

2003-04 RUSSIAN ELECTION STUDY

QUESTIONNAIRE #3: POST-PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

PRELIMINARY ITEMS (FILLED OUT BY INTERVIEWER)

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

2. NUMBER OF PRECINCT _____ |__|__|

3. ADDRESS _____

4. DATE OF INTERVIEW

DAY |__|__|

MONTH |__|__|

5. DURATION OF INTERVIEW

HOURS |__|__|

MINUTES |__|__|

6. NAME OF INTERVIEWER _____

7. NUMBER OF INTERVIEWER |__|__|

STATEMENT READ TO RESPONDENT

“Hello. I hope that you remember our conversation after the election of the State Duma several months ago. At that time we asked you and two thousand people in Russia what they think about their lives, about how they decided whether to participate in the election and for whom to vote. Now that we have elected a President of Russia, we would like to speak with you again—but this time about the presidential election, about what you think of various candidates for President, and about your hopes.

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

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

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

QUESTIONS

1. On March 14, 2004, there was an election for President of Russia. Tell me, please, during the election campaign before the presidential election did you talk with other people to persuade them to vote for a particular candidate?
 1. Yes
 2. No [GO TO 3]
 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 3]
 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 3]

2. How often did you do this? Would you say frequently? Occasionally? Rarely?
 1. FREQUENTLY
 2. OCCASIONALLY
 3. RARELY
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL

3. Tell me, please, during this election campaign did you show your support for a particular candidate by, for example, by attending an electoral rally or meeting, putting up a poster, or in some other way?
 1. Yes
 2. No [GO TO 5]
 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 5]
 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 5]

4. How often did you do this? Would you say frequently? Occasionally? Rarely?
 1. FREQUENTLY
 2. OCCASIONALLY
 3. RARELY
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL

5. During the 2004 presidential campaign did a candidate or a candidate's representative contact you to persuade you to vote for this candidate?
 1. Yes
 2. No
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL

6. Did you cast a ballot in the presidential election on March 14 of this year?

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

7. Here is a list of the candidates for President. Would you mind saying for whom you voted?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]

[INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.]

- 1. GLAZ'EV
- 2. MALYSHKIN
- 3. MIRONOV
- 4. PUTIN
- 5. KHAKAMADA
- 6. KHARITONOV
- 95. CAST AN INVALID BALLOT
- 96. AGAINST ALL CANDIDATES
- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

8. What do you think has been the most important issue facing Russia over the last four years?

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN WORD FOR WORD EVERYTHING THE RESPONDENT SAYS. DO NOT USE ABBREVIATIONS.]

- 7. HARD TO SAY
- 8. REFUSAL

9. And thinking about that issue, how good or bad a job do you think President Putin has done over the past four years? Has he done a very good job? A good job? A bad job? A very bad job?

- 1. VERY GOOD JOB
- 2. GOOD JOB
- 3. BAD JOB
- 4. VERY BAD JOB
- 7. HARD TO SAY
- 8. REFUSAL

10. Now thinking about the performance of President Putin in general, how good or bad a job do you think he has done over the past four years? Has he done a very good job? A good job? A bad job? A very bad job?

- 1. VERY GOOD JOB

2. GOOD JOB
3. BAD JOB
4. VERY BAD JOB
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

11. 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 who is 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 SHOW CARD 2.]

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

12. 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 SHOW CARD 3.]

1. WHO PEOPLE VOTE FOR WON'T MAKE A DIFFERENCE
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
5. WHO PEOPLE VOTE FOR CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

13. 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

14. Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government." Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with

this statement?

1. AGREE STRONGLY
2. AGREE
3. DISAGREE
4. DISAGREE STRONGLY
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

15. Did you cast a ballot in the previous presidential election, the one held four years ago in March 2000?

1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 17]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 17]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 17]

16. Here is a list of the candidates who ran for president in 2000. Would you mind saying for whom you voted?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 4.]

1. GOVORUKHIN
2. DZHABRAILOV
3. ZHIRINOVSKII
4. ZYUGANOV
5. PAMFILOVA
6. PODBEREZKIN
7. PUTIN
8. SKURATOV
9. TITOV
10. TULEYEV
11. YAVLINSKII
12. AGAINST ALL CANDIDATES
95. CAST AN INVALID BALLOT
96. OTHER ANSWER
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

17. Thinking about how elections in Russia work in practice, how well do elections ensure that the views of various groups of voters are represented in the State Duma: very well, quite well, not very well, or not well at all?

1. VERY WELL
2. QUITE WELL
3. NOT VERY WELL
4. NOT WELL AT ALL
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

18. Would you say that any of the parties in Russia represents your views reasonably well?
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No [GO TO 20]
 - 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 20]
 - 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 20]
19. Which party represents your views best? Name it, please.
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.]
-
- 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
20. Regardless of how you feel about the parties, would you say that any of the individual presidential candidates at the election of March 14 represents your views reasonably well?
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No [GO TO 22]
 - 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 22]
 - 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 22]
21. Which presidential candidate represents your views best? Name him, please.
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.]
-
- 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
22. Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party, movement, or association?
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No [GO TO 25]
 - 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 25]
 - 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 25]
23. Which party, movement, or association is that? Please name it.
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN EVERYTHING THE RESPOND SAYS]
-
- 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
24. [INTERVIEWER: GIVE QUESTION 24 TO ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ON QUESTION 23 NAMED MORE THAN ONE PARTY, MOVEMENT, OR ASSOCIATION. GIVE OTHER RESPONDENTS QUESTION 27.]
Which party, movement, or association of those you named do you feel closest to?
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.]

