Elections for the President of Russia 2012

[PRELIMINARY ITEMS (FILLED OUT BY INTERVIEWER), NOT ASKED OF RESPONDENTS]

1. NUMBER OF POPULATED POINT _____ |__|__|

2. NUMBER OF PRECINCT (FOR CITIES) _____ |__|__|

3. NUMBER OF ADDRESS _____

4. DATE OF INTERVIEW
   DAY |__|__|
   MONTH |__|__|

5. DURATION OF INTERVIEW
   HOURS |__|__|
   MINUTES |__|__|

6. LAST NAME OF INTERVIEWER _____

7. NUMBER OF INTERVIEWER |__|__|

SAMPLING MATERIALS

Two tables for selecting member of household to be interviewed, using Leslie Kish procedure.

INTRODUCTION AND CONSENT FOR NEW RESPONDENTS:

"Hello!

We are carrying out a study of Russian citizens to try to understand what people think about their lives, whether they voted in the recent presidential elections, and how they make up their minds for which party and candidate to vote.

Your address, like all the 1,600 other addresses in Russia, was randomly selected by a computer. All information obtained in the project will be used only in generalized form. Your answers will be linked with a certain number, not with your [first] name. Only the researchers will be able to connect [first] name and number. Only those people carrying out the research will have access to this information. No one besides me and the organizers of the survey will know about our conversation.

I cannot replace you with anybody else. Any substitution would lower the quality of the. results of the study.

Participation in our research is completely voluntary. We very much want your answers to be candid. If you do not care to answer any question, tell me about that and we will move on to the next question. Participation in this research will take approximately one hour.

We thank you in advance for your help and cooperation."

INTRODUCTION AND CONSENT FOR RESPONDENTS FIRST INTERVIEWED IN 2008:

Hello!

I hope that you remember our conversation four years ago after the election of the President of Russia. At that time we asked you, along with another thousand people all over Russia, about what people think of their lives and how they decide whether to participate in elections and for whom to vote. Now that we have once again elected a President of Russia, we would like to chat with you again about what you think of the recent elections, about what has changed in your life, and about your hopes.

All information obtained in the project will be used only in generalized form. Your answers will be linked with a certain number, not with your [first] name. Only the researchers will be able to connect [first] name and number. Only those people carrying out the research will have access to this information. No one besides me and the organizers of the survey will know about our conversation.

Participation in our research is completely voluntary. We very much want your answers to be candid. If you do not care to answer any question, tell me about that and we will move on to the next question. Participation in this research will take approximately one hour.

We thank you in advance for your help and cooperation.

QUESTIONS

1. Some people constantly follow what goes on in politics, while others are not interested in it. What can you say about yourself? Do you follow political events all the time, sometimes, very rarely, or do you not follow them at all?
   1. ALL THE TIME
   2. SOMETIMES
   3. VERY RARELY
   4. YOU DO NOT FOLLOW THEM
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSAL

2. Have you in this past seven days had conversations about politics with members of your family or with friends and acquaintances?
   1. Yes
   2. No [GO TO 4]
   7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 4]
   8. REFUSAL [GO TO 4]

3. How often in this past seven days have you had conversations about politics?
   1. Every day
   2. Almost every day
   3. Several times
   4. Only once
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSAL

4. Please tell me, do you watch television?
   1. Yes
   2. No [GO TO 10]
   7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 10]
   8. REFUSAL [GO TO 10]

5. Do you ever watch daily news programs?
   1. Yes
   2. No [GO TO 8]
   7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 8]
   8. REFUSAL [GO TO 8]

6. How often in the past seven days have you watched daily news programs?
   [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]
   1. EVERY DAY
   2. ALMOST EVERY DAY
   3. SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST 7 DAYS
   4. ONLY ONCE IN THE PAST 7 DAYS
   5. NOT ONCE IN THE PAST 7 DAYS [GO TO 8]
   7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 8]
   8. REFUSAL [GO TO 8]

7. During the last 7 days did you watch any daily news programs on the following television channels …
{KEY: (1) Yes (2) No (6) DON'T GET CHANNEL (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) First Channel
(2) The "Rossiya" Channel
(3) NTV
(4) REN-TV
(5) On satellite or cable TV channels
(6) On a channel of your region or city

8. Please tell me, did you sense that during the last presidential election campaign any one of the main television channels--First Channel, Rossiia, NTV--were working in favor of any one of the candidates?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 10]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 10]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 10]

9. In favor of which candidate, exactly?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 2.]
1. ZHIRINOVSKY
2. ZYUGANOV
3. MIRONOV
4. PROKHOROV
5. PUTIN
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

10. Please tell me, do you read newspapers?
1. Yes
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

11. Please tell me, do you listen to the radio?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 13]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 13]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 13]

12. On which radio stations have you listened to news broadcasts in the last seven days?
[INTERVIEWER! WRITE DOWN: _____]
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

13. Tell me please, do you use the Internet? It is not important how or where—from a mobile device or computer, at home, at work, with friends, in an Internet café, or somewhere else?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 18]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 18]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 18]

14. For what purposes do you use the Internet? [(1) Yes, (2) No, (7) Hard to say, (8) Refuse]
(1) To send or receive email
(2) To get news and information on current events
(3) To search for information
(4) To read blogs
(5) To write blog entries or participate in forum discussions
(6) To search for or buy goods or services
(7) To listen to music or watch videos, television shows, or movies
(8) To use social networking sites
(9) Other (what specifically?) [WRITE DOWN: _____]

15. [INTERVIEWER: ASK QUESTION 15 ONLY TO THOSE WHO USE THE INTERNET FOR SOCIAL NETWORKING, THAT IS, TO THOSE WHO ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 14, POINT 8. FOR ALL OTHERS, GO TO QUESTION 16]
Which of the social networking sites that I will name do you use? And if you use them, then for about how many years have used it? [INTERVIEWER: IF LESS THAN A YEAR, WRITE 1]
{KEY: (1) Yes, (2) No, _____ Number of Years, (97) Hard to say how many years, (98) Refuse how many years}
Do you use the network...?
(1) Odnoklassniki ("Classmates")
(2) V kontakte ("In Contact")
(3) Facebook
(4) Live Journal
(5) Twitter

16. And continuing our discussion about the Internet, tell me, during the course of the last election campaigns for the State Duma and president...
{KEY: (1) Yes (2) No (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) Did you read on the Internet any kind of political commentary?
(2) Did you discuss questions of politics on Internet forums or blogs?
(3) Did you visit the Website of any political party, political movement or any kind of politician?
(4) Did you see on the Internet any information on planned political demonstrations or activities?

