

PUBLIC OPINION MONITORING

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Public Opinion Monitoring of the State of the Russian Society

As in the previous issues, we publish the results of the monitoring of public opinion concerning the state of the Russian society. The monitoring is conducted by VolRC RAS in the Vologda Oblast¹.

The following tables and graphs show the dynamics of several parameters of social well-being and socio-political sentiment of the region's population according to the results of the latest "wave" of the monitoring (June 2022) and for the period from August 2021 to June 2022 (the last six surveys, that is, almost a year).

We compare the results of the surveys with the average annual data for 2000 (the first year of Vladimir Putin's first presidential term), 2007 (the last year of Vladimir Putin's second presidential term, when the assessment of the President's work was the highest), 2011 (the last year of Dmitry Medvedev's presidency), and 2012 (the first year of Vladimir Putin's third presidential term).

We also provide yearly dynamics of the data for 2018–2021²

During the period from April to June 2022, the level of approval of the RF President's work increased by 2 p.p. (from 56 to 58%); in general, for the period from February to June – by 10 p.p. (from 48 to 58%).

The share of Vologda Oblast residents who positively assess the work of the Chairman of the RF Government also increased by 2 p.p. (from 44 to 46%); from February to June – by 8 p.p. (from 38 to 46%).

The share of positive assessments of the work of the Vologda Oblast Governor over the past two months increased by 3 p.p. (from 38 to 41%); from February to June – by 7 p.p. (from 34 to 41%).

Over the last six surveys (from August 2021 to June 2022), the level of support for the work of the head of state increased by 6 p.p. (from 52 to 58%); the Chairman of the RF Government – by 3 p.p. (from 43 to 46%), the Vologda Oblast Governor – by 2 p.p. (from 39 to 41%)³.

¹ The surveys are held six times a year in Vologda, Cherepovets, and in eight districts of the oblast (Babayevsky District, Velikoustyugsky District, Vozhegodsky District, Gryazovetsky District, Kirillovsky District, Nikolsky District, Tarnogsky District and Sheksninsky District). The method of the survey is a questionnaire poll by place of residence of respondents. The volume of a sample population is 1,500 people 18 years of age and older. The sample is purposeful and quoted. The representativeness of the sample is ensured by the observance of the proportions between the urban and rural population, the proportions between the inhabitants of settlements of various types (rural communities, small and medium-sized cities), age and sex structure of the Oblast's adult population. Sampling error does not exceed 3%.

More information on the results of VolRC RAS surveys is available at <http://www.vscs.ac.ru/>.

² In 2020, four "waves" of the monitoring were conducted. Surveys in April and June 2020 were not conducted due to quarantine restrictions during the spread of COVID-19.

³ Hereinafter, the results of a comparative analysis of the data from the survey conducted in June 2022 and the results of the monitoring "wave" conducted in August 2021 are given in the frame.

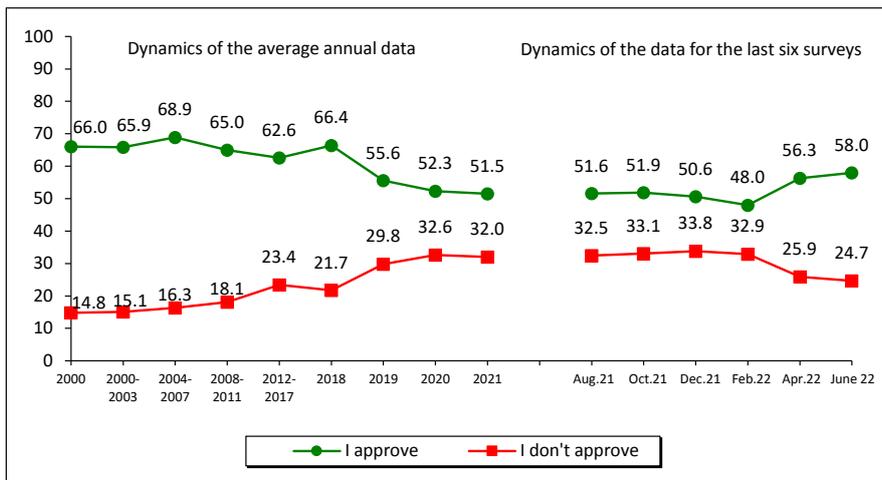
How do you assess the current performance of...? (% of respondents)

Answer option	Dynamics of the average annual data								Dynamics of the data for the last 6 surveys						Dynamics (+/-), June 2022 to	
	2000	2007	2011	2012	2018	2019	2020	2021	Aug. 2021	Oct. 2021	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Apr. 2022	June 2022	Aug. 2021	Apr. 2022
RF President																
I approve	66.0	75.3	58.7	51.7	66.4	55.6	52.3	51.5	51.6	51.9	50.6	48.0	56.3	58.0	+6	+2
I don't approve	14.8	11.5	25.5	32.6	21.7	29.8	32.6	32.0	32.5	33.1	33.8	32.9	25.9	24.7	-8	-1
Chairman of the RF Government																
I approve	-*	-*	59.3	49.6	48.0	41.1	38.7	39.9	42.7	39.7	38.3	37.6	43.6	45.5	+3	+2
I don't approve	-	-	24.7	33.3	31.6	38.4	40.4	37.6	36.0	38.3	38.9	37.7	32.5	31.4	-5	-1
Vologda Oblast Governor																
I approve	56.1	55.8	45.7	41.9	38.4	35.7	35.0	36.7	38.6	37.5	35.9	33.9	38.2	41.2	+3	+3
I don't approve	19.3	22.2	30.5	33.3	37.6	40.2	42.5	40.5	38.5	40.7	41.9	41.6	37.3	34.3	-4	-3

The wording of the question: "How do you assess the current work of ...?" According to the survey technique, sampling error does not exceed 3%, so hereinafter changes with a difference of 2 p.p. are not taken into account or are considered insignificant; they are highlighted in blue in the tables. Positive changes are highlighted in green, negative changes are highlighted in red.

