

We are carrying out a study of Russian citizens to try to understand what people think about their lives, about events happening in Russia and the world, and how they make up their minds for which party and candidate to vote. Your address, like all the 2,000 other addresses in Russia, was randomly selected by a computer. All information obtained in the project will be used only in generalized form. Your answers will be linked with a certain number, not with your [first] name. Only the researchers will be able to connect [first] name and number. Only those people carrying out the research will have access to this information. No one besides me and the organizers of the survey will know about our conversation. I cannot replace you with anybody else. Any substitution would lower the quality of the results of the study. Participation in our research is completely voluntary. We very much want your answers to be candid. If you do not care to answer any question, tell me about that and we will move on to the next question. Participation in this research will take approximately one hour. We thank you in advance for your help and cooperation.

1. **Some people constantly follow what goes on in politics, while others are not interested in it. What can you say about yourself? Do you follow political events all the time, sometimes, very rarely, or do you not follow them at all?**
 1. ALL THE TIME
 2. SOMETIMES
 3. VERY RARELY
 4. YOU DO NOT FOLLOW THEM
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
2. **Have you in this past seven days had conversations about politics with members of your family or with friends and acquaintances?**
 1. Yes
 2. No → Go to 4
 7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 4
 8. REFUSAL → Go to 4
3. **How often in this past seven days have you had conversations about politics?**
 1. Every day
 2. Almost every day
 3. Several times
 4. Only once
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
4. **Please tell me, do you watch television?**
 1. Yes
 2. No → Go to 10
 7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 10
 8. REFUSAL → Go to 10
5. **Do you ever watch daily news programs?**
 1. Yes
 2. No → Go to 8
 7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 8
 8. REFUSAL → Go to 8
6. **How often in the past seven days have you watched daily news programs?**

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 6.]

 1. EVERY DAY
 2. ALMOST EVERY DAY
 3. SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST 7 DAYS

- 4. ONLY ONCE IN THE PAST 7 DAYS**
- 5. NOT ONCE IN THE PAST 7 DAYS → Go to 10**
- 7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 10**
- 8. REFUSAL → Go to 10**

- 7. During the last 7 days did you watch any daily news programs on the following television channels ...**

{KEY: (1) Yes (2) No (6) DON'T GET CHANNEL (7) H/S (8) REF}

- (1) First Channel
- (2) The "Rossiya" Channel
- (3) NTV
- (4) On a channel of your region or city

- 8. Please tell me, did you sense that during the last presidential election campaign any one of the main television channels--First Channel, Rossiia, NTV--were working in favor of any one of the parties?**

- 1. Yes**
- 2. No → Go to 13**
- 7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 13**
- 8. REFUSAL → Go to 13**

- 9. In favor of which party, exactly?**

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 9.]

- 10. Tell me please, do you use the Internet? It is not important how or where—from a mobile device or computer, at home, at work, with friends, in an Internet café, or somewhere else?**

- 1. Yes**
- 2. No → Go to 15**
- 7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 15**
- 8. REFUSAL → Go to 15**

- 11. For what purposes do you use the Internet? [(1) Yes, (2) No, (7) Hard to say, (8) Refuse]**

- (1) To send or receive email
- (2) To get news and information on current events
- (3) To search for information
- (4) To read blogs
- (5) To write blog entries or participate in forum discussions
- (6) To search for or buy goods or services
- (7) To listen to music or watch videos, television shows, or movies
- (8) To use social networking sites

- 12. [INTERVIEWER: ASK QUESTION 12 ONLY TO THOSE WHO USE THE INTERNET FOR SOCIAL NETWORKING, THAT IS, TO THOSE WHO ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 11, POINT 8. FOR ALL OTHERS, GO TO QUESTION 13]**

Which of the social networking sites that I will name do you use?

- (1) Odnoklassniki ("Classmates")
- (2) V kontakte ("In Contact")
- (3) Facebook
- (4) Live Journal
- (5) Twitter

- 13. And continuing our discussion about the Internet, tell me, during the course of the last election campaigns for the State Duma...**

{KEY: (1) Yes (2) No (7) H/S (8) REF}

- (1) Did you read on the Internet any kind of political commentary?
 - (2) Did you discuss questions of politics on Internet forums or blogs?
 - (3) Did you visit the Website of any political party, political movement or any kind of politician?
 - (4) Did you see on the Internet any information on planned political demonstrations or activities?
14. How often in this past seven days have you acquainted yourself with the news on the Internet?
- [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 6.]**
1. EVERY DAY
 2. ALMOST EVERY DAY
 3. SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST 7 DAYS
 4. ONLY ONCE IN THE PAST 7 DAYS
 5. NOT ONCE IN THE PAST 7 DAYS
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
15. Which of the mass media (television, radio, newspapers, or the Internet) is the basic source of information for you about political events? Please select the one main one.
1. TELEVISION
 2. RADIO
 3. NEWSPAPERS
 4. THE INTERNET
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
16. Where would you say you get the most information about political events--from the mass media or from conversations about politics with members of your family, friends, and acquaintances?
1. FROM THE MASS MEDIA
 2. FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH MEMBERS OF FAMILY, FRIENDS, & ACQUAINTANCES
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
17. In your opinion are things in the country heading in the right direction, or is the country going in the wrong direction?
1. In the right direction
 2. In the wrong direction
 7. D/K
 8. Refuse to answer
18. Are you a member of a political party or movement?
1. Yes
 2. No → Go to 20
 7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 20
 8. REFUSAL → Go to 20
19. Which political party or movement is that?

997. HARD TO SAY

998. REFUSAL

20. Some people like Vladimir Putin's activity, and others do not. What about you, do you approve of Putin's activity in the post of President during 2012-2016?
1. You fully approve
 2. You approve
 3. You approve some and disapprove some
 4. You disapprove
 5. You completely disapprove
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
21. What do you think, how many people in our country approve of Vladimir Putin's activity as President?
1. An overwhelming majority
 2. A majority
 3. Many, but not a majority
 4. An insignificant minority
 5. Practically no one
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
22. Some people like Dmitry Medvedev's activity as prime minister, and others do not. What about you, do you approve of Medvedev's activity in the post of Prime Minister of Russia?
1. You fully approve
 2. You approve
 3. You approve some and disapprove some
 4. You disapprove
 5. You completely disapprove
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
23. Some people feel a strong trust towards a country's leader, while others do not trust him. Please, tell us when Vladimir Putin returned to the presidency in 2012, to what degree did you experience a feeling of trust towards the leader of Russia. Please use a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means completely did not trust, and 10 - completely trusted

[INTERVIEWER - SHOW RESPONDENT CARD 23]

Complete lack of trust

Complete trust

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
D/K	Refuse									
97	98									

24. [Interviewer! IN THE BOX VARIANTS OF THE SAME QUESTION. ASK THE ONE THAT IS CIRCLED]

1. And now about the current day. To what extent do you trust Vladimir Putin as the President of Russia today? Please, use a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means completely distrust and 10 means completely trust.

[INTERVIEWER - SHOW RESPONDENT CARD 23]

Complete lack of trust

Complete trust

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
D/K	Refuse									
97	98									

2. And now about the current day. To what extent do you trust Vladimir Putin as the President of Russia today when Crimea has been returned as a part of Russia? Please, use a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means completely distrust and 10 means completely trust.

[INTERVIEWER - SHOW RESPONDENT CARD 23]

Complete lack of trust

Complete trust

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
D/K	Refuse									
97	98									

3. And now about the current day. To what extent do you trust Vladimir Putin as the President of Russia today when Russia is having economic difficulties? Please, use a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means completely distrust and 10 means completely trust.

