

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 (December 2022) and for the period from December 2021 to December 2022 (the last seven 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 present the annual dynamics of the data for 2018 and for 2020–2022².

In October – December 2022 the assessment of the work of the head of state did not change significantly: the share of positive judgments was 59–60%, negative ones – 24–25%.

We observe positive changes in the longer-term dynamics. Compared to February 2022, the level of approval of the President's activities increased by 12 percentage points (from 48 to 60%); the proportion of negative assessments decreased by 8 percentage points (from 33 to 25%).

Over the past 12 months (in December 2022 compared to December 2021), the share of positive assessments of the work of the head of state increased by 9 percentage points (from 51 to 60%); the proportion of negative ones decreased by 9 percentage points (from 34 to 25%)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.

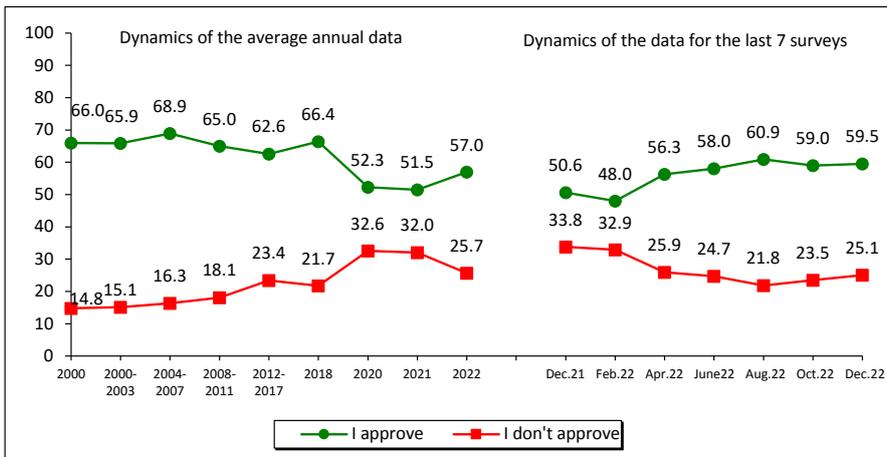
³ Hereinafter, the results of a comparative analysis of the data from the survey conducted in December 2022 and the results of the monitoring "wave" conducted in December 2021 are given in the frame.

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

Answer option	Dynamics of the average annual data								Dynamics of the data for the last 7 surveys							Dynamics (+/-), Dec. 2022 to		
	2000	2007	2011	2012	2018	2020	2021	2022	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Apr. 2022	June 2022	Aug. 2022	Oct. 2022	Dec. 2022	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
RF President																		
I approve	66.0	75.3	58.7	51.7	66.4	52.3	51.5	57.0	50.6	48.0	56.3	58.0	60.9	59.0	59.5	+9	+12	+1
I don't approve	14.8	11.5	25.5	32.6	21.7	32.6	32.0	25.7	33.8	32.9	25.9	24.7	21.8	23.5	25.1	-9	-8	+2
Chairman of the RF Government*																		
I approve	-*	-*	59.3	49.6	48.0	38.7	39.9	45.4	38.3	37.6	43.6	45.5	47.5	48.1	50.1	+12	+13	+2
I don't approve	-	-	24.7	33.3	31.6	40.4	37.6	32.0	38.9	37.7	32.5	31.4	29.4	31.3	29.9	-9	-8	-1
Governor																		
I approve	56.1	55.8	45.7	41.9	38.4	35.0	36.7	40.9	35.9	33.9	38.2	41.2	43.3	43.0	45.5	+10	+12	+3
I don't approve	19.3	22.2	30.5	33.3	37.6	42.5	40.5	35.8	41.9	41.6	37.3	34.3	32.5	33.9	35.2	-7	-6	+1

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 (+/-), December 2022 to			
Answer option	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
I approve	+9	+12	+1
I don't approve	-9	-8	+2

Hereinafter, all graphs show the average annual data for 2000, 2018, 2020, 2021, 2022, as well as the average annual data for the periods 2000–2003, 2004–2007, 2008–2011, 2012–2017, corresponding to the presidential terms.

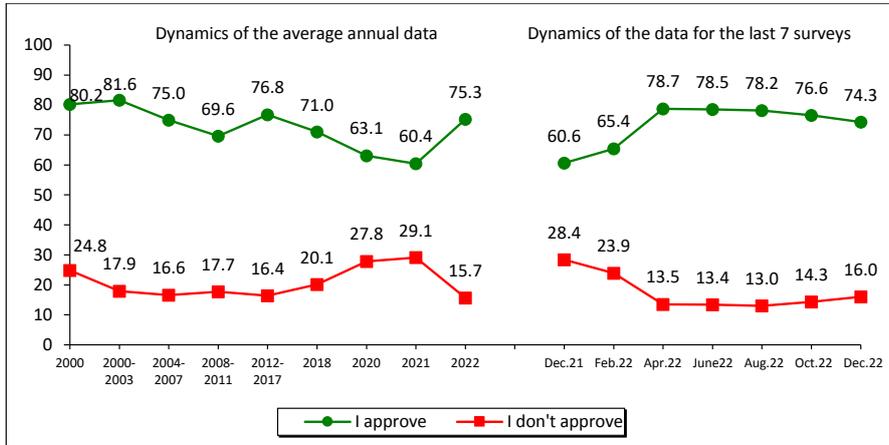
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According to VCIOM, the level of approval of the President's work in October – December 2022 decreased by 3 percentage points (from 77 to 74%).

