

Studies in Public Policy Number 401

NEW BALTIC BAROMETER VI:
A Post-Enlargement Survey

PROFESSOR RICHARD ROSE

Centre for the Study of Public Policy

University of Strathclyde

Glasgow G1 1XH Scotland

2005

SPP 401
NEW BALTIC BAROMETER VI:
A Post-Enlargement Survey
© 2005 Richard Rose
ISSN 0140-8240

Abstract

The autumn 2004 New Baltic Barometer (NBB) was the sixth in a series of studies of mass behaviour and attitudes among the principal nationalities in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. It is also the first since the countries have become members of the European Union. Representative nationwide samples of each nationality were asked the same questions about political attitudes, economic conditions, social circumstances and multiple identities. This paper reports replies to all questions, subdivided by nationality. Thus, it shows the degree of similarity of difference between the titular nationality and Russians in each country. A substantial number of questions repeat those of five NBB surveys in 1993, 1995, 1996, 2000 and 2001. The Baltic survey is also integrated in the New Europe Barometer survey, thus making it possible to compare replies with other new EU member states and with Russia, Belarus and Ukraine.

Funding for the Baltic survey came from a grant from the Swedish Tercentenary Foundation to Professor Sten Berglund, University of Orebro, Sweden, and from a British ESRC grant (RES-000-23-0193 on Diverging Paths of Post-Communist Societies.

INTRODUCTION

At the time of the first New Baltic Barometer (NBB) survey in early autumn, 1993, the Baltic states had only shortly before gained independence from the Soviet Union, with which they were 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 what came after. The views of Baltic residents were based more on hope or fear than experience of new regimes. Much has changed since. By the time the sixth NBB survey was undertaken in 2004, all three states had become members of the European Union.

In each country Barometer surveys ask the same questions about political attitudes, economic conditions and social circumstances. This makes possible comparison across Baltic states that differ in history and language. Since the New Baltic Barometer is part of the CSPP programme of Barometer surveys across more than a dozen post-Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, comparisons can be extended widely (see www.cspp.strath.ac.uk).

In one respect two Baltic states are not easily comparable, for the resident Russian population is far greater in Estonia and Latvia 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. After regaining independence, in order to maintain their national culture Estonia and Latvia imposed language-related barriers to Russians acquiring citizenship. Changes in the law and the passage of time have encouraged more Russian residents to gain Baltic citizenship.

Any attempt to study public opinion in the Baltic states must recognize that there are multiple publics. The starting point is the language difference between Russian-speakers and Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, made evident by the language of interview, which is chosen by the respondent. Therefore, this paper presents results separately for the two principal language groups in each Baltic society. 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. Comparison can show similarities as well as differences. 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. Comparison can also show contrasts; for example, questions about identity produce very big contrasts between language groups.

Comparisons across time can be made by looking at results from the five previous New Baltic Barometer surveys. Trends for NBB surveys in 1993, 1995 and 1996 are summarized in *SPP 288*, the fourth NBB survey in 2000 is reported in *SPP 338* and the fifth in *SPP 368*. 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 13 NRB surveys since 1992 in *SPP 390* and results of the most recent NRB survey in January, 2005 in *SPP 402*.

CONVENTIONS

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 nil replies in a category; *0:* replies are less than 0.5 percent.

RESULTS OF AUTUMN, 2004 NEW BALTIC BAROMETER SURVEY
(LitL: Lithuanians in Lithuania; LitR: Russians in Lithuania; and similarly for Latvia and Estonia. In each instance, nationality is defined by the language the respondent chose to be interviewed in).

A. ECONOMY

A1. 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)

A1a. Where on this scale would you put the Socialist economic system before the revolution of 1989?

APPROVAL

100%	5	14	5	8	2	10
90%	4	2	2	7	1	6
80%	10	10	4	11	4	13
70%	6	12	4	8	7	10
60%	7	9	4	7	5	9
50%	18	18	10	16	14	13
40%	6	7	5	5	7	7
30%	6	5	8	5	8	6
20%	4	3	4	5	5	3
10%	3	3	3	3	4	3
Total Approval	69	83	49	75	57	80
0%	4	3	10	5	6	3

DISAPPROVAL

-10%	2	1	2	2	2	2
-20%	2	2	5	3	3	1
-30%	3	1	3	1	5	2
-40%	2	1	3	2	4	1
-50%	5	1	4	1	6	1
-60%	1	1	2	-	1	-
-70%	2	1	2	0	1	-
-80%	2	-	1	-	2	0
-90%	1	-	0	-	1	0
-100%	2	0	2	0	2	1
Total Disapproval	22	8	24	9	27	8

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
Don't know	5	7	15	10	8	9
Mean	32	54	18	47	18	53
Standard deviation	50	37	49	39	48	38

A1b. Where on this scale would you put our current economic system?

APPROVAL

100%	1	1	0	0	0	2
90%	1	1	-	1	1	2
80%	5	3	1	-	5	3
70%	5	9	1	2	8	5
60%	9	8	4	4	10	7
50%	19	14	8	6	18	15
40%	11	13	8	7	14	13
30%	10	12	9	11	12	11
20%	7	7	12	8	9	8
10%	5	5	8	8	4	8
Total Approval	73	73	51	47	81	74
0%	4	3	11	10	3	2

DISAPPROVAL

-10%	3	3	7	3	2	3
-20%	3	3	6	3	2	3
-30%	3	-	5	4	2	2
-40%	2	2	4	3	1	2
-50%	5	5	5	8	1	4
-60%	1	1	1	4	0	2
-70%	1	1	2	3	1	1
-80%	1	2	1	2	0	0
-90%	1	1	1	2	0	0
-100%	1	2	2	7	1	2
Total Disapproval	21	20	34	39	10	19

Mean	22	22	3	-6	35	25
Standard deviation	44	46	39	49	35	43

LitL *LitR* *LatL* *LatR* *EstE* *EstR*

ECREACT Reaction to economic change¹

Pro-market	21	7	24	8	33	9
Nostalgic	22	24	30	42	11	20
Consistently negative	4	4	17	9	3	2
Positively indifferent	53	66	29	41	53	69

A1c. Where would you put our economic system in five years time?

APPROVAL

100%	2	1	0	1	2	5
90%	4	2	1	0	5	2
80%	11	9	4	3	13	7
70%	11	13	8	3	10	10
60%	11	12	7	7	11	8
50%	13	11	13	9	14	11
40%	7	6	8	8	7	6
30%	7	4	10	7	7	6
20%	6	3	9	9	5	7
10%	3	3	7	5	3	7
Total Approval	75	64	67	52	77	69
0%	4	5	6	7	5	4

DISAPPROVAL

-10%	2	1	2	4	1	2
-20%	1	2	3	4	0	3
-30%	1	3	2	2	1	3
-40%	1	2	1	3	0	0
-50%	1	2	2	2	1	1
-60%	1	1	1	1	1	-

¹ Pro-market: Non-positive evaluation of socialist economic system (A1a) AND positive evaluation of current economic system (A1b). 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. Positively indifferent: Positive evaluation of both socialist AND current economic systems.

