

# codebook

**SURVEY OF RUSSIAN ELITES: 1993-2016**

by

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Ann Arbor, Michigan  
August 2018  
Version 2.5-R



## *Notes*

The codebook incorporates and preserves slight changes in question wording across the seven waves whenever they appear in the original Russian-language surveys. When the question wording changes over time, the question that appears in the database is the most recent version.

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

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## *Citation Information*

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>.

The database replaces the following:

Zimmerman, William. Survey of Russian Elites: 1993-2012 [Moscow, Russia]. ICPSR03724-v3. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2016-06-23. <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR03724.v3>.

## *Acknowledgements*

As principal investigator of the research project from 1993-2012 and co-principal investigator of the 2016 wave, William Zimmerman would like to express his appreciation to several institutions for their important contributions to this project: the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, the William Davidson Institute at the University of Michigan, the MacArthur Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the Weiser Center for Europe and Eurasia at the University of Michigan, and the Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg. He owes a special debt to Timothy Colton for his multiple roles as principal investigator in the mass survey that he and Tim executed in 1995-96 and to Tim and Michael McFaul for including several of his survey questions in their 1999-2000 mass survey. He is also grateful to Polina

Kozyreva and Elena Bashkirova for their intellectual contributions and to the following additional collaborators on the data collection—Eduard Ponarin (2012, 2016) and Ronald Inglehart (2012).

As principal investigator of the 2016 wave, Sharon Rivera is indebted to the Arthur Levitt Public Affairs Center at Hamilton College for its generous financial support of this project.

We gratefully acknowledge the contributions of others to the development of the codebook—Erin McGovern for preparing an earlier version of the codebook, Brandon Reardon and James Bryan for their editorial and research assistance, and David Rivera for his valuable assistance with many of the translations.

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## 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	[impaftr]					
1.8	[impna]					
1.9	[impeur]					
1.10	[impasia]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
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. 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.
98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK/NA	98. DK 99. Refused	98. DK 99. Refused	98. DK 99. Refused
			[If choice 2 is selected above]: Where exactly?	[If choice 2 is selected above]: Where exactly?	[If choice 2 is selected above]: Where exactly do Russia's interests extend (apart from its current territory)?	[If choice 2 is selected above]: Where exactly do Russia's interests extend (apart from its current territory)?
			(1.2.1) (1.2.2) (1.2.3)	(1.2.1) (1.2.2) (1.2.3)	(1.2.1) (1.2.2) (1.2.3)	(1.2.1)

			(1.2.4) (1.2.5) (1.2.6)	(1.2.4) (1.2.5) (1.2.6)	(1.2.4) (1.2.5) (1.2.6)	
			<hr/> [first response] <hr/> [all responses]	<hr/> [first response] <hr/> [all responses]	<hr/> [first response] <hr/> [all responses]	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
	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.	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.				
	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	Asia				

	(1.10)	(1.10)				
	1. <i>Not at all important</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Very important</i> 98. DK/NA	1. <i>Not at all important</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Very important</i> 98. DK/NA				

## A2. ROLE OF MILITARY FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

2 [milrole]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
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)
1. <i>Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.</i> 2. <i>The economic and not military potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.</i> 98. DK/NA	1. <i>Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.</i> 2. <i>The economic and not military potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.</i> 98. DK/NA	1. <i>Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.</i> 2. <i>The economic and not military potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.</i> 98. DK/NA	1. <i>Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.</i> 2. <i>The economic and not military potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.</i> 98. DK/NA	1. <i>Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.</i> 2. <i>The economic and not military potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.</i> 98. DK 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.</i> 2. <i>The economic and not military potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.</i> 98. DK 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Military force ultimately decides everything in international relations.</i> 2. <i>The economic and not military potential of a country determines the place and role of a country in the world today.</i> 98. DK 99. <i>Refused</i>

## 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
			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	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	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	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



			independent from one another. 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)	independent from one another. 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)	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)	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 from one another.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future.</i> 98. DK/NA	1. <i>Russia and the European Union should be completely independent from one another.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future.</i> 98. DK/NA	1. <i>Russia and the European Union should be completely independent from one another.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future.</i> 98. DK/NA	1. <i>Russia and the European Union should be completely independent from one another.</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Russia should become a member of the European Union in the future.</i> 98. DK/NA

#### A4. RELATIONS WITH UKRAINE

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

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
	There are various opinions concerning the relations that	There are various opinions concerning the relations	There are also various opinions concerning the	There are also various opinions concerning the	There are also various opinions concerning the	There are also various opinions concerning the

	<p>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. Which position is closer to your point of view?</p> <p>(4.1)</p>	<p>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. Which position is closer to your point of view?</p> <p>(4.1)</p>	<p>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 closer to your point of view?</p> <p>(4.1)</p>	<p>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 should be...</p> <p>(4.1)</p>	<p>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 should be...</p> <p>(4.1)</p>	<p>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 should be...</p> <p>(4.1)</p>
	<p>Which position on this scale corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens?</p> <p>(4.2)</p>	<p>Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens?</p> <p>(4.2)</p>	<p>Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens?</p> <p>(4.2)</p>			
	<p>Which position on this scale corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Ukrainian citizens?</p> <p>(4.3)</p>	<p>Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Ukrainian citizens?</p> <p>(4.3)</p>	<p>Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Ukrainian citizens?</p> <p>(4.3)</p>			
	<p>1. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries.</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. ---</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. ---</p> <p>6. ---</p> <p>7. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be united into a single country.</i></p> <p>98. DK/NA</p>	<p>1. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries.</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. ---</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. ---</p> <p>6. ---</p> <p>7. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be united into a single country.</i></p> <p>98. DK/NA</p>	<p>1. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be completely independent countries.</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. ---</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. <i>Russia and Ukraine should be united into a single country.</i></p> <p>98. DK</p> <p>99. Refused</p>	<p>1. <i>Completely independent countries</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. --</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. <i>United into a single country</i></p> <p>98. DK</p> <p>99. Refused</p>	<p>1. <i>Completely independent countries</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. --</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. <i>United into a single country</i></p> <p>98. DK</p> <p>99. Refused</p>	<p>1. <i>Completely independent countries</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. --</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. <i>United into a single country</i></p> <p>98. DK</p> <p>99. Refused</p>

#### A5. RELATIONS WITH BELARUS

5.1	[rus_bel]
5.2	[bel_rpub]
5.3	[bel_bpub]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
		<p>There are various opinions concerning the relations that Russia should have with Belarus. Some maintain that Russia and Belarus should be completely independent countries. 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?</p> <p>(5.1)</p>	<p>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 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?</p> <p>(5.1)</p>	<p>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 should they be united into a single country? What is your position? Russia and Belarus should be...</p> <p>(5.1)</p>	<p>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 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...</p> <p>(5.1)</p>	<p>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 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...</p> <p>(5.1)</p>
		<p>Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens?</p> <p>(5.2)</p>	<p>Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Russian citizens?</p> <p>(5.2)</p>			
		<p>Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Belarusian citizens?</p> <p>(5.3)</p>	<p>Which position on this scale, in your opinion, corresponds to the opinion of the majority of Belarusian citizens?</p> <p>(5.3)</p>			
		<p>1. <i>Russia and Belarus should be completely independent countries.</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. ---</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. ---</p> <p>6. ---</p> <p>7. <i>Russia and Belarus should be united into a single country.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK/NA</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Russia and Belarus should be completely independent countries.</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. ---</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. <i>Russia and Belarus should be united into a single country.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK/NA</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Completely independent countries</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. ---</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. <i>United into a single country</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Completely independent countries</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. ---</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. <i>United into a single country</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Completely independent countries</i></p> <p>2. ---</p> <p>3. ---</p> <p>4. ---</p> <p>5. <i>United into a single country</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>

## A6. ATTITUDES TOWARD NATO EXPANSION

6.1	[natoee]					
6.2	[natobalt]					
6.3	[natocis]					
6.4	[natoruss]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
		As you know, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland have recently become members of 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)	As you know, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland have become members of 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)			
		And what would be 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)	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
			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)		