- [GO TO 27]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 27]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 27]
25. [INTERVIEWER: GIVE QUESTION 25 TO ONLY THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ON QUESTION 22 ANSWERED "NO," "HARD TO SAY," OR "REFUSAL." GIVE QUESTION 27 TO ALL OTHER RESPONDENTS.]
Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 28]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 28]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 28]
26. Which party, movement, or association is that? Please name it.
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN]
-
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
27. Do you feel very close to this party, movement, or association, somewhat close, or not very close?
1. VERY CLOSE
2. SOMEWHAT CLOSE
3. NOT VERY CLOSE
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
28. We would like to know what you think of a number of our political parties and blocs. Please rate each party which I am now going to name 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 5.]
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) H/S (98) REF}
- (1) United Russia
- (2) Communist Party of the Russian Federation
- (3) Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
- (4) Motherland Bloc
- (5) Union of Right Forces
- (6) Yabloko

29. 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 on this scale the following parties and blocs . . . ?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 6.]
{SCALE: 0 (Left) thru 10 (Right); 96 HAVEN'T HEARD OF; 97 H/S; 98 REF}
(1) United Russia
(2) Communist Party of the Russian Federation
(3) Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
(4) Motherland Bloc
(5) Union of Right Forces
(6) Yabloko
30. And where would you place on the same scale the candidates for President of Russia?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 6.]
(1) Glaz'ev
(2) Malyshkin
(3) Mironov
(4) Putin
(5) Khakamada
(6) Kharitonov
31. Over the past five years or so, have you done any of the following things to express your views about something the government should or should not be doing?
{KEY: (1) Yes (2) No (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) Contacted a politician or government official either in person, or in writing, or some other way?
(2) Taken part in a protest, march, or demonstration?
(3) Worked together with people who shared the same concern?
32. How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights nowadays in Russia? Do you feel there is a lot of respect for individual freedom, some respect, not much respect, or no respect at all?
1. A LOT OF RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM
2. SOME RESPECT
3. NOT MUCH RESPECT
4. NO RESPECT AT ALL
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
33. How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in Russia: very widespread, quite widespread, not very widespread, it hardly happens at all?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 7.]

1. VERY WIDESPREAD
 2. QUITE WIDESPREAD
 3. NOT VERY WIDESPREAD
 4. IT HARDLY HAPPENS AT ALL
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
34. 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 6.]
{SCALE: 0 (Left) thru 10 (Right); 96 HAVEN'T HEARD OF; 97 H/S; 98 REF}
35. Tell me, please, which party or bloc received a majority in the State Duma as a result of the election that took place in December of last year?
1. UNITED RUSSIA
 2. UNITY, MEDVED, PARTY OF POWER
 3. ANOTHER PARTY OR BLOC
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
36. Tell me, who is the chairman of the Constitutional Court?
1. ZOR'KIN
 2. ANOTHER NAME
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
37. Tell me, who is the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission?
1. VESHNYAKOV
 2. ANOTHER NAME
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
38. Tell me, please, are you a member of a trade union?
1. Yes
 2. No
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
39. And are any members of your family living with you members of a trade union?
1. Yes
 2. No
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
40. Tell me, please, are you a member of a business or employer's association?

1. Yes
 2. No
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
41. Tell me, please, are you a member of a farmers' association?
1. Yes
 2. No
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
42. Tell me, please, are you a member of a professional association other than a trade union?
1. Yes
 2. No
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
43. I am now going to list various public organizations and associations. Please tell me if you are a member of any of these organizations or associations and, if you are, how actively you participate in their work.
 {FOR EACH CATEGORY: "A member?" (Yes, No), and for members only "Actively participate in work?" (Yes, No)}
- (1) National movement
 - (2) Religious congregation
 - (3) Sports organization
 - (4) Hobby club
 - (5) Military-patriotic or patriotic organization
 - (6) Organization of veterans of war, of the armed forces, or of the law enforcement organs
 - (7) Cultural-educational organization
 - (8) Ecological organization
 - (9) Charitable organization
 - (10) Local self-government committee
 - (11) Women's organization
 - (12) Parents' committee at school
 - (13) *Druzhina* for maintenance of public order
 - (14) Youth organization
44. Now let us talk a bit about something else. 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 8.]
1. WORKING
 2. ON MATERNITY LEAVE OR ON OFFICIAL LEAVE CARING FOR A CHILD UNDER 3 YEARS OF AGE, WITH PLACE AT WORK RESERVED

