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NEW BALTIC BAROMETER III:

A Survey Study

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Abstract

The New Baltic Barometer (NBB) is a set of six surveys of the opinions and attitudes of the six principal nationalities living in the Baltic states: Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Russians and other former Soviet citizens in each of the three Baltic states. Representative samples of each nationality are asked the same sets of questions about their multiple identities, language use, political attitudes, economic behaviour and social structural conditions. This paper presents answers for all questions, subdivided by nationality, for the third NBB survey, conducted in November, 1996. SPP 251 gives results for the 1995 NBB survey, and SPP 222 for the first Baltic Barometer in 1993.

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INTRODUCTION

Any attempt to study public opinion in the Baltic states must first identify the different "publics" there. Between the two world wars there were three Baltic states--Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. By the end of the Second World War the three states were incorporated in the Soviet Union; Baltic voices were merged in the vast ocean of Soviet opinion. In addition, Soviet policy brought hundreds of thousands of Russian immigrants to Estonia and Latvia, and a lesser but significant group to Lithuania. The break up of the Soviet Union, in part precipitated by independence movements in the three Baltic states, has left large Russian minorities in Estonia and Latvia, and in Lithuania too.

Given these divisions, the New Baltic Barometer (NBB) is a study of the opinion and behaviour of six publics in the Baltic states--the three titular nationalities and the ex-Soviet nationalities that continue to reside there. For convenience, they are referred to as Russians, although some may nominally be Ukrainians or Belarussians, since Russian is usually their home language and many are not fluent in a Baltic language. The NBB questionnaire normally asks the same questions of all six samples; it is thus possible to compare the views of the titular nationality with Russians resident in the same state, and to assess similarities and differences between the three Baltic nationalities, and between Russians living in different Baltic countries.

A unique feature of the New Baltic Barometer is that it collects a wide range of data about the ethnic background, language usage and identities of the population of all three Baltic states in circumstances in which many Russians are legal residents but not citizens. It addresses the very thorny issue of the conditions on which citizenship should be granted, e.g. by inheritance, by place of birth, by residence or only after a language test. It also asks questions about the obligations and rights of residents in each country, whether or not citizens.

A sample survey is uniquely suited for collecting data about individual living conditions, given the acknowledged limitations and inadequacies of official statistics. It is empirically as well as logically misleading to infer individual conditions from such large-scale aggregates as M3 or the officially recorded gross domestic product. The questionnaire covers everyday economic activities, official and unofficial, monetized and non-monetized. It also collects data about a wide

range of political attitudes, such as support for the new regime as against the old--and support for undemocratic alternatives.

This *SPP* paper reports the results of the third New Baltic Barometer survey, undertaken in November, 1996: for Latvia by Baltic Data House (formerly Lasopec); Lithuania, Vilmorus; and Estonia, the Saar Poll. The replies given by each nationality are reported separately for each question asked. The reader can thus see at a glance how large or how small are differences between nationalities in each of the Baltic states--and how large or small are differences of opinion within a given nationality. Details of the samples are given in the appendix.

Key questions asked in the two earlier NBB surveys are repeated here. The results of these surveys are reported in *Studies in Public Policy* Number 222 (NBB I, in autumn, 1993); and *SPP* Number 251 (NBB II, spring, 1995). A list of *SPP* papers arising from Baltic surveys is given inside the front cover.

The New Baltic Barometer is part of an ongoing programme of Barometer surveys monitoring mass response to transformation in 15 post-Communist societies of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The Centre for the Study of Public Policy launched the New Russia Barometer (NRB) in January, 1992; six NRB surveys have now been completed. Because many questions are common to both the Baltic and the Russian Barometers, it is possible to compare Russians in the Baltic states with their counterparts in Russia. The New Democracies Barometer of the Paul Lazarsfeld Society, Vienna, was launched in autumn, 1991 and now covers ten countries, including Belarus and Ukraine in the former Soviet Union, and Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovenia and Croatia. It too contains many questions comparable to those asked in the Baltic states.

Full details about the Barometer surveys and resulting publications arising are available on the Internet at: <http://www.strath.ac.uk/Departments/CSPP/>

Professor Richard Rose

A) ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Q1. In the past half year have you at some time been unemployed?

Yes	11	23	14	26	19	26
No	69	51	53	45	52	42
Not in labour force	20	25	33	29	29	32

IF YES:

Q2. How many weeks were you unemployed?

1 - 4 weeks	9	7	10	5	6	3
5 - 12 weeks	24	19	21	11	17	12
13 - 26 weeks	32	21	35	41	17	22
27 - 51 weeks	19	26	31	34	31	20
52 weeks	17	27	3	8	29	43

Q3. Did you receive unemployment or social benefit money from the state?

Yes	43	39	25	27	28	36
No	56	60	75	73	72	64

ASK ALL:

Q4. During the past six months has any other member of your household been unemployed?

Yes - one other	13	23	14	23	21	21
Two or more others	1	4	4	6	4	4
No	86	73	82	71	75	75

IF YES:

Q5. How many weeks unemployed. (If more than one unemployed, record answer for person longest unemployed).

1 - 4 weeks	7	9	9	6	6	7
5 - 12 weeks	17	25	9	10	15	17
13 - 26 weeks	23	21	48	52	14	26
27 - 51 weeks	19	16	33	30	14	16
52 weeks	32	28	-	3	40	35

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Q6. What is your current employment situation? (Show card)

Full-time job	48	46	43	39	40	33
Part-time job	7	5	4	6	7	5
Self-employed	5	3	2	2	3	2
Pensioner and employed	5	1	3	2	4	4
Unemployed without state unemployment benefit	3	7	8	13	8	11
Unemployed with benefit	1	2	2	2	1	3
Pensioner, not employed	19	19	29	29	22	29
Other state income maintenance grant	1	2	2	2	3	1
Housewife	3	3	4	2	6	4
Student	6	10	2	1	6	6
Other	1	-	1	0	0	1

Impact of unemployment

Currently unemployed	5	10	9	16	8	14
Formerly unemployed	7	14	5	11	10	12
Employed all year	61	45	49	40	47	37
Outside labour force	27	32	37	32	34	37

IF EMPLOYED:

Q7. Respondent's employer:

State enterprise: factory	10	30	25	32	26	32
State enterprise: commerce	2	3	2	5	3	4
Police, military	2	2	3	1	2	3
State health sector, educ'n	28	16	28	11	25	26
Private sector: employee	36	36	23	34	22	23
Private sector: part-owner	5	6	4	2	3	3
Self-employed	7	6	4	4	4	4
Collective farm	7	0	5	2	9	1
Independent farmer	1	-	1	1	2	1
Other	0	-	6	7	3	2

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
<u>Type of employer</u>						
Non-market	30	18	31	12	27	29
State	12	33	27	37	30	36
Collective farm	7	0	5	2	9	1
Private	50	47	31	42	31	31
Other	0	-	6	7	3	2

Q8. In the past year have you been temporarily laid off work and not paid by your employer?

Yes	6	11	7	13	8	7
No	94	89	93	87	92	93

Number of weeks with no income

Income all year	86	72	84	71	78	72
1 - 4 weeks	2	4	2	4	3	2
5 - 12 weeks	4	6	4	3	4	4
13 - 26 weeks	4	5	5	10	4	6
27 - 51 weeks	2	6	4	10	6	5
52 weeks	2	6	0	2	5	11

Impact of transformation¹

Maximum	1	3	3	5	4	6
Very high	2	5	2	5	5	6
Direct	4	8	7	14	5	10
Family	12	21	13	21	17	13
Slight		2	3	2	2	3

¹Maximum: 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
2						
No impact	79	59	72	53	66	63

Q10. Do you and your family earn enough from regular work in the official economy to buy what your household really needs?

Definitely enough	1	1	1	0	-	2
Just enough	30	27	19	11	29	31
Not quite enough	47	39	55	54	49	43
Definitely not enough	22	33	25	34	21	23

Q11. Do you belong to a trade union?

Yes	14	24	36	35	15	19
No	86	76	64	65	85	81

IF YES:

Q12. Do you trust the union officials at your place of work?

Definitely	20	12	19	13	29	16
Somewhat	54	49	46	47	36	56
Usually not	18	24	12	18	19	12
Definitely not	2	10	16	16	7	8
Don't know	5	4	7	5	10	8

Q13. Do you trust the union officials at national headquarters?

Definitely	9	2	6	4	2	4
Somewhat	62	49	39	34	34	28
Usually not	22	29	19	28	22	20
Definitely not	4	10	14	8	10	4
Don't know	4	10	23	26	32	44

Q14. Are you satisfied with your job?

Very satisfied	13	16	18	17	23	18
Somewhat satisfied	60	47	65	54	57	62
Not very satisfied	24	26	15	19	15	14

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Not satisfied at all	3	10	2	11	4	6

ASK ALL:

Q15. Do you or anyone in your family have a second job to earn some money?

Yes	29	27	29	15	27	30
No	71	73	71	85	73	70

Q16. 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	7	3	11	9	12	5
Repairing own house	3	0	-	1	-	-
What we get as favours	1	2	0	0	0	1
What we get with help of friends, relatives	1	4	4	5	3	7
Buying things with foreign currency	0	-	0	-	0	-
Earnings in second job	7	7	2	4	2	6
Money get on the side, tips	1	2	2	2	0	3
Earnings from regular job	60	61	52	47	55	46
Pension, unemploy't benefit	18	19	26	27	26	31
Don't know	1	1	2	4	1	1

Q17. And which of these is second most important?

