

SOCIOPOLIS™

Social, Political & Market Research

ANTI-COLONIAL PERSPECTIVES AND CENTRIFUGAL MOVEMENTS IN CERTAIN SUBJECTS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

report on the expert survey / 2023



METHODOLOGY

The expert survey "Prospects of Anti-colonial and Centrifugal Movements in Certain Constituent Entities of the Russian Federation" was conducted by the "Sociopolis Research Company" at the request of the Public Initiative for Action.



The timeline for the field phase of the survey

is January 4-16, 2023



The purpose of the study

is to assess the current socio-political situation in certain subjects of the Russian Federation and the prospects for its development in the context of centripetal and anticolonial movements in these subjects as a whole, as well as among indigenous peoples living in them.



The object of the study (the target audience under study)

are representatives of social movements in various subjects and regions of the Russian Federation whose activities are aimed at protecting the rights and interests of the population of these regions, including the indigenous peoples living in them.



The method of collecting primary sociological information

is a semi-standardized questionnaire of experts.



Ways of conducting a survey of experts

The questionnaire was administered in the following ways (at the choice of the expert):

- ▶ telephone interview (interviewing an expert over the phone by a company employee);
- ▶ online questionnaire (the expert filled out the questionnaire himself online);
- ▶ absentee questionnaire (the expert was sent a questionnaire in electronic format, which he or she filled out independently and sent back the completed file).

METHODOLOGY



The criteria for selecting respondents for the survey

were their direct active participation in socio-political processes related to the protection of the rights and interests of the population of certain regions and/or indigenous peoples in the Russian Federation for at least one year prior to the date of the survey. The sampling frame was formed by members of the Forum of Free Peoples of Post-Russia.



Stages of the survey:

1. Questionnaire development.
2. Formation of the sampling frame.
3. Conducting the field phase of the survey (conducting interviews with experts in the form of a telephone interview, online questionnaire, or absentee questionnaire).
4. Coding, data input and statistical processing.
5. Analysis and synthesis of the information obtained, report preparation.



The sample size

is 27 experts



Observance of confidentiality

All experts who participated in the survey were ensured anonymity and confidentiality of the information they provided. Personal data of the experts will not be made public. The survey was conducted in compliance with international norms and national legislation on the protection of personal data and its confidentiality. In particular, appropriate technical safeguards were provided to prevent accidental loss, destruction, damage, modification or disclosure of personal data during processing. All the answers provided by the experts were used exclusively for research purposes and are presented in the results of the survey only in a summarized or impersonal form.

EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

1

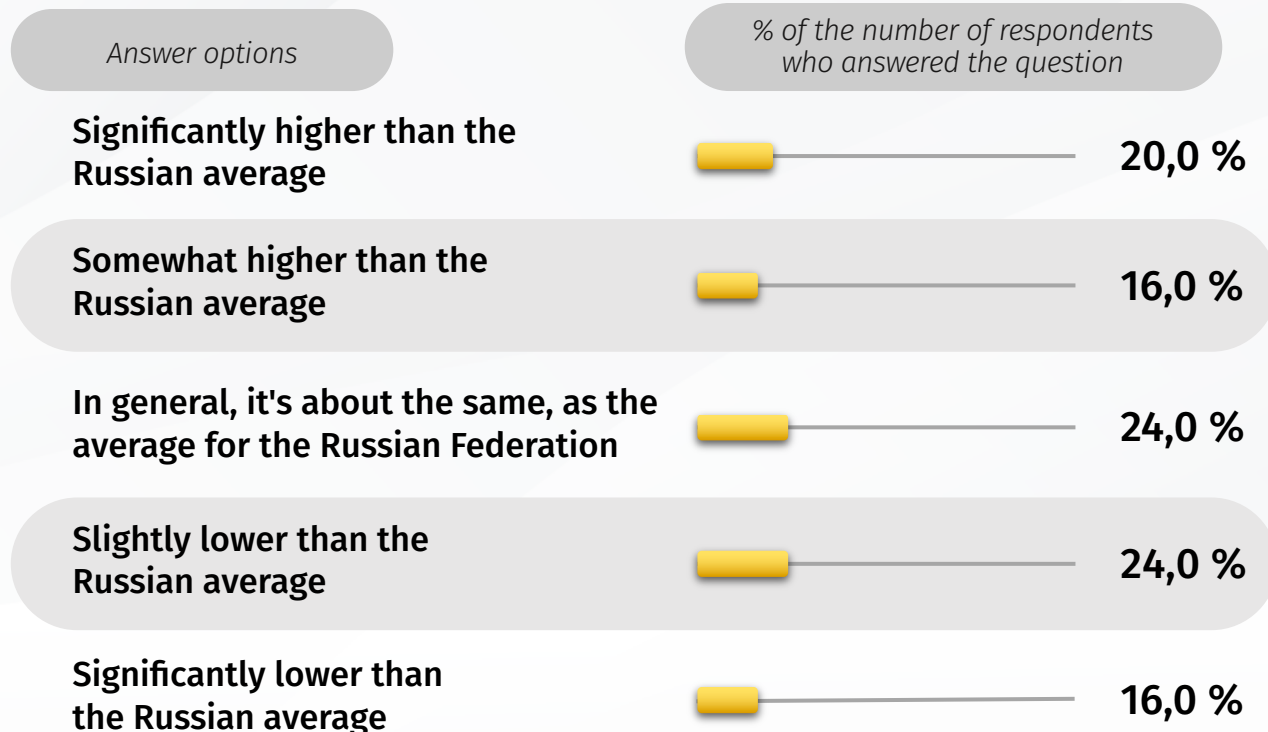
According to the results of the poll, 36% of experts assessed the level of socio-economic development of the region (or regions), with which their activity is associated, as higher than the average for the RF; 40% of experts - as lower than the average for the RF; and 24% of experts assessed the level of development of their region (regions) as approximately the same as the average for the RF. Thus, the study presents the whole range of RF regions by the level of their socio-economic development - from "rich" regions that are donors to the federal budget to depressed and subsidized regions (tab. 1).



Table 1

Distribution of answers to the question

How would you assess the level of socio-economic development of the constituent entity(ies) of the Russian Federation with which your activities are connected?
(hereinafter - your region), **compared to the average Russian level?**



EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

2

Among the most acute problems characteristic of their regions and the indigenous peoples living there, the greatest number of experts (48%) pointed to the lack of support for indigenous peoples from the center; problems with preserving the language, culture, and national identity of indigenous peoples; their russification and assimilation. 32% of experts pointed to the problems of exploitation of the regions by the center, the oligarchs; the "siphoning" of natural resources from the regions (taxes are paid in the center). 28% of experts named among the most acute problems economic restrictions for the indigenous peoples (in particular, the ban on free hunting and fishing; confiscation of lands inhabited by indigenous peoples; "displacement" of the indigenous population from rural areas due to unemployment, school closures, etc.).

A significant number of experts also named more general problems (typical not only for indigenous peoples, but for the entire population of their respective regions) among the most acute ones: lack of political rights and freedoms (freedom of speech and free elections); systemic corruption; unemployment; arbitrary treatment by police and other law enforcement agencies; and repressions (Table 2).



Table 2

Distribution of answers to the question

What are the most pressing problems specific to your region and the indigenous peoples living in it (when viewed as a whole all areas of their livelihood), would you single out?

OPEN QUESTION

Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Lack of support for indigenous peoples from the center; problems of preservation and development of their culture, language, national identity; Russification, assimilation of indigenous peoples

48 %

Exploitation of the regions by the center, the oligarchs; natural resources are "siphoned off" from the regions, while taxes are paid in the center; the regions are treated as colonies

32 %

Economic restrictions for indigenous peoples (e.g., prohibition of free hunting, fishing; seizure of land on which indigenous peoples live; "displacement" of indigenous people from rural areas due to unemployment, school closures); lack of investment in national regions

28 %

Lack of political rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, free elections)

24 %

Table 2

Distribution of answers to the question

What are the most pressing problems specific to your region and the indigenous peoples living in it (when viewed as a whole all areas of their livelihood), would you single out?

OPEN QUESTION

Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Systemic corruption; everything is built on corruption



24 %

Unemployment



24 %

Arbitrariness on the part of the police and other power structures, disenfranchisement of the population before them; repressions against dissenters



20 %

Demographic problems (migration from depressed regions; from rural areas; decrease in the number of indigenous peoples)



16 %

Poor economic situation (in general)



16 %

Low level of infrastructure development (poor roads; poor and expensive transportation; low level of gasification, provision of basic utilities)



16 %

Table 2

Distribution of answers to the question

What are the most pressing problems specific to your region and the indigenous peoples living in it (when viewed as a whole all areas of their livelihood), would you single out?

OPEN QUESTION

Answer options

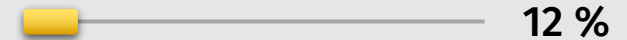
% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Isolation of the population of certain regions from the rest of Russia
(in particular in Siberia, the Kaliningrad region)



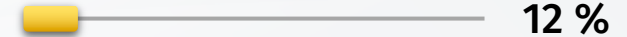
16 %

Low standard of living (in general); low wages, pensions



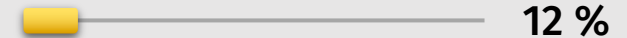
12 %

Repression of indigenous people; xenophobia against national minorities



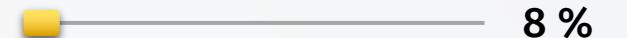
12 %

Problems with access to medical, educational services; low quality of such services



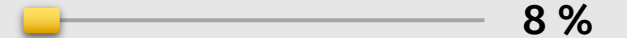
12 %

"Environmental problems" (in particular, poor water quality; pollution; desertification in certain regions)



8 %

Lack of an independent court



8 %

State Interference in the Religious Sphere
(particularly in Tatarstan)



8 %

Table 2

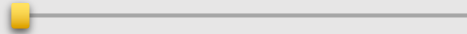
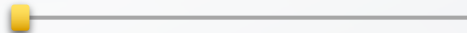
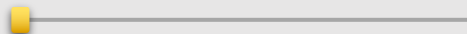
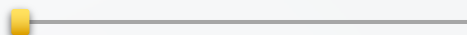
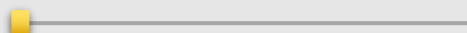
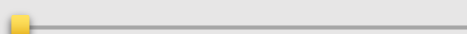
Distribution of answers to the question

What are the most pressing problems specific to your region and the indigenous peoples living in it (when viewed as a whole all areas of their livelihood), would you single out?

OPEN QUESTION

Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Municipal councils do not work for the benefit of residents		4 %
Lack of economic freedoms		4 %
The Criminal Entrenchment		4 %
Nepotism		4 %
Uncontrolled development (building)		4 %
Drinking		4 %
Propaganda ("zombie TV")		4 %
Lack of perspective		4 %

EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

3

According to the results of the survey, the overwhelming majority of experts believe that local elites that would be capable of protecting the interests of their regions and their indigenous peoples in their relations with the center are completely or almost absent in their regions.

On a 5-point scale, 57.7% of the experts gave a score of 1 and 23.1% gave a score of 2. The average score among all the experts was 1.8 on a 5-point scale (where 1 point is the level of formation of such local elites is very low, and 5 points is the level of formation of such local elites is very high) (Table 3.1).

Almost all of the interviewed experts point to a very strong dependence of the local elites on the center - 84.6% of experts estimated the level of such dependence at 5 points on a 5-point scale, and another 11.5% - at 4 points. The average score among all experts was 4.8 on a 5-point scale (where 5 points represents the highest level of dependence of local elites on the center) (Table 3.2).

Experts consider the reason for this situation to be the long-standing practice of direct control over the regions from the center, the appointment of "their people" to regional governments by the center and the suppression of any manifestations of independence by regional authorities ("Those who deviate even slightly from the center's policies will instantly lose their managerial position, followed by criminal prosecution or physical annihilation").

Table 3.1

Distribution of answers to the question

To what extent are local elites formed in your region that are able to protect the interests of the region and its indigenous peoples in their relations with the center?

Please rate on a 5-point scale, where 1 point is the level of formation of such local elites very low, and 5 points is the level of formation of such local elites is very high.