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
-70%	0	1	1	0	0	1
-80%	0	1	0	1	0	1
-90%	0	1	1	1	-	0
-100%	1	2	1	1	0	1
Total Disapproval	8	16	15	19	4	12
Don't know	11	14	11	19	11	14
Mean	45	32	25	17	48	37
Standard deviation	38	48	40	43	34	42

ASK RUSSIAN SPEAKERS ONLY

A1d. And where would you put the economic system of Russia today?

APPROVAL

100%	3	-	1
90%	3	0	1
80%	3	4	3
70%	7	4	2
60%	4	9	10
50%	12	12	13
40%	13	8	8
30%	7	7	13
20%	7	7	8
10%	4	5	7
Total Approval	63	56	66
0%	5	8	6

DISAPPROVAL

-10%	2	3	2
-20%	3	3	4
-30%	3	2	2
-40%	1	2	1
-50%	2	4	2
-60%	3	1	0
-70%	-	0	1
-80%	-	2	-

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
-90%		1		-		-
-100%		-		2		0
<i>Total Disapproval</i>		15		19		12
Don't know		17		18		13
Mean		32		20		27
Standard deviation		39		43		35

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS

A1e. Do you think this country offers better chances for improving living standards in future than does Russia?

Definitely	26	16	39	13	42	12
Probably	52	41	39	38	46	47
Not very likely	10	19	14	29	5	26
Definitely not	4	7	3	6	1	8
Don't know	8	16	5	13	5	6

A2. As for your own household, how do you rate its economic situation today?

Very satisfactory	1	1	1	1	2	1
Fairly satisfactory	57	42	52	36	58	45
Not very satisfactory	35	46	36	50	35	44
Very unsatisfactory	6	11	11	13	5	10

A3. When you compare the overall economic situation of your household with what it was before the big transformation in the economy. Would you say that in the past it was:

Much better	26	32	11	11	21	40
A little better	36	35	23	21	34	31
About the same	17	21	28	22	20	20
A little worse	17	9	24	24	19	9
A lot worse	3	3	15	22	6	0

LitL LitR LatL LatR EstE EstR

IMPMPAR Impact of Market²

Standards rising	21	12	39	45	26	9
Stable, satisfied	12	13	18	14	13	16
Stable, unsatisfied	4	8	8	8	6	4
Standards falling	63	67	34	32	55	71

A4. What do you think the economic situation of your household will be in five years time?

Much better	6	5	7	4	8	3
A little better	50	29	32	25	36	23
About the same	21	26	40	50	33	43
A little worse	6	9	4	7	6	14
A lot worse	2	3	3	2	2	5
Don't know	15	29	14	13	14	12

FUTPRO Future prospects³

Improving	59	38	44	32	48	27
Satisfactory	7	5	26	29	14	7
Deteriorating	2	3	5	7	2	3
Continuing poor	32	54	24	32	36	63

A5. Does your household have any of the following? (% saying yes)

² Standards rising: Current economic situation much better or somewhat better now than before 1989 (A3). Standards stable, satisfied: Current economic situation the same now compared with before 1989 (A3) AND respondent satisfied with current economic situation (A2). Standards stable, dissatisfied: Current economic situation the same now compared with before 1989 AND respondent dissatisfied with current economic situation. Standards falling: Current economic situation worse now than before 1989.

³ Improving: Economic situation in five years is a lot or a little better than now (A4). Satisfactory: Standards rising or stable, satisfied with impact of market AND economic situation in five years is much the same as now. Deteriorating: Standards rising or stable, satisfied AND economic situation in five years is worse than now. Continuing poor: Standards stable, dissatisfied or falling AND economic situation in five years is worse than now.

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
A5a. Colour television	95	98	97	96	97	99
A5b. Video cassette recorder	35	44	46	53	46	54
A5c. Car	53	44	50	39	53	44
A5d. And do you sometimes use the Internet?	34	21	33	26	58	51

NCONGONW Number of goods: colour TV, VCR, car, internet

4	17	13	20	14	28	28
3	21	27	23	24	24	22
2	27	17	23	25	24	22
1	31	42	32	32	23	28
0	4	1	3	4	1	1

A6. Do you get enough money from your main source of income to buy what you really need?

Definitely enough	4	-	2	3	3	2
Just enough	26	14	30	22	37	24
Not quite enough	44	46	41	47	43	44
Definitely not enough	26	40	26	28	17	30

A7a. If your household was very short of money, is there a friend or relative from whom you could borrow as much as a month's wage or pension?

Definitely	32	15	19	15	24	15
Probably	31	30	31	28	41	36
Probably not	18	20	30	36	20	29
Definitely not	19	35	20	20	14	20

A7b. In the past year, has your household:

Saved money	13	6	10	6	14	11
Just got by	60	54	69	78	60	60
Spent some savings	12	24	9	7	10	15
Borrowed money	8	8	10	8	12	10
Spent savings & borrowed	6	8	2	2	4	4

LitL *LitR* *LatL* *LatR* *EstE* *EstR*

COPING Coping economically⁴

With own job	31	14	32	24	38	25
With portfolio	49	49	52	61	40	53
Not coping	20	37	15	14	22	22

COPDIS Coping and satisfaction⁵

Coping and satisfied	49	30	49	34	54	41
Coping but dissatisfied	31	33	36	51	24	37
Doubly troubled	10	25	11	12	16	17
Not coping but satisfied	10	12	4	3	6	4

A8. How long will it be before you have reached a standard of living with which you are content?

1-2 years	3	1	2	4	2	3
3-5 years	17	13	15	12	19	18
6-10 years	23	15	20	14	20	17
More than 10 years	23	18	20	20	13	16
Never	11	21	26	27	20	27
Don't know	19	29	14	20	20	15
Already content	5	3	3	3	5	5

A9. On this card you will find a set of contrasting opinions about public problems. Please say which alternative you agree with, whether strongly or somewhat (SHOW CARD)

A9a. Rising prices are the biggest threat to our family

Definitely agree	32	34	25	26	37	31
Somewhat agree	14	10	15	11	29	19

⁴ With own job: Earning enough from regular job (A6). With portfolio: Not earning enough from regular job, but made savings or just got by in past year (A7b). Not coping: Not earning enough from regular job and spent savings or borrowed money (A7b).

⁵ Coping and satisfied: coping economically and satisfied with household economic situation (A2).

