

# codebook

**SURVEY OF RUSSIAN ELITES: 1993-2020**

by

**William Zimmerman**  
**Sharon Werning Rivera**  
**Kirill Kalinin**

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## *Notes*

The codebook reflects variations in question wording, even if slight, across the eight waves. If the variations are not noted in the database, the question wording used in the database is from the most recent wave of the survey.

The original Russian-language version of any given survey question is available from the authors upon request.

Please direct queries and corrections to Sharon Rivera at [srivera@hamilton.edu](mailto:srivera@hamilton.edu).

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## *Previous Versions of Data Set*

Zimmerman, William, Rivera, Sharon Werning, and Kalinin, Kirill. Survey of Russian Elites, Moscow, Russia, 1993-2016. Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2019-09-11. <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR03724.v6>.

Zimmerman, William, Rivera, Sharon Werning, and Kalinin, Kirill. Survey of Russian Elites, Moscow, Russia, 1993-2016. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2018-08-01. <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR03724.v5>.

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## Contents

### A. International Relations

1. Scope of National Interests
2. Role of Military Force in International Relations
3. Relations with the European Union
4. Relations with Ukraine
5. Relations with Belarus
6. Attitudes Toward NATO Expansion
7. Attitudes Toward European Union Enlargement
8. Threat Posed by Russia to the European Union
9. Threat Posed by Russia to Other States
10. Views of Other Countries and International Organizations
11. Russia as a First or Third World Country?
12. Coalitional Politics
13. Ukrainian Crisis
14. Russia's Relations with the West
15. Election Interference

### B. Security Concerns

1. Danger of Destabilization in Russia
2. Threats to Security
3. Causes of War
4. Paths Toward International Peace
5. Paths Toward Peaceful Relations in the CIS
6. Threats to Security Posed by the US
7. Military Priorities
8. Acceptable Uses of Military Force
9. Political Use of Natural Resources
10. Chechnya
11. "Lessons of Afghanistan"
12. Threats to Security Posed by China
13. NATO Operation in Libya
14. Syrian Conflict

### C. Foreign Policy

1. Foreign Policy Beliefs
2. Foreign Policy Goals
3. Influence on Foreign Policy
4. Isolationist vs. International Orientation
5. Evaluation of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MID)
6. Evaluation of Russia's Foreign Policy

### D. Political Information

1. Sources of Information
2. Discussion of Information
3. Social Networking Sites
4. Media Objectivity
5. Internet Regulation

### E. Domestic Politics

1. Domestic Order
2. Political Beliefs
3. Democracy in Russia
4. Best Political System for Russia
5. Likelihood of Political Events
6. Identification with Country
7. Pride in Russian Citizenship
8. Trust and Happiness
9. Feelings about Various Groups in Russia
10. Feelings about Immigrants
11. Elections
12. Political Protests
13. Post-Materialist and Other Values, Child-rearing, NGOs, Desires for Russia
14. Constitutional Reforms
15. Evaluation of Putin

## **F. Economic Concerns**

1. Best Path of Development
2. National Expenditures
3. Risk and Entrepreneurship
4. Economic Importance of Various Types of Enterprises
5. Aspects of Work
6. Prospective Economic Evaluations
7. Fracking
8. Models of Development, *Perestroika*
9. Sanctions

## **G. Socio-Demographic Data**

1. Elite Group
2. Parents' Education, Nationality, Occupation
3. Individual Background
4. Income
5. Household Information
6. Political Affiliations
7. Religion
8. Nationality
9. Military Service
10. Education
11. Occupation
12. Foreign Language
13. Travel Abroad
14. Personality

## **H. Interview Information**

1. Interview ID, Date, Time, Collection Method
2. Past and Future Survey Participation

## **I. Survey Experiments**

1. Group
2. Intervention in Syria
3. Ethnic Preferences
4. Civilizational Identity
5. Oil Prices and Foreign Policy

## A. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### A1. SCOPE OF NATIONAL INTERESTS

1.1	[fpnatint]						
1.2.1	[fpnatint1]						
1.2.2	[fpnatint2]						
1.2.3	[fpnatint3]						
1.2.4	[fpnatint4]						
1.2.5	[fpnatint5]						
1.2.6	[fpnatint6]						
1.3	[impcak]						
1.4	[impcauc]						
1.5	[impbalt]						
1.6	[impubm]						
1.7	[impafir]						
1.8	[impna]						
1.9	[imp eur]						
1.10	[impasia]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
There are various opinions about the national interests of Russia. Which of the two statements below is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about the national interests of Russia. Which of the two statements below is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about the national interests of Russia. Which of the two statements below is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about the national interests of Russia. Which of the two statements below is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about the national interests of Russia. Which of the two statements below is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about the national interests of Russia. Which of the two statements below is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about the national interests of Russia. Which of the two statements below is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about the national interests of Russia. Which of the two statements below is closer to your point of view?
(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)
1. The national interests of Russia for the most part should be limited to its current territory.	1. The national interests of Russia for the most part should be limited to its current territory.	1. The national interests of Russia for the most part should be limited to its current territory.	1. The national interests of Russia for the most part should be limited to its current territory.	1. The national interests of Russia for the most part should be limited to its current territory.	1. The national interests of Russia for the most part should be limited to its current territory.	1. The national interests of Russia for the most part should be limited to its current territory.	1. The national interests of Russia for the most part should be limited to its current territory.
2. The national interests of Russia for the most part extend beyond its current territory.	2. The national interests of Russia for the most part extend beyond its current territory.	2. The national interests of Russia for the most part extend beyond its current territory.	2. The national interests of Russia for the most part extend beyond its current territory.	2. The national interests of Russia for the most part extend beyond its current territory.	2. The national interests of Russia for the most part extend beyond its current territory.	2. The national interests of Russia for the most part extend beyond its current territory.	2. The national interests of Russia for the most part extend beyond its current territory.
98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK
				99. Refused	99. Refused	99. Refused	99. Refused

			[If choice 2 is selected above]: Where exactly?  <div>(1.2.1)</div> <div>(1.2.2)</div> <div>(1.2.3)</div> <div>(1.2.4)</div> <div>(1.2.5)</div> <div>(1.2.6)</div>	[If choice 2 is selected above]: Where exactly?  <div>(1.2.1)</div> <div>(1.2.2)</div> <div>(1.2.3)</div> <div>(1.2.4)</div> <div>(1.2.5)</div> <div>(1.2.6)</div>	[If choice 2 is selected above]: Where exactly do Russia's interests extend (apart from its current territory)?  <div>(1.2.1)</div> <div>(1.2.2)</div> <div>(1.2.3)</div> <div>(1.2.4)</div> <div>(1.2.5)</div> <div>(1.2.6)</div>	[If choice 2 is selected above]: Where exactly do Russia's interests extend (apart from its current territory)?  <div>(1.2.1)</div>	[If choice 2 is selected above]: Where exactly do Russia's interests extend (apart from its current territory)?  <div>(1.2.1)</div>
			<hr/> <i>[first response]</i> <hr/> <i>[all responses]</i>	<hr/> <i>[first response]</i> <hr/> <i>[all responses]</i>	<hr/> <i>[first response]</i> <hr/> <i>[all responses]</i>	1. Russia has vital interests in the "Near Abroad," but not beyond that. 2. Russia has vital interests in the whole world. 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Russia has vital interests in the "Near Abroad," but not beyond that. 2. Russia has vital interests in the "Near Abroad" and Eastern Europe, but not beyond that. 3. Russia has vital interests in parts of the world not only in the "Near Abroad" and Eastern Europe," but also in various parts of the world. 98. DK 99. Refused
	Could you please tell me which of the following regions you consider to be not at all important and which you consider to be very important for the national interests of Russia? Rate the level of importance, using a five-point scale, where 1 means not at all important and 5 means	Could you please tell me which of the following regions you consider to be not at all important and which you consider to be very important for the national interests of Russia? Rate the level of importance, using a five-point scale, where 1 means not at all important and 5 means					



	very important for Russia's national interests.	very important for Russia's national interests.					
	Central Asia and Kazakhstan (1.3)	Central Asia and Kazakhstan (1.3)					
	Caucasus region (1.4)	Caucasus region (1.4)					
	Baltic states (1.5)	Baltic states (1.5)					
	Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova (1.6)	Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova (1.6)					
	Africa (1.7)	Africa (1.7)					
	North America (1.8)	North America (1.8)					
	Europe (1.9)	Europe (1.9)					
	Asia (1.10)	Asia (1.10)					
	1. Not at all important 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. Very important 98. DK/NA	1. Not at all important 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. Very important 98. DK/NA					

## A2. ROLE OF MILITARY FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

2	[milrole]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Below are two statements about the role of military force in international relations. Which of these is closer to your view? (2)	Below are two statements about the role of military force in international relations. Which of these is closer to your view? (2)	I will read you two statements about the role of military force in international relations. Which of these is closer to your view? (2)	I will read you two statements about the role of military force in international relations. Which of these is closer to your view? (2)	I will read you two statements about the role of military force in international relations. Which of these is closer to your view? (2)	I will read you two statements about the role of military force in international relations. Which of these is closer to your view? (2)	I will read you two statements about the role of military force in international relations. Which of these is closer to your view? (2)	I will read you two statements about the role of military force in international relations. Which of these is closer to your view? (2)

1. Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.	1. Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.	1. Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.	1. Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.	1. Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.	1. Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.	1. Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.	1. Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.
2. The economic, and not military, potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.	2. The economic, and not military, potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.	2. The economic, and not military, potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.	2. The economic, and not military, potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.	2. The economic, and not military, potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.	2. The economic, and not military, potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.	2. The economic, and not military, potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.	2. The economic, and not military, potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.
98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK 99. Refused	98. DK 99. Refused	98. DK 99. Refused	98. DK 99. Refused

### A3. RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION

3.1 [rus\_n\_eu]  
3.2 [eu\_rpub]  
3.3 [eu\_eupub]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
			There are various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with the European Union. Some maintain that Russia and the European Union should be completely independent of each other. This opinion corresponds to a 1 on a five-point scale. Others think that Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future, which corresponds to a 5. Which position is closer to your point of view? (3.1)	There are various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with the European Union. Some maintain that Russia and the European Union should be completely independent of each other. This opinion corresponds to a 1 on a five-point scale. Others think that Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future, which corresponds to a 5. Which position is closer to your point of view? (3.1)	There are various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with the European Union. Using a five-point scale (where 1 means that Russia and the European Union should be completely independent of each other and 5 means that Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future), please indicate which position is closer to your point of view. (3.1)	There are various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with the European Union. Using a five-point scale (where 1 means that Russia and the European Union should be completely independent of each other and 5 means that Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future), please indicate which position is closer to your point of view. (3.1)	There are various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with the European Union (EU). Using a five-point scale (where 1 means that Russia and the European Union should be completely independent of each other and 5 means that Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future), please indicate which position is closer to your point of view. (3.1)
			Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens?				

			(3.2)				
			Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of citizens of the European Union?				
			(3.3)				
			1. <i>Russia and the European Union should be completely independent of each another.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future.</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Russia and the European Union should be completely independent of each another.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future.</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Russia and the European Union should be completely independent of each another.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future.</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Russia and the European Union should be completely independent of each another.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future.</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Russia and the European Union should be completely independent of each another.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

#### A4. RELATIONS WITH UKRAINE

4.1 [rus\_n\_uk]  
4.2 [ukr\_rpub]  
4.3 [ukr\_ukpb]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
	There are various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with Ukraine. Some maintain that Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries. This opinion corresponds to a 1 on a seven-point scale. Others think that Russia and Ukraine should be united into a single country, which corresponds to a 7.	There are various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with Ukraine. Some maintain that Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries. This opinion corresponds to a 1 on a seven-point scale. Others think that Russia and Ukraine should be united into a single country, which corresponds to a 7.	There are also various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with Ukraine. Some maintain that Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries. This opinion corresponds to a 1 on a five-point scale. Others think that Russia and Ukraine should be united into a single country, which corresponds to a 5. Which position is	There are also various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with Ukraine. Using the same scale (where 1 means that Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries and 5 means that they should be united into one country), tell me which position is closer to your point of view. Russia and Ukraine	There are also various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with Ukraine. Using a five-point scale (where 1 means that Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries and 5 means that they should be united into a single country), please indicate which position is closer to your point of view. Russia	There are also various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with Ukraine. Using a five-point scale (where 1 means that Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries and 5 means that they should be united into a single country), please indicate which position is closer to your point of view. Russia and	There are also various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with Ukraine. Using a five-point scale (where 1 means that Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries and 5 means that they should be united into a single country), please indicate which position is closer to your point of view. Russia and Ukraine

	Which position is closer to your point of view? (4.1)	Which position is closer to your point of view? (4.1)	closer to your point of view? (4.1)	should be... (4.1)	and Ukraine should be... (4.1)	Ukraine should be... (4.1)	should be... (4.1)
	Which position on this scale corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens? (4.2)	Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens? (4.2)	Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens? (4.2)				
	Which position on this scale corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Ukrainian citizens? (4.3)	Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Ukrainian citizens? (4.3)	Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Ukrainian citizens? (4.3)				
	1. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be united into a single country.</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be united into a single country.</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be united into a single country.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Completely independent countries</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>United into a single country</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Completely independent countries</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>United into a single country</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Completely independent countries</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>United into a single country</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Completely independent countries</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>United into a single country</i> 95. <i>Russia should unite with only part of Ukraine. (DON'T READ! MARK ONLY IF UNPROMPTED ANSWER)</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

#### A5. RELATIONS WITH BELARUS

5.1 [rus\_bel]  
5.2 [bel\_rpub]  
5.3 [bel\_bpub]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
		There are various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with Belarus. Some maintain that Russia and Belarus should be completely independent countries.	And finally, there are various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with Belarus. Some maintain that Russia and Belarus should be completely independent	Finally on this theme, how about relations between Russia and Belarus? Rate them using a five-point scale: should Russia and Belarus be completely independent countries or	There are also various opinions concerning the relations between Russia and Belarus. Evaluate on a five-point scale (where 1 means that Russia and Belarus should be completely	There are also various opinions concerning the relations between Russia and Belarus. Evaluate on a five-point scale (where 1 means that Russia and Belarus should be completely	There are also various opinions concerning the relations between Russia and Belarus. Evaluate on a five-point scale (where 1 means that Russia and Belarus should be completely

		This opinion corresponds to a 1 on a seven-point scale. Others think that Russia and Belarus should be united into a single country, which corresponds to a 7. Which position is closer to your point of view? <b>(5.1)</b>	countries. This opinion corresponds to a 1 on a five-point scale. Others think that Russia and Belarus should be united into a single country, which corresponds to a 5. Which position is closer to your point of view? <b>(5.1)</b>	should they be united into a single country? What is your position? Russia and Belarus should be... <b>(5.1)</b>	independent countries and 5 means that they should be united into a single country) whether Russia and Belarus should be completely independent or should be united into one country. What is your position? Russia and Belarus should be... <b>(5.1)</b>	independent countries and 5 means that they should be united into a single country) whether Russia and Belarus should be completely independent or should be united into one country. What is your position? Russia and Belarus should be... <b>(5.1)</b>	independent countries and 5 means that they should be united into a single country) whether Russia and Belarus should be completely independent or should be united into one country. What is your position? Russia and Belarus should be... <b>(5.1)</b>
		Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens? <b>(5.2)</b>	Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens? <b>(5.2)</b>				
		Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Belarusian citizens? <b>(5.3)</b>	Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Belarusian citizens? <b>(5.3)</b>				
		1. <i>Russia and Belarus should be completely independent countries.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. <i>Russia and Belarus should be united into a single country.</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Russia and Belarus should be completely independent countries.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia and Belarus should be united into a single country.</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Completely independent countries</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>United into a single country</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Completely independent countries</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>United into a single country</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Completely independent countries</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>United into a single country</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Completely independent countries</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>United into a single country</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

#### A6. ATTITUDES TOWARD NATO EXPANSION

6.1 [natoee]  
6.2 [natobalt]  
6.3 [natocis]  
6.4 [natoruss]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
		As you know, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland have recently become members of	As you know, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland have become members of NATO.				

		NATO. What is your attitude toward the expansion of NATO to include these countries: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.1)	What is your attitude toward the expansion of NATO to include these countries: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.1)				
		And what would be your attitude toward a decision to admit the Baltic states into NATO: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.2)	What is your attitude toward the decision to admit the Baltic states into NATO: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.2)	What is your attitude toward the decision to admit the Baltic states into NATO: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.2)			
		And, finally, what would be your attitude toward a decision to admit one or more members of the CIS into NATO: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.3)	What would be your attitude toward a decision to admit one or more members of the CIS into NATO: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.3)	What would be your attitude toward a decision to admit one or more members of the CIS into NATO: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.3)	What would be your attitude toward a decision to admit one or more members of the CIS into NATO: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.3)	What would be your attitude toward a decision to admit one or more members of the CIS into NATO: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.3)	
			Finally, what would be your attitude toward Russia joining NATO: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative? (6.4)				
		1. <i>Very positive</i> 2. <i>Rather positive</i> 3. <i>Both positive and negative</i> 4. <i>Rather negative</i> 5. <i>Very negative</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very positive</i> 2. <i>Rather positive</i> 3. <i>Both positive and negative</i> 4. <i>Rather negative</i> 5. <i>Very negative</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very positive</i> 2. <i>Rather positive</i> 3. <i>Both positive and negative</i> 4. <i>Rather negative</i> 5. <i>Very negative</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very positive</i> 2. <i>Rather positive</i> 3. <i>Both positive and negative</i> 4. <i>Rather negative</i> 5. <i>Very negative</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very positive</i> 2. <i>Rather positive</i> 3. <i>Both positive and negative</i> 4. <i>Rather negative</i> 5. <i>Very negative</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	

#### A7. ATTITUDES TOWARD EUROPEAN UNION ENLARGEMENT

7.1 [euexpee]  
7.2 [euexpbal]

7.3 [euexpcis]  
 7.4 [eurusbal]  
 7.5 [kalreleu]  
 7.6 [klchngrl]  
 7.7.1 [q30g\_1]  
 7.7.2 [q30g\_2]  
 7.7.3 [q30g\_3]  
 7.7.4 [q30g\_4]  
 7.7.5 [q30g\_5]  
 7.8 [kalineco]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
			As you know, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland will become members of the European Union this year. What is your attitude toward the enlargement of the European Union to include these countries: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative?  (7.1)	As you know, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland have become members of the European Union. What is your attitude toward the enlargement of the European Union to include these countries: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative?  (7.1)			
			And what is your attitude toward the decision by the Baltic countries to join the European Union: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative?  (7.2)	And what is your attitude toward the entry of the Baltic countries into the European Union: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative, rather negative, or very negative?  (7.2)			
			And what would be your attitude toward a decision by one or more members of the CIS to join the European Union: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative,	And what would be your attitude toward a decision by one or more members of the CIS to join the European Union: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative,		What would be your attitude toward a decision by one or more members of the CIS to join the European Union: very positive, rather positive, both positive and negative,	

			rather negative, or very negative? (7.3)	rather negative, or very negative? (7.3)		rather negative, or very negative? (7.3)	
			1. <i>Very positive</i> 2. <i>Rather positive</i> 3. <i>Both positive and negative</i> 4. <i>Rather negative</i> 5. <i>Very negative</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very positive</i> 2. <i>Rather positive</i> 3. <i>Both positive and negative</i> 4. <i>Rather negative</i> 5. <i>Very negative</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>		1. <i>Very positive</i> 2. <i>Rather positive</i> 3. <i>Both positive and negative</i> 4. <i>Rather negative</i> 5. <i>Very negative</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	
			Do you think that Russia's relations with the Baltic countries will improve or worsen after their entry into the European Union? (7.4)				
			1. <i>They will improve.</i> 2. <i>They will worsen.</i> 6. <i>They will remain the same.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>				
			And now a few questions specifically about Kaliningrad Oblast, which, as you know, will be completely surrounded by members of the European Union after EU enlargement. Do you think that as a result of EU enlargement, relations between Kaliningrad and the rest of the Russian Federation will be strengthened, will be weakened, or will remain the same? (7.5)	And now two questions about Kaliningrad Oblast, which, as you know, is completely surrounded by members of the European Union after EU enlargement. Do you think that as a result of EU enlargement, relations between Kaliningrad and the rest of the Russian Federation will be strengthened or will be weakened? (7.5)			
			1. <i>They will be strengthened.</i>	1. <i>They will be strengthened.</i>			



			<p>2. <i>They will be weakened.</i></p> <p>3. <i>They will remain the same.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	<p>2. <i>They will be weakened.</i></p> <p>3. <i>They will remain the same.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>			
			<p>Will the special position of Kaliningrad Oblast that results from EU enlargement lead to relations between Russia and the European Union becoming warmer or cooler?</p> <p><b>(7.6)</b></p>				
			<p>1. <i>They will become warmer.</i></p> <p>2. <i>They will become cooler.</i></p> <p>6. <i>They will remain the same.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>				
			<p>[If choice 1 or 2 is selected above]:</p> <p>In what realm?</p> <p><b>(7.7.1)</b></p> <p><b>(7.7.2)</b></p> <p><b>(7.7.3)</b></p> <p><b>(7.7.4)</b></p> <p><b>(7.7.5)</b></p>				
			<p><i>[first response]</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>[all responses]</i></p>				
			<p>Some maintain that it is necessary to promote economic ties between Kaliningrad Oblast and the EU member states since this would lead to a higher standard of living in the oblast. Others maintain that such economic ties</p>	<p>Some maintain that it is necessary to promote economic ties between Kaliningrad Oblast and the EU member states since this would lead to a higher standard of living in the oblast. Others maintain that such economic ties</p>			

			<p>should be restricted since they will make the region more independent from the rest of the Russian Federation.</p> <p>Which of these positions is closer to your point of view?</p> <p>(7.8)</p>	<p>should be restricted since they will make the region more independent from the rest of the Russian Federation.</p> <p>Which of these positions is closer to your point of view?</p> <p>(7.8)</p>			
			<p>1. <i>It is necessary to promote economic ties between Kaliningrad Oblast and the EU member states since this will lead to a higher standard of living in the oblast.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Such economic ties should be restricted since they will make Kaliningrad Oblast more independent from the rest of the Russian Federation.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	<p>1. <i>It is necessary to promote economic ties between Kaliningrad Oblast and the EU member states since this will lead to a higher standard of living in the oblast.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Such economic ties should be restricted since they will make Kaliningrad Oblast more independent from the rest of the Russian Federation.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>			

#### A8. THREAT POSED BY RUSSIA TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

8.1	[eucrime]						
8.2	[eupolut]						
8.3	[eumigrt]						
8.4	[euaid]						
8.5	[euterror]						
8.6	[eumil]						
8.7	[euqol]						
8.8	[euaauthor]						
8.9	[eudrugs]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
			<p>In your opinion, which of the following could represent a real threat to the European Union from Russia?</p>				

			A rise in crime rates in Russia (8.1)				
			Pollution in Russia (8.2)				
			Illegal migration from Russia (8.3)				
			An epidemic of AIDS and other dangerous diseases in Russia (8.4)				
			The problem of terrorism in Russia (8.5)				
			The growth in Russian military power (8.6)				
			A lower standard of living in Russia (8.7)				
			The strengthening of authoritarian tendencies in Russian domestic politics (8.8)				
			The transit of drugs through Russian territory (8.9)				
			1. Could 2. Probably could 3. Probably could not 4. Could not 98. DK				

#### A9. THREAT POSED BY RUSSIA TO OTHER STATES

- 9.1 [nuke]
- 9.2 [civilwar]
- 9.3 [collapse]
- 9.4 [ecology]
- 9.5 [emigrate]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------

Do you think that Russia represents a threat to other states because of...	Do you think that Russia represents a threat to other states because of...						
Its possession of nuclear weapons (9.1)	Its possession of nuclear weapons (9.1)						
Instability and the threat of civil war (9.2)	Instability and the threat of civil war (9.2)						
The collapse of the economy (9.3)	The collapse of the economy (9.3)						
Possible ecological disasters, catastrophes (9.4)	Possible ecological disasters, catastrophes (9.4)						
The threat of an uncontrolled flow of emigration abroad (9.5)	The threat of an uncontrolled flow of emigration abroad (9.5)						
1. Yes 2. No 98. DK/NA	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK/NA						

