**Part A.**

**А1. What do you think about the present economic situation in Russia? Would you characterise it as very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad?**

Very good 1

Good 2

Neither good nor bad 3

Bad 4

Very bad 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**А2. Would you say that over the past 12 months the economic situation in Russia has improved, remained the same or worsened?**

**А3. Would you please say whether over the past 12 months the economic position of your family has improved, remained the same or worsened?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| А2. Economic situation in Russia | А3. Economic position of the family | |
| Has become much better 1 | Has become much better 1 |
| Somewhat better 2 | Somewhat better 2 |
| Remained the same 3 | Remained the same 3 |
| Somewhat worse 4 | Somewhat worse 4 |
| Much worse 5 | Much worse 5 |
| (Hard to say) 6 | (Hard to say) 6 |
| (Refused to answer) 7 | (Refused to answer) 7 |

**Part В. Political/economic values**

В1. To what extent are you satisfied with the way things are going in Russia?

В2. To what extent are you satisfied with your present life?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| В1. State of affairs in Russia | В2. Your own position |
| Entirely dissatisfied 1 | Entirely dissatisfied 1 |
| More dissatisfied than satisfied 2 | More dissatisfied than satisfied 2 |
| Equally satisfied and dissatisfied 3 | Equally satisfied and dissatisfied 3 |
| More satisfied than dissatisfied 4 | More satisfied than dissatisfied 4 |
| Entirely satisfied 5 | Entirely satisfied 5 |
| (Hard to say) 6 | (Hard to say) 6 |
| (Refused to answer) 7 | (Refused to answer) 7 |

**В3. To what extent do you agree or disagree that strong, powerful leader can do more for the country than any laws?**

Entirely disagree 1

More disagree than agree 2

Hard to say for certain 3

More agree than disagree 4

Entirely agree 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

В4. To what extent are you satisfied with the level of democracy in Russia?

Entirely satisfied 1

Rather satisfied 2

Rather dissatisfied 3

Entirely dissatisfied 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**В5. To what extent are human rights respected currently in Russia? In your opinion, are individual human rights regarded with** ...

Great respect 1

Some respect 2

Little respect 3

No respect 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**В6. In your opinion, the course our country has adopted characterises it as…**

A properly formed democracy 1

A country steadily moving towards the establishment of democracy 2

A country that is more democratic than it was before 3

There was more democracy in Soviet times 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**В7. Which of the political systems listed below would be the most acceptable for Russia?**

The Soviet system as it existed in our country before perestroika 1

The Soviet system but in a different, more democratic form 2

The political system that exists today 3

Democracy of the Western kind 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**В7а. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: “Democracy might have its disadvantages but it is still better than any other form of state governance.” Do you completely agree, agree, disagree or completely disagree with this statement?**

Entirely agree 1

Agree 2

Disagree 3

Entirely disagree 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refuse to answer) 6

**В8. There are different opinions about the character of our state. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Entirely  agree | Agree to some extent | Disagree to some extent | Entirely disagree | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| 1. It would be better to restore the communist system | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. The army should rule the country | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. It would be better to get rid of the Duma and elections and have a strong leader who could resolve all problems quickly | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. It would be better to restore the monarchy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**В9. Compared with Soviet times would you say that today…**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | It has become a lot easier | It has become a bit easier | It is the same as before | It has become a bit harder | It has become a lot harder | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| a) For everyone to freely say what they think | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| b) To join any organisation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| c) For ordinary people to influence state policy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d) For everyone to freely decide questions of their religious life | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| e) To be free to decide whether or not to participate in political life | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| f) Government treats everyone equally and fairly | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| g) People can live without worrying about illegal arrest | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

[If the respondent says he/she doesn’t remember how it was in Soviet times, say: ‘I’m not interested in your personal experience, but in your impression of how things were in Soviet times’, and repeat the question]

**В10. In your opinion how close is the government to the idea of creating a rule-of-law state?**

Very close 1

Close to some extent…………………………. 2

Not very close 3

Very far away 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**В11. It is said that it is often very difficult for ordinary people in our country to secure their legal rights. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?**

