MONITORING STUDIES

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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 Region ¹.

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 2025) and for the period from August 2024 to August 2025 (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), 2012 (the first year of Vladimir Putin's third presidential term) and 2018 (the first year of Vladimir Putin's fourth presidential term).

The annual dynamics of the data are presented for $2000-2024^2$.

¹ 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 VolRC RAS surveys is available at http://www.vscc.ac.ru/.

² 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.

In August 2025, the President's approval rating remained as it had been in June and amounted to 66–67%, the share of negative judgments remains consistently low (19–21%).

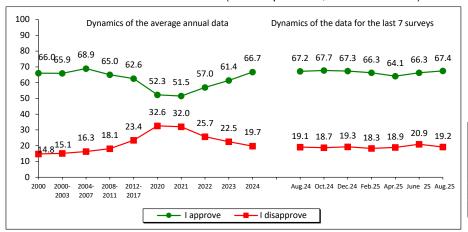
During the period from August 2024 to August 2025, the share of positive assessments of the activity of the President of the Russian Federation did not change and amounted to 67%. The share of negative ones is 19%³.

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

Dynamics of the average annual data Dynamics of the data for the last 7 surveys Response								Dynamics (+/-), Aug. 2025 to										
	2000	2007	2012	2018	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	Aug. 2024	Oct. 2024	Dec. 2024	Feb. 2025	Apr. 2025	June 2025	Aug. 2025	Aug. 2024	June 2025
RF President																		
I approve	66.0	75.3	51.7	66.4	52.3	51.5	57.0	61.4	66.7	67.2	67.7	67.3	66.3	64.1	66.3	67.4	0	+1
I disapprove	14.8	11.5	32.6	21.7	32.6	32.0	25.7	22.5	19.7	19.1	18.7	19.3	18.3	18.9	20.9	19.2	0	-2
							Chair	man o	f the R	F Gove	rnment							
I approve	_	_	49.6	48.0	38.7	39.9	45.4	50.1	54.1	55.3	53.7	55.6	54.7	53.9	53.0	55.1	0	+2
I disapprove	_	_	33.3	31.6	40.4	37.6	32.0	27.6	24.8	24.1	25.5	25.3	23.8	22.3	22.9	20.6	-4	-2
									Goverr	or								
I approve	56.1	55.8	41.9	38.4	35.0	36.7	40.9	48.1	51.7	53.4	51.9	50.8	46.8	42.9	39.9	41.0	-12	+1
I disapprove	19.3	22.2	33.3	37.6	42.5	40.5	35.8	30.9	28.4	26.7	28.0	29.8	31.4	34.6	37.2	39.1	+12	+2

Wording of the question: "How would you assess the current work of ...?"

How would you assess the way that the RF President is handling his job? (% of respondents, VoIRC RAS data)



Response	Dynamics (+/-), Aug. 2025 to					
nesponse	Aug. 2024	June 2025				
I approve	0	+1				
I disapprove	0	-2				

Here and elsewhere, all graphs show the average annual data for 2000, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, as well as the average annual data for the periods 2000–2003, 2004–2007, 2008–2011, 2012–2017 that correspond to presidential terms.

^{*}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.

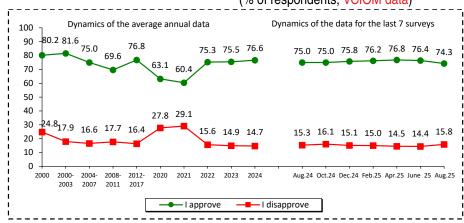
³ Here and further in the text, the results of a comparative analysis of the data from the survey conducted in August 2025 with the results of the monitoring carried out in August 2024 are given in the frame.

For reference:

According to VCIOM, the President's approval rating in June – first half of August 2025 decreased by 2 percentage points (from 76 to 74%). The proportion of negative assessments did not change significantly.

From August 2024 to the first half of August 2025, the share of positive assessments of the activities of the head of state remained at the level of 74–75%. The share of negative characteristics is 15–16%.

Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the RF President is handling his job? (% of respondents; VCIOM data)



Doononoo	Dynamics (+/-), Aug. 2025 to					
Response	Aug. 2024	June 2025				
	2021	2020				
I approve	-1	-2				
I disapprove	+1	+1				

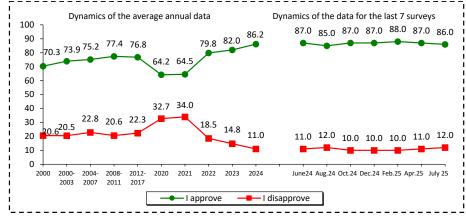
Wording of the question: "In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way that the Russian President is handling his job?" Data as of August 2025 – for one survey as of August 3, 2025.

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

According to Levada-Center*, the share of positive assessments of the activities of the President of the Russian Federation in April - July 2025 was 86-87%; the share of negative characteristics was 11-12%.

There have also been no significant changes over the past 12 months: the share of positive characteristics is 86-87%, the proportion of negative ones is 11-12%.

In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way that Vladimir Putin is handling his job as President of Russia? (% of respondents; Levada-Center* data)



Response	Dynamics (+/-), July 2025 to					
nesponse	June	Apr.				
	2024	2025				
I approve	-1	-1				
I disapprove	+1	+1				

Wording of the question: "In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way that Vladimir Putin is handling his job as President of Russia?"

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

^{*} Included in the register of foreign agents.

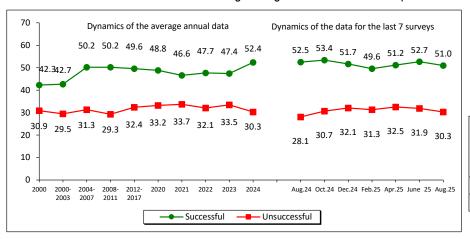
^{*}Included in the register of foreign agents.

Over the past two months, the proportion of people who consider the actions of the President of the Russian Federation to strengthen Russia's international position to be successful did not change and amounted to 51-53%. The share of those who adhere to the opposite point of view also remained at the level of June 2025 (30–32%).

Over the past 12 months (from August 2024 to August 2025), the share of positive assessments of the president's work to strengthen Russia's international position has decreased slightly (by 2 percentage points, from 53 to 51%).

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

Strengthening Russia's international position

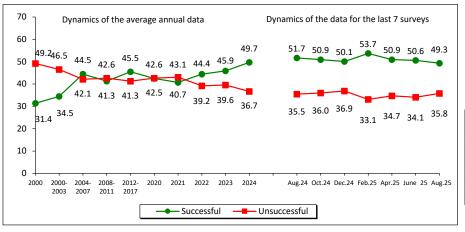


Response	Dynami Aug. 2	cs (+/-), 025 to
nesponse	Aug. 2024	June 2025
Successful	-2	-2
Unsuccessful	+2	-2

In June – August 2025, the share of residents of the region who positively assessed the work of the head of state to restore order in the country was 49-51%.

From August 2024 to August 2025, the share of positive ratings decreased slightly (from 52 to 49%).

Imposing order in the country

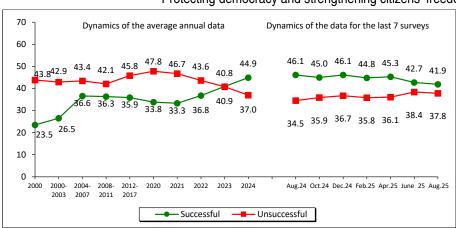


Response	Dynamics (+/-), Aug. 2025 to					
Hesponse	Aug. 2024	June 2025				
Successful	-2	-1				
Unsuccessful	0	+2				

In June – August 2025, the share of positive assessments of the activities of the President of the Russian Federation to protect democracy and strengthen the freedoms of citizens amounted to 42–43%, the proportion of negative ones was 38%.

Over the past 12 months, the proportion of positive characteristics decreased (by 4 percentage points, from 46 to 42%) and the proportion of negative assessments increased (from 35 to 38%).

