

*Studies in Public Policy Number 368*

NEW BALTIC BAROMETER V:  
A PRE-ENLARGEMENT SURVEY

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*Abstract*

The New Baltic Barometer (NBB) survey conducted in autumn, 2001 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 political attitudes, economic conditions, social circumstances and multiple identities. This paper gives, subdivided by nationality, answers for all questions asked, and the degree of similarity or difference between the titular nationality and Russians in each country. A substantial number of questions repeat those of four NBB surveys in 1993, 1995, 1996 and 2000. Since this Baltic survey was integrated in the New Europe Barometer survey of 2001, all replies are also comparable with those for the seven other post-Communist countries also negotiating membership in the European Union, and reported in *SPP 364*.

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## INTRODUCTION

When the first New Baltic Barometer (NBB) survey was conducted in early autumn, 1993, the Baltic states had only shortly before gained independence from the Soviet Union, with which they had been forcibly integrated as a consequence of the Second World War. The new national leaders were trying to introduce a political regime and market economy that differed from what went before 1939 as well as after. In Moscow at that time there was an armed confrontation between President Yeltsin and the Russian *Duma*. The views of Baltic residents were based more on hope or fear than experience of what the new regimes would be like. Since then, each Baltic state has accumulated a record by which it can be judged. By the time the fifth NBB survey was undertaken, all three states had become applicants for membership in the European Union, which can seal their integration in Europe.

Common questions are asked in all the Barometer surveys about political attitudes, economic conditions and social circumstances. Since each state differs significantly from the others in history and language, this makes possible comparison across the Baltic states. Since the New Baltic Barometer is part of the CSPP programme of Barometer surveys across 16 post-Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, comparisons can be extended widely (see [www.cspp.strath.ac.uk](http://www.cspp.strath.ac.uk)). In particular, NBB results can be compared with neighbour countries in Eastern Europe, such as Poland and Belarus, and with public opinion in the Russian Federation.

In one major respect the Baltic states are not easily comparable, for the resident Russian population is far greater in size than minorities in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The great majority of Russians have arrived since 1945 and remain Russian in ethnic identity and language. In Soviet times the Baltic majority was compelled to learn Russian. Since regaining independence, in order to maintain their national culture the Baltic states have made knowledge of a Baltic language a major

test of citizenship. Many Russians have failed to learn a Baltic language and are therefore legal residents but not citizens. Insofar as citizenship is important for political attitudes and economic success, then any total for a country will mask major differences between its two principal ethnic groups.

Any attempt to study public opinion in the Baltic states must first recognize that there are multiple publics. The starting point is the difference in home language between Russian-speakers and Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians. This is made evident by the language of interview, which is chosen by the respondent. Because the 2001 Baltic survey was integrated in the New Europe Barometer, it was first reported in *Studies in Public Policy Number 364*, which gave results for each pre-accession country as a whole in order to facilitate comparison among countries. To anyone specially interested in the Baltic countries, such totals beg the question: How similar or how different are Russians and titular Baltic peoples?

A great strength of sample surveys is that they show the degree to which groups are similar or different, thus avoiding the culturalist tendency to speak as if everybody in a country thought the same. This *SPP* paper presents separately the replies given by Baltic peoples and Russian-speakers to each question asked in the 2001 New Europe Barometer survey. Since language use and ethnicity correlate very highly, the terms Russian-speakers and Russians are used interchangeably to include Belarussians and Ukrainians as well as the very small number of other former Soviet citizens still resident in the Baltic states. Comparison can show similarities as well as differences. For example, in an ethnically homogeneous country the language of the state is spoken by almost every adult. Comparison can also show similarities; for example, when Estonians and Russians are asked whether they trust most people they know, each group divides much the same: those who trust, those who do not, and a neutral group in the middle (see question A5f). Comparison can also show contrasts; for example, questions about identity produce very big contrasts between language groups (see question C5).

In this paper we use a Difference Index to measure the degree of difference or similarity between the Baltic nationality and Russian-speakers

in each country. The Difference Index can range between 0, no difference, and 100, no overlap between the two groups. It is printed in a separate column at the end of each question. The curious reader can therefore run her or his eye down the column to identify quickly the points on which Estonians in Estonia (EE) and Russians in Estonian (EstR) are very similar or very different, or run an eye across the page in order to see how different or similar are titular Balts and Russians in Estonia and Latvia, where Russians have difficulty gaining citizenship, and Lithuania, where citizenship is not a problem.

