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Global  
Attitudes  
Project



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## Russians Back Protests, Political Freedoms And Putin, Too

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## Russians Back Protests, Political Freedoms And Putin, Too

Following a winter of discontent Russians express an increased appetite for political freedom, and at the same time strongly endorse Vladimir Putin.

Compared with just a few years ago, more Russians believe that voting gives people like themselves an opportunity to express their opinion about the country's governance, more feel that it is important to be able to openly criticize the government, and greater numbers see freedom of the press and honest elections as *very* important.

Consistent with the value placed on core democratic principles, a solid majority (64%) see attending protests as an opportunity to speak out about how the government is run, and more than half (56%) specifically approve of the mass demonstrations that followed the December 2011 parliamentary vote, which was marred by fraud allegations. In that regard, while a modest 56%-majority says they are satisfied with the outcome of the March 4, 2012 presidential election, just 47% believe that election was fair.

Nonetheless, the poll finds a number of indicators of support for the status quo. Most notably, 72% of Russians voice a favorable

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### Conflicting Views of Political Change

	<b>2012</b>
	%
<b>Support for Protests</b>	
<i>Attending protests gives people an opportunity to express their opinion</i>	
Agree	64
Disagree	27
Don't know	8
<i>Opinion of protests for fair elections</i>	
Support	56
Oppose	33
Don't know	10
<b>Mixed Views of Presidential Election</b>	
<i>Satisfaction with results</i>	
Satisfied	56
Dissatisfied	33
Don't know	10
<i>Were the elections fair?</i>	
Yes, fair	47
No, not fair	35
Don't know	18
<b>Opinion of Putin, Medvedev</b>	
<i>Putin favorability</i>	
Favorable	72
Unfavorable	24
Don't know	4
<i>Medvedev favorability</i>	
Favorable	67
Unfavorable	28
Don't know	5

opinion of Vladimir Putin, while almost as many hold a positive opinion of Dmitri Medvedev (67%). Putin's popularity is being fueled more by views of the economy and perceptions of social mobility than it is being hurt by democratic aspirations. Relatively few Russians express favorable views of other prominent political figures. Roughly four-in-ten or fewer have positive opinions of presidential contenders Gennady Zyuganov (39%), Mikhail Prokhorov (36%), Sergei Mironov (36%) and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (28%). Meanwhile, 54% of Russians are unfamiliar with government critic and protest organizer Alexei Navalny.

Further, as they have for most of the post-Soviet era, a majority of Russians continue to feel that relying on a leader with a strong hand in order to solve problems is more important than relying on a democratic form of government (57% vs. 32%). In addition, strong majorities say it is very important to live in a country where there is law and order (75%) and economic prosperity (71%). In fact, three-quarters say they would choose a strong economy over a good democracy.

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### Which Is More Important?

	2009	2011	2012
	%	%	%
Democracy	29	32	32
Strong leader	60	57	57
Don't know	11	11	11

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	2009	2011	2012
	%	%	%
Good democracy	14	21	19
Strong economy	78	73	75
Don't know	7	6	7

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q71 & Q72.

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These are among the principal findings from a nationwide survey of Russia by the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 1,000 adults in Russia between March 19 and April 4, 2012. The poll finds that Russians are generally divided about their country's direction as Putin begins his third term as president: 46% are satisfied with the way things are going in their country, while 45% are not. At home, the economy is a concern for many Russians, with only 32% describing the current economic situation as good. Meanwhile, in the international arena, a solid majority (73%) believe Russia deserves greater respect from other countries. The survey also finds persistent strains of ethnic nationalism among Russians, with about half (53%) saying Russia should be for Russians only, and 44% saying it is natural for Russia to have an empire.

## Democratic Freedoms More Valued

Against the backdrop of protests over the conduct of elections and the state of democracy in Russia, increasing numbers of Russians endorse the importance of key civic freedoms and institutions. Looking back a full ten years, five of the six measures of democratic freedom tested by the Global Attitudes Project have witnessed double-digit increases in terms of the percentage of Russians describing them as “very important.”

As they have in the past, today Russians place the greatest value on a judiciary that treats all citizens equally (71%), but compared with 2009, more now also value a civilian-controlled military (up 14 percentage points), an uncensored media (up 12 points) and honest elections (up 11 points). The importance of free speech and religious freedom has grown more modestly over the past three years (up 7 and 5 percentage points, respectively).

Although growing numbers of Russians value civic freedoms and institutions, relatively few see these as a reality in their country. Roughly one-in-five or fewer say a fair judiciary (17%), honest elections (16%), uncensored media (15%) and a civilian-controlled military (14%) describe Russia very well. Slightly more (28%) say that freedom of speech is characteristic of their country, while almost half (46%) agree that citizens are generally free to practice their religion.

Comparing the percentage of Russians who place a high value on core political freedoms with the percentage who believe the same freedoms are a fact of life in Russia, it is possible to discern a growing gap between democracy’s promise and practice.

In light of this gap, it is not surprising to find only 31% of Russians are satisfied with the way democracy is working in their country. This sentiment is pervasive across demographic

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### Democracy’s Promise and Practice

	% Very important			
	2002	2009	2012	09-12
	%	%	%	Change
Fair judiciary	68	69	71	+2
Honest elections	37	41	52	+11
Religious freedom	35	47	52	+5
Uncensored media	31	37	49	+12
Free speech	30	37	44	+7
Civilian-controlled military	20	27	41	+14
<b>MEDIAN</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>+12</b>

	% Describes country very well			
	2002	2009	2012	09-12
	%	%	%	Change
Fair judiciary	20	19	17	-2
Honest elections	15	16	16	0
Religious freedom	35	43	46	+3
Uncensored media	14	15	15	0
Free speech	20	22	28	+6
Civilian-controlled military	12	12	14	+2
<b>MEDIAN</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>-1</b>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q69a-f, Q70a-f.

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groups. And although those with a favorable view of Putin are somewhat more upbeat about the state of democracy in Russia (36% satisfied), even within this group a majority (57%) see room for improvement.

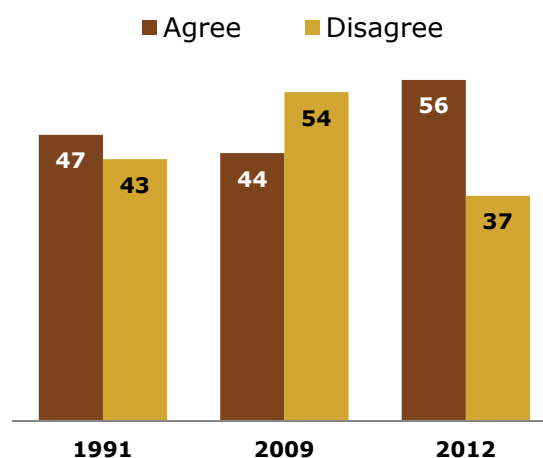
### Voting, Protests Seen as Important

Despite the public's disappointment with democratization in Russia, the number of people who say voting matters has actually risen. In 1991, when the Times Mirror Center, precursor to the Pew Research Center, first asked if voting gave people an opportunity to express their opinion about how government runs things, just 47% agreed. In 2009, the balance of opinion showed more doubting the power of voting. But this spring there seems to be a renewed conviction that casting one's vote matters – a 56%-majority now believes this to be true.

Positive shifts in the value placed on voting are evident across education and income groups. Meanwhile, attitudes among older Russians appear to have “caught up” with those of younger Russians. In 2009, just over half (54%) of those ages 18-29 said that voting gave them a say about governance, but fewer among 30-49 year olds (42%) or those over 50 (38%) felt the same. Today, about the same number of 18-29 year olds think voting matters (51%), but more among the 30-49 and 50-plus cohorts now share this view, (55% and 61%, respectively).

Along with generally endorsing the importance of voting, a strong majority of Russians (64%) believe that attending protests or demonstrations is an effective way for average citizens to comment on the government's actions. And more than half (56%) say they support the protests for fair elections that arose in the wake of the controversial parliamentary vote in December of last year.

#### More Agree That Voting Gives People an Opportunity to Express Their Opinion About Government



As asked in 2012, 2009, and 1991 the question has reflected the Russian translation: "Voting gives people like me an opportunity to express their opinion about how the government runs things." In 2009 and 1991, the translation was reported as, "Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things".

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q68b.

While some in Russia have suggested that the protests for fair elections are the result of Western meddling, most Russians (58%) disagree, attributing the demonstrations instead to genuine dissatisfaction among the public.

### Mixed Reaction to Presidential Vote

Protests in the wake of the December 2011 parliamentary elections brought to the fore questions about the fairness of the March 4, 2012 presidential vote. Following Putin's first-round victory, the public offers a mixed assessment of the balloting: 47% believe the election was free from manipulation, while roughly a third (35%) disagree and 18% are uncertain.