*Included in the survey since 2008.

How do you assess the current work of the RF President?
(% of respondents, VoIRC RAS data)



Dynamics (+ / -), June 2022 to		
Answer option	August 2021	April 2022
I approve	+6	+2
I don't approve	-8	+0

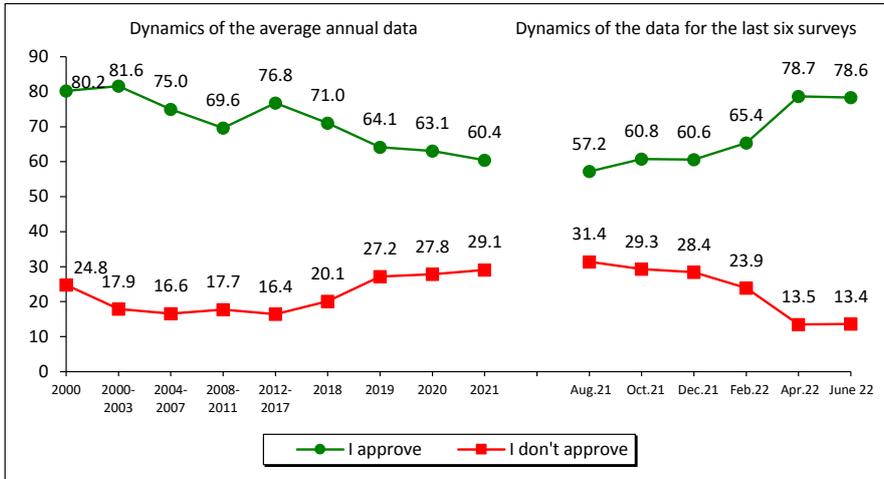
Hereinafter, all graphs show the average annual data for 2000, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, as well as the average annual data for the periods 2000–2003, 2004–2007, 2008–2011, 2012–2017, corresponding to the presidential terms.

For reference:

According to VCIOM, the level of approval of the RF President's work from April to the beginning of June did not change and was equal to 78%. Compared to February 2022, there is a significant increase in the share of positive judgments (by 14 p.p., from 65 to 79%).

Positive changes were observed in early June 2022 compared to August 2021: the share of positive assessments of the work of the head of state increased by 21 p.p. (from 57 to 78%), the proportion of negative ones decreased by 18 p.p. (from 31 to 13%).

In general, do you approve or not approve of the work of the RF President?
(% of respondents; VCIOM data)



Answer option	August 2021	April 2022
I approve	+22	0
I don't approve	-18	0

Question: "In general, do you approve or not approve of the work of the President of the Russian Federation?"

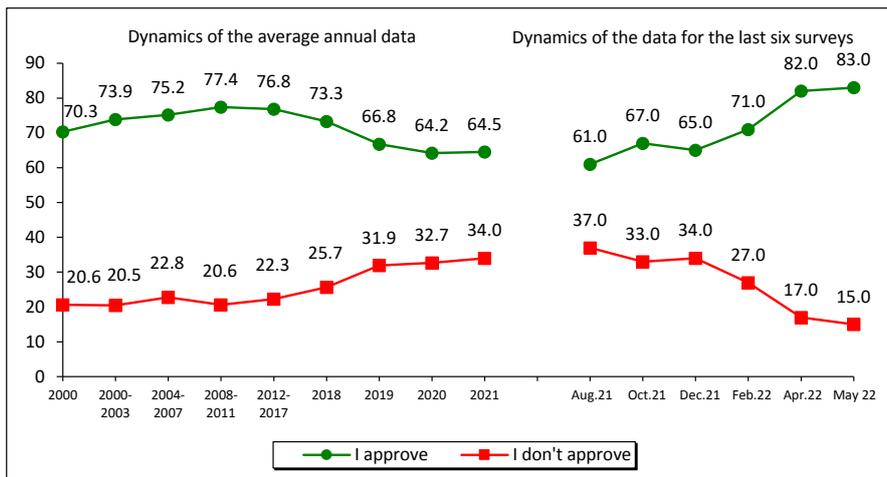
Source: VCIOM. Available at: <https://wciom.ru/>

Latest data – as of June 19, 2022.

According to Levada-Center*, the share of positive assessments of the RF President's work in April – May 2022 was 82%, the share of negative assessments decreased by 2 p.p. (from 17 to 15%).

Compared to June 2021, the level of support for the head of state increased by 22 p.p. (from 61 to 83%); the proportion of negative judgements decreased by 22 p.p. (from 37 to 15%).

