

# Russian ambiguous (de)modernization

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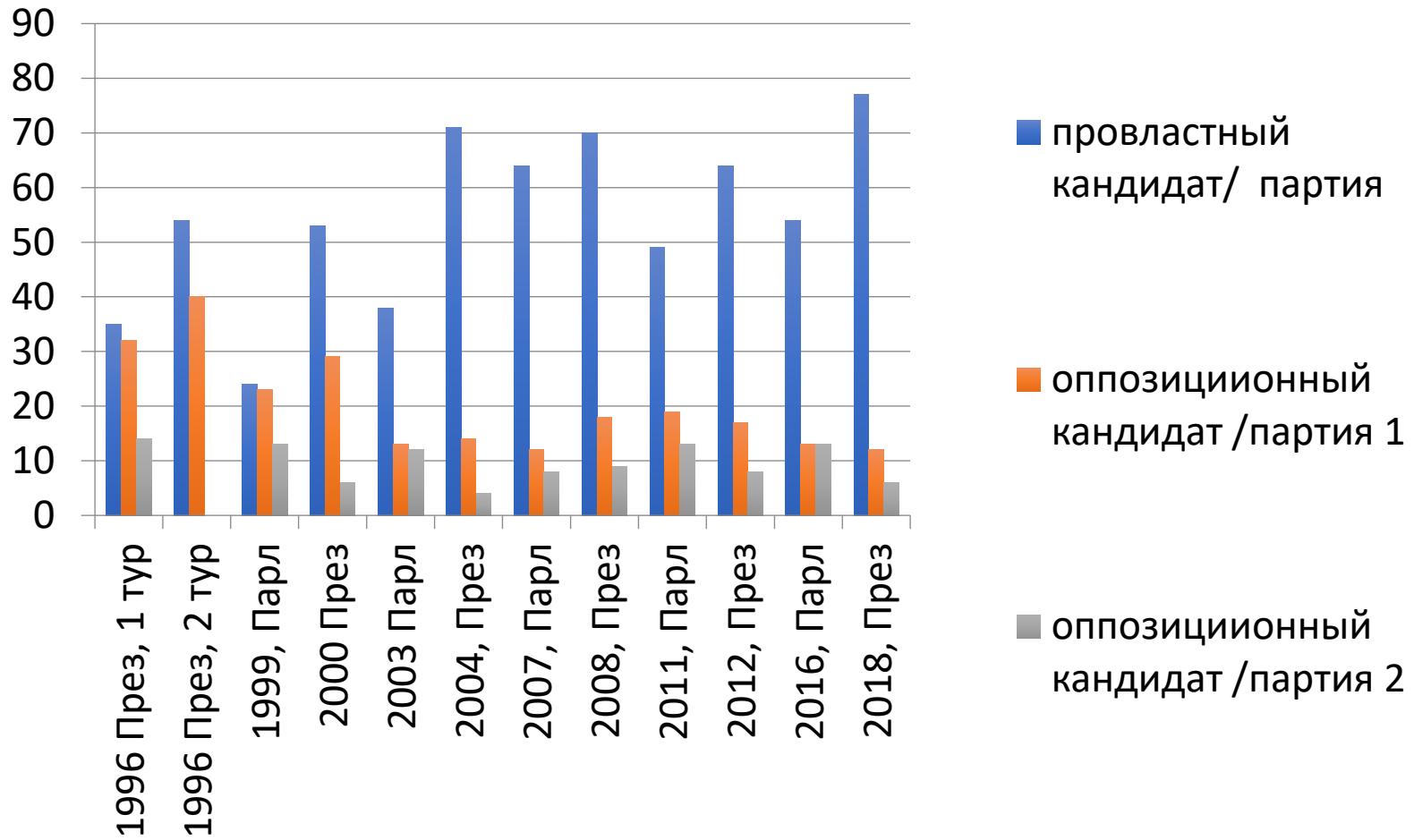
LIBERAL MISSION FOUNDATION, MOSCOW