#### A10. VIEWS OF OTHER COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

10.1.1 [chinaf]	10.2.1 [chinap]	10.4.1 [chinab]	10.5.1 [demchina]				
10.1.2 [ukraine f]	10.2.2 [ukraine p]	10.4.2 [ukraine b]	10.5.2 [demukrai]				
10.1.3 [usf]	10.2.3 [usp]	10.4.3 [usb]	10.5.3 [demusa]				
10.1.4 [estonia f]	10.2.4 [estonia p]	10.4.4 [estonia b]	10.5.4 [demest]				
10.1.5 [poland f]	10.2.5 [poland p]	10.4.5 [poland b]	10.5.5 [dempol]				
10.1.6 [germany f]	10.2.6 [germany p]	10.4.6 [germany b]	10.5.6 [demgerm]				
10.1.7 [lithua f]	10.2.7 [lithua p]	10.4.7 [lithua b]	10.5.7 [demlith]				
10.1.8 [iraq f]	10.2.8 [iraq p]	10.4.8 [japan b]	10.5.8 [demjap]				
10.1.9 [japan f]	10.2.9 [japan p]	10.4.9 [georgia b]	10.5.9 [demgeorg]				
10.1.10 [georgia f]	10.2.10 [georgia p]						
10.1.11 [euf]	10.3 [rusposition]						
10.1.12 [gbf]							
10.1.13 [natof]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020

Now we would like to ask you a few questions about Russia and its relations with other countries. For each country that I will name, please tell me how friendly or hostile you think this country is toward Russia today: very friendly, rather friendly, neutral, rather hostile, or very hostile.	Now we would like to ask you a few questions about Russia and its relations with other countries. For each country that I will name, please tell me how friendly or hostile you think this country is toward Russia today: very friendly, rather friendly, neutral, rather hostile, or very hostile.	For each country that I will name, please tell me how friendly or hostile you think this country is toward Russia today: very friendly, rather friendly, neutral, rather hostile, or very hostile.	For each country that I will now name, please tell me how friendly or hostile you think it is toward Russia today: very friendly, rather friendly, neutral, rather hostile, or very hostile.	For each country or international organization that I will name, please tell me how friendly or hostile you think it is toward Russia today: very friendly, rather friendly, neutral, rather hostile, or very hostile.	For each country or international organization that I will name, please tell me how friendly or hostile you think it is toward Russia today: very friendly, rather friendly, neutral, rather hostile, or very hostile.	For each country or international organization that I will name, please tell me how friendly or hostile you think it is toward Russia today: very friendly, rather friendly, neutral, rather hostile, or very hostile.	For each country or international organization that I will name, please tell me how friendly or hostile you think it is toward Russia today: very friendly, rather friendly, neutral, rather hostile, or very hostile.
China (10.1.1)	China (10.1.1)	China (10.1.1)	China (10.1.1)	China (10.1.1)	China (10.1.1)	China (10.1.1)	China (10.1.1)
Ukraine (10.1.2)	Ukraine (10.1.2)	Ukraine (10.1.2)	Ukraine (10.1.2)	Ukraine (10.1.2)	Ukraine (10.1.2)	Ukraine (10.1.2)	Ukraine (10.1.2)
US (10.1.3)	US (10.1.3)	US (10.1.3)	US (10.1.3)	US (10.1.3)	US (10.1.3)	US (10.1.3)	US (10.1.3)
Estonia (10.1.4)	Estonia (10.1.4)	Estonia (10.1.4)	Estonia (10.1.4)	Estonia (10.1.4)	Estonia (10.1.4)	Estonia (10.1.4)	Estonia (10.1.4)
Poland (10.1.5)	Poland (10.1.5)	Poland (10.1.5)	Poland (10.1.5)	Poland (10.1.5)	Poland (10.1.5)	Poland (10.1.5)	Poland (10.1.5)
Germany (10.1.6)	Germany (10.1.6)	Germany (10.1.6)	Germany (10.1.6)	Germany (10.1.6)	Germany (10.1.6)	Germany (10.1.6)	Germany (10.1.6)
Lithuania (10.1.7)							
	Iraq (10.1.8)	Iraq (10.1.8)	Iraq (10.1.8)				
Japan (10.1.9)	Japan (10.1.9)	Japan (10.1.9)	Japan (10.1.9)	Japan (10.1.9)	Japan (10.1.9)	Japan (10.1.9)	Japan (10.1.9)
Georgia (10.1.10)	Georgia (10.1.10)	Georgia (10.1.10)	Georgia (10.1.10)	Georgia (10.1.10)	Georgia (10.1.10)	Georgia (10.1.10)	Georgia (10.1.10)
				European Union (10.1.11)	European Union (10.1.11)	European Union (10.1.11)	European Union (10.1.11)
				Great Britain (10.1.12)	Great Britain (10.1.12)	Great Britain (10.1.12)	Great Britain (10.1.12)
							NATO (10.1.13)
1. Very friendly 2. Rather friendly 3. Neutral 4. Rather hostile 5. Very hostile 98. DK	1. Very friendly 2. Rather friendly 3. Neutral 4. Rather hostile 5. Very hostile 98. DK	1. Very friendly 2. Rather friendly 3. Neutral 4. Rather hostile 5. Very hostile 98. DK	1. Very friendly 2. Rather friendly 3. Neutral 4. Rather hostile 5. Very hostile 98. DK	1. Very friendly 2. Rather friendly 3. Neutral 4. Rather hostile 5. Very hostile 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Very friendly 2. Rather friendly 3. Neutral 4. Rather hostile 5. Very hostile 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Very friendly 2. Rather friendly 3. Neutral 4. Rather hostile 5. Very hostile 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Very friendly 2. Rather friendly 3. Neutral 4. Rather hostile 5. Very hostile 98. DK 99. Refused
And now compare the power of these countries	And now compare the power of these countries						

with Russia: are they much more powerful, somewhat more powerful, equal, somewhat weaker, or much weaker?	with Russia: are they much more powerful, somewhat more powerful, equal, somewhat weaker, or much weaker?						
China (10.2.1)	China (10.2.1)						
Ukraine (10.2.2)	Ukraine (10.2.2)						
US (10.2.3)	US (10.2.3)						
Estonia (10.2.4)	Estonia (10.2.4)						
Poland (10.2.5)	Poland (10.2.5)						
Germany (10.2.6)	Germany (10.2.6)						
Lithuania (10.2.7)							
	Iraq (10.2.8)						
Japan (10.2.9)	Japan (10.2.9)						
Georgia (10.2.10)	Georgia (10.2.10)						
1. Much more powerful 2. Somewhat more powerful 3. Equal 4. Somewhat weaker 5. Much weaker 98. DK/NA	1. Much more powerful 2. Somewhat more powerful 3. Equal 4. Somewhat weaker 5. Much weaker 98. DK/NA						
	How would you rate Russia's standing in the world in the past year? Has it become weaker, stayed about the same, or become stronger? (10.3)						
	1. It has become weaker. 2. It has stayed about the same. 3. It has become stronger. 98. DK						

If we are talking about cooperation between Russia and these countries, which do you think benefits more from cooperation: Russia or the other country?							
China (10.4.1)							
Ukraine (10.4.2)							
US (10.4.3)							
Estonia (10.4.4)							
Poland (10.4.5)							
Germany (10.4.6)							
Lithuania (10.4.7)							
Japan (10.4.8)							
Georgia (10.4.9)							
1. Russia benefits. 2. The other country benefits. 3. Neither benefits. 4. Both benefit equally. 98. DK							
Which of the following countries, in your view, are more democratic than, equally as democratic as, or less democratic than Russia?	Which of the following countries, in your view, are more democratic than, equally as democratic as, or less democratic than Russia?						
China (10.5.1)	China (10.5.1)						
Ukraine (10.5.2)	Ukraine (10.5.2)						
US (10.5.3)	US (10.5.3)						
Estonia (10.5.4)	Estonia (10.5.4)						
Poland	Poland						

(10.5.5)	(10.5.5)						
Germany	Germany						
(10.5.6)	(10.5.6)						
Lithuania							
(10.5.7)							
Japan	Japan						
(10.5.8)	(10.5.8)						
Georgia	Georgia						
(10.5.9)	(10.5.9)						
1. More democratic	1. More democratic						
2. Equally as democratic	2. Equally as democratic						
3. Less democratic	3. Less democratic						
98. DK	98. DK						

#### A11. RUSSIA AS A FIRST OR THIRD WORLD COUNTRY?

11 [thirdwor]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Do you believe that in a majority of ways (other than the possession of nuclear weapons), Russia actually has more in common with "Third World" countries than with developed countries in the West?							
(11)							
1. Yes							
2. No							
98. DK							

#### A12. POTENTIAL COALITION PARTNERS

12 [coalition]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
					As one of the most powerful actors in international politics, Russia develops relationships with all other actors in world politics. However, if you had to choose, with which of these would	As one of the most powerful actors in international politics, Russia develops relationships with all other actors in world politics. However, if you had to choose, with which of these would	As one of the most powerful actors in international politics, Russia develops relationships with all other actors in world politics. However, if you had to choose, with which of these would



					you prefer to form a coalition? (12)	you prefer to form a coalition? (12)	you prefer to form a coalition? (12)
					1. China 2. European Union 3. US 98. DK 99. Refused	1. China 2. European Union 3. US 4. None of the above 98. DK 99. Refused	1. China 2. European Union 3. US 4. None of the above 98. DK 99. Refused

### A13. UKRAINIAN CRISIS

13.1	[ukrcrisis1]						
13.2	[ukrcrisis2]						
13.3	[ukrcrisis3]						
13.4	[ukrcrisis4]						
13.5	[ukrcrisis5]						
13.6	[ukrcrisis6]						
13.7	[ukrcrisis7]						
13.8	[ukroptions]						
13.9	[crimeaviolat]						
13.10	[ukrwest]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
						In your opinion, what led to the crisis in Ukraine? (13.1) (13.2) (13.3) (13.4) (13.5) (13.6) (13.7)	
						1. Attempts by the US to foment another "color" revolution in Ukraine 2. The corrupt regime of former Ukrainian President Yanukovich 3. The hopes of regular Ukrainians that association with the European Union would solve	

						<p><i>fundamental problems in the country</i></p> <p>4. <i>The persistent actions of the European Union to bring Ukraine into its sphere of influence</i></p> <p>5. <i>The Ukrainian opposition, having resorted to armed methods of protest on the streets</i></p> <p>6. <i>Attempts by Yanukovych to maneuver between Russia and the European Union</i></p> <p>7. <i>Attempts by Russia to “buy” Yanukovych’s loyalty</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	
						<p>Which of the following options would you prefer?</p> <p><b>(13.8)</b></p>	<p>Which of the following options would you prefer?</p> <p><b>(13.8)</b></p>
						<p>1. <i>I would like eastern Ukraine to become part of the Russian Federation.</i></p> <p>2. <i>I would like eastern Ukraine to become an independent government.</i></p> <p>3. <i>I would like eastern Ukraine to remain part of Ukraine but receive more independence from Kiev.</i></p> <p>4. <i>I would like eastern Ukraine to remain part of Ukraine under the same conditions</i></p>	<p>1. <i>I would like the DNR and LNR to become part of the Russian Federation.</i></p> <p>2. <i>I would like the DNR and LNR to become an independent state.</i></p> <p>3. <i>I would like the DNR and LNR to remain part of Ukraine but receive more independence from Kiev.</i></p> <p>4. <i>I would like the DNR and LNR to remain part of Ukraine under the same conditions</i></p>

						<i>that existed before the crisis.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	<i>that existed before 2014.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						Do you agree that in annexing Crimea, Russia violated post-war and post-Soviet international agreements and international law? <b>(13.9)</b>	
						1. <i>Definitely yes</i> 2. <i>Probably yes</i> 3. <i>Probably no</i> 4. <i>Definitely no</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	
						What do you think best explains the reaction of the West to the events in Crimea? <b>(13.10)</b>	
						1. <i>Hostile attitudes toward Russia; a desire to use the opportunity to exert influence on Russia</i> 2. <i>Criticism of the annexation of a foreign territory by Russia; Russia's violation of the norms of international law</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	

#### A14. RUSSIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE WEST

14.1 [relusru]  
 14.2 [westplot]  
 14.3 [russmisst]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
							In your view, who is responsible for the deterioration of US-Russian relations over the past five to ten years?

							(14.1)
							1. <i>Mostly the US</i> 2. <i>Mostly Russia</i> 3. <i>Both the US and Russia in roughly equal measure</i> 4. <i>Other</i> _____ 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							There are various points of view about the West's influence on the post-Soviet region. Please look at these two pairs of statements, each of which is located on opposite ends of the scale. For each pair, tell me where your point of view falls on the five-point scale.
							1. <i>Today's hostile relations between Ukraine and Russia are the result of plots by Western countries, and not of mistakes made by the Russian government.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Today's hostile relations between Ukraine and Russia are the result of mistakes made by the Russian government, and not of plots by Western countries.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							(14.2)
							1. <i>Russia's economic problems in the 1990s were the</i>

							<p>result of missteps by the Russian leadership, and not the result of any Western influence.</p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. ---</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. Russia's economic problems in the 1990s were the result of Western influence, and not the result of any missteps by the Russian leadership.</p> <p>98. DK</p> <p>99. Refused</p> <p>(14.3)</p>
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#### A15. ELECTION INTERFERENCE

15.1	[interfus]						
15.2	[interfrus]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
							<p>Do you think that the US interfered in Russian politics during the 2011-12 electoral cycle?</p> <p>(15.1)</p>
							<p>1. Definitely yes</p> <p>2. Probably yes</p> <p>3. Probably not</p> <p>4. Definitely not</p> <p>98. DK</p> <p>99. Refused</p>
							<p>Do you think that Russia interfered in the 2016 US presidential election?</p> <p>(15.2)</p>
							<p>1. Definitely yes</p> <p>2. Probably yes</p> <p>3. Probably not</p> <p>4. Definitely not</p> <p>98. DK</p> <p>99. Refused</p>

#### B. SECURITY CONCERNS

## B1. DANGER OF DESTABILIZATION IN RUSSIA

1.1	[danineq]						
1.2	[dancrime]						
1.3	[dannat]						
1.4	[dancis]						
1.5	[danabr]						
1.6	[danshort]						
1.7	[daninfl]						
1.8	[danenvir]						
1.9	[danoil]						
1.10	[danngo]						
1.11	[dansanct]						
1.12	[danprotest]						
1.13	[dansucc]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Which of the following do you regard as especially dangerous, as leading to the destabilization of the country, and which do not represent a danger at the present time?	Which of the following do you regard as especially dangerous, as leading to the destabilization of the country, and which do not represent a danger at the present time?	Which of the following do you regard as especially dangerous, as leading to the destabilization of the country, and which do not represent a danger at the present time?	Which of the following do you regard as especially dangerous, as leading to the destabilization of the country, and which do not represent a danger at the present time?	Which of the following do you regard as especially dangerous, as leading to the destabilization of the country, and which do not represent a danger at the present time? Rate the level of danger on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	Which of the following do you regard as especially dangerous, as leading to the destabilization of the country, and which do not represent a danger at the present time? Rate the level of danger on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	Which of the following do you regard as especially dangerous, as leading to the destabilization of the country, and which do not represent a danger at the present time? Rate the level of danger on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	Which of the following do you regard as especially dangerous, as leading to the destabilization of the country, and which do not represent a danger at the present time? Rate the level of danger on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”
A rise in economic inequality in the Russian population (1.1)	A rise in economic inequality in the Russian population (1.1)	A rise in economic inequality in the Russian population (1.1)	A rise in economic inequality in the Russian population (1.1)	A rise in economic inequality in the Russian population (1.1)	A rise in economic inequality in the Russian population (1.1)	A rise in economic inequality in the Russian population (1.1)	A rise in economic inequality in the Russian population (1.1)
A rise in crime rates in Russia (1.2)	A rise in crime rates in Russia (1.2)	A rise in crime rates in Russia (1.2)	A rise in crime rates in Russia (1.2)				
Ethnic conflicts inside Russia (1.3)	Ethnic conflicts inside Russia (1.3)	Ethnic conflicts inside Russia (1.3)	Ethnic conflicts inside Russia (1.3)				
Conflict among countries of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) (1.4)	Conflict among countries of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) (1.4)	Conflict among countries of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) (1.4)	Conflict among countries of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) (1.4)				
External threats from the “Far Abroad” (1.5)	External threats from the “Far Abroad” (1.5)	External threats from the “Far Abroad” (1.5)	External threats from the “Far Abroad” (1.5)				
Increased shortages of consumer goods (1.6)	Increased shortages of consumer goods (1.6)	Increased shortages of consumer goods (1.6)					

A rise in prices and inflation (1.7)	A rise in prices and inflation (1.7)	A rise in prices and inflation (1.7)	A rise in prices and inflation (1.7)	A rise in prices and inflation (1.7)	A rise in prices and inflation (1.7)	A rise in prices and inflation (1.7)	A rise in prices and inflation (1.7)
Environmental pollution (1.8)	Environmental pollution (1.8)	Environmental pollution (1.8)	Environmental pollution (1.8)	Environmental pollution (1.8)	Environmental pollution (1.8)	Environmental pollution (1.8)	Environmental pollution (1.8)
			A decrease in the price of oil (1.9)	A decrease in the price of oil (1.9)	A decrease in the price of oil (1.9)	A decrease in the price of oil (1.9)	A decrease in the price of oil (1.9)
						Funding of Russian NGOs by Western countries (1.10)	
							Western sanctions imposed on Russia (1.11)
							A rise in protest activity in Russia (1.12)
							A succession struggle in Russia (1.13)
1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger
2. ---	2. ---	2. ---	2. ---	2. ---	2. ---	2. ---	2. ---
3. ---	3. ---	3. ---	3. ---	3. ---	3. ---	3. ---	3. ---
4. ---	4. ---	4. ---	4. ---	4. ---	4. ---	4. ---	4. ---
5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger
98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK
				99. Refused	99. Refused	99. Refused	99. Refused

## B2. THREATS TO SECURITY

2.1	[secuspowers]	2.12	[secnato]	2.23	[euexp]		
2.2	[secgap]	2.13	[secfown]	2.24	[cyberwest]		
2.3	[secdomes]	2.14	[secnatoi]				
2.4	[secpop]	2.15	[secdtension]				
2.5	[secconf]	2.16	[migrate]				
2.6	[secus3rd]	2.17	[narcotic]				
2.7	[seccis]	2.18	[greenhou]				
2.8	[secfbor]	2.19	[nukerep]				
2.9	[sector]	2.20	[colorrev]				
2.10	[secxtror]	2.21	[infowest]				
2.11	[secntror]	2.22	[natoexp]				
1993		1995		1999		2004	
2008		2012		2016		2020	
Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent anv threat		Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent anv threat		Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent anv threat		Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent anv threat	
Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent anv threat		Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent anv threat		Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent anv threat		Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent anv threat	

whatsoever? Please rate the level of threat of each of these developments on a scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the “utmost danger.”	whatsoever? Please rate the level of threat of each of these developments on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the “utmost danger.”	whatsoever? Rate the level of threat on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	whatsoever? Rate the level of threat on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	whatsoever? Rate the level of threat on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	whatsoever? Rate the level of threat on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	whatsoever? Rate the level of threat on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	whatsoever? Rate the level of threat on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”
The growth of US military power compared to that of Russia (2.1)	The growth of US military power compared to that of Russia (2.1)	The growth of US military power compared to that of Russia (2.1)	The growth of US military power compared to that of Russia (2.1)	The growth of US military power compared to that of Russia (2.1)	The growth of US military power compared to that of Russia (2.1)	The growth of US military power compared to that of Russia (2.1)	The growth of US military power compared to that of Russia (2.1)
An increase in the gap between rich and poor countries (2.2)	An increase in the gap between rich and poor countries (2.2)	An increase in the gap between rich and poor countries (2.2)	An increase in the gap between rich and poor countries (2.2)				
The inability of Russia to resolve its internal problems (2.3)	The inability of Russia to resolve its internal problems (2.3)	The inability of Russia to resolve its internal problems (2.3)	The inability of Russia to resolve its internal problems (2.3)	The inability of Russia to resolve its internal problems (2.3)	The inability of Russia to resolve its internal problems (2.3)	The inability of Russia to resolve its internal problems (2.3)	The inability of Russia to resolve its internal problems (2.3)
The uncontrolled growth of the global population (2.4)	The uncontrolled growth of the global population (2.4)	The uncontrolled growth of the global population (2.4)					
Russian involvement in conflicts that do not concern it (2.5)	Russian involvement in conflicts that do not concern it (2.5)	Russian involvement in conflicts that do not concern it (2.5)					
American penetration into Third World countries (2.6)							
Border conflicts between Russia and the countries of the CIS (2.7)	Border conflicts between Russia and the countries of the CIS (2.7)	Border conflicts between Russia and the countries of the CIS (2.7)	Border conflicts between Russia and the countries of the CIS (2.7)	Border conflicts between Russia and the countries of the CIS (2.7)	Border conflicts between Russia and the countries of the CIS (2.7)	Border conflicts between Russia and the countries of the CIS (2.7)	Border conflicts between Russia and countries in the Near Abroad (2.7)
Border conflicts between Russia and other foreign countries (2.8)	Border conflicts between Russia and other foreign countries (2.8)	Border conflicts between Russia and other foreign countries (2.8)	Border conflicts between Russia and other foreign countries (2.8)				
					Terrorism (2.9)	Terrorism (2.9)	Terrorism (2.9)
			Domestic terrorism (2.10)	Domestic terrorism (2.10)			
			International terrorism (2.11)				



	The expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe (2.12)	The expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe (2.12)	The expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe (2.12)				
	Foreign companies owning key branches of the Russian economy (2.13)	Foreign companies owning key branches of the Russian economy (2.13)					
		Military intervention by NATO in ethnic conflicts within European countries (2.14)	Military intervention by NATO in ethnic conflicts within European countries (2.14)				
				A rise in ethnic tensions between Russians and other nationalities in Russia (2.15)	A rise in ethnic tensions between Russians and other nationalities in Russia (2.15)	A rise in ethnic tensions between Russians and other nationalities in Russia (2.15)	A rise in ethnic tensions between Russians and other nationalities in Russia (2.15)
Mass human migration (2.16)							
The global spread of drugs (2.17)							
The greenhouse effect and other negative influences on the global climate (2.18)							The greenhouse effect and other negative influences on the global climate (2.18)
Nuclear weapons in former Soviet republics other than Russia (2.19)							
					A “color” revolution (2.20)	A “color” revolution (2.20)	A “color” revolution in Russia (2.20)
						An information war against Russia conducted by the West (2.21)	An information war against Russia conducted by the West (2.21)
							Further expansion of NATO to countries in the Near Abroad (2.22)
							Further enlargement of the EU to countries in the Near Abroad (2.23)

							Cyberattacks on Russia's critical infrastructure launched by the West (2.24)
1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger	1. The absence of danger
2. ---	2. ---	2. ---	2. ---	2. ---	2. ---	2. ---	2. ---
3. ---	3. ---	3. ---	3. ---	3. ---	3. ---	3. ---	3. ---
4. ---	4. ---	4. ---	4. ---	4. ---	4. ---	4. ---	4. ---
5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger	5. The utmost danger
98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK
				99. Refused	99. Refused	99. Refused	99. Refused

### B3. CAUSES OF WAR

3.1 [warhum]	3.11 [warreg]						
3.2 [waragr]							
3.3 [warlead]							
3.4 [warnat]							
3.5 [warinst]							
3.6 [warideo]							
3.7 [warigno]							
3.8 [warstren]							
3.9 [wareco]							
3.10 [warrel]							
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2020</b>
Please rate how important you regard each of the following as a possible cause of war: very important, important, not very important, or not at all important.	Please rate how important you regard each of the following as a possible cause of war: very important, important, not very important, or not at all important.						
Human nature (for instance, aggressiveness, irrationality, egoism, etc.) (3.1)	Human nature (for instance, aggressiveness, irrationality, egoism, etc.) (3.1)						
Aggressive nations (striving for superiority over others) (3.2)	Aggressive nations (striving for superiority over others) (3.2)						
Individual leaders (such as Hitler and others) (3.3)							
Nationalism							

(3.4)							
The absence of a central international institution for regulating conflicts (3.5)	The absence of a central international institution for regulating conflicts (3.5)						
Ideological conflict (3.6)							
Ignorance, misunderstanding or insufficient contacts among peoples (3.7)							
Formulating policy from a position of strength (3.8)							
Economic competition among countries (3.9)							
Religious conflicts (3.10)							
A struggle for regional hegemony (3.11)							
1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Not very important</i> 4. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Not very important</i> 5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>						