- 3. ON SOME OTHER PAID LEAVE
 - 4. ON UNPAID LEAVE
 - 5. PUPIL IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL OR PTU [GO TO 48]
 - 6. STUDENT IN A DAY VUZ OR TEKHNIKUM [GO TO 46]
 - 7. NOT WORKING FOR HEALTH REASONS, AN INVALID [GO TO 46]
 - 8. PENSIONER AND NOT WORKING [GO TO 46]
 - 9. HOUSEWIFE, LOOKING AFTER OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY, RAISING CHILDREN [GO TO 46]
 - 10. TEMPORARILY NOT WORKING FOR OTHER REASONS AND SEEKING WORK [GO TO 46]
 - 11. TEMPORARILY NOT WORKING FOR OTHER REASONS, NOT SEEKING WORK [GO TO 46]
 - 13. OTHER, SPECIFICALLY [INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN ANSWER.] [GO TO 46]
-

- 97. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 46]
- 98. REFUSAL [GO TO 46]

45. Please look at the card and tell me how much time during a week you work at your main job.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD 9.]

- 1. WORKS FULL TIME (MORE THAN 32 HOURS A WEEK)
- 2. WORKS PART TIME (15-32 HOURS A WEEK)
- 3. WORKS LESS THAN 15 HOURS A WEEK
- 96. OTHER
- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

46. Let us talk about your main employment. If for any reason you are not now working, tell me about your last job. If you have several jobs, tell me about the one you consider to be your main one. Tell me, please, in detail, what do you work as [or worked as]? [INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN IN DETAIL EVERYTHING THAT THE RESPONDENT SAYS.]

- 6. NEVER WORKED [GO TO 48]
- 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 48]
- 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 48]

47. What do/did you basically do in this work? What goes/went into your basic duties? [INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN IN DETAIL EVERYTHING THAT THE RESPONDENT SAYS.]

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

48. What is your family situation?
1. Never married [GO TO 53]
 2. In an unregistered marriage
 3. Live together, but not registered
 4. Divorced and not remarried [GO TO 53]
 5. Widower or widow [GO TO 53]
 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 53]
 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 53]

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

[INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD 8.]

1. WORKING
2. ON MATERNITY LEAVE OR ON OFFICIAL LEAVE CARING FOR A CHILD UNDER 3 YEARS OF AGE, WITH PLACE AT WORK RESERVED
3. ON SOME OTHER PAID LEAVE
4. ON UNPAID LEAVE
5. PUPIL IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL OR PTU [GO TO 53]
6. STUDENT IN A DAY VUZ OR TEKHNIKUM [GO TO 51]
7. NOT WORKING FOR HEALTH REASONS, AN INVALID [GO TO 51]
8. PENSIONER AND NOT WORKING [GO TO 51]
9. HOUSEWIFE, LOOKING AFTER OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY, RAISING CHILDREN [GO TO 51]
10. TEMPORARILY NOT WORKING FOR OTHER REASONS AND SEEKING WORK [GO TO 51]
11. TEMPORARILY NOT WORKING FOR OTHER REASONS, NOT SEEKING WORK [GO TO 51]
13. OTHER, SPECIFICALLY [INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN ANSWER.] [GO TO 51]

97. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 51]

98. REFUSAL [GO TO 51]

50. Please look at the card and tell me how much time during a week he/she works at his/her main job.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD 9.]

1. WORKS FULL TIME (MORE THAN 32 HOURS A WEEK)
2. WORKS PART TIME (15-32 HOURS A WEEK)
3. WORKS LESS THAN 15 HOURS A WEEK
96. OTHER

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

51. Let us talk about his/her main employment. If for any reason he/she is not now working, tell me about his/her last job. If he/she has several jobs, tell me about the one he/she considers to be his/her main one. Tell me, please, in detail, what does/did he/she works/worked as?

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

6. NEVER WORKED

[GO TO 53]

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

52. What does/did he/she basically do in this work, what goes/went into his/her basic duties?

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

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

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

_____ rubles

997. HARD TO SAY

998. REFUSAL

54. 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?

_____ persons

1. RESPONDENT LIVES ALONE

[GO TO 56]

97. HARD TO SAY

[GO TO 56]

98. REFUSAL

[GO TO 56]

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

_____ persons

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

56. Let us return in our conversation to the recent election of the President of Russia. Now I

will hand you a card on which there are listed various reasons for why people vote for one candidate or another. Look at the card and tell me, please, which of these reasons was the most important for you when you were making your decision to vote for the person you voted for in the recent presidential election. Please select only the one most important reason.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 10.]

1. YOU APPROVE OF THE WORK THE CANDIDATE DID IN HIS POST BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

2. YOU LIKE THE PROGRAM OF THIS CANDIDATE.

3. YOU LIKE THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF THIS CANDIDATE.

4. HE WAS NOMINATED BY YOUR PARTY OR BLOC.

5. IT IS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT THE AUTHORITIES.

6. IF THIS CANDIDATE WINS IN AN ELECTION, PEOPLE IN YOUR REGION WILL LIVE BETTER.

7. A VOTE FOR THIS PARTY IS AN EXPRESSION OF PROTEST AGAINST THE SITUATION IN WHICH RUSSIA FINDS ITSELF.

96. DID NOT VOTE, VOTED AGAINST ALL,

CAST AN INVALID BALLOT

[GO TO 60]

97. HARD TO SAY

[GO TO 60]

98. REFUSAL

[GO TO 60]

57. Among the reasons indicated on the card, is there any other reason which was especially important for you?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 10.]