Completely agree 1

Agree to some extent 2

Disagree to some extent 3

Completely disagree 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**В12. How widespread, in your opinion, are bribery and corruption in central and local government in Russia?**

Hardly any officials have anything to do with it 1

Some officials are corrupt 2

Has remained the same 3

Nearly all officials are corrupt 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

В13. Compared with Soviet times, would you say that the level of bribery and corruption in our country…

Has significantly increased 1

Has increased a little 2

Остался тем же самым 3

Has declined a little 4

Has declined significantly 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

[If the respondent says he/she doesn’t remember how it was in Soviet times, say: ‘I’m not interested in your personal experience, but in your impression of how things were in Soviet times’, and repeat the question]

**В14. To what extent do you trust each of the following organisations that I am going to list? In your evaluation please use a 7-point scale in which 1 means no trust at all and 7 means complete trust.**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| 1. Courts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Political parties | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Police | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Army | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Duma | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Church | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Trade unions | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. President | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Private enterprises | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. State TV | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Non-state TV | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Government | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Local authorities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

**В15. Are you a member of any of the following organisations (groups of people)?**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Yes | No | (Refused to answer) |
| 1. A sports or health club | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. A musical, literary or arts association | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. A political party | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. An association for the improvement of residential buildings and the neighbourhood | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. A charity | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. A trade union | 1 | 2 | 3 |

**В16. To what extent, in your opinion, do the central authorities in Moscow influence what takes place in the country?**

To a significant extent 1

To some extent 2

To an insignificant extent 3

No influence at all 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

В17. To what extent, in your opinion, can people like you have a direct influence on the actions of the central government?

To a significant extent 1

To some extent 2

To an insignificant extent 3

No influence at all 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**В18. Do you think state officials treat every citizen equally?**

Almost always 1

Fairly often 2

Not very often 3

Usually not 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to say) 6

**В19. Now a few questions about the previous state order that is the state order of the USSR. Using the card, name ONE best feature of the previous state order.**

There was more equality 1

Peace was preserved between nations 2

Economic stability 3

Public order was maintained 4

Guaranteed employment (absence of unemployment) 5

The Communist regime didn’t have any good features 6

(Other) 7

(Hard to say) 8

(Refused to answer) 9

[Only one response allowed. If the respondent says he/she doesn’t remember how it was in Soviet times, say: ‘I’m not interested in your personal experience, but in your impression of how things were in Soviet times’, and repeat the question]

В20. From among the options listed on this card, choose ONE worst feature of the previous state order.

Environmental pollution 1

Too much bureaucracy 2

Economic stagnation 3

Corruption 4

Violations of human rights 5

The Communist regime didn’t have any bad features 6

(Other) 7

(Hard to say) 8

(Refused to answer) 9

[Only one response allowed. If the respondent says he/she doesn’t remember how it was in Soviet times, say: ‘I’m not interested in your personal experience, but in your impression of how things were in Soviet times’, and repeat the question]

**В21. With which of the following statements would you agree?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Agree entirely with the first statement | To some extent agree with the first statement | To some extent agree with the second statement | Entirely agree with the second statement | Agree with neither statement | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| А | 1. State ownership is the best way of running an enterprise **OR** 2. An enterprise is better run if it is privately owned | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **В** | 1. It is better when goods are in abundance even if they are expensive **OR** 2. It is better when prices are administratively fixed at a lower level even if there aren’t many goods in the shops | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **С** | 1. People’s incomes should not differ much **OR** 2. Everyone should be paid in accordance with their efforts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **Д** | 1. It is better to have a job that guarantees you will not be sacked even if it is less well paid **OR** 2. It is better to have a well-paid job even if you can be easily sacked | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **E** | 1. People themselves should be responsible for their families’ welfare **OR** 2. 2The state should ensure that every family lives normally | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

**В22\_1. Tell me please whether on the whole you approve or disapprove of Dmitri Medvedev’s performance as President of Russia?**

