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NEW BALTICS BAROMETER II:

A Survey Study

by

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## INTRODUCTION

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are today independent Baltic states, but as a consequence of Soviet occupation during the Second World War they were integrated into the Soviet Union for half a century. During that period the population was substantially altered by an influx of Russians and people from other parts of the Soviet Union. According to official statistics, 61 per cent of the Estonian population is Estonian, and 53 per cent of the Latvian population is of Latvian nationality; most of the rest is Russian. In Lithuania, there are two minority nationalities, 9 per cent of the population is Russian and 7 per cent Polish.

Any attempt to study public opinion in each of these three post-Communist societies must start with the question: how many publics are there? Normally, the answer would be one, but when a country is divided linguistically and ethnically, then separate surveys are appropriate for each major nationality group. The New Baltic Barometer thus consists of six parallel surveys of Baltic peoples and Russians (that is, Russian speakers who are nationals of Russia or another part of the former Soviet Union); for full sample details, see pp 59ff.

The New Baltic Barometer (NBB) has been initiated by the Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, to monitor the response of mass publics to the simultaneous shocks of independence, the introduction of free elections, and the replacement of a command economy by a market economy. Thanks to a grant from the European Commission COST programme for Cooperation in Science and Technology, in September-October 1993 the first Barometer survey was conducted. Results of that survey have since been published (Rose and Maley, 1994; Rose and Maley, 1994a; Maley, 1994), and have been the subject of wide-ranging discussions in the Baltic states too.

This second New Baltic Barometer repeats the key political, economic, linguistic and social questions asked in NBB I. In addition, it examines in greater depth the subject of the rights and obligations of individuals living in a country, whether or not they are citizens with the right to vote, a point of particular relevance in Estonia and Latvia, where the large Russian minority includes many legal residents who are not

citizens.

Most questions were asked all nationalities, since everyone in a post-

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Communist society shares many problems in common, such as daily concerns with getting by amidst the turbulence of economic transformation. Elections in each Baltic state emphasize divisions among those eligible to vote. It is an empirical question whether or not former Soviet citizens without the franchise are united or divided in opinions about the Baltic state in which they live or about the government of Russia. The questionnaire gives ample scope for all nationalities to express their views on fundamental political issues concerning current regimes. Asking the same questions of all groups also makes it possible to test the extent to which three Baltic nationalities, differing in language and history and distant geographically, are more appropriately viewed as a single unit or as three separate groups.

In keeping with the CSPP policy of promptly reporting results from surveys, the following pages give the replies of each nationality to each question asked. The format of the tables makes it easy for the reader to see at a glance how large or how small are the differences between nationalities in each of the three Baltic states. The surveys show first of all ***divisions among each nationality***, a finding that is not surprising given the importance of age, education and other social structure differences causing divisions in West European societies. More striking is the extent of ***similarity between Baltic and Russian nationalities*** in their replies to many questions. ***Differences within ethnic communities are often greater than differences between ethnic communities.***

Because Russian nationals are asked about their views of Russia, we can compare their views of life in the Baltic and Russia today. Many find conditions in the Baltics less unsatisfactory than in Russia. Because many questions in the New Baltic Barometer are also standard questions in the CSPP New Russia Barometer and in the parallel New Democracies Barometer of the Paul Lazarsfeld Society, Vienna, replies from the Baltic states can be compared with countries from East Germany and the Czech Republic to the Ukraine and Belarus.

Any survey is the result of efforts of hundreds of people, starting

with the unsung foot soldiers, hundreds of interviewers. The director of VILMORUS, Dr Vladas Gaidys, would particularly like to acknowledge the assistance of Dr Danute Tureikyte; the co-director of EMOR, Dr Juhan Kivirahk, would like to acknowledge the help of his Estonian colleagues;

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Professor Richard Rose

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## NEW BALTIC BAROMETER II

## A) ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
1) In the past year have you at some time been unemployed?						
Yes	11	24	19	26	22	22
No	58	48	58	44	48	53
Not in labour force	31	28	23	30	30	25

If Yes:

2) How many weeks were you unemployed?						
1 - 4 weeks	7	12	9	21	6	4
5 - 8 weeks	7	10	11	5	5	13
9 - 12 weeks	15	11	4	7	5	5
13 - 26 weeks	24	26	25	15	17	25
27 - 38 weeks	13	8	6	6	11	3
40+ weeks	33	32	46	46	56	50

3) Did you receive unemployment or social benefit money from the state?

Yes	38	35	26	36	23	24
No	62	65	74	64	77	76

4) During the past year has any other member of your household been unemployed?

Yes - one other	13	20	20	27	22	26
Two or more others	1	3	4	8	5	6
No	86	78	76	65	73	68

If Yes:

5) How many weeks unemployed. (If more than one unemployed, record answer for person longest unemployed).

1 - 4 weeks	5	5	8	11	8	8
5 - 8 weeks	9	6	5	4	8	3

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
9 - 12 weeks	9	17	7	3	5	5
13 - 26 weeks	23	25	21	23	21	18
27 - 38 weeks	8	3	7	8	6	4
40+ weeks	45	45	51	49	51	62

6) What is your current employment situation? (Show card)

.1 Full-time job	48	48	43	39	37	42
.2 Part-time job	5	5	5	5	6	5
.3 Self-employed	5	2	5	4	4	5
.4 Apprentice	0	-	0	0	0	-
.5 Pensioner and employed	3	3	1	1	3	4
.6 Unemployed without state unemployment benefit	5	10	9	9	9	10
.7 Unemployed with benefit	1	3	1	1	1	2
.8 Pensioner, not employed	25	22	22	31	25	25
.9 Other state income maintenance grant	1	1	1	0	2	1
.10 Housewife	2	3	5	5	7	3
.11 Student	3	2	6	2	6	3
.12 Other	2	1	1	1	1	-

Impact of unemployment

Currently unemployed	6	13	10	10	10	12
Formerly unemployed	5	11	9	16	12	11
Employed all year	56	47	49	37	41	47
Outside labour force	33	28	32	37	37	30

If Employed (Codes 1-5 above)

7) Respondent's employer:

State enterprise: factory	17	39	28	39	26	37
State enterprise: commerce	3	3	6	3	3	2
Police, military	1	2	3	1	2	-
State health sector, educ'n	23	14	23	17	20	16

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Private sector: employee	29	27	17	23	21	27
Private sector: part-owner	5	2	4	0	6	4
Self-employed	5	3	5	6	5	9
Collective farm	10	2	6	3	12	3
Independent farmer	1	-	3	2	1	-
Other	6	8	5	5	2	1

Type of employer (Q. 7)<sup>1</sup>

Non-market	19	42	34	42	30	39
State	24	15	26	18	22	16
Collective farm	10	2	6	3	12	3
Private	30	27	20	25	22	27
New private	10	5	8	7	12	13
Other	6	8	5	5	2	1

8) In the past year have you been temporarily laid off work and not paid by your employer?

Yes	3	12	6	16	12	15
No	97	88	94	84	88	85

If Yes:

9) How long did this unpaid time last?

1 week	10	11	-	5	7	-
2 weeks	8	18	11	16	9	9
3 weeks	10	6	21	8	8	4
4 weeks	37	14	34	17	12	33
5 - 8 weeks	15	8	15	23	17	18
9 - 12 weeks	10	13	7	19	16	13

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<sup>1</sup>Non-market: State factory, trade, supplies (Q. 7); State enterprise: Military, police, health service, education, science (Q. 7); Collective farm: collective farm (Q. 7); Privatised: private sector OR own farm (Q. 7); New private: new private company; work on individual orders; own business (Q. 7).

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
13 - 26 weeks	9	25	12	6	20	11
More than 27 weeks	-	4	-	5	10	11

	<u>Impact of transformation<sup>2</sup></u>					
Maximum	1	4	7	9	8	8
Very high	1	6	5	14	8	8
Direct	8	17	10	11	12	13
Family	13	17	15	22	20	20
Slight	2	4	2	5	5	5
No impact	75	51	60	38	47	47

10) Do you and your family earn enough from regular work in the official economy to buy what your household really needs?

Definitely enough	0	1	1	0	0	1
Just enough	25	22	17	16	25	21
Not quite enough	52	48	38	41	43	43
Definitely not enough	23	29	43	42	31	34

11) Do you belong to a trade union?

Yes	22	32	37	43	19	22
No	78	67	63	57	81	78

If Yes:

12) Do you trust the union officials at your place of work?

Definitely	22	8	21	20	24	13
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<sup>2</sup>Maximum: Respondent currently unemployed AND one or more other family members unemployed (Q. 4). Very high: Respondent formerly unemployed AND one or more other family members unemployed. Direct: Respondent currently unemployed AND no other family members unemployed; OR respondent formerly unemployed AND no other family members unemployed AND respondent laid off during the last year (Q. 8). Family: Respondent not unemployed AND one or more family members unemployed. Slight: Respondent not unemployed AND no other family members unemployed AND respondent laid off during last year. No impact: no report of unemployment or lay offs in the family.

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Somewhat	44	50	46	42	42	40
Usually not	19	20	16	12	8	15
Definitely not	9	12	6	11	9	12
Don't know	6	11	10	15	17	20

13) Do you trust the union officials at national headquarters?