[INTERVIEWER - SHOW RESPONDENT THE CARD 23]

Complete lack of trust

Complete trust

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
D/K	Refuse									
97	98									

4. And now about the current day. To what extent do you trust Vladimir Putin as the President of Russia today when relations with the West have worsened? Please, use a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means completely distrust and 10 means completely trust.

[INTERVIEWER - SHOW RESPONDENT THE CARD 23]

Complete lack of trust

Complete trust

00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
D/K	Refuse									
97	98									

24A. Taking all things together, would you say you are happy, fairly happy, or not too happy these days?

1. Happy
2. Fairly happy
3. Not too happy
7. H/S
8. REF

25. Which words would you use to describe your attitude to Vladimir Putin?

[Show respondent card 25. Multiple answers possible]

1. Delight
2. Sympathy
3. Cannot say anything bad about him
4. Indifference
5. Caution
6. Cannot say anything good about him
7. Dislike
8. Disgust
- 97 H/S
- 98 REF

26. Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens in the country. Others say that the results of voting can make a difference to the situation in the country. Using the scale on this card, where 1 means that voting does not make a difference to what happens and 5 means that voting makes a difference, where would you place yourself?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 26.]

1. WHO PEOPLE VOTE FOR DOES NOT MAKE A DIFFERENCE
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
5. WHO PEOPLE VOTE FOR MAKES A DIFFERENCE
7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

27. In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. What do you think, how fair were the recent elections to the State Duma? Please use a 5-point scale where 1 means that the elections were fair and 5 means that the elections were unfair.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 27.]

1. LAST State Duma ELECTIONS WERE FAIR
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
5. LAST State Duma ELECTIONS WERE UNFAIR
7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

28. [Ask only to people who did not give answer 1 to question 27] What do you think, if the 18 September 2016 elections had been completely honest, without any kind of violations, then what would have been the result?

1. United Russia would have received even more seats in the Duma
2. The result would have been essentially the same
3. United Russia would not have received a majority of seats in the Duma
7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

29. Let us talk a bit about different types of political systems and whether you think they are appropriate for our country. What do you think, to what degree are the political systems that I mention here a good fit for our country?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD29.]

{KEY: (1) Very good fit (2) Fairly good fit (3) Fairly bad fit (4) Very bad fit (7) H/S (8) REF}

(1) A democratic system

(2) A strong leader who is restrained by neither parliament nor elections

30. Do you think Russia is a democratic country today?

1. Yes

2. No

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

- 31. And now let us talk a little while about something different.** Do you have a job or other paid activity?

1 Yes

2 No -----→ Go to Question 51

- 32.** What type of enterprise or organization do you work for? (*show card 32, one answer*)

1 Federal budget organization (including federal government organs, education, health, and scientific institutions, etc.)

2 Regional or local (municipal) budget organizations (including regional/municipal government organs, education, health, and preschool institutions, etc., of regional/municipal status)

3 'Force structures' (police, prosecutor's office, justice ministry, armed forces, security organs, border guards, narcotic police, etc.)

4 State or municipal enterprise (GUP or MUP)

5 Enterprise registered as a close or open stock company (RAO, ZAO, OAO, OOO) except enterprises in the agricultural or forestry economy

6 Enterprises on the basis of a collective farm, state farm, or timber farm

7 Communal, non-governmental, or non-commercial organization (foundation, party, movement, trade union, religious organization, etc.)

8 Individual / family business (IP)

9 Individual services to private individuals/organizations (oral contracts)

10 Other (*Write in*) _____

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

- 33.** (*if answer to question 32 was «4», «5», «8» or «9»*) In what sector is your main place of work? If you are employed as an individual, then what sector? (*show card 33, one answer*)

1 Gas and oil exploitation

2 Coal and mineral exploitation

3 Other branches of heavy industry

4 Light or food industry

5 Energy, electric, water, or gas utilities

6 Construction

7 Transportation

8 Communications

9 Agricultural, forestry, or hunting

10 Retail trade

11 Wholesale trade

12 Communal services

13 Education, science

- 14 Health
- 15 Culture, art, sport
- 16 Banking and financial services, industry
- 17 Tourist services, hotel business
- 18 Other services (marketing, advertising), real estate operations
- 19 Other sector (*Write in*) _____
- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

34. (*If the answer in question 32 is «1» or «2»*) What government sector do you work in? (*show card 34, one answer*)

- 1 Administrative organ
- 2 Education/science
- 3 Health
- 4 Culture
- 5 Communal services
- 8 Other (*write in*) _____
- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

35. (*If the answer in question 32 is «1», «2», «3», «4», «5», «6», «7» or «8»*) What is your position at work? If you work in multiple places, then what is your position in your main work? (*show card 35, one answer*)

- 1 Employed in individual or family business
- 2 Director, supervisor
- 3 Specialist without management responsibilities (with specialized education)
- 4 Unskilled specialist
- 5 Services worker
- 6 Qualified worker
- 7 Unqualified worker
- 8 Other (*write in*) _____
- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

36. How many people work in the enterprise (organization) where your main job is? Give an approximate answer (*show card, and clarify if needed*). If there are several offices at your enterprise, then how many people work in the location where you work? (*one answer*)

- 1 no more than 10 people
- 2 11-50 people
- 3 51-100 people
- 4 101-500 people
- 5 501 people or more
- 7. HARD TO SAY
- 8. REFUSAL

37. How many years have you worked in your current job? (*write in one number*)

- _____ years
- 99 less than a year
- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

38. How many times a month do you socialize with your colleagues outside of work? (*write in one number*)

_____ times

88 I do not socialize with them informally

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

39. Has your employer organized one of the following in the last 12 months? (*one answer per line*)

A. Corporate party 1 Yes 2 No

B. Subbotnik 1 Yes 2 No

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

40. At the present time do you have the possibility of receiving from any of your employers social or material benefits other than wages? What specifically? (*show card 40, check all that apply*)

- 1 Health insurance
- 2 Children's day care / summer camp
- 3 Resort or sanatorii
- 4 Transportation subsidy
- 5 Payments into a pension fund
- 6 Professional training
- 7 I do not receive anything
8. HARD TO SAY
9. REFUSAL

41. If you imagine the unfortunate situation that you lose your job, how confident are you that you could at least find the same quality of work that you have now? (*one answer*)

- 1 Completely confident
- 2 Somewhat confident
- 3 Maybe yes, maybe no
- 4 Not very confident
- 5 Extremely unconfident
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

42. Did you encounter any of the following political activities in your place of work during the the State Duma elections of 18 September ?

	Yes	No	DK/NA
a. Your supervisor or management discussed politics or the elections with employees	1	2	7,8
c. Campaign materials were distributed in the workplace	1	2	7,8
d. Your employer offered transportation for employees to the polling place	1	2	7,8
e. Your supervisor or manager asked you to vote	1	2	7,8
g. Your supervisor or manager asked you to attend a political event, rally, or meeting	1	2	7,8
h. In connection with the elections, your supervisor or manager offered you something in addition to the usual benefits and wages that you were already receiving (e.g. a raise or bonus, a gift, extra vacation days)	1	2	7,8
i. It was implied to you that there would be negative consequences for you if you did not vote	1	2	7,8

43. Please tell me, did the leadership of the enterprise or organization where you work support any party?
1. Yes
 2. No [GO TO 45]
 6. DOES NOT WORK [GO TO 45]
 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 45]
 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 45]

44. Which party did the leadership of your enterprise or organization support?
 [INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 9. WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM THE CARD] _____
 97. HARD TO SAY
 98. REFUSAL

45. And now let us talk about candidates in your single-member district in elections for the State Duma this past September. Tell me, did the leadership of the enterprise or organization where you work support any specific candidate?
1. Yes
 2. No [GO TO 47]
 6. DOES NOT WORK [GO TO 47]
 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 47]
 8. REFUSAL

46. Did the administration of your enterprise or organization support a candidate from one of these parties or an independent?
 [INTERVIEWER: WORK WITH CARD 46. WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER FROM THE CARD] _____
 97. HARD TO SAY
 98. REFUSAL

47. In elections, employers sometimes ask their employees to vote. Do you think it is possible that your employer might punish someone in your workplace if he did not vote or voted in a way that displeased management?

