

NORC CATI Russia Poll November 2023

Conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago

Interviews: 11/13-11/21 2023

1,046 Russian adults 18 and over

Margin of sampling error: +/- 3.4 percentage points at the 95% confidence level among all adults

NOTE: All results show percentages among all respondents, unless otherwise labeled.

Q1. Now, to survey questions. Are you economically worse, better off, or about the same now, compared to two years ago?

[HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Worse off	32
Better off	19
Stayed the same	48
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	1
<i>N=</i>	<i>1,046</i>

If worse off in Q1

Q1a. In what ways are you economically worse off compared to two years ago?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Prices have gone up	65
Income reduced	39
Have to spend less	5
Some goods and services became unavailable	27
Have new expenses	2
Quality of life has decreased	12
No feeling that life is getting better	2
Other	9
No work / lost job	9
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	-
<i>N=</i>	<i>354</i>

If better off in Q1

Q1b. In what ways are you economically better off compared to two years ago?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Income has increased	63
Don't have to cut spending	5
New goods and services became available	3
Can afford spending on things could not afford before	8
Quality of life has improved	16
There is a feeling that life is getting better	3
New work / career	23
Other	5
State social support	6

No credits / no debt	1
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	2

N= 192

Q2. How have you been impacted by restricted opportunities to travel?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Very impacted	11
Slightly impacted	11
No impact	76
NOT SURE	2

N= 1,046

Q3. Do you approve or disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the following policies of Vladimir Putin and his government?

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED; HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

NORC 11/13- 11/21/2023	Strongly approve	Somewhat approve	Neither approve nor disapprove	Somewhat disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DTA
Domestic policy	37	21	22	9	7	4
Foreign policy	50	17	19	4	6	6

N=1,046

Q4. Do you support or oppose the nomination of Vladimir Putin for the next presidential term in the March 2024 elections?

[HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Strongly approve	53
Somewhat approve	12
Neither approve nor disapprove	18
Somewhat disapprove	5
Strongly disapprove	9
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	2

N= 1,046

Q5. If Vladimir Putin takes part in the presidential election, are you more likely to vote for him or another candidate?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
More likely to vote for Vladimir Putin	66
More likely to vote for another candidate	14
I will not vote	5
I don't know the other candidates / I haven't decided for whom I will vote	10
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	5

N= 1,046

Q6. In your opinion, to what extent will the special military operation affect how people will vote in March 2024?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Great extent	38
Minor extent	18
No effect at all	27
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	17

N= 1,046

Q7. How concerned are you about the following issues?

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED; HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

NORC 11/13- 11/21/2023	Extremely concerned	Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not very concerned	Not at all concerned	DTA
The Ukraine conflict escalating into a direct conflict with NATO	13	21	29	11	23	3
Economic sanctions as a result of the Ukraine conflict	10	14	27	13	34	2
Threat of nuclear war	22	21	20	12	23	2
The economy: jobs, debt, poverty, and cost of living	25	30	29	6	9	2

Crime, safety, violence, in general	19	22	33	12	10	3
Negative consequences of climate change and natural disasters	12	17	35	14	21	2
Deteriorating relations with some countries	9	11	27	15	36	2
Corruption	28	27	22	9	9	5

N=1,046

Q8. There is an opinion that it is time for a political change in Russia, do you agree with such an opinion?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Yes	42
No	46
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	12

N= 1,046

Q9. How proud are you to be Russian right now?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Extremely proud	31
Very proud	47
Moderately proud	16
Not very proud	3
Not proud at all	2
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	1

N= 1,046

Q10. On the world scene, do you think that Russia is being treated fairly, unfairly, or neither fairly nor unfairly?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Fairly	2
Somewhat fairly	5
Neither fairly nor unfairly	21
Somewhat unfairly	27
Unfairly	35
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	9

N= 1,046

Q11. How concerned are you that the Western influences, such as LGBTQ, will affect traditional Russian values?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Extremely concerned	27
Very concerned	19
Moderately concerned	22
Not very concerned	10
Not concerned at all	19
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	3

N= 1,046

Q12. Which statement comes closest to your view on the conflict with Ukraine, even if neither is exactly right?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
The conflict with Ukraine represents a civilizational struggle between Russia and the West.	64
The conflict with Ukraine represents Russia's struggle to contain the threat of a hostile Ukrainian regime.	20
None of them	2
Both are equally close to my view	5
Other: It is a mistake	1
Other: Elite /capitalist struggle	1
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	7

N= 1,046

Q13. How important is it for our country's political system to have an opposition to the incumbent power?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Extremely important	15
Very important	22
Somewhat important	37
Not very important	10
Not at all important	10
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	7