#### B4. PATHS TOWARD INTERNATIONAL PEACE

4.1 [ipcoll]							
4.2 [iptrade]							
4.3 [iparms]							
4.4 [iporg]							
4.5 [ippol]							
4.6 [pities]							
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2020</b>
How effective, in your view, are the following measures for maintaining							

international peace? Rate their effectiveness on a five-point scale, where 1 means the least effective and 5 means the most effective.							
A system of collective security (4.1)							
Developing trade, scientific-technical cooperation, and economic interactions (4.2)							
Arms control (4.3)							
Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (4.4)							
Political efforts to achieve a balance of power within regions and among the great powers (4.5)							
Improving ties and mutual understanding among countries and peoples (4.6)							
1. <i>Least effective</i>							
2. ---							
3. ---							
4. ---							
5. <i>Most effective</i>							
98. <i>NA</i>							

#### B5. PATHS TOWARD PEACEFUL RELATIONS IN THE CIS

5.1	[ciscoll]
5.2	[cistrade]
5.3	[cisarms]
5.4	[cisorg]

5.5	[cispol]						
5.6	[cisties]						
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2020</b>
How effective, in your view, are the following measures for maintaining peace in the Commonwealth of Independent States? Rate their effectiveness on a five-point scale, where 1 means the least effective and 5 means the most effective.							
A system of collective security (5.1)							
Developing trade, scientific-technical cooperation, and economic interactions (5.2)							
Arms control (5.3)							
Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (5.4)							
Political efforts to achieve a balance of power within regions and among the great powers (5.5)							
Improving ties and mutual understanding among countries and peoples (5.6)							

1. <i>Least effective</i>							
2. ---							
3. ---							
4. ---							
5. <i>Most effective</i>							
98. <i>NA</i>							

## B6. THREATS TO SECURITY POSED BY THE US

6.1 [fpusfear]							
6.2 [rthreat]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Do you think that US policies represent a threat to Russian national security? (6.1)	Do you think that US policies represent a threat to Russian national security? (6.1)	Do you think that the US represents a threat to Russian national security? (6.1)	Do you think that the US represents a threat to Russian national security? (6.1)	Do you think that the US represents a threat to Russian national security? (6.1)	Do you think that the US represents a threat to Russian national security? (6.1)	Do you think that the US represents a threat to Russian national security? (6.1)	Do you think that the US represents a threat to Russian national security? (6.1)
1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
Do you think that the policy of Russia represents a threat to US security? (6.2)	Do you think that the policy of Russia represents a threat to US security? (6.2)						
1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i>						

## B7. MILITARY PRIORITIES

7.1 [millev]							
7.2 [fpaidxsu]							
7.3 [fpaidoth]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Do you think that Russia should increase, decrease, or keep its military expenditures at the same level? (7.1)	Do you think that Russia should increase, decrease, or keep its military expenditures at the same level? (7.1)					Do you think that Russia should increase, decrease, or keep its military expenditures at the same level? (7.1)	Do you think that Russia should increase, decrease, or keep its military expenditures at the same level? (7.1)
1. <i>Increase its military expenditures</i> 2. <i>Decrease them</i>	1. <i>Increase its military expenditures</i> 2. <i>Decrease them</i>					1. <i>Increase its military expenditures</i> 2. <i>Decrease them</i>	1. <i>Increase its military expenditures</i> 2. <i>Decrease them</i>

3. <i>Keep them at the same level</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	3. <i>Keep them at the same level</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>					3. <i>Keep them at the same level</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	3. <i>Keep them at the same level</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
Should Russia send its troops to assist countries that were formerly part of the USSR if they request military assistance? (7.2)	Should Russia send its troops to assist countries that were formerly part of the USSR if they request military assistance? (7.2)	Should Russia send its troops to assist countries that were formerly part of the USSR if they request military assistance? (7.2)	Should Russia send its troops to assist countries that were formerly part of the USSR if they request military assistance? (7.2)	Should Russia send its troops to assist countries that were formerly part of the USSR if they request military assistance? (7.2)	Should Russia send its troops to assist countries that were formerly part of the USSR if they request military assistance? (7.2)	Should Russia send its troops to assist countries that were formerly part of the USSR if they request military assistance? (7.2)	Should Russia send its troops to assist countries that were formerly part of the USSR if they request military assistance? (7.2)
1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>It should</i> <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
Should Russia send its troops to assist other foreign countries if they request military assistance? (7.3)	Should Russia send its troops to assist other foreign countries if they request military assistance? (7.3)	Should Russia send its troops to assist other foreign countries if they request military assistance? (7.3)	Should Russia send its troops to assist other foreign countries if they request military assistance? (7.3)	Should Russia send its troops to assist other foreign countries if they request military assistance? (7.3)	Should Russia send its troops to assist other foreign countries if they request military assistance? (7.3)	Should Russia send its troops to assist other foreign countries if they request military assistance? (7.3)	Should Russia send its troops to assist other foreign countries if they request military assistance? (7.3)
1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>It should</i> 2. <i>It should not</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

## B8. ACCEPTABLE USES OF MILITARY FORCE

8.1 [lfinteg]	8.11 [lfbalwest]						
8.2 [lfecon]	8.12 [lfhumrts]						
8.3 [lfintcis]							
8.4 [lfintoht]							
8.5 [lfnatint]							
8.6 [lfcrisis]							
8.7 [lfnatsec]							
8.8 [lffriend]							
8.9 [lfdevelop]							
8.10 [lfun]							
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2020</b>
	In your opinion, is it legal to use military force for...	In your opinion, is it legal to use military force for...	In your opinion, is it legal to use military force for...	In your opinion, for which of the following purposes is the use of the Russian military permissible?	In your opinion, for which of the following purposes is the use of the Russian military permissible?	In your opinion, for which of the following purposes is the use of the Russian military permissible?	In your opinion, for which of the following purposes is the use of the Russian military permissible?

	Defending the territorial integrity of Russia (8.1)	Defending the territorial integrity of Russia (8.1)	Defending the territorial integrity of Russia (8.1)	Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation (8.1)	Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation (8.1)	Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation (8.1)	Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation (8.1)
	Defending the economic interests of Russia (8.2)	Defending the economic interests of Russia (8.2)	Defending the economic interests of Russia (8.2)	Defending the economic interests of the Russian Federation (8.2)	Defending the economic interests of the Russian Federation (8.2)	Defending the economic interests of the Russian Federation (8.2)	Defending the economic interests of the Russian Federation (8.2)
	Defending the interests of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] living in the former Soviet republics (8.3)	Defending the interests of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] living in the former Soviet republics (8.3)	Defending the interests of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] living in the former Soviet republics (8.3)	Defending the interests of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] living in the former Soviet republics (8.3)	Defending the interests of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] living in the former Soviet republics (8.3)	Defending the interests of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] living in the former Soviet republics (8.3)	Defending the interests of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] living in the former republics of the USSR (8.3)
	Defending the interests of Russian citizens living in other countries (8.4)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens living in other countries (8.4)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens living in other countries (8.4)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (8.4)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (8.4)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (8.4)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (8.4)
	Protecting the interests of the Russian state (8.5)	Protecting the interests of the Russian state (8.5)					
	Providing favorable conditions for Russia to emerge from its current crisis (8.6)	Providing favorable conditions for Russia to emerge from its current crisis (8.6)	Providing favorable conditions for Russia to emerge from its current crisis (8.6)				
				Safeguarding national security (8.7)	Safeguarding national security (8.7)	Safeguarding national security (8.7)	Safeguarding national security (8.7)
	Providing security for our country's international friends (8.8)	Providing security for our international friends (8.8)		Providing security for our international friends (8.8)	Providing security for our international friends (8.8)	Providing security for our international friends (8.8)	Providing security for our international friends (8.8)
				Providing favorable conditions for Russia's domestic development (8.9)	Providing favorable conditions for Russia's domestic development (8.9)	Providing favorable conditions for Russia's domestic development (8.9)	
				Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (8.10)	Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (8.10)	Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (8.10)	



				Achieving a balance of military power with the West (8.11)	Achieving a balance of military power with the West (8.11)	Achieving a balance of military power with the West (8.11)	Achieving a balance of military power with the West (8.11)
				Supporting and protecting human rights in other countries (8.12)	Supporting and protecting human rights in other countries (8.12)	Supporting and protecting human rights in other countries (8.12)	Supporting and protecting human rights in other countries (8.12)
	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused

#### B9. POLITICAL USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

9.1	[resterrit]						
9.2	[resecon]						
9.3	[resrusxsu]						
9.4	[resrusoth]						
9.5	[resnatsec]						
9.6	[resfriends]						
9.7	[resdevelop]						
9.8	[resun]						
9.9	[resbalwest]						
9.10	[reshumrts]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
				And how about using one's natural resources for political goals? In your opinion, for which of the following purposes is it permissible to halt the delivery of natural resources?	And how about using one's natural resources for political goals? In your opinion, for which of the following purposes is it permissible to halt the delivery of natural resources?	And how about using one's natural resources for political goals? In your opinion, for which of the following purposes is it permissible to halt the delivery of natural resources?	
				Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation (9.1)	Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation (9.1)	Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation (9.1)	
				Defending the economic interests of the Russian Federation (9.2)	Defending the economic interests of the Russian Federation (9.2)	Defending the economic interests of the Russian Federation (9.2)	
				Defending the interests of Russians [rossiyan]	Defending the interests of Russians [rossiyan]	Defending the interests of Russians [rossiyan]	

				living in the former Soviet republics (9.3)	living in the former Soviet republics (9.3)	living in the former Soviet republics (9.3)	
				Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (9.4)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (9.4)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (9.4)	
				Safeguarding national security (9.5)	Safeguarding national security (9.5)	Safeguarding national security (9.5)	
				Providing security for our international friends (9.6)	Providing security for our international friends (9.6)	Providing security for our international friends (9.6)	
				Providing favorable conditions for Russia's domestic development (9.7)	Providing favorable conditions for Russia's domestic development (9.7)	Providing favorable conditions for Russia's domestic development (9.7)	
				Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (9.8)	Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (9.8)	Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (9.8)	
				Achieving a balance of military power with the West (9.9)	Achieving a balance of military power with the West (9.9)	Achieving a balance of military power with the West (9.9)	
				Supporting and protecting human rights in other countries (9.10)	Supporting and protecting human rights in other countries (9.10)	Supporting and protecting human rights in other countries (9.10)	
				1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused	

#### B10. CHECHNYA

10	[chech04]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
			Do you believe that the decision to use military force in Chechnya was correct? (10)				

			1. Yes 2. No 98. DK				
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#### B11. “LESSONS OF AFGHANISTAN”

11	[afghan]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
There are various views about the “lessons of Afghanistan.” Which of those listed below is closer to your view? (11)							
1. In formulating a new foreign policy, Russia needs to pay special attention to the “lessons of Afghanistan.” 2. The “lessons of Afghanistan” are a legacy of the Soviet empire; they are not directly relevant to Russia’s new foreign policy. 98. DK/NA							

#### B12. THREATS TO SECURITY POSED BY CHINA

12	[fpchfear]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
					Do you think that China represents a threat to Russian national security? (12)	Do you think that China represents a threat to Russian national security? (12)	Do you think that China represents a threat to Russian national security? (12)
					1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused

#### B13. NATO OPERATION IN LIBYA

13	[natolib]						
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1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
					There are various opinions concerning the NATO operation in Libya. Which of these positions is closer to your point of view? (13)		
					1. <i>It represented interference in a country's internal affairs.</i> 2. <i>It was a necessary step to put an end to the violence and protect human rights.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>		

#### B14. SYRIAN CONFLICT

14.1 [peacesyr]  
14.2 [syriacnf]  
14.3 [syria1]  
14.4 [syria2]  
14.5 [syria3]  
14.6 [syria4]  
14.7 [syria5]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
					And which of the following opinions is closer to your position on the possible international humanitarian operation in Syria? (14.1)	And which of the following opinions is closer to your position on the international military operation in Syria? (14.1)	
					1. <i>It would represent interference in a country's internal affairs.</i> 2. <i>It is a necessary step to put an end to the violence and protect human rights.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>It represents interference in a country's internal affairs.</i> 2. <i>It is a necessary step to put an end to the violence and protect human rights.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	

						<p>With which of the following opinions about the confrontation between the government and opposition in Syria would you be inclined to agree?</p> <p><b>(14.2)</b></p>	
						<p>1. <i>Terrorists incited by the West are waging a bloody struggle against the legitimate government of the country.</i></p> <p>2. <i>There is a civil war going on in Syria.</i></p> <p>3. <i>The regime of Bashar al-Assad is massacring those who oppose him.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	
						<p>In your opinion, what are the Russian government's goals for participating in the Syrian conflict?</p> <p><b>(14.3)</b></p> <p><b>(14.4)</b></p> <p><b>(14.5)</b></p> <p><b>(14.6)</b></p> <p><b>(14.7)</b></p>	<p>In your opinion, what are the Russian government's goals for participating in the Syrian conflict?</p> <p><b>(14.3)</b></p> <p><b>(14.4)</b></p> <p><b>(14.5)</b></p> <p><b>(14.6)</b></p> <p><b>(14.7)</b></p>
						<p>1. <i>Attempting to neutralize and eliminate the spread of military activities by Islamic radicals and terrorists to Russia</i></p> <p>2. <i>Protecting the government of Bashar al-Assad in order to prevent a series of US-inspired "color revolutions" around the world</i></p> <p>3. <i>Defending the economic interests</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Attempting to neutralize and eliminate the spread of military activities by Islamic radicals and terrorists to Russia</i></p> <p>2. <i>Protecting the government of Bashar al-Assad in order to prevent a series of US-inspired "color revolutions" around the world</i></p> <p>3. <i>Defending the economic interests</i></p>

						<p><i>of Russian companies in the Middle East</i></p> <p>4. <i>Supporting Bashar al-Assad's regime and his struggle against the opposition, since it itself fears mass anti-government protests</i></p> <p>5. <i>Attempting to break up the coalition of Western countries in order to eliminate the threat of the complete isolation of Russia and the further tightening of sanctions</i></p> <p>6. <i>Attempting to distract the Russian population from the economic crisis and the authorities' inability to deal with the declining quality of life, corruption, and governmental incompetence</i></p> <p>7. <i>I do not understand why Russia is participating in this war.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	<p><i>of Russian companies in the Middle East</i></p> <p>4. <i>Supporting Bashar al-Assad's regime and his struggle against the opposition, since it itself fears mass anti-government protests</i></p> <p>5. <i>Attempting to break up the coalition of Western countries</i></p> <p>6. <i>Attempting to distract the Russian population from economic and domestic problems</i></p> <p>7. <i>Russia's participation in the war makes no sense.</i></p> <p>8. <i>I do not know the reason why Russia is participating in this war.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>
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C. FOREIGN POLICY

C1. FOREIGN POLICY BELIEFS

- 1.1 [ruslegit]
- 1.2 [mildecl]
- 1.3 [noaidnow]
- 1.4 [aidnatin]
- 1.5 [fpwsthe1]

1.6 [globprob]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?					
In international affairs, Russia is the only legitimate successor to the USSR. (1.1)							
The role of military force is declining in international politics. (1.2)							
Given our current economic difficulties, it is necessary to temporarily forget about giving assistance to other countries. (1.3)	Given our current economic difficulties, it is necessary to temporarily forget about giving assistance to other countries. (1.3)	Given our current economic difficulties, it is necessary to temporarily forget about giving assistance to other countries. (1.3)					
Giving assistance to other countries should be dictated by our national interests. (1.4)	Giving assistance to other countries should be dictated by our national interests. (1.4)	Giving assistance to other countries should be dictated by our national interests. (1.4)					
We can resolve our economic problems without help from the West. (1.5)	We can resolve our economic problems without help from the West. (1.5)	We can resolve our economic problems without help from the West. (1.5)					
In formulating Russia's new foreign policy, Russia must not forget about global problems like hunger, environmental protection, etc. (1.6)	In formulating Russia's new foreign policy, Russia must not forget about global problems like hunger, environmental protection, etc. (1.6)	In formulating Russia's new foreign policy, Russia must not forget about global problems like hunger, environmental protection, etc. (1.6)					
1. Agree 2. Disagree 98. DK	1. Agree 2. Disagree 98. DK	1. Agree 2. Disagree 98. DK					

## C2. FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

2.1	[spherefp]	2.11	[gcrisis]	2.21	[issufr]		
2.2	[gterrnt]	2.12	[gdevrel]	2.22	[islesson]		
2.3	[gecoint]	2.13	[g95un]	2.23	[israbr]		
2.4	[grusxsu]	2.14	[gbalwes]				
2.5	[grusoth]	2.15	[ghumrits]				
2.6	[gnatsec]	2.16	[isecon]				
2.7	[gsolvsu]	2.17	[isgeopol]				
2.8	[gsolvoth]	2.18	[ispolw]				
2.9	[g95gosud]	2.19	[isdmpol]				
2.10	[g95frend]	2.20	[isfown]				
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
What is currently the main orientation of Russia’s foreign policy – relations with the former Soviet republics or relations with the rest of the world?  (2.1)							
1. Relations with the former Soviet republics 2. Relations with the rest of the world 3. Both equally 98. DK							
Which of Russia’s foreign policy goals, in your opinion, are very important?	Which of Russia’s foreign policy goals, in your opinion, are very important, and which are less important?	Which of Russia’s foreign policy goals, in your opinion, are very important, and which are less important?	Which of Russia’s foreign policy goals, in your opinion, are very important, and which are less important?				
Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation  (2.2)	Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation  (2.2)	Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation  (2.2)	Defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation  (2.2)				
Defending the economic interests of Russia  (2.3)	Defending the economic interests of Russia  (2.3)	Defending the economic interests of Russia  (2.3)	Defending the economic interests of the Russian Federation  (2.3)				
Defending the interests of Russians [rossiyan] living in the former Soviet republics  (2.4)	Defending the interests of Russians [rossiyan] living in the former Soviet republics  (2.4)	Defending the interests of Russians [rossiyan] living in the former Soviet republics  (2.4)	Defending the interests of Russians [rossiyan] living in the former Soviet republics  (2.4)				



Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (2.5)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (2.5)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (2.5)	Defending the interests of Russian citizens in other countries (2.5)				
Safeguarding national security (2.6)	Safeguarding national security (2.6)	Safeguarding national security (2.6)	Safeguarding national security (2.6)				
Facilitating the resolution of conflicts among former Soviet republics (2.7)							
Facilitating the resolution of other international conflicts (2.8)							
	Protecting the interests of the Russian state (2.9)	Protecting the interests of the Russian state (2.9)	Protecting the interests of the Russian state (2.9)				
	Providing security for our international friends (2.10)	Providing security for our international friends (2.10)	Providing security for our international friends (2.10)				
Providing favorable conditions for Russia to emerge from its current crisis (2.11)	Providing favorable conditions for Russia to emerge from its current crisis (2.11)	Providing favorable conditions for Russia to emerge from its current crisis (2.11)	Providing favorable conditions for Russia to emerge from its current crisis (2.11)				
Developing relations with the “Near Abroad” (2.12)	Developing relations with the “Near Abroad” (2.12)	Developing relations with the “Near Abroad” (2.12)	Developing relations with the “Near Abroad” (2.12)				
	Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (2.13)	Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (2.13)	Strengthening international organizations such as the United Nations (2.13)				
	Achieving a balance of military power with the West (2.14)	Achieving a balance of military power with the West (2.14)	Achieving a balance of military power with the West (2.14)				
	Supporting and protecting human rights in other countries	Supporting and protecting human rights in other countries	Supporting and protecting human rights in other countries				

	(2.15)	(2.15)	(2.15)				
1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Less important</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Less important</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Less important</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Less important</i> 98. <i>NA</i>				
	Below is a list of factors that might influence Russia's foreign policy goals in the next three years. Please tell me whether each of these factors is very important, important, not very important, or not at all important.						
	International economic factors such as trade (2.16)						
	Russia's geopolitical position (2.17)						
	The politics of Western states (2.18)						
	The domestic situation in Russia (2.19)						
	The transfer of an even greater number of key sectors of the Russian economy to the ownership of foreign companies (2.20)						
	War and the suffering of people in other countries (2.21)						
	Lessons from past mistakes in foreign policy (2.22)						
	The situation of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] living abroad (2.23)						

	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Not very important</i> 4. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i>						
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### C3. INFLUENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY

3.1 [inflfp]	3.7 [inbiznes]	3.16 [icregion]					
3.2.1 [howinfl1]	3.8 [inregion]	3.17 [icmfa]					
3.2.2 [howinfl2]	3.9 [inmfa]	3.18 [icmdef]					
3.2.3 [howinfl3]	3.10 [inmdef]	3.19 [icparty]					
3.2.4 [preinf]	3.11 [inparty]						
3.3.1 [means1]	3.11.1 [inpm]						
3.3.2 [means2]	3.11.2 [infsb]						
3.3.3 [means3]	3.12 [icpublic]						
3.4 [inpublic]	3.13 [icduma]						
3.5 [induma]	3.14 [icpres]						
3.6 [inpres]	3.15 [icbiznes]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy? If yes, how much?	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy? If yes, how much?	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy? If yes, how much? Some, significant, or decisive?	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy?	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy?	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy?	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy?	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy?
(3.1)	(3.1)	(3.1)	(3.1)	(3.1)	(3.1)	(3.1)	(3.1)
1. <i>No, they cannot</i> 2. <i>Some influence</i> 3. <i>Significant influence</i> 4. <i>Decisive influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>No, they cannot</i> 2. <i>Some influence</i> 3. <i>Significant influence</i> 4. <i>Decisive influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>No, they cannot</i> 2. <i>Some influence</i> 3. <i>Significant influence</i> 4. <i>Decisive influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>No, they cannot</i> 2. <i>Some influence</i> 3. <i>Significant influence</i> 4. <i>Decisive influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>No, they cannot</i> 2. <i>Some influence</i> 3. <i>Significant influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>No, they cannot</i> 2. <i>Some influence</i> 3. <i>Significant influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>No, they cannot</i> 2. <i>Some influence</i> 3. <i>Significant influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>No, they cannot</i> 2. <i>Some influence</i> 3. <i>Significant influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i>
[If 2, 3, or 4 selected]: In what ways do you influence decision making in foreign policy?	[If 2, 3, or 4 selected]: How have you personally influenced decision making in foreign policy in the past three years?	[If 2, 3, or 4 selected]: How have you personally influenced decision making in foreign policy in the past three years?	[If 2, 3, or 4 selected]: How have you personally influenced decision making in foreign policy in the past three years?	[If 2, 3, or 98 selected]: Have you personally influenced decision making in foreign policy in the past three years?	[If 2, 3, or 98 selected]: Have you personally influenced decision making in foreign policy in the past three years?	[If 2, 3, or 98 selected]: And how about you personally?	[If 2, 3, or 98 selected]: And how about you personally?
(3.2.1) (3.2.2) (3.2.3)	(3.2.1) (3.2.2) (3.2.3)	(3.2.1) (3.2.2) (3.2.3)	(3.2.1) (3.2.2) (3.2.3)	(3.2.4)	(3.2.4)	(3.2.4)	(3.2.4)
1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 98. <i>DK</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 98. <i>DK</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 98. <i>DK</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 98. <i>DK/Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
And what methods, in your opinion, are the most effective for							

<p>influencing decision making in the realm of foreign policy?</p> <p>(3.3.1)</p> <p>(3.3.2)</p> <p>(3.3.3)</p>							
<p>1. Elections</p> <p>2. A referendum</p> <p>3. Rallies and demonstrations</p> <p>4. Participating in political parties and organizations</p> <p>5. Participating in the work of the foreign policy commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation</p> <p>6. Participating in the work of local councils [soviets] and local governments</p> <p>7. Appeals to the media</p> <p>8. Getting the attention of the West</p> <p>9. Other _____</p> <p>98. None</p>							
	<p>Now keeping in mind the same organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals, to what degree, in your opinion, can they influence current foreign policy? Please use a scale of 1 to 7 again, but in this case, 1 means “very little influence” and 7 means the “greatest possible influence.”</p>	<p>Now keeping in mind the same organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals, to what degree, in your opinion, can they influence current foreign policy? Please use a scale of 1 to 7 again, but in this case, 1 means “very little influence” and 7 means the “greatest possible influence.”</p>	<p>I will show you a list of various organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals. Using a scale of 1 to 5, indicate to what degree they can influence current Russian foreign policy. One means that they exert “very little influence” and 5 means “the greatest possible influence.”</p>	<p>I will show you a list of various organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals. Using a scale of 1 to 5, indicate to what degree they can influence current Russian foreign policy. One means that they exert “very little influence” and 5 means “the greatest possible influence.”</p>	<p>I will show you a list of various organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals. Using a scale of 1 to 5, indicate to what degree they can influence current Russian foreign policy. One means that they exert “very little influence” and 5 means “the greatest possible influence.”</p>	<p>I will show you a list of various organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals. Using a scale of 1 to 5, indicate to what degree they can influence current Russian foreign policy. One means that they exert “very little influence” and 5 means “the greatest possible influence.”</p>	<p>I will show you a list of various organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals. Using a scale of 1 to 5, indicate to what degree they can influence current Russian foreign policy. One means that they exert “very little influence” and 5 means “the greatest possible influence.”</p>
	<p>Public opinion</p> <p>(3.4)</p>	<p>Public opinion</p> <p>(3.4)</p>	<p>Public opinion</p> <p>(3.4)</p>	<p>Public opinion</p> <p>(3.4)</p>	<p>Public opinion</p> <p>(3.4)</p>	<p>Public opinion</p> <p>(3.4)</p>	<p>Public opinion</p> <p>(3.4)</p>
	<p>The State Duma</p> <p>(3.5)</p>	<p>The State Duma</p> <p>(3.5)</p>	<p>The State Duma</p> <p>(3.5)</p>	<p>The State Duma</p> <p>(3.5)</p>	<p>The State Duma</p> <p>(3.5)</p>	<p>The State Duma</p> <p>(3.5)</p>	<p>The State Duma</p> <p>(3.5)</p>
	<p>The president</p>	<p>The president</p>	<p>The president</p>	<p>The president</p>	<p>The president</p>	<p>The president</p>	<p>The president</p>