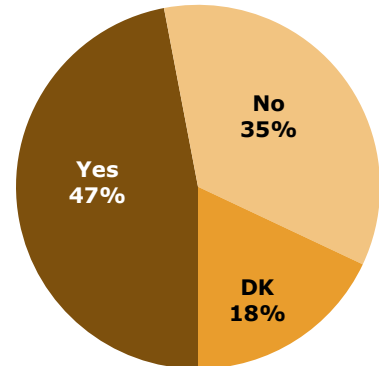
Overall, a majority (56%) say they are satisfied with the results of the election, compared with a third (33%) who are dissatisfied. One-in-ten do not have an opinion either way. The perceived fairness of the March 4<sup>th</sup> vote is a key factor influencing satisfaction with the outcome. Nearly nine-in-ten (87%) who think the election was "clean" say they are satisfied with the outcome. By contrast, only one-in-five who believe the vote was unfair say the same. Russians who are unsure whether the election was fair, meanwhile, tend to be satisfied (46%) with Putin's victory.

Not surprisingly, reaction to the election results is especially positive among Russians who hold a favorable opinion of Putin (71% satisfied) and those who feel they are better off financially than they were five years ago (71% satisfied).

### Putin's Continued Appeal

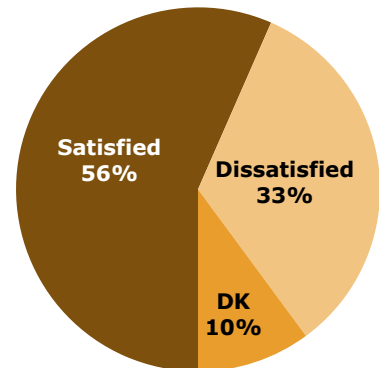
While some Russians may have their doubts about the fairness of the March 4<sup>th</sup> presidential vote, Putin clearly remains popular. Roughly seven-in-ten (72%) say they have a favorable opinion of the returning president. Only about a quarter (24%) of respondents voice the opposite view.

### Were the Presidential Elections Fair?



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q1RUS2.

### Most Satisfied with Presidential Election



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q1RUS1.

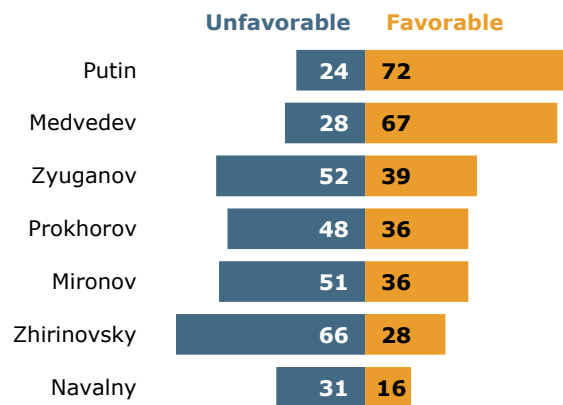
Putin's base of support is broad, although he is especially popular among women, Russians ages 30-49 and those with less than a college education. Overall, opinion of the newly elected president is more influenced by views of the economy and perceived social mobility. People who say the economy is good and feel they are better off than their parents are more likely to have a positive view of Putin. To the degree that democratic leanings help shape attitudes toward Putin, those who say an uncensored media is very important are less likely to have a favorable opinion of Russia's long-time leader.

Dmitri Medvedev, who will now be stepping into the role of prime minister, is also widely popular. Two-thirds of Russians have a favorable view of Medvedev, while only 28% voice an unfavorable opinion.

In terms of public support, Putin and Medvedev clearly stand out from other figures on Russia's political stage. Among the presidential candidates this spring, for example, Putin is the only one viewed favorably by a majority of Russians. Indeed, on balance, opinions of veteran politicians such as Communist Party head Zyuganov, A Just Russia's Mironov and Liberal Democratic Party leader Zhirinovskiy are negative (52%, 51% and 66% unfavorable, respectively).

Views are similarly negative for presidential candidate Prokhorov: roughly half (48%) have an unfavorable view of the billionaire businessman. Meanwhile, among the relatively few Russians familiar with Alexei Navalny, the online activist and a prominent organizer of anti-government protests, views also tend to be more negative than positive (31% vs. 16%).

### Public Favors Putin Over Others



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q52a-g.

### Challenges Ahead?

As Putin assumes the presidency for the third time, he faces a public with mixed views about the state of their nation. At home, opinion is nearly evenly split as to whether the country is headed in the right direction. On one hand, more today (46%) than at any point since 2008 say things are going well. But on the other, worries persist. In particular, a majority (64%) continues to describe the economy as bad.

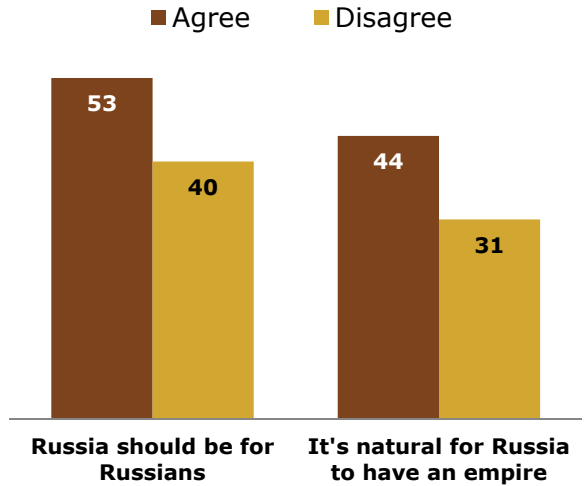


Internationally, meanwhile, Russians show signs of insecurity. Slightly more than half (55%) believe their country is generally disliked by other countries – an increase of 8 percentage points since 2010. And fully 73% say Russia deserves to be more respected around the world than it currently is.

The desire for enhanced prestige on the world stage coexists with a persistent strain of ethnic nationalism. Roughly half (53%) of Russians say their homeland should be for Russians, while 44% think it is natural for Russia to have an empire.

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### Russian Nationalism: Alive and Well



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q68d-e.

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## About the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project* conducts public opinion surveys around the world on a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" in Washington, DC, that provides information on the issues, attitudes, and trends shaping America and the world. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is principally funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts.

Since its inception in 2001, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* has released numerous major reports, analyses, and other releases, on topics including attitudes toward the U.S. and American foreign policy, globalization, terrorism, and democracy.

*Pew Global Attitudes Project* team members include Richard Wike (Associate Director), Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Katie Simmons, Jacob Poushter, and Cathy Barker. Other contributors to the project include Pew Research Center staff members James Bell (Director, International Survey Research), Bruce Stokes (Director, Pew Global Economic Attitudes), and Elizabeth Mueller Gross (Vice President), as well as Bruce Drake, Neha Sahgal, Carroll Doherty, and Michael Dimock. Additional members of the team include Mary McIntosh, president of Princeton Survey Research Associates International, and Mike Mokrzycki. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* team regularly consults with survey and policy experts, regional and academic experts, journalists, and policymakers whose expertise provides tremendous guidance in shaping the surveys.

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### Pew Global Attitudes Project Public Opinion Surveys

<u>Survey</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Interviews</u>
Summer 2002	44 Nations	38,263
November 2002	6 Nations	6,056
March 2003	9 Nations	5,520
May 2003	21 Publics*	15,948
Spring 2004	9 Nations	7,765
Spring 2005	17 Nations	17,766
Spring 2006	15 Nations	16,710
Spring 2007	47 Publics*	45,239
Spring 2008	24 Nations	24,717
Spring 2009	25 Publics*	26,397
Fall 2009	14 Nations	14,760
Spring 2010	22 Nations	24,790
Spring 2011	23 Publics*	29,100
Spring 2012	21 Nations	26,210

\* Includes the Palestinian territories.

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The *Pew Global Attitudes Project's* co-chairs are on leave through 2012. The project is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently principal, the Albright Stonebridge Group, and by former Senator John C. Danforth, currently partner, Bryan Cave LLP.

All of the project's reports and commentaries are available at [www.pewglobal.org](http://www.pewglobal.org). The data are also made available on our website within two years of publication. Findings from the project are also analyzed in *America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked* by Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes, published by Times Books. A paperback edition of the book was released in May 2007.

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## 1. National Conditions

Russians are divided about the direction of their country. Slightly less than half are satisfied with the way things are going, while about the same number are dissatisfied.