1. Very Possible
2. Likely
3. Unlikely
4. Impossible
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

48. Do you think that the economic prospects of your firm depend on the turnout of employees during elections?

1. Definitely yes
2. To some degree yes
3. Probably not
4. Definitely not
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

49. Do you think that your employer could find out whether you voted?

1. Easily
2. Not very hard
3. Quite hard

- 4. Practically impossible
- 7. HARD TO SAY
- 8. REFUSAL

50. What do you think, could someone from where you work during the recent elections have voted in order to receive the good will of the management?

1. Very Possible
2. Likely
3. Unlikely
4. Impossible
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

51. Parties and politicians use a variety of tactics to help them mobilize votes. In your opinion, how acceptable are the following actions (show Card 51):

	Completely Acceptable	Usually acceptable	Rarely acceptable	Totally Unacceptable	H/S, Refuse
A. Handing out goods to pensioners during the campaign	1	2	3	4	7,8
B. Rewarding people who attend political rallies with alcoholic beverages or food	1	2	3	4	7,8
C. Attending a local ribbon-cutting ceremony for local cultural or sports facilities in the month before an election	1	2	3	4	7,8
D. Informing workers at a local factory that they will lose their jobs if they do not vote correctly	1	2	3	4	7,8
E. Organizing “karusels”, buses to drive people to vote multiple times in different precincts	1	2	3	4	7,8
F. Making it hard for opposition candidates to register	1	2	3	4	7,8
G. Preventing opposition candidates from receiving television air time	1	2	3	4	7,8

52. And if we talk now not about parties and politicians, but employers, how acceptable is it for them, during a campaign, to:

H. Share their opinions about politics/elections with employees	1	2	3	4	7,8
I. Ask their employees to vote	1	2	3	4	7,8

J. Ask their employees to vote for a specific party or candidate	1	2	3	4	7,8
K. Threatening to fire employees who do not turn out to vote					

53. In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Imagine a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 7.]

{SCALE: 0 (Left) thru 10 (Right); 97 H/S; 98 REF}

54. And where would you place on the same scale the following parties and movements. . . ?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 7. (96) Party not known (97) H/S (98) REF]

- (1) United Russia
- (2) The Communist Party of the Russian Federation
- (3) The Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
- (4) A Just Russia
- (5) Yabloko
- (6) Parnas

55. And where would you place on the same scale Vladimir Putin?
[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 7. (96)]

56. Please tell me, is there any one among the present parties, movements, and associations about which you would say, "This is my party, my movement, my association"?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No → Go to 59
- 7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 59
- 8. REFUSAL → Go to 59

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

997. HARD TO SAY → Go to 61

998. REFUSAL → Go to 61

58. To what degree does this party, movement, or association reflect your interests, views, and concerns?

- 1. It reflects them completely → Go to 61
- 2. It reflects them partially → Go to 61
- 7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 61
- 8. REFUSAL → Go to 61

59. Please tell me, does there exist a party, movement, or association which more than the others reflects your interests, views, and concerns?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

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

997. HARD TO SAY

998. REFUSAL

61. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following assertions.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 61.]
{KEY: (1) Strongly agree (2) More or less agree (3) More or less disagree (4) Strongly disagree (6) PARTY/PERSON NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}
(1) When you hear someone criticize the United Russia party, you feel insulted.
(2) When you hear someone criticize the KPRF, you feel insulted.
(3) When you hear someone criticize the LDPR, you feel insulted.
(4) When you hear someone criticize the A Just Russia Party, you feel insulted.
(5) When you hear someone criticize Vladimir Putin, you feel insulted.

62. Imagine a scale from 0 to 10, where 10 means that you wholeheartedly support a party, 0 means that you do not support it at all, and 5 means that you are indifferent. Using this scale, please tell me, how much do you support the following parties? [Use card 62]

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

	United Russia									
Strongly do not Support	Do not support				Indifferent	Support				Strongly support
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

63. Please tell me, which parties currently support the activity of Putin in the post of president of Russia?

- (1) Communist Party of the Russian Federation
- (2) A Just Russia
- (3) United Russia
- (4) LDPR
- (5) Yabloko
- (6) PARNAS
- (7) H/S
- (8) REF

64. And now let us talk a little about the recent campaign for the State Duma. During the just concluded campaign for the State Duma, did you see any of the advertising clips of the parties on television?

1. Yes

2. No

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

[GO TO 66]

[GO TO 66]

[GO TO 66]

- 65. Which parties did you see clips for during this election campaign?**

[[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 9.]

[INTERVIEWER: MARK ALL THAT ARE NAMED BY THE RESPONDENT.]

15. HARD TO SAY

16. REFUSAL

66. Now we would like to ask about your experience with political party activists. By party activist we mean someone who tries in the name of the party to get you to vote for it. During the most recent political campaign did a political party activist ever:

	Yes	No	DK/NA
a. ask you to vote	1	2	7,8
b. ask you to vote for a specific party or candidate	1	2	7,8
c Offer you any goods or gifts	1	2	7,8
d. implied that there would be negative consequences for you if you did not vote	1	2	7,8

67. During the recent election campaign did a government official ever personally encourage you to vote during the campaign?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 7. H/S
- 8. REF

68. Could you recall if the head of your region supported any party during the State Duma elections?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No [GO TO 70]
- 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 70]
- 8. REFUSAL [GO TO 70]

69. Which party did the head of your region support?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 9. WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM THE CARD, only 1 answer] _____

- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

70. And what about for candidates in your single-member district, did you see any of the advertising clips of the candidate on television?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No [GO TO 72]
- 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 72]
- 8. REFUSAL

[GO TO 72]

71. Here is a list of candidates in your single-mandate district. Which candidates did you see clips for?

[[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 46.]

[INTERVIEWER: MARK ALL THAT ARE NAMED BY THE RESPONDENT.]

- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

72. And can you recall, did the head of your region supported any candidate in your single-mandate district in the State Duma elections?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No [GO TO 74]
- 7. HARD TO SAY [GO TO 74]

8. REFUSAL

[GO TO 74]

73. Which candidate did the head of your region support?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 46. WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM THE CARD] _____

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

74. During the campaign were you contacted in person or on the telephone by representatives of any single-mandate district candidate for the State Duma?

1. Yes

2. No

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

75. During the election campaign did you receive in your mailbox the materials of any candidates for the State Duma in your single-mandate district?

1. Yes

2. No → Go to 77

7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 77

8. REFUSAL → Go to 77

76. Here is a list of candidates in your single-mandate district. From which of the candidates exactly did you receive in your mailbox the most materials?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 46.]

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBERS OF THE CANDIDATES FROM CARD 24.]

(1) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

(2) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

(3) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

77. Did you cast a ballot in the Duma elections on September 18 of this year for either a party list or a single-member-district candidate?