LitL LitR LatL LatR EstE EstR

OR Unemployment is the biggest threat to our family

Somewhat agree	15	14	21	22	21	21
Definitely agree	39	42	39	40	13	29

A9b. Do you think it is better when there are plenty of goods in the shops even if they are expensive

Definitely agree	19	19	17	10	16	12
Somewhat agree	31	29	41	34	41	35

OR Is it better when prices are kept low by the state even if there are few goods in the shops

Somewhat agree	24	21	25	33	27	32
Definitely agree	26	31	17	23	16	22

A9c. Multinational companies should be able to sell their products, such as soft drinks, television sets, and cars in this country

Definitely agree	28	34	30	29	34	36
Somewhat agree	31	37	46	44	44	47

OR People should buy only goods produced in this country

Somewhat agree	18	13	16	19	13	11
Definitely agree	22	17	8	8	9	6

B. PUBLIC AFFAIRS

B1. How interested would you say you are in politics?

Very interested	13	8	8	4	5	3
Somewhat interested	56	41	47	36	37	30
A little interested	24	34	34	37	38	43
Not at all interested	7	17	11	22	19	25

B2. 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)

B2a. Where on this scale would you put the former Communist regime?

APPROVAL

100%	4	6	3	5	1	8
90%	2	4	1	4	1	3

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
80%	6	9	3	7	4	10
70%	4	8	2	5	4	8
60%	5	9	1	5	3	7
50%	11	11	5	13	10	19
40%	5	12	3	6	4	5
30%	6	6	5	6	4	7
20%	4	4	5	6	4	4
10%	3	3	3	2	3	3
Total Approval	50	72	31	59	38	74
0%	7	5	10	8	8	4
DISAPPROVAL						
-10%	3	1	3	2	5	2
-20%	3	1	5	5	5	2
-30%	4	1	4	1	4	1
-40%	4	2	3	1	4	2
-50%	7	5	7	4	8	5
-60%	2	1	5	1	3	-
-70%	2	1	2	1	3	-
-80%	2	-	2	1	3	0
-90%	2	-	2	-	2	0
-100%	6	1	7	0	5	0
Total Disapproval	35	13	40	16	42	12
Don't know	6	10	19	18	9	10
Mean	9	40	-8	32	-2	42
Standard deviation	57	43	55	45	54	42

B2b. Where on this scale would you put our current system of governing with free elections and many parties?

APPROVAL

100%	1	1	0	-	1	1
90%	1	2	0	-	0	2
80%	5	3	1	1	6	3
70%	6	5	2	2	9	5

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
60%	7	12	4	2	9	7
50%	14	14	9	5	17	13
40%	9	8	5	7	10	10
30%	13	12	11	9	9	8
20%	8	5	10	12	9	8
10%	5	5	7	5	6	7
Total Approval	69	67	49	43	76	64
0%	5	7	12	8	5	8
DISAPPROVAL						
-10%	3	2	6	3	3	4
-20%	3	2	7	4	2	4
-30%	2	3	4	7	2	2
-40%	2	1	3	4	1	1
-50%	5	3	4	4	3	5
-60%	2	0	1	2	0	0
-70%	1	2	1	3	1	2
-80%	1	1	1	3	1	3
-90%	1	1	0	3	1	-
-100%	2	2	3	7	1	4
Total Disapproval	22	17	30	40	15	25
Mean	21	23	6	-8	30	16
Standard deviation	45	45	40	48	40	46

REACTTYP Reaction to regime change⁶

Democrats	32	11	34	13	48	11
Sceptics	13	8	28	15	8	7
Compliant	39	60	19	34	30	53
Reactionary	16	21	19	38	13	29

⁶ Prefer present to past: Non-positive evaluation of regime before revolution of 1989 (B2a) AND positive evaluation of current regime (B2b). Sceptics: Non-positive evaluation of regime before 1989 AND non-positive evaluation of current regime. Compliant: Positive evaluation of regime before 1989 AND positive evaluation of the current regime. Reactionary: Positive evaluation of the regime before 1989 AND non-positive evaluation of the current regime.

LitL LitR LatL LatR EstE EstR

B2c. Where on this scale would you put our system of governing five years in the future?

APPROVAL

100%	2	2	0	0	1	2
90%	4	2	1	1	4	4
80%	10	11	3	1	9	4
70%	8	9	7	2	10	7
60%	10	9	6	7	10	6
50%	12	8	12	6	13	10
40%	7	7	12	10	7	5
30%	7	5	10	7	5	6
20%	7	3	6	9	4	8
10%	5	3	3	5	3	4
Total Approval	72	59	60	48	66	56
0%	5	7	8	9	9	8

DISAPPROVAL

-10%	1	-	2	4	2	2
-20%	1	2	2	1	1	2
-30%	1	1	2	3	1	2
-40%	1	1	1	1	1	-
-50%	2	2	1	1	1	3
-60%	0	1	1	2	0	0
-70%	0	1	1	1	0	-
-80%	0	1	0	2	0	1
-90%	0	-	0	1	0	-
-100%	0	1	2	2	1	2
Total Disapproval	6	10	12	18	7	12
Don't know	14	22	20	25	17	25

Mean	41	37	27	15	42	31
Standard deviation	38	44	39	42	37	43

LitL LitR LatL LatR EstE EstR

LEADLAG Leading versus lagging democrats⁷

Leading democrats	70	69	55	49	74	62
Lagging democrats	15	8	20	16	7	12
Opponents	15	23	25	35	19	26

ASK RUSSIAN SPEAKERS ONLY

B2d. Where on this scale would you put the present Russian system of governing?

APPROVAL

100%	3	1	3
90%	3	2	3
80%	6	4	4
70%	5	5	5
60%	6	8	7
50%	17	11	17
40%	10	8	7
30%	4	4	8
20%	3	6	7
10%	3	8	6
Total Approval	60	58	67
0%	5	11	9

DISAPPROVAL

-10%	5	2	3
-20%	1	2	3
-30%	3	2	2
-40%	1	1	1
-50%	2	2	2
-60%	1	-	0
-70%	-	0	1

⁷ Leading democrats: Positive evaluation of current regime (B2b) and positive evaluation of regime in five years (B2c). Lagging democrats: Non-positive evaluation of current regime BUT positive evaluation of regime in five years. Opponents: non-positive evaluation of the regime in five years.

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
-80%		2		0		-
-90%		-		0		1
-100%		1		2		1
Total Disapproval		16		11		14
Don't know		21		18		12
Mean		34		26		30
Standard deviation		42		40		41

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS

B3. 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?

B3a. We should return to Communist rule

Strongly agree	2	4	0	4	1	1
Somewhat agree	5	10	5	15	3	10
Somewhat disagree	14	16	19	37	22	42
Strongly disagree	79	70	75	44	74	47

B3b. Best to get rid of Parliament and elections and have a strong leader who can quickly decide everything

Strongly agree	8	18	7	13	5	7
Somewhat agree	19	28	23	31	20	29
Somewhat disagree	23	19	30	34	29	38
Strongly disagree	49	35	39	22	47	25

B3c. The army should govern the country

Strongly agree	1	2	0	1	-	-
Somewhat agree	3	4	3	2	1	1
Somewhat disagree	7	17	17	26	15	21
Strongly disagree	87	77	79	71	84	77

LitL LitR LatL LatR EstE EstR

NPRAUTH	<u>Number of alternative regimes supported⁸</u>					
3	1	3	0	0	-	-
2	6	10	5	11	3	8
1	20	29	26	36	21	29
0	72	58	69	52	76	63
Mean	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.4
Standard deviation	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.6

B4 How LIKELY do you think it is that in the next few years:

B4a. The Communist system would be restored?

