

Panel Study of Political Values in the Former Soviet Union, 1990–1992

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ICPSR 6731

PANEL STUDY OF POLITICAL VALUES IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION, 1990 - 1992

(ICPSR 6731)

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DATA COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

James L. Gibson and Raymond M. Duch
PANEL STUDY OF POLITICAL VALUES IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION,
1990-1992 (ICPSR 6731)

SUMMARY: This panel study sought to assess the commitment to democratic values and the rates of political participation of the Soviet mass public. Two separate surveys were conducted in 1990 and 1992 across a wide range of areas of the former Soviet Union. A total of 4,309 respondents participated in the 1992 survey, of whom 698 were panel respondents who also took part in the 1990 survey. The full 1990 survey, which included 1,551 respondents, available as SURVEY OF SOVIET VALUES, 1990 (ICPSR 6099). Those who participated in these surveys were queried about current events, including their interest in print and broadcast media, their views on the Soviet political scene, interactions with government officials at different levels, the rights of union republics to leave the Soviet Union, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, Soviet foreign policies, and the role government should play in their lives. Other major topics included opinions about the Soviet military, chances of nuclear war, reunification of Germany, the balance of power in Europe, democratic reforms in Eastern Europe, personal rights and liberties, perestroika, appropriate national goals, the Cold War, and the Jewish influence on Russian culture. Respondents also provided assessments of their satisfaction with life, the availability of various consumer goods and services, attitudes toward various groups of people, general impressions of certain political actors and their governments, the condition of the Soviet economy and its future prospects, forms of criticism that would be tolerated if they opposed governmental policies, assessment of a more decentralized economic system, the role of government in society, and efforts to unify the countries of Western Europe. Other questions focused on attitudes toward political parties and competition; confidence in major social institutions such as the justice system, trade unions, the church, and the armed forces; and various problems affecting respondents' families. Respondents also provided their opinions of how they felt their own lives were affected by the movement toward democracy and how it affected the lives of others. Additional questions probed for opinions on economic, social, and political change; personal rights and freedoms; participation in and contacts with political and civic organizations; interactions with family and friends to discuss important problems; tasks that the country needed to solve in the next 10 or 15 years; and the attempted coup of 1991. Self-administered questionnaires were also part of both the 1990 and 1992 surveys. Demographic information collected includes age, sex, religion, marital status, education, employment, political party and trade union membership, nationality, income, region of birth, native language, and housing.

UNIVERSE: Adult noninstitutionalized population of the territory of the former Soviet Union as it was constituted on December 31, 1991.

SAMPLING: Multistage, stratified, probability sample.

NOTE: (1) Those who make use of these data should acknowledge the support of the National Science Foundation (SES-9023565), the Advanced Research Program (003652-164), the College of Social Sciences and the Limited Grant-in-Aid Program at the University of Houston, and the USSR Academy of Sciences. Copies of all papers written on the basis of these data should be sent to James Gibson. (2) The codebook is provided as a Portable Document Format (PDF) file. The PDF file format was developed by Adobe Systems Incorporated and can be accessed using PDF reader software, such as the Adobe Acrobat Reader. Information on how to obtain a copy of the Acrobat Reader is provided through the ICPSR Website on the Internet.

EXTENT OF COLLECTION: 1 data file + machine-readable documentation (PDF) + SAS data definition statements + SPSS data definition statements

EXTENT OF PROCESSING: DDEF.ICPSR/ MDATA.PR/ REFORM.DATA/REFORM.DOC/ SCAN

DATA FORMAT: Logical Record Length with SAS and SPSS data definition statements and SPSS export file

File Structure: rectangular

Cases: 4,309 Variables: 1,067 Record Length: 1,260 Records Per Case: 1

RELATED PUBLICATIONS:

Gibson, James L. "'A Mile Wide but an Inch Deep' (?): The Structure of Democratic Commitments in the Former USSR." AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE 40 (May 1996), 396-420.

Gibson, James L. "The Resilience of Mass Support for Democratic Institutions and Processes in the Nascent Russian and Ukrainian Democracies." In Vladimir Tismaneanu (ed.), POLITICAL CULTURE AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN RUSSIA AND THE NEW STATES OF EURASIA. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharp, 1995, pp. 53-111.

Gibson, James L. "Political and Economic Markets: Changes in the Connections Between Attitudes Toward Political Democracy and a Market Economy Within the Mass Culture of Russia and Ukraine." JOURNAL OF POLITICS 58 (November 1996), 954-984.

Panel Study of Political Values in the Former Soviet Union, 1990-1992

James L. Gibson, Principal Investigator

Appendix A: The Sample and Survey

This data set is based on two surveys. The first was conducted in May 1990 and is representative of the European portion of the USSR as it was constituted in 1990. The second was conducted in February/March 1992 and is representative of the entire territory of the former USSR, except the Baltics. The details of the methodology follow.

The Universe

The total 1992 sample was designed to be representative of the territory of the Soviet Union as constituted in late 1991. This includes all of the former Soviet Union except the Baltics. Thus, the sample is representative of eleven republics that in 1992 comprised the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) plus Georgia.

Our survey was designed well before the break-up of the Soviet Union. We anticipated that the Baltics would leave the union, and, since the Baltic states are so small, we made an early decision to exclude them from the survey population. We did not anticipate the August Putsch; nor did we expect the Soviet Union to devolve into its individual republics and then be re-constituted as a commonwealth.

We did, however, anticipate that some analysis would be conducted at the republic-level. Consequently, the sample was designed to be representative of the RSFSR and Ukraine. In the case of Russia, with its large population and hence large number of survey respondents, this simply required increasing the number of sampling points. In the case of Ukraine, this meant both increasing the number of sampling points and selecting an oversample. The unweighted number of respondents in Russia is 2,536¹; in Ukraine it is 1,006. These samples are representative of the republic.

¹This number includes special oversamples in Moscow and Leningrad. Details on these are provided below.

It is also possible to aggregate the survey respondents living in Soviet Central Asia (Kazakastan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, Tadzhikistan, and Turkmenia) and draw inferences about opinion in that area of the country. This is especially important due to the political significance of the Moslem portion of the former USSR. A total of 443 interviews was completed in Soviet Central Asia.²

Thus, the 1992 sample will support inferences to 1) the entire former Soviet Union, excluding the Baltics; 2) Russia; 3) Ukraine; and 4) Soviet Central Asia.

Our original goal in the 1990 survey was to include residents from all territory within the European USSR. Except for two areas, the goal was achieved. In the original sample, 54 respondents were targeted from Azerbaijan. Due to political unrest in the Republic (Spring, 1990), including the situation with the Soviet military, we deemed it difficult and perhaps dangerous for interviewers to attempt any interviews. Consequently, we cannot generalize our 1990 findings to include Azerbaijan.

In addition, there were approximately 5 subjects targeted from the European portion of Kazakastan. Due to the expense of interviewing these subjects, and because Kazakastan is only partially and nominally in Europe, these interviews were not attempted.

Thus, the specific geographical universe from which the 1990 sample was drawn includes residents of the Republics of: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belorussia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Georgia, Armenia, and the portion of Russia west of the Ural Mountains.

The Sample

The 1992 survey was comprised of two distinct components -- reinterviews of respondents from our 1990 survey and interviews with respondents from a newly drawn sample. While both subsets of respondents must be analyzed in order to have a representative sample in 1992, it is propitious to explicate these two sub-samples separately.

The 1992 survey included the second wave of a panel, using the May 1990 survey as the first-wave interviews. The May 1990 survey was based on a sample representative of the European portion of the USSR, but

²Another 324 interviews were completed in the other European republics but generalization to a larger universe for these respondents is somewhat dangerous.

the sample was *not* designed to represent the individual republics. A total of 1,561 interviews was completed in 1990.

Residents of some of the territory represented by the 1990 sample were not eligible for inclusion in the second wave of the panel. We decided to exclude the Baltics due to their succession from the Soviet Union. In addition, it was not possible to re-interview respondents in Moldavia and Georgia. After the 1990 survey, the survey team in Georgia refused to give the list of respondent names to our colleagues in Moscow. Due to the political turmoil in Georgia in 1991 and 1992, the original listing of names in that republic was destroyed, thus making a panel in Georgia impossible. Indeed, under the conditions of near civil war at the time of the 1992 survey, we were lucky to be able to complete interviews with the newly-selected (non-panel) respondents. Similar problems (though less severe) plagued us in Moldavia.

Thus, the panel is drawn from residents of Belorussia, Ukraine, Armenia, and the European portion of Russia.³ In light of the proportionate sizes of Belorussia and Armenia, the panel overwhelmingly is drawn from Ukraine and Russia. Table A1 reports the number of respondents in the panel from each of the republics.

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³In the initial 1990 survey there was only a single sampling point in Central Russia -- Klin. In order to draw a more representative sample for the national survey, two additional sampling points were selected (Murom and Kovrov) for the 1992 survey. Due to the addition of these sampling points, the number of respondents from Klin who were eligible for the panel was reduced (via random sampling) from 123 to 85. That is, 35 of the Klin respondents in the 1990 survey were deemed not eligible for inclusion in the 1992 panel survey. An additional 26 respondents in Ukraine, 13 in Armenia, and 27 in Russia were not eligible for the panel for various other reasons.

Table A1. Sample Composition, 1992 All-Union Survey

| | Unweighted Number of Respondents | Panel Respondents | Non-Panel Respondents |
|--------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Armenia | 32 | 6 | 26 |
| Azerbaijan | 70 | 0 | 70 |
| Belorussia | 115 | 40 | 75 |
| Georgia | 62 | 0 | 62 |
| Kazakastan | 170 | 0 | 170 |
| Kirgizia | 39 | 0 | 39 |
| Moldavia | 45 | 0 | 45 |
| Russia | 2,536 | 481 | 2,055 |
| Tadzhikistan | 42 | 0 | 42 |
| Ukraine | 1,006 | 171 | 835 |
| Turkmenia | 23 | 0 | 23 |
| Uzbekistan | 169 | 0 | 169 |
| Total | 4,309 | 698 | 3,611 |

The non-panel sample was then selected to complement the panel sample and to be representative of the entire territory of the former Soviet Union except the Baltics. The sample is a multi-stage stratified sample. At the initial stage of the sampling, geographical units were classified according to four statistical indices: (1) the level of industrial development (e.g., the number of plants and factories); (2) the level of well-being of the population (e.g., income per family); (3) ethno-cultural peculiarities (e.g., the degree of homogeneity of the distribution of nationalities); and (4) accessibility of cultural amenities (e.g., the numbers of libraries, cinemas, theaters, etc.). These criteria were selected due to their assumed importance in structuring the beliefs of ordinary respondents. The geographical units classified were the oblasts in Russia and Ukraine, and the Republics elsewhere. A total of 85 units was classified within these 18 homogeneous strata.

At the second stage of the sampling, eight substrata were identified, including: (1) capitals of the union republics with a population of more than 1 million; (2) capitals of the union republics with a population less than 1 million; (3) regional centers with a population more than 1 million; (4) regional centers with a population less than 1 million; (5) centers of the autonomous republics, regions, districts; (6) peripheral towns of the autonomous

republics, regions, districts; (7) Moscow and Leningrad⁴; and (8) villages. Each geographical unit fitting within the 18 * 8 matrix was then enumerated, and units were sampled. Sampling points were drawn from each cell in the matrix. Where there was discretion on which of several units to select, experts on the area were consulted in an effort to select the most representative unit. The strategy resulted in 62 sampling points.

As we indicated above, the combined panel and non-panel samples are representative of Russia and Ukraine. In order to achieve a sample size sufficient for relatively precise generalization to the level of the republic, the primary Ukrainian sample was supplemented with an over-sample. The same methodology was used in selecting the over-sample. The result is that 1,006 people were interviewed in Ukraine.

The non-panel Russian sample also had two over-samples -- one in Moscow and the other in Leningrad. The purpose of these over-samples was to allow more careful examination of the reactions of Soviets to the Putsch of August 1991. The enlarged sample size in Moscow is 515; in Leningrad, it is 511.

A primary sample of 1,590 respondents was selected for the 1990 survey. In anticipation of the non-response rate, a supplementary sample of 410 respondents was also drawn. Respondents from each of the Republics identified above were included in the sample. The sampling methodology for the 1990 survey was virtually identical to that used in our 1992 survey.

Respondent Selection

Within each of these sampling points, respondents in the non-panel sub-sample were selected through random procedures. The same procedures were used in the 1990 and 1992 samples. Using the records of the address bureaus and farm records, specific named respondents were identified. Thus, unlike many western samples, there was no need to select individual respondents within households using household enumeration methods.

It is important to consider whether the records of the address and farm bureaus constitute a useful sampling frame. Certainly these records are superior to voting lists, which are derived mainly from the address

⁴Throughout this appendix, I refer to places by the names that were in use at the time of the survey.

and farm records themselves. But using these records clearly has some potential disadvantages, in addition to their many important advantages.

The first question is whether these records fairly completely enumerate the population. We believe they probably do. At the time of the survey, there was a strong incentive for all Soviet people to register with the bureaus. It is the records from these bureaus that were used to issue the internal passports. Not only was it a criminal offense not to register, but this was also the required point of registration for military service. These records also became quite important at the time of the survey for purposes of rationing. They also have the advantage of being updated continuously.

At the same time, however, it is clear that some Soviets did not live where they are thought to live according to the official records. The proportion of people in this category is impossible to judge with any precision, but is probably on the order of 10 to 15 percent in large cities, much less in small cities, and practically nil in villages and rural areas. Thus, it was impossible to locate some of the respondents selected to be interviewed because they did not live where we expected them to live.

With the systematic geographical exceptions noted above, all respondents in the 1990 survey were eligible to be reinterviewed. Thus, no sampling of individual respondents was necessary for the panel component.

Weighting

In light of the fairly complex sample structure, and especially the unequal probabilities of selection for different respondents, it is necessary to weight the data. The weights applied are:

| Moscow respondents: | .28 |
|------------------------------|------|
| Leningrad respondents: | .17 |
| Central Ukraine respondents: | .63 |
| Western Ukraine respondents: | 1.30 |
| Eastern Ukraine respondents: | 1.00 |
| | |

All other respondents:

This weighting scheme has the advantages of weighting respondents by their (proportional) probability of selection while maintaining the actual number of completed interviews (an advantage for tests of statistical significance).

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Response Rate

As might be predicted, the response rates for the panel and the non-panel portions of the survey differ significantly. Table A2 reports the response rate and the reasons for non-response.

Table A2. Reasons for Non-Response, 1992 All-Union Survey

| | I N | Non-Panel Percent | P: N | anel Percent |
|--|--------|----------------------|---------|-----------------|
| | | | | |
| No Interview Completed | 607 | 14.4 | 651 | 48.3 |
| No contact could be made with respondent | 381 | 9.0 | 436 | 32.3 |
| Respondent refused interview | 168 | 4.0 | 135 | 10.0 |
| Respondent was incapacitated | 27 | 0.6 | 46 | 3.4 |
| Other | 31 | 0.7 | 34 | 2.5 |
| Interview Completed | 3,611 | 85.6 | 698 | 51.7 |
| Total | 1,218 | 100.0 | 1,349 | 100.0 |

The response rate for the non-panel portion of the 1992 sample is quite high -- 85.6 percent. This is typical of Soviet surveys. The Soviet people have (at least until 1992) been quite receptive to giving their views to opinion pollsters.

The panel, however, has a significantly smaller response rate -- 51.7 percent. Because the rate is relatively low, it is important to try to make some judgments about the causes of non-response.

As is typically the case in survey research, direct refusals to be interviewed were rare. Only 4.0 percent of the non-panel respondents and 10.0 percent of the panel respondents refused to be interviewed. That the panel figure is slightly higher may reflect something of the respondent's evaluation of the experience in the first interview.

The most significant difference between the panel and non-panel respondents is that subjects in the former often could not be located. In nearly one-third of the attempted panel interviews (32.3 percent), we were unsuccessful in making any contact with the respondent. This contrasts with 9.0 percent for the non-panel respondents. Small percentages of both sub-samples were unable to be interviewed for a variety of other reasons (e.g., intoxication).

Thus, the potential bias in the non-panel data due to non-response is trivial and need not concern us. The non-response in the panel, however, is far from trivial and requires more careful investigation.

Non-Response in the Panel

Table A3 describes the response rates for the panel respondents in each of these republics. Our greatest difficulties were with the subjects from Armenia -- we were successful in re-interviewing only 19.4 percent of the original respondents. This was mainly due to the inability to locate respondents from the 1990 survey. Many had changed their places of residence, leaving no trace as to their whereabouts. This is perhaps not surprising in light of the turmoil in Armenia. Surveys during wartime are always difficult.

Table A3. Response Rates by Republic, Panel Respondents, 1990 -- 1992

| | Belorussia | Ukraine | Armenia | Russia |
|--|------------|---------|---------|--------|
| Interview completed | 50.6 | 45.6 | 19.4 | 55.7 |
| No contact could be made with the respondent | 34.2 | 34.9 | 64.5 | 29.9 |
| Respondent refused to be interviewed | 8.9 | 12.5 | 6.5 | 9.1 |
| Other | 6.3 | 6.9 | 9.7 | 5.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 79 | 375 | 31 | 864 |

The most important difference in this table is between the two large republics, Ukraine and Russia (European portion). The response rate in Ukraine was about 10 percent lower than in Russia, with the difference being mainly a function of our inability to locate panel respondents in Ukraine. Refusal rates were also somewhat higher. We have no ready explanation for the greater difficulty of re-interviewing subjects in Ukraine, except that this may be due to non-Ukrainians relocating due to the demise of the Soviet Union.

In light of an overall response rate for the panel of 51.7 percent, it is useful to consider the nature of the sampling bias present.⁵ Several possible explanations for non-response come immediately to mind. Since the most common reason for non-response is respondent mobility, we hypothesize that the sample is biased in terms of respondent attributes typically related to higher geographical mobility. One of the most obvious such variables is the age of the respondent. The relationship between age and the type of response is shown in Table A4.

Table A4. Response Rates by Age of Respondent, Panel Respondents, 1990 -- 1992

| | Teens & 20s | 30s | 40s | 50s | 60s & Older |
|--|----------------|-------|-------|-------|----------------|
| Interview completed | 47.2 | 58.2 | 56.4 | 51.2 | 48.3 |
| No contact could be made with the respondent | 41.7 | 26.5 | 32.4 | 32.2 | 22.5 |
| Respondent refused to be interviewed | 7.4 | 12.4 | 9.3 | 11.6 | 11.0 |
| Other | 3.7 | 2.8 | 1.8 | 5.0 | 18.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 379 | 249 | 225 | 242 | 236 |

⁵Lavrakas, Settersten, and Maier (1991) report a comparable attrition rate in two RDD surveys in Chicago. They found significant relationships between the second wave response and age, education, race, marital status, and social class.

There is a significant relationship between age and the nature of the response to the 1992 survey. As might be expected, the relationship is curvilinear -- the re-interviewing was least successful among the youngest and oldest respondents. For the young, the most common explanation for the failure to complete the interview was the unavailability of the respondent. This is a common finding -- the young often lead a lifestyle that makes them difficult to contact. For older respondents, the problem was different. Older respondents in the 1990 survey were much more likely to be unable to complete the 1992 interview due to incapacitation or death (the major components of the "other" category). These relationships are not particularly strong, but there is some tendency for the panel sample to under-estimate the views of younger and older respondents.

There are several other possible explanations of non-response, and many of these are tested in Table A5. This table reports a Chi Square test for the response polychotomy and several attributes of the respondents as measured during the 1990 interview. Only a few of the variables are significantly related to the response variable. In addition to the respondent's age, gender, level of education, and marital status are related to the type of response. However, these relationships, though significant (with over 1,300 cases) are not particularly strong. Size of place of residence and (as already noted) republic of residence are also significantly related to the response.

Table A5. Differences in Response Rates, Panel Respondents, 1990 -- 1992

| | Type of Response/Non-Response Chi Square Probability | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Age | .00 | | |
| Gender | .02 | | |
| Level of education | .00 | | |
| Marital status | .00 | | |
| Interest in politics | .05 | | |
| Frequency of political discussions | ns | | |
| Membership in the Communist Party | .02 | | |
| Minority nationality | ns | | |
| Social class ownership of goods | ns | | |
| income | ns | | |
| type of housing | ns | | |
| Size of place of residence | .00 | | |
| Republic of residence | .00 | | |
| Interviewer evaluations of responden | ts | | |
| Friendliness | ns | | |
| Understanding | ns | | |
| Intelligence | .04 | | |
| Honesty | ns | | |
| Social class | ns | | |
| Support for democratic values | ns | | |
| Perceptions of government repression | ns | | |
| Self censorship | ns | | |
| Whether people are free to express o | pinions | | |
| in interviews | ns | | |
| MarloweCrowne Social Desirability | ns | | |
| Ideological self-identification | ns | | |
| Trust in people | ns | | |
| Confidence in political institutions | ns | | |
| Internal political efficacy | ns | | |
| External political efficacy | ns | | |

Note: N is approximately 1,330. ns = not significant; p > .05.

It is also imperative to note that there are many important *non-significant* relationships shown in this table. The type of response is not related to support for democratic values, perceptions of political repression, or the tendency to engage in self censorship. Those who are trustful are no more likely to have completed the interview

than those who are not trustful. Generally, though a few demographic variables are correlated with the type of response, there are few substantive differences between those who participated in the panel and those who did not.

Indeed, the data in Table A5 are themselves a bit misleading because several of the independent variables are inter-correlated. In order to assess the independent effect of each of the significant predictors, a logit analysis was conducted. We defined the dependent variable as a simple "response / non-response" variable and included those variables in Table 5A with a Chi Square significant at .05 or less. Since the effect of age on type of response is clearly curvilinear, we used a set of dummy variables to represent the age categories (as depicted in Table A4). We also used a set of dummy variables to represent the four republics. This analysis is shown in Table A6.

The data in this table confirm that there are few systematic differences between those who were reinterviewed in the panel and those who were not. The analysis confirms the lower response rate in Armenia, slightly lower rates among the very young and very old, and that response rates vary as a function of size of place of residence. None of the other variables is substantively significant, even though their bivariate relationship with the response variable was significant (e.g., level of education).

The size of place of residence relationship requires further scrutiny. The relationship is overwhelmingly a function of a depressed response rate in Moscow and Leningrad (35.5 percent). The response rate in other large cities was 51.9 percent; in the villages, it was 53.4 percent. The entire statistical impact of this variable is due to the difference between subjects from Moscow and Leningrad and the rest of the sample.

Many researchers have observed a growing reluctance on the part of residents of Moscow and Leningrad to participate in surveys, and these observations are confirmed by our analysis. It seems that the initial novelty of interviews has worn off. Moreover, the difficulty of ordinary life in 1992 may have made people more reluctant to donate a portion of their time for the interviews. While this is an important limitation to our analysis, it is at

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⁶In the first stage of this analysis we included all of the variables significantly related to the type of response. The measure of intelligence had a completely insignificant logit coefficient. Since there is a sizable amount of missing data on the intelligence measure, we excluded it from the final logit equation. This decision has little substantive effect on our findings.

least somewhat comforting to find that the problem is not generally an urban-rural distinction but is instead confined to these two large cities. Fortuitously, we have large over-samples in both of these important cities.

Table A6. Predictors on Non-Response, Panel Respondents, 1990 -- 1992

| | Logit Standard | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----------|-------|
| | Coefficie | ent Error | Ratio |
| Age | | | |
| Teens & 20s | 13 | .09 | -1.44 |
| 30s | .06 | .10 | .66 |
| 40s (excluded group) | | | |
| 50s | 10 | .10 | -1.07 |
| 60s & Older | 14 | .10 | -1.44 |
| Gender | .02 | .06 | .31 |
| Level of education | .01 | .03 | .42 |
| Marital status | 05 | .06 | 84 |
| Interest in politics | 02 | .04 | 50 |
| Membership in the Communist Party | 03 | .09 | 31 |
| Size of place of residence | .04 | .02 | 2.09 |
| Republic of residence | | | |
| Belorussia (excluded group) | | | |
| Ukraine | 11 | .13 | 86 |
| Armenia | 60 | .26 | -2.29 |
| Russia | .12 | .12 | .99 |

Note: N is approximately 1,330.

Comparing Aggregate Results in 1990 and 1992

Since the 1990 and 1992 surveys do not "fit" perfectly some adjustments must be made in our definition of a comparable universe for the two surveys. For the 1990 survey, it is necessary to exclude respondents from the Baltics (N = 59). For the 1992 survey, the comparable territory is defined by

Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia, Armenia, and Moldavia (but not Azerbaijan). Of the 4,309 respondents in the 1992 survey, 79.8 percent (3,437) are drawn from territory represented in the 1990 survey, while 20.2 percent are not.

