

ZA2251

**Central and Eastern Eurobarometer 2
(Current Affairs and the Media)**

CEEB 2

Herbst 1991

BASIC-Fragebogen

Central and Eastern Eurobarometer No. 2

111-114 115 116-119 120-130
SURVEY NO. COUNTRY INTERVIEWER NO. WEIGHTING

Good morning/afternoon/evening. I am..... from (COUNTRY INSTITUTE). We are currently conducting a survey about current affairs. Could you spare a few minutes to give us your views?

SCREENING QUESTION

0. Firstly, can I confirm that you are permanently resident in (COUNTRY) and hold, or are entitled to hold, a (COUNTRY) passport?

- 1 Yes -CONTINUE INTERVIEW
- 2 No - CLOSE INTERVIEW
- 3 Respondent unsure - CLOSE INTERVIEW

1. When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? Does this happen... (READ OUT TWICE)

(131)

- 1 Often
- 2 From time to time
- 3 Rarely
- 4 Never
- 5 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

2. When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?

(132)

- 1 Frequently
- 2 Occasionally
- 3 Never
- 4 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

3. In general, do you feel things in (OUR COUNTRY) are going in the right or in the wrong direction?

(133)

- 1 Right direction
- 2 Wrong direction
- 3 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

4. Compared to 12 months ago, do you think the general economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY) has... (READ OUT TWICE)?

(134)

- 1 Got a lot better
- 2 Got a little better
- 3 Stayed the same
- 4 Got a little worse
- 5 Got a lot worse
- 6 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

5. And over the next 12 months, do you think the general economic situation in (OUR COUNTRY) will... (READ OUT TWICE)?

(135)

- 1 Get a lot better
- 2 Get a little better
- 3 Stay the same
- 4 Get a little worse
- 5 Get a lot worse
- 6 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

6. Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the financial situation of your household has... (READ OUT TWICE)?

(136)

- 1 Got a lot better
- 2 Got a little better
- 3 Stayed the same
- 4 Got a little worse
- 5 Got a lot worse
- 6 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

7. And over the next 12 months, do you expect that the financial situation of your household will... (READ OUT TWICE)?

(137)

- 1 Get a lot better
- 2 Get a little better
- 3 Stay the same
- 4 Get a little worse
- 5 Get a lot worse
- 6 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

8. Do you personally feel that the creation of a free market economy, that is one largely free from state control, is right or wrong for (OUR COUNTRY'S) future?

(138)

- 1 Right
- 2 Wrong
- 3 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

9. The way things are going, do you feel that (OUR COUNTRY'S) government's economic reform programme is going... (READ OUT TWICE)?

(139)

- 1 Too fast
- 2 Too slow
- 3 About the right speed
- 4 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

10. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is developing in (OUR COUNTRY)?

(140)

- 1 Very satisfied)
- 2 Fairly satisfied) ASK
- 3 Not very satisfied) Q.11
- 4 Not at all satisfied)
- 5 Don't know - SKIP TO Q.12

11. What are your reasons for saying that?
(PROMPT) Any other reasons? (WRITE
ANSWERS IN FULL)

a) Positive replies:
(141)

b) Negative replies:
(145)

X No reason given
V Don't know

ASK ALL

12. To what degree do you believe there is respect
for individual human rights nowadays in (OUR
COUNTRY)? Do you feel there is... (READ OUT
TWICE)

(149)

- 1 A lot of respect for individual human rights
- 2 Some respect for individual human rights
- 3 Not much respect for individual human rights
- 4 No respect at all for individual human rights
- 5 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

13. Do you ever think of yourself as not only
a citizen of (COUNTRY WITHIN WHICH
CONDUCTING INTERVIEW), but also
European? Does this happen... (READ OUT
TWICE)?

(150)

- 1 Often
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Never
- 4 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

14. I would like you to tell me whether you have,
or have not heard of (READ OUT - ROTATE
ORDER ENSURING ALL ITEMS a - g ARE
READ OUT - MARK STARTING POINT OF
ROTATION)

	Yes	No	Don't know
a) Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, or CSCE (151)	1	2	3
b) Council of Europe	1	2	3

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| c) European Free Trade Association, or EFTA | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| d) European Community, or EC | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| e) North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, or NATO | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| f) Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, or OECD | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| g) Western European Union, or WEU | 1 | 2 | 3 |
- (157)

15. As you might know, 12 states of Western and Southern Europe form together the "European Community". Would you say that your impressions of the aims and activities of the European Community are generally... (READ OUT TWICE)

(158)

- 1 Positive
- 2 Neutral
- 3 Negative
- 4 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

16. Taking into account all you know about the European Community, how well informed do you feel about its aims and activities? Do you feel... (READ OUT TWICE)?

(159)

- 1 Very informed
- 2 Quite informed
- 3 Not very informed
- 4 Not at all informed
- 5 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

17. Here is a list of five people's names. Can you tell me which of the five, if any, is the President of the Commission of the European Community at the present time? (SHOW CARD ONE WITH LIST OF NAMES)

(160)

- 1 Franco Maria Malfatti
- 2 Francois-Xavier Ortoli
- 3 Gaston Thorn
- 4 Jacques Delors
- 5 Roy Jenkins
- 6 None of them
- 7 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

18. If (OUR COUNTRY) were to join the European Community in the future, would you feel... (READ OUT TWICE)

(161)

- 1 Strongly in favour
- 2 Somewhat in favour
- 3 Somewhat opposed
- 4 Strongly opposed
- 5 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

19. When, if ever, do you think (OUR COUNTRY) should become a member of the European Community? Should it become a member... (READ OUT TWICE)

(162)

- 1 Now
- 2 In 5 years time
- 3 In 10 years time
- 4 Later
- 5 Never
- 6 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

20. What advantages, if any, do you feel there might be for (OUR COUNTRY) if it were to become a full member of the European Community?

(PROMPT) Any others? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES. DO NOT READ ANSWER CATEGORIES)

(163-

179)

- 1 Improve living standards
- 2 Improve trade
- 3 Shortages will disappear
- 4 Free movement of people
- 5 Help create free market
- 6 Help democracy
- 7 Help build "United States of Europe"
- 8 Improve defence
- 9 More common European foreign policy
- 0 Other (WRITE IN)

X None
V Don't know

21. And what disadvantages, if any, do you feel there might be for (OUR COUNTRY) if it were to become a full member of the European Community?