Entirely approve 1

Somewhat approve 2

Somewhat disapprove 3

Entirely disapprove 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**В22\_2. Tell me please, on the whole, looking back, did you approve or disapprove of the performance of Vladimir Putin as President of Russia?**

Entirely approve 1

Somewhat approve 2

Somewhat disapprove 3

Entirely disapprove 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**B22A. How successfully does V. V. Putin deal (or did deal) with the following problems?.**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Very successfully | Successfully | Unsuccessfully | Totally unsuccessfully | (Hard to say) | (No answer) |
| a. Establishing order in the country | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| b. An improvement in the economy and in the welfare of citizens | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| c. Protection of democracy and of the political freedoms of citizens | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| d. Strengthening Russia’s international position | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| e. Defeat of combatants in Chechnya | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| f. A political resolution of the situation in Chechnya | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**В24. To what extent are you interested in politics? Are you very interested, generally interested, not very interested, or completely uninterested?**

Very interested 1

Generally Interested 2

Not very interested 3

Not interested at all 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**В25. Over the past two years have you....**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Yes | No | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| а) Signed a petition | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b) Written to a newspaper about political or personal problems | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| c) Contacted an elected person (deputy) about a political or personal problem | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| d) Taken part in a strike | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| e) Taken part in a demonstration, picket, march or protest meeting | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

**В26. In which of the following ways can you influence the taking of national decisions on matters that you think important? Which is the most effective method?**

Voting in local and/or national elections 1

Letters to governmental bodies 2

Letters to the newspapers 3

Demonstrations 4

There is no such means 5

(Other) 6

(Hard to say) 7

(Refused to answer) 8

**В27. Some people think the President of Russia should have more power than the Parliament. Others think the opposite. Which is closer to your own view?**

The President should have significantly more power 1

The President should have more power 2

President and Parliament should have equal power 3

Parliament should have more power 4

Parliament should have significantly more power 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**Part С. Parties, Elections, Voting**

**С1. In your opinion, how should people like you behave in respect of a national election?**

Certainly take part in the voting 1

If there are any inconveniences, it is not necessary to vote 2

In general, there is no need to take part in voting; it achieves nothing 3

(Other) 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**С2. In your opinion, does participation in national elections give people like you an opportunity to influence the government of the country or not?**

It definitely gives an opportunity 1

It tends to give an opportunity 2

It tends not to give an opportunity 3

It gives no opportunity at all 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**С3. Some people say that elections can change the future course of events in our country. Others say that whether you vote or not, the situation won’t change. What do you think?**

Elections can definitely change the course of events 1

Elections can probably change the course of events 2

Elections are unlikely to change the course of events 3

Elections cannot change the course of events in any way 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**С4. In your opinion, to what extent are elections in Russia fair in relation to …**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Fair to significant extent | Fair to some extent | Fair to an insignificant extent | Not fair at all | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| a) Composition of the ballot paper and counting of votes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| b) Giving the right to vote in the Duma to people with different views | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| c) Television coverage of the election campaign | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| d) The conduct of the electoral campaign in your district | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**С4а. In some countries people are sure that elections are conducted honestly and fairly. In other countries people are sure that elections are not fairly conducted. Thinking about the most recent parliamentary elections to the State Duma, please evaluate on a five-point scale how honestly and fairly they were conducted. A 5 means they were conducted honestly and fairly, and a 1 means they were conducted dishonestly and unfairly.**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Elections were conducted honestly and fairly |  |  |  | Elections were conducted dishonestly and unfairly |
| **5** | **4** | **3** | **2** | **1** |

6. (Hard to say)

7. (Refused to answer)

**С5. Which of the following political systems would be the best for contemporary Russia?**

A one-party system 1

A multi-party system as at present 2

A multi-party system with fewer parties 3

In general there is no need for parties 4

(Other) 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**С6. Do you consider yourself a supporter or an opponent of the present government headed by the prime minister, and of what it is attempting to do?**