			<p>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, rather negative, or very negative?</p> <p>(7.3)</p>	<p>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, rather negative, or very negative?</p> <p>(7.3)</p>		<p>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?</p> <p>(7.3)</p>
			<p>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></p>	<p>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></p>		<p>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></p>
			<p>Do you think that Russia's relations with the Baltic countries will improve or worsen after their entry into the European Union?</p> <p>(7.4)</p>			
			<p>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></p>			
			<p>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</p>	<p>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?</p>		

			the same? (7.5)	(7.5)		
			1. <i>They will be strengthened.</i> 2. <i>They will be weakened.</i> 3. <i>They will remain the same.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>They will be strengthened.</i> 2. <i>They will be weakened.</i> 3. <i>They will remain the same.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>		
			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?  (7.6)			
			1. <i>They will become warmer.</i> 2. <i>They will become cooler.</i> 6. <i>They will remain the same.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>			
			[If choice 1 or 2 is selected above]: In what realm?  (7.7.1) (7.7.2) (7.7.3) (7.7.4) (7.7.5)			
			<hr/> <i>[first response]</i> <hr/> <i>[all responses]</i>			
			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	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 should be restricted since they will make the region more independent from the rest of the Russian Federation. Which of these positions is closer to your point of view? (7.8)	standard of living in the oblast. Others maintain that such economic ties should be restricted since they will make the region more independent from the rest of the Russian Federation. Which of these positions is closer to your point of view? (7.8)		
			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>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></li> <li>2. <i>Such economic ties should be restricted since they will make Kaliningrad Oblast more independent from the rest of the Russian Federation.</i></li> </ol> <p>98. DK 99. Refused</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>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></li> <li>2. <i>Such economic ties should be restricted since they will make Kaliningrad Oblast more independent from the rest of the Russian Federation.</i></li> </ol> <p>98. DK 99. Refused</p>		

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

8.1 [eucrime]  
8.2 [eupolut]  
8.3 [eumigrt]  
8.4 [euaid]s  
8.5 [euterror]  
8.6 [eumil]  
8.7 [euqol]  
8.8 [euauthor]  
8.9 [eudrugs]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
			In your opinion, which of the following could represent a real threat to the European Union from Russia?			



			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
------	------	------	------	------	------	------

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 [ukrainef]	10.2.2 [ukraine]	10.4.2 [ukraine]	10.5.2 [demukrai]			
10.1.3 [usf]	10.2.3 [usp]	10.4.3 [usb]	10.5.3 [demusa]			
10.1.4 [estoniaf]	10.2.4 [estoniap]	10.4.4 [estoniab]	10.5.4 [demest]			
10.1.5 [polandf]	10.2.5 [polandp]	10.4.5 [polandb]	10.5.5 [dempol]			
10.1.6 [germanyf]	10.2.6 [germanyp]	10.4.6 [germanyb]	10.5.6 [demgerm]			
10.1.7 [lithuanf]	10.2.7 [lithuanp]	10.4.7 [lithuanb]	10.5.7 [demlith]			
10.1.8 [iraqf]	10.2.8 [iraqp]	10.4.8 [japanb]	10.5.8 [demjap]			
10.1.9 [japanf]	10.2.9 [japanp]	10.4.9 [georgia]	10.5.9 [demgeorg]			
10.1.10 [georgiaf]	10.2.10 [georgiap]					
10.1.11 [euf]	10.3 [rusposn]					
10.1.12 [gbf]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016

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.
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
				Great Britain (10.1.12)	Great Britain (10.1.12)	Great Britain (10.1.12)
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	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. <i>Refused</i>	99. <i>Refused</i>	99. <i>Refused</i>
And now compare the power of these countries with Russia: are they much more powerful, somewhat more powerful, equal, somewhat weaker, or much weaker?	And now compare the power of these countries 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. <i>Much more powerful</i> 2. <i>Somewhat more powerful</i> 3. <i>Equal</i> 4. <i>Somewhat weaker</i> 5. <i>Much weaker</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>	1. <i>Much more powerful</i> 2. <i>Somewhat more powerful</i> 3. <i>Equal</i> 4. <i>Somewhat weaker</i> 5. <i>Much weaker</i> 98. <i>DK/NA</i>					
	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. <i>It has become weaker.</i> 2. <i>It has stayed about the same.</i> 3. <i>It has become stronger.</i> 98. <i>DK</i>					
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. <i>Russia benefits.</i> 2. <i>The other country benefits.</i> 3. <i>Neither benefits.</i> 4. <i>Both benefit equally.</i> 98. <i>DK</i>						
Which of the following countries, in your view, are more democratic than, equally as democratic as,	Which of the following countries, in your view, are more democratic than, equally as democratic as,					

or less democratic than Russia?	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 (10.5.5)	Poland (10.5.5)					
Germany (10.5.6)	Germany (10.5.6)					
Lithuania (10.5.7)						
Japan (10.5.8)	Japan (10.5.8)					
Georgia (10.5.9)	Georgia (10.5.9)					
1. More democratic 2. Equally as democratic 3. Less democratic 98. DK	1. More democratic 2. Equally as democratic 3. Less democratic 98. DK					

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

11 [thirdwor]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
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
					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)	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)
					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

## 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
						In your opinion, what led to the crisis in Ukraine? (13.1) (13.2) (13.3) (13.4) (13.5) (13.6) (13.7)

						<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Attempts by the US to foment another “color” revolution in Ukraine</i></li> <li>2. <i>The corrupt regime of former Ukrainian President Yanukovych</i></li> <li>3. <i>The hopes of regular Ukrainians that association with the European Union would solve fundamental problems in the country</i></li> <li>4. <i>The persistent actions of the European Union to bring Ukraine into its sphere of influence</i></li> <li>5. <i>The Ukrainian opposition, having resorted to armed methods of protest on the streets</i></li> <li>6. <i>Attempts by Yanukovych to maneuver between Russia and the European Union</i></li> <li>7. <i>Attempts by Russia to “buy” Yanukovych’s loyalty</i></li> <li>98. <i>DK</i></li> <li>99. <i>Refused</i></li> </ol>
						<p>Which of the following options would you prefer? (13.8)</p>
						<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>I would like eastern Ukraine to become part of the Russian Federation.</i></li> <li>2. <i>I would like eastern Ukraine to become an independent government.</i></li> <li>3. <i>I would like eastern Ukraine to remain part of Ukraine but receive more independence from Kiev.</i></li> </ol>



						<p>4. <i>I would like eastern Ukraine to remain part of Ukraine under the same arrangements that existed before the crisis.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>
						<p>Do you agree that in annexing Crimea, Russia violated post-war and post-Soviet international agreements and international law?</p> <p>(13.9)</p>
						<p>1. <i>Definitely yes</i></p> <p>2. <i>Probably yes</i></p> <p>3. <i>Probably no</i></p> <p>4. <i>Definitely no</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>
						<p>What do you think best explains the reaction of the West to the events in Crimea?</p> <p>(13.10)</p>
						<p>1. <i>Hostile attitudes toward Russia; a desire to use the opportunity to exert influence on Russia</i></p> <p>2. <i>Criticism of the annexation of a foreign territory by Russia; Russia's violation of the norms of international law</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></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]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
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.”
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)

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)
						Funding of Russian NGOs by Western countries (1.10)
1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK/NA	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK/NA	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK/NA	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK/NA	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK 99. Refused	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK 99. Refused	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK 99. Refused

## B2. THREATS TO SECURITY

2.1 [secuspowers]  
2.2 [secgap]  
2.3 [secdomes]  
2.4 [secpop]  
2.5 [secconf]  
2.6 [secus3rd]  
2.7 [seccis]  
2.8 [secfbor]  
2.9 [sectror]  
2.10 [secxtor]  
2.11 [secentor]

2.12 [secnato]  
2.13 [secfown]  
2.14 [secnato]  
2.15 [secntension]  
2.16 [migrate]  
2.17 [narcotic]  
2.18 [greenhou]  
2.19 [nukerep]  
2.20 [colorrev]  
2.21 [infowest]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent any 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.”	Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent any threat 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.”	Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent any threat whatsoever? Rate the level of threat on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent any threat whatsoever? Rate the level of threat on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent any threat whatsoever? Rate the level of threat on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent any threat whatsoever? Rate the level of threat on a five-point scale, where 1 means “the absence of danger” and 5 means “the utmost danger.”	Which of the following represent the greatest threat to the security of Russia and which do not represent any threat 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)
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 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 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)
			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	Foreign companies owning key branches of the Russian economy				

