

## CSES QUESTIONNAIRE MODULE 1

Russian Election Studies: pre-parliamentary elections survey (Dec 1999),  
post-parliamentary elections survey (Jan 2000), post-presidential elections  
survey (Mar 2000)

**Q1. m65** On the whole, are you fully satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or completely dissatisfied with how democracy is developing in Russia?

1. FULLY SATISFIED
2. SATISFIED
3. DISSATISFIED
4. COMPLETELY DISSATISFIED
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**t34** On the whole, are you fully satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or completely dissatisfied with the way democracy works in Russia?

1. FULLY SATISFIED
2. SATISFIED
3. DISSATISFIED
4. COMPLETELY DISSATISFIED
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**n123** On the whole, are you fully satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or completely dissatisfied with how democracy is developing in Russia?

1. FULLY SATISFIED
2. SATISFIED
3. DISSATISFIED
4. COMPLETELY DISSATISFIED
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**Q2. t35** In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. Speaking of the recent election of the State Duma, which occurred in our country on December 19, how fair was this election? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means that the election of the State Duma was conducted fairly and 5 means that the election of the State Duma was conducted unfairly.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 23.]

1. LAST ELECTION OF THE STATE DUMA WAS FAIR
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
5. LAST ELECTION OF THE STATE DUMA WAS UNFAIR
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**n87** In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. Speaking of the recent election of the



àðìèè) 17 Pensioners party (iàðòèy iáíñèíiáðíá) 18 Peace. Labor. May (lèð.Òðóá.làé.)	Ðíññèè) 48 Spiritual Inheritance (Äóóíáíá íáñèääèá (Iàðòèè, äâèæáíèy)) 49 Primakov's bloc, Primakov's party (áéíè Ìðèiàéíiá, iàðòèy Ìðèiàéíiá) 50 ÐËÐÌ	(èñèáíñèèá äâèæáíèy) 997 Hard to Say 998 Refusal 999 other answer
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**n105.1-n105.3** Which party, movement, or association is that?

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN EVERYTHING THE RESPONDENT SAYS.]