	% votes for incumbent (president elected)			Number of post-soviet presidents	REEDOM HOUSE 1999	FREEDOM HOUSE 2019
	Last 25 years, average	Last 12 years, aver.	Last elections			
Kazakhstan	91	97	98	1	5.5	6.0
Turkmenistan	96	95	98	2	7.0	7.0
Uzbekistan	90	90	89	2	6.5	6.5
Azerbaijan	84	86	86	3	5.5	6.5
Tajikistan	75	82	84	2	5.5	6.5
Belarus	74	82	83	1	6.0	6.5
Russia	59	70	77	3	4.5	6.5
Armenia	58	56	59	3 (+1)*	4.0	4.0
Kyrgyz Rep.	76	65	55	4 (+1)*	5.0	4.5
Georgia	73	58	60	5	3.5	3.0
Moldova	56	50	52	4 (+1)*	3.0	3.5
Ukraine	47	46	55	5	3.0	3.5

	% votes for incumbent (president elected)			<i>President's average stay in office, years</i>	FREEDOM HOUSE score 2007-2019
	Last 25 years, average	Last 12 years, aver.	Last elections		
Competitive oligarchies	62	55	56	5.6	3.8
Personalistic authoritarian	81	86	88	13.5	6.3

# Уровень конкуренции и тип политического режима

## От конкуренции к доминированию



# No traditional values in Russia

(World Values survey, 2010 – 2014)

	Tolerance to abortion		Traditional family
Qatar	1.84	Azerbaijan	78.6
Turkey	2.11	Qatar	69.4
Brazil	2.31	Turkey	59.4
Armenia	2.32	Uzbekistan	59.1
Uzbekistan	2.54	Armenia	56.2
Azerbaijan	2.8	Kazakhstan	45.3
Kazakhstan	3.46	Ukraine	29.5
Ukraine	3.75	Russia	28.3
Belarus	3.83	Belarus	27.6
Russia	4.36	Estonia	17.6
Germany	4.5	Brazil	16.8
Estonia	4.96	Germany	15.5

# No traditional values in Russia

(World Values survey, 2010 – 2014)

	Importance of religion, %		Importance of religion, %
<b>Qatar</b>	<b>99.8</b>	<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>60.8</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>92.7</b>	<b>Kazakhstan</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>Brazil</b>	<b>89.4</b>	<b>Belarus</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Armenia</b>	<b>89.3</b>	<b>Russia</b>	<b>41.8</b>
<b>Poland</b>	<b>79.6</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>Estonia</b>	<b>25.3</b>
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	<b>69.2</b>	<b>average</b>	<b>65.7</b>

## Would not like to have as neighbors : Homosexuals

World Values survey, 2017 – 2020

	Myanmar Nigeria Azerbaijan Turkey Kazakhstan China	Montenegro Belarus Russia Georgia Malaysia	Lithuania Bulgaria Tunisia Romania Bosnia Herzegovina Serbia	Ukraine Lebanon Pakistan Cyprus Slovakia Hungary Estonia	Greece Nicaragua Slovenia Chile Japan Bolivia Mexico Hong Kong Czech Rep.	Europe USA New Zealand Brazil Argentina
The share of resp. mentioning	70-90%	60-70%	50-60%	35-50%	35 - 15%	>15%

# Russia was pro-authoritarian (World Values survey, 2010 – 2014)

	Strong leader is very and fairly good		
<b>Ukraine</b>	71.3	<b>Turkey</b>	49.8
<b>Romania</b>	69.7	<b>South Korea</b>	48.7
<b>Russia</b>	67	<b>Belarus</b>	46.8
<b>Brazil</b>	64.8	<b>Argentina</b>	44.6
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	64.4	<b>Uzbekistan</b>	40.4
<b>India</b>	56.4	<b>United States</b>	34.1
<b>South Africa</b>	56.1	<b>Azerbaijan</b>	21.7
<b>Armenia</b>	52.3	<b>Germany</b>	20.7
<b>average</b>	50.6	<b>Poland</b>	20