Compared to February 2022, the share of positive assessments of the activities of the head of state increased by 9 percentage points (from 65 to 74%).

During the period from December 2021 to December 2022, the level of approval of the President's work increased by 13 percentage points (from 61 to 74%).

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



Answer option	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
I approve	+14	+9	-2
I don't approve	-12	-8	+2

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

Data for December 2022 represent the average for three surveys: (December 4, 11, 18).

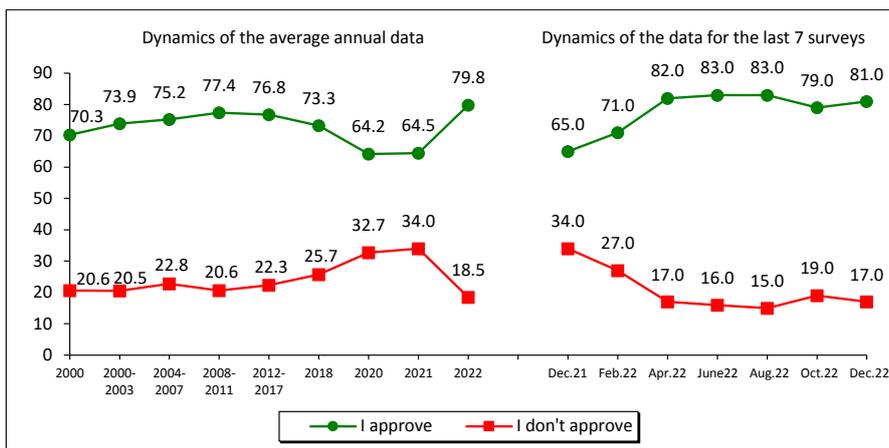
Source: VCIOM. Available at: <https://wciom.ru/>

According to Levada-Center, the share of positive assessments of the President's work in October – December 2022 increased by 2 percentage points (from 79 to 81%).*

For the period from February to December 2022, the share of positive judgments increased by 10 percentage points (from 71 to 81%).

From December 2021 to December 2022, the level of approval of the President's work increased by 16 percentage points (from 65 to 81%).

**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	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
I approve	+14	+10	+2
I don't approve	-17	-10	+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.

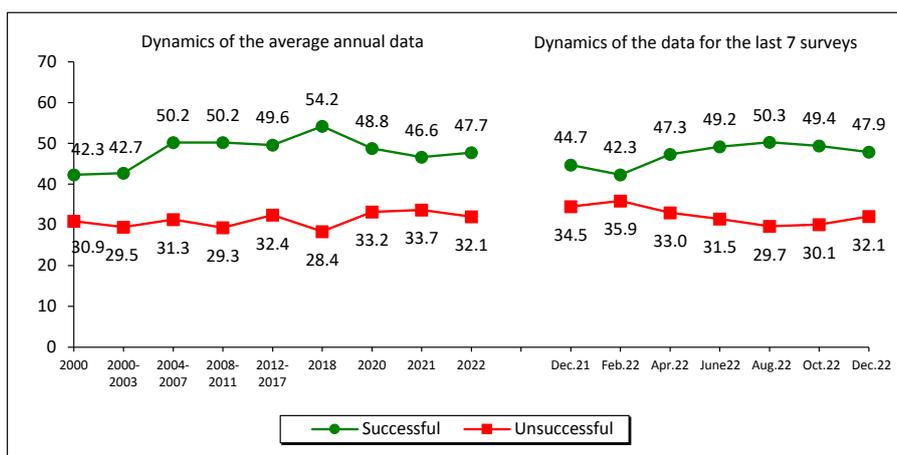
In your opinion, how successful is the RF President in coping with challenging issues? (% of respondents; VoIRC RAS data)

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 did not change significantly (48–49%). The proportion of those who hold to the opposite point of view also increased slightly (by 2 percentage points, from 30 to 32%).

From February to December 2022, the share of positive assessments of the actions of the head of state to strengthen international standing increased by 6 percentage points (from 42 to 48%); negative – decreased by 4 percentage points (from 36 to 32%).

Compared with October 2021, the proportion of Vologda Oblast residents who positively assess the activities of the head of state to strengthen Russia’s international positions increased by 3 percentage points (from 45 to 48%). The share of negative judgments decreased by 3 percentage points (from 35 to 32%).

