

POLITICAL CHANGE IN RUSSIA AND POST-SOVIET COUNTRIES: UNIQUE PATHS AND COMMON EUROPEAN TRENDS IN POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR

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Изменения в политических взглядах и поведении в России и пост-советских странах: специфические и общие европейские тренды в политических установках и поведении

CeSSI

WHAT IS ESS?

- “Европейское социальное исследование» - академический сравнительный проект в области социальных наук в Европе последнего десятилетия.
- Задачей ЕСС является получение систематических и максимально сравнимых с методологической и содержательной точки зрения данных о взглядах, ценностях и установках европейцев по основным сферам жизни – семья, политика, религия, социальная структура и социальное неравенство, качество жизни и т.п.
- У данных ESS – более 15 тысяч пользователей из 152 стран мира – ученые, студенты, политики, аналитики, журналисты и др.

- European Social Survey is academically-driven comparative survey in social science in Europe of the last decade.

The major aims of ESS are :

- to gather data about changing values, attitudes, attributes and behavior patterns within European polities.
- To improve the quality of comparative quantitative measurement in Europe and beyond
- To establish robust attitudinal indicators to stand alongside existing behavioral and factual indicators of national well-being

Users of ESS data are more than 15 thousand scientists, students, politicians, analyst, journalists and other from 152 countries (data of ESS web-resource)

METHODOLOGY OF ESS

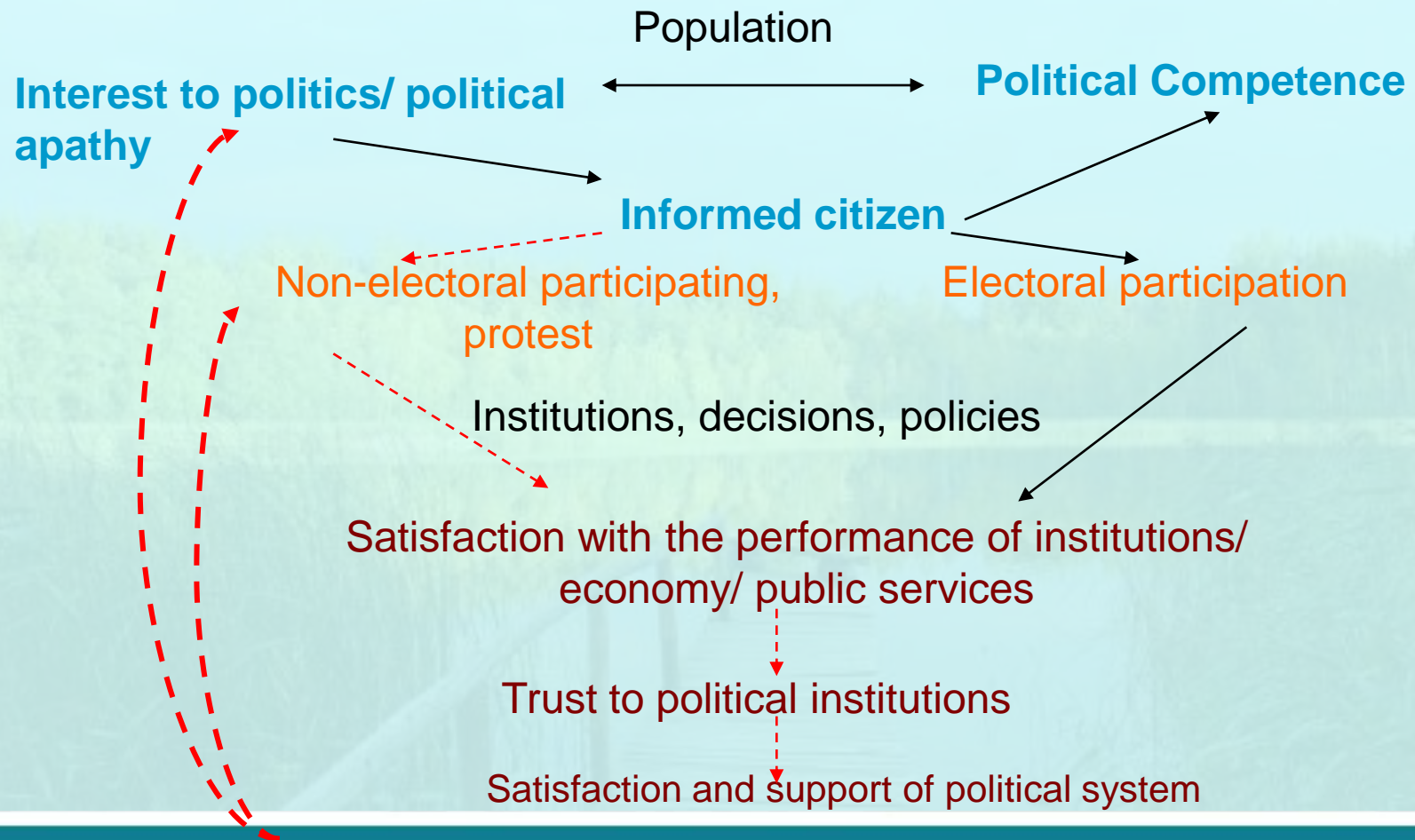
- Исследование проводится каждые два года с 2002 года. В России с 2006 года. До настоящего времени проведены 3 волны
- Исследование во всех странах построено на принципах максимальной сравнимости, в том числе в области переводов инструментария на более 15 языков, построения выборки, методов опроса, процедур контроля качества, обработки и представления данных
- Во всех странах исследование проводится методом личного интервью на дому у респондентов (интервью около 60 минут) по случайной вероятностной выборке населения 15 лет и старше
- Объем выборки в России - 2500 человек (в разных странах 800-3000 человек)
- Biennial survey since 2002. First time in Russia – in 2006, 3 waves till moment
- Maximization of comparability on all stages of the project – from questionnaire design, translation into 15 languages, sample design, data collection, quality control and data representation
- Data collection method – personal interview at respondent's home (about 60 minutes in length) based on probability random sample on population 15 years old and over
- Sample size in Russia is 2500 interviews. In different countries – from 800 to 3000 interview depending on sample design method.

ESS about 00's in Europe (5 rounds of the survey)

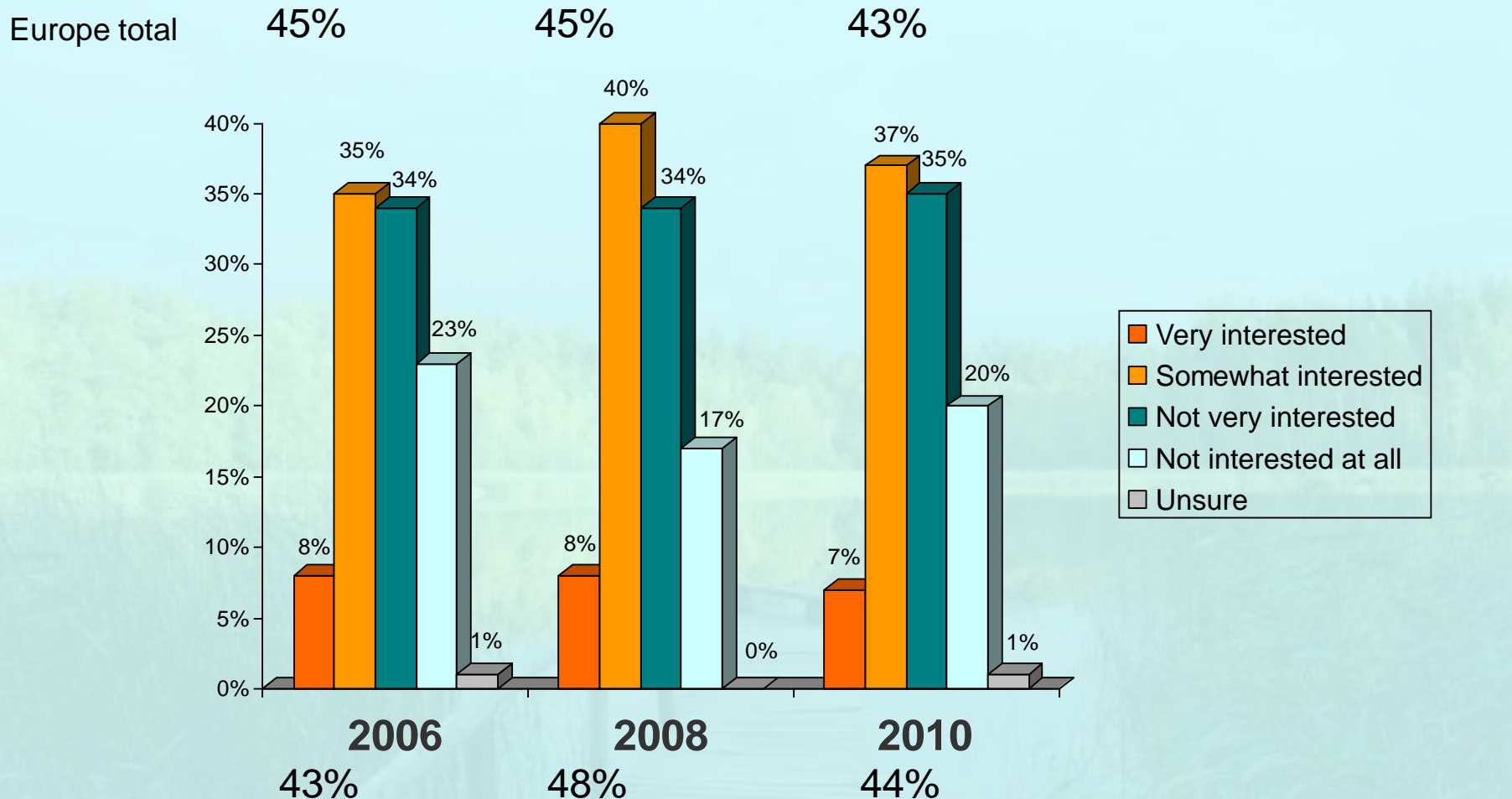
- Regardless of integration process in Europe in recent decades, the differences in attitudes and behavior pattern in different parts of Europe is still very large and the gap between nations does not diminish in recent 10 years by very many parameters
- The strong division line between 'Western' and 'Eastern Europe' is still very visible especially in political attitudes and behavior, socio-economic areas, social attitudes
- The division line from South/ North is also present (especially in demographic and family behavior patterns, religious views)
- Russia develops in line with many European trends
- After turbulent 90s the decade of 2000 were the time of relative stabilization in Europe in respect of political attitudes and relation of people with political system (especially in Eastern Europe), household composition and family relations, socio-economic and profession position and attitudes.