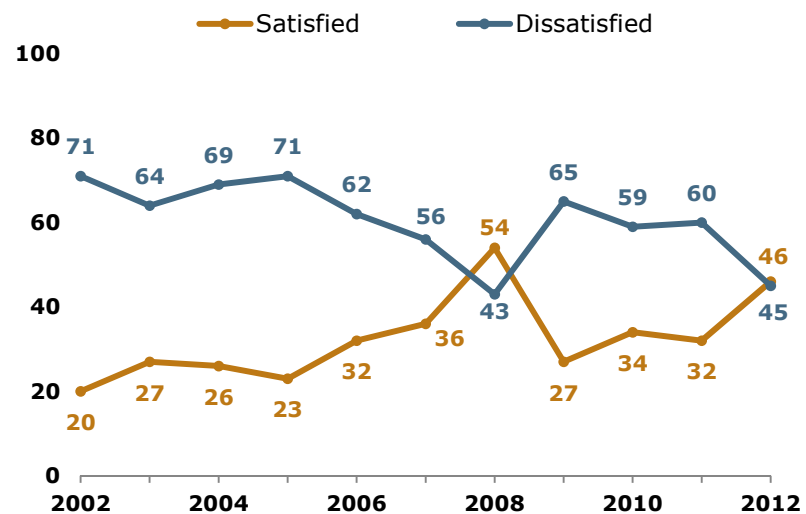
Russians also offer a mixed assessment of their own economic progress. Roughly as many say they are better off compared with five years ago, as say they are worse off. Views on the current economy are much clearer though, with a majority describing it as bad, and relatively few expecting to see improvements over the next 12 months.

### Public Divided on Country Direction

Russians are nearly evenly split on the question of their country's direction: 46% say they are satisfied with the way things are going in their country, while 45% say they are dissatisfied. Another 9% do not have a definite opinion.

Although divided, the mood of the Russian public is much improved from a year ago, when only 32% were satisfied with the country's direction, compared with six-in-ten who were not. In fact, satisfaction with Russia's direction is at its highest level since 2008.

Satisfaction With Country Direction

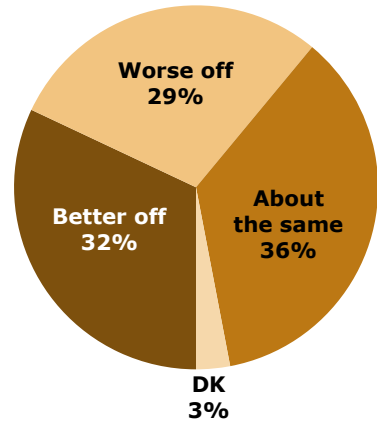


PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q2.

Politics seem to be a factor in whether people feel the country is headed in a positive direction. For instance, among Russians who view Putin favorably, 55% say they are satisfied with the way things are going in their country, while only 37% are dissatisfied. In contrast, those who have an unfavorable opinion of Putin are roughly four times as likely to say they are unhappy as happy with the country's direction (71% dissatisfied vs. 18% satisfied).

Asked how their financial situation compares with five years ago, about a third of Russians (32%) say they and their families are better off today, while 36% say their situation has not changed. Roughly three-in-ten (29%), meanwhile, report being worse off than they were five years ago.

**Compared to Five Years Ago, Are You Financially...**



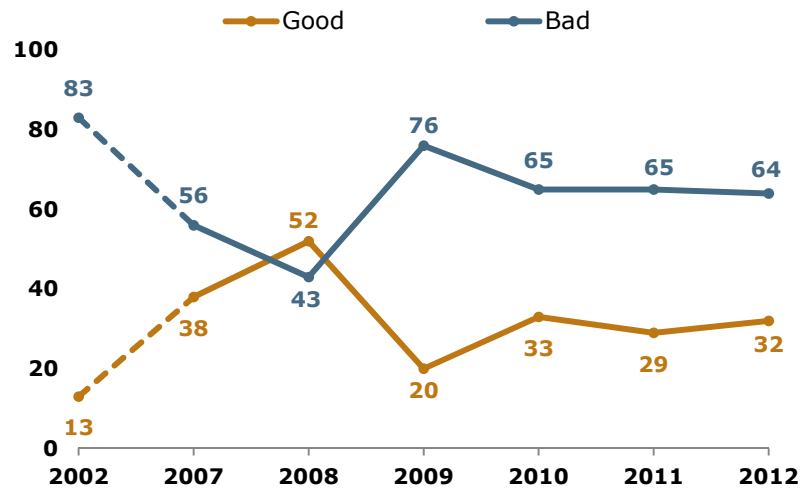
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q20.

Notably, Russians who say they and their families are better off tend to be the more upbeat about the country's direction. Roughly six-in-ten (63%) in this group are satisfied with the way things are going in Russia, whereas only 42% of those who say their situation is unchanged share this view. Among those who report being worse off today, even fewer (31%) are satisfied with the country's direction.

**Views of the National Economy**

The Russian public's assessment of the current economy is decidedly negative. Only about a third (32%) describe the current economic situation as good, little changed from the last few years.

**Most Say Current Economic Conditions Are Bad**



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q14.

Negative views of the economy are especially common among those who are financially worse off compared with five years ago (72% bad) and those who say their financial situation is about the same as five years ago (70%). Meanwhile, Russians who feel they are better off today are divided on the economy: 48% good vs. 47% bad.

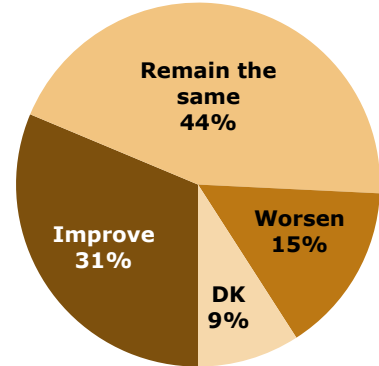
Overall, just 31% of Russians believe the economic situation will improve over the next 12 months, while 44% think it will remain the same. About one-in-six (15%) predict the economy will worsen in the coming year.

Among Russians who say they are better off than they were five years ago, predictions for the future are a bit brighter. Roughly half (51%) in this group believe the economy will improve over the next year, while roughly a third (35%) expect the situation to remain the same and just 9% foresee worse times ahead.

By contrast, among those who say their circumstances have grown worse, only about a quarter (23%) expect the economy to improve.

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**Over Next 12 Months,  
Economy Will...**



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q15.

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## 2. Reaction to Presidential Election, Protests

On balance, Vladimir Putin’s first-round victory in the March 4<sup>th</sup> presidential vote appears to sit well with most Russians, with a majority saying they are satisfied with the results of the election.

Views on the fairness of the election, however, are more mixed. Only a plurality believe the presidential election was “clean,” while a substantial minority question the integrity of the balloting, and almost one-in-five are unsure.

Overall, a clear majority of Russians endorse the notion that protests and demonstrations provide people an opportunity to express their opinion about how government runs things. And most – including many Putin-backers – say they support the fair-elections protests that began in the wake of the December 2011 parliamentary vote.

Interestingly, compared with a few years ago, more Russians today see their vote as a way to communicate their opinion about governance, even as many continue to doubt elected officials actually pay heed to what average citizens think.

### Views on the Presidential Vote

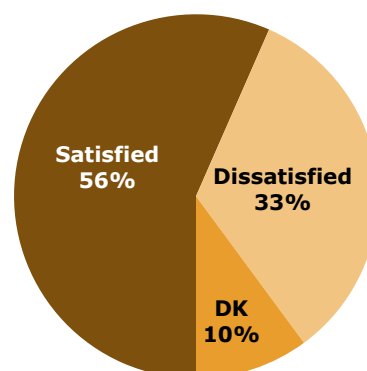
A modest majority of Russians (56%) say they are satisfied with the results of the March 4<sup>th</sup> election, while a third say they are not. One-in-ten do not offer an opinion.

Views on the fairness of the election are more mixed. Just 47% believe balloting was free from manipulation, while roughly a third (35%) disagree and 18% are uncertain.

The perceived fairness of the March 4<sup>th</sup> vote is a key factor influencing satisfaction with the outcome. Nearly nine-in-ten (87%) who think the election was fair say they are satisfied with the outcome. By contrast, only one-in-five who believe the vote was unfair say the same.

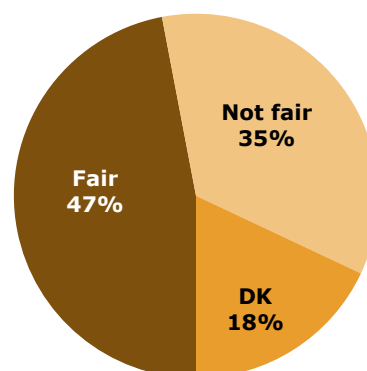
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**Most Satisfied With Presidential Election**



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**But Fewer Sure Vote Was Fair**



PEW RESEARCH CENTER QRUS1 & QRUS2.

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Russians who are unsure whether the election was fair, meanwhile, tend to be somewhat content with Putin's victory (46% satisfied vs. 23% dissatisfied).

As one might expect, Russians who hold a favorable opinion of Putin generally express satisfaction with the March 4<sup>th</sup> election results: 71% in this group are pleased with the former president's victory, while just 20% are not. The inverse is true among those who have a negative view of Putin – only 17% express satisfaction with the election outcome, compared with 72% who are dissatisfied.

Reaction to the election is also split along party lines. Nearly eight-in-ten Russians (78%) who identify with United Russia, Putin's governing party, say they are satisfied with the March vote, while only 16% are displeased. By contrast, only 31% among those aligned with the Communist Party are satisfied with the election results, compared with nearly six-in-ten (58%) who are not. Reaction to Putin's victory is more divided among Russians aligned with other parties (41% satisfied, 50% dissatisfied) or no party (46% satisfied, 37% dissatisfied).