Strengthening Russia's international position



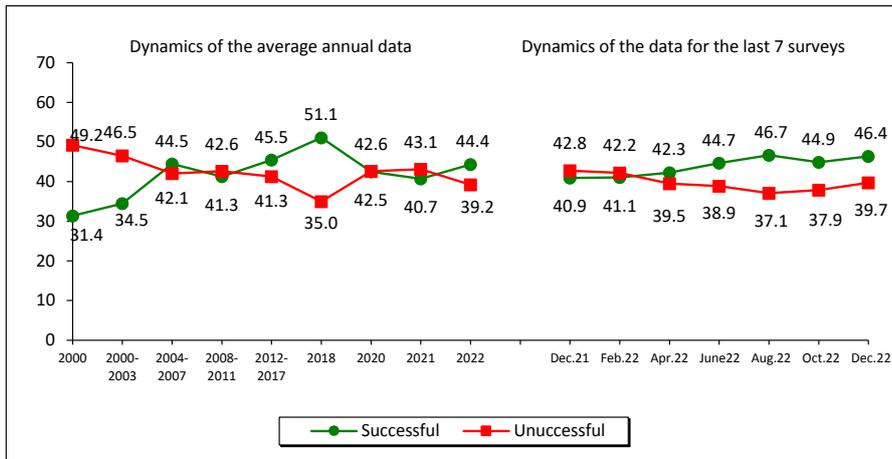
Dynamics (+/-), December 2022 to			
Answer option	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
Successful	+3	+6	-2
Unsuccessful	-3	-4	+2

In October – December 2022, the share of Vologda Oblast residents who positively assess the work of the head of state to restore order in the country remained stable (45–46%). The share of negative assessments increased slightly (by 2 percentage points, from 38 to 40%).

In general, for the period from February to December 2022, the share of positive characteristics increased by 5 percentage points (from 41 to 46%); the proportion of negative characteristics decreased by 2 percentage points (from 42 to 40%).

Over the past 12 months, the proportion of Vologda Oblast residents who positively assess the work of the head of state to restore order in the country has increased by 5 percentage points (from 41 to 46%). The share of those who hold the opposite opinion decreased by 3 percentage points (from 43 to 40%).

Imposing order in the country



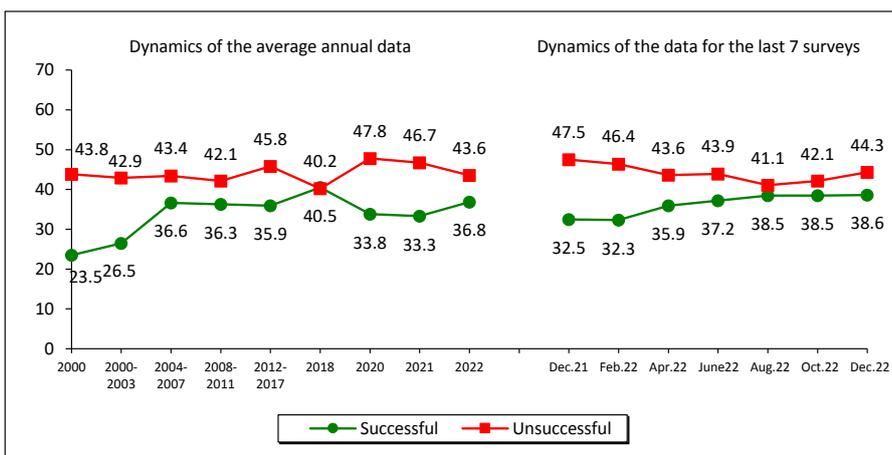
Dynamics (+/-), December 2022 to			
Answer option	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
Successful	+5	+5	+1
Unsuccessful	-3	-2	+2

In October – December 2022, the share of positive assessments of the success of the President’s work to protect democracy and strengthen citizens’ freedoms did not change and amounted to 39%. The proportion of negative judgments increased slightly (by 2 percentage points, from 42 to 44%).

We note positive changes for the period from February to December 2022: the share of positive assessments increased by 7 percentage points (from 32 to 39%), the proportion of negative ones decreased by 2 percentage points (from 46 to 44%).

Over the past 12 months (from December 2021 to December 2022), public opinion about the President’s efforts to protect democracy and strengthen citizens’ freedoms improved: the share of positive assessments increased by 6 percentage points (from 33 to 39%), the proportion of negative ones decreased by 4 percentage points (from 48 to 44%).