Definitely	6	5	5	7	6	-
Somewhat	41	33	37	34	28	32
Usually not	22	16	25	21	16	16
Definitely not	11	17	7	11	18	20
Don't know	19	30	24	25	32	32

ASK ALL:

14) Do you or anyone in your family have a second job to earn some money?

Yes	25	10	36	19	26	23
No	75	89	63	81	74	77

15) In total, how much time do all the members of your family spend each day standing in queues or searching in shops for goods that are often in shortage?

Up to 30 minutes	62	68	48	47	62	57
About one hour	11	12	5	11	19	14
More than an hour a day	3	7	3	3	6	10
Don't know	24	14	44	39	13	19

16) Which activity on this card is the most important for the standard of living of you and your family? (Show card; only one answer for each).

Growing own food	9	6	11	9	9	8
Repairing own house	3	0	0	-	-	-
What we get as favours	1	2	0	2	2	1
What we get with help of friends, relatives	2	8	4	5	5	5

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Buying things with foreign currency	0	0	0	1	1	0
Earnings in second job	8	4	8	5	2	3
Money get on the side, tips	1	2	2	1	0	1
Earnings from regular job	51	52	51	47	53	52
Pension, unemploy't benefit	21	20	20	28	27	26
Benefits given at work	0	0	0	0	0	1
Don't know	2	3	2	1	1	2

17) And which of these is second most important?

Growing own food	28	17	36	22	48	32
Repairing own house	6	2	1	2	0	2
What we get as favours	3	3	2	2	1	1
What we get with help of friends, relatives	11	10	10	9	10	12
Buying things with foreign currency	1	1	0	-	1	2
Earnings in second job	13	5	14	6	9	15
Money get on the side, tips	2	4	2	3	3	3
Earnings from regular job	11	8	8	11	8	12
Pension, unemploy't benefit	6	9	9	14	10	13
Benefits given at work	3	2	1	1	0	-
Don't know	16	39	15	28	8	8

### Portfolio<sup>3</sup>:

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<sup>3</sup>Enterprising: Among the two most important economies are: Income from additional job, getting paid for doing favours, or dealing with foreign currency (Qq. 16-17). Defensive: Earnings from regular job, benefits at place of work or pension is most or second most important AND growing food, repairing house or help of friends and relatives or using free connections is second or most important activity. Vulnerable: Earnings from regular job, benefits at place of work, pension are the only important economic activities. Marginal: Growing food, repairing house, help of friends and relatives using free connections are the only important economic sectors, or respondent doesn't know what activities are important.

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Defensive	48	35	43	37	44	31
Enterprising	24	16	25	16	12	16
Vulnerable	20	38	22	40	35	44
Marginal	8	11	10	7	9	9

18) In the past year, has your family:

Saved money	6	4	5	5	8	4
Just got by	65	70	70	67	59	64
Spent some savings	18	11	11	10	14	16
Borrowed money	7	10	5	8	10	6
Spent savings and borrowed	3	5	9	10	9	10

#### Coping<sup>4</sup>

With own job	15	13	10	8	13	12
With portfolio	58	62	66	64	57	57
Not coping	27	25	24	28	30	30

Sometimes people have to do without things that people usually have. In the past 12 months, has your household sometimes had to do without any of the following:

19) Food

Often	8	26	25	29	17	23
Sometimes	15	28	30	31	29	36
Rarely	14	14	16	15	14	12
Never	62	31	30	26	40	29

20) Heating, electricity

Often	2	6	7	10	8	9
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<sup>4</sup>Coping: With own job: Household earns enough from regular job to buy the things needed (Q.10); With portfolio: Household earns not enough from regular jobs (Q.10) but saved money or got by in the past year (Q.18). Not coping: Household spent savings, borrowed money, sold household goods (Q.18).

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Sometimes	4	12	12	15	7	12
Rarely	7	10	10	10	9	13
Never	86	72	72	65	76	67

## 21) Clothes you really needed

Often	17	34	36	39	32	42
Sometimes	21	26	26	30	29	28
Rarely	16	15	12	11	13	9
Never	45	25	26	20	25	20

Destitution scale<sup>5</sup>

0-Never deprived anything	36	15	17	14	17	15
1	13	9	6	4	8	6
2	16	13	12	9	17	11
3	11	11	10	12	11	9
4	7	12	13	12	13	11
5	7	14	13	13	13	14
6	5	11	14	18	8	18
7	2	7	6	5	5	6
8	1	4	4	5	3	5
9-Often deprived of food, clothing, heat	0	4	5	7	4	6
Mean	2.0	3.7	3.8	4.2	3.4	4.1
Standard deviation	2.1	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.7

## 22) How long will it be before you reach a standard of living with which you are content?

Already content	1	2	1	1	2	3
1-2 years	5	8	3	4	3	4

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<sup>5</sup>The destitution scale assigns points ranging from 3 for often doing without to 0 for never doing without: food (Q. 19); heating, electricity (Q. 20); clothes that were really needed (Q. 21).

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
3-5 years	29	18	16	14	10	9
6-10 years	23	12	16	9	13	6
More than 10 years	12	7	14	11	15	14
Never	18	20	20	21	21	25
Don't know	13	33	29	40	36	39

23) How long do you think it will take the government to sort out the economic problems of this country?

Already done so	0	-	0	0	-	0
1-2 years	2	1	0	1	1	0
3-5 years	20	16	12	11	7	10
6-10 years	33	24	20	14	16	11
More than 10 years	21	16	23	21	27	26
Never	10	11	15	15	19	19
Don't know	13	31	29	38	30	33

Here is a scale for ranking how the economy works. The top, plus 100, is the best; at the bottom, minus 100, is the worst. (Show card).

24) Where on this scale would you put the socialist economy before independence?

+100	3	9	2	7	8	13
+90	1	4	3	6	3	5
+80	5	11	4	8	11	9
+70	3	7	7	8	10	11
+60	4	7	5	7	5	7
+50	17	20	16	15	19	27
+40	8	6	9	8	7	2
+30	7	7	9	8	9	5
+20	6	5	4	6	4	2
+10	6	3	4	2	3	2
0 (Neutral)	14	9	12	12	7	9
-10	2	1	1	1	0	1
-20	2	1	2	2	2	0

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
-30	5	1	3	1	1	2
-40	1	1	2	2	0	2
-50	3	3	6	2	4	1
-60	2	0	2	1	1	-
-70	2	2	3	1	0	0
-80	2	0	1	1	1	-
-90	1	0	1	-	1	0
-100	3	1	4	2	3	1
Negative	24	11	25	13	13	7
Neutral	14	9	12	12	7	9
Positive	61	80	63	75	80	83
Mean	16	42	17	36	39	49
Standard deviation	48	43	51	45	47	40

25) Where on this scale would you put our present economic system?

+100	0	1	0	0	-	-
+90	0	0	-	-	0	-
+80	1	1	-	-	0	2
+70	2	3	1	1	0	1
+60	3	2	1	2	1	2
+50	12	13	4	5	4	4
+40	12	5	2	3	1	1
+30	13	10	5	5	2	3
+20	11	8	6	6	4	3
+10	6	5	6	6	5	8
0 (Neutral)	8	11	12	12	10	8
-10	3	4	5	6	2	4
-20	5	6	6	7	5	3
-30	4	6	7	5	5	6
-40	4	2	5	6	4	3
-50	8	8	15	13	15	14
-60	2	2	5	4	6	3

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
-70	2	2	6	3	6	9
-80	2	3	5	7	11	5
-90	0	2	3	2	6	4
-100	1	5	5	6	14	16
Negative	31	39	63	60	73	67
Neutral	8	11	12	12	10	8
Positive	61	49	25	28	17	24
Mean	8	0	-25	-22	-42	-35
Standard deviation	41	48	42	45	45	50

26) Where would you put our economic system in five years time?

+100	2	5	1	1	1	3
+90	2	5	1	2	1	2
+80	13	13	3	6	3	4
+70	13	7	4	4	3	3
+60	12	6	6	6	3	4
+50	18	16	10	8	11	10
+40	8	7	8	6	6	2
+30	10	9	10	8	10	8
+20	8	7	12	9	7	10
+10	3	4	9	8	8	8
0 (Neutral)	6	7	11	12	14	11
-10	1	2	4	4	3	2
-20	1	1	6	4	5	5
-30	1	2	4	4	4	3
-40	0	1	2	3	2	4
-50	1	2	3	4	7	5
-60	-	0	1	3	2	2
-70	0	1	1	4	2	3
-80	0	1	0	1	2	2
-90	0	1	1	1	2	4
-100	0	1	1	1	5	5

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Negative	6	12	25	29	33	35
Neutral	6	7	11	12	14	11
Positive	88	81	64	59	53	54
Mean	45	39	15	13	4	4
Standard deviation	33	44	40	46	49	53

Reaction to economic change<sup>6</sup>

Pro-market	27	12	11	6	4	3
Nostalgic for old system	28	43	49	52	67	62
Negative both systems	11	8	26	19	15	13
Positively indifferent	33	37	14	22	13	21

ASK RUSSIAN SPEAKERS ONLY

And on this same scale, where would you place the economic system in Russia:

27) Before perestroika a few years ago

+100	7	8	11
+90	4	6	4
+80	10	8	9
+70	5	7	8
+60	5	6	8
+50	16	12	18
+40	7	7	7
+30	9	8	10
+20	7	6	4
+10	5	3	2

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<sup>6</sup>Pro-market: Non-positive evaluation of socialist economic system (Q. 24) AND positive evaluation of current economic system (Q. 25). Nostalgic: Positive evaluation of socialist economic system (Q. 24) AND non-positive evaluation of current economic system (Q. 25). Negative: Non-positive evaluation of socialist economic system (Q.24) AND non-positive evaluation of current economic system (Q. 25). Positively indifferent: Positive evaluation of socialist economic system (Q. 24) AND positive evaluation of current economic system (Q. 25).