For the most part, differences between nationality groups are in the expected direction--but limited. For example, when people are asked to evaluate the current political system, the Difference Index is 16 percentage points between Estonians (EEst) and Russians in Estonia (EstR). But the replies also show that a substantial majority of each nationality is positive about the current Estonia political system (q. A1b). In a number of cases the Difference Index is very low. For example, in reply to a question about whether a household had enough to get by during the past year (qB5), two-thirds in each nationality group are able to get by. Across the three countries the Difference Index ranges between 5 and 7 percent.

Comparisons across time can be made by looking at results from the four earlier New Baltic Barometer surveys. Trends for NBB surveys in 1993, 1995 and 1996 are summarized in *SPP 288*, and the fourth NBB survey in 2000 is reported in *SPP 338*. Comparing Russians in the Baltic countries with Russians in the Russian Federation gives an indication of the importance of context for people with the same ethnic background. The views of Russians in Russia, monitored by the New Russia Barometer, are reported for ten NRB surveys since 1992 in *SPP 360*. Results of the most recent NRB survey in summer, 2001 are in *SPP 350*.

### *CONVENTIONS*

*Difference Index.* Calculated by summing the difference in replies given to a question by the Baltic nationality and Russians and then dividing by two.

*EEst* (Estonians in Estonia); *EstR* (Russian-speakers in Estonia). *LLat* (Latvians in Latvia); *LatR* (Russian-speakers in Latvia). *LLit* (Lithuanians in Lithuania); *LitR* (Russian-speakers in Lithuania).

*Missing data; don't knows.* Missing data is always excluded in calculating percentages. Don't knows are excluded unless they are a noteworthy percentage of respondents.

*Percentage rounding.* To the nearest whole number, since sampling error precludes accuracy to the tenth of a percent. The number 0.5 is rounded down. For these reasons, columns do not always add up to exactly 100 percent.

*Hyphen (-).* Denotes replies are less than 0.5 percent; *0:* nil replies in a category.

**NEW BALTIC BAROMETER - 2001**

## A. POLITICS

A1. Here is a scale for ranking how our system of government works. The top, plus 100, is the best; the bottom, minus 100, the worst. (SHOW CARD: Note the scale goes up/down, not across).

LLit LitR D. I. LLat LatR D. I. EEst EstR D. I.

A1a. Where on this scale would you put the former Communist regime?

## APPROVAL

100%	8	15		4	7		3	13
90%	3	5		1	2		2	5
80%	7	5		6	16		4	12
70%	4	5		3	6		3	9
60%	3	6		8	13		4	9
50%	17	17		8	12		16	14
40%	1	2		9	10		6	6
30%	4	3		4	4		5	4
20%	3	2		8	5		5	3
10%	2	3		4	2		5	3
<b>Total Approval</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>65</b>		<b>54</b>	<b>78</b>		<b>53</b>	<b>78</b>
0%	11	14		12	9		9	5

## DISAPPROVAL

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
-10%	1	2		2	1		2	1	
-20%	2	1		5	2		3	1	
-30%	2	1		2	1		2	1	
-40%	1	-		2	3		3	1	
-50%	8	7		4	1		9	4	
-60%	2	-		4	1		3	1	
-70%	3	1		1	1		2	2	
-80%	3	1		6	1		4	1	
-90%	2	1		0	0		2	0	
-100%	12	8		8	1		8	4	
<b>Total Disapproval</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>20</b>		<b>33</b>	<b>13</b>		<b>38</b>	<b>17</b>	
Mean	6	29	19	7	41	30	3	40	32
Standard deviation	65	61		56	43		57	55	

A1b. Where on this scale would you put our current system of governing with free elections and many parties?

APPROVAL

100%	2	2		0	0		2	1	
90%	1	0		0	0		1	2	
80%	4	2		2	1		6	7	

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
70%	2	3		3	2		6	4	
60%	3	2		7	5		11	5	
50%	15	12		9	9		19	16	
40%	4	4		13	8		7	10	
30%	6	6		6	7		8	8	
20%	7	5		9	7		7	6	
10%	3	6		4	9		5	6	
<b>Total Approval</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>42</b>		<b>56</b>	<b>49</b>		<b>71</b>	<b>65</b>	
0%	11	15		12	9		10	8	
DISAPPROVAL									
-10%	3	2		2	4		3	2	
-20%	3	1		5	4		2	4	
-30%	3	2		3	3		2	2	
-40%	3	2		5	10		2	3	
-50%	13	14		6	5		5	6	
-60%	1	2		2	2		0	1	
-70%	1	3		1	2		1	2	
-80%	4	5		3	4		0	1	
-90%	2	2		1	1		0	2	
-100%	8	10		4	6		2	6	

	LLit	LitR	10 D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
<b>Total Disapproval</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>43</b>		<b>33</b>	<b>42</b>		<b>19</b>	<b>27</b>	
Mean	-3	-10	12	7	-4	16	26	15	16
Standard deviation	55	54		47	49		43	51	

A1c. Where on this scale would you put our system of governing five years in the future?