In general, do you approve or not approve of the work of Vladimir Putin as President of Russia?
(% of respondents; Levada-Center data)*



Answer option	August 2021	April 2022
I approve	+22	+1
I don't approve	-22	-2

Question: "In general, do you approve or not approve of the work of Vladimir Putin as President of Russia?"

Source: Levada-Center*. Available at: <https://www.levada.ru>

* Included in the register of foreign agents.

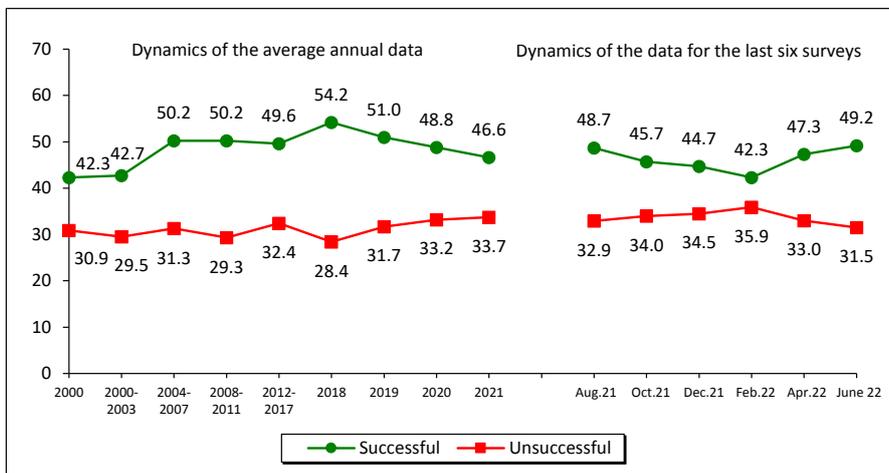
In your opinion, how successful is the RF President in coping with challenging issues? (% of respondents; VoIRC RAS data)

Over the past two months, the share of those who consider the RF President’s work to strengthen Russia’s international positions to be successful increased slightly (by 2 p.p., from 47 to 49%). The proportion of those who hold the opposite point of view decreased by 2 p.p. (from 33 to 31%).

From February to June 2022, the share of positive assessments increased by 7 p.p. (from 42 to 49%); the proportion of negative ones decreased by 5 p.p. (from 36 to 31%).

Compared to June 2021, there were no significant changes in the assessments of the RF President’s success in addressing the problem of strengthening Russia’s international position.

Strengthening Russia's international position



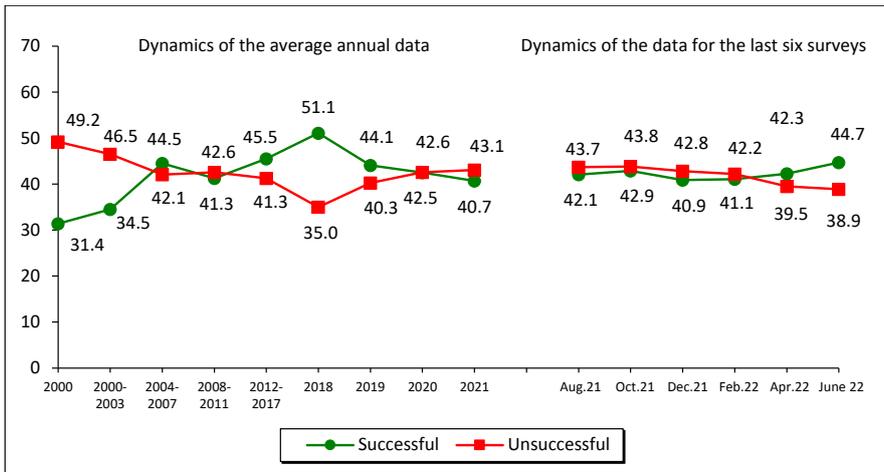
Answer option	August 2021	April 2022
Successful	+1	+2
Unsuccessful	-1	-2

In April – June 2022, the share of Vologda Oblast residents who positively assess the President’s work in the field of imposing order in the country increased by 41–42%. The proportion of negative judgements did not change significantly (39–40%).

From February to June 2022, the share of positive assessments increased by 4 p.p. (from 41 to 45%); the proportion of negative ones decreased by 3 p.p. (from 42 to 39%)

Positive changes are also noted when comparing the results of the survey conducted in June 2022 with the results of the “wave” of the monitoring implemented in August 2021: the proportion of positive assessments increased by 3 p.p. (from 42 to 45%); the share of negative ones decreased by 5 p.p. (from 44 to 39%).