Very likely	0	-	0	0	0	-
Maybe	1	3	2	1	1	1
Not very likely	18	18	30	50	37	31
Not at all likely	80	79	68	48	62	68

B4b. A strong leader would replace government by an elected parliament?

Very likely	1	1	2	1	1	0
Maybe	9	14	17	17	10	8
Not very likely	38	42	44	56	54	58
Not at all likely	52	43	37	26	36	33

B4c. The army would govern the country?

Very likely	0	1	-	1	-	2
Maybe	1	1	3	2	1	3
Not very likely	11	21	27	38	30	30
Not at all likely	88	77	70	59	69	64

B5. Compared to our system of government before perestroika, would you say our current system is better, much the same, or worse than the old system in terms of whether:.....?

⁸ Approve restoring Communist regime, rule by army, strongman. (B3a,b,c).

LitL *LitR* *LatL* *LatR* *EstE* *EstR*

B5a. Everybody has a right to say what they think

Much better	63	43	73	42	57	27
Somewhat better	26	34	19	36	32	39
Much the same	7	14	6	17	8	28
Somewhat worse	2	6	1	2	2	4
Much worse	1	4	1	3	-	2

B5b. One can join any organisation one likes

Much better	59	45	73	41	55	26
Somewhat better	29	33	16	37	33	43
Much the same	8	12	9	20	10	23
Somewhat worse	3	6	1	2	1	5
Much worse	1	3	0	0	1	2

B5c. Everyone can decide individually whether or not to take an interest in politics

Much better	59	46	67	42	57	26
Somewhat better	26	29	19	32	27	27
Much the same	11	17	13	25	15	43
Somewhat worse	2	5	0	1	1	2
Much worse	1	3	-	-	0	2

B5d. Everybody has freedom of choice in religious matters

Much better	83	66	79	56	69	44
Somewhat better	9	18	15	30	23	27
Much the same	6	13	5	13	7	27
Somewhat worse	0	1	0	0	-	2
Much worse	0	2	-	0	0	0

NFREER Number of freedoms increased (B5a-d)

4	68	52	74	59	73	36
3	15	12	14	16	10	21
2	8	14	5	9	6	14
1	5	13	2	7	6	14
0	3	9	6	9	5	15

B6. Under our present system of government do you think people like yourself are treated equally and fairly by government?

Definitely agree	2	5	2	2	3	2
Somewhat agree	20	19	26	16	31	21
Disagree somewhat	46	42	43	43	44	40
Definitely disagree	31	33	28	39	22	37

B7. Under our present system of government how much influence do you think people like yourself can have on government?

A lot of influence	1	0	2	1	1	1
Some influence	16	16	15	16	21	15
Not much influence	38	26	39	36	41	30
No influence	44	58	44	47	36	54

B8. How many elected politicians care what people like you think?

Most politicians care	2	3	1	0	2	0
About half care	12	10	15	11	21	11
Less than half care	37	31	45	34	43	34
Hardly any care	49	56	39	55	34	55

B9. Would you say that the most recent election of parliament was conducted fairly or not?

It was a fair election	20	12	22	5	25	8
To some extent fair	39	29	43	25	32	25
Not very fair	27	29	19	28	19	30
Not at all fair	5	8	3	12	5	10
Don't know	9	21	13	30	18	27

B10. How much respect do you think this country's government has for individual human rights?

A lot of respect	3	3	7	2	13	2
Some respect	43	39	54	38	62	34
Not much respect	39	42	33	41	21	41
No respect at all	15	16	6	19	3	23

B11. How widespread do you think bribe-taking and corruption are in this country?

Very few public officials are corrupt	3	3	5	6	13	6
Less than half are corrupt	14	14	23	15	37	18
Most public officials	52	31	44	47	28	45
Almost all public officials	29	43	20	25	8	16
Don't know	2	9	7	7	13	15

C. THIS COUNTRY AND THE WORLD

C1a. With which of the following do you most closely identify yourself?
(SHOW CARD)

Local community, city	51	47	29	42	26	38
Region	5	6	6	7	6	7
This country	39	32	60	5	63	2
Europe	3	3	1	2	2	6
Russia	0	6	2	36	0	41
Other CIS	0	5	0	4	0	2
Other	-	-	1	3	1	3

C1b. And which do you identify with secondly?

Local community, city	26	18	44	39	39	30
Region	20	12	18	18	24	17
This country	43	43	26	8	24	1
Europe	9	13	8	5	9	13
Russia	1	8	1	25	0	31
Other CIS	0	6	0	2	0	5
Other	-	-	1	2	2	3

COMBID Combined identities

European	12	14	9	6	11	18
Nation-state first	32	23	54	5	54	2
Integrated national	38	30	23	6	22	1
Local, regional	16	15	9	19	11	13

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
Russian/Soviet	1	14	3	61	1	66
Other	-	-	0	0	0	-
Don't know ⁹	1	3	1	2	1	0

C2. What is your citizenship?

This country	99	95	97	42	99	44
Russian Federation	0	3	0	3	0	23
Ukraine	0	1	-	0	0	1
Belarus	-	1	-	-	0	1
Other ex-Soviet republic	-	-	-	0	-	0
Other	-	-	-	0	-	1
Uncertain; have no passport	-	1	-	0	-	-
Non-citizen resident, alien's passport	-	-	3	54	-	30

C3. Which of these statements best fits your views of who should be a citizen? (choose only one)

Those whose family were citizens here before 1940	4	2	27	2	25	0
Everyone born in the country	45	31	41	40	47	32
Everyone living here at the time of independence	9	10	11	23	11	34
Everyone who has lived here more than 7 years	28	26	10	14	6	10

⁹ European: identifies with Europe first or second (C1a, C1b). Nation-state first: identifies with country first (C1a). Integrated national: identifies with nation second (C1b) AND local, regional or other unspecified identity first (C1a). Local, regional: identifies with local or regional identity first or second AND other identity is either local or regional or other unspecified. Russian/Soviet: Specifies Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian or Soviet as first or second identity AND does not specify country of residence as first identity. Other: identifies with other unspecified identity first and second. Don't know: Has neither a first nor second identity.

