

# MONITORING OF PUBLIC OPINION

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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 VoIRC RAS in the Vologda Oblast<sup>1</sup>.

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 round of the monitoring (August 2023) and for the period from August 2022 to August 2023 (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 2020–2022<sup>2</sup>.

In June – August 2023 the share of positive assessments of the RF President's work did not change significantly (60–61%). The proportion of negative judgments is 22–23%<sup>3</sup>.

For the period from August 2022 to August 2023, the share of positive assessments of the RF President's work is 60%. The share of negative judgements is 22%<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The surveys are held six times a year in the cities of Vologda and Cherepovets, in Babayevsky, Velikoustyugsky, Vozhegodsky, Gryazovetsky, Tarnogsky Kirillovsky, Nikolsky municipal okrugs, and in Sheksninsky municipal 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 VoIRC RAS surveys is available at <http://www.vscs.ac.ru/>.

<sup>2</sup> In 2020, four rounds of the monitoring were conducted. Surveys in April and June 2020 were not conducted due to quarantine restrictions during the spread of COVID-19.

<sup>3</sup> Here and elsewhere, in all tables and in the text, positive changes are highlighted in green, negative changes are highlighted in red, and no changes – in blue. Due to the fact that the changes of +/- 2 p.p. fall within the limits of sampling error, they are considered insignificant and are marked in blue.

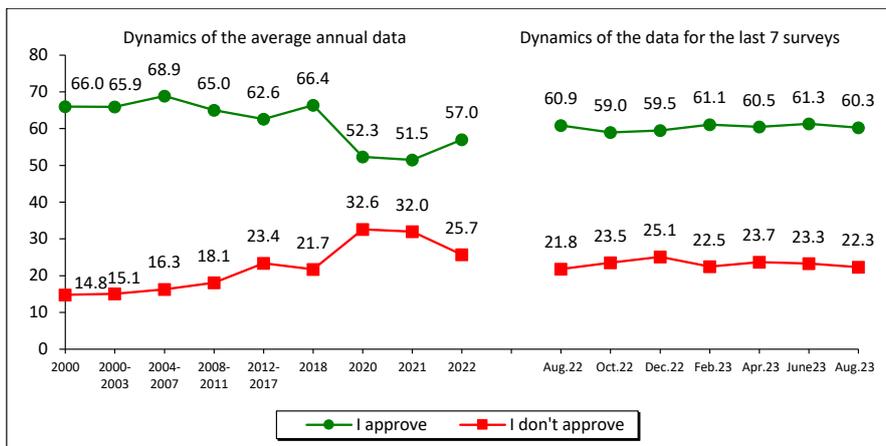
<sup>4</sup> Here and elsewhere in the text, the results of a comparative analysis of the data from the survey conducted in August 2023 and the results of the monitoring round conducted in August 2022 are given in the frame.

How would 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 (+/-), Aug. 2023 to	
	2000	2007	2011	2012	2018	2020	2021	2022	Aug. 2022	Oct. 2022	Dec. 2022	Feb. 2023	Apr. 2023	June 2023	Aug. 2023	Aug. 2022	June 2023	
<b>RF President</b>																		
I approve	66.0	75.3	58.7	51.7	66.4	52.3	51.5	57.0	60.9	59.0	59.5	61.1	60.5	61.3	60.3	-1	-1	
I don't approve	14.8	11.5	25.5	32.6	21.7	32.6	32.0	25.7	21.8	23.5	25.1	22.5	23.7	23.3	22.3	+1	-1	
<b>Chairman of the RF Government*</b>																		
I approve	-*	-*	59.3	49.6	48.0	38.7	39.9	45.4	47.5	48.1	50.1	49.3	48.3	49.2	50.8	+3	+2	
I don't approve	-	-	24.7	33.3	31.6	40.4	37.6	32.0	29.4	31.3	29.9	27.9	28.1	27.1	26.1	-3	-1	
<b>Vologda Oblast Governor</b>																		
I approve	56.1	55.8	45.7	41.9	38.4	35.0	36.7	40.9	43.3	43.0	45.5	47.1	48.3	48.7	48.1	+5	-1	
I don't approve	19.3	22.2	30.5	33.3	37.6	42.5	40.5	35.8	32.5	33.9	35.2	33.0	32.3	30.7	29.7	-3	-1	

Wording of the question: "How do you assess the current work of ...?"  
 \*Included in the survey since 2008.