(PROMPT) Any others? (MULTIPLE RESPONSES - DO NOT READ ANSWER CATEGORIES)

(212-

222)

- 1 Political domination
- 2 Economic domination
- 3 Cultural domination
- 4 Loss of cultural identity
- 5 Loss of recently-gained sovereignty
- 6 Fall in living standards
- 7 Unemployment
- 8 Emigration
- 9 Other (WRITE IN)

0 None
X Don't know

22a Over the past few months, have you heard anything about "Association Agreements" or "European Agreements" for closer political, economic and cultural cooperation being negotiated between the European Community and Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland?

(223)

- 1 Yes - ASK Q.22b
- 2 No) GO TO
- 3 Don't know) Q.23

IF "YES" AT Q.22a

22b From what you have heard about these agreements, do you feel that the conditions offered by the European Community are... (READ OUT TWICE)

(224)

- 1 Very reasonable
- 2 Quite reasonable
- 3 Neither reasonable nor unreasonable
- 4 Quite unreasonable
- 5 Very unreasonable
- 6 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

ASK ALL

23. Irrespective of whether you have heard about it or not, would you be in favour, or against, such a treaty being concluded between the European Community and (OUR COUNTRY)?

(225)

- 1 In favour
- 2 Against
- 3 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

24. Have you heard anything about an assistance programme called PHARE to help improve (OUR COUNTRY'S) economy being provided by 24 western nations and coordinated by the Commission of the European Community? (IF YES) Do you feel that this assistance programme is having a major impact, minor impact or no real impact in helping improve (OUR COUNTRY'S) economy?

(226)

- 1 No, not heard
- 2 Yes, major impact
- 3 Yes, minor impact
- 4 Yes, no real impact
- 5 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

25. With regard to Yugoslavia, some say "the most important thing is to preserve Yugoslavia's territorial integrity also in order to prevent the break-up of states to elsewhere in Europe", others say "the most important thing is respect for democracy and for each people's right to self-determination, including possible independence for certain republics". Which of these two positions comes closer to your personal viewpoint?

(227)

- 1 Preserve Yugoslavia's territorial integrity
- 2 Respect democracy/right to self-determination
- 3 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

26a Have you heard or not about initiatives taken by the European Community to try to help resolve the crisis in Yugoslavia and its republics? (IF YES) Do you feel these European Community initiatives have been very useful, quite useful, not very useful or not at all useful in trying to help resolve the crisis?

(228)

- 1 No, not heard
- 2 Yes, very useful
- 3 Yes, quite useful
- 4 Yes, not very useful
- 5 Yes, not at all useful
- 6 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

26b The Soviet Union has asked for substantial financial aid from the European Community and other Western countries. In principle, do you think that the European Community should give aid to the Soviet Union or not? (IF YES): Do you believe this aid should be given immediately or should it wait until the establishment of an economic reform programme leading to a market economy?

(229)

- 1 No, should not give aid
- 2 Yes, should give aid immediately
- 3 Yes, should give aid when reform programme established
- 4 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

26c Do you think it would be better for (OUR COUNTRY) and Europe's future that most Soviet Union republics stay together in a new Union, or that all Soviet republics become completely independent countries?

(230)

- 1 Most republics stay together
- 2 All republics completely independent
- 3 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

27. Have you heard anything about "Project Europe 1992" - that is, the plan to complete, by the end of 1992, the building of a Single Market for all European Community member countries, including the free movement of people, goods, services and money between all member states?

(231)

- 1 Heard of
- 2 Not heard of
- 3 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

28. What effect do you think the European Community's Single Market 1992 project will have on the relationship between (OUR COUNTRY) and Western Europe? Do you think it will improve relations between (OUR COUNTRY) and Western Europe or do you think it will be harmful?

(232)

- 1 Will improve relations
- 2 Will be harmful for relations
- 3 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
- 4 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

29. Some people believe that some of our country's trading partners use unfair practices that make it difficult for (OUR COUNTRY) to sell products there. From what you know or have heard, tell me if you think the following trade partners are fair or unfair to (OUR COUNTRY) when it comes to trade (READ OUT TWICE)?

	Fair	Unfair	Don't know
(233)			
a) European Community	1	2	3
b) Japan	1	2	3
c) Soviet Union (NOT ASKED IN RUSSIA)	1	2	3
(236)			
d) United States of America	1	2	3

30. How interested would you be in learning more about the European Community and its work? I am going to read you a short list of topic areas. For each one, please tell me if you would be very interested, somewhat interested or not really interested in knowing more about... (READ OUT TWICE)?

	Very interested	Somewhat interested	Not really interested	Don't know
(237)				
a) The assistance programme called PHARE of 24 western countries co-ordinated by the Commission of the European Community	1	2	3	4
b) Efforts towards political unification in Europe	1	2	3	4
c) The Single European Market after 1992	1	2	3	4
d) Details of the associate membership agreements between the European Community and Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland	1	2	3	4
e) EC-(OUR COUNTRY) relations	1	2	3	4
f) Debate about a new security system for Europe	1	2	3	4
(243)				
g) Just basic information about the European Community	1	2	3	4

31. Here is a list of ways you might hear about the activities of the European Community and its institutions. Which of them are your main sources of information about the European Community? (SHOW CARD TWO - MULTIPLE RESPONSES)

- (244-255)
- 1 (OUR COUNTRY'S) newspapers
 - 2 Western newspapers
 - 3 (OUR COUNTRY'S) television
 - 4 Western television
 - 5 (OUR COUNTRY'S) radio
 - 6 Western radio
 - 7 (OUR COUNTRY'S) periodicals
 - 8 Western periodicals
 - 9 School or university
 - 0 Publications from European Community institutions
 - X Other
 - V None of them

32. Have you ever seriously considered going and working in a country in Western Europe?

(256)

- 1 Yes - have considered ASK Q.33
- 2 No - have not considered) SKIP
- 3 Don't know) TO B1

IF CODE 1 AT Q.32

33. How likely is it that you will move to Western Europe to live and work? Do you think that you will...? (READ OUT TWICE)

(257)

- 1 Definitely go and work in Western Europe
- 2 Probably go and work in Western Europe
- 3 Probably not go and work in Western Europe
- 4 Definitely not go and work in Western Europe
- 5 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

NOW ASK ALL RESPONDENTS QUESTIONS IN SECTIONS B, C AND D.