17. How often in this past seven days have you acquainted yourself with the news on the Internet?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]
1. EVERY DAY
2. ALMOST EVERY DAY
3. SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST 7 DAYS
4. ONLY ONCE IN THE PAST 7 DAYS
5. NOT ONCE IN THE PAST 7 DAYS [GO TO 18]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 18]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 18]

17.1. In the past seven days, have you watched news programs on the Internet-channel "Rain"?
1. Yes
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

18. Which of the mass media (television, radio, newspapers, or the Internet) is the basic source of information for you about political events? Please select the one main one.
1. TELEVISION
2. RADIO
3. NEWSPAPERS
4. THE INTERNET
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

19. Where would you say you get the most information about political events--from the mass media or from conversations about politics with members of your family, friends, and acquaintances?
1. FROM THE MASS MEDIA
2. FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH MEMBERS OF FAMILY, FRIENDS, & ACQUAINTANCES
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

20. Are you a member of a political party or movement?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 22]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 22]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 22]

21. Which political party or movement is that?
1
2
4
5
23
24
_____
997. HARD TO SAY
998. REFUSAL

22. Some people like Vladimir Putin's activity, and others do not. What about you, do you approve of Putin's activity in the post of Prime Minister of Russia during 2008-2012?
1. You fully approve
2. You approve
3. You approve some and disapprove some
4. You disapprove
5. You completely disapprove
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

23. What do you think, how many people in our country approve of Vladimir Putin's activity as Prime Minister?
1. A majority
2. Many, but not a majority
3. An insignificant minority
4. Practically no one
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

24. Some people like Dmitry Medvedev's activity in the presidency, and others do not. What about you, do you approve of Medvedev's activity in the post of President of Russia?
1. You fully approve
2. You approve
3. You approve some and disapprove some
4. You disapprove
5. You completely disapprove
6. HE WAS NOT REALLY A PRESIDENT/HE WAS NOT AN INDEPENDENT FIGURE/PUTIN WAS IN ESSENCE THE PRESIDENT
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

25. Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens in the country. Others say that the results of voting can make a difference to the situation in the country. Using the scale on this card, where 1 means that voting does not make a difference to what happens and 5 means that voting makes a difference, where would you place yourself?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 3.]
1. WHO PEOPLE VOTE FOR DOES NOT MAKE A DIFFERENCE
2.
3.
4.
5. WHO PEOPLE VOTE FOR MAKES A DIFFERENCE
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

26. In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. Speaking of the recent election of the President of Russia, how fair was this election? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means that the election of the President was conducted fairly and 5 means that the election of the President was conducted unfairly.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 4.]
1. LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WAS FAIR
2.
3.
4.
5. LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WAS UNFAIR
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

27. And if we talk about elections to the Russian State Duma this past December, how fair in your opinion were these elections? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means that the election of the State Duma was conducted fairly and 5 means that the election of the State Duma was conducted unfairly.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 5.]
1. LAST DUMA ELECTIONS WERE FAIR
2.
3.
4.
5. LAST DUMA ELECTIONS WERE UNFAIR
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

28. Violations of election procedure occur in all elections, even if they are small and insignificant. If the 2012 presidential elections had been completely honest, without any kind of violations, what, in your view, would have been the result of such elections?
1. Vladimir Putin would have won even more votes
2. The result would have been essentially the same
3. Vladimir Putin would have received less than 50 percent of the votes and there would have been a runoff that he would have won
4. Another candidate would have been elected president
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

29. And if we talk about the State Duma elections: Imagine that the December 2011 elections were completely honest, without any kind of violations. What result, in your view, would have been most likely in that case?
1. United Russia would have received even more seats in the Duma
2. The result would have been essentially the same
3. United Russia would not have received a majority of seats in the Duma
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

30. During the last State Duma and presidential elections, a fairly large number of street demonstrations took place during which these elections were called dishonest and unfair, and demands were made for new, early, honest elections. What is your attitude to these demands advanced at these demonstrations?
1. Fully agree with them
2. Tend to agree
3. Tend not to agree
4. Completely disagree
5. DON'T KNOW ABOUT THESE DEMONSTRATIONS
6. DON'T KNOW ABOUT THESE DEMANDS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

31. Let us talk a bit about different types of political systems and whether you think they are appropriate for our country. What do you think, to what degree are the political systems that I mention here a good fit for our country?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 6.]
{KEY: (1) Very good fit (2) Fairly good fit (3) Fairly bad fit (4) Very bad fit (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) A democratic system
VG
FG
FB
VB
H/S
REF
(2) A strong leader who is restrained by neither parliament nor elections
VG
FG
FB
VB
H/S
REF

32. Many people in Russia today talk a lot about democracy. Do you agree or disagree that Russia should be a democratic country?
1. AGREE
2. DISAGREE
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

33. Do you think Russia is a democratic country today?
1. Yes [GO TO 35]
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

34. Do you think Russia will be a democratic country in the foreseeable future?
1. Most likely yes
2. Most likely no
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

35. What do you think, is it possible for Russia at the present time to be simultaneously a democratic country and a country with a strong state or must we choose one or the other: either a strong state or democracy?
1. We can have both one and the other
2. We must choose one of them
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

36. And what, in your opinion, is more important for Russia right now, to have a strong state or to be a democratic country?
1. TO HAVE A STRONG STATE
2. TO BE A DEMOCRACY
6. THEY ARE EQUALLY IMPORTANT
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

37. What do you think, is it possible for there to be in Russia at the present time both democracy and economic growth, or is this impossible and we must choose one or the other: either economic growth or democracy?
1. We can have both one and the other
2. We must choose one of them
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

38. And what, in your opinion, is more important for Russia right now, economic growth or democracy?
1. ECONOMIC GROWTH
2. DEMOCRACY
6. THEY ARE EQUALLY IMPORTANT
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

39. In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Imagine a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 7.]
{SCALE: 0 (Left) thru 10 (Right); 97 H/S; 98 REF}

40. And where would you place on the same scale the following parties and movements. . . ?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 7. (96) Party not known (97) H/S (98) REF]
(1) United Russia
(2) The Communist Party of the Russian Federation
(3) The Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
(4) A Just Russia
(5) Right Cause
(6) Yabloko
(7) All-Russian Popular Front
(8) The Party of Popular Freedom PARNAS

41. And where would you place on the same scale the following politicians?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 7. (96) Politician not known.]
(1) Vladimir Putin
(2) Dmitry Medvedev
(3) Sergei Mironov
(4) Mikhail Prokhorov
(5) Gennady Zyuganov
(6) Vladimir Zhirinovsky
(7) Aleksei Naval'nyi
(8) Sergei Udal'tsov
(9) Boris Nemtsov

42. Please tell me, is there any one among the present parties, movements, and associations about which you would say, "This is my party, my movement, my association"?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 45]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 45]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 45]

43. Which party, movement, or association is that? Please name it for me.
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.]
_____
997. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 47]
998. REFUSAL [GO TO 47]

44. To what degree does this party, movement, or association reflect your interests, views, and concerns?
1. It reflects them completely [GO TO 47]
2. It reflects them partially [GO TO 47]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 47]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 47]

45. Please tell me, does there exist a party, movement, or association which more than the others reflects your interests, views, and concerns?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 47]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 47]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 47]

46. Which party, movement, or association would that be? Please name it for me.
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.]

