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NEW BALTIC BAROMETER IV:  
A Survey Study

Professor Richard Rose

Centre for the Study of Public Policy

University of Strathclyde

Glasgow G1 1XH Scotland

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*Abstract*

The New Baltic Barometer (NBB) survey conducted in spring, 2000, concerns the behaviour and attitudes of the six principal nationalities living in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. It asks representative samples of each nationality similar sets of questions about their multiple identities, language use, political attitudes, economic behaviour and social structural conditions. A special feature of the fourth NBB survey is a set of questions about language use at work and the usefulness of learning different languages. The paper presents answers for all questions subdivided by nationality. A substantial number of questions maintain trends monitored in three earlier rounds of Baltic surveys in 1993, 1995 and 1996.

*Acknowledgments*

The Estonian survey was conducted as part of the National Integration Survey, sponsored by the Integration Foundation of Estonia, headed by Mati Luik, with a project team chaired by Professor J. Kruusvall. Questions about labour markets and language were prepared in collaboration with Dr. John Earle of SITE (Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics). Funding for fieldwork came from the Tercentenary Fund of the Bank of Sweden and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and for analysis from the Paul Lazarsfeld Society, Vienna and The Austrian National Bank. The organizers of the survey are solely responsible for its contents.

## INTRODUCTION

Any attempt to study public opinion in the Baltic region 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 and Baltic voices submerged in the vast ocean of Soviet opinion. Moreover, Soviet policy brought hundreds of thousands of Russian immigrants to Estonia and Latvia, and a lesser but significant percentage 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 a minority 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, the non-Baltic peoples, including Ukrainians and Belarussians, are here referred to as Russians, 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 Russians.

A unique feature of the New Baltic Barometer is that it collects a wide range of data about the ethnic background, language use and identities of people in circumstances in which many Russians are legal residents but not citizens. It addresses the thorny issue of the conditions for granting citizenship, e.g. by inheritance, place of birth, residence or after a language test. It also asks about the obligations and rights of residents, whether or not citizens.

Given the acknowledged limitations and inadequacies of official statistics, a sample survey is uniquely suited for collecting data about individual living conditions. It is empirically as well as logically misleading to infer individual conditions from large-scale monetary aggregates (on which Estonia scores favourably) or 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. In a number of instances, the phrasing of questions in Estonia differed from that in Latvia and Lithuania, because the Estonian questionnaire was

prepared by a committee conducting a very lengthy national integration survey. This has also made it possible to include answers to additional questions asked in Estonia, but which could not be asked in Latvia and Lithuania because of budget limitations.

This *SPP* paper reports the results of the fourth New Baltic Barometer survey undertaken between February and May, 2000 by the Saar Poll in Estonia, the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences, Riga; and Vilmorus, Vilnius. Responses are reported for all questions by the language of the interviewee as well as their country of residence. 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.

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; nine 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. It is also relevant to compare responses in the Baltic states with responses in the seven other countries that are also negotiating entry into the European Union. For full details of these complementary surveys, see [www.cspp.strath.ac.uk](http://www.cspp.strath.ac.uk).

#### CONVENTIONS:

Blank space in a column shows the question was not asked or a particular reply was not offered in a country.

Hyphen indicates replies are less than 0.5 percent; 0: nil respondents.

Missing data is excluded in calculating percentages. As national institutes followed different practices in offering 'don't know' as a response, if the percentage of 'difficult to say/no answer' response for a country is below 7.5 percent, and below 10 per cent for both nationalities, these responses are excluded.

Percentages are rounded off to the nearest whole number; 0.5 is rounded up. Because of this columns do not always total exactly 100 percent.



LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
%	%	%	%	%	%

## A) EMPLOYMENT

A1. What is your current employment situation? (Show card)

Employed	36	38	40	32	49	52
Self-employed	7	4	5	3	7	7
Holding job temp. absent	3	4	2	3		
Pensioner and employed	3	1	3	2	4	4
Pensioner not employed	25	30	25	29	18	18
Unemployed no state benefit	12	12	10	17	4	5
Unemployed with benefit	2	3	1	3	3	4
Housewife	4	2	6	4	5	4
Student, working	1	-	1	1	2	2
Student, not working	4	3	3	4	5	5
Not working, disabled	3	5	3	3	2	1

IF EMPLOYED<sup>1</sup>:

A2. Respondent's employer:

State budgetary org.	37	38	35	21	27	16
State enterprise	11	15	8	11	8	9
Privatized, ex-state owned	19	22	18	20	20	17
New private enterprise	20	19	29	37	34	45
Foreign owned firm					6	10
Own business, employ others	3	2	3	1		
Self-employed	9	4	5	6		
Other	1	0	2	4	5	2

A3. How many hours did you work last week?

Mean	40	39	42	43	40	39
Standard deviation	12	8	13	15	11	10

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<sup>1</sup>Employed includes the following categories of question A1: 'Employed', 'Self-employed', 'Holding job, but temporarily absent', 'Pensioner and employed', and 'Student, working'.

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
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## A3JOB. What is your occupation?

Director, enterprise leader	10	9	10	4	8	5
Trained supervisor	9	10	10	6	6	9
Trained non-manual without subordinates	30	21	33	33	27	24
Routine non-manual	11	11	17	10	20	22
Skilled manual	25	31	19	36	22	28
Unskilled manual	8	15	9	10	13	11
Agricultural worker	4	1	1	0		
Self-employed farmer	1	0	1	0		
Other	3	1	1	2	4	1

## A4. Which branch of the economy do you work in?

Agriculture, etc	8	5	12	3	13	7
Mining or quarrying	1	0	1	0	1	4
Manufacturing	17	26	10	15	6	15
Construction	7	7	5	6	6	10
Electricity, gas and water	3	3	4	1	3	7
Transport, comm.	6	5	8	17	7	10
Wholesale, retail trade	11	11	9	15	12	12
Hotels, restaurants, etc.	-	1	3	4		
Education, health, social	32	29	33	19	28	20
Financial services	4	3	2	1	3	4
Other services	8	6	9	10	11	9
Private households	-	0	1	1		
Armed forces, police	3	3	2	5	1	0
Other	-	0	3	3	8	3

## A5. In the past month, how much did you earn from your main job?

	<u>Litas</u>		<u>Lat</u>		<u>Kroon</u>	
Mean	693	642	109	92	3266	3343
Standard deviation	462	432	82	67	2979	4311

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

A6A. In the past year, have you sometimes received wages at least a month late?

Yes	22	21	11	18		
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IF YES

A6A-K. How many months did this happen?

One	37	40	42	48		
Two	17	24	16	24		
Three	17	12	29	20		
More than three	31	24	13	8		

A6B. In the past year, have you sometimes not received your wages at all?

Yes	5	3	5	6		
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WAGERUPT. Wage interrupted

Paid all year	76	76	88	80		
Paid late	20	21	7	15		
Not paid at all	5	3	5	6		

STEADINC<sup>2</sup>. Steady Income

Employed all year	70	71	78	64		
Employed wages interrupted <sup>23</sup>		21	10	11		
Unemployed part of year	5	5	9	16		
Unemploy wages interrupted <sup>2</sup>		3	3	9		

A7. How long have you held your current job (years)?

Up to one year	15	14	26	25	22	15
Two	9	12	9	12	13	9
Three	10	9	9	14	12	13
Four	6	5	7	5	7	8

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<sup>2</sup>If a13 equals 'No' and wagerupt equals 'paid all year', steadinc coded as 'Employed all year.' If a13 equals 'No' and wagerupt equals 'paid late' or 'not paid at all', steadinc coded as 'Employed but wages interrupted'. If a13 equal 'yes' and wagerupt equals 'paid all year', steadinc coded as 'Unemployed part of year'. If a13 equals 'yes' and wagerupt equals 'paid late' or 'not paid at all', steading coded as Unemployed and wages interrupted.

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Five	9	6	6	9	10	12
Six	6	3	5	3	7	8
Seven	4	4	6	5	5	4
Eight	4	5	5	3	4	6
Nine	4	1	4	1	3	2
Ten or more	34	42	24	24	16	23

## A8. How did you find this job?

A8.1 Official employ bureau	4	2	3	1		
A8.2 Private employ bureau	1	0	2	3		
A8.3 By assignment	11	12	5	6		
A8.4 Passed an exam	6	4	7	3		
A8.5 Family or friends	34	39	44	58		
A8.6 Newspaper advert	3	3	6	3		
A8.7 Approached employer	30	38	20	17		
A8.8 Offered a present or payment to manager	0	0	0	0		
A8.9 Other	12	4	14	6		

## A9. At your place of work, what language is usually spoken?

Baltic language	88	35	73	13
Baltic and other	2	6	6	1
Baltic and Russian	8	37	18	34
Russian	1	19	3	48
Russian and other	0	3	1	2
Other	0	0	0	2

## A9ES. What languages do you need in your everyday work?

A9ES.1 Estonian	98	61
A9ES.2 Russian	55	86
A9ES.3 English	26	18
A9ES.4 German	7	3
A9ES.5 Finnish	14	6

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
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A9ES.6 Swedish					-	1
A9ES.7 Other					1	1

A10. (Lithuania) Could you hold a job where knowledge of Lithuanian was needed? (Latvia): a knowledge of (other language) was needed.