How would you assess the current work of the RF President?  
 (% of respondents, VolRC RAS data)\*



Dynamics (+/-), August 2023 to		
Answer option	Aug. 2022	June 2023
I approve	-1	-1
I don't approve	+1	-1

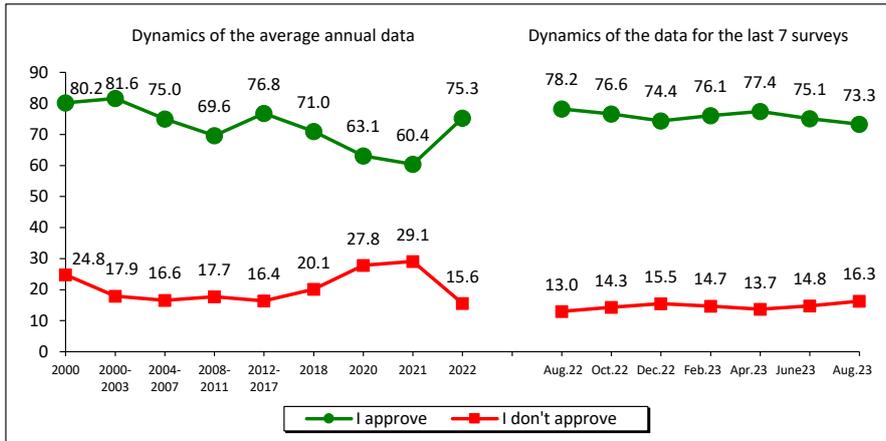
\* Here and elsewhere, all graphs show the average annual data for 2000, 2018, 2020, 2021, 2022, as well as the average annual data for the periods 2000–2003, 2004–2007, 2008–2011, 2012–2017 that correspond to presidential terms.

For reference:

According to VCIOM, the level of approval of the President's work from June to the first half of August 2023 decreased by 2 percentage points (from 75 to 73%). The share of negative judgments did not change significantly and amounted to 15–16%.

From August 2022 to the first half of August 2023, the share of positive assessments of the work of the head of state decreased by 5 percentage points (from 78 to 73%). The share of negative judgments increased by 3 percentage points (from 13 to 16%).

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



Answer option	Aug. 2022	June 2023
I approve	-5	-2
I don't approve	+3	+2

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

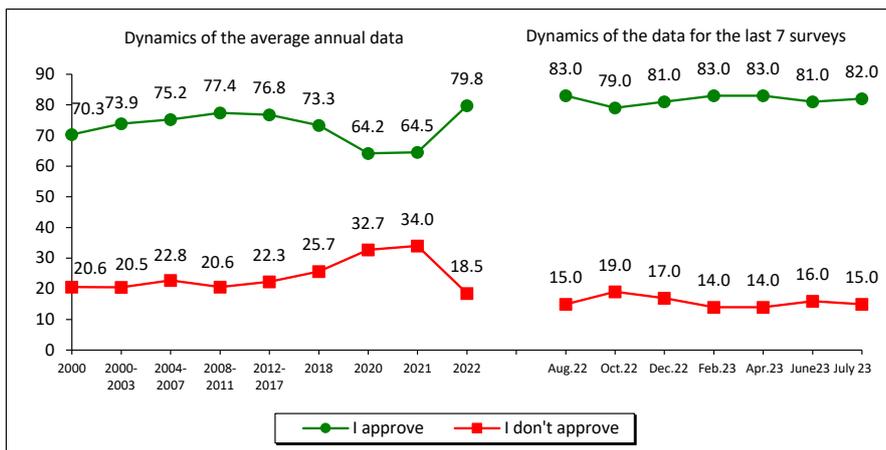
Data for August 2023 represent the average for two surveys: (August 6, 2023 and August 13, 2023).

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

*According to Levada-Center\*, the share of positive assessments of the President's work in June – July 2023 amounted to 81–82%; the proportion of negative judgments was 15–16%.*

*There were no significant changes over the past 12 months: the share of positive assessments is 82–83%, negative – 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	Aug. 2022	June 2023
I approve	-1	+1
I don't approve	0	-1

Wording of the 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>

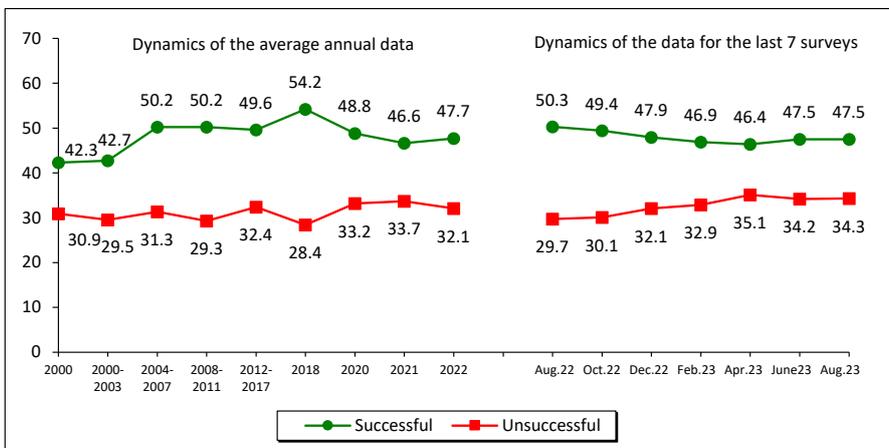
\* Included in the register of foreign agents.