_____

_____

997. HARD TO SAY
998. REFUSAL

47. Some people think that the existing set of registered political parties is sufficient, while others think that it is necessary for other parties to have the chance to be registered and in the future participate in elections. What do you think?
1. The existing registered parties are sufficient
2. Other parties should also be registered
3. THERE SHOULD ONLY BE ONE PARTY IN RUSSIA
4. RUSSIA DOES NOT NEED ANY PARTIES
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSE

48. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following assertions.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 8.]
{KEY: (1) Strongly agree (2) More or less agree (3) More or less disagree (4) Strongly disagree (6) PARTY NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) When you hear someone criticize the United Russia party, you feel insulted.
(2) When you hear someone criticize the KPRF, you feel insulted.
(3) When you hear someone criticize the LDPR, you feel insulted.
(4) When you hear someone criticize the A Just Russia Party, you feel insulted.
(5) When you hear someone criticize Vladimir Putin, you feel insulted.

49. And how do the various parties relate to the activity of Putin in the post of prime minister during 2008-2012? Please tell me about each party which I will now name whether it fully supports President Putin, more or less supports him, more or less does not support him, or does not support the activity of Putin as prime minister.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 9.]
{KEY: (1) Fully supports (2) More or less supports (3) More or less does not support (4) Does not support at all (6) PARTY NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) Communist Party of the Russian Federation
(2) A Just Russia

50. During the just concluded campaign for President of Russia, did you see any of the advertising clips of the candidates for President on television?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 52]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 52]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 52]

51. Which specific candidates for President was it whose clips you saw?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 2.]
[INTERVIEWER: MARK ALL WHO ARE NAMED BY THE RESPONDENT.]
1. ZHIRINOVSKY
2. ZYUGANOV
3. MIRONOV
4. PROKHOROV
5. PUTIN
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

52. Please tell me, did the leadership of the enterprise or organization where you work support any candidate for president?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 54]
6. DOES NOT WORK [GO TO 54]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 54]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 54]

53. Which candidate for President did the leadership of your enterprise or organization support?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 2. WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM THE CARD] _____
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

54. Could you recall if during the election campaign for the State Duma [INTERVIEWER: SELECT THE NECESSARY ONE AMONG: PRESIDENT OF YOUR NATIONAL REPUBLIC, GOVERNOR OF YOUR KRAI OR OBLAST, MAYOR OF MOSCOW, GOVERNOR OF ST. PETERSBURG] supported any candidate for president?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 56]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 56]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 56]

55. Which candidate for President did [. . .] support?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 2. WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM THE CARD] _____
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

56. Did you cast a ballot in the presidential election on March 4 of this year?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 63]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 63]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 63]

57. Where did you vote?
1. At the polling place where you are registered
2. At another polling place by absentee voter certificate (otkrepitel'noe udostoverenie)
3. You were brought a mobile ballot box to cast your vote at home
4. OTHER
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

58. Please tell me when you decided that you would vote in the way that you voted?
1. Earlier than one month before the election
2. One month before the election
3. Two weeks before the election
4. In the final days before the election
5. On election day
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

59. Here is a list of the candidates for President. Would you mind saying for whom you voted?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 41.]
1. ZHIRINOVSKY
2. ZYUGANOV
3. MIRONOV
4. PROKHOROV
5. PUTIN
6. CAST A SPOILED BALLOT [GO TO 63]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 63]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 63]

60. Now I will hand you a card on which there are listed various reasons for why people vote for one candidate or another. Look at the card and tell me, please, which of these reasons was the most important for you when you were making your decision to vote for the person you voted for in the recent presidential election. Please select only the one most important reason.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 10.]
1. YOU APPROVE OF THE WORK THE CANDIDATE DID IN HIS POST BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.
2. YOU LIKE THE PROGRAM OF THIS CANDIDATE.
3. YOU LIKE THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF THIS CANDIDATE.
4. HE WAS NOMINATED BY YOUR PARTY.
5. IT IS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT THE AUTHORITIES.
6. YOU CONSIDERED THAT IF THIS CANDIDATE WINS IN AN ELECTION, PEOPLE IN YOUR REGION WILL LIVE BETTER.
7. A VOTE FOR THIS PARTY IS AN EXPRESSION OF PROTEST AGAINST THE SITUATION IN WHICH RUSSIA FINDS ITSELF.
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

61. Would it have been possible for anyone to have seen whom you voted for and reported it to your boss, a state official, or a party representative? How difficult would it have been to do this?
1. Impossible
2. Fairly difficult
3. Not very difficult
4. Easy
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

62. [INTERVIEWER: GIVE QUESTION 61 ONLY TO THOSE WHO VOTED FOR VLADIMIR PUTIN, THAT IS, WHO IN QUESTION 59 CHOSE ANSWER 5. FOR THOSE WHO DID NOT VOTE FOR VLADIMIR PUTIN, ASK QUESTION 63.]
When you made the decision to vote for Vladimir Putin, how important was it to you that he was nominated by United Russia?
1. Very important
2. Important
3. Unimportant
4. Completely unimportant
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

63. On September 24 of last year, Dmitry Medvedev declared that according to an agreement he had reached earlier with Vladimir Putin, he would not run for reelection as president in 2012, but would instead support the return of Putin to the presidency. Which of the words that I will mention best expresses how you felt when you heard about this decision?
1. Satisfaction
2. Relief
3. Indifference
4. Disappointment
5. Offended
6. DID NOT KNOW ABOUT THIS DECLARATION
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

64. When they talk about politicians, people use various words and characterizations. Would you say about Vladimir Putin that he . . .
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 11.]
{KEY: (1) Yes (2) Probably yes (3) Probably no (4) No (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) Is an intelligent and knowledgeable person
(2) Is a strong leader
(3) Is an honest and trustworthy person
(4) Really cares about the interests of people like you