Yes, definitely		61	90	48		
Yes, with difficulty		31	8	36		
No, don't know the language		8	2	15		
No, don't want to learn language		0	-	1		

A11A. If a well paying job for which you were qualified was advertised in (other language) would you apply?

Yes	58	65	77	62		
Unsure, it depends	23	27	14	20		
No	19	8	9	19		

A12. Are you worried about the possibility of losing your job?

Yes, very	64	60	34	40		
Yes, somewhat	24	30	26	28		
Not much	6	4	18	18		
Not at all	6	6	22	14		

ASKED ALL ESTONIAN RESPONDENTS

A12ESA. (Estonia only) In the past ten years have you been.....?

A12ESA.1 *Seriously* in danger of losing your job?

Yes, more than once					13	21
Yes, only once					21	23
No					54	50
Difficult to answer					11	6

A12ESA.2 Refused a job when you applied for it?

Yes, more than once					15	15
Yes, only once					14	10

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

No					59	67
Difficult to answer					12	8

A12ESA.3 Unwilling to apply for a suitable job because it would make no difference- they wouldn't hire you for the job.

Yes, more than once					10	10
Yes, only once					8	9
No					67	72
Difficult to answer					16	9

#### IN THE LABOUR FORCE

In the past 12 months have you been .....?

A12ESA.4 *Seriously* in danger of losing your job?

Yes, more than once					7	10
Yes, only once					9	13
No					72	74
Difficult to answer					11	3

A12ESA.5 Refused a job when you applied for it?

Yes, more than once					10	7
Yes, only once					9	7
No					71	80
Difficult to answer					11	6

A12ESA.6 Unwilling to apply for a suitable job because it would make no difference-they wouldn't hire you for the job.

Yes, more than once					7	9
Yes, only once					6	3
No					74	81
Difficult to answer					14	7

A13. During the past year have you been unemployed?

Yes	27	30	28
No	73	70	72

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

If YES: Months unemployed

One month	25	11	15			
Two months	18	0	18			
Three months	25	11	21			
Four months	4	0	9			
Five months	4	11	0			
Six months	14	33	9			
Seven months	4	0	0			
Eight months	4	11	6			
Nine months	0	0	6			
Ten months	0	0	6			
Eleven months	0	0	0			
Twelve months	4	22	9			

IMPUNEMP/IMPACT

Currently unemployed	14	15	12	20	7	9
Formerly unemployed	3	4	6	10		
Employed all year	47	42	45	30	57	59
Outside labour force	36	39	37	40	21	22

A14. Have you done or thought about doing any of the following to improve your economic situation in the past year?

A14.1 Learned a new skill

Have done	43	36	46	38		
Likely	10	18	18	19		
Unlikely	10	18	12	13		
Definitely not	38	28	16	23		
No answer			9	7		

A14.2 Worked overtime at regular job.

Have done	52	38	63	54		
Likely	6	17	16	14		
Unlikely	8	15	6	10		
Definitely not	34	30	15	22		

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

## A14.3 Became self-employed

Have done	10	11	11	15		
Likely	4	3	9	8		
Unlikely	14	18	18	19		
Definitely not	72	68	50	49		
No answer			12	9		

## A14.4 Started a business or open a shop

Have done	4	5	5	7		
Likely	4	4	7	3		
Unlikely	10	15	16	20		
Definitely not	82	77	63	59		
No answer			10	11		

## A14.5 Tried to find a job with better employer

Have done	7	10	16	25		
Likely	18	28	19	14		
Unlikely	18	21	17	18		
Definitely not	56	40	41	34		
No answer			7	10		

A15. Here are statements people sometimes make about their place of work. To what extent to you agree or disagree?

## A15.1 Too old to do anything different

Completely agree	15	11	12	11	15	8
Somewhat agree	11	10	10	18	18	19
Somewhat disagree	28	25	24	25	28	23
Completely disagree	47	54	54	47	39	50

## A15.2 A new job wouldn't pay any more money

Completely agree	16	11	12	9	12	15
Somewhat agree	23	27	24	25	32	36
Somewhat disagree	39	39	27	30	25	24

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Completely disagree	23	23	24	26	20	18
Difficult to answer			13	10	11	8

## A15.3 Content with what I have

Completely agree	27	27	29	26	20	18
Somewhat agree	36	33	32	34	47	39
Somewhat disagree	22	22	23	20	22	27
Completely disagree	14	18	17	21	11	17

## A15.4 No point in seeking a new job, no work around here

Completely agree	41	41	26	35	27	34
Somewhat agree	24	24	28	26	35	32
Somewhat disagree	18	16	25	22	22	23
Completely disagree	17	19	22	18	16	12

## A16. Are you satisfied with your job?

Very satisfied	15	19	23	16	10	11
Somewhat satisfied	64	56	59	58	70	50
Not very satisfied	17	23	17	19	17	30
Not satisfied at all	4	3	2	7	3	9

ASK ALL

V1. In 1990, when this country was part of the Soviet Union, what was your principal activity?

Too young to work	13	9	15	13		
Employed	64	71	71	64	65	70
Self-employed	2	2	1	1	3	2
Pensioner, employed	1	3	1	2	3	2
Pensioner, not working	10	9	5	10	5	4
Unemployed	1	-	1	-	1	1
Housewife	2	-	2	1	2	1
Student, working	1	-	1	2	4	2
Student, not working	4	3	1	3	17	19

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Not working - disabled	1	1	1	1	1	0
Other	0	1	1	3		

IF EMPLOYED IN 1990

V2. Respondent's employer:

State budgetary organization	30	35	31	32	22	25
State enterprise	65	61	63	64	66	66
Private	4	2	2	2	5	7
Self-employed	1	2	2	1		
Other	-	1	2	1	7	2

V3. Which branch of the economy were you working in then?

Agriculture, etc	22	13	34	9	31	8
Mining or quarrying	1	0	1	0	1	6
Manufacturing	21	29	10	28	10	27
Construction	9	9	7	7	7	11
Electricity, gas and water	3	4	3	4	3	5
Transport, comm.	6	8	6	15	7	9
Wholesale, retail trade	6	5	5	10	10	7
Hotels, restaurants, etc.	2	2	1	-		
Education, health, social	23	25	24	18	19	21
Financial services	2	1	1	0	1	2
Other services	4	3	6	5	2	2
Private households	-	0	0	0		
Armed forces, police	2	4	1	3	1	2
Other	-	0	-	2	9	3

V4EST. What was your occupation?

Director, enterprise leader					6	3
Trained supervisor					9	15
Trained non-manual without subordinates					24	23
Routine non-manual					14	21

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Skilled manual					29	27
Unskilled manual					13	9
Agricultural worker						
Self-employed farmer						
Other					5	1

### EMPLOYED ONLY

A8ES. How important are each of the following circumstances for the achievement of success in Estonia now? (Very important, fairly important)

A8ES.1 Coming from a well-to-do family

Very important	24	34
Fairly important	50	41

A8ES.2 A good education

Very important	65	51
Fairly important	31	42

A8ES.3 Diligent, reliable work

Very important	47	44
Fairly important	46	46

A8ES.4 Connections, acquaintances

Very important	49	59
Fairly important	46	36

A8ES.5 Aptitude and talent

Very important	47	40
Fairly important	47	45

A8ES.6 Political convictions

Very important	5	11
Fairly important	27	25

A8ES.7 Professional knowledge, skills

Very important	53	42
Fairly important	41	43

A8Es.8 Willingness to take risks

Very important	30	21
Fairly important	59	48

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
A8ES.9 Knowledge of the Estonian language						
Very important					49	57
Fairly important					38	33
A8ES.10 Knowledge of a foreign language						
Very important					68	61
Fairly important					29	35
A8ES.11 Enterprise, activism						
Very important					51	50
Fairly important					44	45
A8ES.12 Ability to cooperate						
Very important					45	41
Fairly important					50	47
A8ES.13 Sense of responsibility						
Very important					53	35
Fairly important					38	49
A8ES.14 Readiness for change						
Very important					46	32
Fairly important					49	52
A8ES.15 Estonian citizenship						
Very important					23	39
Fairly important					41	41
A8ES.16 Permanent residency						
Very important						33
Fairly important						48
A8ES.17 Social Skills						
Very important					54	47
Fairly important					43	49
A8ES.18 Wealth						
Very important					23	45
Fairly important					42	35
A8ES.19 National belonging						
Very important					10	26
Fairly important					25	37

LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
%	%	%	%	%	%

A12ES. How much of your work corresponds to your.....

A12ES.1 Education level

Wholly corresponds	46	40
Partly corresponds	31	31
Partly doesn't correspond	7	7
Doesn't correspond at all	16	22

A12ES.2 Educational training, speciality

Wholly corresponds	41	38
Partly corresponds	25	28
Partly doesn't correspond	12	11
Doesn't correspond at all	22	24

A12ES.3 Capabilities

Wholly corresponds	53	47
Partly corresponds	34	30
Partly doesn't correspond	7	12
Doesn't correspond at all	7	11

A12ES.4 Experience

Wholly corresponds	59	51
Partly corresponds	30	31
Partly doesn't correspond	5	8
Doesn't correspond at all	7	11

A12ES-0. Could you find an acceptable new job.....?