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
0 (Neutral)		7		9		8
-10		2		2		1
-20		1		3		1
-30		2		3		2
-40		2		1		1
-50		3		3		1
-60		1		2		-
-70		2		1		-
-80		1		2		1
-90		0		0		1
-100		2		1		2
Negative		17		18		11
Neutral		7		9		8
Positive		76		73		82
Mean		33		34		43
Standard deviation		47		47		45
28) <u>Today</u>						
+100		0		-		-
+90		-		-		-
+80		1		1		0
+70		0		1		1
+60		1		0		1
+50		2		4		3
+40		3		2		2
+30		4		4		3
+20		4		3		3
+10		4		6		5
0 (Neutral)		8		9		10
-10		4		4		4
-20		7		7		4
-30		8		4		7

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
-40		6		6		5
-50		14		12		14
-60		5		6		6
-70		5		6		5
-80		5		7		9
-90		5		6		2
-100		13		12		16
Negative		73		70		71
Neutral		8		9		10
Positive		19		21		19
Mean		-36		-36		-38
Standard deviation		46		46		46

29) In five years time

+100		1		2		1
+90		1		1		1
+80		3		4		1
+70		4		2		4
+60		4		7		2
+50		11		7		9
+40		5		8		5
+30		7		7		11
+20		7		8		6
+10		7		6		6
0 (Neutral)		13		16		12
-10		2		4		4
-20		4		5		7
-30		5		3		1
-40		5		3		5
-50		5		5		3
-60		1		1		1
-70		3		3		5

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
-80		3		1		3
-90		2		3		1
-100		5		5		10
Negative		35		32		40
Neutral		13		16		12
Positive		52		51		47
Mean		3		6		-4
Standard deviation		51		49		51

### ASK ALL

30) As far as your household is concerned, overall, how do you rate its economic situation today?

Very satisfactory	0	0	-	-	1	1
Fairly satisfactory	41	31	23	16	24	24
Not very satisfactory	50	50	51	52	55	55
Very unsatisfactory	6	18	23	31	17	19
Don't know	2	1	3	1	2	0

### Coping related to satisfaction<sup>7</sup>

Coping and satisfied	37	26	21	13	23	22
Coping but dissatisfied	36	48	55	59	47	47
Doubly troubled	22	20	22	25	27	27
Not coping but satisfied	6	6	3	3	3	3

31) Would you say that as far as your household is concerned, the situation now compared with five years ago is:

Much better	11	5	4	9	7	7
A little better	23	15	11	12	12	12

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<sup>7</sup> Coping and satisfied: Coping with own job or portfolio (Coping) AND satisfied with family economic situation today (Q.30). Coping but dissatisfied: Coping with own job or portfolio AND dissatisfied with family economic situation today Doubly troubled: Not coping AND dissatisfied with family economic situation today Not coping but satisfied: Not coping AND satisfied with family economic situation today.

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
About the same	20	18	13	10	12	8
A little worse	24	32	29	26	25	29
A lot worse	20	29	40	41	43	41
Don't know	2	1	2	1	1	2

#### Impact of market<sup>8</sup>

Standards rising	35	21	16	21	19	20
Standards stable, satisfied	10	10	6	2	6	5
Standards stable, dissatisfied	9	8	7	8	6	4
Standards falling	46	62	71	68	69	71

32) What do you think the economic situation of your household will be in five years time?

Much better	13	8	5	5	7	4
A little better	61	35	39	30	34	29
About the same	15	20	24	23	24	21
A little worse	3	6	5	6	6	10
A lot worse	1	2	2	1	4	3
Don't know	7	28	24	33	25	33

#### Future prospects<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>. Standards rising: Current economic situation much better or somewhat better now than five years ago (Q. 31). Standards stable, satisfied: Current economic situation the same now compared with five years ago (Q. 31) AND respondent satisfied with current economic situation (Q. 30). Standards stable, dissatisfied: Current economic situation the same now compared with five years ago (Q. 31) AND respondent not satisfied with current economic situation (Q. 30). Standards falling: Current economic situation a lot worse or a little worse now than five years ago (Q.31).

<sup>9</sup>Improving: Economic situation in five years is a lot or a little better than now (Q. 32); Satisfactory: Standards rising or stable and satisfied (Impact of market) AND economic situation in five years is much the same as now (Q. 32); Deteriorating: Standards rising or stable and satisfied (Impact of market) AND economic situation in five years is a little or a lot worse than now (Q. 32); Continuing poor: Standards stable

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Improving	80	60	58	54	54	49
Satisfactory	6	10	7	7	6	4
Deteriorating	1	1	1	4	2	3
Continuing poor	13	29	34	35	38	43

33) Do you feel that our country's economic reform programme is going too fast, too slow or at about the right speed?

Too fast	11	20	9	8	21	17
About the right speed	31	30	12	15	7	13
Too slow	45	30	60	53	56	50
Don't know	12	20	19	23	16	19

#### B) POLITICAL QUESTIONS

34) How interested are you in politics?

Very	14	7	13	10	11	9
Somewhat	47	40	34	30	39	38
Not very interested	26	33	36	40	34	37
Not at all interested	12	19	17	21	16	16

35) How often do you talk about politics with other people?

Often	23	17	17	15	18	10
Sometimes	44	35	33	29	38	36
Seldom	23	31	36	35	30	31
Never	9	16	12	17	13	21
No answer-don't know	1	1	2	3	0	2

36) Some people say that it is risky to get involved in politics, for it could cause trouble for yourself and your family. Others say this is now a foolish fear. What do you think?

Definitely risky	7	9	2	8	2	3
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and dissatisfied or standards falling (Impact of market) AND economic situation in five years is a little or a lot worse than now (Q. 32).

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Sometimes risky	40	31	24	30	18	26
Usually not risky	27	24	28	20	27	26
It is foolish fear	16	17	30	20	41	29
Don't know	9	19	16	22	13	16

37) There are some people who work with others in this community to try to solve local problems. Are you the sort of person who does this:

Often	5	4	8	8	9	5
Sometimes	21	16	27	20	30	22
Seldom	23	18	24	18	21	25
Never	48	55	23	36	34	40
No answer- don't know	3	6	18	17	6	7

38) Which of these statements best fits your views of who should have the right to vote in elections to Parliament (choose only one).

Only those whose family were citizens before 1940	31	2	46	8	11	1
Everyone born in the country	33	29	27	25	36	18
Everyone who has lived here more than ten years	26	28	16	28	21	19
Everyone living here at independence	5	18	3	14	13	16
Any former Soviet citizen now living in this country	2	18	2	19	11	40
Don't know	3	5	5	6	7	5

39) How strongly do you hold this view:

Very strongly	18	10	22	15	10	14
Fairly strongly	46	33	30	34	38	30
Can see arguments both sides	28	42	35	35	30	32
Don't really care much	8	14	13	16	22	24

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Here is a scale for ranking how the government works. The top, plus 100, is the best; at the bottom, minus 100, is the worst.

40) Where on this scale would you put the former communist regime?

+100	1	4	3	4	4	6
+90	1	4	1	2	2	3
+80	2	6	2	6	4	4
+70	1	6	2	3	2	7
+60	2	5	2	4	3	6
+50	5	12	6	11	15	18
+40	4	5	3	7	5	4
+30	5	7	7	8	4	7
+20	5	5	5	4	5	2
+10	2	3	4	4	2	4
0 (Neutral)	13	15	12	15	9	11
-10	3	2	1	4	1	2
-20	3	3	3	2	2	2
-30	5	3	5	4	3	2
-40	3	3	4	3	3	2
-50	11	4	8	7	9	7
-60	2	2	3	1	1	0
-70	3	2	4	2	3	1
-80	4	1	4	4	5	3
-90	3	1	3	1	2	1
-100	18	8	17	5	16	5
Negative	58	28	53	34	44	25
Neutral	13	15	12	15	9	11
Positive	28	57	35	51	47	64
Mean	-26	14	-20	8	-6	21
Standard deviation	55	56	58	54	65	55

41) Where on this scale would you put our present system of governing?