1. Yes → ASK 78-81, THEN SKIP TO 84

2. No → ASK 78-83, THEN SKIP TO 94

7. HARD TO SAY → ASK 78-81, THEN SKIP TO 94

8. REFUSAL → ASK 78-81, THEN SKIP TO 94

78. People have different views about what it means to be a good citizen. Please tell me on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means not at all important and 5 means very important, how important is it for a person to do the following things in order to be a good citizen.

a. Always obey laws and regulations				
Not at all				very important
1	2	3	4	5
b. Report a crime that you happened to witness				

1	2	3	4	5
c. Support people who are worse off than you				
1	2	3	4	5
d. vote in elections				
1	2	3	4	5

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

79. Different people feel differently about voting. For some, voting is a DUTY. They feel that they should vote in every election however they feel about the candidates and parties. For others, voting is a CHOICE. They feel free to vote or not to vote in an election depending on how they feel about the candidates and parties. [The order of these two statements should vary randomly]

How do you personally feel about voting?

1. You think that voting is a civic duty

2. You think that you have the right to choose whether to vote

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

80. Do you think that any of the following members of your social circle would be disappointed in you if you did not vote?

	Yes	No	DK/REF
a. Family members	1	2	7,8
b. Friends	1	2	7,8
c. Coworkers	1	2	7,8

81. Thinking back to before September 18, how much did you care who won the State Duma election?

1. A lot

2. Somewhat

3. A little

4. Not at all

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

82. [INTERVIEWER: Questions 82-83 are only for those who did not vote, giving answer 2 to Question 77. All others should go straight to Question 84] Why did you not vote in these elections?

Multiple answers possible.

1. Tired of politics, of conflicts at the top
2. I don't believe any of the current politicians
3. None of the politicians represented my interests
4. Doesn't matter, my candidate could not win
5. Doesn't matter, United Russia would win
6. To express my dissatisfaction with the political system
7. Electoral results don't depend on my vote
8. I think that elections were dishonest, the results would be manipulated
9. I was too late to the polling station
10. I'm not interested in politics
11. It was difficult or inconvenient to reach the polling place
12. I didn't have time

13. Other

13. HARD TO SAY

14. REFUSAL

83. Do you think it is possible that your vote could have been stolen or used without your knowledge?

1. very likely → GO TO 94
2. somewhat likely → GO TO 94
3. unlikely → GO TO 94
4. not possible → GO TO 94

7. HARD TO SAY → GO TO 94

8. REFUSAL → GO TO 94

84. [For those who did vote, giving answer 1 in question 77:] What influenced you to vote during these elections? (Show card 84 and mark all answers)

1. To do my duty as a citizen (civic duty)
2. To do my duty to support my party or candidate
3. Habit
4. Desire to help a candidate/party that I support
5. Desire to take away votes from a candidate/party that I don't support
6. Desire to express my political position (even if it doesn't help any of the candidates)
7. So that my vote couldn't be stolen
8. Someone asked me to vote and I didn't want to say no
9. My closest friends and family vote
10. It was the only way to participate in the fate of the country
11. Other

97. HARD TO SAY

98. REFUSAL

85. As you will recall, you had the opportunity to vote both for the candidate list of a party and for a candidate to represent your single-member district. Let us first discuss the choice among party lists. Please tell me when you decided that you would vote in the way that you voted?
[SHOW CARD 85]

1. Earlier than one month before the election
2. One month before the election
3. Two weeks before the election
4. In the final days before the election
5. On election day
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

86. Here is a list of the parties that participated in the Duma elections. Would you mind saying for whom you voted?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 9.]

PARTY NUMBER |____|____|

Spoiled Ballot 96

D/K 97

Refuse 98

87. Now I will hand you a card on which there are listed various reasons for why people vote for one candidate or another. Look at the card and tell me, please, which of these reasons was the most

important for you when you were making your decision to vote for the person you voted for in the recent presidential election. Please select only the one most important reason.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 87.]

1. YOU APPROVE OF THE WORK THE PARTY DID IN THE LAST DUMA
2. YOU LIKE THE PROGRAM OF THIS PARTY.
3. YOU LIKE THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF THIS LEADER OF THIS PARTY.
4. YOU CONSIDER THIS YOUR PARTY
5. IT IS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT THE AUTHORITIES.
6. YOU CONSIDERED THAT IF THIS PARTY WINS IN AN ELECTION, PEOPLE IN YOUR REGION WILL LIVE BETTER.
7. PUTIN SUPPORTS THIS PARTY
8. A VOTE FOR THIS PARTY IS AN EXPRESSION OF PROTEST AGAINST THE SITUATION IN WHICH RUSSIA FINDS ITSELF.
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

88. On SEPTEMBER 18 at the polling station you received, in addition to the ballot for the party lists, a ballot with a list of individual candidates for deputy to the State Duma from your single-mandate district. Please tell me, did you cast a vote on this ballot?

1. Yes
2. No → Go to 94
7. HARD TO SAY → Go to 94
8. REFUSAL → Go to 94

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

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 46.]

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE FROM CARD 46.]

INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____

96. CAST A SPOILED BALLOT → GO TO 94
97. HARD TO SAY → GO TO 94
98. REFUSAL → GO TO 94

91. And when did you decide that you would vote for this particular candidate? [SHOW CARD 85]

1. Earlier than one month before the election
2. One month before the election
3. Two weeks before the election
4. In the final days before the election
5. On election day
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

92. Which of the two statements printed on this card best explains why you voted for

[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE CANDIDATE'S NAME FROM QUESTION 90]?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 92.]

1. BECAUSE YOU CONSIDERED THAT THIS CANDIDATE WAS THE BEST
2. YOU WANTED TO VOTE FOR ANOTHER CANDIDATE, BUT HE HAD NO CHANCE OF WINNING
3. OTHER ANSWER [INTERVIEWER: WRITE IT DOWN _____]
_____]
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

93. Now I will hand you a card on which are listed various reasons for why people vote for one candidate or another. Look at the card and tell me, please, which of these reasons was the most important for you when you were making your decision to vote for this particular candidate. Please select only the one most important reason.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 93.]

1. YOU APPROVE OF THE WORK OF THIS CANDIDATE IN THE LAST STATE DUMA.
2. YOU LIKE THE PROGRAM OF THIS CANDIDATE.
3. YOU LIKE THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF THIS CANDIDATE.
4. HE WAS NOMINATED BY YOUR PARTY OR BLOC.
5. IT IS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT THE AUTHORITIES.
6. IF THIS CANDIDATE WINS IN AN ELECTION, PEOPLE IN YOUR REGION WILL LIVE BETTER.
7. PRESIDENT PUTIN SUPPORTS THIS CANDIDATE.
8. A VOTE FOR THIS CANDIDATE IS AN EXPRESSION OF PROTEST AGAINST THE SITUATION IN WHICH RUSSIA FINDS ITSELF.
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

94. Of the things listed, what, in your opinion, should the deputy from your single-mandate district occupy himself with first of all? Please select only one.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 94.]

- (1) FACILITATE THE ADOPTION OF LAWS THAT ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE
- (2) HELP OBTAIN FUNDS FROM THE STATE BUDGET FOR YOUR DISTRICT, FOR EXAMPLE, FOR CONSTRUCTION AND THAT SORT OF THING
- (3) HELP HIS ELECTORS ON CONCRETE PROBLEMS, FOR EXAMPLE, WITH PENSIONS, JOBS, AND MILITARY SERVICE

95. Did you vote in the United Russia party primaries held on 22 May 2016?

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

96. Presidential elections are still a year and a half away in March 2018. But if they were held tomorrow, would you vote?

1. Yes
2. No → GO TO 98
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

97. Look please at this card. If there was this list of presidential candidates, who would you vote for?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 97.]