65. And would you say about Dmitry Medvedev that he . . .

66. And would you say about Gennady Zyuganov that he . . .

67. And would you say about Vladimir Zhirinovsky that he . . .

68. And would you say about Sergei Mironov that he . . .

69. And would you say about Mikhail Prokhorov that he . . .

70. Various problems have to be resolved in our country. I am going to read out a list of some of these. Please tell me who of the candidates for president of Russia you think would best be able to deal with these problems. Which candidate for President would do the best job of improving the economy, or would there be no particular difference between the candidates?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 2 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM THE CARD.]
INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____]
6. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

71. And which candidate for President would do the best job of safeguarding human rights and democratic freedoms, or would there by no particular difference between the candidates?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE WORKING WITH CARD 2 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM THE CARD.]
INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____]
6. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

72. And which candidate for President would do the best job of promoting Russia's international interests, or would there by no particular difference between the candidates?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE WORKING WITH CARD 2 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM THE CARD.]
INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____]
6. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

73. If we are to talk about political parties, which of the parties would do the best job of improving the economy, or would there by no particular difference between the parties?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 12 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM THE CARD.]
INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY _____]
96. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

74. And which of the parties would do the best job of safeguarding human rights and democratic freedoms, or would there by no particular difference between the parties?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 12 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM THE CARD.]
INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY _____]
6. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

75. And which of the parties would do the best job of promoting Russia's international interests, or would there by no particular difference between the parties?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 12 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM THE CARD.]
INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY _____]
6. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

76. In your opinion, what best describes each of the politicians that I name: Is this a person whose time has passed, a person needed right now in the present moment, or a person whose time is yet to come? {KEY: (1) PASSED; (2) NOW; (3) TO COME; (6) PERSON NOT KNOWN; (7) HARD TO SAY; (8) REFUSE}
(1) Vladimir Putin
(2) Dmitry Medvedev
(3) Mikhail Prokhorov
(4) Andrei Naval'ny
(5) Boris Nemtsov
(6) Sergei Udal'tsov

77. What do you think, what kind of influence has the United Russia party had on the condition Russia is in today?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 14.]
1. A LARGE POSITIVE INFLUENCE
2. A SMALL POSITIVE INFLUENCE
3. HAS HAD NO INFLUENCE ON THE CONDITION RUSSIA IS IN TODAY
4. SMALL NEGATIVE INFLUENCE
5. LARGE NEGATIVE INFLUENCE
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

78. What do you think, is United Russia a political organization of people who think alike, an association of people whose views on fundamental issues are significantly different from each other, or an organization of careerists without their own views?
1. LIKE-MINDED PEOPLE
2. VIEWS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFER
3. THEY ARE CAREERISTS WITHOUT THEIR OWN VIEWS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

79. What about the All-Russian Popular Front, is this a political organization of people who think alike, an association of people whose views on fundamental issues are significantly different from each other, or an organization of careerists without their own views?
1. LIKE-MINDED PEOPLE
2. VIEWS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFER
3. THEY ARE CAREERISTS WITHOUT THEIR OWN VIEWS
6. DON'T KNOW THIS ORGANIZATION
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

80. Several months ago elections to the State Duma took place. Did you cast a ballot in the election to the State Duma, on December 4, 2011?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 85]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 85]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 85]

81. Here is a list of the parties and blocs whose names were printed on the electoral ballot. Would you mind saying for which party or bloc you voted?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 12. WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM CARD.]
INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY _____
96. CAST A SPOILED BALLOT [GO TO 85]
97. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 85]
98. REFUSAL [GO TO 85]

82. Now I will hand you a card on which are listed various reasons for why people vote for one party or another. Look at the card and tell me, please, which of these reasons was the most important for you when you were making your decision to vote for this particular party. Please select only the one most important reason.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 15.]
1. YOU APPROVE OF THE WORK OF THIS PARTY IN PAST STATE DUMAS.
2. YOU LIKE THE PROGRAM OF THIS PARTY.
3. YOU LIKE THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF THE LEADER OF THIS PARTY.
4. YOU CONSIDER THIS TO BE YOUR PARTY.
5. IT IS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT THE AUTHORITIES.
6. YOU CONSIDERED THAT IF THIS PARTY WINS IN AN ELECTION, PEOPLE IN YOUR REGION WILL LIVE BETTER.
7. PUTIN SUPPORTS THIS PARTY.
8. A VOTE FOR THIS PARTY IS AN EXPRESSION OF PROTEST AGAINST THE SITUATION IN WHICH RUSSIA FINDS ITSELF.
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

83. [INTERVIEWER: ASK QUESTIONS 83-84 ONLY OF THOSE WHO VOTED FOR UNITED RUSSIA, THAT IS, WHO CHOSE ANSWER 6 ON QUESTION 81.
FOR THOSE WHO DID NOT VOTE FOR UNITED RUSSIA, ASK QUESTION 85]
When you made the decision to vote for United Russia, how important was it for you that the United Russia list was headed by Dmitry Medvedev?
1. Very important
2. Important
3. Unimportant
4. Completely unimportant
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

84. When you made the decision to vote for United Russia, how important was it for you that Vladimir Putin was the United Russia Party chairman?
1. Very important
2. Important
3. Unimportant
4. Completely unimportant
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

85. Tell me please what you think, do any of the parties registered at the time of the State Duma eletions, not counting United Russia, have a chance to come to power in the next ten years?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 87]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 87]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 87]

86. Which party is this? Which party has the greatest chance?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 12 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM CARD.]
INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY _____
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

87. Now let us talk a bit about several important tasks that Russia faces today. There are various opinions about the market reforms that are being carried out in our country. What do you think, is it necessary to return to the socialist economy, to leave everything essentially as it is now, or to continue and deepen market reforms?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 16.]
1. IT IS NECESSARY TO RETURN TO THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY
2. IT IS NECESSARY TO LEAVE EVERYTHING ESSENTIALLY AS IT IS NOW
3. IT IS NECESSARY TO CONTINUE AND DEEPEN MARKET REFORMS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

88. And what position on the question of market reforms in Russia is taken by the various political parties? If I name a party or bloc which you do not know, tell me about that. So, what position on market reforms, in your opinion, is taken by . . . ?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 17.]
{KEY: (1) Return to the socialist economy (2) Leave everything as it is (3) Continue and deepen market reforms (6) PARTY NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) United Russia
(2) Communist Party of the Russian Federation
(3) Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
(4) A Just Russia