Growing own food	26	15	35	22	30	16
Repairing own house	10	1	0	0	0	1
What we get as favours	5	7	3	0	1	2
What we get with help of friends, relatives	7	16	8	10	12	10
Buying things with foreign currency	0	0	-	0	0	0
Earnings in second job	13	11	13	5	8	10
Money get on the side, tips	1	3	2	4	1	4
Earnings from regular job	9	12	8	9	7	7
Pension, unemploy't benefit	16	21	14	14	12	9

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Don't know	13	13	17	34	29	40

Portfolio²:

Defensive	47	36	46	34	49	31
Enterprising	21	23	19	15	12	22
Vulnerable	26	35	26	40	32	41
Marginal	5	5	8	11	6	6

Q18. In the past year, has your family:

Saved money	11	10	3	3	11	8
Just got by	63	60	69	67	58	71
Spent some savings	11	11	9	7	13	9
Borrowed money	10	13	10	14	11	8
Spent savings and borrowed	4	6	9	9	7	4

Coping³

With own job	23	17	12	7	19	17
With portfolio	62	64	73	76	65	72
Not coping	15	18	15	17	16	11

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

²Enterprising: 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 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 or 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.

³Coping: 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
Q19. Food						
Often	7	24	18	30	10	18
Sometimes	16	21	30	28	29	25
Rarely	18	15	16	11	17	23
Never	59	40	36	30	44	34
Q20. Heating, electricity						
Often	2	8	3	9	5	5
Sometimes	6	13	9	17	11	13
Rarely	12	14	10	9	9	17
Never	80	66	78	65	76	64
Q21. Clothes you really needed						
Often	16	32	26	36	20	26
Sometimes	20	22	30	30	32	31
Rarely	22	21	15	12	18	15
Never	42	24	29	22	29	28
<u>Destitution scale⁴</u>						
0-Never deprived anything	36	21	22	15	20	16
1	14	14	8	6	10	8
2	12	11	14	12	16	14
3	12	7	10	9	14	15
4	8	8	15	12	15	14
5	8	10	12	10	8	12
6	6	11	12	16	8	9
7	2	5	3	6	4	6
8	1	6	3	7	2	3
9-Often deprived of food, clothing, heat	1	7	2	6	1	3

⁴The 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
Mean	2.1	3.5	3.2	4.1	2.9	3.4
Standard deviation	2.2	2.9	2.5	2.7	2.3	2.4

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).

Q22. Where on this scale would you put the socialist economy before independence?

+100	2	11	6	14	9	16
+90	1	7	3	4	4	4
+80	5	14	7	13	11	13
+70	2	8	7	10	8	10
+60	3	6	6	8	7	7
+50	10	11	18	17	23	14
+40	5	6	6	7	4	6
+30	7	8	9	6	5	5
+20	6	5	7	4	4	5
+10	5	3	3	1	1	1
0 (Neutral)	11	5	8	8	6	8
-10	3	3	2	0	1	0
-20	4	3	3	0	2	1
-30	5	2	2	0	2	0
-40	3	1	1	-	1	1
-50	10	4	5	2	4	5
-60	2	1	1	1	1	-
-70	4	1	1	0	1	1
-80	4	1	2	0	1	-
-90	2	-	0	-	0	-
-100	5	1	1	2	3	2
Negative	41	16	18	6	17	11
Neutral	11	5	8	8	6	8
Positive	48	79	74	86	76	81
Mean	-1	43	32	51	38	47
Standard deviation	54	45	46	42	50	47

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Q23. Where on this scale would you put our present economic system?

+100	0	-	0	0	0	0
+90	1	-	0	-	-	0
+80	1	2	0	0	1	-
+70	4	4	1	-	1	1
+60	4	4	1	1	1	2
+50	13	14	2	4	4	4
+40	8	9	4	2	3	4
+30	14	8	3	5	5	5
+20	14	7	5	4	4	8
+10	9	8	3	3	5	7
0 (Neutral)	9	7	13	10	11	12
-10	5	2	4	3	2	3
-20	4	4	6	6	6	7
-30	2	4	5	5	6	6
-40	3	3	7	6	4	3
-50	4	8	16	14	12	13
-60	1	3	3	6	3	1
-70	2	3	5	8	6	6
-80	1	4	4	5	9	6
-90	1	2	5	5	4	3
-100	0	4	9	14	11	8
Negative	22	37	64	72	64	56
Neutral	9	7	13	10	11	12
Positive	69	55	22	19	25	32
Mean	16	1	-28	-38	-31	-22
Standard deviation	37	49	46	45	48	47

Q24. Where would you put our economic system in five years time?

+100	3	3	1	2	2	2
+90	3	2	1	1	1	2
+80	8	8	5	3	6	0
+70	11	9	3	2	3	2

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
+60	12	10	3	2	4	3
+50	14	15	8	6	11	12
+40	10	8	6	4	7	4
+30	11	7	7	7	7	8
+20	7	6	9	6	9	11
+10	7	5	9	7	9	8
0 (Neutral)	6	9	16	11	9	12
-10	1	1	2	3	2	7
-20	1	2	4	3	4	3
-30	1	2	2	3	4	2
-40	0	0	2	3	2	3
-50	1	5	5	6	3	3
-60	1	1	3	6	2	2
-70	1	3	2	3	3	3
-80	0	1	2	5	3	4
-90	1	2	2	3	1	2
-100	0	4	5	11	6	5
Negative	8	20	30	47	30	34
Neutral	6	9	16	11	9	12
Positive	86	71	54	41	60	53
Mean	40	25	5	-12	9	3
Standard deviation	36	51	49	56	52	49

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
<u>Reaction to economic change⁵</u>						
Pro-market	39	12	6	2	7	5
Nostalgic for old system	18	36	57	69	59	55
Negative both systems	13	8	19	11	16	13
Positively indifferent	29	43	17	17	17	26

ASK RUSSIAN SPEAKERS ONLY:

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

Q25. Before perestroika a few years ago

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

⁵Pro-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
-80	-	1	-	-	-	1
-90	-	1	-	1	-	-
-100	-	0	-	1	-	2
Negative	-	20	-	9	-	16
Neutral	-	4	-	7	-	7
Positive	-	75	-	84	-	77
Mean	-	35	-	47	-	39
Standard deviation	-	48	-	43	-	47

Q26. Today

+100	-	-	-	0	-	0
+90	-	0	-	-	-	-
+80	-	2	-	1	-	0
+70	-	1	-	0	-	1
+60	-	1	-	1	-	1
+50	-	5	-	8	-	4
+40	-	4	-	1	-	4
+30	-	5	-	6	-	5
+20	-	7	-	5	-	6
+10	-	6	-	7	-	7
0 (Neutral)	-	10	-	9	-	8
-10	-	5	-	4	-	7
-20	-	6	-	5	-	8
-30	-	7	-	3	-	7
-40	-	4	-	6	-	3
-50	-	8	-	14	-	9
-60	-	5	-	5	-	6
-70	-	5	-	5	-	6
-80	-	3	-	5	-	6
-90	-	7	-	4	-	3
-100	-	9	-	11	-	9
Negative	-	59	-	61	-	64

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Neutral	-	10	-	9	-	8
Positive	-	31	-	29	-	29
Mean	-	-23	-	-27	-	-25
Standard deviation	-	48	-	49	-	46

Q27. In five years time

+100	-	6	-	4	-	3
+90	-	2	-	2	-	-
+80	-	6	-	3	-	4
+70	-	6	-	4	-	4
+60	-	4	-	7	-	2
+50	-	11	-	13	-	7
+40	-	5	-	6	-	8
+30	-	9	-	7	-	8
+20	-	9	-	6	-	8
+10	-	6	-	3	-	10
0 (Neutral)	-	11	-	10	-	15
-10	-	6	-	4	-	4
-20	-	2	-	5	-	4
-30	-	4	-	4	-	4
-40	-	2	-	3	-	2
-50	-	2	-	5	-	4
-60	-	2	-	2	-	4
-70	-	3	-	4	-	3
-80	-	1	-	2	-	1
-90	-	2	-	2	-	1
-100	-	1	-	4	-	4
Negative	-	27	-	34	-	32
Neutral	-	11	-	10	-	15
Positive	-	62	-	56	-	53
Mean	-	17	-	11	-	5
Standard deviation	-	48	-	52	-	47

ASK ALL:

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Q28. As far as your household is concerned, overall, how do you rate its economic situation today?

Very satisfactory	1	1	1	0	0	1
Fairly satisfactory	44	35	25	18	40	33
Not very satisfactory	50	47	57	53	49	51
Very unsatisfactory	5	17	17	29	11	15

Coping related to satisfaction⁶

Coping and satisfied	45	35	27	19	41	34
Coping but dissatisfied	40	47	58	64	43	54
Doubly troubled	12	15	13	16	12	10
Not coping but satisfied	2	4	2	1	4	1

Q29. Would you say that as far as your household is concerned, the situation now compared with five years ago is:

Much better	9	6	6	5	5	7
A little better	30	19	13	5	15	10
About the same	22	24	17	11	18	14
A little worse	21	27	27	29	27	33
A lot worse	17	24	37	50	35	36

Q30. What do you think the economic situation of your household will be in five years time?