1 KPRF, Communist party of Russia, communists (ËíÐÓ, Ëííiàðòèy Ðíññèè, Ëííiáíñèðè-áñèàý iàðòèy, èííiáíñèòù, 2 Fatherland- All Russia, All Russia, Fatherland, OVR-Primakov (Íòá-áñòáí - áñý Ðíññèy, Áñý Ðíññèy, Íòá-áñòáí, ÍÄÐ – Íðèiàéí) 4 Yabloko (ßáéíèí) 5 Union of Right Forces, SPS( Ñíðç iðááúò ñèè (ÑíÑ)) 7 Medved' (Bear) (Iáááááü) 8 Unity (Äâèíñòáí) 9 LDPR (ËÄÐ) 10 Democratic party (Äáííèðàðè-áñèàý iàðòèy) 11 Putin's party (iàðòèy Íóòèiá, Íóòèíñèàý iàðòèy) 12 Republican Party of the Russian Federation (ðáñíiáéèèáíñèàý iàðòèy ÐÓ) 13 movement of right forces (äâèæáíèèá iðááúò ñèè) 14 party of the right forces (iàðòèy iðááúò ñèè) 15 Unity and where Putin rules ("Äâèíñòáí" è äáá iðááèð Íóòèí) 16 SPS, if Kirienko was on the list for president, then I would be for him (ÑíÑ, áñèè áú áúè Ëèðèáíèí á ñíèñèá iá iðáçèááíà, òí çà íááí) 17 Kirienko (SPS) (Ëèðèáíèí (ÑíÑ)) 18 Unity (Bear) (Äâèíñòáí (Iáááááü)) 19 Soviet party (ñíiááòñèàý iàðòèy) 21 Pensioners Party, party uniting pensioners (iàðòèy iáíñèíiáðíá, íáúááèíyðàý iáíñèíiáðíá) 22 Women of Russia (æáíúèíú Ðíññèè) 23 For Civic Dignity (Pamfilova) (çà äðáæááíñèíá áíñòèíèíòáí (Iàíòèèíáà)) 24 Peace. Labor. May (lèð. Òðóá. làé.) 25 the one that Putin heads (èíiðòð áíçãèäèyàð Íóòèí) 27 Our Home is Russia (NDR) (Iáø áíí Ðíññèy (ÍÄÐ)) 28 we grew up with the communists after all (íü ááü áúðíñèè íðè èííiáíñèòù) 29 Zhirinovskii Bloc, Zhirinovskii (áéíè Æèðèííáñèíáí, Æèðèííáñèíáí) 30 a coalition of KPRF and Unity (íáúááèíèá iàðòèè ËíÐÓ è Äâèíñòáí) 31 CPSU—only then did we live like people (ËíÑÑ - òíèüèí èííááá íü æèèè ñí èðáñèè)	40 ROOSRI "Navigator" (ÐííÑÐË "Iáâèèááòð") 41 Yabloko, that's what is seems to me so far ("ßáéíèí", íá òàè èàçãèíñü áí ñèò ñíð) 42 Fedorov-Nikolaev's Bloc (Òááíðíáá – Íèèèèáááá) 44 the democrats (äáííèðàòù) 45 the democratic party, the republican party (äáííèðàòè-áñèàý, ðáñíiáéèèáíñèàý) 46 social-democratic party (ñíòèèè-äáííèðàòè-áñèàý iàðòèy) 47 I like Shoigu and his party (Øíéáó iðáàèòñý è ááí iàðòèy) 48 Free Russia (Ñííáííáíy Ðíññèy) 49 CPSU (ËíÑÑ) 50 Govorukhin's party, the party headed by Govorukhin (iàðòèy Áííáíðóóèiá; iàðòèy, èíiðòð áíçãèäèyàð Áííáíðóóèí) 51 Yavlinskii, Yavlinskii's party (ßáèèíñèèè, iàðòèy ßáèèíñèíáí) 54 Baturin (Áàòóðèí) 55 Luzhkov (Ëóçèíí) 56 Russian All Peoples Union (ÐíÑ) 57 Before it was OVR (Fatherland-All Russia), now—I don't know (ÍÄÐ - ðáíúòá, ðáíúòù - íá çíàð) 58 the one that's with Putin (òà, ðíí Íóòèíí) 59 the party of power (the one with Putin) (iàðòèy ó äèáñòè (ñ Íóòèíí)) 60 The party that's with Savost'yanov (iàðòèy ñ Ñááíñòüííáí) 61 those around Putin (íèðóæáíèèá (áíèðóá) Íóòèíá) 62 KPRF, but now I got disappointed in them (ËíÐÓ, íí ñáé-áñ ý ðáçí-ððíááèñý á íèò) 63 Fatherland- All Russia, I like Primakov (Íòá-áñòáí – áñý Ðíññèy, íðááèòñý Ìðèiàéíá) 64 Putin's party "Unity" (iàðòèy Íóòèíá "Äâèíñòáí") 67 Pamfilova (Iàíòèèíáà) 65 RPSD (ÐíÑÄ) 66 DVR (Russia's Democratic Choice) (ÄÄÐ) 69 for honor and dignity (Pamfilova) (çà ðáñòù è áíñòèíèíòáí (Iàíòèèíáà)) 70 RKR (ÐËÐÌ) 71 Fatherland-All Russia or CPSU (ÍÄÐ èèè ËíÑÑ) 72 KPRF, but lately I don't even trust them (ËíÐÓ, äà è òí á ñíèááíáá áðáíy èí ááðù íàò) 75 Union of Russia's muslims (Ñíðç íóñòèüíáí)
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32 For civic dignity (Çà ãðàæãáíñêíâ äîñðîéíñòâí)	Ðíññèè)
33 Pamfilova and her movement (Ìàìòèèéíâà è áá äâèæáéèà)	77 I liked Yabloko somewhat ("ßáéíêî" íáìííâí íðààèèéíñü, íí ïñéá òíâí, èâé íéé íá áúøèè)
34 Yabloko + Union of Right Forces (SPS) (ßáéíêî + ÑÍÑ)	97 HARD TO SAY
35 movement in support of the army (äâèæáéèà á ïãããðæèó àðèèè)	98 REFUSAL
36 Agrarian Party (ããðàðíàÿ ïàðòèÿ)	99 OTHER ANSWER
38 Tuleev's party (ïàðòèÿ Óóéáááá)	
39 Fatherland, but rather Luzhkov alone as a person ("Íòà÷áñòâí", ñêíðãá Ëóæêéâ ñàì, èâé ÷âéíâèè)	

**LQ3b t38.1, t38.2** INTERVIEWER: IF THE RESPONDENT NAMED ONLY ONE PARTY IN QUESTION 37, DO NOT GIVE QUESTION 38 AND MOVE TO QUESTION 41.]  
And which party, movement, or association of those you have named do you feel closest to?  
INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.] SAME CODING AS t37

**n106.1** INTERVIEWER: IF THE RESPONDENT NAMED ONLY ONE PARTY IN QUESTION 105, DO NOT GIVE QUESTION 106 AND MOVE TO QUESTION 109.]  
And which party, movement, or association of those you have named do you feel closest to?  
INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.] SAME CODING AS n105

**LQ3c t39.** INTERVIEWER: GIVE QUESTIONS 39-40 ONLY TO THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED NO, HARD TO SAY, OR REFUSAL TO QUESTION 36. GIVE OTHER RESPONDENTS QUESTION 41.]

Is there a party to which you feel yourself a little closer than to the others?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No [GO TO 41]
- 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 41]
- 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 41]

**n107.** INTERVIEWER: GIVE QUESTIONS 107-108 ONLY TO THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED "NO," "HARD TO SAY," OR "REFUSAL" TO QUESTION 104. GIVE OTHER RESPONDENTS QUESTION 109.]