# But support for strong leadership shrunk (World Values survey, 2017 – 2020)

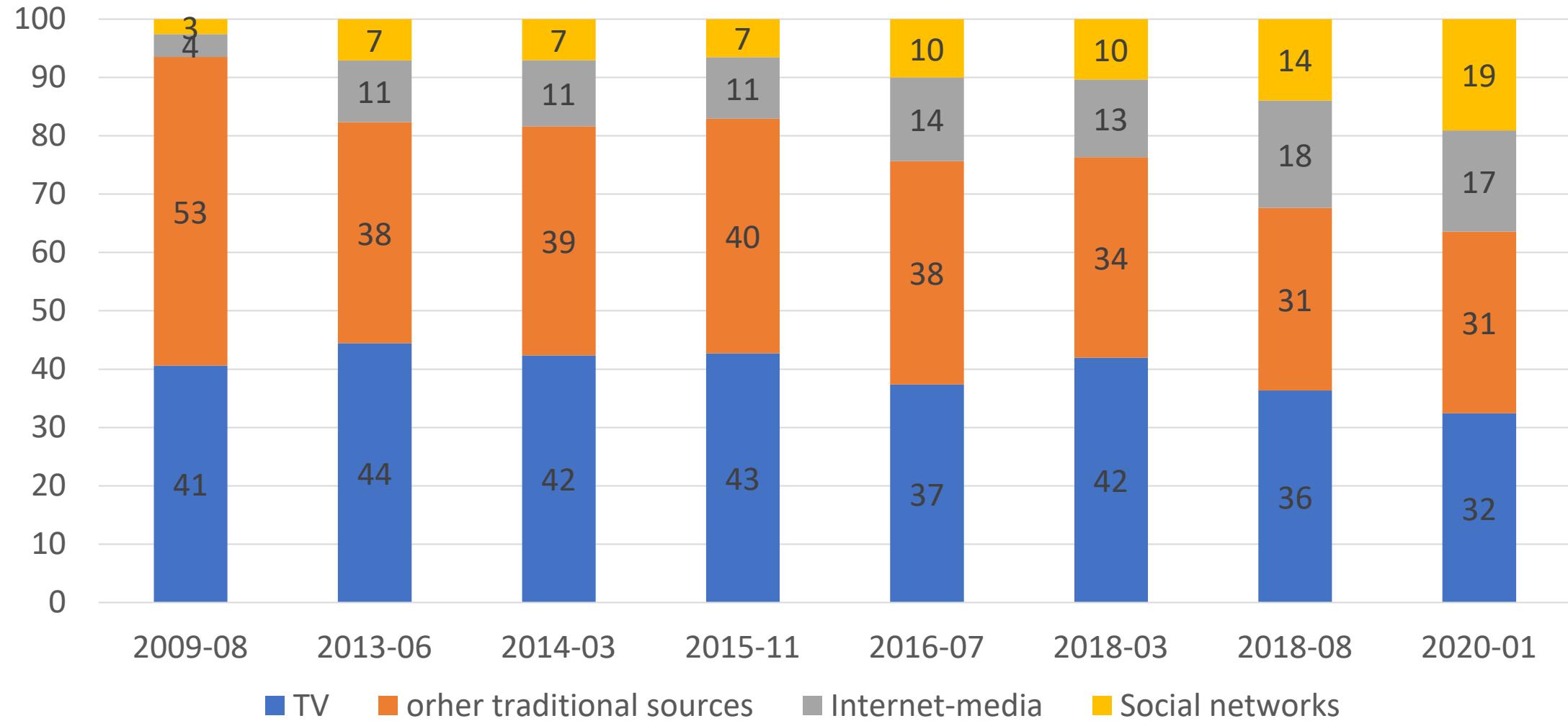
Strong leader is very and fairly good			
	%		%
Tajikistan	73.3	mean	43.9
Romania	72.6	Russia	39.4
Kazakhstan	67.8	Croatia	38.2
Azerbaijan	66.4	Lebanon	37
Kyrgyzstan	62.3	United States	37
Belarus	61.6	Italy	31.3
Nigeria	59.5	Slovenia	28.1
Ukraine	58.3	United Kingdom	27.6
Armenia	57.6	Old EU members	21