Supporter 1

Opponent 2

Neither supporter nor opponent 3

(Hard to say) 4

(Refused to answer) 5

**С7. While talking about politics people often use the terms “left” and “right”. With which would you associate yourself?**

The left 1

The centre 2

The right 3

I am not interested in politics 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**С8. Do you consider yourself a supporter of any political party?**

Yes 1

No 2

(Hard to say) 3

(Refused to answer) 4

**С9. Whether or not you are a supporter of a political party, would you say that there is a particular party that is closer to you than others in its policies?**

Yes (Specify). 1 ***Go to question C10***

No …2 ***Go to questionC11***

(Hard to say) …3 ***Go to question C11***

(Refused to answer) …4 ***Go to question C10***

**С10. To what extent do you support the party that is closer to you than others in its policies?**

Entirely 1

Partly 2

To an insignificant extent 3

(Hard to say) 4

(Refused to answer) 5

**С11. Did you make any kind of contact with State Duma deputies over the past 12 months?**

Yes 1

No 2

(Hard to say) 3

(Refused to answer) 4

**С12. How much of your spare time do you devote to working voluntarily for one of the political parties?**

Most of my spare time 1

Some of my spare time 2

A small amount of my spare time 3

I have never worked in my spare time 4

I have never worked for any political party 5

(Hard to say) …………………………………… 6

(Refused to answer) 7

С13. Which party did you vote for in the elections to the State Duma on 4 December 2011?

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Fair Russia | 1 | *Go to question С15* |
| Liberal Democratic Party of Russia | 2 |
| Patriots of Russia | 3 |
| Communist Party of the Russian Federation | 4 |
| Yabloko | 5 |
| United Russia | 6 |
| Right Cause | 7 |
| (Hard to say) | 8 | Go to question С19 |
| (Didn’t vote) | 9 | **Go to question С14** |
| (Refused to answer) | 10 | Go to question С19 |

**С14. Why did you not vote in the elections to the State Duma on 4 December 2011?**

I could not get to the polling station 1

I didn’t know whom to vote for 2

I was tired of politics and leadership struggles 3

None of the parties represented my interests 4

I don’t trust any of the current politicians 5

I thought that nothing depended on my participation in the elections 6

I considered that the elections would be dishonest and the results falsified anyway 7

I don’t know much about politics / am not interested in politics 8

Elections to the State Duma don’t affect the activity of the Parliament anyway 9

(Hard to say) …… 10

(Refused to answer) 11

**[C14-> C19, all the others -> C15]**

**С15. When did you decide that you would vote for this party?**

Long before the beginning of the electoral campaign (in summer or in September) 2

In October-November 3

In the two first weeks of December 4

In the last week before the elections 5

On the day of the elections 6

At the polling station 7

(Hard to say) 8

(Refused to answer) 9

**С16. To what extent do you support the programme and slogans of the party you voted for?**

Fully support 1

Mainly support, but with some reservations 2

Not entirely, but it is better than the others 3

I know very little about the programme of this party 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**С17. How would you explain your choice of party? [unlimited number of options]**

Putin supports this party 1

I agree with the slogans and programme of this party 2

I have already supported the leader of this party for a long time 3

This party can defend the interest of people like me 4

I have already supported this party for a long time 5

It is the strongest party, supported by the majority 6

This party is able to protect standards of living in Russia 7

This party has a future 8

This party aims to restore the greatness of Russia 9

It has new, young and active leaders 10

My friends and relatives support this party 11

I know at least something about this party, but nothing about the others 12

This party is supported by the local authorities of our region 13

This is the party of a new generation / generation of our children and grandchildren 14

This is a new party with new leaders 15

(Other) 16

(Hard to say) 17

(Refused to answer) 18

**С18. 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?].**

I have known this party for a long time and always vote for it 1

TV, radio, newspapers 2

The personal support of parties and blocs by Vladimir Putin 3

Family and immediate circle 4

The public speeches and appearances of the party leaders 5

Friends or acquaintances 6

The general atmosphere in which the elections took place 7

The television debates of the party leaders 8

I cannot say I like this party very much but it takes votes from those I like even less 9

