

# MONITORING OF PUBLIC OPINION

DOI: 10.15838/esc.2023.6.90.17

## 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 Region<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 (December 2023) and for the period from December 2022 to December 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 October – December 2023, the approval level for the RF President's work did not change significantly and amounted to 62–63%. The share of negative judgments was 21–23%<sup>3</sup>.

Over the past 12 months (from December 2022 to December 2023), the share of positive assessments of the activities of the head of state has not changed significantly (60–62%).

However, in general, in 2023, compared with the average annual data for 2022, there is an increase in support for the work of the head of state (by 4 percentage points, from 57 to 61%)<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 Region's adult population. Sampling error does not exceed 3%.

More information on the results of VoIRC RAS surveys is available at <http://www.vsc.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 +/- 3 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 December 2023 and the results of the monitoring round conducted in December 2022 are given in the frame, as well as the average data for 2023 compared to the average annual data for 2022.

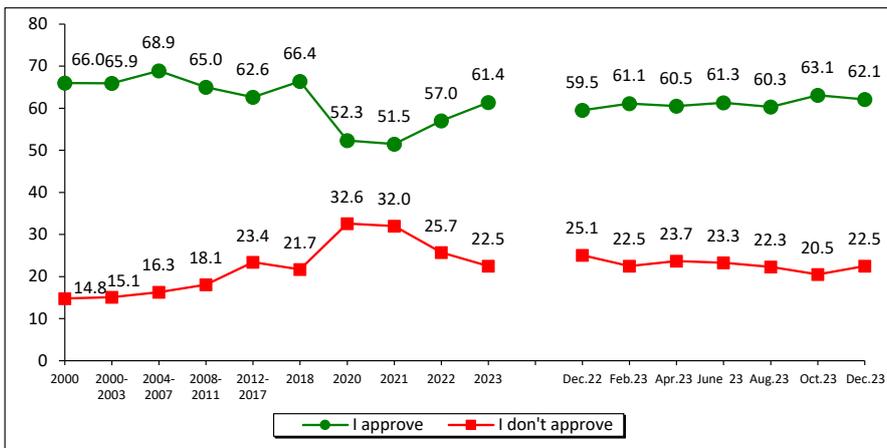
How would you assess the current work of...? (% of respondents)

Answer option	Dynamics of the average annual data										Dynamics of the data for the last 7 surveys							Dynamics (+/-), Dec., 2023 to	
	2000	2007	2011	2012	2018	2020	2021	2022	2023	Dec. 2022	Feb. 2023	Apr. 2023	June 2023	Aug. 2023	Oct. 2023	Dec. 2023	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023	
<b>RF President</b>																			
I approve	66.0	75.3	58.7	51.7	66.4	52.3	51.5	57.0	61.4	59.5	61.1	60.5	61.3	60.3	63.1	62.1	+3	-1	
I don't approve	14.8	11.5	25.5	32.6	21.7	32.6	32.0	25.7	22.5	25.1	22.5	23.7	23.3	22.3	20.5	22.5	-3	+2	
<b>Chairman of the RF Government</b>																			
I approve	-	-	59.3	49.6	48.0	38.7	39.9	45.4	50.1	50.1	49.3	48.3	49.2	50.8	51.3	51.9	+2	+1	
I don't approve	-	-	24.7	33.3	31.6	40.4	37.6	32.0	27.6	29.9	27.9	28.1	27.1	26.1	28.6	27.9	-2	-1	
<b>Vologda Region Governor*</b>																			
I approve	56.1	55.8	45.7	41.9	38.4	35.0	36.7	40.9	48.1	45.5	47.1	48.3	48.7	48.1	47.5	49.1	+4	+2	
I don't approve	19.3	22.2	30.5	33.3	37.6	42.5	40.5	35.8	30.9	35.2	33.0	32.3	30.7	29.7	29.7	29.9	-5	0	

Wording of the question: "How do you assess the current work of ...?"\*

October 31, 2023, Presidential Decree 814 "On the Acting Governor of the Vologda Region" marked the resignation of the Governor of the Vologda Region O.A. Kuvshinnikov at his own request. G.Yu. Filimonov was appointed acting head of the region. Nevertheless, in a survey conducted in November – December 2023, residents of the region were asked to evaluate the activities of O.A. Kuvshinnikov (due to the insufficient duration of G.Yu. Filimonov's work as Acting Governor). Residents of the region will be asked to evaluate G.Yu. Filimonov's work starting from the first round of the monitoring next year (February 2024).

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



Dynamics (+/-), December 2023 to		
Answer option	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
I approve	+2	-1
I don't approve	-2	+2

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.