APPROVAL

100%	4	2		3	2		5	10
90%	2	2		3	2		5	7
80%	6	3		10	6		15	6
70%	6	4		7	7		12	7
60%	5	2		13	11		14	6
50%	14	19		8	10		15	17
40%	4	4		9	8		8	4
30%	5	2		8	7		5	5
20%	5	5		10	11		4	4
10%	5	1		6	6		4	4
<b>Total Approval</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>47</b>		<b>76</b>	<b>69</b>		<b>86</b>	<b>72</b>
0%	26	34		7	7		7	12

DISAPPROVAL

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
-10%	2	-		2	1		1	1	
-20%	2	2		3	5		1	2	
-30%	1	2		1	1		0	3	
-40%	1	1		2	5		0	1	
-50%	5	4		2	2		2	4	
-60%	1	2		1	2		0	1	
-70%	1	2		0	0		-	-	
-80%	1	2		1	3		0	1	
-90%	0	1		1	0		-	1	
-100%	4	4		2	3		1	1	
<b>Total Disapproval</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>		<b>17</b>	<b>24</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>17</b>	
			18			10			25
Mean	18	13		30	21		48	35	
Standard deviation	48	46		45	48		38	49	

### Reaction to regime change<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Democrats: Non-positive evaluation of old regime (A1a) AND positive evaluation of current regime (A1b). Sceptics: Non-positive evaluation of old regime AND non-positive evaluation of current regime. Compliant: Positive evaluation of old regime AND positive evaluation of current regime. Reactionary: Positive evaluation of old regime AND non-positive evaluation of current regime.

	LLit	LitR	12 D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
Democrats	28	17		27	11		34	15	
Sceptics	20	18		19	11		12	7	
Compliant	19	25		29	37		36	50	
Reactionary	33	40		26	42		17	28	

13

24

24

A2. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in our country?

Very satisfied	2	2		1	3		1	2	
Fairly satisfied	41	35		38	29		33	32	
Not very satisfied	44	46		49	47		50	44	
Not at all satisfied	14	17		13	21		16	22	

6

10

7

A3. Our present system of government is not the only one that this country has had. Some people say that we would be better off if the country was governed differently. What do you think? For each point please say whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.

A3a. We should return to Communist rule

Strongly agree	2	6		1	2		1	3	
Somewhat agree	10	15		4	9		2	14	
Somewhat disagree	25	29		13	35		20	30	

	LLit	LitR	13 D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
Strongly disagree	62	49		82	54		77	54	
			13			27			23

A3b. The army should govern the country

Strongly agree	1	2		2	-		-	0	
Somewhat agree	5	3		4	2		1	4	
Somewhat disagree	23	18		16	23		17	19	
Strongly disagree	72	76		79	76		81	77	
			6			7			5

A3c. Best to get rid of Parliament and elections and have a strong leader who can quickly decide everything

Strongly agree	12	15		11	17		8	15	
Somewhat agree	28	25		24	26		28	34	
Somewhat disagree	29	27		30	29		39	33	
Strongly disagree	31	33		35	28		26	18	
			4			8			13

A3d. A unity government with only the best people should replace government by elected politicians

Strongly agree	24	24		38	24		41	16	
Somewhat agree	42	46		36	42		42	52	

	LLit	LitR	14 D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
Somewhat disagree	20	17		16	21		11	23	
Strongly disagree	14	13		10	12		6	9	
			4			14			25

Number of authoritarian alternatives preferred<sup>2</sup>

0	55	48		64	58		65	46	
1	34	38		30	37		33	42	
2	10	14		5	5		2	9	
3	2	-		1	1		0	2	
			8			6			19
Mean	0.6	0.7		0.4	0.5		0.4	0.7	
Standard deviation	0.7	0.7		0.6	0.6		0.5	0.7	

A4. To what extent do you trust each of these political institutions to look after your interests? Please indicate on a scale with 1 for no trust at all and 7 great trust.