* COLUMNS 258 - 299 BLANK

SECTION B (NOT TO BE ASKED IN ALBANIA OR YUGOSLAVIA)

B1 And now some questions about your general usage of TV, radio and newspapers. Please refer to this card to help with your answers. Please give your answers in terms of your habits over the past three months. SHOW CARD THREE ASK IN TURN FOR EACH CATEGORY a - e

How often, if at all, have you...?

	Daily (6/7 days a week)	Several (3,4,5 days a week)	One/two days a week	Less often	DK/ Never	NA
(311)						
a) Watched any TV	1	2	3	4	5	6
b) Watched any Western TV service, either direct or via satellite/cable	1	2	3	4	5	6
c) Listened to the radio	1	2	3	4	5	6
d) Listened to Western radio stations	1	2	3	4	5	6
e) Read daily newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	6
(315)						

B2 Here is a list of some the international TV services that you might be able to view in (COUNTRY). Please look through the list and tell me which ones you watch once a week or more often. If you like, to make things easier, you need only refer to the code number to the left of each station name.

(316-326)

SHOW CARD FOUR AWAIT REPLY - CODE ALL MENTIONS

- 1 RTL/RTL Plus
- 2 Music TV/MTV
- 3 CNN International
- 4 Sky Channel
- 5 Superchannel
- 6 Worldnet
- 7 Tele 5
- 8 BBC World Service TV
- 9 Any Sports Channel

- 0 None of these
- X Don't know/not answered

PROBE: Please check through the list again to make sure you have mentioned all the stations you watch once a week or more often

B3 As you may know, in (COUNTRY) it is possible to listen to radio stations broadcasting from abroad, either direct or sometimes via rebroadcasts by stations in (COUNTRY).

I am going to read out some of these radio stations. Please tell me which of these stations you have heard in the past 3 months, and for each one you have heard over this period, how often you have listened to them. Please refer to this card to help with your answers.

SHOWCARD FIVE

READ OUT EACH STATION LISTED BELOW AND CODE ONE ANSWER

	Daily (6/7 days a week)	Several (3,4,5 days)	One/two days a week)	Less often	Not heard in past 3 month	DK/ NA
(327)						
a) Station 1	1	2	3	4	5	6
b)	1	2	3	4	5	6
c)	1	2	3	4	5	6
d)	1	2	3	4	5	6
e)	1	2	3	4	5	6
f)	1	2	3	4	5	6
g)	1	2	3	4	5	6
h)	1	2	3	4	5	6
i)	1	2	3	4	5	6
j) Station 10	1	2	3	4	5	6

(336)

(NB: LIST OF STATIONS TO VARY IN EACH COUNTRY)

B4 I would like to know how much trust you have in TV, radio and newspaper reporting of news and current affairs. For each category I read out please tell me how much trust you have in its news and current affairs coverage in terms of the categories on this card.

SHOW CARD SIX

ASK IN TURN CATEGORIES a - e

TRUST

	Very much	A fair amount	Not very much	Very little	Don't use	DK/ NA
(337)						
a) (COUNTRY) TV	1	2	3	4	5	6
b) Western TV services	1	2	3	4	5	6
c) (COUNTRY) radio	1	2	3	4	5	6
d) Western radio	1	2	3	4	5	6
e) (COUNTRY) newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	6

(341)

COLUMNS 342 - 399 BLANK

SECTION C (NOT TO BE ASKED IN ALBANIA
OR YUGOSLAVIA)

C1 Which, if any, of the following items do you have
in your household? SHOWCARD SEVEN
(CODE ALL MENTIONS)

(411-426)

- 1 Motorbike/motorcycle
- 2 Car
- 3 Colour TV set
- 4 Video
- 5 Stereo (combined record, cassette, CD player)
- 6 Deep-freezer/fridge-freezer
- 7 Microwave oven
- 8 Washing machine
- 9 Central heating system
- 0 Telephone
- X Bicycle
- V Black & white TV

- 1 Second home/house
- 2 Short wave radio set
- 3 Satellite/cabel TV connection
- 4 None of these

C2 Which of these activities have you personally done
in the past month? SHOWCARD EIGHT
(CODE ALL MENTIONS)

(427-439)

- 1 Eat out at a restaurant
- 2 Visited cafe/bar
- 3 Visited relatives/friends
- 4 Visited cinema
- 5 Took part in sport
- 6 Watched satellite TV at home
- 7 Listened to Western radio stations at home
- 8 Regularly read newspaper/magazine
- 9 Home decoration or repairs/DIY
- 0 Pursued hobby at home
- X Shopped for product other than food/
groceries
- V Listened to music at home (on record player/
stereo/cassette player etc.)

- 1 None of these

C3 Speaking from a personal point of view which of
the following statements do you agree with?
(READ OUT AND CODE ALL MENTIONS)

(440-450)

- 1 Life is too short to worry about tomorrow
- 2 It's important to save money for the
unexpected
- 3 Things in (COUNTRY) used to be a
lot better
- 4 There are too many changes going on in
(COUNTRY)
- 5 Life is difficult but it will get better
- 6 There's not enough excitement in my life
- 7 I would gladly live in another country
- 8 I think our government is doing a good job
- 9 There is no reward for working harder
- 0 (COUNTRY) shouldn't abandon the old
system of government too quickly
- X None of these

SECTION D: DEMOGRAPHICS

D1 In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right". How would you place your views on this scale? (SHOW CARD NINE - DO NOT PROMPT. IF CONTACT HESITATES, ASK TO TRY AGAIN)
(511)

	Left									Right
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

X Refusal
V Don't know

D2 If there were a "General Election" (SAY NEXT FEASIBLE MOMENT ACCORDING TO CONSTITUTION E.G. "tomorrow" or "Sunday") (SAY IF CONTACT UNDER VOTING AGE: "and you had a vote"), would you go and vote in the next "General Election"?
(512)