1. Yes

2. No

[GO TO 59]

7. HARD TO SAY

[GO TO 59]

8. REFUSAL

[GO TO 59]

58. What is that reason?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 10.]

1. YOU APPROVE OF THE WORK THE CANDIDATE DID IN HIS POST BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

2. YOU LIKE THE PROGRAM OF THIS CANDIDATE.

3. YOU LIKE THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF THIS CANDIDATE.

4. HE WAS NOMINATED BY YOUR PARTY OR BLOC.

5. IT IS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT THE AUTHORITIES.

6. IF THIS CANDIDATE WINS IN AN ELECTION, PEOPLE IN YOUR REGION WILL LIVE BETTER.

7. A VOTE FOR THIS PARTY IS AN EXPRESSION OF PROTEST AGAINST THE SITUATION IN WHICH RUSSIA FINDS ITSELF.

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

59. Please tell me when you decided that you would vote for this particular candidate.
1. Earlier than one month before the election
 2. One month before the election
 3. Two weeks before the election
 4. In the final days before the election
 5. On election day
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
60. Which of the two statements printed on this card best explains why you voted for
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE INDICATED RESPONSE FROM QUESTION 7.]
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 11.]
1. BECAUSE YOU CONSIDERED THAT THIS CANDIDATE WAS THE BEST [GO TO 62]
 2. YOU WANTED TO VOTE FOR ANOTHER CANDIDATE, BUT HE HAD NO CHANCE OF WINNING
 3. OTHER ANSWER [INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN _____] [GO TO 62]
 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 62]
 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 62]
61. [INTERVIEWER: ASK QUESTION 61 ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO WANTED TO VOTE FOR ANOTHER CANDIDATE, BUT HE HAD NO CHANCE OF WINNING, THAT IS, WHERE IN QUESTION 60 YOU INDICATED CODE "2." GIVE ALL OTHER RESPONDENTS QUESTION 110.] For which particular candidate who, in your opinion, had no chance of winning did you really want to vote?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.]
 INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
97. HARD TO SAY
 98. REFUSAL
62. During the just concluded campaign for President of Russia, did you see any of the advertising clips of the candidates for President on television?
1. Yes
 2. No [GO TO 65]
 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 65]
 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 65]
63. Were there any of those clips that you especially liked?
1. Yes
 2. No [GO TO 65]
 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 65]

8. REFUSAL

[GO TO 65]

64. Which specific candidates for President was it whose clips you especially liked?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBERS OF THE CANDIDATES FROM CARD 1.]
(1) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____ And were there are any more candidates?
(2) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____ And were there are any more candidates?
(3) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL
65. What do you think, were all candidates for President given equal opportunities before the election to agitate for themselves in the mass media: to express their views, to acquaint people with their programs?
1. Equal opportunities
2. Unequal opportunities
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
66. Please tell me if during the election campaign you talked about the forthcoming election . . . ?
{KEY: (1) Yes (2) No (6) NOT RELEVANT (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) With your family
(2) With other relatives
(3) With neighbors
(4) With colleagues at work
(5) With other friends and acquaintances
- 67.. Please tell me, did the leadership of the enterprise or organization where you work support any candidate for President?
1. Yes
2. No [GO TO 69]
6. DOES NOT WORK [GO TO 69]
7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 69]
8. REFUSAL [GO TO 69]
68. Which candidate for President did the leadership of your enterprise or organization support?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.] _____

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

69. Could you recall if during the election campaign for the State Duma [INTERVIEWER: SELECT THE NECESSARY ONE AMONG: PRESIDENT OF YOUR NATIONAL REPUBLIC, GOVERNOR OF YOUR KRAI OR OBLAST, MAYOR OF MOSCOW, GOVERNOR OF ST. PETERSBURG] supported any candidate for deputy in your single-mandate district?

1. Yes

2. No

[GO TO 71]

7. HARD TO SAY

[GO TO 71]

8. REFUSAL

[GO TO 71]

70. Which candidate for President did [. . .] support in the election to the State Duma?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.] _____

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

71. During the election campaign did you receive in your mailbox the materials of any of the presidential candidates?

1. Yes

2. No

[GO TO 74]

7. HARD TO SAY

[GO TO 74]

8. REFUSAL

[GO TO 74]

72. Which candidates' materials did you receive in your mailbox?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 1.]

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATES FROM CARD 1.]

(1) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

(2) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

(3) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

(4) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

(5) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

(6) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

73. And from which candidate did you receive the most materials in your mailbox?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 1.]