Much better	7	7	4	3	6	4
A little better	46	34	39	29	51	35
About the same	32	40	38	38	30	44
A little worse	9	12	11	18	9	10
A lot worse	4	6	7	11	5	6

⁶ Coping and satisfied: Coping with own job or portfolio (Coping) AND satisfied with family economic situation today (Q.28). 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
<u>Impact of market⁷</u>						
Standards rising	40	25	19	10	20	17
Standards stable, satisfied	11	10	8	6	10	10
Standards stable, dissatisfied	10	14	8	5	7	3
Standards falling	39	51	65	79	63	69
<u>Future prospects⁸</u>						
Improving	55	41	43	33	57	39
Satisfactory	14	15	9	5	10	9
Deteriorating	3	2	3	2	3	2
Continuing poor	28	42	43	60	30	49

Q31. Who do you rely on first of all when you have problems? (Two answers allowed).

Self	88	91	86	86	79	87
Friends, relatives	31	41	36	34	51	45
Employer	5	5	5	2	3	3
State	5	4	3	3	3	2
Public organizations, unions	0	-	1	0	0	1
Charities	1	2	1	1	3	1

⁷ Standards rising: Current economic situation much better or somewhat better now than five years ago (Q. 29). Standards stable, satisfied: Current economic situation the same now compared with five years ago (Q.29) AND respondent satisfied with current economic situation (Q. 28). Standards stable, dissatisfied: Current economic situation the same now compared with five years ago (Q. 29) AND respondent not satisfied with current economic situation (Q. 28). Standards falling: Current economic situation a lot worse or a little worse now than five years ago (Q.29).

⁸ Improving: Economic situation in five years is a lot or a little better than now (Q. 30); Satisfactory: Standards rising or stable and satisfied (Impact of market) AND economic situation in five years is much the same as now (Q. 30); 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. 30); Continuing poor: Standards stable and dissatisfied or standards falling (Impact of market) AND economic situation in five years is a little or a lot worse than now (Q. 30).

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Church	2	2	5	3	6	3
Other	2	1	1	2	2	1
Difficult to answer	1	0	1	1	3	1

Relying, combined⁹

Self only	56	48	51	58	35	46
Self and informal	26	34	27	23	39	37
Informal only	5	6	8	10	11	8
Informal and formal	9	11	11	6	13	6
Formal only	4	1	3	2	3	3

Q32. Do you have a friend or a relative to borrow an amount of weekly wages or pension if your family had little money?

Definitely yes	45	32	34	23	46	35
Probably	34	42	30	28	35	33
Probably not	13	16	17	21	11	21
Definitely no	8	10	18	27	8	12

Q33. Do you have anyone except your family members to rely on if you were seriously ill?

Definitely yes	38	25	31	19	42	29
Probably	37	36	35	32	38	34
Probably not	17	22	17	24	10	21
Definitely no	8	17	16	24	10	16

Q34. Do you feel that our country's economic reform programme is going too fast, too slow or at about the right speed?

Too fast	15	25	12	13	23	17
About the right speed	33	39	17	9	13	22
Too slow	51	36	70	78	65	60

⁹Informal: friends and relatives; Formal: employer, state, public organizations, charities, church.

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

B) POLITICAL QUESTIONS

Q35. How interested are you in politics?

Very	15	6	17	14	13	9
Somewhat	43	41	40	35	36	39
Not very interested	30	38	30	31	34	36
Not at all interested	12	14	13	20	16	16

Q36. How often do you talk about politics with other people?

Often	20	15	22	19	17	14
Sometimes	41	33	38	33	42	34
Seldom	30	37	29	32	29	39
Never	9	15	10	17	12	13

Q37. People talk about the right and the left when discussing politics. Where on the scale from 1 to 10 would you place your political views if 1 denotes the left and 10 denotes the right?

1 - furthest left	0	3	1	3	2	5
2	1	2	1	3	2	3
3	3	5	3	5	4	6
4	4	9	5	5	4	9
5	11	32	26	25	18	29
6	14	7	8	5	10	5
7	13	6	7	2	8	4
8	15	3	6	2	9	2
9	5	1	1	-	5	1
10 - furthest right	2	0	2	0	12	2
Don't know, no answer	22	31	38	49	24	34

Q38. 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	2	3	8	5	9	10
Sometimes	20	21	31	22	37	22
Seldom	31	29	23	21	23	28
Never	47	48	38	51	32	41

Q39. Which of these statements best fits your views of who should have the right

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

to vote in elections to Parliament (choose only one).

Only those whose family were

citizens before	61	13	42	4	-	-
Everyone born in country	20	18	33	24	-	-
Everyone who has lived here						
more than ten years	15	27	17	24	-	-
Everyone living here at						
independence	3	20	5	17	-	-
Any former Soviet citizen now						
living in this country	1	22	3	30	-	-

Q40. How strongly do you hold this view:

Very strongly	29	15	15	7	-	-
Fairly strongly	40	33	24	36	-	-
Can see arguments both sides	24	35	44	41	-	-
Don't really care much	8	17	17	16	-	-

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.

Q41. Where on this scale would you put the former communist regime?

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

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
-40	5	3	3	2	3	3
-50	9	5	6	5	7	8
-60	4	1	3	1	2	1
-70	5	3	3	2	3	0
-80	6	2	3	2	5	3
-90	8	1	3	1	4	2
-100	20	3	15	7	14	7
Negative	68	24	48	25	47	31
Neutral	10	8	11	9	10	10
Positive	22	67	41	67	43	59
Mean	-38	23	-13	20	-9	13
Standard deviation	54	53	58	55	63	59

Q42. Where on this scale would you put our present system of governing?

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

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
-90	0	1	2	3	3	0
-100	1	6	5	8	8	6
Negative	21	41	45	55	53	43
Neutral	10	9	17	14	11	14
Positive	69	49	37	30	37	42
Mean	18	-3	-9	-21	-16	-5
Standard deviation	37	47	44	45	50	46

Q43. Where on this scale would you put our system of governing in five years?

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

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
-90	-	1	1	2	2	0
-100	-	4	2	5	2	3
Negative	6	19	20	30	20	22
Neutral	6	9	11	13	10	14
Positive	89	72	69	57	70	64
Mean	42	22	19	7	22	16
Standard deviation	32	47	42	47	46	44

Reactions to regime change¹⁰

Democrats	57	18	22	9	22	12
Sceptics	21	15	35	25	35	28
Compliant	13	31	16	22	15	29
Reactionary	9	36	26	45	28	30

ASK RUSSIAN-SPEAKER ONLY:

And on this same scale, where would you place:

Q44. The Soviet system of government before perestroika?

+100	-	8	-	8	-	6
+90	-	4	-	2	-	4
+80	-	7	-	8	-	9
+70	-	4	-	7	-	7
+60	-	6	-	10	-	4
+50	-	14	-	15	-	14
+40	-	5	-	5	-	7
+30	-	10	-	9	-	6
+20	-	8	-	6	-	4
+10	-	4	-	3	-	2

¹⁰Democrats: Non-positive evaluation of regime before perestroika (Q. 41) AND positive evaluation of current regime (Q. 42). 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
0 (Neutral)	-	6	-	6	-	8
-10	-	3	-	2	-	2
-20	-	2	-	2	-	5
-30	-	3	-	2	-	2
-40	-	2	-	2	-	3
-50	-	4	-	4	-	5
-60	-	1	-	-	-	2
-70	-	2	-	3	-	1
-80	-	2	-	2	-	2
-90	-	1	-	0	-	1
-100	-	4	-	2	-	6
Negative	-	26	-	20	-	29
Neutral	-	6	-	6	-	8
Positive	-	69	-	74	-	62
Mean	-	22	-	31	-	20
Standard deviation	-	54	-	50	-	58

Q45. The present Russian system of governing?

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

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
-50	-	8	-	12	-	11
-60	-	4	-	4	-	4
-70	-	3	-	4	-	3
-80	-	4	-	2	-	3
-90	-	4	-	2	-	1
-100	-	9	-	5	-	8
Negative	-	54	-	50	-	49
Neutral	-	10	-	16	-	12
Positive	-	36	-	34	-	38
Mean	-	-17	-	-12	-	-13
Standard deviation	-	49	-	46	-	47

Q46. The system of governing that Russia will have in five years?

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

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
-100	-	2	-	3	-	3
Negative	-	24	-	28	-	28
Neutral	-	12	-	11	-	17
Positive	-	64	-	61	-	54
Mean	-	15	-	14	-	12
Standard deviation	-	43	-	47	-	45

ASK ALL

Q47. In the next year, do you think life in the country will get:

Better	31	17	-	-	21	15
Stay much the same	54	68	-	-	64	61
Get worse	16	15	-	-	15	25

Q48. If the local authorities made a decision which went against people's interests, do you think you could do something about it or not?

Definitely	5	3	5	2	1	3
Probably	17	11	20	12	16	8
Probably not	51	35	31	31	31	33
No chance	27	51	44	55	52	56

Q49. 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	1	3	4	3	1	2
Probably	7	11	17	9	9	8
Probably not	44	32	30	28	28	26
No chance	47	54	48	59	61	64

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

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. Generally speaking, would you say that:

Q50. Most people can be trusted

25 31 19 28 14 28

OR

You can't be too careful in dealing with people

75 69 81 72 86 72

Q51. People help each other for you never know when you will need help yourself

46 59 61 61 50 55

OR

No one else will care about a person who is having difficulties

54 41 39 39 50 45

Q52. The best way for people like me to get ahead is to cooperate with others in this community to promote common interests

53 46 37 44 39 43

OR

The best way to get ahead is to look after myself and not bother with what other people around here do

47 54 63 56 61 57

Q53. When you were attending school did you have an opportunity to express discontent, protest against injustice in the school? And if so, did you do this?