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<sup>2</sup> Number of authoritarian preferences (A3a, A3b, A3c). 0: Supports none. 1: Supports one; 2: Supports two; 3: Supports three authoritarian preferences.

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
A4a. Political parties									
Trusts	7	11		6	9		9	7	
Neutral	26	24		18	16		20	15	
Does not trust	68	65		76	74		71	79	
			4			3			7
A4b. Courts									
Trusts	16	18		23	27		27	25	
Neutral	25	27		22	20		26	20	
Does not trust	59	55		55	53		47	55	
			4			4			8
A4c. Police									
Trusts	26	25		26	30		20	18	
Neutral	28	25		24	21		27	20	
Does not trust	46	50		50	49		54	62	
			4			4			8
A4d. Army									
Trusts	36	29		36	32		47	22	

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
Neutral	32	38		27	22		22	22	
Does not trust	32	33		37	46		31	57	
			7			9			25
A4e. Members of Parliament									
Trusts	9	11		7	10		10	11	
Neutral	21	21		17	15		23	17	
Does not trust	70	68		75	74		67	72	
			2			3			7
A4h. The Prime Minister									
Trusts	40	51		39	29		16	14	
Neutral	23	21		24	21		15	14	
Does not trust	37	29		37	49		69	72	
			11			12			2
A4j. The President									
Trusts	62	35		78	36		63	49	
Neutral	17	25		11	21		18	19	
Does not trust	22	40		11	43		19	32	

	LLit	LitR	17 D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
			27			42			14

A5. And to what extent do you trust each of the following to look after your interests?

A5a. Newspapers

Trusts	64	52		46	29		32	19	
Neutral	21	28		31	31		30	33	
Does not trust	16	19		23	41		39	48	
			11			18			13

A5b. Television

Trusts	69	62		59	37		43	24	
Neutral	21	23		22	30		33	33	
Does not trust	10	16		19	32		24	44	
			7			21			20

A5c. Private enterprise

Trusts	20	18		19	19		17	14	
Neutral	35	28		26	21		23	21	
Does not trust	45	53		55	60		61	65	
			8			5			4

	LLit	LitR	18 D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
A5d. Trade unions									
Trusts	20	19		22	19		24	25	
Neutral	37	35		18	17		19	20	
Does not trust	44	46		60	64		57	55	
			2			3			2
A5e. Churches									
Trusts	61	56		53	61		39	47	
Neutral	19	22		16	14		15	19	
Does not trust	20	22		31	25		47	34	
			5			8			13
<u>Overall trust</u> <sup>3</sup>									
Mean	4.1	3.9		4.0	3.8		3.8	3.6	
Standard deviation	0.8	0.9		0.9	0.9		0.8	0.9	
A5f. Most people in this country									
Trusts	46	56		43	57		34	34	

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<sup>3</sup> Mean trusting for 12 questions, A4a. toA5e.

	LLit	LitR	19 D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
Neutral	31	25		33	27		28	28	
Does not trust	23	19		24	16		39	38	
			10			15			1
A5g. Most people you know									
Trusts	74	78		75	81		66	73	
Neutral	18	11		16	12		20	15	
Does not trust	8	11		9	7		14	12	
			7			6			7
<u>Radius of trust</u> <sup>4</sup>									
Trusts everyone	44	53		39	55		31	31	
Trusts people known	31	24		36	26		35	41	
Sceptical	11	7		8	6		9	8	
Distrustful	12	13		13	11		22	17	
Deviant	3	3		4	3		3	3	
			11			16			7

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<sup>4</sup>Trusts everyone (positive trust, A5f, 5g). Only trusts people known (5g; does not trust most in country); Sceptical (Neutral answer to both A5f, g); Distrusting (Does not trust most people, people known); Deviant (Trusts most in country but not most known personally).

LLit LitR D. I. LLat LatR D. I. EEst EstR D. I.

A6. How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays in your country? Do you feel there is a lot of respect for individual human rights, some respect, not much respect or no respect at all?

A lot of respect	2	2		10	3		8	2	
Some respect	37	49		61	52		56	34	
Not much respect	43	33		20	26		30	44	
No respect at all	19	16		10	19		6	20	
			13			16			27

A7. What should a person who needs a government permit do if an official says: just be patient, wait.