	(3.6)	(3.6)	(3.6)	(3.6)	(3.6)	(3.6)	(3.6)
	Business elites (3.7)	Business elites (3.7)	Business elites (3.7)	Business elites (3.7)	Business elites (3.7)	Business elites (3.7)	Business elites (3.7)
	Regional leaders (3.8)	Regional leaders (3.8)	Regional leaders (3.8)	Regional leaders (3.8)	Regional leaders (3.8)	Regional leaders (3.8)	Regional leaders (3.8)
	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.9)	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.9)	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.9)	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.9)	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.9)	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.9)	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.9)
	The Ministry of Defense (3.10)	The Ministry of Defense (3.10)	The Ministry of Defense (3.10)	The Ministry of Defense (3.10)	The Ministry of Defense (3.10)	The Ministry of Defense (3.10)	The Ministry of Defense (3.10)
			Political parties (3.11)	Political parties (3.11)	Political parties (3.11)	Political parties (3.11)	Political parties (3.11)
							The prime minister (3.11.1)
							The FSB (3.11.2)
	1. Very little influence 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. The greatest possible influence 98. DK	1. Very little influence 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. The greatest possible influence 98. DK	1. Very little influence 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The greatest possible influence 98. DK	1. Very little influence 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The greatest possible influence 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Very little influence 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The greatest possible influence 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Very little influence 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The greatest possible influence 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Very little influence 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The greatest possible influence 98. DK 99. Refused
	And finally on this topic, would you say that over the course of the past year the influence of these organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals on foreign policy has increased, remained the same, or decreased?	And finally on this topic, would you say that over the course of the past year the influence of these organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals on foreign policy has increased, remained the same, or decreased?	Would you say that over the course of the past year the influence of these organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals on foreign policy has increased, remained the same, or decreased?				
	Public opinion (3.12)	Public opinion (3.12)	Public opinion (3.12)				
	The State Duma (3.13)	The State Duma (3.13)	The State Duma (3.13)				
	The president (3.14)	The president (3.14)	The president (3.14)				
	Business elites (3.15)	Business elites (3.15)	Business elites (3.15)				
	Regional leaders	Regional leaders	Regional leaders				

	(3.16)	(3.16)	(3.16)				
	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.17)	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.17)	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (3.17)				
	The Ministry of Defense (3.18)	The Ministry of Defense (3.18)	The Ministry of Defense (3.18)				
			Political parties (3.19)				
	1. <i>Has increased</i> 2. <i>Has remained the same</i> 3. <i>Has decreased</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Has increased</i> 2. <i>Has remained the same</i> 3. <i>Has decreased</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Has increased</i> 2. <i>Has remained the same</i> 3. <i>Has decreased</i> 98. <i>DK</i>				

#### C4. ISOLATIONIST VS. INTERNATIONAL ORIENTATION

- 4.1 [iipublic]
- 4.2 [iiduma]
- 4.3 [iipres]
- 4.4 [iibiznes]
- 4.5 [iiregion]
- 4.6 [iimfa]
- 4.7 [iimdef]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
	I will show you a list of various organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals. On a scale of 1 to 7, indicate where you would place each of these organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals. In this case, 1 means a “strongly isolationist orientation” and 7 means a “strongly internationalist orientation.”	I will show you a list of various organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals. On a scale of 1 to 7, indicate what, in your opinion, is the orientation of these organizations, governmental institutions, and individuals. In this case, 1 means a “strongly isolationist orientation” and 7 means a “strongly internationalist orientation.”					
	Public opinion (4.1)	Public opinion (4.1)					
	The State Duma (4.2)	The State Duma (4.2)					
	The president	The president					

	(4.3)	(4.3)					
	Business elites (4.4)	Business elites (4.4)					
	Regional leaders (4.5)	Regional leaders (4.5)					
	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (4.6)	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (4.6)					
	The Ministry of Defense (4.7)	The Ministry of Defense (4.7)					
	1. <i>Strongly isolationist orientation</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. <i>Strongly internationalist orientation</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Strongly isolationist orientation</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. <i>Strongly internationalist orientation</i> 98. <i>DK</i>					

#### C5. EVALUATION OF MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MID)

5.1 [midtask1]							
5.2 [midtask2]							
5.3 [midtask3]							
5.4 [midtask4]							
5.5 [midtask5]							
5.6 [midtask6]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
						Some people have told us that some of the functions of MID (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) are performed very poorly, while others are performed very well. Please rate the following tasks on a five-point scale, where 1 means that it is performed very well and 5 means that it is performed very poorly.	

						What is your opinion about the following functions performed by MID? Are these tasks performed very well (1) or very poorly (5)?	
						Consular protection for citizens located abroad (5.1)	
						Work with Russian nationals and the Russian diaspora (5.2)	
						Diplomatic intelligence (5.3)	
						Foreign policy forecasting (5.4)	
						Countering information attacks on Russia (5.5)	
						Defending Russian business interests in other countries and regions (5.6)	
						1. <i>Very well</i> 2. <i>---</i> 3. <i>---</i> 4. <i>---</i> 5. <i>Very poorly</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	

#### C6. EVALUATION OF RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

6.1	[fpruinfl]						
6.2	[fpruliv]						
6.3	[fpruus]						
6.4	[fpimage]						
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2020</b>
							What impact do you think that Russia's foreign policy in recent years has had on....



							Russia's international influence (6.1)
							The standard of living in Russia (6.2)
							Russia's relationship with the US (6.3)
							Russia's international image (6.4)
							1. Definitely positive 2. Rather positive 3. No impact 4. Rather negative 5. Definitely negative 98. DK 99. Refused

#### D. POLITICAL INFORMATION

##### D1. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1.1 [tv]	1.11.1 [source1]	1.17 [media1]	1.25 [media9]				
1.2 [fradio]	1.11.2 [source2]	1.18 [media2]	1.26 [media10]				
1.3 [dradio]	1.11.3 [source3]	1.19 [media3]	1.27 [media11]				
1.4 [mags]	1.12 [newstv]	1.20 [media4]	1.28 [media12]				
1.5 [newspap]	1.13 [newsfrad]	1.21 [media5]	1.29 [media13]				
1.6 [presiden]	1.14 [newsdrad]	1.22 [media6]	1.30 [media14]				
1.7 [minfopol]	1.15 [newspapr]	1.23 [media7]	1.31 [media15]				
1.8 [supsov]	1.16 [newsnet]	1.24 [media8]	1.32 [media16]				
1.9 [friends]			1.33 [media 17]				
1.10 [informal]							
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2020</b>
People get their news about foreign policy from various sources: from conversations with friends, from official government reports, etc. They trust some of these sources to a significant extent and do not trust others at all. How much do you trust each of the following? Use the							

scale depicted on the card.							
Television (1.1)							
Foreign radio broadcasts (1.2)							
Domestic radio broadcasts (1.3)							
Magazines and journals (1.4)							
Newspapers (1.5)							
The president of Russia (1.6)							
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1.7)							
The Commission on International Affairs of the Russian Supreme Soviet (1.8)							
Conversations with friends (1.9)							
Non-governmental foreign policy groups and organizations (1.10)							
1. Completely trust 2. For the most part trust 3. Sometimes trust, sometimes not 4. For the most part distrust 5. Completely distrust 98. DK							
[If respondents name a source that they trust to a significant extent, specify which one (i.e., which newspaper, magazine, etc.) they had in mind.] (1.11.1)							

(1.11.2) (1.11.3)							
	People find out about events in the world and in their country from many sources: radio, television, newspapers. In regard to the past week, how often did you learn about events in the world and in Russia from each of the following sources?	People find out about events in the world and in their country from many sources: radio, television, newspapers. In regard to the past week, how often did you learn about events in the world and in Russia from each of the following sources?	People find out about events in the world and in their country from many sources: radio, television, newspapers. In regard to the past week, how often did you learn about events in the world and in Russia from each of the following sources?	People find out about events in the world and in their country from many sources: radio, television, newspapers. In regard to the past week, how often did you learn about events in the world and in Russia from each of the following sources?	People find out about events in the world and in their country from many sources: radio, television, newspapers, the Internet. In regard to the past week, how often did you learn about events in the world and in Russia from each of the following sources?		
	Television (1.12)	Television (1.12)	Television (1.12)	Television (1.12)	Television (1.12)		
	Foreign radio broadcasts (1.13)	Foreign radio broadcasts (1.13)	Foreign radio broadcasts (1.13)	Foreign radio broadcasts (1.13)			
	Domestic radio broadcasts (1.14)	Domestic radio broadcasts (1.14)	Domestic radio broadcasts (1.14)	Domestic radio broadcasts (1.14)	Radio broadcasts (1.14)		
	Newspapers (1.15)	Newspapers (1.15)	Newspapers (1.15)	Newspapers (1.15)	Newspapers (1.15)		
			The Internet (1.16)	The Internet (1.16)	The Internet (1.16)		
	1. Not once 2. Once 3. Several times 4. Almost every day 5. Every day 98. DK	1. Not once 2. Once 3. Several times 4. Almost every day 5. Every day 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Not once 2. Once 3. Several times 4. Almost every day 5. Every day 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Once or not once 2. Several times 3. Every day or almost every day 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Once or not once 2. Several times 3. Every day or almost every day 98. DK 99. Refused		
						People find out about events in the world and in their country from various sources: radio, television, newspapers, the Internet. In regard to the past week, how often did you learn about events in the world and in Russia from each of the following sources?	People find out about events in the world and in their country from various sources: radio, television, newspapers, the Internet. In regard to the past week, how often did you learn about events in the world and in Russia from each of the following sources?
						Channel One (1.17)	Channel One (1.17)
						“Rossiya-1” Channel (1.18)	“Rossiya-1” Channel (1.18)
						NTV	NTV

						(1.19)	(1.19)
						REN-TV (1.20)	
						Satellite television (1.21)	Satellite television (1.21)
						Channels in your region or city (1.22)	Channels in your region or city (1.22)
						Radio broadcasts (1.23)	Radio broadcasts (1.23)
						Print journalism (newspapers, magazines) (1.24)	Print journalism (newspapers, magazines) (1.24)
						Online media (1.25)	Online media (1.25)
						Social media (1.26)	Social media (1.26)
						Other online sources (1.27)	
						Foreign news sources (television programs, radio, newspapers and magazines) (1.28)	Foreign news sources (television programs, radio, newspapers and magazines) (1.28)
						Closed or specialized sources of information (e.g., internal organization reports) (1.29)	
						Personal communication with colleagues (1.30)	Personal communication with colleagues (1.30)
						Personal communication with friends and relatives (1.31)	Personal communication with friends and relatives (1.31)
						1. Not once 2. Once 3. Several times 4. Almost every day 5. Every day 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Not once 2. Once 3. Several times 4. Almost every day 5. Every day 98. DK 99. Refused
						In regard to the past week, how often did you listen to Ekho Moskvyy or watch the television station Dozhd'?	Ekho Moskvyy or Dozhd'

						(1.32)	(1.32)
							Telegram
							(1.33)
						1. <i>Not once</i> 2. <i>Once</i> 3. <i>Several times</i> 4. <i>Almost every day</i> 5. <i>Every day</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Not once</i> 2. <i>Once</i> 3. <i>Several times</i> 4. <i>Almost every day</i> 5. <i>Every day</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

## D2. DISCUSSION OF INFORMATION

2 [newspals]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
	In the course of the past week, have you discussed events in the world and in Russia with friends or family members? (2)	In the course of the past week, how often did you discuss events in the world and in Russia with friends or family members? (2)	In the course of the past week, how often did you discuss events in the world and in Russia with friends or family members? (2)	In the course of the past week, how often did you discuss events in the world and in Russia with friends or family members? (2)	In the course of the past week, how often did you discuss events in the world and in Russia with friends or family members? (2)		
	1. <i>Not once</i> 2. <i>Once</i> 3. <i>Several times</i> 4. <i>Almost every day</i> 5. <i>Every day</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Not once</i> 2. <i>Once</i> 3. <i>Several times</i> 4. <i>Almost every day</i> 5. <i>Every day</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Not once</i> 2. <i>Once</i> 3. <i>Several times</i> 4. <i>Almost every day</i> 5. <i>Every day</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Once or not once</i> 2. <i>Several times</i> 3. <i>Every day or almost every day</i> 7. <i>DK</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Once or not once</i> 2. <i>Several times</i> 3. <i>Every day or almost every day</i> 7. <i>DK</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>		

## D3. SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES

3.1 [socialnet]  
3.2 [socialvk]  
3.3 [socialfb]  
3.4 [socialyt]  
3.5 [socialtw]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
					Do you use any social networking sites such as Facebook or Odnoklassniki? (3.1)		
					1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK/Refused</i>		
							[If choice 2, 3, 4, or 5 is selected for D1.26]:

							How often did you use the following social networking sites?
							Vkontakte (3.2)
							Facebook (3.3)
							YouTube (3.4)
							Twitter (3.5)
							1. Not once 2. Once 3. Several times 4. Almost every day 5. Every day 98. DK 99. Refused

#### D4. MEDIA OBJECTIVITY

4.1 [objnat]							
4.2 [objwest]							
4.3 [objpriv]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
						How objectively do you think that events in Russia and in the world as a whole are covered by...	How objectively do you think that events in Russia and in the world as a whole are covered by...
						The state-controlled Russian media (4.1)	The state-controlled Russian media (4.1)
						Western media sources (4.2)	Western media sources (4.2)
							Russian media sources not controlled by the state (private) (4.3)
						1. Almost entirely objectively 2. For the most part objectively 3. Not very objectively 4. Not objectively at all 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Almost entirely objectively 2. For the most part objectively 3. Not very objectively 4. Not objectively at all 98. DK 99. Refused

## D5. INTERNET REGULATION

5 [reginternet]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
							<p>There are various opinions about the extent to which the Internet should be regulated. Please think about the recent actions taken by Roskomnadzor [Federal Service for the Supervision of Telecommunications, Information Technology, and Mass Communications] to regulate the Internet. Using a five-point scale (where 1 means that Internet content should be under the complete control of the government and 5 means that it should be completely free of governmental control), could you tell me which position on the scale is closer to your point of view?</p> <p>(5.1)</p>
							<p>1. Internet content should be under the complete control of the government.</p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. ---</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. Internet content should be completely free of government control.</p> <p>98. DK</p> <p>99. Refused</p>

## E1. DOMESTIC ORDER

1 [fphmrht]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
		There are various opinions about how order in the country should be established. Some think that order should be established at any price, even if it involves violating human rights. This opinion corresponds to a 1 on a five-point scale. Others think that establishing order should in no way infringe upon citizens' rights. This corresponds to a 5 on a five-point scale. Which position on the scale is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about how order in the country should be established. Some think that order should be established at any price, even if it involves violating human rights. This opinion corresponds to a 1 on a five-point scale. Others think that establishing order should in no way infringe upon citizens' rights. This corresponds to a 5 on a five-point scale. Which position on the scale is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about how order in the country should be established. Some think that order should be established at any price, even if it involves violating human rights. This opinion corresponds to a 1 on a five-point scale. Others think that establishing order should in no way infringe upon citizens' rights. This corresponds to a 5 on a five-point scale. Which position on the scale is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about how order in the country should be established. Using a five-point scale (where 1 means that order should be established at any price and 5 means that establishing order should in no way infringe upon citizens' rights), could you please tell me which position on the scale is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about how order in the country should be established. Using a five-point scale (where 1 means that order should be established at any price and 5 means that establishing order should in no way infringe upon citizens' rights), could you please tell me which position on the scale is closer to your point of view?	There are various opinions about how order in the country should be established. Using a five-point scale (where 1 means that order should be established at any price and 5 means that establishing order should in no way infringe upon citizens' rights), could you please tell me which position on the scale is closer to your point of view?
		(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
		1. Order at any price 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. Order without violations of human rights 98. DK	1. Order at any price 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. Order without violations of human rights 98. DK	1. Order at any price 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. Order without violations of human rights 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Order at any price 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. Order without violations of human rights 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Order at any price 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. Order without violations of human rights 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Order at any price 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. Order without violations of human rights 98. DK 99. Refused

## E2. POLITICAL BELIEFS

2.1 [danidea]	2.11 [comppol]	2.21 [leadpeop]
2.2 [orgmemb]	2.12 [compeco]	2.22 [tradit]
2.3 [findiv]	2.13 [richer]	2.23 [egalit]
2.4 [defsoc]	2.14 [newbusi]	2.24 [chickpot]
2.5 [onephilo]	2.15 [stateind]	2.25 [eqtright]
2.6.1 [needstro]	2.16 [privbet]	2.26 [russtradit]
2.6.2 [needstro2]	2.17 [leaderbe]	2.27 [homosex]
2.7 [nohelp]	2.18 [majunder]	2.28 [abortion]
2.8 [humcoop]	2.19 [leadtru]	2.29 [eurciv]
2.9 [russiaforrus]	2.20 [leddeci]	



2.10	[stalin]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Below are some statements about which there are various points of view. What is your attitude toward them? Do you completely agree with them, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or completely disagree?	I will read you some statements about which there are various points of view. To what degree do you agree or disagree with each of them?	I will read you some statements about which there are various points of view. To what degree do you agree or disagree with each of them?	I will read you some statements about which there are various points of view. To what degree do you agree or disagree with each of them?	I will read you some statements about which there are various points of view. To what degree do you agree or disagree with each of them?	I will read you some statements about which there are various points of view. To what degree do you agree or disagree with each of them?	I will read you some statements about which there are various points of view. To what degree do you agree or disagree with each of them?	I will read you some statements about which there are various points of view. To what degree do you agree or disagree with each of them?
In any society it will always be necessary to prohibit the public expression of dangerous ideas. (2.1)	In any society it will always be necessary to prohibit the public expression of dangerous ideas. (2.1)	In any society it will always be necessary to prohibit the public expression of dangerous ideas. (2.1)	In any society it will always be necessary to prohibit the public expression of dangerous ideas. (2.1)	In any society it will always be necessary to prohibit the public expression of dangerous ideas. (2.1)	In any society it will always be necessary to prohibit the public expression of dangerous ideas. (2.1)	In any society it will always be necessary to prohibit the public expression of dangerous ideas. (2.1)	In any society it will always be necessary to prohibit the public expression of dangerous ideas. (2.1)
People should have the right to belong to any organization even if the existence of that organization violates the law. (2.2)	People should have the right to belong to any organization even if the existence of that organization violates the law. (2.2)	People should have the right to belong to any organization even if the existence of that organization violates the law. (2.2)	People should have the right to belong to any organization even if the existence of that organization violates the law. (2.2)				
The rights of the individual should be protected even if guilty people sometimes go free. (2.3)	The rights of the individual should be protected even if guilty people sometimes go free. (2.3)	The rights of the individual should be protected even if guilty people sometimes go free. (2.3)	The rights of the individual should be protected even if guilty people sometimes go free. (2.3)	The rights of the individual should be protected even if guilty people sometimes go free. (2.3)	The rights of the individual should be protected even if guilty people sometimes go free. (2.3)	The rights of the individual should be protected even if guilty people sometimes go free. (2.3)	The rights of the individual should be protected even if guilty people sometimes go free. (2.3)
The interests of society should be protected even if innocent people sometimes end up in prison. (2.4)	The interests of society should be protected even if innocent people sometimes end up in prison. (2.4)	The interests of society should be protected even if innocent people sometimes end up in prison. (2.4)	The interests of society should be protected even if innocent people sometimes end up in prison. (2.4)	The interests of society should be protected even if innocent people sometimes end up in prison. (2.4)	The interests of society should be protected even if innocent people sometimes end up in prison. (2.4)	The interests of society should be protected even if innocent people sometimes end up in prison. (2.4)	The interests of society should be protected even if innocent people sometimes end up in prison. (2.4)

It is obviously the case that of all the philosophies that exist in the world, only one is undoubtedly correct. (2.5)	It is obviously the case that of all the philosophies that exist in the world, only one is undoubtedly correct. (2.5)	It is obviously the case that of all the philosophies that exist in the world, only one is undoubtedly correct. (2.5)	It is obviously the case that of all the philosophies that exist in the world, only one is undoubtedly correct. (2.5)	It is obviously the case that of all the philosophies that exist in the world, only one is undoubtedly correct. (2.5)	It is obviously the case that of all the philosophies that exist in the world, only one is undoubtedly correct. (2.5)	It is obviously the case that of all the philosophies that exist in the world, only one is undoubtedly correct. (2.5)	It is obviously the case that of all the philosophies that exist in the world, only one is undoubtedly correct. (2.5)
In any sphere it is necessary to have a few strong and capable people who, for all intents and purposes, run everything. (2.6.1)							
	In any sphere it is necessary to have a few strong and capable people who are able to achieve success in their own field. (2.6.2)	In any sphere it is necessary to have a few strong and capable people who are able to achieve success in their own field. (2.6.2)	In any sphere it is necessary to have a few strong and capable people who are able to achieve success in their own field. (2.6.2)				
There is no one at all who would really help you out if something happened to you. (2.7)							
Human nature is basically cooperative. (2.8)	Human nature is basically cooperative. (2.8)	Human nature is basically cooperative. (2.8)	Human nature is basically cooperative. (2.8)			Human nature is basically cooperative. (2.8)	Human nature is basically cooperative. (2.8)
				The idea of “Russia is for Russians [ <i>russskikh</i> ]!” (2.9)	The idea of “Russia is for Russians [ <i>russskikh</i> ]!” (2.9)	The idea of “Russia is for Russians [ <i>russskikh</i> ]!” (2.9)	The idea of “Russia is for Russians [ <i>russskikh</i> ]!” (2.9)
Stalin is blamed for things he didn’t do. (2.10)	Stalin is blamed for things he didn’t do. (2.10)	Stalin is blamed for things he didn’t do. (2.10)	Stalin is blamed for things he didn’t do. (2.10)	Stalin is blamed for things he didn’t do. (2.10)	Stalin is blamed for things he didn’t do. (2.10)	Stalin is blamed for things he didn’t do. (2.10)	Stalin is blamed for things he didn’t do. (2.10)
Competition among various political parties will make our system stronger. (2.11)	Competition among various political parties will make our system stronger. (2.11)	Competition among various political parties will make our system stronger. (2.11)	Competition among various political parties will make our system stronger. (2.11)	Competition among various political parties will make our system stronger. (2.11)	Competition among various political parties will make our system stronger. (2.11)	Competition among various political parties will make our system stronger. (2.11)	Competition among various political parties will make our political system stronger. (2.11)
Competition among enterprises, firms, and organizations benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, firms, and organizations benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, firms, and organizations benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, firms, and organizations benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, firms, and organizations benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, firms, and organizations benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, firms, and organizations benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, firms, and organizations benefits our society. (2.12)
It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers,	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers,	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers,	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers,	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers,	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers,	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers,	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers,

becomes richer than many other people. (2.13)	becomes richer than many other people. (2.13)	becomes richer than many other people. (2.13)	becomes richer than other people. (2.13)	becomes richer than other people. (2.13)	becomes richer than other people. (2.13)	becomes richer than other people. (2.13)	becomes richer than other people. (2.13)
There is no sense in starting a new business since it might fail. (2.14)	There is no sense in starting a new business since it might fail. (2.14)	There is no sense in starting a new business since it might fail. (2.14)	There is no sense in starting a new business since it might fail. (2.14)	There is no sense in starting a new business since it might fail. (2.14)	There is no sense in starting a new business since it might fail. (2.14)	There is no sense in starting a new business since it might fail. (2.14)	There is no sense in starting a new business since it might fail. (2.14)
All heavy industry should belong to the state and not be privately owned. (2.15)	All heavy industry should belong to the state and not be privately owned. (2.15)	All heavy industry should belong to the state and not be privately owned. (2.15)	All heavy industry should belong to the state and not be privately owned. (2.15)	All heavy industry should belong to the state and not be privately owned. (2.15)	All heavy industry should belong to the state and not be privately owned. (2.15)	All heavy industry should belong to the state and not be privately owned. (2.15)	All heavy industry should belong to the state and not be privately owned. (2.15)
People running their own businesses know what they should do and how they should do it better than do people working in large enterprises. (2.16)	People running their own businesses know what they should do and how they should do it better than do people working in large enterprises. (2.16)	People running their own businesses know what they should do and how they should do it better than do people working in large enterprises. (2.16)	People running their own businesses know what they should do and how they should do it better than do people working in large enterprises. (2.16)				
The most important thing for a leader is to follow his convictions and not give in to public pressure. (2.17)	The most important thing for a leader is to follow his convictions and not give in to public pressure. (2.17)	The most important thing for a leader is to follow his convictions and not give in to public pressure. (2.17)	The most important thing for a leader is to follow his convictions and not give in to public pressure. (2.17)			The most important thing for a leader is to follow his convictions and not give in to public pressure. (2.17)	The most important thing for a leader is to follow his convictions and not give in to public pressure. (2.17)
The majority of people poorly understand what is good for them and what is bad. (2.18)	The majority of people poorly understand what is good for them and what is bad. (2.18)	The majority of people poorly understand what is good for them and what is bad. (2.18)					
Political leaders should not conceal the truth from the public regardless of the consequences. (2.19)	Political leaders should not conceal the truth from the public regardless of the consequences. (2.19)	Political leaders should not conceal the truth from the public regardless of the consequences. (2.19)	Political leaders should not conceal the truth from the public regardless of the consequences. (2.19)				
Effective problem-solving by leaders is more important to society than any talk about democracy. (2.20)	Effective problem-solving by leaders is more important to society than any talk about democracy. (2.20)	Effective problem-solving by leaders is more important to society than any talk about democracy. (2.20)	Effective problem-solving by leaders is more important to society than any talk about democracy. (2.20)				
Leaders should carry out the will of the people even when they think that the people are wrong. (2.21)	Leaders should carry out the will of the people even when they think that the people are wrong. (2.21)	Leaders should carry out the will of the people even when they think that the people are wrong. (2.21)	Leaders should carry out the will of the people even when they think that the people are wrong. (2.21)				