- (1) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
- (2) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
- (3) INDEX NUMBER OF THE CANDIDATE _____
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL

98. Tell me please, do any of the parties contending the Duma elections, not including United Russia, have a chance of achieving power in the next ten years?

1. Yes

2. No → GO TO 100

7. HARD TO SAY → GO TO 100

8. REFUSAL → GO TO 100

99. Which party has the best chance? [USE CARD 46]

PARTY NUMBER

D/K..... 97

Refuse..... 98

100. When they talk about politicians, people use various words and characterizations. Would you say about Vladimir Putin that he . . .

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 100.]

{KEY: (1) Yes (2) Probably yes (3) Probably no (4) No (7) H/S (8) REF}

(1) Is an intelligent and knowledgeable person

(2) Is a strong leader

(3) Is an honest and trustworthy person

(4) Really cares about the interests of people like you

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

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

103. And would you say about Vladimir Zhirinovskiy that he . . .

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

105. Various problems have to be resolved in our country. I am going to read out a list of some of these. Please tell me which of the parties you think would best be able to deal with these problems. Which party would do the best job of improving the economy, or would there be no particular difference between the parties?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 46 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM THE CARD.]

INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY

6. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

106. And which party would do the best job of safeguarding human rights and democratic freedoms, or would there be no particular difference between the parties?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE WORKING WITH CARD 46 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM THE CARD.]

INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY

6. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

107. And which party would do the best job of promoting Russia's international interests, or would there be no particular difference between the parties?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE WORKING WITH CARD 46 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM THE CARD.]

INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY _____]
6. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

108. And which party would do the best job of dealing with problems of migration from Central Asia, or would there be no particular difference between the parties?

[INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE WORKING WITH CARD 46 AND WRITE DOWN THE INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY FROM THE CARD.]
INDEX NUMBER OF THE PARTY _____]
6. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

109. In your opinion, what best describes each of the politicians that I name: Is this a person whose time has passed, a person needed right now in the present moment, or a person whose time is yet to come? { KEY: (1) PASSED; (2) NOW; (3) TO COME; (6) PERSON NOT KNOWN; (7) HARD TO SAY; (8) REFUSE } [USE CARD 109]

(1) Vladimir Putin
(2) Dmitry Medvedev
(3) Andrei Naval'ny
(4) Sergei Shoigu
(5) Dmitriy Rogozin
(6) Aleksey Kudrin

110. What do you think, is United Russia a political organization of people who think alike, an association of people whose views on fundamental issues are significantly different from each other, or an organization of careerists without their own views? [USE CARD 110]

1. *LIKE-MINDED PEOPLE*
2. *VIEWS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFER*
3. *THEY ARE CAREERISTS WITHOUT THEIR OWN VIEWS*
7. *HARD TO SAY*
8. **REFUSAL**

111. Now let us talk a bit about several important tasks that Russia faces today. There are various opinions about the market reforms that are being carried out in our country. What do you think, is it necessary to return to the socialist economy, to leave everything essentially as it is now, or to continue and deepen market reforms?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 111.]
1. IT IS NECESSARY TO RETURN TO THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY
2. IT IS NECESSARY TO LEAVE EVERYTHING ESSENTIALLY AS IT IS NOW
3. IT IS NECESSARY TO CONTINUE AND DEEPEN MARKET REFORMS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

112. And what position on the question of market reforms in Russia is taken by the various political parties? If I name a party or bloc which you do not know, tell me about that. So, what position on market reforms, in your opinion, is taken by . . . ?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 111.]
{ KEY: (1) Return to the socialist economy (2) Leave everything as it is (3) Continue and deepen market reforms (6) PARTY NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF }
(1) United Russia

- (2) Communist Party of the Russian Federation
- (3) Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
- (4) A Just Russia

113. And what position on the same question is taken by Vladimir Putin?
 [INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 111.]
 {KEY: (1) Return to the socialist economy (2) Leave everything as it is (3) Continue and deepen market reforms (7) H/S (8) REF}
114. There are various opinions about what relations should be like between Russia and the West. What do you think of how Russia should relate to the West?
 [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 114]
 1. AS TO AN ENEMY
 2. AS TO A RIVAL
 3. AS TO AN ALLY
 4. AS TO A FRIEND
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
115. And what position on the question of relations between Russia and the West is taken by the following political parties. . .
 [INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 114.]
 {KEY: (1) As to an enemy (2) As to a rival (3) As to an ally (4) As to a friend (6) PARTY NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}
 (1) United Russia
 (2) Communist Party of the Russian Federation
 (3) Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
 (4) A Just Russia
116. And what position on the question of relations between Russia and the West is taken by Vladimir Putin?
 [INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE TO WORK WITH CARD 114.]
 {KEY: (1) As to an enemy (2) As to a rival (3) As to an ally (4) As to a friend (6) POLITICIAN NOT KNOWN (7) H/S (8) REF}
117. Please tell me, to what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements ...
 [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 61.]
 {KEY: (1) Strongly agree (2) More or less agree (3) More or less disagree (4) Strongly disagree (7) H/S (8) REF}
 (1) The majority of people can be trusted
 (2) Many migrants come to Russia not to make money honestly, but to get money dishonestly
 (3) The political forces that have come to power in Ukraine present a direct threat to Russia
 (4) The USA or NATO will weaken Russia if our President doesn't effectively oppose their influence
 (5) Russia will probably overcome this economic crisis by 2018
118. While in office as President and then Prime Minister, Putin and his team have overseen many different changes in the country. Some people support these changes while others do not support them. Tell me please, do you or do you not support the following changes that have taken place in the country while Putin has been in power?
 [INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD 118.]
 {KEY: (1) Fully support (2) More or less support (3) More or less do not support (4) Completely do not support (6) Indifferent (7) H/S (8) REF}

1. The de-indexation of pensions..... 1 2 3 4 6 7 8

2.Lengthening presidential terms to 6 years	1.....	2 ..	3	4...6.....	7..	8
3.Passing of a law to protect children against homosexual propaganda....	1	2.....	3.....	4.....	6	
.....	7.....	8				
4.The uniting of Crimea with Russia	1	2.....	3	4.....	6.....	7.....8
5.Passing of the law on insulting religious feelings.....	1	2.....	3	4.....	6.....	7.....8
6.Return of gubernatorial elections	1	2.....	3	4.....	6.....	7.....8
7.Banning food imports into Russia in retaliation for Western sanctions over Crimea.....	1	2.....	3	4.....	6.....	7.....8
8.Russian military intervention in Syria.....	1	2.....	3	4.....	6.....	7 8

119. What do you think, in the last 12 years since the year 2000, when Putin first became President, have the following things increased, decreased, or remained unchanged ...

[INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD 119.]