1 Yes - would vote - ASK Q.D3
2 No - would not vote) GO TO
3 Don't know/no answer) D4

IF CODE 1 AT Q.D2

D3 If there were a "General Election" (SAY NEXT FEASIBLE MOMENT ACCORDING TO CONSTITUTION e.g. "tomorrow" or "Sunday") (SAY IF CONTACT UNDER VOTING AGE: "and you had a vote"), which party, if any, would you vote for, or might you be inclined to vote for?
(CODE UNDER D3 BELOW)

IF CODE 2 OR 3 AT Q.D2

D4 Although you have said that you will not or might not vote in the next general election, if there were a "general election" (SAY NEXT FEASIBLE MOMENT ACCORDING TO CONSTITUTION e.g. "tomorrow" OR "Sunday") SAY IF CONTACT UNDER VOTING AGE: ("And if you had a vote") which party, if any, would you be inclined to support? (CODE UNDER D4 BELOW)

	D3 (513)	D4 (515)
Party A	1	1
Party B	2	2
Party C	3	3
Party D	4	4
Party E	5	5
Party F	6	6
Party G	7	7
Party H	8	8
Party I	9	9
Party J	0	0
Other party	X	X
Would vote blank/spoil vote	V	V

(514) (516)

Depends on personality		
not party (RUSSIA AND BAL TIC STATES ONLY)	1	1
Would not vote	2	2
Don't know	3	3
No answer	4	4

D5 Are you yourself or is anyone else in your household a member of any trade union? IF YES: Are you personally a member of any trade union? WAIT FOR RESPONSE - and are any other people in your household members of a trade union?

(517)

- 1 Yes, respondent
- 2 Yes, respondent and someone else in the household
- 3 Yes, someone else in the household, but not respondent
- 4 Nobody in the household
- 5 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

D6 (TO THOSE WHO ARE MEMBER OF A TRADE UNION: CODE 1 OR 2 IN D5)
Of which trade union are you a member?
(CODE ONE ONLY)

(518)

- 1 Union A
- 2 Union B
- 3 Union C
- 4 Union D
- 5 Union E
- 6 Union F
- 7 Union G
- 8 Union H
- 9 Union I
- 0 Union J
- X Other
- V Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

D7 How old were you when you finished your full-time education?

(519)

- 1 Up to 14 years
- 2 15 years
- 3 16 years
- 4 17 years
- 5 18 years
- 6 19 years
- 7 20 years
- 8 21 years
- 9 22 years and older
- 0 Still studying

D8 What is the highest level of education that you have received? (SHOW CRARD TEN)

(520)

- 1 Up to elementary
- 2 Some secondary but not completed
- 3 Secondary - graduated
- 4 Higher education
- 5 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT
- 6 Refused - DO NOT READ OUT

D9 Sex:
(521)
1 Male
2 Female

D10 How old are you?
(WRITE IN YEARS OF AGE)
(522-23)

/ ____ / ____ /

D11 We would like to analyse the survey results according to the income of the people we interviewed (SHOW CARD ELEVEN). Here is an income scale; we would like to know in what group your family is, counting all wages, salaries, child allowances, pensions and any other income that comes in. Just give me the letter of the group your household falls into before tax and other deductions.

(524)

- 1 A
- 2 B
- 3 C
- 4 D
- 5 E
- 6 F
- 7 G
- 8 H
- 9 I
- 0 J
- X K
- V L

- 1 Refusal
- 2 Don't know

D12 What is your main present occupation?
(WRITE IN AND CODE)
(525)

PAID WORK

- 1 Intellectual (teacher, journalist, writer etc., non-production)
- 2 Intellectual (Engineer/Technician)
- 3 Professions (doctor, lawyer, etc.) and higher management (public and private)
- 4 White collar, middle management (public and private)
- 5 White collar, lower management (public and private)
- 6 Secretarial/clerical
- 7 Skilled worker
- 8 Unskilled worker
- 9 Military/police
- 0 Farmer (inc. fishermen)

WITHOUT PAID WORK

- X Pensioner (not working)
 - V Housewife not otherwise employed
- (526)
- 1 Student (all respondents still in education)
 - 2 Temporarily not working, unemployed

D13 (TO THOSE WHO DO PAID WORK:
CODES 1 TO 9 IN D12)
(527)

Are you in...?

- 1 Government employment (CODE NOT USED IN RUSSIA)
- 2 State-owned enterprise
- 3 Cooperative
- 4 Private sector (employed)
- 5 Self-employed/independent
- 6 Joint venture with state owned company
- 7 RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW AND INTERVIEWER CANNOT CODE

D14 Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion? (IF YES): Which one?
(528)

- 1 Jewish
- 2 Protestant
- 3 Orthodox
- 4 Roman Catholic
- 5 Muslim
- 6 Other
- 7 None
- 8 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

D15 (TO THOSE WITH CODE 1 TO 5 IN D14)
Do you participate in religious services several times a week, once a week, a few times a year, once a year or less or never?
(529)

- 1 Several times a week
- 2 Once a week
- 3 A few times a year
- 4 Once a year or less
- 5 Never
- 6 Don't know - DO NOT READ OUT

D16 What nationality/ethnic background do you come from? (WRITE IN AND CODE)
(530)

-
- 1 Albanian
 - 2 Bulgarian
 - 3 Byelorussian
 - 4 Croat
 - 5 Czech
 - 6 Estonian
 - 7 German
 - 8 Greek
 - 9 Gypsies (or national equivalent)
 - 0 Hungarian
 - X Jewish
 - V Latvian

P3 Number of minutes the interview lasted:

(619-21)

Minutes

/ ____ / ____ / ____ /

P4 Number of persons present during the interview:

(622)

- 1 Two (interviewer and respondent)
- 2 Three
- 3 Four
- 4 Five or more

P5 Respondent co-operation:

(623)

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Fair
- 3 Bad

P6 Size of locality: (IF CAPITAL CITY, CODE
AT '7' ONLY)

(624)

- 1 Village to 1,000
- 2 Town over 1,000 - 20,000
- 3 Town over 20,000 - 100,000
- 4 City over 100,000 - 500,000
- 5 City over 500,000 - 1 million
- 6 City over 1 million
- 7 Capital city only

P7 Region:

(625)