	(2.13)	(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)
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)						
Nuclear weapons in former Soviet republics other than Russia (2.19)						
					A “color” revolution (2.20)	A “color” revolution (2.20)
						An information war against Russia conducted by the West (2.21)
1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK/NA	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK/NA	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK/NA	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK/NA	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK 99. Refused	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK 99. Refused	1. The absence of danger 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. The utmost danger 98. DK 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>
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]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
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. NA						

#### 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>
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
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)
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>
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
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. Increase its military expenditures 2. Decrease them 3. Keep them at the same level 98. DK	1. Increase its military expenditures 2. Decrease them 3. Keep them at the same level 98. DK/NA					1. Increase its military expenditures 2. Decrease them 3. Keep them at the same level 98. DK 99. Refused
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. It should 2. It should not 98. DK	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK 99. Refused	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK 99. Refused	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK 99. Refused
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. It should 2. It should not 98. DK	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK 99. Refused	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK 99. Refused	1. It should 2. It should not 98. DK 99. Refused

#### B8. ACCEPTABLE USES OF MILITARY FORCE

8.1	[lfinteg]	8.11	[lfbalwest]
8.2	[lfecon]	8.12	[lfhumrts]
8.3	[lfintcis]		
8.4	[lfinto]		
8.5	[lfnatint]		
8.6	[lfcrisis]		
8.7	[lfnatsec]		
8.8	[lffriend]		
8.9	[lfdevelop]		
8.10	[lfun]		

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
	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?
	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 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 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 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)
	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)
	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 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)
				Supporting and defending human rights in other countries (8.12)	Supporting and defending human rights in other countries (8.12)	Supporting and defending 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

#### B9. POLITICAL USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

9.1	[resterit]					
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]					
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>
				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	Defending the economic interests of the Russian Federation	Defending the economic interests of the Russian Federation

				(9.2)	(9.2)	(9.2)
				Defending the interests of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] living in the former Soviet republics (9.3)	Defending the interests of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] living in the former Soviet republics (9.3)	Defending the interests of Russians [ <i>rossiyan</i> ] 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 defending human rights in other countries (9.10)	Supporting and defending human rights in other countries (9.10)	Supporting and defending human rights in other countries (9.10)
				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>

#### B10. CHECHNYA

10	[chech04]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
			Do you believe that the decision to use military			

			force in Chechnya was correct? (10)			
			1. Yes 2. No 98. DK			

#### B11. "LESSONS OF AFGHANISTAN"

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

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

12	[fpchfear]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
					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	3. Yes 4. No 98. DK 99. Refused

#### B13. NATO OPERATION IN LIBYA

13	[natolib]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
					There are various opinions concerning the NATO operation in Libya. Which of these positions is closer to your point of view? (13)	
					<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>It represented interference in a country's internal affairs.</i></li> <li>2. <i>It was a necessary step to put an end to the violence and protect human rights.</i></li> </ol> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	

#### B14. SYRIAN CONFLICT

- 14.1 [peacesyr]
- 14.2 [syriaconf]
- 14.3 [syria1]
- 14.4 [syria2]
- 14.5 [syria3]
- 14.6 [syria4]
- 14.7 [syria5]
- 14.8 [syria6]
- 14.9 [syria7]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
					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)
					<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>It would represent interference in a country's internal affairs.</i></li> <li>2. <i>It is a necessary step to put an end to the</i></li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>It represents interference in a country's internal affairs.</i></li> <li>2. <i>It is a necessary step to put an end to the</i></li> </ol>

					<i>violence and protect human rights.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	<i>violence and protect human rights.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						With which of the following opinions about the confrontation between the government and opposition in Syria would you be inclined to agree? <b>(14.2)</b>
						1. <i>Terrorists incited by the West are waging a bloody struggle against the legitimate government of the country.</i> 2. <i>There is a civil war going on in Syria.</i> 3. <i>The regime of Bashar al-Assad is massacring those who oppose him.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						In your opinion, what are the Russian government's goals for participating in the Syrian conflict? <b>(14.3)</b> <b>(14.4)</b> <b>(14.5)</b> <b>(14.6)</b> <b>(14.7)</b> <b>(14.8)</b> <b>(14.9)</b>
						1. <i>Attempting to neutralize and eliminate the spread of military activities by Islamic radicals and terrorists to Russia</i> 2. <i>Protecting the government of Bashar al-Assad in order to prevent a series of US-inspired "color</i>



						<p>revolutions” around the world</p> <p>3. Defending the economic interests of Russian companies in the Middle East</p> <p>4. Supporting Bashar al-Assad’s regime and his struggle against the opposition, since it itself fears mass anti-government protests</p> <p>5. 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</p> <p>6. 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</p> <p>7. I do not understand why Russia is participating in this war.</p> <p>98. DK</p> <p>99. Refused</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	[fpwsthel]						
1.6	[globprob]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016	

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	[gtterrit]	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
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 defending human rights in other countries (2.15)	Supporting and defending human rights in other countries (2.15)	Supporting and defending human rights in other countries (2.15)			
1. Very important 2. Less important 98. DK/NA	1. Very important 2. Less important 98. DK/NA	1. Very important 2. Less important 98. DK/NA	1. Very important 2. Less important 98. NA			
	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>					

### C3. INFLUENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY

3.1	[inflfp]	3.7	[inbiznes]	3.16	[icregion]
3.2.1	[howinf1]	3.8	[inregion]	3.17	[icmfa]

3.2.2 [howinf2] 3.2.3 [howinf3] 3.2.4 [preinf] 3.3.1 [means1] 3.3.2 [means2] 3.3.3 [means3] 3.4 [inpublic] 3.5 [induma] 3.6 [inpres]	3.9 [inmfa] 3.10 [inmdef] 3.11 [inparty] 3.12 [icpublic] 3.13 [icduma] 3.14 [icpres] 3.15 [icbiznes]	3.18 [icmdeg] 3.19 [icparty]				
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>
Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy? If yes, how much?  (3.1)	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy? If yes, how much?  (3.1)	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy? If yes, how much? Some, significant, or decisive?  (3.1)	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy?  (3.1)	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy?  (3.1)	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy?  (3.1)	Do you think that people like you can influence decisions in the realm of foreign policy?  (3.1)
1. No, they cannot 2. Some influence 3. Significant influence 4. Decisive influence 98. DK	1. No, they cannot 2. Some influence 3. Significant influence 4. Decisive influence 98. DK	1. No, they cannot 2. Some influence 3. Significant influence 4. Decisive influence 98. DK	1. No, they cannot 2. Some influence 3. Significant influence 4. Decisive influence 98. DK	1. No, they cannot 2. Some influence 3. Significant influence 98. DK 99. Refused	1. No, they cannot 2. Some influence 3. Significant influence 98. DK 99. Refused	1. No, they cannot 2. Some influence 3. Significant influence 98. DK 99. Refused
[If 2, 3, or 4 selected]: In what ways do you influence decision making in foreign policy?  (3.2.1) (3.2.2) (3.2.3)	[If 2, 3, or 4 selected]: How have you personally influenced decision making in foreign policy in the past three years?  (3.2.1) (3.2.2) (3.2.3)	[If 2, 3, or 4 selected]: How have you personally influenced decision making in foreign policy in the past three years?  (3.2.1) (3.2.2) (3.2.3)	[If 2, 3, or 4 selected]: How have you personally influenced decision making in foreign policy in the past three years?  (3.2.1) (3.2.2) (3.2.3)	[If 2, 3, or 98 selected]: Have you personally influenced decision making in foreign policy in the past three years?  (3.2.4)	[If 2, 3, or 98 selected]: Have you personally influenced decision making in foreign policy in the past three years?  (3.2.4)	[If 2, 3, or 98 selected]: And how about you personally?  (3.2.4)
1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 98. DK	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 98. DK	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 98. DK	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 98. DK/Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK
And what methods, in your opinion, are the most effective for influencing decision making in the realm of foreign policy?  (3.3.1) (3.3.2) (3.3.3)						
1. Elections 2. A referendum 3. Rallies and demonstrations						