A12ES-01 Near to your home or work

Yes, of course	16	4
Probably yes	33	27
Probably not	30	39
Of course not	15	20
Difficult to say	6	10

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

## A12ES-02 In another part of Estonia

Yes, of course					19	7
Probably yes					43	32
Probably not					19	26
Of course not					8	23
Difficult to say					11	12

## A12ES-03 In Russia

Yes, of course					5	10
Probably yes					11	23
Probably not					18	22
Of course not					44	30
Difficult to say					23	15

## A12ES-04 In another foreign country

Yes, of course					6	6
Probably yes					17	23
Probably not					18	21
Of course not					39	33
Difficult to say					20	17

## A13AEST. Have you been unemployed in the past 10 years

Yes					40	36
No					60	64

IF YES

A13AEST2. How many months? (Median)					14	15
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LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
%	%	%	%	%	%

## B) ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

B1A. What language would you encourage a young person to learn (if he does not already know it) to get ahead in their work? <sup>3</sup>

### B1A.1 Baltic Language/Russian

Definitely	29	90	34	86	22	84
Could be useful	52	9	54	12	54	15
Not very useful	16	2	11	2	21	1
Useless	3	0	2	1	3	-

### B1A.2 English

Definitely	88	59	66	46	62	65
Could be useful	11	37	30	43	34	28
Not very useful	1	2	3	8	3	5
Useless	-	2	-	3	-	3

### B1A.3 German

Definitely	40	19	26	14	14	12
Could be useful	48	60	53	56	42	24
Not very useful	12	18	20	23	26	17
Useless	1	3	1	8	17	46

### B1A.4 Swedish

Definitely			8	4	2	4
Could be useful			40	35	10	6
Not very useful			36	38	16	16
Useless			16	22	61	65
Difficult to answer					13	9

### B1A.5/B1A.6 Polish (Lithuania)/Finnish (Estonia)

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<sup>3</sup> Note that the question in Estonia is asked 'Which languages do your children need to know?' Coded above as Fluently=Definitely, Average level=Could be useful, Understand spoken language=Not very useful, Not necessary=Useless

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Definitely	7	8			11	5
Could be useful	23	37			33	11
Not very useful	42	36			32	25
Useless	28	19			24	59

B1ESA. What is your knowledge of Russian/Estonian?

B1ESA.1 Understand spoken language

Good					51	27
Average					34	27
Weak					13	29
None					1	19

B1ESA.2 Can read

Good					39	31
Average					40	25
Weak					19	23
None					3	21

B1ESA.3 Can converse

Good					40	23
Average					40	22
Weak					18	29
None					2	26

B1ESA.4 Can write

Good					24	21
Average					39	24
Weak					28	28
None					10	28

B2. Do you and your family earn enough from regular work in the official economy to buy what your household really needs?

Definitely enough	1	0	3	2	1	2
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	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Just enough	19	18	19	17	30	25
Not quite enough	44	41	46	44	42	38
Definitely not enough	37	41	33	37	28	35

B3. In the past year, has your family:

Saved money	8	7	4	2	13	11
Just got by	63	59	70	71	59	67
Spent some savings	11	19	5	13	12	12
Borrowed money	9	7	14	10	10	6
Spent savings and borrowed	10	8	7	5	6	5

Coping<sup>4</sup>

Coping with job	19	17	21	19	28	26
With portfolio	54	52	56	59	46	55
Not getting by	27	30	23	23	25	19

B4. Sometimes people have to do without things that people usually have. In the past 12 months, has your household sometimes had to do without:

B4.1 Food

Often	13	15	12	23
Sometimes	22	30	23	21
Rarely	14	15	13	12
Never	51	40	52	45

B4.2 Heating, electricity

Often	5	6	2	7
Sometimes	11	11	4	9
Rarely	8	12	3	9
Never	77	70	91	76

B4.3 Clothes you really needed

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<sup>4</sup>Coping: With own job: Household earns enough from regular job to buy the things needed (A10); With portfolio: Household earns not enough from regular jobs (A10) but saved money or got by in the past year (A18). Not coping: Household spent savings, borrowed money, sold household goods (A18).

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Often	22	26	14	25		
Sometimes	30	27	30	24		
Rarely	13	14	11	14		
Never	35	34	45	37		

Destitution scale<sup>5</sup>

0-Never deprived anything	27	24	35	27
1	10	7	9	8
2	16	14	16	12
3	10	11	10	10
4	11	11	13	13
5	9	14	7	9
6	8	8	7	12
7	4	5	1	3
8	3	2	2	2
9-Often deprived of all	3	4	1	4
Mean	2.8	3.2	2.2	2.9
Standard deviation	2.5	2.6	2.2	2.6

B4-Est. Please look on the card and tell me which answer reflects accurately the economic situation of your family?

Not enough money for food.	9	9
Money for food, not for clothes	49	44
Food, clothes, a little savings	27	33
Food, clothes, some expensive purchases	15	14
Buy all that we desire	1	-

B5. How long will it take to reach a standard of living with which you are content?

1-2 years	2	2	2	4
3-5 years	9	6	16	12

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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 (B4.1); heating, electricity (B4.2); clothes that were really needed (B4.3).

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
6-10 years	11	10	13	7		
More than 10 years	28	21	14	11		
Never	19	23	27	36		
Don't know	29	35	26	27		
Already content	3	2	3	3		

B6. 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).

B6A. Where on this scale would you put the socialist economy before independence?

+100	13	17	7	14	1	9
+90	6	6	2	3	2	5
+80	15	17	9	13	3	8
+70	10	11	3	7	4	9
+60	7	5	8	10	3	6
+50	20	22	10	9	8	14
+40	4	6	8	6	4	5
+30	4	4	5	4	5	5
+20	3	2	5	3	5	2
+10	3	1	3	1	4	4
0 (Neutral)	3	4	8	6	9	3
-10	1	0	1	2	3	-
-20	1	1	3	1	3	-
-30	1	1	1	-	3	1
-40	1	0	2	1	2	-
-50	3	2	2	1	9	3
-60	1	1	1	-	1	-
-70	1	-	1	0	2	-
-80	1	-	1	1	4	-
-90	-	-	-	0	5	0
-100	3	-	1	1	10	2
Difficult to say/No answer			21	16	12	25

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Positive <sup>6</sup>	83	90	76	84	44	87
Negative	13	6	15	9	46	10
Neutral	3	4	10	7	10	4
Mean	47	58	35	52	- 9	47
Standard deviation	49	38	45	41	58	45

B6B. Where on this scale would you put our present economic system?

+100	1	-	-	1	1	2
+90	-	0	0	0	2	2
+80	1	-	-	1	3	3
+70	2	1	-	1	7	2
+60	2	1	1	2	9	5
+50	6	6	4	3	20	13
+40	2	2	6	5	9	8
+30	4	4	8	5	9	6
+20	5	5	7	5	7	6
+10	4	4	6	5	7	3
0 (Neutral)	5	5	11	7	7	5
-10	5	5	3	3	3	2
-20	4	6	5	6	2	2
-30	7	6	6	3	1	3
-40	4	3	5	4	-	2
-50	15	17	7	7	3	5
-60	5	6	5	5	1	1
-70	5	6	2	3	1	2
-80	9	6	5	5	1	2
-90	5	5	1	3	-	1
-100	12	12	5	16	1	3
Difficult to say/No answer			12	12	9	22

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<sup>6</sup>Here and in other comparable tables, 'Difficult to say/No answer' are excluded.

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Positive	25	23	37	31	79	63
Negative	70	72	51	62	13	30
Neutral	5	5	12	8	8	7
Mean	-33	-34	-15	-29	31	13
Standard deviation	51	48	45	53	36	51

B6C. Where would you put our economic system in five years time?

+100	1	3	1	2	5	2
+90	1	1	-	1	5	2
+80	3	1	4	2	13	5
+70	3	4	3	1	9	6
+60	4	3	5	4	11	4
+50	9	11	7	5	12	10
+40	4	3	6	2	6	4
+30	5	3	5	2	5	3
+20	8	7	6	5	5	4
+10	8	7	4	3	3	3
0 (Neutral)	7	9	8	10	3	4
-10	4	3	2	1	1	-
-20	5	6	3	3	-	-
-30	4	4	3	3	1	1
-40	3	3	2	1	0	-
-50	9	9	3	3	1	1
-60	3	4	2	3	1	1
-70	4	3	1	1	0	1
-80	5	5	2	2	-	-
-90	3	3	-	2	-	1
-100	7	7	2	8	1	3
Difficult to say/no answer			33	38	21	44
Positive	47	43	60	44	92	77
Negative	46	48	29	41	5	15
Neutral	7	9	11	16	3	7

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Mean	-7	-8	13	-5	52	31
Standard deviation	54	55	47	58	36	51

B7. As far as your household is concerned, overall, how do you rate its economic situation today?

Very satisfactory	-	-	-	1	1	2
Fairly satisfactory	40	31	35	29	38	35
Not very satisfactory	47	52	50	49	51	51
Very unsatisfactory	13	17	14	22	11	13

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

Coping and satisfied	35	25	31	26	35	34
Coping but dissatisfied	38	45	46	51	39	47
Doubly troubled	22	24	18	20	22	16
Not coping but satisfied	6	6	4	4	4	2

B8. Would you say that as far as your household is concerned, the situation now compared with five years ago is:

Much better	6	3	7	4	9	9
A little better	14	10	11	10	19	19
About the same	14	13	17	11	23	21
A little worse	23	31	31	29	25	21
A lot worse	43	44	34	47	24	30

B9. What do you think the economic situation of your household will be in five years time?