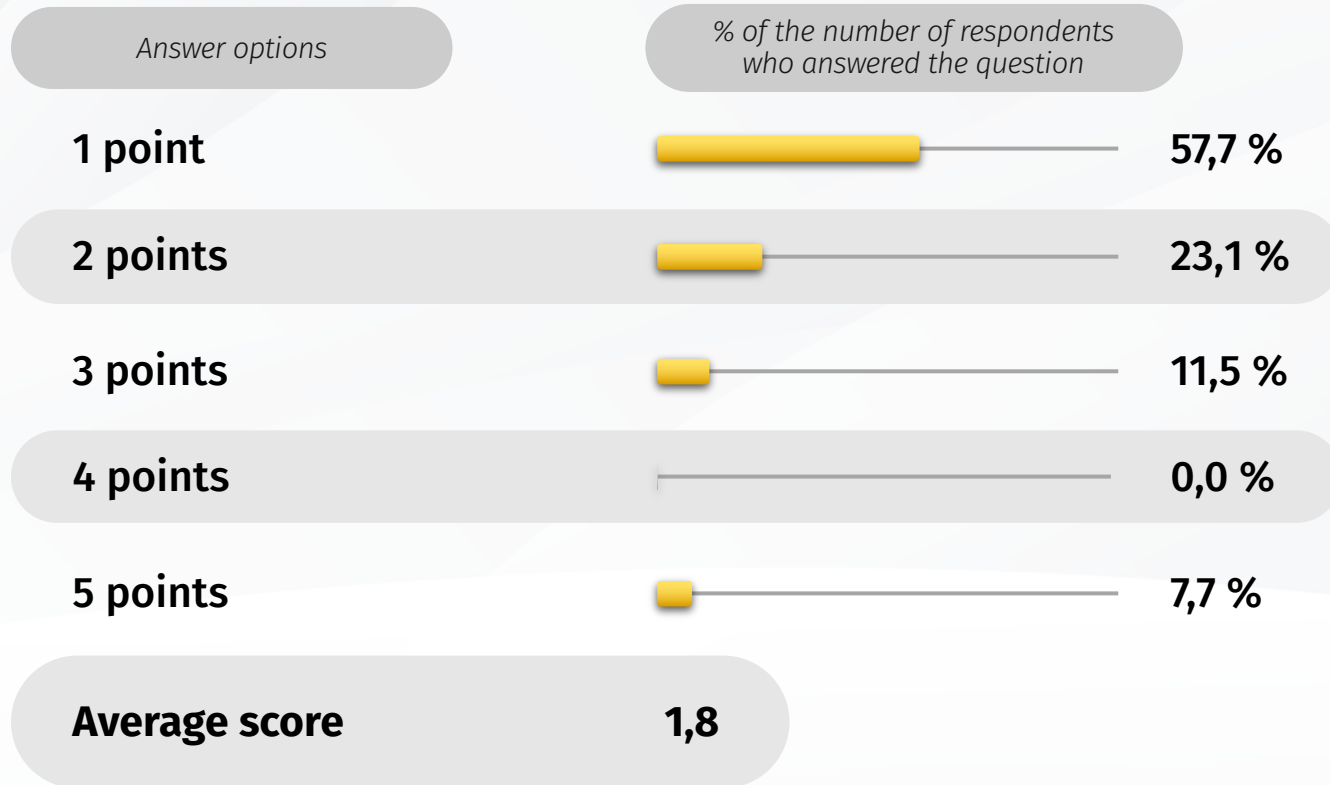
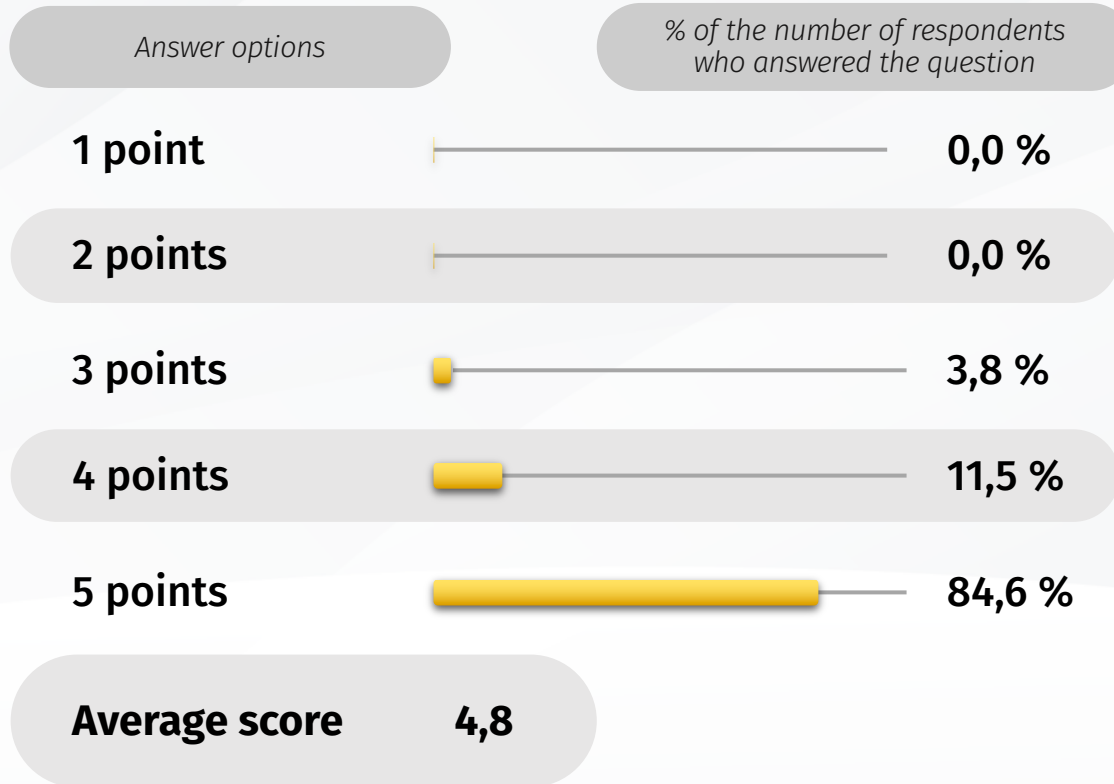


Table 3.2

Distribution of answers to the question

How dependent are the local elites in your region on the Center?

Please rate on a 5-point scale, where 1 point is the level of formation of such local elites very low, and 5 points is the level of formation of such local elites is very high.



EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

4

Most of the interviewed experts gave average estimates of the degree of satisfaction of the local elites with the existing level of relations with the center. 56% of experts assessed the level of satisfaction of local elites with relations with the center as 3 points, while the average score among all experts was 2.8 points on a 5-point scale (where 1 point is the degree of satisfaction with the existing relations with the center is very low, and 5 points - very high) (Table 4.1).

The level of satisfaction with relations with the center among the residents of their regions was assessed by the experts interviewed as generally below average. 48% of experts estimated the level of satisfaction of residents of their regions with relations with the center at 1 or 2 points, while 36% gave a score of 3 on a 5-point scale. The average score among all experts was 2.4 points on a 5-point scale (where 1 point is the degree of satisfaction with the existing relations with the center is very low and 5 points is very high) (Table 4.2).

The level of satisfaction with relations with the center among the indigenous peoples of their regions was assessed by the experts interviewed as generally low. Most (75%) of the experts gave a score of 1 or 2 for the level of satisfaction with the relations with the center among the inhabitants of their regions. The average score among all experts was 2.0 on a 5-point scale (where 1 point is the degree of satisfaction with the existing relations with the center is very low and 5 points is very high) (Table 4.3).

EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

4

Thus, there is a tendency towards an increase in negative attitudes towards the center in the direction from regional elites (the level of satisfaction with relations with the center is generally average) to the entire population of regions (the degree of satisfaction with relations with the center is below average) and further to indigenous peoples (low degree of satisfaction with relations with the center).

At the same time, experts noted that the existing dissatisfaction with the center (both among the elites and among the population of the regions) is currently mostly hidden ("Everything is kept alive by fear of the power structures and the power of the center. It is possible to talk and think, but about themselves (secretly)", "The elites are dissatisfied, but they have to endure"). Partially, the authorities manage to direct their discontent with the existing situation to other "addresses" (bad officials, the West, Ukraine, etc.) ("The Russian propaganda machine has worked successfully; the population blames local officials, the West, Ukraine, Freemasons, and themselves for all the problems - but not Putin and the central government"). However, if the pressure from the center decreases, we can expect discontent to move from the latent to the explicit form ("If centrifugal processes take place, the elites will turn 180 degrees as a weathervane").

Table 4.1

Distribution of answers to the question

To what extent do you think the local elites of your region and its indigenous peoples are satisfied with the current level of relations with the Center?

Please rate on a 5-point scale, where 1 point is the level of formation of such local elites very low, and 5 points is the level of formation of such local elites is very high.

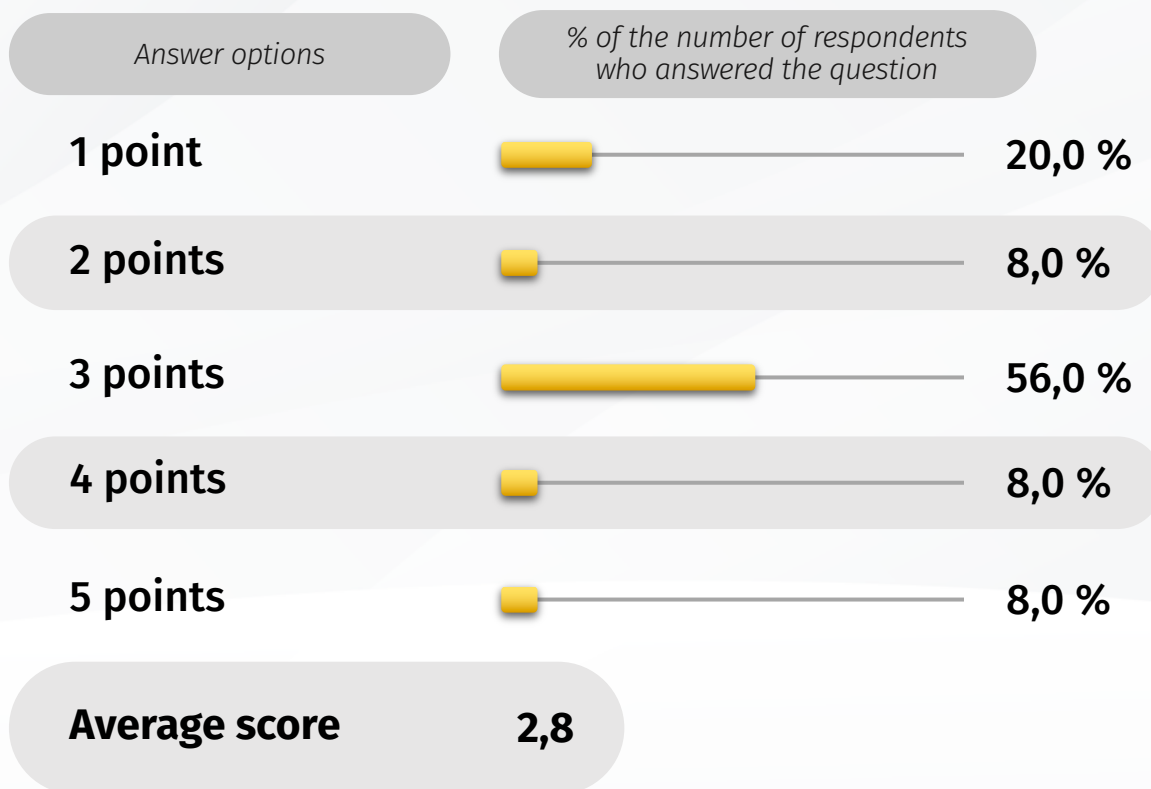


Table 4.2

Distribution of answers to the question

How satisfied is the population of your region with the existing level of relations with the Center?

Please rate on a 5-point scale, where 1 point is the level of formation of such local elites very low, and 5 points is the level of formation of such local elites is very high.

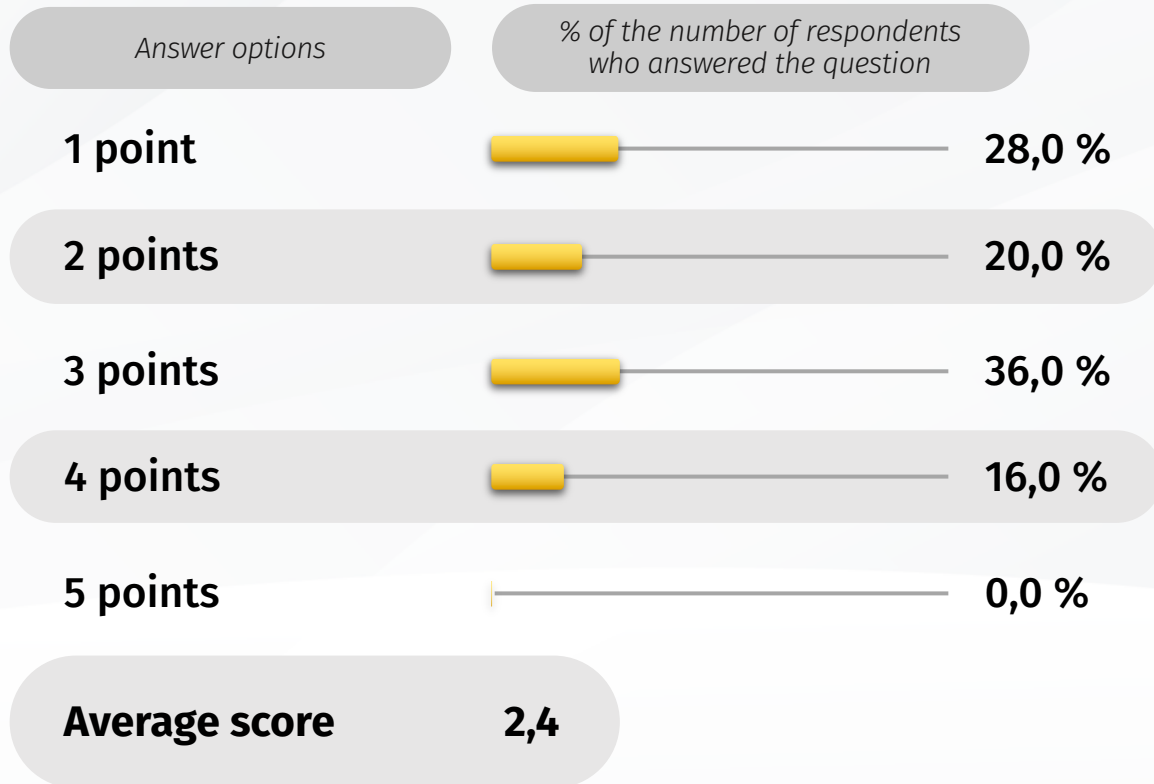
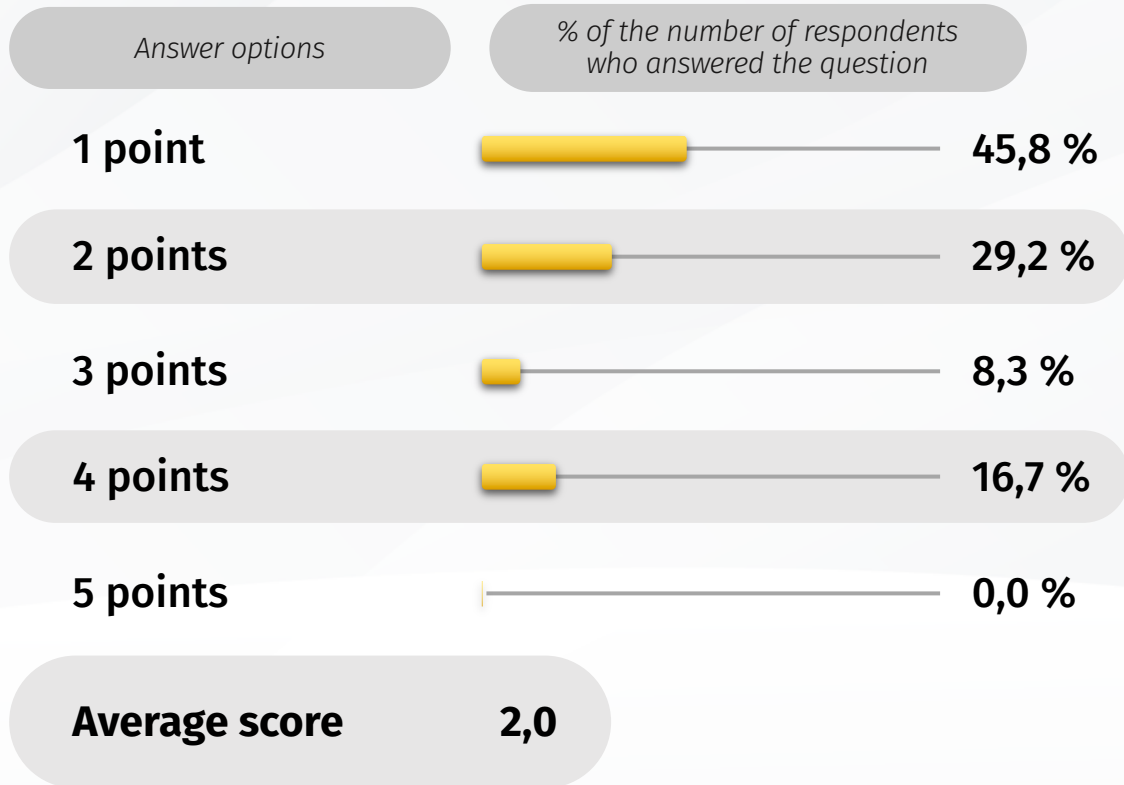


Table 4.3

Distribution of answers to the question

How satisfied are the indigenous peoples of your region with the current level of relations with the Center?