Imposing order in the country



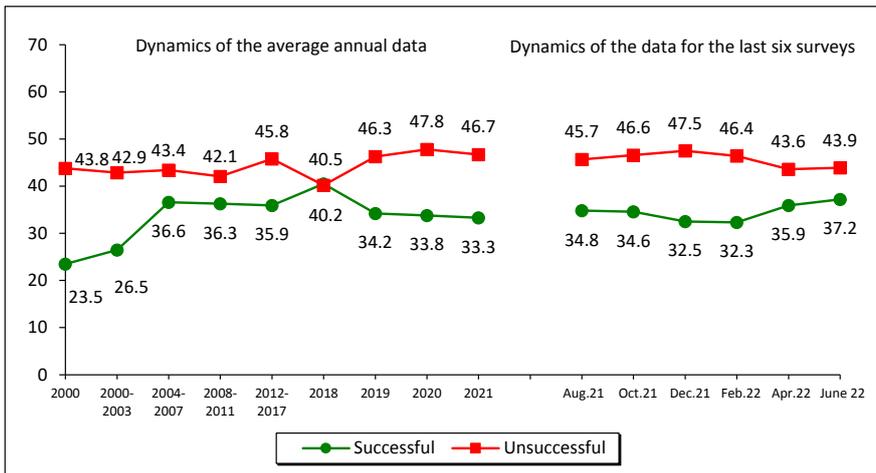
Dynamics (+ / -), June 2022 to		
Answer option	August 2021	April 2022
Successful	+3	+2
Unsuccessful	-5	-1

Over the past two months, there were no significant changes in the dynamics of people’s assessments of the RF President’s success in protecting democracy and strengthening citizens’ freedoms: the share of positive judgments is 36–37%, negative – 44%.

From February to June 2022, the share of positive assessments increased by 5 p.p. (from 32 to 37%), negative – decreased by 2 p.p. (from 46 to 44%).

Over the last six surveys (from August 2021 to June 2022), there were no significant changes in the estimates of the population.

Protecting democracy and strengthening citizens’ freedoms



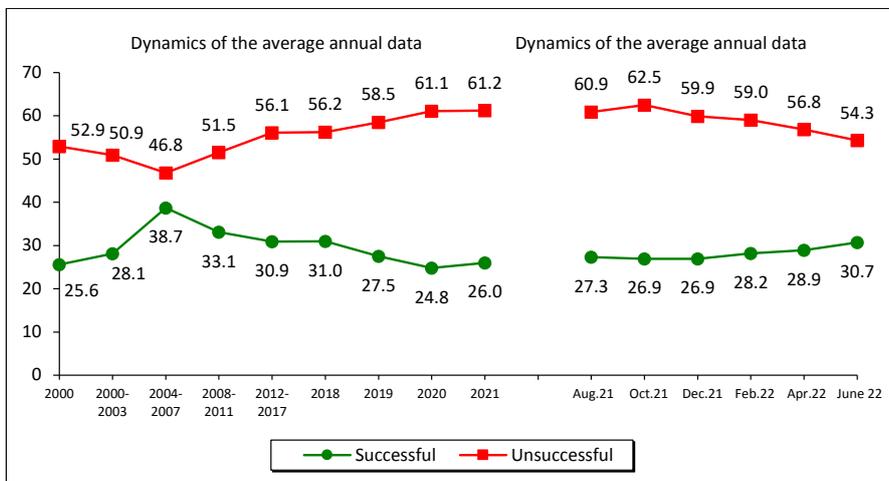
Dynamics (+ / -), June 2022 to		
Answer option	August 2021	April 2022
Successful	+2	+1
Unsuccessful	-2	0

From April to June 2022, the share of Vologda Oblast residents who believe that the RF President is successfully coping with the problem of economic recovery and growth of the welfare of citizens increased slightly (by 2 p.p., from 29 to 31%). The proportion of those who hold the opposite opinion decreased by 3 p.p. (from 57 to 54%).

From February to June 2022, mainly positive changes were noted: the share of positive judgments increased by 3 p.p. (from 28 to 31%); the proportion of negative ones decreased by 5 p.p. (from 59 to 54%).

Over the last six surveys (from August 2021 to June 2022), the proportion of positive judgments increased by 4 p.p. (from 27 to 31%), the share of negative ones decreased by 7 p.p. (from 61 to 54%).

Economic recovery and increase in citizens' welfare



Dynamics (+ / -), June 2022 to		
Answer option	August 2021	April 2022
Successful	+3	+2
Unsuccessful	-7	-3

The structure of political preferences of Vologda Oblast residents did not change over the past two months: the share of people whose interests are expressed by the United Russia party is 34–35%, the KPRF – 10–11%, the LDPR – 8%, the Just Russia – 5%, the New People – 1%.

Support for United Russia increased slightly from February to June 2022 (by 4 p.p., from 31 to 35%).

Compared to August 2021, the share of supporters of the United Russia party increased by 3 p.p. (from 32 to 35%); the proportion of those who support the rest of the parties did not change significantly.

Which party expresses your interests? (% of respondents; VoIRC RAS data)