Wait; it will come	9	7		14	20		13	13	
Offer a "tip" to an official	29	21		11	14		2	9	
Use connections	34	30		36	29		35	30	
Write a letter to the head office	10	23		25	25		22	19	
Do what want without permit	8	9		7	4		5	9	
Nothing can be done	11	11		8	9		22	20	
			15			10			11

A8. How widespread do you think bribe-taking and corruption are among public officials in this country?

Almost no officials involved	1	1		1	1		0	1	
A few officials involved	5	5		8	8		41	28	
Most officials involved	36	44		55	51		50	47	

	LLit	LitR	21 D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
Almost all officials involved	58	51		37	41		9	23	
			8			5			15

A9a. Some people think this country would be better governed if parliament were closed down and all parties were abolished. How likely do you think this is to happen in the next few years?

Very likely	2	4		2	2		4	3	
Maybe	9	8		13	13		14	11	
Not very likely	59	68		57	60		59	67	
Not at all likely	30	21		28	25		24	19	
			10			4			8

A9b. If Parliament was closed down and parties abolished, would you:

Definitely approve	15	11		9	9		5	7	
Somewhat approve	30	29		30	27		20	34	
Somewhat disapprove	32	38		38	41		44	45	
Definitely disapprove	23	22		23	23		32	14	
			6			4			18

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
<u>Typology of democrats</u> <sup>5</sup>									
Confident democrats	53	57		57	59		70	56	
Anxious democrats	2	3		5	5		7	3	
Hopeful authoritarians	9	9		11	10		11	11	
Dejected authoritarians	36	31		27	25		14	30	
			5			2			17
<u>Representative or effective democrats</u> <sup>6</sup>									
Representative democrats	43	45		50	50		56	35	
Effective democrats	12	16		11	15		20	23	
Alienated	17	14		14	8		10	14	
Authoritarian	29	25		25	26		14	28	
			6			6			21

## B. ECONOMY

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<sup>5</sup> Confident democrats: Disapproves suspension of Parliament (A9b) AND considers suspension unlikely (A9a). Anxious democrats: Disapproves suspension of Parliament AND considers suspension likely. Hopeful authoritarians: Approves suspension AND considers suspension likely. Dejected authoritarians: Approves suspension AND considers suspension likely.

<sup>6</sup> Representative democrats: Disapproves suspension of Parliament (A9b) AND prefers parliamentary system to a strong leader (A3c). Effective democrats: Disapproves suspension of Parliament AND prefers a strong leader. Alienated: Approves suspension of Parliament AND rejects a strong leader. Authoritarian: Approves suspension of Parliament AND prefers a strong leader.

LLit LitR D. I. LLat LatR D. I. EEst EstR D. I.

B1. Here is a scale for ranking how the economic system works: the top, plus 100, is the best; the bottom, minus 100, the worst. (SHOW CARD)

B1a. Where on this scale would you put the Socialist economic system before the revolution of 1989?

APPROVAL

100%	12	19	2	6	1	11
90%	4	8	2	6	3	8
80%	10	18	8	14	5	13
70%	6	4	3	6	4	10
60%	4	7	7	14	5	7
50%	18	18	10	16	12	19
40%	5	2	10	10	3	6
30%	5	4	5	6	6	5
20%	4	2	8	5	7	5
10%	3	2	4	5	6	1
<b>Total Approval</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>86</b>
0%	8	9	8	5	9	3
DISAPPROVAL						
-10%	1	1	2	0	3	0
-20%	1	1	5	1	3	1
-30%	2	-	2	1	3	1

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
-40%	1	1		5	2		2	2	
-50%	4	3		5	1		9	1	
-60%	0	-		5	1		2	0	
-70%	2	-		1	-		3	1	
-80%	2	1		2	1		4	1	
-90%	2	-		1	0		3	-	
-100%	5	2		4	-		5	3	
<b>Total Disapproval</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>7</b>		<b>32</b>	<b>7</b>		<b>38</b>	<b>11</b>	
			21			29			41
Mean	30	56		13	47		3	48	
Standard deviation	58	43		52	37		55	47	

B1b. Where on this scale would you put our current economic system?