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

Over the past two months, the share of those who consider the RF President’s work to strengthen Russia’s international position to be successful did not change and amounts to 48%. The proportion of those who hold to the opposite point of view also remained at the level of June 2023 (34%).

Over the past 12 months (from August 2022 to August 2023) the share of positive assessments of the President’s work aimed at strengthening Russia’s international position declined slightly (by 3 percentage points, from 50 to 47%), while the share of negative judgments increased by 5 percentage points (from 29 to 34%).

Strengthening Russia's international position

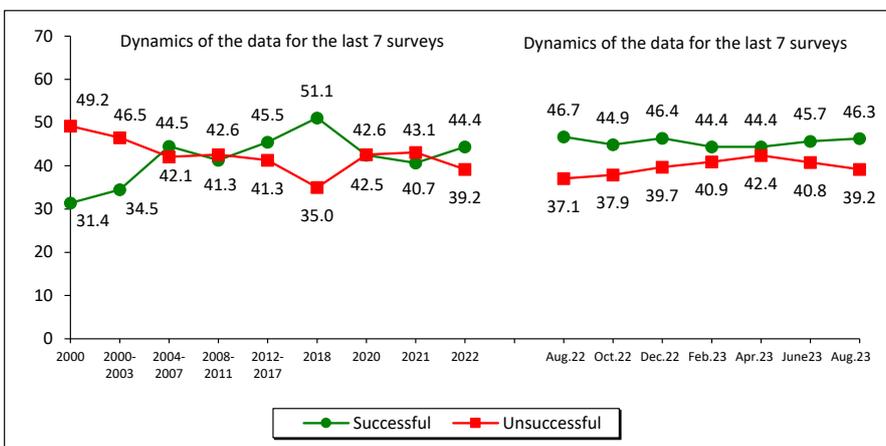


Dynamics (+/-), August 2023 to		
Answer option	Aug. 2022	June 2023
Successful	-3	0
Unsuccessful	+5	0

In June – August 2023, the share of Vologda Oblast residents who positively assess the work of the head of state aimed at restoring order in the country was 46%; the proportion of negative judgments decreased slightly (by 2 percentage points, from 41 to 39%).

Over the past 12 months, the share of those who positively assess the work of the head of state to restore order in the country did not change (46–47%). The proportion of negative judgments increased 2 percentage points (from 37 to 39%).

Imposing order in the country

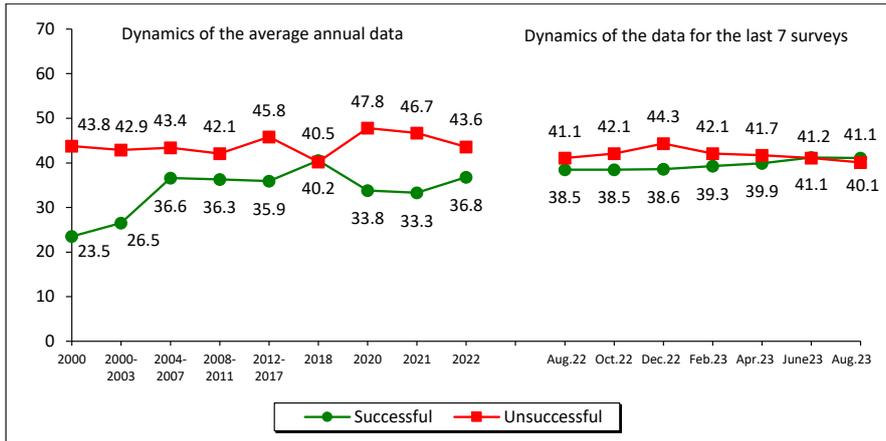


Dynamics (+/-), August 2023 to		
Answer option	Aug. 2022	June 2023
Successful	0	+1
Unsuccessful	+2	-2

In June – August 2023, the share of positive assessments of the President’s work to protect democracy and strengthen citizens’ freedoms was 41%, negative – 40%.

From August 2022 to August 2023, there was a slight increase in the share of positive assessments (by 3 percentage points, from 38 to 41%). The proportion of negative judgments did not change and amounted to 40–41%.