Party	Dynamics of the average annual data											Dynamics of the data for the last 6 surveys						Dynamics (+/-), June 2022 to		
	2000	2007	2011	Election to the RF State Duma 2011, fact	2012	2016	Election to the RF State Duma 2016, fact	2018	2019	2020	Election to the RF State Duma 2020, fact	2021	Aug. 2021	Oct. 2021	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Apr. 2022	June 2022	Aug. 2021	Apr. 2022
United Russia	18.5	30.2	31.1	33.4	29.1	35.4	38.0	37.9	33.8	31.5	49.8	31.7	31.7	32.7	31.9	31.1	34.2	34.9	+3	+1
KPRF	11.5	7.0	10.3	16.8	10.6	8.3	14.2	9.2	8.8	8.4	18.9	9.3	9.3	11.1	10.5	9.5	11.2	10.2	+1	-1
LDPR	4.8	7.5	7.8	15.4	7.8	10.4	21.9	9.6	9.1	9.5	7.6	9.9	9.9	11.2	9.9	9.4	7.7	7.8	-2	0
Just Russia – Patriots for the Truth	-	7.8	5.6	27.2	6.6	4.2	10.8	2.9	3.4	4.7	7.5	4.7	5.3	6.3	6.0	5.7	4.5	4.8	-1	0
New People*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.3	2.3	-	-	2.3	1.6	1.3	1.6	-	0
Other	0.9	1.8	1.9	-	2.1	0.3	-	0.7	0.3	0.5	-	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.1	0	0
None	29.6	17.8	29.4	-	31.3	29.4	-	28.5	33.7	34.2	-	33.9	34.1	31.7	29.6	32.4	30.8	30.7	-3	0
I find it difficult to answer	20.3	21.2	13.2	-	11.7	12.0	-	11.2	11.0	11.1	-	10.0	9.6	6.6	9.7	9.6	10.0	9.9	0	0

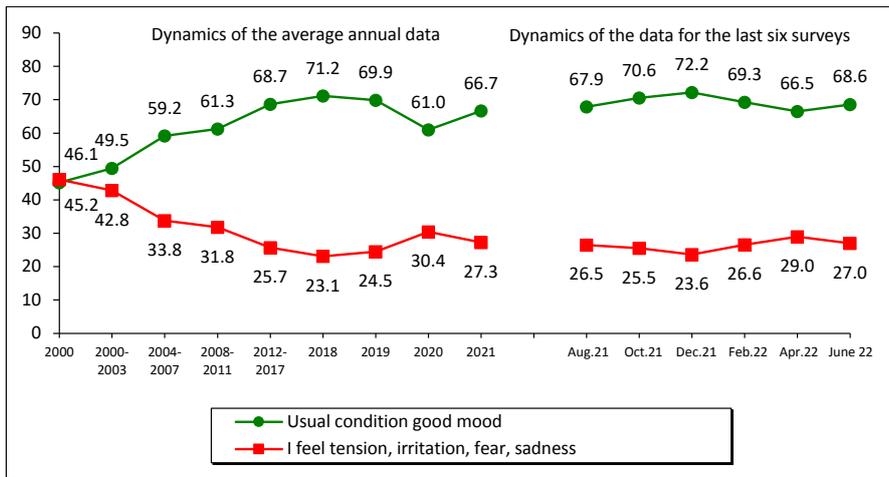
* The New People party was elected to the State Duma of the Russian Federation for the first time following the results of the election held on September 17–19, 2021.

Estimation of social condition (% of respondents; VoIRC RAS data)

In June 2022, the proportion of the region’s residents who characterize their daily emotional state as “normal, good” increased slightly (by 2 p.p., from 67 to 69%); the proportion of people who feel “tension, irritation, fear, sadness” decreased by 2 p.p. (from 29 to 27%).

Compared with August 2021 (as well as with February 2022), there were no significant changes in the estimates of social mood.

Social mood

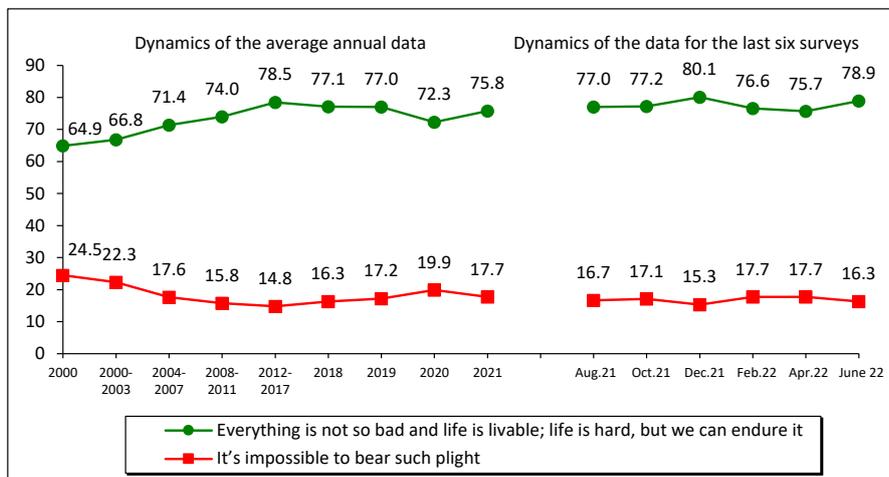


Dynamics (+ / -), June 2022 to		
Answer option	August 2021	April 2022
Usual condition good mood	+1	+2
I feel tension, irritation, fear, sadness	0	-2

There are also some positive changes in the dynamics of the stock of patience indicator. Over the past two months, the share of people who believe that “everything is not so bad and life is livable; life is hard, but we can endure it” increased by 3 p.p. (from 76 to 79%). The proportion of those who hold the opposite point of view decreased by 2 p.p. (from 18 to 16%).

Compared with August 2021 (as well as with February 2022), there is a slight increase in the share of positive assessments (by 2 p.p., from 77 to 79%).