Is there a party to which you feel yourself a little closer than to the others?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No [GO TO 110]
- 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 110]
- 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 110]
- 9. OTHER ANSWER

**LQ3d t40.1-t40.3** Which party is that? Name it, please.  
INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.] SAME CODING AS t37

**n108.1-n108.3** Which party is that? Name it, please.  
INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.] SAME CODING AS n105

**LQ3e t41.** Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?  
1. VERY CLOSE  
2. SOMEWHAT CLOSE  
3. NOT VERY CLOSE  
7. HARD TO SAY  
8. REFUSAL

9. OTHER ANSWER

**n109.** Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?

1. VERY CLOSE
2. SOMEWHAT CLOSE
3. NOT VERY CLOSE
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**Q4. t42.** Some people say that political parties in Russia care what ordinary people think. Others say that political parties in Russia don't care what ordinary people think. Using the scale on this card, where 1 means that political parties care about what ordinary people think and 5 means that they don't care what ordinary people think, where would you place yourself?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 24.]

1. POLITICAL PARTIES IN RUSSIA CARE WHAT ORDINARY PEOPLE THINK
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
5. POLITICAL PARTIES IN RUSSIA DON'T CARE WHAT ORDINARY PEOPLE THINK
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**Q5 t43.** Some people say that political parties are necessary to make our political system work in Russia. Others think that political parties are not needed in Russia. Using the scale on this card, where 1 means that political parties are necessary to make our political system work and 5 means that political parties are not needed in Russia, where would you place yourself?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 25.]

1. POLITICAL PARTIES ARE NECESSARY TO MAKE OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM WORK
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
5. POLITICAL PARTIES ARE NOT NEEDED IN RUSSIA
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**Q6 t106.** Do you remember the names of any candidates for the State Duma who ran in your single-mandate district?

1. Yes
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

[GO TO 108]

[GO TO 108]

[GO TO 108]

**Q6a t107.1-t107.11** (string variables)

Please tell me the names you remember of those candidates for the State Duma in your single-mandate district.

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN ALL THE LAST NAMES WHICH THE RESPONDENT GIVES.]

97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

**Q7** We would like to know what you think of a number of our political parties and blocs. After I read the name of a political party or bloc, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you strongly dislike that party or bloc and 10 means that you strongly like that party or bloc. If I come to a party or bloc you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about to evaluate, just say so.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 26.]

What is your attitude toward the following parties and blocs?

[INTERVIEWER: MARK POSITION ?96? IF THE RESPONDENT SAYS HE DOES NOT KNOW THE PARTY OR BLOC, AND POSITION ?97? IF THE RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO DEFINE HIS OWN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PARTY OR BLOC.]

{KEY: (0) Strongly dislikes (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) Strongly likes (96) HAVEN'T HEARD OF (97) HARD TO SAY (98) REFUSAL (99) OTHER ANSWER }

**t44.1.** The Yedinstvo (Medved) bloc

**t44.2.** The Communist Party of the Russian Federation

**t44.3.** The Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia

**t44.4.** Otechestvo-All Russia

**t44.5.** The Union of Right Forces

**t44.6.** Yabloko

And now we would like to find out your attitude toward a number of political parties and blocs. Please give your evaluation of each of the parties which I am now going to name, using our scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means that you strongly dislike that party or bloc and 10 means that you strongly like that party or bloc. If I come to a party or bloc you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about to evaluate, just say so.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 4.]

What is your attitude toward the following parties and blocs?

{KEY: (0) Strongly dislikes (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) Strongly likes (96) HAVEN'T HEARD OF (97) HARD TO SAY (98) REFUSAL (99) OTHER ANSWER }

**n86.1.** The Yedinstvo (Medved) bloc

**n86.2.** The Communist Party of the Russian Federation

**n86.3.** The Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia

**n86.4.** Otechestvo-All Russia

**n86.5.** The Union of Right Forces

**n86.6.** Yabloko

**Q8.** And now we would like to find out your attitude toward various political leaders. Let's use the same scale, where 0 means that you strongly dislike that political leader and 10 means that you strongly like that political leader. If I come to a person you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about to evaluate, just say so.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 26.]

What is your attitude toward the following leaders?

[INTERVIEWER: MARK POSITION ? 96? IF THE RESPONDENT SAYS HE DOES NOT KNOW THE POLITICAL LEADER, AND POSITION ? 97? IF THE RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO DEFINE HIS OWN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE POLITICAL LEADER.]

{KEY: (0) Strongly dislikes (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) Strongly likes (96) HAVEN'T HEARD OF (97) HARD TO SAY (98) REFUSAL (99) OTHER ANSWER }

**t45.1** Boris Yeltsin

**t45.2** Vladimir Putin

**t45.3** Vladimir Zhirinovskii

**t45.4** Sergei Kiriyenko

**t45.5** Gennadii Zyuganov

**t45.6** Yurii Luzhkov

**t45.7** Yevgenii Primakov

**t45.8** Anatolii Chubais

**t45.9** Sergei Shoigu

**t45.10** Grigorii Yavlinskii

**Q9. t46.** Let us chat about the state of our country's economy. In what shape, in your opinion, is the economy of Russia today?