Traditions and customs reflect the wisdom and experience of past generations and should be valued very highly. (2.22)							
	If a segment of the population lives in poverty, the government should react to this and make sure that no one can become rich. (2.23)	If a segment of the population lives in poverty, the government should react to this and make sure that no one can become rich. (2.23)	If a segment of the population lives in poverty, the government should react to this and make sure that no one can become rich. (2.23)				
	It is the government's responsibility to ensure that every citizen has a job and housing. (2.24)	It is the government's responsibility to ensure that every citizen has a job and housing. (2.24)	It is the government's responsibility to ensure that every citizen has a job and housing. (2.24)				
		All citizens should have an equal opportunity to influence governmental decisions. (2.25)	All citizens should have an equal opportunity to influence governmental decisions. (2.25)				
				Those people who do not observe Russian traditions and customs cannot become true Russians [rossiyanami]. (2.26)	Those people who do not observe Russian traditions and customs cannot become true Russians [rossiyanami]. (2.26)	Those people who do not observe Russian traditions and customs cannot become true Russians [rossiyanami]. (2.26)	Those people who do not observe Russian traditions and customs cannot become true Russians [rossiyanami]. (2.26)
					Homosexuality can never be justified. (2.27)	Homosexuality can never be justified. (2.27)	Homosexuality can never be justified. (2.27)
					Abortion can never be justified. (2.28)	Abortion can never be justified. (2.28)	Abortion can never be justified. (2.28)
						Russia is part of European civilization. (2.29)	Russia is part of European civilization. (2.29)
1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Mostly disagree 4. Completely disagree 98. DK	1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Mostly disagree 4. Completely disagree 98. DK	1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Mostly disagree 4. Completely disagree 98. DK	1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Mostly disagree 4. Completely disagree 98. DK	1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Neither agree nor disagree 4. Mostly disagree 5. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Neither agree nor disagree 4. Mostly disagree 5. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Neither agree nor disagree 4. Mostly disagree 5. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Neither agree nor disagree 4. Mostly disagree 5. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused

### E3. DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA

3.1	[dmelectn]	3.11 [rusdemoc]					
3.2	[dmpartys]						
3.3	[dmstecon]						
3.4	[dmbehave]						
3.5	[dmspeech]						
3.6	[dmproldc]						
3.7	[dmpartic]						
3.8	[dmpower]						
3.9	[dmnrodde]						
3.10	[dmrtsdy]						
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2020</b>
	Democracy is interpreted differently by various people. I will read you some statements about what democracy means. For each statement, please tell me whether it is consistent with your conception of democracy, close to your conception, very different from what you think is meant by democracy, or does not correspond at all to your conception of democracy. Democracy means that...	Democracy is understood differently by various people. I will read you some statements about what democracy means. For each statement, please tell me the extent to which it corresponds to your conception of democracy. Democracy means that...	Democracy is understood differently by various people. I will read you some statements about what democracy means. For each statement, please tell me the extent to which it corresponds to your conception of democracy.				
	A country's leadership is chosen in free elections. (3.1)	A country's leadership is chosen in free elections. (3.1)	A country's leadership is chosen in free elections. (3.1)				
	Various political parties struggle for power. (3.2)	Various political parties struggle for power. (3.2)	Various political parties struggle for power. (3.2)				
	The state does not intervene in the economy. (3.3)	The state does not intervene in the economy. (3.3)	The state does not intervene in the economy. (3.3)				
	People behave responsibly and therefore the government can operate effectively. (3.4)	People behave responsibly and therefore the government can operate effectively. (3.4)	People behave responsibly and therefore the government can operate effectively. (3.4)				
	People have the right to express themselves freely, even if they	People have the right to express themselves freely, even if they	People have the right to express themselves freely, even if they				

	sharply criticize the government. (3.5)	sharply criticize the government. (3.5)	sharply criticize the government. (3.5)				
	Workers themselves can decide where to work. (3.6)	Workers themselves can decide where to work. (3.6)	Workers themselves can decide where to work. (3.6)				
	People, if they wish, can be members of any organization. (3.7)	People, if they wish, can be members of any organization. (3.7)	People, if they wish, can be members of any organization. (3.7)				
	The leadership of a country acts in accordance with the wishes of the people. (3.8)	The leadership of a country acts in accordance with the wishes of the people. (3.8)	The leadership of a country acts in accordance with the wishes of the people. (3.8)				
	The people themselves make decisions. (3.9)	The people themselves make decisions. (3.9)	The people themselves make decisions. (3.9)				
	Citizens have both rights and responsibilities. (3.10)	Citizens have both rights and responsibilities. (3.10)					
	1. Consistent 2. Close to my conception 3. Very different from my conception 4. Completely inconsistent 98. DK	1. Completely corresponds 2. Almost corresponds 3. Does not really correspond 4. Does not correspond at all 98. DK	1. Completely corresponds 2. Almost corresponds 3. Does not really correspond 4. Does not correspond at all 98. DK				
	To what extent does the current political system in Russia match your conception of democracy? (3.11)						
	1. Mostly 2. Somewhat 3. Very little 4. Not at all 98. DK						

#### E4. BEST POLITICAL SYSTEM FOR RUSSIA

4 [russyst]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
		What type of political system, in your opinion, is most appropriate for Russia? (4)	What type of political system, in your opinion, is most appropriate for Russia? (4)	What type of political system, in your opinion, is most appropriate for Russia? (4)	What type of political system, in your opinion, is most appropriate for Russia? (4)	What type of political system, in your opinion, is most appropriate for Russia? (4)	What type of political system, in your opinion, is most appropriate for Russia? (4)
		1. <i>The Soviet system that existed before perestroika</i> 2. <i>The current political system</i> 3. <i>A Western-style democracy</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>The Soviet system that existed before perestroika</i> 2. <i>The Soviet system, but in a different, more democratic form</i> 3. <i>The current political system</i> 4. <i>A Western-style democracy</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>The Soviet system that existed before perestroika</i> 2. <i>The Soviet system, but in a different, more democratic form</i> 3. <i>The current political system</i> 4. <i>A Western-style democracy</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>The Soviet system that existed before perestroika</i> 2. <i>The Soviet system, but in a different, more democratic form</i> 3. <i>The current political system</i> 4. <i>A Western-style democracy</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>The Soviet system that existed before perestroika</i> 2. <i>The Soviet system, but in a different, more democratic form</i> 3. <i>The current political system</i> 4. <i>A Western-style democracy</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>The Soviet system that existed before perestroika</i> 2. <i>The Soviet system, but in a different, more democratic form</i> 3. <i>The current political system</i> 4. <i>A Western-style democracy</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

#### E5. LIKELIHOOD OF POLITICAL EVENTS

- 5.1 [likelyelect]
- 5.1.1 [likelywhichel1]
- 5.1.2 [likelywhichel2]
- 5.1.3 [likelywhichel3]
- 5.1.4 [likelywhichel4]
- 5.2 [likelynolect]
- 5.3 [likelyrules]
- 5.4 [likelyfdivide]
- 5.5 [likelyrepress]
- 5.6 [likelyinfl]
- 5.6.1 [likelynewpa]
- 5.7 [likelyur]
- 5.7.1 [likelywhichpa]
- 5.8 [likelyputin]
- 5.9 [likelywhen]
- 5.9.1 [likelywhen1]
- 5.10 [likelypufuture]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
		Which of the following scenarios do you think are very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely in the next ten years?		Which of the following scenarios do you think are very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely in the next ten years?		Which of the following scenarios do you think are very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely in the next ten years?	Which of the following scenarios do you think are very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely in the next ten years?
		Political movements with which you sympathize will win an election.		Political movements with which you sympathize will win an election.		Political movements with which you sympathize will win an election.	Political movements with which you sympathize will win an election.

		(5.1)		(5.1)		(5.1)	(5.1)
		1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>		1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>		1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							Which elections do you have in mind? (5.1.1) (5.1.2) (5.1.3) (5.1.4)
							1. <i>Elections to the State Duma</i> 2. <i>Presidential elections</i> 3. <i>Elections for the heads of Russia's regions</i> 4. <i>Local elections</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
		Elections will be canceled. (5.2)		Elections will be canceled. (5.2)		Elections will be canceled (5.2)	Elections will be canceled (5.2)
		All legislative candidates will observe "honest rules of the game." (5.3)				All legislative candidates will observe "honest rules of the game." (5.3)	All legislative candidates will observe "honest rules of the game." (5.3)
				One or more foreign countries will make serious efforts to break up Russia. (5.4)		One or more foreign countries will make serious efforts to break up Russia. (5.4)	
		Some leaders will be subjected to repression by those who come to power through elections. (5.5)		Some leaders will be subjected to repression by those who come to power through elections. (5.5)		Some leaders will be subjected to repression by those who come to power through elections. (5.5)	Some leaders will be subjected to repression by those who come to power through elections. (5.5)
		Political movements with which you sympathize will exert significant influence on government policy. (5.6)		Political movements with which you sympathize will exert significant influence on government policy. (5.6)		Political movements with which you sympathize will exert significant influence on government policy. (5.6)	Political movements with which you sympathize will exert significant influence on government policy. (5.6)
							A new party that is independent of the Kremlin will be



							represented in the State Duma. (5.6.1)
						A party or movement other than United Russia will come to power. (5.7)	A party or movement other than United Russia will come to power. (5.7)
		1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i> 98. <i>DK</i>		1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>		1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							If this were to occur, which party or movement do you think would have the greatest likelihood of coming to power? (5.7.1)
							1. <i>KPRF</i> 2. <i>LDPR</i> 3. <i>A Just Russia</i> 4. <i>Rodina</i> 5. <i>All Russia People's Front (ONF)</i> 6. <i>Yabloko</i> 7. <i>PARNAS</i> 8. <i>Russia of the Future</i> 9. <i>A new party created by the Kremlin in the future</i> 10. <i>A new opposition party</i> 11. <i>Other</i>  98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						Someone other than Vladimir Putin will become president. (5.8)	A politician other than Vladimir Putin will become the most powerful person in Russia. (5.8)
		1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i>		1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i>		1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i>	1. <i>Very likely</i> 2. <i>Likely</i> 3. <i>Unlikely</i> 4. <i>Very unlikely</i>

		98. <i>DK</i>		98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>		98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						When is this most likely to occur? (5.9)	
						1. <i>In 2018, with the next presidential election</i> 2. <i>In 2024, when Putin's constitutional term limit for being president expires</i> 3. <i>Earlier than 2018</i> 4. <i>Other _____</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	
							What do you think, in what year will someone other than Vladimir Putin become the most powerful person in Russia? Most likely, this will occur... (5.9.1)
							1. <i>In 2020</i> 2. <i>Sometime between 2021 and 2024</i> 3. <i>Sometime between 2025 and 2030</i> 4. <i>After 2030</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							In your opinion, how will Vladimir Putin distribute power when he leaves the presidency? (5.10)
							1. <i>Transfer all power to a trusted successor</i> 2. <i>Transfer all power to several trusted and like-minded associates, having carefully balanced them against each other</i>

							3. <i>Transfer power to at least one like-minded associate, but keep some power for himself well into the future</i> 4. <i>Keep all power in his own hands despite leaving the presidency</i> 5. <i>Let voters decide in fully free and fair elections, even if this allows a true opposition figure to win</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
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#### E6. IDENTIFICATION WITH COUNTRY

6.1 [idbornruss]  
6.2 [idcitizen]  
6.3 [idspeakruss]  
6.4 [idrussnat]  
6.5 [idorthodox]  
6.6 [idrusspolsyst]  
6.7 [idrustraditions]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
				People have different views about what is important and unimportant to them when they think about their country. Which of the following is very important, important, not very important, and least important to you?	People have different views about what determines a person's identification with a country. Which of the following is very important, important, not very important, and least important to you?	People have different views about what determines a person's identification with a country. Which of the following is very important, important, not very important, and least important to you?	
				To be born in Russia (6.1)	To be born in Russia (6.1)	To be born in Russia (6.1)	
				To have Russian citizenship (6.2)	To have Russian citizenship (6.2)	To have Russian citizenship (6.2)	
				To speak Russian (6.3)	To speak Russian (6.3)	To speak Russian (6.3)	
				To be Russian by nationality (6.4)	To be Russian by nationality (6.4)	To be Russian by nationality (6.4)	
				To be Orthodox	To be Orthodox	To be Orthodox	

				(6.5)	(6.5)	(6.5)	
				To respect the Russian political system and its laws (6.6)	To respect the Russian political system and its laws (6.6)	To respect the Russian political system and its laws (6.6)	
						To be a part of Russian culture and traditions (6.7)	
				1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Not very important</i> 4. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Not very important</i> 4. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Not very important</i> 4. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	

#### E7. PRIDE IN RUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP

7.1 [pride]  
7.2 [pridedem]  
7.3 [prideglobinf]  
7.4 [priderecon]  
7.5 [pridearmy]  
7.6 [pridehist]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
				On the whole, are you proud to be a citizen of Russia? Are you very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all? (7.1)	Could you please tell me whether, on the whole, you are proud to be a citizen of Russia? Are you very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all? (7.1)	Could you please tell me whether, on the whole, you are proud to be a citizen of Russia? Are you very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all? (7.1)	Could you please tell me whether, on the whole, you are proud to be a citizen of Russia? Are you very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all? (7.1)
				1. <i>Very proud</i> 2. <i>Proud</i> 3. <i>Not very proud</i> 4. <i>Not proud at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very proud</i> 2. <i>Proud</i> 3. <i>Not very proud</i> 4. <i>Not proud at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very proud</i> 2. <i>Proud</i> 3. <i>Not very proud</i> 4. <i>Not proud at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very proud</i> 2. <i>Proud</i> 3. <i>Not very proud</i> 4. <i>Not proud at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
				And now more specifically – are you very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all of each of the following?	And now more specifically – are you very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all of each of the following?	And now more specifically – are you very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all of each of the following?	And now more specifically – are you very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all of each of the following?

				The state of democracy (7.2)	The state of democracy (7.2)	The state of democracy (7.2)	The state of democracy in Russia (7.2)
				Russia's political influence in the world (7.3)	Russia's political influence in the world (7.3)	Russia's political influence in the world (7.3)	Russia's political influence in the world (7.3)
				Russia's economic achievements (7.4)	Russia's economic achievements (7.4)	Russia's economic achievements (7.4)	Russia's economic achievements (7.4)
				Russia's armed forces (7.5)	Russia's armed forces (7.5)	Russia's armed forces (7.5)	Russia's armed forces (7.5)
				Russia's history (7.6)	Russia's history (7.6)	Russia's history (7.6)	Russia's history (7.6)
				1. <i>Very proud</i> 2. <i>Proud</i> 3. <i>Not very proud</i> 4. <i>Not proud at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very proud</i> 2. <i>Proud</i> 3. <i>Not very proud</i> 4. <i>Not proud at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very proud</i> 2. <i>Proud</i> 3. <i>Not very proud</i> 4. <i>Not proud at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very proud</i> 2. <i>Proud</i> 3. <i>Not very proud</i> 4. <i>Not proud at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

## E8. TRUST AND HAPPINESS

8.1 [conflead]  
8.2 [confgov]  
8.3 [confbusi]  
8.4 [confrich]  
8.5 [confwrkr]  
8.6 [conffadm]  
8.7 [trust]  
8.8 [happiness]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Now we would like to ask how you feel about various groups of people. Would you mind saying which groups you completely distrust, distrust, both trust and distrust, trust, or trust a lot?	Now we would like to ask how you feel about various groups. Would you mind saying which groups you completely distrust, distrust, both trust and distrust, trust, or trust a lot?	Now we would like to find out how you feel about various groups. Would you mind saying which groups you completely distrust, distrust, both trust and distrust, trust, or trust a lot?					
Directors of large state-owned enterprises (8.1)	Directors of large state-owned enterprises (8.1)	Directors of large state-owned enterprises (8.1)					
Members of the government	Members of the government	Members of the government					

(8.2)	(8.2)	(8.2)					
People who own their own enterprises (8.3)	People who own their own enterprises/firms (8.3)	People who own their own enterprises/firms (8.3)					
People who have become richer by opening up their own businesses (8.4)	People who have become richer by opening up their own businesses (8.4)	People who have become richer by opening up their own businesses (8.4)					
Factory workers (8.5)	Factory workers (8.5)	Factory workers (8.5)					
Managers of foreign enterprises in Russia (8.6)	Managers of foreign enterprises in Russia (8.6)	Managers of foreign enterprises in Russia (8.6)					
1. Completely distrust 2. Distrust 3. Both trust and distrust 4. Trust 5. Trust a lot 98. DK	1. Completely distrust 2. Distrust 3. Both trust and distrust 4. Trust 5. Trust a lot 98. DK	1. Completely distrust 2. Distrust 3. Both trust and distrust 4. Trust 5. Trust a lot 98. DK					
					Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people? (8.7)	Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people? (8.7)	
					1. Most people can be trusted. 2. You need to be very careful with people. 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Most people can be trusted. 2. You need to be very careful with people. 98. DK 99. Refused	
					Taking all things together, would you say you are... (8.8)	Taking all things together, would you say you are... (8.8)	
					1. Very happy 2. Rather happy 3. Not very happy 4. Not at all happy 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Very happy 2. Rather happy 3. Not very happy 4. Not at all happy 98. DK 99. Refused	

## E9. FEELINGS ABOUT VARIOUS GROUPS IN RUSSIA

9.1	[feelwrks]	9.7	[feelgay]
9.2	[feeljews]	9.8	[feelbusi]
9.3	[feelimmig]	9.9	[feelcaucus]
9.4	[feeldirect]	9.10	[feelorth]
9.5	[feelmusl]	9.11	[feelukr]
9.6	[feelryss]		

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
				We would also like to find out how you feel about various groups. Please rate your attitude toward these groups by using a “Feeling Thermometer,” where 0 degrees means that you don’t like the group at all and 100 degrees means that you like the group very much. Points on the scale from 0 to 50 mean that you more or less don’t like the group, and points on the scale from 50 to 100 mean that you more or less like the group.	We would also like to find out how you feel about various groups. Please rate your attitude toward these groups by using a “Feeling Thermometer,” where 0 degrees means that you don’t like the group at all and 100 degrees means that you like the group very much. Points on the scale from 0 to 50 mean that you more or less don’t like the group, and points on the scale from 50 to 100 mean that you more or less like the group.	We would also like to find out how you feel about various groups. Please rate your attitude toward these groups by using a “Feeling Thermometer,” where 0 degrees means that you don’t like the group at all and 100 degrees means that you like the group very much. Points on the scale from 0 to 50 mean that you more or less don’t like the group, and points on the scale from 50 to 100 mean that you more or less like the group.	
				Workers [ <i>rabochie</i> ] (9.1)	Workers [ <i>rabochie</i> ] (9.1)	Workers [ <i>rabochie</i> ] (9.1)	
				Jews (9.2)	Jews (9.2)	Jews (9.2)	
				Immigrants (9.3)	Immigrants (9.3)	Immigrants (9.3)	
				Directors of state-owned enterprises (9.4)	Directors of state-owned enterprises (9.4)	Directors of state-owned enterprises (9.4)	
				Muslims (9.5)	Muslims (9.5)	Muslims (9.5)	
				Russians [ <i>russkie</i> ] (9.6)	Russians [ <i>russkie</i> ] (9.6)	Russians [ <i>russkie</i> ] (9.6)	
				Homosexuals (9.7)	Homosexuals (9.7)	Homosexuals (9.7)	

				Businessmen (9.8)	Businessmen (9.8)	Businessmen (9.8)	
				People from the Caucasus (9.9)	People from the Caucasus (9.9)	People from the Caucasus (9.9)	
				Orthodox Christians (9.10)	Orthodox Christians (9.10)	Orthodox Christians (9.10)	
						Ukrainians (9.11)	
				1 – 100	1 – 100	1 – 100	

#### E10. FEELINGS ABOUT IMMIGRANTS

10.1 [immigecon]  
10.2 [immigjobs]  
10.3 [immigopen]  
10.4 [immigcrime]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
				At the present time, immigrants—citizens of other countries, including the former Soviet republics—live in Russia. Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements?	At the present time, immigrants—citizens of other countries, including the former Soviet republics—live in Russia. Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements?	At the present time, immigrants—citizens of other countries, including the former Soviet republics—live in Russia. Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements?	At the present time, immigrants—citizens of other countries, including the former Soviet republics—live in Russia. Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements?
				Immigrants are helpful for the development of the Russian economy. (10.1)	Immigrants are helpful for the development of the Russian economy. (10.1)	Immigrants are helpful for the development of the Russian economy. (10.1)	Immigrants are helpful for the development of the Russian economy. (10.1)
				Immigrants take jobs away from Russians. (10.2)	Immigrants take jobs away from Russians. (10.2)	Immigrants take jobs away from Russians. (10.2)	Immigrants take jobs away from Russians. (10.2)
				Immigrants make Russia more open to new ideas and cultural influences. (10.3)	Immigrants make Russia more open to new ideas and cultural influences. (10.3)	Immigrants make Russia more open to new ideas and cultural influences. (10.3)	Immigrants make Russia more open to new ideas and cultural influences. (10.3)
				Immigrants cause an increase in the crime rate. (10.4)	Immigrants cause an increase in the crime rate. (10.4)	Immigrants cause an increase in the crime rate. (10.4)	Immigrants cause an increase in the crime rate. (10.4)



				1. <i>Completely agree</i> 2. <i>Mostly agree</i> 3. <i>Mostly disagree</i> 4. <i>Completely disagree</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Completely agree</i> 2. <i>Mostly agree</i> 3. <i>Mostly disagree</i> 4. <i>Completely disagree</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Completely agree</i> 2. <i>Mostly agree</i> 3. <i>Mostly disagree</i> 4. <i>Completely disagree</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Completely agree</i> 2. <i>Mostly agree</i> 3. <i>Mostly disagree</i> 4. <i>Completely disagree</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
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#### E11. ELECTIONS

11.1 [duma2011]  
11.2 [pres2012]  
11.3 [rallies2012]  
11.4 [votepres2008]  
11.5 [votepres2012]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
					How would you evaluate the recent elections to the State Duma in Russia? (11.1)		
					1. <i>The elections were free and fair, without serious irregularities.</i> 2. <i>The elections were conducted with minor irregularities that did not affect their overall outcome.</i> 3. <i>The elections were conducted with serious irregularities.</i> 4. <i>The elections were neither free nor fair.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>		
					How would you evaluate the recent presidential elections in Russia? (11.2)		
					1. <i>The elections were free and fair, without</i>		