LitL *LitR* *LatL* *LatR* *EstE* *EstR*

Any former Soviet citizen

now living in this country	7	20	5	19	3	20
Don't know	7	10	6	2	7	3

C4. Do you think any of these pose a real threat to peace and security in this society? (READ OUT NAMES OF EACH)

C4a. Russia

Big threat	5	1	4	0	11	1
Some threat	18	1	30	2	37	2
Little threat	39	20	25	14	37	13
No threat	27	68	39	79	10	82
Don't know	10	10	3	4	5	2

C4b. United States

Big threat	0	5	1	1	2	2
Some threat	4	6	7	7	5	12
Little threat	18	12	20	21	31	18
No threat	70	62	68	64	54	64
Don't know	8	14	4	7	7	4

C4c. Neighbouring countries other than Russia

Big threat	0	0	0	0	-	-
Some threat	1	1	5	1	1	1
Little threat	20	13	17	10	13	11
No threat	67	72	74	81	80	85
Don't know	11	14	4	8	5	3

C4d. National minorities in our society

Big threat	0	1	1	0	0	-
Some threat	1	-	11	2	7	1
Little threat	18	5	28	11	44	11
No threat	74	85	56	84	41	85
Don't know	7	9	4	3	8	3

LitL LitR LatL LatR EstE EstR

C4e. Immigrants or refugees from other societies

Big threat	2	3	3	3	3	3
Some threat	9	12	25	13	12	10
Little threat	34	33	27	37	38	30
No threat	46	43	40	40	39	50
Don't know	9	9	5	7	9	6

LOCATHRE Number of domestic threats perceived (C4d,e)

2	1	1	6	1	3	1
1	10	14	28	16	15	13
0	88	86	66	83	82	86

D. SOCIAL AFFAIRS

D1. Do you belong to a sports, arts, community or charitable organization?

Yes	10	7	13	10	47	44
No	90	92	87	89	53	56

NORG Organizations belongs to (D1, G4b, G8b)

3	0	-	0	-	-	42
2	4	3	5	4	3	48
1	28	36	24	22	51	10
0	67	60	71	73	46	-

D2. Do you identify with any political party?

Yes	19	12	15	13	27	13
No	81	88	85	86	73	87

D3. Some people say that government often seems so complicated that they cannot really understand what is going on. As far as this statement is concerned, would you:

Definitely agree	16	18	17	16	17	14
Somewhat agree	38	35	43	46	42	36
Somewhat disagree	29	20	31	23	30	33
Definitely disagree	12	14	5	7	6	9
Don't know	6	12	4	7	5	8

D4. To what extent do you trust each of the following institutions to look after your interests? Please indicate on a scale with 1 for no trust at all and 7 great trust.¹⁰

D4a. Courts

Trusts	25	33	34	37	50	36
Neutral	29	28	26	20	24	27
Does not trust	46	39	40	43	26	36

D4b. Political parties

Trusts	10	13	10	10	7	5
Neutral	21	24	17	15	23	14
Does not trust	69	63	73	75	70	81

D4c. Army

Trusts	63	54	45	22	66	37
Neutral	22	21	28	24	20	21
Does not trust	15	25	27	54	14	41

D4d. Parliament

Trusts	16	26	15	13	19	13
Neutral	24	22	26	18	24	26
Does not trust	60	51	59	69	56	60

D4e. Police

Trusts	32	37	36	37	49	38
Neutral	25	21	29	24	24	23
Does not trust	43	42	35	39	27	39

D4f. President

Trusts	66	49	64	31	76	56
Neutral	15	17	17	18	14	21
Does not trust	19	34	19	51	10	23

¹⁰ For clarity, those in the three highest groups, 5-7, are classified as trusting, 4 as neutral; and 1-3 as does not trust.

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
D4g. Trade unions						
Trusts	29	27	30	33	44	27
Neutral	27	23	26	27	27	22
Does not trust	43	50	44	40	29	51
D4h. Church						
Trusts	65	60	52	58	50	53
Neutral	16	23	20	20	17	19
Does not trust	18	17	28	21	33	28
D4i. Most people in this country						
Trusts	54	58	42	51	44	45
Neutral	29	26	31	22	34	28
Does not trust	17	16	27	27	22	27
D4j. Most people you know						
Trusts	80	76	77	81	78	74
Neutral	13	19	15	11	13	14
Does not trust	7	5	8	8	8	12
ALTRUC2 <u>Mean trust in institutions</u> ¹¹						
Trusts	32	32	30	22	41	24
Neutral	40	32	35	31	41	38
Does not trust	28	36	34	47	18	38
DEGRIPTR <u>Degree of interpersonal trust</u> ¹²						
Trust everyone	51	54	40	49	41	40
Trusts people known	29	21	39	32	37	34

¹¹ Mean trust in courts, parties, military, parliament, police, president, trade unions, churches (D4a to D4h).

¹² Trusts everyone: respondent trusts most people in this country (D4i) and most people s/he knows (D4j). Trusts people known: respondent trusts people s/he knows, but is neutral or distrustful to most people in this country. Sceptical: neutral attitude towards everyone. Distrustful: distrusts most people in this country and most people s/he knows. Deviant: distrusts known people, but trusts most in this country.

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
Sceptical	8	11	7	4	7	7
Distrustful	10	8	12	14	12	14
Deviant	2	5	2	1	2	5

D5. Do you think that people like yourself ought to make the big decisions about what government does OR that this should be the job of elected politicians?

Definitely ordinary people	7	7	3	10	8	8
Usually ordinary people	12	10	14	22	22	20
Usually elected politicians	48	46	49	45	54	46
Definitely politicians	33	36	34	23	16	26

D6. Do you think it would be a good idea if referendums were held frequently so that you could vote for or against major changes in the law?

Definitely agree	11	22	13	14	20	22
Somewhat agree	25	28	35	49	41	44
Somewhat disagree	34	22	29	21	23	19
Definitely disagree	20	12	15	7	4	8
Don't know	9	16	7	8	12	6

D7. With which of the following statements do you agree most?

Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	69	42	60	47	46	39
Under some circumstances, an authoritarian government can be preferable to a democratic one	10	20	22	28	18	29
For people like me, it does not matter whether we have a democratic or a non-democratic regime	15	22	14	21	24	24
Don't know	6	15	5	4	12	9

E. VALUES

E1. On this card you will find a set of contrasting opinions about public problems. Please say which alternative you agree with, whether strongly or somewhat.