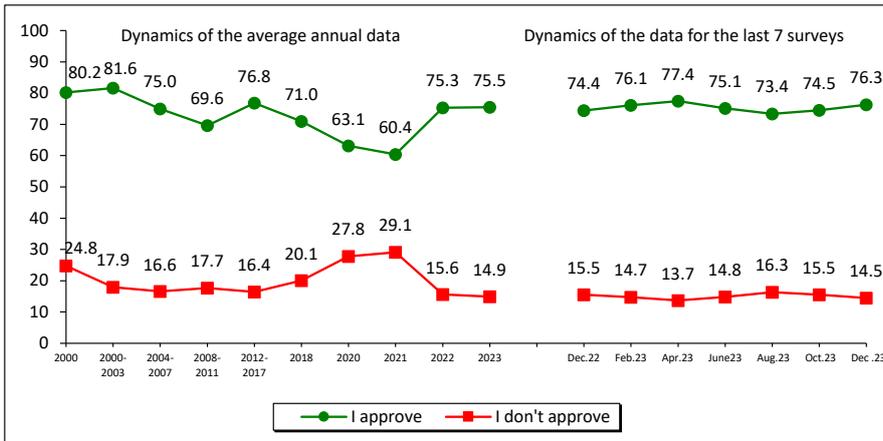
For reference:

According to VCIOM, the level of approval of the RF President's work for the period from October to the 1st half of December 2023 amounted to 75–76%. The proportion of negative reviews was 15–16%.

The population's estimates are slightly better than in December 2022 (the approval level increased by 2 percentage points during this period (from 74 to 76%).

At the same time, on average in 2023, Russians' support for the work of the head of state remained at the level of the average annual data for 2022 (75%).

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



Dynamics (+/-), December 2023 to		
Answer option	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
I approve	+2	+1
I don't approve	-1	-1

Wording of the 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/>

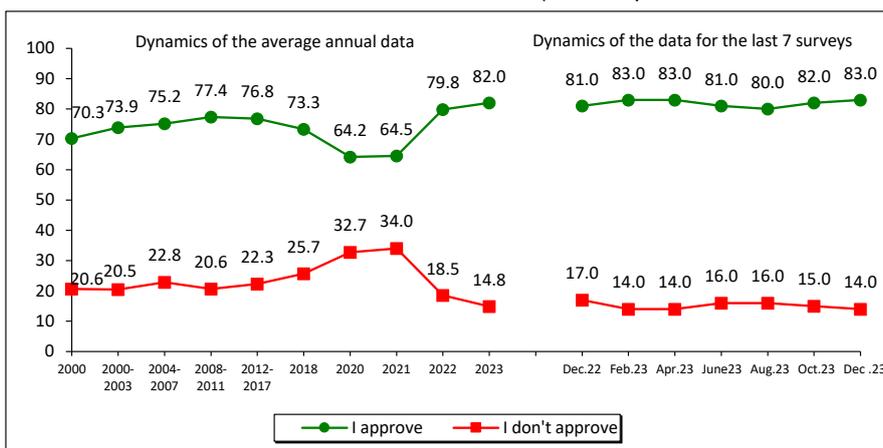
Data for December 2023 represent the average for three surveys: (December 3, 2023, December 10, 2023, and December 17, 2023).

*According to Levada-Center\*, the share of positive assessments of the RF President's activities in October – December 2023 amounted to 82–83%. The share of negative ratings was 14–15%.*

*From December 2022 to December 2023, the level of approval of the activities of the head of state increased slightly (by 2 percentage points, from 81 to 83%). The share of negative assessments decreased by 3 percentage points (from 17 to 14 percentage points).*

*Also in 2023, support for the work of the RF President continued to grow according to the average annual data: in 2021 – 65%, in 2022 – 80% (increased by 15 percentage points), in 2023 – 82% (increased by another 2 percentage points, compared to 2022).*

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



Dynamics (+/-), December 2023 to		
Answer option	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
I approve	+2	+1
I don't approve	-3	-1

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

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

The latest data are as of December 2023.

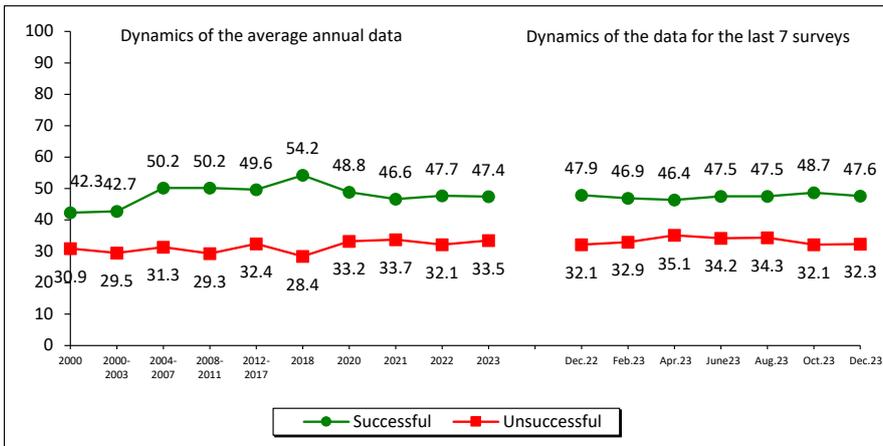
\* Included in the register of foreign agents.