Recommendations of knowledgeable people 10

Party campaigning prior to the elections 11

I was disappointed with another party 12

Publications of the ratings of parties 13

Party campaigning prior to the elections and public appearances of the candidates in a single-seat

constituency 14

(Other) 15

(Hard to say) 16

(Refused to answer) 17

**С19. During the State Duma elections on 4 December 2011, did anybody attempt to influence your decision to take part in the election (or not to take) or support a particular candidate or party with “presents”, recommendations, warnings or other forms of pressure?**

Yes, I voted under pressure 1

Yes, there was pressure on me, but it didn’t affect my decision about participation/not participation

in the elections or my choice 2

No, there was no pressure 3

(Didn’t vote) 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**С21. Some people think that the presence of international observers helps elections to be more free and fair, others think their presence is an interference into Russia’s domestic affairs. What opinion do you share?**

I totally agree with the first point of view (international observers help elections to be fairer) 1

I rather agree with the first point of view (international observers help elections to be fairer) 2

I rather agree with the second point of view (international observers are interfering) 3

I totally agree with the second point of view (international observers are interfering) 4

(Hard to say) …………………………………… 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**С22. Did you ever find in your mail box or receive from campaigners any leaflets, posters, newspapers calling to vote for a certain party in the last few days before the elections?**

Yes 1

No 2

(Hard to say) 3

(Refused to answer) 4

**С23. Did anybody come to your home or work to urge you to vote for a particular party?**

Yes 1

No 2

(Hard to say) 3

(Refused to answer) 4

**С24. In terms of the practical results of the elections in Russia, how adequately do they reflect the views of voters?**

Adequately 1

Somewhat adequately 2

Somewhat inadequately 3

Inadequately 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**С25. Could you please state which party you normally support in elections? It does not matter whether you voted or not.**

A Communist party 1

A Socialist party 2

A party that most supports a market economy 3

A nationalist party 4

A party that represents the interests of national minorities 5

A Green or Environmental party 6

A party of another political orientation 7

(None) 8

(Hard to say)…………………………………… 9

(Refused to answer) 10

**С26. As a result of this election, do you think that government has become closer to the people or further away?**

Definitely closer 1

Somewhat closer 2

Neither closer nor further away 3

Somewhat further away 4

Definitely further away 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**C27. How much do you know about the meetings and protests that took place in Moscow and other Russian cities after the elections to the State Duma?**

I know a lot – I follow the news attentively 1

I know rather a lot 2

I know a little, but not much 3

I don’t know anything or almost anything 4 Go to question С30

(Hard to say) 5 Go to question С30

(Refused to answer)/ 6 Go to question С30

**C28 – Do you know anything about the general demands of the protestors?**

I know a lot- I follow the news attentively 1

I know rather a lot 2

I know a little but not much 3

I don’t know anything or almost anything 4 Go to question С30

(Hard to say) 5 Go to question С30

(Refused to answer)/ 6 Go to question С30

**C29 – Do you share the demands of the protestors?**

I totally share their demands 1

I somewhat share their demands 2

I somewhat disagree with their demands 3

I completely disagree with their demands 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**C30 In your opinion, how should the authorities react to the meetings and protests against the results of the elections on 4 December 2011?**

They should fully accept the demands of the protestors 1

They should partially accept the demands of the protestors 2

They should totally ignore the demands of the protestors 3

(Hard to say) 4

(Refused to answer) 5

**C31. Are you prepared to take part in a meeting, protest or demonstration connected to the elections to the State Duma on 4 December 2011?**

Ready 1

Not ready 2

(Hard to say) 3

(Refused to answer) 4

**С32. Which party did you vote for at the elections to the State Duma in December 2007?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Agrarian Party of Russia | 1 |
| Citizens’ Force party | 2 |
| Democratic Party of Russia | 3 |
| Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) | 4 |
| Right Cause | 5 |
| The Party of Social Justice | 6 |
| The Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) | 7 |
| Fair Russia | 8 |
| Patriots of Russia | 9 |
| United Russia | 10 |
| Yabloko | 11 |
| (Don’t remember) | 12 |
| (Didn’t vote) | 13 |
| (Refused to answer) | 14 |