LitL LitR LatL LatR EstE EstR

E1a. Incomes should be made more equal, so there is no great difference

Definitely agree 25 21 18 25 18 19

Somewhat agree 30 27 32 30 27 30

OR Individual achievement should determine how much people are paid

Somewhat agree 21 20 29 28 31 31

Definitely agree 17 24 17 13 20 15

Don't know 6 8 4 4 4 4

E1b. Individuals should take responsibility for themselves and their livelihood

Definitely agree 24 18 10 6 14 7

Somewhat agree 27 21 23 19 44 26

OR The state should be responsible for everyone's material security

Somewhat agree 23 23 42 42 25 37

Definitely agree 20 31 23 30 13 27

Don't know 6 7 2 3 3 3

E1c. State ownership is the best way to run an enterprise

Definitely agree 15 25 12 19 9 19

Somewhat agree 18 27 28 36 29 35

OR An enterprise is best run by private entrepreneurs

Somewhat agree 31 16 33 27 34 25

Definitely agree 24 16 16 8 15 13

Don't know 11 16 10 10 12 8

E1d. A good job is one that is secure even if it doesn't pay very much

Definitely agree 35 34 25 35 17 13

Somewhat agree 32 23 32 31 36 32

OR A good job pays a lot of money, even if it is not so secure

Somewhat agree 18 17 28 20 27 35

Definitely agree 9 19 10 9 13 18

Don't know 6 8 5 4 5 2

E1e. Government should cut taxes even if it means reducing spending on education, health care and pensions

Definitely agree	16	20	11	17	10	7
Somewhat agree	22	28	19	15	23	20

OR Even if it means people like myself pay more in taxes, government should spend more on education, health and pensions

Somewhat agree	30	18	41	43	38	42
Definitely agree	15	15	14	9	19	19
Don't know	17	19	15	15	10	12

E2. 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	3	2	2	2	1	1
Fairly satisfied	44	33	39	23	44	33
Not very satisfied	47	50	49	54	44	42
Not at all satisfied	6	15	10	20	11	24

E3a. 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	1	2	3	1	1	1
Maybe	6	7	16	12	12	8
Not very likely	58	58	54	57	54	56
Not at all likely	26	14	19	12	21	26
Don't know	8	18	8	18	12	9

E3b. If Parliament was closed down and parties abolished, would you:

Definitely approve	7	9	8	6	4	6
Somewhat approve	12	16	17	24	13	19
Somewhat disapprove	33	30	40	37	39	40
Definitely disapprove	34	20	20	10	29	18
Don't know	14	25	15	23	16	17

LitL *LitR* *LatL* *LatR* *EstE* *EstR*

DEMTYP Typology of Democrats¹³

Confident democrats	64	62	55	75	69	69
Anxious democrats	3	8	7	6	1	5
Hopeful authoritarians	9	12	8	9	9	8
Dejected authoritarians	24	17	30	10	21	18

REPEFF Representative or effective democrats¹⁴

Representative democrats	67	46	60	42	70	54
Effective democrats	11	20	10	19	11	17
Alienated	7	9	9	12	7	10
Authoritarian	14	25	20	27	12	20

E4. Here is a scale ranging from 1 to 10: 1 means complete dictatorship and 10 means complete democracy. (SHOW CARD - horizontal scale)

E4a. Where would you like our political system to be?

1 Complete dictatorship	0	1	1	1	-	-
2	0	1	0	1	0	-
3	1	3	1	2	1	2
4	2	3	2	4	2	2
5	7	9	9	15	8	11
6	6	8	6	10	7	11
7	7	14	12	14	14	11
8	18	19	17	15	22	20
9	16	6	10	11	16	13

¹³ Confident democrats: Disapproves suspension of Parliament (E3b) AND considers suspension unlikely (E3a). Anxious democrats: Disapproves suspension of Parliament AND considers suspension likely. Hopeful authoritarians: Approves suspension of Parliament AND considers suspension likely. Dejected authoritarians: Approves suspension of Parliament AND considers suspension unlikely.

¹⁴ Representative democrats: Disapproves suspension of Parliament (E3b) AND prefers parliamentary system to a strong leader (B3b). Effective democrats: Disapproves suspension of Parliament AND prefers a strong leader to parliamentary system. Alienated: Approves suspension of Parliament AND rejects a strong leader. Authoritarian: Approves suspension of Parliament AND prefers a strong leader.

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
10 Complete democracy	38	26	38	20	23	20
Don't know	5	10	4	6	7	10
Mean	8.4	7.5	8.2	7.3	8.0	7.6
Standard deviation	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.1	1.7	1.9

E4b. Where would you place our country at the present time?

1 Complete dictatorship	1	1	1	5	0	3
2	2	1	2	5	1	2
3	3	3	6	11	3	6
4	6	6	11	16	8	10
5	20	26	31	23	19	17
6	16	15	18	15	20	13
7	17	18	11	6	21	13
8	19	10	6	3	14	12
9	7	6	1	1	5	6
10 Complete democracy	4	4	2	2	1	3
Don't know	6	10	9	11	7	15
Mean	6.4	6.2	5.5	4.7	6.2	5.9
Standard deviation	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.9	1.6	2.1

E4c. Where would you expect our country to be in five years' time?

1 Complete dictatorship	1	1	1	2	1	1
2	0	1	1	2	0	1
3	1	2	2	3	1	7
4	2	3	3	8	2	2
5	7	7	11	14	5	8
6	8	7	13	14	10	8
7	14	17	17	17	18	13
8	24	18	17	10	22	17
9	16	9	8	3	14	8
10 Complete democracy	10	8	5	2	4	5
Don't know	16	27	21	24	22	29

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
Mean	7.5	7.2	6.8	6.0	7.3	6.7
Standard deviation	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.9	1.7	2.1

E5. Do you think having regular elections makes politicians do what people want?

To a large extent	4	4	5	2	4	3
To some extent	41	33	33	23	43	28
Not very much	33	39	41	51	41	43
Not at all	21	23	20	24	12	26

F. HEALTH AND PERSONAL SECURITY

F1. How would you evaluate the work of the police in preventing crime in your community?

Very good	2	3	7	5	3	1
Fairly good	38	36	49	44	45	32
Not so good	43	46	33	37	43	47
Bad	16	15	11	13	9	20

F2. In the past year, have you or anyone in your family or friends been the victim of a crime on the street or had your house broken into?¹⁵

Yes, self	15	13	7	5	9	9
Yes, member of family	11	16	6	8	8	10
Yes, friend	12	12	10	17	22	25
No one experienced crime	61	59	77	71	61	56

F3. Over the past 12 months, would you say your physical health has been:

Very good	5	5	8	3	8	1
Good	29	26	40	39	33	31
Average	50	46	39	43	43	52

¹⁵ More than one answer permitted but recoded to sum to 100 per cent by combining replies as follows: if self and family member or friend, count as self; if family member and friend, count as family member.

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
Poor	14	20	11	13	13	12
Very poor	3	3	2	1	2	4

F4. Over the past 12 months, would you say your emotional health has been:

Very good	3	3	6	2	6	2
Good	29	15	41	30	31	26
Average	53	63	43	53	49	52
Poor	13	17	8	14	13	17
Very poor	1	2	1	1	1	3

F5. How would you evaluate the current system for health care in this country?