4. <i>Participating in political parties and organizations</i>						
5. <i>Participating in the work of the foreign policy commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation</i>						
6. <i>Participating in the work of local councils [soviets] and local governments</i>						
7. <i>Appeals to the media</i>						
8. <i>Getting the attention of the West</i>						
9. <i>Other_____</i>						
98. <i>None</i>						
	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.”	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.”	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.”	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.”	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.”	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.”
	Public opinion (3.4)	Public opinion (3.4)	Public opinion (3.4)	Public opinion (3.4)	Public opinion (3.4)	Public opinion (3.4)
	The State Duma (3.5)	The State Duma (3.5)	The State Duma (3.5)	The State Duma (3.5)	The State Duma (3.5)	The State Duma (3.5)
	The president (3.6)	The president (3.6)	The president (3.6)	The president (3.6)	The president (3.6)	The president (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)
	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 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)
	1. <i>Very little influence</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. <i>The greatest possible influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very little influence</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. --- 6. --- 7. <i>The greatest possible influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very little influence</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>The greatest possible influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very little influence</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>The greatest possible influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very little influence</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>The greatest possible influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Very little influence</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>The greatest possible influence</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
	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 (3.16)	Regional leaders (3.16)	Regional leaders (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
	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 (4.3)	The president (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. Strongly isolationist orientation 2. --- 3. ---	1. Strongly isolationist orientation 2. --- 3. ---				

	4. ---	4. ---				
	5. ---	5. ---				
	6. ---	6. ---				
	7. <i>Strongly internationalist orientation</i>	7. <i>Strongly internationalist orientation</i>				
	98. <i>DK</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
						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. Very well 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. Very poorly 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 [newspap]	1.23 [media7]	1.31 [media15]			
1.8 [supsov]	1.16 [newsnet]	1.24 [media8]	1.32 [media16]			
1.9 [friends]						
1.10 [informal]						
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</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. <i>Completely trust</i> 2. <i>For the most part</i> <i>trust</i> 3. <i>Sometimes trust,</i> <i>sometimes not</i> 4. <i>For the most part</i> <i>distrust</i> 5. <i>Completely distrust</i> 98. <i>DK</i>						
[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	People find out about events in the world and in their country from many	People find out about events in the world and in their country from many	People find out about events in the world and in their country from many	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?	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?	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?	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?	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?
						First Channel (1.17)
						“Rossiya” Channel (1.18)
						NTV (1.19)
						REN-TV (1.20)
						Satellite television (1.21)

						Channels in your region or city (1.22)
						Radio broadcasts (1.23)
						Print journalism (newspapers, magazines) (1.24)
						Online media (1.25)
						Social networking sites (1.26)
						Other online sources (1.27)
						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 friends and relatives (1.31)
						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'? (1.32)
						1. Not once 2. Once 3. Several times 4. Almost every day 5. Every day 98. DK 99. Refused

## D2. DISCUSSION OF INFORMATION

2 [newspals]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
	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 [socioanet]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
					Do you use any social networking sites such as Facebook or Odnoklassniki? (3)	
					1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK/Refused</i>	

## D4. MEDIA OBJECTIVITY

4.1 [objnat]

4.2 [objwest]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
						How objectively do you think that events in Russia and in the world as a whole are covered by...
						Western media sources (4.1)
						The state-controlled Russian media (4.2)
						1. <i>On the whole objectively</i>

						2. <i>For the most part objectively</i> 3. <i>Not very objectively</i> 4. <i>Not objectively at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
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## E. DOMESTIC POLITICS

### E1. DOMESTIC ORDER

1	[fphmrht]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
		<p>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?</p> <p>(1)</p>	<p>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?</p> <p>(1)</p>	<p>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?</p> <p>(1)</p>	<p>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?</p> <p>(1)</p>	<p>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?</p> <p>(1)</p>
		1. <i>Order at any price</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Order without violations of human rights</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Order at any price</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Order without violations of human rights</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Order at any price</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Order without violations of human rights</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Order at any price</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Order without violations of human rights</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Order at any price</i> 2. --- 3. --- 4. --- 5. <i>Order without violations of human rights</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

### E2. POLITICAL BELIEFS

2.1	[danidea]	2.11	[comppol]	2.21	[leadpeop]
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2.2 [orgmemb]	2.12 [compeco]	2.22 [tradit]								
2.3 [defindiv]	2.13 [richer]	2.23 [egalit]								
2.4 [defsoc]	2.14 [newbusi]	2.24 [chickpot]								
2.5 [onephilo]	2.15 [stateind]	2.25 [eqlright]								
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				
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?				
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 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)
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)
				The idea of “Russia for the Russians [ <i>russkikh</i> ]!” (2.9)	The idea of “Russia for the Russians [ <i>russkikh</i> ]!” (2.9)	The idea of “Russia for the Russians [ <i>russkikh</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)
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 enterprises, organizations, and firms benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, organizations, and firms benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, organizations, and firms benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, organizations, and firms benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, organizations, and firms benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, organizations, and firms benefits our society. (2.12)	Competition among enterprises, organizations, and firms benefits our society. (2.12)

It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers, becomes richer than many other people. (2.13)	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers, becomes richer than many other people. (2.13)	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers, becomes richer than many other people. (2.13)	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers, becomes richer than other people. (2.13)	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers, becomes richer than other people. (2.13)	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers, becomes richer than other people. (2.13)	It is normal when the owner of a prosperous enterprise, using the labor of his workers, 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)
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 majority of people poorly understand what is good for them and what bad. (2.18)	The majority of people poorly understand what is good for them and what bad. (2.18)	The majority of people poorly understand what is good for them and what 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)
					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)
						Russia is part of European civilization. (2.29)

1. <i>Completely agree</i>	1. <i>Completely agree</i>	1. <i>Completely agree</i>	1. <i>Completely agree</i>	1. <i>Completely agree</i>	1. <i>Completely agree</i>	1. <i>Completely agree</i>
2. <i>Mostly agree</i>	2. <i>Mostly agree</i>	2. <i>Mostly agree</i>	2. <i>Mostly agree</i>	2. <i>Mostly agree</i>	2. <i>Mostly agree</i>	2. <i>Mostly agree</i>
3. <i>Mostly disagree</i>	3. <i>Mostly disagree</i>	3. <i>Mostly disagree</i>	3. <i>Mostly disagree</i>	3. <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	3. <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	3. <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>
4. <i>Completely disagree</i>	4. <i>Completely disagree</i>	4. <i>Completely disagree</i>	4. <i>Completely disagree</i>	4. <i>Mostly disagree</i>	4. <i>Mostly disagree</i>	4. <i>Mostly disagree</i>
98. <i>DK</i>	98. <i>DK</i>	98. <i>DK</i>	98. <i>DK</i>	5. <i>Completely disagree</i>	5. <i>Completely disagree</i>	5. <i>Completely disagree</i>
				98. <i>DK</i>	98. <i>DK</i>	98. <i>DK</i>
				99. <i>Refused</i>	99. <i>Refused</i>	99. <i>Refused</i>

### 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 [dmnroddc]						
3.10 [dmrtsdty]						
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</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 sharply criticize the government. (3.5)	People have the right to express themselves freely, even if they sharply criticize the government. (3.5)	People have the right to express themselves freely, even if they 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					
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#### E4. BEST POLITICAL SYSTEM FOR RUSSIA

4	[russyst]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
		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>

#### E5. LIKELIHOOD OF POLITICAL EVENTS

5.1	[likelyelect]					
5.2	[likelynoelect]					
5.3	[likelyrules]					
5.4	[likelyfdivide]					
5.5	[likelyrepress]					
5.6	[likelyinflu]					
5.7	[likelyur]					
5.8	[likelyputin]					
5.9	[likelywhen]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
		Which of the following scenarios do you think are very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely in the next 10 years?		Which of the following scenarios do you think are very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely in the next 10 years?		Which of the following scenarios do you think are very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely in the next 10 years?
		Political movements with which you sympathize will win an election. (5.1)		Political movements with which you sympathize will win an election. (5.1)		Political movements with which you sympathize will win an election. (5.1)
		Elections will be canceled.		Elections will be canceled.		Elections will be canceled.