+100	1	2	1	1	0	0
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	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
+90	1	1	0	-	-	1
+80	3	1	1	1	1	1
+70	4	4	1	1	1	3
+60	5	3	1	3	1	2
+50	19	12	8	6	9	8
+40	10	7	7	6	4	3
+30	13	11	8	8	6	7
+20	12	8	8	8	5	3
+10	8	7	10	6	6	7
0 (Neutral)	9	13	14	16	11	18
-10	3	3	4	5	4	5
-20	3	5	5	7	5	3
-30	2	4	5	7	6	4
-40	2	3	5	6	4	2
-50	3	6	8	8	12	13
-60	0	2	3	2	4	3
-70	0	2	2	2	3	3
-80	1	1	2	2	4	1
-90	0	-	1	1	3	2
-100	1	5	4	5	10	9
Negative	16	30	41	45	55	45
Neutral	9	13	14	16	11	18
Positive	75	57	45	40	34	37
Mean	24	9	-4	-7	-19	-10
Standard deviation	36	46	44	43	50	50

42) Where on this scale would you put our system of governing in five years?

+100	4	6	3	2	2	2
+90	5	4	1	1	1	1
+80	15	8	4	5	4	4
+70	13	7	6	5	5	5

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
+60	13	10	8	8	5	3
+50	19	17	13	13	14	16
+40	8	11	8	8	5	4
+30	8	8	11	9	11	10
+20	6	8	10	11	12	9
+10	2	5	10	11	11	7
0 (Neutral)	3	7	14	12	12	12
-10	1	1	2	2	1	5
-20	1	1	2	3	2	2
-30	1	1	1	3	3	5
-40	0	1	2	1	2	1
-50	0	2	2	0	3	3
-60	0	0	0	2	1	1
-70	0	0	1	1	0	1
-80	0	0	1	1	1	1
-90	-	1	-	0	2	2
-100	0	1	1	0	3	5
Negative	4	10	12	14	19	27
Neutral	3	7	14	12	12	12
Positive	92	83	74	74	69	61
Mean	52	39	27	26	18	14
Standard deviation	30	40	37	38	43	48

Reactions to regime change<sup>10</sup>

Democrats	55	23	29	17	18	10
Sceptics	17	20	36	31	35	26

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<sup>10</sup>Democrats: Non-positive evaluation of regime before perestroika (Q. 40) AND positive evaluation of current regime (Q. 41). Sceptics: Non-positive evaluation of regime before perestroika AND non-positive evaluation of current regime. Compliant: Positive evaluation of regime before perestroika AND positive evaluation of current regime. Reactionary: Positive evaluation of regime before perestroika AND non-positive evaluation of current regime.

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Compliant	20	34	17	23	17	28
Reactionary	9	23	18	28	29	36

Russian-speakers only: And on this same scale, where would you place:

43) The Soviet system of government before perestroika?

+100		4		6		7
+90		4		5		3
+80		7		6		6
+70		6		5		5
+60		5		2		6
+50		14		13		18
+40		7		7		5
+30		8		7		7
+20		4		6		4
+10		5		4		3
0 (Neutral)		11		11		9
-10		2		2		3
-20		2		4		2
-30		3		2		3
-40		2		2		1
-50		5		8		5
-60		1		1		1
-70		2		3		1
-80		1		1		1
-90		0		1		2
-100		5		5		6
Negative		24		29		26
Neutral		11		11		9
Positive		65		60		64
Mean		21		16		21
Standard deviation		52		55		56

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

44) The present Russian system of governing?

+100	-	-	-
+90	-	-	1
+80	0	-	1
+70	0	1	-
+60	1	1	-
+50	4	3	3
+40	2	3	3
+30	6	3	5
+20	4	5	6
+10	4	6	4
0 (Neutral)	11	13	13
-10	5	7	7
-20	8	6	3
-30	7	8	6
-40	7	6	6
-50	12	9	13
-60	4	4	3
-70	4	5	2
-80	5	5	6
-90	2	3	4
-100	15	12	14
Negative	68	65	64
Neutral	11	13	13
Positive	21	22	23
Mean	-32	-30	-30
Standard deviation	46	45	48

45) The system of governing that Russia will have in five years?

+100	1	3	-
+90	1	1	2
+80	2	2	3

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
+70		4		4		2
+60		4		5		3
+50		12		10		9
+40		4		7		5
+30		9		6		9
+20		6		9		11
+10		7		10		12
0 (Neutral)		14		13		12
-10		4		4		3
-20		3		6		2
-30		4		4		5
-40		5		1		2
-50		6		4		6
-60		3		2		3
-70		2		3		2
-80		3		1		1
-90		0		2		1
-100		5		3		6
Negative		36		30		32
Neutral		14		13		12
Positive		50		57		56
Mean		3		9		2
Standard deviation		49		46		47

ASK ALL

46) In the next year, do you think political conditions will get:

Better	42	31	19	19	17	13
Stay much the same	43	48	61	53	55	59
Get worse	7	7	4	9	12	8
Don't know	8	14	16	20	16	19

47) If the local authorities made a decision which went against people's

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

interests, do you think you could do something about it or not?

Definitely	4	5	4	3	4	3
Probably	18	13	18	14	15	12
Probably not	46	27	22	20	25	29
No chance	28	49	44	48	47	49
Don't know	4	6	13	14	9	6

48) If the national government made a decision which went against people's interests, do you think you could do something about it or not?

Definitely	2	6	3	4	3	2
Probably	10	10	16	11	9	11
Probably not	41	25	19	18	24	28
No chance	42	52	49	52	55	51
Don't know	4	6	13	15	9	7

People often hold different opinions about relations with others. For each pair of statements, please say which is closer to your own way of thinking.

49) Generally speaking, would you say that most

people can be trusted      23      21      24      30      15      17

OR

You can't be too careful in dealing

with people      76      79      75      70      85      83

50) People help each other for you never know when you

will need help yourself      65      61      71      64      55      58

OR

No one else will care about a person who is

having difficulties      35      39      29      36      45      42

51) The best way for people like me to get ahead is to cooperate with others in this community to promote

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
common interests	59	48	37	43	32	46

OR

The best way to get ahead is to look after myself and not be concerned with what other people around

here are doing	41	52	63	57	67	54
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People usually feel they have more in common with some groups than others. How much do you have in common with each of the following groups?

52) Workers

A lot	34	43	30	40	27	35
Some things	40	34	41	37	38	36
Not much	17	14	13	10	18	16
Nothing	7	7	10	7	15	10
Don't know	2	2	5	6	2	3

53) Middle class

A lot	16	21	15	19	16	21
Some things	50	47	51	47	47	42
Not much	23	18	15	15	18	16
Nothing	7	10	10	7	13	14
Don't know	4	4	10	11	6	6

54) Farmers

A lot	23	4	12	5	12	6
Some things	33	11	30	17	24	8
Not much	27	14	23	18	20	19
Nothing	15	66	30	50	42	60
Don't know	1	5	4	10	1	7

55) Estonians/ Latvians/ Lithuanians

A lot	87	28	73	24	79	42
Some things	10	46	23	49	15	42

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Not much	2	16	2	17	1	10
Nothing	-	8	1	5	1	3
Don't know	1	2	1	5	3	3
56) Educated people						
A lot	26	20	24	16	21	23
Some things	39	40	40	39	40	39
Not much	22	22	19	24	21	18
Nothing	10	14	12	13	16	15
Don't know	2	3	5	8	2	5
57) Russians						
A lot	5	69	9	50	4	49
Some things	25	25	38	40	25	32
Not much	32	4	29	4	27	10
Nothing	36	1	20	1	42	6
Don't know	2	1	3	4	2	3
58) People in business for themselves, entrepreneurs						
A lot	9	5	6	5	7	3
Some things	28	16	21	16	17	13
Not much	29	17	22	17	19	18
Nothing	32	59	47	53	53	60
Don't know	2	3	4	8	4	6
59) Green movement, ecologists						
A lot	5	7	2	3	2	2
Some things	18	14	14	11	7	5
Not much	25	16	23	16	12	10
Nothing	47	56	51	53	73	74
Don't know	5	7	10	17	4	9
60) Estonia and Latvia: Lutherans. Lithuanians: Catholics. Russians:						

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Orthodox.						
A lot	6	14	12	18	29	23
Some things	20	29	33	37	39	36
Not much	20	22	18	16	13	15
Nothing	50	30	30	20	14	22
Don't know	4	5	7	8	4	4
61) Strong defenders of our national traditions						
A lot	5	7	9	4	7	7
Some things	23	27	37	30	25	21
Not much	30	24	24	22	24	26
Nothing	38	37	21	30	38	38
Don't know	4	5	8	14	6	8
62) Former Communists						
A lot	1	1	1	2	4	7
Some things	7	10	11	15	20	21
Not much	16	14	12	14	15	15
Nothing	74	68	68	53	59	51
Don't know	2	5	7	16	2	6
63) Do you think rising prices are the biggest threat to your household	86	35	37	39	33	35
OR						
Unemployment is the biggest threat for your household	12	62	60	57	64	62
Don't know	2	2	3	3	2	3
64) Do you think it will take years for government to deal with the problems inherited from the Communists	59	25	42	35	27	26
OR						
If our system can't produce results soon, that's a good reason to try some						

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
other system of government	30	59	37	42	61	61
Don't know	11	16	21	23	13	13

Our present system of government is not the only one that this country has had; some people say we would be better off if the country was governed differently. What do you think? Do you think:

65) We should return to Communist rule

Strongly agree	0	2	1	2	1	4
Somewhat agree	1	7	3	7	6	6
Somewhat disagree	10	29	10	19	12	26
Strongly disagree	87	52	81	59	75	53
Don't know	3	10	6	12	6	11

66) The army should govern the country

Strongly agree	-	2	0	1	2	2
Somewhat agree	1	3	3	4	5	4
Somewhat disagree	6	15	10	14	8	10
Strongly disagree	91	75	83	74	82	79
Don't know	2	4	3	7	4	5

67) It is best to have a strong leader who can quickly decide things without bothering with Parliament and elections

Strongly agree	12	12	8	16	32	18
Somewhat agree	22	27	26	24	30	26
Somewhat disagree	27	25	23	20	14	24
Strongly disagree	35	26	30	23	17	26
Don't know	4	11	14	16	7	6

Number of authoritarian alternatives endorsed (Sum of Qq. 65-67):

0	65	55	64	54	35	48
1	34	37	33	39	56	46
2	1	6	3	5	8	5

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
3	-	1	0	2	1	1
Mean	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.6
Standard deviation	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6
68) The most important decisions about the economy should be made by experts and not the Cabinet and Parliament						
Strongly agree	36	35	29	33	32	31
Somewhat agree	41	42	41	37	34	34
Somewhat disagree	13	8	12	7	14	13
Strongly disagree	7	4	5	5	7	12
Don't know	3	11	13	18	13	10
69) We would be better off if we were still part of the Soviet Union						
Strongly agree	1	15	2	8	5	21
Somewhat agree	1	17	4	18	8	12
Somewhat disagree	6	25	8	17	10	19
Strongly disagree	89	30	77	34	69	33
Don't know	1	13	9	23	7	15
70) How much influence do you think Western ideas have in this country today?						
Too much	50	58	56	50	32	44
About right	42	27	30	30	36	29
Not enough	4	3	2	2	11	8
Hard to say	5	11	12	17	20	18
71) And how much influence do you think Russian ideas have in this country today?						
Too much	36	9	28	12	18	5
About right	36	36	36	37	40	41
Not enough	13	29	5	19	10	22
Hard to say	15	26	31	32	32	31

Do you think any of the following are a threat to the peace and

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

security of this country?

72) Conflicts between (Majority nationality) and Russians resident here

Definitely	12	15	5	6	3	5
Possibly	38	25	37	27	26	13
Probably not	42	39	41	41	37	36
Definitely not	6	18	11	20	28	42
Don't know	2	2	6	5	5	3

73) Refugees, immigrants

Definitely	4	3	7	2	1	2
Possibly	15	20	28	22	20	13
Probably not	56	45	41	39	31	38
Definitely not	20	25	16	26	41	43
Don't know	5	8	8	10	7	4

74) The Russian state

Definitely	32	3	16	3	15	1
Possibly	49	21	54	20	53	28
Probably not	15	45	18	41	18	31
Definitely not	3	25	3	25	7	31
Don't know	2	6	10	11	6	8

75) Hardline nationalist politicians in Russia

Definitely	42	11	27	10	19	10
Possibly	36	43	47	40	48	37
Probably not	17	27	13	23	16	27
Definitely not	2	11	2	13	6	17
Don't know	3	8	11	15	11	9

76) Hardline nationalist politicians in this country

Definitely	7	15	7	10	9	11
Possibly	28	45	38	46	38	45
Probably not	46	24	35	20	26	20

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Definitely not	12	8	8	8	14	12
Don't know	6	9	13	16	13	11

If there was a protest demonstration in the streets, how likely is it that you would take part in a demonstration about:

77) Unemployment, closing of factories?

Very likely	8	22	15	21	35	32
Maybe	16	28	24	25	25	22
Unlikely	36	19	20	16	16	19
Definitely not	37	27	32	31	20	24
Don't know	3	4	9	7	3	3

78) Who should be a citizen?

Very likely	5	17	4	11	7	14
Maybe	14	30	8	23	11	16
Unlikely	36	22	15	17	28	24
Definitely not	39	25	63	38	47	39
Don't know	4	6	10	10	7	7

79) Some people think this country would be better governed if parliament were suspended and we did not have lots of political parties. How likely do you think it is that this could happen here in the next few years?

Very likely	2	2	4	4	5	4
Maybe	12	12	25	13	20	10
Not very likely	53	51	36	42	42	47
Not at all likely	26	12	13	11	17	17
Don't know	7	24	21	30	17	22

80) If Parliament was suspended and parties abolished, would you approve or disapprove?

Strongly approve	1	3	8	6	10	6
Somewhat approve	9	14	17	13	15	10

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Somewhat disapprove	31	35	25	25	28	29
Strongly disapprove	53	21	26	23	26	31
Don't know	6	27	24	33	22	24

If you went to see about something, would you expect fair treatment from:

81) Post office

Definitely	33	40	33	36	25	29
Probably	52	48	48	49	48	47
Not likely	11	7	13	9	19	16
Definitely not	1	1	3	1	4	5
Don't know	2	3	4	5	4	3

82) Bank

Definitely	38	46	36	39	28	34
Probably	46	37	45	40	43	40
Not likely	5	4	5	5	15	14
Definitely not	1	2	2	2	4	4
Don't know	10	11	12	14	10	8

83) Manager at place of work

Definitely	23	31	22	22	32	41
Probably	41	36	36	36	37	36
Not likely	10	11	14	14	19	17
Definitely not	2	4	4	5	6	4
Don't know	24	18	24	23	6	3

84) Local shop

Definitely	29	36	25	30	24	24
Probably	58	47	49	48	40	39
Not likely	11	14	18	14	25	25
Definitely not	1	2	4	3	8	7
Don't know	2	1	5	5	3	4

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
85) Doctor's office, hospital						
Definitely	28	37	24	25	22	24
Probably	57	45	53	54	42	47
Not likely	10	13	15	12	27	24
Definitely not	2	2	3	2	6	2
Don't know	3	4	4	5	2	3
86) Municipal housing office						
Definitely	16	17	17	16	12	15
Probably	52	37	43	40	31	33
Not likely	20	27	23	24	31	30
Definitely not	3	4	7	8	14	7
Don't know	9	15	10	12	11	14
87) Police						
Definitely	8	15	11	10	10	13
Probably	41	35	30	31	27	31
Not likely	25	24	28	29	34	30
Definitely not	6	10	17	13	17	15
Don't know	20	16	14	17	11	11
88) Social security office						
Definitely	18	29	16	17	16	22
Probably	51	42	44	40	39	43
Not likely	14	11	14	16	22	13
Definitely not	3	2	7	4	9	7
Don't know	14	15	19	23	14	15

There is a lot of talk about the duties that people owe this country. Which do you think that everyone who is resident here ought to do?

89) Military service when young

Always	71	49	43	48	57	46
Usually	22	31	37	32	22	30

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Unimportant	5	12	13	10	10	12
Not at all	1	5	3	5	9	8
Don't know	0	3	3	5	1	4
90) Learn the national language						
Always	86	48	69	50	91	64
Usually	13	38	28	37	8	24
Unimportant	0	10	2	7	1	8
Not at all	-	3	-	2	0	2
Don't know	0	1	1	3	0	1
91) Pay taxes on all their income						
Always	49	49	35	38	59	48
Usually	38	33	42	42	26	29
Unimportant	9	10	15	11	10	11
Not at all	3	6	3	4	3	7
Don't know	1	2	5	5	1	4
92) Respect the nation's flag						
Always	90	77	71	65	88	79
Usually	8	20	25	29	10	18
Unimportant	1	1	2	2	1	1
Not at all	0	1	-	0	-	2
Don't know	1	1	1	2	0	2
93) Obey all the country's laws						
Always	77	76	58	62	76	75
Usually	22	21	36	32	19	21
Unimportant	1	1	3	3	3	2
Not at all	-	0	0	1	0	1
Don't know	0	1	2	2	1	0
94) Follow politics on television and in the press						

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Always do	9	18	16	12	28	24
Usually	25	37	31	34	32	29
Unimportant	39	31	39	29	25	31
Not at all	25	10	12	19	12	13
Don't know	2	3	3	4	1	2

There is a lot of talk about the rights that people ought to have. Which rights do you think should be enjoyed by everyone resident in this country?