Please rate on a 5-point scale, where 1 point is the level of formation of such local elites very low, and 5 points is the level of formation of such local elites is very high.



EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

5

Among the most acute problems in the relations of the regions, as well as the indigenous peoples living in them, with the center, the experts named:

- ▶ The center's policy of Russification and eradication of the national identity of indigenous peoples (in particular with regard to indigenous languages, cultures, and history) (this problem was mentioned by 28% of the experts);
- ▶ Lack of adequate support for the regions from the center (24%);
- ▶ total dependence of the regions on the center; almost complete absence of local self-government (24%);
- ▶ infringement of the rights and interests of indigenous peoples (20%);
- ▶ exploitation of regional resources by the center, the vast majority of the revenues from which do not return to the regions (16%) (Table 5).



Table 5

Distribution of answers to the question

What are the most acute problems in the relations of your region and its indigenous peoples with the Center would you single out?

OPEN QUESTION

Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Policies of Russification, eradication of the national identity of indigenous peoples

(indigenous languages are either not studied at all or their study is not mandatory; indigenous cultures are adjusted to the "all-Russian" paradigm, which has a negative effect on them; indigenous history is distorted, national heroes are discredited and replaced by Soviet and post-Soviet ones)

28 %

Lack of adequate support for the regions from the center

(insufficient funding, in particular, for roads, gasification, landscaping; inability to attract investors, since all management comes from Moscow)

24 %

Total dependence on the regions of the center, almost complete absence of local self-governance

(the local population, including indigenous peoples, cannot decide anything independently - all decisions are taken from above; officials are appointed from above; no free elections, no possibility to elect their representatives; the actual destruction of self-governance both at the regional and local levels)

24 %

Infringement of the rights and interests of indigenous peoples; ignoring and not understanding the problems of the population of the regions and national minorities

20 %

Table 5

Distribution of answers to the question

What are the most acute problems in the relations of your region and its indigenous peoples with the Center would you single out?

OPEN QUESTION

Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Exploitation of regional resources by the center, the vast majority of revenues from which are not returned to the regions ("siphoning off resources"; no rights to exploit their own resources; many mining and transit companies pay taxes in Moscow, not in the regions; no income from their natural resources, everything goes to the center)

16 %

The attitude of the center to the regions as colonies

12 %

Complete ban on national movements and parties; repression of national communities

8 %

Hopelessness and lack of perspectives; the oppression of the indigenous population

8 %

The purchasing power of the population is falling; driving indigenous people into poverty

8 %

Interference by the authorities in the religious sphere

8 %

Table 5

Distribution of answers to the question

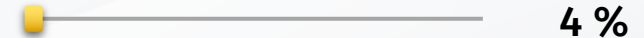
What are the most acute problems in the relations of your region and its indigenous peoples with the Center would you single out?

OPEN QUESTION

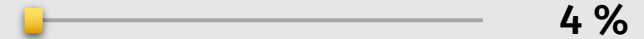
Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

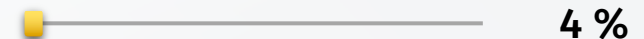
Unemployment and related migration



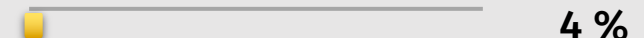
Xenophobia towards national minorities; mutual hostility between national minorities and Russians



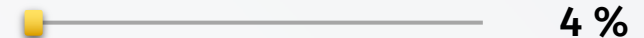
People are afraid that Moscow will give Siberia to China



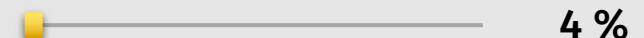
Inability to hold rallies, pickets and other public events



The non-recognition of the Cossacks as a nation, their discrediting



Lack of compensation for deportation and genocide



Complete absence of representation of indigenous interests in international forums, organizations, and institutions



EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

6

About a third (34.8%) of the experts surveyed believe that 41% to 60% of the residents of their regions would agree with the statement that their region is a colony of the Russian Federation. According to 47.8% of the experts, the number of residents of their regions who would agree with such a statement is less than 40%. Only 17.3% of the experts believe that in their regions over 60% of residents would agree with the statement that their region is a colony of the Russian Federation. The average indicator of experts' assessments of the proportion of people who would agree with the statement that their region is a colony of the Russian Federation is 42% (Table 6.2). It should be noted that the calculation of these indicators does not take into account differences in the number of population in the corresponding regions of the Russian Federation, that is, it is an average indicator among experts and not among the entire population of the regions studied (however, there is every reason to assume that if this indicator is calculated taking into account the number of population in the regions studied, it will not change a lot).

Similar assessments regarding only indigenous peoples of the regions in question show a slight increase among them (as compared to all residents of the regions) in the number of those who would agree with the statement that their region is a colony of the Russian Federation. The average indicator of experts' assessments of the share of the indigenous population who would agree with the statement that their region is a colony of the Russian Federation was 48% (Table 6.2).

Thus, according to expert estimates, **the majority of residents of their regions would rather not agree with the statement that their region is a colony of the Russian Federation.** At the same time, there is a significant part of the population in these regions that would agree with such an assertion. The experts also noted that many residents of their regions currently do not think about such a question, but with appropriate information work, a significant part of them could agree that their region is a colony of the Russian Federation ("In general, the population of our region does not think about it at all, but if offered such a question to answer, half of them would think about it"; "If asked about it now, maybe more than half would answer that Siberia will not survive without Russia. But if there is no violence and oppression from Moscow, most likely most of the people of Siberia will realize that they lived in a colony.)

Table 6.1

Distribution of answers to the question

What percentage of your region's residents do you think would generally agree with the statement that their region is a colony of the Russian Federation?

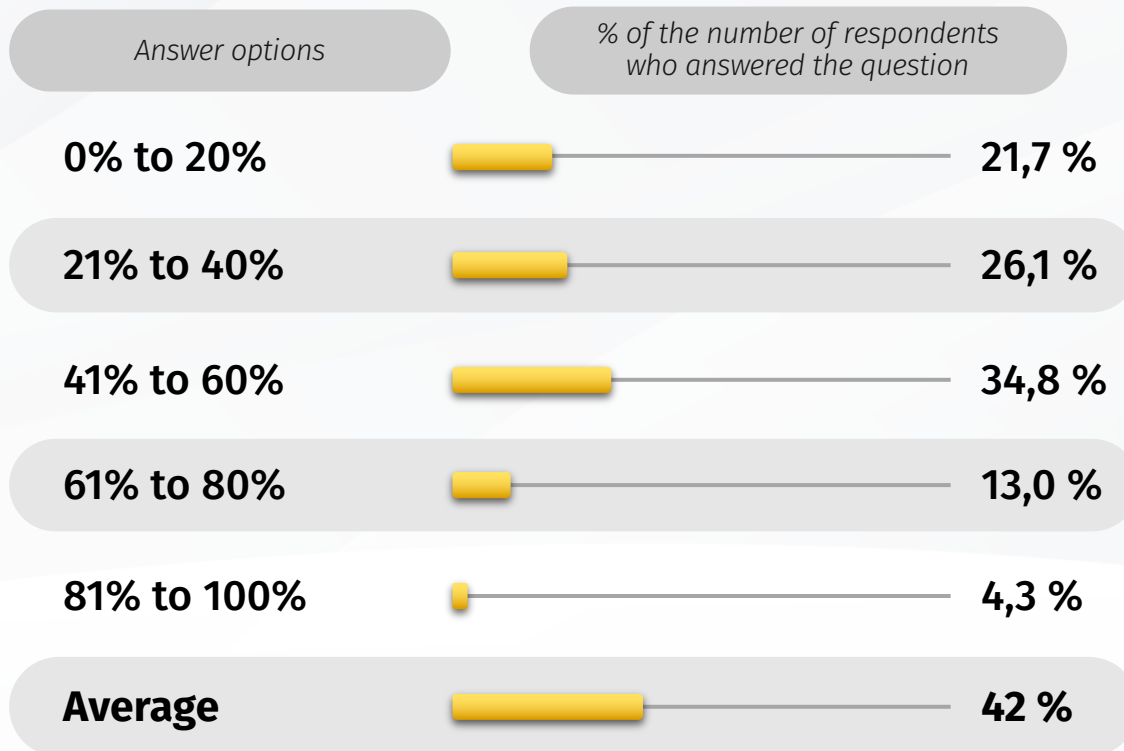
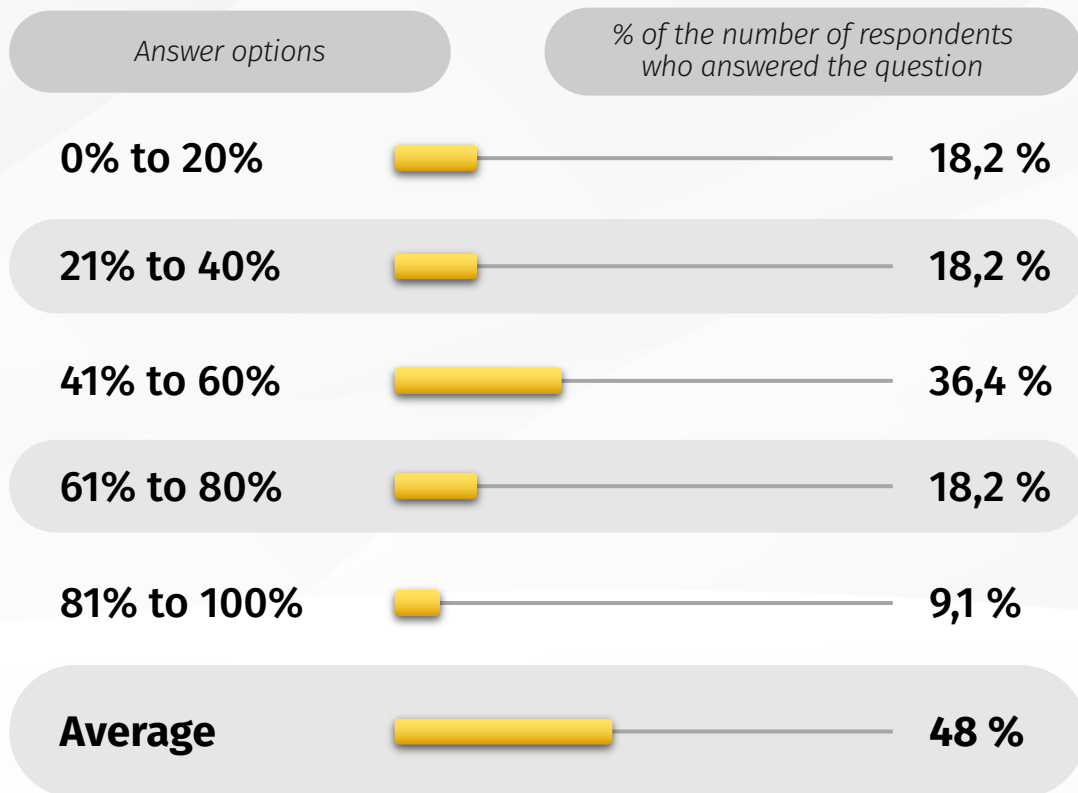


Table 6.2

Distribution of answers to the question

And what percentage of the indigenous peoples in your region would agree with the statement that their region is a colony of the Russian Federation?



EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

7

In the question of assessing the number of residents of regions that support the war between Russia and Ukraine, do not support this war, or have a neutral or indifferent attitude toward this issue, the assessments of individual experts differed significantly, which is due to both objective differences between different regions of the Russian Federation and the difficulties in studying this issue under current conditions ("What people really think is unclear, because people are afraid to answer questions openly, especially about the war").

At the same time, a generalization of the responses received provides grounds to conclude that all three of these categories of the population (in terms of their attitude to the war) have a significant representation in the studied regions of the Russian Federation. According to 36.4% of the experts, between 21% and 40% of the residents of their regions support the war between Russia and Ukraine. 27.3% of the experts believe 41% to 60% of the residents in their regions support the war and an equal number (27.3% of the experts) - no more than 20% of the residents in their regions support it. The average estimate of the proportion of regional residents who support the war among all the experts is 37% (hereinafter, it should be taken into account that the calculation of this indicator does not take into account differences in the number of residents in the regions).

The average estimate among all experts of the proportion of residents of regions that have a neutral or indifferent attitude to the war between Russia and Ukraine was 32%; the proportion of residents of regions that have a negative attitude to the war was 31% (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1

Distribution of answers to the question

In general, how do the residents of your region feel about the war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine? Please estimate the approximate percentage of residents of your region who generally support the war; who are neutral or indifferent; and who generally do not support the war?

Answer options	% of the number of respondents who answered the question		
	Generally support the war	Have a neutral or indifferent attitude	Generally do not support the war
0% to 20%	27,3	36,8	47,4
21% to 40%	36,4	21,1	36,8
41% to 60%	27,3	36,8	5,3
61% to 80%	9,1	5,3	5,3
81% to 100%	0,0	0,0	5,3
Average	37%	32%	31%



EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

7

Thus, according to the experts, in their regions the opponents of the war are in a clear minority.

On the other hand, based on the data obtained, it can be argued that the opponents of the war are not isolated residents; they constitute a fairly significant population group, the number of which can reach 30%. At the same time, the reasons for which these residents in general oppose the war may be different (rejection of the war as such; sympathy for Ukraine; and simply unwillingness to fight), but this issue was not studied separately in this study.

If we consider only the indigenous peoples of the regions in question, then, according to experts' assessments, the number of neutral and indifferent to the war among them is approximately the same as among the entire population of the regions (31%). At the same time, the number of supporters of the war among the indigenous peoples as a whole is decreasing in comparison with the entire population of the regions (from 37% to 28%), and the number of those opposed to the war is correspondingly increasing (from 31% to 41%) (Table 7.2). Thus, there is a clear trend towards a noticeable reduction in the level of support for the war among indigenous peoples as compared to the entire population of the regions. On the whole, according to experts' assessments, supporters of the war relatively predominate among the entire population of the regions under study, and opponents of the war relatively predominate among the population of indigenous peoples.

Table 7.2

Distribution of answers to the question

And if we consider only indigenous people of your region - how do they feel about the war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine?

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Answer options	Generally support the war	Have a neutral or indifferent attitude	Generally do not support the war
0% to 20%	47,1	31,3	25,0
21% to 40%	35,3	43,8	37,5
41% to 60%	5,9	25,0	18,8
61% to 80%	11,8	0,0	12,5
81% to 100%	0,0	0,0	6,2
Average	28%	31%	41%



EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

7

Many experts noted the significant influence of propaganda on the formation of support for the war between Russia and Ukraine ("I think that when there is no propaganda and no state violence, this percentage will change very quickly in the direction of condemning the war"), as well as the fact that a significant number of those who oppose the war are afraid to make their position public ("The percentage of those who do not support the war is higher than it seems, but the vast majority of such people are afraid to speak openly about their position even among friends and acquaintances (sometimes even family members)").



EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

8

Almost half (48%) of the experts surveyed believe that the most accessible and effective method of increasing the number of anti-war protesters in RF regions is to conduct appropriate information campaigns and anti-war counterpropaganda. Residents of the regions should be provided with truthful and understandable information about the war, alternative to Russian propaganda; more information about their history, culture, and language should be disseminated among indigenous peoples; and the essence of the center's colonial policy toward the regions and the benefits of the regions' independence should be shown.

According to 36% of experts, the worsening economic situation in Russia (but only if residents of the regions attribute this worsening to the war) can influence the increase in the number of opponents of the war.

24% of experts think that the continuing mobilization in Russia and its growing scale as well as the increase in losses of the Russian army at the front can also significantly influence the increase of anti-war sentiments in the regions of Russia (Table 8).

Table 8

Distribution of answers to the question

Under what conditions do you think it is possible to increase the number of opponents of the war in your region?

OPEN QUESTION

Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Information campaigns; anti-war counter-propaganda (providing truthful, effective and understandable information alternative to the official propaganda; destroying the myths of Russian propaganda; informing indigenous people, residents of regions about their history, culture, colonization and exploitation by the center; showing residents of Russian regions the benefits of becoming independent)

48 %

Deterioration of the economic situation in the Russian Federation; deterioration of living standards; increasing public understanding that the deterioration of living standards is related to the war

36 %

Increase in losses of the Russian army at the front; increase in the number of deaths among relatives and friends, among the inhabitants of the relevant region and locality

24 %

Continued mobilization, increasing its scale; increase in the number of mobilized among relatives, friends, acquaintances; low level of material and financial support of the mobilized

24 %

Table 8

Distribution of answers to the question

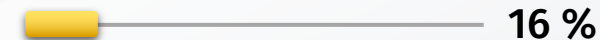
Under what conditions do you think it is possible to increase the number of opponents of the war in your region?

OPEN QUESTION

Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

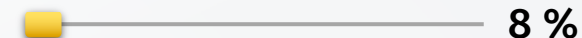
Russia's defeats at the front



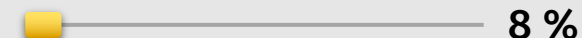
Supporting local protest groups and organizations; engaging regional and indigenous opinion leaders



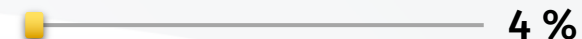
The outbreak of hostilities on the territory of Russia or a real threat thereof; when the population feels what war is like



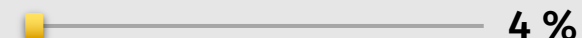
Further restriction of personal freedoms; imposition of martial law in the Russian Federation



Weakening of the center (Putin)



Strengthening the blockage of transport links between the region and the rest of Russia (Kaliningrad Region)



EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

9

Approximately three fourths of the experts surveyed believe that a strong central government is currently the main factor ensuring the integrity of the Russian Federation. At the same time, the two main tools by which the central government ensures the integrity of the Russian Federation are the forceful (repressive) apparatus and powerful propaganda ("Strong, brutal repressive methods of government by both Moskovia and the local occupation authorities. The enormous role of media propaganda at all levels", "Total propaganda and repression"). Some experts, who consider the influence of the center to be the main factor in ensuring the integrity of the Russian Federation, noted only one of the mentioned instruments of influence (repression or propaganda).

Only some experts believe that the integrity of the Russian Federation, in their opinion, is ensured by economic, social, cultural, and historical ties between the subjects of the Russian Federation; the above factor and a strong central government approximately to the same degree; or other factors (Table 9.1).

The distribution of experts' answers to the question about the main factor ensuring the presence of their region within the Russian Federation (Table 9.2) is almost the same as for this question about the Russian Federation as a whole (Table 9.1): in both questions, the overwhelming majority of experts (about three fourths) named a strong central authority as this factor.

Table 9.2

Distribution of answers to the question

What do you think is the main factor (or factors) The integrity of the Russian Federation is currently being ensured (if we consider the RF as a whole)?

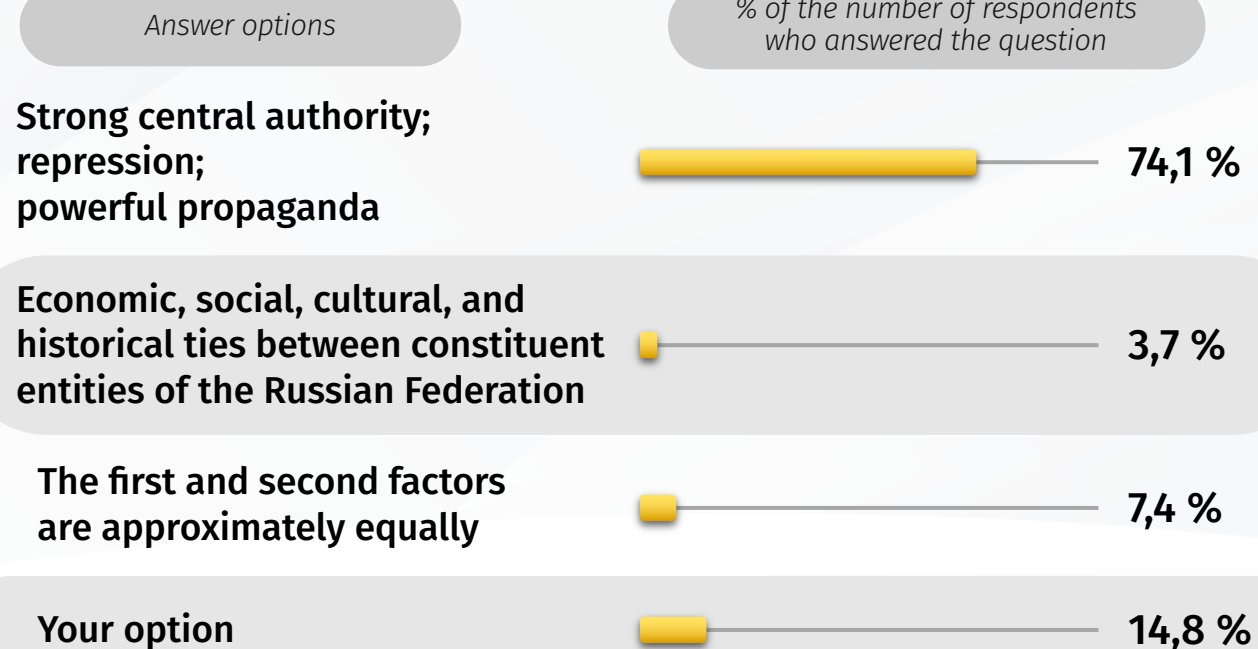


Table 9.2

Distribution of answers to the question

And if we consider your region, what main factor (or factors) currently ensures its presence within the Russian Federation?

Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Strong central authority; repression; powerful propaganda

75 %

Economic, social, cultural, and historical ties between constituent entities of the Russian Federation

4,2 %

The first and second factors are approximately equally

8,3 %

Your option

12,5 %



10

EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

The overwhelming majority of experts who took part in the survey believe that their region(s) have a more or less pronounced centripetal potential (the potential for gaining greater independence from the center, up to and including complete independence). At the same time, 42.3% of experts said their region has significant centripetal potential and 46.2% of experts said their region has some centripetal potential but it is not very high. Only 7.7% of experts believe that centripetal potential in their region is absent or very low (Table 10).

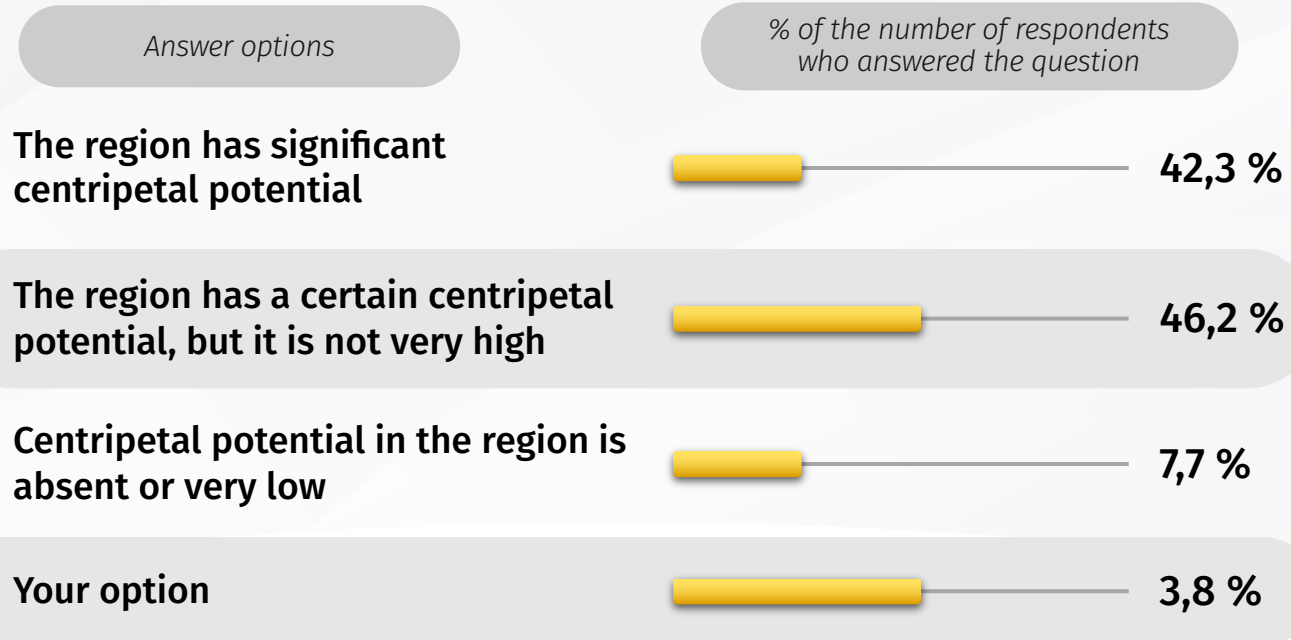
At the same time, many experts admit that, to a large extent, this centripetal potential is precisely the potential, the realization of which requires the necessary conditions and considerable effort ("There is a potential, but it will not develop by itself. You have to work").



Table 10

Distribution of answers to the question

Do you think there are in your region of any centripetal potential (potential to obtain greater independence from the center, up to and including complete independence), **which could be realized under certain conditions?**



11

EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

According to the experts interviewed, if their regions have a real prospect of independence from the Russian Federation, the reaction of the population to this prospect will generally be ambiguous.

The average answers of all the experts show that approximately 38% of the population of the regions in general would have a positive attitude to the prospect of independence for their region, 33% - negatively, and 29% - neutrally or indifferently (here, as in previous similar questions, it should be taken into account that when calculating these data, differences in the population of the regions studied were not taken into account) (Table 11.1).



Table 11.1

Distribution of answers to the question

If your region had a real prospect of independence from the Russian Federation, how, in your opinion, would the population of the region as a whole feel about such a prospect?

Estimate an approximate percentage of the main options for the reaction of the population to this prospect, so that the total would be 100%.

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Answer options	In general, would you view the prospect of independence positively	Would you be neutral or indifferent to this perspective	In general, would you take a negative view of the prospect of independence
0% to 20%	31,6	58,8	29,4
21% to 40%	26,3	17,6	29,4
41% to 60%	31,6	11,8	35,3
61% to 80%	5,3	0,0	5,9
81% to 100%	5,3	11,8	0,0
Average	38%	29%	33%



11

EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

If we consider only the indigenous peoples of the regions under study, the situation is fundamentally different. According to the average answers of the experts, the majority (62%) of the representatives of indigenous peoples will have a positive attitude to the prospect of independence; 17% - neutral or indifferent; and 20% - negative (Table 11.2).

As for the attitude of the regional elites towards the real prospect of independence from the Russian Federation, the number of those who would treat such a prospect positively and negatively is approximately equal (45% and 40% respectively), and the number of those who would have a neutral or indifferent attitude is only 15% (Table 11.3).

Thus, indigenous peoples would have the most positive attitude towards the real possibility of independence from the Russian Federation. The level of support for independence is lower among regional elites and the entire population of the regions, but on the whole it is not less than the number of opponents of independence.



Table 11.2

Distribution of answers to the question

And how do you think the indigenous peoples of your region would feel about the real prospect of independence?

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Answer options	In general, would you view the prospect of independence positively	Would you be neutral or indifferent to this perspective	In general, would you take a negative view of the prospect of independence
0% to 20%	6,2	66,7	60,0
21% to 40%	18,8	26,7	20,0
41% to 60%	18,8	6,7	20,0
61% to 80%	37,5	0,0	0,0
81% to 100%	18,8	0,0	0,0
Average	63%	17%	20%

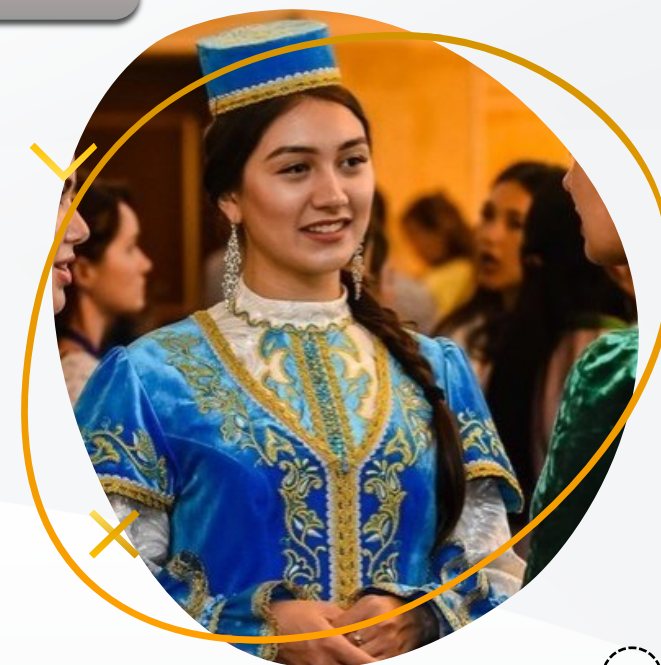


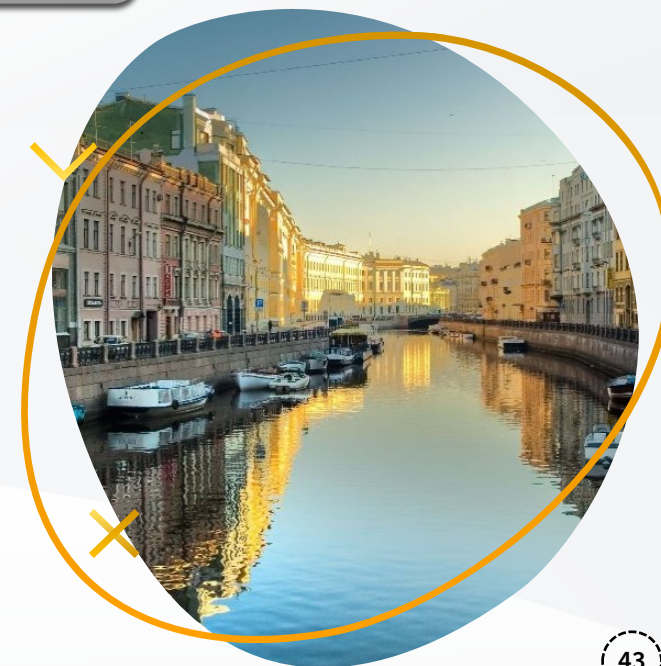
Table 11.3

Distribution of answers to the question

And how do you think the elites of your region would feel about the real prospect of independence?