The Questionnaire

Both survey instruments were constructed primarily in the U.S., but were pre-tested in Moscow, and were significantly revised by both the American and Soviet research teams working closely together. The interviews asked a broad array of questions on many topics. The survey instrument was back-translated twice and every effort was made to insure that the questions, though mainly Western in origin, were tailored to the Soviet cultural context. Special attention was given to training the interviewers in techniques more common in Western survey research. Of course, the respondents had no idea that the survey was in any way connected with an American research project.

The Honesty of the Responses

Western researchers inevitably question the degree to which Soviet citizens will reveal their true opinions to interviewers. Though the image of a totalitarian state scrutinizing the activities of all of its citizens has probably always been false, certainly it was not accurate in the 1992 Soviet Union.

Nonetheless, it is important to assess rigorously the degree to which the respondents were honest and open in their responses.

One common method of assessing the respondents is simply to ask the interviewers for their appraisals. This method is far from perfect but does provide an assessment from trained observers. We asked the interviewers to judge whether the respondent, in comparison to other respondents, was honest and open in her or his responses. The interviewers rated 3.5 percent of the respondents as being as honest and open as most respondents; 58.3 percent as somewhat more honest than most; another 13.4 percent as a great deal more honest than most; and only 24.8 percent as not as honest as most. Republic differences

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⁷The 1990 European USSR questionnaire represented the joint efforts of the American and Soviet research teams, and the <u>Los Angeles Times</u>, which paid for a portion of the research. The late I. A. ("Bud") Lewis, Director of <u>The Los Angeles Times Poll</u>, contributed substantially to the design and execution of the survey.

are not great, although there is perhaps a slight tendency for the respondents in Central Asia to be judged as not as open as most. There are moderate and statistically significant differences across gender.

Generally, at least according to the perceptions of the interviewers, a large majority of the respondents was giving truthful answers to our questions.

Another way of assessing the openness of our respondents is to ask them to express an opinion on an issue about which they *cannot* have an opinion. Consequently, we asked the subjects their opinion of "Mishlenti" -- a completely fictitious group. This group was embedded in a larger list of politically active groups, and the respondents were clearly told to indicate when they were unaware of a group or had no opinion toward it.

An important characteristic of our question is that we tried to legitimize a "don't know" response.⁸ The respondents were asked:

And now I'd like to ask you about your attitudes toward some groups of people. I am going to read you a list of some groups that are currently active in social and political life.

[INTERVIEWER! HAND CARD 17]

Here is a card showing a scale from 1 to 11. A "1" indicates that you <u>dislike</u> the group very much; an "11" indicates that you <u>like</u> the group very much. A "6" means that you neither like nor dislike the group. The other scores reflect varying degrees of like and dislike.

The first group I'd like to ask you about is believers. If you have an opinion about believers, please indicate which figure most closely describes your attitude towards them. If you have no opinion, please tell me. What is your opinion of believers?

Thus, the subjects were actually given two chances not to express an opinion toward the group. They were allowed to say that they had no opinion toward the group, or to claim neutrality toward it. 9 Some

⁸Indeed, the philosophy of the entire questionnaire was to discourage respondents from expressing opinions when they in fact had none. Thus, virtually every question had an explicit and openly offered "don't know" alternative.

⁹We are not entirely certain that the interviewers carefully attended to the distinction between these two types of responses and we have therefore collapsed "don't know" and "neutral" responses in the analysis that follows. The key distinction we wish to pursue here is between those who express a substantive opinion (like or dislike) and those who do not.

earlier research typically has not explicitly offered the respondents a "don't know" response category. 10

A small minority of the respondents expressed an opinion toward the fictitious group -- 17.4 percent of the sample claimed to like Mishlenti, 1.9 percent expressed dislike toward the group. The remainder -- 80.7 percent -- claimed no substantive opinion. Thus, the overwhelming response of the Soviets was to answer this question about a fictitious group honestly and correctly.

There are surprisingly few correlates of willingness to fabricate an opinion. For instance, there are only trivial differences associated with levels of interest in politics, trust in people, wealth, etc. Many of the variables commonly associated with expressing false opinions are not similarly related in the USSR.

Republic differences in the expression of attitudes toward this fictitious group are substantial, however. At one extreme, only 5.7 percent of the 100 respondents in Azerbaijan gave a substantive opinion, while fully 80.0 percent of the 43 respondents in Turkmenia fabricated a view. Russian and Ukrainian respondents were unlikely to claim an opinion toward the group (85.7 and 78.5 percent, respectively). Respondents in the Asian republics were generally more likely to give a response when they could not have had an opinion.

There are also some important interaction effects. For instance, among women, there is virtually no relationship between level of education and opinion fabrication. Among men, however, there is at least a weak relationship, with one fourth of the poorly educated men volunteering an opinion toward Mishlenti. Similarly, while the relationship between education and opinion falsification in the European portion of the country is insignificant, among the Asian respondents, there is at least a slight relationship. A similar effect is found with the age of the respondent. In general, there are few good predictors of opinion falsification in the European portion of the country, while in the Asian portion, we were most

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¹⁰Some research has been very concerned with the nature of the don't know alternatives. For instance, Bishop, Tuchfarber and Oldendick (1986) have demonstrated quite different levels of fictitious opinion that are dependent upon whether the question is filtered or encourages the respondent to express her or his ignorance.

likely to encounter an opinion from women, younger respondents, and the more poorly educated. This most likely reflects a strong willingness to please the interviewer and may be partially a function of the relative infrequency of surveys in Soviet Central Asia.

Finally, the respondents were asked many questions about politics, political leaders, and the regime. While inevitably the characteristics of the interview context have some influence on the responses (sometimes known as the "demand characteristics" of the survey interview), these respondents were willing to express quite anti-regime responses on a wide variety of issues. There is little evidence that they were giving responses that they felt the authorities would like to hear. Thus, we have become entirely convinced that while ordinary processes of social desirability inevitably influence the survey responses 11, there are few extraordinary constraints on the willingness of respondents to express their true views to survey researchers. 12

Interviewer Attributes

Interviewers were recruited and trained by staff from the Institute of Sociology (USSR Academy of Sciences). The interviewers were instructed in standard interview techniques, and many of the interviewers participated in a training seminar in Moscow. A total of 533 interviewers was used. The interviewers completed on average 8.1 interviews (standard deviation = 5.1, with the maximum number of interviews being 42 and the minimum being 1 (by 19 interviewers, mainly supervisors).

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¹¹On many social and political issues in the USSR there are no social norms, thus diminishing the impact of social desirability. For instance, we are convinced that the responses to our questions on anti-Semitism were not tainted by social desirability because so many different views about Jews are so readily expressed in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, we do have a clear example of respondents giving socially desirable answers. In our Moscow survey, we invited some workers to our hotel to answer the draft version of our questions and to serve as something of a focus group. Because these sessions were lengthy and as a sort of payment for their time, we provided the respondents with beer. Several of our questions dealt with alcohol consumption. One in particular asked how often the respondent consumed alcohol. Invariably the response was "only on special occasions," a response clearly derived from Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign. This meeting with us must have been a very special occasion, since a considerable quantity of beer was consumed.

¹²When polls themselves become highly politicized -- as they are not now in the Soviet Union -- respondent truthfulness plummets. For an analysis along these lines of the 1990 Nicaraguan elections see Bischoping and Schuman 1992.

Of the 533 interviewers used in the project, 435 administered the questionnaire to themselves and returned it to Moscow. These interviewers accounted for 3,644 of the completed 4,309 interviews. We were least successful at getting the interviewers in the Asian portion of the Soviet Union to self-administer the questionnaire. Like interviewers in the West, these interviewers were overwhelmingly female (76 percent). The average age was 34 years old. Reflecting their associations with various institutes, the interviewers are quite well educated, with nearly all of them having some university education. Russian is the native language of 81 percent of the interviewers. Virtually none of the interviewers is a member of a political party, but 86 percent claim membership in a trade union. Thus, the Soviet interviewers are better educated than western interviewers, but in most other respects are similar to their western colleagues.

Table A7 reports a comparison of the interviewers and respondents on a variety of items in the questionnaire. Though this is not the place to report a thorough analysis of the difference between the interviewers and the respondents, several aspects of this table are interesting. First, the interviewers tend to be stronger supporters of democratization and stronger opponents of the Communists. For instance, 56 percent of the interviewers disagree that there is too much democracy in the country, while this is true of only 32 percent of the respondents. The interviewers had more interest in politics, were more likely to engage in some resistance to the August 1991 Putsch, and to trust the people but distrust the government. These may be attributes of younger people in general since the interviewers are on average considerably younger than the ordinary population. The interviewers also seem to be more affluent, having traveled outside the country more, and were more likely to own a telephone. While we do not know about the possible bias created, the interviewers clearly did not mirror the population.

Interviewer dishonesty is a potential problem in all survey research. Several steps were taken to discourage cheating on the interviews. First, a fairly elaborate system of supervision was put in place. Second, each questionnaire was carefully checked by a supervisor. Third, with just a few exceptions, interviewers were not allowed to conduct a great number of interviews. Finally, a small percentage of cases was selected for verification. No instances of falsification were discovered.

Table A7. A Comparison of the Attributes of Interviewers with the Attributes of Respondents, Former Soviet Union 1992

| Intervie | ewers Respondents | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------|
| Interest in politics | | |
| Not at all interested | 5.4 | 8.3 |
| Not very interested | 27.7 | 34.6 |
| Interested | 51.5 | 42.9 |
| Very interested | 15.4 | 14.2 |
| Can Marxism-Leninism guide societ | СУ | |
| Strongly believe cannot | 34.7 | 21.4 |
| Believe cannot | 30.8 | 24.2 |
| Uncertain | 26.4 | 37.9 |
| Believe can | 6.7 | 11.5 |
| Strongly believe can | 1.4 | 5.0 |
| Too much democracy in the country | 7 | |
| Strongly disagree | 20.3 | 7.6 |
| Disagree | 35.6 | 24.2 |
| Uncertain | 26.6 | 24.4 |
| Agree | 10.6 | 26.9 |
| Strongly agree | 6.9 | 16.9 |
| Political reform is moving too re | apidly | |
| Strongly disagree | 14.0 | 7.5 |
| Disagree | 42.8 | 25.9 |
| Uncertain | 21.0 | 23.6 |
| Agree | 16.4 | 31.1 |
| Strongly agree | 5.8 | 12.0 |
| Travel Abroad | | |
| Yes | 33.3 | 17.8 |
| No | 66.7 | 82.0 |
| Democracy has changed nothing for | | |
| Strongly disagree | 5.3 | 3.5 |
| Disagree | 39.0 | 24.9 |
| Uncertain | 12.7 | 14.5 |
| Agree | 35.3 | 45.7 |
| Strongly agree | 7.6 | 11.4 |
| Jews are responsible for problems | | |
| Strongly disagree | 47.1 | 25.8 |
| Disagree | 42.5 | 49.6 |
| Uncertain | 7.7 | 18.3 |
| Agree | 1.9 | 4.8 |
| Strongly agree | .9 | 1.4 |

Table A7 (continued)

| during the coup | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|------|
| Yes | 6.4 | 1.8 |
| No | 93.6 | 98.2 |
| ationality | | |
| Azerbaijanis | .7 | 1.3 |
| Armenian | .9 | 1.3 |
| Bashkirs | . 2 | .1 |
| Byelorussian | 1.6 | 3.0 |
| Greek | .2 | .0 |
| Georgian | 1.8 | 1.7 |
| Jew | 1.4 | .6 |
| Karelian | .2 | .1 |
| Comi-Permyats | .2 | .6 |
| Cosmospolitan | .2 | .0 |
| Mari | 1.4 | 1.0 |
| Moldavian | 1.6 | .9 |
| German | .5 | .5 |
| Pole | .7 | . 2 |
| Russian | 66.7 | 58.5 |
| Tadzhik | 1.4 | 1.4 |
| Tuvin | . 2 | .8 |
| Turkmenian | .5 | .7 |
| Uzbek | .7 | 3.8 |
| Ukrainian | 13.8 | 16.6 |
| Slav | .2 | .1 |
| Don't know | 4.1 | 1.1 |
| Refused | .7 | . 2 |
| rust in People | | |
| Strongly agree, trust | 6.0 | 6.7 |
| Agree, trust | 39.7 | 30.8 |
| Uncertain | 20.8 | 16.2 |
| Agree, be cautious | 27.5 | 38.0 |
| Strongly agree, be cautious | 6.0 | 8.2 |
| refer job security even if low wages | | |
| Strongly disagree | 19.6 | 9.1 |
| Disagree | 41.3 | 30.7 |
| Uncertain | 26.6 | 29.5 |
| Agree | 10.2 | 25.1 |
| Strongly agree | 2.3 | 5.6 |

Table A7 (continued)

| Trust in government | | |
|----------------------------|------|------|
| Completely distrust | 17.6 | 14.3 |
| Don't trust very much | 57.3 | 48.5 |
| Don't know | 6.0 | 5.1 |
| Trust | 18.8 | 28.4 |
| Completely trust | . 2 | 3.8 |
| Average Age | 34.4 | 41.8 |
| Religiosity | | |
| Very religious | 2.8 | 7.8 |
| Religious | 38.2 | 41.3 |
| Don't know | 7.8 | 4.5 |
| Not religious | 46.8 | 39.8 |
| Atheist | 4.4 | 6.6 |
| Ownership of telephone | | |
| Yes | 65.0 | 44.8 |
| No | 35.0 | 55.2 |
| Gender | | |
| Male | 23.7 | 46.1 |
| Female | 76.3 | 53.9 |
| IQ test | | |
| Mean number correct (of 6) | 4.2 | 3.2 |

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SURVEY OF SOVIET VALUES 1992 All-Union Survey

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Version 1.5

| CASEID | CASE NUMBER |
|---------|---------------------|
| | 1 |
| ST.HOUF | R Hour of interview |
| | |
| ST.MIN | Minute of interview |
| | |

| 1. | How often do you | |
|-----------|--|----------|
| 1. | watch news programs on television? Never | |
| 2. | Never | |
| 3. | And to speak about newspapers. How often do you read them? Never | |
| 2. int | How interested are you in politics: very interested, serested, not very interested, or not at all interested. Very interested | |
| 3. | How satisfied are you with your life as a whole at the prese Very satisfied | nt time? |

4. Certain people feel that Marxism-Leninism can not now

determine the direction of the development of society. Others feel that the principles of Marxism-Leninism can continue to determine the direction of the development of society in the future. Please look at the card and tell me your opinion.

| Agr | determine the development of society |
|-------------------------|---|
| | ertain3 |
| | ree that Marxism-Leninism is not now able to cermine the direction of the development of society2 |
| | congly agree that Marxism-Leninism is not now e to determine the direction of the development of society .1 |
| DON | I'T KNOW7 |
| REF | USED8 |
| TOM | ASKED9 |
| 5. | In March, 1991 there was a referendum about the new union. Did you vote in this referendum? |
| | Voted 1 Did Not Vote 2 DO NOT REMEMBER 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 6. your | Did you vote in the election of the president of republic or not? |
| | Voted |
| regio in th never | Now I will name to you different types of participation cople in making decisions at the level of the city, village or on. Tell me please about each of them: did you participate his activity often, did you do it several times, did you do it but would, or would you never do it. Work in a committee of public self-government in a |
| | cy, region or raion |
| | Would never do it |

| | Did it often | |
|----|---|--|
| 2. | Work in the public council under the housing authorities Would never do it | |
| | Never did it, but would | |
| 3. | Work in the club of the electorate | |
| | Would never do it. 1 Never did it, but would. 2 Did it several times. 3 Did it often. 4 DON'T KNOW. 7 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | |
| | Participate in general meetings(conferences) of your ck collective | |
| | Would never do it | |
| | Participate in the work of the parents' | |
| | Would never do it | |
| | Participate in voluntary people's militia or other plic organization for protecting the public safety | |
| | Would never do it | |

| NOT ASKED9 | |
|--|--|
| 7. Participate in a workers' control group | |
| Would never do it | |
| 8. Work in a comrades' court | |
| Would never do it | |
| 9. Participate in pre-election meetings and gatherings | |
| Would never do it | |
| 10. Give public presentation at pre-election meetings | |
| Would never do it | |
| 11. Collect signatures in support of candidates and distribute election programs | |
| Would never do it | |

8. There are many different organizations that people contact with

For each of the organizations I name, I would like you to say if you have contacted it often, contacted it several times, never contacted it but would do so, or never would contact it.

| 1. Contact local, republic, or central newspaper, journal radio or TV station? |
|--|
| Would never do it. 1 Never did it, but would. 2 Several times. 3 Often. 4 DON'T KNOW. 7 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 |
| 2. Contact the housing department of your local government, the Zhilishchnaia kontora (Zh.K.), the housing committee of your trade union, or some other organization or institution dealing with questions of housing? |

| Would never do it1 |
|--------------------------|
| Never did it, but would2 |
| Several times3 |
| Often4 |
| DON'T KNOW7 |
| REFUSED8 |
| NOT ASKED9 |

3. Contact the militia for the decision of a question?

| Would never do it1 |
|--------------------------|
| Never did it, but would2 |
| Several times3 |
| Often4 |
| DON'T KNOW7 |
| REFUSED8 |
| NOT ASKED9 |

4. Contact for the decision of a question, local authorities such as the city council, city executive committee, local executive committee, or the deputy of local soviets?

| Would never do it | 1 |
|-------------------------|---|
| Never did it, but would | |
| Several times | 3 |
| Often | 4 |
| DON'T KNOW | 7 |
| REFUSED | 8 |
| NOT ASKED | 9 |

5. Contact for the decision of a question, republic authorities such as the Supreme Soviet, a ministry, or your deputy of the Supreme Soviet of your Republic

| Would never do it. .1 Never did it, but would. .2 Several times. .3 Often. .4 DON'T KNOW. .7 REFUSED. .8 NOT ASKED. .9 | |
|--|--|
| 6. Contact for the decision of a question, union authorities such as the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, union ministries, or your People's Deputy of the USSR? | |
| Would never do it | |
| 9. In the course of the election campaigns, did you campaign for a candidate for deputy very much, somewhat, a little, or not at all? | |
| Very much 4 Somewhat 3 A little 2 Not at all 1 DO NOT REMEMBER 6 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | |
| 10. From time to time the majority of the people discuss important problems of life with other people. Tell me, please, the people with whom you discuss such problems. Just give me, please, their names and their professions. For example: Misha-worker, Nadia-student, Nikolay Ivanovich-pensioner, Aleksander Borisovich-writer. | |
| First name | |
| Second name | |
| Third name | |
| [INTERVIEWER! CHECK HOW MANY PEOPLE WERE NAMED] | |
| 0 [GO TO QUESTION 15] 1 [GO TO QUESTION 11] 2 [GO TO QUESTION 11] 3 [GO TO QUESTION 11] | |

| TI. MEMBE | How often do RS]? | you discus: | s politic | al questio | ns with | [NETWO | RK |
|-----------------|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------|----------|
| | (firs | t name) | (second | name) | (third | name) | |
| 11.1 [FI | How often do RST PERSON NAME | | s politic | al questio | ons with | | |
| | Practically E At Least Once At Least Once Once A Year . Less Than Onc Never DON'T KNOW NOT ASKED | A Week A Month e A Year | | | i : : : | | |
| 11.2 | How often do y | | politica | l question | s with | | |
| | Practically E At Least Once At Least Once Once A Year . Less Than Onc Never DON'T KNOW REFUSED NOT ASKED | A Week A Month e A Year | | | | | |
| 11.3 | How often do | you discus | s politic | al questio | ns with | [THIRD PERSO | N NAMED] |
| | Practically E At Least Once At Least Once Once A Year . Less Than Onc Never DON'T KNOW REFUSED NOT ASKED | A Week A Month e A Year | | | | | |
| choose them. | ell me, please, e several defin For example, rk and your nei | itions of y a person yo | your rela ou named | tionships could be y | with eac | ch of | |
| Wha | t is your relat | ionship wit | ch: | | | | |
| | | (first na | ame) | (second na | ime) | (third name | |
| Spous | e | | 1 | | 1 | | .1 |

| Parent 2 2 2 Brother(Sister) 3 3 3 My Child 4 4 4 Person Of Other Family 5 5 5 Colleague at Work or School 6 6 6 Member Of My Company 7 7 7 Neighbor 8 8 8 Friend 9 9 9 Adviser 10 10 10 Relationship is other than above 11 11 11 |
|--|
| |
| 12.1.1 First network member is spouse. |
| First network member is spouse1 First network member is not spouse0 |
| 12.1.2 First network member is parent. |
| First network member is parent1 First network member is not parent0 |
| 12.1.3 First network member is a brother or sister. |
| First network member is sibling1 First network member is not sibling0 |
| 12.1.4 First network member is respondent's child. |
| First network member is respondent's child1 First network member is not respondent's child0 |
| 12.1.5 First network member is from another family. |
| First network member is from another family1 First network member is not from another family0 |
| 12.1.6 First network member is a colleague at work or school. |
| First network member is a colleague1 First network member is not a colleague0 |
| 12.1.7 First network member is a member of respondent's company. |
| First network member is a member of respondent's company1 First network member is not a member of respondent's company .0 |

12.1.8 First network member is a neighbor.

| First network member is a neighbor1 First network member is not a neighbor0 |
|---|
| 12.1.9 First network member is a friend. |
| First network member is a friend1 First network member is not a friend0 |
| 12.1.10 First network member is an advisor. |
| First network member is a advisor1 First network member is not a advisor0 |
| 12.2.1 Second network member is spouse. |
| Second network member is spouse1 Second network member is not spouse0 |
| 12.2.2 Second network member is parent. |
| Second network member is parent1 Second network member is not parent0 |
| 12.2.3 Second network member is a brother or sister. |
| Second network member is sibling1 Second network member is not sibling0 |
| 12.2.4 Second network member is respondent's child. |
| Second network member is respondent's child1 Second network member is not respondent's child0 |
| 12.2.5 Second network member is from another family. |
| Second network member is from another family1 Second network member is not from another family0 |
| 12.2.6 Second network member is a colleague at work or school. |
| Second network member is a colleague1 Second network member is not a colleague0 |
| 12.2.7 Second network member is a member of respondent's company. |
| Second network member is a member of respondent's company1 Second network member is not a member of respondent's company .0 |
| 12.2.8 Second network member is a neighbor. |

| Second network member is a neighbor1 Second network member is not a neighbor0 |
|--|
| 12.2.9 Second network member is a friend. |
| Second network member is a friend1 Second network member is not a friend0 |
| 12.2.10 Second network member is an advisor. Second network member is a advisor1 Second network member is not a advisor0 |
| 12.3.1 Third network member is spouse. |
| Third network member is spouse1 Third network member is not spouse0 |
| 12.3.2 Third network member is parent. |
| Third network member is parent1 Third network member is not parent0 |
| 12.3.3 Third network member is a brother or sister. |
| Third network member is sibling1 Third network member is not sibling0 |
| 12.3.4 Third network member is respondent's child. |
| Third network member is respondent's child1 Third network member is not respondent's child0 |
| 12.3.5 Third network member is from another family. |
| Third network member is from another family1 Third network member is not from another family0 |
| 12.3.6 Third network member is a colleague at work or school. |
| Third network member is a colleague1 Third network member is not a colleague0 |
| 12.3.7 Third network member is a member of respondent's company. |
| Third network member is a member of respondent's company |
| 12.3.8 Third network member is a neighbor. |
| Third network member is a neighbor1 Third network member is not a neighbor0 |

| 12.3.9 Third network member is a friend. |
|---|
| Third network member is a friend1 Third network member is not a friend0 |
| 12.3.10 Third network member is an advisor. |
| Third network member is a advisor1 Third network member is not a advisor0 |
| 13. Speaking about politics, to what degree do you trust the opinion of each of the following people? |
| 13.1 First Name |
| Do not trust at all |
| 13.2 Second Name |
| Do not trust at all |
| 13.3 Third Name |
| Do not trust at all |
| 14. To what degree do you agree with their political views? |
| 14.1 First Name |
| Completely disagree |

| 14.2 | Second Name | |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| 14.2 | Completely disagree 1 2 3 4 Completely agree 5 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | |
| 14.3 | Third Name | |
| | Completely disagree 1 2 3 4 Completely agree 5 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | |
| the Ple sig '11 | Taking into consideration everything that happened the last six years, how how on the whole did movement toward democracy influence your life? ase use an eleven point scale, where '1' nifies it substantially worsened your life, ' signifies it substantially improved your life, signifies it did not change your life. | |
| | Substantially worsened | |
| | What do you think, are there very large tradictions or no contradictions between following: | |
| 1. | Rich People and Poor People | |
| | No contradictions at all | |

| | DON'T KNOW |
|----|---|
| 2. | Workers and Entrepreneurs No contradictions at all |
| 3. | Administrators and workers No contradictions at all |
| 4. | Rural and Urban Residents No contradictions at all |
| | No contradictions at all |
| 6. | Army and Leadership of Country No contradictions at all |

| | SED8 ASKED9 |
|--|---|
| Would you | going to read you a number of statements. please indicate whether you agree strongly, sagree, or disagree strongly. |
| it that all | newspapers, |
| Disag UNCEI Agree Agree REFUS | gree strongly |
| 18. People adapt to the society rath than fighting | ner |
| Disag UNCEI Agree Agree REFUS | gree strongly |
| television a for present: even those | pers, radio, and should be responsible ing all points of view, that some people der dangerous ive. |
| Disag UNCEI Agree Agree REFUS | gree strongly |