95) Receive a pension on retirement

Definitely	81	93	85	88	94	93
Usually	16	6	14	11	5	7
Unimportant	2	-	0	-	1	0
No	0	0	-	-	0	-
Don't know	0	0	1	1	0	-

96) Receive benefit pay if unemployed

Definitely	61	77	66	78	79	84
Usually	33	21	30	19	18	14
Unimportant	5	1	2	2	1	1
No	1	1	1	-	1	-
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1	0

97) Educated in language of parents

Definitely	75	70	67	61	78	63
Usually	20	26	27	34	21	25
Unimportant	3	2	4	3	1	10
No	1	0	2	1	-	1
Don't know	0	1	0	1	0	1

98) Right to buy a house if wants to

Definitely	67	58	37	39	54	63
Usually	29	33	45	43	36	31

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Unimportant	3	8	14	11	8	4
No	1	0	2	3	1	0
Don't know	0	1	2	3	1	0
99) Right to own land						
Definitely	34	40	40	34	50	42
Usually	37	42	42	46	38	40
Unimportant	24	13	11	12	9	12
No	3	1	3	3	2	3
Don't know	1	3	3	5	1	2
100) Vote, be a candidate in local elections						
Definitely	28	24	21	24	34	28
Usually	38	41	37	37	42	39
Unimportant	25	23	24	21	17	22
No	7	8	12	9	5	7
Don't know	1	4	7	8	2	3
101) Vote, be a candidate in national elections						
Definitely	23	19	19	20	25	25
Usually	33	33	30	32	37	32
Unimportant	29	30	23	24	23	23
No	13	12	18	14	10	16
Don't know	2	5	9	10	4	4
102) Form a political party						
Definitely	14	10	11	10	7	14
Usually	27	17	21	20	20	14
Unimportant	33	38	25	29	33	31
No	23	26	30	27	28	35
Don't know	3	8	13	13	11	7
103) Which of these statements best fits your views of who should be a						

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

citizen? (choose only one)

Those whose family were citizens

here before 1940 34 1 43 4 12 2

Everyone who has been born in

the country 29 32 28 25 38 17

Everyone who has lived here for more

than ten years 30 29 18 35 26 19

Everyone living here at the time of

independence 3 21 4 16 10 21

Any former Soviet citizen who is now

living in this country 1 14 1 14 11 39

Don't know

2 2 4 5 4 2

104) How strongly do you hold this view?

Very strongly 22 14 21 15 16 17

Fairly strongly 50 39 31 38 44 33

Can see arguments for different

alternatives 24 38 35 35 28 35

Don't really care much

3 9 12 12 12 15

105) Should people who want to become citizens have to pass an examination in the national language?

Definitely yes 81 22 64 23 48 19

Probably 16 36 24 40 32 33

Not necessary 3 35 11 29 16 40

Definitely not 0 7 2 8 3 8

106) Do you feel close to one political party or movement or not?

Yes 27 19 26 23 39 19

No 68 65 61 57 49 62

Refuses to answer 1 4 4 6 4 8

Don't know 3 12 9 14 8 11

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

108) How close do you feel to this party?

Very close	3	1	5	2	8	1
Somewhat	17	11	16	16	24	10
Not very close	5	6	4	4	6	7
Does not identify	75	82	74	77	62	81

109) (Interviewer gives respondent an envelope and ballot paper and says:)  
In this envelope is a ballot with names of political parties. Please put a cross by the party you would vote for if an election were held next Sunday.

Estonia

Estonian Democratic Union	1	3
Estonian Democratic Labour Party	1	3
Estonian Centrist Party	11	11
Party of Citizens of Southern Estonia	1	-
Party of Citizens of Northern Estonia	0	1
Estonian Home	0	2
Estonian Coalition Party	13	4
Estonian Agrarian Centrist Party	6	1
Estonian Agrarian Union	3	1
Estonian Rural Party	11	4
Estonian United People's Party	0	1
Estonian Forest Party	1	0
Union of Pensioners and Families of Estonia	10	7
Estonian National Party	1	1
Estonian Reform Party	17	2
Estonian Greens	3	1
Estonian Royalist Party	2	0

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Estonian Blue Party	1	-				
Estonian Social-Democratic Party	1	2				
Estonian Farmers Party	3	1				
Farmers Assembly	1	-				
National Coalition Party						
Isamaa	3	1				
Future Estonia Party	4	2				
Russian Party in Estonia	0	31				
Party of Legal Justice	0	9				
No answer	4	11				

#### Latvia

Democratic Party "Saimnieks"			6	5		
Union "Latvian Way"			12	10		
Latvian Democratic Labour Party			2	1		
Latvian Christian-Democratic Union			4	2		
Coalition of Movement for National Independence and Green Party			7	2		
Latvian Social-Democratic Worker's Party			1	1		
Latvian Socialist Party			-	3		
Latvian Popular Front			1	1		
Latvian Peasant Union			13	5		
Political Union of the Deprived			2	3		
People's Union "Latvijai"			4	2		
Party of People's Concord			1	14		
Political Union of Owners			1	1		
Union "For Fatherland and Freedom"			5	1		
Other Party			1	1		
No Answer			39	48		

#### Lithuania

Party of National Progress					2	0
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	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party					16	37
Freedom League					2	-
Motherland Union (Conservatives of Lithuania)					22	5
Green Party					2	5
Lithuanian Tautinks Union					1	0
Independence Party					1	0
Lithuanian Christian-Democratic Party					16	2
Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party					5	5
Lithuanian Liberal's Union					3	2
Democratic Party					1	3
Union of Politically Repressed					2	0
Lithuanian National Party "Jaunoji Lietuva"					4	1
Polish Electoral Action					-	4
Centre Union					5	2
Republican Party					-	0
Peasants' Party					5	5
Women's Party					-	0
No answer					12	25

110) Which of these terms best describes how you usually think of yourself? (Show card).

City/locality	27	52	27	59	21	48
Region (e.g. Zemaitija, Aukstaitija, etc)	7	4	7	5	15	4
Baltic nationality	63	2	63	3	62	1
Polish	-	-	0	1	-	0
Russian	-	32	-	22	-	25
Belorussian	-	1	-	2	-	4
Ukrainian	-	2	0	1	-	4
European	2	2	0	2	2	5
Soviet	-	2	0	2	0	3
Other (write out)	1	4	1	4	1	4

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

111) And do you sometimes think of yourself as a member of any other group? Which one? (Same card)

City/locality	48	33	42	29	37	35
Region (e.g. Zemaitija, Aukstaitija, etc)	18	4	19	14	30	4
Baltic nationality	25	2	28	3	28	3
Polish	0	-	0	2	-	0
Russian	0	41	1	33	0	37
Belorussian	-	1	-	4	-	5
Ukrainian	-	3	0	3	-	7
European	7	6	7	3	4	4
Soviet	0	3	1	4	-	1
Other (write out)	1	6	2	6	0	3

112) How would you describe the relations between nationalities and ethnic groups in this country?

No problems	2	4	2	4	2	6
All right, we can handle whatever problems arise	76	68	62	68	66	77
Not so good, difficulties	18	26	30	23	25	14
Bad	1	1	2	1	1	1
Don't know	2	1	3	4	5	2

113) And how would you say relations between nationalities have changed since this country became independent?

A lot better	7	3	4	1	2	5
Somewhat better	34	16	27	18	18	13
The same	31	34	30	30	41	43
A little worse	22	33	24	36	25	27
A lot worse	3	8	7	9	4	6
Don't know	3	5	8	6	10	5

114) What language did you speak at home when you were a child?

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Estonian	99	1	97	2	97	3
Russian	0	89	2	77	0	76
Polish	-	0	-	3	2	2
Finnish	0	1	-	-	0	-
Belorussian	-	1	-	7	-	6
Ukrainian	-	4	0	5	-	11
Other	-	3	1	5	-	2

115) In what other languages can you now carry on a conversation? (More than one answer okay)

115-1) State language	99	37	99	62	99	78
115-2) Russian	74	99	90	100	88	99
115-3) Polish	0	2	2	7	23	29
115-4) Finnish	20	4	-	-	0	-
115-5) English	23	11	15	9	15	9
115-6) German	13	5	14	4	9	6
115-7) Other	2	11	5	21	5	24

Number of languages spoken (Qq.115 1-6):

1	23	49	10	27	11	14
2	38	34	60	48	52	40
3	26	13	25	20	27	34
4	11	3	5	4	10	10
More than 4	2	0	0	1	1	2

116) Were you born in Estonia/Latvia/Lithuania?

Yes	96	41	98	46	98	40
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	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
No	4	59	2	54	2	60

If No:

117) Where were you born?

Other two Baltic states	0	1	0	3	0	0
Russia	2	40	1	27	0	31
Siberia	1	2	1	3	1	2
Belarus	-	2	-	8	-	10
Ukraine	0	7	-	8	-	13
Poland	-	-	-	0	-	0
Other ex-Soviet republic	-	3	0	2	0	2
Other	0	3	0	2	0	2
Difficult to answer	96	41	98	47	98	40

118) How many years have you lived in this state?

Less than 5 years	-	1	-	1	-	4
6 - 10 years	4	7	-	6	-	17
11 - 15 years	9	13	-	7	-	8
16 - 20 years	-	17	8	12	-	12
More than 21 years	87	63	92	74	100	59

Ask Baltic nationalities only

119) When jobs are scarce, some people say that employers should give priority to ----- (state nationality) rather than to Russians and others. Do you think this is the right thing to do or not?

Strongly agree	17	25	18
Agree	28	24	18
Disagree	37	31	46
Strongly disagree	15	15	15
Don't know	2	5	3

120) During World War II and afterwards, many families in this country suffered greatly. Was anyone in your family deported, imprisoned,

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

perished or executed?

Several	24	29	30
Only one	20	19	15
No one	56	52	55

If Yes:

121) Was this at the hands of:

None	57	52	55
Russians	30	31	33
Germans	3	3	3
Both	7	12	6
Other	3	1	3

Russian-language questionnaire only

Here are statements that some Russian-speakers make about life in (name of country) since independence. Can you tell me whether or not you agree.