Protecting democracy and strengthening citizens' freedoms

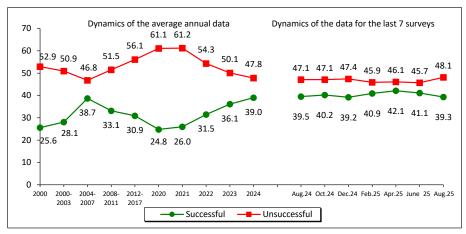


Doonongo		cs (+/-), 025 to
Response	Aug. 2024	June 2025
Successful	-4	-1
Unsuccessful	+3	-1

The share of positive opinions about the activities of the head of state to boost the economy and increase the welfare of citizens did not change significantly over the past two months (decreased by 2 percentage points from 41 to 39%). The share of negative characteristics increased from 46 to 48%.

Over the past 12 months, assessments of the work of the President of the Russian Federation on economic issues remained stable: the share of positive ones is 39%; negative -47-48%.

Economic recovery, increase in citizens' welfare



Response	Dynami Aug. 2	
nesponse	Aug. 2024	June 2025
Successful	0	-2
Unsuccessful	+1	+2

In June – August 2025, the structure of political preferences of the residents of the region has not changed. According to residents, United Russia expresses the interests of 41%, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation – 9–11%, the Liberal Democratic Party – 9%, Just Russia – 4%, New People – 2%. The proportion of those who answered that there was no party expressing their interests is 23-25%.

From August 2024 to August 2025, the level of support for the represented political parties did not change significantly. The largest change is recorded in the estimates of the Liberal Democratic Party: an increase in positive judgments by 3 percentage points (from 6 to 9%)

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

				Dyna	amics	of th	e aver	age a	nnual	data						•		the dat survey			(+/	mics /-), 025 to
Party	2000	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	2024	Aug. 2024	0ct. 02024	Dec. 2024	Feb. 2025	Apr. 2025	June 2025	Aug. 2025	Aug. 2024	June 2025
United Russia	18.5	31.1	33.4	29.1	35.4	38.0	37.9	31.5	49.8	31.7	35.2	39.5	42.9	42.5	41.8	42.3	39.9	40.5	41.6	41.2	-1	0
KPRF	11.5	10.3	16.8	10.6	8.3	14.2	9.2	8.4	18.9	9.3	10.1	9.6	8.9	9.7	8.7	9.1	8.8	8.0	9.1	11.5	+2	+2
LDPR	4.8	7.8	15.4	7.8	10.4	21.9	9.6	9.5	7.6	9.9	7.3	7.0	7.1	6.1	7.5	8.8	7.5	7.1	9.4	8.7	+3	-1
Just Russia – Patriots for the Truth	-	5.6	27.2	6.6	4.2	10.8	2.9	4.7	7.5	4.7	4.9	4.4	3.5	3.5	4.2	4.4	2.3	2.9	3.9	4.2	+1	0
New People*	-	-	_	_	-	_	_	-	5.3	2.3	1.5	1.9	2.0	1.6	2.3	2.3	3.1	3.0	2.5	1.8	0	-1
Other	0.9	1.9	-	2.1	0.3	-	0.7	0.5	_	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.1	0	0
None	29.6	29.4	-	31.3	29.4	-	28.5	34.2	-	33.9	30.6	26.5	25.2	25.1	24.1	26.3	28.4	27.7	24.9	23.3	-2	-2
Difficult to answer	20.3	13.2	_	11.7	12.0	_	11.2	11.1	_	10.0	10.1	11.1	10.3	11.5	11.0	6.5	9.7	10.8	8.5	9.2	-2	+1

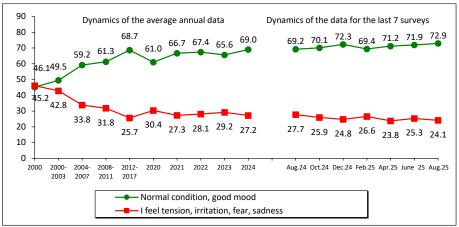
^{*} The New People party was elected to the State Duma of the Russian Federation for the first time following the results of the election held on September 17–19, 2021.