N= 1,046

Q14. Some people say there are attempts to thwart opposition leaders and make the presidential elections run without opposition candidates, how concerned are you about this happening?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Extremely concerned	9
Very concerned	7
Moderately concerned	23
Not very concerned	22
Not concerned at all	34
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	5

N= 1,046

Q15. Are you aware of a recent crackdown on journalists, activists, and other critics of Vladimir Putin?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Yes	26
No	69
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	5

N= 1,046

If yes in Q15

Q16. How concerned are you about the recent crackdown on journalists, activists, and other critics of Vladimir Putin?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Extremely concerned	25
Very concerned	15
Moderately concerned	33
Not very concerned	16
Not concerned at all	10
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	1

N= 316

Q17. How comfortable do you feel discussing the following topics in public or on social media?

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED; HALF SAMPLE ASKED RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER]

NORC 11/13- 11/21/2023	Extremely comfortable	Very comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not too comfortable	Not comfortable at all	DTA
SVO	30	8	25	10	14	13
Opposition to Vladimir Putin	26	8	25	11	12	17
Criticisms of Vladimir Putin	26	8	26	10	13	17
Support of Vladimir Putin	42	12	17	8	9	12

N=1,046

Q18. How often, if at all, do you get news and information from each of the following?

[GRID ITEMS RANDOMIZED]

NORC 11/13- 11/21/2023	Several times a day	Once a day	At least once a week	Less often	Never	DTA/ REFUSED
TV	32	25	13	6	24	-
Social media	27	24	13	6	29	2
Online news sites	23	21	14	8	32	2

N=1,046

Q19. Do you use a VPN (virtual private network) to access the Internet?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Yes	20
No	75
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER/ DON'T KNOW WHAT IT IS	6

N=

1,046

If yes in Q19

Q20. What are the main reasons for using a VPN to access the Internet? Select all that apply.

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
To access social media platforms	58
To access news websites	16
To access entertainment sites	26
For work	28
Other	4
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	1

N= 217

Q21. Do you support or oppose or neither support nor oppose SVO?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Strongly support	45
Somewhat support	18
Neither support nor oppose	19
Somewhat oppose	5
Strongly oppose	8
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	5

N= 1,046

If strongly or somewhat support in Q21

Q21a. What is the main reason why you support SVO?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
To defend the country from the US and NATO	19
It's necessary, inevitable, we were forced / "everything was coming to this"	13
Restoration of justice, national interests, "it must be finished"	17
Defense of Russians, "brotherly people", "we don't abandon our own"	17
Supporting my country, my president, my duty	12
Fighting fascism and Bandera, Ukrainian regime	17
Fighting for traditional values	1
We cannot allow defeat	1
For personal reasons	3
To annex Ukraine	1
Other	2

DIFFICULT TO ANSWER/REFUSED	4
N=	671

If somewhat or strongly oppose in Q21

Q21b. What is the main reason why you oppose SVO?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
A peaceful solution is needed	11
Falling standard of living	2
Loss of life, threat to life	31
Seizure of territory, imperialism	3
Pacifism, cannot be fought	18
It's a mistake, madness, stupidity / harms the people, Russia	11
Attack on brotherly people	7
Tired of war	3
Personal opinion, beliefs	2
The goal is not clear	1
Unjust war, in the interests of elites	5
Worried about loved ones	6
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER/REFUSED	8
N=	146

DISTRICT. What federal district do you live in?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Central	28
North-Western	10
Southern	11
North-Caucasus	7
Volga	19
Ural	8
Siberia	12
Far Eastern	5
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER/REFUSED	-
N=	1,046

SETTLEMENT. Settlement size

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Moscow	9
>=500K	25
100-500K	20
<100K	21
Rural	26

N= 1,046

G0. What region do you live in?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Belgorod Oblast	1
Bryansk Oblast	1
Vladimir Oblast	1
Voronezh Oblast	2
Ivanovo Oblast	1
Kaluga Oblast	2
Kostroma Oblast	-
Kursk Oblast	1
Lipetsk Oblast	1
Orel Oblast	-
Ryazan Oblast	1
Smolensk Oblast	-
Tambov Oblast	1
Tver Oblast	1
Tula Oblast	1
Yaroslavl Oblast	1
Moscow	9
Moscow Oblast	5
Karelia Rep.	-
Komi Republic	-
Nenets Autonomous Okrug	-
Arkhangelsk Oblast	1
Vologda Oblast	2
Kaliningrad Oblast	1
Leningrad Oblast	1
St. Petersburg	4
Murmansk Oblast	-
Novgorod Oblast	-
Pskov Oblast	-