39

20. The government should provide everyone with a

| guarant | teed income. |
|----------------------|---|
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW. 3 Agree. 4 Agree strongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 |
| be prot | ne mass media should tected by law more ney are now from ntrol of the ities. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| provide for chamilie | ne government should e financial support ildren of poor es so that they e an education. |
| | Disagree strongly |
| | nere is too much acy in this country |
| | Disagree strongly |

23A. And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on this issue?

| | 100 DON'T KNOW997 | |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| | REFUSED998 NOT ASKED999 | |
| | | |
| 24. It is best the flaws of exi because it is do try to change it | isting authority angerous to | |
| Disagree UNCERTAIN Agree Agree sti REFUSED. | strongly | |
| 25. Private rad and newspapers sexist as well as state-owned median | S | |
| Disagree UNCERTAIN Agree Agree sti REFUSED | strongly | |
| 26. People should not try to chang society works by accept the way | ge how out just | |
| Disagree UNCERTAIN Agree Agree sti REFUSED | strongly | |
| 27. The government decrease the difference between people wand low incomes. | with high | |
| Disagree. UNCERTAIN | strongly | |

| Agree strongly |
|--|
| 28. The government should provide work for everyone who needs it. |
| Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 29. People should constantly try to understand why everything is the way that it is. |
| Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 30. Sometimes it is better to pay no attention to the law and solve a problem immediately rather than to wait for when it will be possible to solve the problem on the basis of a new law. |
| Disagree strongly |

31. It is good when someone defends unpopular political views, even if the majority of the people consider them dangerous.

| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW. 3 Agree. 4 Agree strongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 |
|---|---|
| be lots even th | t is better that there s of goods and services hough at high controlled prices. |
| | Disagree strongly |
| allowed groups of the are hig and thr | ree speech ought to be d for all political even if some things they say ghly insulting reatening to some ts of society. |
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW. 3 Agree. 4 Agree strongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 |
| incomes | ne difference in s between people country great. |
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW. 3 Agree. 4 Agree strongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 |

35. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the

| are against it. | | | |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | | |
| too mar among | group which tolerates ny differences of opinion tts own members exist for long. | | |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | | |
| in a so order, so many | c is better to live ociety with strict than to give people of freedoms that they stroy society. | | |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | | |
| many ye profess to earn | o one would study for ears in order to become a sional unless he expects no more money than mmon man. | | |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | | |

39. Free speech is not worth

| fighting for if it means that society would have to put up with extremist views. | | |
|--|--|--|
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | |
| | olitical reform s country is moving oidly. | |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | |
| relying to solv | ar people should stop g on a few strong leaders we our country's problems te more initiative tves. | |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | |
| put up that an differe | ociety shouldn't have to with political views re fundamentally ent from the views majority. | |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | |

43. It is very good that people

| | against things o not like. |
|-------------------------------|--|
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| society to defe | n these troubled times, y must take measures end itself from ters who stir olems. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| dissent mind, s are nec | t is best to treat ters with an open since new ideas cessary for the oment of society. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| become radical groups | ecause demonstrations frequently disorderly and destructive, and extremist political shouldn't be to demonstrate. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |

today have greater freedom to

| to participate in any organization even if this activity opposes some current laws. | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| | Disagree strongly | | |
| able to with the | eople should always be o appeal to the court heir complaints the government. | | |
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW. 3 Agree. 4 Agree strongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | | |
| flexib use it | he law must not be so le so that people can for the achievement ir own interests. | | |
| | Disagree strongly | | |
| to fol | t is not necessay low a law you er unjust. | | |
| | Disagree strongly. .1 Disagree. .2 UNCERTAIN/DON'T KNOW. .3 Agree. .4 Agree strongly. .5 REFUSED. .8 NOT ASKED. .9 | | |

47. People should be able

| addit thems be pa | People will not want to take ional responsibilities upon elves at work if they will not id additionally for responsibilities. | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|----|
| | Disagree strongly | | |
| goods but a | It is better to have few and a limited assortment t low prices colled by the state. | | |
| | Disagree strongly | | |
| and b | Workers will not acquire new etter qualifications if will not be given pay for this. | | |
| | Disagree strongly | | |
| 54. you b | Since you were sixteen years old, (or duringeen abroad? | g the past 30 years), hav | ·e |
| | Yes | [Proceed to 55] [Proceed to 57] [Proceed to 57] | |
| 55. | How many times? | | |
| | 1 | | |

| | 10 or NOT A | | | |
|-------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|------------|
| 56. | Have | you ever visited a capialist country? | | |
| | | Yes No DON'T KNOW NOT ASKED NOT APPLICABLE | 2 | |
| 57. | Do you | listen to the broadcasts of foreign rad | dio? | |
| | No . DON' | | [Proceed to [Proceed to [Proceed to | 59] 59] |
| 58. fore | | often do you usually listen to the broad to stations? | dcast of the | following |
| 1. | Radio (| Canada | | |
| | Appro Appro Seven DON'T REFUS | r, almost daily | | |
| 2. | German | Wave | | |
| | Appro Appro Seven DON'T REFUS | y, almost daily | | |
| 3. | Radio I Radio I Europe | Liberty/ Tree | | |

| | Daily, almost daily |
|----|---------------------------------------|
| 4. | Voice Of America Daily, almost daily |
| 5. | Daily, almost daily |
| 6. | Radio France Daily, almost daily |
| 7. | Radio Israel Daily, almost daily |
| 8. | Any other? Daily, almost daily |

n

And now several questions about economic change.

| set by service | Until recently, the majority of prices for goods and services have been the State. Now enterprises and stores can set prices for goods and es themselves. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly see that enterprises and stores should set prices themselves? |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| | Strongly Agree 5 Agree 4 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Disagree 2 Strongly Disagree 1 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| for cho | Certain reforms of a market economy will give people more opportunity pice of work, but can lead to the rise of unemployment. Do you strongly, support, oppose, or strongly oppose such reforms of the labor market? |
| | Strongly support 5 Support 4 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Oppose 2 Strongly oppose 1 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| | now going to read you several more statements. Would you please say you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly. |
| in our or comp | ne shortage of consumer goods country can be partially pletely eliminated ces are raised. |
| | Strongly disagree 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| therefore legitime can have interes | Il people are different, bre it is entirely mate that someone ve political sts that are ent from others. |
| | Strongly disagree |

| Agree REFUS | e4 e strongly | |
|---|---------------|---|
| everyone act | sidering the | |
| Agree Uncer Disag Disag REFU | e strongly | |
| people shoul personal in | e good of the | - |
| Agree Uncer Disag Disag REFU | ngly agree | |
| much better that the per of individua | • | |
| Disag Uncer Agree Agree REFUS | ngly disagree | |

66. What do you think? How important is it to observe the following rights and freedoms?

| | eedom of Speech |
|----|--|
| | Not at all important 1 2 4 Very important 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 2. | Guarantee of personal safety and protection |
| | Not at all important 1 Very important REFUSED NOT ASKED |
| 3. | Freedom of associations, groups and unions |
| | Not at all important 1 2 3 4 Very important 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 4. | Right of a nation to its own language and culture |
| | |
| | Not at all important |
| 5. | Not at all important 1 Very important REFUSED .8 |
| 5. | Not at all important 1 Very important REFUSED NOT ASKED |
| 5. | Not at all important 1 Very important |

| 7. | Right to work |
|---------------|--|
| | Not at all important 1 2 4 Very important 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 8. | Right to personal property |
| | Not at all important 1 2 4 Very important 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 9. | Right to education and instruction Not at all important |
| 10. | Right to receive information |
| | Not at all important 1 2 4 Very important 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 11. conver | Right to confidentiality of personal correspondence, of telephone sations, etc. |
| | Not at all important 1 2 3 4 Very important 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 12. | Right to emigrate |
| | Not at all important |

| 67. next | Today, many talk about which tasks the country needs to solve in the ten or fifteen years. |
|-------------|---|
| vari | this card certain tasks have been enumerated which, in the opinion of ous people, need to be examined as primary. Would you be able to say h of these tasks is the most important personally for you? |
| A. | Which goal is the most important? |
| | The maintenance of order in the ountry1 |
| | Giving people greater opportunities to participate in making important government decisions2 |
| | Fighting the increase of prices |
| | DON'T KNOW |
| В. | Which goal is the next in importance? |
| | The maintenance of order in the country1 |
| | Giving people greater opportunities to participate in making important government decisions2 |
| | Fighting the increase of prices3 |
| | Protection of the freedom of speech4 |
| | DON'T KNOW |
| Нот | w important are the two remaining goals? |
| C.1 | Third goal? |
| | The maintenance of order in the country1 |
| | Giving people greater opportunities to participate in making important government decisions2 |
| | Fighting the increase of prices3 |
| | |

Protection of the freedom of speech.....4

 DON'T KNOW
 .7

 REFUSED
 .8

 NOT ASKED
 .9

| C.2 | How would you rate the importance of this goal? |
|------------------------------|---|
| | Very important 4 Important to some degree |
| D.1 | Fourth goal? |
| | The maintenance of order in the country1 |
| | Giving people greater opportunities to participate in making important government decisions2 |
| | Fighting the increase of prices3 |
| | Protection of the freedom of speech4 |
| | DON'T KNOW |
| D.2 | How would you rate the importance of this goal? |
| | Very important 4 Important to some degree 3 Not very important |
| Please | am going to read to you another series of statements. tell me whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree, agree strongly with the statement. |
| reserve what's has had | t is desirable to e judgment about going on until one d a chance to hear s points of view. |
| | Disagree strongly |

69. It would be better if every Jew would leave

| our cou | untry. |
|---------------------------------|--|
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| large of difficit would that so | nere should not be differences in incomes derent people even if and lead to the fact ome would work than they can. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| should attitud | eople in our country have a more critical de toward the actions leaders of untry. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| to act | t is important for a leader decisively even if do not like it. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |

73. What this country needs most, more than laws and political

programs, is a few strong leaders in whom the people can put their faith. Disagree strongly.....1 Disagree.....2 Agree.....4 Agree strongly.....5 REFUSED.....8 NOT ASKED.....9 74. Agreement with political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to a betrayal of one's own political position. Disagree strongly.....1 Disagree.....2 Agree.....4 Agree strongly.....5 REFUSED.....8 NOT ASKED.....9 Original: To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side. It would be better if all the Germans leave our country. Disagree strongly.....1 Agree.....4 Agree strongly.....5 REFUSED.....8 NOT ASKED.....9 76. A big difference in incomes is necessary for the development of our country. Disagree strongly.....1 Disagree.....2 Agree.....4 Agree strongly.....5 REFUSED.....8 NOT ASKED.....9

58

| complice more that | olitical parties cate questions nan they help chem up. |
|--------------------|---|
| | Disagree strongly .1 Disagree .2 Uncertain/Don't know .3 Agree .4 Agree strongly .5 REFUSED .8 NOT ASKED .9 |
| not, po | ore often than conflicts none exist. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| in the very li | ne emergence of democracy country changed tttle or nothing for me. |
| | Disagree strongly .1 Disagree .2 Uncertain/Don't know .3 Agree .4 Agree strongly .5 REFUSED .8 NOT ASKED .9 |
| | ne emergence of democracy country gave me reedom. |
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 Uncertain/Don't know. 3 Agree. 4 Agree strongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 |

81. The emergence of democracy

| | country made me ess safe. |
|---------------|--|
| | Agree strongly |
| in the that I | ne emergence of democracy country made me feel can no longer nce the government. |
| | Agree strongly |
| in the | ne emergence of democracy country made me worry bout whether I will y job. |
| | Agree strongly |
| the cou | ne emergence of democracy in untry increased my to for our country. |
| | Disagree strongly |

85. The emergence of democracy in the country made me more pessimistic regarding our future.

| | Agree strongly. 1 Agree. 2 Uncertain/Don't know. 3 Disagree. 4 Disagree strongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | | | |
|---------------|---|-----------|---------|------|
| | | | | |
| 86. severa | And now we would like to find out about how al aspects of your life at the present time. | satisfied | you are | with |
| 86.1 Ç | Quality of your housing | | | |
| | Completely dissatisfied. 1 Partially dissatisfied. 2 Partially satisfied. 3 Completely satisfied. 4 DON'T KNOW. 7 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | | | |
| 86.2 <i>P</i> | Availability of quality consumer | | | |
| 86.3 Ç | Completely dissatisfied | | | |
| | Completely dissatisfied. 1 Partially dissatisfied. 2 Partially satisfied. 3 Completely satisfied. 4 DON'T KNOW. 7 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | | | |
| 86.4 E | Protection from crime | | | |
| | Completely dissatisfied | | | |
| 86.5 <i>I</i> | Accessibility of quality medical care | | | |
| | Completely dissatisfied | | | |

| Partially satisfied |
|--|
| 87. And now I'd like to ask you about your attitudes towards some groups of people. I am going to read you a list of some groups that are currently active in social and political life. |
| Here is a card showing a scale from 1 to 11. A "1" indicates that you dislike the group very much; an "11" indicates that you like the group very much. A "6" means that you neither like nor dislike the group. The other scores reflect varying degrees of like and dislike. |
| The first group I'd like to ask you about is believers. If you have an opinion about believers, please indicate which figure most closely describes your attitude towards them. If you have no opinion, please tell me. What is your opinion of believers? |
| 1. Believers |
| Dislike very much |
| 2. Jews |
| Dislike very much |
| 3. Stalinists |
| Dislike very much |
| Dislike very much |
| 5. Communists |
| Dislike very much |

NOT ASKED......99

| 6. | Members of Cooperatives |
|-----|--|
| | Dislike very much |
| 7. | Nationalists |
| | Dislike very much .1 Like very much .11 REFUSED .98 NOT ASKED .99 |
| 8. | Monarchists |
| | Dislike very much .1 Like very much .11 REFUSED .98 NOT ASKED .99 |
| 9. | Supporters of introducing military dictatorship |
| | Dislike very much1 Like very much11 REFUSED98 NOT ASKED99 |
| 10 | . Mishlenti |
| | Dislike very much |
| 11. | Homosexuals Dislike very much1 Like very much11 REFUSED98 NOT ASKED99 |
| 12 | . Social Democrats |
| | Dislike very much |
| tha | . Is there any other group active in the life of your country at you dislike enough to rate at a "3" or a "2" or an "1" on is scale? |
| | Yes |

89. What is the name of the group?

Alashordinians [a Georgian political group]1 Anarchists4 Anarcho-Syndicalists5 Armenians9 Former Communists turned "latter-day democrats"19 Popular front group32 The group for the unification of Middle Asia with the Zhirinovsky group34 Noble Gathering [name of pre-1917 parliament]35 Democratic Russia [coalition of non-communist parties]36 I think there are some some, since there are a Fools40 Jews41 Zhirinovtsy [supporters of Zhirinovsky]43 Zviadists [supporters of Gamsakhurdia]44 Greens (environmentalists)45 Jesuits46

| Interfront [pro-Russian group in the Baltics] | |
|--|----------|
| Islamic party and Gastokhu | |
| Caucasian mafia | 49 |
| Cadets | |
| Cossacks | |
| Cadets | |
| Cossacks | |
| Cossacks at the Don River | |
| Businessmen | |
| Nomenklatura turned business people | 56 |
| Communists - naionalists | |
| Communists | 58 |
| Cooperators | |
| Cooperators - resellers | |
| Red and brown plague [Communists and fascists] | |
| Liberal Democratic Party | |
| Liberals | |
| Liberal bourgeosie | |
| Liberal (adjective) | |
| Rays of Chuch-khe [followers of Kim-Il-Sung] | |
| Lesbians | 00 67 |
| Liberal Democrats | |
| Liberalistic | |
| Liberals | |
| Liberal Party (Zhirinovsky) | |
| Liberal Democratic Party of Zhirinovsky | |
| Liberal Democratic Party | |
| Liberal Democrats | |
| | |
| Those who like Boris Nikolaevich | |
| Lumpens | |
| Mafia Circles | |
| Mafiosi | |
| Mafia | 79 |
| Mishlentsy [probably fabricated] | |
| Youth gangs | |
| Impostors | |
| Young scalpers | |
| Monarchists | |
| Mhedrioni [Georgia] | |
| Azerbaijani Popular Front | |
| Popular Front | |
| Don't know name, but there are cosequences | |
| Drug addicts | |
| Birlik popular movement [Uzbekistan] | |
| Rapists | |
| National Democrats | 92 |
| National chauvinists | 93 |
| Nationalists | 94 |
| Nazis | 95 |
| Nashi (Nevzorov) [anti-Yeltsin journalist] | 96 |
| Blacks | 97 |
| Nevzorovtsy [supporters of Nevzorov] | |
| Independent trade unions | |
| Germans | |
| Neo-Bolsheviks | |
| Neo-Nazis | |
| Nomenklatura activists | |
| Nomenklatura | |
| Nomenklatura mafia | |
| Current Ukranian state | |
| Naked on TV | |

| Special police forces108 |
|--|
| Party of National Self-determination109 |
| Pamyat Society [Russian nationalists]110 |
| Opposition to Yeltsin111 |
| Desecrators of memorials112 |
| Fatherland [perhaps literally or else a Russian |
| nationalist society]113 |
| Punks |
| Party apparatchiks115 |
| Party nomenklatura116 |
| Party nomenklatura (former)117 |
| Partocracy118 |
| Zhirinovsky's party119 |
| Political renegades120 |
| Politicos |
| Politicians |
| Poles |
| Sexual perverts |
| Government |
| Criminals |
| Representatives of the underworld economy |
| Representatives of the sexual minorities |
| Criminals |
| Prostitutes |
| Rastohez [?] |
| Rastonez [7] |
| Rukh [Ukranian hationalists] |
| |
| MISSING |
| Renegades |
| Russian nationalists136 |
| Russian government |
| Rockers |
| Racketeers |
| Sect members140 |
| Separatists141 |
| Gray persons142 |
| Zionists |
| Modern entrepreneurs144 |
| Association of enterpreneurs145 |
| Scalpers146 |
| Old nomenklatura147 |
| Zhirinovsky's supporters148 |
| Current leadership of the country149 |
| Social Democrats150 |
| Current government151 |
| Supporters of the State Emergency Committee152 |
| Scalpers - resellers153 |
| Stalinists |
| Supporters of dictatorship155 |
| MISSING |
| Tatarian parliament, General Dudaev157 |
| Those in power |
| Creative intelligentsia, especially journalists159 |
| Trade mafia |
| Sellers - producers of sweets161 |
| Criminals |
| Criminal gangs |
| Murderers |
| Criminal mafia |
| Ukranian Republican Party166 |
| Fans |
| |

| Fascists Photo mo Hooligan Gypsies Corrupt Members Chauvin: 600 Seco Extremis Nina And Liberal | 168 |
|--|--|
| "3," "3 No Dis | aluate your attitude toward this group by position 2," or "1" on the scale that's on the card? other group metioned0 sliked very much1 |
| DOI REI | |
| spoken a | is card presents a list of groups we have already about. Which of the following groups do you the most? |
| A. The | group that you dislike the most. |
| | Believers 1 Jews 2 Stalinists 3 Neonazis 4 Communists 5 Cooperative members 6 Nationalists 7 Monarchists 8 Supporters of the militia 9 Mishlenti 10 Homosexuals 11 Social Democrats 12 Other 13 Missing 99 |
| B. The | next most disliked group. |
| | Believers 1 Jews 2 Stalinists 3 Neonazis 4 Communists 5 Cooperative members 6 Nationalists 7 Monarchists 8 |

| | Supporters of the militia9 Mishlenti |
|------------------|---|
| | Now let's consider the [GROUP WRITTEN ABOVE] a bit more. at extent do you agree with the following statements. |
| (GROUP) should I | mbers of the /NAME OF GROUP] be prohibited cupying elected ns in your ty |
|]]]] | Disagree strongly |
|]]] | And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on this issue? |
| | |
|]]]] | Disagree strongly |
| | And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on this issue? |

| should | embers of the (GROUP)/NAME OF GROUP] be allowed to make ic speech in your ity. |
|-----------------------|--|
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 NO DISLIKED GROUP 0 |
| 3A. | And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on this issue? |
| | |
| (GROUP) should street | embers of the //NAME OF GROUP] be allowed to hold demonstrations c community. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 NO DISLIKED GROUP 0 |
| 4A. | And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on this issue? |
| | |

| | Now let's consider the [GROUP WRITTEN ABOVE] more. To what extent do you agree with the owing statements. |
|----------------------------|--|
| (GROUP should from c | Members of the P)/NAME OF GROUP] If be prohibited poccupying elected cons in your mity. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 NO DISLIKED GROUP 0 |
| should | THE NAME OF GROUP] I be officially I in your nity. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 NO DISLIKED GROUP 0 |
| (GROUP should make a | Members of the P)/NAME OF GROUP] d be allowed to a public speech ar community. Disagree strongly |
| (GROUP should street | Members of the P)/NAME OF GROUP] d be allowed to hold demonstrations ar community. |
| | Disagree strongly1 |

| | Uncertain/Don't know |
|------------------|--|
| Please | am going to read to you another series of statements. tell me whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree, agree strongly with the statement. |
| will codevelor | trong political parties ontribute to the oment of democracy country. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree strongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| become simply | ur country will better if we outlaw all cal parties. |
| | Disagree strongly. .1 Disagree. .2 Uncertain/Don't know. .3 Agree. .4 Agree strongly. .5 REFUSED. .8 NOT ASKED. .9 |
| good u | feel that I have a pretty nderstanding of the important cal issues facing untry. |
| | Disagree strongly |

Disagree.....2

71

| enough ir political | hink that I have nformation about l life and the of the government. |
|--|---|
| Di Ur A <u>c</u> A <u>c</u> | isagree strongly |
| | eel well prepared icipating in l life. |
| Di Ur A <u>c</u> A <u>c</u> | isagree strongly |
| state aff to me that | etimes political and fairs seem so complicated at a person like me ally understand oing on. |
| Di Ur A <u>c</u> A <u>c</u> | isagree strongly |
| it is the responsit problems is experious Di Ur Acceptation RE | re than any others, e Jews who are ble for the our country iencing today. isagree strongly |
| | d about what percentage of the people in REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on ssue? |
| | 0 |

| | DON'T KNOW997 REFUSED998 NOT ASKED999 |
|---------------------|--|
| 101. Do y with last | ou and your family live better or worse in comparison year? |
| | Living much better |
| | what about next year? Do you think that you and your live better or worse than now? |
| | We'll live much better |
| | ow much does it worry you that during this year you ember of your family could find yourself without work? |
| | Very Worried4A Little Worried3Not Very Worried2Not At All Worried1DON'T KNOW7REFUSED8NOT ASKED9 |
| | ch does it worry you that you will not be able e necessities for you and your family this |
| | Very Worried 4 A Little Worried 3 Not Very Worried 2 Not At All Worried 1 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |

105. As you know, the State Committee on the State of Emergency was formed on August 19 for the purpose of seizing political power. How well do you remember what you did on these days - from August 19th, when they announced the creation of the (GKChP), until the return of M. S. Gorbachev to Moscow? Very Clearly Remember.....1 Remember In General, Without Details....2 Can Not Very Clearly Remember.....3 Remember Nothing.....4 REFUSED8 NOT ASKED9 At the time you first learned about the coup, how did you, on the whole, react toward the creation of the State Committee on the State of Emergency (GKChP). Please use an eleven point scale, where '1' signifies that you completely supported the creation of the (GKChP), and '11' signifies that you opposed the creation of the (GKChP). '6' signifies that you were neutral. Completely supported.....1 Completely opposed......11 DON'T KNOW......97 REFUSED......98 NOT ASKED......99 Some people changed their views about the coup between the time it happened and now, while others kept to a single view. What about you -- from the time when you first heard of the coup until now, have you changed your view as to whether you support or oppose the coup? Did not support in the past but do support now.....2 Did not support in the past and do not support now......3 Supported in the past and support now.....4 REFUSED......8 NOT ASKED......9 108. When did you determine your current attitude toward the coup? Shortly after I found out about it 1 After Yeltsin's appeal 2 After Gorbachev's return to Moscow 3 Even later 4 REFUSED.....8