Political Values and Behaviour

Social demographic characteristics

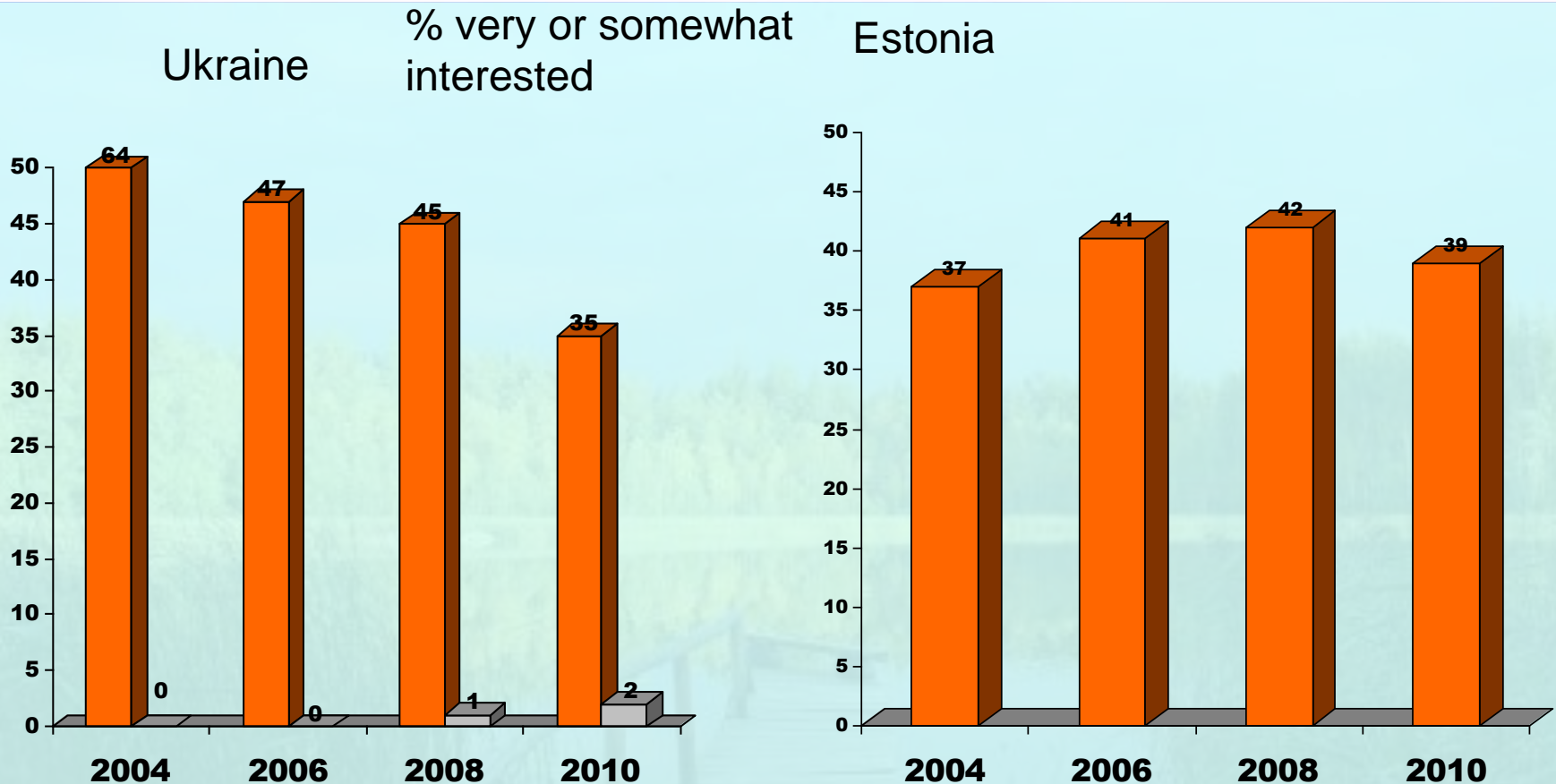


Interest to Politics ESS Russia



Question: How interested would you say you are in politics (1-4 point scale, extremes are labeled 1 very interested, 4 not at all interested)

Interest to Politics ESS Ukraine and Estonia



Consumption of Traditional Media for political information - Russia

	2006	2008	2010
TV			
Mean (min)	36,6 min	39,1 min	36,9 min
% penetration	84%	87%	86%
Radio			
Mean (min)	12,5 min	13,5 min	10,6 min
% penetration	35%	37%	32%
Press			
Mean (min)	11,4 min	11,7 min	9,3 min
% penetration	45%	47%	41%

Question: On an average weekday, how much of your time watching television is spent watching news or programmes about politics and current affairs? On an average weekday, how much of your time listening to the radio is spent listening to news or programmes about politics and current affairs? On an average weekday, how much time, in total, do you spend reading the newspapers? And how much of this time is spent reading about politics and current affairs? (0-7 point scale, extremes are labeled 0 No time at all, 7 More than 3 hours)

Consumption of Traditional Media for political information – Russia

TV

Usage of TV for political information is slightly age dependant – it is highest (around 90%) among people over 35 years old and lower in younger age groups (min is 70%). Moreover in youngest age group (15-24) TV usages for getting political news declined since 2008. In all other age groups it is stable.

Usage of TV for political information is only weekly related to age and it is used almost equally by people with different level of education stably over the last years.

Press

Usage of press is much for strongly age dependent – the highest among people over 35 years old (50% of penetration) and the time spend for it gradually increase with age (from 10 to 15 min in average). The decline of usage among all age groups except of people over 60 years old. The time spend for it also decreases.

Usage press for political information is strongly dependent on education – penetration along with time spent for it. But it also shows slow decline especially among medium and high educated groups.

Radio

Radio is used equally by people of all age groups except of older people where penetration is higher. The time spend for consumption radio news is twice higher among people over 60 years old than among any other group. But in recent years it is rapidly decline among older generation.

Consumption of New Media Internet- Russia

	2006				2008				2010			
	Do not use	Rarely	Regularly	DK	Do not use	Rarely	Regularly	DK	Do not use	Rarely	Regularly	DK
Russia	79%	10%	10%	1%	69%	9%	21%	1%	50%	11%	39%	1%
Age group												
15-24	54%	21%	24%	2%	42%	15%	43%	0%	15%	8%	76%	0%
25-34	69%	15%	15%	0%	52%	11%	35%	1%	28%	11%	61%	0%
35-44	81%	11%	8%	1%	64%	11%	24%	1%	40%	17%	43%	0%
45-59	89%	5%	5%	1%	79%	9%	10%	1%	59%	14%	25%	1%
60+	96%	0%	1%	2%	96%	2%	2%	1%	92%	3%	4%	0%
Education												
Low	85%	6%	7%	1%	80%	5%	14%	1%	58%	7%	34%	1%
Medium	83%	10%	6%	1%	77%	9%	15%	0%	59%	12%	28%	1%
High	61%	17%	19%	2%	47%	15%	37%	1%	27%	15%	58%	0%

How often do you use the internet, the World Wide Web or e-mail – whether at home or at work – for your personal use? (0-7 point scale, extremes are labeled 0 no access at home or work, 7 every day)

Consumption of Media and Interest to Politics

	2006	2008	2010
Interest to Politics	Mean time for all traditional media		
Very interested	127,5 min	134,4 min	111,5 min
Somewhat interested	75,1 min	76,7 min	71,1 min
Not very interested	51,0 min	53,2 min	48,8 min
Not interested at all	28,8 min	26,3 min	27,2 min
Unsure/ DK	55,9 min	44,6 min	44,6 min
Interest to Politics	Internet – use regularly		
Very interested	11%	26%	36%
Somewhat interested	10%	22%	41%
Not very interested	10%	18%	38%
Not interested at all	10%	19%	37%
Unsure/ DK	7%	16%	17%

Participation

- Participation in new democracies in Europe is much lower (around 25%) than in old democracies (over 50%).
- This gap is not getting smaller for the last 10 years (according to ESS data)
- Non electoral participation in old democracies is relatively stable. The participation in new democracies even declining.
- In Russia 21% of surveyed population participated in any forms of non-electoral activities (last 12 months) in round 3 (2006), 19% in 2008 and 19% in 2010. For comparison 21% participation in Ukraine, diminished from 39% to 31% in Slovakia, from 27% to 22% in Slovenia, round 20% in Hungary, in 34% in Czech Republic, 18% in Bulgaria. The only country is increased participation in this region is Estonia (from 18% to 29%).

Participation in politics and governing - Russia

	2006	2008	2010
PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS (any form of non-electoral participation)			
Participate	20%	18%	19%
Did not participate	80%	82%	81%
Participate – Europe total	39%	36%	37%
PARTICIPATION IN DIFFERENT FORMS ON NON-ELECTORAL ACTIVITY			
Actively participate (2 actions and more)	7%	8%	8%
Moderately participate (1 action)	13%	10%	11%
Do not participate at all	80%	82%	81%
TYPES OF PARTICIPATION			
Participate in “active form”	10%	11%	11%
Participate in “passive” forms	10%	7%	8%
Do not participate at all	80%	82%	81%

Question: There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? Have you... contacted a politician, government or local government official? ...worked in a political party or action group? ...worked in another organisation or association? ...worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker? ...signed a petition? ...taken part in a lawful public demonstration? ...boycotted certain products?