Republic of Adygea	-
Republic of Kalmykia	-
Crimea	2
Sevastopol	-
Krasnodar Krai	3
Astrakhan Oblast	-
Volgograd Oblast	2
Rostov Oblast	2
Republic of Dagestan	2
Republic of Ingushetia	-
Kabardino-Balkar Republic	1
Karachay-Cherkess Republic	-
Republic of North Ossetia-Alania	-
Chechen Republic	1
Stavropol Krai	3
Republic of Bashkortostan	2
Republic of Mari El	-
Republic of Mordovia	-
Republic of Tatarstan	2
Udmurt Republic	1
Chuvash Republic	1
Perm Krai	2
Kirov Oblast	1
Nizhny Novgorod Oblast	2
Orenburg Oblast	1
Penza Oblast	1
Samara Oblast	2
Saratov Oblast	2
Ulyanovsk Oblast	1
Kurgan Oblast	-
Sverdlovsk Oblast	3
Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug	1
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	-
Tyumen Oblast	1
Chelyabinsk Oblast	3
Altai Republic	-
Republic of Tyva	-
Republic of Khakassia	-
Altai Krai	2
Krasnoyarsk Krai	3
Irkutsk Oblast	1

Kemerovo Oblast	2
Novosibirsk Oblast	2
Omsk Oblast	1
Tomsk Oblast	1
Republic of Buryatia	1
Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	-
Transbaikal Krai	1
Kamchatka Krai	-
Primorsky Krai	1
Khabarovsk Krai	1
Amur Oblast	-
Magadan Oblast	-
Sakhalin Oblast	-
Evreyskaya Autonomous Oblast	-
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	-
Not a citizen of Russia	-
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER/REFUSED	-

N= 1,046

G1. Do you live in a city, an urban-type settlement, or a village?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
City, town	74
Urban-type settlement	10
Rural settlement (village, hamlet)	16
DIFFICULT TO ANSWER	-

N= 1,046

S1. Gender

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Male	46
Female	54

N= 1,046

S3. How old are you?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
18-29	15
30-39	21
40-49	18
50-59	16
60 years and older	31

N= 1,046

D1. What is your educational background?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Primary school or below, incomplete secondary school (7, 8, 9 grades)	5
Secondary school	14
Professional education	51
Incomplete higher education (at least 3 higher education courses)	3
Higher	27
REFUSED	-

N= 1,046

D2. Please tell me, how would you describe the financial situation of your family?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
We do not have enough money even for food	3
We have enough money for food but not enough for clothes	9
We have enough money for food and clothes, but buying more expensive things is a problem	33
We can buy some expensive things such as a new fridge or TV, but cannot buy a car or property	43
We can buy a car or property (flat, house)	11
REFUSED	2

N= 1,046

D3. Which of the following best describes your occupation status?

	NORC 11/13-11/21/2023
Independent entrepreneur	13
Supervisor, managerial worker	6
Specialist, employee without managerial functions	18
Military serviceman, "silovik"	2
Laborer (including foreman, forewoman), including in agriculture	20
Student / learner	3
Not working (temporary or permanently), retired	36
Other	1
REFUSED	1

N=

1,046

Study Methodology

This survey was funded and conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago.

Data were collected in Russia using a random sample of 1,046 Russians aged 18 and older who own a mobile phone number with one of Russia's mobile service providers. Mobile numbers in Russia have ten digits. The first three digits are the mobile provider code. The last seven digits of the mobile number were generated randomly. The sample frame covered Russian mobile numbers from the whole country, including Crimea, which was annexed by Russia in March 2014, and excluded the Russia-controlled parts of Donbas and Southern Ukraine.

A total of 1,046 interviews were conducted between November 13-21, 2023. The numbers were dialed randomly using the CATI method, without quotas, with up to three callbacks. Interviews were conducted by live interviewers in Russian.

The overall margin of sampling error is +/- 3.4 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level, including the design effect. The margin of sampling error may be higher for subgroups. Sampling error is only one of many potential sources of error and there may be other unmeasured error in this or any other survey.

Quality assurance checks were conducted to ensure data quality, including continuous supervision of interviewing and logical checks of completed interviews. In total, two cases were dropped after quality control. Once the sample has been selected and fielded, and all the study data have been collected and made final, a poststratification weighting was used to adjust for any survey nonresponse as well as any noncoverage or under and oversampling resulting from the study specific sample design.

Poststratification variables included age, gender, education, and size of settlement within the federal district. Weighting coefficients were calculated on the basis of Rosstat data on the socio-demographic and territorial composition of the Russian population as of 01.01.2022.

For more information, email info@norc.org