122) People like us should not be made to learn Estonian/Latvian/Lithuanian.

Definitely	13	13	14
Probably	26	29	19
Not very likely	39	29	41
Definitely not	17	24	21
Don't know	4	5	4

123) Conditions for people like me in Russia are worse than here.

Definitely	22	19	13
Probably	36	30	32
Not very likely	18	13	20
Definitely not	4	7	7
Don't know	20	30	27

124) This country offers better chances for improving living standards in future than does Russia.

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Definitely	25		22		16	
Probably	43		32		43	
Not very likely	10		9		10	
Definitely not	2		5		5	
Don't know	20		31		26	

125) If you had to do so, could you find a place to live somewhere in Russia?

Definitely	11		7		14	
Probably	18		20		25	
Not very likely	29		30		25	
Definitely not	37		29		22	
Don't know	5		13		13	

### C) DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

126) Gender

Male	44	46	44	49	45	48
Female	56	54	56	51	55	52

127) Marital status

Single	18	14	18	9	17	10
Married, Living with partner	60	60	65	69	65	74
Separated, divorced	10	13	9	10	7	5
Widowed	12	13	7	12	11	11

128) How old are you? (answer in years)

18 - 19 years	4	4	5	3	5	2
20 - 34 years	29	31	35	25	34	27
35 - 54 years	35	35	36	39	31	41
More than 55 years	32	30	24	33	31	30

Number of people in household:

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
129a)	Employed adults					
0	24	22	27	32	28	27
1	31	34	33	34	32	32
2	36	36	32	26	33	34
3 and more	9	7	8	8	7	7
129b) Pensioners						
0	63	65	59	56	63	59
1	25	27	28	27	21	26
2	11	7	12	16	15	14
3	1	0	1	1	0	1
129c) Adults getting unemployment, other social benefit						
0	90	89	89	91	91	89
1	9	11	11	7	8	10
2 and more	0	1	1	1	1	1
129d) Adults without an income (e.g. housewife, student)						
0	79	76	71	70	67	66
1	17	22	23	26	27	26
2	3	2	6	4	6	7
3 and more	1	0	0	1	1	1
129e)	Children under 18 years					
0	54	53	49	50	51	48
1	22	30	23	28	23	30
2	18	14	21	17	21	22
3	5	2	6	4	4	1
4	1	1	1	0	1	-
5	0	0	-	0	-	-
6	0	-	0	-	-	-
7	0	0	0	0	-	-
9	0	-	-	-	-	-

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Number of adults in household (Sum of Qq.129 a-d):

1	22	21	18	20	17	13
2	51	54	49	49	56	53
3	17	18	20	19	18	20
4	6	4	10	10	6	9
Over 4	2	2	3	3	3	4

130) In the past month, what was your own personal income<sup>11</sup>?

Mean	1,428	1,333	63	57	259	298
Standard deviation	1,854	1,151	68	53	296	297

131) And in the past month what was the total household income--including earnings of family members, scholarships, pension, unemployment benefits and other income.

Mean	2,442	2,321	113	100	447	505
Standard deviation	2,270	1,727	233	70	404	387

132) Compared to other households in this country, would you say your standard of living is:

Above average	5	2	3	2	4	2
Average	31	44	45	35	57	49
Below average	64	54	52	63	39	49

Does your household have any of the following:

133) Colour TV	75	82	76	77	74	78
134) Telephone	60	55	72	69	69	75
135) Car	45	30	39	26	43	37
136) Shares in enterprises	15	11	5	4	42	44

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<sup>11</sup>In national currency

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Number of households goods (Sum of Qq. 133-135):

0	14	11	11	10	12	9
1	23	31	21	24	20	19
2	32	39	39	48	36	45
3	31	19	29	17	31	27
Mean	1.8	1.7	1.9	1.7	1.9	1.9
Standard deviation	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.9

137) Are you planning to buy any of the above in the next year? Which?

(More than one answer)

Colour TV	9	8	9	7	4	5
Telephone	7	7	6	5	4	5
Car	10	7	9	6	6	3
Shares in enterprises	6	4	3	3	1	2
None of the above	79	82	81	86	87	88
Don't know	3	4	6	8	8	7

If No/ Don't know

138) Is that because (Read out: more than one answer okay)

Don't need anything	16	13	14	13	13	14
Don't have enough money	53	61	58	70	61	67
Prefer to buy other things	8	5	9	3	10	4
Rather save than spend money	4	3	2	1	6	2

139) What is your occupation?

Professional, director	5	1	5	4	8	6
Trained supervisor	10	7	8	10	8	10
Trained non-manual without subordinates	24	21	29	23	25	34
Routine non-manual	8	11	13	14	12	9
Skilled manual	27	40	25	28	27	30
Unskilled manual	13	17	8	14	7	6

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Agricultural worker	12	1	8	5	9	4
Farmer	0	-	3	1	2	-

140a) How old were you (will you be) on finishing full time education?

Up to 12	1	3	1	3	8	2
13	2	2	1	3	3	1
14	5	4	5	5	3	3
15	8	9	7	6	4	6
16	8	12	7	10	7	8
17	8	19	9	17	7	12
18	24	12	26	18	23	13
19	10	12	11	6	11	9
20	7	6	7	9	8	8
21	4	5	5	5	6	8
22	5	5	5	5	6	10
23	4	4	6	5	5	9
24 and over	14	8	10	8	10	12

141) What was the highest level of education

Primary school	9	10	11	16	16	7
Incomplete secondary	11	10	7	5	9	7
Secondary school (without certificate)	3	4	3	1	2	1
Vocational Secondary	14	15	9	13	16	11
Secondary school	21	18	19	15	12	15
Technical College	23	25	31	29	26	30
3-4 years of University	1	3	4	3	3	6
University	17	16	16	17	15	23

142) Some people are interested in books, others are not. How about yourself. Do you:

Never bother	7	8	11	15	16	12
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	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Occasionally read a book	45	44	43	43	49	42
Read books often	48	48	45	42	36	46

## 143) What is your official nationality?

Lithuanian	-	1	-	4	100	-
Latvian	0	1	100	-	-	1
Estonian	99	1	-	-	-	-
Polish	-	1	-	5	0	-
Russian	0	80	-	73	-	68
Belorussian	-	3	-	8	-	10
Ukrainian	-	9	-	6	-	16
Other former Soviet Republic-	-	0	-	1	-	1
Jew	-	1	-	1	-	1
Other (Please write out)	0	3	-	1	-	3

## 144) What is your residence status in this country?

Citizen	99	28	99	31	100	93
Permanent resident	1	70	1	67	-	6
Temporary resident	-	1	-	2	-	0

## 145) What is your citizenship?

*Lithuanian	-	0	-	2	100	93
Latvian	-	0	99	36	-	-
Estonian	99	30	-	-	-	-
Soviet	0	34	0	28	-	-
**Russian	-	12	0	3	-	5
Other former Soviet Republic	-	2	-	4	-	-
Polish	-	0	-	-	-	-
Other (Please write out)	0	4	0	8	-	0
It is now uncertain; I do not have a passport	0	18	-	19	-	1

Ask Russian-speakers only: \*If not already citizen of Baltic state:

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

146) Do you plan to apply for citizenship of Estonia/ Latvia?

Yes	40	38	18
Thinking of doing so	21	25	6
Unsure	11	12	6
No	28	25	70

If Yes/Thinking of doing so:

147) What is the reason for this?

Permanent resident	56	52	100
Need it to travel	0	0	-
Don't want to become a stateless person	6	8	-
I identify with this country	9	10	-
I and my family belong here	27	29	-
Other	1	1	-

If No:

148)

Don't identify with this country	-	2	-
State wouldn't grant it, don't speak language	51	33	-
Already a Russian citizen	31	5	74
Too much trouble, can't be bothered	6	33	19
Other	13	27	7

\*\*If not already Russian citizen or citizen of another former Soviet republic:

149) Do you plan to apply for Russian citizenship?

Yes	5	4	2
No	94	96	98

If Yes: (Okay more than one)

150) What is the reason for this?

Need it to travel	-	0	1
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EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Don't want to become a stateless person	3		2		-
May want to return to Russia some day	1		1		1
Russian Federation will protect me, my family	0		0		-
I am Russian, identify with other Russians	1		-		-
Other	0		0		0

If No:

151) If you are not going to apply, is that because (okay more than one)

Don't identify with ex-Soviet union, Russia	2		21		3
State wouldn't grant it	0		3		1
Already a Baltic citizen	0		1		91
Too much trouble, can't be bothered	1		10		1
Other	2		17		2

Ask All

152) To which religious group do you belong?

Roman Catholic	0	0	23	14	84	10
Orthodox	7	55	2	56	0	59
Lutheran	40	1	38	1	0	-
Jewish	-	0	0	-	-	-
Other	5	6	4	8	2	7
Not a believer	32	33	31	19	10	20
Refused	17	4	2	2	3	2

153) How often do you attend religious services?