Putin's return to the presidency is clearly a positive outcome for those who feel they are better off than five years ago. Roughly seven-in-ten (71%) in this group say they are satisfied with the results of the March 4<sup>th</sup> vote, compared with 21% who are dissatisfied.

Among those who say their circumstances are unchanged from five years ago, reaction to the election is mostly positive: 54% satisfied, 33% dissatisfied. Among those who feel worse off today, opinion is divided regarding Putin's first-round triumph, with 42% expressing satisfaction and 47% saying they are dissatisfied.

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**Those Who Are Better Off Are More Satisfied With March 4<sup>th</sup> Vote**

*Compared with five years ago, are you financially...*

	<b>Better off</b>	<b>Worse off</b>	<b>About the same</b>
<i>Satisfaction with election</i>	%	%	%
Satisfied	71	42	54
Dissatisfied	21	47	33
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER QRUS1 & Q20.

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**Support for Protests**

Russians generally endorse the value of popular protests, with 64% saying they mostly or completely agree that attending demonstrations gives people like themselves an opportunity to express their opinion about how the government runs things. Roughly a quarter (27%) disagree, while 8% don't have a definite opinion.

Asked specifically about the protests that arose in the wake of the December parliamentary vote, a 56%-majority say they support the protests, compared with a third who oppose the demonstrations and one-in-ten who do not offer an opinion.

Only a quarter of the Russian public subscribes to the view that the protests of the last several months are the result of Western powers attempting to destabilize Russia. Rather, nearly six-in-ten (58%) believe the demonstrations emanate from genuine Russian dissatisfaction with the conduct of elections.

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## Public Backs Protests

<i>Attending protests gives people an opportunity to express their opinion</i>	<b>2012</b>
	%
Agree	64
Disagree	27
Don't know	8
<hr/>	
<i>Support for protests for fair elections</i>	
Support	56
Oppose	33
Don't know	10
<hr/>	
<i>Protests result of Western efforts or genuine dissatisfaction?</i>	
Western efforts	25
Genuine dissatisfaction	58
Don't know	17

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q68c, Q82, & Q82b.

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Support for the recent protests is somewhat higher among men than women (61% vs. 52%). People with at least a college education are more supportive than those with secondary education or less (63% vs. 49%).

Notably, Russians who have a favorable opinion of Putin are divided over the issue of the fair-election protests (48% support vs. 42% oppose), while those who view Putin unfavorably clearly back the protesters (79% support vs. 12% oppose). Similarly, those who question the integrity of the March 4<sup>th</sup> presidential vote clearly come out in favor of the demonstrators by a 74% to 17% margin. Meanwhile, those who believe the election was fair tend to object to the protests (41% support vs. 51% oppose).

## Voting Matters

Against the backdrop of protests demanding “clean” elections, a majority of (56%) of Russians say that voting gives people like themselves an opportunity to express their opinion about how government runs things. Just over a third (37%) disagree.

Compared with previous years, belief in the importance of voting has strengthened. In 1991, for example, when Russians were first asked if voting gave people a voice, opinion



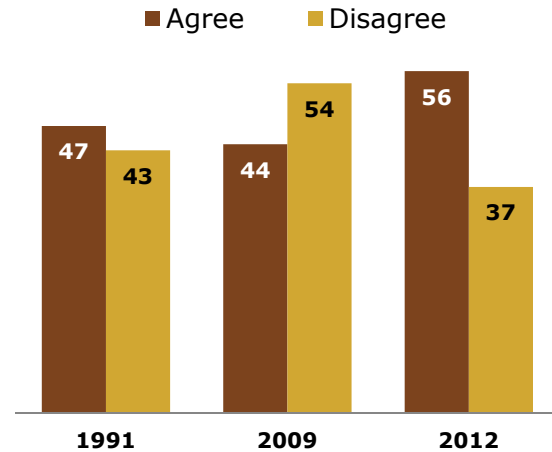
was divided: 47% said yes, while 43% said no. By 2009, the public had actually soured somewhat toward the ballot box, with 44% saying their vote mattered, but more than half (54%) saying it did not.

Today, attitudes toward voting are fairly consistent across demographic groups. In terms of change over time, however, one of the most dramatic increases has occurred among Russians age 30 and older. In 2009, just 42% of those 30-49 and 38% of those over 50 felt their vote mattered. Today, 55% and 61%, respectively, feel this is true. Among young people, meanwhile, attitudes toward voting have remained about the same: in 2009, 54% of 18-29 year olds said voting gave them a voice; today, roughly the same number (51%) still hold this view.

Despite the increased importance placed on voting, Russians are not convinced that their voices matter to those in power. Six-in-ten, for instance, doubt that elected officials care what people like themselves think, while just a third believe elected office-holders care about public opinion.

Though a minority, the number of Russians who believe elected officials care about citizens' views is actually higher than in years past. In 2009, only about a quarter (26%) held this view, while in 1991 just 18% thought this was the case.

### More Agree That Voting Gives People an Opportunity to Express Their Opinion About Government



As asked in 2012, 2009, and 1991 the question has reflected the Russian translation: "Voting gives people like me an opportunity to express their opinion about how the government runs things." In 2009 and 1991, the translation was reported as, "Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things".

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q68b.

### More Older Russians Value Voting

*% Agree voting is chance to express own opinion*

Age	2009	2012	Change
	%	%	%
18-29	54	51	-3
30-49	42	55	+13
50+	38	61	+23

As asked in 2012, 2009, and 1991 the question has reflected the Russian translation: "Voting gives people like me an opportunity to express their opinion about how the government runs things." In 2009 and 1991, the translation was reported as, "Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things".

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q68b.

### 3. Attitudes Toward Democracy

Most Russians continue to express discontent about the way democracy is working in their country. And there is a continued clear lack of confidence in the capacity of democracy to solve the country’s problems – nearly six-in-ten say a strong leader is better suited for dealing with the nation’s challenges than a democratic government.

Moreover, economics tends to trump democracy as a top priority for most Russians. When asked to choose between a good democracy and a strong economy, three-in-four pick the latter. Economic prosperity – along with law and order – is considered a more important priority than nearly all of the democratic rights and institutions tested on the survey.

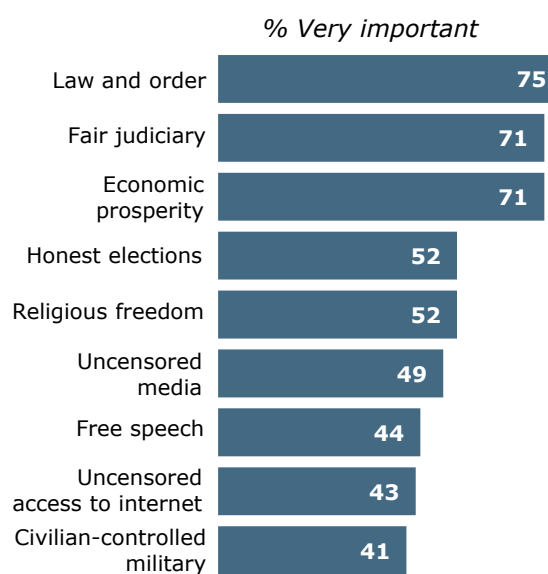
Still, Russians value many features of democracy, such as a fair judicial system, competitive elections, an uncensored media, and free expression. Indeed, today they place a higher premium on these democratic freedoms than was the case three years ago.

Few Russians, however, believe their country has the institutions and liberties they desire. As previous Pew Global Attitudes surveys have highlighted, there is a significant “democracy gap” in Russia between citizens’ democratic aspirations and the reality of their current political system.

#### Most Dissatisfied With Democracy

Roughly six-in-ten Russians (63%) are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country, unchanged from one year ago. About three-in-ten (31%) say they are satisfied and 6% offer no opinion.

#### Top Priorities



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q69a-i.

#### Those Who Are Better Off Are More Satisfied With Democracy

*Compared with five years ago, are you financially...*

	Better off	Worse off	About the same
Satisfaction with democracy	%	%	%
Satisfied	46	22	24
Dissatisfied	50	71	67
Don't know	3	6	9
	100	100	100

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q20 & Q73.

Views on this question are linked to whether Russians believe they made financial progress over the last five years. Nearly half (46%) of those who say they are better off financially today than they were five years ago are satisfied with the way democracy is working, compared with just 22% of those who are worse off and 24% of Russians who say their financial situation is about the same as it was five years ago.