Participation in politics and governing – comparing with neighboring countries

PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS (any form of non-electoral participation)

	2004	2006	2008	2010
Estonia (Participate)	18%	21%	24%	28%
Russia (Participate)		20%	18%	19%
Ukraine (Participate)	33%	19%	20%	16%

Interest to Politics and Participation

	2006	2008	2010
	% participated at least in one action	% participated at least in one action	% participated at least in one action
Very interested	37%	39%	38%
Somewhat interested	25%	23%	26%
Not very interested	18%	12%	14%
Not interested at all	9%	8%	9%
Unsure/ DK	30%		16%

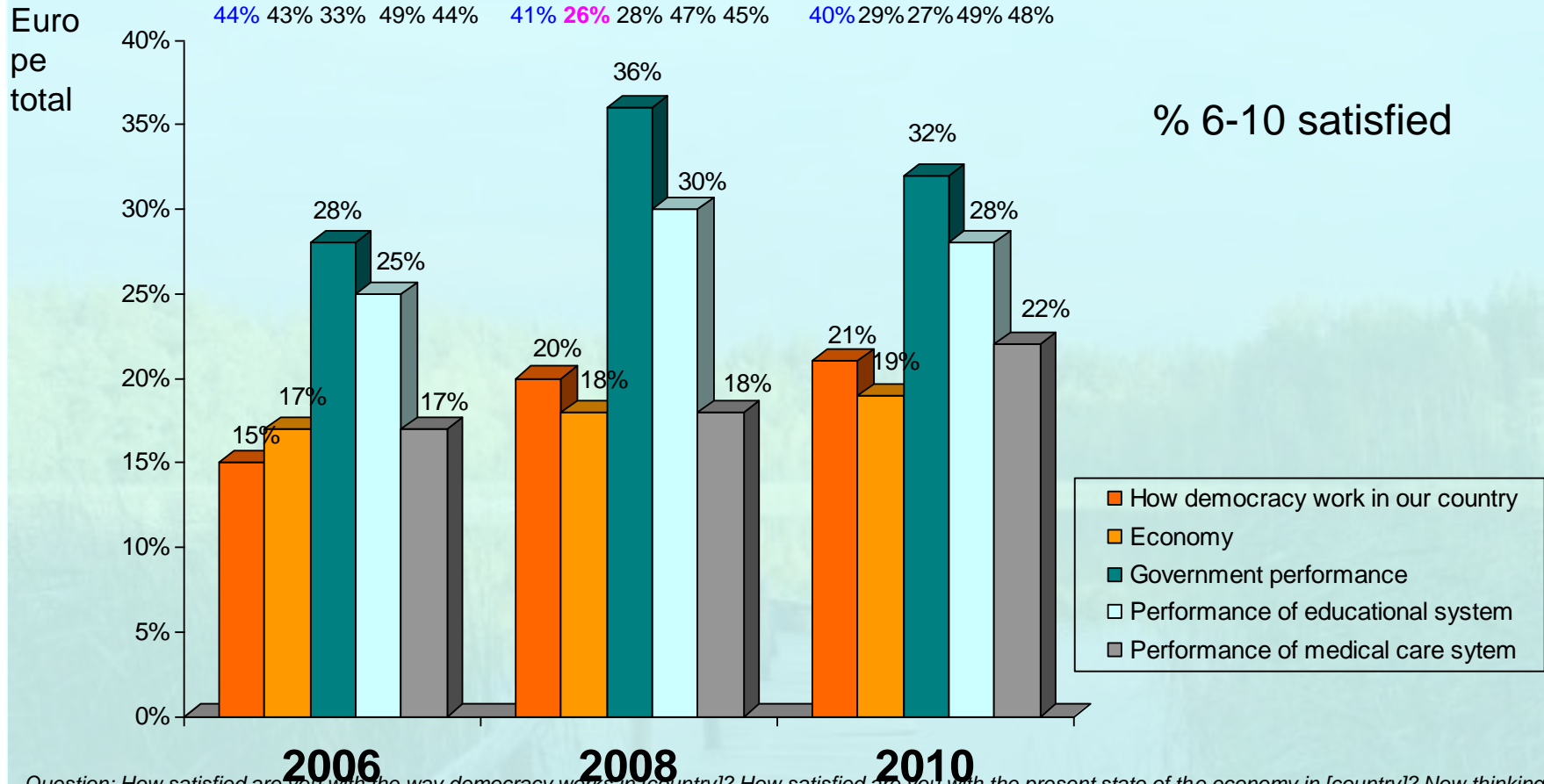
Interest to Politics and Participation Estonia and Ukraine

	2004	2006	2008	2010
	% participated at least in one action	% participated at least in one action	% participated at least in one action	% participated at least in one action
ESTONIA				
Very interested	39%	42%	36%	46%
Somewhat interested	24%	32%	32%	35%
Not very interested	15%	14%	18%	25%
Not interested at all	7%	9%	13%	14%
UKRAINE				
Very interested	44%	37%	37%	25%
Somewhat interested	35%	21%	27%	23%
Not very interested	29%	14%	12%	14%
Not interested at all	16%	9%	14%	8%

Consumption of Traditional Media and Participation

	2006		2008		2010	
	Traditional Media (Mean min)	Internet (% regular users)	Traditional Media (Mean min)	Internet (% regular users)	Traditional Media (Mean min)	Internet (% regular users)
PARTICIPATION IN DIFFERENT FORMS ON NON-ELECTORAL ACTIVITY						
Actively participate (2 actions and more)	85,1	20%	88,6	22%	74,7	43%
Moderately participate	68,1	10%	80,8	29%	70,6	40%
Do not participate at all	56,9	9%	60,0	19%	53,0	38%
TYPES OF PARTICIPATION						
Participate if "active form"	76,7	18%	87,2	28%	67,7	45%
Participate if "passive form"	71,9	9%	79,9	22%	78,9	36%
Do not participate at all	56,9	9%	60,0	19%	53,0	38%

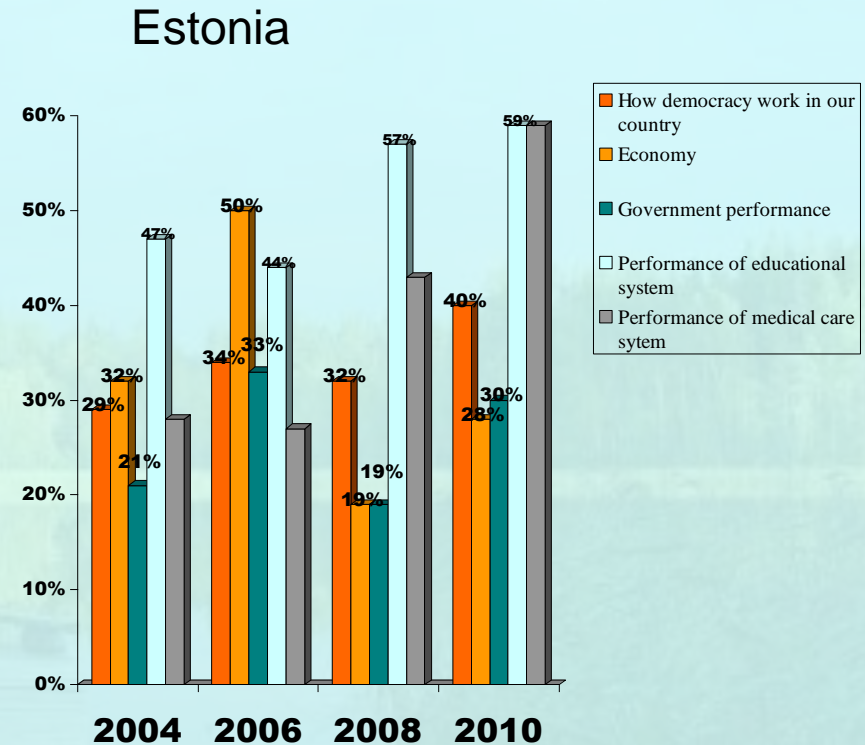
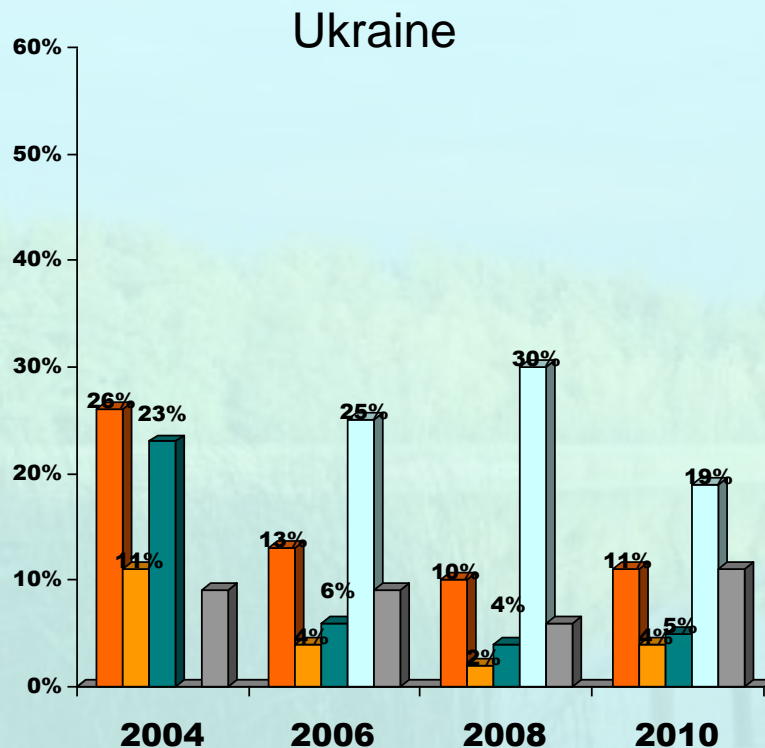
Satisfaction with the “output” of political system - Russia



Question: How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]? How satisfied are you with the present state of the economy in [country]? Now thinking about the [country] government, how satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job? (0-10 point scale, extremes are labeled 0 extremely dissatisfied, 10 extremely satisfied) Please say what you think overall about the state of education in [country] nowadays? Please say what you think overall about the state of health services in [country] nowadays? (0-10 point scale, extremes are labeled 0 extremely bad, 10 extremely good)

Satisfaction with the “output” of political system – Ukraine and Estonia

% 6-10 satisfied



Satisfaction with democracy: relation with the Interest to politics and Participation

	Europe total (mean on 11-point scale)	Russia
Very interested in Politics	5.22	3.41
Quite interested	5.14	3.78
Hardly interested	4.78	4.06
Not at all interested	4.07	4.01
Participated in any form of non electoral activities	5.26	3,34
Did not participate at all	4.54	3,98