89. And what position on the same question is taken by. . . ?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 17.]
{KEY: (1) Return to the socialist economy (2) Leave everything as it is (3) Continue and deepen market reforms (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) Vladimir Putin
(2) Dmitry Medvedev

90. There are various opinions about what relations should be like between Russia and the West. What do you think of how Russia should relate to the West?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 18]
1. AS TO AN ENEMY
2. AS TO A RIVAL
3. AS TO AN ALLY
4. AS TO A FRIEND
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

91. And what position on the question of relations between Russia and the West is taken by the following political parties. . .
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 18.]
{KEY: (1) As to an enemy (2) As to a rival (3) As to an ally (4) As to a friend (6) PARTY NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) United Russia
(2) Communist Party of the Russian Federation
(3) Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
(4) A Just Russia

92. And what position on the question of relations between Russia and the West is taken by. . .
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 18.]
{KEY: (1) As to an enemy (2) As to a rival (3) As to an ally (4) As to a friend (6) POLITICIAN NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) Vladimir Putin
(2) Dmitry Medvedev

93. INTERVIEWER: IN THE BOX ARE GIVEN THREE VERSIONS OF THE SAME QUESTION. GIVE ONLY THE ONE THAT IS CIRCLED.

1. Certain politicians recently supported an initiative for Russia's joining the World Trade Organization (WTO), while other politicians came out against this. Please tell me, what is your view...
   1. Russia should join the WTO
   2. Russia should not join the WTO
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSAL

2. Vladimir Putin recently supported an initiative for Russia's joining the World Trade Organization (WTO), while other politicians came out against this. Please tell me, what is your view...
   1. Russia should join the WTO
   2. Russia should not join the WTO
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSAL

3. Representatives of the United Russia Party recently supported an initiative for Russia's joining the World Trade Organization (WTO), while other politicians came out against this. Please tell me, what is your view...
   1. Russia should join the WTO
   2. Russia should not join the WTO
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSAL

94. Tell me please, do you agree or disagree that...
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 8]
{KEY: (1) Strongly agree (2) More or less agree (3) More or less disagree (4) Strongly disagree (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) The USA and NATO will weaken Russia if our president does not do enough to resist their influence
(2) It is very likely that a new world economic crisis will take place during the next presidential term

95. Please tell me, to what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements …
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 8.]
{KEY: (1) Strongly agree (2) More or less agree (3) More or less disagree (4) Strongly disagree (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) Competition among political parties makes our political system stronger
(2) The rule of the CPSU, from 1917 to 1991, did our country more good than harm
(3) The state should play a bigger role in the economy than it does now
(4) It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers, becomes richer than other people
(5) Direct gubernatorial elections should be restored
(6) In the current situation, street protests are the only way to get the government to change course
(7) Russia should be for (ethnic) Russians [russkie]
(8) The majority of people can be trusted
(9) The recent street protests "For Honest Elections" were organized with the help of the West to weaken Russia

96. While in office as President and then Prime Minister, Putin and his team have overseen many different changes in the country. Some people support these changes while others do not support them. Tell me please, do you or do you not support the following changes that have taken place in the country while Putin has been in power?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD 43.]
{KEY: (1) Fully support (2) More or less support (3) More or less do not support (4) Completely do not support (6) Indifferent (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) The ending of direct elections for governors
(2) The partial replacement of benefits with cash payments
(3) The arrest of Mikhail Khodorkovsky
(4) Lengthening presidential terms to 6 years
(5) The creation of the Public Chamber

97. What do you think, in the last 12 years since the year 2000, when Putin first became President, have the following things increased, decreased, or remained unchanged …
[INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD 19.]
{KEY: (1) Increased (2) No change (3) Decreased (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) Corruption among state officials
(2) Income inequality
(3) Political stability in Russia
(5) Political stability in the North Caucasus
(6) The influence of Russia in the world
(7) Personal freedom in Russia
(8) The responsiveness of the state to the needs of the populations
(9) The standard of living of the population

98. INTERVIEWER: IN THE BOX ARE TWO VERSIONS OF THE SAME QUESTION. GIVE ONLY THE ONE THAT IS CIRCLED.

1. Think, please, about which of the statements on this card you are prepared to agree with. Do not tell me with which of these you agree and disagree, only tell me the number of statements on the card that you are prepared to agree with. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 5.
   [INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 20. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
   1. I usually read no fewer than one newspaper or journal in a week
   2. I want to see Russia be a country with a high standard of living
   3. I can name the first name of the chair of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation
   4. In the last presidential elections of March 4 I voted for Vladimir Putin
   5. I am satisfied with my income level
   THE RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ... [_____] STATEMENTS
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSE

2. Think, please, about which of the statements on this card you are prepared to agree with. Do not tell me with which of these you agree and disagree, only tell me the number of statements on the card that you are prepared to agree with. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 4.
   [INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 21. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
   1. I usually read no fewer than one newspaper or journal in a week
   2. I want to see Russia be a country with a high standard of living
   3. I can name the first name of the chair of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation
   4. I am satisfied with my income level
   THE RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ... [_____] STATEMENTS
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSE

99. INTERVIEWER: IN THE BOX ARE TWO VERSIONS OF THE SAME QUESTION. GIVE ONLY THE ONE THAT IS CIRCLED.

1. Think, please, about which of the statements on this card you are prepared to agree with. Do not tell me with which of these you agree and disagree, only tell me the number of statements on the card that you are prepared to agree with. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 5.
   [INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 22. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
   1. My family has an automobile
   2. I know the name of the chair of the Federation Council of Russia
   3. I watch television every day
   4. I voted in the recent presidential election of March 4
   5. In our country the level of pensions is fairly high
   THE RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ... [_____] STATEMENTS
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSE

2. Think, please, about which of the statements on this card you are prepared to agree with. Do not tell me with which of these you agree and disagree, only tell me the number of statements on the card that you are prepared to agree with. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 4.
   [INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 23. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
   1. My family has an automobile
   2. I know the name of the chair of the Federation Council of Russia
   3. I watch television every day
   4. In our country the level of pensions is fairly high
   THE RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ... [_____] STATEMENTS
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSE

100. INTERVIEWER: IN THE BOX ARE TWO VERSIONS OF THE SAME QUESTION. GIVE ONLY THE ONE THAT IS CIRCLED.

1. Think, please, about which of the statements on this card you are prepared to agree with. Do not tell me with which of these you agree and disagree, only tell me the number of statements on the card that you are prepared to agree with. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 5.
   [INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 24. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
   1. Lenin should be removed from his mausoleum and buried
   2. I like to read novels
   3. Street protests in Russia are right in demanding a "Russia without Putin."
   4. Medical care should be free of charge
   5. A majority of politicians can be trusted
   THE RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ... [_____] STATEMENTS
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSE

2. Think, please, about which of the statements on this card you are prepared to agree with. Do not tell me with which of these you agree and disagree, only tell me the number of statements on the card that you are prepared to agree with. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 4.
   [INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 25. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
   1. Lenin should be removed from his mausoleum and buried
   2. I like to read novels
   3. Medical care should be free of charge
   4. A majority of politicians can be trusted
   THE RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ... [_____] STATEMENTS
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSE

101. INTERVIEWER: IN THE BOX ARE THREE VERSIONS OF THE SAME QUESTION. GIVE ONLY THE ONE THAT IS CIRCLED.

1. Think back, please, about which of the actions listed on this card you have done over the last six months. Do not tell me what specifically you did or did not do, tell me only the number of actions you did. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 5.
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 26. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
1. I voted for the United Russia Party in the State Duma elections in December 2011
2. I purchased a newspaper at a kiosk so as to read an article on politics
3. I bought a gift for relatives
4. I saw a political advertisement on television
5. I appealed to a deputy of the State Duma for help in solving a problem
THE RESPONDENT UNDERTOOK... [____] ACTIONS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSE

2. Think back, please, about which of the actions listed on this card you have done over the last six months. Do not tell me what specifically you did or did not do, tell me only the number of actions you did. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 4.
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 27. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
1. I purchased a newspaper at a kiosk so as to read an article on politics
2. I bought a gift for relatives
3. I saw a political advertisement on television
4. I appealed to a deputy of the State Duma for help in solving a problem
THE RESPONDENT UNDERTOOK... [____] ACTIONS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSE

3. Think back, please, about which of the actions listed on this card you have done over the last six months. Do not tell me what specifically you did or did not do, tell me only the number of actions you did. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 5.
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 28. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
1. I watched at least one television program
2. I purchased a newspaper at a kiosk so as to read an article on politics
3. I bought a gift for relatives
4. I saw a political advertisement on television
5. I appealed to a deputy of the State Duma for help in solving a problem
THE RESPONDENT UNDERTOOK... [____] ACTIONS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSE

102. INTERVIEWER: IN THE BOX ARE THREE VERSIONS OF THE SAME QUESTION. GIVE ONLY THE ONE THAT IS CIRCLED.

1. Think back, please, about which of the things listed on this card happened with you during the last presidential elections. Do not tell me what specifically did or did not happen, tell me only the number of things that happened with you during the last presidential elections. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 4.
   [INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 29. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
   1. I saw a campaign poster
   2. I participated in a meeting with a candidate
   3. The election campaign annoyed me
   4. I saw a campaign ad or heard campaigining on the radio
   [____] OF THESE THINGS HAPPENED WITH THE RESPONDENT
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSE

2. Think back, please, about which of the things listed on this card happened with you during the last presidential elections. Do not tell me what specifically did or did not happen, tell me only the number of things that happened with you during the last presidential elections. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 5.
   [INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 30. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
   1. I saw a campaign poster
   2. I participated in a meeting with a candidate
   3. The election campaign annoyed me
   4. I saw a campaign ad or heard campaigining on the radio
   5. I received remuneration for my vote before I voted
   [____] OF THESE THINGS HAPPENED WITH THE RESPONDENT
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSE

3. Think back, please, about which of the things listed on this card happened with you during the last presidential elections. Do not tell me what specifically did or did not happen, tell me only the number of things that happened with you during the last presidential elections. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 5.
   [INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 31. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
   1. I saw a campaign poster
   2. I participated in a meeting with a candidate
   3. The election campaign annoyed me
   4. I saw a campaign ad or heard campaigining on the radio
   5. I received remuneration for my vote after I voted
   [____] OF THESE THINGS HAPPENED WITH THE RESPONDENT
   7. HARD TO SAY
   8. REFUSE

103. INTERVIEWER: IN THE BOX ARE TWO VERSIONS OF THE SAME QUESTION. GIVE ONLY THE ONE THAT IS CIRCLED.

1. If you took part in the recent presidential election of March 4, think please about which of the statements listed on this card are true. Do not tell me which are true and which are not, tell me only the number of statements on this card that are true. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 4.
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 32. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
1. I was asked to take part in an exit poll
2. I had to wait in line in order to vote
3. My precinct was located in an educational institution
4. I voted prior to election day
[____] OF THESE STATEMENTS ARE TRUE
6. DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSE

2. If you took part in the recent presidential election of March 4, think please about which of the statements listed on this card are true. Do not tell me which are true and which are not, tell me only the number of statements on this card that are true. Give your answer in a single number, from 0 to 5.
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 33. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
1. I was asked to take part in an exit poll
2. I had to wait in line in order to vote
3. My precinct was located in an educational institution
4. I voted prior to election day
5. After I voted, it was demanded of me that I tell someone that I voted or whom I voted for
[____] OF THESE STATEMENTS ARE TRUE
6. DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSE

104. Some people say that by engaging in street protests they can make a difference to the situation in the country. Others think that this will not change anything. Using the scale on this card, where 1 means that street protests don't make a difference to what happens and 5 means that street protests make a difference, where would you place yourself?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 34.]
1. STREET PROTESTS WON'T MAKE A DIFFERENCE
2.
3.
4.
5. STREET PROTESTS CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

105. Tell me please, have you ever in your life participated in any kind of street demonstration, regardless of whether this was about your local problems or problems of the country as a whole?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 108]
3. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 108]
4. REFUSAL [GO TO 108]

106. Tell me please, in what kind of street demonstrations have you participated in your life?
{KEY: (1) Yes, (2) No, (7) HARD TO SAY, (8) REFUSAL}
(1) In a protest about a problem of the whole country
(2) In a protest about local problems
(3) In a strike
(4) In a demonstration supporting a political party

107. In the last several months, did you participate in demonstrations...
{KEY: (1) Yes, (2) No, (7) HARD TO SAY, (8) REFUSAL}
(1) In support of Putin or United Russia
(2) For honest elections

108. To what degree do you agree or disagree that the recent opposition street protests were dangerous for the country?
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 8]
1. Fully agree
2. More or less agree
3. More or less disagree
4. Completely disagree
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

109. In recent years street protests have occurred in many countries of the world. Please tell me what you think, did the following protests have a positive or negative impact on their countries?
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 35]
{KEY: (1) Positive effect (2) More or less positive (3) More or less negative (4) Negative effect (5) No effect (6) Do not know the protest (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) The Occupy Wall Street protests in the USA in 2011
(2) The Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004
(3) The mass protests in the Arab world in 2011