There was an opportunity

and I did so

21 28 18 23 20 27

There was an opportunity

but I did not do it

21 23 11 29 18 20

There was no opportunity

41 41 48 36 48 40

Difficult to answer

17 6 11 13 14 13

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Q54. When you were 16, did your family listen to your opinion? Could you influence the family's decision making?

Could influence decisions	50	53	49	49	47	51
It was not possible	38	40	38	41	32	36
Difficult to answer	12	8	14	10	22	13

Q55. Are you a member of any public or non-state sponsored organization?

Yes	13	5	9	2	8	5
No	87	95	91	98	92	95

Q56. Do you participate in discussion and decision making in public/non-state organizations?

Yes	11	5	6	1	5	2
No	89	95	94	99	95	98

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?

Q57. Workers

A lot	34	43	30	43	30	27
Some things	37	34	43	39	35	39
Not much	20	15	16	12	19	16
Nothing	9	8	11	5	16	18

Q58. Middle class

A lot	18	32	21	20	17	16
Some things	56	48	45	50	51	51
Not much	17	15	21	18	18	17
Nothing	8	5	14	12	13	16

Q59. Farmers

A lot	20	5	14	4	10	4
Some things	31	17	33	17	31	16
Not much	25	20	18	18	18	15
Nothing	24	58	36	60	41	65

Q60. Estonians/ Latvians/ Lithuanians

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
A lot	84	13	80	21	83	36
Some things	14	45	18	57	15	44
Not much	1	25	2	18	1	15
Nothing	0	17	-	4	1	4
Q61. Educated people						
A lot	28	25	32	15	29	29
Some things	36	42	38	41	35	38
Not much	21	22	20	27	21	20
Nothing	14	11	10	16	15	13
Q62. Russians						
A lot	4	73	14	65	4	57
Some things	21	23	39	31	26	33
Not much	31	2	30	3	24	7
Nothing	44	1	17	1	46	3
Q63. People in business for themselves, entrepreneurs						
A lot	14	7	6	6	6	6
Some things	26	20	15	15	18	17
Not much	27	25	24	20	23	20
Nothing	32	48	54	58	52	56
Q64. Green movement, ecologists						
A lot	3	3	3	2	2	1
Some things	15	12	11	8	6	6
Not much	25	22	18	14	12	11
Nothing	57	63	67	77	79	81
Q65. Estonia and Latvia: Lutherans. Lithuanians: Catholics. Russians: Orthodox.						
A lot	4	17	14	17	30	23
Some things	21	35	30	41	44	41
Not much	25	25	21	17	12	12
Nothing	50	23	34	25	14	24

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Q66. Strong defenders of our national traditions						
A lot	5	5	10	9	8	6
Some things	22	17	37	25	28	13
Not much	29	27	24	26	20	24
Nothing	44	51	29	40	43	57

Q67. Former Communists

A lot	0	3	2	3	2	4
Some things	8	17	11	13	18	19
Not much	14	23	12	19	13	21
Nothing	78	56	75	66	66	56

Q68. Do you think rising prices are the biggest threat to your household

	82	41	44	33	3	8
--	----	----	----	----	---	---

45

OR

Unemployment is the biggest threat for your household

	18	59	56	67	62	55
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Q69. Do you think it will take years for government to deal with problems inherited from Communists

	76	40	46	34	54	52
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OR

If our system can't produce results soon, that's a good reason to try some other system of government

	24	60	54	66	46	48
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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:

Q70. We should return to Communist rule

Strongly agree	0	2	1	1	1	1
Somewhat agree	1	12	2	8	6	7
Somewhat disagree	9	31	10	26	15	20
Strongly disagree	89	55	87	65	78	71

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Q71. The army should govern the country

Strongly agree	0	0	1	1	1	0
Somewhat agree	2	2	2	3	5	3
Somewhat disagree	13	19	11	15	16	9
Strongly disagree	85	78	86	80	78	87

Q72. It is best to have a strong leader who can quickly decide things without bothering with Parliament and elections

Strongly agree	11	16	15	17	25	20
Somewhat agree	28	35	30	35	37	29
Somewhat disagree	27	25	26	18	15	16
Strongly disagree	35	24	28	29	22	35

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

0	61	44	57	51	38	52
1	36	47	40	40	53	41
2	2	8	2	6	8	7
3	0	1	0	2	0	1
Mean	.4	.7	.5	.6	.7	.6
Standard deviation	.5	.7	.6	.7	.6	.7

Q73. We would be better off if we were still part of the Soviet Union

Strongly agree	1	15	1	13	5	15
Somewhat agree	4	23	6	30	13	21
Somewhat disagree	8	32	11	22	14	19
Strongly disagree	87	29	82	35	68	44

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

To what extent do you trust the following public institutions? Do you trust them completely or somewhat trust or somewhat distrust or completely distrust?

Q74. Parties

Complete trust	1	1	2	2	1	0
General trust	15	12	12	13	26	16
General distrust	59	46	36	32	41	37
Complete distrust	25	41	49	53	32	47

Q75. Courts

Complete trust	8	5	5	6	2	3
General trust	55	39	45	47	29	38
General distrust	29	39	29	29	37	33
Complete distrust	7	17	21	18	31	26

Q76. Police

Complete trust	5	3	4	5	3	4
General trust	52	35	37	40	31	29
General distrust	34	37	37	32	36	36
Complete distrust	9	26	23	22	30	31

Q77. Civil servants

Complete trust	1	1	3	1	1	1
General trust	39	15	33	27	26	23
General distrust	47	42	39	40	43	40
Complete distrust	12	42	24	31	30	36

Q78. Army

Complete trust	6	2	5	8	5	5
General trust	66	30	36	44	41	39
General distrust	24	39	35	23	32	28
Complete distrust	4	28	24	25	22	28

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Q79. Parliament						
Complete trust	2	3	2	2	2	1
General trust	52	32	30	30	31	36
General distrust	37	46	37	34	40	37
Complete distrust	8	19	30	34	27	26
Q80. Church						
Complete trust	15	16	25	27	28	24
General trust	57	54	50	49	51	47
General distrust	19	18	14	10	11	15
Complete distrust	9	12	11	15	9	14
Q81. Farmers' organizations						
Complete trust	12	4	6	4	7	7
General trust	64	46	48	47	38	36
General distrust	19	30	23	20	29	24
Complete distrust	5	20	22	28	25	34
Q82. Private entrepreneurs						
Complete trust	6	2	4	3	4	3
General trust	57	34	38	37	33	27
General distrust	29	40	30	32	37	35
Complete distrust	8	23	28	28	26	35
Q83. Trade unions						
Complete trust	6	4	6	7	3	4
General trust	49	35	40	34	29	32
General distrust	31	36	27	27	31	29
Complete distrust	13	25	27	31	37	35
Q84. President						
Complete trust	19	8	12	6	8	19
General trust	59	41	55	50	46	46
General distrust	17	34	20	21	27	19

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Complete distrust	5	16	13	23	18	16
Q85. Government						
Complete trust	4	3	6	3	3	9
General trust	58	36	41	33	34	37
General distrust	30	42	34	33	40	29
Complete distrust	8	18	19	31	23	25
Q86. National bank						
Complete trust	12	9	7	3	1	3
General trust	63	52	29	28	9	16
General distrust	20	29	27	26	28	25
Complete distrust	5	9	37	43	61	56
Q87. Mass media						
Complete trust	4	8	4	4	16	10
General trust	53	55	65	56	67	60
General distrust	37	27	22	24	11	16
Complete distrust	6	10	9	16	5	14
Do you think that the current system allows people much more, more, the same, somewhat less, much less than the Soviet system:						
Q88. Say what you think						
Much more	66	43	71	56	75	59
Somewhat more	26	32	19	25	20	25
Same	6	21	7	15	4	12
Somewhat less	1	3	2	2	0	2
Much less	0	1	1	2	1	1
Q89. Travel abroad or live abroad						
Much more	78	59	79	68	81	69
Somewhat more	18	30	14	24	16	23
Same	2	8	5	5	2	5
Somewhat less	0	1	1	2	1	1

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Much less	1	2	-	1	0	2
Q90. Influence government						
Much more	15	7	11	8	16	11
Somewhat more	41	12	18	15	36	31
Same	36	57	45	49	38	44
Somewhat less	3	9	8	9	6	5
Much less	4	15	18	20	4	8
Q91. Join any organization						
Much more	49	24	57	45	47	45
Somewhat more	40	38	29	34	36	33
Same	8	30	8	13	13	19
Somewhat less	2	4	3	3	2	2
Much less	1	4	3	5	1	1
Q92. Decide to participate or not to participate in the activities of political parties.						
Much more	53	24	57	42	53	46
Somewhat more	33	31	25	33	31	32
Same	11	34	13	16	12	19
Somewhat less	2	5	2	3	2	1
Much less	1	6	2	6	2	2
Q93. Not be afraid of unlawful arrest						
Much more	43	22	29	27	24	23
Somewhat more	33	24	29	28	28	24
Same	16	46	31	35	33	40
Somewhat less	4	6	6	5	9	7
Much less	3	2	5	5	6	6
Q94. Decide whether to believe or not believe in God						
Much more	65	49	69	60	75	61
Somewhat more	18	22	18	24	14	18

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Same	16	28	12	16	11	19
Somewhat less	1	1	1	0	1	1
Much less	0	1	0	0	-	1

Q95. Do you agree or disagree that the government can do nothing substantial to change the situation?

Completely agree	10	15	15	23	9	15
Somewhat agree	50	36	35	36	35	31
Somewhat disagree	34	39	35	30	30	37
Completely disagree	6	10	14	10	25	17

Q96. How much influence do you think Western ideas have in this country today?