{KEY: (1) Increased (2) No change (3) Decreased (7) H/S (8) REF}

- (1) Corruption among state officials
- (2) Income inequality
- (3) Political stability in Russia
- (5) Political stability in the North Caucasus
- (6) The influence of Russia in the world
- (7) Personal freedom in Russia
- (8) The responsiveness of the state to the needs of the populations
- (9) The standard of living of the population

Module 4: Experimental

120. [Interviewer! In the box are two variants of the same question. Ask only the one that is circled]

1. Think, please, which of the following things did you do during the recent election campaign for the State Duma. Do not tell me which of these are true or not – just how many statements on this card are true. Give your answer in a number from 0 to 5.
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 120A. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
 1. *I SAW A CAMPAIGN AD ON TV*
 2. *I HELPED A FRIEND FIND HIS POLLING PLACE*
 3. *I READ ABOUT THE ELECTIONS ONLINE*
 4. *I READ A BOOK ABOUT ONE OF THE PARTIES*
 5. *I VOTED FOR UNITED RUSSIA'S PARTY LIST*THE RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ... [_____] STATEMENTS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSE

2. Think, please, which of the following things did you do during the recent campaign for the State Duma. Do not tell me which of these are true or not – just how many statements on this card are true. Give your answer in a number from 0 to 4.
[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 120B. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]
 1. *I SAW A CAMPAIGN AD ON TV*
 2. *I HELPED A FRIEND FIND HIS POLLING PLACE*
 3. *I READ ABOUT THE ELECTIONS ONLINE*
 4. *I READ A BOOK ABOUT ONE OF THE PARTIES*THE RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ... [_____] STATEMENTS
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSE

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

1. **Think, please, which of the following things did you do during the recent election campaign for the State Duma.** Do not tell me which of these are true or not – just how many of the statements on this card are true. Give your answer in a number from 0 to 5.

[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 20. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]

1. *I TALKED ABOUT THE ELECTION WITH MY FAMILY*
2. *I ASKED A FRIEND FOR INFORMATION ON A CANDIDATE*
3. *I SAW A POSTER ABOUT A DISTRICT CANDIDATE*
4. *I READ A BOOK BY ONE OF THE CANDIDATES*
5. *I VOTED FOR A UNITED RUSSIA CANDIDATE IN MY DISTRICT*

THE RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ... [_____] STATEMENTS

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSE

2. **Think, please, which of the following things did you do during the recent election campaign for the State Duma.** Do not tell me which of these are true or not – just how many of the statements on this card are true. Give your answer in a number from 0 to 4.

[INTERVIEWER: GIVE THE RESPONDENT CARD 20. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN A SINGLE NUMBER]

1. *I TALKED ABOUT THE ELECTION WITH MY FAMILY*
2. *I ASKED A FRIEND FOR INFORMATION ON A CANDIDATE*
3. *I SAW A POSTER ABOUT A DISTRICT CANDIDATE*
4. *I READ A BOOK BY ONE OF THE CANDIDATES*

THE RESPONDENT AGREES WITH ... [_____] STATEMENTS

7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSE

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

Look at the following list of events and tell me, if they happened to you before the September 18th elections or on the day of the elections. Don't tell me which ones happened – just how many of them happened on or before election day in a single figure from 0 to [3/4].

- *You saw election posters/campaign materials.*
- *You personally met a candidate for parliament.*
- *You saw a news story about politics*
- Someone let you know, that there would be negative consequences for you if you didn't vote in the Duma elections
- You received a gift or a bonus from a political party or candidate from the director of your enterprise or of your city/region

123. A. Imagine that during the next State Duma elections, a [BUSINESSMAN/HOSPITAL DIRECTOR/FACTORY WORKER] from United Russia runs for office in your district. He is 50 years old and his campaign is focused on providing assistance for local schools and building new roads in the district. During the election, there emerges some good and and not so good news stories about the candidate. On the one hand, you learn that he has adopted two disabled children from orphanages. On the other hand, it also emerged that [He threatened some of his employees that said they were not going to turn out in the election / This candidate had handed out goodies to voters prior to the elections / this candidate in past elections drove people around precincts in buses so that they could vote in several polling places/ CONTROL]. How likely is it that you would vote for this candidate? (one answer)

- 1 Definitely, would vote for him
- 2 Probably would vote for him
- 3 Maybe would, maybe wouldn't
- 4 Probably would not vote for him
- 5 Definitely would not vote for him
7. H/S
8. REF

B. Would you agree or disagree with the following statements about such a candidate: [USE CARD 61]

	Completely Disagree			Completely Agree	Затрудняюсь ответить
A. This candidate is qualified to hold political office.	1	2	3	4	9
B. This candidate understands the needs of their constituents.	1	2	3	4	9
C. This candidate is honest.	1	2	3	4	9
D. This candidate has the ability to get things done in government	1	2	3	4	9

124. Suppose that new elections for the State Duma are called in the Spring and during that election that [vertical options in table below] approached you and [horizontal options in table below]. How likely would you be to vote after this?

	Offered you a gift, money, or a reward if you went to vote	Implied that your firm (organization) will receive extra financing from the regional administration if turnout among employees is high	Implied that your firm (organization) will lose financing from the regional administration if turnout among employees is low
Your Employer or Supervisor	X	X	X
A Political Party Activist / Agitator	X	X	X

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

1. Since 2014, the United States has levied economic sanctions against Russia.
2. Since 2014, the United States has levied economic sanctions against Russia and the Russian economy has declined by about 6 percent.
3. Since 2014, the Russian economy has declined by about 6 percent.
4. Since 2014, the European Union has levied economic sanctions Russia.
5. Since 2014, the European Union has levied economic sanctions against Russia and the Russian economy has declined by about 6 percent.
6. [No preamble]

On a scale of 1-5, where 1 is very unfavorable and 5 is very favorable, how would you characterize your view toward:

	1 Very unfavorable	2 Somewhat unfavorable	3 Neutral	4 Somewhat favorable	5 Very favorable
The Russian government					
The US Government					
The European Union					

126. Some people believe that, regardless of who is President of Russia, he should have more powers than the Parliament. Others want the Parliament to have more powers than the President. What is your point of view? Look at the card and choose the answer that best corresponds with your point of view.
- [INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 126.]
- {KEY: Card shows positions (1) President should be stronger (2) President and Parliament should be equal in power (3) Parliament should be stronger (7) H/S (8) REF}

127. Some people think that in Russia everything should be decided by the top organs of government in Moscow, that the center should be strongest. Others think that everything should be decided in the regions, that the regional authorities should be strongest. What do you think about this? [USE CARD 127]
1. Everything should be decided in Moscow
 2. Most questions should be decided in Moscow
 3. Some questions should be decided in Moscow and some in the regions
 4. Most questions should be decided in the regions
 5. Everything should be decided in the regions
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
128. Some people say that by engaging in street protests they can make a difference to the situation in the country. Others think that this will not change anything. Using the scale on this card, where 1 means that street protests don't make a difference to what happens and 5 means that street protests make a difference, where would you place yourself?
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 128.]
1. STREET PROTESTS WON'T MAKE A DIFFERENCE
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 5. STREET PROTESTS CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL

129. To what extent do you agree with the following statements: [USE CARD 61]

	Completely Disagree			Completely Agree	Затрудняюсь ответить
A. Members of the Federation Council should be appointed by the President, rather than elected by voters	1	2	3	4	9
B. Voters are offered a genuine choice at the ballot box.	1	2	3	4	9
C. Journalists provide fair coverage of elections;	1	2	3	4	9
D. Opposition candidates are prevented from running					
E. It is important for you to live in a country that is governed democratically.	1	2	3	4	9
F. The government should take steps to improve the fairness and quality of elections.	1	2	3	4	9

7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

130. Can you tell me fo you approve or disapprove of the job your governor [OR REPUBLIC PRESIDENT, MAYOR OF MOSCOW] has done?