		(5.2)		(5.2)		(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)
				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)
		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 party or movement other than United Russia will come to power. (5.7)
						Someone other than Vladimir Putin will become president. (5.8)
		1. Very likely 2. Likely 3. Unlikely 4. Very unlikely 98. DK		1. Very likely 2. Likely 3. Unlikely 4. Very unlikely 98. DK 99. Refused		1. Very likely 2. Likely 3. Unlikely 4. Very unlikely 98. DK 99. Refused
						When is this most likely to occur? (5.9)



						1. In 2018, with the next presidential election 2. In 2024, when Putin's constitutional term limit for being president expires 3. Earlier than 2018 4. Other _____ 98. DK 99. Refused
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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
				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 (6.5)	To be Orthodox (6.5)	To be Orthodox (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
				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)
				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>	5. <i>Very proud</i> 6. <i>Proud</i> 7. <i>Not very proud</i> 8. <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 the following features [of your country]?	And now more specifically – are you very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all of the following features [of your country]?	And now more specifically – are you very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all of the following features [of your country]?
				The state of democracy (7.2)	The state of democracy (7.2)	The state of democracy (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 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)
				Russian history (7.6)	Russian history (7.6)	Russian 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>	5. <i>Very proud</i> 6. <i>Proud</i> 7. <i>Not very proud</i> 8. <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 [confadm]
- 8.7 [trust]
- 8.8 [happiness]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
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 (8.2)	Members of the government (8.2)	Members of the government (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	[feelruss]		

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
				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>russskie</i> ] (9.6)	Russians [ <i>russskie</i> ] (9.6)	Russians [ <i>russskie</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
				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 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 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. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Mostly disagree 4. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Mostly disagree 4. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused	1. Completely agree 2. Mostly agree 3. Mostly disagree 4. Completely disagree 98. DK 99. Refused

## E11. ELECTIONS

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

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
					How would you evaluate the recent elections to the State Duma in Russia? (11.1)	
					<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The elections were free and fair, without serious irregularities.</li> <li>2. The elections were conducted with minor irregularities that did not affect their overall outcome.</li> <li>3. The elections were conducted with serious irregularities.</li> <li>4. The elections were neither free nor fair.</li> </ol> 98. DK 99. Refused	
					How would you evaluate the recent presidential elections in Russia? (11.2)	
					<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The elections were free and fair, without serious irregularities.</li> <li>2. The elections were conducted with minor irregularities that did not affect their overall outcome.</li> <li>3. The elections were conducted with serious irregularities.</li> <li>4. The elections were neither free nor fair.</li> </ol> 98. DK 99. Refused	
					What is your opinion about the protests “For Fair Elections” that took place in Bolotnaya Square, on Prospekt Sakharova, and in other places? (11.3)	

					1. <i>I support their demands and participated myself.</i> 2. <i>I support their demands but did not participate.</i> 3. <i>I do not support their demands.</i> 4. <i>Those protests were organized from abroad in order to destabilize Russia.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	
				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 candidate would you vote? (11.4)	For whom did you vote in the presidential election? (11.5)	
				1. <i>Medvedev</i> 2. <i>Another answer</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Putin</i> 2. <i>Another candidate</i> 3. <i>Didn't vote</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>	

## 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
					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.”



					Submitting petitions (12.1)	Submitting petitions (12.1)
					Participating in a boycott (12.2)	Participating in a boycott (12.2)
					Attending demonstrations sanctioned by the government (12.3)	Attending demonstrations sanctioned by the government (12.3)
					Participating in a strike (12.4)	Participating in a strike (12.4)
					Other forms of protest (12.5)	
						Attending unsanctioned demonstrations (12.6)
						Protests 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

### E13. POST-MATERIALIST AND OTHER VALUES, NGOS

13.1.1	[future1]	13.2.5	[raisechild5]	13.3	[foreagent]						
13.1.2	[future2]	13.2.6	[raisechild6]	13.4	[russiato]						
13.1.3	[future3]	13.2.7	[raisechild7]	13.5	[issues1]						
13.2.1	[raisechild1]	13.2.8	[raisechild98]	13.6	[issues2]						
13.2.2	[raisechild2]	13.2.9	[raisechild9]								
13.2.3	[raisechild3]	13.2.10	[raisechild10]								
13.2.4	[raisechild4]	13.2.11	[raisechild11]								
1993		1995		1999		2004		2008		2012	2016
										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>	
						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 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)
						1. <i>The law is appropriate because some NGOs are indeed foreign agents.</i> 2. <i>The law is repressive and is meant to prevent NGOs from having contacts with foreigners in general.</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						What, above all, would you like to see Russia as today? (13.4)
						1. <i>As a great power that is respected and somewhat feared by other countries</i> 2. <i>As a country with a high standard of living, even if it is not one of the most powerful countries in the world</i>

						98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>
					Which of the things on the card do you consider the most important? And which would be the next most important?	
					<i>First Choice</i> <b>(13.5)</b>	
					<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>	

## F. ECONOMIC CONCERNS

### F1. BEST PATH OF DEVELOPMENT

1.1 [europhil]						
1.2 [asiaphil]						
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>
	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	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	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	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	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	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

	path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view? (1.1)	path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view? (1.1)	path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view? (1.1)	path. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view? (1.1)	statements is closer to your point of view? (1.1)	statements is closer to your point of view? (1.1)
	<p>1. <i>It should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Russia should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Russia should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Russia should follow the path of developed countries, integrate into the world community, and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Russia should follow the path of developed countries and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>	<p>1. <i>Russia should follow the path of developed countries and assimilate the experience and achievements of Western civilization.</i></p> <p>2. <i>Taking into account the history and geographic position of Russia at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, it should follow a unique Russian path.</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK</i></p> <p>99. <i>Refused</i></p>
			<p>[If choice 2 or 98 is selected]:</p> <p>And sometimes people maintain that Russia should follow the path of developed countries in Asia. Do you agree with this statement or not?</p> <p>(1.2)</p>			
			<p>1. <i>Yes</i></p> <p>2. <i>No</i></p> <p>98. <i>DK/NA</i></p>			

## 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
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 which should be increased?	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 they be increased?	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 they be increased?	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 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
Now we would like to ask you several questions concerning your opinion about the economy. First, imagine that you have an idea to open a new enterprise which, if successful, would significantly increase your income. Would you want to open your own business? (3.1)	Now we would like to ask you several questions concerning your opinion about the economy. First, imagine that you have an idea to open a new enterprise which, if successful, would significantly increase your income. Would you want to open your own business? (3.1)	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 successful, would significantly increase your income. Would you want to open your own business? (3.1)				
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>				
[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. <i>Very strong</i> 2. <i>Strong</i> 3. <i>Weak</i> 4. <i>Very weak</i> 5. <i>No desire at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very strong</i> 2. <i>Strong</i> 3. <i>Weak</i> 4. <i>No desire at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very strong</i> 2. <i>Strong</i> 3. <i>Weak</i> 4. <i>No desire at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i>				
[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. <i>Very strong</i> 2. <i>Strong</i> 3. <i>Weak</i> 4. <i>Very weak</i> 5. <i>No desire at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very strong</i> 2. <i>Strong</i> 3. <i>Weak</i> 4. <i>No desire at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very strong</i> 2. <i>Strong</i> 3. <i>Weak</i> 4. <i>No desire at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i>				

[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk all of your savings in order to open your own business? <b>(3.4)</b>	[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk all of your savings in order to open your own business? <b>(3.4)</b>	[If yes]: How strong is your desire to risk all of your savings in order to open your own business? <b>(3.4)</b>				
1. <i>Very strong</i> 2. <i>Strong</i> 3. <i>Weak</i> 4. <i>Very weak</i> 5. <i>No desire at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very strong</i> 2. <i>Strong</i> 3. <i>Weak</i> 4. <i>No desire at all</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Very strong</i> 2. <i>Strong</i> 3. <i>Weak</i> 4. <i>No desire at all</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
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 <b>(4.1)</b>	State-owned enterprises <b>(4.1)</b>	State-owned enterprises <b>(4.1)</b>		State-owned enterprises <b>(4.1)</b>	State-owned enterprises <b>(4.1)</b>	State-owned enterprises <b>(4.1)</b>
Privatized state enterprises <b>(4.2)</b>	Privatized state enterprises <b>(4.2)</b>	Privatized enterprises (formerly state-owned) <b>(4.2)</b>		Privatized state enterprises <b>(4.2)</b>	Privatized state enterprises <b>(4.2)</b>	Privatized state enterprises <b>(4.2)</b>
New private enterprises <b>(4.3)</b>	New private enterprises <b>(4.3)</b>	Newly-established private enterprises <b>(4.3)</b>		New private enterprises <b>(4.3)</b>	New private enterprises <b>(4.3)</b>	New private enterprises <b>(4.3)</b>
Foreign enterprises <b>(4.4)</b>	Foreign enterprises <b>(4.4)</b>	Foreign enterprises <b>(4.4)</b>		Foreign enterprises <b>(4.4)</b>	Foreign enterprises <b>(4.4)</b>	Foreign enterprises <b>(4.4)</b>
1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i>		1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</i>	1. <i>Very important</i> 2. <i>Important</i> 3. <i>Somewhat important</i> 4. <i>Unimportant</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>	5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i>		5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>	5. <i>Not at all important</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
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## F5. ASPECTS OF WORK