					<p><i>serious irregularities.</i></p> <p>2. <i>The elections were conducted with minor irregularities that did not affect their overall outcome.</i></p> <p>3. <i>The elections were conducted with serious irregularities.</i></p> <p>4. <i>The elections were neither free nor fair.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>		
					<p>What is your opinion about the protests “For Fair Elections” that took place in Bolotnaya Square, on Prospekt Sakharova, and in other places?</p> <p><b>(11.3)</b></p>		
					<p>1. <i>I support their demands and participated myself.</i></p> <p>2. <i>I support their demands but did not participate.</i></p> <p>3. <i>I do not support their demands.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Those protests were organized from abroad in order to destabilize Russia.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>		
				As you know, the final list of candidates for president was made public on January 28, 2008. If the presidential election was held tomorrow, for which	For whom did you vote in the presidential		

				candidate would you vote?  <b>(11.4)</b>	election?          <b>(11.5)</b>		
				1. Medvedev 2. Another answer 98. Refused	1. Putin 2. Another candidate 3. Didn't vote 98. Refused		

## E12. POLITICAL PROTEST ACTIVITY

12.1 [pprotest1]  
 12.2 [pprotest2]  
 12.3 [pprotest3]  
 12.4 [pprotest4]  
 12.5 [pprotest5]  
 12.6 [pprotest6]  
 12.7 [pprotest7]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
					Please look at this card. It lists various types of political protest activity in which people can engage. Could you please tell me which of these you think are effective and justifiable, and which are not?	Please look at this card. It lists various types of political protest activity in which people can engage. Rate each of these activities on a ten- point scale according to how justifiable they are, where 10 means “completely justifiable” and 1 means “completely unjustifiable.”	Please look at this card. It lists various types of political protest activity in which people can engage. Rate each of these activities on a ten- point scale according to how justifiable they are, where 10 means “completely justifiable” and 1 means “completely unjustifiable.”
					Submitting petitions <b>(12.1)</b>	Submitting petitions <b>(12.1)</b>	Submitting petitions <b>(12.1)</b>
					Participating in a boycott <b>(12.2)</b>	Participating in a boycott <b>(12.2)</b>	Participating in a boycott <b>(12.2)</b>
					Attending demonstrations sanctioned by the government	Attending demonstrations sanctioned by the government	Attending demonstrations sanctioned by the government

					(12.3)	(12.3)	(12.3)
					Participating in a strike (12.4)	Participating in a strike (12.4)	Participating in a strike (12.4)
					Other forms of protest (12.5)		
						Attending unsanctioned demonstrations (12.6)	Attending unsanctioned demonstrations (12.6)
						Protesting on social media (12.7)	Protesting on social media (12.7)
					1. Yes 2. Sometimes 3. No	1. Completely unjustifiable 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. --- 8. --- 9. --- 10. Completely justifiable 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Completely unjustifiable 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. --- 8. --- 9. --- 10. Completely justifiable 98. DK 99. Refused

#### E13. POST-MATERIALIST AND OTHER VALUES, CHILD-REARING, NGOS, DESIRES FOR RUSSIA

13.1.1 [future1]	13.2.5 [raisechild5]	13.2.12 [childrearing1]					
13.1.2 [future2]	13.2.6 [raisechild6]	13.2.13 [childrearing2]					
13.1.3 [future3]	13.2.7 [raisechild7]	13.2.14 [childrearing3]					
13.2.1 [raisechild1]	13.2.8 [raisechild98]	13.2.15 [childrearing4]					
13.2.2 [raisechild2]	13.2.9 [raisechild9]	13.3 [foreagent]					
13.2.3 [raisechild3]	13.2.10 [raisechild10]	13.4 [russiato]					
13.2.4 [raisechild4]	13.2.11 [raisechild11]	13.5 [issues1]					
		13.6 [issues2]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
					I am going to read out a list of changes in our lives that might take place in the near future. For each change, please indicate, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or you would not mind.		

					Less importance placed on material values (13.1.1)		
					The development of technology (13.1.2)		
					Greater respect for authority (13.1.3)		
					1. <i>Good</i> 2. <i>Would not mind</i> 3. <i>Bad</i>		
					Which of the following qualities do you consider to be especially important for a child to learn at home? Please choose up to five.		
					Independence (13.2.1)		
					Hard work (13.2.2)		
					Feeling of responsibility (13.2.3)		
					Imagination (13.2.4)		
					Tolerance and respect for other people (13.2.5)		
					Thrift, saving money and things (13.2.6)		
					Determination (13.2.7)		
					Religious faith (13.2.8)		
					Unselfishness (13.2.9)		
					Obedience (13.2.10)		
					Self-expression (13.2.11)		
					1. <i>Selected</i> 2. <i>Not Selected</i>		
							Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children

							should have, every person thinks that some qualities are more important than others. I am going to read you pairs of desirable qualities. Please tell me which one you think is more important for a child to have.
							Independence or respect for elders (13.2.12)
							1. <i>Independence</i> 2. <i>Respect for elders</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							Curiosity or good manners (13.2.13)
							1. <i>Curiosity</i> 2. <i>Good manners</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							Obedience or self-reliance (13.2.14)
							1. <i>Obedience</i> 2. <i>Self-reliance</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							Being considerate or well-behaved (13.2.15)
							1. <i>Being considerate</i> 2. <i>Well-behaved</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						As you know, there is currently a law that requires NGOs that engage in political activity and receive funding from foreign sources to register as foreign agents. Some say that the law is appropriate because some NGOs are indeed	There is currently a law that requires NGOs that engage in political activity and receive funding from foreign sources to register as foreign agents. Some say that the law is appropriate because some NGOs are indeed foreign agents. Others

						foreign agents. Others say the law is repressive and is meant to prevent NGOs from having contacts with foreigners in general. What is your opinion about this matter? (13.3)	say the law is repressive and is meant to prevent NGOs from having contacts with foreigners in general. What is your opinion about this matter? (13.3)
						1. The law is appropriate because some NGOs are indeed foreign agents. 2. The law is repressive and is meant to prevent NGOs from having contacts with foreigners in general. 98. DK 99. Refused	1. The law is appropriate because some NGOs are indeed foreign agents. 2. The law is repressive and is meant to prevent NGOs from having contacts with foreigners in general. 98. DK 99. Refused
						What, above all, would you like to see Russia as today? (13.4)	What, above all, would you like to see Russia as today? (13.4)
						1. As a great power that is respected and somewhat feared by other countries 2. As a country with a high standard of living, even if it is not one of the most powerful countries in the world 98. DK 99. Refused	1. As a great power that is respected and somewhat feared by other countries 2. As a country with a high standard of living, even if it is not one of the most powerful countries in the world 98. DK 99. Refused
					Which of the things on the card do you consider the most important? And which would be the next most important?		
					First Choice (13.5)		

					<i>Second Choice</i> <b>(13.6)</b>		
					<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Maintaining order in the nation</i></li> <li>2. <i>Giving people more say in government decisions</i></li> <li>3. <i>Fighting rising prices</i></li> <li>4. <i>Protecting freedom of speech</i></li> </ol>		

#### E14. CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

14.1 [constparlpres]  
14.2 [constrefgoals]  
14.3 [constrefattit]  
14.4 [constrefwhy]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
							<p>Some people think that regardless of who is president of Russia, he should have more power than parliament. Others think that parliament should have more power than the president. What is your point of view? Choose the answer that best corresponds with your point of view.</p> <p><b>(14.1)</b></p>
							<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>The power of the president should be greater.</i></li> <li>2. <i>The president and parliament should have equal power.</i></li> <li>3. <i>The power of parliament should be greater.</i></li> </ol> <p>98. <i>DK</i>  99. <i>Refused</i></p>
							<p>Putin recently initiated changes to Russia's constitution. According to your understanding,</p>



							what is the main goal of the reform? (14.2)
							1. <i>Liberalization of the political system</i> 2. <i>Preserving Putin's power beyond his current presidential term</i> 3. <i>Laying the groundwork for Putin to transfer power to a chosen successor or successors</i> 4. <i>Improving the efficiency of the public administration</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							Do you think that these constitutional changes are generally positive or negative for Russia? (14.3)
							1. <i>More positive than negative</i> 2. <i>More negative than positive</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							If you had to choose, what do you think exerted more influence on Putin's decision to reform the Constitution? (14.4)
							1. <i>Pressure from the mass public</i> 2. <i>Pressure from elites</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

#### E15. EVALUATION OF PUTIN

15.1 [evpucorr]  
 15.2 [evpuineq]

15.3	[evpupolst]							
15.4	[evpuinfl]							
15.5	[evpudemo]							
15.6	[evpuresponse]							
15.7	[evpuliv]							
15.8	[evpurespect]							
15.9	[evpumoral]							
15.10	[evpumil]							
15.11	[evpuintegr]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020	
								In the last twenty years since the year 2000, when Putin first became president, do you think the following things have increased, decreased, or remained unchanged ...
								Corruption on the part of state officials (15.1)
								Income inequality (15.2)
								Political stability in Russia (15.3)
								The influence of Russia in the world (15.4)
								Democracy and human rights in Russia (15.5)
								The responsiveness of the state to the needs of the population (15.6)
								The population's standard of living (15.7)
								Respect for Russia in the world (15.8)
								Morality and Christian values in Russia (15.9)
								Military readiness and strength (15.10)

							Integration of the post-Soviet space (15.11)
							1. Increased 2. Decreased 3. Remained unchanged 98. DK 99. Refusal

## F. ECONOMIC CONCERNS

### F1. BEST PATH OF DEVELOPMENT

1.1	[europhil]							
1.2	[asiaphil]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020	
	Some people think that Russia should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization. Other people, taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, think that it should follow a unique Russian path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view?	Some people think that Russia should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization. Other people, taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, think that it should follow a unique Russian path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view?	Some people think that Russia should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization. Other people, taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, think that it should follow a unique Russian path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view?	Some people think that Russia should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization. Other people, taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, think that it should follow a unique Russian path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view?	Some people think that Russia should follow the path of developed countries and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization. Other people, taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, think that it should follow a unique Russian path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view?	Some people think that Russia should follow the path of developed countries and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization. Other people, taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, think that it should follow a unique Russian path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view?	Some people think that Russia should follow the path of developed countries and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization. Other people, taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, think that it should follow a unique Russian path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view?	
	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)	(1.1)
	1. It should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization.	1. Russia should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization.	1. Russia should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization.	1. Russia should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization.	1. Russia should follow the path of developed countries and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization. 2. Taking into account the history and	1. Russia should follow the path of developed countries and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization. 2. Taking into account the history and geographic	1. Russia should follow the path of developed countries and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization. 2. Taking into account the history and geographic	

	2. Taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path. 98. DK 99. Refused	2. Taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path. 98. DK 99. Refused	2. Taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path. 98. DK 99. Refused	2. Taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path. 98. DK 99. Refused	geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path. 98. DK 99. Refused	position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path. 98. DK 99. Refused	position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path. 98. DK 99. Refused
			[If choice 2 or 98 is selected]: And sometimes people maintain that Russia should follow the path of developed countries in Asia. Do you agree with this statement or not?  (1.2)				
			1. Yes 2. No 98. DK/NA				

## F2. NATIONAL EXPENDITURES

- 2.1 [redheal]
- 2.2 [redeco]
- 2.3 [reddef]
- 2.4 [redsci]
- 2.5 [redaid]
- 2.6 [redenv]
- 2.7 [rededuc]
- 2.8 [redcult]
- 2.9 [redartcult]
- 2.10 [redcrym]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Many think that it is necessary to reduce government spending in some areas. Which expenditures, in your opinion, should be reduced, which should be maintained at their current levels, and	Many think that it is necessary to reduce government spending in some areas. In which areas, in your opinion, should expenditures be reduced, in which should they be maintained at their current levels, and in	Many think that it is necessary to reduce government spending in some areas. In which areas, in your opinion, should expenditures be reduced, in which should they be maintained at their current levels, and in	Many think that it is necessary to reduce government spending in some areas. In which areas, in your opinion, should expenditures be reduced, in which should they be maintained at their current levels, and in				

which should be increased?	which should they be increased?	which should they be increased?	which should they be increased?				
1. <i>Reduced</i> 2. <i>Maintained at their current levels</i> 3. <i>Increased</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Reduced</i> 2. <i>Maintained at their current levels</i> 3. <i>Increased</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Reduced</i> 2. <i>Maintained at their current levels</i> 3. <i>Increased</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Reduced</i> 2. <i>Maintained at their current levels</i> 3. <i>Increased</i> 98. <i>DK</i>				
Health care (2.1)	Health care (2.1)	Health care (2.1)	Health care (2.1)				
The economy (2.2)							
Defense and military needs (2.3)	Defense and military needs (2.3)	Defense and military needs (2.3)	Defense and military needs (2.3)				
Science (2.4)							
Foreign aid (2.5)	Foreign aid (2.5)	Foreign aid (2.5)	Foreign aid (2.5)				
Environmental protection (2.6)	Environmental protection (2.6)	Environmental protection (2.6)	Environmental protection (2.6)				
Education (2.7)	Education (2.7)	Education (2.7)	Education (2.7)				
Culture (2.8)							
	Culture and the arts (2.9)	Culture and the arts (2.9)	Culture and the arts (2.9)				
	Fighting crime (2.10)	Fighting crime (2.10)	Fighting crime (2.10)				

### F3. RISK AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

- 3.1 [begbus]  
3.2 [risk14th]  
3.3 [riskhalf]  
3.4 [riskall]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Now we would like to ask you several questions concerning your opinion about the economy. First, imagine that you have an idea to	Now we would like to ask you several questions concerning your opinion about the economy. First, imagine that you have an idea to	Now I would like to hear your opinion about the economy. First, imagine that you have an idea to open a new enterprise which, if					

open a new enterprise which, if successful, would significantly increase your income. Would you want to open your own business? (3.1)	open a new enterprise which, if successful, would significantly increase your income. Would you want to open your own business? (3.1)	successful, would significantly increase your income. Would you want to open your own business? (3.1)					
1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK					
[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk a quarter of your savings in order to open your own business? (3.2)	[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk a quarter of your savings in order to open your own business? (3.2)	[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk a quarter of your savings in order to open your own business? (3.2)					
1. Very strong 2. Strong 3. Weak 4. Very weak 5. No desire at all 98. DK	1. Very strong 2. Strong 3. Weak 4. No desire at all 98. DK	1. Very strong 2. Strong 3. Weak 4. No desire at all 98. DK					
[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk half of your savings in order to open your own business? (3.3)	[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk half of your savings in order to open your own business? (3.3)	[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk half of your savings in order to open your own business? (3.3)					
1. Very strong 2. Strong 3. Weak 4. Very weak 5. No desire at all 98. DK	1. Very strong 2. Strong 3. Weak 4. No desire at all 98. DK	1. Very strong 2. Strong 3. Weak 4. No desire at all 98. DK					
[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk all of your savings in order to open your own business? (3.4)	[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk all of your savings in order to open your own business? (3.4)	[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk all of your savings in order to open your own business? (3.4)					
1. Very strong 2. Strong 3. Weak	1. Very strong 2. Strong 3. Weak	1. Very strong 2. Strong 3. Weak					

4. <i>Very weak</i>	4. <i>No desire at all</i>	4. <i>No desire at all</i>					
5. <i>No desire at all</i>	98. <i>DK</i>	98. <i>DK</i>					
98. <i>DK</i>							

#### F4. ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS TYPES OF ENTERPRISES

4.1 [orgse]							
4.2 [orgpse]							
4.3 [orgnpe]							
4.4 [orgfe]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
In your opinion, to what extent are the following organizations important for economic development and the creation of new jobs in Russia?	In your opinion, to what extent are various types of enterprises important for economic development and the creation of new jobs in Russia?	In your opinion, how important or unimportant are the following types of enterprises for economic development and the creation of new jobs in Russia? Are they very important, important, somewhat important, unimportant, or not at all important?		In your opinion, to what extent are various types of enterprises important for economic development and the creation of new jobs in Russia? Are they very important, important, somewhat important, unimportant, or not at all important?	In your opinion, to what extent are various types of enterprises important for economic development and the creation of new jobs in Russia? Are they very important, important, somewhat important, unimportant, or not at all important?	In your opinion, to what extent are various types of enterprises important for economic development and the creation of new jobs in Russia? Are they very important, important, somewhat important, unimportant, or not at all important?	
State-owned enterprises (4.1)	State-owned enterprises (4.1)	State-owned enterprises (4.1)		State-owned enterprises (4.1)	State-owned enterprises (4.1)	State-owned enterprises (4.1)	
Privatized state enterprises (4.2)	Privatized state enterprises (4.2)	Privatized enterprises (formerly state-owned) (4.2)		Privatized state enterprises (4.2)	Privatized state enterprises (4.2)	Privatized state enterprises (4.2)	
New private enterprises (4.3)	New private enterprises (4.3)	Newly-established private enterprises (4.3)		New private enterprises (4.3)	New private enterprises (4.3)	New private enterprises (4.3)	
Foreign enterprises (4.4)	Foreign enterprises (4.4)	Foreign enterprises (4.4)		Foreign enterprises (4.4)	Foreign enterprises (4.4)	Foreign enterprises (4.4)	
1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i> 5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i> 5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i> 5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i>		1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i> 5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i> 5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i> 5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	

#### F5. ASPECTS OF WORK

5.1 [workconf]	
5.2 [workrich]	

5.3 [workdec]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
People value various aspects of work. Which of these do you regard as very important, important, somewhat important, unimportant, or not at all important?	People value various aspects of work. Which of these do you regard as very important, important, somewhat important, unimportant, or not at all important?	People value various aspects of work. Which of these do you regard as very important, important, somewhat important, unimportant, or not at all important?					
Confidence that you will not lose your job (5.1)	Confidence that you will not lose your job (5.1)	Confidence that you will not lose your job (5.1)					
The opportunity to earn a high income and become rich (5.2)	The opportunity to earn a high income and become rich (5.2)	The opportunity to earn a high income and become rich (5.2)					
The opportunity to decide what job to take and how much to work (5.3)	The opportunity to decide what job to take and how much to work (5.3)	The opportunity to decide what to do and how to do it (5.3)					
1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i> 5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i> 5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i> 5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i>					

## F6. PROSPECTIVE ECONOMIC EVALUATIONS

6.1 [ecsitrus]

6.2 [ecsitu]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
	Do you think that the economic situation in Russia as a whole will improve, remain approximately the same, or worsen next year? (6.1)	Do you think that the economic situation in Russia as a whole will improve, remain approximately the same, or worsen next year? (6.1)					



	1. <i>Improve</i> 2. <i>Remain approximately the same</i> 3. <i>Worsen</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Improve</i> 2. <i>Remain approximately the same</i> 3. <i>Worsen</i> 98. <i>DK</i>					
	Thinking about you personally, do you think that your financial situation will improve, remain approximately the same, or worsen next year? (6.2)	Thinking about you personally, do you think that your financial situation will improve, remain approximately the same, or worsen next year? (6.2)					
	1. <i>Improve</i> 2. <i>Remain approximately the same</i> 3. <i>Worsen</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Improve</i> 2. <i>Remain approximately the same</i> 3. <i>Worsen</i> 98. <i>DK</i>					

## F7. FRACKING

7.1 [frack]  
7.2 [frack1]  
7.3 [frack2]  
7.4 [frack3]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
						In recent years there has been much talk about “fracking” – a procedure for extracting natural gas from shale by combining vertical with horizontal drilling. Had you heard of “fracking” before this interview? (7.1)	
						1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i>	
						To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	
						It is very dangerous.	

						(7.2)	
						The amount of water required to “frack” successfully is prohibitively expensive and could lower the water table. (7.3)	
						“Fracking” will only delay the transition to sustainable energy sources such as solar- and wind- power. (7.4)	
						1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Neither agree nor disagree 4. Mostly disagree 5. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused	

#### F8. MODELS OF DEVELOPMENT, PERESTROIKA

8.1 [semodel]	8.4.6 [cinstlearn6]	8.5.7 [peresthopes]					
8.2 [instlearn]	8.4.7 [cinstlearn7]						
8.3 [cinstlearn]	8.5.1 [perestrec]						
8.4.1 [cinstlearn1]	8.5.2 [perestpol]						
8.4.2 [cinstlearn2]	8.5.3 [russiaec]						
8.4.3 [cinstlearn3]	8.5.4 [russiapol]						
8.4.4 [cinstlearn4]	8.5.5 [peresteval]						
8.4.5 [cinstlearn5]	8.5.6 [perestlivst]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
						Could you name a country that could serve as a model for Russia with regard to political-economic development? (DON'T READ) (8.1)	Could you name a country that could serve as a model for Russia with regard to political-economic development? (DON'T READ OUT THE LIST! RECORD THE RESPONDENT'S UNPROMPTED ANSWER) (8.1)

						1. <i>Sweden</i> 2. <i>Finland</i> 3. <i>Germany</i> 4. <i>Japan</i> 5. <i>China</i> 6. <i>US</i> 7. <i>UK</i> 8. <i>Other</i> _____ 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Sweden</i> 2. <i>Finland</i> 3. <i>Germany</i> 4. <i>Japan</i> 5. <i>China</i> 6. <i>US</i> 7. <i>UK</i> 8. <i>Other</i> _____ 9. <i>Many countries could serve as a model, but they aren't appropriate for Russia.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						[If none named]: Nevertheless, are there any countries that have traits or institutions from which Russia could learn? <b>(8.2)</b>	
						1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	
						What country is that? <b>(8.3)</b>	
						1. <i>Sweden</i> 2. <i>Finland</i> 3. <i>Germany</i> 4. <i>Japan</i> 5. <i>China</i> 6. <i>US</i> 7. <i>UK</i> 8. <i>Other</i> _____ 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	
						You selected this country because of its... <b>(8.4.1)</b> <b>(8.4.2)</b> <b>(8.4.3)</b> <b>(8.4.4)</b> <b>(8.4.5)</b> <b>(8.4.6)</b> <b>(8.4.7)</b>	You selected this country because of its... <b>(8.4.1)</b> <b>(8.4.2)</b> <b>(8.4.3)</b> <b>(8.4.4)</b> <b>(8.4.5)</b> <b>(8.4.6)</b> <b>(8.4.7)</b>
						1. <i>Economic productivity</i>	1. <i>Economic productivity</i>

						2. <i>Social welfare system</i> 3. <i>Political institutions</i> 4. <i>Culture</i> 5. <i>Spirituality</i> 6. <i>National prestige</i> 7. <i>Power in the international system</i> 8. <i>Similarity to Russia</i> 9. <i>Geographic proximity</i> 10. <i>Familiarity to me from personal experience</i> 11. <i>Other _____</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	2. <i>Social welfare system</i> 3. <i>Political institutions</i> 4. <i>Culture and spirituality</i> 5. <i>National prestige and power in the world</i> 6. <i>Similarity to Russia</i> 7. <i>Geographic proximity</i> 8. <i>Familiarity to me from personal experience</i> 9. <i>Other _____</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						On a scale of 0 to 100, where 100 represents the highest rating and 0 represents the lowest, please rate...	On a scale of 0 to 100, where 100 represents the highest rating and 0 represents the lowest, please rate...
						The economic situation in Russia on the eve of <i>perestroika</i> (8.5.1)	The economic situation in Russia on the eve of <i>perestroika</i> (8.5.1)
						The political situation in Russia on the eve of <i>perestroika</i> (8.5.2)	The political situation in Russia on the eve of <i>perestroika</i> (8.5.2)
						The economic situation in Russia today (8.5.3)	The economic situation in Russia today (8.5.3)
						The political situation in Russia today (8.5.4)	The political situation in Russia today (8.5.4)
						0 – 100	0 – 100
						Please select the response that is closest to your own personal evaluation of the results of <i>perestroika</i> . (8.5.5)	Please select the response that is closest to your own personal evaluation of the results of <i>perestroika</i> . (8.5.5)
						1. <i>Definitely negative</i> 2. <i>Rather negative</i> 3. <i>Uncertain</i>	1. <i>Definitely negative</i> 2. <i>Rather negative</i>