1. Approve
2. Don't approve
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

131. What do you think, should the heads of regions be elected or appointed from the center?

1. Elected
2. Appointed
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL

132. Tell me please which of the following statements best describes the role Russia is playing in Eastern Ukraine.

- Russia is not involved in this war at all. It is just offering humanitarian assistance. 1
 Russia is giving humanitarian and moral support to Ukrainians, fighting against Kiev authorities, but is not giving military support..... 2
 Along with humanitarian and moral support, Russia is training and equipping Ukrainians fighting against Kiev authorities 3
 Along with humanitarian, moral support and training, Russian soldiers are directly participating in military activities in Ukraine on the side of the people fighting the Kiev..... 4
 D/K..... 7
 REFUSE..... 8

133. What should Russia do in the war in Ukraine? You can choose several answers.

- Offer humanitarian support to the Ukrainian population 1
 Offer humanitarian support to those fighting the Kiev authorities 2
 Train and equip those fighting the Kiev authorities..... 3
 Russian soldiers should participate in military activities on the side of those fighting the Kiev authorities 4
 D/K..... 7
 REFUSE..... 8

134. It has now been over 16 years since Putin first became president. What do you think, should he... [USE CARD 134]

1. Be president for life
2. Serve until 2024, when his constitutionally allowed second term expires
3. Hand over power to someone else with the 2018 election
4. Leave the presidency before 2018
7. H/S
8. REF

135. [INTERVIEWER: MARK THE SEX OF THE RESPONDENT.]

1. MALE
2. FEMALE

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

- In 19 __ year __ number of the month
 97. HARD TO SAY
 98. REFUSAL

137. What is your education? [USE CARD 137]

1. Without education, illiterate
2. Elementary
3. Incomplete secondary
4. Secondary
5. Secondary specialized
6. Incomplete higher
7. Higher

8. Scholarly degree
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL
138. Who do you consider yourself to be by nationality?

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

1. Russian
997. HARD TO SAY
998. REFUSAL
140. [INTERVIEWER: RETURN TO QUESTION 136 AND SEE IN WHAT YEAR THE RESPONDENT WAS BORN. AS QUESTION 140 ONLY OF THOSE WHO WERE BORN IN 1973 OR EARLIER. ASK THE REST QUESTION 141.]
Were you a member of the CPSU?
1. Yes
2. No
7. HARD TO SAY
8. REFUSAL
141. To which religion do you consider yourself to belong? [USE CARD 141]
1. Orthodoxy
2. Catholicism
3. Protestantism
4. Islam
5. Judaism
6. Buddhism, Lamaism
7. Krishnaism
8. Hinduism
9. Other, specifically _____
96. NOT TO ANY RELIGION
97. HARD TO SAY
98. REFUSAL
142. Now I am going to hand you a card containing the names of various groups of people. Please read this list and tell me to which of the suggested groups you feel particularly close. You may choose several groups.
[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 142.]
1. WORKERS
2. THE YOUNGER GENERATION
3. RUSSIANS
4. BUREAUCRATS
5. SMALL ENTREPRENEURS
6. NATIONAL MINORITIES
7. THE MIDDLE CLASS
8. BIG ENTREPRENEURS
9. PENSIONERS
10. THE INTELLIGENTSIA
11. PEASANTS

- 12. BYUDZHETNIKI
- 13. JEWS
- 14. OFFICERS IN THE MILITARY AND THE SPECIAL SERVICES
- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

143. Now I am going to hand you a card containing the names of various groups of people. Please read this list and tell me to which of the suggested groups you think United Russia supporters mostly belong to. You may choose several groups.

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 142.]

- 1. WORKERS
- 2. THE YOUNGER GENERATION
- 3. RUSSIANS
- 4. BUREAUCRATS
- 5. SMALL ENTREPRENEURS
- 6. NATIONAL MINORITIES
- 7. THE MIDDLE CLASS
- 8. BIG ENTREPRENEURS
- 9. PENSIONERS
- 10. THE INTELLIGENTSIA
- 11. PEASANTS
- 12. BYUDZHETNIKI
- 13. JEWS
- 14. OFFICERS IN THE MILITARY AND THE SPECIAL SERVICES
- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

144. Which of the following statements best describes your family's financial situation?

[INTERVIEWER: HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD 144.]

- 1. YOU DON'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY EVEN FOR FOOD.
- 2. YOU HAVE ENOUGH MONEY ONLY FOR THE MOST NECESSARY THINGS
- 3. YOU HAVE ENOUGH MONEY FOR DAILY EXPENSES, BUT EVEN THE PURCHASE OF CLOTHES IS DIFFICULT FOR YOU
- 4. YOU GENERALLY HAVE ENOUGH MONEY, BUT FOR BUYING EXPENSIVE GOODS LIKE, FOR EXAMPLE, A REFRIGERATOR, TELEVISION, OR WASHING MACHINE, YOU MUST SAVE MONEY FOR A VERY LONG TIME OR TAKE ON DEBT, GET CREDIT
- 5. THE PURCHASE OF EXPENSIVE GOODS IS NOT ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT FOR YOU, BUT A CAR IS STILL UNAFFORDABLE
- 6. THE PURCHASE OF A CAR IS NOT ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT FOR YOU, BUT PURCHASING HOUSING IS STILL UNAFFORDABLE
- 7. AT THE PRESENT TIME YOU DON'T HAVE TO DENY YOURSELVE ANYTHING
- 97. HARD TO SAY
- 98. REFUSAL

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

- 1. Improved a lot
- 2. Improved a little
- 3. Remained unchanged
- 4. Worsened a little
- 5. Worsened a lot
- 7. HARD TO SAY
- 8. REFUSAL

146. If we consider the period of reforms carried out in our country beginning in 1992 and ending in 1999, that is, during the Yeltsin period, as a result of these reforms, did you and your family...
1. Win
 2. Mostly win
 3. Mostly lose
 4. Lose
 6. WON SOME AND LOST SOME
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
147. And if we talk about the period after Putin's arrival, as a result of the reforms carried out in our country beginning in the year 2000, did you and your family...
1. Win
 2. Mostly win
 3. Mostly lose
 4. Lose
 6. WON SOME AND LOST SOME
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
148. Tell me please, what is your opinion in general: was life in the Soviet time better or worse than today?
1. Better
 2. Better in some things, worse in others
 3. Worse
 4. The same
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
149. Let us chat about the state of our country's economy. In what shape, in your opinion, is the economy of Russia today?
1. Very good
 2. Good
 3. Neither good nor bad
 4. Bad
 5. Very bad
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
150. What do you think, over the past twelve months has the economy of Russia . . . ?
1. Gotten much better
 2. Gotten somewhat better
 3. Stayed the same
 4. Gotten somewhat worse
 5. Gotten much worse
 7. HARD TO SAY
 8. REFUSAL
151. How much money in total have all members of your family, including you, made in this past thirty days? Sum up everything: wages, bonuses, profits, pensions, allowances, material aid, incidental pay, and other monetary income. Include in this hard currency, but convert the hard currency into rubles.
- _____ rubles
7. HARD TO SAY

8. REFUSAL

152. Are you a member of any of the following organizations

	Not a member	Member
A. Union	1	2
B. Workers council	1	2
C. Religious community	1	2
D. Sporting club	1	2
E. Literary or artistic club	1	2
F. Ecological organization	1	2
G. Professional association	1	2
H. Charity organization	1	2
I. Youth organization	1	2
J. Political party	1	2

7. H/S

8. REF

153, In general, people often have to take risks when making financial, career, or other life decisions. Overall, how would you place yourself on the following scale in terms of how comfortable you feel about taking risks? [SHOW SCALE TO RESPONDENT]

1. I feel very comfortable taking risks
 2. I feel somewhat comfortable taking risks
 3. I feel neither comfortable nor uncomfortable taking risks
 4. I feel somewhat uncomfortable taking risks
 5. I feel very uncomfortable taking risks
- [H/S and REF are coded as missing, not given numbers]

154 *(four different wordings of the question, each given to a randomly selected sample)*