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

In October – December 2023, the share of residents of the region who consider the actions of the RF President to strengthen Russia’s international positions to be successful amounted to 48–49%. The proportion of those who hold the opposite point of view is significantly less (32%).

Compared to December 2022, as well as the average for 2022–2023, population estimates have not changed.

Strengthening Russia’s international position

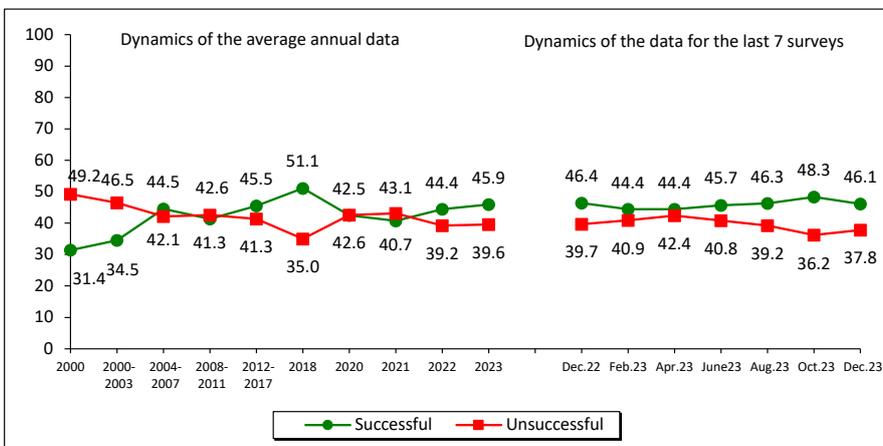


Answer option	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
Successful	0	-1
Unsuccessful	0	0

Over the past two months, the opinion of residents of the region about the activities of the head of state to restore order in the country has remained the same: the share of positive judgments was 46–48%, negative – 36–38%

There have been no noticeable changes in the dynamics of population estimates over the past 12 months and on average for 2022–2023.

Imposing order in the country



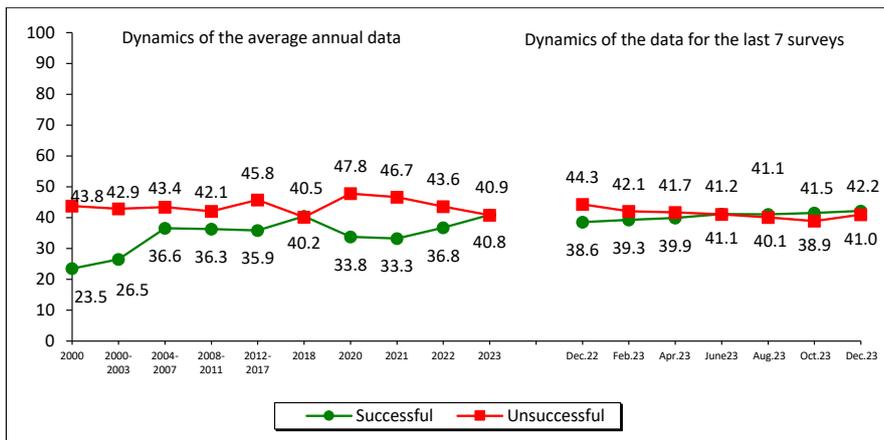
Answer option	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
Successful	0	-2
Unsuccessful	-2	+2

In October – December 2023, the share of residents of the region who positively assess the RF President’s efforts to protect democracy and strengthen citizens’ freedoms amounted to 42%; the proportion of opposite opinions was 39–41%.

The estimates of the population are slightly better than in December 2022 (the share of positive characteristics increased by 3 percentage points, from 39 to 42%).

Positive changes are also observed on average in 2023 compared to 2022: there has been an increase in the proportion of positive judgments by 4 percentage points (from 37 to 41%).