110. Some politicians have used the expression “Party of Swindlers and Thieves” as a way of criticiing one of Russia’s political parties. Do you know about which party these words were said?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 12 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM THE CARD.]
INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY _____
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

111. Now I am going to hand you a card containing the names of various groups of people. Please read this list and tell me to which of the suggested groups you feel particularly close. You may choose several groups.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 36.]
1. WORKERS
2. THE YOUNGER GENERATION
3. RUSSIANS
4. BUREAUCRATS
5. SMALL ENTREPRENEURS
6. NATIONAL MINORITIES
7. THE MIDDLE CLASS
8. BIG ENTREPRENEURS
9. PENSIONERS
10. THE INTELLIGENTSIA
11. PEASANTS
12. BYUDZHETNIKI
13. JEWS
14. OFFICERS IN THE MILITARY AND THE SPECIAL SERVICES
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

112. [INTERVIEWER: GIVE QUESTION 112 TO THOSE WHO IN QUESTION 111 SELECTED TWO OR MORE GROUPS. FOR THOSE WHO GAVE ONE GROUP, GO TO QUESTION 113.]
And which one of the groups you selected do you feel the closest?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 36.]
1. WORKERS
2. THE YOUNGER GENERATION
3. RUSSIANS
4. BUREAUCRATS
5. SMALL ENTREPRENEURS
6. NATIONAL MINORITIES
7. THE MIDDLE CLASS
8. BIG ENTREPRENEURS
9. PENSIONERS
10. THE INTELLIGENTSIA
11. PEASANTS
12. BYUDZHETNIKI
13. JEWS
14. OFFICERS IN THE MILITARY AND THE SPECIAL SERVICES
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

113. Please have a look at this card. On it is printed the list you are already familiar with of the names of various groups of people. When you think of supporters of United Russia, tell me, please, which of them you think about mostly. You may name several groups.
[INTERVIEWER: FOR THIS QUESTION, READ THE LIST OUT LOUD.]
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 36.]
1. Workers
2. The younger generation
3. Russians
4. Bureaucrats
5. Small entrepreneurs
6. National minorities
7. The middle class
8. Big entrepreneurs
9. Pensioners
10. The intelligentsia
11. Peasants
12. Byudzhetniki
13. Jews
14. Officers in the military and the special services
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

114. According to Russia's Constitution, the same person can be president only two terms in a row, though it is allowed for that person to participate in elections again after a certain period of time, as happened with Vladimir Putin in 2012. What do you think about that part of the Constitution?
1. There is no need to change this part of the Constitution
2. This part of the Constitution should be changed so that the president is limited to a total of two terms
3. This part of the Constitution should be changed to limit the president to only one term
4. This part of the Constitution should be changed to remove presidential term limits
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

115. Some people believe that, regardless of who is President of Russia, he should have more powers than the Parliament. Others want the Parliament to have more powers than the President. What is your point of view? Look at the card and choose the answer that best corresponds with your point of view.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 37.]
{KEY: Card shows positions (1) President should be stronger (2) President and Parliament should be equal in power (3) Parliament should be stronger (7) H/S (8) REF}

116. Some people think that in Russia everything should be decided by the top organs of government in Moscow, that the center should be strongest. Others think that everything should be decided in the regions, that the regional authorities should be strongest. What do you think about this?
1. Everything should be decided in Moscow
2. Most questions should be decided in Moscow
3. Some questions should be decided in Moscow and some in the regions
4. Most questions should be decided in the regions
5. Everything should be decided in the regions
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

117. Some people feel pride regarding the Soviet Union, while others feel shame. What do you feel?
1. I am very proud of the Soviet Union
2. I am proud of the Soviet Union
3. I am neither proud nor ashamed of the Soviet Union
4. I am ashamed of the Soviet Union
5. I am very ashamed of the Soviet Union
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

118. [INTERVIEWER: MARK THE SEX OF THE RESPONDENT.]
1. MALE
2. FEMALE

119. And now a few questions about something else. Please tell me in what year and what month you were born.
In 19 __ year __ number of the month
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

120. What is your education?
1. Without education, illiterate
2. Elementary
3. Incomplete secondary
4. Secondary
5. Secondary specialized
6. Incomplete higher
7. Higher
8. Scholarly degree
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

121. Who do you consider yourself to be by nationality?
_____
1. Russian
997. HARD TO SAY
998. REFUSAL

122. What language do you usually speak at home? If you speak several languages at home, then please specify which of them you consider to be your main one.
_____
1. Russian
997. HARD TO SAY
998. REFUSAL

123. [INTERVIEWER: RETURN TO QUESTION 119 AND SEE IN WHAT YEAR THE RESPONDENT WAS BORN. AS QUESTION 123 ONLY OF THOSE WHO WERE BORN IN 1973 OR EARLIER. ASK THE REST QUESTION 124.]
Were you a member of the CPSU?
1. Yes
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

124. And what is your attitude toward religion?
1. You are a believer
2. You are closer to being a believer than a non-believer
3. You are closer to being a non-believer than a believer
4. You are a non-believer
5. You are an atheist
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

125. To which religion do you consider yourself to belong?
1. Orthodoxy
2. Catholicism
3. Protestantism
4. Islam
5. Judaism
6. Buddhism, Lamaism
7. Krishnaism
8. Hinduism
9. Other, specifically _____
96. NOT TO ANY RELIGION
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

126. Please tell me whether over the past twelve months you attended religious services, meetings, or other religious activities:
1. Once a week or more frequently
2. Several times a month
3. Several times a year
4. Once or twice a year
5. Never
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

127. Which of the following statements best describes your family's financial situation?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 38.]
1. YOU DON'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY EVEN FOR FOOD.
2. YOU HAVE ENOUGH MONEY ONLY FOR THE MOST NECESSARY THINGS
3. YOU HAVE ENOUGH MONEY FOR DAILY EXPENSES, BUT EVEN THE PURCHASE OF CLOTHES IS DIFFICULT FOR YOU
4. YOU GENERALLY HAVE ENOUGH MONEY, BUT FOR BUYING EXPENSIVE GOODS LIKE, FOR EXAMPLE, A REFRIGERATOR, TELEVISION, OR WASHING MACHINE, YOU MUST SAVE MONEY FOR A VERY LONG TIME OR TAKE ON DEBT, GET CREDIT
5. THE PURCHASE OF EXPENSIVE GOODS IS NOT ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT FOR YOU, BUT A CAR IS STILL UNAFFORDABLE
6. THE PURCHASE OF A CAR IS NOT ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT FOR YOU, BUT PURCHASING HOUSING IS STILL UNAFFORDABLE
7. AT THE PRESENT TIME YOU DON'T HAVE TO DENY YOURSELVE ANYTHING
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