- 1 Region A
- 2 Region B
- 3 Region C
- 4 Region D
- 5 Region E

SHOWCARD ONE

Franco Maria Malfatti

Francois-Xavier Ortoli

Gaston Thorn

Jacques Delors

Roy Jenkins

None of these

SHOWCARD ONE

Roy Jenkins

Jacques Delors

Gaston Thorn

Francois-Xavier Ortoli

Franco Maria Malfatti

None of these

SHOWCARD TWO

(OUR COUNTRY'S) newspapers

Western newspapers

(OUR COUNTRY'S) television

Western television

(OUR COUNTRY'S) radio

Western radio

(OUR COUNTRY'S) periodicals

Western periodicals

School or university

Publications from European Community Institutions

SHOWCARD TWO

Publications from European Community Institutions

School or university

Western periodicals

(OUR COUNTRY'S) periodicals

Western radio

(OUR COUNTRY'S) radio

Western television

(OUR COUNTRY'S) television

Western newspapers

(OUR COUNTRY'S) newspapers

SHOWCARD THREE

Daily (6/7 days per week)

Several days per week (3, 4, 5 days per week)

One or two days per week

Less than one day per week

Never/Not heard in past 3 months

SHOWCARD THREE

Never/Not heard in past 3 months

Less than one day per week

One or two days per week

Several days per week (3, 4, 5 days per week)

Daily (6/7 days per week)

SHOWCARD FOUR

1. RTL/RTL Plus
2. Music TV/MTV
3. CNN International
4. Sky Channel
5. Superchannel
6. Worldnet
7. Tele 5
8. BBC World Service TV
9. Any Sports Channel

SHOWCARD FOUR

9. Any Sports Channel
8. BBC World Service TV
7. Tele 5
6. Worldnet
5. Superchannel
4. Sky Channel
3. CNN International
2. Music TV/MTV
1. RTL/RTL Plus

SHOWCARD FIVE

Daily (6/7 days per week)

Several days per week (3, 4, 5 days per week)

One or two days per week

Less than one day per week

Never/Not heard in past 3 months

SHOWCARD FIVE

Never/Not heard in past 3 months

Less than one day per week

One or two days per week

Several days per week (3, 4, 5 days per week)

Daily (6/7 days per week)

SHOWCARD SIX

Very much trust

A fair amount of trust

Not very much trust

Very little trust

(Please say if you do not use the particular medium for reports on news and current affairs)

SHOWCARD SIX

Very little trust

Not very much trust

A fair amount of trust

Very much trust

(Please say if you do not use the particular medium for reports on news and current affairs)

SHOWCARD SEVEN

Motorbike/motorcycle
Car
Colour TV set
Video
Stereo (combined record, cassette, CD player)
Deep-freezer/fridge-freezer
Microwave oven
Washing machine
Central heating system
Telephone
Bicycle
Black & white TV
Second home/house
Short wave radio set
Satellite/cable TV connection

SHOWCARD SEVEN

Satellite/cable TV connection
Short wave radio set
Second home/house
Black & white TV
Bicycle
Telephone
Central heating system
Washing machine
Microwave oven
Deep-freezer/fridge-freezer
Stereo (combined record, cassette, CD player)
Video
Colour TV set
Car
Motorbike/motorcycle

SHOWCARD EIGHT

Eat out at a restaurant
Visited cafe/bar
Visited relatives/friends
Visited cinema
Took part in sport
Watched satellite TV at home
Listened to Western radio stations at home
Regularly read newspaper/magazine
Home decoration or repairs/DIY
Pursued hobby at home
Shopped for product other than food/groceries
Listened to music at home (on record player/stereo/
cassette player etc.)

SHOWCARD EIGHT

Listened to music at home (on record player/stereo/
cassette player etc.)
Shopped for product other than food/groceries
Pursued hobby at home
Home decoration or repairs/DIY
Regularly read newspaper/magazine
Listened to Western radio stations at home
Watched satellite TV at home
Took part in sport
Visited cinema
Visited relatives/friends
Visited cafe/bar
Eat out at a restaurant

2101
OSTER 2

Additional Codes for Albanian Survey

Q11a-d

Satisfied Reasons

- 1 We had free elections
- 2 National Unity government
- 3 We are "part" of the West now
- 4 The changes give hopes for economic and social stability
- 5 More freedom and democracy
- 6 We are building the state of law
- 7 Democratic changes in Albania have been welcomed by western countries and Albania has become a member of CSCE
- 8 No reason given
- 9 Don't know

Dissatisfied reasons

- 10 Nothing has changed
- 11 The same political party still in power
- 12 No constitution
- 13 Country is destabilized and economic crisis
- 14 Anarchy
- 15 State doesn't function
- 16 Many foreign governments still do not trust in our reforms and no credit or economic help is coming
- 17 No reason given
- 18 Don't know

D3 If there were a general election next Sunday, which party would you vote for or might you be inclined to vote for? Show list.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| Albanian Socialist Party | 1 |
| Democrats | 2 |
| Republicans | 3 |
| Ecological Party | 4 |
| Albanian Party of National Unity | 5 |
| Social Democrats | 6 |
| Agrarian Party | 7 |
| National Democratic Party | 8 |
| Omonia | 9 |
| Other party | 10 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| Won't vote | 12 |

ALL QUESTIONS ARE PUNCHED IN A SINGLE PUNCH FORMAT.
Variable placing

interview number

country - Bulgaria /1/

q. 1 to q. 20

q. 21 to q. 33

q. B1 to q. B3

q. B4

q. C1 to q. C3

q. D1 to q. D18

q. P1 to q. P6

q. D1

101

102 - 105 blank

106

107 - 130 blank

131 - 174, 175 - 180 blank

212 - 257, 258 - 280 blank

311 - 330, 331 - 336 blank

337 - 341, 342 - 380 blank

411 - 450, 451 - 480 blank

511 - 535, 536 - 580 blank

611 - 624, 625 - 680 blank

711 according to

your fax from 4.11.91

Q.11 POSITIVE REASONS /Positions 141 - 144/

1. GENERAL POSITIVE /Optimistic attitude to the changes as a whole/ - "We are going to something better"
2. END OF COMMUNISM /Anti-communist orientation of the changes/
3. DEMOCRATIC CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM /Multi-party system, free democratic elections of Parliament and of President, new laws, free press, etc./
4. DEMOCRATIC CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY /A process of establishment of a free market economy/
5. RESTORED CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE PERSONALITY /Freedom of speech, of travellings, of religion, restored civil rights of the Turkish minority/
6. PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY /Civil peace reserved/
7. OTHER