Protecting democracy and strengthening citizens’ freedoms



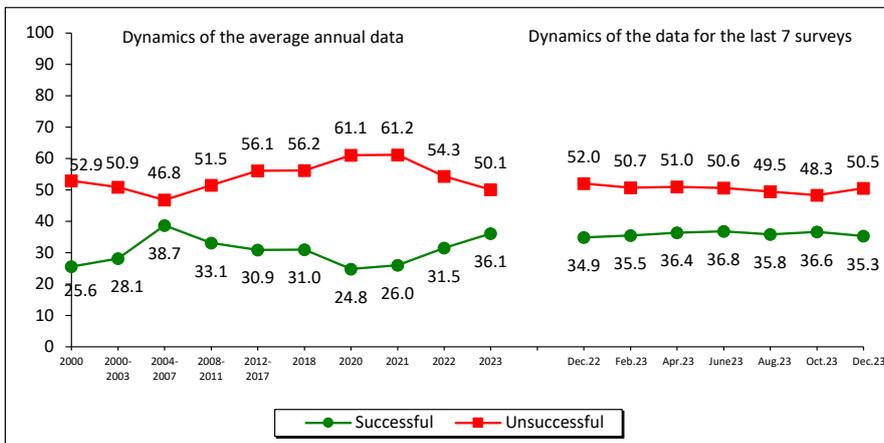
Answer option	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
Successful	+4	+1
Unsuccessful	-3	+2

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 35–37%; however, there has been a slight increase in the proportion of negative characteristics (by 3 percentage points, from 48 to 51%).

For the period from December 2022 to December 2023, population estimates have not changed significantly.

At the same time, on average, in 2023, compared with 2022, positive trends are noted: the share of those who consider that the head of state is successfully solving economic problems increased by 4 percentage points (from 32 to 36%); the proportion of residents holding the opposite opinion decreased by 4 percentage points (from 54 to 50%).

Economic recovery, increase in citizens’ welfare



Answer option	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
Successful	0	-1
Unsuccessful	-2	+3

In October – December 2023, the structure of political preferences of the residents of the region remained stable. The share of people whose interests are expressed by the United Russia party was 42%, the Communist Party – 10%, LDPR – 7–8%, Just Russia – 4–5%, New People – 2%.

From December 2022 to December 2023, the level of support for United Russia increased (by 4 percentage points, from 38 to 42%), and the proportion of people who believe that none of the parliamentary parties expresses their interests decreased (by 3 percentage points, from 30 to 27%).

Similar positive changes in the dynamics of public opinion are observed on average in 2023 compared to 2022.

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. 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	2023	Dec. 2022	Feb. 2023	Apr. 2023	June 2023	Aug. 2023	Oct. 2023	Dec. 2023	Dec. 2022	Oct. 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	39.5	38.3	39.1	37.6	39.3	39.0	40.3	41.7	+3	+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	9.6	9.3	9.5	9.3	9.5	9.8	9.8	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	7.0	6.3	5.9	6.9	6.7	7.8	7.9	6.5	0	-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	4.4	4.7	4.6	4.7	4.7	4.5	4.5	3.5	-1	-1
New People*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.3	2.3	1.5	1.9	1.5	1.3	2.1	2.1	2.3	1.5	1.9	0	0
Other	0.9	1.8	1.9	-	2.1	0.3	-	0.7	0.5	-	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0	0
None	29.6	17.8	29.4	-	31.3	29.4	-	28.5	34.2	-	33.9	30.6	26.5	29.9	28.0	28.0	26.5	25.2	24.6	26.6	-3	+2
I find it difficult to answer	20.3	21.2	13.2	-	11.7	12.0	-	11.2	11.1	-	10.0	10.1	11.1	9.9	11.4	11.4	11.4	11.2	11.4	9.9	0	-2

\* 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.

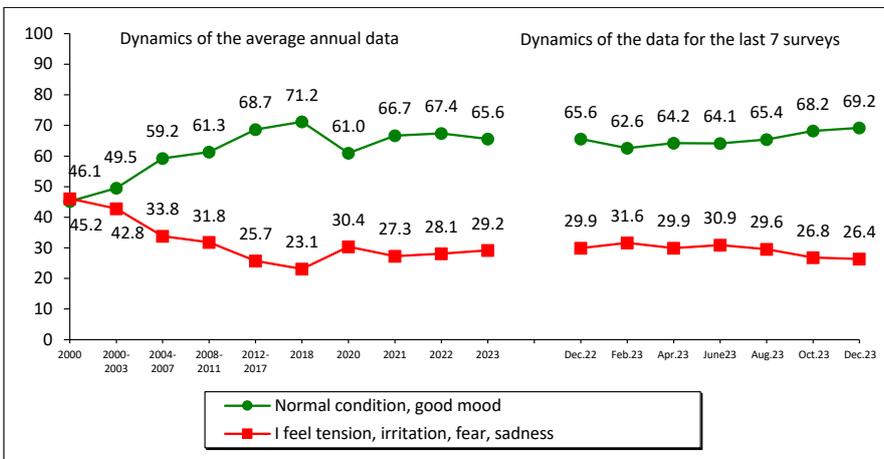
Estimation of social condition (% of respondents; VoIRC RAS data)

Over the past two months, the share of positive assessments of social mood has amounted to 68–69%; the proportion of negative characteristics was 26–27%

Over the past 12 months, the proportion of people describing their daily emotional state as “normal, fine” increased by 3 percentage points (from 66 to 69%). The proportion of those who experience mainly “tension, irritation, fear, sadness” decreased by 4 percentage points (from 30 to 26%).