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Neither good nor bad
4. Bad
5. Very bad
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**n67.** Let us chat about the state of our country's economy. In what shape, in your opinion, is the economy of Russia today?

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Neither good nor bad
4. Bad
5. Very bad
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**Q10. t47.** What do you think, over the past twelve months has the economy of Russia . . . ?

1. Gotten much better
2. Gotten somewhat better
3. Stayed the same
4. Gotten somewhat worse
5. Gotten much worse
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**n68.** What do you think, over the past twelve months has the economy of Russia . . . ?

1. Gotten much better
2. Gotten somewhat better
3. Stayed the same
4. Gotten somewhat worse
5. Gotten much worse
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**Q11. t48.** Some people say that members of the State Duma know what ordinary people think. Others say that members of the State Duma don't know much about what ordinary people think. Using the scale on this card, where 1 means that the members of the State Duma know what ordinary people think and 5 means that the members of the State Duma do not know what ordinary people think, where would you place yourself?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 27.]

1. MEMBERS OF THE DUMA KNOW WHAT ORDINARY PEOPLE THINK
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
5. MEMBERS OF THE DUMA DO NOT KNOW WHAT ORDINARY PEOPLE THINK

- 7. HARD TO SAY
- 8. REFUSAL
- 9. OTHER ANSWER

**Q12. t49.** During the past twelve months, have you had contact with a member of the State Duma on any matter?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 7. HARD TO SAY
- 8. REFUSAL
- 9. OTHER ANSWER

**Q13. t50.** Some people say it makes a difference who is in power. Others say that it doesn't make a difference who is in power. Using the scale on this card, where 1 means that it makes a difference in power and 5 means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power, where would you place yourself?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 28.]

- 1. IT MAKES A DIFFERENCE WHO IS IN POWER
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5. IT DOESN'T MAKE A DIFFERENCE WHO IS IN POWER
- 7. HARD TO SAY
- 8. REFUSAL
- 9. OTHER ANSWER

**Q14. t51.** Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a difference to what happens. Using the scale on this card, where 1 means that voting won't make a difference to what happens and 5 means that voting can make a difference, where would you place yourself?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 29.]

- 1. VOTING DOES NOT MAKE A DIFFERENCE FOR THE COUNTRY
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5. VOTING DOES MAKE A DIFFERENCE FOR THE COUNTRY
- 7. HARD TO SAY
- 8. REFUSAL
- 9. OTHER ANSWER

**Q15. t52.** When people are asked to express an opinion, do you believe most people in Russia usually say what they think about politics or do you believe most people usually hide what they really think about politics? Using the scale on this card, where 1 means that most people in Russia usually say what they think about politics and 5 means that most people usually hide what they really think, where would you place yourself?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 30.]

- 1. MOST PEOPLE USUALLY SAY WHAT THEY THINK
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5. MOST PEOPLE USUALLY HIDE WHAT THEY THINK
- 7. HARD TO SAY
- 8. REFUSAL
- 9. OTHER ANSWER



**Q16. t53.** In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Imagine a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?  
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 31.]  
{CODING: 0 through 10; (97) HARD TO SAY (98) REFUSAL (99) OTHER ANSWER.}

**n95.** In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Imagine a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?  
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 13.]  
{SCALE: 0 through 10; 97 HARD TO SAY; 98 REFUSAL; 99 OTHER ANSWER.}

If we were to speak of political parties and blocs, where would you place on the same scale the following parties and blocs . . . ?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 31.]  
(CODING: 0 through 10; (97) HARD TO SAY (98) REFUSAL (99) OTHER ANSWER)

- t54.1.** The Yedinstvo (Medved) bloc
- t54.2.** The Communist Party of the Russian Federation
- t54.3.** The Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
- t54.4.** Otechestvo-All Russia
- t54.5.** The Union of Right Forces
- t54.6.** Yabloko

And where would you put the following politicians on this scale. Let me remind you that 0 on the scale means left and 10 means right. So, where would you place on our scale . . .

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 31.]  
(CODING: 0 through 10; (97) HARD TO SAY (98) REFUSAL (99) OTHER ANSWER)

- t55.1** Boris Yeltsin
- t55.2** Vladimir Putin
- t55.3** Vladimir Zhirinovskii
- t55.4** Sergei Kiriyenko
- t55.5** Gennadii Zyuganov
- t55.6** Yurii Luzhkov
- t55.7** Yevgenii Primakov
- t55.8** Anatolii Chubais
- t55.9** Sergei Shoigu
- t55.10** Grigorii Yavlinskii

And where would you put the following politicians on this scale. Let me remind you that 0 on the scale means left and 10 means right. So, where would you place on our scale . . .