9 - No reason given

Position 144

0 - Don't know

Q.11 NEGATIVE REASONS / Positions 145 - 148 /

1. GENERAL NEGATIVE /Negative attitude to the changes as a whole/
2. INSUFFICIENT AND SLOW CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE / The processes of privatization and restitution are too slow, no laws for the transition to free market economy, no changes in the economy/
3. INSUFFICIENT AND SLOW CHANGES IN POLITICAL LIFE /Weakness of democracy - political tension, incompetence, struggle for power, dubbling in politics, weak opposition, the communists are an obstacle, misunderstanding of democracy, a lot of the Old is preserved, we are not moving toward a constitutional state/
4. ALL PEOPLE /THE WHOLE NATION/ ARE GETTING POORER /Living standard falling down - high prices, low incomes, small pensions/
5. INCREASE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN SOCIETY
6. ANARCHY, LAWLESSNESS, INCREASE OF CRIMINALITY, CORRUPTION, SPECULATIONS, ATTEMPTS FOR VIOLATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS, ABUSE OF FREEDOM
7. UNEMPLOYMENT /Economic imigration of the young/
8. MORAL VALUES CRISIS /Decline in manners, immaturity of the nation, selfishness, low political culture/
9. OTHER

9 - No reason given

Position 148

0 - Don't know

CZECHOSLOVAKIA (4 Stations)

- (327) a) RFE in Czech/Slovak, RFE = Svobodna Europa
b) BBC London in Czech/Slovak, BBC, London = BBC, Londyn
c) VOA in Czech/Slovak, VOA = Hlas Ameriky
- (330) d) DLF in Czech/Slovak, DLF = Deutschlandfunk

331 - 36 BLANK

code List:

Czechoslovakia

QA11:
- positive replies:
(columns A14 -A143)

- 1 "General satisfaction with the way democracy is developing"
- 2 "More freedom and democracy, religious freedom"
- 3 "Freedom to travel"
- 4 "Opportunity to entreprising"
- 5 "Freedom of press and expression"
- 6 "Market economy, privatization, better supply of goods"
- 7 "Redress of injustices, end of totalitarian rule"
- 8 "Chances for better future"

- negative replies:
(columns A145-A148)

- 1 "Economic situation and problems"
- 2 "Unemployment, lack of jobs available"
- 3 "Integrity of Czechoslovakia, the future form of federation, relations of Czechs and Slovaks"
- 4 "Slow progress of legislation, laws to secure human rights and democracy"
- 5 "Moral issues, relations of people worse than before"
- 6 "Slow progress of economic reform and democratization"
- 7 "Criminality, violence, the police is ineffective"
- 8 "Problems with Gypsies"
- 9 "The Lustration Act"
- 0 "General dissatisfaction, disorder and chaos in society"

no reason + DK in col 144*

QA20:
(column A172)

- 1 "Economic and financial benefits, higher productivity and working morale, foreign know-how, foreign investments in CSFR"
- 2 "Better cooperation with EEC, common Europe, better relations to other European countries, better position of CSFR in Europe"
- 3 "Progress in culture, ecology, medical care"

QA21:
(column A220)

- 9 "Other-dependence on other countries, immigration, more crime, too many changes in everyday life etc."

ESTONIA (7 Stations)

- (327) a) RFE in Estonian, RFE = Vaba Euroopa
b) RL in Russian, RL = Raadio Vabadus (РАДИО СВОБОДА)
c) BBC in Russian, BBC = БИ-БИ-СИ
d) VOA in Estonian, VOA = Ameerika - Haal
e) VOA in Russian, VOA = ГОЛОС АМЕРИКИ
f) DW in Russian, DW = НЕМЕЦКАЯ ВОЛНА
(333) g) RFI in Russian, RFI = РАДИО ФРАНЦИЯ

334 - 36 BLANK

Estonia

Codes for the open question no.11. (141 - 144)

a) Positive replies:

1 GENERAL SUPPORT TO DEMOCRATIZATION

Some examples of answers which are coded by code 1:

- General direction is right, one can feel the progress.
- We have got our own state.
- I trust the leaders and the government.
- I am satisfied, everything is getting better.
- Development of democracy must be slow.

2 POLITICAL FREEDOMS, RIGHTS

Some examples under code 2:

- There is a multi-party system now.
- We have free democratic elections.
- Freedom of locomotion (to abroad).
- There are more freedoms: freedom of personality, of action, of word. You can speak about everything. many themes are made public.
- You don't have to go to the Soviet Army.
- Dissidents are tolerated.
- Russians are less distressed.

3 CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Some examples:

- Salaries have been increased, compensations.
- Some more commodity has appeared on sale.
- Economic situation has changed better.
- Development of privatisation.

4 ONE CAN FEEL ONESELF FREE

Some examples:

- I feel freedom in my work.
- I have got the possibility to defend my interests.
- Nobody insults and restricts me.

5 I HOPE THAT EVERYTHING WILL GET BETTER IN THE FUTURE

6 OTHER

Some examples:

- Russians are going to leave Estonia.
- I think the Estonians are democrats.
- No need to hurry too much.

Estonia cont

Codes for the open question no. 11 (145 - 148)

b) Negative replies:

1 INFLUENCE OF OLD SYSTEM

Some examples of answers which are coded by code 1:

- Undemocratic governing system. old methods.
- There are no right men in the government. one can't trust the government and the leaders who are on the way to the dictatorship.
- Much bureaucracy. the bureaucracy is abusing its power everywhere.
- Former top leaders. functioners. communists and stagnants are still on power. they hinder the development of democracy. blockade work of the Supreme Council (Parliament).
- I do not like the behaviour of some top leaders. deputies and politicians. they only deal with their personal matters. they are not honest and objective

2 "APPRENTICESHIP" OF DEMOCRACY

Some examples:

- Journalists have too much "freedom". they lie and publish uncontrolled data.
- People. especially Russians. need more correct information.
- They speak too much but there are too few actions.
- Old*working style. no sense of responsibility.
- People don't know what to do with democracy.
- Russian people (Russian democrates) are inactive in policy.