Very good	0	2	1	1	1	0
Fairly good	22	25	20	19	28	16
Not so good	57	49	46	49	52	43
Bad	21	23	32	31	19	41

F6. Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while others feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. How about yourself? Where would you place yourself on this scale, where (1) represents having no freedom or control over how your life turns out and (10) represents having a great deal of free choice and control? (SHOW CARD: horizontal scale)

1 None	1	4	2	2	1	5
2	3	3	2	5	2	5
3	6	15	7	9	9	15
4	9	10	12	12	8	14
5	17	15	17	18	22	12
6	16	17	18	18	19	12
7	13	12	16	19	17	14
8	19	14	15	12	13	12
9	8	4	5	4	6	6
10 Great deal	7	6	5	2	3	5

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
Mean	6.3	5.6	6.0	5.7	6.0	5.5
Standard deviation	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.4

F7. Do you smoke cigarettes?

Yes, smoke now	29	33	35	43	38	39
Smoked in past	16	17	17	13	18	21
Have never smoked	54	50	48	44	44	41

F8. Here is a list of activities that you might do during a typical day. Does your health now limit your ability in these activities? If so, how much? (SHOW CARD) *Three options for each item below.*

F8a. Vigorous activities such as running, lifting heavy objects, participating in strenuous sports

Yes, limited a lot	26	33	15	17	19	21
Yes, limited a little	32	22	26	32	29	31
No, not limited at all	42	45	59	51	52	48

F8b. Moderate activities such as moving a table, pushing a vacuum cleaner

Yes, limited a lot	5	7	3	3	2	3
Yes, limited a little	13	18	11	14	12	13
No, not limited at all	82	75	86	83	86	84

F8c. Lifting or carrying a bag of groceries

Yes, limited a lot	4	5	4	2	2	4
Yes, limited a little	11	16	10	13	11	14
No, not limited at all	86	79	86	85	87	82

F8d. Climbing several flights of stairs

Yes, limited a lot	6	7	7	3	4	5
Yes, limited a little	13	18	13	16	20	15
No, not limited at all	81	75	80	81	76	79

F8e. Climbing one flight of stairs

Yes, limited a lot	2	1	2	1	1	2
--------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
Yes, limited a little	7	12	5	6	8	7
No, not limited at all	90	87	93	93	91	91
F8f. Bending, kneeling or stooping						
Yes, limited a lot	5	7	5	3	6	6
Yes, limited a little	13	15	11	14	20	16
No, not limited at all	81	78	84	83	75	78
F8g. Walking two kilometres						
Yes, limited a lot	8	12	7	4	6	8
Yes, limited a little	14	16	13	20	15	15
No, not limited at all	78	73	80	76	79	76
F8h. Walking one kilometre						
Yes, limited a lot	6	7	4	3	3	7
Yes, limited a little	10	14	8	11	9	7
No, not limited at all	84	79	87	86	88	86
F8i. Walking one hundred metres						
Yes, limited a lot	2	1	2	2	1	1
Yes, limited a little	4	8	7	7	3	4
No, not limited at all	94	91	91	92	96	95
F8j. Bathing and dressing yourself						
Yes, limited a lot	1	1	1	0	0	1
Yes, limited a little	4	5	4	3	3	4
No, not limited at all	95	94	95	97	96	95

G. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

G1b. Where were you born?

This country	97	57	96	62	96	43
Other Baltic state	0	0	1	2	-	1
Russia	2	15	2	20	3	37
Belarus	0	17	0	7	-	8

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
Ukraine	0	8	0	4	1	7
Poland	0	-	0	-	-	0
Other ex-Soviet republic	0	4	0	4	0	2
Other	0	0	-	0	0	1

G1c. What language did you speak at home when you were a child?

Estonian/Latvian/Lith'ian	92	3	90	3	96	2
Russian	4	61	8	88	3	89
Polish	3	24	1	0	-	1
Finnish	-	-	-	0	-	-
Belorussian	0	5	-	3	-	3
Ukrainian	0	5	-	2	1	3
Other	0	1	1	2	0	2

G1d. What language(s) do you usually speak at home today? (More than one language coded if appropriate)

Estonian	0	1	-	-	99	6
Latvian	0	-	94	12	-	0
Lithuanian	97	24	0	-	-	0
Russian	6	87	12	96	2	98
Polish	2	24	0	-	-	0
Belorussian	0	3	-	0	0	1
Ukrainian	0	1	-	-	0	2
Other	0	1	0	-	0	1

G2. Gender

Female	45	47	53	52	47	44
Male	55	53	47	47	53	56

G3. What is your current marital status?

Never married	17	14	20	16	21	13
Live together; not married	5	3	15	15	23	15
Married but live apart	3	2	5	4	3	3
Married and live together	52	55	42	43	33	49

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
Divorced	9	11	10	11	11	9
Widow(er)	14	14	9	11	8	10

G4a. What is your economic status?

Employed full or part time	43	54	62	62	53	55
Unemployed, seeking work	10	7	8	6	4	3
Pensioner	28	32	18	19	7	7
Pensioner and employed	3	2	3	2	21	23
Student	10	4	6	5	8	7
Housewife	6	1	3	5	8	5

IMPUNEMP Impact of unemployment¹⁶

Unemployed	10	7	8	6	4	3
Employed	45	55	64	64	73	78
Outside the labour force	44	38	28	29	23	18

LABFOR Labour force participation¹⁷

Employed	45	55	64	64	73	78
Unemployed, aged 18-59	10	7	8	6	1	1
Outside the labour force	44	38	28	29	26	20

IF EMPLOYED:

G4b. Are you a member of a trade union?

Yes	9	11	20	16	11	21
No	91	89	80	84	89	78

G4c. Which of the following best describes your employer? Is it:

¹⁶ Unemployed: respondent says s/he is unemployed (G4a). Employed: full-time or part-time employed or working pensioner. Outside the labour force: all other cases.

¹⁷ Employed: full-time or part-time employed or working pensioner (G4a) Unemployed: respondent says s/he is unemployed and is aged 18-59 (G1). Outside the labour force: all other cases.