Stock of patience

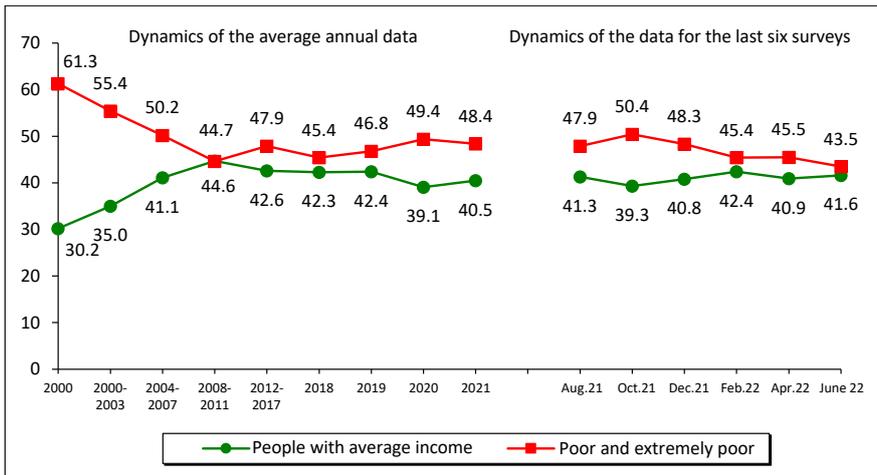


Dynamics (+ / -), June 2022 to		
Answer option	August 2021	April 2022
Everything is not so bad and life is livable; life is hard, but we can endure it	+2	+3
It's impossible to bear such plight	0	-1

The proportion of the region’s residents subjectively classifying themselves as “poor and extremely poor” decreased by 2 p.p. over the past two months (from 46 to 44%), which is close to the level of the beginning of the year (45%).

Over the last six surveys (from August 2021 to June 2022), the share of “poor and extremely poor” residents of the region has decreased by 4 p.p. (from 48 to 44%); the proportion of “middle-income” people did not change significantly (41–42%).

Social self-identification



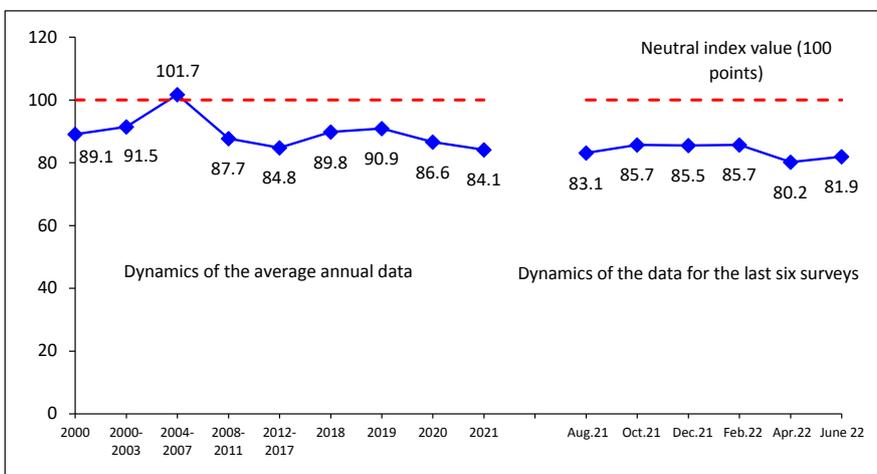
Dynamics (+ / -), June 2022 to		
Answer option	August 2021	April 2022
People with average income	0	+1
Poor and extremely poor	-4	-2

Question: “Which category do you belong to, in your opinion?”

From April to June 2022, the Consumer Sentiment Index increased slightly (by 2 points, from 80 to 82 points), which indicates an improvement in people’s forecasts regarding the future of the Russian economy and their personal financial situation.

However, the CSI still remains significantly lower than in February 2022 (by 4 points, 82 points against 86) and slightly lower than in August 2021 (by 1 point, 82 points against 83).

Consumer Sentiment Index
(CSI, points; data of VolRC RAS for the Vologda Oblast)

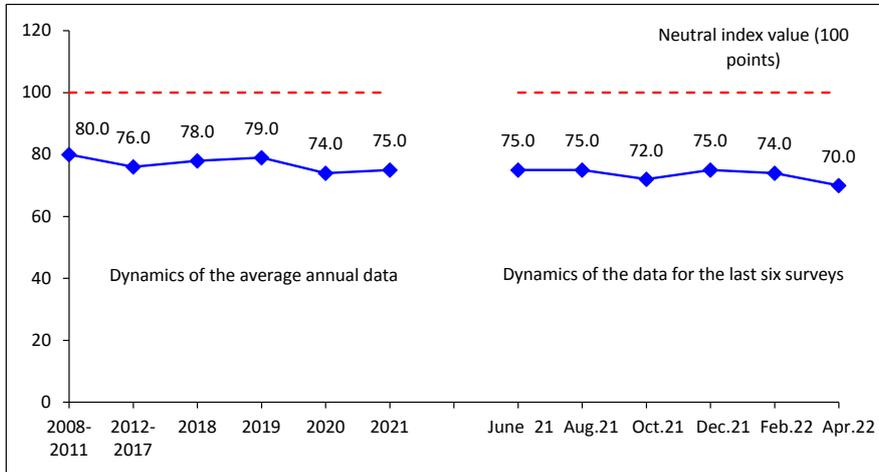


Dynamics (+ / -), June 2022 to		
CSI	August 2021	April 2022
Index value, points	-1	+2

For reference:

According to the latest data from Levada-Center (as of February 2022), the Consumer Sentiment Index nationwide amounted to 70 points, which is lower than in February 2022 (74 points) and in June 2021 (75 points).*

Consumer Sentiment Index (CSI; Levada-Center data* for Russia)



Dynamics (+ / -), April 2022 to		
CSI	June 2021	February 2022.
Index value, points	-5	-4

The index is calculated since 2008.