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 13.]  
{SCALE: 0 through 10; 97 HARD TO SAY; 98 REFUSAL; 99 OTHER ANSWER.}

- n96.1.** Zyuganov
- n96.2.** Putin
- n96.3.** Yavlinskii
- n96.4.** Tuleyev
- n96.5.** Zhirinovskii
- n96.6.** Kiriyenko
- n96.7.** Luzhkov

### **Demographic variables**

**Age: m69a, t143a, n137a, m69b, t143b, n137b**

And now a few questions about something else. Please tell me in what year and what month you were born.

In 19 \_\_ year (**m69a, t143a, n137a**) \_\_ number of the month (**m69b, t143b, n137b**)  
97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

**Sex: m68, t144, n138**

1. MALE
2. FEMALE

**Education: m73, .**

What is your education?

1. Without education, illiterate
2. Elementary
3. Incomplete secondary
4. Secondary
5. Secondary specialized
6. Incomplete higher
7. Higher
8. Scholarly degree
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL
99. OTHER ANSWER

**Marital Status: m112.**

What is your family situation?

1. Married
2. Never married
3. Divorced and not remarried
4. Widower or widow and not remarried
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**Respondent Member of a Union: t23**

Please tell me if you are a member of a trade union.

1. Yes
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**Current Employment Status: m110**

Please look at this list. Read it through carefully and tell me which answer best describes your basic employment status at the present time. We ask you to choose only one answer.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD 17.]

1. PUPIL IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL OR PTU
2. STUDENT IN A DAY VUZ OR TEKHNIKUM
3. NOT WORKING FOR HEALTH REASONS, A N INVALID
4. PENSIONER AND NOT WORKING
5. ON MATERNITY LEAVE OR ON OFFICIAL LEAVE CARING FOR A CHILD UNDER 3 YEARS OF AGE, WITH PLACE AT WORK RESERVED
6. HOUSEWIFE, LOOKING AFTER OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY, RAISING CHILDREN
7. TEMPORARILY NOT WORKING FOR OTHER REASONS AND SEEKING WORK
8. TEMPORARILY NOT WORKING FOR OTHER REASONS, NOT SEEKING WORK
9. FARMER
10. ENTREPRENEUR
11. WORKING AT AN ENTERPRISE, IN AN ORGANIZATION, IN A KOLKHOZ, SOVKHOZ, OR COOPERATIVE

12. WORKING INDEPENDENTLY
- 15 WORKING PENSIONER (ΙΑΙΝΕΪΙΑΘ È ÐÀÁÌÒÀÀÒ)
- 16 WORKING FOR AN ENTREPRENEUR (ÐÀÁÌÒÀÀÒ Ó ÌÐÀÄÌÐÈÈÌÀÒÀÈÿ)
- 17 WORKING IN ÐÀÁÌÒÀÀÒ ÌÀ È×Ì
- 18 IN THE MILITARY (ÁÌÁÌÍÑÈÓÆÀÙÈÈ)
- 19 STUDYING NIGHTS (ÑÒÓÄÁÌÒ ÄÀ-ÄÐÌÁÁÌ ÌÒÄÄÈÁÌÈÿ)
- 23 PRIVATE FIRM (-ÄÑÒÌÁÿ ÕÈÐÌÀ)
- 24 WORKING IN A FIRM (ÐÀÁÌÒÀ Á ÕÈÐÌÀ)
- 25 STUDYING PART-TIME, NOT WORKING (ÑÒÓÄÁÌÒÈÀ-ÇÁÌ-ÌÈÒÀ, ÌÀ ÐÀÁÌÒÀÐ)
- 27 STUDYING PART-TIME, AND WORKING (ÑÒÓÄÁÌÒ-ÇÁÌ-ÌÈÈ È ÐÀÁÌÒÀÀÒ)
- 28 PENSIONER WITH HIS OWN BUSINESS (ÌÀ ÌÁÌÑÈÈ È ÇÁÌÈÌÀÐÑÛ -ÄÑÒÌÙÌ  
ÁÈÇÌÁÑÌÌ)
- 30 NOT WORKING FOR PRIVATE REASONS (ÌÀ ÐÀÁÌÒÀÀÒ ÌÌ ÑÒÁÓÁÌ ÈÈ-ÌÙÌ  
ÌÐÈ-ÈÌÁÌ)
- 31 STUDYING IN MILITARY AVIATION UNIVERSITY (ÁÌÁÌÍÑÈÓÆÀÙÈÈÈ, ÌÐÀÌÌÐÙÈÈÈ  
È ÈÓÐÑÁÌÓ (Ó-ÀÙÈÈÑÿ) ÁÀÓ)
- 32 MEDICAL RESIDENT (ÄÐÀ- ÌÐÄÈÌÀÒÌÐ, ÌÌÑÒ ÄÈÌÈÌÌÁ ÌÄÐÀÇÌÁÁÌÈÀ)
- 33 EDUCATION (ÌÄÐÀÇÌÁÁÌÈÀ)
- 34 WORKING AT THE SECURITY DEPARTMENT IN (ÌÒÄÄÈ ÁÌÁÁÁÌÌÑÒÄÁÌÍÈÈ  
ÌÕÐÁÌÙ ÌÐÈ ÓÄÄ)
- 35 NEVER WORKED, AFTER GRADUATING FROM SCHOOL COULDN'T FIND A JOB  
(ÌÈÈÌÁÄÄ ÌÀ ÐÀÁÌÒÀÈÈ, ÌÌÑÈÄ ÌÈÌ- Ò-ÈÈÈÙÀ ÌÀ ÌÆÀÒ ÓÑÒÐÌÈÒÙÑ)
- 37 CARING FOR A DISABLED CHILD (OLDER THAN 3YRS) (ÓÕÆÈÈÄÐ ÇÀ  
ÐÄÄÁÌÈÌ-ÈÌÁÄÈÈÁÌÌ (ÑÒÄÐØÀ 3-Õ ÈÄÒ)
- 38 DISABLED PENSIONER (ÈÌÁÄÈÈÄ, ÌÁÌÑÈΪΙΑΘ)
- 43 WORKING ON A CONTRACTUAL BASIS-- CONSULTANT (ÐÀÁÌÒÀÀÒ ÌÌ ÁÌÁÌÁÌÐÓ)
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL
99. OTHER ANSWER