Protecting democracy and strengthening citizens’ freedoms



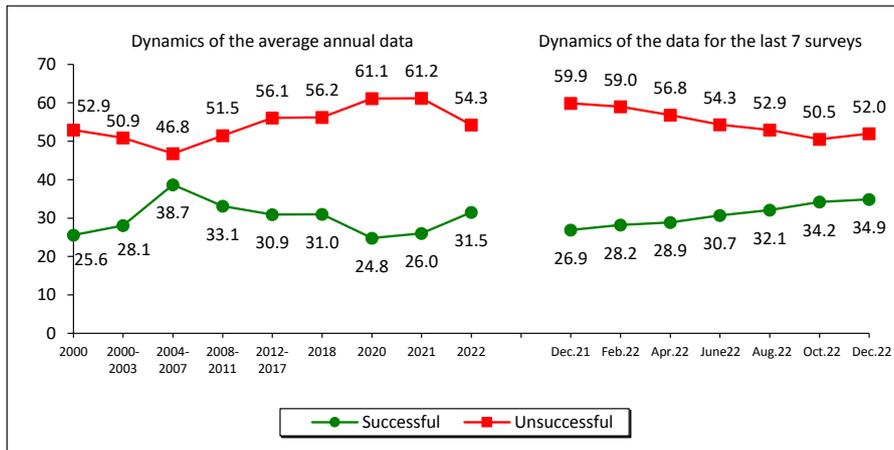
Dynamics (+/-), December 2022 to			
Answer option	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
Successful	+6	+7	0
Unsuccessful	-4	-2	+2

In October – December 2022, public opinion regarding the President’s work aimed at boosting the economy and increasing the welfare of citizens did not change significantly: the share of positive assessments was 34–35%, negative ones – 51–52%.

From February to December 2022, the share of positive judgments increased by 7 percentage points (from 28 to 35%), negative – decreased by 7 percentage points (from 59 to 52%).

During the period from December 2021 to December 2022, we note the following positive changes: the proportion of people who consider the President’s efforts to boost the economy and improve the welfare of citizens to be successful increased by 8 percentage points (from 27 to 35%), the share of negative characteristics decreased by 8 percentage points (from 60 to 52%).

Economic recovery and increase in citizens’ welfare



Answer option	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
Successful	+8	+7	+1
Unsuccessful	-8	-7	+2

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 37–38%, the Communist Party – 9–10%, the Liberal Democratic Party – 6%, the Just Russia party – 5%, the New People party – 1–2%.

From February to December 2022, we note an increase in support for the United Russia party (by 7 percentage points, from 31 to 38%).

Compared to December 2021, the share of supporters of the party in power increased by 6 percentage points (from 32 to 38%).

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

Party	Dynamics of the average annual data												Dynamics of the data for the last 7 surveys							Dynamics (+/-), Dec. 2022		
	2000	2007	2011	Election to the RF State Duma 2011, fact	2012	2016	Election to the RF State Duma 2016, fact	2018	2020	Election to the RF State Duma 2020, fact	2021	2022	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Apr. 2022	June 2022	Aug. 2022	Oct. 2022	Dec. 2022	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
United Russia	18.5	30.2	31.1	33.4	29.1	35.4	38.0	37.9	31.5	49.8	31.7	35.2	31.9	31.1	34.2	34.9	36.2	36.7	38.3	+6	+7	+1
KPRF	11.5	7.0	10.3	16.8	10.6	8.3	14.2	9.2	8.4	18.9	9.3	10.1	10.5	9.5	11.2	10.2	10.4	9.9	9.3	-1	-1	-1
LDPR	4.8	7.5	7.8	15.4	7.8	10.4	21.9	9.6	9.5	7.6	9.9	7.3	9.9	9.4	7.7	7.8	6.8	6.0	6.3	-4	-3	0
Just Russia – Patriots for the Truth	-	7.8	5.6	27.2	6.6	4.2	10.8	2.9	4.7	7.5	4.7	4.9	6.0	5.7	4.5	4.8	4.9	4.5	4.7	-1	-1	0
New People*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.3	2.3	1.5	2.3	1.6	1.3	1.6	1.9	1.1	1.5	-1	0	0
Other	0.9	1.8	1.9	-	2.1	0.3	-	0.7	0.5	-	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.0	0	-1	-1
None	29.6	17.8	29.4	-	31.3	29.4	-	28.5	34.2	-	33.9	30.6	29.6	32.4	30.8	30.7	29.3	30.6	29.9	0	-3	-1
I find it difficult to answer	20.3	21.2	13.2	-	11.7	12.0	-	11.2	11.1	-	10.0	10.1	9.7	9.6	10.0	9.9	10.5	10.8	9.9	0	0	-1

* 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.