109. In your view, about what percentage of the people in the Soviet Union supported the coup?

NOT ASKED.....9

| 110. About and St. Pete | what percentage supported the demonstrators in Moscow ersburg? |
|-------------------------|--|
| | |
| to show you three days. | ne majority of people it was difficult to do anything rattitude towards the coup because it lasted only We are interested if you, personally, did anything rattitude towards the coup and its leaders. |
| 1. Participa | ate in demonstrations? |
| | 1 |
| 2. Not go to | o work? |
| | 1 |
| 3. Sign an a | appeal? |
| | 0 |
| 4. Participa | ate in discussion groups? |
| | 1 |
| | 1 |
| 6. Try to pe | ersuade others? |

Yes1

| 7. Fol: | low events by means of mass media? |
|---------|---|
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 8. Exp | ress my views of the coup to state or elected officials? |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 9. Turi | ned to means of mass media for my views of the coup? |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 10. Sp | read leaflets and letters about the coup? |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 11. REI | FUSED TO ANSWER QUESTION 111. |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| | Ouring the coup, did anyone ask you to: ticipate in demonstrations? Yes1 No0 |
| 2. Not | go to work? |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 3. Sign | n an appeal? |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 4. Part | ticipate in discussion groups? Yes1 No0 |
| 5. Pray | y? |
| | Yes1 No0 |

6. Try to persuade others?

| | Yes1 No0 |
|---------|--|
| 7. Foll | low events by means of mass media? |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 8. Expi | ress my views of the coup to state or elected officials? |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 9. Turr | ned to means of mass media for my views of the coup? |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 10. Spr | read leaflets and letters about the coup? |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 11. REF | FUSED TO ANSWER QUESTION 113. |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| | ow often did you listen to information on the radio the coup? |
| | constantly 1 [GO TO 116] several times a day 2 [GO TO 116] once a day 3 [GO TO 116] did not listen at all 4 [GO TO 117] DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 116. Di | d you listen to broadcasts of Soviet or foreign radio? |
| | Only Soviet |

117. Your opinion interests us about what ordinary people could do to join in the events and express their attitudes toward the coup? Do you support the following kinds of

activities?

| 1. | Participation in demonstrations |
|----|--|
| | Do not at all support |
| 2. | Participation in a strike |
| | Do not at all support |
| 3. | Participation in violent actions Do not at all support |
| 4. | Participation in the construction of barricades Do not at all support |
| 5. | Arming the population Do not at all support |

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| demonst | are interested in why people did not take part in the rations during the coup. There are many explanations s. With which of the following reasons agree? |
|---------|--|
| 1. It v | was not interesting how the events would develop. |
| | Agree1 Do not agree or no answer0 |
| 2. It w | was too dangerous to participate. |
| | Agree1 Do not agree or no answer0 |
| | cicipation would in no way have influenced ave changed) the development of events. |
| | Agree1 Do not agree or no answer0 |
| 4. It w | was not possible to participate. |
| | Agree1 Do not agree or no answer0 |
| 6. REFU | JSED TO ANSWER QUESTION 119. |
| | REFUSED1 DID NOT REFUSE0 |
| 120. Ar | re you a member of any party? |
| | Yes 1 [GO TO 121] No 2 [GO TO 123] DON'T KNOW 7 [GO TO 123] REFUSED 8 [GO TO 123] |
| | ould you consider yourself to be an active member of this or an inactive member? |
| | Not at all active |

123. Are you a member of a trade union?

| | Yes 1 No 2 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | [GO [GO | TO TO | 124] 125] 125] 125] |
|--------------|--|--------------|----------|------------------------------|
| | ould you consider yourself to be an active me union or an inactive member? | mber | of | this |
| | Not at all active | | | |
| 125. Ar | re you a member of a youth organization? | | | |
| | Yes 1 No 2 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | [GO [GO | TO TO | 126] 127] 127] 127] |
| | ould you consider yourself to be an active me outh organization or an inactive member? | mber | of | |
| | Not active at all 1 2 3 4 Very active 5 DON'T KNOW 7 NOT ASKED 9 NOT APPLICABLE 0 | | | |
| 127. Ar | re you a member (participant) of some movemen | t? | | |
| | Yes 1 No 2 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | [GO [GO | TO TO | 128] 129] 129] 129] |
| 128. this | Would you consider yourself to be an active movement or an inactive member? | membe | er o | of |
| | Not active at all | | | |

| | Very active5 |
|------------------|--|
| | DON'T KNOW7 |
| | NOT ASKED9 NOT APPLICABLE0 |
| | |
| 129. D or soc | o you participate in the work of some kind of commission iety? |
| | Yes |
| | No |
| | DON'T KNOW |
| | REFUSED |
| | ould you consider yourself to be an active member of this sion, society or an inactive member? |
| | Not active at all1 |
| | 2 |
| | 3 |
| | 4 |
| | Very active5 DON'T KNOW7 |
| | NOT ASKED9 |
| | NOT APPLICABLE0 |
| countr | o you think that the economic situation in this y will considerably improve in a year, just improve, erably worsen, just worsen, or nothing will change? Considerably Improve |
| | eople of which nationality do you think make up the majority r republic? |
| | |
| NATION | ALITY CODES: |
| Ahkh | azes1 |
| | eis2 |
| Azer | baijanis3 |
| | ns4 |
| | nians5 rians6 |
| ADD V | L TAILD |

| Afghans | 7 |
|--|--|
| Bashkirs | 8 |
| Byelorussians | 9 |
| Bessarabians | |
| Bulgarians | |
| | |
| Buryats | 12 |
| Hungarians | ⊥3 |
| Vepsians [English spelli | |
| is uncertain] | 14 |
| Middle Asians | 15 |
| Gaguaz | 16 |
| Dutchmen | 17 |
| Highlanders | |
| Greeks | |
| Greeks | 19 |
| Georgians | |
| Dagestanians | |
| Don Cossacks | 22 |
| Doongans | 23 |
| Jews | 24 |
| Jezids [probably an | |
| incorrect term for | |
| Hasidic Jews] | 25 |
| Trans-Caucasians | 26 |
| | |
| Western Ukranians | 27 |
| Inhabitants of Southern | |
| Republics | 28 |
| Ingushes | 29 |
| Kabardians | |
| Caucasians | |
| Cossacks | |
| Varaliha | 22 |
| Nazakiis | |
| 77 - 11 | |
| Kazakhs | 34 |
| Kalmyks | 34 |
| Karakalpaks | 35 .g |
| Karakalpaks | 35 .g |
| Karakalpaks | 35 .g |
| Karakalpaks | 35 g 36 37 |
| Karakalpaks | 35 g 36 37 |
| Karakalpaks | 35 g 36 37 38 |
| Karakalpaks | 35 36 37 38 39 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese | 35 .g 36 37 38 39 40 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi | 35 g 36 37 38 39 40 41 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats | 35 g 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans | 35 g 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans | 35 g 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans | 35 g 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars | 35 g 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] | 35 g 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks | 35 g 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kurds | 35 g36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kurds Kypchaks | 35 g36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kurds Kypchaks Lacks | 35 g36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kurds Kypchaks Lacks Latvians | 35 g36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kurds Kypchaks Lacks Latvians Lezgins | g35 g36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kurds Kypchaks Lacks Latvians | g35 g36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kurds Kypchaks Lacks Latvians Lezgins Lithuanians | 35 g36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kurds Kypchaks Lacks Latvians Lezgins Lithuanians Hungarians | 35 g36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 50 51 52 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kurds Kypchaks Lacks Latvians Lezgins Lithuanians Hungarians Malorosses | 35 g36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 50 51 52 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kurds Kypchaks Lacks Latvians Lezgins Lithuanians Hungarians Malorosses Mari | 35 g36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 50 51 52 53 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kypchaks Lacks Latvians Lezgins Lithuanians Hungarians Malorosses Mari Mestizo | 35 36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 50 51 52 53 54 55 55 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kypchaks Lacks Latvians Lezgins Lithuanians Hungarians Malorosses Mari Mestizo Multi-nationals | 35 36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 45 50 51 52 53 54 55 55 55 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kypchaks Lacks Latvians Lezgins Lithuanians Hungarians Malorosses Mari Mestizo Multi-nationals Moldavanians | 35 36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 45 50 51 52 53 54 55 55 55 55 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kypchaks Lacks Latvians Lezgins Lithuanians Hungarians Malorosses Mari Mestizo Multi-nationals Mordva | 35 36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 45 50 51 52 53 54 55 55 55 55 55 55 56 57 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spellin is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans Cosmopolitans Crimean Tatars Kumandintsy [?] Kumyks Kypchaks Lacks Latvians Lezgins Lithuanians Hungarians Malorosses Mari Mestizo Multi-nationals Moldavanians | 35 36 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 45 50 51 52 53 54 55 55 55 55 55 55 56 57 |

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| Chuv | ras | h | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 9 | 3 |
| Chuk Chur | ch | i | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 9 | 4 |
| Chur | ba | ns | 3 | [| 11 | d | u | m | b | | q | e | 0 | q | 1 | e | 11 |] | | | 9 | 5 |
| Chur | ks | Г | d | e: | r | O | a | а | t | O | r | v | | t | e | r | m | _ | | | | |
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133. What nationality do you consider yourself? I do not necessarily mean the nationality that is recorded in your passport. I am interested in what you consider to be your nationality.

NATIONALITY CODES:

| Abkhazes 1 Adygeis 2 Azerbaijanis 3 Asians 4 Armenians 5 Assyrians 6 Afghans 7 Bashkirs 8 Byelorussians 9 Bessarabians 10 Bulgarians 11 Buryats 12 Hungarians 13 Vepsians [English spelling |
|---|
| is uncertain] 14 Middle Asians 15 Gaguaz 16 Dutchmen 17 Highlanders 18 Greeks 19 Georgians 20 Dagestanians 21 Don Cossacks 22 Doongans 23 Jews 24 Jezids [probably an incorrect term for |
| Hasidic Jews]25 Trans-Caucasians26 |
| Western Ukranians27 |
| Western Okranians .27 Inhabitants of Southern .28 Republics .29 Kabardians .30 Caucasians .31 Cossacks .32 Kazakhs .33 Kalmyks .34 Karakalpaks .35 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] .36 Karachaevtsy [?] .37 |

| Kumandintsy [?] | 17 |
|------------------------------|------------|
| Kumyks | |
| Kurds | |
| Kypchaks | 50 |
| Tacks | 51 |
| Lacks | 52 |
| Lezgins | 33 |
| Lithuanians | 54 |
| Hungarians | 55 |
| Malorosses | 56 |
| Mari | |
| Mestizo | |
| Multi-nationals | |
| Moldavanians | |
| Mordva | |
| Nanai | |
| Germans | |
| Dutchmen | . 1 |
| | |
| Nagai | |
| Norwegians | |
| Ossetians | |
| Poles | |
| Balts | |
| Russians | 70 |
| Romanians | 71 |
| Russians | |
| Serbs | |
| Tadzhiks | 74 |
| Tatars | 75 |
| Tuvins | 76 |
| Turks | 77 |
| Turks-Meshketins | |
| Turkmenians | 79 |
| Persians | |
| Udmurts | |
| Uzbeks | 32 |
| Uzbek Ukranian [female] | 33 |
| Uigurs | |
| Ukrainians | 35 |
| Southern nationalities | |
| [derogatory] | 36 |
| Finns | 37 |
| Khakassians | 38 |
| Ukrainians | |
| Gypsies | |
| Czechs | |
| Chechens | |
| Chuvash | |
| Chukchi | |
| Churbans ["dumb people"] | |
| Churks [derogatory term | , , |
| for southerners] | 16 |
| Swedes | |
| Estonians | , ,) Q |
| Southern nationalities | |
| | |
| Yakuts10 All nationalities10 | |
| | |
| Nobody | |
| Does not matter10 | |
| | 1 |
| No answer |)4 |

| Do not know |
|------------------------------|
| Cannot say exactly107 |
| Hybrids108 |
| Slavs109 |
| Citizens of the |
| Soviet Union110 |
| Russian Jew [female]111 |
| Russian half-Jew |
| [female]112 |
| Uzbek Ukrainian [female] 113 |
| Cherkess [singular]114 |
| DON'T KNOW997 |
| REFUSED998 |
| NOT ASKED999 |
| NOI AGRED |

134. Of all the national groups in your republic, which do you dislike most of all?

NATIONALITY CODES:

| Abkhazes1 |
|----------------------------|
| Adygeis2 |
| Azerbaijanis3 |
| Asians4 Armenians5 |
| Armenians5 |
| Assyrians6 |
| Afghans7 |
| Bashkirs8 |
| Byelorussians9 |
| Bessarabians10 |
| Bulgarians11 |
| Buryats12 |
| Hungarians13 |
| Vepsians [English spelling |
| is uncertain]14 |
| Middle Asians15 |
| Gaguaz16 |
| Dutchmen17 |
| Highlanders18 |
| Greeks19 |
| Georgians20 |
| Dagestanians21 |
| Don Cossacks22 |
| Doongans23 |
| Jews24 |
| Jezids [probably an |
| incorrect term for |
| Hasidic Jews]25 |
| Trans-Caucasians26 |
| Western Ukranians27 |
| Inhabitants of Southern |
| Republics28 |
| Ingushes29 |
| Kabardians30 |
| Caucasians31 |
| Cossacks32 |
| Kazakhs33 |
| |

| Kalmyks | 34 |
|---------------------------|------------|
| Karakalpaks | 35 |
| Kareins [English spelling | |
| is uncertain] | 36 |
| Karachaevtsy [?] | 37 |
| Karelians | 38 |
| Karelians | 39 |
| Kirgizes | 40 |
| Chinese | 41 |
| Komi | 42 |
| Komi-Permyats | 43 |
| Koreans | 44 |
| Cosmopolitans | 45 |
| Crimean Tatars | 46 |
| Kumandintsy [?] | 47 |
| Kumyks | |
| Kurds | 49 |
| Kypchaks | 50 |
| Lacks | 51 |
| Latvians | 52 |
| Lezgins | 53 |
| Lithuanians | 54 |
| Hungarians | 55 |
| Malorosses | 56 |
| Mari | 57 |
| | |
| Mestizo | 59 |
| Moldavanians | 60 |
| Mordva | 61 |
| Nanai | |
| Germans | 63 |
| Dutchmen | 6 <i>1</i> |
| Nagai | 6 E |
| Norwegians | |
| Ossetians | |
| Poles | |
| Balts | 60 |
| Russians | |
| Romanians | 70 |
| Russians | / エ フつ |
| Serbs | 72 |
| Tadzhiks | |
| | |
| Tatars | |
| Turks | |
| Turks-Meshketins | |
| Turkmenians | |
| Persians | |
| | |
| Udmurts | |
| Uzbeks | 82 |
| Uzbek Ukranian [female] | |
| Uigurs | |
| Ukrainians | 85 |
| Southern nationalities | 0.0 |
| [derogatory] | |
| Finns | |
| Khakassians | |
| Ukrainians | |
| Gypsies | |
| Czechs | |
| Chechens | 92 |

| Chuvash |
|------------------------------|
| for southerners]96 |
| Swedes97 |
| Estonians98 |
| Southern nationalities99 |
| Yakuts100 |
| All nationalities101 |
| Nobody102 |
| Does not matter103 |
| No answer104 |
| No spouse105 |
| Do not know106 |
| Cannot say exactly107 |
| Hybrids108 |
| Slavs109 |
| Citizens of the |
| Soviet Union110 |
| Russian Jew [female]111 |
| Russian half-Jew |
| [female]112 |
| Uzbek Ukrainian [female] 113 |
| Cherkess [singular]114 |
| NO DISLIKED NATIONALITY996 |
| DON'T KNOW997 |
| REFUSED998 |
| NOT ASKED999 |
| |

And now I want to pose to you several questions about the characteristics of different nationalities. In each case, I will give you a seven point scale to use in giving your answer.

In the first case, position 1 on the scale signifies that you think that practically all people in this group are lazy, and the position 7 indicates that practically all of them are industrious. The position 4 indicates that you believe members of this group are not distinctively lazy and not distinctively industrious. Of course, you may pick any other position that corresponds to your idea of how lazy or industrious you believe a group to be.

135. Where would you place [respondent's least liked nationality] on this scale?

| Lazy1 |
|--------------------------|
| |
| |
| |
| |
| |
| Industrious7 |
| NO DISLIKED NATIONALITY0 |
| DON'T KNOW97 |
| REFUSED98 |
| NOT ASKED99 |

| | here would you place [the majority nationality of the ic] on this scale? |
|-------------------|--|
| | Lazy |
| 137. Wl scale? | here would you place [the respondent's own nationality] on this |
| | Lazy |
| 138. | Where would you place Jews on this scale? |
| | Lazy |

Now please tell me how you would evaluate these nationalities in terms of their tendency to be violent or their lack of such a tendency.

Please use the seven point scale, where 1 signifies that the group is not inclined to be violent at all, 7 signifies the group is very much inclined to be violent, and 4 signifies that the group is not distinctively violent or nonviolent.

| | here would you place [respondent's least liked nationality] |
|---------|--|
| on this | s scale? |
| | Not violent1 |
| | 2 |
| | 3 |
| | |
| | 5 |
| | |
| | б |
| | Violent |
| | NO DISLIKED NATIONALITY0 |
| | DON'T KNOW97 |
| | REFUSED98 |
| | NOT ASKED99 |
| | nere would you place [the majority nationality of the ic] on this scale? |
| | |
| | Not violent1 |
| | 2 |
| | |
| | 3 |
| | |
| | |
| | 6 |
| | Violent7 |
| | NOT APPLICABLE0 |
| | DON'T KNOW97 |
| | REFUSED98 |
| | |
| | NOT ASKED99 |
| on this | Not violent |
| 142. | Where would you place Jews on this scale? |
| | Not violent |

Now please tell me how you would evaluate these nationalities in terms of their honesty.

Please use the seven point scale, where 1 signifies that the group is inclined to be very dishonest, 7 signifies the group is inclined to be very honest, and 4 signifies that the group is not distinctively honest nor dishonest.

143. Where would you place [respondent's least liked nationality] on this scale?

| Dishonest1 |
|--------------------------|
| 2 |
| |
| |
| 5 |
| 6 |
| Honest7 |
| NO DISLIKED NATIONALITY0 |
| DON'T KNOW97 |
| REFUSED98 |
| NOT ASKED99 |

144. Where would you place [the majority nationality of the republic] on this scale?

| Dishonest1 |
|-----------------|
| 2 |
| 3 |
| |
| 5 |
| |
| Honest7 |
| NOT APPLICABLE0 |
| DON'T KNOW97 |
| REFUSED98 |
| NOT ASKED99 |

145. Where would you place [the respondent's own nationality] on this scale?

| Dishonest1 |
|-----------------|
| 2 |
| 3 |
| 4 |
| 5 |
| 6 |
| Honest7 |
| NOT APPLICABLE0 |
| DON'T KNOW97 |
| REFUSED98 |
| NOT ASKED 99 |

146. Where would you place Jews on this scale?

| | 2 3 4 5 5 6 6 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 |
|------|---|
| | would like to ask you about your associations with entatives of these nationalities. |
| 147. | Let's begin with [respondent's least liked nationality]. |
| | ou happen to know any members of [the respondent's least d nationality]? |
| | Yes .1 GO TO 148 No .2 GO TO 149 DON'T KNOW .7 GO TO 149 REFUSED .8 GO TO 149 NOT ASKED .9 NO DISLIKED NATIONALITY .0 |
| 148. | Would you call any of these acquaintenances close friends? Yes No DON'T KNOW .7 REFUSED .8 NOT ASKED .9 NOT APPLICABLE .0 |
| 149. | What about Jews? Do you happen to know any Jews? Yes .1 GO TO 150 NO .2 GO TO 151 DON'T KNOW .7 GO TO 151 REFUSAL TO ANSWER .8 GO TO 151 NOT ASKED .9 NOT APPLICABLE .0 |
| 150. | Would you call any of these acquaintenances close friends? Yes .1 No .2 DON'T KNOW .7 REFUSAL TO ANSWER .8 NOT ASKED .9 NOT APPLICABLE .0 |

Dishonest.....1

Thank you for your answers. I would now like to know your opinion about how the economy should be organized.

| 151. industr hands. | Certain people now say that the state should own all ry. Others say that all industry should be in private And what do you think about this? |
|---------------------------|--|
| | The state should own all industry1 |
| | Certain people are convinced that the state should carry out ricultural production. Others think all agricultural tion should be in private hands. And what do you think this? |
| | The state should carry out all agricultural Production |
| priva | Certain people in our country believe that stores and aurants need to be privatized. Other people oppose ate ownership of stores and restaurants. What do think about this? |
| | Completely oppose privatization1 |
| | |
| | 4 |
| | 5 |
| | Completely support privatization |
| [PLEASI | E WRITE DOWN THE NAME OF THE GROUP] |
| 154. | Here are scales for the evaluation of different groups. Using |

them, please say how you react toward the above named groups.