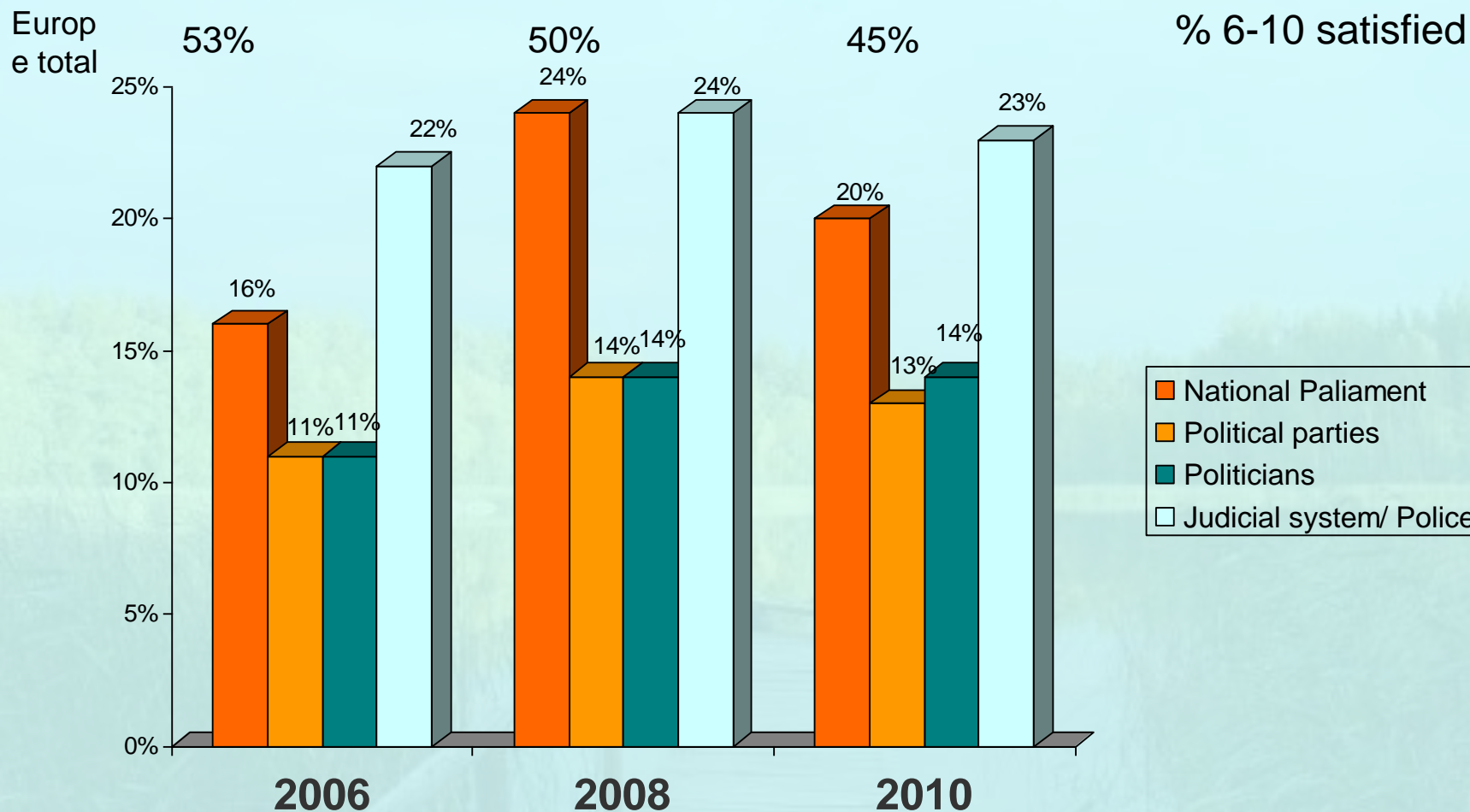
Interest to politics and participation in any forms of political activities is positively related to the satisfaction with democracy in almost all European countries, while in Russia this relation is negative and this trend is stable.

*Data of
ESS 2010*

Participation and the Evaluation of Effectiveness of Political System Estonia and Ukraine

	2004						2006						2008						2010					
	Evaluation of democracy		Evaluation of economy		Evaluation of government		Evaluation of democracy		Evaluation of economy		Evaluation of government		Evaluation of democracy		Evaluation of economy		Evaluation of government		Evaluation of democracy		Evaluation of economy		Evaluation of government	
	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)	Mean	% 6-10 (satisfied)
Estonia																								
Participated at least in one action	4,72	34%	4,89	40%	4,12	24%	4,89	39%	5,78	57%	4,93	39%	4,89	42%	3,81	22%	3,79	22%	5,45	49%	4,53	37%	4,72	41%
Did not participated	4,52	29%	4,54	31%	3,95	21%	4,86	33%	5,51	48%	4,72	31%	4,39	29%	3,44	18%	3,44	18%	4,94	36%	4,03	25%	4,17	26%
UKRAINE																								
Participated at least in one action	5,00	36%	3,29	13%	4,76	31%	3,99	22%	2,41	3%	2,33	8%	2,60	12%	1,65	3%	1,75	6%	2,82	13%	2,15	3%	2,09	5%
Did not participated	3,94	21%	3,05	10%	3,99	19%	3,01	11%	2,24	4%	2,13	6%	2,49	10%	1,46	2%	1,48	3%	3,24	11%	2,30	4%	2,28	5%

Trust to Institutions Russia



Question: How much you personally trust each of the institutions (0-10 point scale, extremes are labeled 0 no trust at all, 10 complete trust)

Trust to Parliament: change 2002-2010

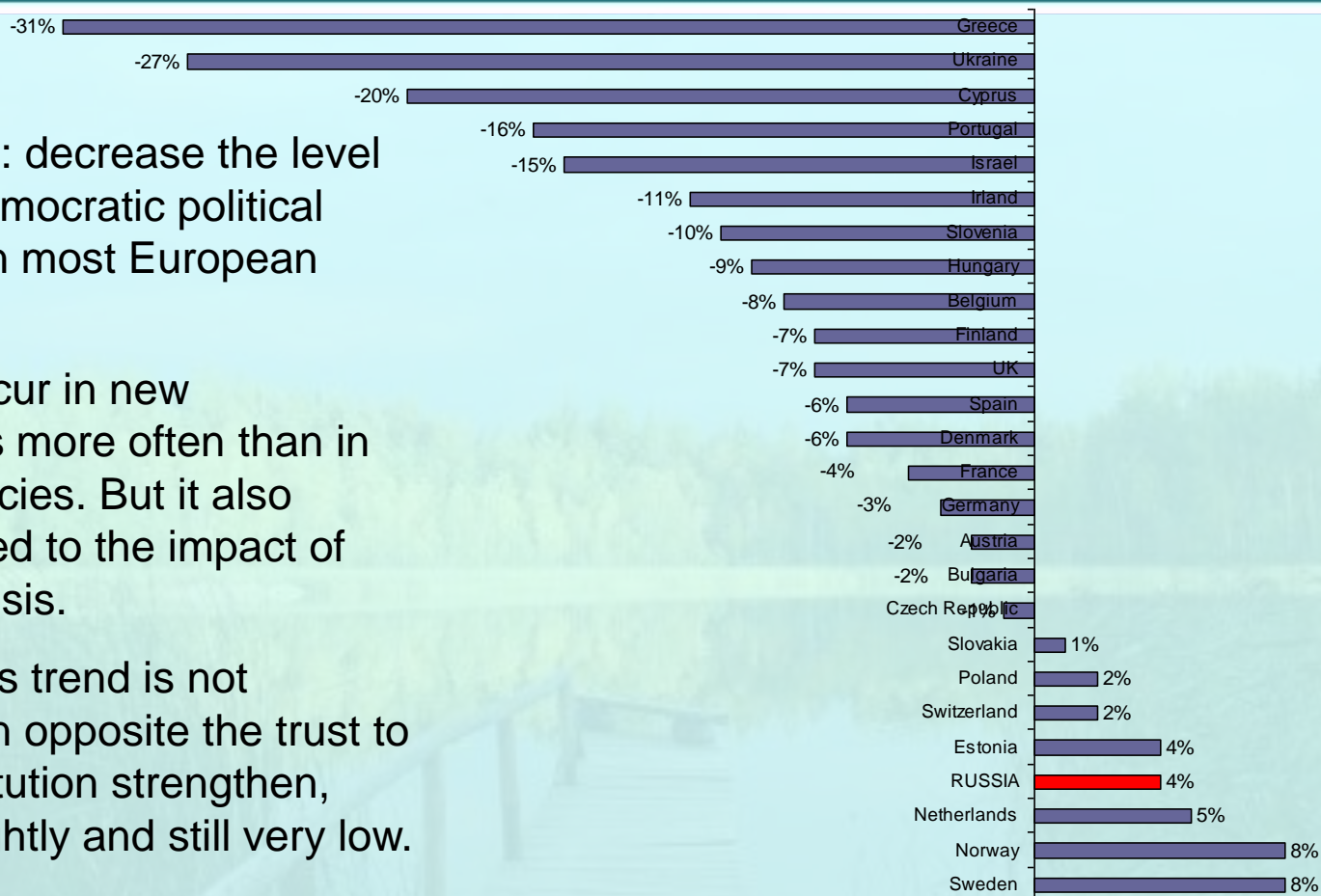
Trend of 00s: decrease the level of trust to democratic political institutions in most European countries

Changes occur in new democracies more often than in old democracies. But it also maybe related to the impact of economic crisis.

In Russia this trend is not supported. In opposite the trust to political institution strengthen, although slightly and still very low.

Exceptions:

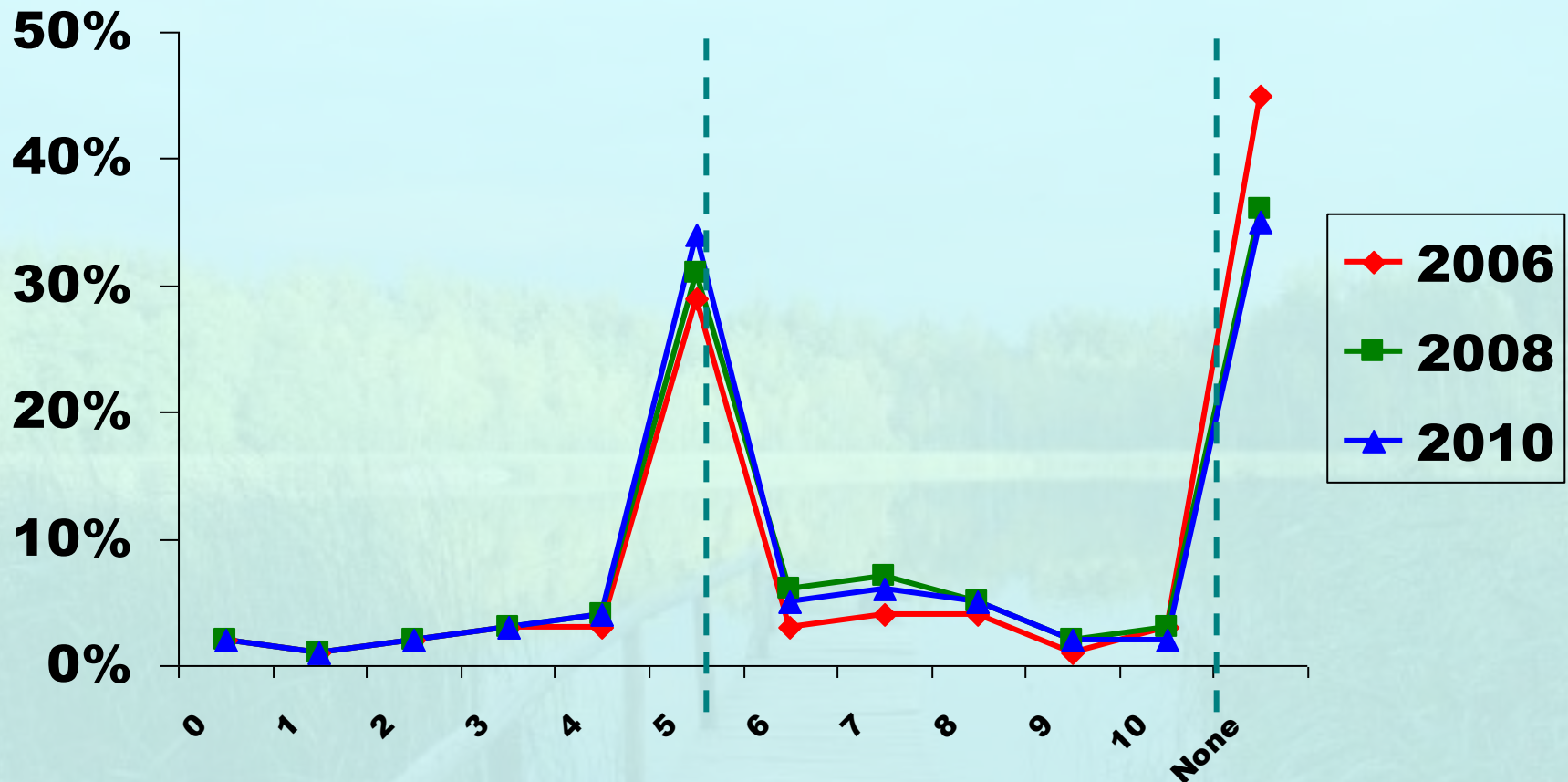
Austria, Ireland 2002-2006; Slovakia, Ukraine, Estonia 2004-2010; Bulgaria, Cyprus, Russia 2006-2010





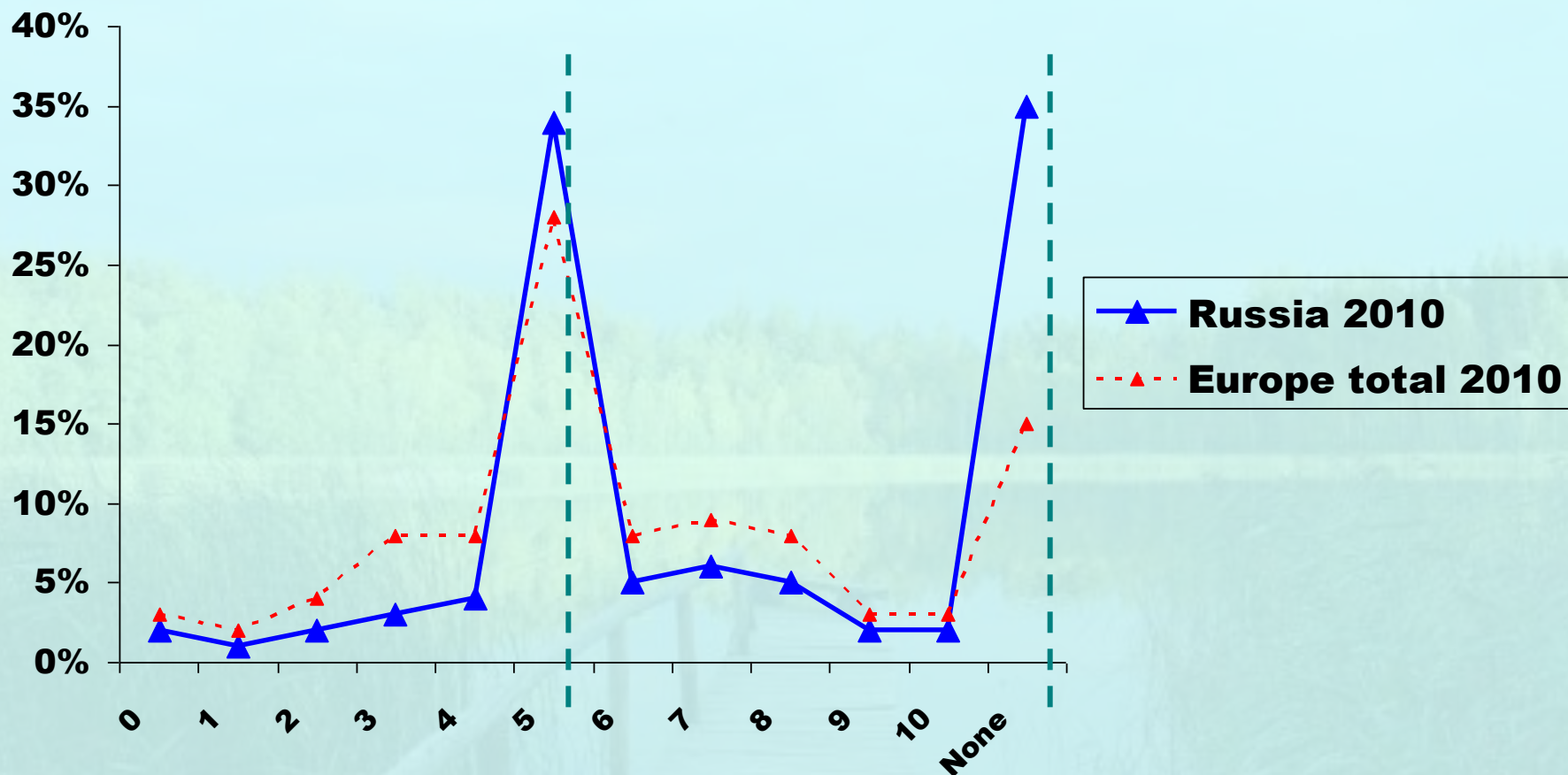
Political Ideology

Political Ideology - Russia



Question: In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Using this card, where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right? (0-10 point scale, extremes are labeled 0 left, 10 right)

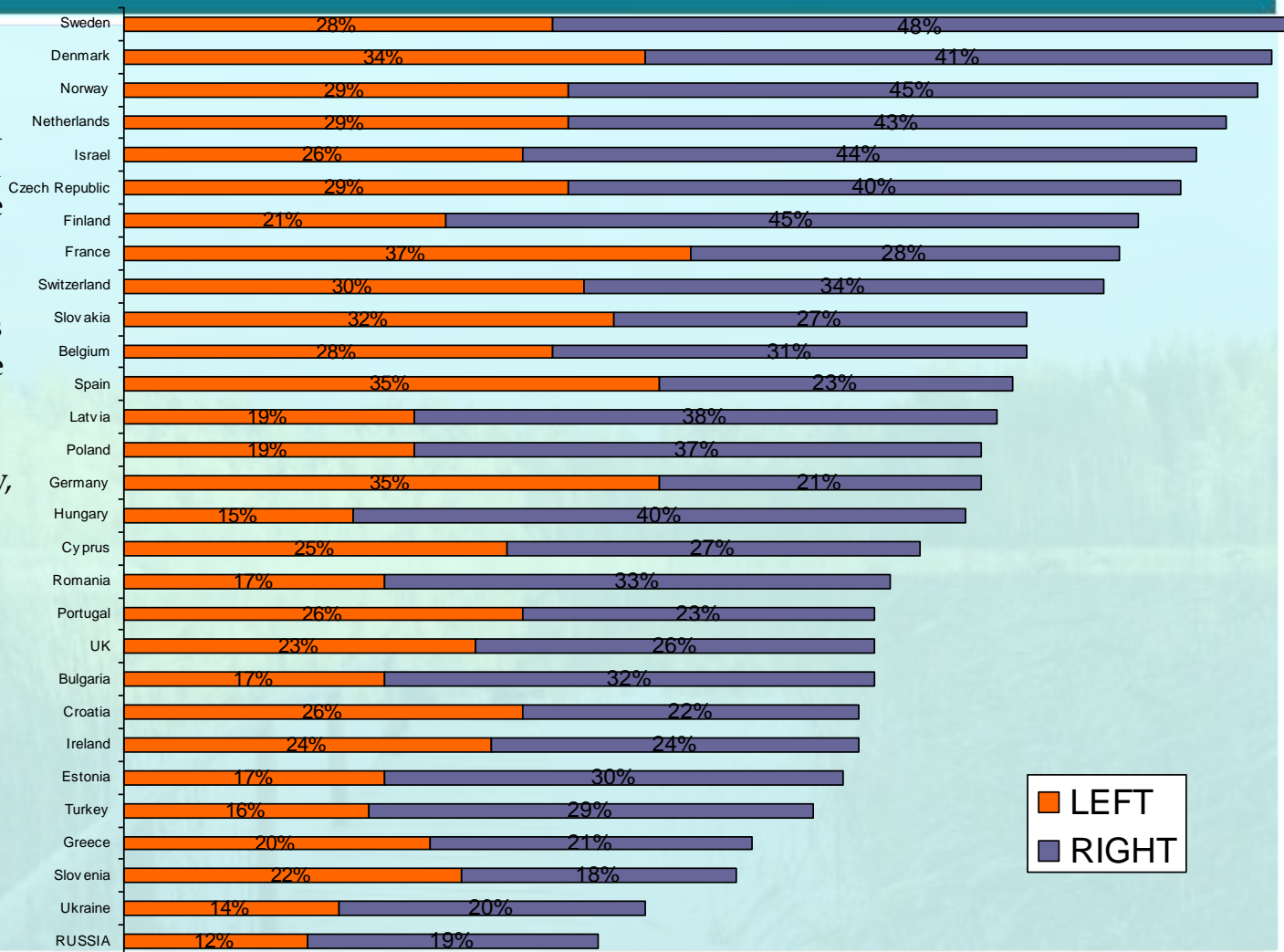
Political Ideology - Russia



Question: In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Using this card, where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right? (0-10 point scale, extremes are labeled 0 left, 10 right)