**Main Occupation of Respondent: m86**

Please name the occupation (*professiya*) at which you work. For example, you might say about yourself, "I am by occupation a turner-metal cutter, a pediatrician, a food seller, a construction engineer, a farmer". And at what occupation do you work?

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN IN DETAIL EVERYTHING THAT THE RESPONDENT SAYS.]

- 
- 
7. HARD TO SAY
  8. REFUSAL

**Industrial Sector: m87**

In which branch do you work at your main job?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 16.]

1. LIGHT INDUSTRY
2. CIVILIAN MACHINE BUILDING
3. MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
4. OIL AND GAS INDUSTRY
5. OTHER BRANCH OF HEAVY INDUSTRY
6. CONSTRUCTION
7. TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS
8. AGRICULTURE
9. ORGANS OF ADMINISTRATION
10. EDUCATION
11. SCIENCE, CULTURE
12. HEALTH CARE

13. ARMY, MVD, ORGANS OF STATE SECURITY
14. TRADE, CONSUMER SERVICES
15. FINANCE
16. OTHER
17. POLIGRAPHY (ИИЭЭЃДАӨЕЎ)
18. FOOD PROCESSING (ИЭУЃЃЎ)
20. OTHER BRANCH OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY (NOT GAS AND OIL) (ӨЕИÈ÷ЃЃЕЎЎ  
(ЕДИЃЃ ІЃӨЃЃЃЃЃІЃІЕ)
21. ENERGY (ЎІЃЃЃЃЃӨЕЕЃ)
22. GEOLOGY (ЃЃІЕІЃЕЎ)
23. SPORTS (ЃЃІӨ)
24. ELECTRONICS (ЎЕЃЕӨДИІЃЎ)
25. WOOD PROCESSING (ЃЃЃЃЃІЃЃЃЃІӨЕЃ)
26. NONFERROUS METALLURGY (ӨЃЃЃІЃЎ ІЃӨЃЕЕӨЃЃЕЎ)
27. HOUSING AND COMMUNAL SERVICES (ÆЕЕЕЎІІ-ЕІІІЃІЃЕЎІЃЃ ОІЃЎЕЃЃІ)
28. CHARITY FOUNDATION (ЃЕЃЃІӨЃІӨЕӨЃЕЎІЃЕ ОІЃЃ)
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL
99. OTHER ANSWER

**Household Income: m124, n71**

How much money in total have all members of your family made in this past thirty days? Sum up everything--wages, bonuses, profits, pensions, allowances, material aid, incidental pay, and other monetary income. Include in this hard currency, but convert the hard currency into rubles.

\_\_\_\_\_ rubles

7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

**Number of People in Household: m119, n70**

How many people are there in your family --including yourself and all adults and all children who live together with you and who share income and expenditures with you?

1. RESPONDENT LIVES ALONE

\_\_\_\_\_ persons

97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL
99. OTHER ANSWER

**Number of People under 18 in Household: m120**

How many of them are children younger than eighteen years of age?

\_\_\_\_\_ children

97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL
99. OTHER ANSWER

**Attendance at religious services and religiosity: m79, m81, m82**

m79. And what is your attitude toward religion?

1. You are a believer
2. You are closer to being a believer than a non-believer
3. You are closer to being a non-believer than a believer
4. You are a non-believer
5. You are an atheist
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

- m81. Do you attend religious services?
1. Yes
  2. No
  7. HARD TO SAY
  8. REFUSAL
  9. OTHER ANSWER
- m82. How often do you attend religious services?
1. Once a week or more frequently
  2. Once a month
  3. Several times a year
  4. Once a year
  7. HARD TO SAY
  8. REFUSAL
  9. OTHER ANSWER

**Religious Denomination: m80**

To which religion do you consider yourself to belong?