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

From June to August 2025, the share of positive assessments of social mood remained at the level of 72–73%. The proportion of people experiencing predominantly negative emotions also remained unchanged at 24–25%.

Over the past 12 months, the proportion of people describing their mood as «normal, fine» increased by 4 percentage points (from 69 to 73%). The proportion of those who more often experience «tension, irritation, fear, sadness» decreased by 4 percentage points, as well (from 28 to 24%).

Social mood

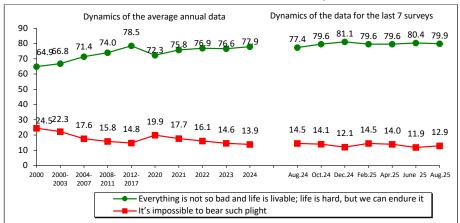


Rasnonsa	Dynamics (+/-), Aug. 2025 to				
Response -	Aug. 2024	June 2025			
Normal condition, good mood	+4	+1			
I feel tension, irritation, fear, sadness	-4	-1			

In June – August 2025, the proportion of people who believe that "everything is not so bad and life is livable" remains stable (80%), as well as the share of those who believe that their plight is "no longer possible to bear" (12-13%).

During the period from August 2024 to August 2025, the proportion of positive assessments of the stock of patience increased from 77 to 80%, while the proportion of negative judgments is significantly lower.

Stock of patience

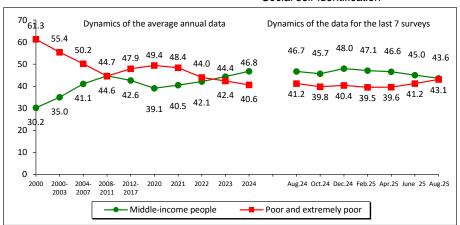


Response	Dynamics (+/-), Aug. 2025 to				
Nesponse	Aug. 2024	June 2025			
Everything is not so bad and life is livable; life is hard, but we can endure it	+3	-1			
It's impossible to bear such plight	-2	+1			

The proportion of residents of the region subjectively classifying themselves as "poor and extremely poor" in June - August 2025 amounted to 41-43%. The proportion of those who subjectively classify themselves as "middle-income people" is 44-45%.

There are also no noticeable changes in the annual dynamics. However, the share of residents of the region who consider themselves middle-income people decreased by 3 percentage points (from 47 to 44%).

Social self-identification



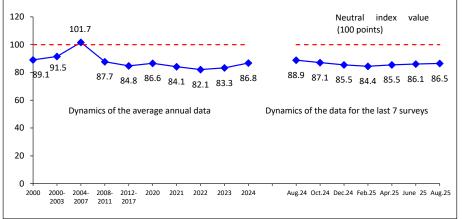
Response	Dynamics (+/-), Aug. 2025 to					
пезропзе	Aug. 2024	June 2025				
Middle-income people	-3	-1				
Poor and extremely poor	+2	+2				

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

Over the past two months, the Consumer Sentiment Index (CSI) has not changed and amounted to 86 points.

Over the past year, the CSI changed slightly in the negative direction: it decreased by 2 percentage points, from 89 to 87 points.

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



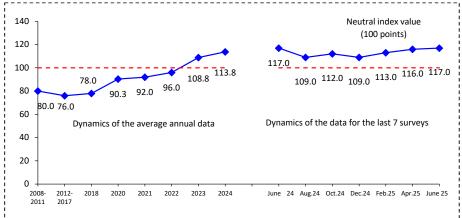
Response	Dynamics (+/-), Aug. 2025 to							
nesponse	Aug. 2024	June 2025						
Index value, points	-2	0						

For reference:

According to the latest data from the all-Russian Levada-Center surveys* (for the period from April to June 2025), the Consumer Sentiment Index amounted to 116–117 points.

According to the all-Russian data, the CSI remains stable at 117 points over the year.