Much better	4	3	7	5	8	7
A little better	32	24	36	25	32	23

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<sup>7</sup>Coping and satisfied: Coping with own job or portfolio (Coping) AND satisfied with family economic situation today (B7). 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.

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
About the same	31	29	31	30	30	31
A little worse	11	12	4	10	8	11
A lot worse	5	7	2	6	6	4
Difficult to say	17	26	20	25	16	24

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

Standards rising	20	12	19	14	29	28
Standards stable, satisfied	9	9	10	8	11	11
Standards stable, dissatisfied	4	4	7	3	11	9
Standards falling	66	75	65	76	49	52

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

Improving	44	36	54	39	48	39
Satisfactory	9	7	10	8	12	15
Deteriorating	3	2	2	2	5	4
Continuing poor	44	55	34	52	35	43

#### B10-1. Could you borrow as much as a week's wage or pension from a bank?<sup>10</sup>

Definitely yes	9	6	10	6	17	15
Probably	8	6	7	9	18	22
Probably not	10	15	12	14	20	22

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<sup>8</sup> Standards rising: Current economic situation much better or somewhat better now than five years ago (B8). Standards stable, satisfied: Current economic situation the same now compared with five years ago (B8) AND respondent satisfied with current economic situation (B7). Standards stable, dissatisfied: Current economic situation the same now compared with five years ago (B8) AND respondent not satisfied with current economic situation (B7). Standards falling: Current economic situation a lot worse or a little worse now than five years ago (B8).

<sup>9</sup> Improving: Economic situation in five years is a lot or a little better than now (B9); Satisfactory: Standards rising or stable and satisfied (Impact of market) AND economic situation in five years is much the same as now (B9); 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 (B9); 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 (B9).

<sup>10</sup>The question in Estonia does not stipulate a 'week's wages' for bank borrowing

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Definitely no	59	53	59	55	45	41
Difficult to answer	14	20	13	16		

B10-2. Could you borrow as much as a week's wage or pension from a friend or relative?

Definitely yes	40	39	34	27	35	25
Probably	34	33	35	32	34	40
Probably not	9	16	13	16	16	15
Definitely no	17	12	18	25	15	19

B11. On this card are pairs of alternatives. Please tell me for each pair do you definitely agree or somewhat agree?

B11.A A good job is one that is secure even if it doesn't pay very much

Definitely agree	49	50	32	36
Somewhat agree	35	34	44	39

OR A good job pays good money even if it risks unemployment

Definitely agree	6	6	8	8
Somewhat agree	10	10	16	17

B11.B It is better to have lots of goods in the shops even if the prices are high

Definitely agree	19	18	22	13
Somewhat agree	27	27	36	35

OR A good job pays good money even if it risks unemployment

Definitely agree	24	25	8	17
Somewhat agree	30	30	24	28
Difficult to say, don't know			10	7

ASK RUSSIAN SPEAKERS ONLY:

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

B12X. Before perestroika a few years ago

+100	12	10	6
+90	3	3	3
+80	11	7	7

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
+70		11		4		5
+60		6		6		4
+50		22		11		9
+40		3		6		5
+30		2		2		7
+20		2		3		4
+10		2		1		3
0 (Neutral)		6		4		3
-10		2		1		1
-20		2		2		1
-30		1		1		1
-40		0		1		-
-50		2		3		3
-60		1		2		1
-70		0		0		-
-80		0		-		1
-90		0		-		1
-100		0		1		3
Difficult to say/No answer		11		33		33
Positive		85		78		78
Negative		9		16		18
Neutral		7		6		4
Mean		52		43		32
Standard deviation		37		48		53
B12Y. <u>Today</u>						
+100		0		1		1
+90		1		0		1
+80		0		1		1
+70		2		1		-
+60		2		1		2
+50		5		2		3

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
+40		5		5		2
+30		3		4		5
+20		4		5		4
+10		4		4		3
0 (Neutral)		8		5		5
-10		4		2		4
-20		5		4		4
-30		10		2		3
-40		3		4		2
-50		14		8		7
-60		2		5		2
-70		5		3		3
-80		3		2		5
-90		3		1		2
-100		5		4		10
Difficult to say, No answer		11		36		32
Positive		30		35		34
Negative		61		58		59
Neutral		9		8		7
Mean		-20		-19		-22
Standard deviation		47		48		55
<u>B12Z. In five years time</u>						
+100		4		1		2
+90		2		-		2
+80		2		3		5
+70		1		3		3
+60		4		3		2
+50		15		6		7
+40		3		5		3
+30		7		4		4
+20		5		4		5

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
+10		8		3		4
0 (Neutral)		10		8		7
-10		5		-		1
-20		4		2		1
-30		1		2		1
-40		3		3		1
-50		5		2		2
-60		1		-		-
-70		1		1		1
-80		1		1		-
-90		0		1		-
-100		2		1		3
Difficult to say, No answer		16		49		48
Positive		62		61		68
Negative		27		24		20
Neutral		11		15		13
Mean		18		17		22
Standard deviation		46		46		51

### ESTONIA ONLY

K99. Tell me please, which are now the principal sources and the most important source of your family income now (ten years past)?

	ESTEST				ESTRUS			
	<u>Relevant</u>		<u>Most impt.</u>		<u>Relevant</u>		<u>Most impt.</u>	
	Now	(Past)	Now	(Past)	Now	(Past)	Now	(Past)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
.A Salary	73	90	64	85	77	94	70	91
.B Self-employment	10	4	5	2	7	1	5	1
.C Second job	14	12	1	1	15	9	-	1
.D Pension	36	12	21	5	37	11	20	4
.E Social benefit	11	1	2	0	9	1	2	0
.F Benefit for children	31	10	2	1	32	10	-	0

	ESTEST				ESTRUS			
	<u>Relevant</u>		<u>Most impt.</u>		<u>Relevant</u>		<u>Most impt.</u>	
	Now	(Past)	Now	(Past)	Now	(Past)	Now	(Past)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
.G Help from relatives	10	9	2	3	9	9	1	2
.H Making things for sale	1	1	0	-	2	1	-	0
.I Selling own produce	5	9	1	2	5	4	-	1
.J Dividends from savings	4	1	-	0	2	0	-	0
.K Leasing property	3	1	-	-	2	1	-	0
.L Other	2	1	2	2	1	-	-	1

### C) INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%
C1. What do you think of the idea of this country joining the European Union?						
Strongly in favour	12	9	13	15	9	23
Somewhat in favour	29	26	35	30	40	41
Somewhat opposed	18	19	19	15	24	14
Strongly opposed	18	19	14	16	15	9
Difficult to say	24	26	20	25	13	13
C2. What do you think would be the most likely consequences of our country joining the European Union? Do you think EU-membership would have positive effects, negative effects, bring no changes at all, or you don't know?						
C2.A Political stability						
Positive effects	50	37	48	38	44	42
Negative effects	12	9	9	12	14	9
Will bring no changes	14	24	20	25	25	34
Don't know	24	30	23	26	16	16
C2.B Consumer prices						
Positive effects	23	19	19	25	5	7
Negative effects	39	37	32	29	77	68
Will bring no changes at all	9	14	16	16	7	13
Don't know	29	31	33	30	12	12

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
<b>C2.C Economic development</b>						
Positive effects	45	37	44	39	62	48
Negative effects	19	20	17	17	9	14
Will bring no changes at all	9	14	12	18	17	23
Don't know	27	29	27	26	13	15
<b>C2.D My personal income</b>						
Positive effects	17	14	21	24	18	20
Negative effects	16	19	13	17	20	24
Will bring no changes at all	34	33	35	30	41	35
Don't know	34	34	32	29	22	22
<b>C2.E Reducing unemployment</b>						
Positive effects	29	25	26	28	19	24
Negative effects	28	28	19	22	43	39
Will bring no changes at all	18	20	26	24	25	25
Don't know	25	28	29	26	14	11
<b>C2.F-EST Relations of Estonians and Non-Estonians</b>						
Improve					18	22
Deteriorate					9	7
Remain the same					57	60
Difficult to say					16	11
<b>C2.G-EST Position of Non-Estonians in Estonian society</b>						
Improve					27	32
Deteriorate					9	8
Remain the same					45	44
Difficult to say					19	15

**C3. In the European Union everyone has the right to work in other members countries. If our country should become a member of the EU, will you or another member of your family:**

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

## A . QUESTIONS ASKED OF ALL RESPONDENTS

### C3A.1 Go abroad to work for some weeks or months?

Yes, definitely	19	19	24	30	26	31
Maybe	26	31	38	27	38	34
Probably not	15	14	18	12	10	8
No	40	35	21	30	26	27

### C3A.2 Work abroad for some years?

Yes, definitely	16	15	8	21	16	18
Maybe	24	30	27	23	34	34
Probably not	15	16	31	17	21	17
No	46	39	35	39	28	32

### C3A.3 Emigrate and live permanently in another country?

Yes, definitely	7	5	3	8	2	10
Maybe	6	11	9	15	12	20
Probably not	12	13	21	18	23	23
No	68	59	66	59	63	47
Don't know	7	11				

## B. QUESTIONS ASKED ONLY OF PEOPLE IN LABOUR FORCE

### C3B.1 Go abroad to work for some weeks or months?

Yes, definitely	21	23	26	37	27	35
Maybe	31	39	42	31	44	39
Probably not	17	17	18	13	10	9
No	31	21	14	20	20	17

### C3B.2 Go abroad to work for some weeks or months?

Yes, definitely	18	17	8	25	17	20
Maybe	27	37	27	26	37	38
Probably not	17	19	33	20	23	20
No	38	27	32	29	22	23

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
--	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

C3B.3 Emigrate and live permanently in another country ?