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.] _____

97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

74. Besides those election materials put into your mailbox, did you come across during the election campaign any other agitation materials—leaflets or posters—about any of the presidential candidates?
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No [GO TO 77]
 - 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 77]
 - 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 77]

75. Which candidates' agitation materials of this type did you come across?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 1.]
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATES FROM CARD 1.]
- (1) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
 - (2) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
 - (3) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
 - (4) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
 - (5) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
 - (6) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

76. And which presidential candidate's materials did you come across most often outdoors?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 1.]
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.] _____
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

77. Please tell me, is there any one among the present parties, movements, and associations about which you would say, "This is my party, my movement, my association"?
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No [GO TO 79]
 - 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 79]
 - 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 79]

78. Which party, movement, or association is that? Please name it for me.
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.]
-
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

79. [INTERVIEWER: ASK QUESTIONS 79-80 ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED "NO," "HARD TO SAY," OR "REFUSAL" TO QUESTION 77. ASK QUESTION 82 OF THE OTHERS.]
 Please tell me, does there exist a party, movement, or association which more than the others reflects your interests, views, and concerns?
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No [GO TO 82]
 - 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 82]
 - 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 82]
80. Which party, movement, or association would that be? Please name it for me.
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN.]
-
97. HARD TO SAY
 98. REFUSAL
81. To what degree does this party, movement, or association reflect your interests, views, and concerns?
- 1. It reflects them completely
 - 2. It reflects them partially
 - 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
82. Was your father a member of the CPSU?
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 6. I HAD NO FATHER
 - 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
83. And was your mother a member of the CPSU?
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 6. I HAD NO MOTHER
 - 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
84. When you were a child, was there a lot of talk in your family about politics, not a lot of talk about politics, or no talk about politics?
- 1. A LOT OF TALK ABOUT POLITICS
 - 2. NOT A LOT OF TALK ABOUT POLITICS
 - 3. NO TALK ABOUT POLITICS
 - 7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

85. Were you a member of the CPSU?
1. Yes
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
86. What if we talk about the presidential candidates? Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following assertions. Do you strongly agree, more or less agree, more or less disagree, or strongly disagree that . . .
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 12.]
{KEY: (1) Strongly agree (2) More or less agree (3) More or less disagree (4) Strongly disagree (6) CANDIDATE NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) When you hear someone criticize Glaz'ev, you feel insulted.
(2) When you hear someone criticize Malyshkin, you feel insulted.
(3) When you hear someone criticize Mironov, you feel insulted.
(4) When you hear someone criticize Putin, you feel insulted.
(5) When you hear someone criticize Khakamada, you feel insulted.
(6) When you hear someone criticize Kharitonov, you feel insulted.
87. Now I will hand you a card with the names of various groups of people. What do you think, to which of these groups is the candidate [NAME, NOMINATED BY WHOM] closest? You may name several groups.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 13.]
[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBERS OF THE GROUPS FROM CARD 13.]
{Up to 5 numbers from Card 13 entered for each candidate in order}
(1) Glaz'ev
(2) Malyshkin
(3) Mironov
(4) Putin
(5) Khakamada
(6) Kharitonov
[GROUPS ARE: (1) Workers (2) The younger generation (3) Russians (4) Bureaucrats (5) Small entrepreneurs (6) National minorities (7) The middle class (8) Big entrepreneurs (9) Pensioners (10) The intelligentsia (11) Peasants (12) Byudzhetniki (13) Jews (14) Officers in the military and the special services]
88. Now let's talk a little about several problems that are important for Russia today. There are various opinions about the market reforms that are being carried out in our country. What do you think, is it necessary to return to the socialist economy, to leave everything essentially as it is now, or to continue and deepen market reforms?
1. IT IS NECESSARY TO RETURN TO THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY

2. IT IS NECESSARY TO LEAVE EVERYTHING ESSENTIALLY AS IT IS NOW
3. IT IS NECESSARY TO CONTINUE AND DEEPEN MARKET REFORMS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

89. And what position on the question of market reforms in Russia is taken by the presidential candidates? If I name a candidate whom you do not know, tell me about that. So, what position on market reforms, in your opinion, is taken by . . . ?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 14.]

{KEY: (1) Return to the socialist economy (2) Leave everything as it is (3) Continue and deepen market reforms (6) CANDIDATE NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}

- (1) Glaz'ev
- (2) Malyshkin
- (3) Mironov
- (4) Putin
- (5) Khakamada
- (6) Kharitonov

90. There has been a lot of talk recently about the results of privatization in Russia and especially of what to do with the so-called oligarchs and other rich persons who became wealthy as a result of the privatization of the 1990s. What in general is your point of view on this problem and of what needs to be done about the oligarchs?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 15.]

1. LET THE OLIGARCHS KEEP EVERYTHING THEY HAVE
2. LET THE OLIGARCHS KEEP THEIR PROPERTY, BUT FORCE THEM TO PAY HIGHER TAXES
3. TAKE AWAY EVERYTHING THE OLIGARCHS GOT AS A RESULT OF PRIVATIZATION
4. TAKE AWAY EVERYTHING THE OLIGARCHS GOT AS A RESULT OF PRIVATIZATION AND THROW THEM IN PRISON
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

91. And what position on the question of the oligarchs is taken, in your view, by the presidential candidates? What position on this question is taken by . . .