3 STRUGGLE FOR POWER, GENERAL SQUABBLE

Some examples:

- Struggle for power in the Government. squabble between the politicians. parties and deputies of Prliament.
- Estonia needs collaboration but Estonian people don't seem to want it.

4 ANARCHY

Some examples:

- Corruption. speculation. maffia. no laws. no control over economy.

Estonia cont

Estonia

5 DISCONTENT WITH LAWS, RESOLUTIONS AND HOW THEY ARE CARRIED OUT

Some examples:

- Too much yielding to non-Estonians.
- The question of frontier is not solved.
- The law of citizenship is not adopted.
- Discontent with Language and Pension Laws.
- It takes too much time to take out the Soviet Army from Estonia.

6 DISCONTENT WITH ECONOMY

Some examples:

- Low living standard: the prizes are going up very quickly, general deficit in everything.
- Fear before the future for the economic reason.
- Economically dependent on Russia.

7 DISCRIMINATION OF NON-ESTONIANS

Some examples:

- It is the democracy of Estonians. Estonians' opinions dominate, the others' thoughts are suppressed. Russians are ignored.
- Negative attitude towards Russians. Estonians are preferred.

8 LACK OF SECURITY

Some examples:

- People are not socially defended. Awful crime.
- Police do not work as well as it should.
- You don't know what future brings.

9 OTHER

Some examples:

- Not enough freedoms.
- There are still social classes.
- Very many Russians in Estonia.
- Nationalism.
- Democrats destroy but do not build.
- Barrier of language.
- Stimulating of hostility between nations.

CODES FOR QUESTIONNAIRE OMNIBUS/7.

Question 11/a - codes for positive answers
position no.

141 *Answers related to democracy*

- 1 - there is a multi-party system, not a one-party system
- 2 - freedom of speech
- 3 - freedom of religion
- 4 - free elections
- 5 - Parliament does a good job
- 6 - legally speaking, there is greater freedom

142 *Answers related to politics*

- 1 - no Communism any more
- 2 - efforts to regulate more conservative politicians
- 3 - good implementation of political objectives
- 4 - no signs of returning to the old system
- 5 - there is no war, there is peace

143 *Answers related to economy*

- 1 - privatization
- 2 - support for private enterprises
- 3 - competition exists in trade

144 *General comments*

- 1 - I am satisfied, we live economically
- 2 - we live a quiet life
- 3 - objectives are good, things are going well
- 4 - there is no repression
- 5 - democracy has developed

Question 11/b - negative answers

145 *Answers related to politics*

- 1 - party-power struggles, conflicts
- 2 - the change in the system has not occurred
- 3 - comments criticizing the work of Parliament and the government, transgressions
- 4 - some are trying to save their power
- 5 - election promises have not been fulfilled
- 6 - the same leaders are in responsible positions
- 7 - no democracy exists, only in word

146 *Answers related to the country's economic change*

- 1 - development is slow
- 2 - privatization has not occurred
- 3 - unemployment

147 *Answers related to the individual's life*

- 1 - low wages, pensions, child care allowance
- 2 - uncertainty of living, deteriorating living standards
- 3 - high prices, price rises
- 4 - taxes

148 *General comments*

- 1 - only certain strata, the foxy live well
- 2 - I expected too much of the change in the system
- 3 - nothing has changed here

Question 20 - Codes for other advantages:

- code 1 if there is an answer
- code 2 if there is no answer

- 172 - transition to a market economy, termination of an economy of shortages, new range of products, better quality products, etc.
- 173 - economy and industry boom, inflow of technologies
- 174 - agricultural development
- 175 - convertibility of the Forint, finances
- 176 - more job opportunities, new jobs
- 177 - other

Question 21 - Codes for other disadvantages:

- code 1 if there is an answer, and write out answers
- code 2 if there is no answer

Question 21.

- 220 - list of other disadvantages:

Some companies would go bankrupt.

Part of the production would be lost, because no one would buy the products.

External control of the quantity of production in some areas.

Industrially the country is not yet ready to join.

We may lose in the ruthless competition.

Owing to the big differences in mentality, it would require great efforts.

LATVIA (7 Stations)

- (327) a) RFE in Latvian, RFE = Radio Brīva Eiropa
b) RL in Russian, RL = Радио Вольна
c) BBC in Russian, BBC = БИ-БИ-СИ
d) VOA in Latvian, VOA = Amerikas Balss
e) VOA in Russian, VOA = ГОЛОС АМЕРИКИ
f) DW in Russian, DW = НЕМЕЦКАЯ ВОЛНА
(333) g) RFI in Russian, RFI = РАДИО ФРАНЦИЯ

334 - 36 BLANK

Latvia

Q.A11.A. Positive response.

Q.A11.A (columns 141; 143).

1. Restoring the independence of the Republic of Latvia.
2. The termination of Communist Party and KGB, the subversion of old regime.
3. The limitation of U.S.S.R Armed force activities negotiations on its withdrawal from Latvia.
4. The atmosphere of social security is forming gradually.
5. The realization of privatization, the return of property to its former owners.
6. The guarantee of human rights (freedom of speech etc.).
7. The well considered politics and action of the government.
8. The European way of living is forming in Latvia.
9. The freedom of entrepreneurial activities, moving over to the free market economy.
0. The formation of multi party system.

Q.A11.A (columns 142; 144).

1. Free exchange of information.
2. The equality of nations.
3. The legislative base for a legal state is formed.
4. The process of democratization is going one more rapid as one could hope.
0. Other reasons.

Q.All.B. **Negative response.**

Q.All.B. (*columns 145; 147*).

1. The government is realizing the too slowly.
2. The incompetence of the governments members.
3. The faults in government action.
4. The faults in economic legislation.
5. The delay of passing the law on citizenship.
6. Chaos. The lack of discipline and control, too much is allowed.
7. The defence of human rights is not provided by law.
8. The process of privatization causes inequality and injustice.
9. The Latvian nationalism; the discrimination of Russian and other nationalities.
0. The corruption in different state structures.