Latest data are as of April 2022.

Source: Levada-Center*. Available at: <https://www.levada.ru/indikatory/sotsialno-ekonomicheskie-indikatory/>

We observe ambiguous changes in the dynamics of social mood in the context of the main socio-demographic groups over the past two months.

In 5 out of 14 groups, there is an increase in the proportion of people who characterize their daily emotional state as “normal, good”. The share of positive assessments increased especially significantly among people over 55 years old (by 10 p.p., from 55 to 65%).

At the same time, the opposite changes are observed in 5 out of 14 socio-demographic groups: the share of those who experience predominantly positive emotions decreased especially significantly among people under the age of 30 (by 5 p.p., from 82 to 77%), as well as those who, according to subjective estimates of their own income, belong to the top 20% (by 6 p.p., from 82 to 76%).

We should note that in comparison with February 2022, there are no significant changes in the estimates of social mood in most of the groups, with the exception of the richest (according to self-estimates of income) citizens, among whom the share of positive judgments decreased significantly (by 6 p.p., from 82% in February 2022 to 76% in June 2022).

Compared with August 2021, we should note the increase in the proportion of people experiencing predominantly positive emotions among people over 55 years old (by 7 p.p., from 58 to 65%), as well as among those who, according to self-estimates of income, belong to the group of the bottom 20% (by 3 p.p., from 55 to 58%).

The deterioration of social mood over the past six surveys is noted primarily among people under the age of 30 (the share of positive assessments decreased by 5 p.p., from 82 to 77%), as well as in the group of the 20% of the most affluent residents of the region (by 11 p.p., from 87 to 76%).

* Included in the register of foreign agents.

Social mood in different social groups (answer option “Wonderful mood, normal, stable condition”, % of respondents; VoIRC RAS data)

Population group	Dynamics of the average annual data								Dynamics of the data for the last 6 surveys						Dynamics (+/-), June 2022 to	
	2000	2007	2011	2012	2018	2019	2020	2021	Aug. 2021	Oct. 2021	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Apr. 2022	June 2022	Aug. 2021	Apr. 2022
Sex																
Men	50.1	65.9	64.5	69.1	72.8	70.1	60.8	65.7	65.6	70.0	71.5	65.5	68.3	67.4	+2	-1
Women	43.3	61.7	62.0	65.8	69.8	69.6	61.2	67.4	69.8	70.9	72.8	72.3	65.1	69.7	0	+5
Age																
Under 30	59.1	71.3	70.0	72.3	80.0	81.1	67.6	73.5	82.3	75.3	81.9	75.3	81.8	77.3	-5	-5
30–55	44.2	64.8	62.5	67.9	72.6	71.2	61.8	69.5	71.4	70.8	75.1	70.7	71.1	68.8	-3	-2
Over 55	37.4	54.8	58.3	62.1	65.2	63.3	57.4	60.5	58.1	68.3	65.2	65.3	55.2	65.3	+7	+10
Education																
Secondary and incomplete secondary	41.7	58.4	57.4	57.2	64.8	63.2	56.1	62.1	63.2	64.1	69.7	68.7	63.0	65.8	+3	+3
Secondary vocational	46.4	64.6	63.6	66.7	72.2	72.7	63.5	66.7	68.5	70.4	70.1	68.3	69.8	70.5	+2	+1
Higher and incomplete higher	53.3	68.6	68.3	77.0	76.8	73.4	63.3	71.5	73.0	77.1	77.6	71.5	66.9	69.7	-3	+3
Income groups																
Bottom 20%	28.4	51.6	45.3	51.5	57.3	53.2	43.4	54.6	55.0	60.4	64.0	60.5	61.5	58.4	+3	-3
Middle 60%	45.5	62.9	65.3	68.7	71.9	71.4	62.6	67.3	68.9	70.9	71.1	68.8	64.2	70.3	+1	+6
Top 20%	64.6	74.9	75.3	81.1	82.9	81.8	75.6	79.9	86.7	84.2	85.3	81.5	81.9	75.7	-11	-6
Territories																
Vologda	49.2	63.1	67.1	73.6	71.0	68.6	60.9	60.3	59.7	64.0	65.7	63.2	60.2	61.0	+1	+1
Cherepovets	50.8	68.1	71.2	76.2	75.8	71.2	60.4	71.0	72.3	75.2	75.1	72.6	70.1	72.8	+1	+3
Districts	42.2	61.6	57.1	59.8	68.7	69.8	61.4	67.8	70.1	71.5	74.2	70.8	68.1	70.6	+1	+3
Oblast	46.2	63.6	63.1	67.3	71.2	69.9	61.0	66.6	67.9	70.5	72.2	69.3	66.5	68.7	+1	+2

RESUME

Starting from February 24, 2022, when Russian President Vladimir Putin announced the beginning of a special military operation on the territory of Ukraine⁴, trends in public opinion on a wide range of issues reflecting people’s opinions about the work of the authorities, the dynamics of their own financial situation and social well-being cannot be analyzed outside the context of both the special operation itself and its socio-economic, political and socio-cultural consequences.