APPROVAL

100%	0	1		0	-		1	1	
90%	0	1		-	-		0	1	
80%	1	-		1	2		7	5	
70%	2	1		2	1		5	5	
60%	2	2		4	4		9	6	
50%	10	9		8	7		17	12	

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
40%	5	6		11	12		10	11	
30%	7	7		9	6		13	13	
20%	6	7		16	10		9	6	
10%	5	6		7	6		5	5	
<b>Total Approval</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>38</b>		<b>59</b>	<b>49</b>		<b>76</b>	<b>63</b>	
0%	8	12		11	10		10	8	
DISAPPROVAL									
-10%	3	-		3	3		3	3	
-20%	3	4		6	6		3	3	
-30%	4	1		3	3		1	2	
-40%	4	1		3	6		1	2	
-50%	13	15		5	6		3	6	
-60%	2	2		3	4		0	1	
-70%	4	2		1	1		0	2	
-80%	6	7		2	3		1	3	
-90%	3	6		0	2		0	2	
-100%	8	11		3	6		1	4	
<b>Total Disapproval</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>49</b>		<b>31</b>	<b>41</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>28</b>	
			14			12			14
Mean	-15	-19		7	-3		28	13	

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
Standard deviation	52	54		41	48		38	50	

B1c. Where would you put our economic system in five years time?

APPROVAL

100%	2	1		2	2		5	8	
90%	1	1		2	2		7	4	
80%	5	4		8	7		11	12	
70%	4	4		7	6		14	9	
60%	5	4		14	13		12	6	
50%	12	12		10	12		17	14	
40%	5	7		10	6		8	6	
30%	7	4		11	10		6	3	
20%	7	8		7	7		5	6	
10%	6	3		8	5		4	5	
<b>Total Approval</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>49</b>		<b>80</b>	<b>70</b>		<b>89</b>	<b>72</b>	
0%	25	29		5	9		6	8	

DISAPPROVAL

-10%	2	1		2	2		1	3	
-20%	2	2		2	2		1	2	
-30%	2	1		1	2		1	1	

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
-40%	1	2		3	5		0	2	
-50%	4	7		1	2		0	5	
-60%	1	2		1	1		-	1	
-70%	2	-		1	1		-	1	
-80%	2	2		1	2		-	1	
-90%	1	2		0	0		1	1	
-100%	3	5		1	4		0	2	
<b>Total Disapproval</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>22</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>20</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>19</b>	
			13			12			21
Mean	13	9		32	24		50	34	
Standard deviation	45	47		41	47		34	50	
<u>Reaction to economic change<sup>7</sup></u>									
Pro-market	14	6		25	7		37	10	
Positively indifferent	26	33		32	42		40	53	
Nostalgic for old system	45	51		28	47		13	34	

<sup>7</sup> Pro-market: Non-positive evaluation of socialist economic system (B1a) AND positive evaluation of current economic system (B1b). Positively indifferent: Positive evaluation of both socialist AND current economic systems. Nostalgic: Positive evaluation of socialist economic system AND non-positive evaluation of current economic system. Consistently negative: Non-positive evaluation of both socialist AND current economic systems.

			28							
	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.	
Consistently negative	15	10		15	5		10	3		
			13			29				34

B2. As for your own household, how do you rate its economic situation today?

Very satisfactory	0	1		0	0		2	2		
Fairly satisfactory	40	33		38	33		43	37		
Not very satisfactory	47	43		50	53		47	49		
Very unsatisfactory	13	24		13	14		9	11		
			12			5				5

B3. What do you think the economic situation of your household will be in five years time?

Much better	4	6		4	4		7	12		
A little better	32	21		45	39		40	27		
About the same	44	44		40	45		39	44		
A little worse	13	17		8	11		10	14		
A lot worse	5	11		3	2		3	3		
			12			8				14

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
<u>Future prospects</u> <sup>8</sup>									
Improving	37	27		45	38		43	36	
Satisfactory	18	16		13	10		16	12	
Continuing unsatisfactory	5	6		2	2		4	4	
Deteriorating	39	51		40	49		38	48	
			12			9			11
B4. Do you get enough money from your main source of income to buy what you really need?									
Definitely enough	2	1		2	1		1	2	
Just enough	17	13		25	19		29	21	
Not quite enough	45	48		48	47		47	44	
Definitely not enough	36	38		25	34		23	33	
			5			9			12
B5. In the past year, has your household:									
Saved money	8	6		7	5		12	14	

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<sup>8</sup> Improving: Economic situation in five years is much or a little better than now (B3); Satisfactory: Living standard very or fairly satisfactory (B2) AND economic situation in five years is much the same as now (B3); Continuing unsatisfactory: Living standard very or fairly unsatisfactory (B2) AND economic situation same or worse than now (B3); Deteriorating: Living standard very or fairly satisfactory (B2) AND economic situation in five years is a lot or a little worse than now (B3).