Q.All.B. (*columns 146; 148*)

1. The Continuation of the old bureaucracy traditions.
2. The moral degradation of the society; the lose of moral values.
3. The mutual quarrels among parties and movements; the struggle for power.
4. The existence of censorship in mass media.
5. The rapid increase of criminality.
6. The insecurity for future, no social guarantees.
7. No freedom for entrepreneurial activity.
8. The activities of the occupational regime structures in Latvia. (KGB, Armed forces).
9. Not taking to account the social opinion.
0. Other reasons.

LITHUANIA (7 Stations)

- (327) a) RFE in Lithuanian, RFE = Laisvoji Europa
b) RL in Russian, RL = Laisves Radija (РАДИО СВОБОДА)
c) BBC in Russian, BBC = BBC (БИ-БИ-СИ)
d) VOA in Lithuanian, VOA = Amerikos Balsas
e) VOA in Russian, VOA = ГОЛОС АМЕРИКИ
f) DW in Russian, DW = НЕМЕЦКАЯ ВОЛНА
333) g) RFI in Russian, RFI = РАДИО ФРАНЦИЯ

334 - 36 BLANK

A11.A

1. Freedom of speech, publicity
2. Freedom of worship
3. Press freedom
4. Multi-party system
5. Freemovement of people
6. Freedom of an individual
7. Independence
8. Social justice
9. Culture, traditions

A11.B

1. Violate human rights
2. No democracy
3. Ethnic problems
4. Passiveness of authorities
5. Poor economy
6. remains of the past
7. USSR army
8. Broken relations with the USSR

A20

3. Positive outcomes (science, education, etc.)
4. Strengthening of the independence
5. Improvement of an economy
6. Closer cooperation
7. Changes in human consciousness

A21

3. No negative outcomes
4. High taxes
5. Social inequality
6. Poor relations with the USSR
7. The threat of AIDS
8. Profiteering

Key to question no.11/a/

Reasons for being content with the
democratization process in Poland

⑩ - general answers: the situation is all right, the direction of the changes is correct, something is changing, aroused confidence, brighter perspectives

- 1 - freedom: personal, political and religious freedom, freedom of speech - you can say whatever you want, do whatever you want, nobody is persecuted; pluralism, a multi-party system, freedom of association
- 2 - openness of political life: free access to information, a free press, lack of censorship, no more lies
- 3 - change of the political system: the fall/defeat/ of communism, the demise of the "Polish Peoples Republic", the end of rule by ideology
- 4 - freedom of travel: the opening of the frontiers, possibility of foreign travel, an openness towards the world
- 5 - economical freedom: improved economical outlook, a profit oriented economy, higher standard of living, end of consumer goods shortages, a free market, rewarding of people possessing drive and initiative
- 6 - the triumph of national and patriotic values: our national character is more in the open, we feel that we are in our own country
- 7 - other specific answers:
 - "-" - does not give reason or cause of being content
 - "&" - I do not know, it is difficult to say

Poland

* PENTOR * 0015

Key to question no.11/b/

Reasons for discontent with the direction
of the democratisation process in Poland

AS+146

- 0 - general answers: the situation is bad, we are taking the first steps, everything needs time
 - 1 - lack of faith in democracy in Poland: there is no democracy, nothing has changed, the situation is identical to the one under communism, power is in the hands of the same people, it is taking too long
 - 2 - criticism of the government and the political elite: lack of openness, deceit, isolation of rulers from the ruled, the rise of a new nomenclature; political fragmentation, too many parties and political organisations, lack of consensus among politicians in matters of highest importance, everybody wants to govern, there is too much talk and not enough action; the position of the church is too strong, the church is meddling in politics
 - 3 - criticism of society: lack of political savour vivre, lack of understanding and use of the democratic process, lack of competent people
 - 4 - criticism of the legal order: legal disorder, legal loopholes and lack of legislation in certain areas, an inappropriate taxation system, the introduced reforms are not thoughtfully prepared, the discrimination of certain political forces/for example the case of the "X Party", the "let bygones by bygones policy" - the culprits of wrongdoing under the previous system go on uncensured
 - 5 - criticism of the economy: high cost of living, decrease in living standards, poverty, recession, mass bankruptcies, unemployment, lack of social security, stratification of society, unequal chances/a longing for egalitarianism/, agricultural problems, difficulties with the marketing of goods, low prices
 - 6 - pathologies: rise of crime, including white collar crime, financial scandals, enrichment by illegal means, lack of social order, corruption
 - 7 - other
- "-" - does not give reason or cause of discontent
- "&" - I do not know, it is difficult to say

RUSSIA (5 Stations)

- (327) a) RL in Russian, RL = РАДИО СВОБОДА**
- b) BBC in Russian, BBC = БИ-БИ-СИ**
- c) VOA in Russian, VOA = ГОЛОС АМЕРИКИ**
- d) DW in Russian, DW = НЕМЕЦКАЯ ВОЛНА**
- (331) g) RFI in Russian, RFI = РАДИО ФРАНЦИЯ**

332 - 36 BLANK

RUSSIA

CODES FOR QUESTION A11(a)

1. Creation of parliamentary system in the country, shift to multi-party system.
2. Free elections on alternative basis. Election of Boris Yeltsin as a president of Russian Republic.
3. Broader implementation of human rights, elimination of limitations, more freedom and democracy.
4. "Glasnost" (openness), free press, pluralism of opinion, more information on political events in the country.
5. Removal of the Communist party, and the partocracy from power, elimination of the monopoly of the CPSU for power.
6. Every person can participate in discussions and solving of major problems.
7. Removal of obstacles on the way to free market economy.
8. Failure of the August (1991) putsch.
9. Society develops in a necessary direction. Democratic changes have come to remote places.
0. Other.

CODE FOR QUESTION A11(b)

1. There no or too little changes.
2. The same people remained in power, there are no changes in the composition of the leadership. Democrats repeat, what was previously done by communists. Leadership fell no responsibility.
3. The democratic process is very slow, many words, little deeds.
4. Split of democrats, lack of homogeneity of the common strategy of actions.
5. No changes in province. Authorities bar the democratic changes.
6. Lack of power, chaos, lack of discipline, lack of working laws, growth of criminality.
7. The blackening of the reputation of the Communist party, collapse of ideals.
8. Economic crisis, break down, unemployment, reduction of the standard of living, starvation.
9. Raise of nationalism, ethnic conflicts.
0. Other.