If you think that this group does not represent any danger,
answer number '1'. If you think that this group presents a very

big danger, answer number '7'. The numbers from 2 through 6 represent increasing degrees of danger.

| | what degree do you think this group presents danger to the normal of people? Presents no danger to normal life of people1 |
|-------|--|
| | |
| | Presents a big danger to normal life of people7 NO GROUP SPECIFIED |
| | what degree do you think this group is ready to carry out ce in the political life of society? |
| | Not ready at all |
| C. Do | you think this group conducts illegal activities or not? Probably does not conduct illegal activities1 |
| | d now please tell us, does this group present any danger personally or not? |
| | Does present danger to me |

| | Does not present danger to me .7 NO GROUP SPECIFIED .0 DON'T KNOW .97 REFUSED .98 NOT ASKED .99 |
|---------|---|
| | [INTERVIEWER: ASK ABOUT THE RESPONDENT'S SECOND MOST DISLIKED (PARAGRAPH B., QUESTION 91, PAGE 31) IT IS WRITTEN DUR SHEET] |
| [PLEASE | WRITE DOWN THE NAME OF THE GROUP] |
| | what degree do you think this group presents danger to the lives of people? |
| | Presents no danger to normal life of people1 |
| | what degree do you think this group is ready to carry out e in the political life of society? |
| | Not ready at all |
| | you think this group conducts illegal activities or not? Probably does not conduct illegal activities1 |

 $\ensuremath{\mathsf{D}}.$ And now please tell us, does this group present any danger to you personally or not?

| 156. Tell us please, how often do other people ask your opinions about political matters? Would you say very often, only sometimes, or hardly ever? |
|--|
| Very often 1 Only sometimes 2 Hardly ever 3 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 157. On the whole, do you agree that the majority of people can be trusted or that one should be cautious in dealing with people? |
| Strongly agree that the majority of the people can be trusted5 |
| Agree that the majority of people can be trusted4 |
| Uncertain/Don't know3 |
| Agree that it is necessary to be very cautious dealing with people2 |
| Strongly agree that it is necessary to be very cautious dealing with people1 |
| REFUSED |
| |

Does present danger to me......1

158. If your attitude toward some social issue were very different from the attitude of the authorities, do you think you would be allowed to do the following? $\frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} \right) \left($

1. Make a speech in public criticizing the actions of the authorities?

| | Definitely not allowed |
|----------------------------|---|
| public | ganize meetings to ize the ities? |
| | Definitely not allowed |
| article | olish an e criticizing tions of the ities? |
| | Definitely not allowed |
| marche demons oppose | ganize protest s and trations to the actions authorities? |
| | Definitely not allowed |
| strike | organize a to oppose tions of the ities? |
| | Definitely not allowed 1 |

| | Probably not allowed |
|--|---|
| | How often do you discuss questions of politics with your sometimes, or never? |
| | Never. 1 Sometimes 2 Often. 3 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| | Would you say that you discuss political questions with your wife |
| | Often |
| tell me | oing to read to you another series of statements. Please whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or disagree by with each of them? |
| country concern | eople who run the vare not really ned with what s to people e. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree stongly 5 REFUSED 8 |
| are not in hear like me there i | if public officials interested ring what people think, s really no way them listen. |
| | Disagree strongly1 Disagree2 |

| | Uncertain/Don't know |
|------------|---|
| | REFUSED8 |
| choosis | When it comes to ng between people ney, Jews will money. Disagree strongly |
| influe | People like me can not nce the activities authorities. |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree stongly 5 REFUSED 8 |
| be pun | Jews deserve to ished because they Christ. |
| | Disagree strongly |
| to selecti | There are better ways ect our leaders than ons between l candidates. |
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 Uncertain/Don't know. 3 Agree. 4 Agree stongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 |

| | NOT ASKED9 | |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| in our | he Germans who live country create very oblems. | |
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 Uncertain/Don't know. 3 Agree. 4 Agree stongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | |
| do eventhat and the about competing | eople should try to ything possible so y proposal about lition of tive elections is ccepted. | |
| | Disagree strongly | |
| high prare very ma | ooperatives have ices because there y few goods and ny people who buy them. | |
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 Uncertain/Don't know. 3 Agree. 4 Agree stongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | |
| elected situat: then it | f the leaders who were can not improve the on in the country, is better to competitive ns. | |
| | Disagree strongly | |

| | Agree | |
|--|---|--|
| competi | Those supporting Ltive elections ing harm to the | |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree stongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | |
| politic in the of peop impossi of us t | 172. In our country, all political power is concentrated in the hands of a small group of people and it is impossible for the rest of us to influence what the government does. | |
| | Disagree strongly | |
| produce everyor buy one should | If a factory can not e televisions so that ne who wants one can e, then the factory raise the prices televisions. | |
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree stongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 | |

174. I would not want to be friends with people who have their own business and try to

| earn a | lot of money. | |
|--|--|--|
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 Uncertain/Don't know. 3 Agree. 4 Agree stongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | |
| that pa which I dismiss job whi | I would choose a job aid little, but from I would not be sed, rather than a ich paid a lot but easily be lost. | |
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 Uncertain/Don't know. 3 Agree. 4 Agree stongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | |
| have the dismission of self- | 176. An enterprise should have the opportunity to dismiss workers if it can not sell the product that it produces. | |
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 Uncertain/Don't know. 3 Agree. 4 Agree stongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | |
| intent | Cooperatives Lonally increase on goods. | |
| | Disagree strongly. 1 Disagree. 2 Uncertain/Don't know. 3 Agree. 4 Agree stongly. 5 REFUSED. 8 NOT ASKED. 9 | |

178. It is undesirable in our country to have

| - | e owners earn a money selling goods. |
|----------------|---|
| | Disagree strongly 1 Disagree 2 Uncertain/Don't know 3 Agree 4 Agree stongly 5 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 178.A | A. And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on this issue? |
| | |
| famil state | Not all people like to talk about politics with their lies and friends. I would like to read you several ements and ask which ones you agree with, and which don't. |
| poli such | o not always speak frankly about tics, since as a result of a conversations one can e enemies for oneself. |
| | Disagree 1 Agree 2 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| | And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC]do you think agree with your position on this issue? |
| | |
| my p | . because people would think political views cannot be erstood [were strange]. |
| | Disagree1 Agree2 |

| | REFUSED |
|------|--|
| 2.A. | And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on this issue? |
| | |
| | because I don't te arguments. Disagree |
| 3.A. | And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on this issue? |
| | |
| | . because I worry about at people will think of me. |
| | Disagree .1 Agree .2 DON'T KNOW .7 REFUSED .8 NOT ASKED .9 |
| 4.A. | And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on this issue? |
| | |
| | . because I worry that the corities might find out about my disagreement with them. |
| | Disagree |

| | REFUSED8 NOT ASKED9 |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 5.A. | And about what percentage of the people in [YOUR REPUBLIC] do you think agree with your position on this issue? |
| | |
| | Have you read in the papers, seen on television, heard the radio, or from other people, about "The Common opean House"? Yes |
| Conf poli free seen abou | As you might know, the president of France, Mr. Francois terand, has suggested the creation of a "Pan-European dederation" of all states in Europe which have several stical parties, free elections, freedom of speech and edom of the mass media. Have you read in the papers, a on television, heard over the radio, or from other people, at the proposal by the French President Mitterand to create Pan-European Confederation"? |
| | Yes 1 No 2 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| Euro read radi | As you might know, twelve states of Western and Southern ope form together The European Community. Have you in the papers, seen on television, heard over the o, or from other people, about "The European ounity"? |
| | Yes 1 No 2 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |

183. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you

to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you would do it or would never do it.

| 1 | . Sign a petition (appeal, statement). |
|----|--|
| | Would never do it |
| 2. | Join a boycott. |
| | Would never do it |
| 3. | Participate in a meeting opposing the authorities. |
| | Would never do it |
| 4. | Organize a strike against the actions of the authorities. |
| | Would never do it |
| 5. | To deliver a speech which criticizes the actions of the authorities. |
| | Would never do it |
| 6. | To participate in the work of an informal political organization. |
| | Would never do it |

7. Publish an article

| | | ticizing the actions the authorities. |
|-----|--------------|--|
| | | Would never do it |
| 8. | | ticipate in a test group. |
| | | Would never do it |
| 9. | for | anize public meetings criticizing the horities. |
| | | Would never do it |
| 10. | the | anize a strike against actions of the horities. |
| | | Would never do it |
| P. | ario leas | Recently many people are talking about trusting or distrusting us organs of power, public organizations, and mass media. e look at this card and say whether you completely trust mpletely distrust: |
| 1. | Cou | rt |
| | | Completely distrust 1 Don't trust very much 2 Trust 3 Completely distrust 4 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 2. | Tra | de Unions |
| | | Completely distrust |

| | Completely distrust |
|----|---|
| 3. | Office of the Procurator |
| | Completely distrust. Don't trust very much. Trust. Completely distrust. DON'T KNOW. REFUSED. NOT ASKED. |
| 4. | Militia |
| | Completely distrust |
| 5. | KGB |
| | Completely distrust Don't trust very much Trust Completely distrust DON'T KNOW REFUSED NOT ASKED |
| 6. | Supreme Soviet |
| | Completely distrust |
| 7. | Church |
| 8. | Completely distrust |
| | Completely distrust |
| | Don't trust very much |

| | Completely distrust |
|-----|---|
| 9. | Movement of "The Greens" |
| | Completely distrust. Don't trust very much. Trust. Completely distrust. DON'T KNOW. REFUSED. NOT ASKED. |
| 10. | Government |
| | Completely distrust |
| 11. | Communist Parties |
| | Completely distrust |
| 12. | Social Democrats |
| | Completely distrust |
| 13. | Newspapers and magazines |
| | Completely distrust |
| 14. | Television |
| | Completely distrust |

| | Trust |
|---|--|
| 15. Ra | dio |
| | Completely distrust 1 Don't trust very much 2 Trust 3 Completely distrust 4 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 185. | Do you have relatives or close friends abroad? Yes |
| | DON'T KNOW |
| | |
| COUNTR | Y CODES: |
| Aust Amer Engl Ango Arge Arme Afgh Afri Byel Belg Midd Bulg Braz Grea Hung Gree East Guin Germ Holl Gree Geor | ralia |

| Israel27 | | | |
|---------------------------|------|----|------|
| India28 | | | |
| Iraq29 | | | |
| Iran30 | | | |
| Ireland31 | | | |
| Spain32 | | | |
| Italy33 | | | |
| Kazakhstan34 | | | |
| Canada35 | | | |
| Kirgizia36 | | | |
| China37 | | | |
| Costa Rica38 | | | |
| Cuba39 | | | |
| Latvia40 | | | |
| Lebanon41 | | | |
| Libya42 | | | |
| Lithuania43 | | | |
| Mozambique44 | | | |
| Mongolia45 | | | |
| Morocco46 | | | |
| Nigeria47 | | | |
| Netherlands48 | | | |
| New Zealand49 | | | |
| Norway50 | | | |
| Unified Germany51 | | | |
| Pakistan52 | | | |
| Poland53 | | | |
| Poland, Turkmenistan, | | | |
| Uzbekistan54 | | | |
| Russia55 | | | |
| Romania56 | | | |
| USA | | | |
| Saudia Arabia58 | | | |
| Tanzania | | | |
| Turkey | | | |
| Uzbekistan61 | | | |
| Ukraine | | | |
| Uruguay | | | |
| France | | | |
| West Germany65 | | | |
| Finland | | | |
| Czechoslovak Republic67 | | | |
| Czechoslovakia69 | | | |
| Switzerland70 | | | |
| Sweden | | | |
| Estonia | | | |
| Estonia - Latvia | | | |
| Yugoslavia | | | |
| Japan | | | |
| In countries of the CIS76 | | | |
| RP [?] | | | |
| Europe | | | |
| | [00 | ТΩ | 188] |
| DON'T KNOW | | | 188] |
| NOT ASKED99 | r GO | 10 | T00] |
| NOI ADVED | | | |

187. How often do you communicate with them? When did you last do the following:

| Ι. | spoke with them on the phone. |
|-----|--|
| | Not applicable 0 This month 1 2-3 months ago 2 Half a year ago 3 A year ago 4 More than a year ago 5 Never 6 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 2. | Exchanged letters. |
| 3. | Not applicable 0 This month 1 2-3 months ago 2 Half a year ago 3 A year ago 4 More than a year ago 5 Never 6 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 Visited them |
| 4. | Not applicable 0 This month 1 2-3 months ago 2 Half a year ago 3 A year ago 4 More than a year ago 5 Never 6 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| | Not applicable 0 This month 1 2-3 months ago 2 Half a year ago 3 A year ago 4 More than a year ago 5 Never 6 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 NOT ASKED 9 |
| 188 | 3. Now I would like to ask you several questions about your education. How many grades have you finished at school? |
| | |

| 189. | Have you ever studied anywhere other than high school? |
|-------|---|
| | No |
| 190. | What did you complete? |
| (For | ofessional courses example, tractor driving ping courses) NOT APPLICABLE |
| | dinary professional training l, or FZU, FZO |
| | NOT APPLICABLE |
| | condary professional ing school |
| | NOT APPLICABLE |
| 4. Te | chnical school |
| | NOT APPLICABLE |

| 5. Other | er type of technical , etc. |
|-------------------|---|
| | NOT APPLICABLE |
| 6. Uni | versity institute |
| | NOT APPLICABLE |
| qualif: instit | cial courses for increasing ications after an ution of higher education echnical school |
| | NOT APPLICABLE |
| 8. ??? | NOT APPLICABLE |
| 193. Are y | Now I would like to ask you several questions about your job. |
| A pe | nsioner and work1 |
| Work | (not on a pension)2 |
| Pens | ioner and don't work |
| | ent at a comprehensive school technical school4> [GO TO 198] |
| | ent at an institution of higher ning (or a technical school)5> [GO TO 198] |
| leave | orarily not working (on maternity e or taking care of a child r 3 years old, or etc.)6> [GO TO 198] |
| Tempo | orarily not working |
| A ho | usewife8> [GO TO 198] |
| Othe | r (specify)> [GO TO 198] |
| NOT A | ASKED9 |

| 195. salary | Tell me please, do you work in another organization that all , or maybe in several other organizations? | so pay | ys your |
|----------------|---|--------|---------|
| | Not employed | | |
| 197. your | I would like to know about the specific characteristics of job. | | |
| | independent are you in determining the organization, terms, and the tasks of your job. | | |
| | Not employed. 0 Completely dependent. 1 | | |
| 198. (in | Tell me please, what is your approximate monthly income? rubles) | | |
| | | | |
| 199. | In what year were you born? | | |
| | Born in 19000 Born in 197676 | | |
| 200. | Have you ever served in the army? | | |
| | I have served in the military1 No | | |

Tell me please where you were born, where you finished school, and where you lived when you were 20 years old? 201R.1 Pleast tell me where your were born Russia.....1 Ukraine.....2 Byelorussia.....3 Moldova.....4 Latvia.....6 Lithuania.....7 Georgia.....8 Armenia.....9 Uzbekistan.....10 Kazakhstan.....12 Kirqizia.....13 Tajikistan.....14 NOT ASKED.....99 201R. 2 Please tell me the republic where you finished school. Russia.....1 Ukraine.....2 Byelorussia......3 Moldova.....4 Estonia.....5 Latvia.....6 Georgia.....8 Armenia.....9 Uzbekistan.....10 Turkmenia.....11 Kazakhstan.....12 Kirgizia......13 Tajikistan.....14 Azerbaijan.....15 IS UNRELATED.....96 NOT ASKED......99 201R.3 Please tell me the republic where you lived at age 20. Russia.....1 Ukraine.....2 Moldova.....4 Estonia.....5 Latvia.....6 Georgia.....8 Armenia.....9 Uzbekistan.....10 Turkmenia.....11 Kazakhstan.....12 Kirgizia.....13 Tajikistan.....14

201.2 Where were you born?

| | Capital of union republic |
|-------|--|
| 201.3 | Where did you finish school? |
| | Capital of union republic |
| 201.4 | Where did you live at age 20? |
| | Capital of union republic |
| 202. | How long have you been living here? |
| | Since 1900 0 Since 1991 91 DON'T KNOW 97 REFUSED 98 NOT ASKED 99 |
| 203. | Recently in our society, there is much talk about religion |

203. Recently in our society, there is much talk about religion. Please look at the card and tell me which of the statements best expresses your attitude toward religion?

| Ι | think that I am a very religious person1 |
|---|--|
| I | would say that I am a religious person2 |
| I | am not religious3 |
| Т | am an atheist |

| | DON'T KNOW REFUSED NOT ASKED | |
|---------------|--|---------|
| | | |
| 204. | To what religion do you belong? | |
| | Orthodox | |
| | DON'T KNOW97 REFUSED98 | |
| | NOT ASKED99 | |
| 205. marit | I want to give you several questions about your family. What tal status? | is your |
| | Never been married | |
| 206. | Do you have children? | |
| | I have 0 children | |
| 207. | Tell me please, what do you consider to be your native language. | |
| | | |
| NATIC | ONALITY CODES: | |
| Ady Aze | chazes | |

| Armenians | |
|--|---|
| | 5 |
| Assyrians | 6 |
| Afghans | |
| Bashkirs | ρ |
| Dyologiana | ٥ |
| Byelorussians | 0 |
| Bessarabians | . U |
| Bulgarians1 | Ι. |
| Buryats1 | . 2 |
| Hungarians1 | . 3 |
| Vepsians [English spelling | |
| is uncertain]1 | 4 |
| Middle Asiansl | .5 |
| Gaguaz1 | 6 |
| Dutchmen1 | 7 |
| Highlanders1 | 8 |
| Greeks1 | 9 |
| Georgians2 | 0 |
| Dagestanians2 | 1 |
| Don Cossacks2 | 2 |
| Doongans2 | 3 |
| Jews | 4 |
| Jezids [probably an | - |
| incorrect term for | |
| Hasidic Jews]2 | _ |
| Trans-Caucasians2 | 5 |
| Trans-caucasians | 0 |
| Western Ukranians2 | / |
| Inhabitants of Southern Republics2 | _ |
| Republics2 | 8 |
| Ingushes2 | 9 |
| Kabardians3 | 0 |
| Caucasians3 | 1 |
| Cossacks3 | 2 |
| | |
| Kazakhs | 3 |
| Kazakhs3 Kalmyks3 | 3 4 |
| Kazakhs | 3 4 5 |
| Karakalpaks3 | 3 4 5 |
| Karakalpaks3 Kareins [English spelling | 3 4 5 |
| Karakalpaks | 3 4 5 |
| Karakalpaks | 3 4 5 7 |
| Karakalpaks | 3 4 5 7 8 |
| Karakalpaks | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| Karakalpaks | 3 4 5 7 8 9 |
| Karakalpaks | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 |
| Karakalpaks Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] Karachaevtsy [?] Karelians Karelo-Finns Kirgizes Chinese Komi Komi-Permyats Koreans | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 |
| Karakalpaks3Kareins [English spellingis uncertain]3Karachaevtsy [?]3Karelians3Karelo-Finns3Kirgizes4Chinese4Komi4Komi-Permyats4Cosmopolitans4 | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Karakalpaks3Kareins [English spellingis uncertain]3Karachaevtsy [?]3Karelians3Karelo-Finns3Kirgizes4Chinese4Komi4Komi-Permyats4Koreans4Cosmopolitans4Crimean Tatars4 | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| Karakalpaks3Kareins [English spellingis uncertain]3Karachaevtsy [?]3Karelians3Karelo-Finns3Kirgizes4Chinese4Komi4Komi-Permyats4Koreans4Cosmopolitans4Crimean Tatars4Kumandintsy [?]4 | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumandintsy [?] 4 Kumyks 4 | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumandintsy [?] 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumandintsy [?] 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 | 345 678901234567890 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 Lacks 5 | 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 Lacks 5 Latvians 5 | 345 678901 2345 678901 2367 8901 2478 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 Lacks 5 Latvians 5 Lezgins 5 | $\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 Lacks 5 Latvians 5 Lithuanians 5 | 345 6789012345 67890123445 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 Lacks 5 Latvians 5 Lithuanians 5 | 345 6789012345 67890123445 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 Lacks 5 Latvians 5 Lithuanians 5 Hungarians 5 | 345 678901 12345 145678901 12345 15678901 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 Lacks 5 Latvians 5 Lezgins 5 Lithuanians 5 Malorosses 5 | 345 6789901234456789901234456 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 Lacks 5 Latvians 5 Lithuanians 5 Hungarians 5 Malorosses 5 Mari 5 | 3445 67899 112334 15667 1677 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 Lacks 5 Latvians 5 Lithuanians 5 Hungarians 5 Malorosses 5 Mari 5 | 3445 67899 112334 15667 1677 |
| Karakalpaks 3 Kareins [English spelling is uncertain] 3 Karachaevtsy [?] 3 Karelians 3 Karelo-Finns 3 Kirgizes 4 Chinese 4 Komi 4 Komi-Permyats 4 Koreans 4 Cosmopolitans 4 Crimean Tatars 4 Kumyks 4 Kurds 4 Kypchaks 5 Lacks 5 Latvians 5 Lezgins 5 Lithuanians 5 Malorosses 5 | $\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$ |

| Mordva | | | 61 |
|--------------------------|---|---------------------------------|--|
| Nanai | | | 62 |
| Germans | | | |
| Dutchmen | • | • | 61 |
| Magai | • | • | 6 5 |
| Nagai | • | • | 00 |
| Norwegians | • | • | 66 |
| Ossetians | | | |
| Poles | • | • | 68 |
| Balts | • | • | 69 |
| Russians | • | • | 70 |
| Romanians | | | |
| Russians | | | 72 |
| Serbs | | | 73 |
| Serbs | | | 74 |
| Tatars | • | • | 75 |
| Tuvins | • | • | 76 |
| Turka | • | • | 77 |
| Turks | • | • | 70 |
| Turks-Meshketins | • | • | 78 |
| Turkmenians | • | • | 19 |
| Persians | • | • | 80 |
| Udmurts | • | • | 81 |
| Uzbeks | • | • | 82 |
| Uzbek Ukranian [female] | | | |
| Uigurs | | | 84 |
| Ukrainians | | | 85 |
| Couthorn nationalities | | | |
| [derogatory] | | | 86 |
| Finns | ٠ | ٠ | 87 |
| Khakassians | | | |
| Ukrainians | | | |
| Organians | • | • | 00 |
| Gypsies | ٠ | • | 90 |
| Czechs | | | |
| Chechens | • | • | 92 |
| Chuvash | • | • | 93 |
| Chukchi | • | • | 94 |
| Churbans ["dumb people"] | • | • | 95 |
| Churks [derogatory term | | | |
| for southerners] | | | 96 |
| Swedes | | | 97 |
| Estonians | | | |
| Southern nationalities | | | 99 |
| Yakuts | ٠ | 1 | 00 |
| All nationalities | • | 1 | Λ1 |
| Mohody | • | 1 | 0.7 |
| Nobody | • | 1 | 02 |
| No arguest | • | 1 | 0.3 |
| No answer | • | 1 | 04 |
| No spouse | • | 1 | 05 |
| Do not know | | | |
| Cannot say exactly | | | \cap |
| Hybrids | | | |
| TIYDII TOO | | 1 | 08 |
| Slavs | | 1 | 08 |
| Slavs | | 1 | 08 |
| Slavs Citizens of the | | 1 | 08 09 |
| Slavs | | 1 1 | 08 09 |
| Slavs | | 1 1 | 08 09 |
| Slavs | | 1 1 1 | 08 09 10 11 |
| Slavs | | 1 1 1 | 08 09 10 11 |
| Slavs | | 1 1 1 1 | 08 09 10 11 |
| Slavs | | 1 1 1 1 1 | 08 09 10 11 12 13 |
| Slavs | | 1 1 1 1 1 1 9 | 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 97 |
| Slavs | | 1 1 1 1 1 1 9 | 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 97 |

208. We are interested in the extent to which relatives are similar.

First of all, can you tell us about the professions of your relatives? 208.1.E What kind of education does (did) your father have? Has no education.....1 Primary education.....2 Secondary education...........3 Unfinished secondary.....4 Common technical school.....5 Secondary technical school.....6 Technical college......7 Secondary specialize.....8 Unfinished higher education.....9 Higher education.....10 Ph.D (candidate).....11 Other.....13 IS UNRELATED......96 CANNOT SAY EXACTLY.....97 REFUSE TO ANSWER.....98 NOT ASKED......99 208.2.E What kind of education does (did) your mother have? Has no education.....1 Primary education.....2 Secondary education......3 Unfinished secondary.....4 Common technical school.....5 Secondary technical school......6 Technical college......7 Secondary specialize.....8 Unfinished higher education.....9 Higher education.....10 Ph.D (candidate).....11 Other.....13 IS UNRELATED.....96 CANNOT SAY EXACTLY.....97 REFUSE TO ANSWER.....98 NOT ASKED......99 208.3.E What kind of education does (did) your spouse have? Has no education.....1 Primary education.....2 Secondary education.....3 Unfinished secondary.....4 Common technical school.....5 Secondary technical school......6 Technical college......7 Secondary specialize.....8 Unfinished higher education.....9 Higher education.....10 Ph.D (candidate).....11 Other.....13 IS UNRELATED.....96 CANNOT SAY EXACTLY.....97

| 208.1.N | What | is | (was) | your | father's | nationality? |
|---|--|---------|--------|------|--|--------------|
| 208.2.N | What | is | (was) | your | mother's | nationality? |
| 208.3.N | What | is | (was) | your | spouse's | nationality? |
| NATIONALIT | Y CODE | :ss | | | | |
| Abkhazes Adygeis Azerbaij Asians Armenian Assyrian Afghans Bashkirs Byelorus Bessarab Bulgaria Buryats Hungaria Vepsians is uncer Middle A Gaguaz Dutchmen Highland Greeks Georgian Dagestan Don Coss Doongans Jews Jezids incorrec | anis anis s s s s s s ians ians [Eng] tain] sians cers cacks | ish | n spel | | 2 3 4 5 5 7 3 3 9 9 9 1 2 2 3 3 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 | |
| Incorrect Hasidic Trans-Ca Western Inhabita Republic Ingushes Kabardia Caucasia Cossacks Kazakhs Kalmyks Karakalp Kareins is uncer Karachae Karelian Karelo-F Kirgizes Chinese | Jews] ucasia ukrani nts of s ns aks [Engli tain] vtsy [s inns | ans ans | spell | | 5 7 3 3 9 9 1 2 3 3 4 5 7 3 3 9 9 9 9 | |