### Democracy vs. Strong Leader

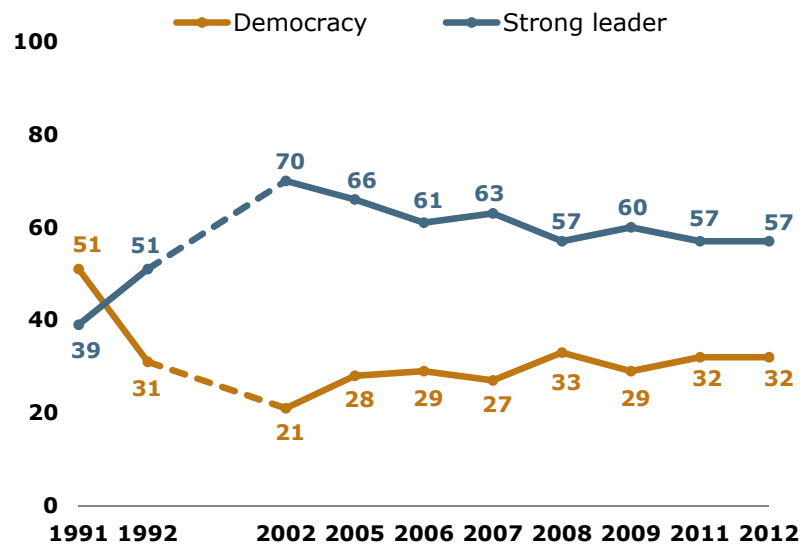
Amid widespread disillusionment about how democracy is working, 57% say "a leader with a strong hand" is better equipped to solve the country's problems than a democratic form of government. Just 32% think a democratic government is better suited for dealing with these challenges.

This is unchanged from 2011, though the percentage expressing confidence in a strong leader is down significantly from a decade ago, when 70% held this view.

Russians have not always expressed so little faith in democracy. Two decades ago, as the Soviet Union was dissolving, a spring 1991 survey by the Times Mirror Center (the predecessor of the Pew Research Center) found 51% of Russians preferring a democratic form of

government and 39% favoring a strong hand. But by the fall of 1992, that had flipped to 51% favoring a strong leader and 31% preferring democratic government.

**Most Say Strong Leader Can Solve Russia's Problems**



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q71.

Education is strongly correlated with views on this issue. Among Russians with a college education, opinions are closely divided: 43% favor a democratic government, while 47% endorse a strong leader. Among those with less education, only 28% choose democracy and roughly six-in-ten say the country should rely on a strong leader.

### College Educated Divided Over Democracy v. Strong Leader

<i>Russia should rely on...</i>	<i>Education</i>		
	<b>Secondary or less</b>	<b>Vocational/Some college</b>	<b>College or more</b>
	%	%	%
Democracy	28	28	43
Strong leader	62	60	47
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100

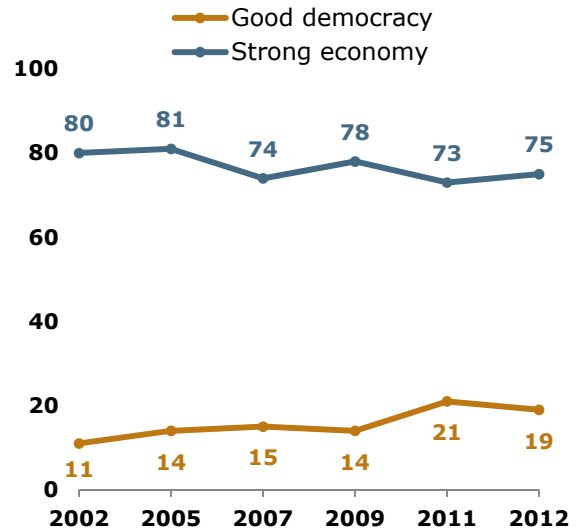
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.  
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q71.

### Democracy vs. Strong Economy

If forced to choose, three-in-four Russians say a strong economy is more important than a good democracy. Only 19% place a higher priority on democracy, while 7% do not have an opinion. This is basically unchanged from one year ago, when 73% said a strong economy was more important.

In fact, views on this question have been fairly stable over the past decade, although the percentage who prioritize democracy has crept up slightly from the 11% registered in 2002.

### Russians Consistently Say Economy More Important Than Democracy



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q72.

## Support for Democratic Values, But Law and Order, Prosperity, Too

Law and order tops the list of national concerns among Russians: 75% say it is very important to live in a country that maintains law and order. Roughly seven-in-ten (71%) also say economic prosperity is a top priority.

At the same time, Russians rate key principles of democracy as high priorities. In particular, 71% say it is very important to have a judicial system that treats everyone the same way. Roughly four-in-ten or more rate the other rights and institutions tested as very important, and broad majorities say they are at least somewhat important.

Moreover, the percentage rating religious freedom, honest elections, free media, being able to openly criticize the government, and a civilian-controlled military as very important has increased notably since 2009, and by double digits over the last decade.

Among demographic groups, low-income Russians tend to place less importance on free speech, honest elections and civilian control of the

military than do those with middle and higher incomes. High-income Russians are especially likely to say a fair judiciary (82%) and uncensored media (60%) are very important.

### Law and Order, Prosperity, Democratic Rights All Considered Priorities

	% Very important			02-12 change
	2002	2009	2012	
	%	%	%	
Law and order	--	--	75	--
Fair judiciary	68	69	71	+3
Economic prosperity	79	71	71	-8
Religious freedom	35	47	52	+17
Honest elections	37	41	52	+15
Uncensored media	31	37	49	+18
Free speech	30	37	44	+14
Uncensored access to internet	--	--	43	--
Civilian-controlled military	20	27	41	+21

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q69a-i.

### Few Believe Russia Has Key Rights and Institutions

	% Describes country very well			02-12 change
	2002	2009	2012	
	%	%	%	
Religious freedom	35	43	46	+11
Free speech	20	22	28	+8
Uncensored access to internet	--	--	22	--
Law and order	--	--	18	--
Economic prosperity	19	18	17	-1
Fair judiciary	20	19	17	-3
Honest elections	15	16	16	+1
Uncensored media	14	15	15	+1
Civilian-controlled military	12	12	14	+2

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q70a-i.

While Russians tend to value key elements of democracy, relatively few think their country currently has these features. Only 28% say having freedom of speech describes Russia very well, and roughly one-in-five or fewer say this about uncensored internet access, a fair judicial system, competitive elections, free media, and civilian control of the military. The exception is religious freedom – nearly half says this describes Russia very well. And unlike most of the other aspects of democracy included on the survey, more Russians now believe their country has religious freedom than was the case a decade ago.

In addition to lacking important democratic characteristics, Russians also tend to believe their country lacks law and order (only 18% say this describes Russia very well) and economic prosperity (17%).

### The Democracy Gap

An analysis of the six priorities that concern fundamental aspects of democracy – a fair judiciary, honest elections, religious freedom, free press, free speech, and civilian control of the military – reveals a large chasm between what Russians want from democracy and the degree of democracy they think Russia has attained.

Comparing the percentage saying each of these rights and institutions is very important with the percentage saying they describe Russia very well, it is clear that a substantial “democracy gap” exists in Russia. This is especially true regarding a fair judiciary. The gap between the percentage saying it is very important to have a judicial system that treats everyone the same and the percentage who think this describes Russia very well is 54 points.

The gap is 36 points on honest elections, 34 points on uncensored media and 27 points on a civilian-controlled military. This gap is somewhat narrower – 16 points – on freedom of speech. Religious freedom is the one area where evaluations are nearly as positive as expectations, with 52 percent saying it is very important and 46 percent saying it describes Russia very well.

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#### A Wide Democracy Gap

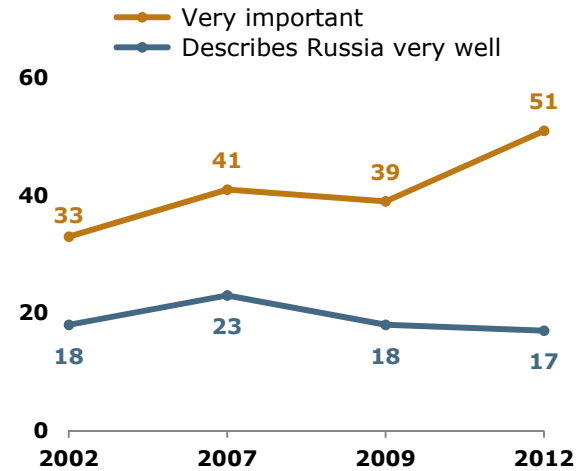
	<i>Important?</i>	<i>Describes country...</i>	
	<b>Very important</b>	<b>Very Well</b>	<b>Diff.</b>
	%	%	
Fair judiciary	71	17	-54
Honest elections	52	16	-36
Uncensored media	49	15	-34
Civilian-controlled military	41	14	-27
Free speech	44	28	-16
Religious freedom	52	46	-6
<b>MEDIAN</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>-34</b>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q69a-f & Q70a-f.

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Looking at the median percentage each year who say these rights and institutions are very important and comparing it with the median percentage who believe these rights and institutions describe Russia very well, it is possible to discern a democracy gap that has widened over time as Russians consistently report the absence of democracy on the ground, even as more place a value on political freedom.