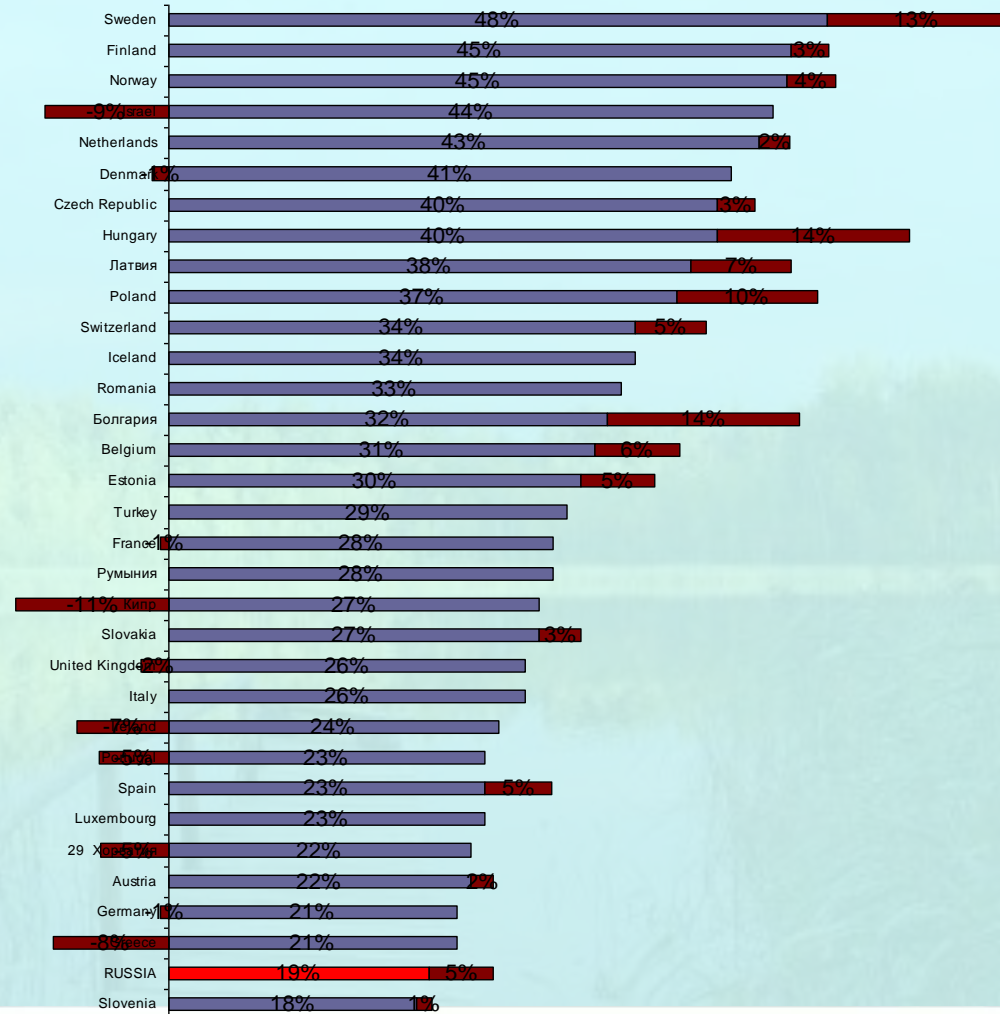
Self-Allocation on Left-Right scale

- In most Wes European countries the distribution of Lefts and Rights are close to equal reflecting the long battle of these two camps.
- In countries with developing democracies one side of the dimension "right" prevails (Romania, Latvia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Estonia, Turkey).
- In Russia and Ukraine this political identification life is still not established. More than one third of respondents can not allocate themselves on this scale.



Left-Right (% of right from total)

- The general European of the recent years is the slight switch to the "right" of left-right ideology scale. The more "right" countries, move even more "right".



Participation and Left-Right Self-Placement

	2006					2008					2010				
	Mean Left/Right	% Left (0-4)	% Center (5)	% Right (6-10)	None (88)	Mean Left/Right	% Left (0-4)	% Center (5)	% Right (6-10)	None (88)	Mean Left/Right	% Left (0-4)	% Center (5)	% Right (6-10)	None (88)
Participated at least in one action	4,91	16%	35%	17%	32%	5,31	20%	27%	30%	23%	5,31	16%	32%	24%	28%
Did not participated	5,11	11%	28%	12%	49%	5,41	10%	31%	20%	39%	5,24	11%	34%	18%	36%

Left-Right Self-Placement and Party Affiliation

	2006		2008		2010	
	There is a party close by political views	Members hip in party	There is a party close by political views	Members hip in party	There is a party close by political views	Members hip in party
Left	53%	6%	61%	8%	55%	4%
Center	31%	3%	47%	4%	37%	3%
Right	50%	6%	66%	5%	57%	9%
None	25%	1%	31%	2%	31%	2%

Question: Is there a particular political party you feel closer to than all the other parties? Are you a member of any political party?

Party Affiliation and Left-Right Self-Placement (Understand of Party Ideological Allocation)

	2006					2008					2010				
	Mean Left/Right	% Left (0-4)	% Center (5)	% Right (6-10)	None (88)	Mean Left/Right	% Left (0-4)	% Center (5)	% Right (6-10)	None (88)	Mean Left/Right	% Left (0-4)	% Center (5)	% Right (6-10)	None (88)
Communists	3,51	40%	17%	11%	32%	4,14	45%	16%	23%	16%	3,71	40%	18%	16%	25%
Fair Russia	6,00	0%		40%	60%	5,67	11%	23%	26%	40%	5,40	15%	38%	21%	26%
United Russia	5,69	10%	31%	24%	36%	5,87	8%	35%	34%	23%	5,99	8%	32%	34%	26%
Pravoe Delo+Yabloio+Solidarnost+14	6,62	13%	23%	47%	17%	5,67	15%	29%	43%	13%	6,55	8%	17%	50%	26%
LDPR	4,38	22%	23%	8%	47%	5,29	17%	24%	23%	35%	4,18	30%	35%	5%	30%
Other	5,34	21%	35%	28%	15%	3,59	30%	18%	10%	41%	3,84	58%	42%	0%	
None	5,06	8%	30%	10%	52%	5,25	9%	31%	14%	47%	5,16	10%	36%	14%	41%
United Russia rather close	5,94	9%	30%	28%	33%	6,00	9%	33%	39%	19%	6,22	7%	32%	42%	20%
United Russia not very close	5,28	11%	32%	17%	40%	5,60	7%	38%	25%	30%	5,59	10%	33%	23%	34%

Question: Is there a particular political party you feel closer to than all the other parties? Which one? How close do you feel to this party? (1-4 point scale, extremes are labeled 1 very close, 4 not at all close)

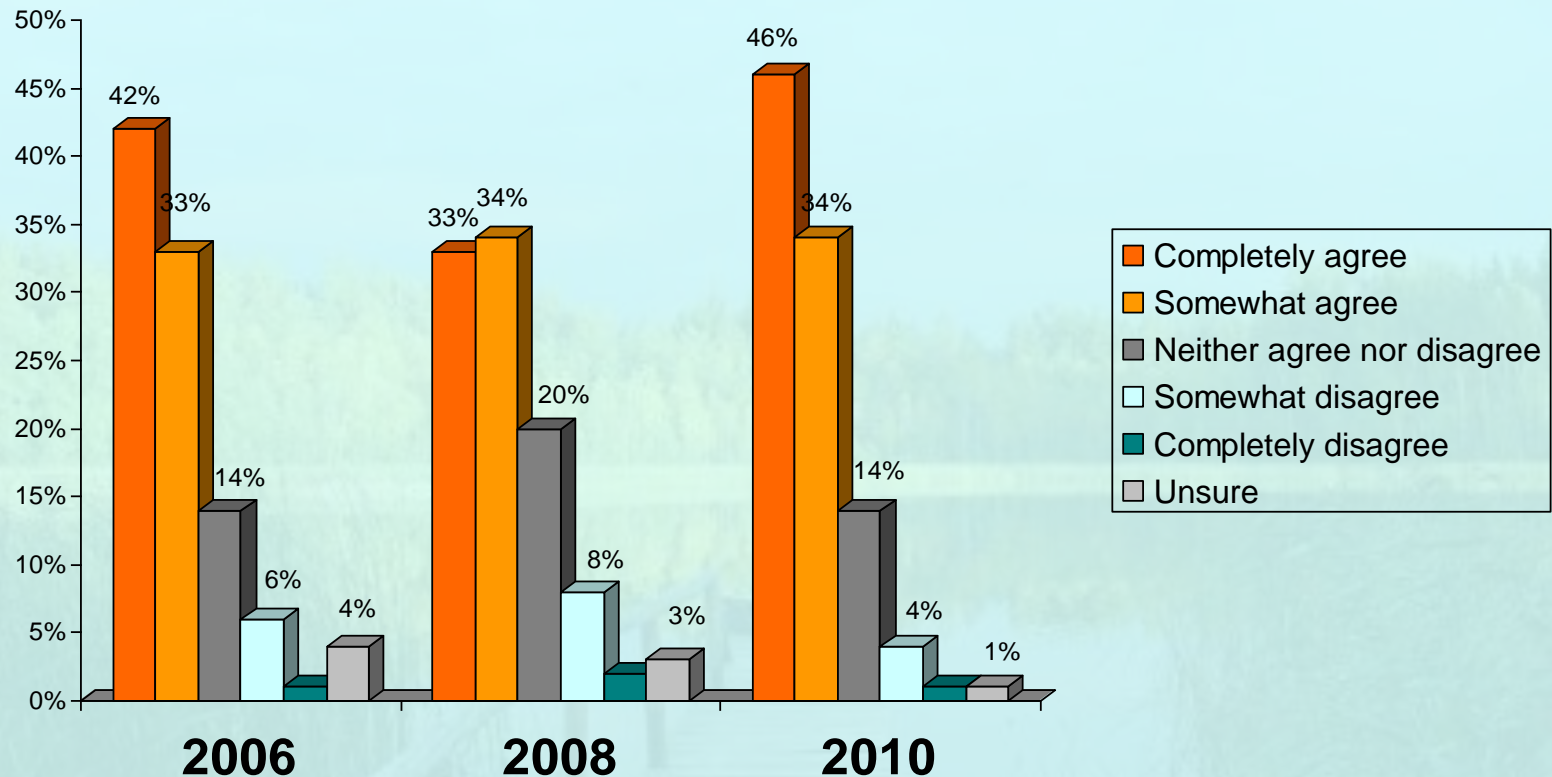
Left-Right Self-Placement and Satisfaction with Work of Political system