						4. <i>Rather positive</i> 5. <i>Definitely positive</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	3. <i>Rather positive</i> 4. <i>Definitely positive</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						How did your standard of living and the standard of living of those close to you change as a result of <i>perestroika</i> ?  (8.5.6)	How did your standard of living and the standard of living of those close to you change in the late 1980s/early 1990s as a result of <i>perestroika</i> ?  (8.5.6)
						1. <i>Deteriorated substantially</i> 2. <i>Deteriorated a little</i> 3. <i>Did not change</i> 4. <i>Improved a little</i> 5. <i>Improved substantially</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Deteriorated substantially</i> 2. <i>Deteriorated a little</i> 3. <i>Did not change</i> 4. <i>Improved a little</i> 5. <i>Improved substantially</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							Think back to <i>perestroika</i> that began in 1986. If you remember, please tell me about your initial reaction to the reforms when they were introduced. At that time, what impact did you think that <i>perestroika</i> would have on the USSR's domestic situation?  (8.5.7)
							1. <i>Definitely negative</i> 2. <i>Rather negative</i> 3. <i>Rather positive</i> 4. <i>Definitely positive</i> 5. <i>I was too young to remember the beginning of perestroika or I was not born yet.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

## F9. SANCTIONS

9 [sanctliv]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
							How did your standard of living and the standard of living of those close to you change after 2014 as a result of Western sanctions? (9)
							1. Deteriorated substantially 2. Deteriorated a little 3. Did not change 4. Improved a little 5. Improved substantially 98. DK 99. Refused

## G. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

### G1. ELITE GROUP

1 [workgroup]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
[To which elite group does the individual belong?] (1)	[To which elite group does the individual belong?] (1)	[To which elite group does the individual belong?] (1)	[To which elite group does the individual belong?] (1)	[To which elite group does the individual belong?] (1)	[To which elite group does the individual belong?] (1)	[To which elite group does the individual belong?] (1)	[To which elite group does the individual belong?] (1)
1. Media 2. Science/Education 3. Legislative and Executive Branches Combined 4. Military/Security Agencies 5. Economy - General	1. Media 2. Science/Education 3. Private Business 4. State-Owned Enterprises 5. Legislative and Executive Branches Combined 6. Military/Security Agencies	1. Media 2. Science/Education 3. Private Business 4. State-Owned Enterprises 5. Executive Branch/ Ministries 6. Legislative Branch (those involved in foreign policy) 7. Legislative Branch (those not involved in foreign policy) 8. Military/Security Agencies	1. Media 2. Science/Education 3. Private Business 4. State-Owned Enterprises 5. Executive Branch/ Ministries 6. Legislative Branch (those involved in foreign policy) 7. Legislative Branch (those not involved in foreign policy) 8. Military/Security Agencies	1. Media 2. Science/Education 3. Private Business 4. State-Owned Enterprises 5. Executive Branch/ Ministries 6. Legislative Branch (those involved in foreign policy) 7. Military/Security Agencies	1. Media 2. Science/Education 3. Private Business 4. State-Owned Enterprises 5. Executive Branch/ Ministries 6. Legislative Branch (those involved in foreign policy) 7. Military/Security Agencies	1. Media 2. Science/Education 3. Private Business 4. State-Owned Enterprises 5. Executive Branch/ Ministries 6. Legislative Branch (those involved in foreign policy) 7. Military/Security Agencies	1. Media 2. Science/Education 3. Private Business 4. State-Owned Enterprises 5. Executive Branch/ Ministries 6. Legislative Branch (those involved in foreign policy) 7. Military/Security Agencies

**G2. PARENTS' EDUCATION, NATIONALITY, OCCUPATION**

2.1	[dadeduc]						
2.2	[dadocc]						
2.3	[dadnat]						
2.4	[momeduc]						
2.5	[momocc]						
2.6	[momnat]						
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2020</b>
Please specify your father's level of education. <b>(2.1)</b>	Please specify your father's level of education. <b>(2.1)</b>	Please specify your father's level of education. <b>(2.1)</b>	Please specify your father's level of education. <b>(2.1)</b>	Please specify your father's level of education. <b>(2.1)</b>	Please specify your father's level of education. <b>(2.1)</b>		
1. Seventh grade or less 2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades) 3. Secondary education 4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade) 5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU 6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha) 7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education) 8. Higher education 98. DK	1. Seventh grade or less 2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades) 3. Secondary education 4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade) 5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU 6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha) 7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education) 8. Higher education 98. DK	1. Seventh grade or less 2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades) 3. Secondary education 4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade) 5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU 6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha) 7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education) 8. Higher education 98. DK	1. Seventh grade or less 2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades) 3. Secondary education 4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade) 5. PTU with secondary education (10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU 6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha) 7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education) 8. Higher education 98. DK	1. Seventh grade or less 2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades) 3. Secondary education 4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade) 5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU 6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha) 7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education) 8. Higher education 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Seventh grade or less 2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades) 3. Secondary education 4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade) 5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU 6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha) 7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education) 8. Higher education 98. DK/Refused		
What is your father's occupation? <b>(2.2)</b>	What is your father's occupation? <b>(2.2)</b>	What is your father's occupation? <b>(2.2)</b>					
1. Top-level manager 2. Middle-level or low-level manager	1. Top-level manager 2. Middle-level or low-level manager	1. Top-level manager 2. Middle-level or low-level manager					

3. Highly-trained specialist	3. Highly-trained specialist	3. Specialist (physician, priest, writer, artist, lawyer, engineer, educator, researcher, etc.)				
4. White-collar worker	4. White-collar worker					
5. Skilled worker	5. Skilled worker					
6. Unskilled worker	6. Unskilled worker					
7. Kolkhoznik (collective farm worker)	7. Kolkhoznik (collective farm worker)	4. White-collar worker (accountant; secretary; civil servant, including at lower levels of government; army; law enforcement; and all other employees not engaged in physical labor)				
8. Other	8. Other	5. Skilled worker				
98. DK	98. DK	6. Unskilled worker				
		7. Kolkhoznik (collective farm worker)				
		8. Other				
		98. DK				
What is your father's nationality?	What is your father's nationality?	What is your father's nationality?	What is your father's nationality?	What is your father's nationality?		
(2.3)	(2.3)	(2.3)	(2.3)	(2.3)		
1. Russian	1. Russian	1. Russian	1. Russian	1. Russian		
2. Ukrainian	2. Ukrainian	2. Ukrainian	2. Ukrainian	2. Ukrainian		
3. Belarusian	3. Belarusian	3. Belarusian	3. Belarusian	3. Belarusian		
4. Tatar	4. Tatar	4. Tatar	4. Tatar	4. Tatar		
5. Abkhaz	5. Abkhaz	5. Abkhaz	5. Abkhaz	5. Abkhaz		
6. Armenian	6. Armenian	6. Armenian	6. Armenian	6. Armenian		
7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani		
8. Balkar	8. Balkar	8. Balkar	8. Balkar	8. Balkar		
9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir		
10. Buryat	10. Buryat	10. Buryat	10. Buryat	10. Buryat		
11. Chechen	11. Chechen	11. Chechen	11. Chechen	11. Chechen		
12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash		
13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani		
14. Estonian	14. Estonian	14. Estonian	14. Estonian	14. Estonian		
15. Georgian	15. Georgian	15. Georgian	15. Georgian	15. Georgian		
16. German	16. German	16. German	16. German	16. German		
17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek		
18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush		
19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish		
20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai		
21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh		
22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz		



23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean			
24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin			
25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality			
26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan			
27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian			
28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish			
29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik			
30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek			
31. Other	31. Other	31. Other	31. Other	31. Other			
32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian			
33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin			
34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi			
35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian			
98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK			
Please specify your mother's level of education.	Please specify your mother's level of education.	Please specify your mother's level of education.	Please specify your mother's level of education.	And now I will ask you several questions about your mother. Please specify your mother's level of education.	And now I will ask you several questions about your mother. Please specify your mother's level of education.		
(2.4)	(2.4)	(2.4)	(2.4)	(2.4)	(2.4)		
1. Seventh grade or less	1. Seventh grade or less	1. Seventh grade or less	1. Seventh grade or less	1. Seventh grade or less	1. Seventh grade or less		
2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades)	2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades)	2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades)	2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades)	2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades)	2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> grades)		
3. Secondary education	3. Secondary education	3. Secondary education	3. Secondary education	3. Secondary education	3. Secondary education		
4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade)	4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade)	4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade)	4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade)	4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade)	4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade)		
5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU	5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU	5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU	5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU	5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU	5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU		
6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha)	6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha)	6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha)	6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha)	6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha)	6. Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha)		
7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education)	7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education)	7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education)	7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education)	7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education)	7. Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education)		
8. Higher education	8. Higher education	8. Higher education	8. Higher education	8. Higher education	8. Higher education		
98. DK	9. DK	98. DK	9. DK	98. DK	98. DK/ Refused		
				99. Refused			

What is your mother's occupation? (2.5)	What is your mother's occupation? (2.5)	What is your mother's occupation? (2.5)					
1. Top-level manager 2. Middle-level or low-level manager 3. Highly-trained specialist 4. White-collar worker 5. Skilled worker 6. Unskilled worker 7. Kolhoznik (collective farm worker) 8. Other _____ 98. DK	1. Top-level manager 2. Middle-level or low-level manager 3. Highly-trained specialist 4. White-collar worker 5. Skilled worker 6. Unskilled worker 7. Kolhoznik (collective farm worker) 8. Other _____ 98. DK	1. Top-level manager 2. Middle-level or low-level manager 3. Specialist (physician, priest, writer, artist, lawyer, engineer, educator, researcher, etc.) 4. White-collar worker (accountant; secretary; civil servant, including at lower levels of government; army; law enforcement; and all other employees not engaged in physical labor) 5. Skilled worker 6. Unskilled worker 7. Kolkhoznik (collective farm worker) 8. Other _____ 98. DK					
What is your mother's nationality ? (2.6)	What is your mother's nationality ? (2.6)	What is your mother's nationality ? (2.6)	What is your mother's nationality ? (2.6)	What is your mother's nationality ? (2.6)			
1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz 6. Armenian 7. Azerbaijani 8. Balkar 9. Bashkir 10. Buryat 11. Chechen 12. Chuvash 13. Dagestani 14. Estonian 15. Georgian 16. German	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz 6. Armenian 7. Azerbaijani 8. Balkar 9. Bashkir 10. Buryat 11. Chechen 12. Chuvash 13. Dagestani 14. Estonian 15. Georgian 16. German	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz 6. Armenian 7. Azerbaijani 8. Balkar 9. Bashkir 10. Buryat 11. Chechen 12. Chuvash 13. Dagestani 14. Estonian 15. Georgian 16. German	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz 6. Armenian 7. Azerbaijani 8. Balkar 9. Bashkir 10. Buryat 11. Chechen 12. Chuvash 13. Dagestani 14. Estonian 15. Georgian 16. German	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz 6. Armenian 7. Azerbaijani 8. Balkar 9. Bashkir 10. Buryat 11. Chechen 12. Chuvash 13. Dagestani 14. Estonian 15. Georgian 16. German			

17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek			
18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush			
19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish			
20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai			
21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh			
22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz			
23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean			
24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin			
25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality			
26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan			
27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian			
28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish			
29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik			
30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek			
31. Other	31. Other	31. Other	31. Other	31. Other			
32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian			
33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin			
34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi			
35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian			
98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK			

### G3. INDIVIDUAL BACKGROUND

3.1 [sex]	3.11 [famabrod]						
3.2 [dob]							
3.3 [born]							
3.4 [ruslong]							
3.5 [marital]							
3.6 [langhome]							
3.7 [langmom]							
3.8 [langdad]							
3.9 [langspou]							
3.10 [langkids]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
[Mark gender of respondent without asking] (3.1)	[Mark gender of respondent without asking] (3.1)	[Mark gender of respondent without asking] (3.1)	[Mark gender of respondent without asking] (3.1)	[Mark gender of respondent without asking] (3.1)	[Mark gender of respondent without asking] (3.1)	[Mark gender of respondent without asking] (3.1)	[Mark gender of respondent without asking] (3.1)
1. Male 2. Female	1. Male 2. Female	1. Male 2. Female	1. Male 2. Female	1. Male 2. Female	1. Male 2. Female	1. Male 2. Female	1. Male 2. Female
Could you please tell me in what year you were born? (3.2)	Could you please tell me in what year you were born? (3.2)	Could you please tell me in what year you were born? (3.2)	Could you please tell me in what year you were born? (3.2)	Could you please tell me in what year you were born? (3.2)	Could you please tell me in what year you were born? (3.2)	Could you please tell me in what year you were born? (3.2)	Could you please tell me in what year you were born? (3.2)
19____ 98. DK	19____ 98. DK	19____ 98. DK	19____ 98. DK	19____ 98. DK	19____ 98. DK	19____ 98. DK	_____ 98. DK 99. Refused

Were you born in Russia, in another former Soviet republic, or in another country? (3.3)	Were you born in Russia, in another former Soviet republic, or in another country? (3.3)	Were you born in Russia, in another former Soviet republic, or in another country? (3.3)	Were you born in Russia, in another former Soviet republic, or in another country? (3.3)				
1. In Russia 2. In another former Soviet republic 3. In another country 98. DK	1. In Russia 2. In another former Soviet republic 3. In another country 98. DK	1. In Russia 2. In another former Soviet republic 3. In another country 98. DK	1. In Russia 2. In another former Soviet republic 3. In another country 98. DK				
How long have you lived in Russia? (3.4)	[If choice 2, 3, or 98 is selected]: How long have you lived in Russia? (3.4)	[If choice 2, 3, or 98 is selected]: How long have you lived in Russia? (3.4)	[If choice 2, 3, or 98 is selected]: How long have you lived in Russia? (3.4)				
_____ years 98. DK	_____ years 98. DK	_____ years 98. DK	_____ years 98. DK				
What is your marital status? (3.5)	What is your marital status? (3.5)	What is your marital status? (3.5)	What is your marital status? (3.5)				
1. Married 2. Widower/widow 3. Divorced 4. Single 98. DK	1. Married (including common-law marriage—[grazhdanskii brak]) 2. Widower/widow 3. Divorced 4. Single 98. DK	1. Married (including common-law marriage—[grazhdanskii brak]) 2. Widower/widow 3. Divorced 4. Single 98. DK	1. Married (including common-law marriage—[grazhdanskii brak]) 2. Widower/widow 3. Divorced 4. Single 98. DK				
				What language do you normally speak at home? (3.6)			
	What language do you normally speak (or did you speak, if your relatives have passed away) with your mother, father, wife (husband), and children?	What language do you normally speak (or did you speak, if your relatives have passed away) with your mother, father, wife (husband), and children?	What language do you normally speak (or did you speak, if your relatives have passed away) with your mother and father?				
	Mother (3.7)	Mother (3.7)	Mother (3.7)				
	Father (3.8)	Father (3.8)	Father (3.8)				

	Wife (husband) (3.9)	Wife (husband) (3.9)	And with your wife (husband)? (3.9)				
	Children (including those born out of wedlock) (3.10)	Children (including those born out of wedlock) (3.10)	And with your children (including those born out of wedlock)? (3.10)				
	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Tatar 4. Hebrew 5. Other 8. Never married 9. No children	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Tatar 4. Hebrew 5. Other 8. Never married 9. No children	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Tatar 4. Hebrew 5. Other 8. Never married 9. No children	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Tatar 4. Hebrew 5. Other 98. Refused			
	Do any of your relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, or your children) currently live outside the borders of the Russian Federation? (3.11)	Do any of your relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, or your children) currently live outside the borders of the Russian Federation? (3.11)	Do any of your relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, or your children) currently live outside the borders of the Russian Federation? (3.11)				
	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK				

#### G4. INCOME

4 [income]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
In the analysis of these survey results, we would like to take into account the income levels of our respondents. Would you mind telling me your total family income for the last month from all sources—wages, pensions, benefits, etc.? (4)	In the analysis of these survey results, we would like to take into account the income levels of our respondents. Would you mind telling me your total family income for the last month from all sources—wages, pensions, benefits, etc.? (4)	In the analysis of these survey results, we would like to take into account the income levels of our respondents. Would you mind telling me your total family income for the last month from all sources—wages, pensions, benefits, etc.? (4)	In the analysis of these survey results, we would like to take into account the income levels of our respondents. Would you mind telling me your total family income for the last month from all sources—wages, pensions, benefits, etc.? (4)	In the analysis of these survey results, we would like to take into account the income levels of our respondents. Would you mind telling me your total family income for the last month from all sources—wages, pensions, benefits, etc.? (4)	In the analysis of these survey results, we would like to take into account the income levels of our respondents. Would you mind telling me your total family income for the last month from all sources—wages, pensions, benefits, etc.? (4)	In the analysis of these survey results, we would like to take into account the income levels of our respondents. Would you mind telling me your total family income for the last month from all sources—wages, pensions, benefits, etc.? (4)	
_____ rubles 98. DK/Refused	_____ rubles 98. DK/Refused	_____ rubles 98. DK/Refused	_____ rubles 98. DK/Refused	_____ rubles 98. DK 98. Refused	_____ rubles 98. DK 99. Refused	_____ rubles 98. DK 99. Refused	

## G5. HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

5.1	[adults]						
5.2	[children]						
5.3	[telephon]						
5.4	[colortv]						
5.5	[vcr]						
5.6	[dacha]						
5.7	[auto]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
How many adult family members (18 years and older) live with you, including yourself? (5.1)	How many adult family members (18 years and older) live with you, including yourself? (5.1)	How many adult family members (18 years and older) live with you, including yourself? (5.1)	How many adult family members (18 years and older) live with you, including yourself? (5.1)	How many adult family members (18 years and older) live with you, including yourself? (5.1)	How many adult family members (18 years and older) live with you, including yourself? (5.1)		
_____ people 98. DK/Refused	_____ people 98. DK/Refused	_____ people 98. DK/Refused	_____ people 98. DK/Refused	1. Lives alone _____ people 98. DK/Refused	1. Lives alone _____ people 98. DK/Refused		
And how many children under 18 years old live with you? (5.2)	And how many children under 18 years old live with you? (5.2)	And how many children under 18 years old live with you? (5.2)	And how many children under 18 years old live with you? (5.2)				
_____ children 98. DK/Refused	_____ children 98. DK/Refused	_____ children 98. DK/Refused	_____ children 98. DK/Refused				
Do you have a...?							
Telephone (5.3)							
Color TV (5.4)							
Videocassette player (5.5)							
Dacha (5.6)							
Private car (5.7)							
1. Yes 2. No 98. Refused							

## G6. POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

6.1	[partymem]	
6.2	[party]	
6.3	[partyid]	

6.4 [komsomol]  
 6.5 [cpsu]  
 6.6 [cpsutop]  
 6.7 [cpsustaff]  
 6.8 [cpsuelected]  
 6.9 [electedsupreme]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Are you a member of any political party or movement? (6.1)	Are you a member of any political party or movement? (6.1)	Are you a member of any political party or movement? (6.1)	Are you a member of any political party or movement? (6.1)	Are you a member of any political party or movement? (6.1)	Are you a member of any political party or movement? (6.1)	Are you a member of any political party or movement? (6.1)	Are you a member of any political party or movement? (6.1)
1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 3. DK 98. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 3. DK 98. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 3. DK 98. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused
[If choice 1 is selected]: If yes, which one exactly? (6.2)	[If choice 1 is selected]: If yes, which one exactly? (6.2)	[If choice 1 is selected]: If yes, which one exactly? (6.2)	[If choice 1 is selected]: If yes, which one exactly? (6.2)	[If choice 1 is selected]: Of which party are you a member? (6.2)	[If choice 1 is selected]: Of which party are you a member? (6.2)	[If choice 1 is selected]: Of which party are you a member? (6.2)	[If choice 1 is selected]: Of which party are you a member? (6.2)
98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK 99. Refused	98. DK 99. Refused	98. DK 99. Refused	98. DK 99. Refused
If not, which party or movement most closely reflects your views? (6.3)	If not, which party or movement most closely reflects your views? (6.3)	If not, which party or movement is most attractive to you? (6.3)	If not, which party or movement reflects your views? (6.3)	Which party or movement reflects your views? (6.3)		Which party or movement reflects your views? (6.3)	Which party or movement reflects your views? (6.3)
98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK 99. Refused		98. DK	98. DK 99. Refused
		Have you ever served as a professional Komsomol staff member at a raion (district) or higher level? (6.4)					
		1. Yes 2. No 98. Refused					
Were you a member of the CPSU? (6.5)	Were you a member of the CPSU? (6.5)	Were you ever a member of the CPSU? (6.5)	Were you a member of the CPSU? (6.5)	Were you a member of the CPSU during the Soviet period? (6.5)	Were you a member of the CPSU during the Soviet period? (6.5)	Were you a member of the CPSU during the Soviet period? (6.5)	Were you a member of the CPSU during the Soviet period? (6.5)
1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes

98. <i>Refused</i>	2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>	98. <i>Refused</i>	98. <i>Refused</i>	98. <i>DK/Refused</i>	98. <i>DK/Refused</i>	98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	2. <i>No</i> 3. <i>I was too young to be a member of the CPSU or I was not born yet.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
	Did you hold a leadership position in the CPSU or the Komsomol? (6.6)						
	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>						
		[If a former party member]: Were you ever a full time party (CPSU) worker at the <i>raion</i> (district) level or higher? (6.7)					
		1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>					
		[If a former party member]: Were you ever elected to a party (CPSU) post at the <i>raion</i> (district) level or higher? (6.8)					
		1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>					
	Were you ever elected as a deputy to a Supreme Soviet at any level? (6.9)	Were you ever elected as a deputy to a Supreme Soviet at any level, or to the Duma? (6.9)					
	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>					



## G7. RELIGION

7.1	[religious]						
7.2	[believer]						
7.3	[service]						
7.4	[servisno]						
7.5	[godimport]						
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2020</b>
	Do you consider yourself a religious person? (7.1)	Do you consider yourself a religious person? (7.1)	Do you consider yourself a religious person? (7.1)				
	1. Yes 2. No 98. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. Refused				
Could you please tell me if you identify with any religion? If yes, which one? (7.2)	If yes, with which religion do you identify? (7.2)	If yes, with which religion do you identify? (7.2)	If yes, with which religion do you identify? (7.2)	If you consider yourself a religious person, with which religion do you identify? (7.2)	If you consider yourself a religious person, with which religion do you identify? (7.2)	If you consider yourself a religious person, with which religion do you identify? (7.2)	If you consider yourself a religious person, with which religion do you identify? (7.2)
1. Orthodoxy 2. Catholicism 3. Judaism 4. Islam 5. Buddhism 6. Christianity 7. Atheism 8. Protestantism 9. Other 10. I identify with no religion. 98. DK	1. Orthodoxy 2. Catholicism 3. Judaism 4. Islam 5. Buddhism 6. Christianity 7. Atheism 8. Protestantism 9. Other 10. I identify with no religion. 98. DK	1. Orthodoxy 2. Catholicism 3. Judaism 4. Islam 5. Buddhism 6. Christianity 7. Atheism 8. Protestantism 9. Other 10. I identify with no religion. 98. DK	1. Orthodoxy 2. Catholicism 3. Judaism 4. Islam 5. Buddhism 6. Christianity 7. Atheism 8. Protestantism 9. Other 10. I identify with no religion. 98. DK	1. Orthodoxy 2. Catholicism 3. Judaism 4. Islam 5. Buddhism 6. Christianity 7. Atheism 8. Protestantism 9. Other 10. I identify with no religion. 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Orthodoxy 2. Catholicism 3. Judaism 4. Islam 5. Buddhism 6. Christianity 7. Atheism 8. Protestantism 9. Other 10. I identify with no religion. 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Orthodoxy 2. Catholicism 3. Judaism 4. Islam 5. Buddhism 6. Christianity 7. Atheism 8. Protestantism 9. Other 10. I identify with no religion. 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Orthodoxy 2. Catholicism 3. Judaism 4. Islam 5. Buddhism 6. Christianity 7. I identify with no religion. 8. Other 98. DK 99. Refused
Have you attended any religious services in the past year? (7.3)	[If religious or no answer about being religious]: Have you attended any religious services in the past year? (7.3)	[If religious or no answer about being religious]: Have you attended any religious services in the past year? (7.3)	[If religious]: Have you attended any religious services in the past year? (7.3)	Have you attended any religious services in the past year? (7.3)			
1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK			
	[If yes]:	[If yes]:	[If yes]:	[If yes]: How often do you attend religious services?			