 Komi
 ...
 .42

 Komi-Permyats
 ...
 .43

| Koreans | 44 |
|--------------------------|-----|
| Cosmopolitans | 45 |
| Crimean Tatars | |
| Kumandintsy [?] | 47 |
| Kumyks | 48 |
| Kurds | 49 |
| Kypchaks | |
| Lacke | 51 |
| Lacks | 52 |
| Lezgins | 52 |
| Lithuanians | 5/ |
| Littliudilidis | 24 |
| Hungarians | 22 |
| Maiorosses | 20 |
| Mari | 5 / |
| Mestizo | 58 |
| Multi-nationals | 59 |
| Moldavanians | 60 |
| Mordva | 6 I |
| Nanai | |
| Germans | |
| Dutchmen | 64 |
| Nagai | 65 |
| Norwegians | |
| Ossetians | |
| Poles | 68 |
| Balts | 69 |
| Russians | 70 |
| Romanians | 71 |
| Russians | 72 |
| Serbs | 73 |
| Tadzhiks | 74 |
| Tatars | 75 |
| Tuvins | |
| Turks | 77 |
| Turks-Meshketins | 78 |
| Turkmenians | 79 |
| Persians | |
| Udmurts | |
| Uzbeks | 82 |
| Uzbek Ukranian [female] | 83 |
| Uigurs | |
| Ukrainians | 25 |
| Southern nationalities | 05 |
| | 86 |
| Finns | |
| Khakassians | 0 / |
| Ukrainians | 00 |
| Gypsies | |
| | |
| Czechs | |
| Chechens | |
| Chuvash | |
| Chukchi | 94 |
| Churbans ["dumb people"] | 95 |
| Churks [derogatory term | |
| for southerners] | |
| Swedes | |
| Estonians | |
| Southern nationalities | |
| Yakuts1 | |
| All nationalities1 | |
| Nobody1 | 02 |

| NO NO DOI CAI Hyd S1 Ci So Ru Ru [fe Uz Ch DOI RE | es not matter 103 ANSWER 104 SPOUSE 105 N'T KNOW 106 N'T SAY EXACTLY 107 brids 108 avs 109 tizens of the viet Union 110 ssian Jew [female] 111 ssian half-Jew emale] 112 bek Ukrainian [female] 113 erkess [singular] 114 N'T KNOW 997 FUSED 998 T ASKED 999 |
|---|--|
| 210. (S | How much dwelling space does your family occupy? q. meters) |
| | |
| 211. | How many people live with you, including yourself? |
| | |
| | Which of the following things does your family own (that is say, it must be owned only by your family, not by your rents or other relatives) |
| 1. | Refrigerator |
| | Don't own |
| 2. | Separate Freezer |
| | Don't own .0 Own .1 DON'T KNOW .7 REFUSED .8 |
| 3. 1 | Washing Machine |
| | Don't own0 Own1 |

| | DON'T KNOW |
|----|--|
| 4. | Vacuum Cleaner |
| | Don't own 0 Own 1 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 |
| 5. | Telephone |
| | Don't own 0 Own 1 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 |
| 6. | Tape Recorder |
| | Don't own 0 Own 1 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 |
| 7. | Stereo |
| | Don't own 0 Own 1 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 |
| | |
| 8. | Television: Black & White |
| 9. | Television: Black & White Don't own0 Own1 DON'T KNOW7 REFUSED8 Television: Color |
| | Don't own 0 Own 1 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 |
| 9. | Don't own |

| | Own |
|----------------|---|
| 13. | VCR |
| | Don't own .0 Own .1 DON'T KNOW .7 REFUSED .8 |
| 14. | Computer 0 Don't own 0 Own 1 DON'T KNOW 7 REFUSED 8 |
| 15. | Summer House |
| | Don't own |
| 213 sp | Please recall how much money all the members of your family pent all together last month? (IN RUBLES) |
| 218 | . Do you smoke or do you not smoke? |
| No D(R) | es, I smoke1 o, I do not smoke2 DN'T KNOW7 EFUSED8 DT ASKED9 |
| Tì | mank you very much for your effort. |
| 219 | . Male1 Female2 |
| END | .HOUR Hour Interview ended |
| | |

| END.MI | N Minute interview ended |
|---------|---|
| | |
| | please read the section "How to Fill Out The onnaire," and begin answering the questions. |
| S1. | R completed |
| S2.HOUI | R Hour SAQ Completed: |
| | |
| S2.MIN | Minute SAQ Completed |
| S3 | Word game |
| | R completed |
| S4.HOUI | R Hour word game completed |
| | |
| | |

127

S4.MIN Minute word game completed

| | INTERVIEWER REMARKS (TO BE FILLED OUT AFTER THE SURVEY IS FINISHED) |
|----------------|--|
| | ere any other people immediately present who might be ning during the interview? |
| I1.1 | No one else was present during the interview |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| I1.2 | The wife of the respondent was present during the interview |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| I1.3 | Children of the respondent were present during the interview |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| I1.4 | Parents of the respondent were present during the interview |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| I1.5 | Other adults were present during the interview Yes |
| | general, what was the respondent's attitude toward the riew? [CODE ONE] |
| Cc In Hc | riendly and interested |
| I3. Di | d the respondent understand the questions [CODE ONE] |
| | Well |

| NO ANSWER9 |
|--|
| 14. Was respondent |
| Nervous |
| I5. Was respondent |
| much less quick-witted as most respondents.1less quick-witted as most respondents.2as quick-witted than most respondents.3more quick-witted than most respondents.4NO ANSWER.9 |
| I6. Compared to other respondents, was respondent |
| not as honest and open as most respondents |
| I7. How would you evaluate the living quarters of the respondent? |
| clearly much better off than most people |
| Day and month of intervew |
| |
| 19 Name of Interviewer (ID NUMBER) |
| 1 992 |
| 110 INTERVIEWER'S GENDER (CODE ONE): |
| MALE |
| Ill.1 Region where interview took place |
| Minsk (Belorussia)1 |

| Brest2 |
|------------------------------------|
| Polotsk3 |
| rural4 |
| <pre>Kiev (C. Ukraine)5</pre> |
| Sevastopol6 |
| Nezhin7 |
| Borispol8 |
| rural9 |
| Lvov (W. Ukraine)10 |
| Zolochev11 |
| Brody |
| |
| rural |
| Dnepropetrovsk (E.U14 |
| Novomoscovsk |
| rural16 |
| <pre>Kishinev (Moldavia)17</pre> |
| Beltzy18 |
| rural19 |
| Tbilisi (Georgia)20 |
| Rustavi21 |
| rural22 |
| Baku (Azerbaidzan)23 |
| Hatchmas24 |
| rural25 |
| Erevan (Armenia)26 |
| rural27 |
| Alma-Ata (Kazahstan)28 |
| Dzhambul |
| Ush-tobe |
| rural31 |
| Tashkent (Uzbekistan)32 |
| Gulistan33 |
| Baisun34 |
| rural35 |
| Bishkek (Kirgizia)36 |
| |
| rural |
| |
| rural39 |
| Ashkhabad (Turkmenia)40 |
| rural41 Krasnoyarsk (E. Siberia)42 |
| |
| Ust-ilimsk |
| rural44 |
| Khabarovsk (Far East45 |
| Komsomolsk-na-Amure46 |
| rural47 |
| Magadan48 |
| Perm (Urals)49 |
| Kudymkar50 |
| rural51 |
| Novosibirsk (W. Siberia)52 |
| Omsk53 |
| Byisk54 |
| rural55 |
| Ioshkar-Ola (Mari)56 |
| rural |
| St. Pertersburg (Nort58 |
| Tikhvin |
| Petrozavodsk60 |
| rural61 |
| Nizhny Novgorod (Vol62 |
| 111211117 110 V g 0 1 0 0 (V 0 1 |

| Dzerzhinsk63 |
|-------------------------|
| rural64 |
| Moscow (Moscow)65 |
| Klin |
| rural67 |
| Vladimir (Vladimir)68 |
| Murom |
| Kovrov |
| rural71 |
| Voronezh (Central)72 |
| Semiluki |
| rural74 |
| |
| Stavropol (N. Caucas |
| Budenovsk |
| Izobilny |
| rural78 |
| Saratov (Volga River)79 |
| Engels80 |
| rural81 |
| Kharkov82 |
| Lubotin83 |
| Merefa84 |
| rural85 |
| Sumy (Central Ukrain86 |
| Nicholaev87 |
| Lebedin88 |
| rural89 |
| Ivanovo-Frankovsk (W90 |
| Nadvornaya91 |
| |
| Tlumach92 |
| Kalush93 |
| Galitch94 |
| rural95 |
| Simferopol (Krimea)96 |
| Dzhankoy97 |
| Alushta98 |
| Belogorsk99 |
| rural100 |

Institute of Sociology, A.S. U.S.S.R.

Institute of Open-Cooperation

SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE (SAQ)

Moscow 1992

Response set:

- 0. False
- 1. True
- 8. Not answered
- 9. SAQ not completed by respondent

ZTPQ1. I usually am confident that everything will (0)(1)(9) will go well, even in situations that worry

| most people | F | Т | NO ANSWER/DK |
|--|---|---|--------------|
| <pre>ZTPQ2. I like to discuss my experiences and feelings openly with friends instead of keeping them to myself.</pre> | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ3. Usually I am more worried than most people that something might go wrong in the future. | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| <pre>ZTPQ4. I would like to have warm and close friends with me most of the time</pre> | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ5. I nearly always stay relaxed and carefree, even when nearly everyone else is fearful. | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ6. I often have to stop what I am doing because I start worrying about what might go wrong. | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| <pre>ZTPQ7. My friends find it hard to know my feelings because I seldom tell them about my private thoughts.</pre> | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ8. I like it when people can do whatever they want without strict rules and regulations. | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| <pre>ZTPQ9. I often stop what I am doing because I get worried, even when my freinds tell me every- thing will go well</pre> | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| <pre>ZTPQ10. It wouldn't bother me to be alone all the time</pre> | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ11. I like to be very organized and set up rules for people whenever I can | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ12. I usually do things my own way rather than qiving in to the wishes of other people. | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| <pre>ZTPQ13. I usually feel tense and worried when I have</pre> | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| <pre>ZTPQ14. I often feel tense and worried in unfamiliar</pre> | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ15. Other people often think that I am too independent because I won't do what they want | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| <pre>ZTPQ16. Even when most people feel it is not important,</pre> | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| <pre>ZTPQ17. I often do things based on how I feel at the moment without thinking about how they were done in the past</pre> | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ18. I often feel tense and worried in unfamiliar situations, even when others feel there is no danger at all | Т | F | NO ANSWER/DK |

| ZTPQ19. | I often break rules and regulations when I think I can get away with it | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
|---------|--|---|------|-----------|
| ZTPQ20. | I don't care very much whether other people like me or the way I do things T | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ21. | I usually stay calm and secure in situations that most people would find physically dangerous | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ22. | I feel it is more important to be sympathetic and understanding of other people than to be practical and tough-minded | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ23. | I lose my temper more quickly than most people | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ24. | I am usually confident that I can easily do things that most people would consider dangerous (such as driving an automobile fast on a wet or icy road) | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ25. | People find it easy to come to me for help, sympathy, and warm understanding | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ26. | I am much more reserved and controlled than most people | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ27. | When I have to meet a group of strangers, I am more shy than most people | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ28. | I often feel that I am the victim of circumstances | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ29. | I am strongly moved by sentimental appeals (like when asked to help crippled children)T | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ30. | I almost never get so excited that I lose control of myself | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ31. | I often wait for someone else to provide a solution to my problems | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ32. | I can usually accept other people as they are, even when they are very different from meT | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ33. | I often avoid meeting strangers because I lack confidence with people I do not knowT | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ34. | I often consider another person's feelings as much as my own | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ35. | I usually stay away from social situations where I would have to meet strangers, even if I am assured that they will be friendlyT | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ36. | I like to be of service to others | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ37. | I usually push myself harder than most people do because I want to do as well as I possibly can | F | NO A | ANSWER/DK |

| ZTPQ38. | I seldom feel free to choose what I want to do. T | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
|---------|---|---|----|-----------|
| ZTPQ39. | I often push myself to the point of exhaustion or try to do more than I really can | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ40. | Each day I try to take another step toward my goals | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ41. | I would probably stay relaxed and outgoing when meeting a group of strangers, even if I were told they are unfriendly | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ42. | I usually look at a difficult situation as a challenge or opportunity | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ43. | It is difficult for me to keep the same interests for a long time because my attention often shifts to something elseT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ44. | I have no patience with people who don't accept my views | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ45. | I think I would stay confident and relaxed when meeting strangers, even if I were told they are angry at me | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ46. | I don't seem to understand most people very well T | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ47. | I could probably accomplish more than I do, but I don't see the point in pushing myself harder than is necessary to get byT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ48. | I like to help find a solution to problems so that everyone comes out aheadT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ49. | I like to think about things for a long time before I make a decision | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ50. | Most of the time I would prefer to do something a little risky (like riding a fast automobile over steep hills and sharp turns) rather than having to stay quiet and inactive for a few hours | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ51. | Other people control me too much | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ52. | I often follow my instincts, hunches, or intuition without thinking through all the details | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ53. | I prefer to wait for someone else to take the lead in getting things done | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ54. | It is hard for me to tolerate people who are different from me | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ55. | Most of the time I would prefer to do something risky (like hang-gliding or parachute jumping) rather than having to stay quiet and inactive | | | |

| | for a few hoursT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
|---------|---|---|----|-----------|
| ZTPQ56. | I am satisfied with my accomplishments, and have little desire to do better | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ57. | I usually try to get just what I want for myself because it is not possible to satisfy everyone anyway | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ58. | I usually think about all the facts in detail before I make a decision T | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ59. | Usually I am not able to do things according to their priority of importance to me because of lack of time | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ60. | I nearly always think about all the facts in detail before I make a decision, even when other people demand a quick decisionT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ61. | I often cannot deal with problems because I just don't know what to do $\ensuremath{\mathtt{T}}$ | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ62. | I don't go out of my way to please other people | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ63. | People will usually tell me how they feel $\!$ | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ64. | I like to share what I have learned with other people | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ65. | I am usually able to get other people to believe me, even when I know that what I am saying is exaggerated or untrue | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ66. | My attitudes are determined largely by influences outside my control | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ67. | I can usually do a good job of stretching the truth to tell a funnier story or to play a joke on someone | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ68. | Often I feel that my life has little purpose or meaning | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ69. | I usually respect the opinions of others $\!$ | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ70. | I have trouble telling a lie, even when it is meant to spare someone else's feelingsT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ71. | I don't think it is possible for one person to share feelings with someone else who hasn't had the same experiences | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ72. | I am better at saving money than most people. T | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ73. | Members of a team rarely get their fair share. T | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ74. | Circumstances often force me to do things against my will | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |

| ZTPQ75. | I often spend money until I run out of cash or get into debt from using too much creditT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
|---------|--|---|----|-----------|
| ZTPQ76. | Because I so often spend too much money on impulse, it is hard for me to save money even for special plans like a vacation | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ77. | I wish other people didn't talk as much as they do | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ78. | <pre>If I am feeling upset, I usually feel better around friends than when left alone</pre> | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ79. | Some people think I am too stingy or tight with my money | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ80. | It is hard for me to enjoy spending money on mysel even when I have saved plenty of money. | | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ81. | It is usually foolish to promote the success of other people | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ82. | I hate to make decisions based only on my first impressions | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ83. | I think I will have very good luck in the future | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ84. | I am often moved deeply by a fine speech or poetry | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ85. | If I am embarassed or humiliated, I get over it very quickly | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ86. | I generally don't like people who have different ideas from me | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ87. | I like to keep my problems to myself | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ88. | I enjoy saving money more than spending it on entertainment or thrills | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ89. | Even when I am with friends, I prefer not to "open up" very much | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ90. | I feel very confident and sure of myself in almost all social situations | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ91. | I usually like to stay cool and detached from other people | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ92. | I do not think I have a real sense of purpose for my life | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ93. | I never worry about terrible things that might happen in the future | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ94. | I am more hard-working than most peopleT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ95. | I've learned that people usually won't say how they really feel | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |

| ZTPQ96. | I like to please other people as much as I can. T | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
|---------|--|---|----|-----------|
| ZTPQ97. | Regardless of any temporary problem that I have to overcome, I always think it will turn out wellT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ98. | I usually am free to choose what I will doT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ99. | I spend most of my time doing things that seem necessary but not really important to meT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ100 | . I am usually so determined that I continued to work long after other people have given upT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ101 | . I usually have good luck in whatever I try to do | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ102 | . I like to pay close attention to details in everything I do | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ103 | . I often try to put aside my own judgments so that I can better understand what other people are experiencing | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ104 | . It is easy for me to organize my thoughts while talking to someone | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ105 | . Most people I know look out only for themselves, no matter who else gets hurt | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ106 | Other people and conditions are often to blame for my problems | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ107 | Things often go wrong for me unless I am very careful | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ108 | . My behavior is strongly guided by certain goals that I have set for my life | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ109 | . I find sad songs and movies pretty boring T | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ110 | . I often learn a lot from people | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ111 | . I try to cooperate with others as much as possible | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ112 | . I have too little time to look for long-term solutions for my problems | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ113 | People involved with me have to learn how to do things my way | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ114 | . I often give up a job if it takes much longer than I thought it would | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ115 | . It is usually easy for me to like people who have different values from me | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ116 | . I usually try to imagine myself "in other people's | S | | |

| | shoes", so I can really understand themT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
|----------|--|---|----|-----------|
| ZTPQ117. | I am more of a perfectionist than most people | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ118. | My actions are determined largely by influences outside my control | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ119. | I know what I want to do in my life | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ120. | Most people seem more resourceful than I am. $\ \ \ T$ | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ121. | I prefer spending money rather than saving itT | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ122. | I think everybody wins when people try to help each other | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ123. | I am more sentimental than most people $\ensuremath{\mathtt{T}}$ | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ124. | I like to read everything when I am asked to sign any papers | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ125. | I do not think it is smart to help weak people who cannot help themselves | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ126. | I like to make quick decisions so I can get on with what has to be done | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ127. | It is fun for me to buy things for myself $\ensuremath{\mathtt{T}}$ | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ128. | I often give in to the wishes of friends. $\ensuremath{\mathtt{T}}$ | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ129. | I am not very good at talking my way out of trouble when I am caught doing something wrong.T | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTPQ130. | I am more likely to cry at a sad movie than most people | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |
| ZTP0131. | I am not shy with strangers at all | F | NO | ANSWER/DK |

THE WORD GAME

In this part of the survey we would like you to play a word game. Do the game on your own. When you are finished please return the booklet to the interviewer.

HOW TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

To answer you need to circle the corresponding number. Here is an example: EXAMPLE

| "Woman" is to "child" as "cat" is to: |
|--|
| kitten1 dog2 boy3 |
| A woman is a grown-up child, just as a cat is a grown-up kitten. The right answer is shown by circling 1 for kitten. |
| ************** |
| There are no trick questions, and there is only one right answer to each question. |
| Read each question carefully and answer all questions, even if you are not completely sure of the answer. Some of the questions may be difficult, so just do the best you can. You can only take about 5 minutes to answer all 6 questions. The interviewer will tell you when the time is up. Please begin now. |
| ZIQ1 "Tired" is to "work" as "proud" is to: |
| smile |
| candle |
| Drave |
| ZIQ4. "Better" is to "worst" as "slower" is to: |
| fast |

| ZIQ5. | "Flame" | is to | "heat" as | s "rose | e" ls | to: | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-------|-----------|---------|-------|-----|--------|------|-----|---------|--|
| red sce NO | rn petals. nt ANSWER . APPLICA | | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| wid zig str | Which of ezag aight ANSWER APPLICA | | 2 | words | does | not | belong | with | the | others? | |

SURVEY OF SOVIET VALUES 1990

James L. Gibson Sidney W. Souers Professor of Government

Department of Political Science Washington University

Saint Louis, MO 63130 USA

Version 1.1

LATID

| SH Hour interview began |
|--|
| 0 |
| SM Minute interview began |
| |
| I would like to ask you about current events in our country. |
| 1. How often do you watch the news broadcasts on TV - once a day, a few times a week, about once a week, less than once a week, or never? |
| Never |
| 2. How often do you listen to the news broadcasts on the radio - once a day, a few times a week, about once a week, less than once a week, or never? |
| Never |
| 3. How often do you read the newspaper - every day, a few times a week, about once a week, less than once a week, or never? |
| Never |

| 4. How interested would you say you are in politics? |
|--|
| Not at all interested1 Not very interested2 Interested3 Very interested4 |
| 5. Speaking in general and on the whole, do you support or not support the activity of M. Gorbachov as head of state? |
| Strongly support4 Partially support3 Partially do not support2 Strongly do not support1 I cannot answer precisely8 Refusal to answer9 |
| 6. Speaking more concretely about various aspects of his activity: Do you support or not support the manner in which M. Gorbachov is conducting international affairs? |
| Strongly support |
| 7. Do you support or not support the manner in which M. Gorbachev is conducting matters on the subject of nuclear weapons? |
| Strongly support |
| 8. Do you support or not support the actions of M. Gorbachov concerning Lithuania? |
| Strongly support |
| |

| 9. In the March, 1989 election, the Soviet Union elected a new Congress of Peoples' Deputies. Did you vote in that election? |
|--|
| Voted1 Did not vote2 |
| 10. Do you work with public groups formed to decide some or any city or region problems? |
| Yes |
| 11. Have you ever personally gone to see, or spoken to, or written tosome member of the local authorities or some other person of influence in the community about some need or problem? |
| Yes (ASK A) |
| 11A. Was this need or problem primarily of concern to you, your friends and family, or was it an issue of wider concern? |
| Self, friends, or family |
| 12. What about some representatives or government officials outside of the Raion areaon the city, regional, republic or all-union level? Have you eve contacted or written to such a person on some need or problem? |
| Yes(ASK A)1 No(SKIP TO Q. 13)2 No answer9 |
| 12A. Was this need or problem primarily of concern to you, your friends and family, or was it an issue of wider concern? |
| Self, friends, or family |
| |

| 13. During the election campaign of 1989, did you very often try to persuade people to vote for one of the candidates? Did you do that very often, sometimes, or never? |
|---|
| Never. 1 Sometimes. 2 Often. 3 Very often. 4 Don't know. 8 No answer. 9 |
| 14. Do you agree or not agree that it is necessary to allow union republics to leave the Soviet Union? |
| Yes, agree |
| 14A. Under which conditions is it possible to allow this? Under the condition that: |
| 14A.1 A referendum will be conducted in republics |
| Yes |
| 14A.2 All mutual economic demands should be satisfied |
| Yes 1 No 2 Can't say exactly 8 No answer 9 |
| 14A.3 Responsibility for conducting the republic's foreign policy is left to the USSR |
| Yes |
| |

| the U | SSR |
|-------------------------|---|
|] | Yes 1 No 2 Can't say exactly 8 No answer 9 |
| | final decision on the secession of the republic should be taken by the Congress of People's Deputies |
|] | |
| | ecessary to do something else, please indicate (INTERVIEWER, WRITE NDENT'S ANSWER) |
| 14B. What : | needs to be done to prevent this? |
| 14B.1 It i | s necessary to conduct negotiations until a decision is reached |
| No Can't say | |
| Yes No Can't say | s necessary to apply economic pressure on the people in the Republic |
| 14B.3 Grad | ually establish control over the ruling organs of the given republic |
| No Can't say | |
| 14B.4 It is the USSR | s necessary to use military force to keep a republic from leaving |
| No | |