**Protecting democracy and strengthening citizens’ freedoms**

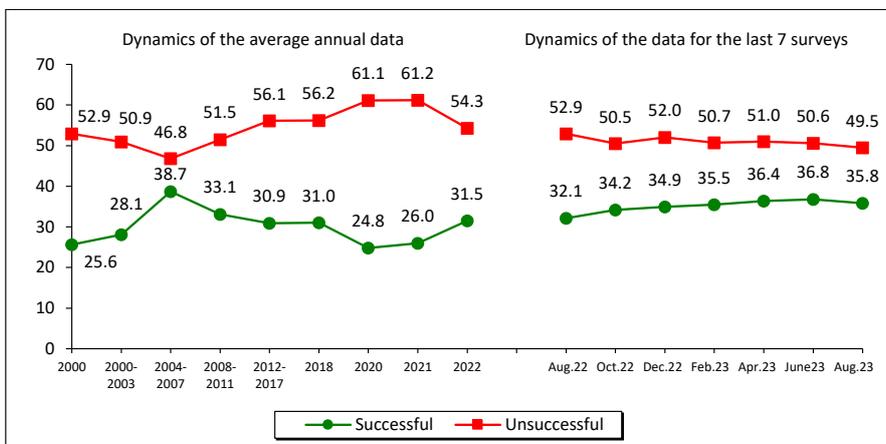


Dynamics (+/-), August 2023 to		
Answer option	Aug. 2022	June 2023
Successful	+3	0
Unsuccessful	-1	-1

The share of positive judgments about the President’s work to boost the economy and increase the welfare of citizens over the past two months amounted to 36–37%. The proportion of negative characteristics is 50–51%.

Over the past 12 months, the share of positive judgments has increased by 4 percentage points (from 32 to 36%), the proportion of negative ones decreased by 3 percentage points (from 53 to 50%).

**Economic recovery, increase in citizens’ welfare**



Dynamics (+/-), August 2023 to		
Answer option	Aug. 2022	June 2023
Successful	+4	-1
Unsuccessful	-3	-1

The structure of political preferences of Vologda Oblast residents remains stable. In June – August 2023, the share of people whose interests are expressed by the United Russia party was 39%, the Communist Party – 10%, the Liberal Democratic Party – 7–8%, the Just Russia party – 5%, the New People party – 2%.

From August 2022 to August 2023, there was an increase in support for United Russia (by 3 percentage points, from 36 to 39%), as well as a slight decrease in the proportion of people who believe that none of the parliamentary parties expresses their interests (by 4 percentage points, from 29 to 25%).

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 (+/-), Aug. 2023 to	
	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	Aug. 2022	Oct. 2022	Dec. 2022	Feb. 2023	Apr. 2023	June 2023	Aug. 2023	Aug. 2022	June 2023
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	36.2	36.7	38.3	39.1	37.6	39.3	39.0	+3	0
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	10.4	9.9	9.3	9.5	9.3	9.5	9.8	-1	0
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	6.8	6.0	6.3	5.9	6.9	6.7	7.8	+1	+1
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	4.9	4.5	4.7	4.6	4.7	4.7	4.5	0	0
New People*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5.3	2.3	1.5	1.9	1.1	1.5	1.3	2.1	2.1	2.3	0	0
Other	0.9	1.8	1.9	–	2.1	0.3	–	0.7	0.5	–	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0	0
None	29.6	17.8	29.4	–	31.3	29.4	–	28.5	34.2	–	33.9	30.6	29.3	30.6	29.9	28.0	28.0	26.5	25.2	-4	-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	10.5	10.8	9.9	11.4	11.4	11.4	11.2	+1	0

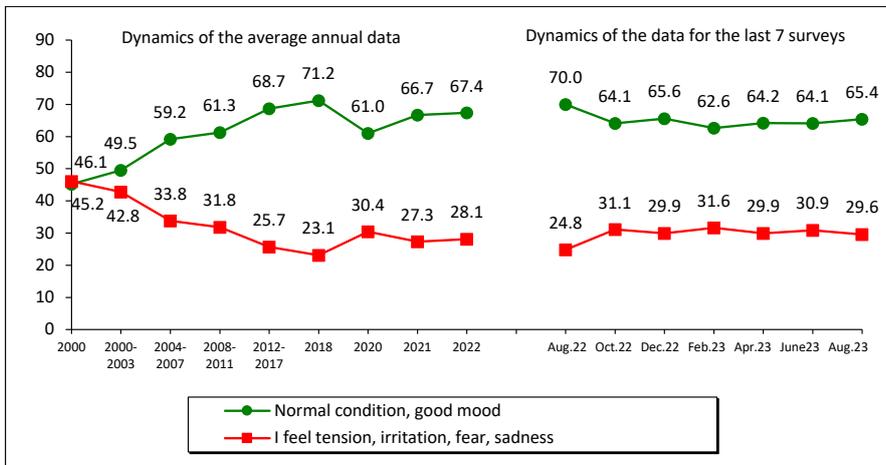
\* The New People party was elected to the State Duma of the Russian Federation for the first time following the results of the election held on September 17–19, 2021.