	How often, on average, did you attend religious services? (7.4)	How often, on average, do you attend religious services? (7.4)	How often, on average, do you attend religious services? (7.4)	(7.4)			
	1. Daily 2. Several times a week 3. Once a week 4. At least once a month 5. From time to time 6. Only once 98. DK	1. Daily 2. Several times a week 3. Once a week 4. At least once a month 5. From time to time 6. Only once 98. DK	1. Daily 2. Several times a week 3. Once a week 4. At least once a month 5. From time to time 6. Only once 98. DK	1. Daily 2. Several times a week 3. Once a week 4. At least once a month 5. From time to time 6. Only once 7. DK 98. Refused			
					How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate: 10 means “very important” and 1 means “not at all important.” (7.5)	How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate: 10 means “very important” and 1 means “not at all important.” (7.5)	How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate: 10 means “very important” and 1 means “not at all important.” (7.5)
					1. Not at all important 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. --- 8. --- 9. --- 10. Very important 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Not at all important 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. --- 8. --- 9. --- 10. Very important 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Not at all important 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. --- 8. --- 9. --- 10. Very important 98. DK 99. Refused

## G8. NATIONALITY

8 [respnat]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
What is your nationality? (8)	What is your nationality? (8)	What is your nationality? (8)	What is your nationality? (8)	What is your nationality? (8)	What is your nationality? (8)	Please tell me your nationality. (8)	What is your nationality? (8)
1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz	1. Russian 2. Ukrainian 3. Belarusian 4. Tatar 5. Abkhaz

6. Armenian	6. Armenian	6. Armenian	6. Armenian	6. Armenian	6. Armenian	6. Armenian	6. Armenian
7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani	7. Azerbaijani
8. Balkar	8. Balkar	8. Balkar	8. Balkar	8. Balkar	8. Balkar	8. Balkar	8. Balkar
9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir	9. Bashkir
10. Buryat	10. Buryat	10. Buryat	10. Buryat	10. Buryat	10. Buryat	10. Buryat	10. Buryat
11. Chechen	11. Chechen	11. Chechen	11. Chechen	11. Chechen	11. Chechen	11. Chechen	11. Chechen
12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash	12. Chuvash
13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani	13. Dagestani
14. Estonian	14. Estonian	14. Estonian	14. Estonian	14. Estonian	14. Estonian	14. Estonian	14. Estonian
15. Georgian	15. Georgian	15. Georgian	15. Georgian	15. Georgian	15. Georgian	15. Georgian	15. Georgian
16. German	16. German	16. German	16. German	16. German	16. German	16. German	16. German
17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek	17. Greek
18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush	18. Ingush
19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish	19. Jewish
20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai	20. Karachai
21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh	21. Kazakh
22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz	22. Kyrgyz
23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean	23. Korean
24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin	24. Lezgin
25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality	25. Mixed nationality
26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan	26. Moldovan
27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian	27. Ossetian
28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish	28. Polish
29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik	29. Tajik
30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek	30. Uzbek
31. Other	31. Other	31. Other	31. Other	31. Other	31. Other	31. Other	31. --
32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian	32. Bulgarian
33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin	33. Mordvin
34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi	34. Komi
35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian	35. Karelian
98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	95. Other _____ 98. DK 99. Refused

## G9. MILITARY SERVICE

9.1	[army]						
9.2	[officer]						
9.3	[armyears]						
9.3.1	[armyears1]						
9.4	[forcestr]						
9.5	[forcestryrs]						
9.5.1	[forcestryrs1]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
[For men only]: Did you serve in the army, were you only in the reserves, or did you not serve at all?  (9.1)						Did you serve in the armed forces, were you only in the reserves, or did you not serve at all?  (9.1)	Did you serve in the armed forces, were you only in the reserves, or did you not serve at all?  (9.1)

1. <i>Served</i> 2. <i>Was in reserves</i> 3. <i>Did not serve at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i>						1. <i>Served</i> 2. <i>Was in reserves</i> 3. <i>Did not serve at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Served</i> 2. <i>Was in reserves</i> 3. <i>Did not serve at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
[If served]: Were you an officer, a sergeant, or a conscript in the army? (9.2)						[If served]: Were you an officer, a sergeant or a conscript? (9.2)	[If served]: Were you an officer, a sergeant or a conscript? (9.2)
1. <i>Officer</i> 2. <i>Sergeant</i> 3. <i>Conscript</i> 98. <i>DK</i>						1. <i>Officer</i> 2. <i>Sergeant</i> 3. <i>Conscript</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Officer</i> 2. <i>Sergeant</i> 3. <i>Conscript</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						How many years did you serve in the armed forces? (9.3)	
						years 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	
							How many years did you serve in the armed forces? (9.3.1)
							1. <i>1 year</i> 2. <i>2 years</i> 3. <i>3-10 years</i> 4. <i>11-20 years</i> 5. <i>21-30 years</i> 6. <i>31 years or more</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						Have you ever served as an officer in any other force structures, such as the FSB, KGB, MVD, procuracy, or MChS? (9.4)	Have you ever served as an officer in any other force structures, such as the FSB, KGB, MVD, procuracy, or MChS? (9.4)
						1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						[If yes]:	

						How many years in total did you serve in these institutions? (9.5)	
						years 98. DK 99. Refused	
							[If yes]: How many years in total did you serve in these institutions? (9.5.1)
							1. 1 year 2. 2 years 3. 3-10 years 4. 11-20 years 5. 21-30 years 6. 31 years or more 98. DK 99. Refused

#### G10. EDUCATION

10.1 [respedu]  
10.2.1 [higheredu1]  
10.2.2 [higheredu2]  
10.2.3 [higheredu3]  
10.2.4 [higheredu4]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Could you please tell me what type of education you have? (10.1)	Could you please tell me what type of education you have? (10.1)	Could you please tell me what type of education you have? (10.1)	Could you please tell me what type of education you have? (10.1)				
1. Seventh grade or less 2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> - 9 <sup>th</sup> grades) 3. Secondary education 4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade) 5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU	1. Seventh grade or less 2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> - 9 <sup>th</sup> grades) 3. Secondary education 4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade) 5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU	1. Seventh grade or less 2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> - 9 <sup>th</sup> grades) 3. Secondary education 4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade) 5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU	1. Seventh grade or less 2. Incomplete secondary education (8 <sup>th</sup> - 9 <sup>th</sup> grades) 3. Secondary education 4. PTU without secondary education (after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade) 5. PTU with secondary education (after 10 <sup>th</sup> grade), SPTU				

6. <i>Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha)</i>	6. <i>Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha)</i>	6. <i>Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha)</i>	6. <i>Specialized secondary education (tekhnikum; medical, pedagogical, and other uchilishcha)</i>				
7. <i>Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education)</i>	7. <i>Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education)</i>	7. <i>Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education)</i>	7. <i>Incomplete higher education (at least 3 years of higher education)</i>				
8. <i>Higher education</i>	8. <i>Higher education</i>	8. <i>Higher education</i>	8. <i>Higher education</i>				
98. <i>DK</i>	98. <i>DK</i>	98. <i>DK</i>	98. <i>DK</i>				
				What type of education did you receive? (10.2.1) (10.2.2) (10.2.3)	What type of education did you receive? (10.2.1) (10.2.2) (10.2.3)	What type of education did you receive? (10.2.1) (10.2.2) (10.2.3)	What type of education did you receive? (10.2.1) (10.2.2) (10.2.3) (10.2.4)
				1. <i>Higher technical</i> 2. <i>Higher administrative or military</i> 3. <i>Higher humanitarian</i> 4. <i>Other_____</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Higher technical</i> 2. <i>Higher administrative or military</i> 3. <i>Higher humanitarian</i> 4. <i>Other_____</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Higher technical</i> 2. <i>Higher military</i> 3. <i>Higher administrative</i> 4. <i>Higher humanitarian</i> 5. <i>Other_____</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Higher technical</i> 2. <i>Higher military</i> 3. <i>Higher administrative</i> 4. <i>Higher humanitarian</i> 5. <i>Other_____</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

## G11. OCCUPATION

- 11.1 [work]  
11.2 [workwith]  
11.3 [occupat]  
11.4 [super]  
11.5 [workfor]  
11.6 [jobevents]  
11.7 [jobinfluence]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Where do you work?  (11.1)	Where do you work?  (11.1)	Looking at this card, could you tell me where you work? (If you work at several jobs, please name your primary place of employment.)  (11.1)					
1. <i>State-owned industrial, construction,</i>	1. <i>State-owned industrial, construction,</i>	1. <i>Private enterprise, cooperative, or joint venture</i>					

transportation enterprises 2. Governmental institutions 3. State-run scientific, educational, medical organizations or cultural institutions 4. Armed forces 5. Law enforcement, legal system, security agencies 6. State farms 7. Collective farms 8. Cooperatives, joint enterprises, joint-stock companies 9. Trade union or other social organization 10. Private enterprise 11. A/O, partnership 12. I don't work. 98. DK/NA	transportation enterprises 2. Governmental institutions 3. State-run scientific, educational, medical organizations or cultural institutions 4. Armed forces 5. Law enforcement, legal system, security agencies 6. State farms 7. Collective farms 8. Cooperatives, joint enterprises, joint-stock companies 9. Trade union or other social organization 10. Private enterprise 11. A/O, partnership 12. I don't work. 98. DK/NA	2. Private business or self-employed 3. Joint-stock company (whose shares are owned by the state and individual shareholders) 4. State-owned enterprise 5. Legislative branch 6. Executive branch 7. Media 8. Academic or educational institution 9. Army/police/FSB (Federal Security Service) 10. Other _____ 98. DK					
[If employed]: How many people work closely with you? <b>(11.2)</b>							
_____ people 98. DK							
[If employed]: Could you please tell me your occupation? <b>(11.3)</b>	[If employed]: Could you please tell me your occupation? <b>(11.3)</b>	Could you please tell me your profession, your primary occupation? <b>(11.3)</b>					
1. Top-level manager 2. Middle-level or low-level manager 3. Highly-trained specialist 4. White-collar worker 5. Skilled worker 6. Unskilled worker 7. Kolkhoznik (collective farm worker) 8. Other _____	1. Top-level manager 2. Middle-level or low-level manager 3. Highly-trained specialist 4. White-collar worker 5. Skilled worker 6. Unskilled worker 7. Kolkhoznik (collective farm worker)	1. Minister/director/president/owner/university president 2. Deputy minister/deputy director/vice-president/university vice-president 3. Head of a directorate/department					

98. <i>DK</i>	8. <i>Other</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	4. <i>Deputy head of a directorate/ department</i> 5. <i>Member of the Duma or Federation Council</i> 6. <i>Editor/publisher</i> 7. <i>Well-known journalist/ commentator</i> 8. <i>Member or corresponding member [of the Academy of Sciences]</i> 9. <i>Other</i> 98. <i>DK/Refused</i>					
Do you supervise people? (11.4)	Do you supervise people? (11.4)	Do you supervise people? (11.4)					
1. <i>No</i> 2. <i>Yes</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>No</i> 2. <i>Yes</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>No</i> 2. <i>Yes</i> 98. <i>DK</i>					
If yes, how many people work under your supervision? (11.5)	If yes, how many people work under your supervision? (11.5)	If yes, how many people work under your supervision? (11.5)					
1. <i>1-5 people</i> 2. <i>6-10 people</i> 3. <i>11-20</i> 4. <i>21-50</i> 5. <i>More than 51</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>1-5 people</i> 2. <i>6-10 people</i> 3. <i>11-20 people</i> 4. <i>21-50 people</i> 5. <i>More than 51 people</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>1-5 people</i> 2. <i>6-10 people</i> 3. <i>11-20 people</i> 4. <i>21-50 people</i> 5. <i>More than 51 people</i> 98. <i>DK</i>					
	And the last question about your work. Many people say that events occurring abroad have a much greater effect on what is happening at work these days than they used to several years ago. What does your own experience tell you? Have events abroad started to influence what is happening at work more, less, or	And the last question about your work. Many people say that events occurring abroad have a much greater effect on what is happening at work these days than they used to several years ago. What does your own experience tell you? Have events abroad started to influence what is happening at work more, less, or					



	approximately the same as they did five years ago? <b>(11.6)</b>	approximately the same as they did five years ago? <b>(11.6)</b>					
	1. <i>More</i> 2. <i>Less</i> 3. <i>Approximately the same as they did five years ago</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>More</i> 2. <i>Less</i> 3. <i>Approximately the same as they did five years ago</i> 98. <i>DK</i>					
	[If choice 1 or 2 is selected]: Could you please tell me if this influence, as a whole, has been very helpful, helpful, harmful, or very harmful? <b>(11.7)</b>	[If choice 1 or 2 is selected]: Could you please tell me if this influence has been very helpful, helpful, harmful, or very harmful? <b>(11.7)</b>					
	1. <i>Very helpful</i> 2. <i>Helpful</i> 3. <i>Harmful</i> 4. <i>Very harmful</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very helpful</i> 2. <i>Helpful</i> 3. <i>Harmful</i> 4. <i>Very harmful</i> 98. <i>DK</i>					

## G12. FOREIGN LANGUAGE

12.1 [language]  
12.2 [language1]  
12.3 [language2]  
12.4 [language3]  
12.5 [language4]  
12.6 [language5]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
					Do you speak a foreign language? <b>(12.1)</b>	Do you speak a foreign language? <b>(12.1)</b>	Do you speak a foreign language? <b>(12.1)</b>
					1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK/Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						Which one do you speak most fluently? <b>(12.2)</b> <b>(12.3)</b> <b>(12.4)</b> <b>(12.5)</b> <b>(12.6)</b>	Which ones do you speak most fluently? <b>(12.2)</b> <b>(12.3)</b> <b>(12.4)</b> <b>(12.5)</b> <b>(12.6)</b>
						1. <i>English</i> 2. <i>French</i>	1. <i>English</i> 2. <i>French</i>

						3. <i>German</i> 4. <i>Spanish</i> 5. <i>Chinese</i> 6. <i>Arabic</i> 7. <i>Hebrew</i> 8. <i>Ukrainian</i> 9. <i>Other</i> 10. <i>Indonesian</i> 11. <i>Finnish</i> 12. <i>Polish</i> 13. <i>Kazakh</i> 14. <i>Korean</i> 15. <i>Italian</i> 16. <i>Uzbek</i> 17. <i>Japanese</i> 18. <i>Georgian</i> 19. <i>Malay</i> 20. <i>Persian</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	3. <i>German</i> 4. <i>Spanish</i> 5. <i>Chinese</i> 6. <i>Arabic</i> 7. <i>Hebrew</i> 8. <i>Ukrainian</i> 9. <i>Other</i> 10. <i>Indonesian</i> 11. <i>Finnish</i> 12. <i>Polish</i> 13. <i>Kazakh</i> 14. <i>Korean</i> 15. <i>Italian</i> 16. <i>Uzbek</i> 17. <i>Japanese</i> 18. <i>Georgian</i> 19. <i>Malay</i> 20. <i>Persian</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
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### G13. TRAVEL ABROAD

13.1 [travelabr]	13.7 [travelabr6]						
13.2 [travelabr1]	13.8 [travelabr7]						
13.3 [travelabr2]	13.9 [travelabr8]						
13.4 [travelabr3]	13.10 [travelabr9]						
13.5 [travelabr4]							
13.6 [travelabr5]							
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
					How often do you travel abroad? (13.1)	How often do you travel abroad? (13.1)	How often do you travel abroad? (13.1)
					1. <i>Very rarely</i> 2. <i>Once or twice a year</i> 3. <i>Frequently, almost every month</i> 98. <i>DK/Refused</i>	1. <i>Very rarely</i> 2. <i>Once or twice a year</i> 3. <i>Frequently, almost every month</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very rarely</i> 2. <i>Once or twice a year</i> 3. <i>Frequently, almost every month</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						To which countries do you travel most frequently? (13.2) (13.3) (13.4) (13.5) (13.6) (13.7) (13.8) (13.9)	To which countries do you travel most frequently? (13.2) (13.3) (13.4) (13.5) (13.6) (13.7) (13.8) (13.9)

						(13.10)	(13.10)
						1. Turkey 2. Egypt 3. Greece 4. Spain 5. Thailand 6. Germany 7. China 8. Italy 9. UAE 10. Cyprus 11. Other 12. France 13. US 14. Austria 15. Malta 16. Israel 17. Belgium 18. United Kingdom 19. Norway 20. Other: I do not travel 21. Croatia 22. CIS 23. EEC/EU 24. Ukraine 25. Belarus 26. Japan 27. Bulgaria 28. Argentina 29. Mexico 30. Chile 31. South America 32. Europe 33. Portugal 34. Armenia 35. Finland 36. Czech Republic 37. Other: To a wide variety of countries 38. Other: To many countries 39. Switzerland 40. Sweden 41. South Korea 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Turkey 2. Egypt 3. Greece 4. Spain 5. Thailand 6. Germany 7. China 8. Italy 9. UAE 10. Cyprus 11. Other 12. France 13. US 14. Austria 15. Malta 16. Israel 17. Belgium 18. United Kingdom 19. Norway 20. Other: I do not travel 21. Croatia 22. CIS 23. EEC/EU 24. Ukraine 25. Belarus 26. Japan 27. Bulgaria 28. Argentina 29. Mexico 30. Chile 31. South America 32. Europe 33. Portugal 34. Armenia 35. Finland 36. Czech Republic 37. Other: To a wide variety of countries 38. Other: To many countries 39. Switzerland 40. Sweden 41. South Korea 98. DK 99. Refused

14.1	[personality1]	14.6	[personality6]						
14.2	[personality2]	14.7	[personality7]						
14.3	[personality3]	14.8	[personality8]						
14.4	[personality4]	14.9	[personality9]						
14.5	[personality5]	14.10	[personality10]						
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2020</b>		
						How well do the following statements describe your personality? I see myself as someone who...	How well do the following statements describe your personality? I see myself as someone who...		
						Is reserved (14.1)	Is reserved (14.1)		
						Is generally trusting (14.2)	Is generally trusting (14.2)		
						Tends to be lazy (14.3)	Tends to be lazy (14.3)		
						Is calm, handles stress well (14.4)	Is calm, handles stress well (14.4)		
						Has few artistic interests (14.5)	Has few artistic interests (14.5)		
						Is outgoing, sociable (14.6)	Is outgoing, sociable (14.6)		
						Tends to find fault with others (14.7)	Tends to find fault with others (14.7)		
						Does a thorough job (14.8)	Does a thorough job (14.8)		
						Gets nervous easily (14.9)	Gets nervous easily (14.9)		
						Has an active imagination (14.10)	Has an active imagination (14.10)		
						1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Neither agree or disagree 4. Mostly disagree 5. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Neither agree or disagree 4. Mostly disagree 5. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused		

## H. INTERVIEW INFORMATION

## H1. INTERVIEW ID, DATE, TIME

1.1 [survey\_id]  
 1.2 [dd]  
 1.3 [mm]  
 1.4 [yr]  
 1.5 [hh1]  
 1.6 [mm1]  
 1.7 [hh2]  
 1.8 [mm2]  
 1.9 [length]  
 1.10 [colmethod]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Interview ID (1.1)	Interview ID (1.1)	Interview ID (1.1)	Interview ID (1.1)	Interview ID (1.1)	Interview ID (1.1)	Interview ID (1.1)	Interview ID (1.1)
Day (1.2)			Day (1.2)		Day (1.2)	Day (1.2)	Day (1.2)
Month (1.3)	Month (1.3)	Month (1.3)	Month (1.3)	Month (1.3)	Month (1.3)	Month (1.3)	Month (1.3)
Year (1.4)	Year (1.4)	Year (1.4)	Year (1.4)	Year (1.4)	Year (1.4)	Year (1.4)	Year (1.4)
		Interview started: ___ hour ___ minutes (1.5) (1.6)	Interview started: ___ hour ___ minutes (1.5) (1.6)		Interview started: ___ hour ___ minutes (1.5) (1.6)	Interview started: ___ hour ___ minutes (1.5) (1.6)	Interview started: ___ hour ___ minutes (1.5) (1.6)
		Interview completed: ___ hour ___ minutes (1.7) (1.8)	Interview completed: ___ hour ___ minutes (1.7) (1.8)		Interview completed: ___ hour ___ minutes (1.7) (1.8)	Interview completed: ___ hour ___ minutes (1.7) (1.8)	Interview completed: ___ hour ___ minutes (1.7) (1.8)
		Length of the interview: ___ minutes (1.9)	Length of the interview: ___ minutes (1.9)		Length of the interview: ___ minutes (1.9)		Length of the interview: ___ minutes (1.9)
							Data collection method: 1. CAWI 2. CAPI on tablet (1.10)

## H2. PAST AND FUTURE SURVEY PARTICIPATION

2.1 [interviewed2004]  
 2.2 [interviewedbefore]  
 2.3 [reinter]  
 2.4 [interid]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
				Were you interviewed by ROMIR in 2004? (2.1)			
				1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't remember 98. Refused			
					Could you please tell me if you have ever participated in a survey like this one before? (2.2)		
					1. Yes 2. No 98. DK/Refused		
Would you agree to participate in a similar survey again? (2.3)	Would you agree to participate in a similar survey again? (2.3)	Would you agree to participate in a similar survey again? (2.3)	Would you agree to participate in a similar survey again? (2.3)	Would you agree to participate in a similar survey again? (2.3)	Would you agree to participate in a similar survey again? (2.3)	Would you agree to participate in a similar survey again? (2.3)	Would you agree to participate in a similar survey again? (2.3)
1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused
					Interviewer ID (2.4)	Interviewer ID (2.4)	Interviewer ID (2.4)

## I. SURVEY EXPERIMENTS

### II. GROUP

1	[expgroup]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
							Random assignment (1)
							1. Control Group 2. Treatment Group

### 12. INTERVENTION IN SYRIA

2.1	[expsyria1]						
2.2	[expsyria2]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
							[Control Group] To what extent do you agree or disagree with

							the following statement? Russia's involvement in Syria is justified, since Bashar al-Assad needed Russia's help in preserving the territorial integrity of the country. (2.1)
							[Treatment Group] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Russia's involvement in Syria is justified, since according to Putin, Bashar al-Assad needed Russia's help in preserving the territorial integrity of the country. (2.2)
							1. <i>Completely agree</i> 2. <i>Mostly agree</i> 3. <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i> 4. <i>Mostly disagree</i> 5. <i>Completely disagree</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

### 13. ETHNIC PREFERENCES

3.1 [expethpref1]

3.2 [expethpref2]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
							I will read you some statements about which there are various points of view. To what degree do you agree or disagree with each of them?
							[Control Group] When jobs are scarce, ethnic Russians should have more right to jobs in state-owned organizations than

							people of other nationalities. (3.1)
							[Treatment Group] While Putin has called for equal treatment of all nationalities in Russia, some argue that when jobs are scarce, ethnic Russians should have more right to jobs in state-owned organizations than people of other nationalities. (3.2)
							1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Neither agree nor disagree 4. Mostly disagree 5. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused

#### 14. CIVILIZATIONAL IDENTITY

4.1 [expcivilid1]

4.2 [expcivilid2]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
							[Control Group] Tell me please, how much of a priority is it for Russia to promote its own values beyond its borders? Which of the following is closest to your opinion? (4.1)
							[Treatment Group] It is often said that we live in a world of distinct civilizations, where some countries play a



							historic role as civilizational leaders. Tell me please, how much of a priority is it for Russia to promote its own values beyond its borders? Which of the following is closest to your opinion? (4.2)
							1. It should be a low priority. 2. It should be a high priority. 98. DK 99. Refused

#### 15. OIL PRICES AND FOREIGN POLICY

5.1	[expoil1]						
5.2.1	[expoil2]						
5.2.2	[expoil3]						
5.2.3	[expoil4]						
5.2.4	[expoil5]						
5.2.5	[expoil6]						
5.2.6	[expoil7]						
5.3	[expoil8]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
							[Control Group] Go to next question
							[Treatment Group] Please take a look at this short news article. (Respondent reads article before answering question.) To what extent was this article interesting to you? (5.1)
							1. Very interesting 2. Somewhat interesting 3. Not very interesting 4. Not interesting at all

							98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							For Russia to be considered a great power, how important is each of the following? Rate the level of importance on a five-point scale, where 1 means “not at all important” and 5 means “very important.”
							A developed modern economy (5.2.1)
							Possession of a powerful military (5.2.2)
							The capability to influence world affairs (5.2.3)
							The capability to influence areas that were formerly part of the USSR (5.2.4)
							Possession of abundant natural resources (5.2.5)
							Safeguarding the rights and freedoms of citizens (5.2.6)
							1. <i>Not at all important</i> 2. <i>--</i> 3. <i>--</i> 4. <i>--</i> 5. <i>Very important</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
							In your opinion, what will the price of oil be in 2021 compared to what it is today?

							(5.3)
							1. <i>Significantly higher</i> 2. <i>Significantly lower</i> 3. <i>Unchanged</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>