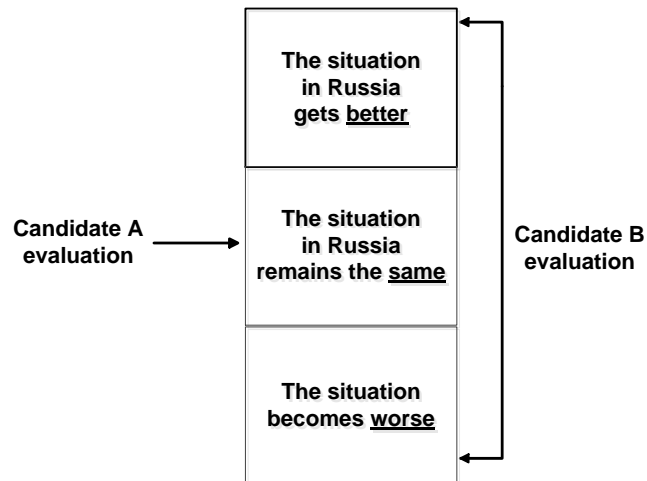
TREATMENT CONDITION 1 (randomly assigned to 1/4 of the sample)

Now, I would like to ask you a question about the upcoming presidential elections in Russia in 2018. Suppose you can vote for two candidates based on how you assess their ability to influence conditions in the country.

If Candidate A is elected, you believe the situation in Russia will stay the same as it is today for certain.

If Candidate B is elected, you believe there is an equal chance that conditions in the country will become either better or worse.

To summarize, here are the assessments of the abilities of the two candidates to influence conditions in Russia [SHOW SCALE TO RESPONDENT]:



Which candidate would you prefer based on these assessments:
Candidate A or Candidate B?

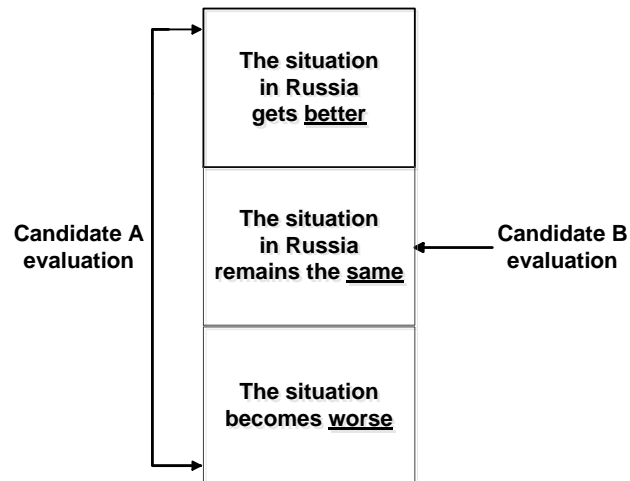
TREATMENT CONDITION 2 (randomly assigned to 1/4 of the sample)

Now, I would like to ask you a question about the upcoming presidential elections in Russia in 2018. Suppose you can vote for two candidates based on how you assess their ability to influence conditions in the country.

If Candidate A is elected, you believe there is an equal chance that conditions in the country will become either better or worse.

If Candidate B is elected, you believe the situation in Russia will stay the same as it is today for certain.

To summarize, here are the assessments of the abilities of the two candidates to influence conditions in Russia **[SHOW SCALE TO RESPONDENT]**:



Which candidate would you prefer based on these assessments:
Candidate A or Candidate B?

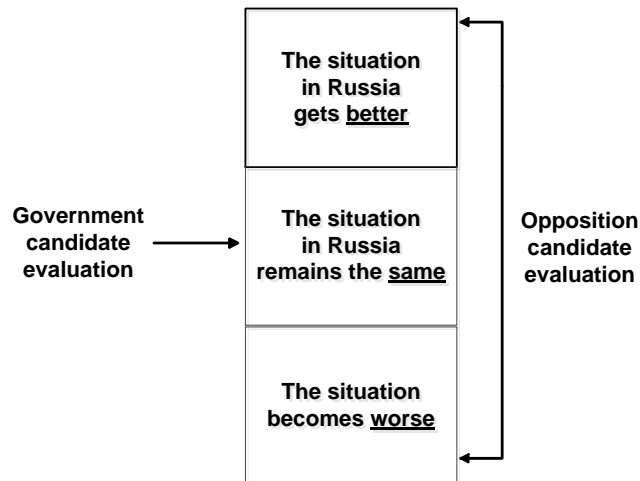
TREATMENT CONDITION 3 (randomly assigned to 1/4 of the sample)

Now, I would like to ask you a question about the upcoming presidential elections in Russia in 2018. Suppose you can vote for two candidates, one from the government and another from the opposition, based on how you assess their ability to influence conditions in the country.

If Government Candidate is elected, you believe the situation in Russia will stay the same as it is today for certain.

If the Opposition Candidate is elected, you believe there is an equal chance that conditions in the country will become either better or worse.

To summarize, here are the assessments of the abilities of the two candidates to influence conditions in Russia [SHOW SCALE TO RESPONDENT]:



Which candidate would you prefer based on these assessments:
The Opposition Candidate or the Government Candidate?

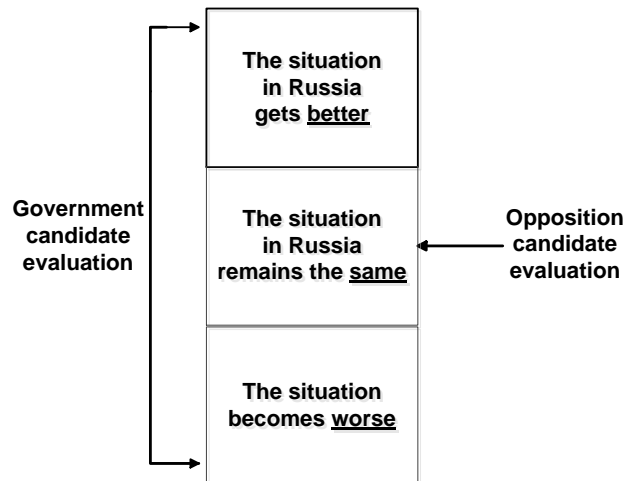
TREATMENT CONDITION 4 (randomly assigned to 1/4 of the sample)

Now, I would like to ask you a question about the upcoming presidential elections in Russia in 2018. Suppose you can vote for two candidates, one from the government and another from the opposition, based on how you assess their ability to influence conditions in the country.

If the Government Candidate is elected, you believe there is an equal chance that conditions in the country will become either better or worse.

If Opposition Candidate is elected, you believe the situation in Russia will stay the same as it is today for certain.

To summarize, here are the assessments of the abilities of the two candidates to influence conditions in Russia [SHOW SCALE TO RESPONDENT]:



Which candidate would you prefer based on these assessments:
The Opposition Candidate or the Government Candidate?

155. Sometimes people at their workplace are pressured to different actions in elections. Imagine the following situation: the director of your firm approached his employees and threatened to reduce the hours they could work in a week if they did not turn out to vote. How likely would you to tell someone (a local journalist, local authorities, law enforcement organs, etc.) about this experience?

- a. Very unlikely
- b. Somewhat unlikely
- c. Unsure
- d. Somewhat likely
- e. Very likely

7. H/S
8. REF

156. Before today's interview, had you ever heard about the Levada Center?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No → END OF INTERVIEW
- 7. H/S → END OF INTERVIEW
- 8. REF → END OF INTERVIEW

157. Which of the following statements about Levada-Center is consistent with what you know about it, corresponding with the truth? Please choose just one item, the truth of which you are sure.

1. It was sold to new owners
2. It won a Russian state award for outstanding work
3. It was declared a foreign agent
- 4, It opened its own Internet television channel.
5. Its headquarters burned down in a fire
7. H/S
8. REF