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

From June to August 2023, the share of positive assessments of social mood remained at the level of 64–65%. The proportion of people experiencing predominantly negative emotions also did not change and amounted to 30–31%.

Over the past 12 months, the proportion of people describing their daily emotional state as “normal, fine” decreased by 5 percentage points (с 70 до 65%). The proportion of those who experience mainly “tension, irritation, fear, sadness” increased by 5 percentage points, as well (from 25 to 30%).

Social mood

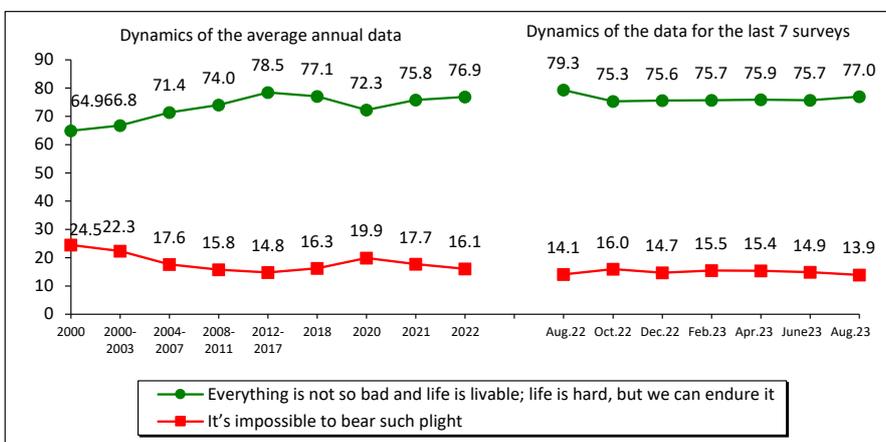


Dynamics (+/-), August 2023 to		
Answer option	Aug. 2022	June 2023
Usual condition, good mood	-5	+1
I feel tension, irritation, fear, sadness	+5	-1

In June – August 2023, the share of those who believe that “everything is not so bad and life is livable” (76–77%) and the proportion of those who note that “it’s impossible to bear such plight” (14–15%) remained stable.

From August 2022 to August 2023, the share of positive assessments of the stock of patience decreased slightly (by 2 percentage points, from 79 to 77%), while the share of negative judgments did not change significantly (14%).

Stock of patience

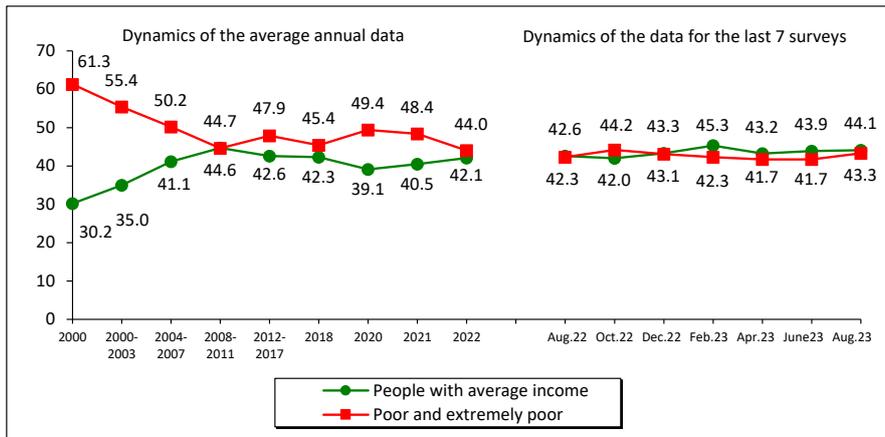


Dynamics (+/-), August 2023 to		
Answer option	Aug. 2022	June 2023
Everything is not so bad and life is livable; life is hard, but we can endure it	-2	+1
It's impossible to bear such plight	0	-1

The proportion of Vologda Oblast residents subjectively classifying themselves as “poor and extremely poor” in June – August 2023 was 42–43%. The share of those who classify themselves as “middle-income” people was 44%.

There are also no noticeable changes in the annual dynamics. Over the past 12 months, the share of “poor and extremely poor” residents of the Vologda Oblast amounted to 42–43%, the proportion of “middle-income people” – 43–44%.