### Democracy Gap Has Grown Since 2009



Medians of six democracy principles: free speech, honest elections, fair judiciary, civilian-controlled military, uncensored media and religious freedom.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q69a-f, Q70a-f.

## 4. Views of Leaders

Just months after controversial parliamentary and presidential elections in Russia, the country's two top leaders, President Vladimir Putin and Prime Minister Dmitri Medvedev, enjoy solidly favorable ratings among the Russian public.

Democratic stirrings among the public notwithstanding, the survey finds that favorable views of Putin are influenced first and foremost by economic factors: people who say the economy is good or feel they are better off than their parents are *more* likely to have a positive opinion of Putin. To the degree that democratic values factor into attitudes toward Putin, those who say an uncensored media is important are *less* likely to have a positive view of the third-term president.

Other figures on Russia's political stage barely hold a candle to Putin. Russians generally have negative views of Putin's challengers from the March 2012 presidential election, especially the outspoken nationalist politician Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. Alexei Navalny, a critic of Putin and one of the lead organizers of demonstrations protesting recent elections, is unknown to more than half of the Russian public.

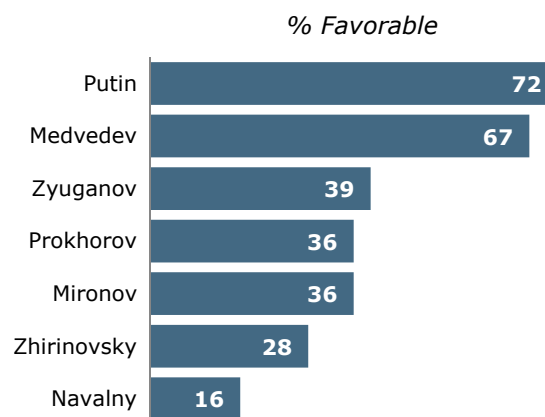
### Putin and Medvedev Widely Popular

Vladimir Putin is well liked by most Russians, with roughly seven-in-ten (72%) offering a favorable opinion of the recently re-elected president. Only about a quarter (24%) of respondents have an unfavorable view of the Russian leader.

Putin is broadly popular, but especially so among women, those ages 30-49 and those with less than secondary education (75%, 75% and 77% favorable, respectively).

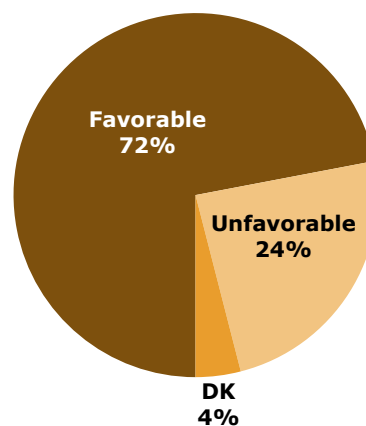
Overall, assessments of the national economy and social

### Ratings of Russian Leaders



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q52a-g.

### Views of Putin



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q52b.



mobility play the greatest role in shaping attitudes toward Putin. Those who say the economy is in good shape and those who feel that they are better off than their parents are more likely to have a favorable opinion of the third-term president. To the extent that popular views of Putin are shaped by democratic aspirations, people who place importance on a media free from censorship are less likely to have a positive opinion of Putin.

Medvedev, the second half of what some have referred to as Russia's leadership tandem, is also widely popular.

Two-thirds of Russians have a favorable view of Medvedev, while only 28% voice an unfavorable opinion. Like Putin, Medvedev is broadly popular across demographic groups, while his ratings jump to 88% among Russians who either have a favorable view of Vladimir Putin or support Putin's political party, United Russia. By contrast, among those with an unfavorable view of Putin only 12% support Medvedev.

When it comes to how much confidence the Russian people have in Medvedev's handling of world affairs, 59% say they have a lot or some confidence in his ability to do the right thing, while a third express not too much or no confidence. This is a decline from 2011 when 70% of Russians said they had confidence in Medvedev to handle world affairs and an even larger drop from 2009, when 76% of Russians expressed confidence in him.

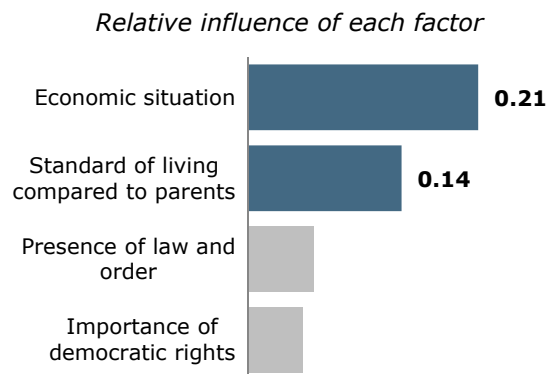
The public's confidence in Medvedev is slightly less than that for Putin: 69% have confidence in Putin's handling of world affairs, while about a quarter (24%) do not.

### Women, Older, and Less Educated More Favorable Toward Putin

	Favorable	Unfavorable
	%	%
<i>Total</i>	72	24
<b>Gender</b>		
Men	69	27
Women	75	21
<b>Age</b>		
18-29	66	30
30-49	75	21
50+	74	23
<b>Education</b>		
Secondary or less	77	20
Vocational/Some college	73	23
College or more	68	29

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q52b.

### Opinions that Matter the Most to Putin's Popularity



The number shown is the difference in the probability of favoring Putin between selected groups within each variable. For example, the probability of favoring Putin is 0.90 for those who say the economic situation is good, compared with 0.69 for those who say it is bad, a difference of 0.21. See appendix for more details on this analysis.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q14, Q64b, Q70h, Q69a-f.

## Other Politicians Not As Well-liked

While Putin and Medvedev enjoy high ratings, other political figures in Russia are not nearly as popular. Gennady Zyuganov, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Russia and runner-up in the March 4<sup>th</sup> presidential vote, is viewed favorably by 39% of Russians, while roughly half (52%) have an unfavorable opinion of him. Communist party sympathizers give Zyuganov his highest marks, with about eight-in-ten (79%) expressing a positive view. Those ages 50 and older (47%) and those with secondary or less education (46%) also tend to view Zyuganov more favorably, while those under 30 or with a college education tend to view him less favorably (34% and 36% favorable, respectively). The Communist party leader's ratings are mixed among those who make 10,000 rubles or less per month (49% favorable/45% unfavorable). Meanwhile Russians making more than 25,000 rubles per month are about twice as likely to have a negative as positive opinion of Zyuganov (62% vs. 29%).

### Views of Russian Leaders

	Fav	Unfav	DK
	%	%	%
Vladimir Putin	72	24	4
Dmitri Medvedev	67	28	5
Gennady Zyuganov	39	52	8
Mikhail Prokhorov	36	48	15
Sergey Mironov	36	51	14
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy	28	66	5
Alexei Navalny	16	31	54

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q52a-g.

The third and fifth place finishers in the March 4<sup>th</sup> presidential election, Mikhail Prokhorov, an independent billionaire, and Sergey Mironov, the candidate of the left-wing A Just Russia party, have limited appeal among the public. Just 36% of Russians have a favorable view of either Prokhorov or Mironov, with about half expressing an unfavorable opinion of each man. Prokhorov, who is also owner of an American professional basketball team, is more popular among urban and more educated Russians, but even among these groups he does not garner majority support.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the right wing Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and fourth place finisher in the presidential election, is even more disliked among Russians. Only 28% of Russians express a favorable opinion of the outspoken politician, with nearly two-thirds (66%) saying they have an unfavorable opinion.

Alexei Navalny, who was not a presidential candidate but was a driving force behind street demonstrations protesting the conduct of the December 2011 parliamentary and March 2012 presidential elections, is not well known among the Russian public. More than half (54%) have no opinion of the outspoken Putin critic. Only 16% have a favorable opinion of Navalny, while about three-in-ten (31%) view him negatively.

## 5. Nationalism and Russia’s Global Image

Nationalism remains a potent sentiment among Russians today, and a plurality believe it’s natural for the country to have an empire. At the same time, the prevailing view is that Russia is more disliked than liked around the world, while nearly three-in-four say their country deserves greater respect internationally.

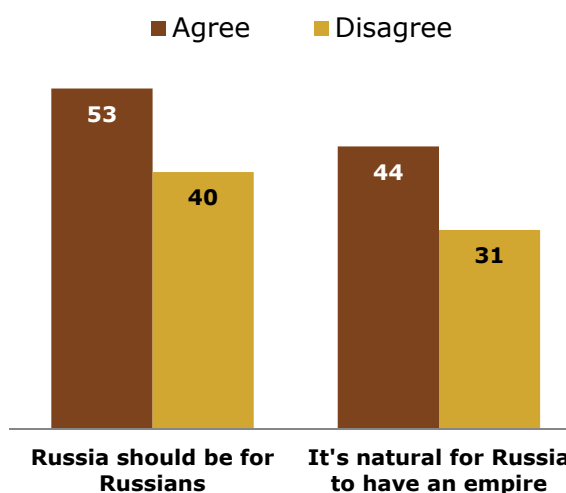
### Russian Nationalism

Roughly half of Russians (53%) agree that their homeland should be for Russians only; four-in-ten disagree. The public voiced a similar degree of ethnic chauvinism in 2009, when 54% said “Russia should be for Russians.” In contrast, when the Soviet Union was in its last throes in 1991, 69% disagreed and only 26% agreed with that notion that Russia should be exclusively for Russians.