**С33. Who will you vote for in the presidential elections in March 2012?**

Vladimir Zhirinovsky 1

Gennady Zyuganov 2

Dmitry Mezentsev 3

Sergei Mironov 4

Svetlana Peunova 5

Mikhail Prokhorov 6

Vladimir Putin 7

Renat Hamiev 8

Viktor Cherepkov 9

Grigory Yavlinsky 10

I won’t take part in the election 11

(Hard to say) 12

(Refused to answer) 13

**Part D. International relations**

D2. Do you agree with the following statement: “It is a disaster the Soviet Union no longer exists”?

Entirely agree 1

Rather agree 2

Rather disagree 3

Entirely disagree 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**D3. What is your opinion about cooperation among CIS countries?**

The CIS countries should unite in a single state 1

Cooperation should be closer but the CIS countries should remain independent 2

The CIS countries should cooperate as before 3

The CIS should be preserved, but there should be less cooperation among its member

countries 4

The CIS should be dissolved 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**D4. Do you have any close relatives living in other CIS countries?**

Several 1

One 2

None 3

(Refused to answer) 4

**D5. Should Belarus and Russia, in your opinion, form a single state or remain independent states?**

Form a single state 1

Remain independent states 2

(Hard to say) 3

(Refused to answer) 4

D6. Tell me please, have you ever visited any of the following countries?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Yes | No | (Refused to answer) |
| 1. Ukraine | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. Belarus | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. One of the Baltic countries | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. Bulgaria | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. Poland | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. Germany | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. USA | 1 | 2 | 3 |

D8. To what extent, in your opinion, should Russia help other CIS countries?

Should not support at all 1

Should help less than now 2

Should provide the same support as now 3

Should help more than now 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**D10. Do you think of yourself as a European?**

To a significant extent 1

To some extent 2

Sometimes 3

Not at all 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**D11. Which of the following do you feel yourself to be first of all? And which secondly?**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (а) In the first place | (b) In the second place |
| European | 1 | 1 |
| Eurasian | 2 | 2 |
| A Soviet citizen | 3 | 3 |
| A citizen of my own country | 4 | 4 |
| A citizen of my own region | 5 | 5 |
| A citizen of my own town/ settlement/ village | 6 | 6 |
| Other (clarify) | 7 | 7 |

**D12. As you probably know, many states of Western Europe have formed the European Union. Do you know in which city its headquarters is located?**

Berlin 1

Paris 2

Brussels 3

London 4

Rome 5

(Other) …. 6

(Hard to say) 7

(Refused to answer) 8

**D13. What is your attitude towards the aims and actions of the European Union?**

Very positive 1

Fairly positive 2

Neutral 3

Fairly negative 4

Very negative 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

D14. If our country in the future joined the European Union, how would you regard it?

With great approval 1

With some approval 2

Neutrally 3

I would somewhat oppose it 4

I would strongly oppose it 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

D15. In each of the following respects, what would be the most likely consequences if Russia joined the EU?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Positive results | Negative results | No results | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| 1. Political stability | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1. Consumer prices | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1. Economic development | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1. Your personal income | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1. Unemployment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

**Part E. Security**

**Е2a. Name 5 countries which, in your opinion, are the closest aliens and friends of Russia**

**\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**

(Hard to say) 1

(Refused to answer) 2

**Е2b. Name 5 countries with which Russia has most unfriendly relationship**

**\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**

(Hard to say) 1

(Refused to answer) 2

**Е3. As you know, the threat to the security of the country from some forces may be more serious than from other forces. How serious, in your view, is the threat to Russian security from the following?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Very serious | Quite serious | Not very serious | Not serious at all | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| 1. Terrorism | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. Islamic fundamentalism | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. International crime | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. Drugs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Е4. Which of the following statements most accurately characterises NATO?