Thus, in this issue of the Public Opinion Monitoring regarding the state of the Russian society, we focus on the changes in social attitudes that occurred in the period from February to June 2022.

⁴ Address of the President of the Russian Federation to the citizens of Russia on February 24, 2022. Official website of the RF President. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843>

According to the results of three “waves” of surveys carried out during this period (February, April, June 2022), we see that internal and, above all, external threats facing the country in the first half of 2022 had a positive, consolidating impact on the state of the Russian society. From February to June 2022:

✓ there has been an increase in people’s support for the work of the head of state (by 10 p.p.) and (no less important) other key representatives of federal and regional authorities (the Chairman of the RF Government (by 8 p.p.), the Vologda Oblast Governor (by 7 p.p.);

✓ after the first months of quite natural anxiety about the situation inside the country and the nature of the situation in the international political arena (as experts noted, “the very beginning, as well as the economic and social consequences, of the special operation seemed to paralyze society”), indicators of social well-being began to gradually recover (social mood +2 percentage points by April 2022, stock of patience + 3 p.p.);

✓ decisions adopted by the RF President and the RF Government and aimed at improving people’s financial situation⁵ and the morale of society⁶, were reflected in a decrease in the share of people subjectively classifying themselves as “poor and extremely poor” (-2 p.p.), and, most importantly, in the growth of the consumer sentiment index (+2 p.p. by April 2022), which allows us (so far with some caution) to talk about an increase in people’s optimistic forecasts regarding the future of the country, their own future and that of their families.

Dynamics of the share of positive assessments
on key indicators of the public opinion monitoring (% of respondents)

Indicators of the public opinion monitoring	February 2022	April 2022	June 2022	Dynamics (+/-), June 2022 to	
				Feb. 2022	Apr. 2022
Assessment of the activities of the authorities					
RF President	48.0	56.3	58.0	+10	+2
Chairman of the RF Government	37.6	43.6	45.5	+8	+2
Vologda Oblast Governor	33.9	38.2	41.2	+7	+3
President’s efforts to solve Russia’s key problems					
Strengthening Russia’s international position	42.3	47.3	49.2	+7	+2
Imposing order in the country	41.1	42.3	44.7	+4	+2
Protecting democracy and strengthening citizens’ freedoms	32.3	35.9	37.2	+5	+1
Economic recovery and increase in citizens’ welfare	28.2	28.9	30.7	+3	+2
Assessment of social condition					
Social mood	69.3	66.5	68.6	-1	+2
Stock of patience	76.6	75.7	78.9	+2	+3
Assessment of financial situation					
Share of the poor and extremely poor	45.4	45.5	43.5	-2	-2
Consumer Sentiment Index	85.7	80.2	81.9	-4	+2

⁵ Such as an increase in the subsistence level, the minimum wage and pensions of unemployed pensioners by 10%; cash payments for those who have been awarded the Order of “Parental Glory” and the honorary title “Mother-Heroine”, etc.

⁶ Such as the creation of the movement of children and youth “Big Change”, Russia’s withdrawal from the Bologna education system, the revival of the Soviet honorary title “Mother-Heroine”, etc.

Of course, it is still difficult to talk about any significant positive changes in the dynamics of public sentiment. It is impossible to ignore the fact that more than half of the population (54%) consider that the President is “unsuccessful” in ensuring the recovery of the economy and the growth of the welfare of citizens; that the share of “poor and extremely poor” residents of the region still exceeds the proportion of those who subjectively classify themselves as “middle-class” people (44% vs 42%), and the Consumer Sentiment Index has long remained at a level below 100 points (which indicates the predominance of pessimistic forecasts in the assessments of residents of the region regarding the future of the Russian economy and their own financial situation).

Nevertheless, the results of the monitoring conducted at the regional level and confirmed by the dynamics of the results of federal sociological surveys (VCOM, Levada-Center*) confirm the conclusions of experts that “the sanctions against Russia have not brought the desired results”⁷.

Currently, the situation continues to be alarming: sanctions pressure on Russia from the countries of the Collective West (NATO and the European Union) persists, military action on the territory of Ukraine continues; we agree with many experts who note that in the coming months the level of support for the RF President and the state “will directly depend on the rapid success in the military campaign and effective economic policy of the government”⁸.

In these conditions, the task of increasing the pace of socio-economic support for various segments of society, strengthening its morale and forming a clear idea in society about the prospects for the future of the country, its citizens and future generations of Russians remains extremely urgent on the part of the state.

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⁷ * Included in the register of foreign agents.

Opinion of economist V. Koltashov (source: Western experts could not calculate the consequences of sanctions against the Russian Federation. *Rossiiskaya gazeta*. June 12, 2022. Available at: <https://rg.ru/2022/06/12/ekonomist-koltashov-zapadnye-eksperty-ne-smogli-proschitat-posledstviia-sankcij-protiv-rf.html>).

⁸ A divided society has lost the ability to protest. *Nezavisimaya gazeta*. April 3, 2022. Available at: https://www.ng.ru/editorial/2022-04-03/2_8407_editorial.html