Response	Dynamics (+/-), June 2025 to							
пезропзе	June 2024	Apr. 2025						
Index value, points	0	+1						

The index is calculated since 2008.

The latest data – as of June 2025.

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

From June to August 2025, social mood assessments did not change significantly in all major sociodemographic groups.

In the social mood over the past 12 months (from August 2024 to August 2025), there has been a positive trend in the assessments in 7 out of 14 socio-demographic groups. At the same time, the most pronounced positive changes are recorded among the 20% of the most affluent (by 8 percentage points); residents of Vologda (by 7 percentage points); persons over 55 (by 6 percentage points). There are also no significant changes in estimates for 7 out of 14 socio-demographic groups.

⁴ Since March 2025, Levada-Center* has updated data on the CSI. The CSI in Russia has been calculated since 1993 on the basis of five questions, similar to the index developed in the 1940s by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. The individual indices for each question are calculated as the difference between the proportions of positive and negative responses plus 100. The cumulative CSI is the arithmetic mean of individual indices (range 0-200, where >100 is the predominance of positive ratings). In 2009, the CSI was linked to the values of March 2008 (100% base), which was associated with a change in the methodology of surveys and the economic crisis. However, this led to the fact that the index began to reflect changes only relative to 2008. Since March 2025, it was decided to return to the original method of calculating the CSI, abandoning the link to 2008, because in 2023, many indicators exceeded the peaks of 2008 and the old version of the index ceased to adequately reflect the current situation. A return to the original methodology is intended to solve this problem. Source: Updated Consumer Sentiment Index: February 2025 Figures. Available at: https://www.levada.ru/2025/03/26/obnovlennyj-indeks-potrebitelskih-nastroenijpokazateli-fevralya-2025-goda/

^{*}Included in the register of foreign agents.

Social mood in different social groups (response: "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. 2025 to	
	2000	2007	2012	2018	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	Aug. 2024	Oct. 2024	Dec. 2024	Feb. 2025	Apr. 2025	June 2025	Авг. 2025	Aug. 2024	June 2025	
Gender																			
Men	50.1	65.9	69.1	72.8	60.8	65.7	66.8	65.5	66.5	67.1	65.2	69.2	70.1	68.8	71.6	72.1	+5	+1	
Women	43.3	61.7	65.8	69.8	61.2	67.4	67.9	65.7	70.9	70.9	74.0	74.7	68.8	73.1	72.2	73.5	+3	+1	
Age																			
Under 30	59.1	71.3	72.3	79.9	67.6	73.5	77.6	75.0	76.6	76.1	78.0	81.3	79.9	76.7	76.7	78.1	+2	+1	
30–55	44.2	64.8	67.9	72.6	61.8	69.5	69.4	68.8	71.3	72.8	69.8	73.2	70.2	74.1	74.1	74.9	+2	+1	
Over 55	37.4	54.8	62.1	65.2	57.4	60.5	61.1	58.2	63.3	62.1	67.4	67.8	64.6	65.8	67.6	68.6	+6	+1	
								Ed	ucatio	n									
Secondary and incomplete secondary	41.7	58.4	57.2	64.8	56.1	62.1	64.6	62.0	64.6	65.3	62.5	65.5	64.6	65.6	68.4	70.3	+5	+2	
Secondary vocational	46.4	64.6	66.7	72.1	63.5	66.7	68.3	66.1	70.3	70.7	75.2	76.5	71.8	74.8	74.1	73.6	+3	-1	
Higher and incomplete higher	53.3	68.6	77.0	76.7	63.3	71.5	69.5	68.8	72.3	72.1	72.3	74.2	71.4	73.4	73.0	74.7	+3	+2	
	Income group																		
Bottom 20%	28.4	51.6	51.5	57.2	43.4	54.6	57.0	50.1	53.5	53.7	54.8	55.7	55.9	56.9	56.1	58.3	+5	+2	
Middle 60%	45.5	62.9	68.7	72.1	62.6	67.3	68.1	67.4	70.7	71.0	73.6	74.2	70.5	72.6	74.4	73.1	+2	-1	
Top 20%	64.6	74.9	81.1	82.4	75.6	79.9	78.3	73.9	77.6	75.9	78.4	80.6	77.9	81.3	84.1	83.8	+8	0	
								Te	rritory	1									
Vologda	49.2	63.1	73.6	71.0	60.9	60.3	59.8	59.6	66.0	66.4	67.9	69.6	66.7	68.6	69.5	72.9	+7	+3	
Cherepovets	50.8	68.1	76.2	75.7	60.4	71.0	71.2	68.1	69.8	70.2	70.7	73.0	69.9	71.5	72.5	75.0	+5	+3	
Districts	42.2	61.6	59.8	68.6	61.4	67.8	69.5	67.7	70.2	70.3	71.0	73.4	70.7	72.7	73.1	71.6	+1	-2	
Region	46.2	63.6	67.3	71.2	61.0	66.6	67.4	65.6	69.0	69.2	70.1	72.3	69.4	71.2	71.9	72.9	+4	+1	
								14:	14:										
Total number of groups: positive changes / no changes / negative changes							7/7 /0	0/14											