Yes, definitely	8	6	4	9	2	11
Maybe	6	12	11	18	14	23
Probably not	13	18	20	20	25	26
No	65	52	65	53	59	41
Don't know	8	13				

C4. Do you happen to know the chief city of the European Union? Is it:

Berlin	2	4	1	1
London	3	3	-	2
Rome	1	1	-	0
Brussels	60	54	52	32
Paris	3	4	1	-
Other	0	0	3	6
Don't know	31	35	44	59

C5. In the conflict in Chechnya, are your sympathies most with

Russians	7	38	7	52
Chechens	37	6	51	4
Neither	48	47	33	34
Don't know	8	9	9	11

C6. Who do you think is mostly to blame for the war in Chechnya? (More than one answer accepted)

C6.1 Russian Army/FSB	60	24	61	25
C6.2 Chechens	16	30	14	29
C6.3 Islamic countries	13	38	8	15
C6.4 Don't know	26	29	23	28
C6.5 Other			5	14

C7. Do you think any of the following are a threat to the peace and security of this country?

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

C7.A Conflicts between (majority nationality) and Russians resident here

Definitely	6	2	12	7	12	8
Possibly	17	8	31	20	41	19
Probably not	37	37	36	29	42	42
Definitely not	40	52	20	44	4	32

C7.B Refugees, immigrants

Definitely	6	4	4	4	13	3
Possibly	20	13	22	18	33	22
Probably not	39	40	40	30	48	48
Definitely not	36	42	27	38	7	27
Difficult to say/No answer			7	12		

C7.C The Russian state

Definitely	12	1	19	3	33	2
Possibly	38	7	47	15	45	9
Probably not	34	48	20	31	20	43
Definitely not	17	43	7	44	2	46
Difficult to say/No answer			8	8		

C7.D Germany

Definitely	1	0	-	1	1	1
Possibly	4	5	3	4	5	6
Probably not	36	40	29	25	59	43
Definitely not	59	55	60	59	35	51
Difficult to say/No answer			8	11		

C7.E USA

Definitely	1	1	-	2	1	1
Possibly	4	11	4	9	4	9
Probably not	30	36	24	22	48	42
Definitely not	66	52	64	56	47	48
Difficult to say/No answer			8	11		

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

#### C7.F Hardline nationalist politicians in Russia

Definitely	23	9	23	10	33	2
Possibly	43	30	48	29	40	26
Probably not	22	39	11	24	15	39
Definitely not	13	23	6	21	3	24
Difficult to say/No answer			12	16	10	9

#### C7.G Hardline nationalist politicians in this country

Definitely	10	16	12	13	12	6
Possibly	31	33	36	40	31	37
Probably not	37	37	27	17	40	32
Definitely not	22	15	13	16	6	17
Difficult to say/No answer			13	14	11	9

#### C7.H Integration in an enlarging Europe

Definitely					3	2
Probably					13	11
Probably not					47	42
Definitely not					24	36
Difficult to say					14	10

#### C7ES. How much of a threat does Russia represent to

##### C7ES.1 Estonian independence

A great deal					13	-
Some					47	8
Fairly little					31	26
None					9	66

##### C7ES.2 Estonian economic progress

A great deal					15	4
Some					51	18
Fairly little					27	27
None					7	52

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

C7ES.3 Entry of Estonia into the European Union

A great deal					7	2
Some					44	13
Fairly little					36	31
None					13	54

C7ES.4 Entry of Estonia into NATO

A great deal					27	12
Some					38	29
Fairly little					19	23
None					7	29
Difficult to say					9	7

C7ES.5 Integration of non-Estonians into Estonian society

A great deal					8	1
Some					31	9
Fairly little					34	23
None					14	64
Difficult to say					14	4

C7ES.6 Image and reliability of non-Estonians in the eyes of Estonians

A great deal					8	2
Some					36	14
Fairly little					27	22
None					13	53
Difficult to say					16	10

C8. NATO is an alliance of Britain, France, Germany, the United States and other countries. It offers military protection against attack. What do you think of the idea that this country should join NATO?

Very beneficial	14	5	26	5	22	2
Somewhat beneficial	33	11	32	13	48	15
Not so beneficial	15	23	13	23	11	27

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Not at all beneficial	17	36	6	33	7	39
Difficult to say	22	26	22	26	13	17

#### D) POLITICAL AFFAIRS

D1. 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?

##### D1.A Military service when young

Always	57	54	77	64
Usually	21	26	15	19
Unimportant	13	14	7	13
Not at all	9	7	2	4

##### D1.B Learn the national language

Always	95	75	96	74
Usually	5	20	4	22
Unimportant	-	4	-	4
Not at all	0	1	0	-

##### D1.C Pay taxes on all their income

Always	71	58	67	60
Usually	20	25	25	27
Unimportant	7	12	6	10
Not at all	2	6	2	3

##### D1.D Respect the nation's flag

Always	94	80	96	83
Usually	5	17	4	16
Unimportant	1	4	0	1
Not at all	-	-	-	-

##### D1.E Obey all the country's laws

Always	78	76	86	81
Usually	18	21	12	17

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Unimportant	4	3	3	2		
Not at all	1	-	0	0		

D1.F Try to understand the point of view of people different from your family

Always do	67	61	80	71
Usually	25	29	18	23
Unimportant	6	9	2	6
Not at all	2	1	-	0

D2. (In Lithuania/Latvia) 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? (In Estonia) Which Estonia residents should in principle possess the following rights:

D2.A (Lit/Lat) Receive a pension on retirement

Definitely	95	98	94	94
Usually	5	2	6	6
Unimportant	-	0	1	0
No	0	0	0	0

(Estonia)

All residents	23	72
Estonian citizens and permanent residents	33	27
Only citizens of Estonia	42	1
Only Estonians	3	-

D2.B (Lit/Lat) Be educated in language of parents

Definitely	88	68	79	70
Usually	11	24	12	25
Unimportant	1	9	6	5
No	-	-	4	-

(Estonia) Obtain an education in one's own language

All residents	45	83
Estonian citizens and permanent residents	28	16
Only citizens of Estonia	18	-
Only Estonians	9	1

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
D2.C Right to buy a house if one wants to						
Definitely	61	72	69	68		
Usually	34	24	26	27		
Unimportant	5	4	4	4		
No	-	1	1	1		
(Estonia C1) Right to buy an apartment						
All residents					42	70
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					35	27
Only citizens of Estonia					21	3
Only Estonians					2	-
(Estonia C2) Right to buy a house						
All residents					40	68
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					32	28
Only citizens of Estonia					25	3
Only Estonians					4	-
D2.D (Lit/Lat)Right to own land						
Definitely	50	42	63	55		
Usually	36	35	28	35		
Unimportant	13	18	7	7		
No	1	5	2	3		
(Estonia)						
All residents					21	55
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					25	37
Only citizens of Estonia					45	7
Only Estonians					9	1
D2.E (Lit/Lat)Vote, be a candidate in local elections						
Definitely	47	39	46	58		
Usually	35	29	29	29		
Unimportant	14	18	14	9		
No	4	14	12	4		

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

## (Estonia E1) Right to vote in local elections

All residents					13	44
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					29	49
Only citizens of Estonia					52	7
Only Estonians					7	-

## (Estonia E2) Right to be a candidate in local elections.

All residents					9	30
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					21	53
Only citizens of Estonia					60	17
Only Estonians					10	-

## D2.F (Lit/Lat) Vote, be a candidate in national elections

Definitely	46	36	37	49
Usually	35	26	26	31
Unimportant	13	23	21	14
No	7	15	15	6

## (F1) Right to vote in elections to the Parliament

All residents					10	33
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					24	50
Only citizens of Estonia					59	17
Only Estonians					7	-

## (F2) Right to be a candidate in Parliamentary elections

All residents					9	25
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					17	42
Only citizens of Estonia					65	32
Only Estonians					10	1

## D2.G Right to obtain bank loans

All residents					32	50
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					37	46
Only citizens of Estonia					27	4
Only Estonians					5	-

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
--	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

D2.H Right to start one's own business

All residents					40	65
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					40	31
Only citizens of Estonia					17	4
Only Estonians					3	-

D2.I Right to obtain social benefit

All residents					29	66
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					37	33
Only citizens of Estonia					40	2
Only Estonians					4	-

D2.J Right to travel freely to other countries

All residents					69	81
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					16	16
Only citizens of Estonia					14	3
Only Estonians					1	-

D2.K Right to work in state institutions

All residents					23	45
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					28	47
Only citizens of Estonia					44	9
Only Estonians					5	-

D2.L Right to be a member of a party

All residents					28	45
Estonian citizens and permanent residents					27	43
Only citizens of Estonia					39	12
Only Estonians					6	-