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 15.]

{Key: (1) Leave them everything they have (2) Leave, but force to pay higher taxes (3) Take away (4) Take away and throw in prison (6) CANDIDATE NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}

- (1) Glaz'ev
- (2) Malyshkin
- (3) Mironov
- (4) Putin
- (5) Khakamada
- (6) Kharitonov

92. There are various opinions about what relations should be like between Russia and the West. What do you think of how Russia should relate to the West?
 [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 16.]
1. AS TO AN ENEMY
 2. AS TO A RIVAL
 3. AS TO AN ALLY
 4. AS TO A FRIEND
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
93. And what position on the question of relations between Russia and the West is taken by the presidential candidates? What position, in your view, is taken by . . .
 [INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 16.]
 {KEY: (1) As to an enemy (2) As to a rival (3) As to an ally (4) As to a friend (6) CANDIDATE NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}
- (1) Glaz'ev
 - (2) Malyshkin
 - (3) Mironov
 - (4) Putin
 - (5) Khakamada
 - (6) Kharitonov
94. There are various views on what should be the main thing in the activity of the state—the provision of order or the guarantee of the individual freedoms of each citizen. Look at the card and tell me, please, which statement best corresponds to your opinion.
 [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 17.]
1. THE MAIN THING IS TO PROVIDE ORDER IN THE COUNTRY, EVEN IF THIS SOMETIMES LEADS TO THE COMPLETE LOSS OF THE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS OF CITIZENS.
 2. THE MAIN THING IS TO PROVIDE ORDER IN THE COUNTRY, BUT ONLY SO LONG AS IT DOES NOT LEAD TO THE COMPLETE LOSS OF THE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS OF CITIZENS.
 3. THE MAIN THING IS TO PROVIDE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS OF CITIZENS, BUT ONLY SO LONG AS IT DOES LEAD TO THE COMPLETE LOSS OF ORDER IN THE COUNTRY.
 4. THE MAIN THING IS TO PROVIDE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS OF CITIZENS, EVEN IF THIS SOMETIMES LEADS TO THE COMPLETE LOSS OF ORDER IN THE COUNTRY.
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
95. And what position on this same question is taken by the presidential candidates? What position, in your view, is taken by . . .

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 17.]

{KEY: (1) As to an enemy (2) As to a rival (3) As to an ally (4) As to a friend (6) CANDIDATE NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}

- (1) Glaz'ev
- (2) Malyshkin
- (3) Mironov
- (4) Putin
- (5) Khakamada
- (6) Kharitonov

96. And what position on this same question is taken by the political parties?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 17.]

{KEY: (1) As to an enemy (2) As to a rival (3) As to an ally (4) As to a friend (6) CANDIDATE NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}

- (1) United Russia
- (2) Communist Party of the Russian Federation
- (3) Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
- (4) Motherland Bloc
- (5) Union of Right Forces
- (6) Yabloko

97. In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. Speaking of the recent election of the President of Russia, how fair was this election? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means that the election of the President was conducted fairly and 5 means that the election of the President was conducted unfairly.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 18.]

1. LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WAS FAIR
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
5. LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WAS UNFAIR
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

98. Many people in Russia these days talk about a strong state. Do you agree that Russia should have a strong state?

1. Yes
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

99. Do you think Russia has a strong state today or does it not?

1. Yes

- 2. No
 - 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
100. Is the state in Russia stronger today than it was four years ago, weaker, or has there been no change?
- 1. STRONGER
 - 2. WEAKER
 - 3. NO CHANGE
 - 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
101. And is there more order in Russia today than there was four years ago, less, or has there been no change?
- 1. MORE
 - 2. LESS
 - 3. NO CHANGE
 - 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
102. What do you think, does a dictatorship exist in Russia today or not? [GO TO 104]
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
103. What do you think, if the present political course in Russia continues, will a dictatorship be established in the country or not?
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL
104. Today many argue about what kinds of organizations best protect the interests of citizens. These may be, for example, interests in the area of environmental protection or interests in the area of defense of human rights. What do you think, what kinds of organizations are best able to protect the interests of citizens: public organizations that are completely independent of the state, public organizations partly controlled by the state, or state organizations?
- 1. COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT OF THE STATE
 - 2. PARTLY CONTROLLED BY THE STATE
 - 3. STATE ORGANIZATIONS
 - 7. HARD TO SAY
 - 8. REFUSAL

105. Many people in Russia also talk a lot about democracy. Do you agree or disagree that Russia should be a democratic country?
1. AGREE
 2. DISAGREE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
106. Do you think Russia is a democratic country today?
1. Yes
 2. No
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
107. Is Russia today a more democratic country than it was four years ago, less democratic, or has there been no change?
1. MORE
 2. LESS
 3. NO CHANGE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
108. Is it possible for Russia at the present time to be simultaneously a democratic country and a country with a strong state or must we choose one or the other—either a strong state or democracy?
1. We can have both one and the other
 2. We must choose one of them
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
109. And what, in your opinion, is more important for Russia right now—to have a strong state or to be a democratic country?
1. TO HAVE A STRONG STATE
 2. TO BE A DEMOCRACY
 3. THEY ARE EQUALLY IMPORTANT
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
110. What do you think, is it possible for there to be in Russia at the present time both democracy and economic growth, or must we choose one or the other—either economic growth or democracy?
1. We can have both one and the other
 2. We must choose one of them
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL

