (*)
- Entirely agree
 - Somewhat agree
 - Rather disagree
 - Entirely disagree
 - [Don't read] Hard to say
- 91b. Do you agree that the intelligentsia has nearly disappeared in contemporary Russia? (*)
- Entirely agree
 - Rather agree
 - Rather disagree
 - Entirely disagree
 - [Don't read] Hard to say
- 91c. Do you agree that the intelligentsia in modern Russia compromises too much with business and power? (*)
- Entirely agree
 - Rather agree
 - Rather disagree
 - Entirely disagree
 - [Don't read] Hard to say

- 91d. Do you agree that the intelligentsia should serve state interests? (*)
 Entirely agree
 Rather agree
 Rather disagree
 Entirely disagree
 [Don't read] Hard to say
- 91e. Do you agree that in the future the intelligentsia will encourage government to be accountable to the public and the country to develop in the right direction? (*)
 Entirely agree
 Rather agree
 Rather disagree
 Entirely disagree
 [Don't read] Hard to say
- 92a. Do you know who Alexei Navalny is? (*)
 Yes
 No
 Hard to say
- 92b. Do you think that the information about the extent of stealing of state funds by officials and businessmen linked to them as published by Aleksei Navalny on the Internet-site 'Rospil' is accurate? (*) (those who responded 'Yes' in Q92a)
 Definitely yes
 I hope that yes
 Probably no
 Definitely no
 [Don't read] Hard to say
- 92c. If Alexei Navalny nominated as a candidate for the presidency would you vote for him or not? (*) (those who responded 'Yes' in Q92a)
 Definitely yes
 Probably yes
 Probably no
 Definitely no
 [Don't read] Hard to say
- 92d. In your opinion, why were Alexei Navalny and other staff from the 'Rospil' project recently summoned to the investigative office? (*) (those who responded 'Yes' in Q92a)
 In order to threaten Alexei Navalny and his team-mates and to make them stop the investigation of state bureaucrats
 In order to start an official investigation of the evidence of corruption that is published on the 'Rospil' website
 In order to protect state employees and businessmen from the groundless accusations of Alexei Navalny and his associates
 Because the activity of the website 'Rospil' violates Russian laws
 [Don't read] Hard to say

- 93a. What is your opinion of Mikhail Prokhorov? (*)
Positive
Negative
Neutral
I don't have any opinion about him/ Don't know him
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 93b. Do you think that Mikhail Prokhorov is a real political figure or just a puppet manipulated by the Kremlin? (*)
Real political figure
Puppet manipulated by the Kremlin
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 93c. If Mikhail Prokhorov organised his own party, would you vote for that party at an election to the State Duma or not? (*)
Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 94a. Have you heard about the nonpolitical movement, the League of Voters, which was created because of the wave of protests against falsifications in the elections to the State Duma? (*)
Follow all its actions
I heard a lot about it
I have heard about it but don't know exactly what it does
It's the first time I have heard about it
- 94b. In your opinion, in whose interests does the League of Voters act in the first instance? (*) (those who responded options 1+2+3 in Q94a)
All Russian voters
People who head this League
'Non-systemic' opposition
Middle class
Moscow intelligentsia
Foreign sponsors
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 98a. How would you assess the situation in the North Caucasus (in Chechnya, Ingushetia, Dagestan, and other national republics of that region)?
Favourable
Calm
Tense
Critical, explosive
[Don't read] Hard to say

- 98b. In your opinion, how will the situation in the North Caucasus change in the coming year?
Improve
Worsen
Stay the same
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 99a. Do you think that the federal authorities control the situation in Chechnya now?
(*)
Completely
To a significant extent
To a modest extent
Not at all
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 99b. Do you think that there will be new terroristic attacks and hostage takings in the big cities of Russia? (*)
Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 100a. Are you concerned that either you or your relatives might become victims of a terroristic attack? (*)
Very concerned
Rather concerned
I'm sure nothing will happen either to me or my relatives
Have not thought about it
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 100b. In your opinion, will Russian special forces be able to protect the citizens of Russia from new terroristic attacks? (*)
Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 101a. How on the whole do you feel about the United States of America?
Very good
Basically good
Basically bad
Very bad
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 101b. How on the whole do you feel about the European Union?
Very good
Basically good

Basically bad
Very bad
[Don't read] Hard to say

101c. How on the whole do you feel about Ukraine?

Very good
Basically good
Basically bad
Very bad
[Don't read] Hard to say

101d. How on the whole do you feel about Belarus?

Very good
Basically good
Basically bad
Very bad
[Don't read] Hard to say

101e. How on the whole do you feel about Iran?

Very good
Basically good
Basically bad
Very bad
[Don't read] Hard to say

101f. How on the whole do you feel about Georgia?