On average, population estimates have not changed significantly in 2023 compared to 2022.

Social mood

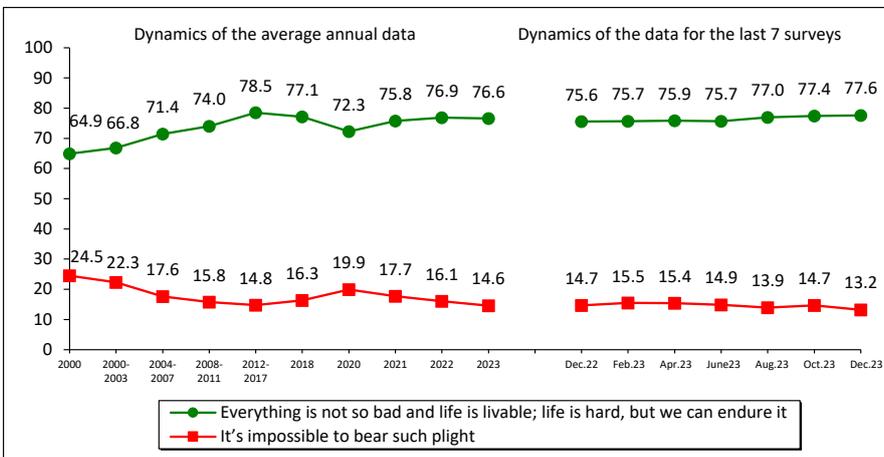


Answer option	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
Usual condition good mood	+3	+1
I feel tension, irritation, fear, sadness	-3	0

The stock of patience remains at a consistently high level: in October – December 2023, 77% of Vologda Region residents noted that “everything is not so bad and life is livable”. The share of those who believe that “it’s impossible to bear such plight” amounted to 13–15%.

Similar estimates of residents of the region were noted in December 2022, as well as on average for 2022–2023.

Stock of patience

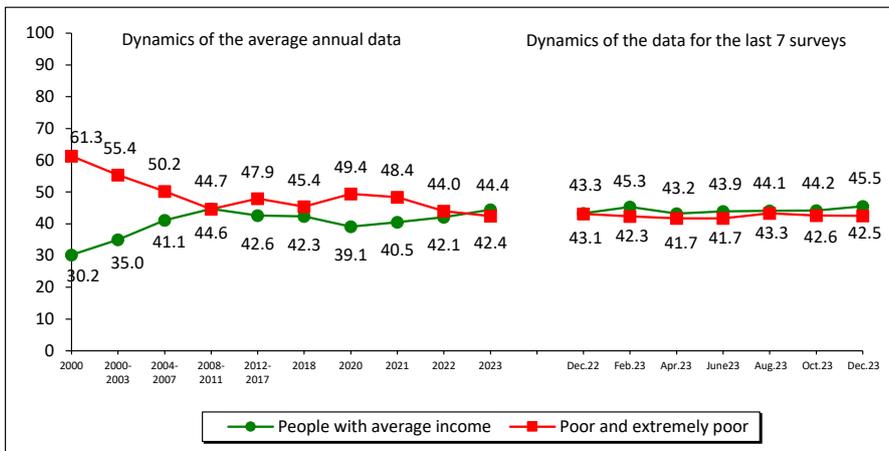


Answer option	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
Everything is not so bad and life is livable; life is hard, but we can endure it	+2	0
It's impossible to bear such plight	-2	-2

Like in October 2023, in December 2023 the proportion of residents of the region subjectively classifying themselves as “middle-income” people was 44–46%. The share of those who classify themselves as “poor and extremely poor” has not changed (43%).

Over the past 12 months, the share of “middle-income” people has increased by 3 percentage points (from 43 to 46%). On average, in 2023, compared with 2022, it increased by 2 percentage points (from 42 to 44%).