**Social self-identification**



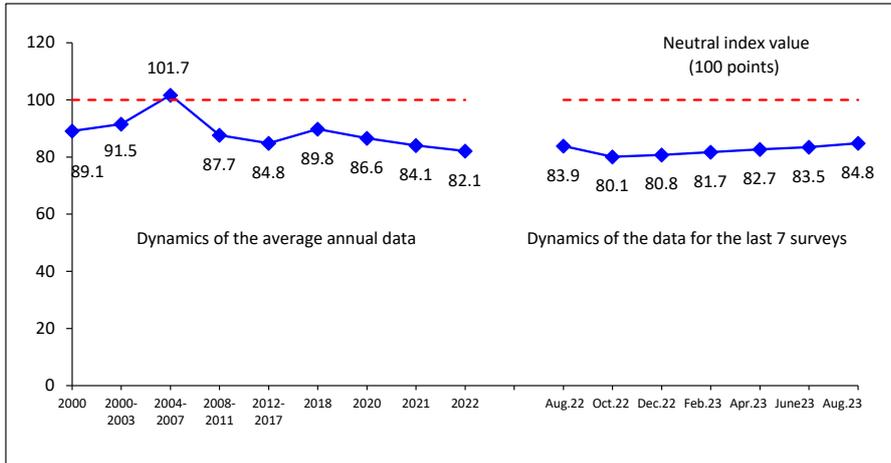
Answer option	Aug. 2022	June 2023
People with average income	+2	0
Poor and extremely poor	+1	+2

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

Over the past two months, the Consumer Sentiment Index (CSI) did not change and amounted to 84–85 points.

Compared with August 2022, there are no significant changes in the dynamics of the CSI (84–85 p.).

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



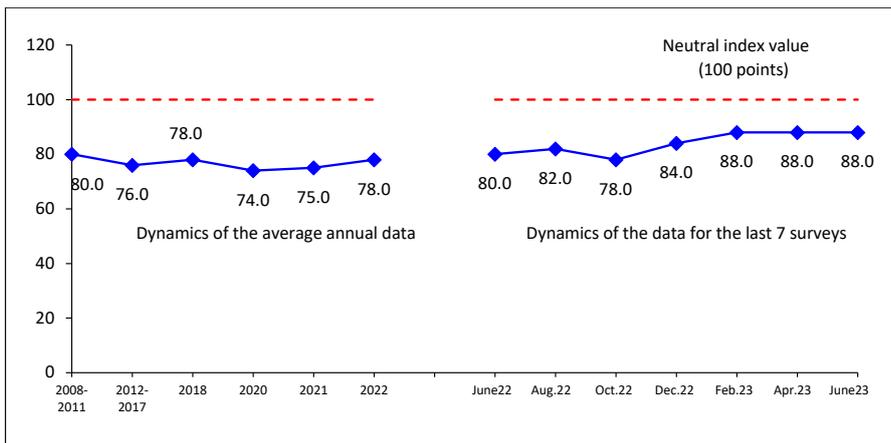
Dynamics (+/-), August 2023 to		
CSI	Aug. 2022	June 2023
Index value, points	+1	+1

*For reference:*

According to the latest data from the all-Russian polls conducted by Levada-Center\*, the Consumer Sentiment Index for the period from April to June 2023 did not change and amounted to 88 points.

From June 2022 to June 2023, positive changes are observed in the dynamics of the CSI (the index increased by 8 points, from 80 to 88 p.).

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



Dynamics (+/-), June 2023 to		
CSI	June 2022	Apr. 2023
Index value, points	+8	0

The index is calculated since 2008.

Latest data are as of June 2023.

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

\* Included in the register of foreign agents.

From April to June 2023, the estimates of social mood did not change significantly in most of the main socio-demographic groups (in 12 out of 14). Slight positive changes are observed only among people under the age of 30 (the share of positive assessments of social mood increased by 3 percentage points, from 73 to 76%) and residents of Vologda (also by 3 percentage points, from 58 to 61%).

The dynamics of public sentiment over the past 12 months (from August 2022 to August 2023) show mainly negative trends. The proportion of people describing their mood as “fine, normal, good” decreased in 10 of the 14 main socio-demographic groups, especially among people over 55 (by 8 percentage points, from 64 to 56%), residents of Cherepovets (by 8 percentage points, from 74 to 66%) and people who, according to self-estimates of income, belong to the category of 20% of the most affluent residents of the Oblast (by 7 percentage points, from 77 to 70%).