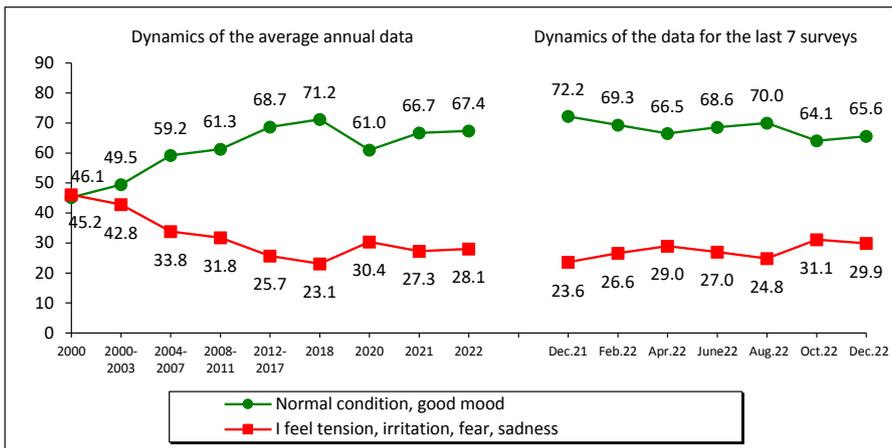
Estimation of social condition
(% of respondents; VolRC RAS data)

Over the past two months, social mood of Vologda Oblast residents improved slightly. The proportion of people describing their daily emotional state as “normal, fine” increased by 2 percentage points (from 64 to 66%). The proportion of those who experience mainly “tension, irritation, fear, sadness” did not change and amounted to 30–31%.

Compared to February 2022, the share of positive assessments of social mood decreased (by 3 percentage points, from 69 to 66%) and the proportion of negative assessments increased (by 3 percentage points, from 27 to 30%).

Over the past 12 months (from December 2021 to December 2022), the share of positive characteristics of social mood decreased by 6 percentage points (from 72 to 66%), negative – increased by 6 percentage points (from 24 to 30%).

Social mood



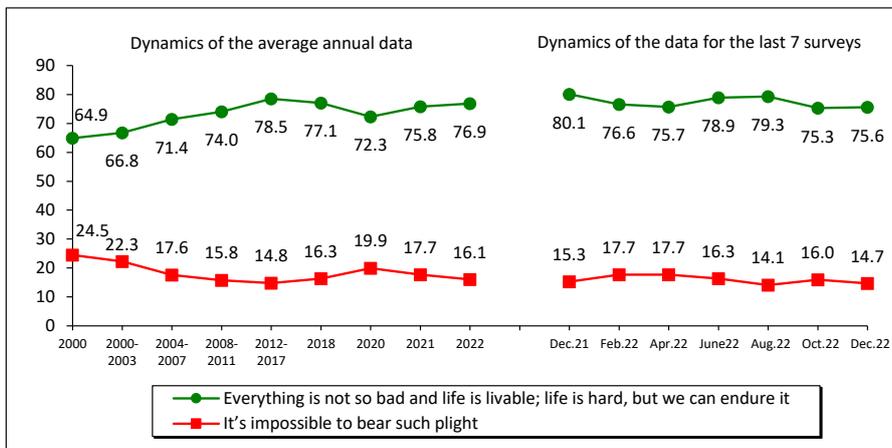
Dynamics (+/-), December 2022 to			
Answer option	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
Usual condition good mood	-6	-3	+2
I feel tension, irritation, fear, sadness	+6	+3	-1

In October – December 2022, the share of those who believe that “everything is not so bad and life is livable; life is hard, but we can endure it” remained stable (75–76%). The proportion of those who note that “it’s impossible to bear such plight” did not change as well (15–16%).

From February to December 2022, the share of positive assessments of the stock of patience was 76–77%; at the same time, the proportion of negative assessments decreased by 3 percentage points (from 18 to 15%).

Compared to December 2021, the share of positive assessments decreased by 4 percentage points (from 80 to 76%); the proportion of negative ones did not change significantly (15%).

Stock of patience



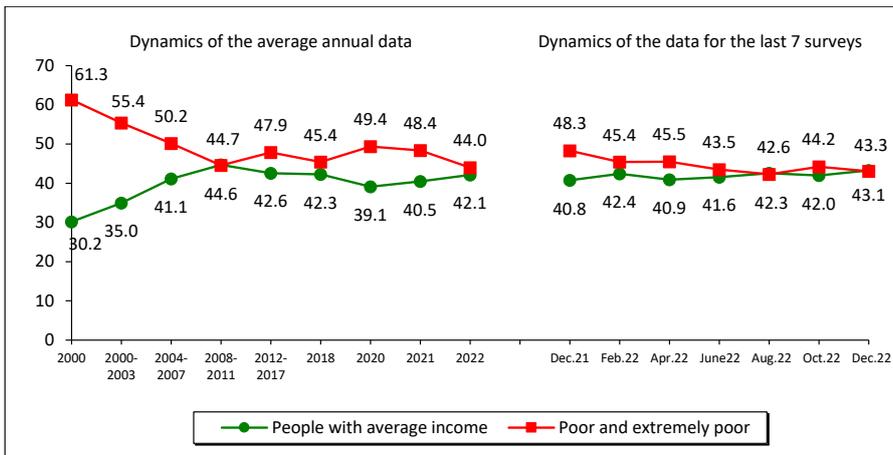
Dynamics (+/-), December 2022 to			
Answer option	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
Everything is not so bad and life is livable; life is hard, but we can endure it	-4	-1	0
It's impossible to bear such plight	-1	-3	-1

The proportion of Vologda Oblast residents subjectively classifying themselves as “poor and extremely poor” over the past two months did not change significantly (43–44%); the share of those who subjectively classify themselves as “middle-income people” also remains stable (42–43%).