1. Orthodoxy
2. Catholicism
3. Protestantism
4. Islam
5. Judaism
6. Buddhism, Lamaism
7. Krishnaism
8. Hinduism
- 10 Old believer (ñòàðíáâð)
- 11 Christian (ððèñòèàíéà)
- 12 Pagan (ÿçÛ÷íéé)
- 13 Protestantism (christian, baptists) ïðòàñòàíòù (õðèñòèàíá-ààìòèñòù)
- 14 for me there is one God (äëÿ íáÿ áíá ààèì)
- 15 Ancient Russian religion (äðááíÿÿ ðóññèàÿ ðáèèèäÿ)
- 16 Zoroastrianism (çàðíàñòðèçì)
- 17 Jehovah's Witnesses (èããíáèñòù, ñàèèàòàèè Èããíáù)
- 18 Orthodoxy, Catholicism (íðàáíñèààèà, èàòìèèòèçì)
- 19 7<sup>th</sup> Day Adventists (àãááíòèñòù 7-áí áíÿ)
96. NOT TO ANY RELIGION
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL
99. OTHER ANSWER

**Language Spoken at Home: m78**

What language do you usually speak at home? If you speak several languages at home, then please specify which of them you consider to be your main one.

1 Russian (ÐÒÑÑÈÈÈ)	39 Russian (the state, rather than the ethnicity) ðíññèÿíèà
2 Ukrainian (ÓÊÐÀËÍËÈÈÈ)	45 Kabardin (èàáàðäèíáö)
12 Udmurt (óáìóðò)	46 Balkar (áàèèàðäö)
13 Belorussian (ááèíðóñ)	54 Komi (èìè)
14 Tatar (òàòàðèí)	56 Russian, main language- komi (íà ðóññèè, ïñííáíé – èìè)
21 Armenian (àðìÿíéí)	óóðáóèèè)
22 Chuvash (÷óáàø)	97 HARD TO SAY
26 Azeri (àçáðááéæàíáö)	98 Refusal
35 mainly Armenian + Russian (àðìÿíèèè(íñí.) + ðóññèèè)	99 Other answer
37 Kurdish and Russian (íà èóðäñèè è ðóññèè)	
38 Tatar and Russian (íà òàòàðñèè è ðóññèè)	

**Region of Residence: mh1, th1, nh1**

NAME OF POPULATED POINT:

1 Volosovo	61 Krasnoznamensk	107 Miasskoe
3 Izvara	62 Ust'-Talovka	108 Brodokamsk
4 Sel'tso	66 Krasnoyarsk	109 Kanashevo
6 Kurkovitsi	67 Rzhev	116 Nizhnii Novgorod
9 Krasnodar	68 Domashino	117 Zemetchino
10 Glazov	70 Saratov	119 Rayovo
12 Solikamsk	71 Tomsk	121 Kirovskii
14 Betlitsa	72 Lipetsk	129 Kustchvskaya
16 Zimnichi	73 Nazarovo	132 Zavodskoi
18 Mokroe	74 Verkhni Adadym	133 Pervomaiskii
33 Uvarovo	77 Zalukokoazhe	135 Smolensk
34 Maslovka	78 Sarmakovo	136 Tula
35 Verkhnee Chuevo	80 Malka	137 Bataisk
39 Rudnya	84 Biysk	138 Moscow
40 Matyshevo	89 Usinsk	141 St.-Petersburg
44 Maloe Malyshivo	90 Usador	143 Mikhnevo
45 Kazan'	92 Vladivistok	144 Luzhniki
46 Kurgan	93 Tambovka	145 Tuchkovo
47 Orsk	94 Razdol'oe	147 Chekhov
48 Shumerlya	95 Sadovoe	148 Narofominsk
51 Torkhany	100 Vol'sk	149 Klin
52 Georgievsk	102 Pokrovka	155 Orekhovo-Zuevo
53 Aleksandriyskaya	104 Shikhani	156 Malakhovka
55 Nezlobnaya	105 Syktyvkar	158 Bolshevo
58 Kur'ya	106 Chelyabinsk	164 Berdsk

**mh2, th2, nh2. NUMBER OF PRECINCT****Ethnicity of the Respondent: m77**

Whom do you consider yourself to be by nationality? This is not necessarily the nationality which is written in your passport.