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 (+/-), Aug. 2023 to	
	2000	2007	2011	2012	2018	2020	2021	2022	Aug. 2022	Oct. 2022	Dec. 2022	Feb. 2023	Apr. 2023	June 2023	Aug. 2023	Aug. 2022	June 2023
<b>Sex</b>																	
Men	50.1	65.9	64.5	69.1	72.8	60.8	65.7	66.8	69.9	65.0	64.7	62.5	65.4	63.4	65.4	-4	+2
Women	43.3	61.7	62.0	65.8	69.8	61.2	67.4	67.9	70.2	63.3	66.5	62.7	63.4	64.7	65.3	-5	+1
<b>Age</b>																	
Under 30	59.1	71.3	70.0	72.3	80.0	67.6	73.5	77.6	77.8	74.5	78.7	70.6	72.9	72.9	76.2	-2	+3
30–55	44.2	64.8	62.5	67.9	72.6	61.8	69.5	69.4	72.0	65.2	68.5	63.9	67.7	68.6	69.2	-3	+1
Over 55	37.4	54.8	58.3	62.1	65.2	57.4	60.5	61.1	64.6	58.7	57.2	58.1	56.9	55.4	56.3	-8	+1
<b>Education</b>																	
Secondary and incomplete secondary	41.7	58.4	57.4	57.2	64.8	56.1	62.1	64.6	68.5	58.9	62.7	57.2	60.2	61.6	63.2	-5	+2
Secondary vocational	46.4	64.6	63.6	66.7	72.2	63.5	66.7	68.3	71.0	65.8	64.3	63.7	65.1	63.7	65.1	-6	+1
Higher and incomplete higher	53.3	68.6	68.3	77.0	76.8	63.3	71.5	69.5	70.8	67.5	70.6	67.3	67.3	68.2	67.4	-3	-1
<b>Income group</b>																	
Bottom 20%	28.4	51.6	45.3	51.5	57.3	43.4	54.6	57.0	55.4	50.7	55.4	46.2	47.8	50.4	49.6	-6	-1
Middle 60%	45.5	62.9	65.3	68.7	71.9	62.6	67.3	68.1	73.2	65.9	66.1	62.2	64.4	65.7	67.9	-5	+2
Top 20%	64.6	74.9	75.3	81.1	82.9	75.6	79.9	78.3	77.0	78.7	74.9	73.8	78.2	72.1	70.3	-7	-2
<b>Territory</b>																	
Vologda	49.2	63.1	67.1	73.6	71.0	60.9	60.3	59.8	61.5	55.7	57.2	54.5	56.0	57.8	60.8	-1	+3
Cherepovets	50.8	68.1	71.2	76.2	75.8	60.4	71.0	71.2	74.6	67.9	69.1	65.9	68.4	67.9	66.4	-8	-2
Districts	42.2	61.6	57.1	59.8	68.7	61.4	67.8	69.5	72.3	66.6	68.5	65.3	66.6	65.6	67.3	-5	+2
Oblast	46.2	63.6	63.1	67.3	71.2	61.0	66.6	67.4	70.1	64.1	65.7	62.6	64.3	64.1	65.3	-5	+1

## RESUME

According to the results of another round of public opinion monitoring, there were no significant changes in the dynamics of public sentiment during the period from June to August 2023:

- ✓ the assessments of the work of the authorities remain stable (the level of approval of the RF President's work is 60–61%; the Prime Minister – 49–50%; the Vologda Oblast Governor – 49–50%);
- ✓ people's subjective perception of the dynamics of their financial situation remains at the same level (the share of the “poor and extremely poor” is 42–43%; “middle-income people” – 44%);
- ✓ as in June 2023, the majority of Vologda Oblast residents characterize their mood as “normal, good, fine” (67%) and believe that “everything is not so bad” or “it's hard to live, but we can endure it” (77%).

Perhaps, in today's conditions, when the military actions to achieve the goals of the SMO are in progress, and terrorist attacks (though unsuccessful) took place on the territory of Russia, the preservation of the stability of public sentiment should be interpreted in a positive way.

We should note the fact that during the period of the survey, extremely resonant events happened on June 23–24, when the private military company Wagner Group, headed by businessman E. Prigozhin, attempted an armed revolt, and, as the President noted, Russia was actually on the verge of a “civil war”<sup>5</sup>. Many experts<sup>6</sup> drew attention to the fact that this could be the result of internal contradictions in the system of public administration; the result of the struggle of clans and groups in Russia's ruling elites, and this, of course, does not speak in favor of the current system of public administration, since it shows its vulnerabilities.

However (at least two months after the revolt), it can be stated that this fact does not significantly affect the dynamics of public opinion regarding the work of the authorities and, in particular, the RF President, the “chief arbiter” of this system.