A large trading and economic bloc connecting Western Europe and the USA 1

A peacekeeping instrument of the United Nations 2

A military union with Western Europe directed by the USA 3

Other \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

Е5. In your opinion, what are the NATO’s real aims?

The strengthening of international security 1

NATO is a platform for Western expansion 2

NATO is just a legacy of the Cold War 3

Other 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**Е7. In your opinion, if Russia became a member of NATO, would it be…**

Very good 1

Fairly good 2

Fairly bad 3

Very bad 4

(Hard to say) 5

(Refused to answer) 6

**Е14. In your opinion, what historic path should Russia follow?**

The common path of European civilization 1

Return to the path that was followed by the USSR 2

Follow its own, special path 3

(Hard to say) 4

**Е23. Should Russia develop partnership relations with Western countries more than with the CIS countries, or equally with both of them?**

With Western countries 1

With the CIS countries 2

Equally with both 3

(Hard to say) 4

(Refused to answer) 5

**Е23а. Name five countries with which it is in Russia’s interests to have partnership relations in the first instance?**

**\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**

(Hard to say) 1

(Refused to answer) 2

**Е23b. Name five countries with which it is in Russia’s interests to have partnership relations in the second instance?**

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

(Hard to say) 1

(Refused to answer) 2

**Е25. Tell me please, which of the following former Soviet republics are favourably disposed towards Russia? And which, in your opinion, are hostile?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | | | |  | |
| Very friendly | Rather friendly | Rather hostile | Hostile | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| Azerbaijan | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Armenia | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Belarus | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Georgia | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Kazakhstan | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Kyrgyzstan | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Latvia | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Lithuania | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Moldova | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Tajikistan | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Turkmenistan | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Uzbekistan | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Ukraine | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Estonia | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**Е27. If for instance Ukraine joined NATO, would it be a threat to Russian security and to Russian national interests as a whole?**

Definitely yes 1

Probably yes 2

Probably no 3

Definitely no 4

Other 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**Е28. How would you characterise Russia’s foreign policy at the present time?**

More oriented towards the CIS countries 1

More oriented towards the West 2

Neutral 3

(Hard to say) 4

(Refused to answer) 5

**Е29. Do you approve of Russia’s foreign policy course?**

Entirely approve 1

Somewhat approve 2

Somewhat disapprove 3

Entirely disapprove 4

Neither approve nor disapprove 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**Part F. Mass Media**

**F1. How often do you Вы…**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Regularly | Sometimes | Seldom | Never | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| 1. Read national newspapers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. Read regional or local newspapers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. Watch national TV | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. Watch regional or local TV | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| e) Access the internet | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

No Internet ->F3

**F2A. How do you usually connect to the internet?**

Only from my personal computer 1

Mostly from my personal computer 2

Mostly from my mobile device (Smartphone, IPad, etc.) 3

Equally from both my personal computer and my mobile device (Smartphone, IPad, etc.) 4

Only from my mobile device (Smartphone, IPad, etc.) 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**F2B. How often do you use social networks (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Odnoklassniki, Vkontakte etc.)…. :**

Regularly 1

Sometimes 2

Rarely 3

Never 4 *Go to question F3*

(Hard to say) 5 *Go to question F3*

(Refused to answer) 6 *Go to question F3*

**F2C. How often do you use the following social networks?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Regularly | Sometimes | Rarely | Never | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| 1. VKontakte | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. Odnoklassniki | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. Facebook | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. Twitter | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1. Other\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**F3. How often do you take an interest in political news?**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Every day | Several times per week | Once or twice per week | Less frequently | Never | (Hard to say) | (Refused to answer) |
| 1.On television | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 2.On the radio | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 3.In the daily newspapers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 4.Internet | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