Mean satisfaction with	2006					2008					2010				
	Democracy	Economy	Government	Education	Medical care	Democracy	Economy	Government	Education	Medical care	Democracy	Economy	Government	Education	Medical care
Left	2,52	2,75	3,40	3,51	2,73	3,58	3,35	4,31	4,04	3,08	3,00	2,98	3,73	3,91	3,29
Center	3,64	3,67	4,56	4,32	3,49	3,88	3,41	4,95	4,52	3,43	4,06	3,93	4,56	4,30	3,80
Right	4,11	4,32	4,88	4,48	3,71	4,54	4,10	5,42	4,76	3,96	4,63	4,25	5,34	4,87	4,29
None	3,67	3,44	4,39	4,38	3,48	3,65	3,31	4,81	4,58	3,58	3,41	3,28	4,22	4,12	3,43

Left-Right Self-Placement and Trust to Institutions

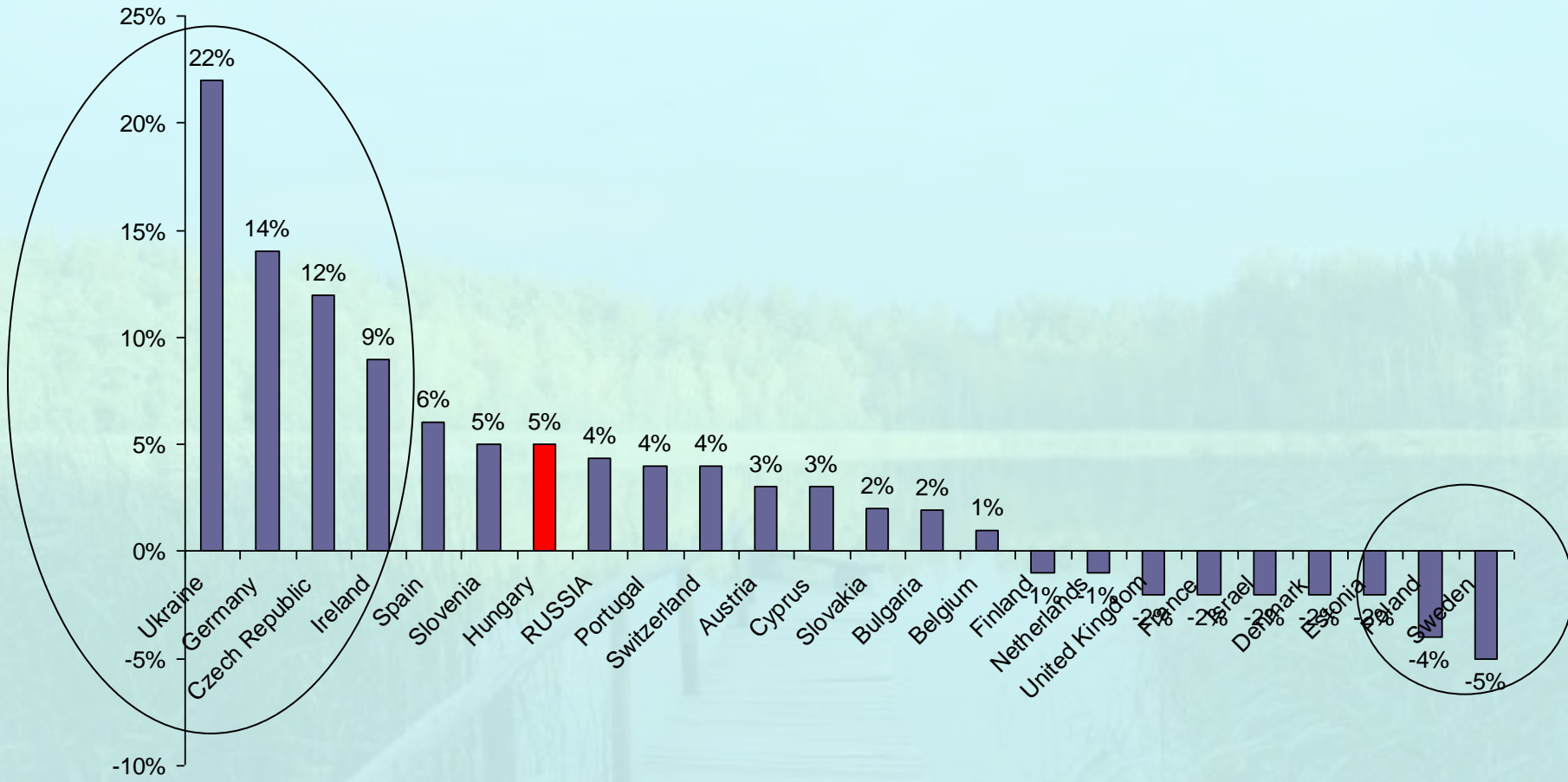
Mean trust to	2006				2008				2010			
	Parliament	Political parties	Politicians	Judicial system	Parliament	Political parties	Politicians	Judicial system	Parliament	Political parties	Politicians	Judicial system
Left	3,11	2,56	2,67	3,09	3,70	3,30	3,13	3,53	3,33	2,83	2,80	3,47
Center	3,42	2,85	2,95	3,91	3,95	3,28	3,33	4,09	3,55	2,96	2,97	3,76
Right	3,66	3,19	3,32	3,96	4,42	3,64	3,87	4,45	4,54	4,01	4,01	4,82
None	3,33	2,74	2,85	3,89	3,57	2,78	2,86	3,94	3,08	2,64	2,60	3,44

Political Ideology-Content: Economic Equality

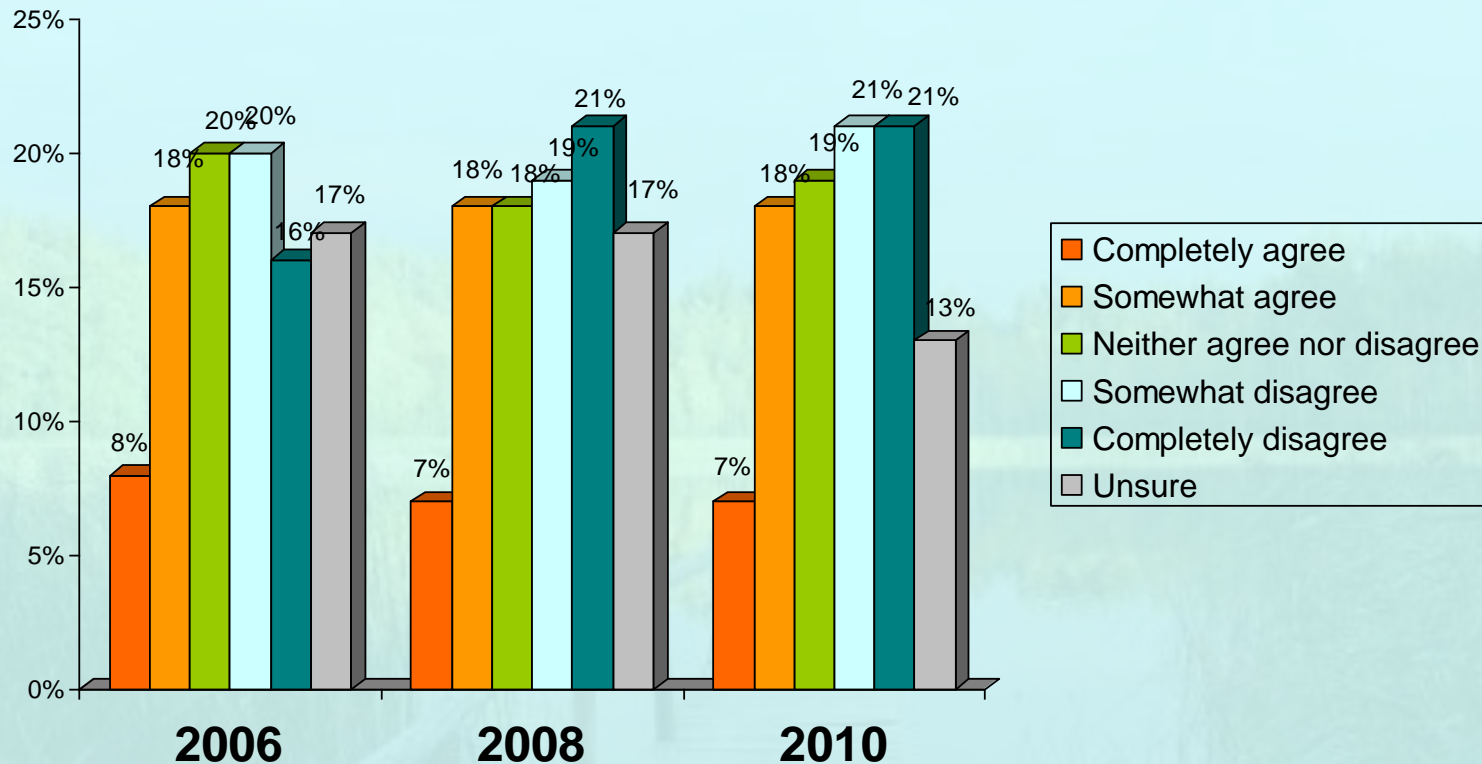


Questions: Please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels (1-5 point scale, extremes are labeled 1 Agree strongly, 5 Disagree strongly)