From February to December 2022, the share of “middle-income” people was 42–43%, while the proportion of the “poor and extremely poor” decreased slightly (by 2 percentage points, from 45 to 43%).

Over the past 12 months (December 2021 – December 2022), mainly positive changes were noted in the dynamics of social self-identification: the share of “poor and extremely poor” residents of the region decreased by 5 percentage points (from 48 to 43%); the proportion of “middle-income people” increased by 2 percentage points (from 41 to 43%).

Social self-identification



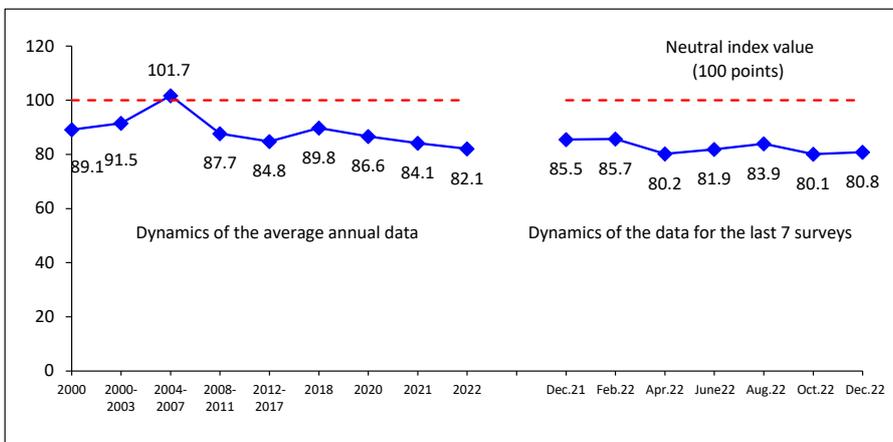
Dynamics (+/-), December 2022 to			
Answer option	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
People with average income	+2	+1	+1
Poor and extremely poor	-5	-2	-1

Question: "What category do you belong to, in your opinion?"

In October – December 2022, the Consumer Sentiment Index (CSI) was 80–81 points.

We note a decrease in the CSI for the period from February to December 2022 (by 5 percentage points, from 86 to 81 points), and also for the period from December 2021 to December 2022 (by 5 p.p., from 86 to 81 p.). Thus, the dynamics of the CSI over the past year indicates an increase in people’s pessimistic forecasts regarding the future of the Russian economy and their personal financial situation.

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



Dynamics (+/-), December 2022 to			
CSI	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
Index value, points	-5	-5	+1

For reference:

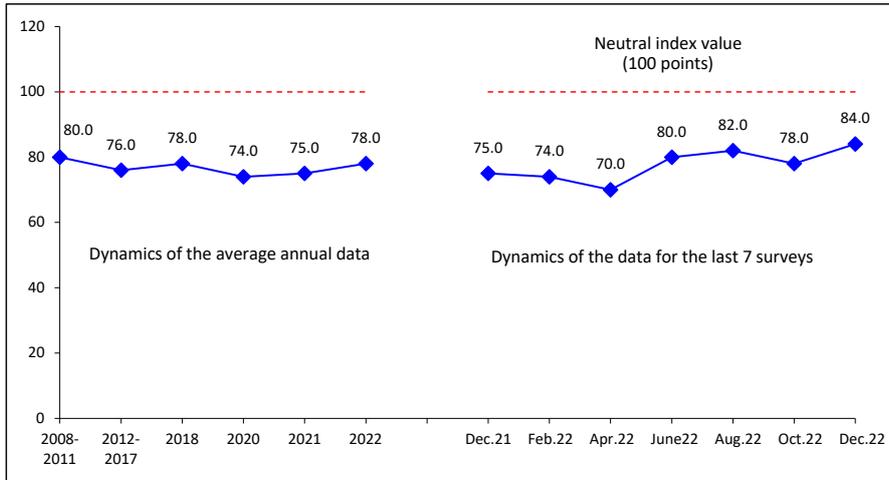
According to the all-Russian surveys conducted by Levada-Center*, there are positive trends in the dynamics of the CSI over the past two months (the CSI increased by 6 points, from 78 to 84 p.).

For the period from February to December 2022, the CSI increased by 10 points (from 74 to 84 p.).

From December 2021 to December 2022 – by 9 points (from 75 to 84 points).

* Included in the register of foreign agents.