Along with strains of ethnic nationalism, the image of Russia as an imperial power persists among a substantial number of Russians today. A 44%-plurality say it’s natural for their country to have an empire, compared with 31% who disagree and a quarter who do not have a definite opinion. In 2009, roughly the same number (47%) felt it was natural for Russia to have its own empire. Two decades ago, with the Soviet Union on the verge of collapse, only 37% shared this view.

Notably, Russians who admire Vladimir Putin are not especially adamant about their country’s imperial claims. Among those with a favorable opinion of Putin, 45% think it’s natural for their country to have an empire, compared with 43% among those who have a negative opinion of the Russian president.

### Russian Nationalism Still Alive



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q68d-e.

## Russia's International Image

A little more than half of Russians (55%) think people in other countries generally dislike Russia. This is up from 47% in 2010, but comparable to the 57% who expressed the same view in 2005. Today, 31% say Russia generally is liked around the world, while 14% give no opinion.

Nearly three-in-four Russians (73%) say their country should be more respected around the world; only 16% believe that internationally Russia is as respected as it should be.

The sense that Russia deserves greater respect from other countries is fairly constant across age, education and income groups.

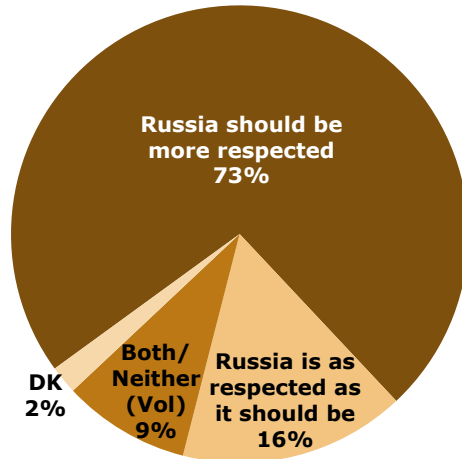
### More Say Russia Disliked Around World

	2005	2010	2012	10-12 Change
	%	%	%	
Generally liked	32	36	31	-5
Generally disliked	57	47	55	+8
Don't know	11	17	14	-3

PEW RESEARCH CENTER QRUS3.

### Russians Feel Lack of Respect

*Around the world...*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER QRUS4.

## **2012 Pew Global Attitudes Survey in Russia Survey Methods**

The survey in Russia is part of the larger Spring 2012 Pew Global Attitudes survey conducted in 21 countries under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International.

Results for the survey in Russia are based on 1,000 face-to-face interviews conducted March 19 to April 4, 2012. The survey is representative of the country's adult population. It uses a multi-stage cluster sample stratified by Russia's eight regions and proportional to population size, excluding a few remote areas in the northern and eastern parts of the country and Chechnya. All interviews were conducted in Russian.

The margin of sampling error is  $\pm 3.6$  percentage points. For the results based on the full sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

**Pew Global Attitudes Project**  
**2012 Spring Survey Topline Results**  
**May 23, 2012 Release**

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on a national sample. For further details on sample designs, see Survey Methods section.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, the Global Attitudes Project has used an automated process to generate topline. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2012 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

		Q2 Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?			
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	46	45	9	100
	Spring, 2011	32	60	8	100
	Spring, 2010	34	59	7	100
	Fall, 2009	34	60	6	100
	Spring, 2009	27	65	9	100
	Spring, 2008	54	43	4	100
	Spring, 2007	36	56	9	100
	Spring, 2006	32	62	7	100
	Spring, 2005	23	71	6	100
	Spring, 2004	26	69	5	100
	May, 2003	27	64	9	100
	March, 2003	35	58	6	100
Summer, 2002	20	71	9	100	

		QRUS1 Overall, were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the results of the March 4th presidential elections?			
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	56	33	10	100

		QRUS2 Do you think the March 4th presidential elections were fair, or don't you think so?			
		Yes, fair	No, not fair	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	47	35	18	100

		QRUS3 How do you think people in other countries of the world feel about Russia? Is Russia generally liked or disliked?			
		Generally liked	Generally disliked	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	31	55	14	100
	Spring, 2010	36	47	17	100
	Spring, 2005	32	57	11	100

		Q14 Now thinking about our economic situation, how would you describe the current economic situation in Russia – is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	4	28	49	15	5	100
	Spring, 2011	5	24	46	19	6	100
	Spring, 2010	3	30	49	16	4	100
	Fall, 2009	3	25	50	18	4	100
	Spring, 2009	2	18	55	21	5	100
	Spring, 2008	5	47	37	6	4	100
	Spring, 2007	3	35	45	11	6	100
	Summer, 2002	0	13	57	26	4	100

		Q15 And over the next 12 months do you expect the economic situation in our country to improve a lot, improve a little, remain the same, worsen a little or worsen a lot?						
		Improve a lot	Improve a little	Remain the same	Worsen a little	Worsen a lot	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	5	26	44	11	4	9	100
	Spring, 2011	6	22	46	12	6	9	100
	Spring, 2010	3	36	42	8	3	7	100
	Spring, 2009	5	27	36	15	7	9	100
	Spring, 2008	8	34	39	10	3	6	100
	Summer, 2002	1	21	53	13	5	7	100

		Q20 And thinking about how you and your family were doing financially five years ago: Would you say you are better off today than you were five years ago, worse off today, or are you doing about the same today as you were five years ago?				
		Better off	Worse off	About the same	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	32	29	36	3	100

		Q40b For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all: b. Dmitri Medvedev					
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	25	34	24	9	8	100
	Spring, 2011	30	40	18	6	6	100
	Spring, 2010	36	38	15	4	7	100
	Spring, 2009	27	49	14	4	6	100

Previously, question asked about "Russian President Dmitri Medvedev"

		Q40c For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all: c. Russian President Vladimir Putin					
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	37	32	16	8	7	100
	Spring, 2011	36	39	14	5	6	100
	Spring, 2010	45	32	12	4	7	100
	Spring, 2009	39	42	11	3	4	100
	Spring, 2008	53	30	10	3	4	100
	Spring, 2007	46	38	8	2	6	100
	Spring, 2006	27	48	13	4	8	100
	May, 2003	28	48	19	3	1	100

From 2009 to 2011, question asked about "Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin"

		Q52a Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: a. Dmitri Medvedev					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	23	44	20	8	5	100

		Q52b Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: b. Vladimir Putin					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	31	41	16	8	4	100



		Q52c Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: c. Gennady Zyuganov					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	9	30	36	16	8	100

		Q52d Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: d. Sergey Mironov					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	5	31	36	15	14	100

		Q52e Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: e. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	7	21	36	30	5	100

		Q52f Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: f. Mikhail Prokhorov					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	6	30	25	23	15	100

		Q52g Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: g. Alexei Navalny					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	3	13	18	13	54	100

		Q64b Compared to your parents when they were the same age as you are now, do you think your own standard of living now is much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, much worse than theirs was?							
		Much better	Somewhat better	About the same	Somewhat worse	Much worse	Parents did not live to the age of respondent (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	19	37	21	12	7	1	3	100

		QRUS4 Which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right? Russia is as respected around the world as it should be OR Russia should be more respected around the world than it is?				
		Russia is as respected around the world as it should be	Russia should be more respected around the world than it is	Both/Neither (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	16	73	9	2	100

		Q68a Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following: a. Most elected officials care what people like me think					
		Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Russia	Spring, 2012	4	29	32	28	7	100
	Fall, 2009	6	20	36	35	4	100
	Spring, 1991	4	14	46	26	10	100

		<b>Q68b Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following: b. Voting gives people like me an opportunity to express their opinion about how the government runs things</b>					
		<b>Completely agree</b>	<b>Mostly agree</b>	<b>Mostly disagree</b>	<b>Completely disagree</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	12	44	23	14	6	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	10	34	28	26	3	100
	<b>Spring, 1991</b>	13	34	21	22	9	100

As asked in 2012, 2009, and 1991 the question has reflected the Russian translation: "Voting gives people like me an opportunity to express their opinion about how the government runs things." In 2009 and 1991, the translation was reported as, "Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things."