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Answer options	In general, would you view the prospect of independence positively	Would you be neutral or indifferent to this perspective	In general, would you take a negative view of the prospect of independence
0% to 20%	31,3	68,8	37,5
21% to 40%	18,8	31,2	18,8
41% to 60%	18,8	0,0	18,8
61% to 80%	12,5	0,0	12,5
81% to 100%	18,8	0,0	12,5
Average	45%	15%	40%



12

EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

In answering the open-ended question about the subjects of the Russian Federation that have the greatest centripetal potential (the potential for gaining greater independence from the center, up to and including complete independence), the greatest number of experts named among such regions Tatarstan (66.7%), Chechnya (Ichkeria) (55.6%) and Bashkortostan (48.1%). Quite often experts also named the Caucasian Republics (in general) (29.6%), the Kaliningrad Oblast (29.6%), Sakha (Yakutia) (25.9%), Siberia (in general), Dagestan and Kalmykia (22.2% each), the Far East, Buryatia and Karelia (18.5% each) (Table 12).



Table 12

Distribution of answers to the question

Which subjects of the Russian Federation, in your opinion, have the highest centripetal potential (potential for greater independence from the Center, up to and including complete independence), which could be realized under the right conditions?

OPEN QUESTION

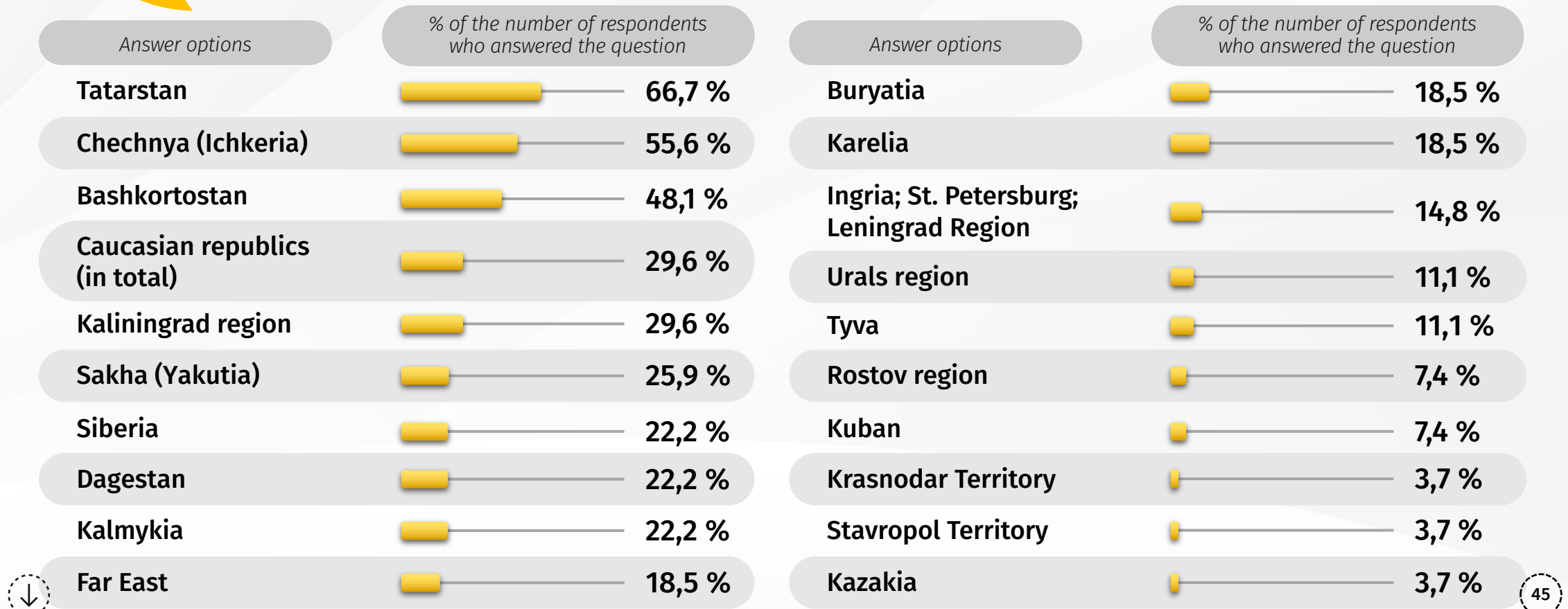


Table 12

Distribution of answers to the question

Which subjects of the Russian Federation, in your opinion, have the highest centripetal potential (potential for greater independence from the Center, up to and including complete independence), which could be realized under the right conditions?

OPEN QUESTION



EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

13

Experts' answers to the open-ended question about the most likely scenario for Russia's development in the next 5-10 years were quite varied in detail. In addition, some experts offered not one, but several scenarios for the development of the Russian Federation in the near future. In summarizing the data obtained, each of the proposed scenarios was taken into account. Therefore, the data in Table 13 take into account both the answers of experts, in which they considered this or that event to be the most probable, and the answers, in which the experts considered the corresponding event to be one of the possible ones (along with other, often contrary, events).

In general, **the clear leader among the possible scenarios for the development of the Russian Federation in the next 5-10 years is Russia's disintegration.** This event is considered more or less likely in the near future by 77.8% of experts. At the same time, some experts believe that this disintegration will lead to the separation of only certain peripheral entities from Russia, while another part of experts believes that a deeper disintegration of the RF into several large parts and the actual termination of its existence in its present form (as an "empire") is more probable.

The second most frequently mentioned by experts (44.4%) is the scenario of further intensification of repressions in the Russian Federation as the only way for the current regime to stay in power. A consequence of such a scenario could be the formation of a rigid, closed, totalitarian regime similar to that of North Korea.

Among other most probable scenarios for the development of the Russian Federation in the next 5-10 years, the experts named "the defeat of the Russian Federation in the war with Ukraine" (29.6%), "chaos; temporary governments; a struggle for power; a civil war" (25.9%), "the collapse of the current regime; Putin's departure from power" (22.2%), "an economic crisis; a fall in living standards" (18.5%) (Table 13).

Table 13

Distribution of answers to the question

Please describe what you think is the most likely, scenario of the development of the Russian Federation in the next 5-10 years

OPEN QUESTION

Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Russia's disintegration - partial (separation of some regions) or complete

77,8 %

Further intensification of repression due to the regime's desire to hold on; establishment of a rigid closed totalitarian regime ("the second North Korea")

44,4 %

Defeat of the Russian Federation in the war with Ukraine

29,6 %

Chaos; provisional governments; power struggle of all against all; civil war

25,9 %

The collapse of the current regime; Putin's departure from power

22,2 %

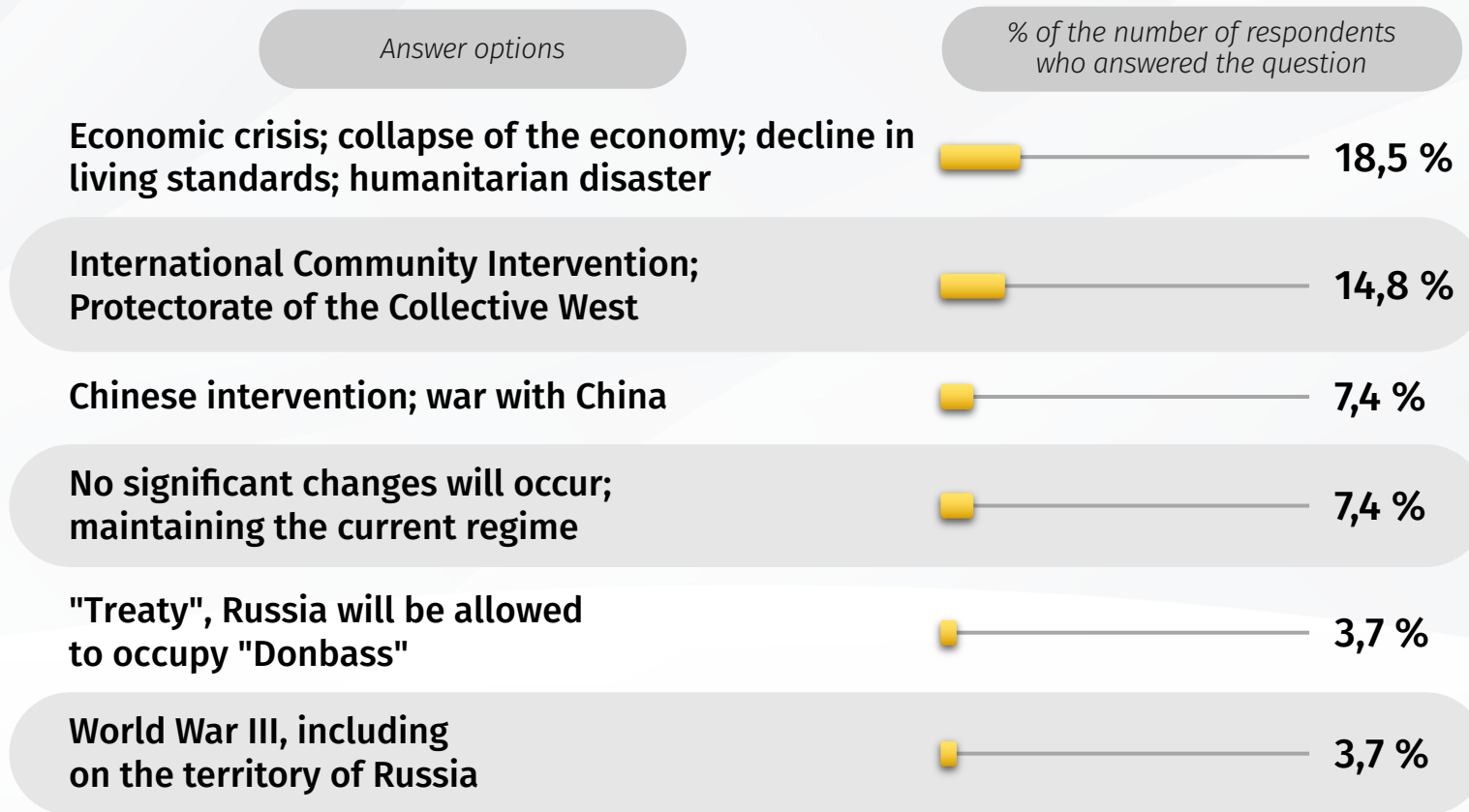


Table 13

Distribution of answers to the question

Please describe what you think is the most likely, scenario of the development of the Russian Federation in the next 5-10 years

OPEN QUESTION



14

EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

When asked an open-ended question about how, in their opinion, Ukraine's war with Russia would end, the experts' answers also varied greatly in the degree of detail. Overall, however, the vast majority of experts expressed the opinion that Ukraine will win this war. At the same time, 25% of **experts said that Ukraine will win**, without giving any details of what exactly the victory will consist of. 10.7% of the experts believe that the war will result in the return of some of the occupied territories to Ukrainian control. In the opinion of 25% of the experts, Ukraine will be able to return all of its territories to the borders of 1991 (some experts think that a peace treaty with Russia will be signed as a result, while others think that the armed conflict will continue and may escalate again in the future). 25% of experts believe that the war will move into Russian territory and will result in Russia's complete defeat, followed by its demilitarization, reparations and, possibly, disintegration.

Only individual experts give more pessimistic scenarios for Ukraine for the end of the war. Among such scenarios (which were named once or twice):

- ▶ a protracted conflict - in the event of insufficient arms supplies by the West (as a result, Ukraine will still win, but it will be achieved at the cost of great sacrifice);
- ▶ "frozen" conflict;
- ▶ Russia will be able to impose at least part of its conditions on Ukraine (but this will be a "Pyrrhic victory," because it will launch the processes of destruction of Russia from within) (Table 14).

Table 14

Distribution of answers to the question

In your opinion, how will the war between Ukraine and Russia end? What is the scenario for the end of the war? in your opinion, is the most likely at this time?

OPEN QUESTION

Answer options

% of the number of respondents who answered the question

Victory for Ukraine (no scenario details)

25,0 %

Victory for Ukraine (the return of territories by Ukraine as of 23.02.2022 or the return of all territories except Crimea)

10,7 %

Victory for Ukraine (reaching the 1991 borders) (with possible scenarios of both the signing of a peace treaty with Russia and the continuation of armed confrontation along the border)

25,0 %

Victory for Ukraine (transfer of hostilities to Russian territory, disintegration of Russia, demilitarization, reparations)

25,0 %

A protracted conflict (if the West fails to transfer the necessary weapons to Ukraine)

7,1 %

"Freezing" of the conflict, transition of the war into a low-intensity state

3,6 %

Russia will be able to impose at least some of its conditions on Ukraine (but it will be a "Pyrrhic victory")

3,6 %



15

EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

According to the results of the survey, the overwhelming majority of experts consider the scenario of the disintegration of the RF into several parts in the next 5-10 years to be very likely or probable. In

particular, 51.9% of experts estimate the probability of RF disintegration in the next 5-10 years at 5 points on a 5-point scale, while 25.9% of experts estimate it at 4 points on a 5-point scale. The average score among all experts is 4.2 points on a 5-point scale (where 1 point represents a very low probability of disintegration of the RF and 5 points represents a very high probability of disintegration of the RF) (Table 15).

A number of experts link the prospects of Russia's disintegration primarily to the results of the war in Ukraine - in the event of Russia's defeat, these processes could intensify dramatically (*"If the war ends in complete defeat and the capitulation of Russia, then the collapse of Russia will have the highest probability. This possibility is very much reduced if the West allows Russia to emerge from the war with the so-called 'saving face'."*).