5.1 [workconf]						
5.2 [workrich]						
5.3 [workdec]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
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 [ecscitrus]						
6.2 [ecscitu]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
	Do you think that the economic situation in Russia as a whole will improve, remain approximately the same, or worsen next year?	Do you think that the economic situation in Russia as a whole will improve, remain approximately the same, or worsen next year?				

	(6.1)	(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
						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. <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>

#### F8. MODELS OF DEVELOPMENT, PERESTROIKA

8.1	[semodel]	8.4.6	[cinstlearn6]				
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	
							Could you name a country that could serve as a model for Russia with regard to political-economic development? (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>
						[If none named]: Nevertheless, are there any countries that have traits or institutions from which Russia could learn? (8.2)
						1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						What country is that? (8.3)
						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... (8.4.1) (8.4.2) (8.4.3) (8.4.4) (8.4.5) (8.4.6) (8.4.7)
						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>
						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> <b>(8.5.1)</b>
						The political situation in Russia on the eve of <i>perestroika</i> <b>(8.5.2)</b>
						The economic situation in Russia today <b>(8.5.3)</b>
						The political situation in Russia today <b>(8.5.4)</b>
						<i>1 – 100</i>
						Please select the response that is closest to your own personal evaluation of the results of <i>perestroika</i> . <b>(8.5.5)</b>
						1. <i>Definitely negative</i> 2. <i>Rather negative</i> 3. <i>Uncertain</i> 4. <i>Rather positive</i> 5. <i>Definitely positive</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						How did your own and your loved ones' living standards change as a result of <i>perestroika</i> ? <b>(8.5.6)</b>
						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>
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## G. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

### G1. ELITE GROUP

1 [workgroup]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
[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. <i>Media</i> 2. <i>Science/Education</i> 8. <i>Legislative and Executive Branches Combined</i> 9. <i>Military/Security Agencies</i> 10. <i>Economy - General</i>	1. <i>Media</i> 2. <i>Science/Education</i> 3. <i>Private Business</i> 4. <i>State-Owned Enterprises</i> 8. <i>Legislative and Executive Branches Combined</i> 9. <i>Military/Security Agencies</i>	1. <i>Media</i> 2. <i>Science/Education</i> 3. <i>Private Business</i> 4. <i>State-Owned Enterprises</i> 5. <i>Executive Branch/ Ministries</i> 6. <i>Legislative Branch (those involved with foreign policy issues)</i> 7. <i>Legislative Branch (random sample)</i> 9. <i>Military/Security Agencies</i>	1. <i>Media</i> 2. <i>Science/Education</i> 3. <i>Private Business</i> 4. <i>State-Owned Enterprises</i> 5. <i>Executive Branch/ Ministries</i> 6. <i>Legislative Branch (those involved with foreign policy issues)</i> 7. <i>Legislative Branch (random sample)</i> 9. <i>Military/Security Agencies</i>	1. <i>Media</i> 2. <i>Science/Education</i> 3. <i>Private Business</i> 4. <i>State-Owned Enterprises</i> 5. <i>Executive Branch/ Ministries</i> 6. <i>Legislative Branch (those involved with foreign policy issues)</i> 9. <i>Military/Security Agencies</i>	1. <i>Media</i> 2. <i>Science/Education</i> 3. <i>Private Business</i> 4. <i>State-Owned Enterprises</i> 5. <i>Executive Branch/ Ministries</i> 6. <i>Legislative Branch (those involved with foreign policy issues)</i> 9. <i>Military/Security Agencies</i>	1. <i>Media</i> 2. <i>Science/Education</i> 3. <i>Private Business</i> 4. <i>State-Owned Enterprises</i> 5. <i>Executive Branch/ Ministries</i> 6. <i>Legislative Branch (those involved with foreign policy issues)</i> 9. <i>Military/Security Agencies</i>

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

2.1 [dadeduc]						
2.2 [dadocc]						
2.3 [dadnat]						
2.4 [momeduc]						
2.5 [momocc]						
2.6 [momnat]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
Please specify your father's level of education. (2.1)	Please specify your father's level of education. (2.1)	Please specify your father's level of education. (2.1)	Please specify your father's level of education. (2.1)	Please specify your father's level of education. (2.1)	Please specify your father's level of education. (2.1)	
1. <i>Seventh grade or less</i> 2. <i>Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</i>	1. <i>Seventh grade or less</i> 2. <i>Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</i>	1. <i>Seventh grade or less</i> 2. <i>Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</i>	1. <i>Seventh grade or less</i> 2. <i>Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</i>	1. <i>Seventh grade or less</i> 2. <i>Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</i>	1. <i>Seventh grade or less</i> 2. <i>Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</i>	