1 Russian (ÐŌŃŃĚĚĚ)	32 Latysh (ĕăăôûø)
2 Ukrainian (ŌĚÐĀĚĪŃĚĚĚ)	33 Mariian (iăđĕăă)
11 Jewish (ăăđăăé)	34 Udin (ôăĕiĕă)
12 Udmurt (ôăiôđđ)	39 Russian (identifies not with the ethnicity, but with the state )(điŃŃĕÿiĕă)
13 Belorussian (ăăĕiđđôŃ)	42 Bessarabian (ăăŃŃăđăăăăăă)
14 Tatar (ôăôăđĕi)	43 Russian, 50% polish (đôŃŃĕăÿ, 50% iĕĕüĕă)
15 German (iăiăô)	44 Abazin (ăăăçĕiăă)
17 Gypsy (ôüăăi)	45 Kabardin (ĕăăăđăĕiăă)
18 Mordovian (iđăiăĕă)	46 Balkar (ăăĕĕăđăă)
20 Abkhaz (ăăđăăçăă)	51 Cossack (ĕăçăĕ)
21 Armenian (ăđiÿiĕi)	52 Khokhol (ôĕiĕiĕ)
22 Chuvash (çăăăă)	53 Citizen of Russia (ăđăăăăiĕi ĐiŃŃĕĕ)
23 Bashkir (ăăôĕĕđ)	54 Komi (ĕiĕiĕ)
25 Polish (iĕĕüĕă)	55 Komi-permyak (ĕiĕiĕ-iăđiÿĕ)
26 Azerbaijani (ăçăđăăăăăăiăă)	57 Meshkhetian Turk (ôôđiĕ-iăŃŃăđăăiăă)
27 Moldovan (iĕĕăiăăiĕă)	97 Hard to Say
28 Karelian (ĕăđăăĕĕă)	98 Refusal
30 Kuban Cossack (ĕôăăiŃĕĕĕ ĕăçăĕ)	

31 Belorussian according to the passport, but I don't see any difference between belorussian and russian (áâëïðóñêà ï ïàñïðòó, í íá âèæó ðàçíèòñ ñ ðóññêé)	99 Other answer
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**Region of Residence: mh1, th1, nh1**

**Rural/urban Residence: popul, area, stat**

**Vote Choice:**

**t67.** As you probably remember, at the polling place you were presented with two ballots for the State Duma. On one list you chose a party or bloc, and on the other individual candidates. Please tell me, did you cast a vote on the list of parties and blocs?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No [GO TO 79]
- 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 79]
- 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 79]
- 9. OTHER ANSWER

**t68.** Here is a list of the parties and blocs whose names were printed on the electoral ballot. Would you mind saying for which party or bloc you voted?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 21.]

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM CARD 21.]

Index number of party:

1 Conservative movement	16 Movement in Support of the Army
2 Russian All Peoples Union (ROS)	17 Zhirinovskii's bloc
3 Women of Russia	18 For Civic Dignity
4	19 Fatherland All Russia (OVR)
5 Stalinist bloc	20 Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF)
6 Yabloko	21 Russian Deed (Russkoe Delo)
7 Communists and Workers of Russia for the Soviet Union	22 All Russian Party of the People (VPPN)
8 Mir. Trud. Mai. (Peace. Labor. May)	23 Union of Right Forces (SPS)
9 Bloc of General Andrey Nikolaev and Academician Svyatoslav Fedorov	24
10 Spiritual Inheritance	25 Our Home is Russia (NDR)
11 Congress of Russian Communities and Boldyrev's Movement	26 Socialist Party of Russia (Ivan Rybkin's party)
12 Party of Peace and Unity	27 Pensioners Party
13 Party for the Defense of Women	28 Russian Socialist Party (Bryntsalov's party)
14 Unity (Yedinstvo)	96. I WILL VOTE AGAINST ALL THE PARTIES AND BLOCS
15 Social Democrats	97 HARD TO SAY
	98 REFUSAL
	99 OTHER ANSWER

**t116.** [INTERVIEWER: GIVE QUESTIONS 116-133 ONLY TO THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO PARTICIPATE IN THE STATE DUMA ELECTION ON DECEMBER 19, THAT IS FOR WHOM CODE "1" IS MARKED FOR QUESTION 66. GIVE ALL THE OTHERS QUESTION 132.] On December 19 at the polling station you received, in addition to the ballot for the party lists, a ballot with a list of individual candidates for deputy to the State Duma from your single-mandate district. Please tell me, did you cast a vote on this ballot?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No [GO TO 132]
- 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 132]
- 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 132]
- 9. OTHER ANSWER

**t117.** Here is the list of candidates for deputy in your single-mandate district which was printed on your electoral ballot. Would you be able to tell me for whom you voted?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 41.]

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 41.]

INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE \_\_\_\_\_

**n49.** Here is a list of the candidates for President. Would you mind saying for whom you voted?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 3.]

[INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 3.]

1. Govorukhin
2. Dzhabrailov
3. Zhirinovskii
4. Zyuganov
5. Pamfilova
6. Podberezkin
7. Putin
8. Skuratov
9. Titov
10. Tuleyev
11. Yavlinskii
96. AGAINST ALL CANDIDATES
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

[GO TO 59]

[GO TO 59]

**Turnout: t66, n48**

**t66.** Did you participate in the recent election to the State Duma?

1. Yes
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

[GO TO 79]

[GO TO 79]

[GO TO 79]

**n48.** And now several questions about your participation in the presidential election that took place on March 26. Did you participate in the presidential election on March 26 of this year?

1. Yes
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
9. OTHER ANSWER

[GO TO 59]

[GO TO 59]

[GO TO 59]