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
Just got by	57	61		67	74		58	59	
Spent some savings	14	15		8	7		11	14	
Borrowed money	12	9		15	11		14	9	
Spent savings & borrowed money	9	10		4	3		5	4	
			5			7			6

### Coping<sup>9</sup>

With main income	18	14		26	20		29	22	
With portfolio	50	53		51	63		46	55	
Not coping	31	33		23	17		25	23	
			4			12			8

B6. Does your household have any of the following? (% saying yes)

6a. Colour television	90	92		90	94		97	98	
6b. Video cassette recorder	28	36		35	40		33	49	
6c. Car	50	38		41	31		50	37	

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<sup>9</sup> With main income: Earning enough from main job or pension (B4). With portfolio: Not earning enough from main source of income (B4), but saved money or just got by in past year (B5). Not coping: Not earning enough from main source of income (B4) AND spent savings, borrowed money or both in past year (B5). Excluded: Not earning enough AND did not answer B5.

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
6d. Do you sometimes use internet	19	16		23	16		40	34	
			12			13			18

Number of consumer goods possessed (colour TV, car, VCR)

0	9	8		9	7		3	1	
1	37	41		39	44		40	41	
2	31	29		29	28		33	31	
3	22	22		23	21		25	27	
			4			5			3
Mean	1.7	1.6		1.7	1.6		1.8	1.8	
Standard deviation	0.9	0.9		0.9	0.9		0.8	0.8	

B7. If your household was very short of money, is there a friend or relative from whom you could borrow as much as a week's wages or a week's pension?

Definitely	27	19		29	22		24	21	
Probably	29	29		30	29		46	36	
Probably not	24	27		21	25		19	23	
Definitely not	21	25		19	24		12	20	
			7			9			13



	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
	8	18		8	19		9	35	
2e. Big personalities are the chief appeal of some parties, while others ask voters to support their political ideas	43	29		39	24		35	30	
2f. Some parties promote national traditions, while others emphasize integration in Europe	33	31		36	24		36	30	
2g. Don't know	4	12		27	34		12	12	
			22			26			30

C3. In this envelope is a ballot with the names of political parties. Please put a cross on the pink ballot by the name of the party that you would vote for if an election was held this week. (Party names vary by country).

Names a party	70	54		72	78		66	57	
Does not name a party	30	46		28	22		34	43	
			16			6			9

C4. As things now stand, with which of the following do you see our country's future most closely tied up? (Read out first six; respondent can choose more than one)

United States	21	18		18	15		9	12	
European Union	67	56		72	52		75	67	
European countries outside EU e.g. Norway and Switzerland	11	12		25	24		20	17	

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
Other Cen. E. European countries	16	21		13	17		14	10	
Russia	46	58		33	61		34	52	
Turkey	1	2		1	1		1	-	
Japan/South Korea	1	3		2	1		1	1	
(Not read out)									
Germany	5	4		0	0		3	1	
We should depend on ourselves	1	1		1	-		2	0	
Don't know	4	6		5	7		4	2	
			19			30			21

C5. With which of the following do you most closely identify yourself? And which do you identify with secondly?

C5a. Local community or city in which I live

1st choice	31	45		26	52		31	32
2nd choice	45	30		45	29		33	40

C5b. Region

1st choice	4	7		7	5		10	6
2nd choice	12	12		22	18		24	13

C5c. Country

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
1st choice	60	2		63	3		56	2	
2nd choice	29	7		23	5		29	2	
C5d. Europe									
1st choice	2	2		1	3		1	6	
2nd choice	8	7		7	9		11	9	
C5e. Other									
1st choice	2	9		1	3		2	2	
2nd choice	3	13		1	4		2	3	
C5f. Polish									
1st choice	0	9							
2nd choice	1	4							
C5g. Russian or Soviet									
1st choice	3	26		4	33		2	49	
2nd choice	2	27		2	36		1	34	

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
<u>Combined identities</u> <sup>10</sup>									
European	10	7		8	8		11	10	
Nation-state first	53	2		57	1		48	1	
Integrated national	28	6		21	2		27	1	
Local, regional	6	31		11	22		11	8	
Other	1	3		0	1		0	-	
Don't know	-	2		1	1		1	0	
Russian or Soviet	3	50		3	64		2	80	
			76			75			78
C6. Are you proud of your citizenship?									
Very proud	44	30		50	25		24	18	
Somewhat proud	41	55		36	40		45	49	
Not very proud	9	9		11	22		21	25	
Not at all proud	6	6		3	13		10	9	

<sup>10</sup> European: identifies with Europe first or second (C5a, C5b). Nation-state first: identifies with country first (C5a). Integrated national: identifies with nation second (C5b) AND local, regional or other unspecified identity first (C5a). Local, regional: identifies with local or regional identity first and second or first and other unspecified identity is second. Other: identifies with other unspecified identity first AND has no second identity, or second identity is other unspecified or Polish. Don't know: Has neither a first nor second identity. Russian/Soviet: Specifies Russian, Byelorussian or Ukrainian as either first or second identity.