		<b>Q68c Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following: c. Attending protests or demonstrations gives people like me an opportunity to express their opinion about how the government runs things</b>					
		<b>Completely agree</b>	<b>Mostly agree</b>	<b>Mostly disagree</b>	<b>Completely disagree</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	16	48	19	8	8	100

		<b>Q68d Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following: d. Russia should be for Russians</b>					
		<b>Completely agree</b>	<b>Mostly agree</b>	<b>Mostly disagree</b>	<b>Completely disagree</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	23	30	25	15	6	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	23	31	27	16	3	100
	<b>Spring, 1991</b>	13	13	26	43	6	100

		<b>Q68e Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following: e. It's natural for Russia to have an empire</b>					
		<b>Completely agree</b>	<b>Mostly agree</b>	<b>Mostly disagree</b>	<b>Completely disagree</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	15	29	17	14	25	100
	<b>Spring, 2011</b>	15	33	20	13	20	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	16	31	23	12	18	100
	<b>Spring, 1991</b>	18	19	25	18	19	100

		<b>Q69a How important is it to you to live in a country where a. you can openly say what you think and can criticize the state? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?</b>					
		<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Not too important</b>	<b>Not important at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	44	42	8	3	2	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	37	44	12	5	2	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	34	46	15	3	2	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	30	46	16	6	2	100

		<b>Q69b How important is it to you to live in a country where b. honest elections are held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?</b>					
		<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Not too important</b>	<b>Not important at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	52	36	6	3	3	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	41	42	10	4	3	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	41	41	12	3	3	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	37	40	16	5	3	100

		<b>Q69c How important is it to you to live in a country where c. there is a judicial system that treats everyone in the same way? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?</b>					
		<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Not too important</b>	<b>Not important at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	71	22	4	1	2	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	69	24	5	1	1	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	70	24	4	0	2	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	68	29	2	0	1	100

		<b>Q69d How important is it to you to live in a country where d. the military is under the control of civilian leaders? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?</b>					
		<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Not too important</b>	<b>Not important at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	41	28	11	8	12	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	27	32	19	9	13	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	34	35	16	8	7	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	20	33	21	13	13	100

		<b>Q69e How important is it to you to live in a country where e. the media can report the news without state censorship? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?</b>					
		<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Not too important</b>	<b>Not important at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	49	37	7	3	4	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	37	41	14	4	4	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	40	41	13	3	3	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	31	44	14	6	5	100

		<b>Q69f How important is it to you to live in a country where f. you can practice your religion freely? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?</b>					
		<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Not too important</b>	<b>Not important at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	52	30	9	4	5	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	47	37	9	4	3	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	45	37	11	5	3	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	35	42	13	7	3	100

		<b>Q69g How important is it to you to live in a country where g. there is economic prosperity? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?</b>					
		<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Not too important</b>	<b>Not important at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	71	21	3	2	3	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	71	22	4	2	1	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	68	26	4	1	2	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	79	19	1	0	2	100

		<b>Q69h How important is it to you to live in a country where h. law and order is maintained? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?</b>					
		<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Not too important</b>	<b>Not important at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	75	19	3	1	2	100

		<b>Q69i How important is it to you to live in a country where i. people have access to the internet without government censorship or interference? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all?</b>					
		<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Not too important</b>	<b>Not important at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	43	27	12	7	11	100

		<b>Q70a I am going to read you the same list. Does a. you can openly say what you think and can criticize the state describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all?</b>					
		<b>Very well</b>	<b>Somewhat well</b>	<b>Not too well</b>	<b>Not well at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	28	46	16	6	4	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	22	45	23	5	4	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	25	48	19	4	3	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	20	53	15	5	7	100

		<b>Q70b I am going to read you the same list. Does b. honest elections are held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all?</b>					
		<b>Very well</b>	<b>Somewhat well</b>	<b>Not too well</b>	<b>Not well at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	16	36	27	14	6	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	16	38	27	15	5	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	17	40	26	12	5	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	15	42	22	12	9	100

		<b>Q70c I am going to read you the same list. Does c. there is a judicial system that treats everyone in the same way describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all?</b>					
		<b>Very well</b>	<b>Somewhat well</b>	<b>Not too well</b>	<b>Not well at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	17	21	30	26	6	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	19	22	28	26	4	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	25	26	23	22	3	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	20	19	25	28	8	100

		<b>Q70d I am going to read you the same list. Does d. the military is under the control of civilian leaders describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all?</b>					
		<b>Very well</b>	<b>Somewhat well</b>	<b>Not too well</b>	<b>Not well at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	14	29	24	15	18	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	12	32	26	12	18	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	14	35	27	13	11	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	12	30	28	11	19	100

		<b>Q70e I am going to read you the same list. Does e. the media can report the news without state censorship describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all?</b>					
		<b>Very well</b>	<b>Somewhat well</b>	<b>Not too well</b>	<b>Not well at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	15	41	23	12	9	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	15	40	28	10	7	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	20	43	21	10	6	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	14	44	22	8	13	100

		<b>Q70f I am going to read you the same list. Does f. you can practice your religion freely describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all?</b>					
		<b>Very well</b>	<b>Somewhat well</b>	<b>Not too well</b>	<b>Not well at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	46	41	6	2	5	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	43	40	9	4	5	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	40	43	8	5	4	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	35	53	5	1	6	100

		<b>Q70g I am going to read you the same list. Does g. there is economic prosperity describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all?</b>					
		<b>Very well</b>	<b>Somewhat well</b>	<b>Not too well</b>	<b>Not well at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	17	23	35	20	5	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	18	26	28	23	4	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	23	34	22	16	5	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	19	20	29	26	6	100

		<b>Q70h I am going to read you the same list. Does h. law and order is maintained describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all?</b>					
		<b>Very well</b>	<b>Somewhat well</b>	<b>Not too well</b>	<b>Not well at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	18	22	32	23	5	100

		<b>Q70i I am going to read you the same list. Does i. people have access to the internet without government censorship or interference describe our country very well, somewhat well, not too well or not well at all?</b>					
		<b>Very well</b>	<b>Somewhat well</b>	<b>Not too well</b>	<b>Not well at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	22	37	15	5	21	100

		<b>Q71 Some feel that we should rely on a democratic form of government to solve our country's problems. Others feel that we should rely on a leader with a strong hand to solve our country's problems. Which comes closer to your opinion?</b>			
		<b>Democratic form of government</b>	<b>Strong leader</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	32	57	11	100
	<b>Spring, 2011</b>	32	57	11	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	29	60	11	100
	<b>Spring, 2008</b>	33	57	10	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	27	63	11	100
	<b>Spring, 2006</b>	29	61	10	100
	<b>Spring, 2005</b>	28	66	6	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	21	70	9	100
	<b>Fall, 1992</b>	31	51	18	100
<b>Spring, 1991</b>	51	39	10	100	

		<b>Q72 If you had to choose between a good democracy or a strong economy, which would you say is more important?</b>			
		<b>A good democracy</b>	<b>A strong economy</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	19	75	7	100
	<b>Spring, 2011</b>	21	73	6	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	14	78	7	100
	<b>Spring, 2007</b>	15	74	11	100
	<b>Spring, 2005</b>	14	81	5	100
	<b>Summer, 2002</b>	11	80	8	100

		<b>Q73 How satisfied are you with the way democracy is working in our country – very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied or not at all satisfied?</b>					
		<b>Very satisfied</b>	<b>Somewhat satisfied</b>	<b>Not too satisfied</b>	<b>Not at all satisfied</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	5	26	45	18	6	100
	<b>Spring, 2011</b>	4	23	37	26	9	100
	<b>Fall, 2009</b>	3	29	38	23	7	100

		<b>Q82 In general, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the protests for fair elections that have occurred since the parliamentary elections in December?</b>					
		<b>Strongly support</b>	<b>Somewhat support</b>	<b>Somewhat oppose</b>	<b>Strongly oppose</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	23	33	22	11	10	100

		<b>Q82b Some people say the protests for fair elections are the result of efforts by Western powers to destabilize Russia. Others say the protests are the result of genuine Russian dissatisfaction with the conduct of the elections. Which comes closer to your view?</b>			
		<b>Result of efforts by Western powers</b>	<b>Result of Russian dissatisfaction</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>Spring, 2012</b>	25	58	17	100

## Appendix

A logistic regression analysis was conducted on the weighted full sample (n=1,000) to determine the independent impact of each of a series of factors on likelihood to favor Putin. The dependent variable was favor Putin (coded as 1=somewhat or very favorable, 0=somewhat or very unfavorable). The independent or predictor variables were recoded as dummy variables (0 or 1) based on the standard analytical groups used in the bivariate analysis.

The importance of democratic rights variable is an additive scale of the number of items a respondent names as very important among free speech, honest elections, fair judiciary, civilian-controlled military, uncensored media, and freedom of religion. The scale which ran from 0 to 6 was rescaled to run from 0 to 1, and reversed so that 1 = no items named as very important and 0 = all six items named as very important.

The graphic (see page 23) shows the difference in predicted probabilities for the following groups:

- Economic situation: Very or somewhat good minus very or somewhat bad
- Standard of living compared to parents: Better minus same or worse
- Presence of law and order: Describes Russia very well minus somewhat/not too/not at all well
- Importance of democratic rights: No democracy items named as very important minus all six items named as very important.

The model also controlled for gender, age, and education, all recoded as dummy variables. The likelihood ratio chi-square for the model is  $\chi^2=94.3$ ,  $p=.000$ .