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



Dynamics (+/-), December 2022 to			
CSI	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022
Index value, points	+9	+10	+6

The index is calculated since 2008.

Latest data are as of August 2022.

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

The dynamics of social mood for the period from October to December 2022 do not show any negative changes in social mood assessments in any of the main socio-demographic groups. At the same time, the share of positive assessments increased in 6 out of 14 groups: especially among people who, according to self-estimates of income, belong to the category of bottom 20% (by 4 percentage points, from 51 to 55%); among people under the age of 30 (by 4 percentage points, from 75 to 79%) and among people with secondary and incomplete secondary education (also by 4 percentage points, from 59 to 63%).

From February to December 2022, negative changes in social mood assessments are noted in most socio-demographic groups (in 9 out of 14), especially among people over 55 years of age (the share of positive assessments decreased by 8 percentage points, from 65 to 57%) and 20% of the most affluent (according to self-estimates of income level) residents of the Vologda Oblast (by 7 percentage points, from 82 to 75%).

For the period from December 2021 to December 2022, negative changes are observed in almost all major population groups. First of all, the share of those who characterize their mood as “normal, fine, good” decreased among people who, according to self-estimates of income, belong to the top 20% of the region’s residents (by 10 percentage points, from 85 to 75%).

* 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 7 surveys							Dynamics (+/-), Dec. 2022 to		
	2000	2007	2011	2012	2018	2020	2021	2022	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Apr. 2022	June 2022	Aug. 2022	Oct. 2022	Dec. 2022	Dec. 2021	Feb. 2022	Oct. 2022	
Sex																			
Men	50.1	65.9	64.5	69.1	72.8	60.8	65.7	66.8	71.5	65.5	68.3	67.4	69.9	65.0	64.7	-7	-1	0	
Women	43.3	61.7	62.0	65.8	69.8	61.2	67.4	67.9	72.8	72.3	65.1	69.7	70.2	63.3	66.5	-6	-6	+3	
Age																			
Under 30	59.1	71.3	70.0	72.3	80.0	67.6	73.5	77.6	81.9	75.3	81.8	77.3	77.8	74.5	78.7	-3	+3	+4	
30–55	44.2	64.8	62.5	67.9	72.6	61.8	69.5	69.4	75.1	70.7	71.1	68.8	72.0	65.2	68.5	-7	-2	+3	
Over 55	37.4	54.8	58.3	62.1	65.2	57.4	60.5	61.1	65.2	65.3	55.2	65.3	64.6	58.7	57.2	-8	-8	-2	
Education																			
Secondary and incomplete secondary	41.7	58.4	57.4	57.2	64.8	56.1	62.1	64.6	69.7	68.7	63.0	65.8	68.5	58.9	62.7	-7	-6	+4	
Secondary vocational	46.4	64.6	63.6	66.7	72.2	63.5	66.7	68.3	70.1	68.3	69.8	70.5	71.0	65.8	64.3	-6	-4	-2	
Higher and incomplete higher	53.3	68.6	68.3	77.0	76.8	63.3	71.5	69.5	77.6	71.5	66.9	69.7	70.8	67.5	70.6	-7	-1	+3	
Income group																			
Bottom 20%	28.4	51.6	45.3	51.5	57.3	43.4	54.6	57.0	64.0	60.5	61.5	58.4	55.4	50.7	55.4	-9	-5	+4	
Middle 60%	45.5	62.9	65.3	68.7	71.9	62.6	67.3	68.1	71.1	68.8	64.2	70.3	73.2	65.9	66.1	-5	-3	0	
Top 20%	64.6	74.9	75.3	81.1	82.9	75.6	79.9	78.3	85.3	81.5	81.9	75.7	77.0	78.7	74.9	-10	-7	-4	
Territories																			
Vologda	49.2	63.1	67.1	73.6	71.0	60.9	60.3	59.8	65.7	63.2	60.2	61.0	61.5	55.7	57.2	-9	-6	+2	
Cherepovets	50.8	68.1	71.2	76.2	75.8	60.4	71.0	71.2	75.1	72.6	70.1	72.8	74.6	67.9	69.1	-6	-4	+1	
Districts	42.2	61.6	57.1	59.8	68.7	61.4	67.8	69.5	74.2	70.8	68.1	70.6	72.3	66.6	68.5	-6	-2	+2	
Oblast	46.2	63.6	63.1	67.3	71.2	61.0	66.6	67.4	72.2	69.3	66.5	68.7	70.1	64.1	65.7	-7	-4	+2	

RESUME

The results of the next “wave” of surveys conducted in December 2022 allow us to draw the following conclusions.