14A.4 Responsibility for the republic's defense is left to

| 14B.5 Demand that the question of a republic's leaving the USSR be decided by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies |
|---|
| Yes |
| If it is necessary to do something else, please indicate (INTERVIEWER, WRITE DOWN RESPONDENT'S ANSWER) |
| 15. The US government has warned M. Gorbachov that if military force is used against Lithuania this will seriously harm friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. What do you think about these American statements? Do you consider them unjustified meddling in the Soviet Union's internal affairs or do you consider it justified concern of a democratic country for the rights of the Lithuanian people? |
| Unjustified meddling1 Justified concern2 I cannot say precisely8 Refusal to answer9 |
| 16. Keeping all circumstances in mind, would you support or not support the use of armed force against Lithuania by M. Gorbachov? |
| Would strongly support4 Would partially support3 Would partially not support2 Would strongly not support1 I cannot answer precisely8 Refusal to answer9 |
| 17. What do you think of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States? Do you think they are hostile to one another? Or do you think they are neither friendly nor enemies? Or do you think that the Soviet Union and the United States are friendly, but not allies? Or do you think they are close allies? |
| Enemies |
| |

| 18. Do you think the United States wants to spread their power over other peoples, or do you think that the US wants to live peacefully with the rest of the world? |
|---|
| Spread its power |
| 19. Do you think the Soviet Union acted correctly or incorrectly when it sent its troops to Afghanistan? Correctly |
| Please recall everything you know about our international policy of the last five years. |
| 20. Do you think the Soviet Union plays a more important role today or do you not think so? |
| Yes, it plays a more important role1 No, it does not play a more important role2 I cannot say precisely |
| 21. Do you think relations between the USSR and the USA are better today, or do you not think so? |
| Yes, relations better today1 No, relations are not better today2 I cannot say precisely8 Refusal to answer9 |
| I am now going to read you a number of statements. Would you please indicate whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly. |
| 22. There is currently too much criticism in Soviet newspapers and magazines. |
| Agree strongly |
| , |

| minorities are excessive. |
|---|
| Agree strongly |
| 23A. The government should guarantee an income to each citizen. |
| Agree strongly |
| 24. Stalin inflicted great damage on our country. |
| Agree strongly |
| 24A. The government should guarantee jobs to everyone who needs them. |
| Agree strongly |
| 24B. The government should guarantee the financial support if children of poor families so that they may obtain an education. |
| Agree strongly |
| 25. There is too much democracy in the Soviet Union today. |
| Agree strongly |

| 26. The government should make every effort to see that the rights of Jews equal educational opportunity are not violated throughout the Soviet Union |
|---|
| Agree strongly |
| 27. Private radios, television and newspapers should exist alongside stateowned media. |
| Agree strongly |
| 28. Internal passports should be abolished. |
| Agree strongly |
| |

| 28A. The government should try to equalize income levels. |
|--|
| Agree strongly |
| 28B. The differences in incomes among people of our country are too great. |
| Agree strongly |
| 29. The press should be protected by law from government interference. |
| Agree strongly |
| 30. Jews should be free to decide for themselves whether they want to remain the Soviet Union or emigrate. |
| Agree strongly |
| 31. Environmental pollution threatens the very existence of our country. |
| Agree strongly |

| 32. The replication of an accident such as the Chernobyl accident can occur in other parts of our country. |
|---|
| Agree strongly |
| Now I would like to read you several other statements and ask if you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with each of them. |
| 32a. Inequality among people will continue to exist as long as it is to the advantage of those who are rich and in power. |
| Agree strongly |
| 33. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against it. |
| Agree strongly |
| 34. A group which tolerates too many differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long. |
| Agree strongly |
| |

| 35. It is better to live in an orderly society than to allow people so much freedom that they can become disruptive. |
|--|
| Agree strongly |
| 35A. Inequality among ordinary people continues to exist because the ordinary people are not united enough to reject it. Agree strongly |
| 35B. No one should have to study for many years in order to become a lawyer or doctor unless he expects to earn no more money than the common man. |
| Agree strongly |
| 36. Free speech is just not worth it if it means that we have to put up with the danger to society of extremist political views. |
| Agree strongly |
| 36A. A great difference in incomes is necessary for the development of our society. |
| Agree strongly |
| 37. Society shouldn't have to put up with political views that are fundamentally different from the views of the majority. |
| Agree strongly |

| 38. The people should know more about their government. |
|---|
| Agree strongly5 |
| Agree4 Uncertain-Don t know3 |
| Disagree2 |
| Disagree strongly1 |
| 39. Political reform in this country is moving too rapidly. |
| Agree strongly5 |
| Agree4 |
| Uncertain-Don t know3 Disagree2 |
| Disagree strongly1 |
| |
| 40. We are more likely to have a healthy economy if the Government allows more freedom for individuals to do as they wish. |
| Agree strongly5 |
| Agree4 Uncertain-Don t know3 |
| Disagree2 |
| Disagree strongly1 |
| 41. If an unjust law were passed, I could do nothing whatever about it. |
| Agree strongly5 |
| Agree4 |
| Uncertain-Don t know3 Disagree2 |
| Disagree strongly1 |
| 42. Because demonstrations frequently become disorderly and disruptive, radical and extremist political groups shouldn't be allowed to demonstrate. |
| Agree strongly5 |
| Agree4 |
| Uncertain-Don t know3 |
| Disagree Disagree strongly1 |
| 43. People should be able to participate in any organization even if this |
| activity opposes some current laws. |
| Agree strongly5 |
| Agree4 |
| Uncertain-Don t know3 Disagree2 |
| Disagree strongly1 |
| |

| 44. A one-party system in the U.S.S.R. promotes the development of democracy. |
|---|
| Agree strongly |
| 45. The Soviet government does not give complete political information to its citizens. |
| Agree strongly |
| 46. The government should make every effort to see that the rights of Jews to equal employment opportunities are respected throughout the Soviet Union. |
| Agree strongly |
| 46A. The people should not be expected to accept full responsibility for their work if they are not paid more for their responsibility. |
| Agree strongly |
| 46B. Workers should not take on new responsibilities and qualifications unless they are paid more for them. |
| Agree strongly |

| 47. In your opinion, how large of a threat does the United States present for the Soviet Union: very large, rather large, rather weak, or completely insignificant? |
|--|
| Very large threat |
| 48. Do you think the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal is now larger than the USA's nuclear arsenal? Or do you think the United States is superior to the USSR in nuclear arsenal? Or do you think the USSR and the USA are more or less equal in nuclear strength? |
| USSR superiority |
| 49. Do you think that Soviet armed forces should be superior to American armed forces or do you think that USSR and USA armed forces should be equal? |
| Soviets should be superior1 Should be equal2 I cannot say precisely8 Refusal to answer9 |
| 50. Do you think nuclear war is unavoidable or do you think nuclear war will never occur? |
| Never will occur |
| 50A. (If "unavoidable") How long will it take, do you think, before a nuclear war occurs how many years |
| |
| 51. Which of the two participants at the summit meeting M. Gorbachov or G. Bush is more sincerely striving for a reduction in nuclear weapons? |
| M. Gorbachov |

| 52. Do you think the soviet government needs to spend more money on the country's defense budget, or less, or should it spend on defense about what it does now? |
|---|
| Significantly more |
| 53. Do you think the Soviet government needs to spend more money on domestic social and economic programs, or less, or about what it does now? |
| Significantly more 5 Somewhat more 4 The same 3 A little less 2 Significantly less 1 I cannot say precisely 8 Refusal to answer 9 |
| 53A. Are you for or against the reunification of the two Germanies? |
| For |
| 54. Some people think that a unified Germany will become the dominant force in Europe. If unification occurs, will this alarm you or not? |
| Yes, this will alarm me(Go to Q55) |

| 55. Is your alarm related to the fact that Germany may try again to expand its territory, or that the German economy might become too strong a competite for other countries, or that this could lead to a revival of Nazism, or some other reason? |
|---|
| A55.1 Might try to expand territory |
| Yes |
| A55.2 Economy might become too strong |
| Yes |
| A55.3 Germany will not unify |
| Yes |
| A55.4 Don t know or refused to answer2 Can t say precisely8 Refused to answer9 |
| 56. Concerning the necessity for a balance of forces, would you like a unified Germany to be part of NATO, or not to be in NATO but be a neutral country, or do you have another opinion? |
| Part of NATO |
| 57. Do you think American armed forces in Europe should be increased, decreased, or kept at the present level? (INTERVIEWER! DON'T READ POSITION "SHOULD BE FULLY REMOVED" TO R. NOTE IT ONLY IF HE SAYS IT HIMSELF) |
| Should be increased |

| 58. Do you think Soviet armed forces in Europe should be increased, decreased, or kept at the present level? |
|--|
| Should be increased |
| 59. Some people think that democratic reforms in the Soviet Union will be preserved even if M. Gorbachov loses power, while others think that democratic reforms will not be preserved if M. Gorbachov loses power. What do you think? |
| Yes, they will be preserved without Gorbachov1 No, they won't be preserved without Gorbachev2 I cannot say precisely |
| 60. What do you think about democratic reforms in Eastern Europe? If Gorbachov loses power, will these reforms be preserved or not? |
| Yes, they will be preserved without Gorbachov1 No, they won't be preserved without Gorbachov2 I cannot say precisely |
| 61. Do you believe that shortages of consumer goods in the Soviet Union can be reduced or eliminated by raising prices. |
| Yes1 No2 Can't say exactly8 |
| 62. Do you support the raising of prices? |
| Yes1 No |
| |

| 63. For each of the following rights and liberties, can you tell me if you think that they should always be observed or does it depend upon the situation? | ıu |
|--|----|
| 1. freedom of speech | |
| Always be respected1 Depends on the Circumstances2 | |
| 2. the right to personal safety and protection | |
| Always be respected1 Depends on the Circumstances2 | |
| 3. freedom of associations, groups, unions | |
| Always be respected1 Depends on the Circumstances2 | |
| 4. the right of people to their own language and culture | |
| Always be respected1 Depends on the Circumstances2 | |
| 5. religious liberty and freedom of conscience | |
| Always be respected1 Depends on the Circumstances2 Don't know8 | |
| 6. equality before the law | |
| Always be respected1 Depends on the Circumstances2 | |
| 7. the right to work | |
| Always be respected1 Depends on the Circumstances2 | |
| 8. right to own property | |
| Always be respected1 Depends on the Circumstances2 | |
| 9. the right to education and training | |
| Always be respected1 Depends on the Circumstances2 | |

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- 68. There is a lot of talk these days about what this country's goals should be for the next ten or fifteen years. [INTERVIEWER! GIVE CARD 6] On this card are listed some of the goals that different people say should be given top priority. Would you please say which one of them you yourself consider most important personally for you?
 - 1. Maintaining order in the nation
 - 2. Giving the people more say in important state decisions
 - 3. Fighting rising prices
 - 4. Protecting freedom of speech

A68.1 Which goal is the most important?

| Maintaining order in the nationl |
|--|
| Giving the people more say in important state decisions2 |
| Fighting rising prices3 |
| Protecting freedom of speech4 |
| No answer9 |
| |

A68.2 What goal is next in importance?

| Maintaining order in the nation | 1 |
|---|---|
| Giving the people more say in important state decisions | 2 |
| Fighting rising prices | 3 |
| Protecting freedom of speech | |
| No answer | |

A68.3 How important are the remaining two goals?

| Maintaining order in the nation | 1 |
|--|---|
| Giving the people more say in important state decisions. | 2 |
| Fighting rising prices | 3 |
| Protecting freedom of speech | |
| No answer | |
| | |

A68.4 Fourth most important goal to you

| Maintaining order in the nation | .1 |
|--|-----|
| Giving the people more say in important state decisions. | |
| Fighting rising prices | |
| Protecting freedom of speech | |
| No answer | |
| NO allower | . > |

| to meet in Washington May 30. Recalling everything you've heard, do you think this summit meeting will result in complete success, relative success, partial failure, or complete failure, or do you not have enough information to express an opinion? |
|--|
| Completely successful |
| 70. What do you think is the most important agreement that could be reached at the meeting in Washington? |
| Control over use of chemical weapons |
| Is there another agreement besides those listed above that you consider as important and that could be reached in the course of this meeting? |
| INTERVIEWER! WRITE DOWN |
| I cannot say precisely8 Refusal to answer9 |
| 71. During the summit meeting in Washington, the two sides will discuss an agreement on a reduction of strategic nuclear forces. If the agreement on strategic nuclear arms reductions is signed, do you think this will strengthen or weaken the Soviet Union's security? |
| Increase security |
| 72. If the agreement on strategic nuclear arms reductions is signed, do you think this will strengthen or weaken the United States' security? |
| Increase security |

| negotiations that they will be worthy of each other? |
|--|
| M. Gorbachev will be better than Bush1 M. Gorbachev won't be better than Bush2 Both will be equal |
| |
| 74. Do you think the Cold War is over or don't you think so? |
| Yes, the Cold War is over1 No, the Cold War isn't over2 I cannot say precisely8 Refusal to answer9 |
| 75. In your opinion, is the fact that the Eastern European countries are now becoming independent good or bad? |
| Good |
| 76. Do you think we are going too fast on the way to disarmament when our security is not sufficiently guaranteed, or do you not think so? |
| Yes, I think so1 No, I do not think so2 I cannot say precisely8 Refusal to answer9 |
| Now I am going to read to you a series of statements people might use to describe their opinions and interests. Please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with the statement. |
| 77. Of all the different philosophies that exist in the world there is probably only one that is correct. |
| Agree strongly |
| 78. Jews who wish to emigrate to Israel are a subversive element in society. |
| Agree strongly |

| 79. There ought to be more equality of income even if it means that some people will not work as well as they do now. |
|---|
| Agree strongly |
| 80. [Revised] Jews influence Russian culture more than is necessary. |
| Agree strongly |
| 81. I would give part of my savings if I were certain that the money would be used to prevent environmental pollution. |
| Agree strongly |
| 82. In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are close to one's own. |
| Agree strongly |
| 83. If we, in this country, want to enhance economic development, we shall just have to accept environmental problems. |
| Agree strongly |
| 84. More than any others, it is the Jews who are responsible for the problems the Soviet Union is experiencing today. |
| Agree strongly5 Agree4 Uncertain-Don t know3 Disagree2 Disagree strongly1 |

| 84A. In order to get people to work better, we need to increase the inequality of incomes. |
|---|
| Agree strongly5 Agree4 Uncertain-Don t know3 Disagree2 Disagree strongly1 |
| 85. The protection of the environment and the struggle against pollution is less urgent than often suggested. |
| Agree strongly |
| 86. Now I'm going to ask you a few questions about how satisfied you are with different parts of your life. And after each one please tell me if you are very satisfied, or fairly satisfied, or fairly dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with that part of your life. For example |
| 86.1 Quality of your housing |
| Fully satisfied4 Partially satisfied3 Partially dissatisfied2 Completely disatisfied1 Don t know8 |
| 86.2 Availability of quality consumer goods Fully satisfied |
| 86.3 Quality of work in the service sector |
| Fully satisfied4 Partially satisfied3 Partially dissatisfied2 Completely disatisfied1 Don t know8 |
| 86.4 Protection from crime |
| Fully satisfied4 Partially satisfied3 Partially dissatisfied2 Completely disatisfied1 Don t know8 |

| | 86.5 The accessibility of quality medical care. |
|------|--|
| | Fully satisfied |
| 86A. | How satisfied are you with life as a whole these days? |
| | Very satisfied |
| | |

87. And now we'd like to ask you about your attitudes towards some groups of people. I am going to read you a list of some groups that are currently active in social and political life. [SHOW RESPONDENT CARD 10] Here is a card showing a scale from 1 to 11. A "1" indicates that you <u>dislike</u> the group very much; an "11" indicates that you <u>like</u> the group very much. A "6" means that you neither like nor dislike the group. The other scores reflect varying degrees of like and dislike.

The first group I'd like to ask you about is believers. If you have an opinion about believers, please indicate which figure most closely describes your attitude towards them. If you have no opinion, please tell me. What is your opinion of believers?

1. Believers

| Dislike very much | . 1 |
|--------------------------|-----|
| | |
| | |
| | . 4 |
| | . 5 |
| Neither like nor dislike | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| Like very much | 11 |

2. Jews Dislike very much.....1 Neither like nor dislike.....6 Like very much.....11 3. Stalinists Dislike very much.....1 Neither like nor dislike.....6 Like very much.....11 4. Neonazis. Dislike very much.....1 Neither like nor dislike.....6 Like very much.....11 5. Communists Dislike very much.....1 Neither like nor dislike.....6

Like very much.....11

| 6. Members of Cooperatives |
|--|
| Dislike very much |
| 7. Nationalists |
| Dislike very much |
| 8. Members of right-wing, pro-slavic groups (e.g., the group "Pamyat") |
| Dislike very much |

| | 9. Supporters of canceling elections and introducing military dictatorship |
|-------------|--|
| | Dislike very much 1 2 3 5 Neither like nor dislike 6 7 8 9 10 Like very much 11 |
| | 10. Kalakshists |
| | Dislike very much |
| | 11. Homosexuals |
| | Dislike very much |
| 89. that | Here is a list of the groups we have been talking about. Of the groups are on the list, which do you dislike the most? |
| 89. | A. Which is your most disliked group? |
| 89 | B. Which is your second most disliked group? |
| 8 9 | C Which is your third most disliked group? |

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE THE NAME OF THE TWO MOST DISLIKED GROUPS, IN ORDER OF DISLIKE, ON THE FLAP.] [INTERVIEWER: ASK WITH REGARD TO THE MOST DISLIKED GROUP FROM THE FLAP] 90. Now let's consider the [GROUP WRITTEN ABOVE] a bit more. Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statements? [Members of the (GROUP)/NAME OF GROUP] should be banned from occupying public office. Agree strongly.....5 Agree.....4 Uncertain-Don t know.....3 Disagree strongly.....1 2. [THE NAME OF GROUP] should be outlawed. Agree strongly.....5 Agree.....4 Uncertain-Don t know.....3 Disagree strongly.....1 [Members of the (GROUP)/NAME OF GROUP] should be allowed to make a speech in this city. Agree strongly.....5 Agree.....4 Uncertain-Don t know.....3 Disagree strongly.....1 [Members of the (GROUP)/NAME OF GROUP] should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city. Agree strongly.....5 Agree....4 Uncertain-Don t know.....3 Disagree strongly.....1

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[INTERVIEWER: ASK WITH REGARD TO THE <u>SECOND</u> MOST DISLIKED GROUP FROM THE FLAP]

| 91. Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with the following statements? [READ 1, 2 ETC. AND GIVE RESPONDENT CARD 4] |
|---|
| 1.[Members of the (GROUP)/NAME OF GROUP] should be banned from occupying public office. |
| Agree strongly |
| 2. [THE NAME OF GROUP] should be outlawed. |
| Agree strongly |
| 3. [Members of the $(GROUP)/NAME\ OF\ GROUP]$ should be allowed to make a speechin this city. |
| Disagree strongly5 Disagree4 Uncertain-Don t know3 Agree2 Agree strongly1 No answer9 |
| 4. [Members of the (GROUP)/NAME OF GROUP] should be allowed to hold public allies in our city. |
| Disagree strongly5 Disagree4 Uncertain-Don t know3 Agree2 Agree strongly1 No answer9 |
| |

| 92. Please indicate with which of the following variants for our society's development you agree. Select one. |
|---|
| The course of development of our society must be radically changed by revolutionary action |
| We would like to learn your general impressions about some political actors and their governments. |
| 93. What impression has US President G. Bush made on you today: very favorable, basically favorable, basically unfavorable, or very unfavorable, or do you not know enough about him to express yourself? |
| Very favorable |
| 94. And what impression has M. Gorbachev made on you today? Very favorable |
| 95. What impression has the US government made on you today? |
| Very favorable |
| 96. What impression has FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl made on you today? |
| Very favorable |

| 97. What is your impression of the American people today? |
|--|
| Very favorable |
| 98. Has your opinion of President Mikhail Gorbachev changed over the past year or not? |
| Yes, changed(Go to Q99)1 No, not changed(Go to Q100)2 I cannot say precisely(Go to Q100)8 Refusal to answer(Go to Q100)9 |
| 99. If your opinion of M. Gorbachov has changed, has it become better or worse? |
| Better |
| 100. And now we wanted to speak about the material situation of people today Are you and your family living better in comparison to last year or worse? Living much better |
| 101. And what about next year? Do you think you and your family will live better than today or worse? |
| We'll live much better |

| good, average, or bad? |
|---|
| Good(Go to Quest. 103)1 Average(Go to Quest. 105)2 Bad(Go to Quest. 104)3 Don t know8 No answer9 |
| 103. When you say that the economy in our country is in a good condition, do you mean: |
| Sharply improving |
| 104. When you say that the economy in our country is in a bad condition, do you mean: |
| In a deep crisis |
| 105. And what do you think will happen in our economy in a year? Do you think the economic situation in the country will improve, worsen, or will nothing change? Response Punch |
| Improve |
| 106. How much time, do you think, will be required for a real improvement in the economic situation in the country: less than a year, one year, 2 years, 3 years, or more? |
| Less than one year |

| INTERVIEWER: ASK WITH REGARD TO THE MOST DISLIKED GROUP FROM THE FL | | |
|---|------------------------------|--------------------|
| | י הט החב איטמה טומו ואבט קם/ | ת אום שעיף ארסם מו |

107. Here are scales that can be used to rate various groups. Taking them one at a time, please tell me how you feel about the [GROUP WRITTEN ABOVE]. If you you Гhе ng do

| consi see t numbe | der this group to be not threatening at all, tell me the number 1. If the [GROUP WRITTEN ABOVE] as very threatening, tell me the number 7. There 2 through 6 represent increasing degrees of threat. How threatening think the [GROUP WRITTEN ABOVE] is to the Soviet way of life? |
|-------------------------|--|
| Α. | What is the degree of threat to our way of life from |
| | Not threatening 1 2 3 4 5 6 Threatening 7 Don't know 8 |
| B. extre | And how would you rate the in terms of being "non-extremist versus emist?" |
| | Non-Extremist |
| likel | C. And in terms of "not likely to engage in illegal activity versus by to engage in illegal activity?" |
| | Not Illegal activity |
| | |

| D. Finally, how would you rate the in terms of "not personally threatening to me versus personally threatening to me?" |
|--|
| Not personally threatening1 |
| [INTERVIEWER: ASK WITH REGARD TO THE SECOND MOST DISLIKED GROUP FROM THE FLAP] |
| 108 |
| A. How threatening are to the Soviet way of life? |
| Not threatening |
| 3. And how would you rate [GROUP WRITTEN ABOVE] in terms of being "non-extremist versus extremist?" |
| Non-Extremist |
| C. And in terms of "not likely to engage in illegal activity versus likely to engage in illegal activity?" |
| Not Illegal activity |

| "not | D. Finally, how would you rate [GROUP WRITTEN ABOVE] in terms of personally threatening to me versus personally threatening to me?" Not personally threatening1 |
|-------|--|
| | Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that can't be too careful in dealing with people? |
| You o | Le can be trusted |
| was v | Suppose you felt very strongly that something the authorities were doing very wrong. Do you think the authorities would allow you to do the owing? |
| 1. | Make a speech in public criticizing the actions of the authorities? Definitely allow |
| | 2. To organize public meetings to criticize the authorities? Definitely allow |
| 3. | To publish pamphlets criticizing the actions of the authorities? Definitely allow |

| of th | 4. To organize protest marches and demonstrations to oppose the actions e authorities? |
|----------------------------------|---|
| | Definitely allow |
| | 5. To organize a strike to oppose the actions of the authorities? Definitely allow |
| | How often do other people ask your opinions about political matters? you say very often, only sometimes, or hardly ever? |
| Only | y ever |
| | In political matters, people talk of the "the left" and "the right." How you place your views on this scale? |
| Right Don't | |
| in th that after prosp | Let's talk about the possibility and necessity of radical economic reform a Soviet Union which may lead to a free market economy. Some people say such reform may at first lead to unemployment and inflation of prices which may come plentiful consumer goods of high quality and economic erity. Do you think it is necessary to introduce such economic reform in oviet Union or not? |
| Think Think Convi I can | nced it is necessary1 it is necessary2 it is not necessary3 nced it is not necessary4 't say exactly8 ed9 |
| | |

| certain amount of insecurity and disruption, or are you in favor of strong government control even if that may lead to a certain amount of regimentation and loss of individual expression? |
|--|
| Democratic government1 Strict government control2 I can't say exactly8 Refused9 |
| 115. Are you in favor of an economy in which prices are set by supply and demand and people get jobs when they are qualified for them, or are you in favor of an economy in which prices are set by the government and people are given a job even though it may not be the one they prefer? |
| Market economy |
| 116. Are you in favor of a form of ownership in which there are many high-quality consumer goods but not everyone has the same opportunity to buy them because of the prices, or a form of ownership in which prices of goods are low and all can obtain them, but goods are not available everywhere? |
| Quality goods |
| 117. How worried are you that the prices of the things you buy will rise sharply in the next twelve months? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD 22) |
| Very worried |
| 118. Not all people like to talk about politics with their families and friends. I would like to read you several statements and ask which ones you agree with, and which you don't. [READ 1 TO 5] |
| 1. I am sometimes reluctant to talk about politics because it may create enemies. |
| Agree2 Disagree1 Don't know8 |
| |

114. Are you in favor of democratic government even if that may lead to a

| | because people would think my political views cannot be |
|--------|---|
| unde: | rstood [were strange]. |
| | Agree2 |
| | Disagree1 |
| | Don't know8 |
| | Don't know |
| | |
| 3. | I am sometimes reluctant to talk about politics because I |
| don' | t like arguments. |
| | |
| | Agree2 |
| | Disagree |
| | DOII C KIIOW |
| | |
| | 4 because I worry about what people will think of me. |
| | |
| | Agree2 |
| | Disagree1 |
| | Don't know8 |
| | |
| 5. | because I worry that the authorities might find out about my dis- |
| | ement with them. |
| | |
| | Agree2 |
| | Disagree1 |
| | Don't know8 |
| | |
| 119 | How much influence do you think people like you can have over local |
| | rnment - a lot, a little or none at all? |
| 50.0 | |
| A lo | t1 |
| Only | a moderate amount2 |
| | ttle3 |
| | at all4 |
| Don' | t know8 |
| | |
| 120 | If you had some complaint about a local government activity and took that |
| | laint to the local apparatus, how would you be treated: pay a lot of |
| | ntion to what you say, some attention, very little, or none at all? |
| | |
| | t of attention1 |
| | 2 |
| | little3 |
| | at all4 |
| Don' | t know8 |
| | |
| 121. | When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss |
| | tical matters frequently, occasionally or never? |
| _ | - · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · |
| | r1 |
| | sionally2 |
| | uently3 |
| י' nou | t know8 |

| I am going to say some things that some people agree with and some don't. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or disagree strongly with each of them? |
|--|
| 122. People who run the country are not really concerned with what happens to people like me. |
| Agree strongly |
| 123. It would be fine with me if a Jew who had a similar family (economic) background as mine joined my close family by marriage. |
| Agree strongly |
| 124. If people don't care how an election comes out, they shouldn't take part in it. |
| Agree strongly |
| 125. When it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money. |
| Agree strongly |
| 126. People like me don't have any say about what the authorities do. |
| Agree strongly |

| person like me can't really understand what's going on. |
|--|
| Agree strongly |
| 128. Jews deserve to be punished because they killed Christ. |
| Agree strongly |
| 129. How much do you feel that having a government elected instead of appointed makes it pay attention to what the people want? |
| A good deal |
| 130. Which statement comes closest to your view: "The government is responsible for the well-being of all its citizens and it has an obligation to help people when they are in trouble," or "People are responsible for their own well-being and they have an obligation to take care of themselves when they are in trouble." Feel strongly that government is responsible1 Feel not so strongly that government responsible2 Feel not so strongly that people are responsible3 Feel strongly that people are responsible4 Not sure |
| 131. How much of the time do you think you can trust the national government in (Moscow/Washington) to do what is right? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD 24) |
| Just about always 5 Most of the time 4 Sometimes 3 Never 2 Not sure 8 Refused 9 |

| (Soviet/American) people a completely accurate picture of life in their country, or a mostly accurate picture, or a mostly inaccurate picture, or a completely inaccurate picture of life in the (Soviet Union/United States)? |
|--|
| Completely accurate |
| 133. Do you think that if Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms fail the Soviet Union will return to Stalinism, or do you think the Soviet Union will never return to Stalinism? (ACCEPT "GORBACHEV'S REFORMS WILL NOT FAIL" AS A VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE.) |
| Gorbachev's reforms will not fail |
| 134. Have you read in the papers, seen on television, heard over the radio, or from other people, about "The Common European House"? |
| Yes |
| 135. As you might know, the president of France, Mr. Francois Mitterand, has suggested the creation of a "Pan-European Confederation" of all states in Europe which have several political parties, free elections, freedom of speech and freedom of the mass media. Have you read in the papers, seen on television, heard over the radio, or from other people, about the proposal by the French President Mitterand to create a "Pan-European Confederation"? |
| Yes |
| 136. As you might know, twelve states of Western and Southern Europe form together The European Community. Have you read in the papers, seen on television, heard over the radio, or from other people, about "The European Community"? |
| Yes1 No2 Don't Know8 |
| |