Social self-identification



Answer option	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
People with average income	+3	+1
Poor and extremely poor	-1	0

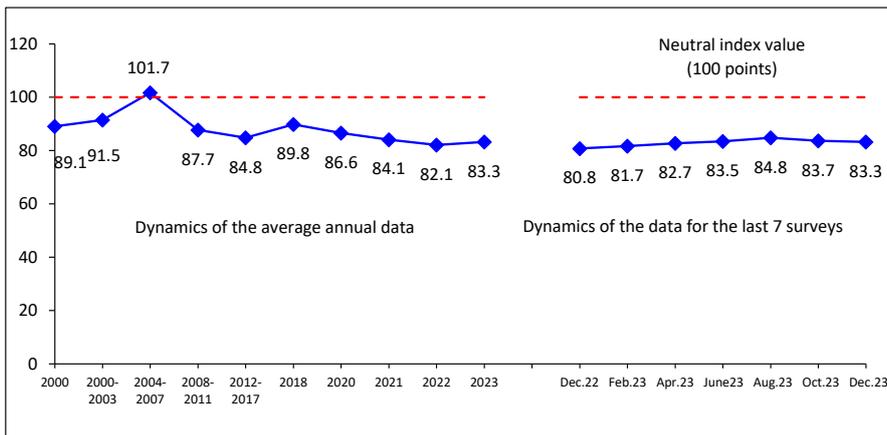
Wording of the question: “What category do you belong to, in your opinion?”

The consumer sentiment index (CSI) in October – December 2023 amounted to 83–84 points.

This is slightly higher than the value of the CSI in December 2022 (by 2 percentage points).

However, on average, there were no significant changes in the dynamics of the CSI in 2022–2023 (82–83 points).

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



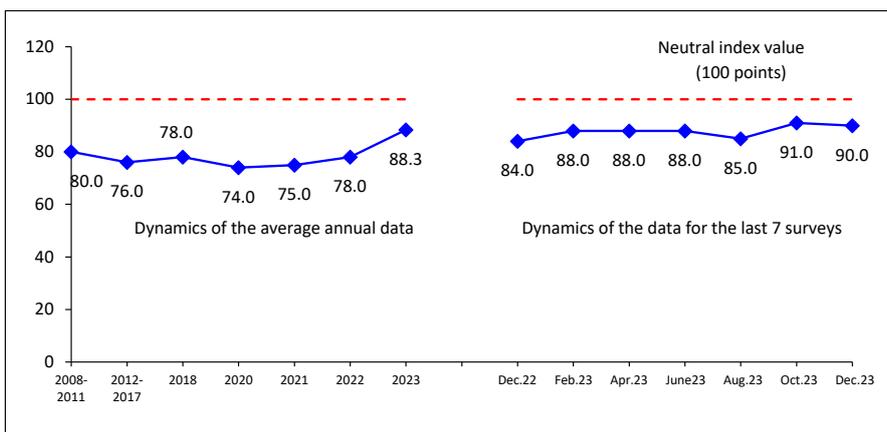
Dynamics (+/-), December 2023 to		
CSI	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
Index value, points	+2	0

*For reference:*

According to the latest data from the all-Russian surveys of Levada-Center\* (for the period from October to December 2023), the consumer sentiment index amounted to 90–91 points.

Tangible positive changes have been observed over the past 12 months (the CSI increased by 6 points, from 84 to 90 p.); as well as on average for the period from 2022 to 2023 (the CSI increased by 10 points, from 78 to 88 p.)

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



Dynamics (+/-), December 2023 to		
CSI	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023
Index value, points	+6	+1

\* The index is calculated since 2008.

The latest data are as of December 2023.

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

\* Included in the register of foreign agents.

During the period from October to December 2023, there were no significant changes in the dynamics of the share of positive assessments of social mood in any of the main socio-demographic groups. There is only a slight (by 3 percentage points) increase in the proportion of people who positively characterize their daily emotional state in the following groups: men (from 67 to 70%), people with higher and incomplete higher education (from 70 to 73%), as well as among those who, according to subjective self-assessments of their income level belonging to the top 20% (from 73 to 76%).

From December 2022 to December 2023, the share of positive assessments of social mood increased in 6 of the 14 main socio-demographic groups, especially among 60% of the middle-income people (by 7 percentage points, from 66 to 73%) and residents of Vologda (by 8 percentage points, from 57 to 65%).

On average, in 2023, compared with 2022, negative trends were noted in several categories (in 5 out of 14): the proportion of those who characterize their mood as “normal, fine” decreased by 3–4 percentage points among people under the age of 30 (from 78 to 75%) and among those aged over 55 (from 61 to 58%); in the group of people with secondary and incomplete secondary education (from 65 to 62%); in the category of 20% of the most affluent residents of the region (from 78 to 74%), as well as among residents of Cherepovets (from 71 to 68%). Tangible negative changes were also recorded among people who, according to self-estimates of their own income, belong to the category of 20% of the least well-off (by 7 percentage points, from 57 to 50%).