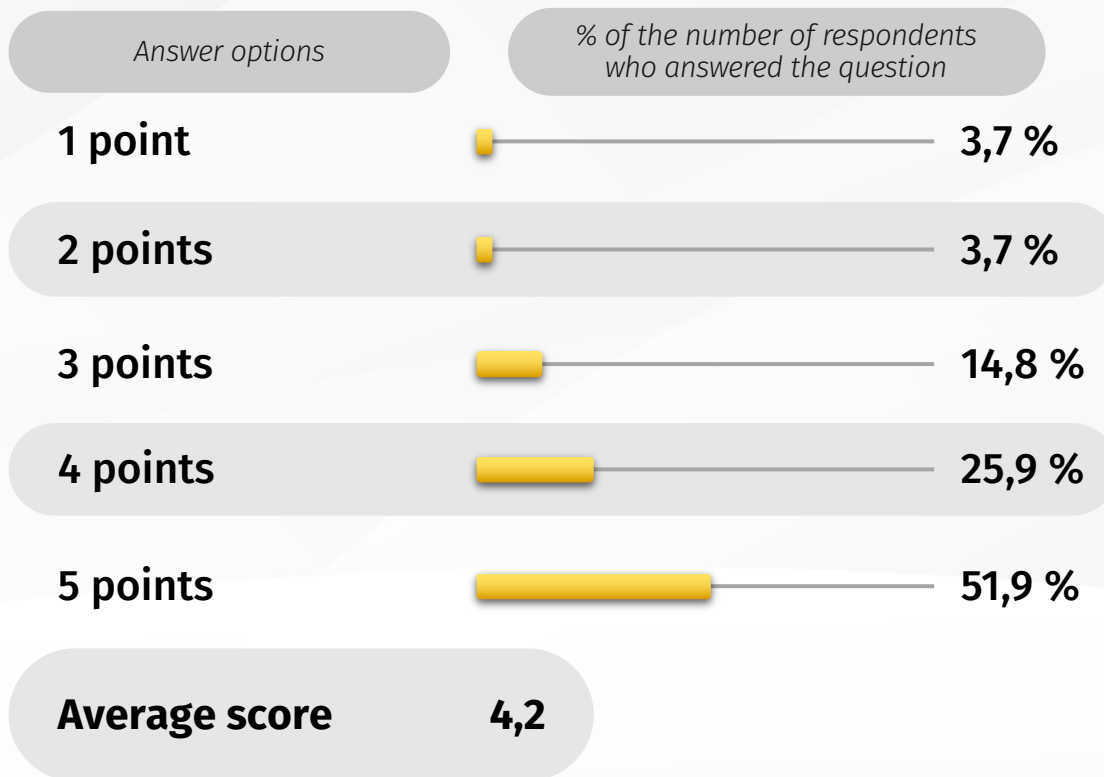


Table 15

Distribution of answers to the question

How likely do you think it is in the next five to 10 years, is the scenario of the disintegration of the Russian Federation into several parts?

Please rate on a 5-point scale, where 1 point is the probability of very low, and 5 points - the probability is very high



16

EXPERT SURVEY RESULTS

When asked about the most likely scenario for the development of their region in the next 5-10 years, half of the experts answered that they considered it most likely that their region would become independent from the Russian Federation.

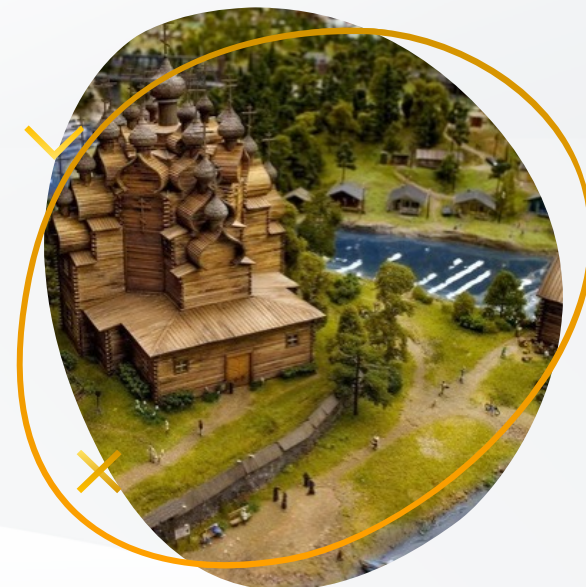
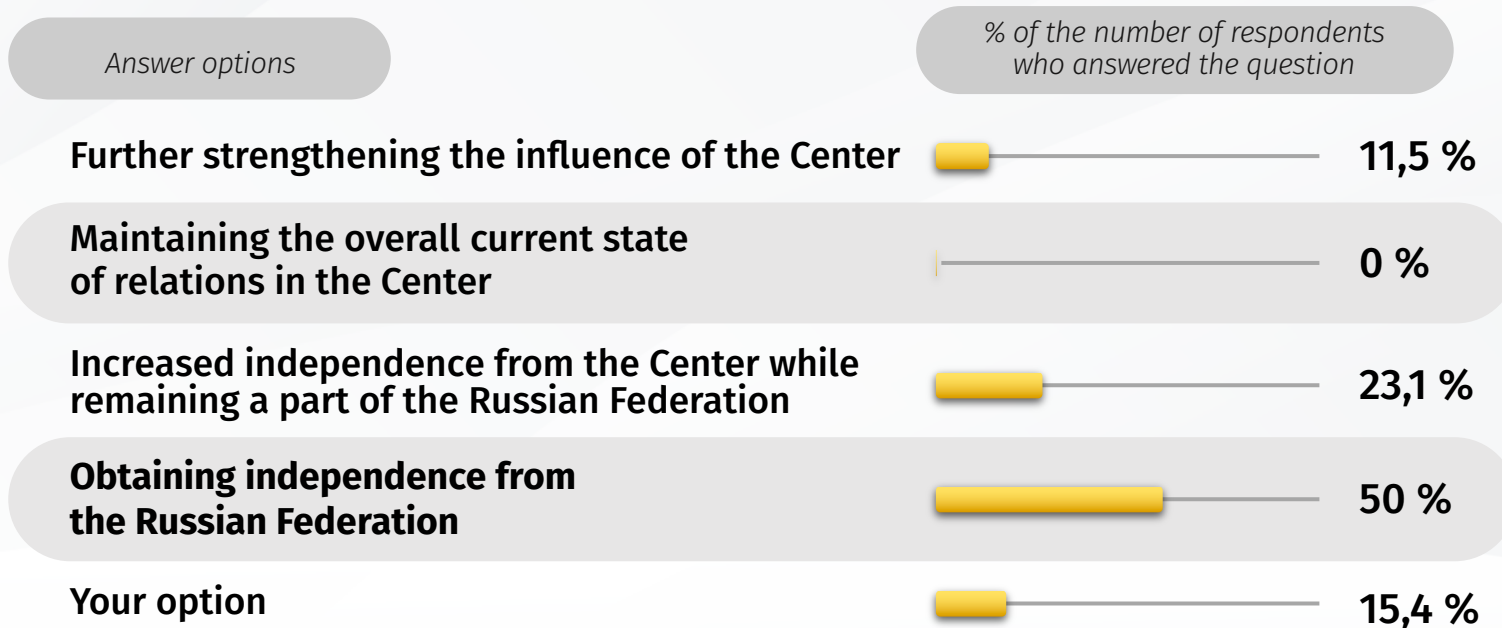
About a quarter of those surveyed (23.1%) believe that increasing their region's independence from the center, while remaining part of the Russian Federation, is most likely. Only 11.5% of experts consider further strengthening of the center and, accordingly, an increase in their region's dependence on it to be most probable. Several experts (15.4%) could not decide on the most probable scenario and offered several such scenarios providing for both the independence of their regions and the strengthening of the center's position (Table 16).



Table 16

Distribution of answers to the question

What scenario for the development of your region in the next 5-10 years
(in the context of its dependence on the Center)
do you consider most likely?



KEY FINDINGS

Among the most acute problems characteristic of their regions and the indigenous peoples living there, the greatest number of experts named:

- ▶ lack of support for indigenous peoples from the center; problems of preserving the language, culture, and national identity of indigenous peoples; and their russification and assimilation;
- ▶ exploitation of the regions by the center, the oligarchs; "siphoning off" natural resources from the regions;
- ▶ economic restrictions on indigenous peoples.

A significant number of experts also identified more general problems (typical not only for indigenous peoples, but for the entire population of their respective regions) among the most pressing ones: the lack of political rights and freedom (freedom of speech, free elections); systemic corruption; unemployment; arbitrary behavior by police and other law enforcement agencies; repression.

The overwhelming majority of experts believe that their regions have no or very few local elites who would be capable of protecting the interests of their regions and their indigenous peoples in their relations with the center. Almost all of the experts surveyed point to the very strong dependence of local elites on the center.

KEY FINDINGS

Most of the interviewed experts gave average ratings to the degree of satisfaction of the local elites with the existing level of relations with the center (the average rating among all the experts is 2.8 points on a 5-point scale). Experts rated the level of satisfaction with relations with the center among residents of their regions as below average in general (average rating of 2.4 points on a 5-point scale). The experts evaluated the level of satisfaction with the relations with the center among the indigenous peoples of their regions as low on the whole (average score of 2.0 on a 5-point scale among all the experts). The experts noted that the existing dissatisfaction with the center (both among the elites and among the population of the regions) is currently predominantly of a latent nature.

Among the most acute problems in the relationship between the regions, as well as between the indigenous peoples living in them and the center, the experts named:

- ▶ the center's policy of russification and eradication of the national identity of indigenous peoples (in particular with regard to indigenous languages, cultures, and history);
- ▶ lack of adequate support for the regions from the center;
- ▶ total dependence of the regions on the center; almost complete absence of local self-government;
- ▶ infringement of the rights and interests of indigenous peoples;
- ▶ exploitation of regional resources by the center, the vast majority of the revenues from which are not returned to the regions.

KEY FINDINGS

According to the experts' estimates, most residents of their regions would rather not agree with the statement that their region is a colony of the Russian Federation. At the same time, there is a significant portion of the population in these regions who would agree with this statement (the average expert estimate of the proportion of the population who would agree with the statement that their region is a colony of the RF is 42%, and among indigenous peoples it is 48%).

According to the experts' assessments, in their regions as a whole there is a significant number of people who support the war (the average expert estimate of the proportion of people who support the war is 37 percent), as well as people who have a neutral or indifferent attitude toward the war (the average expert estimate of the proportion of such people is 31 percent). Opponents of the war are in the clear minority. On the other hand, based on the data obtained, it can be argued that the opponents of the war are not isolated residents; they constitute a fairly significant group, whose number can reach 30%. At the same time, the reasons for which these residents in general oppose the war may be different.

If we consider only the indigenous peoples of the regions in question, then, according to experts' assessments, the number of neutral and indifferent to the war among them is approximately the same as among the entire population of the regions (31%). At the same time, the number of supporters of the war among the indigenous peoples is generally lower than among the population as a whole in the regions (from 37% to 28%), while the number of those opposed to the war is correspondingly higher (from 31% to 41%).

On the whole, according to experts' assessments, among the entire population of the regions studied, supporters of the war relatively predominate, and among the population of indigenous peoples, opponents of the war relatively predominate.

KEY FINDINGS

According to experts, the increase in the number of opponents of the war in the regions of the Russian Federation is possible under the influence of the following main factors:

- ▶ conducting appropriate information campaigns, anti-war counter-propaganda;
- ▶ deterioration of the economic situation in the Russian Federation (but only on the condition that residents of the regions will attribute such deterioration to the war).
- ▶ Continued mobilization in the Russian Federation and an increase in its scale,
- ▶ Increased losses of the Russian army at the front.

Approximately three fourths of experts believe that at **present the main factor ensuring the integrity of the Russian Federation is a strong central authority**. At the same time, the two main tools with which the central government ensures the integrity of the Russian Federation are the forceful (repressive) apparatus and powerful propaganda.

The overwhelming majority of experts (almost 90%) believe that their region(s) have a more or less pronounced centripetal potential (the potential to gain greater independence from the center, up to and including complete independence). At the same time, many experts admit that, to a large extent, this centripetal potential is precisely the potential, the realization of which requires the necessary conditions and considerable efforts.

KEY FINDINGS

In the event of a real prospect of independence from the Russian Federation, indigenous peoples will react most positively to this prospect (according to the averaged estimates of experts, 62% of representatives of indigenous peoples will take a positive view of it). The level of support for independence among regional elites and the entire population of the regions is lower (45% and 38%, respectively), but in general it is no less than the number of opponents of independence.

According to experts' assessments, among the regions and subjects of the Russian Federation, Tatarstan, Chechnya (Ichkeria), and Bashkortostan have the highest centripetal potential (the potential to gain greater independence from the center, up to and including complete independence). Quite often experts also named the Caucasian republics (in general), the Kaliningrad Oblast, Sakha (Yakutia), Siberia (in general), Dagestan, Kalmykia, the Far East, Buryatia, and Karelia among such regions .

Among the most likely scenarios for the development of Russia in the next 5-10 years, experts named:

- ▶ the collapse of the Russian Federation (77.8% of experts consider this event more or less likely in the near future);
- ▶ further intensification of repressions in the Russian Federation; the formation of a rigid closed totalitarian regime in the Russian Federation (44.4%);
- ▶ Russia's defeat in the war with Ukraine (29.6%);
- ▶ chaos; provisional governments; power struggles; civil war (25.9%);
- ▶ the collapse of the current regime; Putin's departure from power (22.2%).

KEY FINDINGS



The overwhelming majority of experts expressed the opinion that the war between Russia and Ukraine would end in a Ukrainian victory. At the same time, experts have different opinions about how exactly Ukraine will win. Some of them believe that the war will end with the partial return by Ukraine of its occupied territories; others believe that Ukraine will be able to return all of its territories within the 1991 borders; and others predict Russia's complete defeat, with all of the consequences that follow. Only a few experts believe that scenarios for the end of the war that are negative for Ukraine are probable.

The overwhelming majority of experts consider the scenario of the disintegration of the Russian Federation into several parts in the next 5-10 years to be very likely or probable. In particular, 52% of experts estimate the probability of Russia's disintegration in the next years at 5 points on a 5-point scale, while 26% of experts estimate the probability of disintegration at 4 points on a 5-point scale.

Half of the experts consider the most likely scenario for the development of their region in the next 5-10 years to be independence from the Russian Federation. In the opinion of about a quarter of those surveyed, the most probable scenario is increasing the independence of their region from the center while remaining part of the Russian Federation. Only a few experts consider further strengthening of the center and, accordingly, an increase in their region's dependence on it to be most likely in the near future.