132. Do you think the media in the (Soviet Union/United States) give the

| 137. In general, are you for or against "the Common European House"? |
|---|
| For very much |
| 138. In general, are you for or against a "Pan-European Confederation" of all states in Europe which have several political parties, free elections, freedom of speech and freedom of the mass media? |
| For very much |
| 139. In general, are you for or against efforts being made to unify Western Europe? |
| For very much |
| 140. Suppose there were some question that you had to take to a government office - for example, a housing problem. Do you think you would be given equal treatment, or not? |
| Equal treatment |
| 141. If you explained your point of view to the officials, what effect do you think it would have? |
| Serious consideration1 Pay a little attention2 Ignore what you say3 Don't know8 |
| 142. If you had some trouble with the militia - a traffic violation, argument with neighbors, etc., Do you think you would be given equal treatment or not? |
| Equal treatment |

| 143. If you explained your point of view to a militia worker, how do you think he would react? |
|--|
| Serious consideration |
| I am now going to read you some other opinions. Please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements: |
| 144. Those supporting competitive elections are doing harm to the country. |
| Agree strongly |
| 145. Competition between the Communist party and other parties will improve the way the authorities work in the Soviet Union. |
| Agree strongly |
| 146. Candidates should compete for public office, but not be labeled with any party or political group. |
| Agree strongly |
| 147. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you could do it or would never do it. |
| 1. Sign a petition |
| Have done |

| 2. Join in a boycott |
|--|
| Have done |
| 3. Attend an unofficial but lawful meeting |
| Have done |
| 4. Join an unofficial strike |
| Have done |
| 5. Occupy a factory, plant or office building |
| Have done |
| 6. Attend unofficial cultural events |
| Have done |
| 7. Participation in an informal political movement |
| Have done |

| | Participate in the preparation and distribution of documents support of a candidate for deputy | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|--|--|
| Pro | Have done | | | | |
| 9. | Participate in a protest group | | | | |
| Pro | Have done | | | | |
| | 3. Please look at this card and tell me, for each item listed, how much fidence you have in them, is it a great deal, some, or none at all? | | | | |
| | 1. Justice system | | | | |
| | A great deal | | | | |
| | 2. Interregional Deputies Group | | | | |
| | A great deal | | | | |
| | 3. Trade unions | | | | |
| | A great deal | | | | |

| A great deal |
|---|
| 5. The militia |
| A great deal |
| 6. Supreme Soviet (parliament) |
| A great deal |
| 7. Democratic Platform of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union |
| A great deal |
| 8. "Memorial" |
| A great deal |
| 9. The church |
| A great deal |

4. The procuracy

A great deal.....4 Not very much.....2 None at all.....1 Don't know.....8 11. "Greens" Movement A great deal.....4 Not very much.....2 None at all.....1 Don't know.....8 12. The government A great deal.....4 Not very much.....2 None at all.....1 Don't know.....8 13. Communist Party A great deal.....4 Not very much.....2 None at all.....1 Don't know.....8 14. Popular Front A great deal.....4 Not very much.....2 None at all.....1

Don't know.....8

10. The armed forces

15. Television

| A great deal |
|---------------------------|
| 16. Komsomol |
| A great deal |
| 17. United Workers Fronts |
| A great deal |
| 18. The Press |
| A great deal |
| 19. Kukhterists |
| A great deal |

| 20. Social Democrats |
|--|
| A great deal |
| 21. Democratic Union |
| A great deal |
| 149. Please look at the list on showcard 28 and answer how important each of the problems listed below are for you personally or for members of your family. |
| 1.Shortage of vital necessities |
| Very important 4 Important 3 Not very important 2 Not at all important 1 Don't know 8 |
| 2. Shortage of food goods |
| Very important |
| 3. Shortage of nonperishable goods |
| Very important |

4. Environmental pollution

| Very important |
|--|
| 5. Alcoholism |
| Very important4Important3Not very important2Not at all important1Don't know8 |
| 6. Anti-Semitism |
| Very important |
| |
| 7. Transportation Problems |
| 7. Transportation Problems Very important |
| Very important |
| Very important |
| Very important |

10. Increase in Crime

| Very important |
|---|
| 11. Threat of AIDS |
| Very important |
| 12. Prostitution |
| Very important 4 Important 3 Not very important 2 Not at all important 1 Don't know 8 |
| 13. Unemployment |
| Very important |
| 14. The Quality of Education |
| Very important 4 Important 3 Not very important 2 Not at all important 1 Don't know 8 |

| 150. If you were given an opportunity to vote in a multi-party election today which party's representative would you vote for? | | |
|--|--|--|
| Orthodox Constitutional Monarchy Party of Russia1 Communist Party | | |
| If for a representative from another party, tell us which: | | |
| I can't say exactly8 Refuse to answer9 | | |
| 151. From what you have seen or heard, what do you think are the chances of a public revolt against the government of the Soviet Union? Do you think the chances are very high, or fairly high, or fairly low, or very low? | | |
| Very high | | |
| 152. Suppose the election for President of the (Soviet Union/United States) were being held today. Would you vote for Mikhail Gorbachev, or would you prefer somebody else, or wouldn't you vote at all? | | |
| Mikhail Gorbachev | | |
| 153. Just your best guess. Do you think Mikhail Gorbachev and his reform programs will survive, or do you think he will be forced to cut back on his programs in order to stay in power, or do you think he will eventually be replaced by someone else? | | |
| Gorbachev and his programs will survive | | |
| | | |

| 154. Do you strongly identify your political views with those of any of the following individuals? |
|--|
| 154.1 Gorbachev |
| Yes |
| 154.2 Yeltsin |
| Yes1 No2 Don't know8 |
| 154.3 Ligachev |
| Yes |
| 154.4 Sakharov |
| Yes |
| that? |
| (WRITE) |
| 155. How widespread would you say anti-Jewish feeling is in the Soviet Union today? Would you say that most people in the Soviet Union are anti-Jewish, only some people are anti-Jewish, or very few people are anti-Jewish? Most people are anti-Jewish |

| 156. Do you think that anti-Jewish feeling is on the rise around here today, is it diminishing, or about is it the same as it has been? |
|--|
| On the rise |
| 157. Do you think that the government should be doing more than it is to fight against anti-semitism today in the Soviet Union? |
| Yes, should do more |
| Now a few questions about yourself. |
| 158. In what year were you born? (Age in years) |
| |
| 159. What is the highest level of education you have reached? |
| Unfinished secondary education1 Finished general secondary education2 Finished special secondary education3 Unfinished tertiary education (no qualification)4 Obtained tertiary education qualification5 |
| No answer9 |
| 160. How old were you when you finished your professional education? (Years) |
| Don't have a professional education0 |

| 162. Please take a look at card 30 and indicate the category that best describes your job specialty. |
|---|
| Industry |
| 163. Do you work in the state sector, cooperative, or do you work for yourself? State Sector |
| 1) Azerbaijan 2) Armenian 3) Bashkirian 4) Belorussian 5) Georgian 6) Jew 7) no cases 8) Latvian 9) Lithuanian 10) Moldavian 11) Moreva 12) German 13) Russian 14) Polish 15) Tartar 16) Ukrainian 17) Estonian |

| 164A. What is the nationality or your wife/husband? |
|--|
| 1) Azerbaijan 2) Armenian 3) Bashkirian 4) Belorussian 5) Georgian 6) Jew 7) no cases 8) Latvian 9) Lithuanian 10) Moldavian 11) Moreva 12) German 13) Russian 14) Polish 15) Tartar |
| 16) Ukrainian |
| 17) Estonian |
| 166. How long have you lived here? Since 19000 Since 199393 |
| 167. Please take a look at the card and tell me which of the categories best describe your attitude towards religion. |
| I consider myself to be a highly |
| religious person1 It could be said that I |
| am a religious person2 |
| I am not religious3 |
| I am an atheist4 |
| 168. If you are a religious person, what religion do you practice? No answer |

| Church in the world and the in the USSR? |
|--|
| Fully sufficienct5 |
| 173. Would you like to know more about this? |
| Very much more 5 |
| 174. What is your present marital status? |
| Never married |
| 175. Are you currently living (cohabiting) with your spouse or with another partner? |
| I am unmarried |
| 176. What is your present housing situation? Do you live in |
| Your own house |

| 177. How many people are there living in the same household with you? (including you) |
|--|
| No answer9 |
| 178. Which of the following things does your family own? (that is, they belong only to your family, and not your parents or other relatives) |
| 1. Refrigerator |
| Don t own |
| 2. Freezer |
| Don t own |
| 3. Semi-automatic washing machine |
| Don t own0 Own1 Don't know/refused8 |
| 4. Motorcycle |
| Don t own |
| 5. Tape recorder |
| Don t own0 Own1 Don't know/refused8 |
| 6. Stereo |
| Don t own |

| 7. Movie camera |
|--|
| Don t own |
| 8. Motorboat, yacht |
| Don t own0 Own1 Don't know/refused8 |
| 9. TV (color) |
| Don t own0 Own1 Don't know/refused8 |
| 10. Piano |
| Don t own0 Own1 Don't know/refused8 |
| |
| 11. Kitchen set |
| 11. Kitchen set Don t own0 Own1 Don't know/refused8 |
| Don t own0 Own1 |
| Don t own |

| 15. Video Camera | |
|---|----|
| Don t own0 Own1 Don't know/refused8 | |
| 16. Telephone | |
| Don t own | |
| 179. What is the average monthly income per family member? | |
| Less than 70 rubles | |
| 180. What is the total number of square meters available to all members of this household? | |
| | |
| 181. Which organizations are you a member of? Would you say you are an acti member? 1. CPSU | VE |
| Yes1 No0 | |
| 2. Komsomol | |
| Yes1 No0 | |
| 3. Trade Union | |
| Yes1 No0 | |
| 4. People's Front of your Republic | |
| Yes1 No0 | |

| Ę | 5. Interdvizhenie |
|--------|---|
| | Yes1 No0 |
| 6 | 5. United Workers Front |
| | Yes1 No0 |
| V | What other organization are you a member of? |
| Refusa | al to answer9 |
| Were a | any of your relatives killed or wounded during World War I or II? |
| 182.1 | Were killed in WWI |
| | No0 Yes1 |
| 182.2 | Were wounded in WWI |
| | No0 Yes2 |
| 182.3 | Were killed in WWII |
| | No0 Yes3 |
| 182.4 | Were wounded in WWII |
| | No0 Yes4 |
| 182.5 | No one was wounded or killed |
| | No0 Yes5 |
| 182.6 | Can't say for sure |
| | No0 Can t say8 Refusal to answer9 |

| expression of they we have they make they make they make the make the sum of | n your opinion, would most Soviet citizens feel perfectly free to set their personal opinions in an interview such as this, or do you think them might want to be careful about how they responded? Ould feel perfectly free to express opinions1 ight want to be careful about how they responded2 fee |
|---|---|
| 184. Se | ex of respondent |
| | 1 |
| | Now please read the section "How to Fill Out The Questionnaire," and answering the questions. |
| R prom R breal R refu | leted |
| | s part of the survey we would like you to play a word game. Please take n (or handle). When you are finished please return the booklet to the iewer. |
| 188. | |
| R prom R breal | leted |
| INTERV | IEWER REMARKS |
| DA | Day of interview |
| | 0 22 |
| MO | Month of interview |
| | |

| 189B. In general, what was the respondent's attitude toward the interview? |
|--|
| Friendly and interested |
| 189C. Did the respondent's understand the questions |
| Well |
| 189D. Was respondent |
| about as quick-witted as most respondents |
| 189E. Compared to other respondents, was respondent about as honest and open as most respondents |
| 189F. Were any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview? |
| [CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY] no one else was present |
| 189G. How would you evaluate the living quarters of the respondent? |
| clearly much better off than most people |

| S | Interviewer ID number |
|---------|--|
| | 0 |
| | 0 992 |
| | |
| | |
| IGEN | DER Interviewer s gender |
| N/A T T | 1 |
| MALE | |
| FEMA | LE |
| SELF | -ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE (SAQ) |
| | |
| Mosc | ow 1990 |
| | |
| 1. | I usually am confident that everything will go well, |
| -• | even in situations that worry most people. |
| | |
| | True0 |
| | False1 |
| | No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| | NO SAQ COMPIECEG |
| 2. | I often try new things just for fun or thrills, even |
| | if most people think it is a waste of time. |
| | |
| | True1 |
| | False0 No answer-Don t know8 |
| | No SAQ completed9 |
| | ~ - |
| | |
| 3. | I like to discuss my experiences and feelings openly |
| | with friends instead of keeping them to myself. |
| | True1 |
| | False0 |
| | No answer-Don t know8 |
| | No SAQ completed9 |
| | |
| 4 | When nothing new is happening, I usually start looking |
| •• | for something that is thrilling or exciting. |
| | |
| | True1 |
| | False0 |
| | No answer-Don t know8 |
| | No SAQ completed9 |
| | |
| 5. | Usually I am more worried than most people |
| | that something might go wrong in the future. |
| | _ 1 |
| | True1 |
| | False0 No answer-Don t know8 |
| | No SAO completed 9 |

| 6. | I don't mind discussing my personal problems with people whom I have known briefly or slightly. |
|-----|---|
| | True |
| 7. | I would like to have warm and close friends with me most of the time. |
| | True |
| 8. | I nearly always stay relaxed and carefree, even when nearly everyone else is fearful. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 9. | I usually demand very good practical reasons before I am willing to change my old ways of doing things. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 10. | I often have to stop what I am doing because I start worrying about what might go wrong. |
| | True |
| 11. | I hate to change the way I do things, even if many people tell me there is a new and better way to do it. |
| | True |
| 12. | My friends find it hard to know my feelings because I seldom tell them about my private thoughts. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |

| 13. | I like it when people can do whatever they want without strict rules and regulations. |
|-----|---|
| | True |
| 14. | I often stop what I am doing because I get worried, even when my friends tell me everything will go well. |
| | True |
| 15. | It wouldn't bother me to be alone all the time. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 16. | I like to be very organized and organize people whenever I can. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 17. | I usually do things my own way rather than giving in to the wishes of other people. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 18. | I usually feel tense and worried when I have to do something new and unfamiliar. |
| | True |

| 19. | I often feel tense and worried in unfamiliar situations, even when others feel there is little to worry about. |
|-----|--|
| | True |
| 20. | Other people often think that I am too independent because I won't do what they want. |
| | True |
| 21. | Even when most people feel it is not important, I often insist on things being done in a strict and orderly way. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 22. | I often do things based on how I feel at the moment without thinking about how they were done in the past. |
| | True |
| 23. | I often feel tense and worried in unfamiliar situations, even when others feel there is no danger at all. |
| | True |
| 24. | I often break rules and regulations when I think I can get away with it. |
| | True |

| 25. | I don't care very much whether other people like me or the way I do things. |
|-----|---|
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 26. | I usually stay calm and secure in situations that most people would find physically dangerous. |
| | True |
| 27. | I feel it is more important to be sympathetic and understanding of other people than to be practical and tough-minded. |
| | True |
| 28. | I lose my temper more quickly than most people. |
| | True |
| 29. | I am usually confident that I can easily do things that most people would consider dangerous (such as driving an automobile fast on a wet or icy road). |
| | True |
| 30. | I often react so strongly to unexpected news that I say or do things that I regret. |
| | True |

| 31. | People find it easy to come to me for help, sympathy, and warm understanding. |
|-----|---|
| | True |
| 32. | I am much more reserved and controlled than most people. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 33. | When I have to meet a group of strangers, I am more shy than most people. |
| | True |
| 34. | I am strongly moved by sentimental appeals (like when asked to help crippled children). |
| | True |
| 35. | I almost never get so excited that I lose control of myself. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 36. | I have a reputation as someone who is very practical and does not act on emotion. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 37. | I often avoid meeting strangers because I lack confidence with people I do not know. |
| | True |

| 38. | I usually stay away from social situations where I would have to meet strangers, even if I am assured that they will be friendly. |
|-----|---|
| | True |
| 39. | I usually push myself harder than most people do because I want to do as well as I possibly can. |
| | True |
| 40. | I am slower than most people to get excited about new ideas and activities. |
| | True |
| 41. | I often push myself to the point of exhaustion or try to do more than I really can. |
| | True |
| 42. | I would probably stay relaxed and outgoing when meeting a group of strangers, even if I were told they are unfriendly. |
| | True |
| 43. | It is difficult for me to keep the same interests for a long time because my attention often shifts to something else. |
| | True |

| 44. | strangers, even if I were told they are angry at me. |
|-----|---|
| | True |
| 45. | I could probably accomplish more than I do, but I don't see the point in pushing myself harder than is necessary to get by. |
| | True |
| 46. | I like to think about things for a long time before I make a decision. |
| | True |
| 47. | Most of the time I would prefer to do something a little risky (like riding in a fast automobile over steep hills and sharp turns) rather than having to stay quiet and inactive for a few hours. |
| | True |
| 48. | I often follow my instincts, hunches, or intuition without thinking through all the details. |
| | True |
| 49. | I try to do as little work as possible, even when other people expect more of me. |
| | True |

| 50. | I often have to change my decisions because I had a wrong hunch or mistaken first impression. |
|-----|---|
| | True |
| 51. | Most of the time I would prefer to do something risky (like hang-gliding or parachute jumping) rather than having to stay quiet and inactive for a few hours. |
| | True |
| 52. | I am satisfied with my accomplishments, and have little desire to do better. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 53. | I see no point in continuing to work on something unless there is a good chance of success. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 54. | I have less energy and get tired more quickly than most people. |
| | True |
| 55. | I usually think about all the facts in detail before I make a decision. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |

| 56. | I $\underline{\text{nearly always}}$ think about all the facts in detail before I make a decision, even when other people demand a quick decision. |
|-----|--|
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 57. | I often need naps or extra rest periods because I get tired so easily. |
| | True |
| 58. | I don't go out of my way to please other people. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 59. | I am more energetic and tire less quickly than most people. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 60. | I am usually able to get other people to believe me, even when I know that what I am saying is exaggerated or untrue. |
| | True |
| 61. | I find it upsetting when other people don't give me the support that I expect from them. |
| | True |
| | |

| 62. | I can usually do a good job of stretching the truth to tell a funnier story or to play a joke on someone. |
|-----|---|
| | True |
| 63. | I usually can stay "on the go" all day without having to push myself. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 64. | I am usually more upset than most people by the loss of a close friend. |
| | True |
| 65. | I have trouble telling a lie, even when it is meant to spare someone else's feelings. |
| | True |
| 66. | I am better at saving money than most people. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 67. | Even after there are problems in a friendship, I nearly always try to keep it going anyway. |
| | True |
| 68. | I recover more slowly than most people from minor illnesses or stress. |
| | True |

| 69. | I need much extra rest, support, or reassurance to recover from minor illnesses or stress. |
|-----|--|
| | True |
| 70. | I often spend money until I run out of cash or get into debt from using too much credit. |
| | True |
| 71. | I seldom get upset when I don't receive the recognition that I deserve. |
| | True |
| 72. | Because I so often spend too much money on impulse, it is hard for me to save money even for special plans like a vacation. |
| | True |
| 73. | It is extremely difficult for me to adjust to changes in my usual way of doing things because I get so tense, tired, or worried. |
| | True |
| 74. | If I am feeling upset, I usually feel better around friends than when left alone. |
| | True |

| 75. | I usually feel much more confident and energetic than most people, even after minor illnesses or stress. |
|-----|---|
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 76. | Some people think I am too stingy or tight with my money. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 77. | I often keep trying the same thing over and over again even when I have not had much success in a long time. |
| | True |
| 78. | It is hard for me to enjoy spending money on myself, even when I have saved plenty of money. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 79. | I seldom let myself get upset or frustrated: when things don't work out, I simply move on to other activities. |
| | True |
| 80. | I recover more quickly than most people from minor illnesses or stress. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 81. | I hate to make decisions based only on my first impressions. True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |

| 82. | I think I will have very good luck in the future. |
|-----|---|
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 83. | I am often moved deeply by a fine speech or poetry. |
| | True |
| 84. | If I am embarrassed or humiliated, I get over it very quickly. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 85. | I like old "tried and true" ways of doing things much better than trying "new and improved" ways. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 86. | I like to keep my problems to myself. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 87. | I enjoy saving money more than spending it on entertainment or thrills. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 88. | Even when I am with friends, I prefer not to "open up" very much. True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |

| 89. | I feel very confident and sure of myself in almost all social situations. |
|-----|--|
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 90. | I usually like to stay cool and detached from other people. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 91. | I rarely worry about terrible things that might happen in the future. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 92. | I am more hard-working than most people. |
| | True |
| 93. | In conversations I am much better as a listener than as a talker. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 94. | I like to please other people as much as I can. |
| | True |
| 95. | Regardless of any temporary problem that I have to overcome, I always think it will turn out well. |
| | True |

| 96. | I like to stay at home better than to travel or explore new places. |
|------|--|
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 97. | I am usually so determined that I continue to work long after other people have given up. |
| | True |
| 98. | I usually have good luck in whatever I try to do. |
| | True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8 No SAQ completed9 |
| 99. | <pre>I like to pay close attention to details in everything I do. True0 False1 No answer-Don t know8</pre> |
| 100. | No SAQ completed9 It is easy for me to organize my thoughts while talking |
| | True |
| 101. | I like to gossip at times. |
| | True |
| 102. | There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone. |
| | True |

| 103. | I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake. |
|------|---|
| | True |
| 104. | I always try to practice what I preach. |
| | True |
| 105. | I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget. |
| | True |
| 106. | I never resent being asked to return a favor. |
| | True |
| 107. | At times I have really insisted on having things my own way. |
| | True |
| 108. | I have never been annoyed when people expressed ideas very different from my own. |
| | True |
| 109. | There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things. |
| | True |

| 110. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings. |
|---|
| True |
| THE WORD GAME |
| |
| IQ1. "Tired" is to "work" as "proud" is to: |
| smile1 success2 |
| happy3 |
| No answer9 Not applicable0 |
| |
| |
| IQ2. Which of the following items is different in kind from the others? |
| candle1 |
| moon2 electric light3 |
| No answer9 |
| Not applicable0 |
| IQ3. "Surprise" is to "strange" as "fear" is to: |
| brave1 |
| anxious2 terrible3 |
| No answer9 |
| Not applicable0 |
| IQ4. "Better" is to "worst" as "slower" is to: |
| fast1 |
| best2 |
| quickest3 |
| No answer9 Not applicable0 |
| |
| 5. "Flame" is to "heat" as "rose" is to: |
| thorn1 |
| red petals2 scent3 |
| No answer9 |
| Not applicable0 |

| IQ6. | Which | of | the | following | words | does | not | belong | with | the | others? | |
|------|-------|----|-----|-----------|-------|------|-----|--------|------|-----|---------|--|
|------|-------|----|-----|-----------|-------|------|-----|--------|------|-----|---------|--|

| wide1 |
|-----------------|
| zigzag2 |
| straight3 |
| No answer9 |
| Not applicable0 |
| |