D3. What should a person do if they need a government permit to make an improvement to their house or flat (One answer only)

Don't worry; will get permit	15	10	8	6
Offer a 'tip' or a present	18	21	4	9
Use connections	25	24	11	11
Write letter to head office	23	28	31	30
Do what you want anyway	9	5	9	6

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Nothing can be done	10	12	6	7		
Try official one more time			6	3		
Turn to court or lawyer			2	8		
Turn to another institution			2	4		
Other			3	2		
No answer			18	14		

D4. What should a person do if he or she is worried about thieves breaking into their house? (More than one answer acceptable)

D4.A Complain to police

Definitely	37	43	18	18
Probably	24	17	34	32
Not much help	27	25	34	28
No help	12	15	14	21

D4.B Get stronger locks and door

Definitely	49	52	27	17
Probably	29	27	39	46
Not much help	17	16	28	26
No help	6	6	6	12

D4.C Make sure someone is usually home

Definitely	23	20	17	17
Probably	43	40	36	40
Not much help	25	31	36	30
No help	9	9	12	13

D4.D Keep a club, knife or gun

Definitely	31	20	17	10
Probably	30	26	28	29
Not much help	26	35	33	36
No help	14	19	22	25

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
--	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

## D4.E Keep a fierce dog

Definitely	34	25	29	16
Probably	34	38	42	47
Not much help	21	24	22	24
No help	11	13	6	13

## D5. If you went to see about something, would you expect fair treatment from:

## D5.A Post office

Definitely	37	40	36	37
Probably	48	45	51	53
Not likely	13	12	11	8
Definitely not	2	3	3	2

## D5.B Bank

Definitely	44	54	37	41
Probably	36	26	39	37
Not likely	10	9	9	7
Definitely not	2	2	2	2
Don't know	8	8	13	13

## D5.C Supervisor at place of work

Definitely	19	25	29	26
Probably	19	22	31	37
Not likely	9	13	11	12
Definitely not	3	2	2	2
Don't know	51	38	28	24

## D5.D Local shop

Definitely	33	38	32	31
Probably	44	46	45	51
Not likely	19	13	19	16
Definitely not	4	3	4	3

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

## D5.E Doctor's office, hospital

Definitely	33	30	37	34		
Probably	40	48	48	53		
Not likely	22	20	13	12		
Definitely not	6	2	2	1		

## D5.F Municipal housing office

Definitely	17	16	22	24		
Probably	38	41	46	51		
Not likely	27	27	27	22		
Definitely not	8	8	6	4		
Don't know	10	9				

## D5.G Police

Definitely	13	17	14	16		
Probably	37	34	44	44		
Not likely	27	27	24	19		
Definitely not	12	11	6	8		
Don't know	11	11	12	13		

## D5.H Social security office

Definitely	23	27	25	26		
Probably	41	42	47	49		
Not likely	19	17	9	8		
Definitely not	7	4	2	3		
Don't know	11	10	16	15		

D6. Please think of the difference between the old system of government under the Communists and our present system. Please tell me for each statement whether, by comparison with the Communist, you think our present political system is much better, somewhat better, equal, somewhat worse, or much worse.

## D6.A Everyone has the right to say what he or she thinks

Much better	56	34	53	33		
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	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Somewhat better	26	25	28	27		
Equal	11	27	13	25		
Somewhat worse	5	8	4	9		
Much worse	2	6	2	6		

#### D6.B You can join any organization you like

Much better	57	37	54	29
Somewhat better	25	36	24	29
Equal	13	18	9	17
Somewhat worse	3	7	2	6
Much worse	1	3	2	4
No answer			9	16

#### D6.C Ordinary people like me can influence what government does

Much better	11	8	4	2
Somewhat better	30	17	11	7
Equal	36	52	53	46
Somewhat worse	15	12	9	13
Much worse	9	11	10	19
No answer			13	13

#### D6.D Everybody has freedom of choice in religious matters

Much better	75	56	72	49
Somewhat better	16	25	18	30
Equal	9	18	9	19
Somewhat worse	-	1	1	2
Much worse	-	1	-	1

#### D6.E Everybody is treated equally and fairly by government.

Much better	3	3	4	1
Somewhat better	13	9	12	8
Equal	40	48	41	35
Somewhat worse	25	22	16	24

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Much worse	19	18	14	20		
No answer			12	12		

D6.F Everybody can decide individually whether or not to participate in politics

Much better	48	32	48	23		
Somewhat better	30	32	25	29		
Equal	19	32	15	23		
Somewhat worse	3	2	1	5		
Much worse	-	2	2	5		
No answer			10	16		

D7. Here are statements that some Russian-speakers make about life in this country since independence. Can you tell me whether or not you agree.

D7.A People like us should not be made to learn Estonian/Latvian/ Lithuanian.

Definitely agree	13	11		
Somewhat agree	26	25		
Disagree	24	31		
Definitely disagree	38	33		

D7.B Conditions for people like me in Russia are worse than here.

Definitely agree	19	12	32
Somewhat agree	37	29	35
Somewhat disagree	33	14	17
Definitely disagree	12	11	4
No answer		32	12

D7.C This country offers better chances for improving living standards in future than does Russia.

Definitely agree	17	20	24
Somewhat agree	41	38	43
Disagree	27	12	16
Definitely disagree	15	6	6
No answer		24	12

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

D8. If you had to do so, could you find a place to live somewhere in Russia?

Definitely		23		9		
Probably		18		22		
Not very likely		19		19		
Definitely not		28		41		
Do not know		12		9		

D9A. Which of these statements best fits your views of who should be a citizen and have the right to vote in elections to Parliament (choose only one).

Only those whose family

were citizens pre-1940	5	0	27	3	33	2
Everyone born in country	39	24	39	36	36	24
Everyone who has lived						
here more than ten years	26	19	17	22	21	22
Everyone here at indepen'ce	8	6	7	18	9	27
Any former Soviet citizen						
now living here	23	51	4	20	1	25
Other			5	1		

D9B. Should people who want to become citizens have to pass an examination in the national language?

Definitely yes	67	34	83	36		
Probably	22	33	13	35		
Not necessary	10	31	3	20		
Definitely not	2	2	1	9		

D10A. What is your citizenship?

Baltic	100	95	97	38	100	43
Russian/Soviet	0	3	-	3	0	54
Other	0	2	3	59	-	3

D10B. What is your official nationality?

Baltic	99	3	91	6	98	4
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	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Polish	1	25	1	3		
Russian	-	55	5	69	1	83
Belorussian	-	8	1	10	0	4
Ukrainian, other ex-USSR	-	4	1	7	1	7
Finnish					-	1
Jewish	0	2	0	1	-	-
Other	0	2	-	1	0	0

D11. 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.

D11A. Where on this scale would you put the former communist regime?

+100	6	7	1	4	2	7
+90	3	5	1	3	2	4
+80	5	7	2	8	5	7
+70	5	6	2	6	3	5
+60	4	3	5	7	3	4
+50	18	23	6	7	11	13
+40	3	5	3	3	4	5
+30	4	6	4	5	4	5
+20	5	4	5	4	4	3
+10	3	3	4	2	4	2
0 (Neutral)	4	7	9	9	7	4
-10	3	2	2	1	1	1
-20	3	1	4	1	2	1
-30	3	3	3	1	2	2
-40	2	2	2	1	3	-
-50	10	7	4	2	9	4
-60	2	1	1	1	2	1
-70	3	1	1	1	4	0
-80	3	3	2	1	3	2
-90	2	0	1	-	2	0
-100	10	4	3	1	11	4
Difficult to say/No answer			34	31	11	26

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Positive	56	69	52	72	48	76
Negative	40	24	35	15	45	19
Neutral	4	7	14	13	8	6
Mean	7	27	5	34	-6	33
Standard deviation	63	54	50	47	62	54

D11B. Where on this scale would you put our present system of governing?

+100	1	1	-	1	1	2
+90	1	1	-	0	2	2
+80	3	1	1	1	4	1
+70	3	2	1	1	7	2
+60	4	3	4	3	6	6
+50	12	14	6	8	17	14
+40	4	5	6	2	9	7
+30	7	4	5	7	7	7
+20	7	6	9	5	6	7
+10	5	7	7	2	5	3
0 (Neutral)	6	9	11	10	8	4
-10	3	5	5	4	3	2
-20	4	6	4	4	2	2
-30	3	5	4	4	2	2
-40	4	4	3	3	2	2
-50	11	14	5	5	4	8
-60	2	3	2	3	1	2
-70	4	2	1	2	1	2
-80	5	3	1	2	2	3
-90	4	1	1	1	1	1
-100	8	5	3	8	3	4
Difficult to say/No answer			23	27	8	20
Positive	45	42	49	39	70	62
Negative	49	49	37	48	22	34
Neutral	6	9	14	13	9	4

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Mean	-10	-7	1	-10	21	9
Standard deviation	55	49	42	50	47	52

D11C. Where on this scale would you put our system of governing in five years?