Too much	53	64	54	53	39	51
About right	44	31	40	41	52	45
Not enough	3	5	6	5	9	4

Q97. And how much influence do you think Russian ideas have in this country today?

Too much	36	3	43	8	16	5
About right	54	44	50	59	73	71
Not enough	10	53	6	32	11	24

Do you think any of the following are a threat to the peace and security of this country?

Q98. Conflicts between (majority nationality) and Russians resident here

Definitely	12	11	3	5	6	3
Possibly	45	31	38	18	26	13
Probably not	39	37	39	45	43	42
Definitely not	4	22	19	31	25	42

Q99. Refugees, immigrants

Definitely	4	3	2	2	5	3
Possibly	21	15	23	12	31	15
Probably not	61	48	48	45	35	41

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Definitely not	14	35	28	41	29	41
Q100. The Russian state						
Definitely	33	4	12	2	16	4
Possibly	48	16	56	19	56	17
Probably not	18	48	25	45	19	38
Definitely not	1	32	7	34	8	40
Q101. Hardline nationalist politicians in Russia						
Definitely	31	8	24	8	24	8
Possibly	50	36	49	37	57	35
Probably not	17	33	20	36	13	32
Definitely not	2	22	7	20	6	25
Q102. Hardline nationalist politicians in this country						
Definitely	7	21	10	11	10	8
Possibly	33	52	38	44	43	39
Probably not	51	20	36	30	35	35
Definitely not	9	6	17	15	12	18
If there was a protest demonstration in the streets, how likely is it that you would take part in a demonstration about:						
Q103. Unemployment, closing of factories?						
Very likely	12	17	19	21	34	26
Maybe	18	36	25	28	25	26
Unlikely	37	23	18	18	17	16
Definitely not	33	24	37	32	25	32
Q104. Who should be a citizen?						
Very likely	5	15	6	11	6	12
Maybe	14	30	9	23	12	21
Unlikely	41	30	15	23	26	23
Definitely not	40	26	71	42	56	45

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Q105. 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	3	3	8	10	3	4
Maybe	20	11	31	28	11	14
Not very likely	58	65	46	49	57	55
Not at all likely	20	20	15	13	28	27

Q106. If Parliament was suspended and parties abolished, would you approve or disapprove?

Strongly approve	4	7	12	16	7	6
Somewhat approve	13	23	26	28	16	14
Somewhat disapprove	45	50	34	32	36	39
Strongly disapprove	37	20	27	24	41	41

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

Q107. Post office

Definitely	27	35	35	40	29	26
Probably	53	54	50	46	50	51
Not likely	15	8	8	6	15	18
Definitely not	2	0	3	3	3	1
Don't know	2	2	4	5	3	3

Q108. Bank

Definitely	38	45	24	29	26	33
Probably	50	44	39	39	40	37
Not likely	7	4	13	10	15	14
Definitely not	1	1	7	6	7	4
Don't know	4	5	16	16	11	11

Q109. Manager at place of work

Definitely	22	25	20	23	27	35
Probably	43	42	31	40	43	39
Not likely	17	15	12	8	20	14

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Definitely not	3	5	5	3	3	7
Don't know	14	12	31	26	7	4
Q110. Local shop						
Definitely	22	27	32	37	25	31
Probably	54	54	45	44	45	45
Not likely	19	14	12	10	20	15
Definitely not	3	2	5	5	7	6
Don't know	2	3	6	3	3	2
Q111. Doctor's office, hospital						
Definitely	22	30	33	36	23	25
Probably	60	50	49	47	49	53
Not likely	15	16	12	9	22	15
Definitely not	2	1	1	3	4	4
Don't know	2	3	5	5	2	2
Q112. Local government office						
Definitely	14	14	18	20	13	14
Probably	51	44	41	39	36	35
Not likely	23	27	22	19	27	28
Definitely not	4	6	8	10	9	8
Don't know	8	9	11	12	15	15
Q113. Police						
Definitely	9	10	10	13	8	10
Probably	46	39	35	36	28	33
Not likely	30	30	26	21	34	31
Definitely not	6	13	12	11	19	14
Don't know	8	8	18	19	11	13
Q114. Social security office						
Definitely	15	19	20	18	16	18
Probably	40	51	44	43	47	42
Not likely	22	16	14	14	15	17

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Definitely not	3	3	7	6	5	7
Don't know	11	10	15	20	16	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?

Q115. Military service when young

Always	60	32	65	48	66	54
Usually	30	42	25	30	18	25
Unimportant	6	16	8	13	8	12
Not at all	4	10	2	10	8	9

Q116. Learn the national language

Always	82	33	83	51	92	65
Usually	16	53	16	40	7	25
Unimportant	2	10	1	7	1	6
Not at all	0	4	0	2	0	3

Q117. Pay taxes on all their income

Always	47	35	54	43	68	57
Usually	37	42	33	40	25	31
Unimportant	13	14	9	11	6	10
Not at all	3	9	3	6	2	3

Q118. Respect the nation's flag

Always	78	49	84	69	91	84
Usually	20	42	15	29	8	14
Unimportant	2	8	1	1	0	1
Not at all	1	1	0	1	0	1

Q119. Obey all the country's laws

Always	65	59	68	69	77	78
Usually	30	34	29	30	20	20
Unimportant	4	6	2	1	3	1
Not at all	1	1	1	1	0	0

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Q120. Follow politics on television and in the press

Always do	6	10	23	15	28	24
Usually	14	27	37	36	39	35
Unimportant	45	39	29	33	24	27
Not at all	35	24	10	15	9	13

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?

Q121. Receive a pension on retirement

Definitely	88	95	88	89	96	96
Usually	11	5	11	11	4	4
Unimportant	0	0	1	0	0	-
No	-	-	0	-	0	-

Q122. Receive benefit pay if unemployed

Definitely	69	85	71	83	80	85
Usually	27	15	23	17	19	13
Unimportant	3	0	3	0	1	1
No	0	-	2	0	0	1

Q123. Educated in language of parents

Definitely	78	80	76	73	87	69
Usually	18	18	19	24	11	25
Unimportant	3	2	3	3	2	5
No	0	0	1	0	1	1

Q124. Right to buy a house if wants to

Definitely	73	64	44	50	58	69
Usually	25	30	45	39	37	26
Unimportant	2	5	9	10	4	5
No	-	0	2	1	0	0

Q125. Right to own land

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Definitely	42	52	44	45	56	60
Usually	34	34	43	42	38	29
Unimportant	22	12	11	12	5	10
No	3	2	2	2	1	1

Q126. Vote, be a candidate in local elections

Definitely	32	35	31	38	39	47
Usually	42	36	34	33	46	32
Unimportant	21	23	23	18	13	13
No	5	7	12	11	3	8

Q127. Vote, be a candidate in national elections

Definitely	26	28	29	34	32	43
Usually	39	33	33	29	46	33
Unimportant	27	28	23	23	18	14
No	8	11	15	14	5	10

Q128. Form a political party

Definitely	16	18	19	20	15	24
Usually	32	19	20	25	23	26
Unimportant	37	36	32	29	42	25
No	15	27	29	26	20	25

Q129. Which of these statements best fits your views of who should be a citizen?
(choose only one)

Those whose family were citizens here before 1940	44	0	41	3	-	-
Everyone who has been born in the country	34	27	33	29	-	-
Everyone who has lived here for more than ten years	19	21	20	30	-	-
Everyone living here at the time of independence	2	28	4	16	-	-
Any former Soviet citizen who is now						

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
living in this country	1	23	2	22	-	-
Q130. How strongly do you hold this view?						
Very strongly	23	19	19	12	-	-
Fairly strongly	39	35	23	37	-	-
Can see arguments for different alternatives	33	39	48	40	-	-
Don't really care much	5	7	10	12	-	-
Q131. Should people who want to become citizens have to pass an examination in the national language?						
Definitely yes	76	11	72	27	55	24
Probably	19	38	21	34	27	33
Not necessary	4	36	6	30	15	34
Definitely not	1	16	1	9	3	8
Q132. Do you feel close to one political party or movement or not?						
Yes	18	10	28	27	43	23
No	80	85	68	68	52	71
Refuses to answer	1	4	4	4	5	6
Q133. If yes, which party or movement?						
<u>Estonia</u>						
Estonian Progressive Party	-	3	-	-	-	-
Estonian Democratic Union	3	-	-	-	-	-
Estonian Democratic						
Labour Party	1	-	-	-	-	-
Estonian Centre Party	18	19	-	-	-	-
Estonian Coalition Party	6	-	-	-	-	-
Estonian Rural Union	3	-	-	-	-	-
Estonian Country People's Party	4	6	-	-	-	-
Estonian United People's						

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Party	-	8	-	-	-	-
Estonian Pensioners' and Families League	5	-	-	-	-	-
Estonian National Progress Party	1	-	-	-	-	-
Estonian Reform Party - Liberals	29	3	-	-	-	-
Estonian Greens	6	-	-	-	-	-
Estonian Royalists Party	1	-	-	-	-	-
Estonian Blue Party	1	-	-	-	-	-
Pro-Patria Union	11	6	-	-	-	-
The Moderates	6	3	-	-	-	-
Future Estonia Party	1	-	-	-	-	-
Russian Party in Estonia	-	50	-	-	-	-
Other	4	3	-	-	-	-
Refused to answer	2	-	-	-	-	-