**F5. Which TV news programmes have you recently watched more or less regularly?**

Novosti/ Vremya (First channel/ORT) 1

Vesti (RTR) 2

Segodnya (NTV) 3

The news broadcasts of other central channels 4

The news broadcasts of local channels 5

I haven’t watched any TV news programmes recently 6

(Hard to say) 7

**Part G. Social-Economic Characteristics**

**G1. Gender**

Male 1

Female 2

**G2. Your age \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ complete years**

**G3. What is your education?**

Primary education (7 years or less) 1

Incomplete secondary education (8-9 classes of secondary school) 2

Complete secondary education (completed secondary school) 3

Incomplete secondary special education 4

Complete secondary special education (teacher training college, technical school) 5

Completed 3-5 years of higher education without a degree 6

Complete higher education with a degree 7

Complete higher education with more than one degree 8

Complete higher education with postgraduate degree (Candidate or Doctor of Science) 9

**G4. What is your family status?**

Single 1

Married 2

Live with a partner but not married 3

Live separately but not divorced 4

Divorced 5

Widow(er) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**G5. How many family members live with you as part of a single household including yourself, all children and those who are temporarily absent?**

/\_\_/\_\_/ number of people

Refused to answer 99

**G6. How would you assess your family’s material position at the present time?**

Very good 1

Good 2

Average 3

Bad 4

Very bad 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**G7. What is your nationality?**

Russian 1

Ukrainian 2

Belarusian 3

Tatar 4

Georgian 5

Kazakh 6

Jew 7

Chechen 8

Other \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ 9

(Hard to say) 10

(Refused to answer) 11

**G8. What language do you usually speak at home?**

Russian 1

Ukrainian 2

Tatar 3

Belarusian 4

Other \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**G9. In the past many people were members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Were you or any member of your family a member of the CPSU?**

I was a member of the CPSU 1

Another member of my family was a member of the CPSU 2

Nobody was a member of the CPSU 3

(Hard to say) 4

(refused to answer) 5

**G10. What is your religion?**

Russian Orthodox 1

Other Orthodox 2

Catholic 3

Protestant 4

Muslim (Islam) 5

Jewish (Judaism) 6

Other \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ 7

None (not religious) 8

(Hard to say) 9

(Refused to answer) 10

**G11. How often do you go to church (synagogue, mosque etc.)?**

More than once a month 1

Several times a year 2

Once a year or less 3

Never 4

I am not religious 5

(Hard to say) 6

(Refused to answer) 7

**G12. What is your primary occupation?**

Employed or in the armed forces 1

I have my own business/work freelance, self-employed 2

I am on maternity leave 3

I am a pensioner and also work 4

I am a pensioner and don’t work 5

Unemployed and receive benefit 6

Unemployed and do not receive benefit 7

I do the housekeeping 8

Student 9

Other \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ 10

(Hard to say) 11

(Refused to answer) 12

**G13. [ONLY FOR THOSE WHO ANSWERED 1, 2, 3 OR 4 IN G12] Where do you work?**

I work in a state enterprise (e.g. factory, plant) 1

I work in a state institution (army, police, law enforcement, state education, health or

scientific institution, government ministry and so on) 2

I work in an enterprise with mixed ownership (state and private) 3

I work in a privatised (former state) enterprise 4

I work in a private or reprivatised company 5

I work in foreign company or joint venture 6

I have my own business (including farm)/ I work freelance 7

I work in a joint-stock company based on a collective or state farm or forestry 8

Other (write in) 9

(Hard to say) 10

(Refused to answer) 11

**G14. [ONLY FOR THOSE WHO ANSWERED 1, 2, 3 OR 4 IN G12] What is your salary or what income did you receive from your main job last month (after tax but including earned income not yet received as well as expected bonuses)?**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Up to 5000 roubles………………………………………………1 | 20001 – 25000 roubles…………………………………………..6 |
| 5 001 – 7 500 roubles………………………………………….2 | 25 001 - 40000 roubles…………………………………………..7 |
| 7 501 – 10 000 roubles………………………………………..3 | More than 40000 roubles…………………………………… 8 8 |
| 10 001 – 15 000 roubles………………………………………4 | (Hard to say)……………………………………………………….98 |
| 15 001 – 20 000 roubles………………………………………5 | (Refused to answer)……………………………………………..99 |