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. 2023 to	
	2000	2007	2011	2012	2018	2020	2021	2022	2023	Dec. 2022	Feb. 2023	Apr. 2023	June 2023	Aug. 2023	Oct. 2023	Dec. 2023	Dec. 2022	Oct. 2023	
<b>Sex</b>																			
Men	50.1	65.9	64.5	69.1	72.8	60.8	65.7	66.8	65.5	64.7	62.5	65.4	63.4	65.4	66.9	69.6	+5	+3	
Women	43.3	61.7	62.0	65.8	69.8	61.2	67.4	67.9	65.7	66.5	62.7	63.4	64.7	65.3	69.4	68.9	+2	-1	
<b>Age</b>																			
Under 30	59.1	71.3	70.0	72.3	80.0	67.6	73.5	77.6	75.0	78.7	70.6	72.9	72.9	76.2	79.4	78.0	-1	-1	
30–55	44.2	64.8	62.5	67.9	72.6	61.8	69.5	69.4	68.8	68.5	63.9	67.7	68.6	69.2	71.1	72.3	+4	+1	
Over 55	37.4	54.8	58.3	62.1	65.2	57.4	60.5	61.1	58.2	57.2	58.1	56.9	55.4	56.3	60.5	62.0	+5	+2	
<b>Education</b>																			
Secondary and incomplete secondary	41.7	58.4	57.4	57.2	64.8	56.1	62.1	64.6	62.0	62.7	57.2	60.2	61.6	63.2	64.4	65.5	+3	+1	
Secondary vocational	46.4	64.6	63.6	66.7	72.2	63.5	66.7	68.3	66.1	64.3	63.7	65.1	63.7	65.1	70.1	69.1	+5	-1	
Higher and incomplete higher	53.3	68.6	68.3	77.0	76.8	63.3	71.5	69.5	68.8	70.6	67.3	67.3	68.2	67.4	70.0	72.8	+2	+3	
<b>Income group</b>																			
Bottom 20%	28.4	51.6	45.3	51.5	57.3	43.4	54.6	57.0	50.1	55.4	46.2	47.8	50.4	49.6	52.5	54.2	-1	+2	
Middle 60%	45.5	62.9	65.3	68.7	71.9	62.6	67.3	68.1	67.4	66.1	62.2	64.4	65.7	67.9	71.0	73.1	+7	+2	
Top 20%	64.6	74.9	75.3	81.1	82.9	75.6	79.9	78.3	73.9	74.9	73.8	78.2	72.1	70.3	73.2	75.9	+1	+3	
<b>Territory</b>																			
Vologda	49.2	63.1	67.1	73.6	71.0	60.9	60.3	59.8	59.6	57.2	54.5	56.0	57.8	60.8	63.8	64.8	+8	+1	
Cherepovets	50.8	68.1	71.2	76.2	75.8	60.4	71.0	71.2	68.1	69.1	65.9	68.4	67.9	66.4	69.4	70.6	+2	+1	
Districts	42.2	61.6	57.1	59.8	68.7	61.4	67.8	69.5	67.7	68.5	65.3	66.6	65.6	67.3	70.2	70.9	+2	+1	
Region	46.2	63.6	63.1	67.3	71.2	61.0	66.6	67.4	65.6	65.7	62.6	64.3	64.1	65.3	68.3	69.2	+3	+1	

## RESUME

The results of the six rounds of the monitoring conducted in 2023 allow us to state the following (in general, for 2023 compared with the average annual data for 2022).

1. There is an increase in approval of the activities of authorities at all levels, as well as support for United Russia. The share of positive assessments of the RF President's work increased by 4 percentage points (from 57 to 61%); the Chairman of the Government – by 5 percentage points (from 45 to 50%), the Governor of the Vologda Region – by 7 percentage points (from 41 to 48%). The proportion of those who believe that their interests are reflected by the party in power increased by 5 percentage points (from 35 to 40%).

2. Since 2021, a stable background of people's psychological well-being has been maintained. The share of Vologda Region residents who characterize their daily emotional state as “normal, fine” is 66–67%. The proportion of those who believe that “everything is not so bad and life is livable; life is hard, but we can endure it” is 76–77%.

3. Positive trends are noted in the dynamics of the subjective assessments of own financial situation and the economic situation in the country by the region's residents. The share of those who classify themselves as “poor and extremely poor” has been gradually decreasing since 2020 (from 2020 to 2023 – by 7 percentage points, from 49 to 42%); the proportion of people of “average income” has increased by 5 percentage points over the past 4 years (from 39 to 44%). Also, since 2020, the share of those who consider the actions of the head of state to boost the economy and increase the welfare of the population to be successful continues to increase (from 2020 to 2023 – by 11 percentage points, from 25 to 36%).