+100	2	4	-	2	5	4
+90	3	1	1	1	6	3
+80	5	4	4	3	11	5
+70	6	6	3	3	9	5
+60	5	3	7	3	10	6
+50	11	13	6	6	11	8
+40	6	4	6	3	4	3
+30	6	7	5	4	5	4
+20	8	7	6	4	4	2
+10	8	8	6	3	4	2
0 (Neutral)	7	9	7	6	3	4
-10	4	3	1	2	1	1
-20	3	2	1	1	1	1
-30	3	2	2	2	1	1
-40	2	2	-	1	1	-
-50	6	6	2	2	1	2
-60	3	1	-	1	1	1
-70	2	2	1	0	-	2
-80	2	1	-	2	1	1
-90	2	1	-	1	1	-
-100	4	3	1	4	2	3
Difficult to say/No answer	3	11	42	48	20	41
Positive	61	65	74	57	87	71
Negative	32	25	14	31	9	22
Neutral	7	11	12	12	4	7
Mean	11	18	25	9	47	29
Standard deviation	53	48	39	55	44	56

LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
%	%	%	%	%	%

ASK RUSSIAN-SPEAKER ONLY:

D12. And on this same scale, where would you place:

D12A The Soviet system of government before perestroika?

+100	10	6
+90	4	3
+80	8	7
+70	6	4
+60	5	4
+50	16	10
+40	6	4
+30	4	4
+20	3	2
+10	2	2
0 (Neutral)	6	7
-10	2	-
-20	1	2
-30	1	1
-40	2	1
-50	4	1
-60	1	1
-70	1	1
-80	1	2
-90	1	0
-100	2	2
Difficult to say/No answer	12	37
Positive	73	74
Negative	20	16
Neutral	7	11
Mean	35	36
Standard deviation	53	51

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

D12B The present Russian system of governing?

+100		0		1		1
+90		1		-		1
+80		3		1		1
+70		2		-		2
+60		3		2		1
+50		11		6		5
+40		4		5		2
+30		7		3		4
+20		4		4		6
+10		4		3		4
0 (Neutral)		6		5		7
-10		5		2		3
-20		6		4		3
-30		4		5		3
-40		4		4		4
-50		11		5		7
-60		2		2		2
-70		3		2		3
-80		1		2		3
-90		1		1		3
-100		5		3		8
Difficult to say/No answer		13		41		28
Positive		46		43		38
Negative		47		48		53
Neutral		7		9		10
Mean		-2		-6		-17
Standard deviation		49		49		54

D12C The system of governing that Russia will have in five years?

+100		4		2		3
+90		1		1		2

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
+80		7		4		3
+70		6		3		4
+60		5		5		3
+50		12		5		9
+40		4		3		2
+30		4		2		3
+20		4		3		4
+10		7		3		4
0 (Neutral)		10		6		7
-10		2		1		2
-20		2		2		2
-30		3		2		1
-40		1		2		1
-50		4		1		3
-60		1		-		1
-70		0		1		-
-80		1		1		1
-90		1		0		-
-100		1		1		3
Difficult to say/No answer		19		54		45
Positive		67		65		63
Negative		21		23		25
Neutral		12		12		12
Mean		26		24		20
Standard deviation		45		49		52

D13. 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:

D13.A We should return to Communist rule

Strongly agree	2	4	-	1	1	4
Somewhat agree	7	10	1	3	3	21

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Somewhat disagree	20	32	12	30	18	35
Strongly disagree	71	55	86	66	74	27
Difficult to say/No answer					3	14

D13.B The army should govern the country

Strongly agree	2	-	1	1
Somewhat agree	2	5	3	3
Somewhat disagree	14	15	16	19
Strongly disagree	82	79	80	77

D13.C It is best to have a strong leader who can quickly decide things without bothering with Parliament and elections

Strongly agree	28	28	8	13
Somewhat agree	30	28	25	28
Somewhat disagree	19	19	27	21
Strongly disagree	23	25	32	29
Difficult to say/No answer			7	10

D13.B-Est Estonia needs the rule of a firm hand; for the provision of law and order- more rights should be given to the power ministries such as the army and police

Strongly agree	13	4
Somewhat agree	22	26
Somewhat disagree	32	31
Strongly disagree	28	29
Difficult to say	6	10

D13.C-Est Estonia should decrease the power of the Parliament and increase the power of the President

Strongly agree	20	5
Somewhat agree	33	24
Somewhat disagree	25	28
Strongly disagree	10	12

	LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
	%	%	%	%	%	%

Difficult to say					12	31
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Number of authoritarian alternatives endorsed (Lit/Lat only-sum of D13a-c):

0	40	39	64	56
1	51	50	33	40
2	8	9	3	3
3	1	2	-	1
Mean	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.5
Standard deviation	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6

D13.D (Lit/Lat) We would be better off if we were still part of the Soviet Union

Strongly agree	7	18	2	8
Somewhat agree	12	26	6	20
Somewhat disagree	25	27	15	27
Strongly disagree	56	30	70	28
Difficult to say/No answer			8	18

D13.E (Estonia) We should preserve our present system of government

Strongly agree		8	6
Somewhat agree		35	27
Somewhat disagree		31	31
Strongly disagree		15	12
Difficult to say		11	24

D14A. 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	4	4	2
Maybe	11	14	20	19
Not very likely	64	61	42	43
Not at all likely	22	21	20	19
Difficult to say/No answer			14	17

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
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D14B. If Parliament was suspended and parties abolished, would you approve or disapprove?

Strongly approve	15	11	10	8		
Somewhat approve	20	24	22	21		
Somewhat disapprove	35	38	29	28		
Strongly disapprove	30	27	22	22		
Difficult to say/No answer			17	21		

### E) DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

E1. Gender

Male	48	47	44	46	47	45
Female	52	53	56	54	53	55

E2. Marital status

Single	13	12	16	19	18	20
Married/living with partner	65	69	58	52	66	63
Separated, divorced	8	8	13	14	9	9
Widowed	14	11	13	15	7	9

E3. How old are you? (answer in years)

18 - 19 years	2	2	2	4	4	4
20 - 29 years	15	13	17	14	20	17
30 - 39 years	22	19	17	18	19	22
40 - 49 years	19	25	18	17	18	22
50 - 59 years	15	11	19	17	18	15
60+ years	27	31	26	30	22	20

E4. Did either of your parents or grandparents own a business or farm?

Large business	1	1	-	2		
Small business	5	2	3	3		
Owned farm	70	42	60	38		
None	24	55	37	57		

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
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E5. Compared to your parents, have you had:

More education	73	62	71	64		
About the same level	22	32	24	29		
Less	5	7	5	7		

E6A. Number of people in household

1	17	13	17	18	17	10
2	25	22	28	31	30	32
3	23	25	22	24	23	30
4	23	27	18	18	19	21
5	9	9	9	6	8	6
6+	4	3	6	3	2	1

HOMELANG. What language do you speak in your household?

Baltic	98	0	93	3		
Russian	0	70	7	95		
Polish	-	14				
Other	0	1	1	2		
Mixed	1	15				

E7. And in the past month what was the total household income--including earnings of family members, scholarships, pension, unemployment benefits and other income (in respective nations' currencies).

Mean	932	891	150	136	4917	4875
Standard deviation	708	636	113	98	4129	3308

E8. Does your household have any of the following? (Yes answers shown)

E8.A Colour television	88	88	83	81		
E8.B Video cassette recorder	27	41	30	36		
E8.C Car	54	46	44	28		

Number of household goods

0	10	12	15	18		
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	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
1	33	30	36	38		
2	36	30	28	24		
3	21	28	21	20		
Mean	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.5		
Standard deviation	.9	1	1	1		

E8.D Shares in enterprises 21 17 13 7

E10. What was your highest level of education?

Incomplete primary school	1	2	10	14	8	5
Completed primary	10	3	11	8	17	6
Manual vocational qualifi'n	21	16	13	14	6	5
Non-manual vocat'al qual'n	23	20	19	15	31	36
Incomplete secondary	7	11				
Academic secondary	13	22	28	28	20	20
University, polytechnic	26	27	19	22	18	28

E11A. To which religious group do you belong?

Roman Catholic	88	32	27	12		
Orthodox	-	43	6	56		
Lutheran/Protestant	2	0	38	1		
Jewish	-	0	0	1		
Other	1	7	4	12		
Not a believer	8	15	26	17		
Refused	1	3	-	1		

E11B. How often do you attend religious services?

Nearly every week	14	14	8	11		
About once a month	14	21	10	12		
A few times a year	41	30	30	31		
Rarely	28	26	37	30		
Never	3	9	15	16		

E12. Where were you living in 1990?

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Same town	87	94	82	94		
This country	12	5	17	5		
Another country	1	1	1	1		

E13. Were you or another person in your family formerly a member of the Communist Party?

Yes, self	9	15	9	8
Yes, member of family	10	21	11	21
No	81	65	81	71

#### TOWNSIZE

Village	33	13	40	13	42	5
Small town, 5-20 thousand	6	15	20	7	7	6
Towns, 20-50 thousand	17	8	9	6	14	4
Towns, 50-500 thousand	31	24	9	26	16	39
Capital	13	40	23	49	21	45

I3. Russian-speakers as % of local district's population.