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
State budgetary organization (e.g. school, hospital)	30	30	18	16	22	15
State-owned enterprise	6	9	14	10	7	9
Privatized enterprise	18	16	23	15	27	6
Mixed state-private	6	3	5	7	4	10
New private enterprise since 1990	35	35	31	38	29	47
Foreign-owned enterprise, joint venture	5	5	5	3	9	13
Other	0	1	5	10	1	-

G5. What is your highest level of education? (IF a student, record qualification for which currently studying, for example university degree or technical college qualification)

Elementary or lower	9	6	13	10	15	5
Incomplete secondary	12	14	8	7	7	6
Incomplete secondary, vocational	3	5	5	7	8	4
Complete secondary	21	22	19	19	24	20
Complete secondary, vocational	31	28	31	32	28	33
Higher incomplete	6	3	10	8	5	8
University degree	19	22	15	17	12	25

G6. In this envelope is a ballot with the names of political parties. Please put a cross by the name of the party that you are likely to vote for in the parliamentary election next month? (IN LITHUANIA: the party you voted for in the parliamentary election on 10 October 2004)

LITHUANIA

Labour	27	34
Liberal Democrats	3	2
Liberal and Centre Union	7	1
Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action	1	7

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
New Union	1	2				
Social Democrats	12	5				
Homeland Union	11	1				
Union of Farmers' Party and New Democracy Party	4	4				
Other	1	1				
Did not vote	29	38				
No answer	4	5				

LATVIA

Union of Green and Farmers			7	2		
Fatherland and Freedom-LNNK			8	-		
Latvian Social Democratic Worker Party			3	5		
Party of "Latvija's Way"			4	1		
The People's Party			11	1		
New Era			12	4		
Latvia's First Party			2	2		
Human Rights in a United Latvia			2	23		
People's Harmony Party			3	9		
Socialist Party of Latvia			0	2		
Other			2	2		
Would not vote			17	21		
Don't know			24	25		
No answer			2	2		

ESTONIA

Centre Party					16	37
People's Union					11	1
United People's Party					1	6
Reform Party					11	3
Social-Democratic Party					6	1
Social-Democratic Labour Party					1	2
Fatherland Party					6	-
Res Publica					6	7

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
Other					2	1
Would not vote					19	24
Don't know/No answer					21	19

G7. Looking at this card, what would you say was the total income of your family during the last month from all sources? (SHOW CARD) (in respective nations' currencies)

Median income: Balts	601-900Lt*	121-150Lvl*	4000-5000Kr*			
Median income: Russians	401-600Lt	" " "	5000-6000Kr			
No answer	4%	7%	8%	10%	19%	13%

* Lt=Liits; Lvl= Lats; Kr=Kroons.

G8a. What religious group do you belong to?

Roman Catholic	92	45	24	14	3	3
Protestant	2	1	42	2	23	-
Orthodox Church	1	43	7	54	4	72
Jewish	-	1	0	0	0	0
Muslim	0	1	-	-	0	-
Other	1	3	1	10	3	1
Not a believer	4	5	26	19	67	23

G8b. How often do you go to church or religious services?

At least once a week	9	14	3	3	2	4
Once or twice a month	14	16	6	8	2	9
A few times a year	43	34	25	28	13	29
About once a year	19	16	15	18	7	15
Less often	8	9	14	15	5	15
Never go to church	7	10	36	27	70	29

G9. There are people in a high position in this society and others who have a low status. Where would you put yourself on this ladder: (SHOW CARD with vertical ladder as below):

7 Highest status	1	1	0	-	1	1
6	6	4	3	2	4	4

	<i>LitL</i>	<i>LitR</i>	<i>LatL</i>	<i>LatR</i>	<i>EstE</i>	<i>EstR</i>
5	21	18	16	11	19	26
4	36	35	37	36	37	27
3	24	25	31	34	26	23
2	11	13	11	14	10	15
1 Lowest status	1	3	2	3	3	4
Mean	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.8	3.7
Standard deviation	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.3

G10. Do you think people today are afraid to say what they think to strangers?

Definitely afraid	16	22	13	10	10	10
Somewhat	38	28	33	32	34	34
Not particularly	32	32	35	44	42	41
Not at all afraid	13	18	20	14	13	15

G11. Town size

Village	30	20	43	14	50	7
Small town (up to 50K)	28	28	23	15	22	24
Big town (more than 50K)	27	12	12	23	6	22
Capital	14	40	22	47	20	47

ESTONIAN SAMPLE

Fieldwork in Estonia was conducted between 4-17 November 2004 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 also stratified by region and city proportionate to population. A total of 177 primary sampling units were selected, and 152 bi-lingual field staff 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 whose birthday was closest to an age, gender and nationality grid. A total of 2243 households were initially contacted; of these, 301 had no respondent who matched the sample grid. Of the 1,942 persons from whom an interview was sought, 435 refused, there was no one at home after three calls in 416 cases, and the respondent was not at home after three calls in 85 cases. Of the 1006 interviews, 65.9 percent were conducted in Estonian and 34.1 percent in Russian.

The sample results were compared with official demographic data for urban/rural residence, gender, age and region. The resulting differences were consistently small; for example, the percentage of Estonians was increased by 1.3 percentage points and of males by 0.1 points. The sample was weighted to match the census. Because the New Baltic Barometer is concerned with the adult population, the 66 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 under the direction of Professor Brigita Zepa. Fieldwork took place between 5 November-22 December 2004. The universe was all residents of Latvia age between 15 and 74. A sample was selected through a multi-stage random sampling procedure, with stratification by region, district and urbanization proportionate to population. A total of 110 sampling points were selected and 50 trained bi-lingual staff were assigned to conduct face-to-face interviews. 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 none was resident, the youngest female member of the household. Of the 1,519 households contacted, 1000 were interviewed. In 80 households there was no one home after three calls; in 152 cases there were refusals by the

household member answering the door; in 258 cases refusal by the selected respondents; and 29 persons selected were rejected by the interviewers. Of the total interviews, 62.0 percent were in Latvian and 38.0 percent in Russian. Because the New Baltic Barometer is concerned with the adult population, 44 respondents between age 15 through 17 are excluded from the figures reported in this *SPP* paper. Weights were then applied by the CSPP to match official data, resulting in marginal changes in numbers, for example, changing the gender balance by 0.2 percent.

LITHUANIAN SAMPLE

Surveying in Lithuania was undertaken by VILMORUS, Vilnius, under the direction of Dr. Vladas Gaidys. The initial round of interviewing took place 3-19 December 2004. A nationwide representative sample was interviewed face-to-face by a team of 109 interviewers bi-lingual in Lithuanian and Russian, working under 20 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 109 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. The interviewer then proceeded according to a fixed random pattern to select a household for an interview. Of the total of 2,156 addresses selected, 122 were excluded because they were non-residential. Within the 2,034 valid residential addresses, the respondent whose birthday was nearest to the date of interview was selected for questioning. There were 433 refusals to be interviewed, 64 respondents were rejected as unsuitable because of drunkenness or other reasons for disqualification; and in 424 cases the selected respondent was not at home after three visits. Ten percent of the interviewers were verified by telephone.

Because the number of Russian-speakers in a nationwide sample is limited, a booster sample of 106 Russian-speakers was subsequently interviewed in towns with a higher density of Russian-speakers. In Vilnius, Klapeida and Visaginas a random route procedure was used and in Salcininaki, Svencionys and Pabrade interviewers chose an address randomly in a neighbourhood where Russians tended to live and then sought an interview at every sixth house.

Altogether, 1,113 persons were interviewed: 891 Lithuanian-speakers and 222 Russian-speakers. Of the 97 ethnic Poles contacted, 68 chose to be interviewed in Russian and 29 in Lithuanian. Results were weighted by the CSPP on the basis of age and gender data from the 2001 census.