Nearly every week	3	4	4	6	17	3
About once a month	3	5	3	10	15	7
A few times a year	26	17	20	25	31	20

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Rarely	21	28	31	26	21	32
Never	8	11	11	13	4	17
Not a believer	38	34	31	20	11	21

154) Were you or another person in your family formerly a member of the Communist Party?

Yes, self	9	11	8	15	7	22
Yes, other member of family	10	15	11	13	13	20
No	81	73	81	72	80	57

155) Do you live in:

Single family dwelling	28	3	26	13	40	15
Low rise flat, no elevator	54	73	68	72	45	72
Flat in building with an elevator	6	17	5	13	7	9
Communal flat, hostel, dormitory	5	5	1	1	7	3
Other	6	0	0	0	1	0

156) Who owns your residence:

State	13	36	23	41	2	0
Local council	12	24	27	24	2	3
Employer	3	2	1	2	1	1
Cooperatively owned	4	6	4	7	2	4
Self, family, relative	63	28	34	19	89	90
Privately owned landlord	4	1	7	6	3	1
Other	1	2	3	1	1	1

157) If there is a problem in the building where you live, what would you do to try to get it fixed? (More than one answer accepted)

I or another member of household

would deal with it	76	63	63	57	65	66
Ask a friend to fix it	13	17	11	8	17	13

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Complain to whoever collects

the rent	8	30	29	33	13	18
Pay someone to fix it	25	21	10	10	22	25
Nothing I could do	3	5	4	4	4	4

158) Population of this community

Rural, village	48	11	42	18	33	13
5-20,000	14	14	14	9	11	18
20-50,000	2	5	9	9	14	12
50-100,000	5	23	5	5	5	3
100-500,000	8	5	5	14	25	29
More than 500,000	24	43	26	44	12	26

159) Region

1	24	43	27	46	19	46
2	16	9	26	14	28	18
3	17	3	17	10	16	8
4	15	8	19	10	20	17
5	18	3	11	19	18	11
6	10	34	-	-	-	-

160) Russian-speakers as % of local district's population.

Less than 5%	23	-	-	-	48	24
5-20%	31	4	32	13	35	35
21-33%	18	10	18	9	12	26
34-45%	3	2	12	12	4	10
45-55%	24	44	8	10	-	-
More than 55%	2	40	31	56	-	5

161) Polish-speakers as % of local district's population.

Less than 5%					86	60
5-20%					13	33
>55%					1	7

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

162) Date of Interview

5				4	2
6		3	3	12	13
7		10	14	21	19
8		31	32	34	29
9		34	28	24	29
10		11	14	4	6
11		7	6	1	2
12		4	2	-	-
13		0	0	-	-
14		0	-	-	-

Re: Don't Know/ Non-Response Replies

Given the inevitable problems that arise in field work, it would be the exceptional question in which all respondents gave valid answers. When Don't Know is included as an answer in the questionnaire it can be used by the interviewer as a prompt. When Don't Know is not offered but volunteered, it is coded 99. When No Answer is recorded by the interviewer or a question is not asked, for example, because a respondent is not employed, then it is treated as missing data and not assigned a code number.

## SAMPLES IN ESTONIA

Interviews with Estonians and Russians in Estonia were conducted by EMOR, PO Box, 3663, EE0090 Tallinn, under the direction of Juhan Kivirahk. Fieldwork took place between 3 and 17 April 1995 with interviewers bilingual in Estonian and Russian. Because of differences in the distribution of the nationalities, separate sampling procedures were followed for each nationality. All questionnaires were coded by EMOR and SPSS system files created. A total of 651 interviews were completed in the Estonian language and 645 in Russian.

***Estonians.*** The universe for this sample was all persons age 18 or above resident in Estonia, of ethnic Estonian parentage and speaking Estonian. The sample design was based on 1989 census data. The country was stratified initially into six regions and Tallinn; towns and country towns; rural centres with more than 200 inhabitants. The number of sampling points, 100, was then distributed according to population in the following way: Tallinn, 31; West Estonia, 18; North Estonia, 13; South, 12; Tartu Region, 13; Vorumaa region, 19. The location of primary sampling units within this distribution was on the basis of random probability sampling according to the size of a settlement.

Within ***towns***, addresses were selected by a random route procedure starting from a fixed address. Within a household the respondent selected was the person next in the household to have a birthday. If this person was not at home, the interviewer had to call back. If there was still no answer, or an interview was refused an additional household was drawn by the random route method. In ***rural*** settlements, the respondents were selected randomly from the lists compiled from the register of inhabitants, with a reserve list created for each sampling point. If the interviewer did not get a response after two calls back, the next name on the reserve list could be used. In each of 100 sampling points, the interviewer was instructed to obtain 10 face-to-face interviews. If no interview could be obtained, then the interviewer was allowed to substitute a name from the randomly constituted reserve list.

***Russians.*** The universe was all Russian-speaking persons age 18 or above resident in Estonia. Because Russian-speakers are not distributed

equally throughout the population of Estonia, two sets of respondents are combined, Russian-speakers in the initial sample (N=345), and a sample drawn specially for Russian speakers (N=300). This latter sample was constructed by the same principles as above but stratified to take into account the distribution within Estonia of Russian-speakers.

To ensure a proper representation of Russians and of Estonian nationalities in the sample, within the above sampling frames interviewers screened out respondents whose inclusion would create a deviation from the appropriate balance of nationalities resident within a given primary sampling unit. Of the 1912 persons contacted in towns, 354 names were eliminated at the screening stage because of an inappropriate nationality. In rural areas, where the sample was differently constructed, only one person was excluded. For those individuals within the appropriate parameters of nationality, the response rate was as follows:

	Town		Rural areas		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interviewed	996	63.9	300	78.0	1296	66.7
Refused	156	10.0	7	2.0	163	8.4
Unable to contact, dead	406	26.1	77	20.0	483	24.9
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Total	1558	100.0	384	100.0	1942	100.0

#### SAMPLES IN LATVIA

The survey in Latvia was conducted by Baltic Data House (formerly known as LASOPEC, Latvian Social Research Centre) Akas iela 517, Riga, LV-1050, under the direction of Dr. Birgita Zepa. Fieldwork took place between 6 and 12 April 1995, with the team of interviewers bi-lingual in Latvian and Russian. Because Russians and other non-Latvians are widely distributed through the country, there was no need to draw a separate sample of Russian ethnic origin. The sub-division of respondents into two groups, Latvians and Russians, was done on the basis of the answer to Q143. The group of Latvians contains 656 respondents, and Russians, 517. All questionnaires were coded in Riga and SPSS system files created.

The survey in Latvia had the target population of persons between

the ages of 18-74 living in Latvia. The sampling was done by the method of multi-stage random sampling with face-to-face interviewing of the respondents. A total of 130 sample points were chosen according to systematic probability proportional to population, sampling from the complete list of Latvian population points. Before sampling, populated places were stratified by region, district and level of urbanity to keep regional and urban respondents in proportion. For each sample point, 10 interviews were planned, and a random starting address for an interviewer's route was chosen. Interviewers chose households according to the route instructions (each fourth dwelling; separate one-family houses were counted as two dwellings) and interviewed the member of the household whose birthday was the nearest. The overall response rate was as follows:

	N	%
Interviewed	1173	72.5
Refused	176	10.8
Unable to contact, dead	270	16.7
	-----	-----
Total	1619	100.0

#### SAMPLES IN LITHUANIA

Fieldwork took place from 4 to 10 April 1995, with a team of 96 interviewers bi-lingual in Lithuanian and Russian and working under 19 regional supervisors. Because of differences in the distribution of the nationalities, separate sampling procedures were followed for each group. All questionnaires were coded by VILMORUS and SPSS system files created.

***Lithuanians.*** The universe was all persons age 18 or above resident in Lithuania and of ethnic Lithuanian parentage. The country was stratified initially into five regions and the seven largest cities, Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Panevezys, Alytus, Marijampole. A random multi-stage probability sample was then conducted. At the first stage were drawn all the seven largest cities and 11 districts ("rajonas") from the five regions; at the second, electoral districts were selected within the towns and rural

areas of the districts. This identified 96 territorial districts as primary sampling units covering 19 different towns and 62 villages. Within towns, addresses were selected by a random route procedure starting from a fixed address. Within each household the person next in the family to have a birthday was selected for interview. In rural areas household registers were used to select the addresses. Here the systematic random sampling was used. The response rate was as follows:

	N	%
Interviews completed	631	64.5
Refusals	77	7.7
Unable to contact respondent	270	27.6
	----	-----
Total households approached	978	100

***Russian-speakers.*** Russian-speakers in the context of the survey means all non-Lithuanian and non-Polish ethnicities. The universe was all persons age 18 or above resident in Lithuania. Because Russian-speakers are not distributed equally throughout the population of Lithuania, two sets of respondents are combined, Russian-speakers in the initial sample (N=113), and a sample drawn specially for Russian-speakers (N=126). This latter sample was constructed by the same principles as above but stratified to take into account the distribution within Lithuania of Russian-speakers. On the last stage of the sample Russian-speaking respondents were selected randomly from electoral lists; they were identified by their names and father's name. The Russian-language response rate was:

	N	%
Interviews completed	239	64.2
Refusals	33	8.9
Unable to contact respondent	100	26.9
	----	-----
Total households approached	372	100