	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
			37						
			15			25			8

C7. In the past year, have you or anyone in your family or friends been attacked or had something stolen when out on the street?

Self	10	13		7	7		3	3	
Member of family	14	12		7	6		9	5	
Friend	14	18		7	7		16	5	
No one	62	56		79	80		71	10	
			7			1			10

C8. In the past year, have you or any friends had their house broken into and something stolen?

Yes, own house	18	23		9	6		7	6	
Yes, friend	19	20		10	11		24	20	
No one	62	57		81	83		70	74	
			5			2			4

Experience of crime<sup>11</sup>

Self, family	36	39		20	18		17	13	
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<sup>11</sup> Self or family mugged (C7) OR burgled (C8). Friends mugged or burgled. No one mugged or burgled.

	38								
	LLit	LitR	D. I.	LLat	LatR	D. I.	EEst	EstR	D. I.
Friend	20	23		13	13		26	24	
No one	44	37		68	70		56	63	
			7			2			7

IF EMPLOYED:

D5. What type of employer do you have?

State budgetary organization	31	25		23	18		23	10	
State-owned enterprise	11	10		17	21		10	8	
Mixed state-private	4	3		7	9		5	5	
Private	45	52		48	50		52	62	
Foreign owned enterprise	6	8		4	1		6	14	
Other	4	3		2	1		4	1	
			10			9			19

*(The NEB data base includes additional socio-demographic variables such as age and gender, and measures not readily aggregated on a cross-national basis, such as income, region, and party preference).*

*ESTONIAN SAMPLE*

Fieldwork in Estonia was conducted between 21-30 November 2001 by Saar Poll Ltd., 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 too proportionate to population. A total of 177 primary sampling units were selected, and field staff speaking Estonian and Russian conducted face-to-face interviews. Within each primary sampling unit, a starting point was randomly selected and interviewers followed a random route in identifying households. Within each selected household, the interviewer was asked to select an adult subject by a nationality, gender and age grid. Of the 1,008 interviews, 67.2% or 677 were conducted with Estonians and 32.8% or 331 with non-Estonians. Results of the sample were then compared with official demographic data for urban/rural residence, gender, age and region. The observed differences were consistently small, of the order of one or two percentage points. The sample was weighted to match the census. Because the New Baltic Barometer is concerned with the adult population, the 44 Estonian and 21 non-Estonian respondents between age 15 through 17 are excluded from the figures reported in this *SPP* paper.

*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 5-28 October 2001. The universe was all residents of Latvia age 18 or above. A sample was selected through a multi-stage random sampling procedure, with stratification by region, district and urbanization proportionate to population. In each sampling point, an address was randomly selected and interviewers then proceeded on a random route basis with callbacks. At each household the interviewer asked to interview the person least likely to be home, the youngest male or, if absent, the youngest female member of the household. Of the 1,462

persons contacted, in 73 households there was no one suitable for interviewing; in 248 cases there were refusals by the household member answering the door; in 135 cases refusal by the selected respondents; 3 interviews were interrupted and 2 discarded due to low quality. Of 1,001 successful interviews, 64.0% or 641 were in Latvian and 36.0% or 360 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 4-8 October 2001. A nationwide representative sample was interviewed face-to-face by a team of 100 bi-lingual Lithuanian and Russian interviewers working under 18 regional supervisors. 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 proportion to population basis. Within each region all the largest cities and 10 districts (*rajonas*) were selected randomly. A total of 100 sampling points were 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. If that person was not at home, interviewers were instructed to make two callbacks. Interviewing was conducted in 9 cities, 10 smaller towns and 10 rural districts. Because the number of Russian-speakers in a nationwide sample is limited, in this case 86, a booster sample of 116 Russian-speakers was subsequently interviewed. The national sample of 1,124 persons included 922 Lithuanians and 202 Russians.

*Full results of **NEW RUSSIA BAROMETERS:***

(Nationwide representative sample surveys: average N = 2000).

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