Latvia

Coalition of Peasant Union and Christian-Democratic Union	-	-	10	10	-	-
Latvian Unity Party	-	-	2	1	-	-
Party of People's Concord	-	-	3	21	-	-
Democratic Party "Saimnieks"	-	-	10	35	-	-
Latvian Socialist Party	-	-	1	13	-	-
People's Union "Latvijai"	-	-	3	5	-	-
Union "For Fartherland and Freedom"	-	-	27	2	-	-
Union "Latvian Way"	-	-	15	11	-	-
Coalition of Movement for National Independence and Green Party	-	-	16	-	-	-
Political Union of Indigents	-	-	1	-	-	-
Christian Popular Party	-	-	1	-	-	-
Latvian Social-Democratic						

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Party	-	-	12	1	-	-
<u>Lithuania</u>						
Liberal Union	-	-	-	-	2	-
Central Union	-	-	-	-	10	10
Christian Democratic Union	-	-	-	-	1	-
Socialist Party	-	-	-	-	-	3
Liberty Union	-	-	-	-	0	-
Peasants' Party	-	-	-	-	-	3
Polish Election Action	-	-	-	-	-	2
Social Democratic Party	-	-	-	-	7	12
Political Prisoners' and Exiles' Union	-	-	-	-	2	-
Young Lithuania	-	-	-	-	6	2
Freedom League	-	-	-	-	1	-
Democratic Labour Party	-	-	-	-	7	30
Coalition of National Union and Democratic Party	-	-	-	-	2	-
Alliance of Ethnic Minorities	-	-	-	-	-	5
Women's Party	-	-	-	-	5	8
Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives)	-	-	-	-	40	14
Social Justice Union	-	-	-	-	0	-
Christian Democratic Party	-	-	-	-	15	5
People's Party	-	-	-	-	-	2
Economy's Party	-	-	-	-	1	3

Q134. As you might know, 15 countries of Western Europe make up the European Union. How would you evaluate your views and attitude towards the activities and aims of the EU: positive, negative or neutral?

Positive	21	31	31	34	36	40
Neutral	60	52	45	40	33	31
Negative	14	5	6	4	3	6
Difficult to answer	5	12	18	21	27	24

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Q135. If a referendum took place tomorrow on joining the EU, how would you vote: in favour or against?

In favour	59	78	52	66	56	53
Against	41	22	16	22	8	11
Difficult to answer	-	-	31	12	35	35

What do you think, who would win and who would lose by strengthening ties between this country and the EU?

Q136. Private entrepreneurs

Would win	54	57	39	36	80	57
Would lose	18	15	16	19	7	20
No difference	13	20	10	8	10	18
Difficult to answer	16	8	35	37	3	5

Q137. Educational system

Would win	57	45	52	43	67	57
Would lose	9	15	6	9	7	6
No difference	18	29	10	12	24	32
Difficult to answer	16	11	32	35	2	6

Q138. Army

Would win	57	43	49	38	69	51
Would lose	4	9	4	8	9	9
No difference	16	29	9	11	19	34
Difficult to answer	22	18	37	43	3	6

Q139. Health and social services

Would win	61	50	48	42	73	60
Would lose	8	15	8	11	7	7
No difference	15	27	9	12	17	29
Difficult to answer	16	8	36	35	3	5

Q140. Civil servants

Would win	50	58	32	31	44	39
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	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Would lose	9	10	11	14	23	28
No difference	22	22	13	12	30	27
Difficult to answer	19	10	43	44	3	6

Q141. State enterprises

Would win	45	40	28	24	56	35
Would lose	19	27	25	31	23	36
No difference	18	23	7	5	19	22
Difficult to answer	18	10	39	39	2	6

Q142. Workers

Would win	14	21	29	24	48	35
Would lose	31	35	24	29	24	32
No difference	38	36	10	8	25	27
Difficult to answer	17	8	37	39	3	6

Q143. Farmers

Would win	21	22	20	18	45	33
Would lose	52	35	36	36	31	35
No difference	13	31	6	6	21	27
Difficult to answer	13	11	39	40	2	6

Q144. Poor people

Would win	16	18	23	17	33	26
Would lose	30	33	23	27	22	26
No difference	37	39	13	16	42	41
Difficult to answer	17	10	41	40	3	6

Q145. What negative consequences can one expect from joining the EU?

(% saying yes)

a) Arrival of foreign workers	-	-	14	10	19	22	
b) Losing national industry	-	-	16	17	36	36	
c) Limited influence in the EU	-	-	-	7	7	3	2

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
d) Inability to survive competition in the EU market	-	-	31	39	33	48
e) Other	-	-	3	5	3	4

Q146. What positive consequences can one expect from joining the EU?

(% saying yes)

a) Better safety guarantees	-	-	19	6	44	27	
b) Development of economy	-	-	15	22	45	37	
c) Free movement within EU	-	-	-	25	33	3	6
49							
d) Better living standards	-	-	14	15	33	27	
e) Other	-	-	1	3	2	3	

Q147. Which of these terms best describes how you usually think of yourself?
(Show card).

City/locality	30	43	32	53	28	55
Region (e.g. Zemaitija, Aukstaitija, etc)	4	5	9	4	13	3
Baltic nationality	64	2	57	2	57	1
Polish	-	-	-	2	-	1
Russian	-	37	-	29	-	29
Belorussian	-	1	-	2	-	4
Ukrainian	-	1	-	1	-	3
European	1	3	1	2	1	2
Soviet	-	3	0	1	0	1
Other (write out)	1	4	1	3	0	1

Q148. And do you sometimes think of yourself as a member of any other group?
Which one? (Same card)

City/locality	44	33	37	31	44	35
Region (e.g. Zemaitija, Aukstaitija, etc)	18	11	18	11	22	5
Baltic nationality	28	3	39	3	30	4
Polish	-	0	-	3	-	2

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Russian	0	34	1	36	-	35
Belorussian	-	1	-	3	-	4
Ukrainian	-	1	-	1	-	3
European	8	5	3	5	2	4
Soviet	0	4	0	1	0	2
Other (write out)	2	6	2	5	1	7
<u>Combined identities</u> ¹¹						
Local	8	11	6	13	11	6
European	9	9	4	8	4	6
Baltic	82	5	88	3	85	4
Baltic and Soviet	0	63	1	68	0	78
Soviet	0	13	0	8	-	5

Q149. How would you describe the relations between nationalities and ethnic groups in this country?

No problems	2	6	2	4	3	5
All right, we can handle whatever problems arise	74	62	72	72	79	79
Not so good, difficulties	23	30	22	21	18	15
Bad	1	2	3	2	0	1

Q150. And how would you say relations between nationalities have changed since this country became independent?

A lot better	7	2	5	4	4	2
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¹¹Local: only city/locality or region named as first and second identities (Qq. 147-148). European: European named as first or second identity. Baltic: Baltic nationality named as first identity and city/locality or region or other named as second OR Baltic nationality named as second identity and city/locality or region or other named as first. Baltic and Soviet: Baltic nationality or city/locality or region named as first identity and Russian or Byelorussian or Ukrainian or Soviet named as second OR Baltic nationality or city/locality or region named as second identity and Russian or Byelorussian or Ukrainian or Soviet named as first. Soviet: Russian or Byelorussian or Ukrainian or Soviet or other named as first and second identities.

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Somewhat better	39	24	28	19	23	17
The same	31	39	38	33	46	51
A little worse	21	26	25	35	25	25
A lot worse	2	8	4	8	3	4

Q151. What language did you speak at home when you were a child?

State language	98	3	95	3	98	4
Russian	2	91	3	85	1	79
Byelorussian	-	1	-	4	-	6
Ukrainian	-	3	-	2	-	7
Polish	-	-	-	3	2	2
Other	-	2	1	4	-	1

Q152. In what other languages can you now carry on a conversation? (More than one answer accepted)

1) State language	100	43	99	53	100	79
2) Russian	81	100	88	98	89	100
3) Byelorussian	0	3	-	9	1	13
4) Ukrainian	0	7	0	6	1	11
5) Polish	0	1	2	7	18	30
6) English	24	17	16	8	18	11
7) German	14	7	15	2	12	8
8) Other	25	7	2	5	4	5

Number of languages spoken

1	13	41	12	38	10	12
2	46	38	57	42	47	39
3	26	17	27	16	33	33
4	13	4	3	3	8	12
More than 4	15	4	3	4	9	16

Qq153-154. Were you born in Estonia/Latvia/Lithuania? If not, where were you born?

This country	96	48	98	50	98	44
Other two Baltic states	-	1	0	3	0	1

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Russia	2	32	1	24	0	26
Siberia	1	3	0	3	1	3
Belarus	-	4	0	10	-	11
Ukraine	-	6	-	6	-	6
Poland	-	-	-	0	-	2
Other ex-Soviet republic	-	3	-	3	-	5
Other	0	1	-	1	0	1

Q155. How many years have you lived in this state?

Less than 6 years	5	3	11	0	-	4
6 - 10 years	5	7	-	4	7	11
11 - 15 years	-	7	-	13	7	11
16 - 20 years	-	13	-	7	14	7
More than 21 years	90	69	89	75	71	67

ASK BALTIC NATIONALITIES ONLY

Q156. 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	19	-	25	-	18	-
Agree	26	-	27	-	20	-
Disagree	38	-	29	-	49	-
Strongly disagree	17	-	18	-	12	-

ASK RUSSIANS 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.

Q157. People like us should not be made to learn Estonian/Latvian/ Lithuanian.

Definitely agree	-	20	-	15	-	23
Somewhat agree	-	39	-	28	-	25
Disagree	-	28	-	33	-	23
Definitely disagree	-	14	-	24	-	29

Q158. Conditions for people like me in Russia are worse than here.