Very good
Basically good
Basically bad
Very bad
[Don't read] Hard to say

102. Recently, Georgia has announced the reinstatement of its visa-free regime for Russian citizens. In your opinion, should Russia in turn introduce this regime for Georgian citizens as well? (*)

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

103a. Do you think that South Ossetia is... (*)

Part of Georgia
Part of Russia
An independent state
[Don't read] Hard to say

103b. Do you think that Abkhazia is... (*)

Part of Georgia
Part of Russia

An independent state
[Don't read] Hard to say

- 104a. Do you think that Abkhazia should be part of Georgia, part of Russia or an independent state? (*)
Should be inside Georgia
Should be inside Russia
Should be an independent state
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 104b. Do you think that South Ossetia should be part of Georgia, part of Russia or an independent state? (*)
Should be inside Georgia
Should be inside Russia
Should be an independent state
[Don't read] Hard to say
105. With which of the following opinions about what is happening in Syria now would you be inclined to agree? (*)
The regime of Assad Bashar destroys everybody who goes against him
Terrorists supported by West are fighting the legitimate government of the country
There is a civil war in Syria
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 106a. Would you support Russia joining the economic sanctions of the Western countries against the Syrian government in order to protect peaceful citizens? (*)
Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 106b. Would you support a similar war operation as in Libya in order to protect peaceful citizens? (*)
Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
[Don't read] Hard to say
107. In your opinion, is Iran's nuclear programme a threat to Russian security? (*)
Very big threat
Rather big threat
Not a big threat
Definitely not a threat
[Don't read] Hard to say

- 108a. Do you think that the USA will bomb the military and nuclear installations in Iran in the near future or not? (*)
Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
[Don't read] Hard to say
- 108b. Do you think that Russia should continue its cooperation with Iran in the nuclear sphere and selling weapons to Iran? (*)
Definitely yes
Probably yes
Probably no
Definitely no
[Don't read] Hard to say
- D1a. Did you participate at the elections to the State Duma of Russian Federation on 4 December 2011?
Yes
No
[Don't read] Don't remember/Don't want to answer
- D1b. What party did you vote for in the elections to the State Duma on the 4th of December 2011? (of those who voted)
Fair Russia
Liberal Democrats (LDPR)
Patriots of Russia
Communists (KPRF)
Yabloko
United Russia
Right Cause
[Don't read] Took the ballot with me/ spoiled the ballot
[Don't read] Don't remember/ Don't want to answer
- D4a. What is your occupation?
Independent entrepreneur
Manager
Specialist
Law enforcement official
Clerical / Non-manual worker
Manual worker (in industry or agriculture)
Student
Non-working pensioner
Disabled pensioner
Housewife
Unemployed
- D4b. Occupation of the breadwinner
Independent entrepreneur

Manager
Specialist
Law enforcement official
Clerical / Non-manual worker
Manual worker (in industry or 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 or more

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

1
2
3 or more
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
We have enough money only for food, but not for clothes
We have enough money for food and clothes, but it's a problem for us to buy expensive things like a TV or a fridge
We can buy some expensive things, such as TV or fridge, but not a car
We can buy a car, but we cannot say we aren't short of money
We can buy anything we want
No answer

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
Mean in rubles
Standard deviation

D9a. What was the income of your family last month from all sources?

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] Hard to say/ Refused to answer

D10. To which of the following social groups do you and your family belong?

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?

Mainly the respondent
The respondent equally with other members of the family
The respondent takes a part
The respondent takes no part
Hard to say

D12_1 Where do you mostly get news and information about what is happening in the country? (First choice)

Russian state TV channels (Pervyi, Rossiya, Kultura, etc.)
Internet
Russian private channels (NTV, Ren-TV, etc.)
Family, friends or neighbours
Radio
State newspapers (Rossiiskaya gazeta, local newspapers)
Foreign news sources (foreign TV channels, radio, newspapers and magazines)
Non state/ private newspapers

Other
[Don't read] Hard to say

D12_2 Where do you mostly get news and information about what is taking place in the country? (Second choice)
Russian private channels (NTV, Ren-TV, etc.)
Internet
Russian state TV channels (Pervyi, Rossiya, Kultura, etc.)
Family, friends or neighbours
State newspapers (Rossiiskaya gazeta, local newspapers)
Radio
Foreign news sources (foreign TV channels, radio, newspapers and magazines)
Non state/ private newspapers
Other
[Don't read] Hard to say

D13. Do you use the internet? If so, for what purposes? [multiple answers]
To follow the latest news
To work out what's going on in Russia and abroad
To find needed information
To find and read books
To find and watch films
To find and listen music
To find and buy goods and services
For entertainment
For communication
Other
Don't use the internet

S1. Gender
Male
Female

S2. Age
Mean

S3. Education
Primary
Incomplete secondary school
Technical college
Secondary school
Technical college and secondary school
Professional education
Incomplete higher
Higher education

QFO. REGION
North-Western
Central
Volga

Southern
Ural
Siberian
Far Eastern

Q. SIZE OF TOWN
Moscow
More than 500,000
100,000 - 500,000
Towns smaller than 100,000
Village