# **Freedom vs Security**

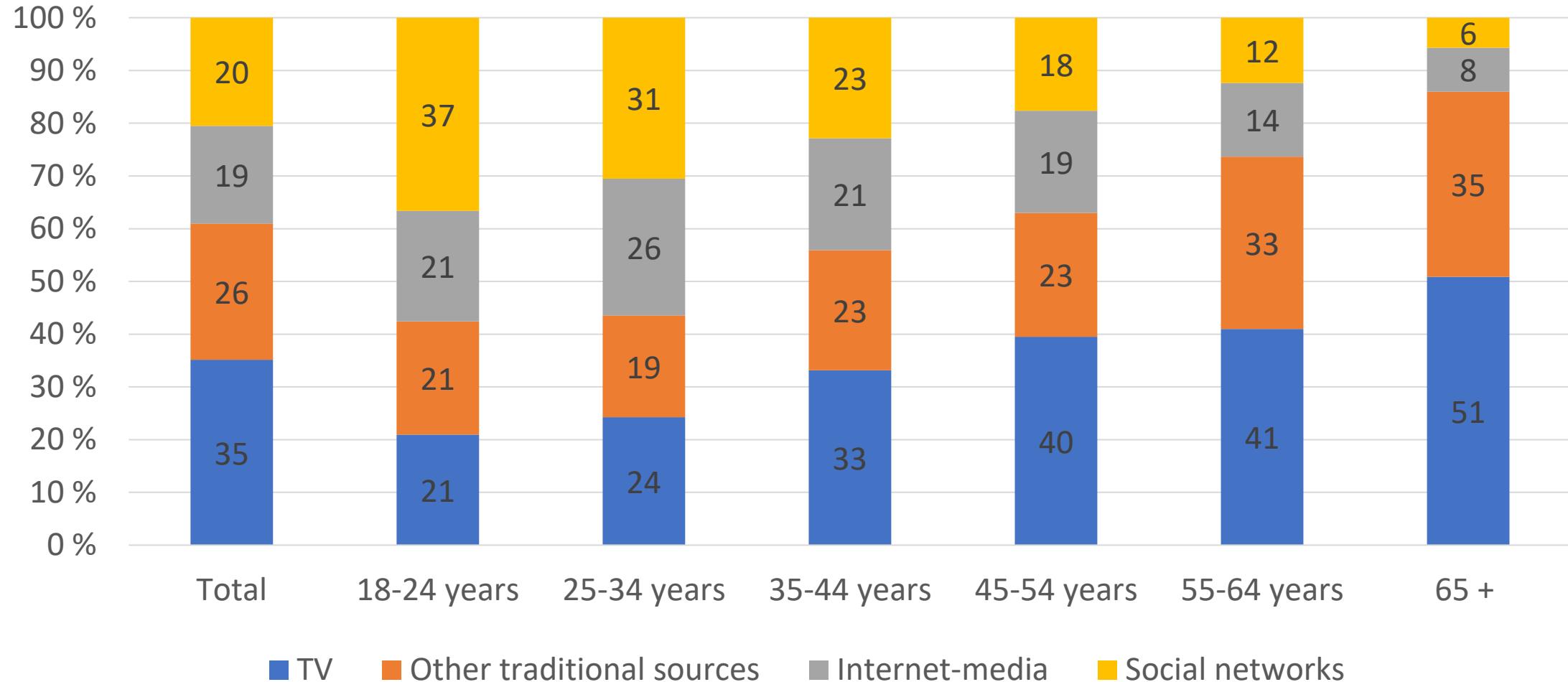
(World Values survey, 2017 – 2030)

	Indonesia China Egypt Iran Taiwan Japan	Ecuador Russia Brazil Mexico MEAN Bangladesh Nigeria Malaysia Tajikistan Kyrgyzstan	Kazakhstan Philippines Ukraine Vietnam Romania	Turkey South Korea Germany Greece
security	80 - 90	70 - 80	60 - 70	50- 60
freedom	10 - 20	20 - 30	30 - 40	40 - 50