Social equality demands: reduce the differences in incomes

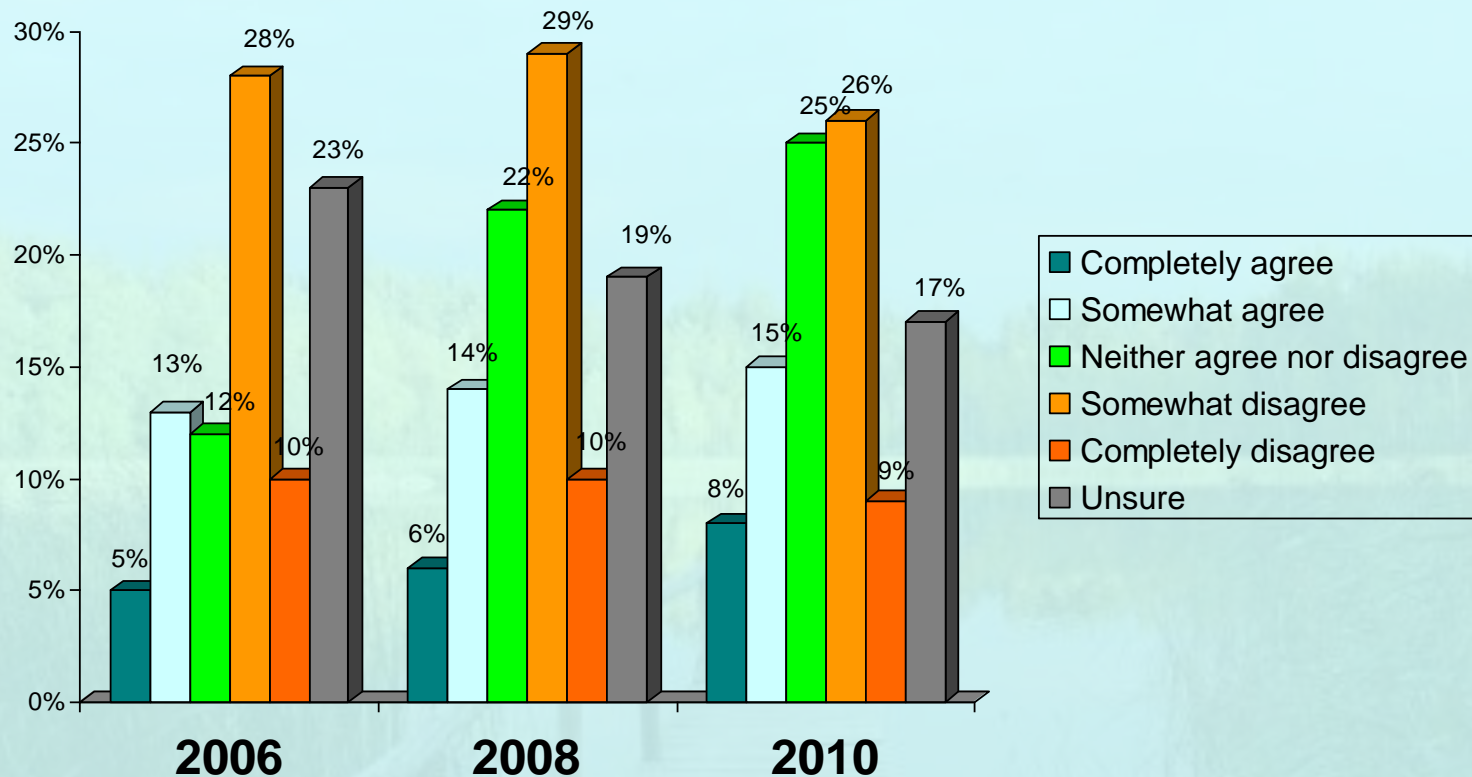


Political Ideology-Content: Traditionalism



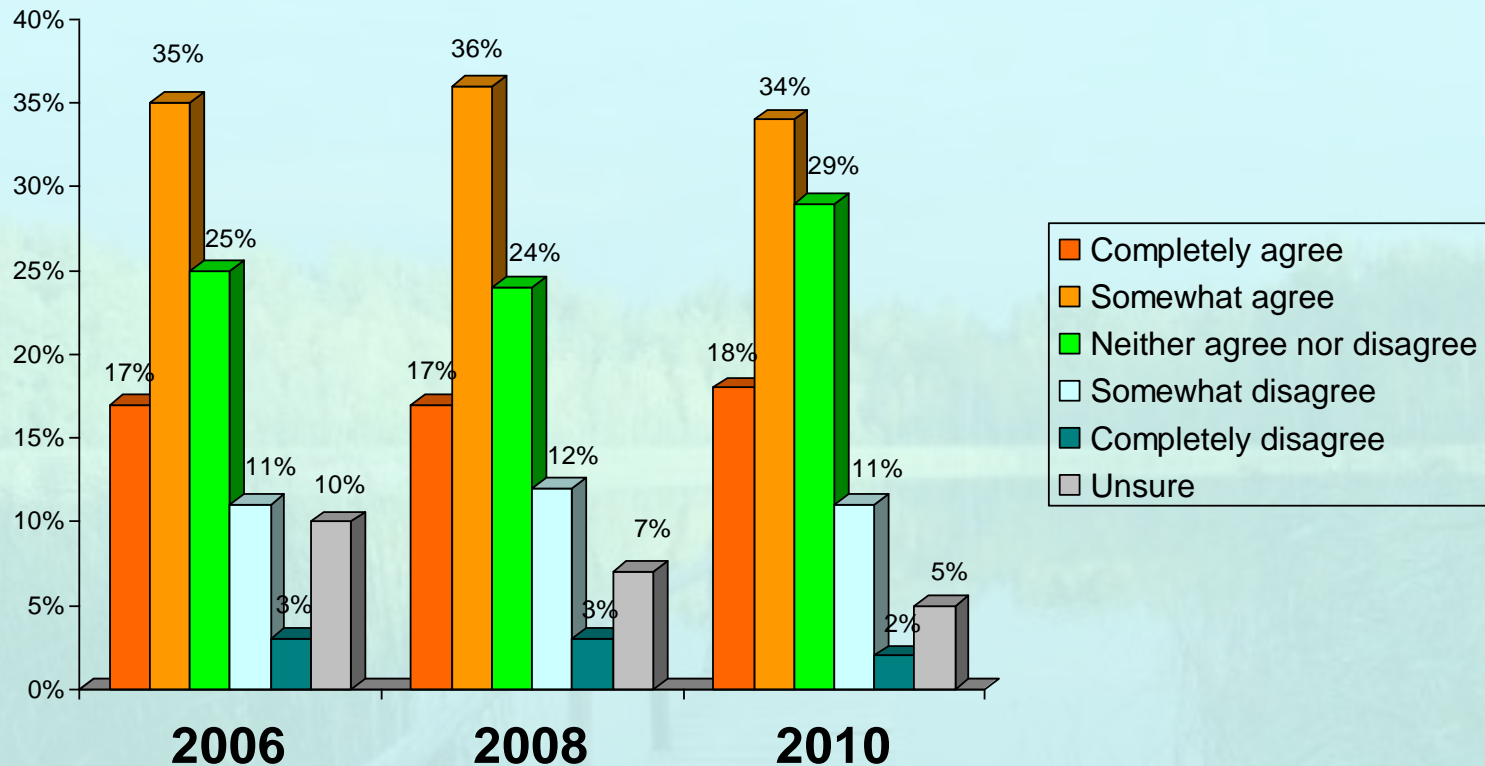
Question: Please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish (1-5 point scale, extremes are labeled 1 Agree strongly, 5 Disagree strongly)

Political Ideology-Content: Authoritarian-Libertarian Views



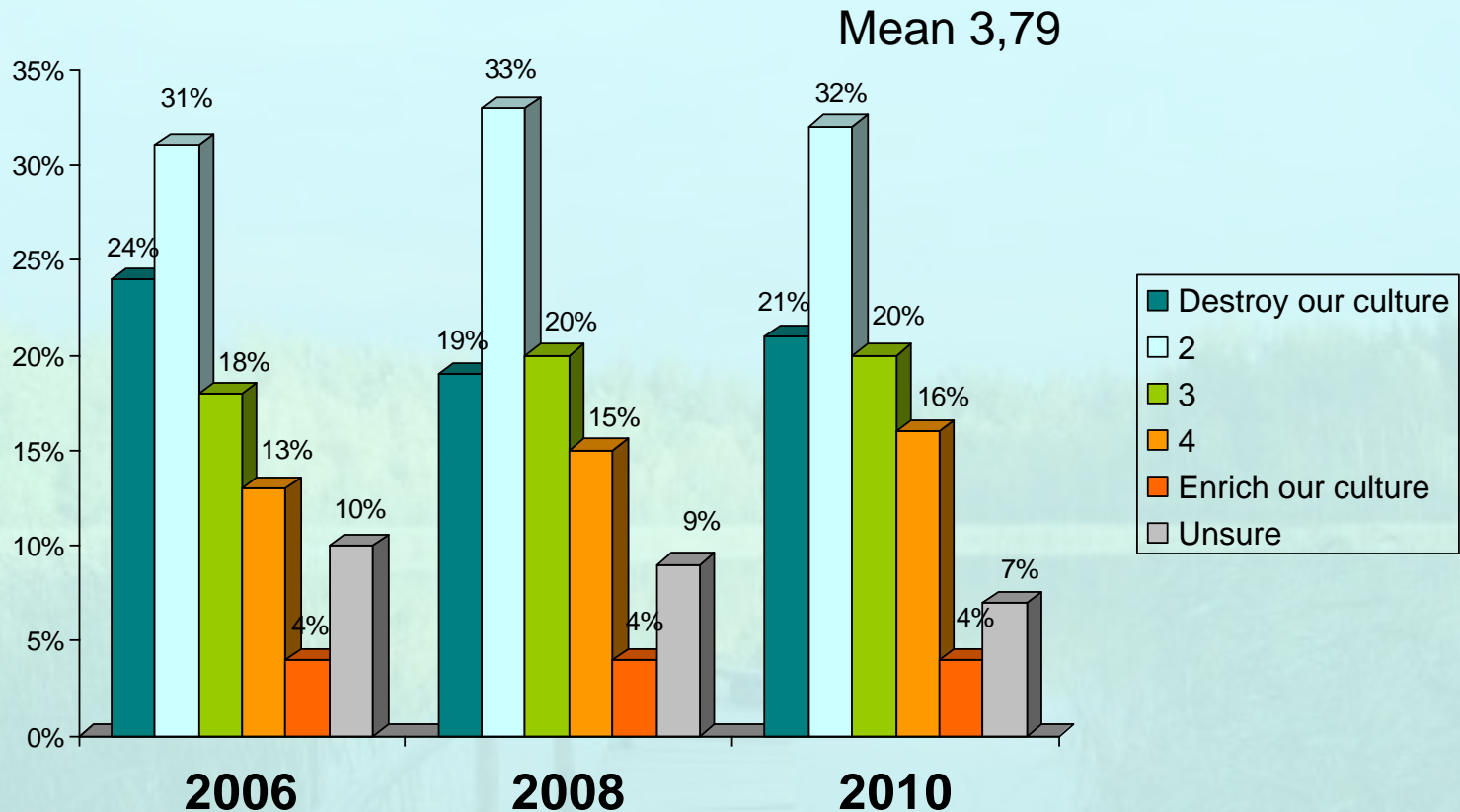
Questions: Please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Political parties that wish to overthrow democracy should be banned (1-5 point scale, extremes are labeled 1 Agree strongly, 5 Disagree strongly)

Political Ideology-Content: Modernity/ Rationality



Question: Please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Modern science can be relied on to solve our environmental problems (1-5 point scale, extremes are labeled 1 Agree strongly, 5 Disagree strongly)

Political Ideology-Content: Migration/ Multiculturalism



11 point scale was converted into 5-point scale

Question: Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? (0-10 point scale, extremes are labeled 0 Cultural life undermined, 10 Cultural life enriched)