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Definitely agree	-	20	-	18	-	19
Somewhat agree	-	45	-	37	-	39
Somewhat disagree	-	24	-	28	-	24
Definitely disagree	-	10	-	18	-	18

Q159. This country offers better chances for improving living standards in future than does Russia.

Definitely agree	-	20	-	19	-	22
Somewhat agree	-	54	-	43	-	45
Disagree	-	21	-	22	-	20
Definitely disagree	-	5	-	15	-	13

Q160. If you had to do so, could you find a place to live somewhere in Russia?

Definitely	-	11	-	8	-	13
Probably	-	31	-	25	-	32
Not very likely	-	37	-	24	-	31
Definitely not	-	20	-	44	-	23

C) DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

Q161. Gender

Male	48	44	46	53	41	36
Female	51	56	53	47	59	64

Q162. Marital status

Single	18	21	18	9	16	13
Married, living with partner	67	62	60	68	67	66
Separated, divorced	6	8	10	12	5	8
Widowed	9	9	12	10	12	13

Q163. How old are you? (answer in years)

18 - 19 years	3	5	3	1	3	4
20 - 29 years	21	24	19	14	21	12
30 - 39 years	19	22	20	22	22	21
40 - 49 years	18	20	14	23	16	21
50 - 59 years	17	12	17	18	15	14

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
60+ years	22	17	27	21	23	28
Q164. Number of people in household:						
Employed adults						
0	20	21	24	27	25	31
1	32	31	36	34	32	32
2	40	39	31	31	35	30
3 and more	8	9	9	7	7	7
Pensioners						
0	67	66	58	57	64	62
1	22	23	26	26	24	24
2	11	10	14	16	12	13
3	-	0	1	1	0	1
Adults getting unemployment, other social benefit						
0	91	88	90	87	88	90
1	8	11	9	13	10	8
2 and more	1	0	1	0	1	2
Adults without an income (e.g. housewife, student)						
0	79	70	77	72	72	75
1	18	27	19	22	24	20
2	3	3	2	5	3	3
3 and more	0	0	2	1	1	1
Children under 18 years						
0	55	57	54	52	51	54
1	22	26	22	29	23	29
2	16	15	16	16	19	14
3	5	2	6	3	5	2
4+	1	0	2	1	1	1

EstEst EstRus LatLat LatRus LitLit LitRus

Number of adults in household

1	18	14	20	16	20	23
2	57	56	48	51	53	54
3	18	21	21	22	18	16
4	5	9	8	8	7	5
Over 4	2	1	3	3	3	1

Q165. In the past month, what was your own personal income¹²?

Mean	2,461	1,996	63	57	426	424
Standard deviation	2,474	1,722	56	53	521	408

Q166. And in the past month what was the total household income--including earnings of family members, scholarships, pension, unemployment benefits and other income.

Mean	4,333	3,548	120	116	785	808
Standard deviation	3,061	2,331	79	79	751	660

Q167. Compared to other households in this country, would you say your standard of living is:

Above average	6	2	2	2	5	3
Average	40	51	48	41	62	52
Below average	53	47	49	57	34	44

Does your household have any of the following:

Q168. Colour TV	86	86	78	83	80	87
Q169. Telephone	74	70	73	74	79	79
Q170. Car	53	41	37	31	42	38
Q171. Shares in enterprises	15	8	7	6	33	27

Number of household goods

0	6	5	9	7	8	5
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¹²In national currency

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
1	17	24	20	22	18	20
2	36	40	44	47	39	40
3	41	31	27	24	35	35
Mean	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.0
Standard deviation	.9	.9	.9	.9	.9	.9

Q172. Are you planning to buy any of the above in the next year? Which? (More than one answer)

Colour TV	8	7	4	3	6	5
Telephone	6	8	4	2	5	2
Car	7	6	7	5	7	6
Shares in enterprises	3	2	5	1	1	1
None of the above	72	74	77	83	68	74
Don't know	8	7	5	7	17	11

Q173. What is your occupation?

Professional, director	11	9	3	1	4	2
Trained supervisor	12	5	6	3	6	7
Trained non-manual without subordinates	32	25	20	10	14	17
Routine non-manual	9	11	6	5	7	4
Skilled manual	24	38	17	29	14	10
Unskilled manual	7	13	3	6	5	3
Agricultural worker	5	0	3	1	4	1
Farmer	1	-	2	0	1	0
Not in labour force	-	-	40	44	46	55

Q174. How old were you (will you be) on finishing full time education?

Up to 12	1	3	1	2	8	2
13	1	1	1	1	2	1
14	4	2	4	5	4	3
15	4	5	6	6	4	4
16	8	8	8	10	7	7
17	8	17	9	17	5	15

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
18	25	14	26	21	22	10
19	8	9	9	9	9	8
20	7	9	7	5	6	8
21	5	8	5	4	6	8
22	7	9	4	4	6	11
23	7	5	6	5	9	8
24 and over	13	10	12	10	11	14

Q175. What was the highest level of education

Primary school	8	9	14	12	11	7
Incomplete secondary	14	7	6	7	10	8
Secondary school (without certificate)	-	-	3	2	1	1
Vocational Secondary	5	8	8	18	13	9
Secondary school	21	27	16	15	15	15
Technical College	28	31	30	27	25	30
3-4 years of University	7	5	2	2	4	2
University	18	14	21	16	20	27

Q176. Some people are interested in books, others are not. How about yourself.

Never bother reading books	5	7	15	15	16	13
Occasionally read a book	52	49	44	40	48	37
Read books often	43	44	40	45	36	50

Q177. Are you generally satisfied or not satisfied with your way of life?

Completely satisfied	8	6	6	6	16	7
Somewhat satisfied	53	51	50	39	56	46
Somewhat dissatisfied	34	26	30	31	20	34
Completely dissatisfied	5	16	13	23	7	13

Q178. Over the past 12 months, would you say your physical health has been:

Very good	8	2	2	1	5	2
Good	32	28	27	21	29	25
Average	45	51	49	56	48	49

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Poor	13	17	17	18	16	21
Very poor	2	3	5	4	2	2

Q179. Over the past 12 months, would you describe your emotional and mental health as:

Very good	6	2	1	2	4	3
Good	31	22	21	18	30	20
Average	52	53	57	56	51	58
Poor	9	21	18	19	13	17
Very poor	1	3	4	5	2	2

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements. Please choose one answer for each:

Q180. At home, I feel I have control over what happens in most situations.

Disagree strongly	1	3	1	2	3	2
Disagree some	2	6	8	6	12	11
Disagree a little	8	12	9	11	13	12
Agree a little	29	37	38	29	28	27
Agree some	41	29	34	43	32	33
Agree strongly	18	12	10	8	12	14

Q181. Keeping healthy depends on things that I can do myself

Disagree strongly	1	2	2	2	3	3
Disagree some	5	8	4	5	12	9
Disagree a little	10	17	12	12	12	12
Agree a little	25	34	35	29	27	28
Agree some	41	27	38	46	35	40
Agree strongly	18	12	9	5	11	7

Q182. There are certain things I can do for myself to reduce the risk of a heart attack.

Disagree strongly	1	3	2	4	8	4
Disagree some	4	14	6	7	16	11
Disagree a little	8	25	13	13	14	18
Agree a little	32	29	36	31	31	30

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Agree some	37	24	35	39	26	32
Agree strongly	18	6	7	6	4	5

Q183. There are certain things I can do for myself to reduce the risk of getting cancer.

Disagree strongly	3	6	8	5	14	8
Disagree some	10	16	13	14	26	22
Disagree a little	20	31	20	23	22	25
Agree a little	26	23	29	27	20	24
Agree some	29	18	26	27	14	17
Agree strongly	12	5	4	4	3	4

Q184. I feel that what happens in my life is often determined by things beyond my control.

Disagree strongly	4	4	3	3	5	3
Disagree some	13	12	7	12	12	10
Disagree a little	27	19	15	13	15	19
Agree a little	28	36	33	32	29	26
Agree some	23	25	35	34	31	35
Agree strongly	5	4	6	7	7	7

Q185. Over the next 5 to 10 years I expect to have a lot more good experiences than bad.

Disagree strongly	0	2	3	3	3	2
Disagree some	3	8	9	12	10	12
Disagree a little	8	12	15	11	11	15
Agree a little	29	34	33	31	31	30
Agree some	41	29	33	37	36	34
Agree strongly	20	15	7	7	10	6

Q186. I often have a feeling that I am treated unfairly.

Disagree strongly	7	6	4	2	4	5
Disagree some	28	13	20	18	28	25
Disagree a little	32	28	25	23	21	26
Agree a little	20	27	26	27	23	19

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Agree some	10	10	21	25	20	22
Agree strongly	2	9	4	4	3	3

Q187. In the past ten years my life has been full of changes that have been very unexpected.

Disagree strongly	2	3	1	1	2	2
Disagree some	11	11	12	13	13	14
Disagree a little	18	21	18	16	11	17
Agree a little	25	27	30	29	21	20
Agree some	29	25	30	33	39	39
Agree strongly	14	14	8	7	14	8

Q188. I gave up trying to make big improvements and changes in my life a long time ago.

Disagree strongly	12	21	10	11	11	8
Disagree some	33	28	29	25	29	30
Disagree a little	28	20	25	22	21	24
Agree a little	13	16	19	18	14	14
Agree some	11	9	12	21	19	20
Agree strongly	3	5	4	3	5	5

Q189. (If employed): At work, I feel I have control over what happens in most situations.