It is also very important to emphasize that, despite the presence of economic sanctions imposed by the countries of the Collective West and the objective need to pay increased attention to the development of the military-industrial complex in the conditions of the SMO, the authorities manage to pursue the trend for the development of the economy in general and promotion of people's welfare in particular. As Vladimir Putin noted at the August meeting of the Council for Strategic Development and National Projects, “despite the pessimistic forecasts – let's be honest – that were and are still being made by analysts, primarily in the West, despite all these forecasts, Russia was one of the world's top five economies in 2022... Last year, real wages, unfortunately, fell one percent, while in the first half of this year they have already gone up 4.7 percent...in real terms, that is, taking into account inflation... The average salaries in the economy increased by comparable rates of 4.2 percent”<sup>7</sup>.

Statistics data for the Vologda Oblast also indicate certain, though insignificant, but positive changes in the dynamics of the standard of living: for example, in January – May 2023, the average monthly salary in the region increased by 7.9% compared to the same period in 2022; real wages increased by 1.6%;

<sup>5</sup> Vladimir Putin's address to the service personnel from the units of the Defense Ministry, the Federal Service of National Guard Troops, the Federal Security Service, the Interior Ministry and the Federal Guard Service, which ensured law and order during the mutiny. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/71533>

<sup>6</sup> See, for example: A month has passed since Prigozhin's rebellion. Available at: [https://www.ng.ru/editorial/2023-07-23/2\\_8780\\_red.html?ysclid=lktc0xzc7b221294017](https://www.ng.ru/editorial/2023-07-23/2_8780_red.html?ysclid=lktc0xzc7b221294017); Skorobogaty P. (deputy editor-in-chief, editor of the policy department of the Ekspert journal, expert at the Center for Applied Research and Programs). Video interview in the “Neutral Zone” program (video blog of Israeli journalist A. Waldman).

Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vt2qH1Sk4dc>

<sup>7</sup> Vladimir Putin's speech at the meeting of the Council for Strategic Development and National Projects. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/72084>

consumer price index for food goods in the 2nd quarter of 2023 amounted to 99.6% compared to the 1st quarter (although it should be noted that consumer prices for non-food goods and services increased by 1.5 and 3.1%, respectively, in the 2nd quarter compared to the 1st quarter)<sup>8</sup>.

In general, we can state that the dynamics of self-assessments of the financial situation remains stable, and this concerns both the current characteristics of the standard of living and the assessment of the prospects for the future of the Russian economy (as evidenced by the consumer sentiment index, which in June – August 2023 did not change and amounted to 84–85 points). And this is very important in today's difficult conditions for the country.

However, characterizing the dynamics of social sentiment, it would be wrong and short-sighted to ignore a number of alarming points, which are also reflected in the results of monitoring public opinion. In particular:

✓ in August 2023, for the first time in the last 11 months (since October 2022), the proportion of people subjectively classifying themselves as “poor and extremely poor” residents of the Vologda Oblast increased slightly (from October 2022 to June 2023 it decreased by 3 percentage points (from 44 to 41%), from June to August 2023 it amounted to 42–43%);

✓ since February 2023, the share of people who consider the President's work to boost the economy and increase citizens' welfare (35–36%) remains stable; however, over the previous 5 months (from August to December 2022), positive dynamics were noted – their share increased by 3 percentage points (from 32 to 35%);

✓ in addition, over the past 12 months (from August 2022 to August 2023), in fact, there has been no improvement in social mood indicators in any of the main socio-demographic groups. On the contrary, in 10 of the 14 analyzed categories, the proportion of people who positively characterize their daily emotional state decreased, and in some – very significantly (among people over 55 years old – by 8 percentage points (from 64 to 56%), among residents of Cherepovets – by 8 percentage points (from 74 to 66%), people, who according to self-estimates of income belong to the category of 20% of the most affluent residents of the region – by 7 p.p. (from 77 to 70%).

Thus, according to the results of another round of the survey, we can point out that a number of alarming trends are observed in the dynamics of public sentiment, although in general, population estimates remain stable in key monitoring indicators.

At the same time, we should note that the approaching autumn-winter period (which is traditionally accompanied by an increase in utility tariffs, the end of vacations and deterioration of climatic conditions) creates a certain risk of deterioration of public sentiment, and this indicates the need for increased attention of authorities at all levels during the implementation of measures to maintain the standard of living and quality of life of citizens.

And, of course, the development of the situation on the battlefield and the effectiveness of the Russian armed forces in achieving the goals of the SMO remain key factors influencing the nature of public sentiment for the last almost 20 months (from February 2022 to August 2023). As the head of state noted, “there is nothing more important now” and “the security of our country and the future of statehood depend on it”<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Socio-economic situation in the Vologda Oblast in January – June 2023: Report. Vologdatastat. Vologda, 2023.

<sup>9</sup> Vladimir Putin's speech at the Victory Day Parade. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/71104>