1. Taking into account the noticeable deterioration in public opinion assessments in August – October 2022 on such important monitoring indicators as the assessment of social mood, stock of patience and the Consumer Sentiment Index (reflecting, respectively, people’s psychological well-being at the present time and their ideas about the prospects of the future), **we may argue that positive changes can be found in the stabilization of population estimates according to the following indicators in December 2022:**

✓ from October to December 2022, the share of positive assessments of social mood increased by 2 percentage points (from 64 to 66%, after a decrease in August – October by 6 percentage points, from 70 to 64%);

✓ the stock of patience in October – December did not change (75%), but it had previously shown a noticeable decrease in August – October 2022 (by 4 percentage points, from 79 to 75%);

✓ the CSI in October – December 2022 amounted to 80–81 points, while according to the results of the previous survey it had decreased by 4 points (from 84 to 80 points).

Apparently, the negative changes in August – October were due to a completely natural reaction of people toward the partial mobilization announced by the President of the Russian Federation on September 21, 2022 (October 28, 2022, Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu told Vladimir Putin that all the events related to the partial mobilization were completed)⁴.

2. The level of approval of the President's work has remained stable since June 2022 (58–60%). At the same time, in general, during the period of the special military operation (from February to December 2022), the share of positive assessments of the work of the head of state increased significantly (by 12 percentage points, from 48 to 60%), which indicates that the majority of the population understands and supports the political course implemented by the President.

This is confirmed by the similar dynamics of people's assessments of the success of the Russian President's efforts to address key national problems (the increase in the share of positive judgments for the period from February to December 2022 for all key tasks amounted to 5–7 percentage points), as well as an increase in support for the United Russia party of power over the period of the special military operation (from February to December 2022 – by 7 percentage points (from 31 to 38%)).

3. The fact that throughout virtually the entire year, the approval of the work of the Chairman of the RF Government and the approval of the work Vologda Oblast Governor continue to increase gradually (from February to December 2022, the share of positive assessments increased by 12–13 percentage points), indicates that society positively assesses the work of federal and regional authorities on the practical implementation of measures to support the population in a difficult economic situation (in particular, caused by the current economic sanctions against Russia).

At the same time, a number of changes in the dynamics of public opinion over the period from February to December 2022 arouse caution and require increased attention from management decision makers:

1. During this period, in the majority of the main socio-demographic groups (in 9 out of 14), the proportion of people describing their daily emotional mood as “normal, fine, good” decreased; the changes are quite noticeable:

- ✓ among people over 55 years of age – by 8 percentage points (from 65 to 57%);
- ✓ in the group of 20% of the most affluent (according to self-estimates of income level) residents of the region – by 7 percentage points (from 82 to 75%);
- ✓ among women (from 72 to 66%), people with secondary and incomplete secondary education (from 69 to 63%), and residents of Vologda (from 63 to 57%) – by 6 percentage points.

2. The Consumer Sentiment Index for the period from February to December 2022 decreased by 5 points (from 86 to 81 p.), consequently, Vologda Oblast residents started showing more pessimistic attitudes in assessing the prospects for economic development and their own financial situation.

3. Since the middle of the year (since June), there have been no significant positive changes in the dynamics of the level of approval of the President's work and the assessment of the success of his work in addressing key national problems: the share of positive assessments of the work of the head of state from June to December amounted to 58–60%; the share of positive assessments of the success of addressing key national problems has either remained unchanged or increased by 1–2 percentage points. Relatively stable dynamics of improvement in public opinion assessments is noted only in relation to the activities of the head of state aimed at boosting the economy and improving citizens' welfare (from February to December, the share of positive assessments increased by 7 percentage points, from 28 to 35%; from June to December – by 4 percentage points, from 31 to 35%).

⁴ Meeting of the President of the Russian Federation with Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu on October 28, 2022. Available at: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/69703>

Thus, according to the results of the latest monitoring “wave” and, in general, according to the results of the analysis of the public opinion dynamics for 2022, we can say that the majority of the population “reacted” to the increased threats to national security after the start of the SMO (February 24, 2022) by consolidating around the President and the goals of national development he declared so as to achieve full national sovereignty. At the same time, society supports not only the head of state, but also other authorities, which indicates the effectiveness of public administration in terms of implementing key management decisions taken throughout the year.

At the same time, we should note that the decline in the pace of positive dynamics in a number of key monitoring indicators since the middle of the year, as well as a noticeable deterioration in the assessments of people’s social well-being during the period of partial mobilization suggests that public opinion (especially in the current alarming conditions) is quite mobile; people support the actions of the authorities, but quite naturally, they are in the general tense atmosphere that has developed in the external and internal political arena in the context of the SMO.

Perhaps, the quintessence of these processes can be considered one of the key results of the country’s development in the context of the SMO, which the President summed up at an expanded meeting of the board of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation on December 21, 2022: “The country, the Government will provide whatever the Army asks for, anything. I hope that the answer will be properly formulated and the appropriate results will be achieved”⁵.

Materials were prepared by M.V. Morev, I.M. Bakhvalova

⁵ Vladimir Putin’s speech at an expanded meeting of the Board of the Defense Ministry. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/70159>