Disagree strongly	1	4	1	4	7	6
Disagree some	1	15	7	9	17	11
Disagree a little	6	16	13	9	15	12
Agree a little	29	33	30	28	27	32
Agree some	46	24	39	43	29	26
Agree strongly	17	8	11	8	5	12

Q190. What is your official nationality?

Latvian	-	-	100	-	-	-
Lithuanian	-	1	-	2	100	-
Estonian	100	-	-	-	-	-
Polish	-	-	-	6	-	2

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Russian	-	82	-	74	-	73
Belorussian	-	6	-	11	-	13
Ukrainian	-	8	-	4	-	9
Other former Soviet Republic	-	0	-	0	-	1
Jew	-	0	-	1	-	1
Other (Please write out)	-	2	-	1	-	1

Q191. What is your residence status in this country?

Citizen	100	43	100	33	100	92
Permanent resident	0	47	0	66	-	7
Temporary resident	-	10	-	1	-	1

Q192. What is your citizenship?

Latvian	-	0	100	37	-	-
Lithuanian	-	0	-	0	100	92
Estonian	100	43	-	-	-	-
Soviet	-	15	-	11	-	-
Russian	-	20	-	4	-	7
Other former Soviet Republic	-	1	-	5	-	0
Other (Please write out)	-	5	-	10	-	1
It is now uncertain; I do not have a passport	0	15	0	25	-	0

ASK RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS ONLY:

Q193. If not already citizen of Baltic state: do you plan to apply for citizenship of Estonia/ Latvia?

Yes	-	10	-	19	-	20
Thinking of doing so	-	22	-	24	-	24
Unsure	-	20	-	23	-	24
No	-	48	-	33	-	32

ASK ALL

Q194. To which religious group do you belong?

Roman Catholic	3	1	26	15	88	13
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	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Orthodox	6	72	2	51	0	53
Lutheran	40	2	42	0	1	-
Jewish	0	0	-	0	-	0
Other	3	3	1	9	1	5
Not a believer	47	20	26	23	7	26
Refused	1	1	2	2	2	2

Q195. How often do you attend religious services?

Nearly every week	2	3	5	4	13	7
About once a month	4	7	6	7	17	11
A few times a year	19	20	21	29	38	26
Rarely	23	34	29	24	22	21
Never	4	16	12	13	2	9
Not a believer	48	20	27	23	8	26

Q196. Were you or another person in your family formerly a member of the Communist Party?

Yes, self	11	14	9	10	7	17
Yes, other member of family	14	16	10	9	12	25
No	75	70	81	80	81	58

Q197. Do you live in:

Single family dwelling	32	8	23	10	32	6
Low rise flat, no elevator	53	60	63	69	50	65
Flat in building with an elevator	8	27	11	18	12	24
Communal flat, hostel, dormitory	6	5	1	2	5	5
Other	2	-	1	1	1	1

Q198. Who owns your residence:

State	2	16	13	29	4	3
Local council	6	22	42	40	2	1
Employer	2	2	1	0	0	-
Cooperatively owned	4	5	2	6	2	1

	EstEst	EstRus	LatLat	LatRus	LitLit	LitRus
Self, family, relative	80	50	29	14	88	89
Privately owned landlord	5	3	7	9	3	4
Other	-	2	4	2	1	1

Q199. 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	66	57	59	59	69	58
Ask a friend to fix it	19	12	17	14	12	11
Complain to whoever collects the rent	30	35	36	44	15	27
Pay someone to fix it	26	24	12	7	31	25
Nothing I could do	1	6	5	5	3	2

Q207. Population of this community

Rural, village	40	8	41	15	36	6
5-20,000	18	10	16	13	5	13
20-50,000	3	0	6	10	7	10
50-100,000	7	32	6	6	3	2
100-500,000	32	50	5	13	32	21
More than 500,000	-	-	26	44	16	46

Q208. Russian-speakers as % of local district's population.

Less than 5%	30	3	-	-	44	7
5-20%	26	3	27	7	34	34
21-33%	15	13	16	5	22	54
34-45%	2	2	11	7	-	-
45-55%	24	45	12	16	-	-
More than 55%	4	32	33	65	-	5

ESTONIAN SAMPLE

Interviews in Estonia were conducted by the Saar Poll Ltd. between 6 and 18 November 1996 under the direction of Dr. Andrus Saar, Tallinn. A total of 1,071 persons were interviewed, of which 682 were of Estonian nationality and 389 were not; the great bulk of non-Estonians were Russian nationals, and the remainder nationals of other republics of the former Soviet Union. In Soviet days, nationality was registered in an internal passport. For convenience, all non-Estonians are henceforth referred to as Russians. The universe was defined as the resident population, whether citizens or not, between the ages of 15 and 74. The starting point for stratifying the sample was the distribution of nationalities in Estonia, according to the 1989 census data; that was corrected to take into account changes arising from population movements since. A multi-stage probability method was then used to draw samples of Estonians and Russians. Of the total number of interviews, 45 percent were undertaken in the North West including Tallinn, 19 percent in the North East including Narva, 20 percent in the South-East, 10 percent in the South West, and 6 percent in the West. A total of 181 sampling points was selected. The 155 interviewers were then assigned a random route to follow; the selection of the individual respondent within the household was undertaken with a Kish matrix. All interviews were face to face. The results were as follows:

	<i>Estonians</i>	<i>Russians</i>
Addresses drawn	1256	919
Nationality inappropriate	<u>-164</u>	<u>-212</u>
Effective sample	1092	707
Other: ill, drunk, etc	-103	-77
Refused	-187	-121
Not at home after 3 calls	<u>-120</u>	<u>-120</u>
Total interviews	682	389
% effective sample	62.5%	55.0%

Many of the refusals were because individuals said they were too busy working or feeding the children, or also had no interest in the subject matter of the questionnaire.

The sample was checked for representativeness and appropriate weights for age and gender applied to match the national census figures for the distribution of the population. In keeping with the standard CSPP practice of analyzing the adult population, 64 respondents between the ages of 15 and 17 have been excluded from

all results reported here. All questionnaires were coded by the Saar Poll.

LATVIAN SAMPLE

The survey in Latvia was conducted by Baltic Data House (formerly known as LASOPEC, Latvian Social Research Centre), Riga, under the direction of Dr. Brigita Zepa. Field work took place between 7 and 11 November 1996 and 1,006 persons were interviewed. The universe was defined as permanent residents of Latvia between the ages of 15 and 74. Questionnaires were prepared in Latvian and in Russian, and used as appropriate for the nationality of the person interviewed. Non-Baltics were overwhelmingly of Russian nationality, and are henceforth referred to for convenience as Russians.

The sample was selected through a multi-stage random sampling procedure, with stratification by region, district and urbanization. A total of 105 primary sampling units were identified on a proportionate to population basis, working from a complete official list of the country's population. In each sampling point, 10 interviews were sought. An interviewer was instructed to commence interviewing at a randomly selected address, and then to continue to every fourth dwelling thereafter on the list (or eighth dwelling in the case of single-family residences). Within the household, the youngest male member, the person least likely to be home, was to be chosen or, if absent, the youngest female member of the household. All interviewing was face-to-face and ten percent of interviews were verified by a further visit, phone or mail.

In the event, 1006 interviews were conducted in 103 sampling points. Of the respondents, 551 were Latvians and 455 classified as Russians. Spatially, the interviews were distributed between Riga, 35 percent; Vidzeme, 22 percent; Kurzeme, 13 percent; Zemgale, 14 percent; and Latgale, 16 percent. In keeping with the standard CSPP practice of analyzing adults, 65 youths between the ages of 15 and 17 have been excluded from the results reported here. The sample was checked for representativeness and appropriate weights for age and gender applied to match the national census figures for the distribution of the population. All questionnaires were coded by Baltic Data House.

LITHUANIAN SAMPLE

Surveying in Lithuania was undertaken by VILMORUS, Vilnius, under the direction of Dr. Vladas Gaidys. Interviewing took place between 14 and 18 November, 1996 with a team of interviewers bi-lingual in Lithuanian and Russian, and working under 19 regional supervisors. Because of differences in the geographical distribution of the population between Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians, separate samples were drawn.

Lithuanians. The universe was all residents age 18 to 74 and of ethnic Lithuanian parentage. The country was stratified initially into five regions and the seven largest cities, Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Sauliai, Panevezys, Alytus and Marijampole. A random multi-stage probability sample was drawn. At the first stage all seven cities and 11 districts from the regions were selected; at the second electoral districts within the towns and rural districts were selected. This produced 97 primary sampling units dispersed among 19 different towns and 47 villages. Within towns, addresses were selected by random route procedures, starting from a fixed address. Within each household the individual selected for interview was the person next to have a birthday. In rural areas, household registers were used to select addresses by systematic random sampling. A total of 703 Lithuanians were interviewed.

Russians. In this survey Russians were defined as all residents of Lithuania who are neither of Lithuanian nor Polish nationality. Because Russian-speakers are not distributed evenly throughout the country, two groups of respondents were sampled. The initial sample produced 115 Russian respondents. A second booster sample was then drawn, stratified to take into account the proportion of Russians in different parts of the country; this yielded an additional 182 interviews. In total, 297 Russians were interviewed.

Altogether, 1996 households were approached. Of this number, 487 refused to give an interview, and at an additional 509 addresses it was not possible to make contact with a respondent after two calls to the house. A total of 1,000 interviews were thus completed. Of these, ten percent were verified by post. All questionnaires were coded by VILMORUS.