RESUME

The results of the latest round of the public opinion monitoring conducted in August 2025 showed that there were no significant changes in the dynamics of population estimates in the Vologda Region compared to the first summer months.

From August 2024 to August 2025, support for the President of the Russian Federation remains at a fairly high level (67%), despite a slight decrease in approval of his activities aimed to protect democratic freedoms (by 4 percentage points, from 46 to 42%). The party preferences of the residents of the region have also not undergone significant changes, which indicates the stability of political preferences. United Russia continues to hold the leading positions (41–43%), although a significant part of the population still does not see any political parties represented in the State Duma that express their interests (23–25%).

The social mood of the population remains positive with positive changes in the annual dynamics: the proportion of people noting "a great mood, a normal, even state" increased by 4 percentage points (from 69 to 73%). First of all, positive changes in social mood are observed among the most affluent segments of the population, the elderly and residents of Vologda. In addition, the population of the region invariably has a high stock of patience (80%). We should note that the improvement of social mood in many population groups is a very typical phenomenon for the summer months, especially when it comes to periods of adaptation of society to certain "force majeure" circumstances. The same situation, for example, was observed in the process of gradual adaptation of the population to living conditions during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Nevertheless, the proportion of people who classify themselves as "poor and extremely poor" remains significant at 43%. At the same time, over the past year, there has been a weakly pronounced negative trend: the proportion of low-income citizens (according to self-assessments) has increased from 41 to 43%, and the proportion of those who consider themselves middle class has decreased from 47 to 44%. This trend is confirmed by the Consumer Sentiment Index (CSI), which decreased by 2 points over the same period, from 89 to 87 points, indicating a slight deterioration in estimates of the financial situation of the population and their economic expectations.

The revealed negative trend of deterioration in self-assessments of the financial situation and prospects for the development of the economic situation may well be due to the fact that society is getting used to life in the context of the special military operation and, as a result, is increasingly beginning to worry about its daily life problems (although, of course, the range of issues related to the SMO and events in the foreign policy arena, does not leave the focus of citizens' attention).

This, in particular, is evidenced by the conclusions obtained by VCIOM experts: "... there is a process of routinization. People have already integrated the special operation and everything related to it into their image of the world. It occupies a central place in it, but it is already more or less familiar, understandable and predictable. Therefore, there are fewer emotions associated with the SMO, and rational perception prevails"⁵. We believe that the negotiation processes that have been taking place regularly at various levels since the beginning of 2025 (including the meeting of the presidents of the United States and Russia on August 15, 2025) also contribute to the transformation of the agenda of the social mood of Russian society.

Prepared by K.E. Kosygina and I.M. Bakhvalova

⁵ The head of VCIOM on the attitude of Russians toward the topic of the special military operation: "People are getting used to living in its context". Available at: https://m.business-gazeta.ru/news/619763