111. And what, in your opinion, is more important for Russia right now—economic growth or democracy?
1. ECONOMIC GROWTH
 2. DEMOCRACY
 3. THEY ARE EQUALLY IMPORTANT
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
112. Various problems have to be resolved in our country. I am going to read out a list of some of these. I would ask you please to tell me who of the candidates for President of Russia you think would best be able to deal with these problems.
- Which candidate for President would do the best job of providing social guarantees to people, or would there be no particular difference between the candidates?
- [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]
- [INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.]
- INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
96. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES
 97. HARD TO SAY
 98. REFUSAL
113. And which candidate for President would do the best job of improving the economy, or would there be no particular difference between the candidates?
- [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]
- [INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.]
- INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
96. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES
 97. HARD TO SAY
 98. REFUSAL
114. And which candidate for President would do the best job of safeguarding human rights and democratic freedoms, or would there be no particular difference between the candidates?
- [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]
- [INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.]
- INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
96. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES
 97. HARD TO SAY
 98. REFUSAL
115. And which candidate for President would do the best job of combating terrorism, or would there be no particular difference between the candidates?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.]

INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

96. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

116. And which candidate for President would do the best job of promoting Russia's international interests, or would there be no particular difference between the candidates?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.]

INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

96. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

117. And which candidate for President would do the best job of combating crime and corruption, or would there be no particular difference between the candidates?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 1.]

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 1.]

INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

96. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

118. Some people like Vladimir Putin's activity, and others do not. What about you, do you approve of Putin's activity in the post of President of Russia?

1. You fully approve

2. You approve

3. You approve some and disapprove some

4. You disapprove

5. You completely disapprove

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

119. Which of the decisions taken by Putin over the past four years were, in your opinion, the very best for the country?

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN WORD FOR WORD EVERYTHING THE RESPONDENT SAYS.]

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

120. And which of the decisions taken by Putin over the past four years were, in your opinion, the very worst for the country?

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN WORD FOR WORD EVERYTHING THE RESPONDENT SAYS.]

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

121. 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

122. 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

123. And how would you characterize the material situation of your family at the present time?

Is it . . .

1. Very good

2. Good

3. Neither good nor bad

4. Bad

5. Very bad

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

124. How has your family's material situation changed over this past twelve months?

1. Improved a lot

2. Improved a little
 3. Remained unchanged
 4. Worsened a little
 5. Worsened a lot
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
125. What do you think, have the mass media in Russia become freer over the past four years, have they become less free, or has there been no change?
1. FREER
 2. LESS FREE
 3. NO CHANGE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
126. What you think, is there more corruption in Russia than four years ago, less, or has there been no change?
1. MORE
 2. LESS
 3. NO CHANGE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
127. And now about several changes introduced in Russia since the year 2000. Tell me, please, do you approve or disapprove of the new law on land, according to which land may be privately owned?
1. APPROVE
 2. DISAPPROVE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
128. Do you approve or disapprove of the introduction of jury trials?
1. APPROVE
 2. DISAPPROVE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
129. Do you approve or disapprove of the creation of seven federal districts headed by envoys appointed by Moscow?
1. APPROVE
 2. DISAPPROVE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL

130. Do you approve or disapprove of the current tax law, according to which people, regardless of income, pay a flat tax of 13 percent?
1. APPROVE
 2. DISAPPROVE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
131. What do you think, has crime in Russia increased over the past four years, has it decreased, or has there been no change?
1. INCREASED
 2. DECREASED
 3. NO CHANGE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
132. What do you think, has inequality between rich and poor media in Russia increased over the past four years, has it decreased, or has there been no change?
1. INCREASED
 2. DECREASED
 3. NO CHANGE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
133. What do you think, has the situation in Chechnya improved over the past four years, has it worsened, or has there been no change?
1. IMPROVED
 2. WORSENER
 3. NO CHANGE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
134. Compared to four years ago, do you fear terrorists more, do you fear them less, or has there been no change?
1. FEAR THEM MORE
 2. FEAR THEM LESS
 3. NO CHANGE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
135. Compared to four years ago, have relations between Russia and the U.S.A. improved, have they worsened, or has there been no change?
1. IMPROVED
 2. WORSENER
 3. NO CHANGE