ADDENDUM

COMMENTS OF EXPERTS ON THE REPLIES TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE



Comments of experts on replies to the questions 3.1 – 3.2

- ▶ “Siberia differs from the other Russia at least a little since the people here got used to freedom long time ago. It is almost completely suppressed but at least at minimum rate the craving for independence gives us the possibility to presume that local elites have at least bigger will to protect the interests of their region in comparison to average people of Russia. Although, to be fair, this difference is not so big”
- ▶ “The situation with elites was different 15-20 years ago but the “moskovits” have been putting their people purposefully for a long time”
- ▶ “Local elite badly protects the interests of people. They are dependable from the center”
- ▶ “The so-called elite of Petersburg is entirely dependent on Putin”
- ▶ “The management is not from locals, it is appointed from the capital but sometimes seeks small funds for the region”
- ▶ “The center decides everything”
- ▶ “There are no national elites. There is a layer of “ranks” in power and with money, quite influential, which includes the governor’s entourage, mayors, municipal officials, security officers, leaders of pseudo-Cossack organizations, including paramilitary ones, possible connections with criminal world. This is what the picture of the “elite” of the region looks like. There can be no question of any protection of the interests of region or especially the indigenous peoples (there are practically no representatives of them in this layer) by this people. Their maximum is to beg for subsidies from the center which are basically “cut” by themselves and settle in their pockets. They are entirely dependent from the center”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 3.1 – 3.2

- ▶ “All regional leaders are approved by the central government. Those who deviate even slightly from the policy of the center instantly lose their managerial chair, followed by criminal prosecution or physical extermination”
- ▶ “Basically, there is a direct control by proteges of Moscow in the region which causes dissatisfaction both among the population and local elites”
- ▶ “In my village Abez’ as well as in regional center Inta local elite consists mainly of women. They want for the best and are ready to stand for it. When a gas pipe was pulled across the Usa River from Yamal and the salmon could not go to spawn, women made a fuss. They also organize concerts and want to achieve something”
- ▶ “They do not have independent funding so any movement is a “knocking out” of money from the center. The center knows this well and appoints the “right” people and conducts its policy in this... Though "Pechora Rescue Committee" is carrying out good countermeasures against the lawlessness of the oil workers on the Pechora River. Almost all of them are Komi”
- ▶ “Putin’s Russia has led and is fighting against Islamism and jihadism in Caucasus, local elites are filtered by Kremlin agents and their activity is aimed at suppression of national resistance in the republics. Elites in Chechnya, if we abstract from Kadyrov, are the most effective in working for their people. Putin’s regime is fighting against national factor”
- ▶ “Although there is some part among the political elites that really cares about interests of their region but is afraid to declare it publicly. There are only few cases of public protection of rights of the region and national minorities (indigenous people)”
- ▶ “The elite is almost entirely dependent on Kremlin. It is necessary to cut the ties so the Kremlin could not support the elite”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 3.1 – 3.2

- ▶ In years of 1991-2010 the first president Rakhimov defended interests of Bashkortostan before Moscow. Later after his leave the following leaders are in fact proteges of the center and representatives for monitoring the control of implementation of instructions from the central government”
- ▶ “Complete cowardice in the face of Moscow and the desire to derive personal benefit from everything where it is possible”
- ▶ “Since I wrote the article “Elite and Anti-Elite” I can firmly state that there is no true elite. The level of dependence of pseudo-elite on the Kremlin is very high. Virtually nothing is done without the consent from the above”
- ▶ “The elites, especially in St.-Petersburg are more than formed, nevertheless they do not oppose the Center but act together”
- ▶ “The only organization trying to preserve the self-identification of Karelians is Karelian National Movement. The indigenous peoples are deprived from governing the region, the lack of free journalists is present as well as murders of journalists who try to convey the truth”
- ▶ “The vast majority of local elites supports federal center”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 4.1 – 4.3

- ▶ “The attitude of Siberia towards the “center” has always been extremely negative. Locals have always complained that Moscow is pumping out all the resources and gives almost nothing for it (which is true). As for the indigenous peoples I would not say that their approach to the issue is very different from the general mood”
- ▶ “The local population is dissatisfied. At that this discontent has yet to be channeled into the struggle for independence. Let’s put it this way: people desperately want to change something, but how? – that is the portrait of the classic representative of Krasnodar Region”
- ▶ “At present the population is dissatisfied with what is happening, but is waiting”
- ▶ “The population is quite happy in general though there is certain distrust to Moscow and a request for local officials who are familiar with the problems of the region”
- ▶ “Everything rests on fear of the security forces and the power of the center. One can talk and think but to oneself”
- ▶ “If decentralization processes occur the weather vane elites will turn 180 degrees”
- ▶ “Elites can be recruited against the center, they are ready to join the national movements. Loyalty to the Kremlin has been declining lately but fear of the regime is increasing. National minorities make up to 70% and more and their activists are clearly dissatisfied with the current state of relations with the center”
- ▶ “There is discontent among the elites, but it is “deaf”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 4.1 – 4.3

► “In general, the Russian population is satisfied with its relations with the center. The Russian propaganda machine worked successfully. The population blames local officials, the West, Ukraine, Masons, themselves for all the problems but not Putin and the central government. The only thing that probably causes dissatisfaction is the difference in the standards of living between Moscow and the regions but this is an ordinary envy, which does not go beyond talking in the kitchen with rhetoric “we are fed up with them”. There is dissatisfaction with the actions of the central authorities among the indigenous people (I’m talking about Cossack people), there are “stop feeding Moscow” thoughts as well as complaints against the authorities. Through the efforts of the organizations described above, it is possible to address part of this discontent to the same local elites and “external enemies”. There is a small percentage of the Cossack population that supports Ukraine and wants to regain an independent Cossack state but it is still a minority. A fairly large stratum of Cossacks perceives the war as a war between Russians and Ukrainians and sees no reason to take part in it. These people are mostly dissatisfied with the actions of the center and existing system. They are not radical enough and are not separatists but, in their understanding, our region, as well as the Cossack people, deserves a special status of national autonomy. Also, a small (but I think bigger than the percentage of potential “separatists”) percentage of Cossacks actively support the center, Putin and the war against Ukraine. Many are bribed among their leaders and ideological inspirers, some are not Cossacks by origin. Ordinary people from this category are simply deceived by propaganda and sincerely wish the best for our people, but see the way to this in victory of the Russian Federation and support of the center.

They see Ukraine and the West as pure evil. These people should not be our enemies. An approach should be found to the and, if not put on our side than at least withdraw them from the ranks of the enemy”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 4.1 – 4.3

- ▶ “Everything is really bad. It all rests on handouts, benefits, budget money”
- ▶ “The elites are dissatisfied but forced to endure”
- ▶ “The population of Kaluga Region is generally excluded from the concept of “relations with the Center”. People have long been accustomed to the idea that they do not influence anything, that their opinion is practically zero, and that any expression of their position is connected with troubles”
- ▶ 1. The elite is thieving, it is being feed and such system is beneficial to them. Moreover, few people will stay there, they will steal and leave. 2. The population who could not leave by eviction does not leave very well. Hospitals have been reduced with no maternity ward in the regional center of Inta and lots of other factors. The only movement is the camps of shift workers. The local people are not usually allowed to serve the gas pipeline and oil fields... There was a mayor of the city of Inta, Pavel Smirnov, who raised this issue with the gas workers and the government, but he was imprisoned (((3. Locals are very dissatisfied. It is scary when one has to take woman in labor 400 km away to the maternity hospital, when there is a gas pipeline and the villages are not gasified and this is region of Pripolyarye (Subpolar). People donated money to government agencies for coal in August while the coal was delivered only in March. The attitude of the authorities to the local population can be compared as to slaves (((Name-calling in public, “komiaki” etc. are a usual thing. I can tell about outrageous things”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 4.1 – 4.3

- ▶ “In general, the vast majority of the population of Ingria is satisfied with everything and wishes for peace”
- ▶ “The vast majority of people is busy with their everyday problems of survival and therefore are removed from politics”
- ▶ The Kaliningrad region does not have an indigenous population, so the population in the region can be divided into those who live in the second and third generations (the so-called “indigenous”), and those who arrived in the late 1990s and later”
- ▶ 1. The lack of solution of domestic problems by the republican and regional authorities force the population to emigrate in search of work. Low wages in the region, high tariffs for housing and public utilities as well as other payments disproportionate to the level of wages, other problems of domestic nature leave little room to be satisfied with existing relations with the Center. 2. The population of our region as a whole is dissatisfied with the existing level of relations with the Center. The repressive system itself does not allow the majority to show dissatisfaction since all people are afraid of repressive measures from the authorities. 3. The only indigenous people of our republic is ours Oyrat-Kalmyk people. Russian, Caucasian and other peoples are not indigenous. Nevertheless, the level of discontent is high since all of us live in approximately equal and humiliating conditions”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 6.1 – 6.2

- ▶ “It is hard to tell. If one asks them now, maybe, more than a half will answer that Siberia cannot live without Russia. But if you exclude violence and suppression from the Moscow part than the majority of Siberian people will understand that they lived in a colony. They just have nothing to compare with right now”
- ▶ “The percentage of such residents is low nowadays; the majority is just afraid to admit it. Few people remember the KuNR though the existence of KuNR itself automatically changes the status of Krasnodarskyi region to the status of an occupied territory”
- ▶ “From 5 to 10% of population but the number can be higher if one shall execute the information campaign”
- ▶ “For the people to understand the real state of things we should work with them”
- ▶ “This opinion is shared by the majority of ethnic Tatars, but people are afraid to talk about it in public because of strong repressions”
- ▶ “More than 50 % of people do admit the strong pressure on the region from Moscow”
- ▶ “Everything depends on how politically literate the person is”
- ▶ “The population of our region does not think about it in general, but if such question will be put the half of population will think it over”
- ▶ “There is a dissatisfaction of residents that our region is a springboard for a threat to Europe (10% of the population) [Kaliningrad region]”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 6.1 – 6.2

- ▶ “Only 10% due to the small number of indigenous peoples of Ingria, and more than 300 years Ingria being part of Russia”
- ▶ «1. The majority of newcomers here are the colonists themselves, they take the money and leave. 2. When you talk to people everyone is not satisfied how Moscow rules but at the same time they are afraid. When they get drunk than all 100% are dissatisfied. There is no fish in the rivers and the oil spills on Usa, Pechora, Kolva Rivers are on a huge scale... The river is covered with a film, the fish is suffocating. Almost all rivers in Pechorsky basin are polluted and no one has answered under the law. The word of law does not exist there”
- ▶ Most of the population in the region is Russian, who settled here mainly during the Soviet period as a part of the policy of “decossackization” and russification of the region. Basically, they are apolitical but they consider the Russian Federation as their country; they do not see causal relationship between their poverty and the system of relations between the region and the center. The issue is more acute among the indigenous people and a larger percentage of people are politicized, though some of them have an active pro-government position. Many people see the problems caused by the Russian system, remember the genocide of our people, remember our independence and freedom-loving traditions. Therefore, the percentage of people who agree that governance from Moscow is like a colonial one is much higher among the indigenous people”
- ▶ “People in the Russian Federation have a wrong understanding of colonialism. They do not understand why all regions have everything with sufficient natural resources but in reality there is nothing. Majority of people lives in poverty”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 7.1 – 7.2

- ▶ “Again, this is very difficult to assess. I think that when there is no propaganda and state violence, this percentage will change in the direction of condemning the war very quickly”
- ▶ “Alas, there is a lot of “vata” [pro-governmental people] in our region – both among non-indigenous and among indigenous peoples”
- ▶ “Tatars are mostly against the war while Russians are mostly for the war”
- ▶ “Considering the numerous military-police institutions and garrisons in the city, the overall percentage of those who approve [the war] is high due to Russian students and employees of law enforcement agencies. If talking about the out-of-the-city foreigners such percentage is low as a rule”
- ▶ “Expertly – perhaps about a half really supports while the rest are neutral, or do not support at all. It is not clear what do they think in reality since people are afraid to openly answer questions, especially the ones related to the topic of war”
- ▶ “Education in kindergartens and schools forms an amorphous mass of 80% of those who cannot think independently and are not familiar with both world and national history. There is no difference what kind of population it is – whether indigenous or not. The situation is the same everywhere. Because of their small numbers indigenous peoples do not support war but no one asks for their opinion. They go if called”
- ▶ “There is no point in calculating percentages now, they can completely change within a week. Everything will depend on the success of Ukraine on the fronts”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 7.1 – 7.2

► “He pointed to people who support the war, who are not apolitical, who are doing at least something to help the RF Armed Forces or humanitarian aid to the “LPR”, or simply actively talk about their position and promote it. Many of those who are neutral or indifferent can verbally support the actions of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation – either because they sincerely believe that “it was necessary”, “there was a threat”, “there was no other way”, “they themselves are to blame” and other similar excuses or they answer that they support because of fear for themselves/their status. Most of them just live as if nothing is happening. The population is more concerned about the rise in prices for public transportation and sausages rather than the meat grinder near Bakhmut or the atrocities in Bucha. Such the majority is. The percentage of those who do not support the war is higher than it seems, but the vast majority of such people are afraid to speak openly about their position even among friends and acquaintances (sometimes even family members)”

► “I talked to reporters and those dependent on the authorities. There is no one to talk to, Putinoids... There are a lot of indifferent people, but they are afraid of mobilization, care for their children – and Ukraine is blamed for this... Those who do not support are mostly young people. They do not want to fight basically. 2. Children of the USSR, the old population which grew up on slogans that the United States is an enemy, and so on, these can only be persuaded by turning of the TV. Neutral are almost the majority of them are neutral. No one is shooting here and what they do there is none of our business. There are lots of such people.

The people who are “against” are smart ones who know what is going on and why did this government start the war in order to stay in power at any cost. They are almost silent and only speak in the kitchens. Nevertheless, there are such people”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 7.1 – 7.2

- ▶ “The Russians in their most are positively inclined to support the war. The negative attitude towards the war has the advantage in the national circles. The message that Ukraine does not exist as a state does not find high support among the national peoples. What resonates among the uneducated is that Russia is fighting against the LGBT people. The voice of those who support the war is much louder. Support for the war is much higher among those Russians living in Caucasus. One of the highest in Russia support for the war is in Krasnodar Region despite the fact that there are many migrants from the southeastern regions of Ukraine”
- ▶ “People are busy with survival and pressing problems. Most of them do not understand what is happening at all, or just believe in propaganda and do not bother with anything”
- ▶ “The older the generation, the more supporters of the war, the younger – the fewer such, but of course there are striking exceptions in both age groups. The less a person has brains and the ability to come to reasonings based on his own thoughts and conclusions, the more those who support the war”
- ▶ “1. Mainly state employees are those who support the war in full view of the authorities. There is a certain percent of those watching “zombie boxes” [TV sets] and really supporting the war. The longer this criminal war goes on, the more opponents of this war occur. 2. The question is a difficult one since no research has been done on this topic. The majority of Russian population supports the war. Other nations look at the Russians”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 9.1 – 9.2

Comments of experts
who gave the answer

**“Strong central
authority;
repression; powerful
propaganda”**

- ▶ “The dictatorial regime ensures the integrity of the Russian Federation. The center pursues a colonial policy towards indigenous peoples”
- ▶ “The dictatorial power, everything rests on violence”
- ▶ “Repressive system of the central government”
- ▶ “Repressive apparatus. Russia exists by inertia and there is only an illusion of community”
- ▶ “Destructive domestic policy aimed at weakening the regions and establishing control through leaders who serve Putin’s personal interests”
- ▶ “The tsar sends his deputies to lead the region, to be more precise – to control and suppress the self-identification of indigenous peoples”
- ▶ “Not only in the Russian Federation but also in the former USSR, and Republic of Ingushetia parts of the empire have always been held together by force< sometimes by economic initiatives. As soon as the center weakened a dissolution began and the Russian Federation is no exception. In the coming hard times, there is an increase in separatist movements and sentiments, the weakening of the central government is coming due to the loss of human resources the collapse of the economy and the loss of support. By the time the war began, power in the Russian Federation had been at its peak since 1991 but the Russian Federation is already losing statehood, the process had begun and now the fall of the center and the subsequent collapse of the empire is only a matter of time”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 9.1 – 9.2

Comments of experts who gave the answer

“Strong central authority; repression; powerful propaganda”