Among the negative changes in the dynamics of public opinion over the period from 2022 to 2023, the following is noted.

1. Deterioration of the social mood in certain groups of citizens. First of all, attention is drawn to the decrease in the share of positive assessments among people who, according to self-estimates of income, belong to the group of 20% of the least well-off residents of the region (by 7 percentage points, from 57 to 50%).

2. So far, there is no tangible impact of the positive dynamics of self-assessment of the financial situation on consumer sentiment trends. The Consumer Sentiment Index remains stable, but still low: 81–83 points, which means that people's pessimistic forecasts about the future of the Russian economy and their personal material well-being prevail.

We should emphasize that all trends in public opinion revealed during the monitoring cannot currently be interpreted outside the context of the ongoing special military operation and the resulting aggravation of threats to national security for Russia from NATO countries (territorial, political, economic, etc.).

From this standpoint, we can say that the authorities manage quite successfully to maintain the stability of the social situation, which is primarily evidenced by the improvement of the psychological climate and the support of government bodies (at all levels).

The consistently low value of the CSI is explained by the fact that this index is largely a psychological indicator reflecting people's ideas about the future. Indeed, it remains extremely alarming, and, apparently, this situation will persist, at least until the goals of the SMO are achieved and until there are any tangible

signs of normalization of the international political situation. This, in our opinion, is related to the fact that the dynamics of the CSI practically does not reflect positive changes in indicators of self-assessment of own financial situation.

More attention should be paid to the deterioration of indicators of social well-being in certain socio-demographic groups (and not only among the bottom 20%). This requires further monitoring of the situation, as well as attention from the authorities in order to prevent the development of negative trends.

We should note that on March 17, 2024 (in less than three months), the presidential election will be held in Russia, in which the current President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, announced his participation on December 8, 2023<sup>5</sup>. In today's almost military situation, most experts have no doubt that Vladimir Putin's presidential term will continue, because "in the current situation, only Putin can make decisions"<sup>6</sup> and "there is a high demand in society for Putin to nominate his candidacy"<sup>7</sup>.

The latest conceptual speeches by the head of state (October 5 at the meeting of the Valdai International Discussion Club; November 28 at the plenary session of the World Russian People's Council, where Vladimir Putin stressed that "our fight for sovereignty and justice is, without exaggeration, one of national liberation, because we are upholding the security and well-being of our people, and our supreme historical right to be Russia – a strong independent power, a civilization state<sup>8</sup>), as well as the "direct line" with Russians held by the President on December 14, during which he once again noted the stability of the Russian economy<sup>9</sup> and the success of the actions of the Russian armed forces on the front line<sup>10</sup>, make it possible to verify the validity of expert assessments.

However, many experts say that unfriendly countries will try to interfere in the course of the election campaign, and use "various methods to compromise the vote"<sup>11</sup> for this purpose. In such conditions, the task of maintaining social stability and the financial situation of various social strata and groups becomes even more relevant (in addition, of course, to the main factor – the range of problems and threats posed to Russia by the Collective West).

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

<sup>5</sup> Conversation with participants in the ceremony marking Heroes of the Fatherland Day, December 8, 2023. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/72935>

<sup>6</sup> A. Asafov (first deputy Chairperson of the Commission of the Civic Chamber of the Russian Federation on public examination of draft laws (sources: Vzgl'yad. December 8, 2023. Available at: <https://vz.ru/politics/2023/12/8/1243372.html>; Sputnik-Abkhazia. December 11, 2023. Available at: <https://sputnik-abkhazia.ru/20231211/politolog-o-reshenii-putina-vydvigatsya-v-prezidenty-vazhno-i-dlya-abkhazii-1049411089.html>).

<sup>7</sup> E. Minchenko (president of the communication holding "Minchenko Consulting") (source: ibidem).

<sup>8</sup> Vladimir Putin's speech at the plenary session of the World Russian People's Council, November 28, 2023. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/72863>

<sup>9</sup> Vladimir Putin: "The margin of safety of the Russian economy is big enough so that we not just feel confident but also progress" (source: Results of the Year with Vladimir Putin, December 14, 2023. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/72994>)

<sup>10</sup> Vladimir Putin: "Let us be humble about it, but our Armed Forces are improving their position almost along the entire line of contact... and the position of our troops is improving along the entire line of contact (source: ibidem).

<sup>11</sup> A.A. Klimov (Deputy Chairperson of the Federation Council Committee on International Affairs, Chairperson of the Interim Commission of the Federation Council for the Protection of State Sovereignty and Prevention of Interference in the Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation) (source: *Parlamentskaya gazeta*. December 13, 2023. Available at: <https://dzen.ru/a/ZXmQc1V5niAfae6o>).