## Media consumption: sources of information dynamics

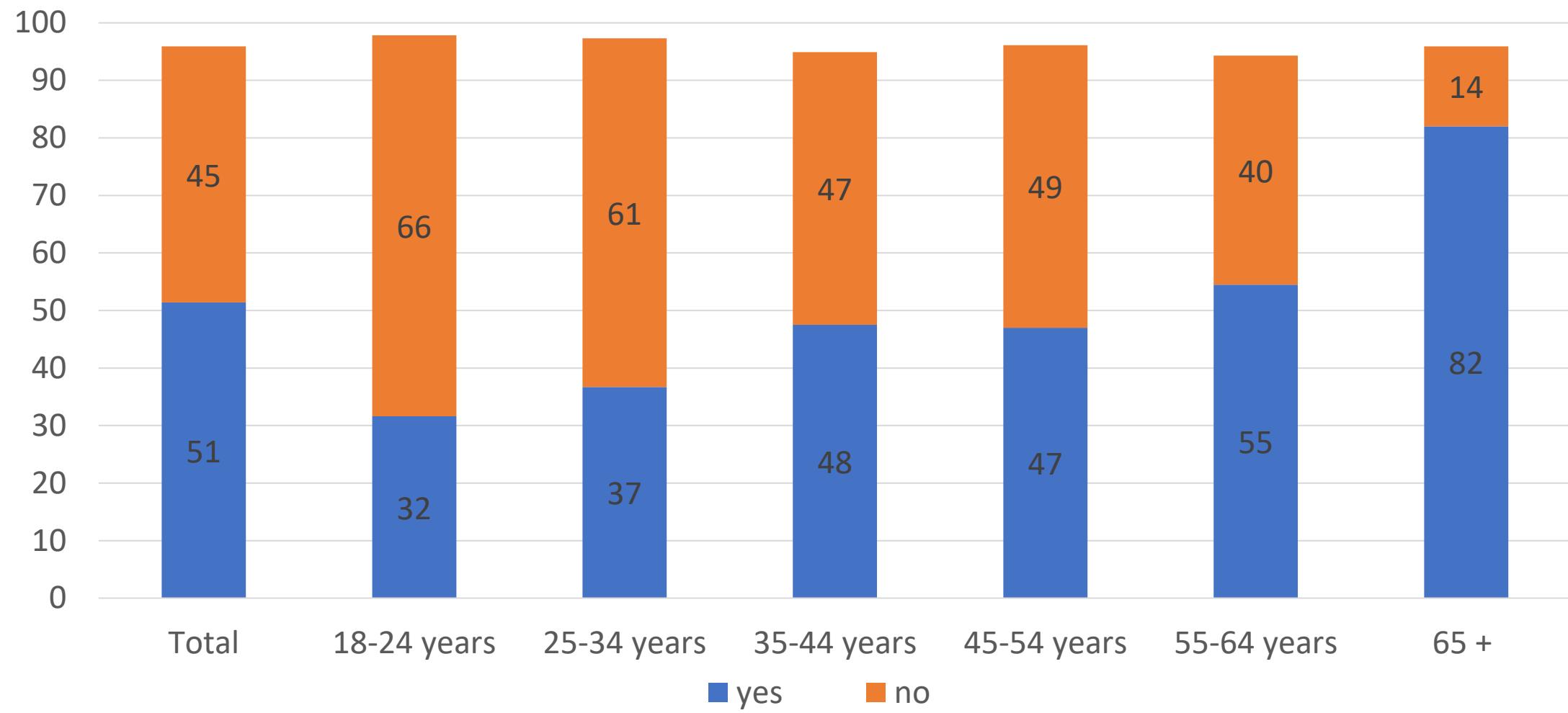


## Media consumption: sources of information in age groups



## AGE DIVERGENCE TO PUTIN'S ZEROING

DO YOU APPROVE THE AMENDMENT ON THE RESETTING OF PUTIN'S PRESIDENTIAL TERMS, WHICH ALLOW HIM TO TAKE PART IN THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS?



	% votes for incumbent (president elected)			Number of post-soviet presidents	FREEDOM HOUSE score 2007-2019	The share of resource rent, % GDP, average 2000 - 2016
	Last 25 years, average	Last 12 years, aver.	Last elections			
Kazakhstan	91	97	98	1	5.6	22.7
Turkmenistan	96	95	98	2	7.0	45.2
Uzbekistan	90	90	89	2	7.0	24.1
Azerbaijan	84	86	86	3	5.9	30.2
Tajikistan	75	82	84	2	6.0	1.3
Belarus	74	82	83	1	6.5	1.6
Russia	59	70	77	3	5.8	16.0
Armenia	58	56	59	3 (+1)*	4.6	2.2
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Moldova	56	50	52	4 (+1)*	3.2	0.2
Ukraine	47	46	55	5	3.0	6.2

## Total natural resources rents (% of GDP)