128. How has your family's material situation changed over this past twelve months?
1. Improved a lot
2. Improved a little
3. Remained unchanged
4. Worsened a little
5. Worsened a lot
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

129. If we consider the period of reforms carried out in our country beginning in 1992 and ending in 1999, that is, during the Yeltsin period, as a result of these reforms, did you and your family...
1. Win
2. Mostly win
3. Mostly lose
4. Lose
6. WON SOME AND LOST SOME
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

130. And if we talk about the period after Putin's arrival, as a result of the reforms carried out in our country beginning in the year 2000, did you and your family...
1. Win
2. Mostly win
3. Mostly lose
4. Lose
6. WON SOME AND LOST SOME
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

131. Tell me please, what is your opinion in general: was life in the Soviet time better or worse than today?
1. Better
2. Better in some things, worse in others
3. Worse
4. The same
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

132. Let us chat about the state of our country's economy. In what shape, in your opinion, is the economy of Russia today?
1. Very good
2. Good
3. Neither good nor bad
4. Bad
5. Very bad
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

133. What do you think, over the past twelve months has the economy of Russia . . . ?
1. Gotten much better
2. Gotten somewhat better
3. Stayed the same
4. Gotten somewhat worse
5. Gotten much worse
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

134. How much money in total have all members of your family, including you, made in this past thirty days? Sum up everything: wages, bonuses, profits, pensions, allowances, material aid, incidental pay, and other monetary income. Include in this hard currency, but convert the hard currency into rubles.
_____ rubles
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

135. What is your family situation?
1. You are in a registered marriage
2. You live together with a partner but are not in a registered marriage
3. You have never been in a registered marriage and live without a partner
4. You are divorced and life without a partner
5. You are a widow(er) and live without a partner
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

136. Do you have children?
0. No children
1. One child
2. Two children
3. Three or more
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

137. How many people are there in your family, including yourself and all adults and all children who live together with you and who share income and expenditures with you? Do not include in this number those who work for your family for pay or are renting housing from you.
_____ persons
1. RESPONDENT LIVES ALONE [GO TO 139]
97. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 139]
98. REFUSAL [GO TO 139]

138. How many of them are children younger than eighteen years of age?
_____ persons
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

139. Please look at this list. Read it through carefully and tell me which answer best describes your basic employment status at the present time. We ask you to choose only one answer.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD 39.]
1. WORKING
2. ON MATERNITY LEAVE OR ON OFFICIAL LEAVE CARING FOR A CHILD UNDER 3 YEARS OF AGE, WITH PLACE AT WORK RESERVED
3. ON SOME OTHER PAID LEAVE
4. ON UNPAID LEAVE
5. PUPIL IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL OR PTU [INTERVIEW ENDED]
6. STUDENT IN A DAY VUZ OR TEKHNIKUM [INTERVIEW ENDED]
7. NOT WORKING FOR HEALTH REASONS, AN INVALID [INTERVIEW ENDED]
8. PENSIONER AND NOT WORKING [INTERVIEW ENDED]
9. HOUSEWIFE, LOOKING AFTER OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY, RAISING CHILDREN [INTERVIEW ENDED]
10. TEMPORARILY NOT WORKING FOR OTHER REASONS AND SEEKING WORK [INTERVIEW ENDED]
11. TEMPORARILY NOT WORKING FOR OTHER REASONS, NOT SEEKING WORK [INTERVIEW ENDED]
13. OTHER, SPECIFICALLY [INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN ANSWER.]
_____ [INTERVIEW ENDED]
97. HARD TO SAY [INTERVIEW ENDED]
98. REFUSAL [INTERVIEW ENDED]

140. What kind of enterprise or organization do you work for at your main place of work?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 40.]
1. A federal budget organization
2. A regional or local (municipal) budget organization
3. A force structure
4. A state or municipal enterprise (GUP or MUP)
5. An enterprise registered a a closed or open shareholders society (RAO, ZAO, OAO, OOO, etc.) - except for agricultural or timber enterprises
6. Enterprises based on a collective or state farm or a timber farm
7. A public nongovernmental or noncommercial organization
8. Other
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

141. How many people work in your enterprise (or organization)? If your enteprise (organization) has several offices, territories, or branches, outlets etc. in different places, then say about how many people work only in the place where you work.
1. Over 1000 employees
2. From 101-1000 employees
3. From 11-100 employees
4. Up to 10 employees
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

142. In what sector of the economy is your enterprise?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 42.]

1. Light or food industry
2. Civilian machine-building
3. Military-industrial complex
4. Oil-gas industry
5. Another branch of heavy industry
6. Construction
7. Transporation, communications
8. Agriculture
9. Organs of management
10. Education
11. Science, culture
12. Health care
13. Army, police, security organs
14. Trade, household services
15. Finance
16. Energy industry
17. Utilities (ZhKKh)
18. Other

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

Thank you very much!

INTERVIEWER'S REMARKS

[1. NOTE WHO ELSE WAS PRESENT DURING THE INTERVIEW, EVEN IF ONLY FOR PART OF IT:
{KEY: (1) Yes (2) No}
(1) Respondent's spouse
(2) Respondent's children
(3) Other adults

[2. ASSESS THE RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INTERVIEW. ATTITUDE WAS:
1. Friendly and interested
2. Not especially interested
3. Impatient or unsettled
4. Hostile]

[3. INDICATE HOW THE RESPONDENT UNDERSTOOD THE QUESTIONS:
1. Well
2. Not very well
3. Poorly]

[4. ASSESS THE RESPONDENT'S BEHAVIOR DURING THE INTERVIEW. THE RESPONDENT:
1. Was nervous
2. Was sometimes nervous
3. Felt relaxed]

[5. ASSESS THE SHARPNESS OF THE RESPONDENT:
1. Very dull
2. Dull, needed repeat reading of questions
3. As sharp as most respondents
4. Significantly sharper than most respondents]

[6. ASSESS THE SINCERITY AND OPENNESS OF THE RESPONDENT. THE RESPONDENT WAS:
1. Very closed and insincere
2. As sincere and open as most respondents
3. Significantly more sincere and open than most respondents]

I certify that I administered the questionnaire in correspondence with the Instruction, by means of a face-to-face interview with the respondent selected according to the Instruction.

Signature _____