7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
136. Who, in your opinion, should own television channels in Russia? Which of the following opinions is closest to your own?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 19.]
1. ALL TELEVISION CHANNELS SHOULD BE STATE [GO TO 138]
2. SOME TELEVISION CHANNELS SHOULD BE STATE AND SOME PRIVATE
3. ALL TELEVISION CHANNELS SHOULD BE PRIVATE
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
137. What do you think, should private television channels be completely free of the state in preparing their broadcasts or should the state control the content of the broadcasts of private channels?
1. THEY SHOULD BE COMPLETELY FREE
2. THE STATE SHOULD CONTROL
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
138. Do you support or oppose the return of censorship for the purpose of keeping harmful ideas out of the mass media?
1. You support the return of censorship
2. You oppose the return of censorship
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
139. Do you agree or disagree that criticism of the President of the country in newspapers and on television weakens the Russian state? Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?
1. STRONGLY AGREE
2. AGREE
3. DISAGREE
4. STRONGLY DISAGREE
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
140. When they talk about politicians, people use various words and characterizations. Would you say about Glaz'ev that he . . .
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 20.]
{KEY: (1) Yes (2) Probably yes (3) Probably no (4) No (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) Is an intelligent and knowledgeable person
(2) Is a strong leader
(3) Is an honest and trustworthy person
(4) Really cares about the interests of people like you

141. And would you say about Putin that he . . .
142. And would you say about Khakamada that she . . .
143. And would you say about Kharitonov that he . . .
144. Let us talk a little about the role of political parties and about their role in the formation of the government of the country. Should a party that has received a majority of the seats in the State Duma control the formation of the government and in what measure?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 21.]
 1. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONSIST ONLY OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MAJORITY PARTY
 2. THE LEADER OF THE WINNING PARTY SHOULD OCCUPY THE POST OF PRIME MINISTER, BUT SOME OF THE MINISTRIES MAY BE HEADED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER PARTIES
 3. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE FORMED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO PARTY MEMBERSHIP
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
145. Some people think the President of the country would work more effectively if he was a member of a political party. Others think that the President will govern the country better if he is not a member of a political party. What do you think on this issue?
 1. BETTER IF HE IS A MEMBER OF A POLITICAL PARTY
 2. BETTER IF HE IS NOT A PARTY MEMBER
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
146. Did you ever contact the city, raion, oblast, krai, or republic public reception office of the envoy of the President of the Russian Federation in your federal district with a complaint or try to get his help to resolve some kind of problem?
 1. Yes
 2. No [GO TO 148]
 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 148]
 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 148]
147. How satisfied were with the results of this contact?
 1. Fully satisfied
 2. Satisfied
 3. Dissatisfied
 4. Completely dissatisfied
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL

148. Tell me, please, which statement you agree with?
1. The income tax rate for the rich should be higher than for the poor
 2. The rich and the poor should pay income taxes at the same rate
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
149. What do you think about the Chechnya problem? Use a scale where “1” denotes that Russia should keep Chechnya at all costs and “5” denotes that it is necessary to let Chechnya leave Russia.
- [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 22.]
- {KEY: (1) Keep at all costs (2) (3) (4) (5) Let it leave Russia (7) H/S (8) REF}
150. Some people think that in Russia everything should be decided by the top organs of government in Moscow, that the center should be strongest. Others think that everything should be decided in the regions, that the regional authorities should be strongest. What do you think about this?
1. Everything should be decided in Moscow
 2. Most questions should be decided in Moscow
 3. Some questions should be decided in Moscow and some in the regions
 4. Most questions should be decided in the regions
 5. Everything should be decided in the regions
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
151. Some people believe that, regardless of who is President of Russia, he should have more powers than the Parliament. Others want the Parliament to have more powers than the President. What is your point of view? Please use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 denotes that the President should have much more power than Parliament and 5 denotes that Parliament should have much more power than the President.
- [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 23.]
- {Card shows positions (1) President much stronger (2) (3) President and Parliament are equal in power (4) (5) Parliament much stronger; also (7) H/S (8) REF}
152. Please tell me in what year and what month you were born.
- In 19 __ year __ number of the month
97. HARD TO SAY
 98. REFUSAL

Thank you very much

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

154. [INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE FIRST NAME AND PATRONYMIC OF THE PERSON WITH WHOM YOU CONVERSED.]
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INTERVIEWER'S REMARKS

- [1. NOTE WHO ELSE WAS PRESENT DURING THE INTERVIEW, EVEN IF ONLY FOR PART OF IT:
{KEY: (1) Yes (2) No}
(1) Respondent's spouse
(2) Respondent's children
(3) Other adults
- [2. ASSESS THE RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INTERVIEW. ATTITUDE WAS:
1. Friendly and interested
2. Not especially interested
3. Impatient or unsettled
4. Hostile]
- [3. INDICATE HOW THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED THE QUESTIONS:
1. Well
2. Not very well
3. Poorly]
- [4. ASSESS THE RESPONDENT'S BEHAVIOR DURING THE INTERVIEW. THE RESPONDENT:
1. Was nervous
2. Was sometimes nervous
3. Felt relaxed]
- [5. ASSESS THE SHARPNESS OF THE RESPONDENT. THE RESPONDENT WAS:
1. Very dull
2. Dull, needed extra explanation
3. As sharp as most respondents
4. Significantly sharper than most respondents]
- [6. ASSESS THE SINCERITY AND OPENNESS OF THE RESPONDENT. THE RESPONDENT WAS:
1. Very closed and insincere
2. As sincere and open as most respondents
3. Significantly more sincere and open than most respondents]

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