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	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	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	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	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	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? (2.2)	What is your father's occupation? (2.2)	What is your father's occupation? (2.2)				
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 _____ 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. Kolkhoznik (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 father's nationality? (2.3)	What is your father's nationality? (2.3)	What is your father's nationality? (2.3)	What is your father's nationality? (2.3)	What is your father's nationality? (2.3)		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Russian</li> <li>2. Ukrainian</li> <li>3. Belarusian</li> <li>4. Tatar</li> <li>5. Abkhaz</li> <li>6. Armenian</li> <li>7. Azerbaijani</li> <li>8. Balkar</li> <li>9. Bashkir</li> <li>10. Buryat</li> <li>11. Chechen</li> <li>12. Chuvash</li> <li>13. Dagestani</li> <li>14. Estonian</li> <li>15. Georgian</li> <li>16. German</li> <li>17. Greek</li> <li>18. Ingush</li> <li>19. Jewish</li> <li>20. Karachai</li> <li>21. Kazakh</li> <li>22. Kyrgyz</li> <li>23. Korean</li> <li>24. Lezgin</li> <li>25. Mixed nationality</li> <li>26. Moldovan</li> <li>27. Ossetian</li> <li>28. Polish</li> <li>29. Tajik</li> <li>30. Uzbek</li> <li>31. Other</li> <li>32. Bulgarian</li> <li>33. Mordvin</li> <li>34. Komi</li> <li>35. Karelian</li> <li>98. DK</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Russian</li> <li>2. Ukrainian</li> <li>3. Belarusian</li> <li>4. Tatar</li> <li>5. Abkhaz</li> <li>6. Armenian</li> <li>7. Azerbaijani</li> <li>8. Balkar</li> <li>9. Bashkir</li> <li>10. Buryat</li> <li>11. Chechen</li> <li>12. Chuvash</li> <li>13. Dagestani</li> <li>14. Estonian</li> <li>15. Georgian</li> <li>16. German</li> <li>17. Greek</li> <li>18. Ingush</li> <li>19. Jewish</li> <li>20. Karachai</li> <li>21. Kazakh</li> <li>22. Kyrgyz</li> <li>23. Korean</li> <li>24. Lezgin</li> <li>25. Mixed nationality</li> <li>26. Moldovan</li> <li>27. Ossetian</li> <li>28. Polish</li> <li>29. Tajik</li> <li>30. Uzbek</li> <li>31. Other</li> <li>32. Bulgarian</li> <li>33. Mordvin</li> <li>34. Komi</li> <li>35. Karelian</li> <li>98. DK</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Russian</li> <li>2. Ukrainian</li> <li>3. Belarusian</li> <li>4. Tatar</li> <li>5. Abkhaz</li> <li>6. Armenian</li> <li>7. Azerbaijani</li> <li>8. Balkar</li> <li>9. Bashkir</li> <li>10. Buryat</li> <li>11. Chechen</li> <li>12. Chuvash</li> <li>13. Dagestani</li> <li>14. Estonian</li> <li>15. Georgian</li> <li>16. German</li> <li>17. Greek</li> <li>18. Ingush</li> <li>19. Jewish</li> <li>20. Karachai</li> <li>21. Kazakh</li> <li>22. Kyrgyz</li> <li>23. Korean</li> <li>24. Lezgin</li> <li>25. Mixed nationality</li> <li>26. Moldovan</li> <li>27. Ossetian</li> <li>28. Polish</li> <li>29. Tajik</li> <li>30. Uzbek</li> <li>31. Other</li> <li>32. Bulgarian</li> <li>33. Mordvin</li> <li>34. Komi</li> <li>35. Karelian</li> <li>98. DK</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Russian</li> <li>2. Ukrainian</li> <li>3. Belarusian</li> <li>4. Tatar</li> <li>5. Abkhaz</li> <li>6. Armenian</li> <li>7. Azerbaijani</li> <li>8. Balkar</li> <li>9. Bashkir</li> <li>10. Buryat</li> <li>11. Chechen</li> <li>12. Chuvash</li> <li>13. Dagestani</li> <li>14. Estonian</li> <li>15. Georgian</li> <li>16. German</li> <li>17. Greek</li> <li>18. Ingush</li> <li>19. Jewish</li> <li>20. Karachai</li> <li>21. Kazakh</li> <li>22. Kyrgyz</li> <li>23. Korean</li> <li>24. Lezgin</li> <li>25. Mixed nationality</li> <li>26. Moldovan</li> <li>27. Ossetian</li> <li>28. Polish</li> <li>29. Tajik</li> <li>30. Uzbek</li> <li>31. Other</li> <li>32. Bulgarian</li> <li>33. Mordvin</li> <li>34. Komi</li> <li>35. Karelian</li> <li>98. DK</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Russian</li> <li>2. Ukrainian</li> <li>3. Belarusian</li> <li>4. Tatar</li> <li>5. Abkhaz</li> <li>6. Armenian</li> <li>7. Azerbaijani</li> <li>8. Balkar</li> <li>9. Bashkir</li> <li>10. Buryat</li> <li>11. Chechen</li> <li>12. Chuvash</li> <li>13. Dagestani</li> <li>14. Estonian</li> <li>15. Georgian</li> <li>16. German</li> <li>17. Greek</li> <li>18. Ingush</li> <li>19. Jewish</li> <li>20. Karachai</li> <li>21. Kazakh</li> <li>22. Kyrgyz</li> <li>23. Korean</li> <li>24. Lezgin</li> <li>25. Mixed nationality</li> <li>26. Moldovan</li> <li>27. Ossetian</li> <li>28. Polish</li> <li>29. Tajik</li> <li>30. Uzbek</li> <li>31. Other</li> <li>32. Bulgarian</li> <li>33. Mordvin</li> <li>34. Komi</li> <li>35. Karelian</li> <li>98. DK</li> </ol>		
Please specify your mother's level of education. (2.4)	Please specify your mother's level of education. (2.4)	Please specify your mother's level of education. (2.4)	Please specify your mother's level of education. (2.4)	And now I will ask you several questions about your mother. Please specify your mother's level of education. (2.4)	And now I will ask you several questions about your mother. Please specify your mother's level of education. (2.4)	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Seventh grade or less</li> <li>2. Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Seventh grade or less</li> <li>2. Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Seventh grade or less</li> <li>2. Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Seventh grade or less</li> <li>2. Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Seventh grade or less</li> <li>2. Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Seventh grade or less</li> <li>2. Incomplete secondary education (8th-9th grades)</li> </ol>	



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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 ?	What is your mother's nationality ?	What is your mother's nationality ?	What is your mother's nationality ?	What is your mother's nationality ?		

(2.6)	(2.6)	(2.6)	(2.6)	(2.6)		
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		

### 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

[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. <i>Male</i> 2. <i>Female</i>	1. <i>Male</i> 2. <i>Female</i>	1. <i>Male</i> 2. <i>Female</i>	1. <i>Male</i> 2. <i>Female</i>	1. <i>Male</i> 2. <i>Female</i>	1. <i>Male</i> 2. <i>Female</i>	1. <i>Male</i> 2. <i>Female</i>
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. <i>DK</i>	19____ 98. <i>DK</i>	19____ 98. <i>DK</i>	19____ 98. <i>DK</i>	19____ 98. <i>DK</i>	19____ 98. <i>DK</i>	19____ 98. <i>DK</i>
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. <i>In Russia</i> 2. <i>In another former Soviet republic</i> 3. <i>In another country</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>In Russia</i> 2. <i>In another former Soviet republic</i> 3. <i>In another country</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>In Russia</i> 2. <i>In another former Soviet republic</i> 3. <i>In another country</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>In Russia</i> 2. <i>In another former Soviet republic</i> 3. <i>In another country</i> 98. <i>DK</i>			
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. <i>DK</i>	_____ years 98. <i>DK</i>	_____ years 98. <i>DK</i>	_____ years 98. <i>DK</i>			
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. <i>Married</i> 2. <i>Widower/widow</i> 3. <i>Divorced</i> 4. <i>Single</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Married (including common-law marriage—[grazhdanskii brak])</i> 2. <i>Widower/widow</i> 3. <i>Divorced</i> 4. <i>Single</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Married (including common-law marriage—[grazhdanskii brak])</i> 2. <i>Widower/widow</i> 3. <i>Divorced</i> 4. <i>Single</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Married (including common-law marriage—[grazhdanskii brak])</i> 2. <i>Widower/widow</i> 3. <i>Divorced</i> 4. <i>Single</i> 98. <i>DK</i>			
	What language do you normally speak (or did you speak, if your relatives have passed away) with your mother, father, wife	What language do you normally speak (or did you speak, if your relatives have passed away) with your mother, father, wife	What language do you normally speak (or did you speak, if your relatives have passed away) with your mother and father?	What language do you normally speak at home?		

	(husband), and children? (3.7)	(husband), and children? (3.7)		(3.6)		
	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
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.?	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.?	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.?	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.?	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.?	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.?	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)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)
_____ rubles	_____ rubles	_____ rubles	_____ rubles	_____ rubles	_____ rubles	_____ rubles
98. DK/Refused	98. DK/Refused	98. DK/Refused	98. DK/Refused	98. DK 98. Refused	98. DK 99. Refused	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
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 88. None 98. DK/Refused	_____ children 88. None 98. DK/Refused	_____ children 88. None 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
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 7. DK 98. Refused	1. Yes 2. No 7. DK 98. Refused	3. Yes 4. No 7. DK 98. 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)
98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	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)
98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK 99. Refused		98. DK
		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? <b>(6.5)</b>	Were you a member of the CPSU? <b>(6.5)</b>	Were you ever a member of the CPSU? <b>(6.5)</b>	Were you a member of the CPSU? <b>(6.5)</b>	Were you a member of the CPSU during the Soviet period? <b>(6.5)</b>	Were you a member of the CPSU during the Soviet period? <b>(6.5)</b>	Were you a member of the CPSU during the Soviet period? <b>(6.5)</b>
1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>Refused</i>	1. <i>Yes</i> 2. <i>No</i> 98. <i>DK/Refused</i>	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>
	Did you hold a leadership position in the CPSU or the Komsomol? <b>(6.6)</b>					
	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? <b>(6.7)</b>				
		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? <b>(6.8)</b>				
		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? <b>(6.9)</b>	Were you ever elected as a deputy to a Supreme Soviet at any level, or to the Duma? <b>(6.9)</b>				
	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]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
	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)
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/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
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]: How often, on average, did you attend religious services? (7.4)	[If yes]: How often, on average, do you attend religious services? (7.4)	[If yes]: How often, on average, do you attend religious services? (7.4)	[If yes]: How often do you attend religious services? (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)
					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
What nationality do you consider yourself? (8)	What nationality do you consider yourself? (8)	What nationality do you consider yourself? (8)	What nationality are you? (8)	What nationality do you consider yourself? (8)	What nationality do you consider yourself? (8)	What nationality do you consider yourself? (8)
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	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	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	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	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	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	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	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
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
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
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
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
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
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
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
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
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
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
98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK

## G9. MILITARY SERVICE

9.1	[army]					
9.2	[officer]					
9.3	[armyears]					
9.4	[forcestr]					
9.5	[forcestryrs]					
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
[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)
1. Served 2. Was in reserves 3. Did not serve at all 98. DK						1. Served 2. Was in reserves 3. Did not serve at all 98. DK 99. Refused
[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)

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>
						How many years did you serve in the armed forces? (9.3)
						____years 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)
						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. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>

#### G10. EDUCATION

10.1. [respedu]  
10.2.1 [higheredu1]  
10.2.2 [higheredu2]  
10.2.3 [higheredu3]

1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
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. <i>Seventh grade or less</i> 2. <i>Incomplete secondary education (8<sup>th</sup>- 9<sup>th</sup> grades)</i> 3. <i>Secondary education</i>	1. <i>Seventh grade or less</i> 2. <i>Incomplete secondary education (8<sup>th</sup>- 9<sup>th</sup> grades)</i> 3. <i>Secondary education</i>	1. <i>Seventh grade or less</i> 2. <i>Incomplete secondary education (8<sup>th</sup>- 9<sup>th</sup> grades)</i> 3. <i>Secondary education</i>	1. <i>Seventh grade or less</i> 2. <i>Incomplete secondary education (8<sup>th</sup>- 9<sup>th</sup> grades)</i> 3. <i>Secondary education</i>			

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			
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)			
8. Higher education	8. Higher education	8. Higher education	8. Higher education			
98. DK	98. DK	98. DK	98. DK			
				What type of education did you receive?	What type of education did you receive?	What type of education did you receive?
				(10.2.1)	(10.2.1)	(10.2.1)
				(10.2.2)	(10.2.2)	(10.2.2)
				(10.2.3)	(10.2.3)	(10.2.3)
				1. Higher technical	1. Higher technical	1. Higher technical
				2. Higher administrative or military	2. Higher administrative or military	2. Higher military
				3. Higher humanitarian	3. Higher humanitarian	3. Higher administrative
				4. Other_____	4. Other_____	4. Higher humanitarian
				98. DK	98. DK	5. Other_____
				99. Refused	99. Refused	6. Higher medical
						7. Economic
						8. Candidate of technical sciences
						9. Doctor of technical sciences
						10. Doctor of economics
						11. Candidate of physical and mathematical sciences
						12. Candidate of law
						13. Doctor of law
						14. Doctor of agricultural sciences
						15. Military-political school
						16. Pharmaceutical
						17. Law degree
						98. DK
						99. Refused

## G11. OCCUPATION

11.1	[work]					
11.2	[workwith]					
11.3	[occupat]					
11.4	[super]					
11.5	[workfor]					
11.6	[jobevents]					
11.7	[jobinfluence]					
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>
Where do you work?	Where do you work?	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)	(11.1)	(11.1)				
1. State-owned industrial, construction, 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	1. State-owned industrial, construction, 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	1. Private enterprise, cooperative, or joint venture 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?						
(11.2)						
_____ people						

98. <i>DK</i>						
[If employed]: Could you please tell me your occupation? (11.3)	[If employed]: Could you please tell me your occupation? (11.3)	Could you please tell me your profession, your primary occupation? (11.3)				
1. <i>Top-level manager</i> 2. <i>Middle-level or low-level manager</i> 3. <i>Highly-trained specialist</i> 4. <i>White-collar worker</i> 5. <i>Skilled worker</i> 6. <i>Unskilled worker</i> 7. <i>Kolkhoznik (collective farm worker)</i> 8. <i>Other _____</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Top-level manager</i> 2. <i>Middle-level or low-level manager</i> 3. <i>Highly-trained specialist</i> 4. <i>White-collar worker</i> 5. <i>Skilled worker</i> 6. <i>Unskilled worker</i> 7. <i>Kolkhoznik (collective farm worker)</i> 8. <i>Other _____</i> 98. <i>DK</i>	1. <i>Minister/director/president/owner/university president</i> 2. <i>Deputy minister/deputy director/vice-president/university vice-president</i> 3. <i>Head of a directorate/department</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 approximately the same as they did five years ago? (11.6)	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? (11.6)				
	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? (11.7)	[If choice 1 or 2 is selected]: Could you please tell me if this influence has been very helpful, helpful, harmful, or very harmful? (11.7)				
	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

					Do you speak a foreign language? (12.1)	Do you speak a foreign language? (12.1)
					1. Yes 2. No 98. DK/Refused	1. Yes 2. No 98. DK 99. Refused
						Which one do you speak most fluently? (12.2) (12.3) (12.4) (12.5) (12.6)
						1. English 2. French 3. German 4. Spanish 5. Chinese 6. Arabic 7. Hebrew 8. Ukrainian 9. Other_____ 10. Indonesian 11. Finnish 12. Polish 13. Kazakh 14. Korean 15. Italian 16. Uzbek 17. Japanese 98. DK 99. Refused

### G13. TRAVEL ABROAD

13.1 [travelabr]	13.7 [travelabr6]					
13.2 [travelabr1]	13.8 [travelabr7]					
13.3 [travelabr2]	13.9 [travelabr8]					
13.4 [travelabr3]						
13.5 [travelabr4]						
13.6 [travelabr5]						
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
					How often do you travel abroad? (13.1)	How often do you travel abroad? (13.1)
					1. Very rarely 2. Once or twice a year	1. Very rarely 2. Once or twice a year



					3. <i>Frequently, almost every month</i> 98. <i>DK/Refused</i>	3. <i>Frequently, almost every month</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
						To which country do you travel most frequently? (13.2) (13.3) (13.4) (13.5) (13.6) (13.7) (13.8) (13.9)
						1. <i>Turkey</i> 2. <i>Egypt</i> 3. <i>Greece</i> 4. <i>Spain</i> 5. <i>Thailand</i> 6. <i>Germany</i> 7. <i>China</i> 8. <i>Italy</i> 9. <i>UAE</i> 10. <i>Cyprus</i> 11. <i>Other</i> _____ 12. <i>France</i> 13. <i>US</i> 14. <i>Austria</i> 15. <i>Malta</i> 16. <i>Israel</i> 17. <i>Belgium</i> 18. <i>United Kingdom</i> 19. <i>Norway</i> 20. <i>Do not travel</i> 21. <i>Croatia</i> 22. <i>CIS</i> 23. <i>EEC/EU</i> 24. <i>Ukraine</i> 25. <i>Belarus</i> 26. <i>Japan</i> 27. <i>Bulgaria</i> 28. <i>Argentina</i> 29. <i>Mexico</i> 30. <i>Chile</i> 31. <i>South America</i> 32. <i>Europe</i> 33. <i>Portugal</i> 34. <i>Armenia</i> 35. <i>Finland</i> 36. <i>Czech Republic</i> 98. <i>DK</i>

**G14. PERSONALITY**

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]			
1993	1995	1999	2004	2008	2012	2016
						How well do the following statements describe your personality? I see myself as someone who...
						Is reserved (14.1)
						Is generally trusting (14.2)
						Tends to be lazy (14.3)
						Is calm, handles stress well (14.4)
						Has few artistic interests (14.5)
						Is outgoing, sociable (14.6)
						Tends to find fault with others (14.7)
						Does a thorough job (14.8)
						Gets nervous easily (14.9)
						Has an active imagination (14.10)

						1. <i>Completely agree</i> 2. <i>Mostly agree</i> 3. <i>Neither agree or disagree</i> 4. <i>Mostly disagree</i> 5. <i>Completely disagree</i> 98. <i>DK</i> 99. <i>Refused</i>
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## 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]					
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>
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)
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)
		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)
		Length of the interview: ___ minutes	Length of the interview: ___ minutes		Length of the interview: ___ minutes	

		(1.9)	(1.9)		(1.9)	
<b>H2. PAST AND FUTURE SURVEY PARTICIPATION</b>						
9.1	[interviewed2004]					
9.2	[interviewedbefore]					
9.3	[reinter]					
9.4	[interid]					
<b>1993</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2016</b>
				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)
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
					Interviewer ID (2.4)	Interviewer ID (2.4)