Less than 5%	44	6	3	0
5-20%	37	41	36	4
21-33%	18	50	9	2
34-45%	0	0	10	8
45-55%	0	0	14	22
More than 55%	1	4	27	64

#### F. COMMUNICATION AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

K5. Do you have relatives, close friends or business partners in the following countries? (% yes)

K5.A Russia	19	82
K5.B Other CIS	6	50
K5.C Another Baltic country	12	20
K5.D Finland or Sweden	34	13
K5.E Another European country	16	17
K5.F USA	14	8

K5.G Other country 11 6

K78. How often do you see, listen to, or read, some of the following?<sup>11</sup>

	EstEst			EstRus		
	E lang	R lang	R Fed	E lang	R lang	R Fed
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>K78.A TV</b>						
6-7 days a week	86	5	8	9	13	75
3-5 times a week	9	8	8	8	22	17
1-2 times a week	3	20	10	14	24	4
Few times a month	1	19	7	14	18	1
Rarely	1	17	8	12	9	0
Never	1	31	58	43	15	3
<b>K78.B Radio</b>						
6-7 days a week	78	2	-	7	42	13
3-5 times a week	13	3	1	7	28	10
1-2 times a week	4	4	1	11	12	9
Few times a month	1	6	1	9	5	8
Rarely	2	11	6	13	5	12
Never	2	75	90	52	8	49
<b>K78.C Newspapers or magazines</b>						
6-7 days a week	66	1	-	3	13	6
3-5 times a week	17	1	1	4	20	6
1-2 times a week	12	3	1	13	40	15
Few times a month	4	5	3	13	14	23
Rarely	1	8	6	12	3	19
Never	2	83	90	56	10	31

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<sup>11</sup>R lang: Russian-language media originating in Baltic states, R Fed: Russian- language media originating in Russian Federation

LitLit	LitRus	LatLat	LatRus	EstEst	EstRus
%	%	%	%	%	%

K97. How would you rate the economic inequality that exists between the following groups of the population in Estonia today

K97.A Townspeople and village people

Very large	49	24
Fairly large	40	42
Fairly small	7	18
Very small	1	4
No inequality	1	2
Difficult to say	1	11

K97.B Highly educated and poorly educated people

Very large	21	23
Fairly large	48	38
Fairly small	25	28
Very small	4	6
No inequality	2	5

K97.C Estonian and non-Estonian people

Very large	5	22
Fairly large	17	46
Fairly small	49	25
Very small	13	4
No inequality	17	3

K97.D Wealthy and poor

Very large	75	76
Fairly large	22	21
Fairly small	3	3
Very small	1	1
No inequality	-	1

K79.E Young and old

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Very large					19	34
Fairly large					49	46
Fairly small					23	14
Very small					5	3
No inequality					4	3
K79.F Men and women						
Very large					4	7
Fairly large					27	30
Fairly small					45	43
Very small					13	14
No inequality					11	7
K79.G Citizens of Estonia and non-citizens						
Very large					3	23
Fairly large					16	41
Fairly small					41	22
Very small					13	5
No inequality					16	4
Difficult to say					12	5
K98. Do you think it is easier for Estonians than non-Estonians equal in citizenship, age, education, language fluency, and experience to:						
K98.A Get work according to specialization						
Yes, always easier for Estonians					8	39
Yes, often					23	39
Sometimes					36	17
No, not easier					31	5
Easier for non-Estonians					2	0
K98.B Get work in a state institution						
Yes, always easier for Estonians					13	55
Yes, often					35	34

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
Sometimes					30	9
No, not easier					22	3
Easier for non-Estonians					1	0
Difficult to say					10	3
K98.C Get a superior post						
Yes, always easier for Estonians					7	63
Yes, often					29	25
Sometimes					36	8
No, not easier					28	3
Easier for non-Estonians					1	-
K98.D Achieve success in business						
Yes, always easier for Estonians					4	15
Yes, often					11	31
Sometimes					24	30
No, not easier					57	23
Easier for non-Estonians					4	1
K98.E Become prominent in politics						
Yes, always easier for Estonians					8	52
Yes, often					25	28
Sometimes					30	9
No, not easier					26	8
Easier for non-Estonians					1	1
Difficult to say					10	3
K98.F Obtain higher education						
Yes, always easier for Estonians					4	21
Yes, often					15	28
Sometimes					21	25
No, not easier					59	26
Easier for non-Estonians					-	-

	LitLit %	LitRus %	LatLat %	LatRus %	EstEst %	EstRus %
K98.G Obtain work with greater pay						
Yes, always easier for Estonians					2	31
Yes, often					5	27
Sometimes					18	21
No, not easier					64	14
Easier for non-Estonians					1	1
Difficult to say					11	6
K98.H To provide for oneself and one's family's material welfare						
Yes, always easier for Estonians					3	29
Yes, often					7	33
Sometimes					20	20
No, not easier					69	18
Easier for non-Estonians					2	-
K98.I Obtain social benefits						
Yes, always easier for Estonians					3	14
Yes, often					10	16
Sometimes					21	23
No, not easier					53	40
Easier for non-Estonians					3	-
Difficult to say					11	7

### *ESTONIAN SAMPLE*

Fieldwork in Estonia was conducted by Saar Poll Ltd., between 15 and 29 February 2000, on behalf of the Estonian Integration Survey, under the direction of Dr. Andrus Saar. The universe was the resident population of Estonia, whether citizens or not, between the ages of 15 and 74. Because of the concentration of non-Estonian Russian-speakers in parts of Estonia, there were separate multi-stage samples for Estonian speakers and Russian-speakers. Samples were stratified by region and city as well. A total of 197 primary sampling units were selected, and 155 field workers speaking Estonian and Russian were used to conduct face-to-face interviews. Within each primary unit, a starting point was randomly selected

and interviewers were instructed to follow a random route in identifying households. Within the selected households, the interviewer was asked to select an adult subject to a nationality, gender and age quota.

	Non-Estonians	Estonians
Household calls	1396	1402
Nationality inappropriate	391	344
Gender inappropriate	138	104
Age inappropriate	<u>27</u>	<u>5</u>
Respondents in scope	840	949
Refusals	192	168
Nobody at home after 3 calls	93	124
Respondent not home after 3 calls	<u>65</u>	<u>7</u>
Total interviews	492	650
Interviews as % in scope	58.6%	68.5%

The officially recorded proportion of Estonians in the population is 65.2 percent, and of non-Estonians, 34.8 percent. The latter sample was enlarged in order to obtain more reliable data about non-Estonians. Of the 1142 interviews, 56.9 percent were conducted with Estonians and 43.1 percent with non-Estonians. Because the NBB is concerned with adults, the 62 Estonian and 32 non-Estonian respondents between age 15 through 17 are excluded from the figures reported here.

#### *LATVIAN SAMPLE*

The survey in Latvia was conducted by the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (an offshoot of the Baltic Data House), under the direction of Dr. Brigita Zepa. Fieldwork took place between 27 April and 7 May 2000. A total of 1030 residents were interviewed face-to-face in 103 primary sampling units by a team of 80 trained interviewers. Of the total sample, 60.1 percent were Latvians by nationality; the 37.7 percent other nationalities, chiefly Russians; and the remainder miscellaneous.

The universe was all residents of Latvia between the ages of 15 and 74 inclusive. A sample was selected through a multi-stage random sampling procedure, with stratification by region, district and urbanization. In each sampling point, an address was randomly selected and interviewers then proceeded on a random route basis until they had obtained approximately 10 interviews. Within

each household, the youngest male member, the person least likely to be home, was to be interviewed or, if absent, the youngest female member of the household. Of the 1,426 persons contacted, 1030 were interviewed; 271 refused; in 94 households there was no one fitting within the age group required by the sample; and in 31 cases no one at home. In sum, 72.3 percent of contacts led to an interview. A total of 15 percent of all interviews were independently verified. Of the total adult interviews, 649 were conducted in Latvian and 381 in Russian.

#### *LITHUANIAN SAMPLE*

Surveying in Lithuania was undertaken by VILMORUS, Vilnius, under the direction of Dr. Vladas Gaidys. The initial round of interviewing took place between 13-16 April 2000. A nationwide representative sample was interviewed face-to-face by 100 bi-lingual Lithuanian and Russian interviewers, working under 18 regional supervisors. Because of a limited number of Russian-speakers in a nationwide sample, a booster sample of 109 Russian-speakers was added.

The universe was all residents of Lithuania age 18 or above. A multi-stage random sample was drawn. In the first stage Lithuania was divided into five regions on a proportional to population basis. Within each region all the largest cities and 10 districts (*rajonas*) were selected randomly. A total of 100 sampling points were then distributed among the urban and rural areas. Each city was divided into territorial units and starting points randomly selected. In rural areas (*apylinkes*) household registers were used to select addresses. Within each household, the respondent whose birthday was nearest to the date of interview was selected for questioning. Interviewing was done in 9 cities, 10 towns and 10 rural districts.

Of the total of 2150 households approached, no one was at home or the respondent was unavailable in 650 cases, because the fieldwork coincided with the first spell of warm weather following the end of winter. There were 446 refusals, and 51 interviews were refused for other reasons. In the national sample, 1003 persons, including 103 persons speaking Russian as their home language, were interviewed, 66.9 percent of all persons contacted; 10 percent of interviews were verified by telephone or mail. To provide a larger representation of Russian-speakers, a booster sample was drawn proportional to the number of Russian-speakers in every sampling point in the main survey. Households were approached by a random route and selected by the birthday method. An additional 109

Russian-speakers were interviewed this way between 26 and 30 April 2000. Altogether, 1,112 persons were interviewed, including 212 persons speaking Russian at home of whom 43 were persons of nominally Polish nationality.