- ▶ “People are used to thinking that they cannot live without Russia and all that goes with it. In fact, this is not a real feeling but imposed on them by force for centuries. As soon as there will be no violence from Moscow people will cleanse themselves (not all of them, of course, and not equally, but a significant part)”
- ▶ “Due to fear and propaganda aimed at forming the idea that there is no alternative”
- ▶ “Power block + instilling the same values to the population so that they consider themselves as one people”
- ▶ “Strong and cruel repressive methods of government of both Moskovia and the local occupation authorities. The huge role of mass media propaganda at all levels”
- ▶ “Total propaganda and repressions. The Kremlin uses colossal budgets for propaganda while we are fighting this propaganda for free, on bare enthusiasm”
- ▶ “Imperial propaganda, centralization of power in Moscow”
- ▶ “So far, the only aspect that keeps the Russian Federation from disintegrating is the huge wave of propaganda and the publicity of imperial idea, the publicity of the very idea of huge “Russia”. Therefore, the most powerful counter-propaganda is needed to overthrow the empire”
- ▶ “The only problem in our activity is the promotion of the imperial idea itself and the cliché of the “united” Russia. The empire will collapse as soon as this stereotype will be removed from the brains. There is no powerfully strong central authority, no special connections – all of that is an illusion. To a large extent, it also arose through the efforts of propaganda. We need a tough informational war in addition to what is already being done”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 9.1 – 9.2

Comments of experts who gave the answer «**Economic, social, cultural and historical ties between constituent entities of the Russian Federation**»

- ▶ “The integrity of the Russian Federation is mainly ensured by the economic, social and historical dependence of the regions on the Center”

Comments of experts who gave the answer «**The first and second factors are approximately equal**»

- ▶ “Huge dependence on central power, including economical one”

Comments of experts who gave their own option of answer

- ▶ “Due to the usual conditions of existence, fear of repression measures and disbelief in the possibility of changing something”
- ▶ “In its current form Russia rests only on fear and ignorance”
- ▶ “Russia is holding on because of the majority of Russians, just because of this”
- ▶ “Negative selection that gave birth to mankurts. That is her [Russia’s] vitality in the formula of its formation! In a classical situation peoples chose kings for themselves or executed those who were objectional. Here some people seized power with the church and raised their children for themselves as mankurts as well as executed the obstinate. Therefore, power and church are parents for Russian-mankurts. Russian-mankurts will do whatever their parents tell them to do”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 10

Comments of experts
who gave the answer

**“The region
has significant
centripetal
potential”**

- ▶ “The potential is very high since the region [Pskov region] has traditions of statehood, advantageous location, many residents live near the border with the EU, there are many mixed families with the Baltic countries and Belarus”
- ▶ “Development of business relations with Europe and well-established tourism [Kaliningrad region]”
- ▶ “Consider us already having a ready-made country. I would rate the potential of the Krasnodar Region to create an independent state as the highest among other constituent entities of the Russian Federation”
- ▶ “The centripetal potential could rapidly grow and become more active with the complete defeat of the Kremlin in the war against Ukraine”
- ▶ “This is only a potential and everything depends on implementation”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 10

Comments of experts
who gave the answer

**“The region has
a certain centripetal
potential,
but it is not very
high”**

▶ “Siberia, or rather Siberians, have always felt a craving for freedom since ancient times. Maybe it was not the freedom in the sense of independence (there were and are such aspirations, too), but definitely “yes” in a sense of at least independence. Siberia is its indigenous peoples, the descendants of exiles, the descendants of convicts, the descendants of immigrants, adventurers and those who fled from persecution and repression in times of tsars, Soviet and current times. Siberians have always understood themselves as something separate from the rest of Russia. Even now they say, for example: “you have it there, in Russia””

▶ “Naturally, there is such a potential. The Congress of the Oirat-Kalmyk people has issued a Declaration of Independence and is working on a program to build the future state of Oirats”

▶ “The centripetal potential of Ingria is higher than in majority of other regions”

▶ “An independent Saint-Petersburg with the Leningrad region would be a very interesting option. However, there are no protest leaders and no organization for this to happen”

▶ “High among the indigenous population and average among the entire population [Karelia]”

▶ “There is potential but it will not develop on its own. A work needs to be done”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 10

Comments of experts
who gave the answer

**“The region has
a certain centripetal
potential,
but it is not very
high”**

► “All objective factors point to the need for independence of the region (I’m not talking about the Rostov region but in general about the Southern Federal District and the Caucasus). Apart from the strength of the center, the only thing that connects the region with Moscow is the population, which does not see these factors, does not know how to live separately from Russia and is afraid that it will be even worse, afraid of chaos/colonization by NATO, etc. Propaganda did its job and, in a sense, Putin managed to create political nation of “Russians”. Even some representatives of indigenous peoples consider themselves Russians and do not see themselves and their region outside of Russia. In general, this problem is globally solved by a couple of years of information work in new states (if the standard of living of the population rises in parallel). Globally it will be possible to bring this out of mentality only after a while.

Perhaps the generation that is now pensioners or people of pre-retirement (and even just middle) age in the Russian Federation will never change its mind and will be nostalgic for the Russian Federation as many pensioners are now nostalgic for the USSR (by the way, support for Putin’s actions on their part can be explained by the fact that they see it as an opportunity for revenge and the restoration of their “Soviet homeland”). Well, that won’t be a problem”

► “There are several regions in the Russian Federation that can gain independence and had it after the collapse of the USSR, but were occupied by the central government due to insufficient strength. Those who were strong enough left the empire. With some support it is possible to withdraw (de-occupy) several regions; Ichkeria, Stavropol region, Kalmykia, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Arkhangelsk Region, Khabarovsk region, with the subsequent separation of Primorye and therefore obtaining a chain reaction to the disintegration of the Russian Federation into many independent states”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 10

Comments of experts who gave the answer

“Centripetal potential in the region is absent or very low”

▶ “It has its place but a very meager one, primarily because of fear. Those who bowed their head and settled down do not like those who did not. If there will be cases and the potential will increase then the fetters will be thrown off and they will follow. There is no example (((“

Comments of experts who gave their own option of answer

▶ “If there is a military defeat, then the people will rise”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 11.1 – 11.3

- ▶ “Upon the defeat in the war secession from the Russian Federation, the majority of the elite would also perceive the prospect of gaining independence positively”
- ▶ “The elite as a whole would react positively but on condition that their personal power is preserved”
- ▶ “This percentage is very difficult to determine now. I think the trend would be more or less like the following. As for the elites, the answer is very simple – as soon as they feel there is an opportunity to get REAL power – well, who will refuse this?”
- ▶ “It may seem a monstrous gap between the situation now, which I indicated above, and the indicators I have derived as data for the situation when the possibility of independence will become obvious. Well, when it begins to appear at least on the horizon you will be stunned on how rapidly the views of so many people will change”
- ▶ “Such processes are perceived differently in Saint -Petersburg than, for example, in Tatarstan”
- ▶ “Tatarstan held a referendum on state sovereignty. 61,4% of the inhabitants of Tatarstan gave their vote for independence”
- ▶ “In the general mass there are many intellectuals who want freedom and the “foreigners” wish for it even more”
- ▶ “The population would now be negatively disposed, but if it is possible to influence informationally, their number can increase several times up to the majority. The elites cannot be indifferent but the majority of them is the product of purely Russian politics, so few will want to take steps towards independence.

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 11.1 – 11.3

► “The current political “elites” of the region are not independent in their decisions”

► “At the moment the influence of propaganda is at its maximum and the standard of living is not critical, plus people do not even think about the independence of the region, so the majority of apolitical population, if asked right now, will speak out against independence. The percentage of those who say “yes” will grow in parallel with the increase in the number of internal problems and the decrease of living standards as well as the result of our campaign work. The situation is generally similar among the indigenous people but the percentage of those who are “for” is initially many times higher since in comparison to Russian population which does not imagine itself outside of Russia, the Cossacks had their own state in the past and fought for it. Speaking about the elites – the majority, of course, will be against it because of the fear of losing everything they have. A significant part of elite will be “for it”. These are the people who understand the inevitability of defeat of the Russian Federation, they do not want to die with it and want to keep what they have through cooperation with new forces. The third category is simply those who do not care under what regime or in what state they serve while the main thing for them is to maintain their position”

► “The population of the Russian Federation does not represent an independently thinking people. They will follow any strong leader”

► “In case of defeat in the war, the percentage of those who would support secession from the Russian Federation among the population of the region could be significantly higher than 70 percent”

► “The elites in the North Caucasus depend on the center and the budget of the Russian Federation”

► “We need to work with the population of the region so the percentage will change. This requires financial investments as well”

Comments of experts on replies to the questions 11.1 – 11.3

- ▶ “The people are strangers here, they are temporary workers in our land and a dissolution with Moscow is not in their interests. So, most people do not want it. The majority of indigenous people, if they see the opportunity, will go for independence. They want it. If the elite is local, they will gladly accept this, whoever is a stranger – will not do this”
- ▶ “It is hard to describe as a percentage. If we take the entire population the percentage will be low but among the indigenous population percentage will be more than a half. The elites will be where the wind blows and they are very dependent on the center now”
- ▶ “The ordinary people do not have any thoughts on the subject while the elites have their own more or less understood interests”
- ▶ “It is naturally that after 252 years of colonization, and especially today, with total propaganda, some part of the population would have reacted negatively at first. Over time though, our people, with the shutdown of zombie box [TV set] and carrying out explanatory work, would accept independence as the only right decision. No research has been done but the Russians would definitely be against it. However, so would do the other nations. In this state of affairs, the Russians immediately become not a state-forming people. The “pseudo-elite” is built into Putin’s all-Russian system of corruption schemes and the independence of our people would immediately exclude this layer from all spheres of life. Of course, they will object”
- ▶ “The prospect of independence in general does not frighten a significant part of Ingria’s population including indigenous peoples and elites”
- ▶ “Economic elites are against it since they are tied to the center. Political ones are rather “for” (for example, such as Emil Slobunov’s “Yabloko”), especially those who are in some kind of opposition to the regime”

Comments of experts on replies to the question 15

- ▶ “It seems to me that this will happen sooner than in 5-10 years”
- ▶ “If the war ends with a complete defeat and capitulation of Russia, then the collapse of Russia will have the highest probability. This possibility will be greatly reduced if the West allows Russia to withdraw from the war with the so-called “saved face”.
- ▶ “I wish the whole world to be with Ukraine, then there will be a complete victory. Then there will be a further fall of the empire, which has morally outlived itself and has become dangerous for the whole world. Such state has no right to exist”
- ▶ “Even if there is a rollback to the empire, the regime will no longer have as much power as it does now, and centrifugal forces will develop exponentially”
- ▶ “Still it’s unlikely to be in 5 years. 10-15 years – I think so”
- ▶ “The scenario of disintegration into several parts is inevitable, but how many years it will take depends on many factors and I will not give accurate forecasts here. I hope that 5-10 years will be enough for this”
- ▶ “The Russian Federation may survive but without some territories, I hope that without the Caucasus and part of Siberia because it will give Russia an opportunity for revenge”
- ▶ “The scenario of the disintegration and collapse of the Russian empire is most likely in the near future. The defeat in the war with Ukraine, the solidarity of the Western world in the issue of eliminating threats from Russia and revising the security system of the world order gives hope that the issue of disintegration and collapse will occur in the near future”

Comments of experts on replies to the question 16

Comments of experts who chose the option 1 as an answer
«Further strengthening the influence of the Center»

▶ “Strengthening the center, but not for long. Prior to the civil war. It all depends on the degree of defeat of the Russian army. If they do not kill them in their lair, then one should wait for repetitions”

Comments of experts who chose the option 3 as an answer
«Increased independence from the Center while remaining a part of the Russian Federation»

- ▶ “Building up aspirations for independence regardless of external circumstances”
- ▶ “The refrigerator will start winning in the next 5-10 years”
- ▶ “Everything will depend on the outcome of the war”

Comments of experts who chose the option 4 as an answer
«Obtaining independence from the Russian Federation»

- ▶ “The collapse of Russia is inevitable. One can only slow down a bit”
- ▶ “Tatarstan will become free in the next 1-2 years!”
- ▶ “When the regime collapses (this will inevitably happen within 5-10 years) – centrifugal forces will develop throughout the entire territory of the current Russian Federation, as well as in Siberia (even stronger here according to the abovementioned historically formed craving for freedom in Siberia)”

Comments of experts on replies to the question 16

Comments of experts who chose the option 4 as an answer «Obtaining independence from the Russian Federation»

- ▶ “With the victory of Ukraine, the interest of Europe and the success of our actions, the independence will be gained. A clarification should be done here – we are not talking about the independence of the administrative unit “Rostov Region” which was artificially created in 1937. We are talking about an independent Cossack state within the boundaries of the Great Don Army (1918-1920) at least. We say “at least” since there is a possibility that it will be easier to legitimize along the borders of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. In this case we are talking about a state consisting of the current Rostov and Volgograd regions”
- ▶ “The Kaliningrad region (former East Prussia) was torn away from the German Reich by the decision of the victorious countries at the Potsdam Conference under the pretext of revival of Prussian militarism. The victorious countries must annul the decision of the Potsdam Conference today, since the Russian Federation: 1. Turned this region into a threat to European countries. 2. The Russian Federation ignores and violates international treaties and in particular the Budapest Treaty regarding Ukraine”
- ▶ “Reunification of Kome and Kome-Perm territory within borders of Vychegodskaya and Velikopermskaya, as in old days, and the possible Union of the Golden Peoples, who led the religion of Zarni (Golden baba [women]). It consisted of 17 Finno-Ugric peoples. Well, of course, as an independent republic”
- ▶ “Everything will depend on the results of the Russian war with Ukraine. After the political collapse of the current Kremlin regime, questions will be raised about the status of some republics”
- ▶ “The issue of the status of the Yakut Republic (diamonds and gold) will be an acute one on the agenda. There are many ethnic Ukrainians there”
- ▶ “In general, it all depends on playing the world politics. In any case we are trying to de-imperialize the Russian Federation”

Comments of experts on replies to the question

16

Comments of experts who chose the option 5 as an answer

«Your option»

- ▶ “There can be two scenarios: either obtaining complete independence from the Russian Federation or further strengthening the position of the center”
- ▶ “Depends on scenarios for the development of the Russian Federation: if the military conflict will be frozen on the borders of Ukraine, then the first option (further strengthening of the influence of the Center); If hostilities spread to the territory of the Russian Federation – an increase in the independence of the region from the Center while remaining within the Russian Federation, up to obtaining complete independence from it”
- ▶ “Everything depends on scenarios for the development of the Russian Federation: 1st scenario – is the principle of North Korea (they will lose the war in Ukraine and will close themselves as if in a shell); 2nd scenario – the collapse of Russia; 3rd scenario -the fall of the current regime and the beginning of the centrifugal processes, change in the government system”
- ▶ “If Russia ceases to exist as a state, the best scenario is to stay only with Europe. Everything will depend on the population of Kaliningrad region, Europe and world powers”



the full report is available on the website

SOCIOPOLISTM

Social, Political & Market Research

office@sociopolis.ua

www.sociopolis.ua

